# Tending the Garden of the Monks

Investigation of a Medieval Copto-Arabic Apophthegmata Patrum Recension

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# Abstract

This dissertation comprises a study of a medieval Copto-Arabic *Apophthegmata Patrum* recension. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* consists of stories and sayings of the desert fathers. By the Middle Ages, the *Apophthegmata Patrum* was an extremely popular textual tradition. It was appreciated by the monastic class as well as by the laity. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* was widely disseminated and translated into many languages, such as Arabic. Its didactical genre allowed for – indeed, even prompted – moderate textual adaptation, as the sayings and stories of the desert fathers were presented to different audiences.

The *Apophthegmata Patrum* was central in the formation of the Coptic-Orthodox community from the Middle Ages. Yet, the Copto-Arabic reception of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, which is typically found in a larger florilegium called *Bustān al-ruhbān* (*Garden of the Monks*), has hitherto received very little scholarly attention. This dissertation provides an identification of a late medieval *Bustān al-ruhbān* recension, which is found in a medieval manuscript as well as in later Arabic and Ethiopic text witnesses. After identifying this *Bustān* recension, I discuss where and when the recension in question might have been translated, compiled, and redacted. I advance the hypothesis that it was compiled in the Monastery of St. Antony, which took a leading role in Coptic-Orthodox book production during the late medieval Coptic Renaissance.

In chapter 3, I use analytical tools from a newly constructed database (*Monastica*) to compare the selected *Bustān* recension with a wide range of *Apophthegmata Patrum* versions and adjacent literary works. I demonstrate that the recension bears sequential structural resemblance with other medieval Arabic *Apophthegmata Patrum* versions. Based on this observation, I suggest that the compilers of the selected *Bustān* recension modelled their florilegium on non-Coptic Arabic *vorlagen*. I also suggest that the Copto-Arabic compilers interpolated hagiographic episodes and themes from Coptic-Orthodox tradition, for the purpose of making their *Bustān* recension suitable for its intended medieval Copto-Arabic audience.

Due to its didactic genre, variations in the structure and wording of different *Apophthegmata Patrum* versions are indicative of shifting educational strategies. In chapter 4, I discuss medieval monastic reading practices, and propose that the selected *Bustān* recension was read collectively in a monastic setting, for the purpose of educating monks in the art of ascetic contemplative reading.

Textual variations in *Apophthegmata Patrum* versions are also indicative of shifting cultural memories of the desert fathers. In chapter 5, I demonstrate how the portrayal of Antonius and Arsenius, two desert fathers, has been redacted in the selected *Bustān* recension to comply with medieval hagiographical norms in Egypt. Furthermore, I demonstrate how a collection of sayings concerning the Jesus Prayer in the selected *Bustān* recension testifies to the importance of this ascetic practice in medieval Egypt. In  chapter 6, I demonstrate that textual variation in the selected *Bustān* recension are also indicative of socio-linguistic adaptation, as the originally Greek parlance in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* is translated into Arabic and Islamicate parlance.

In the last chapter of the dissertation, I compare three aspects of the ascetic program in the selected *Bustān* recension with parallel aspects in Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (*The Revival of the Religious Sciences*). The formal comparison demonstrates both similarities and differences. I furthermore suggest, in this concluding chapter, that pertinent thematical similarities between the two texts are due to the popularity of medieval Syriac ascetic thought in Egypt during the late medieval Coptic Renaissance as well as in Islamic asceticism, as represented by al-Ghazālī.

# Sammendrag

Denne avhandlingen er en studie av en middelaldersk kopto-arabisk *Apophthegmata Patrum*-recensjon. *Apophthegmata Patrum* består av ørkenfedrenes historier og visdomsord. I middelalderen var *Apophthegmata Patrum* en ekstremt populær teksttradisjon. Teksttradisjonen ble spredt vidt og oversatt til mange språk, blant annet arabisk. *Apophthegmata Patrum* har en didaktisk karakter, som inviterte til tekstlig tilpasning, når visdomsordene og historiene ble presentert for forskjellige publikum.

*Apophthegmata Patrum* var sentral i dannelsen av det koptisk-ortodokse samfunnet fra middelalderen. Likevel har den kopto-arabiske mottakelsen av *Apophthegmata Patrum*, som finnes i en større tekstsamling kalt *Bustān al-ruhbān* (*Munkenes hage*), hittil fått lite vitenskapelig oppmerksomhet. Denne avhandlingen identifiserer og presenterer en senmiddelaldersk *Bustān*-recensjon som finnes i en middelaldersk arabisk håndskrift så vel som i senere arabiske og etiopiske tekstvitner. I avhandlingen drøftes hypotesen om at denne *Bustān*-recensjon ble satt sammen i Antoniusklosteret. Under den koptiske renessansen tok dette klosteret en ledende rolle i koptisk-ortodoks bokproduksjon.

I avhandlingens tredje kapittel bruker jeg analytiske verktøy fra en ny database (*Monastica*) for å sammenligne *Bustān*-recensjonen med et bredt spekter av *Apophthegmata Patrum*-vitner. Ved sammenligning viser jeg at *Bustān*-recensjonen har sekvensiell strukturell likhet med andre middelalderske arabiske *Apophthegmata Patrum*-versjoner. Basert på denne observasjonen foreslår jeg at redaktørene av *Bustān*-recensjonen formet sin tekstsamling ut fra ikke-koptiske arabiske modeller, samtidig som de inkluderte hagiografiske episoder og temaer fra koptisk-ortodoks tradisjon.

På grunn av tekstens didaktiske sjanger, er de strukturelle og tekstuelle variasjonene i de forskjellige *Apophthegmata Patrum*-versjonene en indikasjon på vekslende utdanningsstrategier. Jeg undersøker derfor i avhandlingens fjerde kapittel

middelalderens klosterlesingspraksiser, og foreslår at *Bustān*-recensjonen ble lest kollektivt for å utdanne munker i asketisk kontemplativ lesing.

Jeg foreslår derfor at tekstvariasjon i *Bustān*-recensjonen viser hvordan arven fra ørkenfedrene ble oppdatert for å samsvare med middelalderens hagiografiske og asketiske normer i det koptiske Egypt.

Tekstuelle variasjoner mellom forskjellige *Apophthegmata Patrum*-versjoner er også et tegn på skiftende kulturelt minne (cultural memory). I kapittel fem viser jeg hvordan portretteringen av to ørkenfedre, Antonius og Arsenius, er tilpasset for å sammensvare med middelalderske hagiografiske normer i Egypt. Jeg viser også hvordan jesusbønnen, et tema som er relativt perifert i andre *Apophthegmata Patrum*-versjoner, trekkes frem i *Bustān*-recensjonen. I avhandlingens sjette kapittel diskuterer jeg hvordan tekstuell variasjon i *Bustān*-recensjonen også indikerer sosiolingvistisk tilpasning, når det opprinnelige greske vokabularet i *Apophthegmata Patrum* skulle oversettes til arabisk.

I avhandlingens siste kapittel sammenligner jeg tre aspekter ved det asketiske programmet i *Bustān*-recensjonen med parallelle aspekter i Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālīs *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (*The Revival of the Religious Sciences*). Jeg foreslår at tematiske likheter mellom de to tekstene skyldes at begge tekstene kommer fra intellektuelle miljøer der middelaldersk syrisk asketisk tenkning var populært.

# Acknowledgements

Working with this research project has been a long and fascinating journey. I am very grateful for having had the opportunity of experiencing what it is like to start out and finish a research project. It has truly been a very rewarding and demanding experience. Without the help of others, it would not have been possible, and I here wish to express my gratitude towards some of the people who have greatly helped me during the project.

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# Comments to the reader

All dates and centuries are, unless stated otherwise, recorded according to the Gregorian calendar era (CE).

In the main text, I romanize Greek, Arabic, Coptic and Syriac words following the ALA-LC standard. In the footnotes I instead mainly provide original text.

When quoting the New Testament in Greek, I use the Nestle-Aland edition, available online at the German Bible Society's Online-Bibles website.[1] As English translation I use the New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition (NRSVue).[2]

When quoting the Qur'an in Arabic, I use the Cairo edition, digitally rendered by Michael Marx and the Corpus Coranicum team, available at the *Corpus Coranicum* website.[3] I use Droge's English translation.[4]

Transcriptions and translations are, unless stated otherwise, my own.

When referring to primary sources of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* or of other monastic and patristic literary works, I use the reference system in *Monastica*.[5] In this reference system, editions and translations are prefixed with an abbreviation indicating its textual content, followed by the last name of the editor and/or translator. The prefixes are listed in the list of abbreviations, and the editions and translations are listed in alphabetical order in the bibliography.

For the sake of simplicity, when comparing texts cross-linguistically, I use latinized versions of desert father names (thus Antonius, not Antony, Anthony, or Anṭūniyyūs) and other proper names, since this is how they appear in the *Monastica* structure.

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[1] Eberhard Nestle, Kurt Aland et al. (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece* (NA28). Available online at *Online-Bibles*, German Bible Society, https://www.academic-bible.com/en/online-bibles/novum-testamentum-graece-na-28/read-the-bible-text/.
[2] *The New Testament. New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition* (NRSVue, Available online at *Bible Gateway*), https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-Revised-Standard-Version-Updated-Edition-NRSVue-Bible/.
[3] *Al-Qurʾān al-Karīm*, Cairo, 1924, digital edition by Michael Marx, in collaboration with Tobias J. Jocham et al. (*Corpus Coranicum*). https://corpuscoranicum.de/en/verse-navigator/sura/1/verse/1/print.
[4] Arthur J. Droge, *The Qur'ān: A New Annotated Translation* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2013).

[5] Samuel Rubenson and Mats Svensson (managers), *Monastica——a dynamic library and research tool*, https://monastica.ht.lu.se/, see Lund University Research Portal, https://portal.research.lu.se/sv/equipments/monastica-a-dynamic-library-and-research-tool.

# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AM | anno martyrum, Diocletian Era |
| AnSN | Anastasius of Sinai, *Narrationes* |
| AP | *Apophthegmata Patrum* |
| BAV | Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana |
| BHG | *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* |
| BHO | *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* |
| BIFAO | *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* |
| BJE | Barsanuphius and John, *Epistulae* |
| BNF | Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| CAB | Copto-Arabic *Bustān al-ruhbān* |
| CAK | Copto-Arabic *karshouni* AP leaves |
| CAS | *Kitāb al-Sinaksār*, the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarion* (Lower Egyptian recension) |
| CC | John Cassian, *Collationes* |
| CE | *Coptic Encyclopedia* |
| cent. | century |
| CI | John Cassian, *Institutiones* |
| CMR | *Christian-Muslim Relations 600–1500* |
| corr. | *correxit,* corrected |
| CPG | *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* |
| CS | *Cistercian Studies* |
| CSCO | *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* |
| CSP | *Commonitiones Sanctorum Patrum* |
| DA | Dayr al-Abyaḍ (the White Monastery, Upper Egypt) |

| | |
|---|---|
| DAA | Dayr anbā Anṭūniyyūs (Monastery of St. Antonius, Red Sea) |
| DAB | Dayr anbā Bishoy (Monastery of St. Bishoi, Wādī al-Naṭrūn) |
| DAM | Dayr anbā Maqār (Monastery of St. Macarius, Wādī al-Naṭrūn) |
| DanS | Daniel of Sketis narratives |
| DAP | Dayr anbā Būlā (Monastery of St. Paul, Red Sea) |
| DB | Dayr al-Baramūs (Baromeos Monastery, Wādī al-Naṭrūn) |
| DMS | Dayr Mār Sābā (The Holy Laura of Saint Sabbas, Palestine) |
| DorGD | Dorotheus of Gaza, *Doctrina* |
| DS | Dayr al-Suryān (The Syrian Monastery, Wādī al-Naṭrūn) |
| DQC | Dadishoʿ of Beth Qaṭraye's *Commentary on the Paradise* |
| DQE | Dadishoʿ of Beth Qaṭraye's epitome of the *Commentary on the Paradise*, also known as the Philoxenian version |
| DQK | Dayr al-Qiddīsa Kātrīn (Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai) |
| EI | *Encyclopedia of Islam* |
| ES | Ethiopic *Synaxarion* |
| EvPPr | Evagrius of Pontus, *Praktikos* |
| fn | Footnote |
| G | Greek alphabetical AP collection |
| GCAL | *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* |
| GN | Greek anonymous AP collection |
| GS | Greek thematical AP collection |
| HA | *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ* by Abū Nuʿaym al-Isfahānī |
| HL | *Historia Lausiaca* by Palladius |
| HM | *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* |
| HS | Armenian thematic AP collection |

| | |
|---|---|
| IFAO | *Institut français d'archéologie orientale* |
| IJMES | *International Journal of Middle East Studies* |
| in marg. | *In margine*, written in the margin |
| IsMA | Isaiah Monachos, *Asceticon* |
| IUD | *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī |
| JAAR | *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* |
| JP | Jesus Prayer |
| JSAI | *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* |
| KB | *Kitāb al-Bustān wa-qāʿidat al-ḥukamāʾ wa-shams al-ādāb (The Garden, Foundation of Wisdom, and Sun of Education)* |
| lac. | *Lacuna*, missing text in text witness |
| l. dub. | *Lectio dubia*, hard to decipher reading |
| M | A Copto-Arabic AP recension in the form of a *mukhtaṣar* (epitome), curated by al-Ṣafī |
| ms/mss | Manuscript(s) |
| OLA | *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* |
| PE | Paul Evergetinos' *Synagoge* (or *Evergetinon*) |
| PG | *Patrologia Graeca* |
| PJ | Latin AP collection attributed to Pelagius and John |
| PL | *Patrologia Latina* |
| pl. | plural |
| PLS | *Parvum Lexicon Stemmatologicum* |
| PS | *Pratum Spirituale* by John Moschus |
| R | Copto-Arabic *Bustān al-ruhbān* recension studied in this investigation |

| | |
|---|---|
| S | *Kitāb Aqwāl al-abāʾ al-qiddīsīn* (*Sayings of the Holy Fathers*), Arabic AP recension found in MS Par.ar.253 as well as in other manuscripts |
| SA | *Sermo Asceticus* by Stephen of Thebes |
| SAa | *Scriptores Aethiopici* |
| SC | Source compared |
| SChr | *Sources chrétiennes* |
| SE | ʿEnānīsho's *Paradise of the Fathers* |
| sing. | singular |
| SkP | *Scete Paterikon* |
| s.l. | *supra lineam* |
| SP | *Scala Paradisi* by John Climacus |
| SS | Source selected |
| ut vid. | *ut videtur* |
| VA | *Vita Antonii* |
| VAi | *Vita Arsenii* |
| VC | *Vita Cyri* |
| VM | *Vita Macarii* |
| VPG | *Vita Pachomii* (first Greek *vita*) |
| VPC | *Vita Pachomii* (Coptic) |
| VrM | *The Virtues of Saint Macarius of Egypt* |
| ZDMG | *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* |

# 1 Introduction

The ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern world saw an increasing interest in asceticism. Originally from the Greek word *askēsis* (training), asceticism entails the radical renunciation of ordinary life for the purpose of attaining a more perfect way of life. In the fringes of late ancient religion and culture, people and groups took an interest in a more radical lifestyle. The early monastic movement brought asceticism to the center of Christian identity. Within the emerging monastic institutions, monks and nuns practiced asceticism not only with their bodies and during their daily routines, but also in their mindset and view of this world and the next, as they strove to cultivate ascetic virtues within themselves and commit their whole being to servitude of and union with God. [6]

The stories about and the teachings of those who participated in the early monastic movement—feral hermits, disciplined monks, and self-mortifying virgins—became classics in the eyes of posterior generations.[7] Monastic institutions were responsible for the transmission of the literature depicting these ascetic heroes. The most popular literary work about the earliest monks is the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (most commonly known as *Apophthegmata Patrum*, from now on: AP).[8] AP consists of stories and teachings of the so-called desert fathers (and occasionally desert mothers).[9] The concept *desert father* refers to one who lived as an anchorite or a semi-anchorite

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[6] I use the concept *monasticism* in a very wide sense, incorporating different monastic traditions such as coenobitism, anchoritism, hermitage, and so on.

[7] Cf. Peter Brown, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," *Representations* 2 (1983): 21.

[8] The Apophthegmata Patrum is also known by other names, e.g. *Elders* (*Geronticon*) or *Fathers* (*Patericon*), *Lives of the Fathers* (*Vitas Patrum*) and *Paradise* (*of the Fathers*).

[9] In this dissertation I consistently refer to the desert fathers in masculine form, although the literature mentions so-called desert mothers as well, since the role of the desert mothers in the AP tradition is quite peripheral. The most well-known AP collections only present apophthegmata of three ammas (Syncletika, Sarah and Theodora), and it is uncertain whether the 'desert mothers' actually lived in the desert or if their dwelling in the desert was a metaphor for their reclusion from public life. Furthermore, a major theme in the apophthegmata about desert mothers is how they seek to transcend their female gender, which implies that the desert father community was perceived as a male domain. In less known AP collections, such as the Sabaitic AP recension which I mention in section 1.2.1, the desert mothers take more prominent roles —I thank Britt Dahlman for pointing this out to me. When referring to the desert fathers, I employ the masculine gender to encompass all desert figures, including those few desert mothers as well. For a discussion of role of the desert mothers, see William Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 440–45.

in Lower Egypt (with Sketis as center) between the late 3rd and the early 5th century.[10] The desert fathers were of Egyptian, Greek, Roman and other descent—many traveled far to join the movement in the Egyptian "wilderness."[11]

As its designation implies, AP consists of *apophthegmata*.[12] An *apophthegm* (pl. *apophthegmata*) is a didactive saying, typically brought forth by an exemplary figure.[13] Apophthegmatic literature has been a popular conveyer of religious discourse throughout history.[14] In ancient Graeco-Roman society, apophthegmatic literature was used for the rhetorical, as well as the moral and religious, formation of citizens. The similarity of AP and classical apophthegmatic literature reflects the pervasiveness of *paideia* in early monasticism. As Caroline Schroeder describes,

> The literary form [of AP] derives from the classical genre of gnomic teaching literature, or *chreia*. *Chreiai* were collections of brief sayings studied, memorized, and copied by Greek students as part of their formal rhetorical, grammatical, and moral education. The *Apophthegmata* [AP] served a similar didactic purpose in the literary and spiritual instruction of monks.[15]

It should be noted, however, that many texts in AP are not apophthegmata in the strict sense, for many of the sayings are embedded in a more or less short *diēgēsis*

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[10] Some ascetics, like Hilarion, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Theophilus of Alexandria did not live in Sketis, Nitria or Kellia, but nevertheless appear prominently in AP.

[11] The wilderness of the Egyptian desert was in fact not really that wild, but often in proximity and contact with society. The dichotomy between desert and city, stressed in monastic literature, was in most cases rather rhetorical than actual (James E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 89–109).

[12] An adjacent category is *wisdom literature*. The usefulness of this category is, however, debatable (see for example Will Kynes, "The 'Wisdom Literature' Category: An Obituary," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 69, no. 1 (2018): 1–24). In addition, the term wisdom literature does not illuminate the combination of sayings and anecdotes that make up the backbone of the AP. I thus favor the term apophthegmatic literature over wisdom literature. Other synonyms are sapiential literature or gnomologia.

[13] The category is of Greek origin and is most often used in the analysis of Greek literature, but it can also be used for non-Greek texts. Dimitri Gutas, for example, discusses the "apophthegmatic" nature of Arabic literature (Dimitri Gutas, "Classical Arabic Wisdom Literature: Nature and Scope," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101, no. 1 (1981): 49). Adjacent terms are aphorism, proverb, adage, rhema, chreia and maxim, although they differ slightly in their application (see Denis M. Searby, "The Unmentionable Apophthegm: An Overview of the Pagan Greek Tradition," in *Wisdom on the Move: Late Antique Traditions in Multicultural Conversation*, eds. Susan Ashbrook Harvey et al., (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 75–96).

[14] Famous examples of apophthegmatic literature are the sapiential books in the Hebrew Bible, the *Hermetica,* the *Sentences of Sextus*, Diogenes Laertios's *Lives of Philosophers*, the Aggadah in the Midrash and Talmud, Zen Buddhist *kōan* collections, the stories of Mullah Nasruddin, etc. Many more examples could be named. For a discussion of the genre, see e.g. Searby, "The Unmentionable Apophthegm."

[15] Caroline T. Schroeder, "Apophthegmata Patrum," in *The encyclopedia of ancient history Online*, ed. Roger Bagnall (Wiley Blackwell, 2012), https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah05189.

(narrative).[16] For the sake of simplicity, I hereafter use the term *apophthegm* to denote the textual corpus in the tradition that modern scholars have labeled as the AP tradition, even when the texts therein do not strictly meet the technical criteria of what is an *apophthegm*.

AP is one of the most widely disseminated pre-modern monastic literary works.[17] Its popularity can be explained by the charisma of the desert fathers, whose wisdom and wit appeals to many readers in different time periods and cultures. In AP, the desert fathers are portrayed in a nuanced way, as commendable ascetics who nevertheless often struggle (and sometimes fail) to practice what they are preaching. While AP does not describe the coenobitic way of life, it nevertheless stresses the necessity of strong bonds within one's monastic community, especially between elders and disciples.

AP is a literary, not historical, work. Behind the alluring portrayal lies the fact that there is but little verifiable information about the desert fathers. To be sure, the lives of the greatest figures among them, such as Antonius the Great, Macarius the Great, and Evagrius of Pontus, can be sketched, but for most of them we know only their name and role in the community.[18] However much uncertainty surrounds the historical desert fathers, the success of their portrayal as models for emulation is undisputable.

Modern scholars refer to AP as a literary work, distinct from other literary works. In reality, pre-modern AP versions very rarely present AP this way. Instead, AP is a fluid literary tradition, whose corpus is not entirely stable across text witnesses.[19] Scribes would not only freely change the order of apophthegmata and themes. The result is that the AP appears in several major versions, which in turn are made up of various

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[16] John Wortley therefore classifies the texts in AP as being either *apophthegmata*, *diēgēseis*, or something in between, which he calls "spiritually beneficial tales" (John Wortley, *The Anonymous Sayings of the Desert Fathers: A Select Edition and Complete English Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 4-5); see also Joseph-Marie Sauget, *Une traduction arabe de la collection d'Apophthegmata Patrum de 'Enaniso': Étude du ms. Paris Arabe 253 et des témoins parallèles*, CSCO 495 (Leuven: Peeters, 1987), 4.

[17] Samuel Rubenson, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*," in *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online*, eds. David G. Hunter et al. (Brill, 2022), http://dx.doi.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00000239.

[18] In fact, it is not always clear whether the sayings attributed to a name are all about one or several persons, since many desert father names are generic.

[19] Samuel Rubenson, "Textual Fluidity in Early Monasticism: Sayings, Sermons and Stories," in *Snapshots of evolving traditions: Jewish and Christian manuscript culture, textual fluidity, and new philology*, eds. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 179–200.

recensions that also differ from each other. From now on, I use the term *version* to refer to larger subsets of the AP tradition, usually defined by their language and structure (the Latin thematic version, the Copto-Arabic *Bustān* version, and so on), and use the term *recension* to refer to a subset of an AP version, usually represented by one or a group of text witnesses.[20] Moreover, scribes and compilers would also take away, add, or even revise individual apophthegmata. To make things even more complicated, AP co-exists and intertwines with other late antique monastic literary works. Many AP episodes also appear in Palladius's *Historia Lausiaca* (HL), the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (HM), and John Moschus's *Pratum Spirituale* (PS) to mention but a few. I hereafter classify these literary works as satellites to AP. To use an image, the gravitation field of the AP tradition is so strong that it occasionally swallows its satellites like a black hole, apophthegmatizing them and effectively making them a part of the AP tradition. Additionally, AP was an important source for ascetic authors such as Evagrius of Pontus, Isaiah of Sketis, and Isaac of Nineveh. The intertwinement works in both directions, as written AP traditions again incorporated excerpts from those very authors. This fluidity makes it difficult to define where the AP corpus ends and other apophthegmatic and ascetic literary traditions begin.[21] For the purpose of comprehensibility, I postulate that the AP corpus is made up of the texts that one finds in the early AP tradition, which in turn is represented by the most important AP manuscripts and editions that are registered as such in a recent database named *Monastica* (further presented in section 1.3.2; for manuscripts and editions consulted, see section 1.4).

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[20] Cf. recension defined as "a version of a work which is the result of a process of (intentional) revision by a (group of) scribe(s) or redactor(s)." Odd Einar Haugen and Caroline Macé, "Recension," *PLS* Online, eds. Roelli Philipp and Caroline Macé (Consulted online on 25 May 2023), https://wiki.helsinki.fi/display/stemmatology/Recension. I use the term version to refer to sets of recensions which display "a higher level of difference than [recensions] of a work". Odd Einar Haugen, "Version." In *PLS* Online, eds. Roelli Philipp and Caroline Macé, https://wiki.helsinki.fi/display/stemmatology/Version. In the context of AP, a version is typically specific for a specific language and structure (e.g. the Syriac systematic version), while a recension denotes a subset within the identified versions.

[21] Sauget, *Une traduction arabe*, 4.

The textual fluidity of pre-modern AP collections is challenging for those who wish to chart its textual development.[22] Jean-Claude Guy, a leading scholar in the field, have thus stated that "[l]e problème philologique des *Apophthegmata Patrum* est l'un des plus complexes que pose l'édition des textes patristiques."[23] The search for the earliest AP has, despite great efforts by scholars such as Guy, Wilhelm Bousset, René Draguet, and Joseph-Marie Sauget left inconclusive answers (see section 1.2). But in supposing, as does Guy, that different monastic communities deliberately revised the AP corpus to suit their own educational setups, there is in fact much to learn about monastic communities if one considers the AP versions in their own contexts—not only as faulty representatives of a fixed literary work*,* but also as meaningful instances of a dynamic tradition.[24] The variations between AP versions do not only give us a philological problem to overcome but also a means to study monastic education in different contexts.[25]

AP was translated into many languages during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. When a text is translated from one language to another, it is inevitably modified in the process. The original language of the (written) AP is Greek, and the first Greek AP collections appeared during the 5th century in Palestine.[26] Soon thereafter, AP was

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[22] Florilegia are notoriously difficult to survey from a philological perspective, due to their compilatory nature and the readiness of their compilers to include (or exclude) texts, as well as to redact the texts themselves to fit a new superstructure (Emiliano Fiori, "Florilegia Syriaca. Mapping a Knowledge-Organizing Practice in the Syriac World. Ca' Foscari University of Venice, 30 January–1 February 2020," *COMSt Bulletin* 6, no. 1 (2020): 108).

[23] Jean-Claude Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apothegmata Patrum* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1962), 7.

[24] "Chaque monastère possédait son recueil, *Géronticon* ou *Patéricon*. Comme il s'agissait d'une œuvre anonyme, constamment utilisée par tous les moines, il n'est pas surprenant que chaque monastère ait donné à son propre recueil d'apophtegmes un caractère original s'efforçant de le rendre aussi 'complet' et 'adapté' que possible." Guy, *Recherches,* 8.

[25] Samuel Rubenson, "The Formation and Re-formations of the Sayings of the Desert Fathers," in *Studia Patristica 55: Monasticism and Classical Paideia*, ed. Samuel Rubenson (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 20; Britt Dahlman, "The *Collectio Scorialensis Parva:* An Alphabetical Collection of Old Apophthegmatic and Hagiographic Material," in *Studia Patristica 55: Monasticism and Classical Paideia*, ed. Samuel Rubenson (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 23.

[26] Lucien Regnault, "Les Apophthegmes des pères en Palestine aux Ve–VIe siècles," *Irénikon* 54 (1981): 320–30; Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*: Some Crucial Points of Their Textual Transmission and the Problem of a Critical Edition," in *Studia Patristica*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 455–67; Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, "Il Paterikon Vat.gr.2592, già di Mezzoiuso e il suo rapport testuale con lo Hieros. S. Sepulchri gr 113," *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 47 (1993): 79–96 Most scholars assume that the AP first circulated as a Coptic oral tradition (e.g. William Harmless, "Remembering Poemen remembering: the Desert Fathers and the spirituality of memory," *Church History* 69, no.3 (2000): 486). However, this assumption should be questioned, and some scholars have stressed how the AP is imbued with Greek literary style and how it apophthegmatizes mainly Greek sources (Rubenson, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*," http://dx.doi.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00000239.). Marius Chaîne, for example, has shown how the extant Sahidic-Coptic (written) text is a translation from Greek (Marius Chaîne, "Le texte original des Apophthegmes des Pères," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 5, no. 2 (1912): 541–69).

translated into Syriac, Latin, Coptic, and Palestinian Aramaic. By the Middle Ages, AP also circulated in Arabic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Armenian, Sogdian, Old Slavonic, as well as in various European vernaculars.[27]

This dissertation deals with the translation and accommodation of AP into Arabic during the Middle Ages. At this point in time, Arabic was an important Christian *lingua franca.* Oriental Christian communities, who from the 7th century onwards lived within the *Dār al-Islām*, made up a substantial part of the world Christian subjects, although the proportion changed gradually as these communities shrunk.[28] The Middle Ages thus saw a rise of Arabic Christian literature, much of it translated from Greek, Syriac, and Coptic. Scholars speak of an Arabic Christian "translation movement" between the mid-8th and 11th centuries.[29] The Arabization of Christian literature was gradual and variegated, as different genres were translated into Arabic according to the needs within different communities.[30]

The translation of AP into Arabic provides an intriguing case of how Christian thought was adapted as it was transplanted from one socio-linguistic soil into another. The Arabic socio-linguistic soil, in turn, was indeed well-prepared, as apophthegmatic literature was a most popular genre in both pre-Islamic and Islamic Arabic literature.[31] A telling example is the importance of the *ḥadīth* tradition, which is made up of sayings of and stories about the prophet Muhammad and his companions.[32] During the famous translation movement in Baghdad (8th–9th centuries), Greek apophthegmatic

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[27] For a recently updated overview of the AP versions in different languages and scholarship on these versions, see Rubenson, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*," http://dx.doi.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00000239.

[28] Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, US: Princeton University Press, 2008), 11.

[29] The concept of the Arabic "translation movement" was famously coined by Dimitri Gutas, who studied translations of philosophical works from Greek to Arabic (Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ʿAbbāsid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998)). For the 8th century translation movement in the Palestinian monasteries, see Sidney H. Griffith, "From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1997): 11–31.

[30] Griffith, "From Aramaic to Arabic," 24; Gérard Troupeau, "La littérature arabe chrétienne du Xᵉ Au XIIᵉ siècle," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 53 (1971): 1–20; Samuel Rubenson, "The Transition from Coptic to Arabic," *Égypte monde arabe* 27–28 (1996): 77–92.

[31] Gutas, "Classical Arabic Wisdom Literature," 49.

[32] Cf. Kecia Ali, *The Lives of Muhammad* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 15–16; Julia Bray, "Literary Approaches to Medieval and Early Modern Arabic Biography," *JRAS* 20, no. 3 (2010): 237, 239.

literature was one of the most sought after and popular genres to be translated.[33] Apophthegmata also fill up *adab* (belles-lettres) and Sufi compendia.[34]

The Arabic AP typically appears in large compendia, where excerpts from AP are freely interspersed with satellite works.[35] The Arabic compendia are often referred to as *Bustān al-ruhbān* (*Garden of the Monks*) or *Firdaws* (*Paradise*).[36] The title implies, like the Greek *anthologia* or the Latin *florilegium*, that the compendia is like a garden or a flower bouquet—beautiful, well-pleasing, variegated, full of fruit—and that the reading of it sets the reader on the (ascetic) path that leads to Paradise.[37] As Virginia Hooker writes, titles that refer to gardens often indicate that the text in question is didactical and meant to make its readers progress:

> In most sedentary cultures across the ages of mankind gardens have been physical and metaphorical spaces for rest, recreation, and bodily and spiritual refreshment. The word for "garden" in many languages also appears in the titles of didactic works to indicate the training and developmental aspects of literature devoted to transferring knowledge across generations.[38]

[33] Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia* (New Haven, US: American Oriental Society, 1975), 2–3.

[34] See Shatha Almutawa, "Education through Narrative in Rasāʾil Ikhwān Al-Ṣafāʾ," in *Knowledge and Education in Classical Islam: Religious Learning between Continuity and Change*, ed. Sebastian Günther (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 389–403.

[35] Rubenson, "The Apophthegmata Patrum in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic: Status Questionis," *Parole de l'Orient* 36 (2011): 309; Jason Zaborowski, "Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: Approaching Arabic Recensions of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*," in *Monastic Education in Late Antiquity: The Transformation of Classical Paideia*, eds. Samuel Rubenson and Lillian I. Larsen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 329; Ute Pietruschka, "The Monk as Storyteller? On the Transmission of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* among Muslim Ascetics in Basra," in *Wisdom on the Move: Late Antique Traditions in Multicultural Conversation. Essays in Honor of Samuel Rubenson*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey et al. (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 166.

[36] Sauget, *Une traduction arabe*, 3. The manuscripts display more variations when it comes to the titles of the Arabic AP florilegia. Stephen Davis thus notes that, in the library of Dayr al-Suryān (DS), *Bustān al-ruhbān* sections in the manuscripts are also named *al-Ḥadāʾiq* (*Gardens*)*, Akhbār al-ābāʾ al-ruhbān* (*Stories of the Monastic Fathers*)*, Kitāb Riyāḍa* (*Devotions*)*, Ādāb al-ābā al-ruhbān* (*Disciplines of the Monastic Fathers*)*,* and *taʿlīm al-ābā al-ruhbān al-ḥasana* (*Good Teachings of the Monastic Fathers*; Stephen J. Davis and Mark Swanson, *Catalogue of Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in Dayr Al-Suryān: Arabic Ascetic Discourses*, vol. 4, CSCO 697 (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), viii)).

[37] One finds the same connotation to paradisical gardens in the titles of John Climacus' *Scala Paradisi* (*The Ladder of Paradise*) and John Moschos's *Leimon pneumatikos/Pratum spirituale*, also known as *Neos Paradeisos* (*The Spiritual Meadow*, also known as *New Paradise*), as well as the 7th century Syriac AP florilegium called the *Paradise of the Fathers*, which I discuss in subsequent chapters.

[38] Virginia Hooker, "Gardens of Knowledge: From *Bustan* to *Taman*," in *Lost Times and Untold Tales from the Malay World*, ed. Jan van der Putten and Mary Kilcline Cody (Singapore: Nus Press, 2009), 339.

The Copto-Arabic AP tradition, too, goes under the name *Bustān al-ruhbān* (from now on: CAB, as in Copto-Arabic *Bustān*).[39] Unsurprisingly, CAB typically also comprises a mix of excerpts from AP and satellite works. CAB played an immense role in the formation of medieval and modern Coptic monks and even the laity.[40] Although the multitude of CAB manuscripts in Coptic monastic libraries attest, in Lisa Agaiby's words, to the "importance of the *Bustān* in monastic tradition throughout the centuries", there is very little scholarship on the CAB.[41] The lack of scholarly attention is indeed symptomatic of the whole field of Arabic Christian literature.[42] This dissertation thus breaks new ground, as I present a CAB recension which is attested in different text witnesses whose dating ranges from the 13th to the 20th centuries. This CAB recension, which I give the siglum R (as in Recension), is found in MS Vat.ar.460 (13th cent.), and I have also identified it in at least two other text witnesses (see section 1.4), one of which is Ethiopic. In this dissertation, I suggest that R is a product of the late medieval Coptic Renaissance, a period in time in which Copts sought to plant their literary legacy more firmly in Arabic soil, with the help of previously existing AP translations.

As I present in section 3.2, R is a substantial compendium of excerpts from AP and satellite works, many of which are yet not identified. Its content has been identified by Sauget, and I have transcribed, reproduced, modified, and amended his unpublished work in this dissertation, with the kind permission from the Vatican Library (see

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[39] Lucien Regnault, "Apophthegmata Patrum," in *CE*, vol. 1, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), CE:177. In this dissertation, I use the term 'Copto-Arabic' to qualify that the Arabic works/authors/objects in question were set in a Coptic(-Orthodox) setting. It does not denote Copto-Arabic as a dialect (although Copto-Arabic literature is often in middle Arabic, see section 1.4) but rather as an identity marker based on confessional boundaries.

[40] As Regnault writes, "Coptic Christians have never had a conception of spirituality peculiar to the laity, and it is in the school of the desert fathers that they are trained in the practice of the virtues, asceticism, and prayer." Regnault, "Apophthegmata Patrum," CE:178.

[41] Lisa Agaiby and Tim Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness: The Greek, Coptic, and Copto-Arabic Sayings of St. Antony of Egypt* (Leiden & Boston: Brill), 103. See also Rubenson, "Status Questionis," 309–10.

[42] Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger thus remark that Arabic Christianity is "treated only peripherally, if at all" in the history of Christianity (Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, *Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700–1700: An Anthology of Sources* (DeKalb, US: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014), 4); see also Mark N. Swanson, "Arabic Hagiography," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography,* ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (New York: Ashgate, 2016), 345. One reason for the lack of scholarship on Arabic Christian literature, Maged Mikhail suggests, is that it falls under disparate academic disciplines who have hitherto not fully cooperated with one another (Maged Mikhail, *From Christian Egypt to Islamic Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 2–3; see also Barbara Roggema and Alexander Treiger, "Introduction," in *Patristic Literature in Arabic Translations* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 8; and Christopher Melchert, *Before Sufism: Early Islamic Renunciant Piety* (Berlin & Boston: de Gruyter, 2020), 16.

section 3.2 and appendix A).[43] The hundreds of texts in R range from one sentence to several pages. This dissertation presents a first overview of the textual content of R as well as a textual analysis of a selection of excerpts from R that mainly consist of desert father apophthegmata.

This introductory chapter starts with stating the research questions and outline of the dissertation (section 1.1). Next, I provide a review of central scholarly debates concerning the early AP tradition (section 1.2), which leads into an exposition of theories and methods that I operate with (section 1.3). The chapter ends with a presentation of the research material (section 1.4).

## 1.1 Research Questions

### 1.1.1 What is R?

As I have previously mentioned, this dissertation presents a CAB recension (R) in chapter 3. This recension, as will be demonstrated, is represented in its entirety in MS Vat.ar.460 (fols. 1r–175v). The *terminus ante quem* of R is the 13th century (when Vat.ar.460 was copied), which coincides with the Coptic Renaissance. In chapter 3, I discuss when R might have acquired its current form. While R may be a late medieval product, it compiles a textual material that often is older. In chapter 3, I analyze R using various tools available in *Monastica*, with the aim of getting a preliminary overview of the setup and development of this recension, especially pertaining to its AP content. When, where and under which circumstances did R first appear? To which extent is the AP material in R a direct translation of Greek, Syriac, or Coptic models, and to which extent is it made up by previously existing Arabic translations? To which extent can the revisions in R be attributed to Copto-Arabic agents, and to what extent were the revisions already present in the models from which R was compiled? How is R related to other AP versions?

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[43] Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane contenant des collections d'apophthegmes et d'histoires édifiantes," In *Fonds Sauget*, (unpublished: BAV, n.d.), fols. 604–782. For a discussion concerning this unpublished material, see section 3.2.

I want to signal already here that the questions above will be difficult to provide decisive answers to, since the CAB is hitherto understudied. The analyses in chapter 3 will nevertheless attempt to exhaust what can be known or assumed about R at this point. I hope that my hypotheses will inspire others to venture into this corpus and complement and amend the understanding of R as well as of other pre-modern CAB recensions.

## 1.1.2 How was R read?

The next set of questions concerns reading practices related to CAB in general and R in particular. As becomes evident in chapter 4, we actually know remarkably little about AP reading practices in general. Focusing on reading practices forces us out of the viewpoint that AP is a literary work whose essence never changes and offers us the more realistic perspective that AP is a dynamic tradition that has been adapted to different socio-linguistic contexts.[44] This perspective is informed by new and material philology currents in late antique and medieval studies.[45] In chapter 4 I therefore investigate what can be known about the late medieval CAB reading practices, and in what ways they were similar to or different from how other AP versions were read. I here focus on reading practices within a monastic milieux, although it should be noted that CAB was probably to some extent disseminated to the medieval Copto-Arabic laity as well.

## 1.1.3 What revisions are there in R?

In chapters 5–7, I change the scope, as I venture into textual analyses of selected dossiers of AP material in R. The textual analysis focuses on what variant wordings one finds in these apophthegmata, compared with parallel texts in other AP versions. Although AP is, as I have mentioned, a structurally fluid tradition, the wording of each

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[44] For a similar and highly interesting discussion concerning John Climacus' *Scala Paradisi* (SP), its legacy and usage, see Henrik Rydell Johnsén, "Reading John Climacus: Rhetorical Argumentation, Literary Convention and the Tradition of Monastic Formation" (PhD Diss., Lunds Universitet, 2007).

[45] Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug, "Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology," in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, eds. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 6–8.

apophthegm tends to be stable across AP versions, although cross-linguistic variance is of course inevitable. As Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana explains, the (relatively few) textual variations that *do* occur within, for example, the Greek AP tradition seem therefore to be deliberate revisions:[46]

> If the text changes, this is not due to any arbitrary criteria or to the choice of an extravagant copist [sic], but rather to the deliberate intervention of a redactor, who did not preserve the text as it had been transmitted until his time: for ethical, dogmatic or practical reasons, for example because a word had become obsolete. The change of structure in a collection (…) never involved any significant textual changes of the single pieces which were selected.[47]

It is therefore all the more interesting to consider cases where the wording *does* change in the selected AP material in R vis-à-vis other AP versions, which is the topic for chapters 5 and 6. While some of the changes in the selected AP material in R can be explained by translation strategies aiming to convey the same *sensum* as the source text, other changes seem rather like revision (through mixing, adding, subtracting, and changing the text) with the purpose of altering the *sensum* of the source text.[48] In my textual analysis of selected texts in R I thus focus on its revisions therein, which are treated as indicative of medieval Arabic (and sometimes specifically Copto-Arabic) attitudes towards the legacy of the desert fathers and the connection to their own way of life. This dissertation thus ultimately aims to illuminate aspects of medieval Coptic monastic life through the variant characteristics of the Copto-Arabic reception of the

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[46] I use *revision* to describe "the intentional changes into a text in its transmission", Odd Einar Haugen and Philipp Roelli, "Revision." In *PLS* Online, edited by Roelli Philipp and Caroline Macé. https://wiki.helsinki.fi/display/stemmatology/Revision. Within medieval Byzantium, *metaphrastic* (redacted) versions of existing hagiographies became very popular. The metaphrastic versions were often in eloquent rhetorical style, often in verse (Daria D. Resh, "Toward a Byzantine Definition of Metaphrasis," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 55, no. 3 (2015): 756). I prefer to use the more general term revision, since metaphrasis typically involves an even higher level of change, and often with an explicit redactor, than what I will argue that one finds in R.

[47] Faraggiana di Sarzana, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*," 467.

[48] By using the concept of *revision* when describing R, I do not wish to imply that the models from which it was copied were original, since the AP is a fluid tradition rather than a fixed text corpus. Some scholars argue that evolutionary models help better explain textual fluidity (e.g. Brennan W. Breed, *Nomadic Text: A Theory of Bib[l]ical Reception History* (Bloomington, US: Indiana University Press, 2014)). I am critical, however, against using evolutionary terminology, since texts are not biological organisms, and since cultural change is quite unlike biological change in many ways. Another way to describe relationships between AP versions and recensions is to use a network model, which focuses on central and peripheral versions; for a good example of this, see Elisabet Göransson et al, "Improved Distance Measures for 'Fixed-Content Miscellanies': An Adaptation for the Collections of Sayings of the Desert Fathers and Mothers," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 38, no. 1 (2022): 127–50, https://doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqac025.

desert father tradition. I am especially interested in how one can understand the presence of Islamic vocabulary in the selected parts in R. If the texts therein exhibit Islamic vocabulary, then in what ways and for what purposes?

## 1.1.4 What can comparative readings with IUD inform us about R?

A particularly interesting aspect of Coptic Renaissance literature is the inclusion of certain Islamic concepts and ideas, which stands in contrast with the resistance towards Arabization that the Coptic community had shown hitherto. As Monica Mitri states,

> Historically, Copts developed a more pronounced antagonism to Arabic than the other non-Muslim communities that adopted it after the Arab conquest. Egypt's linguistic shift to Arabic took over five centuries, with Copts being the last to integrate Arabic into their religious texts. This led to an ideological Coptic imaginary of Arabic as the language of Islam.[49]

The textual analysis carried out in this dissertation takes special interest in the presence of Islamic concepts and ideas in the selected dossiers of R. The presence of such vocabulary is interesting to consider as part of medieval Christian-Muslim interaction through the usage of a shared language, through affinities and allusions to the religious Other, and through acts of delineation and appropriation.[50]

The congruence between certain Islamic and Christian *termini technici* does not necessarily indicate, however, similarities between Islamic and Christian asceticism *per se*. It is therefore worthwhile to compare Christian and Islamic ascetic discourses more thoroughly, going beyond mere linguistic similarities, which I do in chapter 7. More precisely, I compare a selection of ascetic themes in the selected dossiers of R and parallel presentation of themes in the *magnum opus* of Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) named *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (*The Revival of the Religious Sciences*, from now on: IUD). I have chosen to use IUD as a suitable

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[49] Monica Mitri, "How Do We Tell the Story of Medieval Copts? Inspirations from Burton Mack," *Method & theory in the study of religion* (2023), 5.

[50] For the sake of simplicity, the analysis of this dissertation focuses on Christian-Muslim relations, although this leaves out the role of Judaism. In truth, Jews constituted a significant minority in Egypt until the 20th century. For excellent examples of scholarship on medieval Jewish-Christian(-Islamic) relations with, see publications by Mirjam L. Hjälm and Barbara Roggema.

comparandum to R due to a range of factors. Islamic asceticism takes many forms, from early *zuhd* (asceticism), with its focus on renunciation, *jihād* (struggle), and piety, to Sufism with it focus on mysticism and brotherhood.[51] Al-Ghazālī, who called himself a Sufi, was actually never a part of a Sufi brotherhood, and his version of Islamic asceticism is not representative of Sufism at large (if ever such a representative can be said to exist). Al- Ghazālī was, for example, critical towards ecstatic and antinomian Sufism, advocating instead more moderate forms.[52] Nevertheless, his version of Islamic asceticism, as described in IUD, eventually became immensely popular in the Islamicate world.[53] His legacy went beyond Islam, as his works were appreciated among Jews and Christians.[54] Scholars who stress al-Ghazālī's mastery of various topics typically focus on his synthesis of philosophy and theology, but, as Alexander Treiger shows, al-Ghazālī was influenced by Christian ascetic thought as well.[55] The Syriac author Gregory Bar ʿEbroyo (d. 1286), who was greatly inspired by IUD, even identified ideas and apophthegmata in IUD as borrowings from the desert fathers.[56] As Sabino Chialà points out, Bar ʿEbroyo saw al-Ghazālī as "un modèle de vie ascétique et un *iḥidāyā* (un moine), tout comme les moines chrétiens l'avait été

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[51] Although early *zuhd* was channeled into Sufism, non-Sufi *zuhd* persisted outside organized Sufism even during the late Middle Ages (Megan H. Reid, *Law and Piety in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 5–6. Another example: al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) is described as a *zāhid*, not a Sufi (Frédéric Bauden, "Al-Maqrīzī," in CMR Online, ed. David Thomas (Brill, 2010. Consulted online on 25 May 2023.), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_25734.

[52] Eric Linn Ormsby, *Ghazali* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2007), 42. J. Spencer Trimingham describes how al-Ghazālī was criticized by posterior Sufis for his reluctance to submit to institutional Sufi practices, such as associating with a *shaykh* and performing Sufi rituals like the collective *dhikr* (J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 52). Instead, Trimingham notes, al-Ghazālī was even more read and appreciated by subsequent generations of *ʿulamā*, who saw in IUD a reconciliation of Sufi spirituality with conformist "orthodoxy" (Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* 243–44).

[53] Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2016), 310–11; Osman Bakar, *Classification of Knowledge in Islam: A Study in Islamic Philosophies of Science* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1998), 171; Ormsby, *Ghazali*, 118; Tor Andræ, *I myrtenträdgården: Studier i sufisk mystik*, 2 upplagan (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1947), 15.

[54] Maimonides, for example, was well-acquainted with IUD (David Burrell, "Maimonides, Aquinas and Ghazali: Distinguishing God from World," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 61, no. 3 (2008): 276). The polemical work *al-Radd al-Jamīl (the Fitting Refutation)*, attributed to al-Ghazālī, is now viewed upon as the work of an unknown "medieval Coptic convert to Islam" (Stephen J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 245). The attribution of this Copto-Arabic work to al-Ghazālī indicates that al-Ghazālī was well-known among the Coptic literati. In fact, one finds a copy of al-Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* (*The Aims of the Philosophers*) in a late medieval Copto-Arabic codex (ms Par.ar.202; I thank Adrian Pirtea for notifying me of this).

[55] Alexander Treiger, "Mutual Influences and Borrowings," in *Routledge Handbook on Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. David Thomas (London & New York: Taylor & Francis, 2018), 198.

[56] Herman Teule, "Al-Ghazâli Et Bar ʿEbroyo. Spiritualités comparées," *Patrimoine Syriaque* 6 (1999): 226. When I use the term *Syriac*, I generally denote the West Syriac Church, although there was also a prominent East Syriac Church as well.

pour les premiers ascètes soufis."[57] Al-Ghazālī's curiosity with regards to desert father asceticism, and the appreciation of al-Ghazālī among Oriental Christian authors, make R and IUD suitable and interesting comparanda, although the observed similarities that I show in chapter 7 are probably not due to the curators of R and al-Ghazālī taking impression directly from each other's works.

## 1.2 Scholarly debates concerning the early AP

Two separate, yet connected, debates are central within AP scholarship. The first debate concerns the structure and content of the earliest written AP version(s). The second debate concerns the historiographical value of AP as testimony to the people who lived in Sketis during the early monastic movement.[58]

### 1.2.1 In search for the earliest AP version

During the 20th century, scholars have tried to solve the philological puzzle that extant AP text witnesses present. The main goal of these scholars is to reconstruct the earliest written Greek AP version, and they attempt to do so through stemmatological analysis as well as through various types of redaction criticism. Their analyses center on the development of the three perceived "normal types" within the Greek traditions. These "normal types" arrange the apophthegmata either alphabetically, after the names of the desert fathers (from now on: G), or after which theme that the apophthegm treats (from now on: GS), or in a collection of (mostly) anonymous apophthegmata, ordered thematically, which often appears as an appendix to G (from now on: GN).[59]

One of the leading scholars in this endeavor is Bousset, who in his 1923 monograph sketches a genealogy in which he ultimately suggests that an alphabetical arrangement of the apophthegmata formed the basis of the subsequent early thematic AP tradition found in Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Coptic text witnesses. The findings of scholars such

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[57] Sabino Chialà, "Les mystiques musulmans lecteurs des écrits chrétiens: quelques échos d'apophtegmes," *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 60 (2010): 366.
[58] Rubenson, "The Formation and Reformations," 6.
[59] BHG 1443 (G), 1445 (GN), and 1442v (GS).

as Faraggiana di Sarzana and Derwas Chitty strengthens this hypothesis.[60] Most importantly, Bousset stresses that the reconstruction of the development of the early written AP collections must take into account AP text witnesses in many languages, not just those in Greek.[61] His cross-linguistic structural comparisons resulted in a concordance which provides a standard for identifying apophthegmata across AP text witnesses.[62] Guy, who focuses on the Greek AP tradition and has charted Greek AP manuscripts extensively, argues, contrary to Bousset and others, that the early alphabetical-anonymous and thematic AP collections were not derived from each other but were originally two separate and "autonomous" traditions that later became intertwined.[63] More importantly, Guy stresses that the earliest AP collections were of the "normal" types, and that AP versions that do not conform to these types are late of later date and, in Guy's words, "degenerated."[64] While his hypothesis has been largely accepted, recent scholarship shows that this is not correct, since mixed AP collections seem to have predated AP collections or the normal types.[65] As Bo Holmberg shows, the earliest extant Syriac AP text witnesses, which indeed are witnesses of a very early AP tradition, are mixed.[66] This mixed tradition, which is mainly attested in early Latin and Syriac manuscripts, most likely had a Greek model, although no manuscript has survived.[67] Moreover, Britt Dahlman argues that the textual content in the Sabaitic AP recension, which is also mixed, testifies to a "very old textual tradition" which may be older than the text version found in what Guy classified as witnesses to the "normal

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[60] Wilhelm Bousset, *Apophthegmata: Studien Zur Geschichte Des Ältesten Mönchtums* (Aalen: Scientia-Verlag, 1969 (1923)), 6–10. Derwas Chitty, "The books of the old men," *Eastern Churches Review* 6 (1974): 18–19; Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, "Il paterikon Vat. gr. 2592, già di Mezzoiuso, e il suo rapporto testuale con lo Hieros. S. Sepulchri gr. 113," *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 47 (1993): 79–96.
[61] Joseph-Marie Sauget, whose study of Arabic AP recensions I present in section 3.1, also stresses that non-Greek text witnesses provide important clues to the early (Greek) AP tradition (Sauget, *Une traduction arabe*, 1; Joseph-Marie Sauget, "La collection d'apophthegmes du manuscrit 4225 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 30 (1964): 486).
[62] Bousset, *Apophthegmata*, 94–185. See also the concordance by Regnault, which reproduces and updates that of Bousset (Lucien *Les sentences des pères du désert: troisième recueil & tables* (Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, Sablé-sur-Sarthe: Bellefontaine, 1976), 201–301). Bousset's and Regnault's concordances are used in the infrastructure of *Monastica* (although *Monastica* users contribute with amendments to the data).
[63] Guy, *Recherches*, 182.
[64] Guy, *Recherches*, 12, 231–32.
[65] Dahlman, "The *Collectio Scorialensis Parva*," 23–24; Faraggiana di Sarzana, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*," 455–67.
[66] Bo Holmberg, "The Syriac Collection of *Apophthegmata Patrum* in Ms Sin.Syr.46," in *Studia Patristica 55: Early Monasticism and Classical Paideia*, ed. Samuel Rubenson (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 35–57.
[67] Britt Dahlman, "The *Collectio Scorialensis Parva*," 23–24, where Dahlman points out the Latin collection known as *Commonitiones Sanctorum Patrum* is also "likely to be older than the alphabetical and systematical collections."

types" that are, he presumes, oldest both when it comes to structure and textual content.[68] I suspect that Guy's hypothesis concerning the primacy of the "normal types," and the acceptance of this hypothesis among most AP scholars, is symptomatic for a tendency in historical and philological studies to assume a 'pure' origin and a 'messy' reception. In Brennan Breed's words, "Origins are generally thought to be simple and pure, but when they are found, they are inevitably messy, complex things."[69]

## 1.2.2 AP as a record of monastic education

The second debate concerns the value of AP as a historiographical source. Bousset and Guy share the opinion that AP provide historically accurate (albeit modified) accounts of the desert fathers, and their studies have therefore focused on mining historical data from the stories and sayings. Bousset thus searches for the historical (oral) kernel of individual apophthegmata by analyzing morphemes behind their stylized literary composition.[70] Guy estimates (more pessimistically) that the originally historically accurate desert father sayings were modified already as they were incorporated into the (oral) AP corpus. According to Guy, an originally "authentic" desert father saying or scene was, in the oral AP tradition, revised into a literary figure, namely the apophthegm, and then revised again in its content to comply with the ascetic virtue discourse which was pervasive in early monastic literature; finally, the AP tradition was saturated with excerpts from already existing written literature (such as *vitae* and letters).[71] Guy's hypothesis posits that the Greek educational aspect of AP was the result of a rhetorical tradition that surely was foreign to the desert fathers themselves.

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[68] Britt Dahlman, "The Sabaitic Collection of the Apophthegmata Patrum," in *ΔΩΡΟΝ ΡΟΔΟΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΝ: Studies in Honour of Jan Olof Rosenqvist*, eds. Denis Searby, Ewa Balicka Witakowska, and Johan Heldt (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2012), 134.
[69] Breed, *Nomadic Text*, 53.
[70] Bousset, *Apophthegmata*, 76–93.
[71] Jean-Claude Guy, "Remarques sur le texte des *Apophthegmata Patrum*," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 43 (1955): 252–58.

According to Graham Gould, who concurs with Bousset and Guy, AP is thus colored by "an intellectualism which the Desert Fathers would have lacked or despised".[72]

To sum up, this scholarly trajectory, which is also advocated by scholars such as Lucien Regnault and Douglas Burton-Christie, views AP primarily as a historical source of early monasticism, albeit polluted by literary convention.[73] This trajectory naturally focuses on reconstructing the AP *Urtext* and tends to disregard AP versions of later date. This approach towards AP is, however, challenged by recent studies by scholars such as Samuel Rubenson, Lillian Larsen, Claudia Rapp, and others, who instead considers AP primarily as a source of (in Rubenson's words) a literary tradition, not as a precise record of events.[74] Next, I present their important scholarly contributions, which are highly relevant for this study since I too have this perspective when studying R.

According to this line of scholarship, AP is a composition which was meant to serve as rhetorical exercises in the monastic *paideia*.[75] Scholars such as Kathleen McVey, Per Rönnegård, and Lillian Larsen have stressed the affinities between AP and *chreiai* collections.[76] Although it is impossible to decide whether an apophthegm actually represents a historical event, it is more important, according to this scholarly trajectory, to consider the rhetorical and dynamic nature of AP than it is to search for intellectual pollutions in the transmission of originally accurate accounts about the

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[72] Graham Gould, "A Note on the 'Apophthegmata Patrum,'" *The Journal of Theological Studies* 37 no. 1 (1986), 134. See also Graham Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 5–25.

[73] Lucien Regnault, *The Day-to-Day Life of the Desert Fathers in Fourth-Century Egypt (Vie quotidienne des Pères du désert en Egypte au IVᵉ siècle)*, trans. Etienne Poirier Jr (Massachusetts, US: St. Bede's Publications, 1999 (1990)); Regnault, *Les sentences des pères du désert*, 8; Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 88–92.

[74] Paraphrasing Rubenson, "The Formation and Reformations," 20. See also Samuel Rubenson, "Monasticism and the Philosophical Heritage," in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 498; Lillian I. Larsen, "Monastic Paideia: Textual Fluidity in the Classroom," *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, eds. Liv ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 146–77; Claudia Rapp, "The Origins of Hagiography and the Literature of Early Monasticism: Purpose and Genre between Tradition and Innovation," in *Unclassical Traditions. Volume 1: Alternatives to the Classical Past in Late Antiquity*, eds. Christopher Kelly, Richard Flower, and Michael Stuart Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 119–30.

[75] See the contributions in Lillian I. Larsen and Samuel Rubenson (eds), *Monastic Education in Late Antiquity: The Transformation of Classical Paideia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[76] Kathleen McVey, "The *Chreia* in the Desert: Rhetoric and the Bible in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*," in *The Early Church in Its Context*, ed. Abraham J. Malherbe, Frederick W. Norris, and James W. Thompson (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 1998), 245–55; Per Rönnegård, *Threads and Images: The Use of Scripture in Apophthegmata Patrum* (Winona Lake, US: Eisenbrauns, 2010); Larsen, "Monastic Paideia," 146–77.

lives of the desert fathers. The apophthegmata present scenes that are "good to think with", offering an exposition of desert father virtue discourse and worldview in the *chreia* genre. Furthermore, scholars such as Henrik Rydell Johnsén have shown that the proposed dichotomy between the rustic desert fathers and Graeco-Roman *paideia* is a rhetorical trope rather than a factual statement, and ascetics in other late antique schools were described as rustic despite the fact that they were educated.[77] Classical *paideia*, adapted to early Christian norms, was a pervasive aspect not only of the written AP tradition, but of desert father life itself. Zackary B. Smith thus situates AP as a continuation of "practices and intellectual systems from classical philosophers", making it "one of the last expressions of Hellenistic and Roman self-care in Christian late antiquity".[78] Importantly, Smith sees the composition of apophthegmata as a highly redactional and rhetorical act, not at all a mere gathering of existing records of desert father events.[79]

The difference between the two trajectories I have charted is mainly a difference of emphasis; while the first trajectory focuses on its worth as historical source, the second trajectory focuses on its worth as educational literature. This difference can be seen as analogous to the search within textual criticism for the original work versus the search within new and material philology for the use and production of text witnesses (cf. section 1.3.1). The shift in emphasis from the former to the latter opens new research questions concerning the rich, widespread, and variegated medieval AP reception. This dissertation situates itself in the second scholarly trend which focuses on the role of

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[77] See Henrik Rydell Johnsén, "The Virtue of Being Uneducated: Attitudes Towards Classical Paideia in Early Monasticism and Ancient Philosophy," in *Monastic Education in Late Antiquity: The Transformation of Classical Paideia*, eds. Lillian I. Larsen and Samuel Rubenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 219–35.

[78] Zachary B. Smith, *Philosopher-Monks, Episcopal Authority, and the Care of the Self: The 'Apophthegmata Patrum' in Fifth-Century Palestine* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2017), 14, 250. Smith uses the term "self-care" where other scholars use "philosophy/spiritual exercises" (Pierre Hadot); "cultivation of the self" (Michel Foucault); "reflexive piety" (André-Jean Festugière); "asceticism" (Peter Brown, Elizabeth E. Clark); "philosophy of mind/ethics" (Martha C. Nussbaum, Julia Annas) (Smith, *Philosopher-Monks*, 171). Another interesting aspect is the little place given in AP to the Origenist controversy, which caused the dispersal of Origenist monks in Sketis, Nitria and Kellia, dividing the desert father community. In the AP, this cataclysmic event goes unpassed, and the desert fathers do not express but vaguely (mostly anti-Origenist) opinions on the matter (Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 359–63; Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert*, 208–09).

[79] Smith, *Philosopher-Monks*, 43–47.

AP as educational literature. Scholarship made within this trend will be brought up in the introductions of subsequent chapters.

## 1.3 Theories and methods

### 1.3.1 Work versus Witness: philological principles

As is the case with any pre-modern literary work, R (and, indeed, AP in general) is available only via manuscripts or other media.[80] The literary work and the text witness can be visualized as units in a platonic scheme, where the latter is a material, extant, and imperfect manifestation of the former, which is immaterial, imagined, and perfect. How does one, then, postulate an imagined literary work out of the extant witness? On what grounds can one assume that there is a discrepancy between the literary work and the extant witness? How does one understand the discrepancies between text witnesses in relation to the literary work? Within traditional textual criticism, a common primary objective is to reconstruct a literary work. For this objective, text witnesses are of instrumental value, and the variant wordings they give are generally given peripheral position in a critical edition. Although the variant wordings can be viewed as interesting testimonies of scribal milieux, they are not perceived as belonging to the literary work itself. New philology, on the other hand, polemicizes against traditional textual criticism in stating that such aspects of the text witnesses are of essential value and should therefore not be marginalized in the reconstruction and understanding of pre-modern texts.[81] Hugo Lundhaug and Liv Ingeborg Lied describe the aims of new philology as aligning with the general shift within late antique and medieval studies "from a focus on origins to a focus on practice."[82]

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[80] Although oral and visual versions of Copto-Arabic apophthegmata abounded as well. For examples of late medieval Coptic imagery of the desert fathers, see e.g. Elizabeth S. Bolman (ed.), *Monastic Visions: Wall Paintings in the Monastery of St. Antony* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002).

[81] For a discussion of this debate, see Lied and Lundhaug, "Studying Snapshots." An adjacent current is that called *material philology*, which holds that one ought to study the whole manuscript, not only the text displayed therein (thus greater focus on codicological aspects of the manuscript). Einar Thomassen, "Philology," in *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study of Religion*, eds. Michael Stausberg and Steven Engler (New York: Routledge, 2022 (2011)), 408.

[82] Lied and Lundhaug, "Studying Snapshots," 2.

Perspectives from new and material philology are, for purposes I have already brought up, useful when working with AP in general and R in particular. At the same time, one should not only stress the fluidity and variation but also address the stability and uniformity of literary works across text witnesses.[83] It is important not to take a too programmatic stance in one's philological methodology, since pre-modern texts were, in various levels, at different times, and in different contexts, both stable and fluid. The reception of texts must be viewed as a matter of contingency, not of necessity, and it is very much related to other factors, such as genre, canonization, scribal convention and the agency of individuals.[84] In the case of R, I certainly consider its peculiarities when compared with other AP versions as interesting objects of study in themselves. At the same time, I am more interested in R as a recension—that is, a work—than as it is singularly represented by each text witness (although my investigation mainly focuses on Vat.ar.460, for reasons which will become clear). Although manuscripts are witnesses to the context in which they were produced, the texts therein might very well be—indeed, often are—witnesses to an earlier context which is far removed from the extant manuscripts. It would be shortsighted not to recognize and address the similarity between CAB text witnesses and thus the work which they represent. Rather, I identify R as a work which is represented by several text witnesses, although I take Vat.ar.460 as point of departure.

## 1.3.2 Comparing R with other AP sources

Parallel to the issue of how to relate R with Vat.ar.460 is the issue of how to relate R as a CAB recension, which in turn is related to other AP versions. R is both different from and same as AP. It is different, since its content varies structurally, textually, and sometimes semantically from other AP versions. It is the same since R is similar enough to be defined as part of the AP tradition. In chapters 5–7 I take special interest in variant wordings between R and other AP versions or satellite works. In my textual

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[83] Tjamke Snijders, "Work, Version, Text and Scriptum: High Medieval Manuscript Terminology in the Aftermath of the New Philology," *Digital philology* 2, no. 2 (2013), 266–96.

[84] Thomassen, "Philology," 406. See also Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 118–21.

comparisons I mainly focus on how R differs from Greek parallel sources (for a discussion of the editions and translations that I use, see section 1.4). The reason why I give primacy to Greek parallels in my presentation is twofold. The first reason is that AP was first written in Greek, which makes the Greek text paradigmatic for the tradition. The second reason is that Greek text often represents a wording that one finds in verbatim or similar guise in other AP versions, as far as cross-linguistic comparison allows. It would be impossible to always include all parallels to any specific apophthegm in R, and, in many cases, it would not bring any new significant information to the reader. I have, however, checked the wording in other AP versions and satellite works as well (see section 1.4).[85] Whenever significant variations that are relevant for my analysis appear in them, I provide the variance in footnotes or comment upon it. As will be seen, such instances are quite few.

Secondly, I also focus on how R differs from Arabic parallel sources, especially in chapters 3 and 6. The reason why I also give primacy to Arabic parallels in my presentation is, again, twofold. Firstly, they provide a more nuanced picture of how the originally Greek apophthegmata were rendered into Arabic by different translators and redactors during different phases. Secondly, as I show in chapter 3, the AP content in R occasionally displays textual congruence with texts in Arabic AP recensions, indicating that the curators of R might have employed related text witnesses when compiling and revising R.

### 1.3.2.1 Digital Philology: Monastica

The best approach when seeking to establish the relation between AP versions is to combine structural and textual comparison of them.[86] The variation between AP text witnesses is often substantial when it comes to the structure, that is, the order in which apophthegmata appear. Moreover, as already mentioned, AP often appears in large

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[85] I have consulted Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic and Slavic collections via modern English and Latin translations. See section 1.4.

[86] A very interesting forthcoming article by Britt Dahlman, Elisabet Göransson, and Karine Åkerman Sarkisian works by this approach ("A crosslinguistic approach to the study of the Apophthegmata Patrum. A case study of textual variation in the Greek, Latin and Slavonic traditions").

monastic florilegia. This makes structural, as well as textual, comparison a laborious task. Digital methods offer new ways of visualizing and computing scholarly data, thereby spotting correspondences that were previously more difficult to find. The digital knowledge site named *Monastica* has greatly facilitated the comparison of AP versions.[87] *Monastica*, which is a digital research infrastructure comprising a database, an interactive interface and a set of research tools, is developed by a research team based at Lund University.[88] *Monastica* treats data and metadata for a large selection of AP sources (manuscripts, editions, modern translations, reference series and structural tables).[89] *Monastica* stores this data in XML code, using the TEI standard. *Monastica* treats each apophthegm as a text unit, which in turn is made up by one or several text segments. The text segments are accorded a unique tag and are also, whenever there are parallels, connected with those parallels. The unique tag of each text segment thus contains information about where it appears in a certain source, as well as information about its parallelism with other text segments in other AP sources.[90] This data can be exported to programs that allow visualizations of data such as graphs.

Furthermore, *Monastica* is a multi-witness edition of the AP tradition, displaying texts from manuscripts (insofar as they have been transcribed), editions, and translations in a readable format which facilitates textual comparison.

Importantly, one can also edit the data directly in *Monastica*, which makes the progress of one scholar instantaneously useful for the research community.[91] In Rubenson's words, *Monastica* "has been designed not simply as an archive from which one can retrieve material that has been inserted (although this is of course

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[87] For the concept of knowledge site, see Franz Fischer, "Digital Corpora and Scholarly Editions of Latin Texts: Features and Requirements of Textual Criticism," *Speculum* 92 (2017): S275.

[88] Samuel Rubenson and Mats Svensson (managers), *Monastica—a dynamic library and research tool*. https://monastica.ht.lu.se/ Lund University Research Portal. https://portal.research.lu.se/sv/equipments/monastica-a-dynamic-library-and-research-tool; Samuel Rubenson, "A Database of the Apophthegmata Patrum," in *Analysis of Ancient and Medieval Texts and Manuscripts: Digital Approaches*, eds. Caroline Macé and Tara Andrews (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 201–11. The online database *Monastica* was preceded by a MySQL database named *Apophthegmata Patrum DataBase* (APDB).

[89] For a list of sources in *Monastica* per June 2023, see Appendix F.

[90] Scholars who work in *Monastica* sometimes split text units into several text segments to reach a higher level of precision in the parallels between AP sources. The data about text segments is thus constantly updated and refined by the scholarly contributions in *Monastica*.

[91] One must obtain editing rights for each source in *Monastica* to edit the data.

possible) but rather as an instrument to be used by any scholar working on the apophthegmata."[92]

This comparative method, and indeed any comparison by means of analytical tables, naturally relies on scholars' interpretation and identification of apophthegmata, which in turn opens for the risk of misconceiving the raw data. One might for example ask: *at what point are two apophthegmata identified as the same or not*? In the end, it comes down to individual interpretation and scholarly consensus. *Monastica* does not provide the software for detecting textual correspondence across a corpus, as do digital humanities tools such as TRACER. Such tools would, in any case, not be useful when comparing text corpora in different languages. Nevertheless, *Monastica* presents a reliable and continuously updated and refined overview of AP versions and (certain) satellite works.[93] Although there is still much left to analyze, the infrastructure of *Monastica* allows this daunting work to be collaborative and instantaneously made available for everyone.

### 1.3.2.2 Word searches in Monastica

The aim of chapter 6 is to provide examples of how Greek *termini technici* have been rendered into Arabic and to highlight the occurrence of passages in R that, although they do not differ from other AP versions in term of the *sensum*, have an Islamicate coloring to them, due to their employment of vocabulary and motifs that are central within Islam (see section 1.3.5). For the purpose of providing something approaching a comprehensive picture of the occurrence of such words in R and other Arabic AP recensions and comparing it with Greek counterparts, I have made use of word searches in *Monastica*. As I have mentioned, *Monastica* displays digital text from most of its registered editions and translations, and some of its registered manuscripts. This function has allowed me to find all occurrences of a Greek term in Greek AP editions and Greek editions of satellite works, along with references to parallel locations in R

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[92] Rubenson, "A Database of the Apophthegmata Patrum," 207.
[93] For a list of sources in *Monastica* per June 2023, see Appendix F.

and other Arabic AP recensions (see chapter 6). Through this method one is able to sketch a quantitative picture of the Arabic translation of Greek *termini technici*, although this picture cannot be exhaustive—there might be other or additional source texts to the Arabic AP recensions containing the same or other *termini technici* that goes unnoticed in this analysis, for example.

Although it would have been really interesting to conduct word searches on the texts in R as well, this is unfortunately not possible yet (except for the parts that I have edited). The same goes for other Arabic AP recensions, apart from MSS Strasb.4225 and Vat.ar.71 whose texts have been partially registered in *Monastica* (see section 1.4.2). However, as I show in chapter 3, two Arabic and Ethiopic AP editions in fact provide indirect means to study the text body in R. I have conducted word searches in these sources, as well as Greek editions, to make indirect word searches of the occurrence of a certain concept in R (for example the occurrence of stories of demons). This method has yielded a fuller and more nuanced picture of the occurrence of certain terms and phrases in R than if on only considers Greek editions and their parallels found in R. However, a full digitization of the Arabic text in Vat.ar.460, which has been outside the scope of this investigation, would have made such word searches even more complete.

### 1.3.3 Agents of textual transmission

Scholars who study texts often focus on finding underlying authorial intentions. Understanding the agenda of the source, and its context, is considered key. Post-structuralists have, however, criticized the primacy of authorial intention within textual analysis.[94] It is more important, argue post-structuralists (and especially those who embrace reader-response theory), to focus on the reception of the text. As Roland Barthes points out, texts are fundamentally meant to be read or experienced, and it is in the readers' understanding, and not the author's intention, one ought to seek the text's meaning:

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[94] See e.g. Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (London: Hutchinson, 1981).

> A text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author.[95]

The post-structuralist critique against the primacy of authorial intention is especially valid when considering anonymous textual traditions. AP stems not from a charismatic author or compiler, but from a community of textual agents who take the role of both producer and user (although some individuals certainly were more producers than others). R was most likely not penned by a single author, translator, redactor, or compiler. It is more likely that R is the result of a collective consisting of different agents listed above. These agents can be considered both producers and users—as I argue in chapter 3, probably a monastic community. Through translating, adapting, revising, organizing, omitting, and adding to R, the monastic producer-users who were responsible for creating R become more visible. Although R is not a testimony to any specific individual and his or her intention, I nevertheless argue that it is a testimony to the medieval Copto-Arabic AP reception on a communal level.

### 1.3.3.1 Curation, cultural memory, and protreptics

In order to describe the agency of the monastic producer-users that I am interested in, I use the concept of curation and curators. Curation entails a process of collecting, presenting, and re-framing extant material in for example modern-day archives and museums. Blossom Stefaniw suggests curation as an apt concept for describing how early Christian scribes transmitted and interpreted didactic textual traditions. Curation stresses how, out of a corpus, the curator(s) produce, in Stefaniw's words, "knowledge of a canon, presenting a totality and obscuring its own history in acts of displacement, fragmentation, and reattachment."[96] As Rydell Johnsén shows in his study of John Climacus's *Scala Paradisi* (SP), an eclectic and curational approach towards textual traditions was common, even encouraged, within Graeco-Roman belles-lettres. In his

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[95] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author", in *Image, Music, Text*, essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 148.
[96] Blossom Stefaniw, *Christian Reading: Language, Ethics and the Order of Things* (Oakland, US: University of California Press, 2019), 198.

words, "You should not just copy your model, but transform it in order to suit your own purpose."[97] Seen from the lens of curation, the audience becomes an essential aspect when considering why a florilegium is curated as it is. The purpose with curation, in the case of a contemporary museum exhibition as well as in the case of R, is to make the presented material relevant, meaningful, and appealing to a target group—in our case, a late medieval Coptic monastic readership.

In her studies of late medieval Coptic hagiography, Agaiby calls to mind the concept of "religious memory" when describing how and why the texts in Copto-Arabic hagiographic and apophthegmatic traditions differ from their late antique predecessors. Cultural memory is a process which "actively searches for meaning and quite often this involves removing details that are no longer meaningful, or relevant, or adding details relevant to a new time and place".[98] Launched by Jan Assmann, the concept of cultural memory helps to describe the memory which is situated in the cultural body, such as in written texts or in other long-lasting media.[99] Cultural memory curates information that is far away from individual experience and that is not needed for everyday life, and yet indispensable for cultural identity-making, such as history and religious doctrine.[100] As Assmann explains, memory itself is typically not concerned with describing an item as it actually is, but rather with making the item meaningful (for if it were not meaningful, it would be very hard to remember).[101] Moreover, the meaning is, according to Assmann, always framed by social and cultural norms. The same process applies to how cultural memory is constructed, not as a positivist account of the past, but of a meaning-making process, where aspects of the present culture bring in the means to memorize the past. The concept of cultural memory thus connotes any culture's stories about its past. Indeed, the process of cultural memory is

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[97] Rydell Johnsén, "Reading John Climacus," 213.
[98] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 84.
[99] Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 24–25.
[100] Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 24, 27–30.
[101] Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 2.

in many aspects akin to that of curation.[102] Importantly, however, the curated artefacts of cultural memory do not lose their historical authenticity, although they are themselves transposed and transformed.[103] Much of the variation of R makes sense, I will argue, if one looks at it as representing the late medieval Coptic cultural memory of the desert fathers.

In his study of G (see section 1.2.2), Smith classifies AP, along with other Graeco-Roman philosophical and literary works, as protreptic in its character. Protreptic literature aims to persuade its audience to follow or convert to a new route.[104] Looking at AP and R from the lens of protreptics also allows us to identify that the asceticism advocated in R is somewhat different from the asceticism advocated in other AP versions. The protreptic function of AP indeed makes variations between AP versions quite understandable, as different communities practiced different forms of asceticism, which in turn motivated AP curators to ground their specific versions of the ascetic program in the desert father tradition, thus presenting new and local cultural memories of the desert fathers.

To sum up, I use the concept of curation as a placeholder for the complex process of copying, translating (interlingual, intralingual), re-writing, compiling, omitting, and interpolating which lies behind R, and I refer to the various agents of textual transmission of R as its curators. The aim of the curation of R and AP versions in general is, I argue, is to present a florilegium useful not only for its historical status *qua* cultural memory, but also for its protreptic value.

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[102] Agaiby uses reinterpretation of cultural memory for describing what function the pseudo-Serapionic *Vita Antonii* (see section 3.1.3) served for the community (Lisa Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony Attributed to Serapion of Thmuis: Cultural Memory Reinterpreted* (Leiden & Boston: Brill), 2). In a similar vein, Schroeder writes that the AP "represent the cultural memory of a later generation about a perceived golden age earlier in the ascetic movement's history" (Schroeder, "Apophthegmata Patrum," https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah05189).

[103] The exception to this natural process is when a text becomes canonized, whereby it must be preserved verbatim (Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 118–21).

[104] Smith, *Philosopher-Monks*, 171.

## 1.3.4 Translation

In a recently published anthology on late antique translations of Christian literature, Madalina Toca and Dan Batovici stress how important translations were in disseminating Christianity in the pre-modern world:

> It [sc. translation] facilitates the spread of the body of knowledge to wider audiences, while also breaking new ground by resetting it in often radically different cultural contexts, leading to independent dynamics, specific to the newly opened areas.[105]

The dynamic that Toca and Batovici refer to is the inevitable fact that translators must use some kind of manipulation when transplanting material from source language to target language. *Traduttore, traditore.* Despite their often-central role in societies, translations have not gained as much scholarly attention as have their original literary works. Arabic Christian translations are particularly interesting due to the textual resonance with Arabic Islamic literature, through a shared language and culture.[106]

The paradigm within translation studies is to observe how target texts (translations) reach equivalence with their source texts. Although equivalence can be attained on different levels (stylistic, semantic, functional), it is presupposed that a high level of equivalence is a prerequisite for any translation, otherwise it is called poor.[107] Yet some currents within translation studies convincingly argue that there are other important aspects of translations to study, apart from how well they achieve equivalence vis-à-vis the source text. This criticism goes, in a way, hand in hand with the new philological call to study variant recensions in their own right, and not only as

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[105] Madalina Toca and Dan Batovici, "Trajectory, Marginalia, Selection: Issues in the Study of Versions of Late Antique Christian Literature," in *Caught in Translation: Studies on Versions of Late Antique Christian Literature*, eds. Madalina Toca and Dan Batovici (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 1.

[106] In Treiger's words, *"the study of Christian Graeco-Arabica has the potential to bring about a comprehensive and much-needed reassessment of the possible links between Islamic and Jewish thought in the Middle Ages and the Greek and Syriac Patristic tradition and to enrich our understanding of the crosspollinations between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Islamicate world"* (Alexander Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3 (2015), 219.

[107] The level of equivalence between source text and target text is relatively easy to study in modern literature since one often has access to the original text along with the translated text. In contrast, pre-modern translations often do not grant this possibility since the source text is seldom officially stated or provided with the translation. For the sake of comprehensiveness, I consider R as a target language text and I consider Greek AP sources and satellite works as source language placeholders, although the relationship is not direct (see chapter 3).

imperfect witnesses to an original. The call for leaving the level of equivalence as the primary object of study is especially valid when dealing with medieval translations, since, as Marko Lamberg describes, medieval translations often followed entirely different standards:

> Texts were not simply translated verbatim in the Middle Ages; instead, they were simultaneously almost always partly edited or re-written, even mixed with other texts or new sequences composed by the translator. Thus texts were adapted for the purposes of the translator-compiler or those of his or her audience. What we now understand as translation, whereby the translator seeks to be as faithful to the original wording as possible, did exist already in the medieval literary culture, but by far the most common method of transmitting the message from one language to another was to compose a paraphrase, which was freer in form and which could involve some changes in the contents.[108]

In the study of R, I use the terms interlingual translation and intralingual translation, which originate within translation studies. As the words imply, interlingual translation denotes translation from one language (for example Greek) into another language (for example Arabic), while intralingual translation denotes translation from one wording into another wording, but in the same language. Intralingual translation is better known as re-writing or paraphrasing. Importantly, intralingual translation has the same objective as interlingual translation—namely, to re-describe the source with 'new' words but still maintaining textual equivalence or the *sensum*. This is an important distinction from terms such as revision, redaction and *metaphrasis*, which instead suggest that the re-description in the target text changes the *sensum* of the source text. As I will argue in chapter 3, R (as well as other Arabic AP recensions) is largely the result of intralingual translations of already existing Arabic AP translations (although these Arabic texts of course were, at some point in time, translated from Greek, Coptic and/or Syriac).

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[108] Marko Lamberg, "Anger as a Spiritual, Social and Mental Disorder in Late Medieval Swedish Exempla," in *Mental (Dis)Order in Later Medieval Europe*, eds. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Susanna Niiranen (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 76.

## 1.3.5 Appropriation of Vocabulary

In investigating vocabulary from religion A found in religion B, it is important to be aware that a language (here the Arabic) does not belong to any religious discourse *per se*. In the case of Islam and the Arabic language, there is however a strong historical link between the Qur'an and the birth of written Arabic literature. The vocabulary found in the Qur'an of course resonates, in turn, with Judeo-Christian discourse, as is most evident in its use of Aramaic and Greek terminology.[109] Indeed, Qur'anic and Islamic vocabulary is in itself imprinted with Jewish and Christian vocabulary, not least since there were significant groups of Arabic-speaking Jews and Christians before the advent of Islam.[110] Nevertheless, given the primacy of the Qur'an in early written Arabic literature, there is a point in arguing that medieval Arabic Christian literature did appropriate a vocabulary that by then was perceived as Islamic. A popular example is how Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. after 987), one of the first Copto-Arabic authors, made extensive use of Qur'anic vocabulary in his apologetic writings. Stephen Davis suggests that al-Muqaffaʿ showed his awareness of Qur'anic literary paradigms to "help him present Christian beliefs as compatible with Islam".[111] For further examples of scholarly works on Arabic Christian appropriation of Islamic vocabulary, see section 6.1.

Christian and Islamic discourse do, to a large extent, operate using the same religious terminology. At the same time, the two religious discourses also diverge from each other. It is therefore meaningful to regard some examples of vocabulary as belonging more to either Christian or Islamic discourse, as long as one is aware of the risk of misrepresenting language as the property of one particular discourse. What is a sound way to describe the phenomenon that examples of Islamic vocabulary may appear in Christian writing or vice versa? Scholars use different concepts for describing textual

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[109] F. Rofail Farag, "The Usage of the Early Islamic Terminology as a Constituent Element of the Literary Form of a Tenth-Century Christian Arab Writer: Severus Ibn Al-Muqaffa," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99, no. 1 (1979): 50–51.
[110] Jack Tannous, "Arabic as Christian Language and Arabic as the Language of Christians," in *Medieval Encounters: Arabic-Speaking Christians and Islam*, ed. Ayman Ibrahim (Piscataway, US: Gorgias Press, 2022), 1–94; See also Theresia Hainthaler, *Christliche Araber vor dem Islam: Verbreitung und konfessionelle Zugehörigkeit: eine Hinführung* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007).
[111] Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice*, 212. See also Farag, "The Usage of the Early Islamic Terminology", 55.

affinity between two sources, and the debates in the subject show that this is a sensitive subject, aptly coined by Harold Bloom as the "anxiety of influence."[112] Here follow some suggestions, including the one I favor in this investigation.

The concept of *borrowing* has the advantage of being intuitive, and it is widely used. *Borrowing* misrepresents, however, what actually happens in the process, since concepts are not items that are owned by anyone (hence they cannot be borrowed). *Borrowing* erroneously implies that those who have borrowed are in temporary possession of something which can never properly belong to them.

Another common concept is *influence*. Although it is widely used, it has the downside of implying that the recipient is (more or less) involuntarily affected or that they are unaware of it.[113] The concept of *influence* also suggests that the recipient becomes more like the source of their influence. Although there are certainly cases when *influence* aptly describes what happens during interreligious exchange, it is not suitable for describing what has happened in the curation of R, where I believe the curators sometimes consciously used Islamic vocabulary, and sometimes consciously chose not to do so.

Yet another common metaphor is that of *transplantation*, meaning that the Arabic AP was *transplanted* into Arabic soil which was, in Sidney Griffith's words, "bound to Islam".[114] *Transplantation* is a nice metaphor since that which is transplanted then starts to live a life of its own. It leaves out, however, the agency of the curators, as it focuses only on the status of the text itself.

Many scholars opt for using the concept of *intertextuality,* which resists the hierarchy that *borrowing, influence* and *transplantation* suggest.[115] However, the concept of

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[112] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, second edition (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 (1973)).
[113] Cf. Sidney H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the "People of the Book" in Language of Islam* (Princeton, US: Princeton University Press, 2015), 24.
[114] Sidney H. Griffith, "Theology and the Arab Christian: The Case of the 'Melkite' Creed," in *A Faithful Presence: Essays for Kenneth Cragg*, ed. David Thomas (London: Melisende, 2003), 184, 199.
[115] Mary Orr, *Intertextuality: Debates and Contexts* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008).

*intertextuality* does little to explain the directionality and agency of those who incorporate concepts that are central in another discourse.

In a chapter on medieval Islamicate Cairo, Nathan Gibson and Ronny Vollandt use the concepts *whirlpool effect* and *creative symbiosis* to explain how concepts migrated between intellectuals of Islamic, Jewish or Christian denomination.[116] Gibson and Vollandt point to how previous vocabulary such as *borrowing* leads researchers into reductionist views of medieval Islamicate society.[117] Yet their point is most valid in an urban and interreligious milieu, and less valid when describing Islamic vocabulary in Coptic monastic texts, since monastic literature was not meant for an interreligious audience. Therefore, it is probable that the incorporation of Islamic vocabulary in CAB had a specific function to its Christian monastic readers, who did not take part of the Cairene intellectual "whirlpool" but was rather living in relative isolation from Muslim neighbors.

In the end, I opt for the concept of *appropriation* which implies that there do exist different vocabularies, and that appropriating foreign (but not necessarily the property of someone else) vocabulary was a dynamic and conscious process in which agents, such as curators, engaged with foreign influences, making them one's own.

## 1.3.6 Comparison

Comparing phenomena across religions is indispensable within the academic study of religions. At the same time, the very tenets of the comparative approach have been criticized of essentializing or othering.[118] Oliver Freiberger's recent monograph on comparison provides useful categories to address when presenting one's comparative configuration. A transparent comparative structure, in turn, reduces the risk of committing fallacies such as those mentioned above.[119] For this purpose, I formulate

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[116] Nathan P. Gibson and Ronny Vollandt, "Cross-communal scholarly interactions," in *Routledge Handbook on the Sciences in Islamicate Societies*, eds. Sonja Brentjes, Peter Barker, and Rana Brentjes (London & New York: Taylor & Francis, 2022), 723–40.

[117] Gibson and Vollandt, "Cross-communal scholarly interactions," 725.

[118] Oliver Freiberger, *Considering Comparison: A Method for Religious Studies* (Oxford, US: Oxford University Press USA, 2019), 45–80.

[119] Freiberger, *Considering Comparison*, 81–166.

the *tertium comparationis, mode,* and *scope* for my comparison of R and IUD in chapter 7. To start out, the tertium comparationis (phenomenon compared between the two comparanda) is the ascetic program promoted in the sources. As I have described in the introduction, asceticism is a distinct and radical religious mode which is concerned with perfecting humans through the cultivation of virtues. Both R and IUD are clearly ascetic texts, and they also encourage their readers to embark on the ascetic path. The ascetic program is mainly presented as the acquirement of certain virtues.[120] The virtues are, in the comparanda, presented in the form of a progressive ranking of virtues, although this ranking of virtues is more systematized in IUD than it is in R. As I bring up in chapter 7, both comparanda largely rely on the authority of apophthegmata in their presentation of the ascetic program—in R, the desert fathers, and in IUD, the prophet Muhammad and his companions. With the ascetic program as the tertium comparationis, the comparison focuses on how the author-curator (in the case of IUD) and curators (in the case of R) use ascetic vocabulary and apophthegmata to tap into, engage with, and contribute to already existing discourses within Islamic and Christian asceticism.

The next category is mode, which pertains to how one treats the comparanda and what sort of conclusion one aims at. As examples of successful comparative modes, Freiberger suggests working either by the illuminative or the taxonomic mode.[121] A comparativist in the illuminative mode seeks to understand her object of study by bringing in a comparandum with which she can compare her object of study. Comparisons in the illuminative mode are "asymmetric in the sense that their goal is to understand one item while the other cases' mere function is to illuminate the phenomenon".[122] The comparativist in the taxonomic mode, by contrast, compares two species with "equal analytical attention", with the aim of a better understanding of the genus.[123] While both R and IUD are species of a genus, namely ascetic discourse, the

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[120] Cf. Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a way of life: spiritual exercises from Socrates to Foucault,* trans. Michael Chase (Malden, US: Blackwell Publishing, 2017 (1995)).
[121] Freiberger, *Considering Comparison*, 116–22.
[122] Freiberger, *Considering Comparison*, 126–27.
[123] Freiberger, *Considering Comparison*, 127–28.

mode of the comparison I propose is undoubtedly illuminative, since my aim is to achieve a better understanding of the ascetic program in R through bringing in IUD as comparandum. This accounts for the somewhat jumpy approach I take towards IUD, as I only consider books in IUD which treat the same subjects (struggle, fear of God and recitative meditative prayer) as I have studied in the analysis of the selected dossiers in R. To be true, IUD is a very extensive work, comprising forty books, that together present a macro-scale ascetic program worthy of study on its own. But to consider IUD in its entirety would be a too major task in this mode of comparison. The selected IUD books are not consecutive. All in all, this selection sets a limit to how fully the ascetic program in IUD can be presented (a restriction which applies to R as well).[124] The main goal of the comparison is to show how a selection of ascetic concepts and ideas are treated, rather than to provide a complete account of the ascetic program in IUD and R.

The last configuration to consider is scope, which Freiberger explains as "the distance between the items compared in a study."[125] Freiberger categorizes scope as either contextual, cross-cultural, or trans-historical. While contextual comparisons "normally expect some relation between the comparanda and possibly mutual impact […] cross-cultural comparison normally expect unrelated developments."[126] My comparison is, one would think, cross-cultural, since R and IUD represent two separate religious discourses. On the other hand, both comparanda are late medieval Arabic curations from the Islamicate world. Moreover, as I have mentioned in section 1.1.4, evidence suggest that Copts actually read the works of al-Ghazālī.[127] I do not, however, claim that there is any direct relationship between IUD and R.

An issue to address is the risk of wrongful representation when comparing discourses from different religions with each other. The hypothesis of Christian-Islamic

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[124] For a study of al-Ghazālī's ascetic program and its relation to virtue ethics, see Mohamed Ahmed Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975).
[125] Freiberger, *Considering Comparison*, 143.
[126] Freiberger, *Considering Comparison*, 143.
[127] See fn54.

interdependencies has, at worst, been treated as an argument for the borrowed and hence somehow "foreign" origins of Islam or, for that matter, of Arabic Christianity. A portrayal of Copto-Arabic literature as appropriating Islamic vocabulary—or vice versa—can be perceived as reductionist or degrading. The comparative endeavor is also sensitive due to an extant discourse in our societies today which portrays Christianity and Islam as opposing and antagonistic towards each other.[128] My approach is, on the contrary, that perceiving similarities and differences between two medieval Arabic ascetic discourses, and taking into account the possibility of contact between these discourses, does not reduce the authenticity of the individual comparanda, but rather shows the creativity and resilience of each discourse.

## 1.4 Material

The primary source of this investigation is the CAB recension found Vat.ar.460 (R). As I show in chapter 3, R is also found in similar guise in EG-Arras and (to a lesser extent) CAB-Epiphanius. Here, I provide a brief presentation of these sources, which is further complemented by my analysis in chapter 3.

Since the aim of this dissertation is to shed light on the Copto-Arabic reception of AP, I also consult other AP versions and, occasionally, satellite works. I present my main sources of other AP versions in section 1.4.2. Since I work with these sources in *Monastica*, I use *Monastica* ID whenever referring to a text unit. In this reference system, editions and translations are prefixed with an abbreviation indicating its textual content, followed by the last name of the editor and translator.[129] The editions and translations are listed in alphabetical order in the list of publications in the Bibliography. To distinguish editions from translations, *Monastica* adds a suffix to the ID, such as ".lat" for a Latin translation.[130] Hence, for example, the *Monastica* ID of the Greek apophthegm no. 140 in John Wortley's edition of GN is "GN-Wortley 140,"

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[128] John Renard, *Islam and Christianity: Theological Themes in Comparative Perspective* (Berkeley & Los Angeles & London: California University Press, 2011), ix.

[129] Occasionally, editions in *Monastica* also have prefixes indicating the language of the source, e.g. "PS-G-Migne" for the Migne's reprint of Jean-Baptiste Cotelier's edition the Greek *Pratum Spirituale*. I have removed these language prefixes in my reference system since they are only occasionally used in *Monastica* and since they might be confusing to the reader.

[130] I have exchanged the understrokes for points since I consider the latter easier to read.

while its English translation has the ID "GN-Wortley.eng 140." Manuscripts are abbreviated, e.g. "Vat.ar.460."[131] I provide a list of consulted manuscripts in the Bibliography. In my List of abbreviations I provide the prefixes that signify different AP versions and satellite works in *Monastica*.[132]

Normally, *Monastica* reproduces the structure of published AP sources, which makes the *Monastica* ID comprehensible.[133] In contrast, the ID of text units in manuscripts are based on the analysis of different scholars, and some of them have not been published outside *Monastica* and might be updated to a greater extent than is the case with AP editions. In order to avoid the risk of obsolete ID, I provide folio references next to the *Monastica* ID whenever I refer to a text unit in a manuscript.

## 1.4.1 Text witnesses to R

### 1.4.1.1 Vat.ar.460

As I mentioned in the introduction, the earliest and most important text witness to R is Vat.ar.460. The provenance and date of Vat.ar.460, a manuscript of Copto-Arabic origin, is unknown.[134] Georg Graf dates this manuscript to the 13th century, and Joseph-Marie Sauget concurs, although he suggests in one of his later publications that it might have been copied in the 14th century as well.[135] As a marginal note states, the manuscript was obtained by the Arabic College to the Vatican Library, but the date of this transaction is not specified.[136] The codex contains, apart from R (fols. 1r–175v),

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[131] In *Monastica* manuscript abbreviations are written with understrokes (_) (e.g. Vat_ar_460) but I have replaced the understrokes with dots (.) for the sake of readability.

[132] For a complete list of *Monastica* abbreviations, see https://monastica.ht.lu.se/ > Manuals.

[133] *Monastica* also often provides page references to the published AP source for each text unit. See https://monastica.ht.lu.se/ > Structure.

[134] Features that indicate that Vat.ar.460 is Copto-Arabic: 1) on fol. 180v, it gives a date in the Coptic calendar era (AM); 2) There are traces of Coptic minuscule numbering (e.g. on fol. 13r, Joseph-Marie Sauget, description of Vat.ar.460 in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (ID: 154731), *BAV Online Catalogue* (N.d.), https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.ar.460).

[135] Georg Graf, *GCAL volume 1: Die Übersetzungen*, Studi e Testi 118 (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), 381; Sauget, description of Vat.ar.460, https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.ar.460; Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Un exemple typique des relations culturelles entre l'arabe-chrétien et l'éthiopien: un *Patericon* récemment publié," In *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 10–15 aprile 1972),* 1974: 329. In *Une traduction arabe*, his late publication, Sauget suggests that it might have been copied during the 13th or 14th century (Sauget, *Une traduction arabe*, 119).

[136] A certain Fr. Andreas at the Arabic College in the Vatican Library obtained the manuscript from a certain *Aou olim Guard(ianus) Ieros.(olymitanus)* (fol. 1r, see Sauget, description of Vat.ar.460, https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.ar.460).

also a *vita* of the 5th-century anchorite Kārās (Cyrus), who lived outside Sketis (*Vita Cyrii* (from now on: VC), fols. 176r–180v).[137]

## 1.4.1.2 EG-Arras

As I show in chapter 3, the Ethiopic *Gädlä abäw qəddusān / Gännätä mänäkosat* (*Geronticon*) is also a text witness to R.[138] It might come as a surprise to some that an Ethiopic AP source could be an important text witness to an Arabic literary tradition. In fact, this is not surprising at all. There was an influx of Arabic literature in early modern Ethiopia (see section 2.6). Alessandro Bausi therefore stresses the utility of Ethiopic literary sources when studying Copto-Arabic literature.[139] In my analysis I make use of an Ethiopic *Geronticon* edition which was edited and translated into Latin by Victor Arras in 1986 (From now on: EG-Arras).[140] Arras has copied the Ethiopic text from two manuscripts that were copied during the 16th and 18th centuries.[141] He has used the oldest manuscript, MS Brit.Orient.763 (copied in 1586–1587), as primary witness, noting variations in MS Par.Abbadie.85 in the footnotes.[142] In his introduction, Arras writes that he became motivated to publish the *Geronticon* when learning of the similarity between it and a recently published CAB edition (CAB-Cairo; see section 1.4.1.3).[143] Since Arras does not mention Vat.ar.460 in his introduction, he was probably unaware of its strong resemblance to EG-Arras.

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[137] BHO 238. E.A.W. Budge, who edited this *Vita* from two 10th/11th century Sahidic-Coptic manuscripts, argues that the *Vita* was originally composed in Coptic (Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms etc. in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1914), xii, xix.

[138] Alessandro Bausi, "Monastic Literature," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 995.

[139] Alessandro Bausi, "Ethiopic Literary Production Related to the Christian Egyptian Culture," in *Coptic society, literature and religion from late Antiquity to modern times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, ed. Paola Buzi et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 1:508.

[140] Victor Arras (ed. and trans.), *Geronticon, edidit et latine reddidit*, 2 vols., CSCO 476–477/SAa 79–80 (Leuven: Peeters, 1986).

[141] Arras also mentions a third manuscript, with the HMML project number 7469, comprising the same text. Arras, *Geronticon*, 2: v–vi.

[142] Arras, *Geronticon*, 2: v–vi. One finds references both in the prologue and in the main text in MS Brit.Orient.763 to a certain Mātewos who seems to have been the commissioner of this codex (e.g. Arras, *Geronticon*, 1:364; Arras, *Geronticon*, 2:246). Given that Mātewos is referred to as "our father" he was probably the abbot of the monastery to which the scribe of Brit.Orient.763 was affiliated. I thank Witold Witakowski for providing me with this information and for helping me interpret it.

[143] Arras, *Geronticon*, 2: v–vi.

### 1.4.1.3 CAB-Epiphanius and its manuscripts

As I show in chapter 3, R is also found, partly and in revised form, in a recently published CAB edition. This edition was made by anba Epiphanius, who was the bishop and abbot of Dayr anbā Maqār (Monastery of St. Macarius, from now on: DAM) between 2013 and 2018.[144] Anba Epiphanius' edition (from now on: CAB-Epiphanius) is the most manuscript-aware CAB publication thus far.[145] The purpose of CAB-Epiphanius, as anba Epiphanius states in the introduction, is to continue the work of Regnault, who spent several months in DAM in 1978 preparing a publication of this CAB recension along with an analysis of its content.[146] Anba Epiphanius worked extensively before publishing CAB-Epiphanius, as Wadid el-Macari explains in the following quote:

> He [Epiphanius] worked on *Bustān al-Ruhbān* (The Garden of the Monks) by verifying them on the manuscripts that we have at the monastery, by numbering the various apophthegms, and especially—and this is what took him the most time—by correlating each saying to the other collections of apophthegms preserved in the various ancient languages. It is difficult to estimate how much time he had to devote to read these various collections, some of which cover several volumes. And it was not only about reading, but one had to be very careful to identify parts that have their correspondence in the Arabic *Bustān*. This work allowed him to live in the company of the Desert Fathers for long days, months and years.[147]

CAB-Epiphanius thus provides an analysis of the content of the CAB recension, as well as an edited text. Anba Epiphanius presents the analysis of the content in a structural table, using a reference system that is commensurable with the previously

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[144] *Anba* is a title for Coptic clergymen, saints, and elders (Wilson B. Bishai, "Coptic Lexical Influence on Egyptian Arabic," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 23, no. 1 (1964): 40). There are, apart from CAB-Epiphanius, popular editions of the Copto-Arabic *Bustān*. There is, for example, a widespread modern *Bustān* edition from 1968, which has been reprinted, and which was edited by Athanasius, metropolitan in Banī Suwayf (Athanasius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān li-ābā' al-kinīsah al-qibṭīyah* (Beni Suef: Lagnat al-taḥrīr wa-l-nashr, 1968). From now on: CAB-Athanasius)). Unlike CAB-Epiphanius, CAB-Athanasius incorporates "monastic sources newly made available to the editors through modern English and French translations" (Stephen J. Davis, "Monastic Revivals," in *Melania: Early Christianity through the Life of One Family*, ed. Catherine M. Chin and Caroline T. Schroeder (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 265). Hence, editions such as CAB-Athanasius cannot be used as completely reliable sources for the historical CAB tradition.

[145] Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān* (Wādī Naṭrūn: St. Abba Macarius Monastery Publishing House, 2016 (2013)).

[146] Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān*, 15.

[147] Epiphanius, *So Great a Salvation: Biblical Meditations of a Contemporary Desert Father*, eds. and trans. Samuel Kaldas and Ramza Bassilious, (Wādī Naṭrūn: St Macarius Press, 2019 (postmortem)), 21.

mentioned concordances of Bousset and Regnault, and hence also with *Monastica*.[148] With the permission of anba Epiphanius and the St. Abba Macarius Monastery Publishing House, anba Epiphanius's structural table, as well as his edited text, is available in *Monastica*.[149]

In his edition, anba Epiphanius has copied the structure of a CAB edition published in Cairo in 1948-1950 (from now on: CAB-Cairo), which is the same edition as Arras mentioned in his introduction to EG-Arras.[150] CAB-Cairo is, in turn, probably copied from a manuscript in the library of Dayr al-Suryān (from now on: DS).[151] The structure of CAB-Epiphanius is, furthermore, more or less identical with the structure of MS StMacar.370. For his edition, anba Epiphanius has thus made use of StMacar.370, as well as five other manuscripts in the DAM library containing the same CAB-recension.[152] The manuscripts are:

- MS StMacar.368 (468 pages, 19th cent.)

- MS StMacar.369 (130 folios, *inc. mut.* 19th cent.)

- MS StMacar.370 (fols. 6–170, 1916)

- MS StMacar.371 (fols. 15v–229v, 1900)

- MS StMacar.372 (fols. 3r–322v, 1891)

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[148] Epiphanius provides an identification (in the form of a number) for each text unit, thus presenting the *Bustān* as a compilation of 1226 text units (Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān*, 500–33).
[149] The structure and text of CAB-Epiphanius was first encoded for APDB by Moa Airijoki, Kenneth Berg, and Britt Dahlman. The encoded structure and text have subsequently been exported to *Monastica*.
[150] *Bustān al-ruhbān ʿan ābāʾ al-kinīsah al-qibṭīyah al-ʾurthudhuksiah*, 3 vols., lithographic edition (Cairo: Dār al-naskh wa-l-taḥrīr, 1948–1950). See Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān*, 16.
[151] No information is given in CAB-Cairo concerning the editorial process. However, Zanetti suggests that CAB-Cairo was copied from a source in the library in DS (Ugo Zanetti, "Deux lettres de Macaire conservées en arabe et en géorgien," *Le Muséon* 99, no. 3–4 (1986), 327; Ugo Zanetti, "Épitomé de la 'Lettre de Macaire sur la gloire des saints'," in *Manuscripta Graeca et Orientalia: mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin*, eds. André Binggeli, Anne Boud'hors, and Matthieu Cassin, OLA 243 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 617–18. See also Lucien Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes sur la 'prière de Jésus'," *Extrait de Irénikon* t. 52 (1979): 353). I have looked at the entries of the CAB manuscripts at DS classified under "Ascetic Discourses" in the newly published catalogue series of the library of DS, but judging from their descriptions, they do not seem to fit as the source for CAB-Cairo (DS Arabic Ascetic 22 (1484), 31 (before 1484), 33 (1333/4), 37 (n.d.), or 51 (n.d) Davis and Swanson, *Catalogue*, vol. 4). Stephen Davis has indicated to me that further CAB manuscripts appear in the forthcoming catalogue volume of manuscripts classified under *mayāmir*; hopefully, the supposed source for CAB-Cairo is among those CAB manuscripts.
[152] Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān*, 9; Ugo Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr. Inventaire* (Geneva: Cramer, 1986), 53–54.

- MS StMacar.373 (187 folios, *inc. et des. mut.*, 18<sup>th</sup> cent.)

Ugo Zanetti, who has catalogued the manuscripts in the library of DAM, remarks that StMacar.368–373 (except for StMacar.369) represent the same CAB recension "au moins dans les grandes lignes."[153] Furthermore, there is one more manuscript in the library—ms StMacar.367—that exhibits the same CAB recension as StMacar.368–373 but that anba Epiphanius has not used.[154]

When editing the text in CAB-Epiphanius, anba Epiphanius has mainly copied from StMacar.371. Whenever a text unit in his structure (i.e. CAB-Cairo) was not found in StMacar.371, anba Epiphanius instead refers to one of the other manuscripts, in most cases to StMacar.370.[155] Although I have sadly not been able to ask anba Epiphanius why he mainly copied from StMacar.371, rather than StMacar.370, I believe that this was because he wanted to avoid damaging StMacar.370, which is a more beautiful and embellished codex.[156]

Furthermore, anba Epiphanius provides an apparatus commenting Greek and Coptic loanwords and, occasionally, noting variant wordings between StMacar.368–373. To sum up, CAB-Epiphanius exhibits an eclectic edition of a CAB recension which corresponds with CAB-Cairo and StMacar.370, and to a lesser, but still very high, degree to StMacar.371 and the other manuscripts mentioned. [157]

In his edition of the text, anba Epiphanius has normalized the orthography, and occasionally the grammar and even the wording, in line with standard Arabic, resulting in a text that is similar to CAB-Cairo. Furthermore, the edited text in CAB-Epiphanius

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[153] StMacar.369 presents a different CAB recension that nevertheless have some texts in it that are similar to those in StMacar.367–373 (Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, 53).

[154] Anba Epiphanius, who was always very accommodating during our e-mail correspondence in the earliest stages of my research, tragically passed away in 2018. I have therefore unfortunately not been able to ask him about his collating and editing principles. Apart from these manuscripts there is also one CAB manuscript of another, shorter, type (StMacar.374, 19<sup>th</sup> cent.). There are also two fragmented CAB manuscripts in the library catalogued as MSS StMacar.478 (16<sup>th</sup> cent.) and 479 (14<sup>th</sup> cent.), see section 3.2.4. The library also holds two copies of the Philoxenian version of the Syriac *Paradise of the Fathers* (DQC, see section 3.1.3, found in MSS StMacar.375 (1895), and StMacar.477 (14<sup>th</sup> century)).

[155] Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān*, 15–16.

[156] One finds many marginal notes in StMacar.371 made by a contemporary hand, and I believe that they are the notes of anba Epiphanius. For digital images of StMacar.367–372 (StMacar.373 has not been digitized), see Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, *HMML Reading Room*, https://www.vhmml.org/. Membership is needed to access the images.

[157] Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān*, 15–16. In fact, whenever anba Epiphanius did not find the text from CAB-Cairo in the manuscripts in the DAM library, he copied from CAB-Cairo directly.

exhibits partial vocalization and punctuation not found in the manuscripts. I have therefore mainly used StMacar.367–372, which are available as facsimiles in the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library online reading room, whenever I have needed to consult the texts for the purpose of collating it with parallel texts in Vat.ar.460.[158]

### 1.4.1.4 Middle Arabic, my diplomatic edition and English translation

Just as many pre-modern Arabic Christian texts, R is written in middle Arabic.[159] Middle Arabic deviates from classical Arabic, approaching colloquial Arabic.[160] Middle Arabic texts have, for a long time, been judged as evidence for the authors and scribes' imperfect command of classical Arabic.[161] Recent scholarship has, however, reassessed this assumption, and have stressed that medieval authors sometimes deliberately chose to write in middle Arabic. In other words, Middle Arabic should be approached as a literary paradigm of its own, and not only as a corruption of the Arabic written language.[162] In Clara Elisabeth ten Hacken's words:

> It [sc. Middle Arabic] may be considered an important variant of Arabic, containing interesting information which contributes to our knowledge of the development of the language. Its weakly standardized form, the irregular occurrence of features of the various registers, such as Classical, dialect, and hybrid forms, give the language a lively character and make its study not only a useful but even a fascinating enterprise.[163]

For the textual analysis in Vat.ar.460 I provide a diplomatic edition and English translation of the selected texts in Vat.ar.460 (Appendix E), using the texts in

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[158] *HMML Reading Room*. https://www.vhmml.org/. Since anba Epiphanius mainly refers to StMacar.371, I have mainly consulted this manuscript.

[159] Swanson, "Arabic Hagiography," 353. The prevalence of Middle Arabic characteristics in medieval Christian literature even made Joshua Blau use the category *Christian Arabic* for these texts (Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic, based mainly on South-Palestinian texts from the first millennium,* 3 vols., CSCO Subsidia, T. 27–29 (Leuven: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1966–1977)). For a research overview of pre-modern middle Arabic literature, which problematizes some of Blau's early tenets, see Clara Elisabeth ten Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr and the Monastery of Naqlūn: The Copto-Arabic Texts" (PhD Diss., Leiden University, 2015), 89–94.

[160] Jérôme Lentin, "Middle Arabic," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. Kees Versteegh (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2008), 215–24.

[161] Jérôme Lentin, "Reflections on Middle Arabic," in *High vs. Low and Mixed Varieties: Status, Norms and Functions across Time and Languages*, eds. Gunvor Mejdell and Lutz Edzard (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 33–38.

[162] Jacques Grand'Henry, "Christian Middle Arabic," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, ed. Kees Versteegh (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2006), 383–85.

[163] Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr," 9; See also Caroline Macé and Paolo La Spisa, "Orthography and linguistic features," in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Alessandro Bausi et al. (COMSt, 2015, 10.5281/zenodo.46784), 346.

StMacar.367–372 and EG-Arras.lat to aid my interpretation and occasional reconstruction in my English translation of unclear passages (written within brackets [ ] in the English translation). My aim has been to present the texts largely as they stand in Vat.ar.460, with some minor changes pertaining to orthography. In this endeavor I am inspired by Hacken, who in her edition of the Copto-Arabic *Naqlūn homily* provides a thorough discussion on editing principles regarding Middle Arabic texts.[164] As Hacken writes, a "text written in Middle Arabic requires a specific edition technique different from the methods developed for classical Arabic texts", since Middle Arabic is marked by a "low degree of standardization."[165] Hacken proposes a middle way wherein one reproduces the text "as close as possible to its original form with a limited number of adaptations."[166] Similarly to Hacken, I have therefore reproduced faithfully the following aspects of the orthography as it appears in Vat.ar.460:

- The *iʿjām* diacritics (consonantal pointing) of the letters ي ة ذ are often omitted and thus appears as ى ه د, and ث is most often written as ت.
- The ء is sometimes, but most often not, written. ئ is often written as ي.

The Middle Arabic character of the text in Vat.ar.460 is visible not only in its irregular and partly colloquial orthography, but also in its morphology, syntax, and lexicography.[167] All such aspects are reproduced as they are in Vat.ar.460.

The limited number of adaptations that I have made, listed below, concern orthography. Similarly to Hacken, I have normalized the following aspects in my edition of the texts in Vat.ar.460:[168]

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[164] Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr."
[165] Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr," 89.
[166] Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr," 97.
[167] For an overview of Middle Arabic characteristics, many of which appear in R as represented in Vat.ar.460 and StMacar.367–372, see Lentin, "Middle Arabic," 219–22.
[168] Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr," 97-100.

- Occasionally, *iʿjām* diacritics to the letters ب ت ج خ ز ش ض ظ غ ف ق ن are omitted in Vat.ar.460. In my edition, I have added these marks in those few instances.

- The letters س and ع are almost consistently marked with a *ʿalāmat al-ihmāl* (∨) and a *fatha* (◌َ). In my edition, I have not reproduced this feature.

- Like Hacken, I do not reproduce *ḥarakāt* diacritics (vocalization), due to their irregularity and deviance from standard vocalization; furthermore, similarly to what Hacken observes in her manuscripts, "in many cases it is not clear to which letter the [sc. vocalization] sign belongs."[169] In contrast, accusative *tanwīn* (nunation) diacritics sometimes appear in grammatically sound places, and in those cases I have reproduced them in the edited text.

- I only reproduce the *shadda* (◌ّ) when it signals a conventional use of the *shadda*; in many instances, it is used in unconventional places, e.g. over the *alif* in لا, and I do not reproduce those instances.

- The use of punctuation (.) is irregular. I only reproduce the punctuations that appear at the end of sentences and that therefore facilitate the reading. I do not add punctuations when there is none in the manuscript.

- I do not reproduce the red color of the rubrications.

- I do not reproduce marginalia by Western hands.

My interpretation of the sometimes-difficult text in Vat.ar.460 is reflected in my English translation. While I generally provide a fairly literal English translation, the translated text is nevertheless "standardized," interpreting and normalizing irregularities of the source text. Whenever I have felt the need to add extra words in my English translation that are not supported in the source text, I have written them inside parentheses ( ). I have also added punctuation marks that are not present in the Arabic text.

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[169] Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr," 99.

## 1.4.2 Sources for other AP versions

For a fuller understanding of R and its relation to the AP tradition, I also use other AP versions and satellite works in various versions and languages. Most of these sources are available in *Monastica*. As has become clear in section 1.2.1, identifying the oldest or original AP structure and text is difficult. AP manuscripts vary considerably from each other when it comes to structure. Current AP editions do not do full justice to this fluidity and are therefore not as suitable when comparing AP recensions from a structural point of view. In my structural comparisons in section 3.3, I therefore use various manuscripts, whose structure is registered in *Monastica*, as far as possible. For a full list of AP manuscripts whose structure is registered in *Monastica*, see Appendix F.[170]

### *1.4.2.1 Sources for Greek AP versions*

In my analysis of textual variance between R and other AP versions I mainly use Greek editions and translations. The reason why I use editions and translations, rather than manuscripts, when presenting Greek AP text is not only that it is much less time-consuming, but also that the witnesses vary significantly less from each other textually than structurally (see section 1.1.3). I mainly use the following Greek AP editions:

- **G-Cotelier**: Jean-Baptiste Cotelier's edition of G as represented mainly by MS Par.Gr.1599.[171] I use John Wortley's English translation.[172] Greek and English texts are available for registered users in *Monastica*.

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[170] Per June 2023.

[171] Jean Baptiste Cotelier, *Apophthegmata Patrum, collectio graeca alphabetica*, In *Ecclesiae Graecae monumenta* 1:338–712 (Paris 1677), reprinted in PG 65:71–440 (Paris: J.P. Migne Imprimerie Catholique, 1858). After Poemen, Cotelier copies from other manuscripts as well. Faraggiana di Sarzana is preparing an edition of an earlier G recension which she has identified in MSSVat.gr.2592, Par.gr.1596, and Ven.Marc.Gr.II.70.

[172] John Wortley, *Give Me a Word: The Alphabetical Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, Popular Patristic Series 52 (New York: St. Vladimir's Press, 2014). Many scholars instead use Benedicta Ward's translation (Benedicta Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*, CS 59, revised edition (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984 (1975)), but I find Wortley's translation more faithful to the source text.

- **GN-Wortley:** John Wortley's edition and English translation of GN as represented by MSS Par.coisl.126, Sin.gr.448, and Vat.gr.1599.[173] Greek and English texts are available for registered users in *Monastica*.

I do not use Guy's edition of GS (GS-Guy) in my textual analysis except when I present its prologue (section 4.2.1) . All the Greek parallels to R are found in either G-Cotelier and GN-Wortley. Furthermore the Greek text in GS-Guy not entirely reliable against the manuscript tradition, since "Guy attempts to present on the one hand all sayings preserved in the thematic collections, on the other the oldest version of each saying" thus resulting in a hypothetical GS version "that has never existed."[174]

Although I rely on Wortley's or other scholars' translations, I sometimes have felt the need to adapt the English text to highlight aspects in the Greek text that are important when comparing it with R. In those cases, I provide the scholars' translations in footnotes.

I have also consulted the transcriptions of two Greek manuscripts, listed below, that present earlier strata in the textual development of AP. I have noted the (very few) variants that have been of relevance in my analysis of R in the footnotes.

- **Par.gr.2474**, testifying to an early GS recension. Greek text is available for registered users in *Monastica*. For chapters 4, 15–18 in MS Par.ar.2474 I use Dahlman's GS edition (from now on: GS-Dahlman), which is available for registered users in *Monastica*.[175]

- **Athos.Prot.86,** testifying to a GS recension of a later stage than Par.gr.2472 (b$^1$).[176] Greek text is available for registered users in *Monastica*.[177]

[173] Wortley, *The Anonymous Sayings of the Desert Fathers*.
[174] Rubenson, "The Formation and Re-formations," 15: Jean-Claude Guy (ed. and trans.), *Les apophtegmes des pères: collection systématique*, 3 vols., SChr 387, 474, 498 (Paris: Cerf, 1993–2005).
[175] Britt Dahlman, *Paradiset: ökenfädernas tänkespråk : den systematiska samlingen*, vols. 4, 15–18 (Linköping: Silentium, 2012).
[176] Guy*, Recherches*, 120, 184, 187.
[177] Transcription by Britt Dahlman.

## 1.4.2.2 Sources for other comparanda to R

Although Greek manuscripts present a relatively stable textual transmission, they are nevertheless of late date and are thus not entirely reliable as witnesses to an early textual tradition. Moreover, it is not necessarily so that the oldest manuscripts display the oldest versions of texts.

As I have mentioned, the Sabaitic AP recension represents in many cases a "very old textual tradition."[178] Unfortunately, there exist presently no transcription of the Greek text witnesses to this recension, and I have therefore not consulted it in this analysis.[179] Apart from the Sabaitic AP recension, MS Sin.syr.46 is the earliest extant AP text witness, representing a very old textual tradition. *Monastica* only presents 17 identified parallels between the selected texts in Vat.ar.460 and Sin.syr.46, six of which are translated to English by Bo Holmberg for *Monastica*.[180] I have consulted the parallels to R in the translation of Sin.syr.46 and provide information in the footnotes whenever I have observed significant variant wording in Sin.syr.46 compared to the selected Greek text.[181]

The lack of certainty regarding the earliest AP textual stratum is not a major concern in my textual analysis of R since I do not necessarily seek to establish its relation to a very early AP tradition. At the time of when R was curated, the AP had been transmitted for many generations, and it is likely that the curators of R made use of newer AP versions. I therefore find it suitable to use the texts in G-Cotelier and GN-Wortley as representative of an early AP tradition in general, without specifying more closely its relation to the very earliest AP tradition.

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[178] Dahlman, "The Sabaitic Collection," 134.

[179] MSS Athos Karakallou 38, Par.gr.1598, Lond.Brit.Libr.Burney.50, Mosq.Synod.gr.190, and Sin.gr.1608 (Dahlman, "The Sabaitic Collection," 136.

[180] Sin.syr.46. Transcribed and translated by Bo Holmberg. Syriac and English text available for registered uses in *Monastica*.

[181] Another witness of an AP textual tradition that sometimes predates what is found in Greek witnesses is the Latin *Commonitiones Sanctorum Patrum* (from now on: CSP) recension, which has been edited by José Geraldes Freire (José Geraldes Freire, *Commonitiones sanctorum patrum: uma nova collecção de apotegmas, estudo filológico, texto crítico* (Coimbra: Centro de estudos clássicos e humanísticos, 1974), Latin text available for registered users in *Monastica*); see Rubenson, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*," http://dx.doi.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00000239; and Britt Dahlman, "The *Collectio Scorialensis Parva*," 23–24). The parallels between the selected apophthegmata from R and CSP-Freire are but very few. Therefore, this source has not been used in my textual analysis.

Other AP or satellite sources that also appear as comparanda in the textual analysis of R, not for their reproduction of very old textual traditions, but rather for their textual differences or similarities to R:

- **CAB-Agaiby:** Lisa Agaiby's English translation of a Copto-Arabic CAB dossier containing apophthegmata attributed to Antonius as represented in various manuscripts in Dayr anbā Anṭūniyyūs (DAA).[182]

- **CB-Amelineau:** Émile Amélineau's edition and translation of a Bohairic-Coptic AP recension as represented in MSS Vat.Copt.64 and Vat.Copt.69.[183] Structure and French text is available for registered users in *Monastica*.[184]

- **EA-Arras**: Arras's edition and Latin translation of the Ethiopic *Asceticon* as represented in MS Brit.Orient.768.[185] Structure and Latin text available for registered users in *Monastica*.

- **ECM-Arras:** Arras's edition and Latin translation of the Ethiopic *Collectia Monastica* as represented in various Ethiopic manuscripts.[186] Structure and Latin text available for registered users in *Monastica*.

- **EP-Arras:** Arras's edition and Latin translation of the Ethiopic *Patericon* as represented in various Ethiopic manuscripts.[187] Structure and Latin text available for registered users in *Monastica*.

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[182] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 113–51.

[183] Émile Amélineau, (ed. and trans.), *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne: Histoire des monastères de la Basse-Égypte. Vies des saints Paul, Antoine, Macaire, Maxime et Domèce, Jean le Nain, etc. Texte copte et traduction française* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894).

[184] As Vivian and others point out, Amélineau's edition contains many errors (Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 37; Tim Vivian, "Bohairic Coptic Sayings Attributed to Saint Antony the Great: A New Transcription and First English Translation," *Coptica* 16 (2017): 43; Tim Vivian, "*The Virtues of Saint Macarius*: The Manuscript, and Amélineau's Text," *Coptica* 1 (2002): 69. For this reason, Ivan Miroshnikov has kindly provided me of a new transcription and translation of the two apophthegmata whose text I present in chapter 5. Furthermore, I have not found any significant structural or textual similarities between R and the extant Sahidic-Coptic AP recension (Marius Chaîne (ed. and trans.), *Le manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des "Apophthegmata Patrum"* (Cairo : IFAO, 1960); Alla I. Elanskaya, *The Literary Coptic Manuscripts in the A. S. Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum in Moscow* (Leiden & New York & Cologne: Brill, 1994)). Therefore, this source has not been used in my textual analysis.

[185] Victor Arras (ed. and trans.), *Asceticon. Edidit et latine reddidit*, 2 vols., CSCO 458–459/SAa 77–78 (Leuven: Peeters, 1984).

[186] Victor Arras (ed. and trans.), *Collectio Monastica . Edidit et latine reddidit*, 2 vols., CSCO 238–239/SAa 45–46 (Lovanii: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1963). See Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Une nouvelle collection éthiopienne d'Apophthegmata Patrum," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 31 (1965): 177–88.

[187] Victor Arras (ed. and trans.), *Patericon Aethiopice. Edidit et latine reddidit*, 2 vols., CSCO 277–278/SAa 53–54 (Lovanii: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1967). See Sauget, "Un exemple typique."

- **HL-Butler**: Cuthbert Butler's edition of Palladius's *Historia Lausiaca*.[188] Translated into English by Robert T. Meyer.[189] Greek and English text available for registered users in *Monastica*.

- **HS-Leloir:** Louis Leloir's Latin translation of the Armenian thematic AP collection which was edited by Nerses Sarkissian (HS-Sarkissian).[190] Structure and Latin text available for registered users in *Monastica*.

- **PJ-Rosweyde:** Heribert Rosweyde's edition of the Latin thematic AP version attributed to Pelagius and John as represented in many manuscripts, such as MS Brux.BR.9850-52.[191] Latin text available for registered users in *Monastica*.

- **PS-Migne:** Jacques Paul Migne's reprint of Cotelier's edition of the *Pratum Spirituale* by John Moschus.[192] Translated into English by John Wortley.[193] Greek and English texts available for registered users in *Monastica*.

- **R-Rosweyde:** Heribert Rosweyde's edition of the Latin thematic AP version attributed to Rufinus of Aquileia (from now on: R-Rosweyde). Latin text available in *Monastica*.[194]

- **SE-1907-Budge:** The Syriac *Paradise of the Fathers*, compiled by ʿEnānīsho (SE). Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge's English translation from 1907 is based on Paul Bedjan's edition of SE as represented in MSS Par.syr.317, Berlin MS 175 (Sachau 329), and Vat.syr.126.[195] English text available for registered users in *Monastica*.

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[188] Cuthbert Butler (ed.), *The Lausiac history of Palladius*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898–1904).
[189] Robert T. Meyer (trans.), *Palladius: The Lausiac History* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1965).
[190] Nerses Sarkissian, *Vark' srbote harante evv kŭtakŭvarout' iunk notsin θst krkin t' argmanout eam nahneats hator aragin*, 2 vols. (Venice: Mechitarist Press, 1855); Louis Leloir, *Paterica armeniaca a P. P. Mechitaristis edita (1855) nunc latine reddita*, 4 vols., CSCO 353, 361, 371, and 379 (Leuven: Peeters, 1974-1976).
[191] Heribert Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum* (1615), reprinted in PL 73 (Paris: Cerf, 1849), lib. V and VI (851–1024).
[192] Jean Baptist Cotelier (ed.), *Ioannes Moschos, Leimôn pneumatikôn*, reprinted in PG 87:2852–3112 (Paris: J.P. Migne Imprimerie Catholique, 1869).
[193] John Wortley (trans.), *The Spiritual Meadow of John Moschos*, CS 139 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1992).
[194] Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, lib. III (739–810).
[195] Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (ed. and trans.), *The paradise or garden of the Holy fathers, being histories of the anchorites, recluses, monks, coenobites and ascetic fathers of the deserts of Egypt between A.D. CCL and CCCC circiter. Compiled by Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria: Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis: Saint Jerome, and others. Now translated out of the Syriac with notes and introduction*, 2 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1907); Paul Bedjan (ed.), *Acta martyrum et*

- **SkP-Veder**: William R. Veder's edition and English translation of the Slavonic thematic AP version known as the *Scete Paterikon*.[196] Slavonic and English text available for registered users in *Monastica*.

Finally, I consult other Arabic AP recensions. The structure of the AP content in most of these manuscripts, which in turn derive from Sauget's analyses, is available in *Monastica*. For a presentation of these sources and existing scholarly analysis of them, see section 3.1. As becomes evident in the literature review in section 3.1 and in my analysis in section 3.3, some of the Arabic AP text witnesses are representative of recensions that are interesting to compare textually with R. In my textual analysis of selected parts of R, I have thus consulted the following Arabic AP manuscripts:

- Strasb.4225 (901)
- Vat.ar.71 (885)
- Mil.Ambr.L120sup (10th or 11th cent.)
- Par.ar.276 (11th cent.)
- Sin.ar.547 (12th cent.)
- Par.ar.253 (14th cent.)
- Sin.ar.444 (1218)

Out of these, Strasb.4225 and Vat.ar.71 have been transcribed by Jason Zaborowski for *Monastica*. I thus use Zaborowski's transcriptions as main comparanda whenever possible and note important variations in the other manuscripts in the footnotes. Whenever there is no parallel to R in Strasb.4225 or Vat.ar.71, I have consulted

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*sanctorum Syriace*, reprinted (Paris & Hildesheim: Olms, 1968 (1897)). As Draguet points out, neither SE-Bedjan, SE-Budge-1907 or Budge's edition from 1904 (*The book of Paradise, being the histories and sayings of the monks and ascetics of the Egyptian desert by Palladius, Hieronymus and others. The Syriac texts, according to the recension of ʿAnân-Îshôʿ of Bêth ʿÂbhê, edited with an English translation*, 2 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1904)) are critical editions (René Draguet, (ed. and trans.), *Les formes syriaques de la matière de l'Histoire lausiaque,* CSCO 389, 390, 398, 399 (Leuven: Peeters, 1978)). Nevertheless, these editions remain the only published editions of this important Syriac florilegium. See Holmberg, "The Syriac Collection," 35–36.

[196] William R Veder (ed. and trans.), *The Scete Paterikon—Patericon Sceticum—Skitskiĭ paterik* (Amsterdam: Pegasus, 2012).

Par.ar.253, since it represents a particularly interesting Arabic AP recension that also exhibits notable differences and similarities vis-à-vis R.

## 1.4.3 Manuscripts and heritage

In this investigation, I rely (as do most scholars of Arabic Christian literature) primarily on a text witness found in European archives. Although the exact circumstances are unknown, it is safe to assume that Vat.ar.460 ended up in the Vatican Library during the early modern period, when Egyptian artefacts were taken out of Egypt *en masse* (see section 2.9).[197] Tamer el-Leithy describes the early modern interest in Coptic sources as "related to Catholic missionary work in Egypt" as well as a "narcissistic" enterprise in which Coptic sources provided European Christians with "a discovery of the roots of their own faith."[198]

In contrast, MSS StMacar.367–372 have remained within their original (Coptic monastic) environment. Unlike the manuscripts that were brought to European archives, these and other manuscripts in Coptic repositories generally continued to be used, and thus naturally became worn out, copied, and replaced by newer manuscripts. Their usage in a living tradition explains why manuscripts in Coptic repositories tend to be of later date than their counterparts in European archives. [199] In Egypt, the preservation of texts took the form of scribal copying until at least the 19th century, and even later in the case of monastic milieux.[200] This imbalance between the historical value of manuscripts in European archives, on the one hand, and Coptic

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[197] See Gawdat Gabra et al, *Historical Dictionary of the Coptic Church* (Cairo: The American Univeristy in Cairo Press, 2008), xvii–xxii; Maged Mikhail et al, *Christianity and Monasticism in Wadi Al-Natrun: Essays from the 2002 International Symposium of the Saint Mark Foundation and the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 22. Hugh G. Evelyn-White provides, for example, a list of several manuscripts from DAM that appear in archives in Leipzig, Manchester, and Cambridge (Hugh G. Evelyn-White and George P. G. Sobhy, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'N Natrûn: Part 1: New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius* (New York: Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, 1926), viii).
[198] Tamer el-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo, 1293–1524 A.D." (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 2005), 11–12.
[199] Sever J. Voicu and Ugo Zanetti, "Christian liturgical manuscripts," in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*, eds. Alessandro Bausi (general editor) et al. (COMSt, 2015, 10.5281/zenodo.46784), 462–65.
[200] Some books, particularly used in education, started coming in print after Pope Cyril IV brought the first printing press to the community in the 1850s (Samir Seikaly, "Coptic Communal Reform: 1860–1914," *Middle Eastern Studies* 6, no. 3 (1970): 250). DS acquired a printing press sometime after the 1950s ("Dayr Al-Suryān," In CE, vol. 3, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), CE:879). DAM acquired a printing press in 1978 (Jill Kamil, *Christianity in the Land of the Pharaohs: The Coptic Orthodox Church* (London: Routledge, 2014), 55).

repositories, on the other hand, creates methodological as well as ethical problems pertaining to heritage.[201] The severance of the manuscripts in European archives from living tradition makes them of high value for historians who (often) search for the earliest extant text witnesses.[202] At the same time, these manuscripts were often purchased or taken hold of without much concern for them being part of the Coptic heritage.[203] European accounts repeatedly downplayed Oriental Christian "modes of reading; these were manuscripts without (scholarly) readers."[204]

While the historian's search for old text witnesses is well-grounded from a methodological point of view (although it should not be forgotten that old texts sometimes appear in recently produced text witnesses), the tendency to favor old manuscripts has disfavored those that remain in their original environment. This is true not only for Western scholars but also for actors in the original environment, who might look upon their own sources as corrupted and without value. The contemporary Coptic-Orthodox community sometimes, like the Western research community, overlooks the manuscripts in their own repositories. This is also a tendency in the 20th Coptic-Orthodox Renaissance, a period of renewed interest in classical works, for most of the early monastic texts available on the Egyptian market today are Arabic translations of French or English critical editions (of mostly Greek manuscripts), disregarding pre-modern Arabic translations of the classical works in the monastic libraries.[205] By contrast, CAB-Epiphanius is a DAM publication, and so the monastic community has played an active part in its publication. CAB-Epiphanius is interesting

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[201] For a discussion of methodological as well as ethical problems pertaining to manuscript studies and cultural heritage, see Liv Ingeborg Lied, *Invisible Manuscripts: Textual Scholarship and the Survival of 2 Baruch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, 2021), 1–34.

[202] David A. Michelson, *The Library of Paradise: A History of Contemplative Reading in the Monasteries of the Church of the East* (Oxford University Press, 2022), 36.

[203] There is thus a strong tendency among the European travelers who wanted to acquire manuscripts from the Coptic monasteries to stress how these manuscripts were "languishing without readers until rescued by European scholars". Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 19. See also Columba Stewart, "Yours, Mine, or Theirs? Historical Observations on the Use, Collection and Sharing of Manuscripts in Western Europe and the Christian Orient," in *Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock*, edited by Malphono Rabo W-Malphone (Piscataway, US: Gorgias Press, 2008), 603–30.

[204] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 21.

[205] For an overview of aspects of the current Coptic Renaissance, see Nelly van Doorn-Harder and Kari Vogt, *Between Desert and City : The Coptic Orthodox Church Today* (Oslo: Novus forlag : Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforsking, 1997); and Gawdat Gabra, *The A to Z of the Coptic Church* (Lanham, US: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 234-35. For Arabic translations of English critical editions of VA in the beginning of the 20th century, see Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 57 n73.

to bring into this investigation since it represents the living monastic tradition that continued after the severance of Vat.ar.460 from its original environment.[206]

Another important aspect to be aware of is that many manuscripts in DAM library (including StMacar.367–372) have been photographed *in situ* and digitized.[207] The digitization (rather than physical displacement) of manuscripts in Coptic repositories is recommendable. However, some contemporary monastic communities are suspicious towards this kind of project. Davis mentions, for example, that the librarian of DS was initially hesitant to allow photographing of the manuscripts in the library, since previously such photographs had been distributed without consent.[208] As Davis writes, this suspicion must be understood as indicative of a "shared cultural memory of a colonialist history in which the monastery has lost agency over large portions of its manuscript collection."[209]

The use of manuscripts or other sources from a living tradition can contribute to a fuller and more heritage-aware historical understanding of that tradition. At the same time, there are also obvious risks in using them. In general, traditions such as CAB present themselves as unchanging, representing a continuous bond with its origin. The Wādī al-Naṭrūn and Red Sea monasteries are historically connected with the desert

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[206] Although CAB-Epiphanius is sold in the bookshops of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, CAB-Athanasius seems to be more widely read and used within the Coptic community. This observation is made per March 2019.

[207] *HMML Reading Room*. https://www.vhmml.org/.

[208] Stephen Davis, "Manuscripts, Monks, and Mufattishin: Digital Access and Concerns of Cultural Heritage in the Yale Monastic Archaeology Project," in *Ancient Manuscripts in Digital Culture: Visualisation, Data Mining, Communication*, ed. Claire Clivas (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 70–83.

[209] Davis, "Manuscripts, Monks, and Mufattishin," 77. Indeed, DS provides "the most dramatic example of the transfer of manuscripts from an Egyptian monastery to a European library." Stewart, "Yours, Mine, or Theirs?," 623.
See the following quotes from European travelers during the modern era, who were eager to purchase Egyptian manuscripts but who thought very little about the monks whom they met. First, a quote by Johann Michael Vansleb on his visit to DAA in 1672: "In the Tower, mentioned before, were three or four Trunks full of old *Arabian* Manuscripts […] And though they were all Books of Devotion belonging to the Church, some of them deserved to be in the Kings Library; but because the Monks were not willing to sell them, for they belong'd to the Monastery, fearing the excommunication of their Patriarch, which is written in the beginning of every Book […]" Johann Michael Wansleben, *The Present State of Egypt, or, a New Relation of a Late Voyage into That Kingdom Performed in the Years 1672 and 1673* (Farnborough (Hants.) Gregg Press, 1972), 188. See also the comment by the 18th century traveler Sonnini de Manoncourt: "They are not to be prevailed upon to part with any of them, although they never read them, but suffer them to lie about on the ground, eaten by vermin, and covered with dust." Henry Hunter (trans.), *Charles Nicolas Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt, Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt* (Westmead: Gregg international publishers limited, 1972 (1800)), 353; And see also the comment by Claude Sicard, who purchased manuscripts from DAA on behalf of the Vatican library: "Il [sc. Giuseppe Simone Assemani] les acheta du supérieure en secret et non sans peine, les moines s'en faisant une très grande de se défaire de ces vieux volumes auxquels pourtant ils ne touchent jamais." Maurice Martin (ed.), *Claude Sicard, Œuvres. I: Lettres et relations inédites* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1982), 28.

fathers, and contemporary Coptic monastic communities are not seldom depicted as their natural heirs. Coptic monasteries are often described as places of continuity, where things have remained the same from Late Antique until the present.[210] As Febe Armanios explains, there is a danger in reproducing a discourse where "a disproportionate focus on early Christianity has bound Copts to an ancient and seemingly timeless heritage".[211] Indeed, Egypt itself is often portrayed as a place of ancient wisdom.[212] This mode of thinking must be viewed with skepticism, since presenting any religious community, or region, however "orthodox" it regards itself, as unchanging will most likely not be correct. Traditions—and memory—change together with the society in which they persist.

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[210] Karl-Heinz Brune, for example, describes in a recent publication the monasteries of Wādī al-Naṭrūn as (static) strongholders against the Islamic (changing) society (Karl-Heinz Brune, "The Multiethnic Character of the Wadi Al-Natrun," in *Christianity and Monasticism in Wadi Al-Natrun: Essays from the 2002 International Symposium of the Saint Mark Foundation and the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society*, eds. Maged Mikhail and Mark Moussa (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 19–20.

[211] Febe Armanios, "Approaches to Coptic History after 641," IJMES 42, no. 3 (2010): 483.

[212] Alastair Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439–1822: The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church* (Oxford, US: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1.

# 2 Historical Timeline

In studying R, one must handle sources from a wide time span. While the (written) AP tradition first saw the light of day in the late 5$^{th}$ century, CAB recensions started to appear some 500 to 700 years later. As I will argue in chapter 3, R was probably curated during the Coptic Renaissance, a period that I briefly describe in section 2.5. The AP content in R seems to consist mainly of earlier Arabic translations, many of which were made during the Syriac Renaissance. As EG-Arras and StMacar.367–372 show, R was copied for another 600 to 800 years, until the advent of Copto-Arabic printed literature changed the mode of book production in Egypt. In order to understand the historical events that have had an impact on the CAB tradition in general and R in particular, this chapter provides a brief historical timeline of Coptic monasticism and literary production from Late Antique until the early 20$^{th}$ century.

The curation of R operated within a cross-communal and cross-linguistic context. While AP is an originally Greek composition, R is an Arabic (and Ethiopic) text which in turn consists of texts with complex translation histories. For reasons I explain in chapter 3, I deem it plausible that R was curated in Dayr anbā Anṭūniyyūs by the Red Sea (from now on: DAA) or at least in a lower Egyptian monastic milieu. Due to its importance during the late Middle Ages, as well as its prominent role in early modern Arabo-Ethiopic translations (see section 2.6), DAA is a promising candidate for the curation of R. Another plausible candidate for the curation of R is the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, with Cairo and its flourishing medieval intellectual activities nearby. For these reasons, this chapter focuses on historical developments in lower Egypt (specifically in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, by the Red Sea, and in Cairo).

In addition, Christian-Muslim ascetic relations in late medieval Egypt provide an important backdrop for chapters 5–7, and thus require an excursus, found in section 2.7.

## 2.1 Lower Egyptian monasticism during Late Antiquity

During the 4th century, anchoretic monasticism was established in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, with Sketis at the center.[213] Anchorites also settled elsewhere in Egypt, such as by the Red Sea and the Fayyūm Oasis.[214] These early anchoretic sites developed into more or less condensed semi-anchoretic settlements.[215] The semi-anchoretic (also called "lauritic" or "Antonian") monasteries in lower Egypt flourished during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, although they were occasionally menaced by raids from surrounding tribes, a problem which eventually led to the erection of fortified walls.[216] The monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn were enwalled during the 9th century, while DAA was enwalled later, during the 13th century.[217]

Although lower Egyptian monasticism flourished until the Middle Ages, this period was also marked by several major crises of a religious nature. I have already mentioned the Origenist controversy (see fn78); one must add to that the Chalcedonian schism and the subsequent formation of the Coptic-Orthodox Church, additional Christological controversies among Copts, and hostilities between Copts and Melkites (Oriental Chalcedonians) in Egypt.[218] During Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, DAA was in fact occasionally inhabited by Melkite and Syriac monks.[219] Perhaps most importantly, the Arab conquest of Egypt in 640 constitutes a major turning point which would, in the *longue durée*, condition the fate of the Coptic community until this day.

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[213] Brune, "The Multiethnic Character of the Wadi Al-Natrun," 12.

[214] Otto F. A. Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Desert* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999), 144. During the following century, the semi-anchoretic Dayr al-Malāk Ghubriyāl (The Monastery of the Archangel Gabriel, also known as the Monastery of Naqlūn) appeared as well (Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr," 6).

[215] Aeldred Cody, "Scetis," In *CE*, vol. 7, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), CE:2102–03. Some monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, such as DAM, were more condensed than others (Karel Innemée, "The Paradox of Monasticism, the Transformation of Ascetic Ideals from the Fourth to the Seventh Century," in *Copts in Context: Negotiating Identity, Tradition, and Modernity*, ed. Nelly van Doorn-Harder (Columbia, US: University of South Carolina Press, 2017), 194–204).

[216] Antoine Mokbel, "La règle de saint Antoine le Grand," *Melto: Recherches Orientales* 2 (1966): 208.

[217] Cody, "Scetis," CE:2104; Brune, "The Multiethnic Character of the Wadi Al-Natrun," 20; Grossmann, "Dayr Al-Suryān," CE:876; David Grossmann, "Dayr Anba Bishoi (Scetis)," in *CE*, vol. 3, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), CE:734; Otto F. A. Meinardus et al., "Dayr Anbā Anṭūnīyūs," in *CE*, vol. 3, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), CE:720.

[218] Cody, "Scetis," CE:2103–04.

[219] Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries*," 6–7; Davis and Swanson, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, xix.

## 2.2 The Arab Conquest and Islamization

The Arab conquest did not initially lead to a major religious change in Egypt. Islam was only practiced by the ruling minority at first, and the Muslim rule allowed Christians and Jews to continue to practice their religion if they paid the *jizya* tax.[220] The conversion of Copts into Islam was, based on current evidence, slow and gradual. In fact, it was not until Mamlūk rule (between the 13th and 16th centuries) that Christianity became a minority religion in Egypt.[221]

Monasticism in lower Egypt, too, was largely unaffected by the changed political hegemony during the first centuries (although there was, occasionally, conflict and even violence directed towards monasteries on part of Muslim authorities).[222] As a general rule, the Muslim rulers allowed the monasteries to manage themselves and their congregations in a relatively free manner, particularly during the Fāṭimid (969–1171) and Ayyūbid (1171–1250) dynasties.[223] The taxes imposed in the monasteries were, however, a cause for concern and even led to the disappearance of those who were less economically strong, while the larger and more prominent monasteries persisted.[224]

## 2.3 Late antique and early medieval Coptic literary production

Despite narratives that portray Egyptian monks as rustic and illiterate, the Coptic monastic milieu was in fact quite literate.[225] Literacy seems to have been widespread

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[220] In addition, the Jewish community was a prolific minority group in Egypt until modern times.

[221] For an updated discussion of when, and to what extent, the majority religion in Egypt shifted from Christianity to Islam, see el-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion"; Bradley Bowman, *Christian Monastic Life in Early Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021) 28–29; Christopher J. van der Krogt, "Christians under the Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids and Mamlūks," in *Routledge Handbook on Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. David Thomas (London & New York: Taylor & Francis, 2018), 164.

[222] Cody, "Scetis," CE:2014.

[223] Johannes Den Heijer, "Wadi Al-Natrun and the History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria," in Christianity and Monasticism in Wadi Al-Natrun: Essays from the 2002 International Symposium of the Saint Mark Foundation and the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society, ed. Maged Mikhail and Mark Moussa (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2009), 27.

[224] Ute Pietruschka, "Some Observations About the Transmission of Popular Philosophy in Egyptian Monasteries after the Islamic Conquest," in *Ideas in Motion in Baghdad and Beyond: Philosophical and Theological Exchanges between Christians and Muslims in the Third/Ninth and Fourth/Tenth Centuries*, ed. Damien Janos (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2015), 88.

[225] Guy G. Stroumsa, "The Scriptural Movement of Late Antiquity and Christian Monasticism," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16, no. 1 (2008): 69. See the contributions in Larsen and Rubenson (eds.), *Monastic Education in Late Antiquity*.

even among the earliest generations of monks.[226] Late antique Egyptian monasteries hosted significant collections of books.[227] Much of this literature was in Greek. After the 8th century, however, the presence of literature in Greek waned, to the benefit of Coptic (and later Arabic). From the 4th century, literature in the Coptic language arose to prominence, especially in the fields of hagiography, liturgy, and homily.[228]

In addition, Coptic monasteries often hosted notable anti-Chalcedonian communities, such as Syrians, Armenians, and Ethiopians. Coptic monasteries were, effectively, often polyglot milieux.[229] This is especially true for the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn and by the Red Sea, who were in close contact with Cairo, Jerusalem, and beyond.

## 2.4 The emergence of Copto-Arabic literature

The earliest phase of Arabic Christian translations (mid-8th–12th century) was spearheaded by the Melkite community.[230] Syriac communities started translating their corpus thereafter. Scholars disagree somewhat on the timeline of the Arabization of Coptic literature, but generally agree that the translation process started later than among the Melkites and Syriacs, that is, by the 10th century. It was by and large finalized around the 14th century.[231] Samuel Rubenson describes three phases of the

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[226] Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), 27; Roger Bagnall, "The Educational and Cultural Background of Egyptian Monks," in *Monastic Education in Late Antiquity: The Transformation of Classical Paideia*, ed. Samuel Rubenson and Lillian I. Larsen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 75–100.

[227] Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 84.

[228] Stephen Emmel, "Coptic Literature in the Byzantine and Early Islamic World," in *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700*, ed. Roger Bagnall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 87–88. See also Paola Buzi, "Egypt, Crossroad of Translations and Literary Interweavings (3rd–6th Centuries). A Reconsideration of Earlier Coptic Literature," *EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste* (2018): 15–67.

[229] Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 89; Swanson, "Arabic Hagiography," 349; Adel Sidarus, "La renaissance copte arabe du moyen âge," in *The Syriac Renaissance*, eds. Herman Teule et al. (Leuven & Paris & Walpole, US: Peeters, 2010), 313.

[230] Alexander Treiger, "The Fathers in Arabic," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Patristics*, ed. Ken Parry (Hoboken: Wiley, 2015), 443–44.

[231] Tonio Sebastian Richter, "Greek, Coptic and the 'Language of the Hijra': The Rise and Decline of the Coptic Language in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt," in *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman near East*, eds. Hannah M. Cotton et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 418. According to Adel Sidarus, the "parfaite hégémonie de l'arabe" in Egypt was finalized later, during the 16th century (Adel Sidarus, "Plurilinguisme en Égypte," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 10 (2008): 183). See also Ronny Vollandt who argues that "Copts seem to have used Arabic only very reluctantly and sparsely until well into the twelfth century" (Ronny Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources* (Boston, US: Brill, 2015), 67). The oldest extant dated Egyptian Arabic Christian manuscript is dated to 1180–1181 (Marcus Simaika and Yassa ʿAbd Al-Masīḥ, *Fahāris al-makhṭūṭāt al-qibṭiyyah wa-l-ʿarabiyyah al-mawjūdah bi-l-matḥaf al-qibṭiyy wa-dār al-baṭriyarkiyyah wa-ʾahamm kanāʾis al-Qāhirah wa-l-Iskandariyyah wa-ʾadyirah al-quṭr al-miṣriyy = Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt* (Cairo: Government Press, 1939-1942), 1:xxv).

Arabization of Coptic literature and culture.[232] During the first phase (10th century), biblical and liturgical texts and hagiography were translated *ad hoc* in order to be understood by an increasingly Arabic-speaking audience.[233] During the second, "crucial" phase (11th–13th centuries), translations were more large-scale and thorough, providing the Coptic clergy with an all-round literary corpus. By this time, Rubenson argues, knowledge of the Coptic language was waning among the population, and the translators of Coptic texts had to be "educated monks and scribes."[234] The third and last phase (13th–14th centuries) took place during the Coptic Renaissance. During this phase, translational work was more sophisticated and, importantly, more informed by previously existing Melkite and Syriac translations and literature, as well as by Byzantine literature:

> If we may characterize the first period of translation as more popular and provisional, the second as one geared by necessity, then the third is a period of more scholarly work on sources. With growing relations with other Christian Arabic literatures and an immense production of Arabic texts on their own, translations from Coptic are no longer central. Unlike in earlier periods, the sources are now not only Coptic but also Greek and Syriac. In addition older Arabic translations, often from other communities are used and in the case of collections, material already translated is combined with new translations. Old translations are revised not only by using better sources and with a more competent analysis of them, but also in order to express the content in a better Arabic form.[235]

Importantly, however, the Arabization of Egypt and of Coptic literature looked different in different areas and milieux.[236] It is difficult to say with exactness when the monasteries in Lower Egypt shifted their language from Coptic to Arabic. It would seem that DAM, which together with the other monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn was a center for Bohairic-Coptic literature, still held service in Coptic during the 13th

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[232] Rubenson, "The Transition from Coptic to Arabic."
[233] Rubenson, "The Transition from Coptic to Arabic," 79; Aziz Suryal Atiya, "Literature, Copto-Arabic," in *CE*, vol. 5, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), CE:1464. Atiya rather places this phase to the late medieval period.
[234] Rubenson, "The Transition from Coptic to Arabic," 81; Sidarus, "La renaissance copte arabe du moyen âge," 325.
[235] Rubenson, "The Transition from Coptic to Arabic," 83.
[236] Mikhail, *From Christian Egypt to Islamic Egypt*, 79–80.

century, judging from the following remark by Asʿad Abū al-Faraj Hibat Allāh ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. ca 1259):

> Yet some, they are monks of Bū Maqār [sc. DAM] and others with them, think that there should be no reading in their churches in any other tongue than Coptic; and he of them who knows the translation of the Coptic translates it to whoever is at his side if he does not know it. [237]

See also Oswald Hugh Ewart KHS-Burmester, who brings into notice that late medieval *horologia* in Coptic used by "monks in Scetis who knew sufficient Coptic to dispense with an Arabic translation."[238] Church service and the Bible is, however, one thing; but hagiographical and patristic literature, is another. As Hugh G. Evelyn-White's survey of manuscripts in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn libraries shows, theological and hagiographical literature was primarily produced in Arabic by the 13th century.[239] The occurrence of late medieval Arabic hagiographies originating from other lower Egyptian monasteries, as those studied by Lisa Agaiby and Clara Elisabeth ten Hacken, suggests that lower Egyptian monasteries were, even before the 13th century, transmitting hagiography in Arabic.[240]

## 2.5 The late medieval Coptic Renaissance

From roughly the second half of the 12th century to the second half of the 14th century, the Coptic community underwent what has been called a Renaissance or Golden Age. There were many reasons why such a development became possible. After the Levantine regions again came under Islamic aegis through Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yusūf's (d. 1193) successful campaigns against the crusaders, and after the sack of Baghdad in

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[237] Translation by Duncan B. MacDonald (Duncan B. MacDonald, "Ibn Al-ʿAssāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels," in *Homenaje á D. Francisco Codera en su jubilación del professorado* (Zaragoza: Mariano Escar, 1904), 386, copied from MS British Museum Orient. 3382 fol. 386b. Transcription by MacDonald, "Ibn Al-ʿAssāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels," 379:
فرأى بعض الناس وهم رهبان بو مقار ومن معهم انه لا يقرا فى كنائسهم بلغة غير القبطى البتة والذى يعرف ترجمة القبطي منهم يترجم للذى الى جانبه اذا كان لا يعرف

[238] Oswald Hugh Ewart KHS-Burmester, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscript Fragments from the Monastery of Abba Pišoi in Scetis, Now in the Collection of the Staats- Und Universitätbibliothek Hamburg* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1975), 15.
[239] Evelyn-White and Sobhy, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, xxix. Furthermore, a Greek *Vita Pachomii* was translated into Arabic at DAM in 1259 (Evelyn-White and Sobhy, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, xxxv). However, it is also believed that the 13th century Bohairic-Coptic *Martyrdom of John of Phanijōit* was composed by a monk from DAM (Sidarus, "La renaissance copte arabe du moyen âge," 323).
[240] See Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 68; and Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr," 19.

1258, Cairo arose as a new political and intellectual center within the *Dār al-Islām*.[241] As a result, wealthy Copts in Cairo could network with other Oriental Christian communities, using Arabic as their *lingua franca*. This resulted in an influx of Christian literature produced by other Christian communities.[242]

The imported literature in question consisted, largely, of Arabic translations and works produced during the Syriac Renaissance, which occurred somewhat earlier (11th–13th centuries), and which in turn had incorporated even earlier Arabic translations and works by the Melkites.[243] The Syriac Renaissance was made possible through political changes, most notably Byzantine crusader missions in the Levant during the 10th century, which caused an influx of Byzantine literature to the Syriac communities.[244] During the Syriac Renaissance, a large corpus of late antique literature was translated into Arabic, although the usage of the Syriac language in writing persisted as well.[245] Syriac Renaissance literature is characterized by the engagement with both East and West Syriac literature, as well as that of their Melkite and Byzantine neighbors. In addition, Syriac Renaissance curators were more interested in Islamic ideas and works than their predecessors had been; Bar ʿEbroyo's enthusiasm towards IUD, which I have mentioned in section 1.1.4, serves as a case in point.[246]

The Coptic Renaissance thus incorporated the rich Arabic Christian literary landscape which came to life during the Syriac Renaissance into Coptic Egypt. The influx of Arabic Christian works into Egypt was spearheaded by rich and influential Coptic families in Cairo, of which the most famous were the ʿAssāl brothers, who made a lasting impression on Coptic literature as they translated and compiled many patristic works that are still used in the Coptic Church today. One of the brothers, al-Ṣafī Abu al-Faḍāʾil Ibn al-ʿAssāl (d. 1265), compiled and composed six different patristic

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[241] Sidarus, "La renaissance copte arabe du moyen âge," 325.
[242] Sidarus, "La renaissance copte arabe du moyen âge," 326. See also Samuel Rubenson, "Tradition and Renewal in Coptic Theology," in *Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today*, eds. Kari Vogt and Nelly van Doorn-Harder (Oslo: Novus, 1997), 37.
[243] Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," 192.
[244] Herman Teule, "The Syriac Renaissance," in *The Syriac Renaissance*, eds. Herman Teule et al. (Leuven & Paris & Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2010), 1–2.
[245] Teule, "The Syriac Renaissance," 11–14.
[246] Teule, "The Syriac Renaissance," 23–26.

*mukhtaṣarāt* (epitomes), one of which was an epitome of a certain "monastic ascetic compendium", to which I return in section 3.4.4.[247] According to Samir Khalil Samir, al-Ṣafī did not translate the epitomes from Greek, but instead used existing Arabic translations, "selecting extracts from them to clarify the ideas, and […] revising the language to make it more correct."[248]

According to Samir, al-Ṣafī was probably "a married layman", not a monk.[249] Monasteries were, by this time, the intellectual center of the Coptic community. At the same time, educated laypeople who were well-integrated in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk society were also prominent contributors to the Coptic Renaissance. Renaissance authors and scribes could first have a successful career in Cairo, only to retire to a monastery later in life. [250] In other words, Renaissance literature is marked by both urbanism and monasticism, suggesting that there was no radical rift between desert and city during this period.[251] The Coptic Renaissance not only incorporated literature and ideas from other Christian communities, but also showed an interest towards Islamic and Jewish literature.[252]

The Coptic Renaissance also marked a flourishing period for DAA. Its buildings were renovated and fortified walls were erected.[253] As Davis describes, DAA housed during

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[247] Samir Khalil Samir, "Ṣafī Ibn Al-ʿAssāl, Al-," in *CE*, vol. 7, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), CE:2075.
[248] Samir, "Ṣafī Ibn Al-ʿAssāl, Al-," CE:2076. Al-Ṣafī seems to have made use of translations from, for example, the well-known Melkite translators ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī (d. after 1052) and anba Anṭūniyūs of the Monastery of Saint Simeon Stylites the Younger (cf. section 3.1). Samir, "Ṣafī Ibn Al-ʿAssāl, Al-," CE:2076.
[249] Samir, "Ṣafī Ibn Al-ʿAssāl, Al-," CE:2075.
[250] Sidarus, "La renaissance copte arabe du moyen âge," 326. For example, Buṭrus al-Sadamantī (d. after 1260), another prominent author of this period, like al-Ṣafī, seems to have started his writing career in an urban setting, before spending his older days in a monastery (Mark Swanson, "On the 13th Century 'Golden Age' of Copto-Arabic Literature: The Case of Butrus Al-Sadamanti," In *Material and Written Culture of Christian Egypt Online Lecture Series*, hosted by Alin Suciu ([Video], Youtube, January 20th, 2021), https://youtu.be/HW7IkAZFduk).
[251] Samuel Rubenson, "Monasticism in the Oriental Orthodox Churches," in *The Oxford Handbook of Christian Monasticism*, edited by Bernice M. Kaczynski (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 172.
[252] Johannes den Heijer and Paolo la Spisa, "La migration du savoir entre les communautés: le cas de la littérature arabe chrétienne," *Res Antiquae* 7 (2010): 66; Johannes den Heijer, "La transmission des récits sur les mystiques coptes (moines, ermites) et leurs rapports avec la société égyptienne à l'époque fatimide," in *Les mystiques juives, chrétiennes et musulmanes dans l'Égypte médiévale (VIIᵉ–XVIᵉ siècles). Interculturalités et contextes historique*, eds. Giuseppe Cecere, Mireille Loubet, and Samuela Pagani (Cairo: IFAO, 2013).
[253] Meinardus et al., "Dayr Anbā Anṭūnīyūs," CE:722. See also Basil Thomas Alfred Evetts (ed. and trans.), *The churches and monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries, attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 160.

the late Middle Ages a "multicultural and multiethnic population."[254] Lois Farag writes:

> [b]y the thirteenth century there was a revival in the Coptic community in which the Monastery of St. Antony took a leading role, demonstrated by artwork produced by the artist Theodore and his team, which has been preserved to the present day. This renewal was accompanied by a massive literary activity in manuscript production.[255]

In other words, DAA was, during the Coptic Renaissance, a center for Copto-Arabic scribal activity. Codices copied by late medieval scribes associated with DAA can for example be seen in the library of DS, which attests to the high level of scribal activity and repute of the DAA scribal milieu at this point in time.[256] As Ute Pietruschka describes in the following passage, the monastery also produced manuscripts for beneficiaries in Cairo:

> Between 1231 and 1306 a significant number of manuscripts were brought from the monastery [sc. DAA] to the Coptic patriarchate in Cairo, which is evidence for a flourishing scriptorium. A considerable part of them is still detectable in the Coptic Patriarchate, the Coptic Museum, and in several collections in Europe as well.[257]

Concomitantly with the Coptic Renaissance, however, the Coptic population diminished in number and political influence.[258] As Kenneth Parker concludes concerning the Coptic Renaissance, it "transformed the Coptic Church and ultimately strengthened the identity of the Coptic community as their situation became increasingly more restricted."[259]

Despite the importance of this period, the late medieval Coptic Renaissance is understudied. In general, Coptologists focus on the late antique period at the expense of what came after. This is unfortunate, since, as Maged Mikhail states, the

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[254] Davis and Swanson, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, xvii.
[255] Lois M. Farag, "Monasticism: Living Scripture and Theological Orthodoxy," in *The Coptic Christian Heritage*, ed. Lois M. Farag (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), 126.
[256] Davis and Swanson, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, xvii.
[257] Pietruschka moreover points out that "the colophons of several manuscripts confirm that Gabriel copied books on commission of the already mentioned Awlād al-ʿAssāl" (Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 96).
[258] van der Krogt, "Christians under the Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids and Mamlūks," 164–65.
[259] Kenneth S. Parker, "Coptic Language and Identity in Ayyūbid Egypt," *Al-Masāq* 25, no. 2 (2013): 223.

Renaissance formed the Coptic Church in ways that are still highly relevant for the understanding of the Coptic Church today:

> The era spanning the tenth through the thirteenth centuries would prove of central importance to the Coptic Church for seemingly contradictory reasons. That was the formative period for the type of Coptic Christianity that has survived today. Certainly, there is a plethora of tangible and ethereal differences between the late antique, medieval, and modern Coptic church; nonetheless, a modern Copt would more easily identify with the liturgical and religious celebrations and biblical exegesis of the Arabic ear much more readily than with those of the fourth-, sixth-, or even eighth-century church. Over those few centuries, the Copts lived through a golden age of Coptic Arabic literature, in which, as Sidney Griffith observed, they composed more Arabic Christian literature than all of their Christian peers combined.[260]

## 2.6 The Arabo-Ethiopic translation movement

The era of Arabo-Ethiopic translations occurred somewhat concomitantly with the Coptic Renaissance. Starting out in the 13th century and progressing into the early modern period, a large corpus of monastic literature was translated from Arabic into Ethiopic.[261] It is generally supposed that the Arabic sources which the Ethiopic translators used were from Copto-Arabic archives.[262] As always, one needs to take into account here that a substantial part of the Copto-Arabic tradition was, in turn, heavily dependent on literature from the Melkite and Syriac communities. This, the term "Copto-Arabic" signifies that the literature in question was curated by Copto-Arabic agents.[263] Monastic florilegia, comprising "patristic texts and sayings of the Desert Fathers", was a popular genre to translate from Arabic into Ethiopic, especially during the first decades of the 16th century, which was "a period of economic and cultural prosperity" in Ethiopia.[264]

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[260] Mikhail, *From Christian Egypt to Islamic Egypt*, 269.
[261] Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 102; Alessandro Gori, "Arabic," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. Siegbert Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 302; Bausi, "Monastic Literature," 994).
[262] Bausi, "Ethiopic Literary Production," 1:508.
[263] For a discussion of the reception of Syriac as opposed to Coptic literature in the Arabo-Ethiopic translation movement, see Bausi, "Ethiopic Literary Production," 1:506–07.
[264] Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 99.

In his early 20th century survey, Evelyn-White suggests that Wādī al-Naṭrūn was the most prominent locus of the Arabo-Ethiopic translation movement.[265] Evidence brought forth by more recent scholarship, however, strongly suggests that it was rather DAA that was the major center for Arabo-Ethiopic translation.[266] Dayr al-Abyaḍ (the White Monastery, from now on: DA) was another significant translation center before the 14th cent, after which the monastery was apparently abandoned.[267]

## 2.7 Excursus: Christian and Islamic ascetics in late medieval Egypt

The relations between Christian and Islamic ascetics looked quite different in late medieval Egypt compared with how they looked during formative Islam. As is further presented in section 7.1, numerous literary sources attest to an interest in Christian monasticism taken by the early Islamic ascetics. There are accounts of early Islamic ascetics who frequent the monasteries in "Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, as well as Egypt" at least until the 10th century.[268] Extant passages of the largely lost *Kitāb al-Diyārāt* (*The Book of Monasteries*) by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī' (d. ca 974) illustrates that monasteries were perceived as places where one can indulge in wine, fine architecture, and hospitality.[269] There are even accounts of interreligious debates taking place within 9th-century monastic settings in northern Mesopotamia.[270]

In late medieval Egypt, however, there is less evidence suggesting that Muslims frequented Coptic monasteries, although many of the monasteries at times enjoyed

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[265] Evelyn-White and Sobhy, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, xxviii.
[266] Jesper Blid, Aaron Michael Butts, and Maximous el-Antony, "An Early Ethiopic Manuscript Fragment (Twelfth–Thirteenth Century) from the Monastery of St Antony (Egypt)," *Aethiopica* 19 (2016): 31–2, 46; Pietruschka also suggests DAA as the center for translations of Coptic-Arabic works into Ethiopic, although she also sees important ties between Ethiopia and the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn (Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 93–97).
[267] Martina Ambu, "Du texte à la communauté: relations et échanges entre L'Égypte copte et les réseaux monastiques éthiopiens (XIIIe–XVIe siècles)," (PhD Diss., Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2022), 342–50.
[268] Elizabeth Key Fowden, "The Lamp and the Wine Flask: Early Muslim Interest in Christian Monasticism," in *Islamic Crosspollinations: Interactions in the Medieval Middle East*, eds. Anna Akasoy, James E. Montgomery, and Peter E. Pormann (Exeter: The E. J. W. Gibb memorial Trust, 2007), 10.
[269] Hilary Kilpatrick, "Kitāb al-Diyārāt," In CMR Online, ed. David Thomas (Brill, 2010), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_23051. As Sabino Chialà points out, Syrian monasteries are the most frequently mentioned in Islamic sources (Chialà, "Les mystiques musulmans," 355).
[270] Steve Cochrane, "Historical Overview of Inter-Faith Relations in the Islamic Countries: The Presence of Christian Monks and Monasteries as Signposts of Faith," *Transformation* 24, no. 4 (2010): 277.

favorable economic aid from Muslim rulers.[271] At the same time, Copts and Muslims certainly engaged with each other by virtue of being communal neighbors, and by celebrating ancient Egyptian calendar festivals together, for example.[272] From the 13th century onward, however, Muslim participation in non-Muslim festivities was increasingly criticized, and the authorities banned many of the festivals.[273] During Mamlūk rule, monasteries also became increasingly economically targeted.[274]

By the Ayyūbid period, organized Sufism had made its way into the Egyptian social fabric.[275] During Mamlūk rule, Sufis became prominent religious authorities in Egypt.[276] Scholars who study Sufism in Egypt during the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods do not highlight that there were any significant exchanges of ideas between Sufi and Coptic ascetics and intellectuals.[277] On the contrary, Sufis were often active in vigorous campaigns against the Egyptian *dhimmī* population, and increasingly so during the 14th century. Nathan Hofer, for example, notes that Sufis in Upper Egypt "policed the communal boundaries between Christians and Muslims", both through non-violent means, such as debates, and through campaigns against Christian buildings.[278] Hofer explains the Sufi anti-Christian attitude as a result of a general "critique of the state, which they [sc. Sufis] accused of promoting and colluding with Christians."[279] Tamer el-Leithy also points to a pervasive Muslim suspicion of Coptic

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[271] van der Krogt, "Christians under the Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids and Mamlūks," 160; Kurt J. Werthmuller, *Coptic Identity and Ayyubid Politics in Egypt, 1218–1250* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 104–07.

[272] Asuka Tsuji, "The Depiction of Muslims in the *Miracles of Anba Barsauma Al-'Uryan*," in *Studies in Coptic Culture: Transmission and Interaction*, ed. Mariam F. Ayad (Cairo & New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2016), 65–75.

[273] el-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion," 116–26.

[274] Tamer el-Leithy, "Sufis, Copts and the Politics of Piety: Mural Regulation in Fourteenth-Century Upper Egypt," in *The Development of Sufism in Mamluk Egypt*, ed. Richard J. A. McGregor and Adam Sabra (Cairo: IFAO, 2006), 90.

[275] Nathan Hofer, "Sufism in Fatimid Egypt and the Problem of Historiographical Inertia," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 28, no. 1 (2017): 29.

[276] Boaz Shoshan, "Popular Sufi Sermons in Late Mamluk Egypt," in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in honour of Michael Winter*, eds. David J. Wasserstein and Amy Ayalon (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 106.

[277] For example, Richard J. A. McGregor mentions no Copts, or even Christians, in his monograph on the Wafāʾiyya order in late medieval Cairo (Richard J. A. McGregor, *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafa Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabi* (Albany, US: State University of New York Press, 2004)). This can be contrasted towards a very general notion that "Sufis have often functioned as Islam's premier 'border creatives,' that is, as effective translators and synthesizers of Islamic and non-Islamic religious forms" (Jeffrey J. Kripal et al, *Comparing Religions: Coming to Terms* (Chicester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 32).

[278] Nathan Hofer, *The Popularisation of Sufism in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, 1173–1325* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 203; Giuseppe Cecere, "The Shaykh and the Others–Sufi Perspectives on Jews and Christians in Late Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Egypt," *Entangled religions* 6 (2018): 39.

[279] Hofer, "The Popularisation of Sufism," 203.

converts, who increased in number during this period, and even a degree of "Muslim anxieties of influence".[280] Although the explicit animosity in the historical sources might hide a more nuanced relationship between Sufis and Coptic monks, I nevertheless conclude that, in this period, open fraternity and exchange of ideas between these two ascetic institutions in Egypt were not common.

## 2.8 The Modern Period

The Coptic Renaissance ended with a period of unfortunate events and developments that decimated the Coptic population.[281] To begin with, the Black Death was extremely severe in Egypt. It is estimated that one fourth, or even third, of the Egyptian population died during the outbreak in 1348–1349.[282] After the Black Death, famine broke out, and in the succeeding century or so, additional plagues, famines and natural disasters afflicted the Egyptian population again and again. This led to a rapid decrease of monastic life in Egypt.[283] In addition, the Ottoman rule, which succeeded that of the Mamlūk rule in 1517, was as harsh in its political treatment of the *dhimmī* population as its predecessor had been.[284]

Between the 14th and 20th centuries, the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn were in a much poorer state than they had been before—to use Evelyn-White's vivid imagery, they were "in a coma."[285] For example, the Sunni historiographer Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) reports in 1440 that only a few monks now inhabited DAM.[286] In Sicard's report from 1712, the number of monks in DAM and DAB was 4 in each, while around a dozen monks were living in DB and DS.[287] Although the monasteries in Wādī al-

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[280] el-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion," 176–216.
[281] Otto F.A. Meinardus, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity* (Cairo & New York: The American University of Cairo Press, 2002 (1999)), 66. See also Rubenson, "Tradition and Renewal," 37.
[282] Alexander Treiger, "The Arabic Tradition," in *The Orthodox Christian World*, ed. Augustine Casiday (New York: Routledge, 2012), 94.
[283] Cody, "Scetis," CE:2105; Hugh G. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'N Natrun: Part 2: The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*, ed. Walter Hauser, (New York: Arno Press, 1973 (1932)), 401.
[284] For more information about Coptic life during the Ottoman period, see Febe Armanios, *Coptic Christianity in Ottoman Egypt* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[285] Evelyn-White, *History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*, 413.
[286] Evetts (ed. and trans.), *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, 320. al-Maqrīzī's report from the end of his *Mawāʿiẓ wa-l-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-āthār* (*Admonitions and reflection on the quarters and monuments*) is published in English translation in an appendix to Evetts's edition.
[287] Maurice Martin (ed.), *Claude Sicard, Œuvres. 2: Relations et mémoires imprimés* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1982), 13.

Naṭrūn were slightly repopulated from the end of the 18th century onwards, the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn would not be restored to something akin to their former glory until the 1960's.[288]

Meanwhile, perhaps due to its isolated position, DAA was not struck as hard by the plagues, famines and natural disasters between the 14th and 15th centuries as were those in Wādī al-Naṭrūn. The monastery was devastated in the latter half of the 15th century by Bedouins, but it was rebuilt in the succeeding century.[289] The French traveler Claude Granger (Tourtechot) reports 25 monks dwelling in DAA in 1730, more than any of the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn.[290] In fact, during the early modern period, DAA took a leading role in Coptic society, and many of the Coptic patriarchs during this period were from DAA.[291]

The contemporary Coptic re-vitalization—also referred to as a Coptic Renaissance—started during the latter half 19th century and picked up speed during the latter half of the 20th century.[292] Wādī al-Naṭrūn was linked by highway in 1936, and the monasteries by the Red Sea were linked in 1946. The construction of highways made the monasteries accessible by car, which led to an increase of visitors.[293] With Matta al-Miskīn's reformation of DAM in 1969, this monastery grew in importance once again.[294]

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[288] Cody, "Scetis," CE:2105; (Anthony O'Mahony, "Tradition at the heart of renewal: The Coptic Orthodox Church and monasticism in modern Egypt," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 7.3 (2007): 164).
[289] Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 98.
[290] Meinardus et al., "Dayr Anbā Anṭūnīyūs," CE:722. In 1716 Sicard counted to 50-something monks at DAA (Martin (ed.), *Sicard, Œuvres 1*, 25, 40).
[291] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 87 n16.
[292] Davis, "Monastic Revivals," 261.
[293] Brune, "The Multiethnic Character of the Wadi Al-Natrun," 22; Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries*, 26.
[294] Samuel Rubenson, "Matta Al Miskîn," in *Moderne teologi: tradisjon og nytenkning hos det 20. århundrets teologer*, eds. Svein Rise and Ståle Johannes Kristiansen (Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget, 2008), 433.

## 2.9 Coptic literary production during the Modern Period

> In the course of the Middle Ages, during the Wars of the Crusaders, and more especially after the Turkish Conquest, Egypt suffered many troubles, persecutions, internal disorders and external attacks which retarded her civilization and almost extinguished the light of knowledge with disastrous results to the libraries, both public and private. Most of these libraries whether attached to mosques, monasteries and churches or kept in private houses were either destroyed or looted and dispersed.[295]

The decline of Coptic monastic life naturally had a negative impact on the maintenance of Coptic libraries. Evelyn-White thus calls the late 14th and 15th centuries "the dark days" of book production in DAM, as "the collection [sc. of books] as a whole fell into decay and much of it perished."[296] According to Richter, however, "many manuscripts of high quality were preserved and stored in the various monastery libraries" in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, even during this period of decline.[297] As I have mentioned in section 1.4.3, many precious manuscripts produced by Copts were traded or simply taken away from the monasteries by travelers during the early modern period. While some manuscripts went into private collections in Egypt, others were taken to European or Ottoman archives.[298]

The literary production in DAA seems to have come to a standstill between the 14th and 16th centuries; but later, during the 17th and 18th centuries, there was quite a lot of scribal activity in DAA. Agaiby thus lists 48 extant CAB manuscripts in the library in DAA which contain a dossier about Antonius, copied between the 14th and 20th centuries.[299] This remarkably high number of CAB manuscripts indicates that this textual tradition was considered important, and perhaps even emblematic, for the monks in DAA.

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[295] Simaika and ʿAbd Al-Masīḥ, *Fahāris*, 1:xii.
[296] Evelyn-White and Sobhy, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, xxxiii.
[297] Siegfried G. Richter, "Wadi Al-Natrun and Coptic Literature" in *Christianity and Monasticism in Wadi Al-Natrun: Essays from the 2002 International Symposium of the Saint Mark Foundation and the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society*, eds. Maged Mikhail and Mark Moussa (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2000), 49.
[298] Richter, "Wadi Al-Natrun and Coptic Literature," 47–50.
[299] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 94–101. During the 17th and 18th centuries, DAA took a leading role in Coptic Egypt (Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 87 n16; Agaiby, "'Whoever Writes Your Life-Story'", 147).

## 2.10 Concluding remarks

The aim of this historical overview has been to provide contexts in which I will place the production of R, which is the topic of the next chapter. One of the most important aspects of the historical context to bring into subsequent chapters is how pivotal the Coptic Renaissance (and, by extension, the Syriac Renaissance) was for the formation of Copto-Arabic identity. We have also seen how the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn and DAA by the Red Sea flourished during this period, and how DAA fared better during the early modern period compared with the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn. Meanwhile, the late antique semi-anchoretic way of life, which was modified by the fortifications of the monasteries during the Middle Ages, is an important aspect to have in mind in chapter 4, as I discuss how the CAB was (or could have been) read. The encounters and confrontations between Islamic and Coptic ascetics will later give a backdrop to discussions in chapters 6–7.

# 3 Philological Investigations

This chapter presents the outline of a CAB recension (R), which, as I have already signaled and as will be demonstrated, is found in Vat.ar.460 as well as in EG-Arras and, to some extent, in later text witnesses such as CAB-Epiphanius (section 3.2). The chapter commences with a survey of the scarce, yet very important, previous scholarship on Arabic AP recensions (section 3.1).[300] After the presentation of R in section 3.2 follows a discussion of the results from various macro-scale comparative analyses of R and other AP versions that I have performed with the help of *Monastica* (section 3.3). This then leads into a general discussion about the content of R and its relation to Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic models (section 3.4). The chapter ends with a concluding discussion in which I suggest that R is a late medieval CAB recension which was compiled in a lower Egyptian monastic setting (possibly DAA), and that its AP material consists, on a general level, of intralingual translations of already existing Arabic translations.

## 3.1 Scholarship on Arabic AP text witnesses

Georg Graf, who with his surveys of the Arabic Christian literary treasury during the first half of the 20th century became the founder of Arabic Christian studies in Europe, is also the first scholar to present an inventory of Arabic AP manuscripts.[301] This inventory is found in the first volume of his *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur* (GCAL).[302] Graf mainly refers to manuscripts found in European archives, but also to some monastic repositories in Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt.[303] Together with Graf's inventory, Sauget's extensive investigations of early Arabic AP text witnesses

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[300] I focus on the pre-modern Arabic AP, thus leaving out the contemporary reception of CAB in Egypt. For studies of the contemporary reception of CAB in Egypt, see e.g. Davis, "Monastic Revivals," and Anitra Bingham-Kolenkow, "Talking through the Saints," in *Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today*, eds. Kari Vogt and Nelly van Doorn-Harder (Oslo: Novus, 1997), 105.

[301] Carsten Walbiner, "Christian Arabic Studies in Germany During the Last 150 Years–a Short Survey," *The Arabist* 21–22 (1999), 242–43.

[302] Graf, *GCAL* 1:381–88.

[303] Graf's survey of Copto-Arabic repositories presents material from the Coptic Museum and Patriarchate library in Cairo. See Georg Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, Studi e Testi 63 (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1934). Further entries (but not an exhaustive list) on CAB manuscripts in Coptic repositories can be found in Simaika and ʿAbd Al-Masīḥ, *Fahāris*; Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr* (DAM); Davis and Swanson, *Catalogue*, vol. 4 (DS); and Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 50–54.

make up the backbone of our current scholarly knowledge of the Arabic AP. Although much is still to be charted, the work by Sauget and others provides us with a tentative timeline of translation phases, which in turn largely correspond with the translation phases of Arabic Christian literature brought up in chapter 2.[304]

### 3.1.1 Phase 1: Early Melkite AP translations (9th–11th cent.)

The earliest set of Arabic AP text witnesses originate from Melkite monastic milieux in Palestine and Sinai, in particular Dayr Mār Sābā (Holy Laura of Saint Sabbas in Palestine, from now on: DMS) and Dayr al-Qiddīsa Kātrīn (Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai, from now on: DQK). As Tamara Pataridze points out, early Melkite monastic florilegia often compiled material that consolidated Melkite identity but that also included works by celebrated Syriac authors.[305] The mix of Chalcedonian works with (West and East) Syriac works, resulting in an ascetic curriculum that transcends Christological and communal boundaries, is typical also for posterior Arabic AP versions.

A relatively well-examined text witness from this phase is MS Strasb.4225, which was copied in DQK in 901 by the Melkite scribe Tūmā al-Fusṭāṭī.[306] The codex presents a florilegium of monastic works, including a GS recension modelled upon an early Greek model akin to that found in MS Par.gr.2474 (cf. section 1.4.2).[307] The same AP recension also appears, in part, in another Arabic manuscript from this translation

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phase, namely MS Mil.Ambr.L120 sup, which was also probably copied in DQK (10th or 11th cent.).[308] Jean Mansour suggests that the AP recension in Strasb.4225 was translated directly from Greek into Arabic, although notable Syriac linguistic features in them suggest either some kind of intermediary Syriac translation or the curators' and scribes' polyglot backgrounds.[309] Recently, Jason Zaborowski has pointed to interesting socio-linguistic features in the AP sections in Strasb.4225, and I bring up his findings in section 6.1.

Another Arabic AP text witness belonging to this phase is MS Vat.ar.71, which was copied in 885 by Anṭūna Dāʾūd ibn Sulayman al-Baghdādī in DMS by commission for DSK.[310] Like Strasb.4225, Vat.ar.71 comprises a collection of monastic works.[311] Moreover, like Strasb.4225, the source language of the AP recension in Vat.ar.71 was, Griffith suggests, most likely Greek.[312]

## 3.1.2 Phase 2: Byzantine Antioch (10th–12th cent.)

The second set of Arabic AP text witnesses are products of a second phase, during which the Melkite communities in Syria (specifically around the metropolis Antioch) took the leading role. During this second phase, translators were informed by previous Arabic translations as well as by Greek sources (re-)made accessible through the Byzantine conquest of the area. A notable text witness from this phase is MS Par.ar.276 (11th cent.), which was copied by a scribe named Shimʿūn who was

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[308] Faraggiana di Sarzana, "Nota sul rapporto fra l'Ambr. L 120 sup"; Sauget, "Le paterikon arabe de la bibliothèque ambrosienne de Milan L120 Sup," 476. The second part of Mil.Ambr.L120sup shows and indirect relationship to SE (Sauget, "Le paterikon arabe de la bibliothèque ambrosienne de Milan L120 Sup," 492–94).

[309] Mansour, "Homélies et légendes religieuses," xxviii.

[310] Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Une version arabe du 'Sermon Ascétique' d'Étienne le Thébain," *Le Muséon* 77 (1964): 373; Griffith, "Anthony David of Baghdad." Jason Zaborowski has transcribed the AP content in Vat.ar.71 for *Monastica*.

[311] Griffith thus describes the content of the codex as consisting of "a life of Epiphanius of Salamis by John of Constantinople, lives of Saint Euthymius and Saint Sabas by Cyril of Scythopolis, a homily on Psalm 6 by Anastasius of Sinai, the aforementioned life of Saint Xenophon and his family, stories of Cassian and the fathers of Scetis, two homilies of Saint Nilus, two reports of the sayings of the abbot Saint Isaiah, two pieces from the pen of the abbot Saint Macarius, the aforementioned treatise of Stephen of Thebes, and some sayings of the monastic fathers." (Griffith, "Anthony David of Baghdad," 13–14). The AP recension is found between fols. 178v–205v.

[312] Griffith, "Anthony David of Baghdad," 13. As Griffith points out, however, Anthony David presents himself as a scribe rather than a translator, so that one may suppose that he copied from an already existing Arabic model. Griffith, "Anthony David of Baghdad," 12–13.

probably affiliated with the Monastery of Saint Simeon Stylites the Younger.[313] Par.ar.276 contains several ascetic works, including an AP recension.[314] Although Sauget doubts the veracity of the colophon which states that the texts in Par.ar.276 were translated from Greek into Arabic by the famous anba Anṭūniyūs, abbot of the Monastery of Saint Simeon Stylites the Younger during the 11th century, he nevertheless establishes a close relationship between parts of Par.ar.276 with the GN tradition as attested in e.g. MS Par.Coisl.126.[315] Sauget shows how the same recension appears in several other Arabic manuscripts as well, thus marking "une certaine fixité" which stands out among the overall fluidity between Arabic AP recensions.[316] Another important text witness from this phase is MS Ming.Chr.Arab.120a (10th cent.), which contains an G-GN recension akin to that found in the Greek MS Par.Coisl.232 (12th cent.).[317]

### 3.1.3 Phase 3: Syro-Arabic Translations (12th–13th cent.)

The third phase of Arabic AP translations coincides with the Syriac (and Coptic) Renaissance (cf. section 2.5). AP text witnesses from this phase exhibit even higher levels of complexity.[318] It is here one ought to situate the AP recension which Sauget studied in his 1987 monograph, and which has a remarkably complex stemma (from now on this recension is referred to as siglum S, as in Sauget). Sauget is able to show that S was copied from two main sources, whose structure it re-organized: 1) the Syriac *Paradise of the Fathers*, an AP florilegium originally compiled by ʿEnānīsho in the 7th century (from now on: SE); and 2) the alphabetic-anonymous AP recension

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[313] Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Le Paterikon du manuscrit arabe 276 de la Bibliothèque Nationale De Paris," *Le Muséon* 82 (1969): 365.
[314] MS Par.ar.276 fols. 146r–160v, 217r–223r. Folios are missing from this codex.
[315] Sauget, "Le Paterikon du manuscrit arabe 276," 372–77, 388–89.
[316] MSS Sin.ar.442 (ca. 13th cent.), Sin.ar.467 (ca. 13th cent.), and Sin.ar.547 (ca. 12th cent.). Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Un nouveau témoin de collection d'Apophthegmata Patrum: Le Paterikon du Sinaï arabe 547," *Le Muséon* 86 (1973): 5–6. In the structural comparison in section 3.3 I use Sin.ar.547 rather than Par.ar.276, since the latter contains more lacunae, and since the structure of Par.ar.276 is currently being revised by Britt Dahlman and Kenneth Berg.
[317] Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Le Paterikon du ms. Mingana Christian Arabic 120a," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 28 (1962): 402–17. The AP recension makes up the entire codex.
[318] In addition, this phase also saw the production of Arabic AP florilegia in *karshouni*, represented in e.g. MSS Par.syr.238, Par.syr.239, as well as many others (Graf, *GCAL* 1:382–85). I thank Adrian Pirtea for making me aware of this. The study of the *karshouni* florilegia falls outside the scope of the present investigation.

found in the previously mentioned MS Ming.Chr.Arab.120a.[319] S is attested in many manuscripts, such as MS Par.ar.253 (14th cent.).[320] Par.ar.253 was, in fact, probably copied in a Copto-Arabic milieu, since the manuscript is foliated with Coptic numerals and has marginalia in Coptic script.[321] It is certain that S was appreciated by the Coptic monastic community, for one finds other manuscripts containing S in Coptic monastic repositories.[322]

This phase also saw the dissemination of an Arabic epitome of the so-called Philoxenian *Paradise of the Fathers*.[323] The Philoxenian *Paradise of the Fathers* is, in fact, itself an epitome of a redaction, made by the 7th century East Syriac author Dadishoʿ of Beth Qaṭraye', who re-organized SE into *erōtapokriseis* (question-and-answer) form. Dadishoʿ's redaction of SE is known as the *Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers* (from now on: DQC).[324] The so-called Philoxenian epitome of DQC (from now on: DQE) later became attributed to the West Syriac author Philoxenos of Mabbug.[325] DQE is well attested in both Coptic and Ethiopic repositories.[326]

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[319] Sauget, *Une Traduction Arabe*, 9–11, 15–16, 19, 143, 152. SE is available in SE-Bedjan.

[320] MS Par.ar.253 fols. 1r–219r. The other manuscripts are: Sin.ar.444 (1218); Sin.ar.492 (13th cent.), Sin.ar.559 (13th cent.), Sin.ar.565 (1622); and Vat.ar.77 (1684). Sauget, *Une traduction arabe,* 11. See also Graf, *GCAL* 1:381.

[321] Marginalia (chapter titles) in Coptic script at fols.5v, 11v, etc.

[322] From the descriptions by Davis, Swanson, and Agaiby, I surmise that there are manuscripts in the current libraries of DS and DAA containing S (DS Arabic Ascetic 37 (n.d.) and 51 (n.d., Davis and Swanson, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, xiii) ; Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 106 n74). It is possible that the popularity of SE in Coptic Egypt goes as far back as the 10th century, that is, before the Coptic Renaissance (Evelyn-White, *History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*, 440; Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 19, 258).

[323] As Michelson remarks, "besides eliminating certain sayings, the other major change in the *Epitome* [DQE] is a radical reorganization of the order of the sayings." (Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 225). For the reception of DQE, see Grigory Kessel, "A Fragment from the Lost 'Book of Admonition(S)' by Abraham Bar Dašandad in *Risāla Fī Faḍīlat Al-ʿafāf* ('Letter on the Priority of Abstinence') of Elias of Nisibis," in *Gotteserlebnis Und Gotteslehre: Christliche Und Islamische Mystik Im Orient*, ed. Martin Tamcke (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 125–27.

[324] See David Phillips (ed. and trans.), Dadishoʿ Qatraya, *Commentaire sur le Paradis des Pères*: *Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes,* Tome 1 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2022).

[325] The change of attribution from Dadishoʿ to Philoxenos probably reflects a willingness to domesticize East Syrian literature in West Syrian (hence orthodox, in the eyes of the Coptic patriarchate) guise (Nicholas Sims-Williams, "Dādišoʿ Qaṭrāya's Commentary on the *Paradise of the Fathers*," *Analecta Bollandiana* 112 (1994), 38). See also David Phillips, "The Syriac Commentary of Dadishoʿ Qatraya on the Paradise of the Fathers," *Bulletin de l'académie belge pour l'étude des langues anciennes et orientales* (2012), 4. For a list of Arabic (including *karshouni*) DQE text witnesses, see Graf, *GCAL* 1:384–85.

[326] DQE is for example found in a 14th century manuscript in the library of DAM (StMacar.477) as well as in StMacar.375, which was copied in 1895 (Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, 54, 71). See Ambu, "Du texte à la communauté," 125–28; and Robert A. Kitchen, "The Book of Monks: Ethiopian Monasticism via Beth Qatraye," in *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century,* eds. Mario Kozah et al. (Piscataway, US: Gorgias Press, 2014), 231–48: and Witold Witakowski, "*Filekseyus*, the Ethiopic Version of the Syriac Dadisho Qatraya's *Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers*," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 59 (2006): 289–90, 292.

### 3.1.4 Copto-Arabic *karshouni* (CAK)

Hitherto, the most studied Copto-Arabic AP text witness is a set of *karshouni* leaves (from now on: CAK), tentatively dated to the late 13th century.[327] This type of *karshouni,* that is, Arabic text written with Coptic letters, seems to have been extremely rare; apart from CAK, only one other sample of this type of writing is known.[328] CAK was found in DAM, and there are reasons to believe that it originates from there.[329] Some leaves of CAK were transported to the Cambridge University Library; Evelyn-White and his expedition brought other leaves to the Coptic Museum in Cairo, and additional leaves are presently in the Hamburg University and State Library.[330] Scholars have used CAK as evidence for Coptic being a living language during the late Middle Ages, contrary to the widely held assumptions which have been presented in section 2.4. George Sobhy thus argues from the basis of CAK that, as late as the 13th century, Coptic "was still the language spoken by the Monks and the Coptic Church, at least in the monasteries."[331] A problem with this argument is that it does not explain why CAK, when read aloud, is in Arabic and not in Coptic. The hypothesis that it was read aloud is strengthened by Sobhy's comment that CAK "was apparently designed for the instruction of novices".[332] Another example is provided by Joshua Blau who argues that CAK is in Coptic characters since the Copts simply knew this

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[327] Tonio Sebastian Richter, "Allographic Experiments at the Cradle and at the Grave of Coptic Written Culture," paper presentation, see Michael Reynolds, Jack Boulos Victor Tannous, and Christian C. Sahner (workshop organizers), *Recovering the Role of Christians in the History of the Middle East*: *A Workshop at Princeton University May 6–7, 2016*, *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 19 vol. 2 (2016): 411. I follow Richter in using the term *karshouni* when describing these leaves, although the term originally denotes Arabic text written in Syriac characters (Richter, "Greek, Coptic and the 'Language of the Hijra'," 419).

[328] The second Copto-Arabic *karshouni* specimen is a magical spell found in the Cairo Genizah, tentatively dated to the 12th–14th century (Cambridge UL, TS 12.207 + TS AS 207.54). I thank Richter for sharing this information with me.

[329] Evelyn-White and Sobhy, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, 231. M. P. Casanova argues for common linguistic traits between CAK and the Copto-Arabic *Vita Pachomii* recension which was published by Émile Amélineau (M. P. Casanova, "Un texte arabe transcrit en caractères coptes," *BIFAO* 1 (1901): 19; Émile Amélineau (ed. and trans.), *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne au IVe siècle: Histoire de saint Pakhôme et de ses communautés. Documents coptes et arabe inédits, publiés et traduits* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1889)). Casanova even suggested that CAK and Amélineau's *Vita Pachomii* recension both stem from an Upper Egyptian 10th century milieu. But this is strange given that CAK is in Bohairic script.

[330] The fragments at Cambridge University Library, consisting of 2 folios, are catalogued as Add. 1886 (17). The leaves in the Coptic Museum in Cairo are catalogued as Copt.mus.2521. The leaves in Hamburg are catalogued as ms.Arab.Monast.1.

[331] Evelyn-White and Sobhy, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, 231.

[332] Evelyn-White and Sobhy, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, 231.

alphabet better.[333] Blau's suggestion is not, however, very plausible. Coptic authors had been writing in Arabic since the 10th century, and the Coptic *karshouni* seems to have been a very rare writing system. Tonio Sebastian Richter offers a most plausible explanation, namely that CAK testifies to a scribal culture that, while arabized, still held the Coptic script in high esteem:[334]

> This kind of 'hybrid' writing might have been appropriate for somebody accustomed to speaking Arabic, who nevertheless wanted (and was still able) to read and write Coptic—be it because of their education or, more likely, because of the higher prestige of the Coptic script in certain fields of Christian religious practice.[335]

## 3.1.5 Studies of CAB

As I have mentioned in section 1.4.1, Lucien Regnault took, at the end of his career, an interest in the Copto-Arabic AP tradition, which resulted in two articles in which he discusses aspects of CAB as it is represented in CAB-Cairo. In his first article, Regnault discusses a dossier of CAB-Cairo (see section 5.4) and suggests that it was compiled into its current form sometime after the 8th century.[336] In his second article, however, Regnault stresses how little is certain about the CAB tradition.[337] He does, however, claim that CAB-Cairo displays similarities with EG-Arras and EA-Arras. He even goes so far as to claim that CAB-Cairo, EG-Arras, and EA-Arras represent an Egyptian AP tradition that is independent from the main AP tradition.[338] This claim must be rejected, however, since the textual affinities between the supposedly Egyptian AP tradition, represented in CAB-Cairo, EG-Arras and EA-Arras, and other

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[333] Joshua Blau, "Some Observations on a Middle Arabic Egyptian Text in Coptic Characters," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979): 216. See also Oswald Hugh Ewart KHS-Burmester, "Further Leaves from the Arabic Ms in Coptic Script of the Apophthegmata Patrum." *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 18 (1965): 52.

[334] In this respect, CAK is akin to Coptic-Arabic bilingual Bibles, where the Coptic text is larger and more embellished than its modest-looking Arabic translation on its side, which is a clear indication that the Coptic script enjoyed a high esteem even after the ability to read Coptic text largely waned.

[335] Richter, "Greek, Coptic and the 'Language of the Hijra,'" 419.

[336] Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes," 353–55.

[337] Lucien Regnault, "Des apophtegmes des pères redécouverts," in *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'Hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos, bollandiste*, eds. Enzo Lucchesi and Ugo Zanetti (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 2004, published postmortem), 161.

[338] "Ce n'est pas un hasard si toutes les pièces présentées ici se rattachent à la tradition arabe et à la tradition éthiopienne. Cette double tradition est sans doute issue directement d'Égypte sans avoir transité par la Palestine. Elle se situe donc en dehors des grandes collections classiques, alphabétique et systématique. Elles appartiennent à trois recueils [EA-Arras, EG-Arras and CAB-Cairo]"( Regnault, "Des apophtegmes des pères redécouverts," 149).

AP versions show beyond doubt that they are part of the same textual tradition. Regnault is, however, justified in connecting EG-Arras with CAB-Cairo (hence CAB-Epiphanius), which my analysis in this chapter shows. At the same time, my analysis will show that EA-Arras, *pace* Regnault, is only weakly structurally and textually related to CAB-Epiphanius (hence CAB-Cairo).

Once again, the surveys by Sauget are groundbreaking in understanding the relationship between Arabic and Ethiopic AP recensions. Sauget shows that both ECM-Arras and EP-Arras are copied from Arabic models, although Sauget is not able to identify the exact Arabic models among the text witnesses that he has consulted.[339] In a thorough study of EP-Arras, Sauget demonstrates that the Ethiopic florilegium shows structural resemblance to Arabic manuscripts, such as MSS Vat.ar.566, Vat.ar.77, and (to a lesser extent) Strasb.4225, Vat.ar.71, and Vat.ar.460.[340]

Recently, Agaiby has conducted important studies of Copto-Arabic hagiographic and apophthegmatic traditions pertaining to Antonius, the first and most famous desert father. She presents a study, edition, and English translation of a Copto-Arabic metaphrastic redaction of Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* (from now on: VA). This redaction, although very popular in early modern Coptic Egypt, is hitherto virtually unknown in the West. While it is attributed to Serapion of Thmuis, who was the disciple of Antonius, Agaiby convincingly argues that the redaction was likely penned by an anonymous monk in DAA during the 13th century. Agaiby shows how some key episodes from the pseudo-Serapionic VA also appear in a CAB recension found in manuscripts in the libraries of DAA and Dayr anbā Būlā (The Monastery of St. Paul, from now on: DAP), and, in fact, in R as well (see section 3.2.5.).[341] Agaiby's most recent publication focuses on the Antonian AP dossier in CAB codices in the library of DAA. Here she provides English translations of 74 apophthegmata attributed to

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[339] Sauget, "Une nouvelle collection éthiopienne d'Apophthegmata Patrum," 177–88; Sauget, "Un exemple typique des relations culturelles entre l'arabe-chrétien et l'éthiopien," 321–88.

[340] Sauget, "Un exemple typique des relations culturelles entre l'arabe-chrétien et l'éthiopien," 321–88.

[341] Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 48. Whether this means that the pseudo-Serapionic VA was composed before CAB or vice versa one cannot say, but Agaiby suggests that the pseudo-Serapionic VA antedates CAB (Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 106).

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[339] Sauget, "Une nouvelle collection éthiopienne d'Apophthegmata Patrum," 177–88; Sauget, "Un exemple typique des relations culturelles entre l'arabe-chrétien et l'éthiopien," 321–88.

[340] Sauget, "Un exemple typique des relations culturelles entre l'arabe-chrétien et l'éthiopien," 321–88.

[341] Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 48. Whether this means that the pseudo-Serapionic VA was composed before CAB or vice versa one cannot say, but Agaiby suggests that the pseudo-Serapionic VA antedates CAB (Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 106).

Antonius, 31 of which are unattested in other AP versions.[342] She stresses that the CAB text witnesses display great variation regarding both structure and content, but also argues for the existence of a gradually expanding Antonian dossier in these codices, which grew substantially from the 16th to the 18th centuries.[343] Agaiby describes the portrayal of Antonius in these apophthegmata as changing over time.[344] For example, she notices how later manuscripts add narratives and topics centered around the coenobitic life, which might be due to the fact that DAA became increasingly coenobitic in setup between the 16th and the 19th centuries.[345] Here, it is worth pointing out that my study of the Antonius dossier in R (section 5.2) nuances Agaiby's claim about the later interpolations in the CAB corpus—in fact, several of the apophthegmata that Agaiby identifies as late in her corpus appear in Vat.ar.460, a manuscript that is certainly older than many of the CAB text witnesses that Agaiby consults.[346]

## 3.1.6 Studies of Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras

There is very little previous scholarship on Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras and CAB-Epiphanius. Witakowski mentions EG-Arras in his survey of Ethiopic AP recensions, stating that it is "a translation of apophthegmata of the Desert Fathers taken mostly from the Alphabetical collection, supplemented with excerpts from Pachomius, Evagrius, Historia Lausiaca, Daniel of Scete, Anastasius Sinaita and others."[347] At some point in time, Sauget made a structural table of Vat.ar.460; his unpublished table will be presented and discussed in the next section. Sauget mentions Vat.ar.460 in passing in his study of S, where he argues that some of the apophthegmata in Vat.ar.460 are copied from an Arabic SE recension different from S.[348]

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[342] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 106.
[343] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 103.
[344] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 111.
[345] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 107–11. When Vansleb visited DAA in 1672 he noticed that the monks lived "separately, scattered about in small, low houses." Meinardus et al., "Dayr Anbā Anṭūnīyūs," CE:724.
[346] See section 5.2. An even larger part of this dossier is found in CAB-Epiphanius (CAB-Epiphanius 1–32).
[347] Witakowski, "Filekseyus," 283–84.
[348] See fn1006. Sauget writes: "Nous reviendrons ailleurs sur ce faible témoignage." (Sauget, *Une traduction arabe*, 119). He does not return to the subject in any other of his publications, perhaps due to his death in 1988, one year after the publication of the monograph.

As for the venture into analysis of the textual content in Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras I know of no other work except Alin Suciu and Amsalu Tefera's presentation of the Ethiopic reception of Stephen of Thebes's *Sermo Asceticus* (from now on: SA).[349] They identify a SA excerpt in EG-Arras, and show that its model is to be found in Vat.ar.460.[350] They thereafter argue that the SA excerpt in Vat.ar.460 is, in turn, copied from the Arabic SA recension found in, for example, Vat.ar.71.[351] As Suciu and Tefera shows, the Arabic SA recension was, in turn, copied and translated from a Greek model, probably around the 9th century.[352]

## 3.2 Presentation of R

In Sauget's unpublished notes, archived in the Vatican Library, one finds a structural table describing the contents of the CAB recension (R) in Vat.ar.460.[353] With the permission of the Vatican Library, my transcription of Sauget's structural table is presented in full in Appendix A.[354] For the sake of simplicity, I have slightly adjusted the information in Sauget's structural table in the following ways:

1) I have normalized Sauget's notes to comply with the *Monastica* reference system. Thus, for example, when Sauget writes "Antoine 2", I have normalized his note into "G Antonius 2." Furthermore, I have positioned Sauget's additional notes in footnotes, so that the structural table only contains information about parallels. Sometimes Sauget's reference is only a general comment, such as a name, and not specific. For those instances I have italicized the reference and left it in the table.

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[349] CPG 8240. Alin Suciu and Amsalu Tefera, "The Ethiopic Version of Stephen the Theban's *Sermo Asceticus*," *Le Muséon* 132 (2019): 475–507. See also Alin Suciu, "Revisiting the Literary Dossier of Stephen of Thebes: With Preliminary Editions of the Greek Redactions of the Ascetic Commandments," *Adamantius* 21 (2015), 301–25, where Suciu briefly mentions EG-Arras which he calls an "important collection of Ethiopic *apophthegmata*." (319 n111).

[350] Suciu and Tefera, "The Ethiopic Version," 479. The texts in question are Vat.ar.460 567 (fol. 144r(2) and EG-Arras 436.

[351] For SA in Vat.ar.71, see Sauget, "Une version arabe du 'Sermon Ascétique'," Compared with the reading in Vat.ar.71, the text in Vat.ar.460 has a larger amount of middle Arabic traits (Suciu and Tefera, "The Ethiopic Version," 479).

[352] Suciu and Tefera, "The Ethiopic Version," 482.

[353] Sauget, , "Manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane " fols. 664r–724r.

[354] Transcribed by Moa Airijoki during September 2022.

2) I have chosen only one reference for each text unit, and I have given preference to references to G, GN and GS.[355] I have thus not noted other parallels whenever a text unit is attested in either G, GN, or GS. It is possible to get a fuller view of all parallels to any given text unit in Vat.ar.460 in *Monastica*.

3) I have numerated each text unit, which in Sauget's table are only presented as a consecutive list of text units, marked by line breaks in his notebook.

The structural table presents, moreover, not only Sauget's identifications of text units in Vat.ar.460, but also my own identifications of texts that Sauget did not identify or that needed to be corrected. Sauget's and my identifications are presented in two different columns in the table. Since I have identified a close parallelism between Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras, most of my identifications of text units in Vat.ar.460 are derived from Arras's identification of those very text units in EG-Arras. In the structural table I have also added columns where I have noted parallels in EG-Arras and CAB-Epiphanius. Although many of the text units appear several times, slightly revised, throughout R, EG-Arras and CAB-Epiphanius, I have only recorded the most identical parallel for each text unit.

It is curious that Sauget, who was had a profound knowledge of the relations between Ethiopic and Arabic AP recensions, never published his structural table of Vat.ar.460 and did not comment upon its very close relationship with EG-Arras. This may have to do with the fact that he did not have time to publish his analysis before his passing in 1988, two years after EG-Arras was published. Since Sauget provides in his notes references to EA-Arras, published in 1984, it is likely that he worked with this structural table after 1984. In fact, Sauget does occasionally provide comments about Ethiopic parallels, or provide references to MS Brit.Orient.763, which in turn is the primary witness to EG-Arras.[356]

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[355] Here and elsewhere in the appendices, G signifies G-Cotelier, GN signifies GN-Wortley, and GS signifies GS-Guy. I use the identifications in GS-Guy rather than GS-Dahlman since the latter is still a work in progress.
[356] E.g. a note in Sauget, "Manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane contenant des collections d'apophthegmes et d'histoires édifiantes," fol. 678r.

## 3.2.1 A first analysis of the content of R

From looking at the structural table of R in Vat.ar.460 in Appendix A, I wish here to present only a very general and tentative outline of the content of R. It must be noted that this outline is but a first attempt to delineate a truly complex CAB recension consisting of a plethora of excerpts from various sources. More analysis is required before it is possible to paint a fuller picture of the actual content in R. It is my hope that this first investigation will stimulate such studies in the future. In section 3.3, I use the tools of *Monastica* to conduct quantitative content analysis and comparison of R against other AP and satellite sources registered in the database.

As the structural table implies, R in Vat.ar.460 contains 709 text units. In truth, this number is somewhat arbitrary. It is difficult to assess whether some texts in Vat.ar.460 are to be classified as one or several distinct text units. This explains why EG-Arras contains 540 text units, although the two sources have more or less the same textual content. Suffice it therefore to say that R in Vat.ar.460 consists of hundreds of texts. The shortest texts in R consist of only one sentence, while the longest covers 8 folios.[357]

As the structural table in Appendix A shows, R consists of excerpts from AP as well as from other known satellite works. From a general view, one can observe that the backbone of R is AP. Texts from AP appear interspersed throughout R, typically appearing in small clusters. While most of the AP content in R appears in G, GN, or GS, a few texts outside these collections are instead found in AP other versions such as the Byzantine *Synagoge* or *Evergetinon*, an AP florilegium attributed to the 11th century hieromonk Paul Evergetinos (from now on: PE),[358] SE-Bedjan, CB-Amelineau, and HS-Sarkissian.

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[357] Vat.ar.460 396 (fols. 112v–120r).

[358] Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Paul Evergetinos et la collection alphabetico-anonyme des Apophthegmata Patrum," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 (1971): 223–35.Britt Dahlman and Kenneth Berg have identified further parallels between PE and G, GN, and GS, and registered these in APDB and *Monastica.*

The remaining text units in R that have hitherto been identified consist of short excerpts from a plethora of satellite works. The most occurring parallel is *Pratum Spirituale* (PS), followed by writings of Isaiah (IsMA) and narratives attributed to Daniel of Sketis (DanS). For a more complete analysis, see section 3.3. There also appear a couple of stories and sayings outside the AP corpus that have parallels in different *Vita Pachomii* recensions (VP), *Historia Lausiaca* (HL), *Historia Monachorum* (HM), the pseudo-Serapionic VA, and the Copto-Arabic Synaxarion (from now on: CAS) or the Ethiopic Synaxarion (from now on: ES).[359] There are also a couple of texts in R outside the AP corpus that are identified as excerpts from the writings of Evagrius, Dorotheus of Gaza, and Barsanuphius and John. The appearance of excerpts from these satellite works is, however, small in proportion to the prevalence of AP in R.

Notably, there are also some texts in R outside the AP corpus but found in the Ethiopic florilegia represented in EA-Arras, EP-Arras, and ECM-Arras. The connection between R and these Ethiopic florilegia is an important finding, since it implies that R is partially related to other Arabic AP recensions curated by Copts (cf. section 2.6). As becomes evident in section 3.3, out of the Ethiopic AP editions, R is most structurally similar to EP-Arras.

An important limitation to this tentative analysis of the content of R is that 25 percent of the text units in R are, thus far, unidentified, except for the fact that they appear in both Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras. I suspect that many of these texts, attributed in their

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[359] CAS is a hagiographic cycle that commemorates biblical figures, saints, and martyrs, arranged to be read during the course of the Coptic calendar year (Mark Swanson, "*Kitāb al-Sinaksār al-jāmiʿ li-akhbār al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-rusul wa-l-shuhadāʾ wa-l-qiddīsīn al-mustaʿmal fī kanāʾis al-karāza l-marqusiyya fī ayyām wa-āḥād al-sana l-tūtiyya*," in CMR Online, ed. David Thomas (Brill, 2010), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_25560). CAS was, by the late Middle Ages, a popular Coptic hagiographical source. Rene-Georges Coquin and Aziz Suryal Atiya, "Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic," in *CE*, volume 7, edited by Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), CE:2171–90; Ramez Mikhail, "Biography, the Rite of the Reading of The," in Claremont Coptic Encyclopedia Online (The Claremont Colleges Digital Library, 10 December 2020), https://ccdl.claremont.edu/iiif/info/cce/2167/manifest.json. It existed in two main recensions, one from Upper Egypt and one from Lower Egypt. For the lower Egyptian recension I consult René Basset's edition (René Basset, *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite (IV. Les mois de Barmahat, Barmoudah et Bachons*) in *Patrologia Orientalis*, eds. René Graffin and Francois Nau (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1922), 379–381). Since the Ethiopic Synaxarion (ES) was edited from sources from DAA, it will also be relevant to consult in this investigation (Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 70–71). For this purpose I consult Budge's edition (Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (trans.), *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church. A translation of the Ethiopic Synaxarium made from the manuscripts Oriental 660 and 661 in the British Museum*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928).

incipits to late antique ascetic authorities such as Pachomius, Athanasius, Timotheus, Evagrius, Macarius, Arsenius, and John Chrysostom, are excerpts from late antique literary works. Much more work could and should be done on identifying them.

## 3.2.2 Textual congruence between Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras, and StMacar.367–372

In the following two sections I present evidence for my hypothesis that the same CAB recension (R) is found in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras, and CAB-Epiphanius. The most important piece of evidence for this hypothesis, which I present in this section, is the high level of textual congruence between Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat, and StMacar.371.[360] The high level of textual congruence between these witnesses becomes apparent when comparing the wording in them with the wording in parallels in other AP versions or satellite works. The congruence does not limit itself to a specific part of R but appears throughout, although I only provide three examples of it in this section. For the sake of comprehensiveness, I also include parallels from Strasb.4225 to further show how Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat and StMacar.371 belong to a recension which differs from other AP versions, Arabic included. Before I present the text themselves, I describe what I find is the compelling evidence within the examples.

### 3.2.2.1 Example 1: Vat.ar.460 1

The similarities between the wordings in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat, and StMacar.371 is evident already when looking at the apophthegm which appears first in all these text witnesses. Vat.ar.460 1, EG-Arras.lat 1, and the parallel in StMacar.371 (CAB-Epiphanius 1) is a conglomerate of two apophthegmata, in other AP versions attributed to Iacobus and Poemen, here instead attributed to Antonius. The image for the fear of God in the other AP versions is expressed as a *miṣbāḥ/lychnos* (lamp), whereas the

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[360] As I mentioned in section 1.4.1, the text in CAB-Epiphanius is standardized and deviates to some extent from the reading in StMacar.371, which makes it unsuitable for this analysis.

image in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat and StMacar.371 is instead that of a *ḍaww/lumen* (light). The last phrase in the apophthegm differs somewhat between AP versions. In most AP versions, the fear of God teaches virtues and God's commandments (as in G-Cotelier Iacobus.3).[361] In contrast, the fear of God in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat and StMacar.371 instead teaches *al-faḍāʾil wa-l-ḥikam/perfectiones et sapientiam* (virtues and wisdoms).[362]

### 3.2.2.2 Example 2: Vat.ar.460 12a

The second example is an apophthegm attributed to Arsenius in all AP versions. In this example, the variations between Vat.ar.460 12, EG-Arras.lat 12 and the parallel in StMacar.371 (CAB-Epiphanius 101a) vis-à-vis other AP versions are less pertinent, but nevertheless distinct. Thus, in other AP versions, it is described that Arsenius puts a rag over his *ḥujr/kolpos* (bosom), whereas in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat, and StMacar.371, he puts it over his *rukba/genitus* (knees).[363] While Arsenius's handiwork is not defined in other AP versions, the apophthegm in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat and StMacar.371 explicitly defines it as consisting of braiding *khūṣ/palmas* (palm leaves). Most importantly, the apophthegm in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat and StMacar.371 all have an additional phrase at the end, which does not appear in other AP versions, in which it is explained that Arsenius used his overflowing tears to moisten the palm leaves when they dried up during the hot day.

### 3.2.2.3 Example 3: Vat.ar.460 670

The third example is an apophthegm in which a brother complains to Theodorus of Pherme about his inability to endure both the anchoretic and the coenobitic way of life.

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[361] Variance is found in, for example, SE-1907-Budge.eng II.136 ("the fear of God teacheth a man all spiritual excellences."); SE-1907-Budge.eng II.343 ("the fear of God which teacheth a man all good works"); SkP-Veder.eng 3.17 ("the fear of God […] teaches [him] all of God's commandments"); Strasb.4225 VIII.86 (fol. 76v, see below); Vat.ar.71 X.117 (fol. 200r) (ويعلمه كل وصايا الله) (and teaches him all commandments of God)).

[362] This last aspect, that the fear of God teaches man virtues and wisdoms, rather than virtues and Divine commandments, actually appears in HS-Leloir.lat B.III.21 (*sic et timor Dei, quando intrat in cor hominis, illuminat mentem ac docet illum omnem Virtutem et sapientiam* (So also the fear of God, when it enters the heart of man, illuminates the mind, and teaches him all virtue and wisdom)).

[363] In fact, one also finds *genua* (knees) in this passage in HS-Leloir.lat A.III.31.

In this example, the variations between Vat.ar.460 670, EG-Arras.lat 497 and the parallel in StMacar.371 (CAB-Epiphanius 452) are distinctive, especially at the end of the apophthegm, which is much longer in these witnesses (see also section 6.4.1 and Appendix E). In Vat.ar.670 and EG-Arras.lat 497 (but not StMacar.371), Theodorus replies to the brother that he himself is more agitated than the brother, a phrase which does not appear in other AP versions. Furthermore, Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat and StMacar.371 have Theodorus reply to the brother that he should join a coenobium *ḥattā yaskuna al-ʿāṣif/ quoad sedetur tempestas* (until the storm subsides), referring to the brother's troubled thoughts. This phrase does not appear in other AP versions. Furthermore, while it is not specified where the brother goes in other AP versions, it is specified in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat and StMacar.371 that he goes to a coenobium at a place called Jabal al-Salwā.[364]

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[364] In PJ-Rosweyde V.VII.5, SkP-Veder.eng 7.9, EP-Arras 52 and HS-Leloir.lat A.VII.1, it is actually specified that the brother goes to live with brothers by a *mons* (mountain). The description of the desert as a mountain is common.

## 3.2.2.4 Example 1: Vat.ar.460 1

| Vat.ar.460 1 (fol. 2r) | EG-Arras.lat 1 | StMacar.371 fol. 15v (CAB-Epiphanius 1) | Strasb.4225 VIII.86 (fol. 76v)[365] | G-Cotelier Iacobus.3[366] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| قال القديس العظيم الجليل انطونيوس كوكب البرية وتاج الحكمة مخافة الله وقال ايضًا كما ان النور اذا دخل الى بيت مظلم طرد الظلام ودخل الى قلب الإنسان طرد عنه الجهل والحكم الرهبان راس كل الفضايل وراس الحكمة مخافه الله اذا دخل الي بيت مظلم طرد الظلام ونار ه هكذا خوف الله اذا دخل الي قلب الإنسان طرد ظلامه واضاه هكذا خوف الله طرد الله طرد علمه كل الفضايل والحكم | *Dixit sanctus magnus Antonius, initium monachorum: Principium sapientiae timor Domini. Et dixit: Sicut lumen quando intrat in tenebras repellit tenebras eius easque illuminat, ita timor Domini, si intrat in cor hominis, repellit tenebras eius et docet eum omnes perfectiones et sapientiam* | قال القديس أنطونيوس راس الحكمه مخافة الله وقال أيضًا كما ان النور اذا دخل الي بيت مظلم طرد ظلامه وانار ه هكذا خوف الله اذا دخل الي قلب الإنسان طرد عنه الجهل و علمه كل الفضايل والحكم | قال انبا يعقوب مثل المصباح الذي يضي في بيت مظلم كذلك خوف الله اذا حل في قلب الإنسان نيره ويعلمه وصبايا الله كل فلب الإنسان نيره | Εἶπε πάλιν, ὅτι Ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν σκοτεινῷ κοιτῶνι φωτίζει, οὕτως καὶ ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ εἰς καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου, φωτίζει αὐτόν, καὶ διδάσκει πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ. |
| The magnificent, exalted saint Antonius, star of the desert and the crown of monks said: | The great saint Antonius, the first monk, said: "The beginning of wisdom is the | Saint Antonius said: "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of God." He also said: | Abba Jacob said: "As a lamp that gleams in a dark | He [sc. Jacob] also said: "Just as a lamp |

[365] Transcription and translation by Zaborowski (Zaborowski, "Greek Thought, Arabic Culture," 341). Almost identical wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 107 (fol. 17v). In Vat.ar.71 X.117 (fol. 200r), one finds some similarities to R insofar as the same expression مظلم دخل في بيت is used, as well as خوف الله اذا دخل في الإنسان قلب found in R. The parallel in Par.ar.253 fol. 74v(1) is also more similar with Strasb.4225 VIII.86 and Vat.ar.71 X.117 than Vat.ar.460 1. Vat.ar.71 X.117 is more similar with Strasb.4225 VIII.86 than with R. Apart from these similarities, Sin.ar.444 (fol. 22r) is identical in wording to Vat.ar.71 X.117.
[366] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Iacobus.3), partly adapted by me.

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| "The beginning of all virtues and wisdom is the fear of God."[367] He also said: "As the light, when it enters a dark house, chases away its darkness and lights it up, so also the fear of God, if it enters into the heart of someone, chases away its shadow, and teaches him all virtues and wisdoms." | Fear of God." He also said: "As the light, when it enters into the shadows, chases away its shadows and illuminates it, so also the fear of God, if it enters into the heart of someone, chases his shadows away from him, and teaches him all virtues and wisdoms." | "As the light, when it enters a dark house, chases away its darkness and illuminates it, so also the fear of God, if it enters into the heart of someone, chases his ignorance away from him, and teaches him all virtues and wisdoms." | house, so is the fear of God: when it is established in the heart of someone it will enlighten him, teaching him all the commandments of God." | in a dark[368] chamber illuminates [it], so also[369] the fear of God, when it comes into a person's heart, illuminates him, teaching him all the virtues and the commandments of God." |

**GN-Wortley 678a**[370]

Εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ποιμὴν ὅτι ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οὕτω γὰρ γέγραπται· Ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος Κυρίου.

Abba Poimen said that the beginning and the end is the fear of God, for so it is written: "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord."

**Strasb.4225 VIII.279a (fol. 107v)**[371]

قال ايضا البدو و التمام هما خوف الله لانه كذلك مكتوب راس الحكمة مخافة الله

He [Poemen] also said: the beginning and the end is the fear of God, for so it is written: "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord."

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367 Ps 110:10: Prov 9:10.
368 Wortley: "darkened"
369 Wortley does not have "also."
370 Trans. Wortley (GN-Wortley.eng 678a), partly adapted by me (changed word order).
371 Transcription by Zaborowski. Similar wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 406 (fol. 81r) but there it is attributed to anba Basilius.

## 3.2.2.5 Example 2: Vat.ar.460 12

| Vat.ar.460 12 (fol. 12r) | EG-Arras.lat 12 | StMacar.371 fol. 46r (CAB-Epiphanius 101) | Strasb.4225 VIII.81 (fol. 75v)[372] | G-Cotelier Arsenius.41[373] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| خبر عن القديس ارسانيوس انه كان اذا جلس يظفر الخوص كان ياخذ خرقه ويضعها على ركبته ينشف بها الدموع التي كانت تخرج من عينيه وفي زمان الحر كان ينمو عه (...) يرطب و هو يظفر | *Et iterum de eo: Dixit: Factum est, quando sedit plectens palmas, mittebat pannum in genibus quo siccaret lacrymas oculorum suorum et tempore aestus madefaciebat palmas lacrymis suis. (...)* | وقيل عنه انه كان اذا جلس يظفر الخوص كان ياخذ خرقه يضعها على ركبته ينشف بها الدموع التي كانت تخرج من عينيه وفي زمان الحر كان يرطب الخوص و هو يظفر بدموعه (...) | حدثوا عن انبا ارسانيوس انه كان زمان حياته كلها اذا كان جلس على عمل يديه يكون في حجره خرقه يمسح بها دموع عينيه | Ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι ὅλον τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, καθεζόμενος εἰς τὸ ἐργόχειρον αὐτοῦ, ῥάκκος εἶχεν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, χάριν τῶν δακρύων τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ. (...) |
| It was told about saint Arsenius, that when he was sitting braiding palm leaves, he would take a rag and put it on his knees so that it would dry the tears that were coming out of his eyes. At the time of heat, he would wet [the palm leaves] that he was braiding with his tears. | And again about him [Arsenius]: He said: It would happen, when he was sitting braiding palm leaves, that he would throw a rag on his knees so that it would dry the tears from his eyes, and at the time of heat, he would wet the palm leaves with his tears. | It was said about him, that when he was sitting braiding palm leaves, he would take a rag and put it on his knees so that it would dry the tears that were coming out of his eyes. At the time of heat, he would wet the palm leaves that he was braiding with his tears. | They told about anba Arsenius that, all his life long, whenever he was sitting working with handiwork, he would have a rag on his bosom to wipe the tears from his eyes. | They used to say to [of Arsenius] that, all his life long, when he was sitting with his handiwork[374], he had a rag on his bosom[375] on account of the tears falling from his eyes. (...) |

372 Transcription by Zaborowski. Very similar wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 102 (fol. 16rv), with some minor variations such as مـار instead of ابا مـر (mār), from Syriac مـر, a title of reverence.

373 Graf, *Verzeichnis Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, 7.

373 Trans. Wortley, partly adapted by me (G-Wortley.eng Arsenius 41a).

374 Wortley: "working with his hands"

375 Wortley: "lap"

## 3.2.2.6 Example 3: Vat.ar.460 670

| Vat.ar.460 670 (fol. 155rv) | EG-Arras.lat 497 | StMacar.371 fols. 102v–103r (CAB-Epiphanius 452) | Strasb.4225 VIII.153 (fol. 89v–90r)[376] | G-Cotelier TheodPhe.2[377] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| اخبرونا[378] عن يعضي الإخوة انه كان متوحد [155v] في بعض ايام قام فكر فلزمه وانه ذهب الي الفرس الذي كان ساكن في القرس فاعلمه بفكره قال له الشيخ امض وتزايدت عليه في الإفكار فافكر في نفسي اكثر منك لكن امض الوحده في الحاصف فمضي الي يسكن الطاعف ومضي مع الإخوة حتي وبعد قليل رجع الي الشيخ وقال له ومع الإخوة ما وحدت راحه (...) | Dictum est quia unus e fratribus fuit solitarius in ceila et increverunt super eum cogitationes et agitaverunt eum. Et ivit ad abbatem Theodorum qui sedebat in oppidis et manifestavit ei negotium suum, dixit ei: Ego in agitatione magis quam tu; et vade quidem tu et coniunge te congregationi et relinque solitudinem has dies quoad sedetur tempestas. Et ivit in montem Elselwi et sedit cum congregatione. Et paulo post revertit ad seniorem et notum fecit se nec etiam | ونفعه حا ٳخ كان جالسا في قلایه بنلك فلزیه فتقلل وحده فمرة بنلك فكر ٳك [103r] وانزعاك الوحده لان فقال له الشيخ امض اصبح فكر وانزعاك الوحده لان واجلس في الطاعه مع اخرین حتي يسكن العاصف فمضي الي جبل السلوي وسكن مع الشيخ وبعد قليل عاد الي الشيخ وقال له وبعد الإخوه فما وجدت راحه (...) | ٳك كان جالسا في القلاي علي حدة وكان ينزعبس واله ذهب الي تعرنسه فقال له الشيخ انه ثاؤذرس والجلس اليه تعرنسه واتضح الشيخ اذهب واختص مع اخرين حتي ان ذلك لاٳك ذهب بیصبر. فرجع الي [90r] يعبس مع اخرين ولم اخرين اصبر. (...) | Ἀδελφός τις καθεζόμενος εἰς τὰ Κελλία ἐταράσσε το καταμόνας· καὶ ἀπελθὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Θεόδωρον τὸ ν τῆς Φέρμης, εἶπεν αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ γέρων εἶπεν· Ὕπαγε, ταπείνωσον τὸν λογισμόν σου, καὶ ὑποτάγηθι, καὶ μεῖνον μετὰ ἄλλων.[379] [380] Καὶ ὑποστρέφει πρὸς τὸν γέροντα, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Οὐδὲ μετὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀναπαύομαι. (...) |

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[376] Transcription by Zaborowski. Identical wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 174 (fol. 39v–40r). Similar wording in Vat.ar.71 X.119 (fol. 200v) albeit with differences pertaining to vocabulary. Idem for Par.ar.253 fol. 56v(5) and 148v(1), as well as Sin.ar.444 fol. 11r(6) and 64r(1).

[377] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng TheodPhe.2).

[378] عن in marg.

[379] Athos.Prot.86 VII.9 (fol. 28rv) var. ἀδελφῶν (brothers).

[380] Athos.Prot.86 VII.9 add. Ἀπῆλθεν οὖν εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἔμεινεν μετὰ ἄλλων (So he went to the mountain and dwelled with others.)

| | cum fratribus invenisse requiem. (…) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| It was told that one of the brothers was alone [155v] in his cell. One day he became worried, and the thoughts overwhelmed him. He got up and went to anba Theodorus who lived in Pherme. He informed him about his situation. The elder said to him: "Go, my thoughts worry me more than you; but go, participate in a community and leave solitude behind during this period, until the storm calms down." He went to Jabal al-Salwā and lived with the brothers. But after a little while, he returned to the elder and said to him: "I did not find relief with the brothers either." (…) | It is said that one of the brothers was alone in Kellia. The thoughts grew on him and agitated him. He went to abba Theodorus, who was sitting in the towns, and explained to him his difficulty. He said to him: "I am more agitated than you. Now, go and join a congregation and leave solitude these days until the storm settles." He went to Jabal al-Salwā and dwelled with a group. But after a little while he returned to the elder and informed him that he had not found rest even with the brothers. (…) | It happened once that a brother who was sitting in Kellia came to him [Theodorus], since he was disturbed in his loneliness. When he told him about it, the elder said to him: "Go, put your thoughts aside, leave loneliness for now [103r] and go sit in obedience with others until the storm subsides. He went to Jabal al-Salwā and lived with the brothers. But after a little while, he returned to the elder and said to him: "I did not find rest with the brothers either." (…) | A brother was sitting in Kellia in solitude and was distressed. He went to Anba Theodorus and complained to him about his distress. The elder said to him: "Go, be humble, and dwell with others, and submit to them." Then the brother went and dwelled with others, nut he did not find patience. So he went back to [90r] the elder and told him "I did not find patience with others either." (…) | A brother living in solitude at Kellia[381] was troubled; he went to abba Theodore of Pherme and told him. The elder said to him: "Go and humble your thought;[382] be obedient and live with others." He came back to the elder and said to him: "I do not experience repose being with people either." (…) |

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381 Wortley: "The Cells"
382 Wortley: "logismos"

### 3.2.3 Structural congruence between Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras and CAB-Epiphanius

The second important piece of evidence for my hypothesis that one finds the same CAB recension (R) in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras, and CAB-Epiphanius is that these text witnesses are structurally congruent. The structural congruence between Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras is easily discernable when looking at the structural table in Appendix A. In the following section I visualize the congruence between the three sources using tools from *Monastica* (cf. section 1.3.2). More specifically, I have used a report function called "segment sequence of source with comparison".[383] This report creates a table of how the sequence of any *source selected* (from now on: SS) relates to the sequence of the parallels in one or a couple of *sources compared* (from now on: SC). The report can be exported as a CSV file, which in turn can be opened in a spreadsheet with which one can visualize the correlation between SS and SC by means of a plot graph. In such a plot graph, the horizontal axis (x-axis) displays the (numerical) placement of each text segment in consecutive order in the spreadsheet. The vertical axis (y-axis) displays the (numerical) placement of each text unit in SS and SC with reference to themselves. This means that the data in SS is plotted as a straight line, going from 1 to (x), whereas the data in SC is plotted either as a (more or less) straight line (thus indicating that the text units in SC appear in the same order as they do in SS) or as outliers (thus indicating that the text units in SC do not appear in the same order as they do in SS). If only a few text units in SS appear in SC or vice versa, the number of plotted data is low. In other words, the plot graph also indicates the level to which the AP sources contain the same apophthegmata. Figure 1 (below) serves as an instructive example of such a plot graph.

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[383] https://monastica.ht.lu.se/ > Report > Segment sequence of source with comparison.
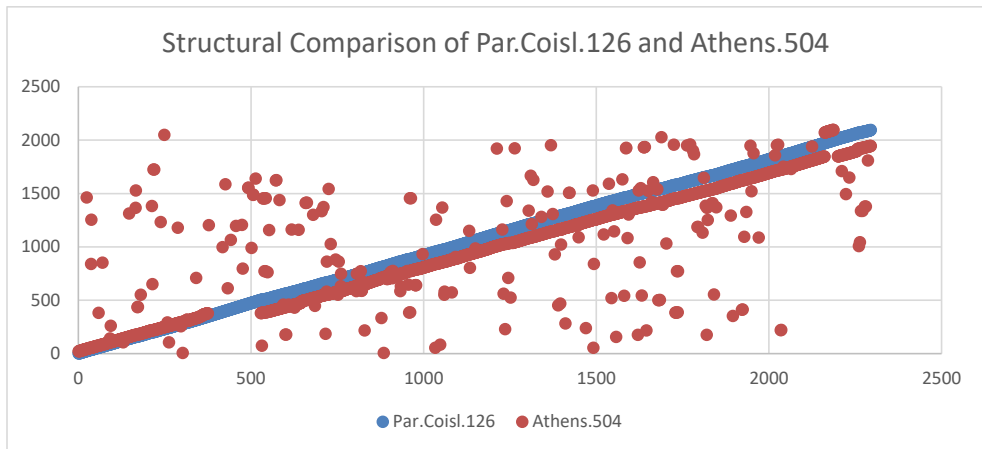
**Fig. 1.** Plot graph showing the structural correlation between Par.Coisl.126 (SS) and Athens.504 (SC).

This graph shows how much the order of apophthegmata in MS Athens.504 (SC) correlates with the order of text segments in Par.Coisl.126 (SS). Both codices contain a G-GN AP recension. The Par.Coisl.126 data series is plotted as a straight line since it is SS. The data series ranges from 1 to 2095 on the y-axis (since Par.Coisl.126 series contains 2095 text segments according to the report from *Monastica*). Meanwhile, the data series of SC, which is Athens.504, is also plotted as a relatively straight line, which indicates that the order of apophthegmata in Athens.504 corresponds to a large extent to the order of the very same apophthegmata in Par.Coisl.126. From this graph, one can conclude that MSS Par.Coisl.126 and Athens.504 largely contain the same AP recension. At the same time, there are noticeable outliers in the plot graph. These outliers indicate that some apophthegmata in Athens.504 appear in a different order. As has been mentioned already, even major structural discrepancies even between text witnesses that represent the same AP recension are common. The number of outliers in Athens.504 does therefore not do away with the fact that Par.Coisl.126 and Athens.504 are closely related.

Another report in *Monastica* called "statistics of occurrences of segments" further clarifies the level to which SS and SC contain the same text segments.[384] From Table 1, it becomes apparent that Par.Coisl.126 (SS) and Athens.504 (SC) contain about 90 percent the same identified text segments. The columns "Perc of" indicate the amount of shared textual material between SS and SC expressed as a percentage, while the other columns show the same data but presented it in cardinal numbers instead. In this case, Table 1 shows that 92 percent of the text segments in Par.Coisl.126 appear in Athens.504 as well. In other words, 8 percent of the text segments in Par.Coisl.126 do not appear in Athens.504.

| SS | SC | Perc of SS in SC | Perc of SC in SS | SS found in SC | SS not in SC | SC found in SS | SC not in SS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Par.Coisl.126** | **Athens.504** | 92 | 91 | 1917 | 177 | 1915 | 181 |

**Table 1.** Statistics of occurrences of segments where Par.Coisl.126 is SS and Athens.504 is SC.

In Figure 2 (below), Vat.ar.460 is SS, and EG-Arras and CAB-Epiphanius are SC. As the graph shows, the level of structural correlation between Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras is very high, to the point that the Vat.ar.460 data series is sometimes difficult to spot since it aligns with the EG-Arras data series. The level of structural correlation between Vat.ar.460 and Cab-Epiphanius is, on the other hand, not as striking, but still clearly visible. As Figure 2 shows, the first part of CAB-Epiphanius consists of text segments in roughly the same order as in Vat.ar.460. After the beginning, however, there is a structural discontinuity. A structural similarity is later again visible, albeit with frequent outliers. All in all, Figure 2 shows beyond doubt that Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras contain the same AP recension (R). The figure also shows that R is an underlying model for CAB-Epiphanius, but that CAB-Epiphanius seems to represent a

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[384] https://monastica.ht.lu.se/ > Report > Statistics of occurrences of segments.

later tradition that has omitted, interpolated, and revised the order of apophthegmata against earlier models.
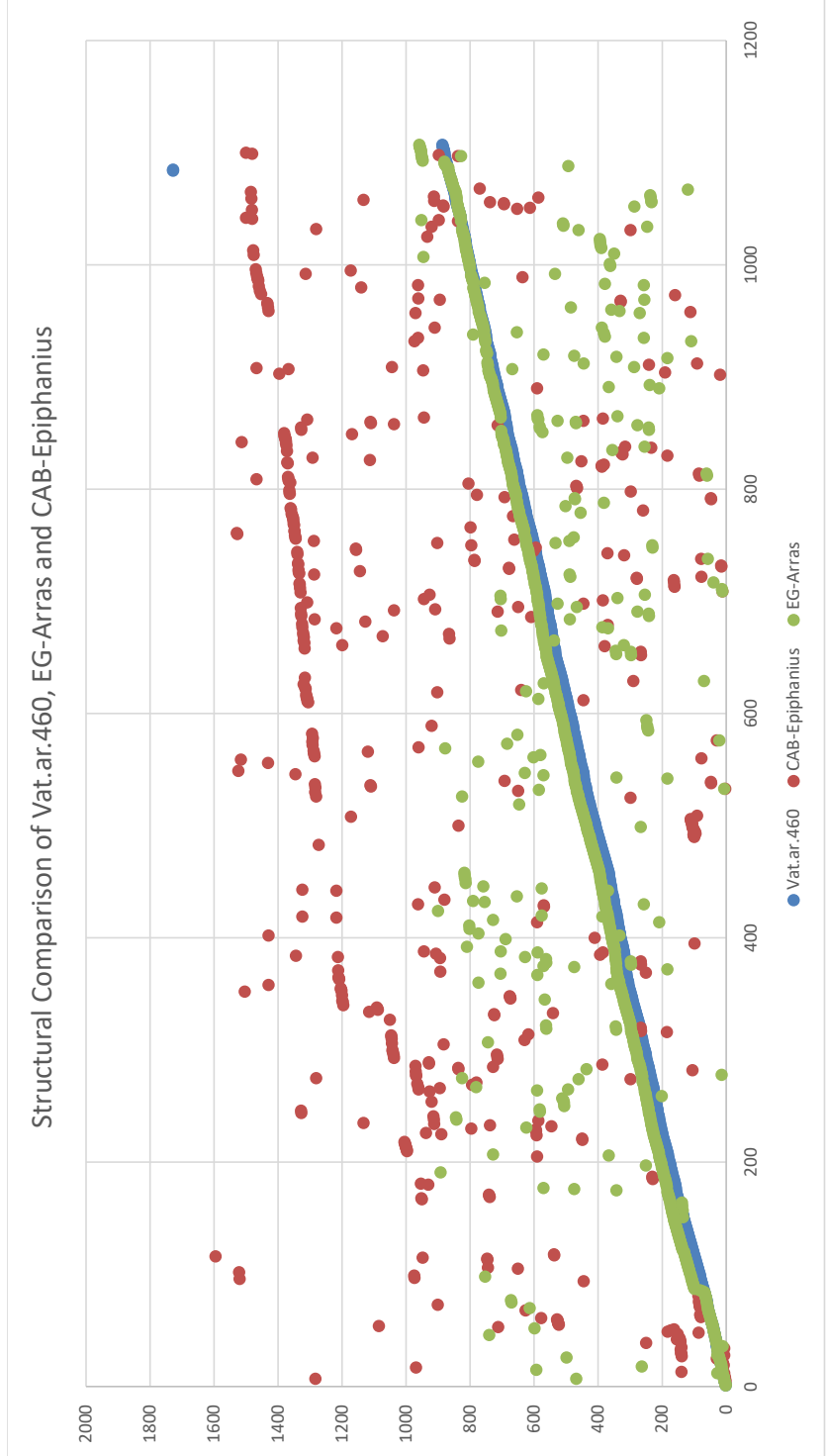
**Fig. 2.** Plot graph showing the structural correlation between Vat.ar.460 (SS), EG-Arras (SC), and CAB-Epiphanius (SC).

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The visualization in Figure 2 is further illuminated by Table 2 which shows how much of the same text segments appears in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras and CAB-Epiphanius. Table 2 presents Vat.ar.460 respectively EG-Arras as SS, and the other two as SC. As Table 2 shows, around 95 percent of the text segments in Vat.ar.460 also appear in EG-Arras. The table clearly shows that CAB-Epiphanius, in turn, is a much more extensive florilegium than both Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras, containing many more text segments than them. Only 23 percent of the text segments in CAB-Epiphanius appear in Vat.ar.460.[385] This would mean that the CAB recension in CAB-Epiphanius derives from a R recension but later added about 70 percent of its textual material from other models, and, as I demonstrate in section 3.4, even other CAB recensions.

Another detail that Table 2 indicates is that EG-Arras and CAB-Epiphanius represent independent later versions of R, as found in Vat.ar.460. It would have been possible that the three sources represented three consecutive stages in the transmission of R. However, as the table shows, there is not a bigger percentage of the same text segments between EG-Arras in CAB-Epiphanius than there is between Vat.ar.460 and CAB-Epiphanius.

| SS | SC | Perc of SS in SC | Perc of SC in SS | SS found in SC | SS not in SC | SC found in SS | SC not in SS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Vat.ar.460** | EG-Arras | 96 | 85 | 851 | 36 | 822 | 148 |
| **Vat.ar.460** | CAB-Epiphanius | 45 | 23 | 397 | 490 | 372 | 1252 |
| **EG-Arras** | Vat.ar.460 | 85 | 96 | 822 | 148 | 851 | 36 |
| **EG-Arras** | CAB-Epiphanius | 39 | 23 | 375 | 595 | 370 | 1254 |

**Table 2.** Statistics of occurrences of segments where Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras are SS and Vat.ar.460/EG-Arras/CAB-Epiphanius are SC.

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[385] Further studies could ameliorate this data, since there are many texts in both Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras, and CAB-Epiphanius that are yet to be identified. The grand task of identifying all remaining unidentified texts has been outside of the scope of this investigation.

## 3.2.4 Additional text witnesses to R

Besides Vat.ar.460, one finds R in other Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic codices as well, although this investigation only focuses on the text witnesses mentioned. R thus appears in MS Borg.Copt.36, copied in 1728 by Raphael al-Ṭūkhī, a Copt who travelled to Rome and was active in curating Coptic liturgical manuscripts "intended for services in the (new) Coptic Catholic Church."[386] Graf suggests that MS Borg.Copt.36 was in fact directly copied from MS Vat.ar.460.[387] Furthermore, it is likely that R appears in other Copto-Arabic text witnesses, although I have not consulted them for this investigation. They are the following:

- MS Cairo 496 (1750).[388]

- The manuscript(s) (in DS?) used as models for CAB-Cairo.

- In an article from 1915, Graf describes the first dossier of a manuscript which was copied in 1848 by a monk named Yūḥannā at DB and commissioned by a monk named Claudius at DS.[389] According to Graf, this manuscript comprises an extensive Arabic AP florilegium, which starts (like R) with 9 sayings attributed to Antonius.[390] Graf goes on to provide a translation of the first apophthegm, which seems to be identical to Vat.ar.460 1.[391]

- MS StMacar.478 (partly): In this manuscript, which is missing folios and has tentatively been dated to the 16th century, one finds the apophthegmata about Arsenius in R dossier 2, which I discuss in section 5.3.[392]

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[386] Al-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion," 12.
[387] Graf, *GCAL* 1:381. The codex is well preserved and has no marginal notes; it does not look like it has been used outside BAV.
[388] Graf, *GCAL* 1:381; Graf, *Catalogue De Manuscrits*, 190.
[389] Georg Graf, "Arabische Apophthegmensammlung," *Oriens Christianus* 5 (1915): 314–19.
[390] Vat.ar.460 has 8 sayings attributed to Antonius. See Appendix A.
[391] Graf, "Arabische Apophthegmensammlung," 314.
[392] MS StMacar.478 pp. 115–25, cf. Vat.ar.460 10–14 (fols. 10r–13r). An exhaustive investigation of the occurrence of R dossiers in this codex, which does not resemble R on a general level, has been outside the scope of this project, but could be a promising venue for further studies. Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, 71.

- MS StMacar.479 (partly): In this manuscript, which is missing many folios and has been tentatively dated to the 14th century, one finds the JP dossier in R which I discuss in section 5.4.[393]

Additionally, Agaiby's presentation of various manuscripts at DAA leads me to suspect that at least four manuscripts contain at least the same Antonius dossier as one finds in R.[394] The manuscripts in question were copied between 1768 and 1889.[395]

In her publication of Antonian apophthegmata from DAA, Agaiby does not provide the Arabic text, which makes it difficult to compare them with R. From my comparison of her English translations with the texts in R dossier 1, I conclude, however, that the texts in CAB-Agaiby are nearly identical to what one finds in Vat.ar.460.[396]

## 3.2.5 The provenance of R

The following section presents my preliminary ideas concerning the production and provenance of MSS Vat.ar.460 and StMacar.367–372, and (more tentatively) about R itself.[397] As was stated in section 1.4.1, the provenance and date of Vat.ar.460 is unknown, although Sauget and others present this Copto-Arabic codex as from the 13th or possibly 14th century. In contrast, StMacar.367–372 are richer in information in their colophons and other paratexts, and the most important information is given in Table 3 (below). As Table 3 shows, StMacar.367–372 were produced by different scribes during a time span of about 50 years. Furthermore, all named scribes (apart from Mikhāʾīl ʿAbd el-Sayyid, the scribe of StMacar.371) were, at some point in time, monks at DAM. Since these manuscripts contain the same CAB recension, there is a

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[393] MS StMacar.479 pp. 57–63, cf. Vat.ar.460 293–305 (fols. 94v–96r). An exhaustive investigation of the occurrence of R dossiers in this codex, which does not resemble R on a general level, has been outside the scope of this project, but could be a promising venue for further studies. Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, 71.

[394] Agaiby, "'Whoever Writes Your Life-Story'", 51; Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 113–51. I base my hypothesis on the fact that the folio notations of the apophthegmata attributed to Antonius demonstrate that the Antonius dossier is the same as that in Vat.ar.460.

[395] The manuscripts are: SA (Hist.) 29 (1768); SA (Hist.) 32, (1836, copied by the same scribe as SA (Hist.) 35); SA (Hist.) 35, (1852, copied by the same scribe as SA (Hist.) 32); and SA (Hist.) 208 (1889).

[396] In fact, it is possible to see the Arabic texts of a couple of apophthegmata in CAB-Agaiby via facsimiles that Agaiby provides (Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 171–175), and from reading them my conclusion is supported.

[397] I do not have access to the Ethiopic manuscripts, and I do not command Ethiopic, and therefore I do not consider features that are not reflected in Arras's Latin translation.

possibility that they were copied from each other. The copyist Andrāwos al-Maqārī is alone in stating the model from which he has copied, namely a manuscript from the library of DB. In fact, Andrāwos' comments about his copying process might provide an important clue to the reason why there is a certain discrepancy between the Antonius dossier in Vat.ar.460 and CAB-Epiphanius. Andrāwos writes that, while copying, he left out some *fuṣūl* (sections) that had not been not authorized by the elders ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Masʿūdi and Abd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Baramūsī.[398] Al-Masʿūdi (1848–1935), who was a monk at DB, was "the most famous name on the Arabic literature of the Copts" in the modern period.[399] Andrāwos does not tell which *fuṣūl* he left out but I suspect that a certain episode in Vat.ar.460 7 (EG-Arras 7) might very well be one such text that al-Masʿūdi would not have authorized. Vat.ar.460 7 tells a wondrous story about how Antonius travels on a cloud to the Frankish court, where he heals the king's son (See appendix E).[400] This narrative is also found in the pseudo-Serapionic VA, as I discuss in section 5.2.1. However, as Agaiby shows, the Frankish episode of the pseudo-Serapionic VA was a matter of controversy, at least among modern copyists; in an 18th century Copto-Arabic manuscript, a colophon airs the opinion that the episode in question is a medieval forgery.[401] The controversy offers a motive for why the story in Vat.ar.460 7 is absent from StMacar.367–372. Importantly, as Agaiby has shown, the pseudo-Serapionic VA was redacted at DAA and was popular there as well as in all parts of Egypt — except in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, where instead the Athanasian VA was preferred.[402] Since StMacar.367–372, as well as

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[398] StMacar.370 fol. 170r (transcription by Zanetti; Zanetti has kindly shared with me parts of his draft from his detailed catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of DAM, which has aided me in my interpretation of the same information that I present in Table 3). بدير البرموس المنظفة من بعض الفصول التي لا توافق بمعرفة الاباء الافاضل القمص عبد المسيح المسعودي الكبير والقمص عن نسخة. عبد المسيح صليب البرموسي (From a copy at Dayr al-Baramus, which was cleaned from certain chapters that are not approved by the knowledge of the esteemed fathers ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Masʿūdi and Abd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Baramūsī).

[399] Atiya, "Literature, Copto-Arabic," CE:1461; Aziz Suryal Atiya, "ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Masūʿdī ," CE:7.

[400] The episode about Antonius travelling to Frankish countries are found in ES (Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony,* 69–70).

[401] Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony,* 62–63. A monk named ʿAta Allāh al-Anṭūnī, who in a 1920 publication criticizes the pseudo-Serapionic VA, is a representative of this view: "[…] the addition of fictitious stories; as this was the custom of writers in the Middle Ages, [who] through their exaggeration and fabricated tales, distorted the truth and opened the door for the enemies of the Church to mock our writings and ridicule them. And in many works of the later writers we find details that cannot be found in the accounts of the original writers. And the reason for this was the lack of integrity of the writers in the Middle Ages and the ill intent of the scribes and their lack of honesty in writing and transcribing books as written by the original authors [but instead] they added and subtracted details from the original texts" (Quoted in English translation by Agaiby (Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 65)).

[402] Agaiby, "'Whoever Writes Your Life-Story'," 41.

the DB model to StMacar.370, were produced in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, this gives yet another explanation for why certain pseudo-Serapionic episodes in R are absent in these manuscripts.

| Zanetti shelfmark[403] | Date | Scribe | Waqf date[404] | Copied from |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **367** | N.d. Probably the end of the 19th cent.[405] | Anonymous.[406] | N.d. | Not specified. |
| **368** | N.d. Probably the end of the 19th cent. | Shenūda al-Maqārī, monk and hegumen in DAM.[407] | N.d. | Not specified. |
| **370** | 1916 | Andrāwos al-Maqārī, a monk and hegumen in DAM.[408] | 1951[409] | A manuscript from DB library dated to 1884-85.[410] |
| **371** | 1900 | Mikhāʾīl ʿAbd al-Sayyid, resident in Qaṣrīyyat al-Riḥān, Dayr Mār Girgis, Old Cairo. | 1923[411] | Not specified. |
| **372** | 1890 | Filīūtāūs, monk and presbyter at DAM.[412] | 1929[413] | Not specified. |
| **373** | n.d. | Unknown | n.d. | Not specified. |

**Table 3.** Information about the production of StMacar.367-373, as provided in colophons and other paratexts.

[403] See Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, 53–54.
[404] *Waqf*: Endowment.
[405] The same scribe also copied four other manuscripts in DAM library between 1868 and 1904 (StMacar.13, 228, 358, and 362; Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*,18).
[406] In his forthcoming catalogue, Zanetti identifies the scribe of this codex, as well as the others mentioned above, as Ğirğis de Banoub. I thank Ugo Zanetti for sharing this information with me. The fact that several of the scribe's copied manuscripts are kept in the DAM library indicates that the scribe was connected to DAM in some way.
[407] StMacar.368, p. 473.
[408] StMacar.370 fol. 5v.
[409] StMacar.370 fols. 5r and 170r.
[410] 1601 AM. StMacar.370 fol. 170r.
[411] A *waqf* stamp with the date 1640 AM is found at StMacar.371 fols. 5r, 35r, 84r, 171r, and 229v–230r.
[412] StMacar.372 pp. 654–655. The hand of StMacar.372 is different from the other hands, being more rounded and elaborate; the appearance looks a bit like Harārī script.
[413] StMacar.372 pp. 8–9, where it is also stated that the ms is a *waqf* of DAM, endowed by anba Abrām, bishop of Balyanā.

### 3.2.5.1 Prologues to Vat.ar.460 and StMacar.367–372

The prologues to R in Vat.ar.460 and StMacar.367–372 also provide certain clues to the production of R. The prologue to Vat.ar.460 (found also in EG-Arras) is particularly interesting, and much longer than the prologue in StMacar.367–372, and we will return to it in subsequent chapters. Here, I provide the prologue to Vat.ar.460 in Vat.ar.460 in its entirety. To read the prologue to StMacar.367–372, see Appendix E.

There is no hint in the prologue to Vat.ar.460 that R would be the first of its kind, nor that it was interlingually translated directly from any Greek, Coptic, or Syriac source. On the contrary, the author(s) of the prologue states that he has copied from already existing stories, thus creating a *majmūʿ* (collection) which is known as the *Garden of the Monks* (*al-maʿrūf bi-Bustān al-ruhbān*). In other words, the prologue describes that the work has been to compile (not translate, revise, or compose) material from a textual tradition that already goes under the title *Bustān al-ruhbān*.

Furthermore, the prologue addresses his audience as brothers. To begin with, it addresses the audience a brothers and fathers, which implies that the curator of the prologue identifies himself as belonging to a brotherhood, such as a monastic community. Later, the prologue again addresses his audience as brothers who are *muntakhabūn* (elect), a qualification that he also uses when describing the desert fathers at the beginning of the prologue.[414] This description might imply that the curator(s) considers the audience as belonging to a brotherly community akin to that of the desert fathers.

The same two features, that the curators have compiled an *mukhtaṣar min Bustān al-ruhbān* (epitome of the CAB) and that the intended audience is addressed as fathers and brothers, appear in the prologue to StMacar.367–372 as well (see Appendix E).

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[414] In the text, *muntakhabūn* is written as *muntakhabīn*; here, as in many cases in Vat.ar.460 and in middle Arabic text, the masculine sound plural ending is *-īn* also in the nominative case. See Lentin, "Middle Arabic," 220.

## Vat.ar.460 prologue:1[415]

<div dir="rtl">

بسم الاله الواحد الاب والابن والروح القدس[416]

نبتدى بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بنسخ سير الابهات القديسين الاطهار المكرمين المنتخبين الابرار المجاهدين الاخيار[417] الرهبان المتوحدين والنساك والزهاد العباد الذين رفضوا اللذات الدنيانية وكل نعيمها وحلواتها بشهوتهم واختيارهم حباً لسيدهم وتركوا مملكتهم وحسبهم باراردتهم وقاسوا حر الصيف وناره وبرد الشتا وزمهريره وعملوا ذلك لخلاص نفوسهم بركة صلواتهم تكون معنا الجميع امين

وهو مجموع من اخبار الرهبان المعروف

ببستان الرهبان[418]

</div>

In the name of the one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

We begin, with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the lives of the holy, pure,[419] honorable, elect, just, struggling, and outstanding fathers, the anchoretic, ascetic, and worshipping monks, who rejected worldly pleasures and all its bliss and sweetness, voluntary and willingly out of love for their Master. They voluntarily left their kingdom and rank, enduring the heat and fire of summer and the cold and frost of winter.[420] They did this for the salvation of their souls. May the blessing of their prayers be with us all. Amen.

This is a collection of the stories of the monks known as the *Garden of the Monks*.

## Vat.ar.460 prologue:2[421]

<div dir="rtl">

مفتاح باب فردوس الله التى به تضى العقول وتضى الادهان وتضى عقل الانسان وتشهيه الى نعمة ملكوت السموات[422] وتضى عيني عقله المظلمه وتجعله اشرف من الملايكه واشرف من الروحانيين وتتلدد نفسه وحواسه بالهبات هاولاي المضيين والدي خيار الفهم في [l. dub][423][1v] واخبارهم الحسنه وصبرهم الكامل الدى يفوق العقل وما قد عملوا بنفوسهم والزموا ارواحهم بالصوم المفضل السرمد والسهر الدايم الدى هو العداب والعطش الشديد بشهوة نفوسهم هاولاي الابا التى دفعوا نفوسهم ونحلوا اجسادهم لاجل خوف الله ربهم وعملو اكثر مما امروا به من السهرو والعطش والجوع وقالوا

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[415] Transcription by Sauget (Sauget, description of Vat.ar.460, https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.ar.460), partly adapted by me.

[416] The formula is framed by four dots shaped as a cross.

[417] الاخبار: Sauget instead gives الاخيار (Sauget, description of Vat.ar.460, https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.ar.460).

[418] ببستان الرهبان is framed by crosses. There also appears a cross after امين, two lines above.

[419] طاهر (pure) can be considered a Coptic calque, cf. ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ (holy, pure; Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr," 199).

[420] Cf. prologue pseudo-Serapionic VA (fol. 4r, Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony,* 124–25).

[421] Partly transcribed by Sauget (Sauget, description of Vat.ar.460, https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.ar.460).

[422] End of Sauget's transcription.

[423] EG-Arras.lat prologue:2 reads *intimum* (innermost).

بعد هدا انا عبيد بطالين ولزموا دكر الموت دايما بين عينيهم ففازوا وتركونا خلفهم نتعجب من سماع اخبارهم المفخره ومن اتعابهم المفرطه فواجب علينا ايها الاخوه والاباء ان نطلب من الرب يسوع المسيح الاله المتحنن معدن الراحه والنعمه ان تعيننا بحسن صلواتهم ويوهبنا قلبًاء نقي بطهاره وعينين مضيه في ان نقتفى اثارهم الصالحه وان نعد من جمله تلاميدهم وخدامهم في ملكوت السماء وان لا يبعدنا الرب يسوع المسيح من رحمته كما وعد في انجيله المقدس الطاهر نهر الحياة يا تعالوا الي أيها المتعوبين وانا اريحكم [2r] وقال ايضًا من فمه الطاهر المملو حياه من طلب وجد ومن سال اعطى ومن قرع فتح له ونحن بهدا الامل والاتكال الحقيقي قد هجمنا على باب ملكوتك وطلبنا نعمتك وسالنا رافتك وقرعنا باب ملكوتك ان تجعل لنا اخره صالحه مقبوله قدامك امين

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(This is) the key to the door of God's Paradise through which the minds are illuminated and the hearts are illuminated and the human mind is illuminated and filled with desire towards the grace of the heavenly kingdom,[424] and (through which) the eyes of his darkened intellect are illuminated,[425] making him more honorable than the angels[426] and more honorable than the spiritual beings. (It) makes the soul and senses delight in the gifts of those luminous people which the [innermost] intelligence focuses on by their descriptions [1v] and their good stories and perfect patience which surpasses the intellect. They have labored with themselves, and they have committed their spirits to impressive fasting, permanent combat and perpetual vigil, which is the torment and intense thirst with the passion of their souls. Here are the fathers who offered their souls and gave up their bodies for the fear of God, their Lord, and practiced more than what was commanded in terms of vigil, thirst, and hunger, but who afterwards said: "We are unworthy slaves."[427] And they always held the remembrance of death between their eyes. Thus they triumphed and left us (who come) after them amazed at hearing (of) their glorious stories and extraordinary toiling. Thus, brothers and fathers, it is necessary that we ask the Lord Jesus Christ, the compassionate God, the mine of comfort and grace, to help us, with their good prayers, and grant us a very pure heart and brightened eyes, with which we may follow in their righteous traditions, so that we may be counted among the collective of their disciples and servants in the heavenly kingdom; and that Lord Jesus Christ does not remove from us his mercy, as He promised in His holy and pure Gospel, river of life: "Come to me you who are weary and I will give you rest".[428] [2r] He also said, with a pure mouth, full of life: "Whoever seeks shall find, and whoever asks will be given, and whoever knocks, it is opened up for him."[429] And we, with this true hope and reliance, throw ourselves at the door of Your kingdom, and we seek Your blessing and ask for Your mercy, and we knock on the door of Your kingdom so that You may make a good and proper afterlife for us before You. Amen.

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[424] Cf. Lectio divina, Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 280.
[425] Cf. Eph. 4:18.
[426] Cf. Hebrews 1:13–14.
[427] Cf. Luke 17:10.
[428] Matt 11:28.
[429] Matt 7:7–8; Luke 11:9–10

| Vat.ar.460 prologue:3 |
|---|
| والان ايها الاخوه المنتخبين ان اردنا ان نكتب اخبار الابهّات القديسين ومواليدهم يضجر الكاتب ويمل القارى. وانما اختصرنا ان نكتب بعض اخبارهم الحسنه واقوالهم الفاخره لنعزى نفوسنا بدلك ونطلب بركه صلواتهم تكون معنا الجميع امين |
| And now, elect brothers, if we wanted to write the (complete) stories of the saintly fathers and their biographies, then the scribe would be weary, and the reader would be bored. Instead, we have summed up into writing some of their good stories and glorious sayings so that we may console our souls by it. We ask that the blessing of their prayers be with us all. Amen. |

## 3.3 R and other AP versions: Comparative analysis

In the following section I employ the same methods and tools in *Monastica* as I did in section 3.2.3, but instead apply them to other AP sources in *Monastica* to compare the relation of R with other AP versions. As I have stated in section 1.4.2, I favor using manuscripts rather than editions in my structural analysis. In some cases, however, this is not possible since the manuscript structure is not registered in *Monastica*. Furthermore, in some cases, the manuscript itself has not been registered in *Monastica*, but data about its content is nevertheless available since its structural table, published by scholars in previous publications, has been registered.[430] Lastly, in some cases the data comes from a data series, which connects text units in different AP sources to present an AP recension that hitherto has not been published.[431] To sum up, the following analysis takes various sources (manuscripts, editions, tables, and series) in *Monastica* as comparanda to R.

Since *Monastica* contains many AP sources, I do not present the full analysis of how R relates to every single AP source. I only present the analysis that shows my most

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[430] This is the case with Par.ar.253-JMS, Sin.ar.444-JMS, Sin.ar.492-JMS, Sin.ar.565-JMS, and Sin.ar.559-JMS (Sauget, *Une traduction arabe*, 26–55, 124–42, 172–87).
[431] This is the case with GSab (the Greek-Sabaitic AP tradition, cf. Dahlman, "The Sabaitic Collection of the Apophthegmata Patrum") and GScA (the Greek Scorialensis alphabetic AP tradition, cf. Dahlman, "The *Collectio Scorialensis Parva*").

significant findings. In Appendix F I provide a list of all AP sources available in *Monastica* and that thus have been subject to analysis.[432]

Although the comparisons do not yield as high levels of correspondence as I have found between Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras and CAB-Epiphanius, weaker resemblances between Vat.ar.460 and other AP versions still provide implications regarding the AP models of R. Since scribes generally operated quite freely with the AP material at their hands, even sequential similarity in the order of text units is an important relational indicator.[433]

### 3.3.1 Statistics of occurrences of segments in R and other AP sources

As I have explained in section 3.2.3, the report "statistics of occurrences of segments" clarifies the level to which SS (in this case Vat.ar.460) and SC (in this case all other AP sources in *Monastica*) contain the same text segments. The result of this report is presented and discussed in the following. While the full table of this report is given in Appendix D, I present in Table 4 (below) the most important sets of data.

There are 8 AP sources in *Monastica* that contain 45 percent or more of the same identified text segments as Vat.ar.460. Both EG-Arras and CAB-Epiphanius are among these sources. Four of the other sources are Greek manuscripts, namely MSS Sin.gr.448, Par.Coisl.126, Par.Coisl.127, and Athens.504. These manuscripts represent later stages of the Greek AP tradition and therefore contain many apophthegmata. Sin.gr.448, Par.coisl.126 and Athens.504 all belong to a group of relatively homogenous "témoins principaux" to a Greek alpha-anonymous version.[434] MS Par.coisl.127 represents a composite thematic AP recension that includes more

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[432] Per June 2023.

[433] The ability of *Monastica* to compute and export data makes it possible to process this data using other digital tools available in the field of digital humanities. In a recent article, Elisabet Göransson et al. employ distance methods to measure and visualize the relationship between AP versions through methods used in bioinformatics. Through this method, Göransson et al. are able to map the structural relationship between many AP sources on a graph and show with clarity which sources are closer to each other (forming a "core") and which are peripheral in relation to this core (Göransson et al., "Improved Distance Measures"). This method, while interesting to apply to our witnesses, has been outside the scope of this investigation.

[434] Guy, *Recherches*, 41.

apophthegmata and more excerpts from satellite works than earlier thematic witnesses.[435] In other words, the data in Table 4 indicates that R is copied from models that have incorporated material from the later Greek AP tradition. The two last sources at the top of Table 4 (HS-GrigorYohannes and HS-Sarkissian B) are two editions of the Armenian thematic AP tradition. They are, in turn, similar in structure and content to Par.Coisl.127.[436] Out of extant Arabic AP sources in *Monastica*, Vat.ar.460 contains the highest amount of the same identified text segments with MSS Vat.ar.77 and Par.ar.253. As we saw in section 3.1.3, both these manuscripts contain S, the Arabic AP recension from the third phase of Arabic AP translations. This observation is interesting; since R and S were likely compiled and curated at about the same time, the data in Table 4 indicates that both florilegia drew from a somewhat common textual corpus that was held in high esteem in Egypt at this point of time. Lastly, as Table 4 shows, Vat.ar.460 contains a relatively high amount of the same identified text segments with EP-Arras, and less so with ECM-Arras and EA-Arras.

| SC | Perc of A in B | Perc of B in A | A found in B | A not in B | B found in A | B not in A |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EG-Arras | 96 | 85 | 851 | 36 | 822 | 148 |
| Sin.gr.448 | 54 | 19 | 480 | 407 | 432 | 1862 |
| Par.Coisl.126 | 52 | 20 | 462 | 425 | 415 | 1682 |
| Par.Coisl.127 | 52 | 16 | 458 | 429 | 406 | 2128 |
| HS-Sarkissian B | 49 | 18 | 432 | 455 | 374 | 1716 |
| Athens.504 | 49 | 19 | 437 | 450 | 395 | 1702 |
| HS-GrigorYohannes | 47 | 16 | 419 | 468 | 357 | 1888 |
| CAB-Epiphanius | 45 | 23 | 397 | 490 | 372 | 1252 |
| Vat.ar.77 | 44 | 23 | 392 | 495 | 415 | 1362 |
| Par.ar.253-JMS | 35 | 20 | 312 | 575 | 300 | 1216 |
| EP-Arras | 28 | 34 | 248 | 639 | 205 | 392 |
| ECM-Arras | 10 | 10 | 86 | 801 | 66 | 589 |
| EA-Arras | 3 | 7 | 29 | 858 | 27 | 349 |

**Table 4.** Excerpt from the table of statistics of occurrences of segments where Vat.ar.460 is SS and all other AP sources in *Monastica* are SC. Full table available in Appendix D.

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[435] Guy, *Recherches*, 204–07.
[436] Michel van Esbroeck, "Les apophtegmes Dans Les Versions Orientales," *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975): 384–85; Samuel Rubenson, *Det tidiga klosterväsendet och den antika bildningen: Slutrapport från ett forskningsprogram* (Göteborg: Makadam förlag, 2016), 81–82.

## 3.3.2 Structural comparison

As in section 3.2.3, I have compared the order of text segments in Vat.ar.460 with the order in which their parallels appear in other AP sources and I have used plot graphs to my aid.[437] My initial attempt to spot structural resemblance between Vat.ar.460 and other AP sources while using the whole dataset of Vat.ar.460 was unsuccessful, since Vat.ar.460 does not show any structural resemblance to any other AP source in *Monastica* on the most general level. Either R was compiled from very many different models, or it was copied from one or some models that in turn were already very composite. In order to make sequential structural resemblance between Vat.ar.460 and other AP sources visible, I have therefore divided the data concerning the structure of Vat.ar.460 into subsections. Next, I have compared the level of structural resemblance in other AP versions for various subsection of Vat.ar.460, noting which AP sources show the highest level of sequential correlation for each subsection in. I have selected the AP sources that most visibly correlate with R for each subsection and present them in figures 3–6.

From my interpretation of the data, the structure of R in Vat.ar.460 can be divided into four main subsets in which R shows structural resemblances to different AP sources and satellite works:

- The structure of subset 1 (Vat.ar.460 1–100, figure 3) is somewhat similar to later Greek alphabetical-anonymous AP recensions such as Par.Coisl.126 and Par.coisl.127,[438] and hence also to the previously mentioned Arabic MSS Par.ar.276 and Sin.ar.547.[439] Moreover, subset 1 exhibits interpolations from DanS as well as HL.

- The structure of subset 2 (Vat.ar.460 101–325) shows fewer structural similarities with any AP version or satellite work in *Monastica*. There is,

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[437] Per June 2023.
[438] Although Par.Coisl.127 presents itself as a thematic AP collection, its underlying structure is nevertheless quite close to alphabetic collections.
[439] For the structural comparison I present Sin.ar.547 rather than Par.ar.276, since the latter contains more lacunae, and since the structure of Par.ar.276 is currently being revised by Britt Dahlman and Kenneth Berg for APDB.

however, some sequences in subset 2 that also appear in similar order in in SE-Bedjan and ECM-Arras.

- The structure of subset 3 (Vat.ar.460 326–531) shows many and quite strong structural similarities with Arabic thematic AP text witnesses, in particular with Vat.ar.71, Strasb.4225, and Vat.ar.77. The same structural similarity is also present in the Latin MS Brux.BR.9850-52 which is one of the main witnesses to PJ-Rosweyde.

- Lastly, the structure of subset 4 (R 532–711) is not structurally as similar to any AP version or satellite work, although one finds noticeable shorter sequences that are similar to the previously mentioned Arabic text witnesses and EP-Arras.

All in all, the structural comparison shows that among AP sources in *Monastica* Vat.ar.460 is most structurally similar to other Arabic AP recensions. This indicates that at least large parts of Vat.ar.460 were likely copied from previously existing Arabic models, although the comparison does not signal that any particular AP source in *Monastica* was the main model. The structural similarity between SE-Bedjan and Vat.ar.460 might be explained by the popularity of the Syriac AP tradition among Arabic Christians, as mentioned in section 3.1.3. Lastly, the similarities between Vat.ar.460 and EP-Arras and ECM-Arras again indicates that the Ethiopic florilegia were copied from Arabic models found in Copto-Arabic repositories.

**Fig. 3.** Plot graph showing the structural correlation between Vat.ar.460 1–100 (SS) and DanS-Dahlman, Par.Coisl.126, Par.Coisl.127, and Sin.ar.547 (SC).

**Fig. 4.** Plot graph showing the structural correlation between Vat.ar.460 101–325 (SS) and ECM-Arras and SE-Bedjan (SC).

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**Fig. 5.** Plot graph showing the structural correlation between Vat.ar.460 326–530 (SS) and Brux.BR.9850-52, Mil.Ambr.L120sup, Sin.ar.547, Strasb.4225, Vat.ar.71, and Vat.ar.77 (SC).

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Structural Comparison of Vat.ar.460 Subset 4 and other AP sources in *Monastica*
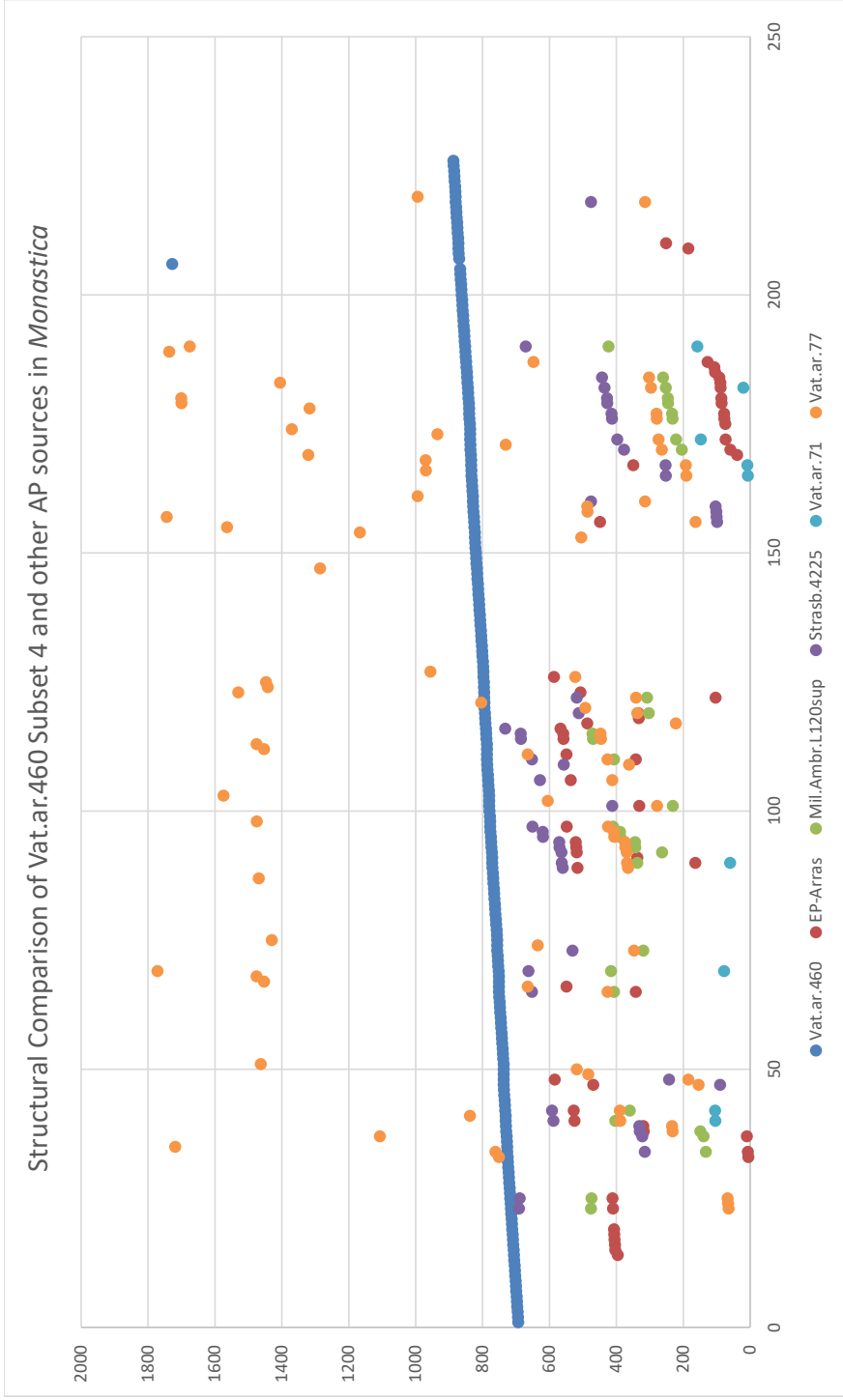
**Fig. 6.** Plot graph showing the structural correlation between Vat.ar.460 531−709 (SS) and EP-Arras, Mil.Ambr.L120sup, Strasb.4225, Vat.ar.71, and Vat.ar.77 (SC).

Legend: Vat.ar.460 · EP-Arras · Mil.Ambr.L120sup · Strasb.4225 · Vat.ar.71 · Vat.ar.77

### 3.3.3 Textual doublets and unique text segments in Vat.ar.460

Another notable feature concerning the content of R is the frequency of textual doublets. In Vat.ar.460, 199 of the text segments appear more than once, up to four times, with minor textual variation.[440] This feature is by no means foreign to the AP tradition; in fact, it is a common feature in medieval AP collections.[441] Indeed, the appearance of textual doublets is a feature of late antique rhetoric, as Rydell Johnsén points out in his study of SP.[442] Rydell Johnsén argues that the purpose with the textual doublets in SP was "not just a matter of using the same text twice, but a reuse that implies a transformation of one text in order to suit another instructive context."[443] In any case, the prevalence of textual doublets strongly indicates that R is a compilation of previously existing material, and suggests that the textual doublets were copied from different sources.

## 3.4 R and its relationship with Coptic, Syriac and Arabic AP recensions

The previous analysis has showed that Vat.ar.460 shows several sequential structural similarities with other Arabic AP recensions, and (to a lesser degree) with SE. In contrast, it showed a very low sequential structural resemblance between Vat.ar.460 and the Coptic AP recensions. Starting from these initial observations, the following section provides tentative suggestions regarding R and its relationship with Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic AP models and textual traditions.[444] The suggestions are limited to the AP content in R, while the whole florilegium also contains excerpts from other literary traditions that fall outside the scope of the present investigation.

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[440] https://monastica.ht.lu.se/ > Report > Doublets in source.
[441] This is especially true for the GS recension represented in Par.Coisl.127 (Guy, *Recherches*, 205–07). See also Karine Åkerman Sarkisian, "The *Apophthegmata Patrum* in the Slavonic Context: A Case Study of Textual Doublets," in *Wisdom on the Move: Late Antique Traditions in Multicultural Conversation*, eds. Susan Ashbrook Harvey et al. (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 132–42.
[442] Rydell Johnsén, "Reading John Climacus," 202.
[443] Rydell Johnsén, "Reading John Climacus," 202.
[444] Since my focus is the AP in R, I mainly focus on AP texts in R and their relationship with Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic AP traditions, although similar studies could and should be undertaken for the other types of textual material in R.

At some point(s) in time, the AP content in R was translated from Greek, Coptic, and/or Syriac into Arabic. Unfortunately we know nothing about this process. According to anba Epiphanius, the CAB recension in CAB-Epiphanius (in other words, R with many interpolations) was translated from a combination of Greek and Coptic models.[445] There is no easy way, however, to verify this statement, although the hypothesis is rather plausible.[446] Scribes and translators did not always copy their models verbatim. Moreover, we often do not have the Greek, Coptic, Syriac, or Arabic models from which the texts in R were copied. As was described in chapter 2, Coptic monasteries (especially the monasteries considered in this investigation) were polyglot, and they engaged with literature in Greek, Coptic, Syriac, and even Armenian as well as Ethiopic—especially during the Coptic Renaissance.

Another major problem when establishing the source language(s) for R is the fact that it is a composite work. It is safe to say that the content in R is the work of several translators and redactors. Theoretically, every single text may have been translated by a different person and from a different language. Most of the identified works in R circulated by the Middle Ages in Greek, Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic versions. One can therefore not simply assume that originally Greek works were translated into Arabic from Greek, or originally Coptic works from Coptic, and so on. Despite these difficulties, I bring up aspects of R that at least indicate (parts of) its relation to Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic models in the following section.

### 3.4.1 R and Coptic literature

It is tempting to consider that R (or parts of it) is an Arabic translation of either a Coptic florilegium or that it consists of originally Coptic sources. I do not, however, believe that this is very likely, and the following cursus into the Coptic AP will provide reasons why I think that. To begin with, the following quote by Paola Buzi

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[445] Anba Epiphanius shared this hypothesis with me via e-mail correspondence in 2017.
[446] A more thorough linguistic analysis to discern the source language of individual texts in R has been outside of the scope of this investigation.

illustrates a general presupposition that the AP genre was popular in late antique Coptic(-language) literature:

> One of the most appreciated literary genres of Late Antique Egypt is without doubt that of the Apophthegmata, that is edifying sayings and precepts attributed to the moral authority of the desert fathers, whose function was essentially that of providing an ethical and behavioral model to monastic, but also non-monastic, communities.[447]

Indeed, evidence suggests that AP was translated into Coptic at an early stage.[448] It is therefore curious that there are so few Coptic AP text witnesses.[449] To date, only a couple of Sahidic-Coptic codices, fragmented and dispersed in various archives, have been found. The most complete Sahidic-Coptic witness, catalogued as MONB.EG, dispersed in various archives and puzzled together by the efforts of many scholars, is a 10th- or 11th-century manuscript from the White Monastery (DA), which contains a thematic AP recension akin to what is found in e.g. MSS Par.gr.2474 and Strasb.4225 (see section 3.1.1).[450] Two other Sahidic-Coptic AP codices of somewhat earlier dates are only preserved in fragments.[451]

Bohairic-Coptic AP text witnesses do not abound either; the only studied source is that in CB-Amelineau. CB-Amelineau is neither alphabetic nor thematic; rather, it focuses on sayings and stories attributed to two specific desert fathers, Antonius and Macarius the Great, and also includes a *Vita Macarii* (from now on: VM) and a *Vita Pauli*

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[447] Buzi, "Egypt, Crossroad," 31.

[448] See Stefan Colceriu, *Apoftegmele Părinților Deșertului: Versiunea Coptă Sahidică sau Patericul Copt*, critical edition with a Romanian translation by Stefan Colceriu, Melania Bădic et al. (Bucarest, Ed. Humanitas, 2021), 10.

[449] Enzo Lucchesi thus writes that "[l]e fait que la Bibliothèque du Monastère Blanc […] n'ait possedé qu'un seul codex d'*Apophthegmata*, peut paraître surprenant, eu égard à un genre littéraire fort goûté par les moines." Enzo Lucchesi, "Un petit complément au manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des 'Apophthegmata Patrum'," in *Ægyptus Christiana. Mélanges d'Hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos, bollandiste*, eds. Enzo Lucchesi and Ugo Zanetti (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 2004), 164.

[450] Marius Chaîne, Le manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des "Apophthegmata Patrum," (Cairo: IFAO, 1960); Alla I. Elanskaya, *The Literary Coptic Manuscripts in the A. S. Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum in Moscow* (New York: Brill, 1994).

[451] Additional fragments of (probably another) Sahidic AP codex have also been found in other archives, such as the University of Pennsylvania Musuem and in Dayr al-Balāʾizah in Upper Egypt. See Alin Suciu, "A New Fragment from the Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The University of Pennsylvania Coptic Fragment E 16395," *AlinSuciu.com* (*Patristics, Apocrypha, Coptic Literature and Manuscripts*), May 12, 2012, https://alinsuciu.com/2012/05/17/a-new-fragment-from-the-sayings-of-the-desert-fathers-the-university-of-pennsylvania-coptic-fragment-e-16395. For another fragment in the *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, dated by Hagen to between the 6th to 9th century, see Joost L. Hagen, "A Fragmentary Bifolium from a Fourth Parchment Codex of the Sahidic Apophthegmata Patrum," *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 56 (2017): 61–90.

*eremitae*.[452] The sayings of Macarius in CB-Amelineau form a separate apophthegmatic work, only vaguely similar to apophthegmata from the Greek AP tradition, called *Virtues of Saint Macarius* (from now on: VrM). Vivian suggests that the apophthegmata in MS Vat.Copt.64 were translated from Greek, although they vary considerably from known Greek counterparts, which might indicate either extensive revision or the Coptic scribes or translators copying from unknown Greek versions.[453]

The lack of Coptic AP text witnesses has led Rubenson to suggest that AP was, in fact, not as "widely used in the Coptic tradition" as one might be tempted to think.[454] Admittedly, there seems to have existed a certain AP florilegium entitled *Paradise* which is now lost. Nevertheless, there is much more evidence for the AP florilegium tradition in Byzantine, Melkite, and Syriac manuscripts than in extant Coptic manuscripts.[455] Moreover, as has become evident from the historical timeline in chapter 2, the Coptic Renaissance scribes and authors looked beyond their Coptic repositories and took, to a great extent, in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic models for their compilations. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the Copto-Arabic *karshouni* leaves (CAK) found in the library in DAM were translated from Coptic into Arabic. I have therefore compared the structures and wordings of R and CAK. My concordance (Appendix B) shows that out of 76 text units in CAK, only 8 have parallels in Vat.ar.460, and there is no textual similarity between the sources, as far as the fragmentary state of CAK allows a comparison.[456]

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[452] Vat.copt.64 fols. 1–152. See Tim Vivian, *Saint Macarius the Spiritbearer: Coptic Texts Relating to Saint Macarius the Great* (Crestwood, US: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2004), 26–34.

[453] Tim Vivian, "The Coptic Sayings of Saint Macarius of Egypt," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2000): 500.

[454] Rubenson, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*."

[455] Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 224; see also Rapp, "The Origins of Hagiography," 128; Regnault, "Apophthegmata Patrum," CE:177. Evelyn-White argues that the VrM and *Vita Macarii* were "in a literary sense dependent upon a lost Coptic work, *The Paradise of Shiêt,* perhaps identical with *The Paradise of the Fathers* used by Zacharias of Sakhâ in compiling the life of another worthy of Scetis, John the Little" (Evelyn-White, *The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*, 61).

[456] I have also compared the texts in R with the inscriptions of apophthegmata in Kellia, north of Wādī al-Naṭrūn (7th or 8th cent.) and in Faras (Wādī Ḥalfā, first half of the 8th cent.) but there is no significant textual similarity between them. For the inscriptions, see Jacques van der Vliet, "The Wisdom of the Wall: Innovation in Monastic Epigraphy," in *Writing and Communication in Early Egyptian Monasticism*, eds. Malcolm Choat and Maria Chiara Giorda (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2017); Stefan Jakobielski, *A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras on the Basis of Coptic Inscriptions* (Warszawa: Éditions scientifique de Pologne, 1972); Francis Llewellyn Griffith, *Oxford Excavations in Nubia* (University of Liverpool, Institute of Archaeology, 1920), 81–88, Pls. LXVII-LXXIII.

Although I argue that the AP content in R rather derives from Arabic, Greek and Syriac models than from Coptic, there are nevertheless excerpts in R that show a resemblance with Coptic literary traditions. As I demonstrate in section 5.2, R contains excerpts of the pseudo-Serapionic VA, a Copto-Arabic hagiography. Moreover, as I discuss in section 5.4, one finds in R an apophthegmatic dossier which is partly similar to VrM. Since VrM was never translated from Coptic to Greek or Latin and seem not to have been read by other Arabic Christian communities, it is likely that at least the VrM excerpts in R stem from a Coptic model. The same goes for the pseudo-Serapionic VA, whose popularity seems not to have reached beyond Coptic Egypt.

## 3.4.2 R and Syriac literature

Even though little can be said with certainty about the unidentified parts of R, there is nevertheless a visible aspect that I find remarkable and interesting, namely the absence of Syriac authors. In the identified parts of R, most of the excerpts are from Egyptian and Byzantine literary traditions. Meanwhile, there are no identified parallels to the writings of Ephraem the Syrian or Isaac of Nineveh, and only one identified parallel to the writings of John of Dalyatha.[457] Even when considering the large part of unidentified text units in R, mentions in the incipits of these Syriac authors is very limited.[458] This does not have to mean that the excerpts are not from Syriac works. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that medieval ascetic Syriac authors do not take a visibly prominent place in R at all. This stands in contrast to other medieval Arabic ascetic compendia which, as Alexander Treiger points out, typically consist of both Greek and Syriac authors.[459] During the Coptic Renaissance and later, ascetic works by Isaac of Nineveh and the *shaykh al-ruḥānī* (the spiritual elder, the Arabic epithet for John of Dalyatha) became very popular.[460] One thus notices that CAB-Epiphanius

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[457] In Vat.ar.460 70 (52v–55v) one finds an abridged version of a treatise by John of Dalyatha (see fn1004).
[458] An unidentified text attributed to Isaac (of Nineveh?) is found in Vat.ar.460 568 (fols. 66v–67r).
[459] Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," 201.
[460] Cf. Davis and Swanson, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, x–xi.

contains 29 text units that are excerpts from Isaac of Nineveh and 6 text units that are excerpts from John of Dalyatha.[461]

## 3.4.3 R and other Arabic AP recensions

The curation of R coincides, I argue, with the third phase of Copto-Arabic translations (see section 3.1.3). Translations during this period were often *intralingual*, that is, rewordings of previously existing Arabic translations. In this respect, we are centuries away from the early Melkite Arabic AP translations, mentioned in section 3.1.1, whose source language Sauget and Mansour were able to ascertain.[462] One possibility is thus that the curators of R not only compiled previously existing Arabic texts, but that they also modified them in the process. If one then supposes that many (most?) texts in R are copied, with or without intralingual translation and/or revision from Arabic models, it is then interesting to see whether the texts in R correspond to texts in other Arabic text witnesses. I have thus compared a selection of apophthegmata in R with parallels in MSS Strasb.4225, Vat.ar.71, Mil.Ambr.L120sup, Sin.ar.547, Par.ar.276, Par.ar.253, and Sin.ar.444, as well as with Greek editions as a point of reference.[463] The following section provides three examples of the textual comparisons. As can be seen, the wording of R is often similar to the wording found in the other Arabic AP

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[461] Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān*, 500–33.

[462] Cf. the description of early Arabic Christian translations as "simpler" and "shorter" than their Greek models in Kate Leeming, "Greek- Arabic Translation in the Christian Communities of the Medieval Arab World," in *Übersetzung, Translation, Traduction*, ed. Harald Kittel et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007, 1217–18. It is, furthermore, notoriously difficult to separate Graecisms and Copticisms in an Arabic text since Coptic is heavily influenced by Greek. In Zanetti's words, "[i]l n'est pas aisé de démontrer positivement qu'un texte arabe provient du copte, à moins de possèder ce dernier." Zanetti, "Deux Lettres De Macaire Conservées En Arabe Et En Géorgien," 324. See also Samuel Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of a Saint* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1990.), 23. I have briefly scanned for linguistic phenomena specific for Arabic Christian interlingual translations, such as renderings of the Greek *alpha privativum* into e.g. *ʿadīm an* (lacking) or *ghayr* (without, see Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," 209–18; Treiger and Roggema, "Introduction," 9; Habib Ibrahim, "Some Notes on Antonius and His Arabic Translations of John of Damascus," in *Patristic Literature in Arabic Translation*, eds. Alexander Treiger and Barbara Roggema (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 158–79; Joe Glynias, "Homiletic Translation in Byzantine Antioch: Arabic Translation of a Marian Homily of Patriarch Germanos I of Constantinople by Yānī Ibn Al-Duks, Deacon of Antioch," in *Patristic Literature in Arabic Translations*, eds. Alexander Treiger and Barbara Roggema, (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 241–75). From what I have observed, the *alpha privativum* is not rendered by any Arabic negating prefixes or particles. Rather, in those cases the wording has been rephrased to avoid negated words. This might indicate that the texts in this sequence of Vat.ar.460 is an intralingual translation of earlier Arabic versions, where an eventual originally word-to-word correspondence with a (Greek) model has been abandoned in favor of a more concise Arabic text.

[463] Additional Arabic AP manuscripts I have consulted and judged that the structure and reading is not similar to R: Borg.ar.62; Sbath.90; Sbath.8 (KB); Sbath.182; Vat.ar.73; Vat.ar.85 (S); Vat.ar.77 (similar structure but not similar reading); Vat.ar.552; Vat.ar.678; Vat.ar.944. According to Sauget, Sbath.90, Sbath.182 and Vat.ar.77 are textually identical and are produced in the same scriptorium in Aleppo in the end of the 17th century (Sauget, *Une traduction arabe*, 11).

text witnesses. There are small variations between most of the Arabic texts, and it is difficult to see that any particular wording in the slightly variegated Arabic AP sources is the direct model for R in these samples and in general. Notably, however, and as becomes clear during this investigation, whenever the text in R seems to have revised the *sensum* of the apophthegm, one does not find this revision in the other Arabic AP sources. In other words, it seems as if the Copto-Arabic curators of R did not only copy from their models, but also occasionally revised its textual content.

### 3.4.3.1 Example 1: Vat.ar.460 48

This apophthegm appears in very similar guise in all three Arabic text witnesses. Although the differences are small, Vat.ar.460 48 is somewhat more similar in wording with Sin.ar.547 C.III.18 than with Par.ar.253 fol. 149v(1). One can especially note that the head of demons is in Vat.ar.460 and Sin.ar.547 called *raʾs al-jinn* (the head of jinns), while he instead is referred to as *raʾs al-shayāṭīn* (the head of demons) in Par.ar.253. For a discussion of jinn vocabulary in Vat.ar.460, see section 6.2.4.

### 3.4.3.2 Example 2: Vat.ar.460 408

This apophthegm appears in similar guise in all Arabic text witnesses, and there is no significant difference between them and parallels in other AP versions. The wording in Par.ar.276 is more variant compared with Strasb.4225, Vat.ar.71, and Vat.ar.460. The wording in Vat.ar.460 408 is most similar to that in Vat.ar.71 X.99.

### 3.4.3.3 Example 3: Vat.ar.460 480

Sauget brings up this apophthegm from PS as it appears in MS Mil.Ambr.L120sup 523, since in all parallels to it in other AP sources, the comparison centers around the nature of salt and of monks. Meanwhile, in Mil.Ambr.L120sup, and, as evident, also in Vat.ar.460 480, the comparison is instead between snow and men. This peculiarity, as Sauget argues, is probably due to a misreading of the Arabic *milḥ* (salt, ملح) into *thalj*

(snow, ثلج).[464] The fact that one finds the same variance in Vat.ar.460 might suggest that in this case the curators of Vat.ar.460 have copied from a model that in turn is related to Mil.Ambr.L120sup, although it is also possible, but somewhat less likely, that the misreading happened independently during the course of transmission. Notably, the Arabic parallels in Par.ar.253 and Sin.ar.444 instead give *milḥ*. Apart from this difference, the Arabic parallels all attribute this apophthegm to a named father, while in other AP versions this is an anonymous apophthegm. In R, the apophthegm in R is attributed to Benjamin, while in Mil.Ambr.L120sup, Sin.ar.444, and Par.ar.253, the apophthegm is instead attributed to Poemen.

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[464] In Mil.Ambr.L120sup and Vat.ar.460 written as ثلج. Sauget, " Le paterikon arabe de la bibliothèque ambrosienne de Milan L120 Sup," 508. In fact, one finds الملح in StMacar.371 fol. 205r (CAB-Epiphanius 1039), although the apophthegm is identical to Vat.ar.460 480 in all other details. This, and similar cases where the wording in StMacar.371 approaches that of other AP versions while still presenting a distinctively revised version akin to that found in Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras.lat, leads me to suspect that the curators of the R recension in StMacar.371 et al. had access to other AP sources and occasionally "corrected" the wording in R on the basis of other AP sources. This would, however, need to be further studied before further conclusions from it can be drawn.

### 3.4.3.4 Example 1: Vat.ar.48 (fol. 38v)

| Vat.ar.460 48 (fol. 38v) | Par.ar.253 fol. 149v(1)[465] | Sin.ar.547 C.III.18 (fol. 35v) | GN-Wortley 77[466] |
|---|---|---|---|
| خبر عن راهبين قديسين كانوا اخوه وسكنوا البرية. فجرض الشيطان ان يفرق بينهما في بعض الايام اوقد احدهما الصغير المنار ه وبحيله السر اج حنيذ الشيطان وفق المنار ه وانطفى السر اج حنيذ حرد الاخ الكبير عليه وضربه فحنى لا[467] مطانيه[468] وقال طول روحك يا اخي وطول ايضًا (...) ثم ذهب ذلك الشيطان فاخبر ريس الجن الذي كان (...) | راهبين كانوا اخوه فسكنوا البرية وحرض الشيطان ان يفرق بينهما وفي بعض الايام اوقد الصغير المنار ه وبحيله السر اج طر ح المنار فطفا السر اج حنيذ حرد الاخ الكبير عليه وضربه فحنى لا طول روحك يا اخي وانا وقف ايضًا (...) ثم مضى الشيطان واخبر ريس الشياطين بالذي كان (...) | راهبين كانوا اخوه وسكنوا البرية فجرض السيطان ان يفرق الصغير منهما سر اج وحجله على المنار ه وبحيله السر اج حنيذ حرد الاخ الكبير عليه وضربه فحنى لا طول روحك يا اخي وانا وقف ايضًا (...) ثم السلطان فاخبر ريس الجن بالذي كان (...) | Δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν σαρκικοὶ[469] καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ διάβολος χωρίσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. Μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἀνῆψεν ὁ μικρότερος τὸν λύχνον,[470] καὶ ἐνεργήσας ὁ δαίμων ἔστρεψε τὴν λυχνίαν καὶ ἐστράφη καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἔτυψεν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐν ὀργῇ, καὶ[471] ἔβαλε μετάνοιαν λέγων· Μακροθύμησον, ἀδελφέ μου, καὶ πάλιν ἅπτω. (...) Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ δαίμων, ἀνήγγειλε τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτοῦ τὸ γενόμενον. (...) |

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465 Identical wording in Sin.ar.444 65r(2).
466 Trans. Wortley (GN-Wortley.eng 77), partly adapted by me.
467 الصغير in marg.
468 سجد prostration, Greek loanword, cf. μετάνοια. Graf, Verzeichnis *Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, CSCO 147 (Leuven: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durberq, 1954), 106.
469 GS-Dahlman XV.98 var. καὶ κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφοί.
470 GS-Dahlman XV.98 add. ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν.
471 GS-Dahlman XV.98 var. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A story about two holy monks: They were brothers and lived in the desert. A demon wished to separate them from each other. One day the younger of them lit a lamp and put it on the lamp stand. By the demon's tricks, the lamp fell and went out. The older brother became angry with him and beat him. Then the brother prostrated to him and said: "Do not be fed up, my brother, but be patient with me. I will light it again." (…) Then the demon went and reported to the head of jinns about what had happened. | Two monks were brothers and lived in the desert. The devil wished to separate them from each other. One day the younger of them lit the lamp and put it on the lamp stand. The enemy turned it over. The lamp fell and the lamp went out. The older brother became angry with him and beat him. But then the younger brother made *metanoia* and said: "Be patient with me, brother. I will light it again." (…) Then the demon went and reported to the head of demons about what had happened. (…) | Two monks were brothers and lived in the desert. The devil wished to separate them from each other. One day the younger of them lit the lamp and put it on the lamp stand. The demon turned it over. The lamp fell and the lamp went out. The older brother became angry with him and beat him. But then the brother made *metanoia* to the younger and said to him: "Be patient with me, brother. I will light it again." (…) Then the demon went and reported to the head of jinns about what had happened. (…) | There were two brothers in the flesh. The[472] devil came to separate them from each other. One day the younger one lit the lamp; the demon intervened, knocking over the lamp stand and the lamp was overturned too. His brother struck him in anger, but he apologised saying: "Be patient my brother and I will light it again." (…) The demon went and reported what had happened to his leader. (…) |

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472 Wortley: "natural brothers and the"

### 3.4.3.5 Example 2: Vat.ar.460 408

| Vat.ar.460 408 (fol. 121v(2)) | Strasb.4225 VIII.162 (fol. 91r)[473] | Vat.ar.71 X.99 (fol. 198r)[474] | Par.ar.276 10a (fol. 147v(1)) | GN-Wortley 297[475] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| قال شيخ من اجل هذا ليس نفلح لانا ليس نعرف قدرنا اقدارنا ولا صبر في عمل نبدا به ولكنا نريد نقتني الفضائل بلا تعب. | قال شيخ لانا ليس نفلح من اجل هذا ليس نعرف قدرنا ولا لنا صبر في كل امر نبدا به ونريد نقتني رضا الله بغير تعب. | قال بعض الايهات مخبل[476] هذا ليس نفلح لانا ليس نعرف قدرنا وليس لنا صبر ولا لكنا نريد به ونريد نقتني الفضائل بلا تعب. | قال شيخ راهب ليها السبب [1.dub] لاجحنا ولا قد عرفنا اقدارنا لانا ليس به صبر في العمل الذي نبدا به لكنا نريد ان نقتني فضايله بغير تعب. | Εἶπεν γέρων· Διὰ τοῦτο οὐ προκόπτομεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα τὰ μέτρα ἑαυτῶν, οὐδὲ ἔχομεν ὑπομονὴν ἐν ᾧ ἀρχόμεθα ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ ἀπόνως θέλομεν κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀρέτην. |
| An elder said: "On account of this, we are not satisfied, because we do not know our capacities, nor do we have patience in the work that we undertake but we want to obtain virtues without labor." | And elder said: "On account of this, we are not satisfied, because we do not know our ability, and we do not have patience in every work that we undertake, while we want to obtain the favor of God without hardship." | One of the fathers said: "On account of this, we are not satisfied, because we do not know our ability, nor do we have patience in the work that we undertake but we want to obtain virtues without labor." | An elder monk said: For this reason [1.dub] our thriving, nor our knowledge or capacities; rather, we do not have patience in the work that we begin with but want to acquire virtue without labor." | An elder said: "This is why we make no progress: we do not understand our own measure,[477] and we do not have patience[478] in the work we begin with but[479] want to acquire virtue effortlessly." |

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473 Transcription and translation by Zaborowski (Zaborowski, "Greek Thought, Arabic Culture," 339).
474 Transcription by Zaborowski.
475 Trans. Wortley (GN-Wortley.eng 297), partly adapted by me.
476 Sic.
477 Wortley: "limit"
478 Wortley: "persevere"
479 Wortley: "undertake and we"

## 3.4.3.6 Example 3: Vat.ar.460 480

| Vat.ar.460 480 (fol. 130v(4)) | Mil.Ambr.L120sup 523 (fol. 140rv)[480] | Par.ar.253 fol. 119v(2)[481] | PS-Migne 271[482] |
|---|---|---|---|
| قال انبا مينامين 483 مثل ما ان الما النالج يحدر ج من الما وفي الما ينحل ويدوب كذلك الرجال من النسا يخرجون ومن النسا يهلكون | قال انبا بيمين: مثل ما يخدر النالج من الما وفي الما يبطل كذلك الرجال من النسا يخرجون ومن النسا يهلكون | وقال ايضا الشيخ: ان الملح هو من الما تكون، وان وقع في ما انحل ونفي وكذلك الرهبان، من النسا يولدون، وان وقعوا بين النسا هلكوا ونفوا قدام الله. | Εἶπεν γέρων· Τεκνία, τὸ ἅλας ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατός ἐστιν, καὶ ἐὰν προσεγγίσῃ ὕδατι, λύεται καὶ ἀφανίζεται. Ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς ἐκ τῆς γυναικός ἐστιν, καὶ ἐὰν προσεγγίσῃ γυναικί, λύεται, καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι, μοναχὸς δηλονότι, τελευτᾷ. |
| Anba [B]enjamin said: "Just as snow comes from water, and dissolves and melts in water, so also men come from women, and perish by women." | Anba Poemen said: Just as snow comes from water and perish in water, so also men come from water, so also men come from women and perish by women. | And the elder (Poemen) also said: Salt is from water, and if it falls into water, it is dissolved and spoiled, so also monks are born by women, and if they fall in (the hands of) women, they perish and are spoiled before God. | An elder said: 'Children, salt comes from water and[484] if it comes back to water, it is dissolved and disappears. So the monk comes from a woman; and if he comes back to a woman, he is dissolved[485] and, insofar as his being a monk is concerned, he dies'. |

480 Transcription by Sauget (Sauget, "Le paterikon arabe de la bibliothèque ambrosienne de Milan L120 Sup," 508).
481 Identical wording in Sin.ar.444 fol. 39v(2).
482 Trans. Wortley (PS-Wortley.eng 217), partly adapted by me.
483 Sic. StMacar.371 fol. 205r (CAB-Epiphanius 1039) and EG-Arras.lat 380 read بنيامين/Benjamin.
484 Wortley: "but"
485 Wortley: "undone"

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## 3.4.4 Excursus: CAB-Epiphanius and al-Ṣafī's CAB *mukhtaṣar* (M)

As has been shown, the CAB recension in CAB-Epiphanius consists of a nucleus which is R with a lot of additional texts. While my investigation generally limits its focus to R, this section leaves R for an excursus. During my research, I have identified parallel sequences between CAB-Epiphanius and another manuscript, namely MS Vat.ar.398 (see Appendix C).

Vat.ar.398 is a multiple-text manuscript containing several separate monastic works, including a CAB *mukhtaṣar* (epitome), which I hereafter refer to by the siglum M (as in *mukhtaṣar*).[486] The *terminus ante quem* (and current dating) of the codex Vat.ar.398 is the 15th century.[487] An earlier text witness to M is MS Par.ar.283, dated to the 13th century.[488] Most importantly, however, the identity of the curator of M is known, for he is no less than the famous 13th-century Coptic Renaissance author al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl.[489] As I have mentioned in section 2.5, al-Ṣafī was responsible for the curation of several patristic *mukhtaṣarāt*.[490] Al-Ṣafī's curation mainly consisted of intralingual translations of already existing Arabic translations of patristic works into a clearer and more elegant wording.[491] According to Treiger, al-Ṣafī's *mukhtaṣarāt* "enjoyed a wide

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[486] Vat.ar.398 fols. 101r–162r. The codex also contains works by Antonius, Isaiah, and Macarius, excerpts from HL, and a résumé of the Nicaean canon. Scholars have taken particular interest in its recension of the Antonian and Macarian texts; See Rubenson, *The Letters of St.* Antony, 20; Zanetti, "Épitomé de la 'Lettre de Macaire sur la gloire des saints'; Mokbel, "La Règle De Saint Antoine Le Grand," 213–14. In the introduction to their English translation of Isaiah of Sketis's *Asceticon* (IsMA), John Chryssavgis and Pachomios (Robert) Penkett write that Vat.ar.398 was "translated from Latin into Arabic," but this must be an error, since the opposite took place as Abraham Echellensis used Vat.ar.398 for a 17th century Latin edition of the Antonian writings (John Chryssavgis and Pachomios Penkett, *Abba Isaiah of Scetis: Ascetic Discourses* (Kalamazoo, US: Cistercian Publications, 2002), 33 n85).

[487] Joseph-Marie Sauget, Description of MS Vat.ar.398 in BAV (ID: 152128). BAV Online Catalogue. N.d. https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/152128. Graf mentions Vat.ar.398 in GCAL, but he does not date it (Graf, *GCAL* 1:386).

[488] William McGuckin de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque nationale,* fasc. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1883), 79.Cf. Chaîne, "Le texte original des Apophthegmes des Pères,"17; and Graf, "Arabische Apophthegmensammlung," 316.

[489] See colophon in Vat.ar.398 fol. 162r. Sauget, "Une version arabe du 'Sermon Ascétique'," 371–72 ; and Graf, *GCAL Volume 2: Die Schriftsteller bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Studi e Testi 133 (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana), 397.

[490] According to Samir, these *mukhtaṣarāt* were probably composed before 1232 (Samir, "Ṣafī Ibn Al-ʿAssāl, Al-," CE:2076).

[491] Sauget also comments on the literary quality of SA in M (Vat.ar.398) as being "en une langue certainement plus 'littéraire'" than what is found in Vat.ar.71 (Sauget, "Une version arabe du 'Sermon Ascétique'," 371).

circulation in Egypt."[492] In other words, M is not only a late medieval CAB curation but also a popular and widely circulated CAB recension.

Thus far, I have identified three significant parallel sequences in M (as represented by Vat.ar.398) and CAB-Epiphanius, along with additional single text parallels. I provide a structural table of these sequences in Appendix C. My investigation of M, it should be stressed, has not been exhaustive, and I suspect that further studies of these text witnesses are likely to yield many more parallels.

Not only does one find sequential structural similarities between Vat.ar.398 and CAB-Epiphanius, but there is also a very high level of textual correlation between StMacar.367–372 and Vat.ar.398. Below I provide an example of this high level of textual correlation, including a parallel from Vat.ar.460 as a contrast.[493] In this example, as in all other apophthegmata noted in Appendix C, the wording in Vat.ar.398 and Vat.ar.460 is not similar to the extent that would indicate that they belong to the same recension.[494] Another feature which is visible in the example is that the Arabic in M is more linguistically correct and more elegantly phrased compared with the wording in R. This makes sense given that al-Ṣafī wrote "in a very correct Classical Arabic" while R seems to be a distinctively middle Arabic composition.[495]

Although this investigation focuses solely on R, M provides yet another example of a late medieval curation of the Copto-Arabic legacy of the desert fathers—curated by one of the most prolific figures of the Coptic Renaissance.

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[492] Treiger, "The Fathers in Arabic," 446. Contrary to the statement by Sauget that "il ne semble pas que le *muḫtaṣar* d'Ibn al-Assal ait laissé quelque trace dans l'histoire de la littérature arabe chrétienne" (Sauget, "Une version arabe du 'Sermon Ascétique' d'Étienne le Thébain," 372). Furthermore, a small piece of evidence might suggest that M was in use in late medieval Wadi al-Natrun, although this cannot be said with certainty: Sauget has identified 2 folios of M in Vat.ar.398 as "identical" with a Syriac-Arabic *karshouni* manuscript which was copied either at the Monastery of John Colobos or DS in 1493 (Par.Syr.293, Sauget, "Une version arabe du 'Sermon Ascétique' d'Étienne le Thébain," 371; Zanetti, "Deux lettres de Macaire," 326–27.

[493] One finds, in fact, an apophthegm in CAB-Epiphanius (CAB-Epiphanius 1132 / StMacar.371 fol. 220r) that instead is very close to the wording in Vat.ar.60 663. This indicates, again, that CAB-Epiphanius contains both R and M.

[494] So far, I have found one text that appear in similar (but not identical) form in R and M, namely Vat.ar.460 500 (fol. 132r(6)) which presents an excerpt from BJE. The first half of this text is found in similar form in Par.ar.283, fols. 16rv. In the second part of the text, however, the wording in Vat.ar.460 and Par.ar.283 diverge from each other. See fn551.

[495] Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr," 93. See also Graf, *GCAL* 2:389.

| Vat.ar.460 663 (fols. 153v–154r)[496] | StMacar.371 fol. 132v (CAB-Epiphanius 605) | Vat.ar.398 fol. 115v | Strasb.4225 VIII.215 (fol. 99v)[497] | G.Cotelier Poemen.21[498] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| اذا قال انبا بيمين ان الإنسان اخذ [154r] حيه او عقرب وجعلها في قارورة او في غير ها ثم ختمها فانها تموت هكذى الإفكار الرديه الشيطانيه اذا قامت على الإنسان فان الصبر والجهاد يهلكه | (...) وقال من يضبط فمه فان الفكار ه تموت كما اذا كان جيات و عقارب وسد فمها فانها تموت | (...) وقال من يضبط فمه فان الفكار ه تموت كما اذا كان في جره جيات و عقارب وسد فمها فانها تموت | (...) فقال له انبا بيمين مثل انسان ياخذ حية ويسد فمها في قارورة فيموت ومن طول الزمان يموت كذلك الإفكار السو التي تنبت فينا من الشياطين ومن اهل الصبر تموت وتنثب | (...) καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ποιμήν· Ὥσπερ ἐάν τις ὄφιν καὶ σκορπίον βάλῃ εἰς ἀγγεῖον, καὶ φράξῃ, πάντως τῷ χρόνῳ ἀποθνῄσκουσιν· οὕτω καὶ οἱ πονηροὶ λογισμοί, ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων βλαστάνοντες, διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ἐκλείπουσιν. |
| Abba Poemen said: "If a person takes a [154r] snake or a scorpion and puts it in a bottle or in something else and then closes it, it will die. So it is also with bad, demonic thoughts; if they arise against a person, then patience and struggle will destroy them." | (...) he [Poemen] said: "For whoever keeps his mouth, his thoughts also die, as if in a jar there are snakes and scorpions, and whose mouth is blocked so that they die." | (...) he [Poemen] said: "For whoever keeps his mouth, his thoughts also die, as if in a jar there are snakes and scorpions, and whose mouth is blocked so that they die." | (...) abba Poemen said to him: "Just as is someone takes a snake and a scorpion and throw them in a barrel and blocks its mouth, so after some time they die, so also the evil thoughts which are planted in us by the demons die and are destroyed through patience." | (...) Abba Poemen said to him: "Just as if somebody puts a snake and a scorpion into a jar and seals it, these will certainly die in the course of time, so too will the evil thoughts[499] engendered by the demons expire through patience."[500] |

[496] Cf. StMacar.371 fol. 220r (CAB-Epiphanius 1132).
[497] Transcription by Zaborowski. The wording in Par.ar.253 fols. 72r(1) and 121v(2), as well as Sin.ar.444 fol. 19r(1) 41v(2), are very similar to each other, and similar at times with Vat.ar.460 663, and at times with Strasb.4225 VIII.215.
[498] Translation by Wortley, partly adapted by me.
[499] Wortley: "logismoi".
[500] Wortley: "patient endurance."

## 3.5 Concluding Discussion

The aim of this chapter has been to present the outline of a CAB recension (R) which has hitherto not been studied. Previous scholarship has demonstrated that the Arabic AP enjoyed great popularity, circulating in Melkite, Syriac, and Coptic communities by the late Middle Ages. Scholarly investigations of the various Arabic AP recensions have brought to light general characteristics of this textual tradition, namely that they appear in large florilegia and that they display complex modes of transmission. It is difficult to ascertain from which models and languages the Arabic apophthegmata were copied in the first place, but Sauget and others have convincingly shown that the earliest Arabic AP recensions were copied from Greek models, and that posterior AP recensions made, to a high extent, use of earlier translations. The debate concerning the language and script in CAK evokes another important question, namely how CAB was *used* — a question I discuss further in chapter 4.

Regnault, who studied CAB-Cairo, argued that since none of the literary sources in CAB-Cairo are dated to later than the 8th century, the curation of the main bulk of that CAB recension should have taken place before the 8th century.[501] Indeed, the identified texts in R are excerpts from literary works composed between the 4th and 8th centuries (with the excerpts from the pseudo-Serapionic VA as the exception). There is no guarantee, however, that the date of the sources determines the date of the curation. This is especially true when considering that, during the Coptic Renaissance, there was a renewed interest in early patristic and monastic literature.[502]

As chapter 2 has shown, the Arabization of Coptic literature started in the 10th century. One can therefore safely assume that there was no R, at least not in Arabic, before the 10th century. The Coptic Renaissance saw an influx of Byzantine, Melkite, and Syriac literature into Coptic Egypt. Based on these facts I deem it likely that R is the product of Copto-Arabic curators engaging with this "imported" literature, rather than a copy of an earlier Coptic(-language) florilegium.

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[501] Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes," 354–55.
[502] See Troupeau, "La littérature arabe chrétienne," 13.

As has been shown in this chapter, Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras and CAB-Epiphanius contain a CAB recension (R) which combines and mixes AP with excerpts from satellite works. The mixed composition and inclusion of many literary works in R makes this florilegium quite difficult to study. Even so, I wish to bring up some reflections which, while far from conclusive, nevertheless offer interesting venues for further research on the Copto-Arabic CAB tradition.

From the survey in this chapter emerges four Arabic AP recensions that seem to have been popular among Coptic readers. The first two, which seem to have been curated in a Syro-Arabic environment, but which later appear in Copto-Arabic repositories, are S and DQE, which are both redactions of ʿEnānīsho's Syriac AP florilegium (SE). Furthermore, there is R and M. M was curated by al-Ṣafī, a late medieval intellectual Copto-Arabic man of letters. I argue that R was also curated by one or several late medieval Copto-Arabic curators. To support this hypothesis I wish to recall the lack of originally Syriac works in R, along with the inclusion of two literary traditions only attested in Coptic Egypt and Ethiopia, namely the pseudo-Serapionic VA and VrM. This is not to deny that the material which the curators of R compiled consisted largely of earlier Arabic translations, many of which passed through Syria and the Levant before reaching Coptic Egypt. In addition to S, PSE, R and M, one must include as important witnesses to the CAB tradition also Ethiopic florilegia such as ECM-Arras, EP-Arras, and EA-Arras.

The structural comparison of R and other AP versions showed that R is not closely related to any of the AP sources available in *Monastica* on a general level. Nevertheless, my analysis of sequential structural correlations has shown that R is partially similar in structure to other Arabic AP text witnesses, in particular Vat.ar.77, Vat.ar.71, and Strasb.4225, as well as EP-Arras. This strengthens the hypothesis that the curators of R have made use of previously existing Arabic AP recensions, which the selected texts that I have brought up in section 3.4.3 also indicates.

In this chapter I have shown a few examples of when the wording in R differs substantially from the wording in parallel texts in other AP versions, including parallel

texts in other Arabic AP text witnesses. In chapter 5, I return to these differences and bring up more examples of when the AP in R contain significant variations in wording compared with parallel texts in other AP versions, and argue that these specific features are likely to be revisions made by the curators of R for the purpose of transmitting the Copto-Arabic cultural memory of the desert fathers as well as protreptic concerns with the help of AP.

R is probably a lower Egyptian product. The lower Egyptian monasteries—in Wādī al-Naṭrūn and by the Red Sea—were the most prominent monasteries in Egypt during the late Middle Ages.[503] More specifically, I argue that it is likely that R was curated by someone affiliated with DAA, although this cannot be established with certainty. R was probably curated in a monastic milieux rather than in a more cosmopolitan Cairene Copto-Arabic milieux as was M. The inclusion of pseudo-Serapionic elements in the beginning of R makes it probable that at least this part of R was curated in DAA, and not in Wādī al-Naṭrūn where this VA version was not popular. However, one finds dossiers of R in the two early manuscripts (that nevertheless antedate Vat.ar.460) in the library of DAM mentioned in section 3.2.5 (MSS StMacar.478 and 479) as well, which indicates that whoever curated R probably drew from sources from different monastic repositories. There are two further aspects of R that make it likely, although far from definitely proven, that R was curated in DAA:

- DAA took a leading role in the production of Copto-Arabic literature during the late Middle Ages;

- DAA was the center of Arabic-Ethiopic translation activity, and R is found in EG-Arras.

Furthermore, as has been mentioned in section 2.9, there are currently very many CAB manuscripts in the library of DAA, in contrast with the libraries of the monasteries of Wādī al-Naṭrūn. The earliest of these CAB manuscripts is dated to the 14th century.

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[503] Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries*, 181. However, the monasteries in the Fayyūm also flourished during the late Middle Ages (Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries*, 145–48).

This might suggest that there was a strong tradition of producing CAB manuscripts in DAA from the late Middle Ages and onwards.

# 4  Reading the CAB

Scholars have tended to focus more on the legacy of AP than on its usage.[504] As we saw in section 1.2, AP is often mined as source material for the earliest forms of monasticism in Egypt. Meanwhile, its immensely important didactic role in the formation of posterior generations of monks has been much less studied. Even though AP counted among the most popular texts in medieval monasteries, we still know remarkably little about how different monastic communities used their AP recensions. This is unfortunate, since much of the variance within the AP tradition is likely explained by different reading practices in different monasteries.[505] By understanding how a late medieval Coptic monastic audience was supposed to read R, we are also able to better understand the curational motives underlying its structure and content— and vice versa.

An obvious obstacle to the study of reading practices is that they are evasive and tend to not leave many traces behind for historians. While a historical artefact often remains intact for posteriority, its usage is seldom recorded and is therefore hard to verify. This chapter nevertheless suggests a hypothesis concerning reading practices connected with CAB (in general) and R (in particular), namely that R was used in monastic education, and that it was approached by a specific reading technique called "contemplative ascetic reading" (see section 4.1.2). In the formulation of my argument I have brought in circumstantial evidence of various kinds, such as codicological features in R and the comparanda (section 4.2) and late medieval and early modern testimonies about CAB reading practices (section 4.3). A natural point of departure when investigating CAB reading practices is the current practice in Coptic monasteries to read CAB aloud together during common meals in the refectory. Regnault thus writes that "[i]n the [Coptic] monasteries, the reading of the *Garden of the Monks* has

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[504] I here focus on reading practices, although a codex can, of course, be used for other purposes than for reading, such as decoration or talisman. I do not consider all kinds of usage but focus specifically on reading. Again, as I have stated in chapter 1, I focus on specifically monastic reading practices, although CAB probably was read by the lay population as well.
[505] Guy, *Recherches*, 8.

always had an honored place during the common meals."[506] In this chapter I investigate the possibility of R being read this way already during the late Middle Ages.

## 4.1 Monastic reading practices: Comparable cases

### 4.1.1 Early monastic reading practices

The practice of reading during common meals was not observed by the desert fathers themselves, since their anchoretic and semi-anchoretic way of life did not include common meals except for the weekly *agapē*, during which no reading seems to have taken place.[507] Episodes from AP actually suggest that the *agapē* was sometimes quite convivial, although this made some of the elders frown.[508] In contrast, the first coenobitic communities in upper Egypt ate together every day. As Palladius reports in his account of the coenobium in Tabennisi, the monks were not allowed to talk to each other during meals.[509] In the following quote, Cassian states clearly that refectory readings functioned as a way of minimizing improper conversation, a temptation that, if we are to believe Cassian, only the disciplined brothers at Tabennisi could resist:

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[506] Regnault, "Apophthegmata Patrum," CE:178. See also Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 88. Strangely, Meinardus puts forth another timeline as he suggests that the contemporary practice to read CAB aloud during common meals in the refectory is an ancient custom that had later disappeared, only to return very recently (Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries*, 200).

[507] The monastic *agapē* was a common meal during Saturday evening (Regnault, *The Day-to-Day Life,* 169–71).

[508] See for example G-Cotelier Esaias.4: […] γενομένης ἀγάπης, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐσθιόντων, καὶ συλλαλούντων ἀλλήλοις, ἐπιτιμήσας αὐτοῖς εἶπε· Σιωπᾶτε, ἀδελφοί· εἶδον ἐγὼ ἀδελφὸν ἐσθίοντα μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν, καὶ πίνοντα ποτήρια ὅσα ὑμεῖς, καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ αὐτοῦ ἀναβαίνει ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς πῦρ (When there was a love-feast [*agapē*] in the church and the brothers were eating and talking to each other, he [Isidorus the priest of Pelusium] reproved them, saying: 'Be quiet, brothers; I personally saw a brother eating with you and drinking as many cups as you and his prayer is going up before God like fire, trans. Wortley (G Wortley.eng Esaias.4).

[509] HL-Butler 32:6. ἐσθίοντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς καλυπτέτωσαν τοῖς κουκουλίοις ἵνα μὴ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν μασώμενον ἴδῃ. οὐκ ἔστι λαλῆσαι ἐσθίοντα, οὐδὲ ἐκτὸς τοῦ πίνακος ἢ τῆς τραπέζης ἀλλαχοῦ προσέχειν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ (When they are eating, let them cover their heads with their cowls, so that a brother may not perceive his neighbor [lit. brother] chewing. Nor should one talk while eating or cast his eye from his own plate or gable [lit. table], trans. Meyer (HL-Meyer.eng 32:6).

| CasI-Guy 4.17[510] |
|---|
| *Illud autem, ut reficientibus fratribus sacrae lectiones in coenobiis recitentur, non de Aegyptiorum typo processisse, sed de Cappadocum nouerimus. Quos nulli dubium est non tam spiritalis exercitationis causa, quam conpescendae superfluae otiosaeque confabulationis gratia et maxime contentionum, quae plerumque solent in conuiuiis generari, hoc statuere uoluisse, uidentes eas aliter apud se non posse cohiberi. Apud Aegyptios enim uel maxime Tabennesiotas tantum silentium ab omnibus exhibetur, ut, cum in unum tanta numerositas fratrum refectionis obtentu consederit, nullus ne muttire quidem audeat (…)* |
| The reading of sacred texts in the cenobia while the brothers are eating follows the model of the Cappadocians rather than that of the Egyptians. There is no doubt that they wished to establish this not so much for the sake of spiritual discipline as in order to curb superfluous and vain chattering and especially arguments, which often arise during meals, seeing that they could not contain them among themselves otherwise. For among the Egyptians, and in particular among the Tabennisiots, all are so silent that, even though a large number of brothers are seated together for the purpose of eating, no one dares even whisper (…) |

The earliest form of refectory lecture seems to have consisted of texts from Scripture. Following the institutionalization of monasticism, however, literary works such as AP became an increasingly constitutive and canonized genre. The early 6th-century *Regula Sancti Benedicti* provides the first explicit recommendation to read AP collectively, recommending it for the symposium after the common meal.[511] At about the same time period, the semi-anchoretic communities in Palestine and Gaza, of which Barsanuphius and John are representative voices, seem to have used AP as a central text, even on a par with Scripture.[512] As Lorenzo Perrone argues, Barsanuphius and

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[510] Jean-Claude Guy (ed.), *Ioannes Cassianus: Institutiones cénobitiques*, SC 109, 2nd ed. (Paris: Cerf, 2001), Latin text available in *Monastica*): Trans. Lillian I. Larsen, "Monastic Meals: Resisting a Reclining Culture?," in *Meals in the Early Christian World: Social Formation, Experimentation, and Conflict at the Table*, eds. Dennis E. Smith and Hal E. Taussig (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 252. But see van der Vliet who asserts that the earliest Egyptian communities (he does not specify which ones, but I believe that he refers to coenobitic communities) read Scripture as well as "monastic literature" aloud during common meals (van der Vliet, "The Wisdom of the Wall," 154).

[511] *Regula Sancti Benedicti* 42 (paraphrased in Larsen, "Monastic Meals," 257).

[512] Lorenzo Perrone, "The Wisdom of the Fathers: The Use of the Apophthegmata in the Correspondence of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza," in *Wisdom on the Move: Late Antique Traditions in Multicultural Conversation*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey et al., (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 69. In the writings of Dorotheus of Gaza, there is a similar appreciation of AP as a highly authoritative text (Per Rönnegård, "*Melétē* in Early Christian Ascetic Texts," in *Meditation in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. Halvor Eifring (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 83); see also Smith, *Philosopher-Monks*, 62.

John in fact encourage their communities to read AP more often and more studiously than Scripture itself.[513] The aversion towards monks engaging in biblical exegesis that is evident in BJE was probably a result of the Origenist controversy, during which biblical reading became a cause for conflict. As Perrone states,

> although the AP are depicted as being accessible in principle to everyone (…) the same is not true for Scripture. At least, to read Scripture and to search for its deeper meaning requires, according to the two Old Men [sc. Barsanuphius and John], some caution and, most of all, spiritual maturity.[514]

A further important aspect in BJE is that Barsanuphius and John considered the reading of AP as an ascetic practice, comparable with fasting, charity and vigil. One thus reads in BJE that AP is suitable for private reading during the evening if it is balanced with other virtuous practices such as prayer and manual labor:

| **BJE-Neyt 143[515]** |
| --- |
| Καὶ εἴ τις θέλει, ἀποστηθίζει, εἴ τις δὲ θέλει, τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοὺς ἐρευνᾷ καὶ τοὺς Βίοις τῶν Πατέρων. Ὅτε δὲ ἀναγινώσκει, πέντε ἢ ὀκτὼ φύλλα λέγει καὶ τὸ ἐργόχειρον. |
| If any so wish, they may recite[516] by heart; otherwise, one may search one's thoughts or else[517] the Lives of the Fathers. When one reads, however, one should read five to eight pages and then continue the manual labor. |

Mediality and form greatly affect reading practices. For the Benedictine and semi-anchoretic communities described above, AP appeared in codices that were structured

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[513] Perrone, "The Wisdom of the Fathers," 69–70. Cf. e.g. G-Cotelier Pambo.9 and G-Cotelier Ammon.2.
[514] Perrone, "The Wisdom of the Fathers," 68. But see Austin McGray, who instead argues that, according to Barsanuphius and John, the reading of AP as reserved for the advanced monk. "[t]he wisdom of the *AP* could not be freely accessed by anyone that chose to read them. Instead, in connection with the necessity of monks to submit themselves to a spiritual elder (…), monks needed the wisdom of the *AP* to be interpreted and passed through the living elders of their community." (Austin McCray, "Between the Judean Desert and Gaza: Asceticism and the Monastic Communities of Palestine in the Sixth Century" (PhD Diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, 2020), 52).
[515] François Neyt and Paula de Angelis-Noah (eds.), *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondence*, Vol. 1, t. II (Paris: Cerf, 1998), 522. Trans. John Chryssavgis, *Barsanuphius and John, Letters*, vol. 1 (Washington, US: Catholic University of America Press, 2006–2007), 167, partly adapted by me.
[516] Chryssavgis adds "the Psalms"
[517] Chryssavgis adds "read"

as systematized collections of apophthegmata. Frazer suggests that the systematization of the AP corpus provided a user-friendly "reference tool" for those who wished to use AP "for the purpose of meditation and liturgy."[518] Scholars who stress the analogy between AP and *chreiai* also suggest that AP was used in the rhetorical and grammatical as well as the moral formation of monks, like a school. Larsen goes farthest in this proposition, claiming that the apophthegms such as those found in AP provided monastic "school-material" for the training of literacy among the monks.[519]

There are also interesting cases of AP appearing in other media than codices. Jacques van der Vliet thus shows how the inscription of Coptic apophthegmata on the wall at Kellia and Faras functioned as a mnemonic and perhaps apotropaic representation of the desert fathers.[520] The medium of the Coptic epigraphic apophthegmata suggests another type of reading mode and use than the more malleable book format.

By the Middle Ages, refectory reading was a well-established practice within coenobitic monasticism. In Karl Ludwig Schmidt's words, "medieval monks [in the Occident] loved to read the *Apophthegmata Patrum* aloud in their cloisters".[521] But the reading practice seems to have been primarily in the form of *lectio divina*, to be read in a meditative private setting.[522] It is in Byzantine monasticism that one finds the most explicit recommendations of AP as refectory reading material. Thus one reads in the 15th-century *typikon* of the Charsianeites monastery in Constantinople:

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[518] Ruth Frazer, "The Morphology of Desert Wisdom in the Apophthegmata Patrum," (PhD Diss., Chicago University Press, 1977), 114. Indeed, the various systematizations of the apophthegmata themselves suggest that the monastic communities viewed the AP as a pedagogical sourcebook rather than a bank of historical facts (Rubenson, "Monasticism and the Philosophical Heritage," 498).

[519] Lillian I. Larsen, "Re-Drawing the Interpretive Map: Monastic Education as Civic Formation in the Apophthegmata Patrum," *Coptica* 12 (2013): 1–34. See also Larsen, "Monastic Paideia" 169–74;

[520] Van der Vliet, "The Wisdom of the Wall,"158–63. While the site of Kellia was a coenobitic monastery, the inscriptions of Faras are in a grotto inhabited by one hermit. See also Philip Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Notre Dame, US: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 41–42. In contemporary Coptic iconography, it is common to depict the desert fathers as holding their own written-down apophthegmata, in the form of a scroll or book, in their hand, showing it to their audience. This also creates a transcendent presence of the desert fathers in the settings where these icons appear (such as monastic churches).

[521] Karl Ludwig Schmidt, *The Place of the Gospels in the General History of Literature*, translated by Byron R. McCane, (2002), 56.

[522] Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 8; Jean Leclerq, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu: initiation aux auteurs monastiques du Moyen Âge,* 5th ed. (Paris: Cerf, 2011 (1957)). In pre-modern reading, it was common to read aloud even when reading only to oneself.

Daily, while the brothers are eating in the refectory, should be read aloud, in everyone's hearing, the *Ascetic Treatises* of our holy father Basil the Great, and sometimes the sayings and deeds of the holy fathers, which are called *Gerontika* [sc. AP], since both contribute to the contemplation and action, through which the person who lives according to God and renounces earthly things and likens himself to God as much as possible.[523]

## 4.1.2 Syriac ascetic florilegia and ascetic contemplative reading

As chapters 2 and 3 have shown, late medieval Coptic monasticism drew largely from Arabic Christian repositories, and Syriac AP florilegia, such as SE, S, DQC, and DQE were popular. It is therefore also probable that Syriac reading practices connected with these ascetic florilegia also functioned as models for reading practices connected with late medieval Copto-Arabic AP florilegia. Syriac monasticism was both coenobitic and anchoretic in organization, as novices were obliged to live by a coenobitic regime while more advanced monks could—and ought to—practice solitude, either in their cells or outside the monastery.[524] Within Syriac monasticism, reading was considered a central ascetic practice, both at the novice stage and at the advanced stage.[525] One finds accounts that, like Cassian, discuss the danger of letting novices speak freely to each other and the necessity of controlling them by means of common reading exercises "so that everyone's mind who comes may be seized by the hearing of the reading and may not deviate to hurtful talk."[526] One also finds references to refectory readings, such as the following passage from the *Life of Rabban Bar ʿEdta* where it is specified that AP was a suitable refectory lecture:

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[523] The following quote is from the *Testament* of Patriarch Matthew I for the Monastery of Charsianeites (1407 AD) C.10, trans. John Philip Thomas, Angela Constantinides Hero, and Giles Constable (eds. and trans.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments* (Washington, US: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 1658. Hieromonk Patapios suggests that PE was read during common meals (Hieromonk Patapios, "The Monk and Others: A Critical Reading of the 'Evergetinos'" (ThD Diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1997), 104).
[524] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 132.
[525] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 132–33.
[526] Abraham of Kashkar, *Rules of Abraham of Kashkar*, Canon VIII, trans. Arthus Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic documents regarding legislation relative to Syrian asceticism* (Stockholm: Etse, 1960), 161.

> Before the atoning mysteries, and at the dining table, let the holy books
> of the solitary fathers [sc. AP] be read.[527]

Recently, David Michelson has conducted a highly interesting study of how SE and DQC relate to a specific reading practice, based on the Evagrian theory of spiritual progress. Michelson calls this reading practice "contemplative ascetic reading" and shows how it was a central ascetic practice among early medieval East Syriac monks.[528] Its method is similar to the Latin practice of *lectio divina*, in that its aim is to cultivate the knowledge of and love for God through a specific reading technique.[529] According to Michelson, ʿEnānīsho curated SE for the purpose of fulfilling the need of the East-Syriac monastic community to possess an easily accessible and pedagogically organized book for contemplative ascetic reading.[530] As Michelson shows, the composition of SE advocates contemplative ascetic reading through its structure, which was "designed to lead away from reading itself to a moment of spiritual 'departure' as the ascetic attained spiritual perfection and encountered the divine mind."[531] SE quickly became the most important monastic lecture in East Syriac monasticism.[532] DQC and DQE became as popular as their predecessor SE, and indeed the two florilegia would eventually often circulate in the same codices.[533]

## 4.2 Paratextual and codicological features

In this section I present paratextual and codicological features of Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras.lat and MSS StMacar.367–372 that provide hints about reading practices connected with R.[534] I compare these features with similar features in other AP

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[527] Abraham Zabaya, *Life of Rabban Bar ʿEdta*, ll. 322–7 (Trans. Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 113–14). In the *Rules of Dadishoʿ* (Canon IV), it is explicitly stated that reading occurred "at the table" (trans. Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 107).

[528] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 4, 48.

[529] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 262

[530] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 13.

[531] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 188.

[532] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 13, 67, 113, 211.

[533] As Michelson suggests, the *erōtapokriseis* format of DQC was suitable for contemplative ascetic reading as well. In fact, Michelson argues, the double-arrangement of SE and DQC only ratified the goal of contemplative ascetic reading, namely, to immerse oneself in the material: "What can we learn about the nature of ascetic commentary if it can seamlessly blend with the text that it comments on? The answer is that Dadishoʿ's elucidations were, like the *Paradise* itself, designed for use in contemplative reading, that is, for practical use in reading for meditation in the stillness of one's cell. What the readers wanted were short texts suitable for leading the way to *theoria*," (Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 226).

[534] Paratext: texts that surround, frame, and present the main text. See Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987). For EG, I only consider the features that are reflected in Arras's Latin translation.

versions that, as I have discussed above, constitute relevant comparanda. Through this comparison, it is possible to get a fuller understanding of the reading practices connected with R and how they differ from reading practices connected with AP in general.

## 4.2.1 Prologues

In a curated work, such as AP, the most direct encounter with the curator often occurs in the prologue. The prologue is a paratextual genre which allows the curator to comment upon his editorial strategies and the significance of his work. Sometimes, prologues even discuss *how* the reader should read the book. The prologues in G and GS are rich with information about curational strategies and considerations.[535] One thus reads, in both prologues, that the apophthegmata are organized in order to help the reader grasp an otherwise confounding assortment.[536] This supports Frazer's argument that AP was systematized for the purpose of providing the audience with a reference tool.[537] The curator (or curators) of G admits, however, that he has sidestepped the systematization by including an anonymous appendix (GN), wherein apophthegmata appear haphazardly. Meanwhile, the curator(s) of GS explains in the prologue that the structure is pedagogically set up so that the reader can read from beginning to end, starting out his or her ascetic progression by acquiring first basic ascetic virtues such as *enkrateia* (self-discipline) and *katanuxis* (compunction), and then proceeding to more advanced and, as Henrik Rydell Johnsén points out, more coenobitic, virtues such as *hupakoē* (obedience), *tapeinofrosynē* (humility), and *agapē* (love).[538]

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[535] G-Cotelier prologue (BHG 1443) is copied from MS Par.gr.1599, and GS-Guy prologue is copied from MS Athos.Lavra.B37 (Guy, *Recherches*, 13, 194). The same prologue as in G-Cotelier appears, in Arabic translation, in MS Ming.Chr.Arab.120a (Sauget, "Le Paterikon du ms. Mingana Christian Arabic 120a," 403).
[536] Guy, *Recherches*, 193–94.
[537] Ruth Frazer, "The Morphology of Desert Wisdom," 114.
[538] Rydell Johnsén, "Reading John Climacus," 216–39.

| G-Cotelier prologue[539] | GS-Guy prologue[540] |
|---|---|
| (…) τούτου χάριν ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν ἔκθεσιν κεκινήμεθα τῶν στοιχείων, δυναμένην διὰ τὴν τάξιν [καὶ] περίληψιν ἐναργεστάτην τε καὶ ἑτοίμην τοῖς βουλομένοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν παρέχειν. (…) Ἐπειδὴ δέ εἰσι καὶ ἕτεροι λόγοι γερόντων ἁγίων καὶ πράξεις, μὴ ἐμφαίνοντες τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τε εἰρηκότων αὐτοὺς καὶ πραξάντων, τούτους μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἐξεθέμεθα. Πολλὰ δὲ ἐρευνήσαντες βιβλία καὶ ζητήσαντες, ὅσα εὑρεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν, ἐνετάξαμεν εἰς τὰ τέλη τῶν κεφαλαίων, ἵνα ἐκ πάντων ἐρανιζόμενοι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὠφέλειαν, (…) τῶν Πατέρων λόγια ἐντρυφῶντες (…) τύχωμεν τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. Ἀμήν. | (…) τούτου χάριν ἐπὶ τήνδε τῶν κεφαλαίων τὴν ἔκθεσιν κεκινήμεθα, δυναμένην διά τε τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἰσοδυναμούντων λόγων περίληψιν ἐναργεστάτην τε καὶ ἑτοίμην τοῖς βουλομένοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν παρέχειν. Οὐ μικρὸν γὰρ εἰς ἀρετῆς προτροπὴν λόγος ἐκ πολλῶν ἐναρέτων προσώπων ὁμοδόξως προσφερόμενος. (…) Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ σύμπας τῶν κεφαλαίων εἱρμὸς οὐκ εἰκῆ οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχε κείμενος, ὁμοίως χρησιμώτατος τυγχάνει τῷ βουλομένῳ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. Ἄρχεται μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὰς παραινέσεις τῶν μερικωτέρων καὶ πρώτως τοῖς μοναχοῖς ἐπιτηδευομένων, ἡσυχίας, κατανύξεώς τε καὶ ἐγκρατείας, ἔπειτα βαθμῷ τινι προβαίνει κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπογράφων τὰ ἐντελέστερα, πρόεισι δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὰ κοινωφελῆ καὶ τῶν κατειλεγμένων περιληπτικά τε καὶ τελειωτικὰ καὶ τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ βίου συστατικά, ἅτινά ἐστιν ἡ ὑπακοή, ταπεινοφροσύνη, ἀγάπη. (…) |
| (…) That is why[541] we have been moved to adopt this arrangement by parts[542] which, thanks to its orderliness, makes the benefit very clear and available for he who seeks it. (…)[543] Since however there are other sayings and deeds of holy elders where the names of those who pronounced or performed them do not appear, we have arranged those under headings after the completion of the parts.[544] | (...) That is why we have been moved to adopt[545] this arrangement by chapters, which, thanks to its orderliness and grouping of similar material makes the benefit very clear and available for he who seeks it[546] because a statement unanimously sustained by many virtuous persons makes no small contribution to the advance of virtue. (…) The general sequence of the chapters is not arranged without plan or haphazardly; it too is very convenient for him who is willing to apply his mind. For after the exhortations, it begins with |

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|---|---|
| After we had investigated and searched in many books, we included whatever we could find at the end of the headings so that, deriving spiritual benefit from them all and delighting in the fathers' sayings (…) we may attain to his Kingdom. Amen. | the practices pursued in solitude:[547] *hēsychia*, compunction,[548] self-discipline. Then, going somewhat deeper, it describes the more perfect practices a little at a time, finally proceeding to those that are collectively[549] beneficial, both integrating and perfecting those that have been enrolled in and are components of the common life, which are obedience, humility, love. (…) |

With the Greek prologues as comparanda, let us return to the prologue to Vat.ar.460, which was presented in section 3.2.5, and which is also available in Appendix E. The prologue to Vat.ar.460 is not based on the text in the Greek prologues, for there is no textual similarity between them. Nevertheless, the Greek and Copto-Arabic prologues are similar to each other regards to some important elements. In this section, I only focus on elements that are relevant in relation to reading practices, while I bring up some interesting turns of phrase in the prologue in chapter 6. Thus, the Greek and Copto-Arabic prologues describe the very act of reading AP as a transformative experience which redirects the reader in the footsteps of the desert fathers, a path which ultimately leads to Paradise. Moreover, the Greek and Copto-Arabic prologues all stress that the curators have felt compelled to select their material from a larger corpus of desert father sayings and stories.

There are, however, also notable differences between the prologue to Vat.ar.460 and the Greek prologues, and some of these differences are indicative for the reading practices connected with them. The first difference concerns how the curators describe the format of the desert father corpus. The Greek prologues only vaguely refer to the existence of a written repository out of which they have gathered their material.[550] By contrast, the prologue to Vat.ar.460 as well as the prologue to StMacar.367–372 (see Appendix E) refer explicitly to an already existing literary tradition that, furthermore, has an established name, namely *Bustān al-ruhbān*. The curator of the prologue to

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[547] Wortley: "most particular to, and primarily for, monks."
[548] Wortley: "sorrow for sin"
[549] Wortley: "generally"
[550] See Guy, *Recherches,* 13–15, 193–94.

Vat.ar.460 stresses more than once that he has selected his material from a vast corpus. This difference between the Greek and Copto-Arabic prologues makes good sense given the hugely wide dissemination and diversification of early monastic literature by the late Middle Ages compared to when G and GS were composed.

A second difference concerns the readership. The Greek prologues are vague about who is their intended audience, stating only state that AP is meant for people who are inclined towards *tēn ouranion politeian* (the heavenly citizenship or way of life, see section 6.3.1), that is, asceticism. In contrast, and as we saw in chapter 3, the prologue to Vat.ar.460 explicitly addresses a monastic audience consisting of fathers and brothers.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the prologue to Vat.ar.460 contains much clearer hints about how one is to read AP than the Greek prologues. In fact, the method of reading referred to in the prologue to Vat.ar.460 is very similar to what Michelson has identified as "contemplative ascetic reading," which was popular in medieval Syriac monastic life. One thus reads in the prologue to Vat.ar.460 that the florilegium itself constitutes a key to the door of God's Paradise, through which the *'aql* (intellect) is illuminated and filled with desire towards heaven.[551] Reading Vat.ar.460 and, thereby, becoming illuminated, makes the reader more honorable than angels and spirits. Here, the curator clearly presents the reading of R as an ascetic tool, or key, which brings the reader into *theōsis* (deification). The imagery of the illuminated intellect evokes the Evagrian doctrine of the *nous* (mind) as the receptacle of divine light, and of its journey towards perfection and the Godhead through *theoria* (contemplation).[552] One does not find this imagery of the illumined intellect in the Greek prologues, apart from a brief description of the desert fathers becoming *purōthentes* (enflamed) with desire for the divine as they advance in asceticism. The imagery of the illuminated mind in R

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[551] See also the following prase in Vat.ar.460 467 (fol. 128v(4)), an unidentified apophthegm: وكتره القراه تنقى العقل (and وكتره القراه تنقى العقل) extensive reading purifies the intellect.) Similar with BJE 150: Συμφέρον δέ ἐστι τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν τοὺς Βίους τῶν Πατέρων, οὕτως γὰρ φωτίζεται ὁ νοῦς ἐν Κυρίῳ. (Neyt and Angelis-Noah, *Correspondence*, Vol. 1, t. II, 538) ("It is also beneficial to read the *Lives of the Fathers*; for this way, the intellect is illumined in the Lord.") Trans. Chryssavgis, *Barsanuphius and John, Letters,* 1:172. BJE 150 appears also in Vat.ar.460 500 (fol. 132r(6), shorter version) and in Par.ar.283 (fols. 16rv).
[552] Harmless *Desert Christians*, 352–54, 369.

is also reminiscent of Ephraem the Syrian's doctrine of the inner eye and of *shapyuthā* (luminosity).[553] Admittedly, the image of the illuminated intellect had, by the Middle Ages, become staple ware among ascetic authors, both in Western and Eastern Christianity (and Islam), so it is not necessary so that the curators of R drew inspiration from Syriac traditions in this respect.[554] Nevertheless, the close connection between the Coptic Renaissance and Syriac ascetic florilegia makes it reasonable to assume that the expression of reading AP as a means to illuminate the intellect in R is inspired by similar modes of expressions within the Syriac AP tradition.

A last small, but highly interesting, difference between Vat.ar.460 and the Greek prologues that relates to reading practices concerns how the material has been arranged. In the Greek prologues, the curators show a concern for ordering the apophthegmata, whose previous transmission had been unorganized. By contrast, in the prologue to Vat.ar.460, one instead learns, from a very brief statement at the end, that the curator has organized his material with the aim of avoiding boring (*yumillu*) his reader. This brief comment is possibly of some significance to the understanding of the genre and organization of R. Although it is possible that the curator of the prologue simply refers to the fact that too long books become boring to read, it could also be a sign that the curator sought to harmonize R with a stylistic norm that was popular in the Islamicate context and that consciously employed a highly mixed character, namely *adab*. As was shown in chapter 3, the structure of R is highly mixed compared to other AP versions. A contemporary parallel to R is *Kitāb al-Bustān wa-qāʿidat al-ḥukamāʾ wa-shams al-ādāb* (*The Garden, Foundation of Wisdom and Sun of Education*, from now on: KB), which is a late medieval Copto-Arabic florilegium.[555] Ute Pietruschka notes that KB, which mixes sayings of Greek philosophers with Biblical figures and patristic authors, was very popular, and, moreover, most likely

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[553] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 77–78; Sebastian Brock, *Det upplysta ögat: världen sedd genom den helige Efraim syriern*, trans. Daniel Braw and Sten Hidal (*The luminous eye: the spiritual world vision of Saint Ephrem*, Södertälje: Anastasis, 2010 (1985)), 68–76.
[554] Anna N. Williams, *The Divine Sense: The Intellect in Patristic Theology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice*, 263–64; Herman Teule, "An Important Concept in Muslim and Christian Mysticism: The Remembrance of God, *Dhikr Allah - ʿuhdōnō D-Alōhō*," in *Gotteserlebnis Und Gotteslehre: Christliche Und Islamische Mystik Im Orient*, ed. Martin Tamcke (Wiesbaden: Harrazzowitz Verlag, 2010), 13.
[555] Graf, *GCAL* 1:388.

produced in a monastic milieu.[556] Pietruschka defines KB as "entertainment literature" used for "edifying and educative reading in monastic circles", and argues that its mixed character, akin to that found in the Islamic *adab* genre, is a deliberate strategy on the part of the curators to avoid boredom in the readers by changing the subject frequently:[557]

> This kind of collection has its parallels in the Muslim *adab* compendia that reached their first heyday in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. The main characteristic of *adab* works is the tendency to change styles and subjects so as not to bore the reader. The same is true for Christian collections whose writers used a well-known model of presenting "wisdom" by drawing its repertoire from various sources and by mingling Christian and secular subjects."[558]

It is therefore possible that the brief comment about avoiding boredom in the prologue to Vat.ar.460 hints that the curator sought to compose a mixed florilegium akin to that found in KB, with which R even shares a close titulary resemblance.[559]

Seen in this light, I also find it interesting that the prologue to Vat.ar.460 and the Greek prologues differ when it comes to describing the literary quality of their content. In the Greek prologues the literary quality of the apophthegmata is downplayed, as it is written there that the AP is written in simple language what was to be accessible by people. In contrast, the curator of the prologue to Vat.ar.460 seems to imply that the texts therein have a literary as well as spiritual quality, since he describes R as consisting of *akhbārhum al-ḥasanah* (their beautiful stories) and *aqwālhum al-fākhirah* (their glorious sayings).

## 4.2.2 The Title

Like the prologue, the title of a literary work is a paratextual feature which indicates how the literary work is to be interpreted and used. As I have mentioned, didactic text collections are often given titles that evokes the garden theme, and R is no exception.

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[556] Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 99–100.
[557] Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 100–01; Melchert, *Before Sufism*, 3–6.
[558] Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 101; Hilary Kilpatrick, "Adab," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, eds. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London & New York: Routledge, 1998), 56.
[559] This even though R, in contrast to KB, only contains monastic and patristic literature, and is not thus as eclectic.

Among the titles of extant Arabic AP florilegia one thus often finds the titles *Bustān* (Garden), *Firdaws* (Paradise), or *Rawḍah* (Meadow).[560] The word *Bustān*, like *Firdaws*, is originally Persian, and translates as *garden* or *orchard*.[561] *Bustān* is also the name of other apophthegmatic works, the most famous example being the 13th-century Persian collection of anecdotes by Saʿdī Shīrāzī (d. 1292).[562] It seems as if the terms *Bustān* and *Firdaws* are interchangeable as titles for Arabic AP florilegia, although further studies might show an underlying pattern in the choice of term. The chosen title of R thus indicates that R is a didactive florilegium but does not provide us with more specific clues about how it was to be read.

### 4.2.3 Multiple-text arrangements

Moving into codicological features, the multiple-text arrangement of a codex yet another feature that might provide hints of how, when and where this codex was used. Almost all the text witnesses to R are multiple-text manuscripts. Their arrangements are presented in Table 5.

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[560] See fn36 ; Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 210. Michelson here remarks that the title *Paradise* is "not unique to the Syriac tradition," and suggests that there might have existed Coptic AP collections with this name and refers to the articles by Rapp and Regnault (see fn455). He also refers to an "independent tradition of the 'Garden of the Monks' in the Arabic literature of the Coptic Church" (Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 210).

[561] Said Naficy, Georges Marçais, and A. S. Bazmee Ansari, "Bustān," in *EI* (Second Edition) Online, eds. Peri Bearman et al. (Brill, 2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0131.

[562] Similarly, *Firdaws* is the title to both Islamic and Christian medieval ascetic treatises, such as ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī's *Firdaws al-ḥikmah* (*Paradise of Wisdom*) and the anonymous (originally Greek) *Firdaws al-ʿaqlī* (*Noetic Paradise*) (Alexander Treiger, "The Noetic Paradise (Al-Firdaws Al-ʿaqlī): Chapter XXIV," in *Patristic Literature in Arabic Translations*, eds Barbara Roggema and Alexander Treiger (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 328–76).

| R text witness | Content[563] | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Vat.ar.460** | R (fols. 1–176r) | VC (fols. 176r–180v) | |
| **StMacar.367** | CAB incl. R (fols. 1–180) | Excerpts from writings of Isaac of Nineveh[564] | Excerpts from writings of Jacob of Serugh[565] |
| **StMacar.368** | Blessing at table (pp. 1–3) | CAB including R (pp. 3–473) | |
| **StMacar.370** | CAB incl. R (fols. 6-170) | *26 monastic rules*[566] (fols. 170v-177v) | Blessings at table[567] |
| **StMacar.371** | *26 monastic rules* | Blessings at table | CAB incl. R (fols. 15v–229v) |
| **StMacar.372** | Blessing at table (fols. 1-2) | CAB incl. R (fols. 3–322) | |

**Table 5.** Multiple-text arrangement in the codices containing R.

As can be seen, Vat.ar.460 is the sole text witness to R that also contains a *vita*. The tendency to pair AP with *vitae* is, nevertheless, widely attested in other AP traditions.[568] StMacar.368, 370, 371, and 372, on the other hand, all combine CAB with texts that are to be read in a refectory setting, such as blessings at table.[569] As was stated in the beginning of this chapter, CAB is nowadays often used in the refectory

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[563] Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, 53–54.
[564] Graf, *GCAL* 1:436; CPG 7868.
[565] Graf, *GCAL* 1:444.
[566] The 26 monastic rules by the 94th Coptic Patriarch John XIII (Dayr al-Muharraq, 15th cent.). Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, 54.
[567] The blessings at table, originally of Syriac origin, are from the 15th–17th century (Georg Graf, *GCAL Volume 4: Die Schriftsteller von der Mitte des 15. Bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts,* Studi e Testi 147 (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1951), 127. The same texts in StMacar.371.
[568] Especially common multiple-text "friends" to AP are HL, HM, VA and PS.
[569] Marginalia in the Kaufmann manuscript mentioned in section 3.2.4, as well as the inclusion of blessings at table, also suggests that this codex was meant for refectory readings (Graf, "Arabische Apophthegmensammlung," 314–15).

setting, and so it is not surprising to find evidence of this in the multiple-text composition of the DAM manuscripts. The fact that one does not find such types of refectory texts in Vat.ar.460 is interesting and might indicate that the praxis of reading CAB in the refectory was not as pervasive during the time when Vat.ar.460 was copied. Admittedly, the lack of refectory texts in a codex must not be interpreted too strongly. It is of course possible that Vat.ar.460 was read in a refectory, although its multiple-text composition does not contain refectory texts.

## 4.2.4 Layout, size, and letters

Two more codicological aspects that I wish to bring up that has some significance for how the codex is supposed to be used concerns layout and size.[570] Physical and visual aspects of a codex, such as layout and size, provide further clues to how it was read. Arguably, one of the most peculiar aspects of R is that it is not sorted like any of the main AP versions, although, as we saw in section 1.2.1, far from all AP versions are systematized into the so-called normal types. Moreover, R does not contain any headings.[571] Rather, each text unit in R appears as a separate entity. The text units are, for the most part, rubricated, and often separated by small crosses or circles.[572] In other words, all text units in R appear, visually, on the same level.[573] The lack of headings contrasts the layout of R from that of e.g. SE, which contains thematic chapters that

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[570] I have briefly scanned the marginal notes of vat.ar.460, vat.ar.398, and StMacar.367–372 but have not found anything in them that is telling of how they have been used. In vat.ar.460, there is some marginalia, but it mainly consists of short textual interpolations or suggestions or variants to the text body. This type of marginalia indicates that the text is a copy of other texts, but it does not indicate how the codex was read. The marginalia in Vat.ar.398 is similar, but less frequent. Both Vat.ar.460 and Vat.ar.398 also have Latin marginalia (see e.g. a manicula on Vat.ar.460 fol. 4v). StMacar.371 contains extensive marginalia written by a contemporary hand—probably that of anba Epiphanius who mainly used StMacar.371 when editing CAB-Epiphanius (see section 1.4.1).

[571] Sometimes, however, sets of texts are semantically grouped together. For example, it can be stated that one text is *from the teachings of Evagrius*, and the consecutive text starts with *he* [Evagrius] *also said* … etc. But this grouping is not made visible in the codex by headings or ornamentation.

[572] In Vat.ar.460 fols. 1–97, texts are often separated by small cross separators, and in fols. 8 –165 instead by small circles. However, sometimes a single folio (e.g. 165rv) has both cross- and circle-separators. There are also numerous instances where text units are simply separated by a blank space (e.g. fol. 81). StMacar.367, 370, and 371 has no separators; StMacar.368 has some separators in the form of dotted triangles, and StMacar.367 contains text separators in the form of dotted triangles or two dots. Borg.Copt.36 marks new text units by beginning on a new line rather than by rubrications and separators.

[573] Arguably, the incipit of Vat.ar.460 70 (fols. 52v–55v), a treatise by John of Dalyatha (see fn1004) serves as a heading, although it is not marked by beginning on a new line or by any embellishments. The heading reads: من كتاب الشيخ فى حفظ الحواس الجوانيه والبراني وسبب حفطهم (From the book of the elder concerning the preservation of the interior and exterior senses and the reasons for preserving them). In the case of M, the parts comprising M in Vat.ar.398 do not have headings, in contrast to Par.ar.283.

are made visible in the codices by headings and ornamentation.[574] This layout suggests to me that R was not used as a reference tool in the way Frazer describes G and GS, but that it was rather read from beginning to end, without navigating in the florilegia for specific parts.

Furthermore, the size of the codices and writing in the codices containing R suggests that they were probably read communally rather than privately, since it is practical to use large books with large writing when reading aloud to others, while private reading is often more allowing of smaller sized books and writing. The sizes of the codices and writing (in the form of lines per page) is given in Table 6.[575]

| R text witness | Size | Lines per page |
|---|---|---|
| **StMacar.371** | 35 x 25 cm | 20 |
| **StMacar.368** | 34,5 x 23,5 cm | 20 |
| **StMacar.370** | 33 x 20,5 cm | 24 |
| **Vat.ar.460** | 26 x 17,5 cm | 18–19 |
| **StMacar.367** | 23,5 x 16 cm | 16–22 |
| **StMacar.372** | 23 x 16,5 cm | 16 |

**Table 6.** Sizes and lines per page in the codices containing R, appearing in order according to size.

As can be seen in Table 6, the codices containing R are quite large, although the sizes vary, and idem for the size of the writing, as indicated by the number of lines per page.

To conclude this section on paratextual and codicological features and reading practices, I wish to bring again into attention the appearance of CAK, the Copto-

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[574] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 207.
[575] Information about sizes and lines for StMacar.367-372 is found in the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library Reading Room, https://www.vhmml.org/.

Arabic *karshouni* sample which was discussed in section 3.1.4. In that section, I have suggested that CAK testifies to a reading practice where AP was read aloud to an Arabic-speaking audience by an expert who knew the Coptic alphabet.

I therefore find it indicative that the layout of both Vat.ar.460 and CAK, two important late medieval CAB text witnesses, indicate by their layout that they were used in a communal setting and was probably read aloud to an audience.

## 4.3 Testimonies

After having considered internal evidence of R and CAB reading practices, it is time to consult external evidence, in the form of late medieval and early modern testimonies. The testimonies are found in Copto-Arabic sources as well as in European traveler accounts from the 17th and 18th centuries. While the relevance of Copto-Arabic testimonies is quite self-evident, the relevance of European traveler accounts is arguably less so. However, as was presented in chapter 2, Coptic monastic life was in decline during the early modern period, and there are much fewer Coptic testimonies during this period. In contrast, Europeans took an interest in the Coptic community, often for the purpose of missionary work or obtaining valuable ancient artefacts.[576] Meinardus thus describes the usefulness of European testimonies when charting this period:

> By the fourteenth century, the number of Copts in Egypt had significantly decreased. Moreover, recorded Coptic history came to an end by the fourteenth century. This means that between the fourteenth and the nineteenth centuries we are dependent largely on occasional references by Muslim authors or observations by Western pilgrims and travelers.[577]

We must, however, be aware of the limitations of the accounts made by Europeans who were, as was mentioned in section 1.4.3, very depreciative of Coptic culture. The

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[576] In contrast, Muslim travelers seem to have been less interested in the Coptic community Al-Maqrīzī's *Akhbār qibṭ miṣr* (*A Short History of the Copts and their Church*) is the only detailed enquiry into Coptic life by a medieval Muslim author ("Maqrīzī, Taqīy al-Dīn al-," in *CE*, vol. 5, ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), CE:1525). While he provides useful information about Coptic monasteries, al-Maqrīzī does not mention Coptic reading practices.
[577] Meinardus, *Two Thousand Years*, 66.

Europeans had, to say the least, a "negative estimation of the monks' educational background."[578] In their travel reports, the Europeans typically criticize the Coptic monks for not taking care of their manuscripts. Behind these allegations we ought to suspect that the European travelers were often more concerned with justifying that they themselves should have the right to obtain the precious manuscripts, than they were in understanding how the Copts used their manuscripts.

## 4.3.1 Testimonies in Copto-Arabic works

In a medieval Copto-Arabic liturgical handbook (found in a manuscript dated to the 14th cent.) one finds a passage that concerns the initiation of novices.[579] For their education, a certain "*Book of the Paradise of the Fathers*" serves as instruction material:

> He who has the desire to become a monk shall remain three years
> studying the rules of monasticism, and he shall be instructed in the Book
> of the Paradise of the Fathers clothed with the Cross, and shall be guided
> unto the true philosophy which is monasticism, and if he be summoned,
> his head shall be shaved.[580]

KHS-Burmester comments in a footnote that he believes that the *Book of the Paradise of the Fathers*" referenced to here is SE.[581] As has been shown, however, CAB titles are somewhat fluctuating, so it is not entirely clear to which CAB recension the *Book of the Paradise of the Fathers*" refers. On a general note, however, the liturgical handbook indicates that CAB was considered a suitable lecture for novices. Due to its role as instruction material, it is furthermore indicated that CAB was read in a communal rather than private setting.

Another Copto-Arabic testimony is provided in Shams al-Riʾāsa Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar's (d. 1324) catalog of Christian literature in Arabic, which constitutes chapter 7

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[578] Pietruschka, "Some Observations," 83.
[579] MS Lit.4 in the Coptic Museum Library. Collated with two other mss, translated from Coptic to English in Oswald Hugh Ewart KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church: A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments* (Cairo: Publications de la société d'archéologie copte, 1967), 188–90.
[580] Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, 190.
[581] Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, 190n4.

in his *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulmah fī īḍāḥ al-khidmah* (*Lamp of Darkness in the Illumination of Service*). Ibn Kabar, a prominent figure of the Coptic Renaissance, here lists the literary works available to a 14<sup>th</sup>-century Arabic Christian readership. CAB appears in this list.[582] Ibn Kabar briefly explains, with a phrase that is familiar also from R, that CAB serves to illuminate the *ʿibād* (devotees).[583] Furthermore, Ibn Kabar states in the entry that the *taʾwīl* (interpretation) of *Barādīsūs* is *Bustān*. It is unclear what Ibn Kabar means by that comment, but it is possible that he means that the Arabic adaptation of a non-Coptic [Syriac?] *Paradise* tradition goes under the name *Bustān* in his repository.

| **Ibn Kabar, "Catalog of Christian Literature in Arabic"[584]** |
| --- |
| كتاب البراديسوس / اخبار الرُهْبان وآثار [585] العُبّاد وتدبيرهم وجهادهم وتاويله البستان |
| *Barādīsūs* / Stories about monks and traditions of the devotees, their conduct and struggle. The meaning of it [*Barādīsūs*] is *Bustān*.[586] |

## 4.3.2 Testimonies in early modern European travelogues

During a visit to DAA in 1672, The German 17<sup>th</sup>-century Dominican traveler Johann Michael Vansleb noted that the monks often read a book called *Paradise of Monks* but does not specify *how* the monks read it. He merely comments (depreciatively) that the Coptic monks that he encounters "never" study. It is difficult, however, to assess

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[582] Riedel is of the opinion that براديسوس refers to HL ("eine Abkürzung der Historia Lausiaca des Palladius"), i.e. SE (Wilhelm Riedel (ed. and trans.), *Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abu'l Barakat* (Göttingen: K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1902), 703).

[583] Vocalized as *ubbād* in Riedel's edition. Cf. العباد in Vat.ar.460 prologue 1.

[584] Riedel (ed. and trans.), *Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abuʼl Barakat*, 666.

[585] Cf. الآثار in Vat.ar.460 prologue 2 and StMacar.367-372 prologue.

[586] My translation, partly using Adam McCollum's translation (Adam McCollum (trans.), "Abū Al-Barakāt's Catalog of Christian Literature in Arabic" (Public Domain, 2009), Abu al-Barakat, Catalog of Christian Literature in Arabic (2009) (tertullian.org)). See also Riedel (ed. and trans.), *Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abu'l Barakat*, 703: "Das Buch: Paradisus. Nachrichten von Mönchen und Spuren von Dienern Gottes, von ihrem Leben und ihrem Märtyrertum. Der Titel debeutet: der Baumgarten."

Vansleb's statement here, since his definition of "study" might not at all reflect the methods employed in Coptic monastic education.[587]

> They [the monks] never study; they are satisfied in reading Books of Devotion: amongst the rest, they read often the Synaxar, or Book of Martyrs; the Paradise of Monks, the Climax, or the Ladder of Vertue of John, Abbot of the Monastery of Mount Sinai: the Sermons of Paul de Busch [sc. Būlus al-Būshī][588], upon the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin, and such like.[589]

Another European account that is relevant due to its mention of refectory readings is that of the French botanist and traveler Charles-Nicolas-Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt, who visited the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn in 1778. Sonnini is particularly depreciative of Coptic monasticism.[590] He describes the daily routine in DB, and mentions that the monks in this monastery read aloud during common meals:

> They eat in common in a refectory; and one of them reads during the meals (…)[591]

Sonnini does not state what lecture was read in the refectory, in contrast to the next account, by Claude Sicard, who visited DS in 1712, and who describes the refectory reading as consisting of a selection of monastic rules attributed to Macarius of Alexandria:

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[587] In another passage from his visit to DAA, Vansleb writes, however, that the monks study the Bible: "Their Rule obliges them [the monks at DAA] … to apply themselves to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and to understand the Truths that are there contain'd." Wansleben, *The Present State of Egypt*, 184. In 1839, the British clergyman and Coptologist Henry Tattam visited DAP. Tattam does not mention CAB in his list of what the monks in DAP possessed: "The monks here possess but few religious books, or did not choose to show more. They brought out a copy of St. John's Gospel in Coptic, and a copy of the Scriptures in Latin and Arabic." Cited in Meinardus, *Monks and Monasteries*, 39.

[588] Būlus al-Būshī (ca. 1170–1250), theologian. See Mark N. Swanson, "Būlus al-Būshī" In CMR Online, ed. David Thomas (Brill, 2010, consulted online on 25 May 2023), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_25673.

[589] Wansleben, *The Present State of Egypt*, 187.

[590] Evelyn-White, *History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*, 427. One example will demonstrate Sonnini's contempt for what he encountered in the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, as he writes that "I do not believe that there is upon earth a situation so horrible or forbidding as this sort of monastery." Hunter (trans), *Sonnini de Manoncourt, Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, 340.

[591] Hunter (trans), *Sonnini de Manoncourt, Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, 356. In the rest of the sentence Sonnini explains how bad the food he is served is.

> Nos prières à l'Église étant finies, ils m'introduisirent avec eux au
> Refectoire. Le Benedicite ayant été dit, on nous servit une grande jatte
> pleine de soupe de lentilles farcie de pain. Ce seul mets composa tout
> nôtre festin. La lecture se faisoit à table, elle étoit prise d'un petit recueil
> de Regles monastiques, qu'ils prétendent avoir été données par la sainte
> Vierge à S. Macaire le jeune.[592]

To conclude, the European traveler accounts confirm that CAB was a popular read in early modern Coptic Egypt, and that refectory reading was a practice in Wādī al-Naṭrūn at least by the 18th century. They do not say anything more in detail about reading practices. From the liturgical handbook, by contrast, one learns that CAB was used for the instruction of novices, while Ibn Kabar's description of CAB is reminiscent of how R is described in its prologue.

## 4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have considered various types of evidence regarding how R could have been read during the late Middle Ages. Although there is a lack of explicit information concerning R reading practices, features brought up in this chapter indicate certain reading practices.

It seems reasonable to surmise, out of the information in the prologue to Vat.ar.460, as well as in the testimony of the liturgical handbook, that R (and CAB in general) was used for the education and spiritual formation of monks. Furthermore, the description of the epistemological process when reading R, as explained in its prologue, suggests that the reading method employed when engaging with R is similar to what Michelson calls contemplative ascetic reading. Like the early Greek AP tradition, R functioned during the late Middle Ages as a stock of wisdom and know-how, and as a sourcebook to grammatical and rhetorical exercises; but above all, it served as an ascetic, even mystical tool for the *ʿaql* (intellect) in its striving towards *theōsis*.

The common assumption that the current practice of reading CAB aloud in refectories is hundreds of years old can neither be confirmed nor refuted by the evidence

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[592] Martin (ed.), *Sicard, Œuvres. 2*, 17.

presented in this chapter. Only the 19th- and 20th-century codices contain samples of refectory literature in the same codex as R, thus firmly situating the use of these codices in the refectory. These late text witnesses were produced in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, which had, as the European accounts tell us, established refectory reading practices at least by the 18th century but probably some time before that. An important aspect to consider, as the comparable cases have shown, is how refectory reading relates to coenobitism. In chapter 2 we learned that the 9th-century fortifications in Wādī al-Naṭrūn led to the introduction of "common meals in a refectory."[593] Meanwhile, DAA was not enwalled before the 13th century, and it is unclear whether a refectory was established at that time. Archaeological evidence suggests that DAA remained more semi-anchoretic in setup compared to Wādī al-Naṭrūn, even after its fortification.[594] In the 18th century, Agaiby writes, DAA saw "a more substantial presence of a community of monks, rather than the anchoretic or semi-anchoretic lifestyle that was characteristic of earlier Antonian monasticism."[595] If one is to suppose that Vat.ar.460 was curated in (and for) DAA rather than in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, there is therefore less reason to believe that this specific codex was to be used in a refectory setting.

What seems all the more clear, however, from the sizes of the codices and writing, is that R has been used for communal reading. This training might have taken place during meals in the refectory or in some other collective setting. The liturgical handbook provides the strongest argument for this assumption. This is also in line with how AP was used for the education of both novices and advanced monks within early medieval Greek, Latin, and Syriac monasticism.

We find no reports about the training of novices in the European accounts—in them, Coptic monks are portrayed as rustics who do not study. As I have mentioned, one should be skeptical regarding that portrayal. The account by Vansleb does affirm,

[593] Peter Grossmann, "On the Architecture at Wadi Al-Natrun," in *Christianity and Monasticism in Wadi Al-Natrun: Essays from the 2002 International Symposium of the Saint Mark Foundation and the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society*, eds. Maged Mikhail and Mark Moussa (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2009), 167; Brune, "The Multiethnic Character of the Wadi Al-Natrun," 20.

[594] Jesper Blid et al, "Excavations at the Monastery of St Antony at the Red Sea: The Monastery in Literary Sources During the Period of Study," *Opuscula: Annual of the Swedish Institutes At Athens and Rome* 9 (2016): 210.

[595] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 109–10.

however, that CAB was one of the more popular books to read in DAA by the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The mixed and continuous layout of R suggests a reading practice where one starts at the beginning and then reads until the end, without browsing or searching for particular topics; or alternatively, a reading practice where one starts to read from wherever one opens the book. This way of reading complies with the contemplative ascetic reading as described by Michelson, although an important difference between R and the Syriac recensions by ʿEnānīsho and Dadishoʿ is that the codices containing latter traditions tend to have headings. The hybridity and the lack of systematization of CAB recensions have confounded philologists. Yet the prologue to Vat.ar.460 provides a small but tantalizing comment that suggest that the curator might have deliberately composed a mixed florilegium in the spirit of a literary style that was very popular in medieval Islamicate educative literature, namely *adab*.

To conclude, I suggest that R was a central text in medieval Coptic monastic education, and that it was approached with a reading technique that Michelson has labelled as contemplative ascetic reading.

# 5  Textual Revision

During chapters 3–4, I have argued for the existence of a CAB recension (R) which was curated during the late Middle Ages for the purpose of providing its monastic audience with a didactic florilegium suitable for the training of monks. It is now time to look more closely at the textual content in R.

In doing so, I pay special attention to how apophthegmata in R display significant variations in their wording compared with their parallels in other AP versions. As I have previously mentioned, revisions of the apophthegmata themselves tend to be much rarer than revisions of AP collections on a structural level.[596] It is therefore interesting to study cases of textual revision in the apophthegmata in R, since they provide important clues to the curation process behind R.

Since R has hitherto only been very little studied, I have limited my investigation in this chapter to three dossiers (groups) of texts from R. As mentioned in section 4.2.3, the R does not contain chapters *per se*. Nevertheless, one finds sets of texts in R that make up a unit by their coherence, treating a specific desert father or theme. I define such a set of texts as a dossier. Although a full analysis of the occurrence of dossiers in R has been outside of the scope of this investigation, I suspect that the seemingly mixed and unorganized character of R hides the fact that R in fact exhibits many such internally coherent dossiers.

The selected dossiers in R are found in Vat.ar.460, EG-Arras, and, in modified and form, CAB-Epiphanius (see the synoptic tables at the beginning of sections 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4). I focus on the dossiers as they are found in Vat.ar.460, since this text witness is of earlier date and hence more representative of late medieval textuality. The full text of the dossiers as represented in Vat.ar.460 is given in Appendix E. The first dossier I present, which appears first in all text witnesses to R, centers around the towering figure of Antonius, the first and most famous desert father (section 5.2). This

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[596] Faraggiana di Sarzana, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*," 467.

dossier is followed by a dossier which portrays another famous desert father, namely Arsenius (section 5.3). These two dossiers exhibit interesting revisions of the AP tradition. Moreover, the two dossiers aptly demonstrate the fluidity of the AP genre, for in them apophthegmata are embedded within longer hagiographical accounts.

The last dossier I analyze appears later in R, and it the only dossier in R that has been studied at length before. The dossier consists of apophthegmata, many of which are unattested in other AP versions, that center around a specific ascetic practice, namely the Jesus Prayer (JP, section 5.4).

Before presenting my own analysis, I bring up in the next section scholarly works that have focused on revisions of the AP tradition in specific settings and the functions such revisions might have served for the communities who were its curators and audiences (section 5.1).

## 5.1 Scholarship on AP revision

As has already been mentioned, scholars have tended to focus more on reconstructing the earliest AP tradition, and less on charting its later reception.[597] Among the few and important scholarly contributions in the field of AP reception, I have already presented the studies of Joseph-Marie Sauget, Jean Mansour, Tamara Pataridze, Alin Suciu, Jason Zaborowski, Lucien Regnault, Lisa Agaiby, Jacques van der Vliet, and others. To these I here wish to add some studies that specifically focus on how the AP tradition was adapted to serve specific needs in different medieval and early modern communities.

The first example is Hieromonk Patapios, who presents an analysis of the structural AP revisions in the medieval Byzantine *Evergetinon* (PE). AP naturally had a wide and variegated reception in medieval Byzantium, and one of its more popular

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[597] The most wide-ranging research projects of the late antique and medieval AP transmission are the *Early Monasticism and Classical Paideia* project (MOPAI, 2009–2015) and *Formative Wisdom* (FOWIS, 2016–2019), both under the leadership of Samuel Rubenson at Lund University See https://portal.research.lu.se/en/projects/early-monasticism-and-classical-paideia and https://portal.research.lu.se/en/projects/formative-wisdom-the-reception-of-monastic-sayings-in-european-cu.

recensions, PE, contains AP interspersed with satellite works.[598] Patapios argues that Paul Evergetinos's rearrangement of AP served to harmonize the ideals of semi-anchoritic and coenobitic monasticism by mixing narratives of exemplary ascetics from both traditions.[599] Patapios also points out that PE comprises sayings and stories of urban ascetics as well as their desert colleagues, making PE a "more geographically and culturally cosmopolitan" version than earlier Greek AP versions.[600] Moreover, as Patapios argues, Paul arranged PE according to a super-thematic structure, and enforced this structure by adding his own headings, thus presenting PE as a complete manual for the monastic life from beginning to end.[601]

Another example of scholarship on AP revision is Karine Åkerman Sarkisian's enquiry into medieval Slavonic *Pateriki* (AP florilegia), which became "immensely popular" in medieval Slavic regions during the Middle Ages.[602] Åkerman Sarkisian notes how the curators of the *Pateriki* combine AP with satellite works in a way that, contrary to PE, has no evident systematization.[603] She also suggests that the prevalence of textual doublets in the *Pateriki* indicates that its curators had an inclusive, rather than systematic, approach towards their source material.[604]

Natia Gabrichidze and Anahit Avagyan have recently conducted extensive philological surveys of medieval Georgian and Armenian AP recensions.[605] Like Patapios and

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[598] See also Kristoffel Demoen's survey of the 10th century *Paradeisos*, a work in which AP is re-written from prose form into elegiac couplet form (Kristoffel Demoen, "Metaphrasis and Versification: The Paradeisos as a Reworking of Apophthegmata Patrum," in *Metaphrasis: A Byzantine Concept of Rewriting and Its Hagiographical Products*, eds. Stavroula Constantinou, Christian Høgel, and Andria Andreou (Boston & Leiden: Brill, 2020), 202–223).

[599] Patapios, "The Monk and Others," 277.

[600] Patapios, "The Monk and Others," 15.

[601] Patapios, "The Monk and Others," 124, 128.

[602] Karine Åkerman Sarkisian, "The *Apophthegmata Patrum* in the Slavonic Context: A Case Study of Textual Doublets," in *Wisdom on the Move: Late Antique Traditions in Multicultural Conversation*, eds. Susan Ashbrook Harvey et al. (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 122. Åkerman Sarkisian also alludes to the fact that the *Pateriki* were used in Christianization projects (Åkerman Sarkisian, "The *Apophthegmata Patrum*," 119).

[603] Åkerman Sarkisian, "The *Apophthegmata Patrum*," 140, 42. In the case of the *Kievan Caves Patericon*, Prestel asserts that although re-formulated "in local garb more suited to Kievan conditions, thereby making their identification more difficult," the *sensum* of the texts, and the message they convey, is unchanged (David Kirk Prestel, "The Search for the Word: Echoes of the Apophthegma in the Kievan Caves Patericon," *The Russian Review* 57 (1998): 577).

[604] Åkerman Sarkisian, "The *Apophthegmata Patrum*," 123.

[605] Anahit Avagyan, "The Armenian Transmission of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*," in *Wisdom on the Move: Late Antique Traditions in Multicultural Conversation*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey et al. (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 147–65); Natia Gabrichidze, "Georgian Textual Tradition of the Alphabetical Collection of the Apophthegmata Patrum" (PhD Diss., Università di Bologna, 2018). Gabrichidze presents sections from a Georgian-alphabetical recension, represented by manuscripts from the monastery of DAK. Interestingly, Gabrichidze briefly mentions what she calls a Sinaite "albustan" ms, but she does not say to which source she refers, nor give any other details (Gabrichidze, "Georgian Textual Tradition", 12).

Åkerman Sarkisian, their studies focus on structural, rather than textual, revisions of the AP as a collection of texts. Similarly, Samuel Rubenson's study of European vernacular AP versions focus on the structural revisions found therein.[606] As Rubenson shows, Reformation leaders such as Martin Luther and Georg Major encouraged people to read AP, although they rejected parts of the AP tradition at the same time.[607] One thus finds major structural AP revisions in Georg Major's 1544 *Vitas Patrum* edition.[608] Like Paul Evergetinos, ʿEnānīsho, Dadishoʿ, and many other AP curators, Major also adds chapter headings to his AP redaction, in this case for the purpose of reframing AP under themes that reflect the Protestant pious way of life.[609]

As the scholars mentioned show, medieval and early modern AP versions were often structurally revised in ways that, in turn, are explained by the shifting needs and aims of different AP curators and audiences. While scholars have mostly restricted their focus to AP revision on the macro (structural) level, I venture in this chapter into Copto-Arabic AP revisions on the micro (textual) level. As this chapter will show, it is in fact important to take the micro level into account when studying AP florilegia from a macro perspective. What may seem like an unorganized mix of diverse excerpts from different literary works may, when studied at the textual level, in fact turn out to be a coherent structure.

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[606] Although Rubenson points to some textual revision as well, such as the re-packaging of apophthegmata into verse form, thus transmitting the "desert spirituality of Late Antiquity in the mode of the medieval knighthood." (Samuel Rubenson, "*Vitas Patrum* as Material for Revival and Reform in Medieval Monasticism, the Reformation, and Pietism," in *Classics in Northern European Church History over 500 Years: Essays in Honour of Anders Jarlert* (Peter Lang Edition, 2017), 29).
[607] Rubenson, "*Vitas Patrum*", 32–36.
[608] Rubenson, "*Vitas Patrum*", 35.
[609] Rubenson, "*Vitas Patrum*", 35.

## 5.2 Antonius

| Mon.ID | Description | Parallel | EG-Arras | CAB-Epi. | CAB-Agaiby[610] |
|--------|-------------|----------|----------|----------|-----------------|
| 1 | The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, teaching man wisdom and virtues. | GN 678a + G.Iacobus.3 (≠)[611] | 1 | 1 | 65 & 64 |
| 2:1 | Antonius ponders over the death of his father and becomes a recluse. | Pseudo-Serapionic VA fols. 8r–9r[612] | 2:1 | 2a | 67a |
| 2:2 | Antonius is admonished by a bathing woman and flees to the inner desert. | Pseudo-Serapionic VA fols. 10v–11r | 2:2 | 2b | 67b |
| 2:3 | Paul the Simple becomes a disciple of Antonius. | Pseudo-Serapionic VA fols. 25r–26r; HL-Butler 22.1–2 | 2:3 | | |
| 2:4 | Paul the Simple exorcises a demon. | Pseudo-Serapionic VA fols. 26r–27r; HL-Butler 22.9–13 | 2:4 | | |
| 3 | An angel teaches Antonius how to pray, work, remember death, and meditate. | G Antonius.1 (≠) | 3 | 3 | 55 |
| 4 | Monks who tarry outside their cells lose their fear of God. | G Antonius.10 (≠) | 4 | 8 | 1 |
| 5 | Humility and stillness make man ascend to heaven. | SE-Bedjan I.528 | 5 | 726 | 66 |
| 6:1 | Antonius is assaulted by demons (1). | Pseudo-Serapionic VA fol. 10rv | 6 | 5 | 68 |

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[610] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 115–51.

[611] (≠): revised.

[612] The folio references are according to Agaiby's critical edition based on MS St Paul (hist.) 53 (Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony,* 122–219).

| 6:2 | Antonius is assaulted by demons (2) and receives the cowl and *iskīm* by Jesus Christ. | Pseudo-Serapionic VA fols. 13r–17r | 6:2 | 6 | 69 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 7:1 | Antonius goes abroad to heal the king's son (1). | G Antonius.31 (≠); Pseudo-Serapionic VA fols. 51v–54v | 7:1 | | 70a |
| 7:2 | Antonius heals the king's son (2). | Pseudo-Serapionic VA fols. 54v–56r | 7:2 | | 70b |
| 8 | Antonius loves instead of fears God. | G Antonius.32 | 8 | 23 | 6 |

**Table 6.** Synoptic table of R dossier 1 (Antonius).

As can be seen in Table 6, R dossier 1 (Vat.ar.460 1–8, fols. 2r–7r) contains sayings and stories about Antonius.[613] Antonius is the most famous desert father, and is especially venerated in the Coptic Church, where he is second in saintly status only to Virgin Mary.[614] The two most ancient hagiographical sources about Antonius are AP and Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* (VA).[615] As many have pointed out, however, these two sources provide somewhat conflicting images of Antonius. Whereas the Athanasian narrative focuses on Antonius's strength in spiritual combat, the narrative in AP instead focuses on Antonius's role as a wise and engaged monastic elder.[616] Agaiby's study of the pseudo-Serapionic VA, presented in section 3.1.5, adds further emphasis to the shifting portrayals of Antonius across communities and time periods.[617]

As I mentioned in section 3.2.4, The Antonius dossier in R (R dossier 1) is very similar to the Antonius dossier in the CAB text witnesses in DAA that Agaiby has surveyed (CAB-Agaiby), although the dossier in CAB-Agaiby is much larger than the

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[613] There are other apophthegmata attributed to Antonius in other parts of R, but this analysis only focuses on the portrayal conveyed in R dossier 1.

[614] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 89–90.

[615] CPG 2101; BHG 140; PG 26:836–977.

[616] Tim Vivian, "Each Breath Both Prayer and Practice: The Sayings of Antony the Great in the Alphabetical Apophthegmata Patrum, a New Translation with a Commentary," *Cistercian Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (2018): 236. Notably, there is a gradual development in the portrayal of Antonius within extant Greek G manuscripts. Antonius is attributed with 38 apophthegmata in G-Cotelier, while some manuscripts that represent an earlier stage of G, such as MSS Vat.gr.2592 and Ven.Marc.II.70, only give 23 apophthegmata. I thank Samuel Rubenson for pointing this out to me.

[617] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, xi–xiii.

one in R dossier 1.[618] The relatively small R dossier 1 consists of two types of texts: excerpts from the pseudo-Serapionic VA and from AP.

## 5.2.1 Embedded apophthegmata

As can be seen in Table 6, Vat.ar.460 2, 6, and 7 contain abridged versions of the pseudo-Serapionic VA.[619] The mix in this dossier is yet another example of the fluidity of the AP genre.[620] More remarkable is the fact that the hagiographical interpolations in this dossier are from a late medieval Copto-Arabic tradition which, furthermore, is connected with a specific monastery, namely DAA.[621] The appearance of these episodes in Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras suggests that at least this part of R was curated at DAA.

As Agaiby explains, the pseudo-Serapionic VA revises the Athanasian image of Antonius, bringing in elements that would appeal to a late medieval Coptic audience:

> The *Pseudo-Serapionic Life of Antony* is a redaction of the *Athanasian Life of Antony* where the emphasis and content of the original Athanasian account was transformed to make it more appealing and more familiar to contemporary Egyptians. Thus, the original scenes in the Athanasian Life of Antony's encounters with martyrs, Arians, Meletians, and philosophers, no longer applicable in medieval Egypt, are replaced with scenes of demonic warfare described in military imagery that brings to mind Crusader times, of Antony dealing with foreigners in Frankish countries, and Antony interacting with locals.[622]

R dossier 1 actually includes all aspects of the pseudo-Serapionic VA that Agaiby mentions in the quote above.[623] Vat.ar.460 6 narrates Antonius' extensive warfare

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[618] CAB-Epiphanius also contains a significantly larger Antonius dossier.
[619] Furthermore, Vat.ar.460 3 (fol. 4v(1)) is also found, albeit in a much shorter form, in the pseudo-Serapionic VA (fol. 9v).
[620] Rubenson, "The Formation and Reformations," 8 n11; Rapp, "The Origins of Hagiography," 119–30.
[621] To the best of my knowledge, the pseudo-Serapionic VA was foremost popular within the Coptic and Ethiopic communities, not among other Arabic Christian communities.
[622] Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 68.
[623] Furthermore, Vat.ar.460 2:3–4 (fols. 3r–4v) narrates how Paul the simple becomes a disciple of Antonius. Cf. Agaiby, "'Whoever Writes Your Life-Story'," 92.

against demons; Vat.ar.460 7 presents his wonders in the Frankish empire; and Vat.ar.460 2 narrates how Antonius interacts with local Arabs.[624]

One finds an embedded apophthegm in Vat.ar.460 7:1, which narrates how Antonius travels to Ankbard (Frankish empire) and heals the king's son.[625] The apophthegm portrays Antonius asking his disciple (in G the disciple is Paul the Simple) whether he should travel and help a king in need. As can be seen below, the text in Vat.ar.460 7 has been revised to fit the pseudo-Serapionic VA narrative, for in all other AP versions Antonius instead receives a plea from the emperor of Constantinople, and no sick son is mentioned. Furthermore, in all other AP versions the apophthegm ends with the implicit notion that Antonius ultimately decides not to go, in contrast with the wording in Vat.ar.460 7:1.[626]

Furthermore, in Vat.ar.460 7:1, the anonymous disciple replies that Antonius will be called Anṭūna if he goes, and anba Anṭūnīyūs if he stays. The underlying meaning behind the pronunciation difference between Antonius as either Anṭūna or Anṭūnīyūs is unclear, but it seems likely that it signifies a change in level of saintly status, since it appears in Vat.ar.460 8 as well.[627] In G-Cotelier Antonius.31, Paul instead addresses the change in saintly status by saying that that, by going, Antonius will lose his status as *abba*. In fact, one finds here a certain parallelism in the wordings of Vat.ar.460 7:1 and Par.ar.253 fol.14r(2), for in it almost identical pronunciations of Antonius as either Anṭūnī or anba Anṭūnīyūs appear. The partial similarity in wording between Vat.ar.460 and Par.ar.253 suggests that the curators of R and S might have used similar Arabic models.

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[624] Substantial parts of the pseudo-Serapionic VA excerpts in Vat.ar.460 do not appear in MSS StMacar.367–372, probably due to reasons I have discussed in section 3.2.5.

[625] انكبرد is a strange term of unclear origin. Agaiby encounters a similar term in the pseudo-Serapionic VA, namely برکینونی, and argues that it may be "derived from the Greek word παροίκων which means 'strangers' or 'foreigners' […] Thus the author may have intended to Arabise the transliterated Greek word to form the word *Barkinoni* to infer the meaning of "strangers" or 'foreigners' when referring to the language or country of the Franks." (Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of* Antony, 72 n47; 77; 202–03). بلاد الافرنج (Frankish country) appears in Vat.ar.460 7:2 (fol. 7r), which makes it even more plausible that the country referred to is the Frankish empire.

[626] In PE-Chrysostomos I.38.4:1, it is explicitly stated that Antonius decided not to go.

[627] There appears a scene in the pseudo-Serapionic VA (fols. 13v–14r) in which God, upon watching Antonius endure the torments of the demons, says to Antonius: ليس اسمك من الان انطون لكن انطونيوس. ("from now on your name is not Anṭūna but Anṭūnīyūs!" trans. Agaiby, Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 140–143). The change of pronunciation of Antonius's name seems to indicate a change in his saintly status. See also Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 149 n368.

| Vat.ar.460 7:1 (fols. 6rv) | Par.ar.253 fol. 14r(2)[628] | G-Cotelier Antonius.31[629] |
|---|---|---|
| خبر عن القديس انطونيوس انه ملك الانكبرد كان له ولدٍ وكان وارث الملك بعده. فلحقه جنون وصرع وخشن. فجمع له كل علما بلاده فلم يقدر احد ان يعينه ولا يشفيه واتصل به خبر القديس انطونيوس الصعيدي فنفد رسله اليه بهدايا جليله. فلما وصلوا اليه لم يشاء ان يقبل شى من الهدايا ولا يفرح بالسمعة ثم انه كلمهم بترجمان. وقال لتلميذه مادا تشير على يا بنى او رح او اجلس قال له يا ابه ان جلست انت انبا [6v] انطونيوس ان رحت فانت انطونه. (...) | في بعض الاوقات وردت الي القديس انطونيوس كتبًا من قسطنطينية الملك يسله ان يجي الي مدينه القسطنطينيه فميز ماذا يصنع وقال لانبا بولص تلميذه اينبغي ان اذهب ام لا فقال له ان ذهبت انطوني يقال لك وان لم تذهب فانبا انطونيوس تدعُا | Ποτὲ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος ἐδέξατο Κωνσταντίου τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα, ἵνα ἔλθῃ εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν· καὶ ἐσκόπει τί ποιῆσαι. Λέγει οὖν τῷ ἀββᾷ Παύλῳ τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· Ὤφειλον ἀπελθεῖν; Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐὰν ἀπέλθῃς, Ἀντώνιος λέγῃ· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀπέλθῃς, ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος |
| It was told about Saint Antonius that the king of Ankbard[630] had a son who was to be the heir of the kingdom after him. He had been overtaken by madness, epilepsy, and primitivism. So he gathered all the scholars of his country, but no one was able to help or heal him. The news of Saint Antonius of Upper Egypt reached him. His messengers ran out to him a with splendid gifts, but when they reached him, he did not want to accept any of the gifts, nor did he rejoice in the reputation. Then he spoke with them through an interpreter. He said to his disciple: "What do you suggest, my son? Should I go or remain?" He said to him: "Father, if you remain you are anba [6v] Anṭūnīyūs; if you go, then you are Anṭūna." (…) | Once a letter came to Saint Antonius from the king of Constantinople, asking him to go to the city of Constantinople. He tried to discern what he should do. He said to anba Paul, his disciple: "Should I go or not?" He said to him: "If you go you will be called Anṭūnī, but if you do not go, anba Anṭūnīyūs." | Abba Antony once received a letter from the emperor Constantius [instructing him] to come to Constantinople and he was pondering what to do. So he said to Abba Paul, his disciple: "Ought I to go?" He said to him: "If you go, you will be called Antony; if you do not go, Abba Antony." |

## 5.2.2 The God-fearing Antonius

Three of the apophthegmata in R dossier 1 (Vat.ar.460 1, 4 and 8) promote the fear of God as an essential monastic virtue. They appear first, last, and in the middle of the dossier. Their placement seems to be due to a deliberate act of curation whose purpose is to enforce the virtue of the fear of God in the opening part of R.

In Antonian dossiers in other AP versions, Antonius is not particularly connected with the virtue of the fear of God. Out of the large corpus of apophthegmata attributed to Antonius in other AP versions, only two deal explicitly with the fear of God (one of which appears in Vat.ar.460 8).[631] The connection between Antonius and the fear of God seems, in other words, much more accentuated in R than in other AP versions.

We encountered Vat.ar.460 1 already in section 3.2.2. There I showed that this apophthegm differs considerably from its parallel texts in other AP versions. In Vat.ar.460 1, the relationship between the fear of God and wisdom is accentuated and attributed to Antonius, in contrast to other AP versions.

The second apophthegm in R dossier 1 that deals with the fear of God (Vat.ar.460 4) is another clear example revision made by the curators of R. In Vat.ar.460 4, Antonius comments once more upon the fear of God and its importance. In the parallel texts in other AP versions, however, Antonius does not speak about the fear of God at all, but rather about the virtue of *sukūt/hēsychia* (stillness).[632] I discuss further the fear of God as a mental state and ascetic virtue in chapter 7. Furthermore, Vat.ar.460 4 adds the information that Antonius has disciples to whom he gives advice, thus accentuating his role as elder in the budding monastic community.

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[631] The other one is Antonius 33, where Antonius recommends everyone to always have the fear of God before one's eyes. It appears later in Vat.ar.460 553 (fol. 142rv).
[632] For a description of ἡσυχία in AP, see Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 228.

| Vat.ar.460 4 (fol. 4v) | Strasb.4225 VIII.70 (fol. 74rv)[633] | G-Cotelier Antonius.10[634] |
|---|---|---|
| وكان القديس يعلم تلامده [l.dub][635] هده الكلامه ويقول يا اولادي كما ان السمك ادا خرج من الما يموت كدلك الراهب ادا خرج من قلايته[636] يموت خوف الله من قلبه. | قال انبا انطونس كما ان الحيتان اذا خرجوا من الما يموتوا كذلك الرهبان اذا خرجوا من قلاليهم الى العلمانين فهم يسترخوا من نشاط السكوت. فينبغي لنا ان نحتث بالرجوع الى القلية كما يحتث الحوت بالرجعة الى الما ليلا نحتبس برا وننسى التحفظ [74v] الذي كنا فيه جوا. | Εῖπε πάλιν· Ὥσπερ οἱ ἰχθύες ἐγχρονίζοντες τῇ ξηρᾷ τελευτῶσιν, οὕτως καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ, βραδύνοντες ἔξω τοῦ κελλίου, ἢ μετὰ κοσμικῶν διατρίβοντες, πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἡσυχίας τόνον ἐκλύονται. Δεῖ οὖν, ὥσπερ τὸν ἰχθὺν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὕτως καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ κελλίον ἐπείγεσθαι, μήποτε βραδύνοντες ἔξω ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς ἔνδον φυλακῆς. |
| The saint [constantly] taught his students this saying, saying: "My children, just as the fish die if they leave the water, so the fear of God dies in the heart of the monk if he leaves the cell." | Abba Antonius said: "Just as the fishes die if they go out of the water, so also the monks, when they leave their cells to (go to) worldlings, they become lax from the energy of silence. So we should hasten to return to the cell, just as the fish hastens to return to the water at night lest we get landlocked and forget the watchfulness [74v] that is within. | He also said: "Just as fish die if they are on dry land for some time, so do monks who tarry[637] outside their cells or waste time with worldlings release themselves from the force[638] of *hesychia*. So we should hasten back to the cell (like the fish to the sea) lest while tarrying outside we forget the inner watchfulness."[639] |

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[633] Transcription by Zaborowski. Very similar wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 92 (fol. 14v–15r). Similar wording in Vat.ar.71 X.78 (fol. 196r) which, however, does not have the sentence coming after نشاط السكوت. A similar but even shorter wording found in Par.ar.253 fol. 21v(1), while a longer version is found in Par.ar.253 fol. 24r(2). In this latter apophthegm, the term سمك rather than حوت, which is the case for Vat.ar.460 4 as well. In other aspects, Par.ar.253 is more similar in wording with the other Arabic parallels than with Vat.ar.460 4.

[634] Translation by Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Antonius.10), partly adapted by me.

[635] EG-Arras.lat 4 reads *perpetuo* (constantly).

[636] قلايتة, monastic cell. Cf. Greek κελλίον. Graf, *Verzeichnis Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, 92.

[637] Wortley: "loiter"

[638] Wortley: "tension"

[639] Wortley: "to keep a watch on the inner [self.]"

Lastly, in Vat.ar.460 8, we again encounter Antonius speaking about the fear of God. In this apophthegm, Antonius paraphrases 1 John, which stresses that the love of God is an even stronger and more supreme virtue than the fear of God.[640] As can be seen below, the revisions in Vat.ar.460 8, compared with parallel texts in other AP versions, are but minor. Antonius speaks about the fear of God in all the parallel texts in other AP versions. The only significant revision in Vat.ar.460 8 is that Antonius converses with an anonymous disciple who reacts strongly to what he says. Since this text comes after the episode about Antonius identifying himself Anṭūna and travelling to Ankbard, it seems reasonable that the dialogue in Vat.ar.460 involves the same anonymous disciple as in Vat.ar.460 7. This becomes even more probable as Antonius again refers to himself as Anṭūna in Vat.ar.460 8. The addition of the disciple's confusion in Vat.ar.460 8 might serve to add an emphasis on the differentiation of virtues for beginners and more advanced ascetics, for while the fear of God is an appropriate virtue for the novice, Antonius's level of perfection, which is demonstrated in Vat.ar.460 7, makes him fit to surpass the fear of God and love Him instead. The revision of Antonius as god-fearing is unique for R and therefore highly interesting. It is therefore further discussed in section 7.3.

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[640] 1 John 4:18.

| Vat.ar.460 8 (fol. 7r) | Strasb.4225 VIII.368 (fol. 118r)[641] | G-Cotelier Antonius.32[642] |
|---|---|---|
| انه كان يقول فى بعض الاوقات لتلميده يا ابنى انطونه ما يخاف من الله. فقال له تلميده ما هده الكلمة الصعبة التى تقولها يا معلم قال نعم يابنى لانى احبه والحب يطرد الخوف. | قال انبا انطونس اني ليس اخاف من الله ولكني احبه لان الحب يطرد الخوف | Εἶπεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος· Ἐγὼ οὐκέτι φοβοῦμαι τὸν Θεὸν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπῶ αὐτόν. Ἡ γὰρ[643] ἀγάπη ἔξω βάλλει τὸν φόβον. |
| Sometimes time he was saying to his disciple: "My son, Anṭūna does not fear God." His disciple said to him: "What is this shocking statement that you are saying, teacher?" He said: "Yes, my son, because I love Him, and love chases away fear."[644] | Anba Antonius said: "I do not fear God, but I love Him. For love chases away fear." | Abba Anthony said, 'I no longer fear God, but I love Him. For love casts out fear.' |

[641] Transcription by Zaborowski. Similar wording in Vat.ar.71 X.61 (fol. 192v) and Mil.Ambr.L120sup 329 (fol. 67v), although انبا is replaced by مار. A shorter form of the apophthegm found in Par.ar.253 fol. 24v(1), ending after احبه.
[642] Translation by Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Antonius.32).
[643] GS-Dahlman XVII.1 add. τελεία (perfect). Cf. 1 John 4:18.
[644] 1 John 4:18.

## 5.3 Arsenius

| Mon.ID | Description | Parallel | EG-Arras | CAB-Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **9:1** | Description of Arsenius's early life at court | CAS 13 Bashans + *VAi* | 9:1 | 94:1a |
| **9:2** | Arsenius re-directs his life and flees to Sketis. | *VAi* + G Arsenius.1 | 9:2 | 94:1b |
| **9:3–5** | Arsenius admonishes a wealthy woman who comes to visit him. | G Arsenius.28 | 9:3–5 | 94:2 |
| **10:1** | Arsenius is admonished for how he eats beans. | *VAi* | 10:1 | 95 |
| **10:2** | Antonius' meditations lead him to seek solitude and silence. | *VAi* + G Arsenius.2 + G Agathon.15 | 10:2 | 97 (≠) + 147 |
| **10:3** | Arsenius is indirectly admonished for eating vegetables and vinegar. | G Achillas.3 | 10:3 | 96:1 |
| **10:4** | Arsenius comments upon Egyptian wisdom. | G Arsenius.6 | 10:4 | 96:2 |
| **11** | Arsenius tells Macarius of Alexandria why he does not change the water for his handiwork. | G Arsenius.18 | 11 | 100:2 |
| **12** | Arsenius weeps extensively, and his humility is so great that it saves him from demonic assault. | G Arsenius.41+ G MacarAeg.35 | 12 | 101 + 50 (≠) |
| **13** | Arsenius asks his disciples not to bury him. | G Arsenius.40a | 13 | 126 |
| **14** | Arsenius stands in vigil practically the whole night. | G Arsenius.30 + G Arsenius.14 | 14 | 109:1 |

**Table 7.** Synoptic table of R dossier 2 (Arsenius).

As can be seen in Table 7, R dossier 2 (Vat.ar.460 9–14, fols. 7r–13r) contains sayings and stories about Arsenius.[645] Arsenius is another famous desert father, whose life is marked by his transformation from being a celebrated member of the court of Constantinople to becoming a recluse in Sketis.[646]

The placement of a dossier attributed to Arsenius after Antonius in R is reasonable and yet somewhat surprising at the same time. In alphabetical collections an Arsenius dossier is to be expected after an Antonius dossier. The placement of R dossier 2 after R dossier 1 might thus indicate that the curators of R drew, at least in this instance, inspiration from an alphabetical AP model. This is plausible not least since, as has been shown in section 3.3.2, the first part of R resembles to some extent other alphabetical AP versions in its structure. However, R is not presented as an alphabetical AP collection, not least since there appears, after the Arsenius dossier, a dossier of sayings and stories attributed to Macarius.[647] In CAB-Epiphanius, the Macarius dossier even precedes the Arsenius dossier.[648] The priority given to Macarius in the CAB tradition makes good sense, given the centrality of Macarius in the Coptic tradition, him being next in saintly status after Antonius.[649] In contrast, Arsenius is not a particularly venerated saint in the Coptic tradition, although his fame as desert father is great.[650] One would therefore have expected to find the Arsenius dossier at another location in Vat.ar.460. Again, it seems likely that the placement of R dossier 2 reflects that the curators of R made use of one or several alphabetically organized AP source(s).

As was the case with R dossier 1, the Arsenius dossier in R is smaller than its counterparts in alphabetical AP collections, which typically present around 40

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[645] There are other apophthegmata attributed to Arsenius in other parts of R, but this analysis only focuses on the portrayal conveyed in R dossier 1.

[646] Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 217. This has an interesting parallelism in the iconography in the church of DAA, where, in contrast with the other portrayed desert fathers, Arsenius has distinct wrinkles on his forehead, indicating his austerity (Bolman, *Monastic Visions,* 52, 83, 222). On the scroll which he holds in his hands, one reads in Coptic that Arsenius was an ⲁⲅⲟⲛ (struggler).

[647] Vat.ar.460 15–32 (fols. 13r–22r); EG-Arras 15–32.

[648] CAB-Epiphanius 33–53.

[649] Ambu, "Du texte à la communauté," 279–83.

[650] Arsenius is commemorated on 13 Bashans in CAS, and 13 Ginbot in ES.

apophthegmata attributed to Arsenius.[651] Unlike the case with the Antonius dossier, R dossier 2 does not present textual revisions that radically changes the cultural memory of Arsenius. Instead, the textual revisions I bring up in the following analysis are of smaller and more diverse kind, yet significant and indicative of how the curators of R have gone about when curating R.

## 5.3.1 Embedded apophthegmata

As Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana has shown, the Arsenius dossier in G contains many hagiographical elements from a *Vita Arsenii* (VAi) tradition.[652] It is therefore not surprising to find hagiographical episodes in R dossier 2 as well, and they appear in Vat.ar.460 9–10. The hagiographical episodes in this dossier contain many interesting details about Arsenius's early life. I have not found parallels to these episodes in neither any of the Byzantine Arsenian hagiographical works, nor in CAS or ES.[653] As in the previous section, I do not focus on the hagiographical episodes, but rather on the occurrence of embedded apophthegmata in them.

Vat.ar.460 9 starts with explaining how Arsenius was among the wisest and most prominent men in Constantinople, but that he starts to question his way of life.[654] He ultimately leaves Constantinople and travels to Sketis via Alexandria. The wording in Vat.ar.460 9:2 even states that he goes to *dayr al-qiddīs Maqārīyūs* (DAM), an

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[651] Arsenius is attributed with 44 apophthegmata in G-Cotelier, while some manuscripts that represent an earlier stage of G contains only 37 or 38 apophthegmata attributed to him (Faraggiana di Sarzana, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*," 457). Again, there is some discrepancy between, on the one hand, CAB-Epiphanius, and, on the other hand, EG-Arras and Vat.ar.460. CAB-Epiphanius comprises a larger number of apophthegmata attributed to Arsenius (CAB-Epiphanius 94–130).
[652] BHG 167z. Faraggiana di Sarzana, "*Apophthegmata Patrum*," 456–9; see also Rubenson, "Textual Fluidity in Early Monasticism," 181. There is a rich Byzantine Arsenian hagiographical tradition, in contrast to Coptic Egypt where extant text witnesses to VAi are fewer: In the catalogues I have consulted, I have found Arsenian narratives in MSS Sin.ar.550 and Par.ar.257 (Graf, *GCAL* 1:401–02), but have not found any parallels to Vat.ar.460 9–10 in these sources.
[653] I have checked in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (8 May), the *Menologion* of Basil II (PG 117:14–613), the Greek versions of *VAi* (BHG 167y and 167z), and Theodore the Studite's *encomium* (PG 99:849–81). I have also checked in CAS (13 Bashans) and ES (13 Ginbot).
[654] A passage in Vat.ar.460 9:1 (fol. 7rv) where Arsenius meditates over the futility of worldly riches is typologically similar to the passage in Vat.ar.460 2:1 (2rv) when Antonius' ponders same issue. The resemblance between the two passages in R might indicate that the curators sought to connect Antonius's and Arsenius's early monastic vocations.

anachronistic detail since early Sketis was not a monastery, but a more loosely formed community.[655]

In 9:2 appears an embedded apophthegm in which Arsenius hears a divine voice encouraging him to flee from people.[656] Once more, the Copto-Arabic wording is partially similar to the wording in the Arabic parallel (here Strasb.4225,) for in both parallels the heavenly voice calls Arsenius's name twice, while in all other AP versions his name is only called once. The textual similarity indicates, again, that the curators of R seem to have made use of already existing Arabic AP translations. Nevertheless, the text in Vat.ar.460 9:2 adds nuances to Arsenius's mode of prayer and an expression of God's plentiful mercy, which is not found in other AP versions (Strasb.4225 included).

| Vat.ar.460 9:2 (fol. 8r) | Strasb.4225 VIII.72 (fol. 74v)[657] | G Arsenius.1[658] |
|---|---|---|
| (...) ولم يزل هكذا يطلب هكذا يتضرع وبكاو اتضاع وحسره ويقول علمني يا رب كيف اخلص. فسمع الرب صاحب كنوز معدن الرحمه وجاه صوت يقول له يا ارسانه يا ارسانه اهرب من العالم وانت تخلص. (...) | انبا ارسانس وهو في البلاط صلى الى الله وقال يا رب اهديني كيف اخلص. فجاه صوت يقول ارسانيوس ارسانيوس فر من الناس وانت تخلص. | Ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀρσένιος, ἔτι ὢν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, εὔξατο τῷ Θεῷ λέγων· Κύριε, ὁδήγησόν με πῶς σωθῶ. Καὶ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ φωνὴ λέγουσα· Ἀρσένιε, φεῦγε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ σώζῃ. |
| (...) He did not stop asking for this, pleading, crying in humility and anguish, saying: "Teach me, Lord, how to be saved." When the Lord, the possessor of the treasure of mercy, heard (this) there came a voice saying to him: "Arsenius, Arsenius, flee from the world and you will be saved." (...) | When anba Arsenius was in the palace, he prayed to God and said: "Lord, guide me as to how I can be saved." A voice came, saying: "Arsenius, Arsenius, flee from people and you will be saved." | When abba Arsenius was still in the palace he prayed to God saying: "Lord, guide me as to how I can be saved," and there came to him a voice saying: "Arsenius, flee from people and you shall be saved." |

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[655] Although, according to Matta al-Miskin, DAM was established as a monastery already by the end of the 4th century, the time during which Arsenius arrived to Sketis (Matta al-Miskin, "Dayr Anba Maqar," CE:749).
[656] Cf. CAS, 13 Bashans (Basset, *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite*, 379–81).
[657] Transcription by Zaborowski. Identical wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 94 (fol. 15r). Similar wording in Vat.ar.71 X.80 (fol. 196r) and Par.ar.253 fol. 24v(4).
[658] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Arsenius.1).

Later, in the hagiographical episode in 10:2, Arsenius has arrived in Sketis, but continues to entreat God to direct him towards the path of salvation.[659] Thus appears another embedded apophthegm in which God specifies that Arsenius must flee from people in an even more radical way than he has done so far. Again, the wording in Vat.ar.460 shows some similarity with the wording in the Arabic parallel (here Vat.ar.71); and, again, the revisions in Vat.ar.460 that pertain to the actual textual content are not found in any other AP version. In the Copto-Arabic apophthegm Arsenius is described in a saintlier way, as *bārr* (pious) and *ḥakīm* (wise), and the apophthegm ends with an intercessory formula used in hagiographies in which the readers ask for the saint's blessing. Furthermore, Vat.ar.460 10:2 adds the information that Arsenius started fleeing the company of other brothers upon hearing the heavenly voice once more, while this detail is not present in other AP versions.

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[659] Vat.ar.460 10:2 starts with a lengthy hagiographical text which contains many interesting details about Arsenius life which, as I have mentioned, are not present in the Byzantine, Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic sources that I have consulted. For example, Arsenius reflects upon his former glory and mastery of both كيما (chemistry) and سيما (alchemy), and compares his level of learning with both Aristoteles and Hermes Trismegistos. The editing and translating of this lengthy text presents problems, and moreover falls outside the focus of this investigation. For this reason, I have only edited and translated the latter part of Vat.ar.460 10:2 in which episodes recognizable from the AP tradition appear.

| Vat.ar.460 10:2 | Vat.ar.71 X.80 (fol. 196r)[660] | G-Cotelier Arsenius.2[661] |
|---|---|---|
| (...) هدا ارسانيوس البار الحكيم ابتدا ان يصلى ويطلب من الله ان يعلمه كيف يخلص وقال يا رب قد هربت كما تعلم انت و علمتنى بمشورتك فجاه صوت تانى و هو يقول يا ارسانيوس اهرب واهدى واسكت وانت تخلص وهكدا لما سمع الصوت تانى دفعه كان يهرب ايضا[662] من الاخوه ويلزم الهدو والصمت صلاته تحفظنا (...) | وايضا بعد ما خرج الى الرهبانية صلى بهذه الكلمة وجاه صوت يقول له ارسانيا فر واصمت واهدى. فان هذه الثلثة الخصال هي اصل قطع الخطية. | Ὁ αὐτὸς ἀναχωρήσας ἐν τῷ μονήρει βίῳ, πάλιν εὔξατο, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπών. Καὶ ἤκουσε φωνῆς λεγούσης αὐτῷ· Ἀρσένιε, φεῦγε, σιώπα, ἡσύχαζε· αὗται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ῥίζαι τῆς ἀναμαρτησίας. |
| (...) This pious and wise Arsenius began to pray and ask God to teach him how to be saved. He said: "Lord, I fled, as you know. Teach me [again] by your advice." A second voice then came, saying: "Arsenius, flee, be calm, and silent, and you will be saved." When he heard the second voice, at once he was fleeing from his brothers, and observed calmness and silence. May his prayers preserve us. (...) | And again, after he left for the monastic life, he prayed (by) this saying, and a voice came saying: "Arsenius, flee, be silent and calm, for these three characteristics are the roots of casting off sin." | When the same [person] had retired into the solitary life he prayed again, saying the same words,[663] and he heard a voice saying to him: "Arsenius, take flight, keep silent and maintain hesychia, for these are the roots of sinlessness." |

Lastly, the hagiographical episode in Vat.ar.460 10:2c ends with yet another embedded apophthegm, in which Arsenius learns to master the virtue of silence by holding stones in his mouth for three years. In all other AP versions, this apophthegm is instead attributed to Agathon.[664] Once again, the story in Vat.ar.460 10:2 is more detailed compared with the parallels in all other AP versions. Like Vat.ar.460 7:1, 9:2 and 10:2,

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[660] Transcription by Zaborowski. Similar wording in Strasb.4225 VIII.73 (fol. 74r) and Mil.Ambr.L120sup 94 (fol. 15r). Similar wording in Par.ar.253 fol. 24v–25r , but with the alternative ending لان هولاي الخصال هم سبب حفظ الانسان ان لا يخطي.

[661] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Arsenius.2), partly adapted by me.

[662] ايضا in marg.

[663] Wortley: "offering the same prayer."

[664] CAB-Epiphanius 147 also attributes this apophthegm to Agathon, not Arsenius.

Vat.ar.460 10:2 reflects by its more embellished style its embeddedness within a hagiographical narrative.

| Vat.ar.460 10:2 | Strasb.4225 VII I.102 (fol. 79v)[665] | G-Cotelier Agathon.15[666] |
|---|---|---|
| (...) ولما قصد السكوت القديس انبا ارسانيوس لما ابتدا ان يتعلّم الصمت كما جاه الصوت فلم يقدر سريع فعمل حصاه وزنها اثنى عشر درهم فى فمه تلت سنين لا يخرجها الا وقت ياكل او لجى عنده غريب يعزيه [11v] لاجل الله وبهده الفضيله قوّم السكوت وعلم فمه الصمت | قالوا من اجل انبا اغاثون انه وضع في فمه حصاة ثلثة سنين حتى قوم الصمت. | Ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀγάθωνος, ὅτι τρία ἔτη ἐποίησεν, ἔχων[667] λίθον εἰς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἕως οὗ κατώρθωσε τὸ σιωπᾶν. |
| (...) When Saint anba Arsenius aimed at silence and began to learn silence, whenever the voice came, he was not fast enough. So he took a pebble weighing twelve dirhams in his mouth for three years, not taking them out except for when eating or when a stranger came to be consoled [11v] for the sake of God. Through this virtue he acquired silence and taught his mouth to be quiet. | They said on account of anba Agathon that he put a pebble stone for three years until he had acquired silence. | They used to say of Abba Agathon that he kept a stone in his mouth for three years until he had learnt to keep silence. |

## 5.3.2 Arsenius and Macarius

The rest of R dossier 2 consists of apophthegmata that appear in other AP versions as well. Many of them are attributed to other desert fathers in other AP versions. Unlike R dossier 1, there is no overall revision of the portrayal of Arsenius, nor is there a focus on promoting a certain virtue or theme. The apophthegmata in R dossier 2 provide a portrait of Arsenius that is more or less identical to what other AP versions present but use different apophthegmata than one normally finds to convey this.

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[665] Transcription by Zaborowski. Identical wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 128 (fol. 24r–24v). Similar wording in Sin.ar.444 fol. 327r(3) and Par.ar.253 fol. 17r(3) and 34r(2).
[666] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Agathon.15).
[667] GS-Dahlman IV.7 var. ἔβαλε (he put).

Textually, the overall structure of R dossier 2 follows the different stages of Arsenius's life, moving from Arsenius's early career and status within Graeco-Roman society (Vat.ar.460 9), his conversion to the monastic life (Vat.ar.460 10), and his accomplishments as an experienced elder (Vat.ar.460 11–14).[668]

One minor revision in the portrayal of Arsenius in R dossier 2 concerns his relationship with other desert fathers. While in other AP versions Arsenius is associated with John Colobos, who appears as Arsenius's elder, and Daniel, who is his disciple, these two figures never appear in R dossier 2.[669] Instead, Vat.ar.460 11 and 12 describe Arsenius as interacting with a certain Macarius. I present a passage of Vat.ar.460 12 below, in which Arsenius is praised by Macarius (Poemen in the parallels) for his excessive compunction. There is some uncertainty as to which desert father named Macarius these passages refer.[670] In Vat.ar.460 11, it is explicitly stated that Macarius of Alexandria comes to visit Arsenius, whereas in Vat.ar.460 12 it is not specified which Macarius it is. Both Macarius the Great (the Egyptian) and Macarius of Alexandria were prominent figures in the early monastic movement. Arguably, it would have been more likely that Arsenius met Macarius the Great, who was the founder of the monastic settlement in Sketis where Arsenius dwelled, than Macarius of Alexandria who was in Kellia.[671] Another detail that adds confusion is that Macarius is described as outliving Arsenius in Vat.ar.460 12—but both Macarius the Great and Macarius of Alexandria were older than Arsenius and died before him, in contrast with Poemen, who appears in the parallels, and could have outlived Arsenius.

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[668] The chronological order in Arsenius dossiers is a common feature in other AP versions as well (Rubenson, "Textual Fluidity in Early Monasticism," 181).

[669] Stephanos Efthymiadis and Vincent Déroche, "Greek Hagiography in Late Antiquity (Fourth-Seventh Centuries)," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, volume 1*, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (London & New York: Routledge, 2016), 44–45.

[670] The confusion of the two Macarii in AP, HM and HL is a common feature in other AP versions as well (Antoine Guillaumont, "Le problème des deux Macaires dans les *Apophthegmata Patrum*," *Irénikon* 48 (1975): 41–59).

[671] Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 18.

| Vat.ar.460 12 (fol. 12v(1))[672] | Strasb.4225 VIII.331 (fol. 115r)[673] | G-Cotelier Arsenius.41b[674] |
|---|---|---|
| (...) ولاجل هدا لما توفى القديس انبا ارسانيوس واستراح قال القديس انبا مقاريوس الطوبا ثم الطوبا لك يا ابى انبا ارسانيوس لانك بكيت فى هدا العالم على نفسك واسترحت هناك. (...) | لما سمع انبا بيمين ان انبا ارسانة قد تنيح بكا وقال طوباك يا انبا ارسانة انك بكيت على نفسك في هذه الدنيا لان الذي لا يبكي على نفسه في هذه الدنيا مصيره يبكي هناك في الاخرة الى الابد. (...) | (...) Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ποιμὴν ὅτι ἐκοιμήθη, δακρύσας εἶπε· Μακάριος εἶ, ἀββᾶ Ἀρσένιε, ὅτι ἔκλαυσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ὧδε κόσμον. Ὁ γὰρ μὴ κλαίων ἑαυτὸν ὧδε, αἰωνίως ἐκεῖ κλαύσεται. (...) |
| (…) For this reason, when Saint anba Arsenius passed away, Saint anba Macarius said: "Blessed and blessed again are you, father anba Arsenius. Since you wept for your soul in this world, you will find rest there." His disciple said: "What do you mean with this saying, father?" He said: "In truth, let me tell you, son, that whoever does not weep for his soul here will weep there." (…) | When anba Poemen heard that anba Arsenius had fallen asleep, he cried and said: "Blessed are you, anba Arsenius, you wept for your soul in this world. For he who does not weep for his soul in this world is destined to weep there in the afterlife forever. (…) | (…) When Abba Poemen heard that Abba Arsenius had fallen asleep, he shed tears and said: "Blessed are you, Abba Arsenius, because you wept for yourself here in this present world; for he who does not weep for himself here will weep there eternally. (…) |

These ambiguities aside, the revised image of Arsenius being in contact with Macarius in R dossier 2 is a specific revision not found in other AP versions. This revision might serve to genealogically link R dossier 2 with the subsequent dossier in R which contains stories and sayings about Macarius.[675]

I wish to evoke, as a last example of a minor revision that subtly changes the portrayal of Arsenius in R dossier 2, Vat.ar.460 10:4, a well-known apophthegm in which

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[672] CAB-Epiphanius 101b also attributes this apophthegm to Poemen, not Macarius.
[673] Transcription by Zaborowski. Very similar wording in Vat.ar.71 X.56 (fols. 191v–192r) and Mil.Ambr.L120sup 303 (fol. 64v). Similar wording in Par.ar.253 fol. 25v(5) albeit with variant vocabulary, e.g. عالم instead of دنيا.
[674] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley Arsenius.41b).
[675] Vat.ar.460 15–32 (fols. 13r–22r).

Arsenius praises Egyptian rustic wisdom. In R the apophthegm ends with Arsenius quoting Acts 7:22, thereby reinforcing the role of Egypt as a locus for wisdom. This type of elaboration might have served the purpose of stressing the centrality of Egypt in the Copto-Arabic cultural memory of the desert fathers.

| Vat.ar.460 10:4 (fol. 12r) | Strasb.4225 VIII.329 (fols. 114v–115r)[676] | G-Cotelier Arsenius.6[677] |
|---|---|---|
| ثم التفت الى اصحابه اليونانين وقال اخبركم انني تادبت بساير اليونانين وفضلهم. واما حكمة هذا المصري الاكبر يعني الفلاح وحسن تدبيره فانني[678] بعدما وصلت اليه ولا حكمته والان صدق الكتاب اد يقول تادب موسى بكل اداب المصرين. | انبا ارسانس مرة كان يسل شيخ قبطي عن حسباته فابصره اخر من الابهات وقال له انبا ارسانيا انت قد اتادبت بالرومية والحكمة كلها قد غذيت فيها [115r]وتجي تسل هذا الامي عن حسباتك؟ فاجاب ارسانيوس وقال له الرومية والحكمة كلها قد اتادبت بها فاما الفا بيطا هذه الذي يحسن هذا الامي لم اتعلمها بعد. | Ἐρωτῶντός ποτε τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀρσενίου τινὰ γέροντα Αἰγύπτιον περὶ ἰδίων λογισμῶν, ἕτερος ἰδὼν αὐτὸν εἶπεν· Ἀββᾶ Ἀρσένιε, πῶς τοσαύτην παίδευσιν Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν ἐπιστάμενος, τοῦτον τὸν ἀγροῖκον περὶ τῶν σῶν λογισμῶν ἐρωτᾷς; Ὁ δὲ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· Τὴν μὲν Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν ἐπίσταμαι παίδευσιν· τὸν δὲ ἀλφάβητον τοῦ ἀγροίκου τούτου οὔπω μεμάθηκα. |
| Then he turned to his Greek companions and said: "Let me tell you that I have been taught by the way of the Greeks and their virtues, but as for the wisdom of this great Egyptian, meaning in cultivation and good comportment, I have not yet reached it, nor his wisdom. Now, Scripture is right in saying that Moses was instructed by all the teaching of the Egyptians."[679] | Anba Arsenius was once asking a Coptic elder about his opinions. Another one of the fathers saw him and said to him: "Anba Arsenius, you have been educated in Rome and were brought up in all its wisdom [115r], and yet you come ask this uneducated person about your opinions?" Arsenius answered and said to him, "Rome and all its wisdom have educated me, but as for this alphabet which guides this illiterate, I have not learned it yet." | Abba Arsenius was once asking an Egyptian elder about his own thoughts.[680] Another person, when he saw him, said: "Abba Arsenius, how is it that you, who have such a command of Greek and Roman learning, are asking this rustic about your thoughts?"[681] He said to him: "A command of Greek and Roman learning I have, but I have not yet learned the alphabet of this rustic." |

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[676] Transcription by Zaborowski. Very similar wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 302 (fol. 64rv). Similar wording in Par.ar.253 fol. 29v(5).
[677] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Arsenius.6).
[678] حكمة in marg., unclear where to be interpolated.
[679] Acts 7:22.
[680] Wortley: "logismoi"
[681] Wortley: "logismoi"

## 5.4 **Jesus Prayer**

| Mon.ID | Description | Parallel | EG-Arras | CAB-Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **291** | The power of the JP is explained through a parable of a girl and her brother. | | 243 | 62 |
| **292** | Books and teachings are stored away without use. | GN 228 | 244a | 63 |
| **293** | The JP helps against inner corruption. | | 244c | 64 |
| **294** | The JP is like a precious pearl. | CB-Amelineau D.40 (≠) | 245a | 58 |
| **295** | The JP provides hope and mercy. | | 245b | 59 |
| **296** | Macarius teaches Poemen the JP. | CB-Amelineau D.13 (≠) | 246 | 60 |
| **297** | John Chrysostom on the virtue of silence. | | 247 | |
| **298** | The JP is the highest virtue. | | 248a | 65 |
| **299** | The JP offers protection. | Friday psali[682] | 248b | 66 |
| **300** | An exposition of cell practices, of which the JP is best. | G Poemen 168 (≠) | 249 | 67 |
| **301** | Practice the JP like an attending servant. | | 250 | 68 |
| **302** | The holy Name is found through toil. | | 251a | 69 |
| **303** | The JP leads to the fearing of God. | | 251b | 70 |
| **304** | It is good to concentrate on the JP alone. | | 252 | 71 |
| **305** | Isidorus teaches Jacob the JP. | ECM-Arras 13:43 | 253 | 72 |

**Table 8.** Synoptic table of R dossier JP (Jesus Prayer).

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[682] Cf. Lanne, "La 'prière de Jésus' dans la tradition égyptienne," 178.

The next dossier (R dossier JP) appears in the middle of Vat.ar.460 (Vat.ar.460 291–305, fols. 94r–96r).[683] Most of the texts in this dossier that present themselves as desert father apophthegmata are nonetheless unparalleled in other AP versions. The dossier, as it appears in CAB-Cairo, has been translated into French and commented upon by Regnault.[684] Regnault suggests that this JP dossier was originally composed in a 6th or 7th century Lower Egyptian monastic setting.[685] Since this dossier is not found in other Arabic AP recensions, it seems likely that this dossier is a Copto-Arabic reception of an early medieval Coptic literary tradition.

The JP (also known as unceasing prayer or prayer of the heart/mind) is a recitative meditative prayer which, with many variations, contains roughly the following formula: *(Lord) Jesus Christ, have mercy on (/help/forgive) me.* Practitioners of the JP trace its practice back to the earliest forms of Christian prayer as it appears in the New Testament.[686] Today it is most readily associated with the Byzantine hesychast tradition, in which it plays a central role.[687] Many scholars have, however, traced the origin of the JP back to desert father practices.[688] One finds, for example, a stress on unceasing prayer in Evagrius's writings.[689] The JP seems to have emerged as a distinct prayer technique within Eastern monasticism between the 4th and 7th centuries.[690] In AP there are no explicit mentions of the JP, although there appear descriptions of perpetual prayer.[691] Per Rönnegård and Henrik Rydell Johnsén, who compare the early JP with the Hellenistic philosophical notion of *meletē,* suggest that the desert fathers,

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[683] In CAB-Epiphanius it instead appears after a Macarius dossier (CAB-Epiphanius 58–73).
[684] Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes." There are some smaller discrepancies between his dossier and the one I present. The apophthegm which brings up anti-trinitarian claims that Regnault discusses appears in similar wording elsewhere in Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras (Vat.ar.460 215 (fol. 85rv) and EG-Arras 200).
[685] Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes," 354–55.
[686] Cf. 1 Th 5.17 and Luke 18:13.
[687] Rydell Johnsén, "The Early Jesus Prayer and Meditation in Greco-Roman Philosophy," in *Meditation in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Cultural Histories*, ed. Halvor Eifring (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 93.
[688] Patricia Eshagh, "Jesus Prayer," in Claremont Coptic Encyclopedia Online (The Claremont Colleges Digital Library, 18 May 2016). https://ccdl.claremont.edu/digital/collection/cce/id/2141/rec/1.
[689] Evagrius of Pontus, *Praktikos* 49 (SC 171:610–612). Harmless, *Desert Christians*, 349–50.
[690] BJE contains one of the earliest known explicit JP formulae. Henrik Rydell Johnsén, "Den tidiga jesusbönen och meditation i grekisk-romersk filosofi," *Patristica Nordica Annuaria* 32 (2017): 118.
[691] See e.g. G Ammonas.4b, MacarAeg.19, Poemen.160, Lucius.1, Benjamin.4, Epiphanius.3, TheodEnn.3, MacarAlex.3, and Anub.2; and GN 85, 167, 184, 202, 402, 500, 572, and 714.

much like the Stoics and Epicureans, performed meditative exercises such as the JP, ruminating over (most commonly) a Biblical passage.[692]

Within contemporary Coptic religiosity, *al-ṣalāt al-dāʾimah* (unceasing prayer, JP) plays an important role. There is disagreement, however, over whether the JP is an old or new practice among Copts.[693] Kari Vogt suggests that an "early form of the Jesus Prayer was probably known and practiced in Egypt as early as the eighth or ninth century A.D.," but did not gain a central role until modern times when the JP became popularized through the popular east-Orthodox books *Philokalia* and the *Way of a Pilgrim*.[694] Mark Swanson, on the contrary, argues that the JP has "deep Coptic Orthodox roots" and a long history in Coptic Christianity, albeit being less fixed than its Byzantine counterpart.[695] Swanson evokes diverse late antique and medieval authorities, such as Shenoute, VrM, and CAB, to show that the JP was practiced in late antique and medieval Egypt.[696] Emmanuel Lanne also shows how early medieval Coptic hymns contain JP formulae, and argues that the JP was practiced in and around late antique and medieval Wādī al-Naṭrūn, with DAM as the supposed central disseminator.[697]

My analysis of R dossier JP is, in this chapter, limited to investigating revisions in the textual content of apophthegmata that have parallels in other AP versions. Further aspects of R dossier JP are discussed in sections 6.4 and 7.5.

The only parallel with the Greek AP in this dossier is found in in Vat.ar.460 300.[698] This apophthegm exhibits many interesting cases of textual revision. In this

[692] Rönnegård, "*Melétē* in Early Christian Ascetic Texts," 81; Rydell Johnsén, "Den tidiga jesusbönen," 118, 128; See also Antoine Guillaumont, "The Jesus Prayer among the Monks of Egypt," *Eastern Churches Review* 6, no. 1 (1974): 66.); and Irénée Hausherr, *Noms du Christ et voies d'Oraison* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1960), 171–72.
[693] Kari Vogt, "The Coptic Practice of the Jesus Prayer: A Tradition Revived," in *Between Desert and City: The Coptic Orthodox Church Today*, eds. Kari Vogt and Nelly van Doorn-Harder (Oslo: Novus, 1997), 117.
[694] Vogt, "The Coptic Practice of the Jesus Prayer," 111. She refers to a Macarian JP found in 9th and 10th century manuscripts and concludes: "When the Jesus Prayer is practiced today, however, it is not a direct continuation of the classical Egyptian Christian patrimony but must primarily be seen as an inspiration from the Greco-Russian tradition." "The Coptic Practice of the Jesus Prayer: A Tradition Revived," p. 118.
[695] Mark N. Swanson, "'These Three Words Will Suffice': The 'Jesus Prayer' in Coptic Tradition," *Parole de l'Orient* 25 (2000): 705–708.
[696] Swanson, "'These Three Words Will Suffice'," 698–705. See also Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice*, 77–79; and
[697] Emmanuel Lanne, "La 'prière de Jésus' dans la tradition égyptienne: témoignage des psalies et des inscriptions," 194–95, 203.
[698] Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes," 352–53.

apophthegm, Poemen is asked to give advice to a brother on good cell practices. The elder prescribes various virtues, and the variations between Vat.ar.460 300, on the one hand, and the other AP versions, on the other hand, are relatively small. There is, *nota bene*, a certain level of fluidity between almost all parallels of this apophthegm, as the selected texts below show.[699] For example, in Vat.ar.460 300, communal prayers (*al-ṣalawāt al-jāmiʿāt*) are mentioned as an example of a good cell practice (further discussed in section 7.5.1). The Greek, Coptic (CB-Amelineau), and Arabic (Strasb.4225) parallels do not mention prayer but instead recommend meditation (*hadhīdh/meletē*).[700] The Arabic parallel furthermore adds that one should read and study Scripture.[701] Moreover, in the other AP versions, Poemen categorizes cell practices into manifest (*ẓāhirah/faneros/ouōnh*) and concealed (*sirr/kryptos/hōp*), a distinction that is not present in Vat.ar.460 300.[702] Lastly, the attribution to Poemen is in the Coptic parallel changed into Antonius, and is anonymized in the Copto-Arabic text.

In the rest of the apophthegm, meanwhile, Vat.ar.460 300 diverges fully from the parallels in its focus on the JP. Although all other AP versions consider prayer to be an important cell activity, only Vat.ar.460 300 explicitly mentions the JP.[703] In the Greek, Coptic, and Melkite parallels, the answers about good cell practice are more varied, including the recommendation of practicing self-depreciation, prayer, and keeping good company. It seems likely that the curators of R revised the ending of Vat.ar.460 300 to highlight the JP as a central ascetic practice. The high degree of textual variation, not only between Vat.ar.460 300 and the parallels but also between the parallels themselves, indeed shows very well how scenes such as this one, where a

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[699] The parallel in Vat.ar.71 is similar with the parallel in Strasb.4225 regarding the textual content, but the wording between the two Arabic parallels are somewhat different.

[700] الهذيذ: unattested in standard dictionaries of Classical Arabic, but it is used in the various Arabic AP text witnesses I have encountered to denote acts of meditation. For a discussion of this term, see Adrian Pirtea, "St. Isaac of Nineveh's *Gnostic Chapters* in Sogdian: The identification of an Anonymous Text from Bulayïq (Turfan)," in *Caught in Translation: Studies on Versions of Late Antique Christian Literature*, eds. Madalina Toca and Dan Batovici (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 97n54.

[701] The call to read scripture is also found in the very early Syriac AP recension found in Sin.Syr.46 (Sin.Syr.46 I.28 (fol. 1ra,19-1rb,20)).

[702] Cf. Stroumsa, "The Scriptural Movement," 75.

[703] In fact, CB-Amelineau B.35, unlike the other parallels, does not mention the role of prayer as one of the hidden cell practices.

brother asks an elder about what is the "best" practice, become variegated in different AP text witnesses, because of local and temporal curation strategies.[704]

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[704] Yet another version of this apophthegm is found in M (Par.ar.283 fol. 21r), and in this version, there is no explicit reference to the JP, but instead to الصلاه الحقيقه (true prayer). The apophthegm in R appears just before the apophthegm cited in section 3.4.4.

| Vat.ar.460 300 (fols. 95v(3)) | CB-Amelineau B.35 (Miroshnikov)[705] | Strasb.4225 VIII.231 (fol. 101rv)[706] | G Poemen 168[707] |
|---|---|---|---|
| اٍ سال شيخ بابي عرفي الجالوس في القلايه قال له الشيخ هذا هو عمل القلايه مر و واحده اليد و افضل في كل القلايه 708 كل يوم اكل و عمل اليد و كمال الصلوات والالهي بيسرٍ المسيح مداومه و افضل اسم ربنا بيسرٍ المسيح قبول و فوق و في كل قبول يا ربي ارفع عيني يا ربي نحن على المسيح | ⲞⲨⲞⲚ ⲁϥϣⲉⲛ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲀⲚⲦⲰⲚⲒ ϫⲉ ⲞⲨ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲢⲎϯ ⲚϨⲈⲘⲤⲒ ⲂⲈⲚ ϯⲢⲒ ⲡⲁⲒⲰⲦ · ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓϨⲈⲖⲖⲞ ⲛⲁϥ · ϫⲉ ⲉⲑⲞⲨⲞⲚϩ ⲈⲚⲒⲢⲰⲘⲒ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ · ⲡϭⲢⲀ ⲢⲞⲨϩⲒ[709] ⲘⲘⲎⲚⲒ · ⲚⲈⲘ ⲡⲓϭⲢⲰⲒⲤ ⲚⲈⲘ ϯⲘⲈⲖⲈⲦⲎ · ⲚⲎ ⲆⲈ ⲈⲦϨⲎⲠ ⲈⲚⲒⲢⲰⲘⲒ · ⲚⲈⲘ ⲚⲀⲒ ⲚⲈ · ϯⲘⲈⲦⲀⲦⲞⲚⲔ · ⲚⲈⲘ ϯⲘⲈⲦⲢⲈϥϯ ⲞⲨⲂⲈ ⲚⲒⲘⲈⲨⲒ ⲘⲠⲞⲚⲎⲢⲞⲚ · ⲚⲈⲘ ϯⲘⲈⲦⲀⲦϪϪⲰⲚⲦ ⲈⲢⲞⲔ · ⲚⲈⲘ ⲠⲒϨⲀ ⲠⲈⲔⲘⲞⲨ ⲈϥⲂⲈⲚⲦ ⲈⲢⲞⲔ · ⲚⲈⲘ ⲠⲒⲈⲂⲒⲞ ⲚϨⲎⲦ ⲠⲖⲰⲂϣ ⲚⲦⲈ ⲚⲒⲀⲢⲀⲐⲞⲚ ⲦⲎⲢⲞⲨ · | اٍ سال انا بيمين كيف بنبغي للراهب ان يجلس في قلايته فقال له اما الظاهر من الجلوس فهو هذا نعمل بيديك [101v] وناكل مرة واحده بالنهار ونصمت والعبٍد في 710 الزبور وقرا ٰا الكتب والتعليم فنكون ثلح ونفسك في كل امر تصنعه وحيث ما توجهت وفي ساعة صلاتك فلا تتوانى فان انت اردت ان تفرغ من عمل يديك الى سجس، رتسج ذلك وثبات نفسك مع جماعة الس | Ἀδελφὸς ἠρώτησε τὸν ἀββᾶν Ποιμένα, λέγων· Πῶς δεῖ με καθίσαι ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ; Λέγει αὐτῷ· Τὸ ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ καθίσαι, τὸ φανερόν, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἐργόχειρον, καὶ τὸ μονοσιτῆσαι, καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν, καὶ ἡ μελέτη· τὸ δὲ ἐν κρυπτῷ προκόπτειν εἰς τὸ κελλίον ἐστί, τὸ βασανίζειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μέμψιν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐὰν ἀπέρχῃ, καὶ τῶν συνάξεων τὰς ὥρας καὶ τῶν κρυπτῶν μὴ ἀμελεῖν. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ συμβῇ καιρὸν ἀργῆσαί σε τοῦ ἐργοχείρου σου, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύναξιν ἀταράχως ἐπιτέλεσον. Τὸ δὲ τέλος τούτων, συνοδίαν καλὴν κτῆσαι, ἀπόσχου δὲ ἀπὸ κακῆς συνοδίας. |

[705] Vat.Copt.64 fol. 56r, new transcription and translation by Ivan Miroshnikov.

[706] Transcription by Zaborowski. Identical wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 230 (fol. 52v). Similar wording in Vat.ar.71 X.89 (fol. 197r), albeit with variations pertaining to vocabulary. For example, والعبٍد is instead written as ناموس الله في عبٍد (meditating upon *nāmūs Allāh*, cf. Psalms 1:2). Idem for Par.ar.253 fol. 119r(2) and Sin.ar.444 39r(1), in which the same passage reads الكتاب المقدس في.

[707] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Poemen.168).

[708] واحده في in marg.

[709] ⲡϭⲣⲁ ⲣⲟⲩϩⲓ: unclear meaning, probably an otherwise unattested technical term meaning abstaining from food until evening. Amélineau and Vivian are of the opinion that it should probably be preceded by < ⲉϥⲉⲣⲛⲏⲥⲧⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲉ> (Vivian, *Bohairic Coptic Sayings Attributed to Saint Antony the Great*, 70). Miroshnikov argues, however, that this is unlikely, since ⲛⲏⲥⲧⲁ (which is the only possible candidate) is feminine and the article ⲣⲛ is masculine.

[710] الهيأة (meditation), see fn700.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A brother asked an elder: "Father, teach me how to remain in the cell." The elder told him: "This is the work of the cell: Eating once every day, manual labor, and perfecting the communal prayers. But best of all is continuation in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ without tepidness, and in every now and then lifting your eyes upward saying: 'My Lord and God Jesus Christ, help me; my lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me. I praise you, O Lord Jesus Christ.'" | A brother asked Abba Antony, "What is the manner of sitting in the cell, my father?" The elder said to him, "What is visible to the humans is this: being (hungry?) until evening every day, keeping vigil, and meditation. But, on the other hand, what is hidden from the humans is these: having no regard for yourself, the struggle against evil thoughts, being without anger, keeping your death near you, and humility, the crown of all good things." | A brother asked Abba Poemen: "How should a monk remain in his cell?" He said to him: "As for what is visible when sitting (in the cell), it is this: handiwork, [101v] eating once a day, being silent, meditating upon the Psalms, reading books, and teachings. As for what is secret, you are to blame yourself in all things that you do and wherever you go. And do not slacken in your thoughts at the hour of your prayer. And if you want to rise from your manual labor to pray, then get up and complete your prayer without perturbation. And by the fulfillment of these things, dwell with the righteous company and get away from bad company." | A brother asked Abba Poemen: "How should I remain in my cell?" He said to him: "staying in one's cell consists, manifestly[711], of handiwork, eating once a day, keeping silence and meditating. But, secretly, to make progress in one's cell is to tolerate laying the blame on oneself in every place where you go and not to be negligent of the hours of prayer[712] as well as[713] the secret [prayers.] If a slack-time occurs in your handiwork, attend the synaxis and discharge it with an untroubled mind. The perfection of these things is to[714] keep good company and eschew bad company." |

[711] Wortley: "the visible aspect of"
[712] Wortley: "times for synaxeis"
[713] Wortley: "or"
[714] Wortley: "Finally,"

One finds two more apophthegmata in R dossier JP with parallels in the VrM as represented by CB-Amelineau. These two apophthegmata does not present any significant revision, except that the wording in Vat.ar.460 is much shorter than in the Coptic parallel, which suggests a process of apophthegmatization of the more homiletic style in VrM. The inclusion of a Coptic literary work that likely originated in Wādī al-Naṭrūn further shows how R reflects specifically Coptic traditions.

| Vat.ar.460 294 (fols. 94v–95r) | CB-Amelineau D.40 (Miroshnikov)[715] |
|---|---|
| قال ابو مقار الاسم القدوس الدى لربنا يسوع المسيح هدا هو الجوهره[95r] التى اباع الرجل التاجر جميع اهويه قلبه واشتراها الى داخل بيته ووجدها احلا من الشهد والعسل فطوبا للانسان الدي يحفظ هده الجوهره فى قلبه انها ستعطيه مكافاه كثيره فى مجد ربنا يسوع المسيح | ⲁⲩϫⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ · ϫⲉ ⲉϥⲥⲓⲛⲓϣⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲭⲏⲙⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ · (…) ⲛⲑⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ · ϫⲉ (…) ⲫⲁⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲙⲙⲏⲓ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲉⲛⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛϥ · ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛϣⲱⲧ † ⲛⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ · ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϣⲱⲡ ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲓⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ · ⲁϥϫⲉⲙϥ ⲉϥϩⲟⲗϫ ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲃⲓⲱ · ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲛⲏⲛⲓ · ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ · ⲕⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛⲓ ⲫⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥϩⲏⲧ · ϥⲛⲁϭⲓ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲉⲃⲓⲱ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱϥ · ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ · ϧⲉⲛ †ⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ϣⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ · (…) |
| Abū Macarius said: "The holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the jewel [95] for which the merchant man sold all that his heart desired to purchase it[716] to bring to his house. He found it sweeter than nectar and honey.[717] Blessed is the man who keeps this jewel in his heart, for it will give him a great reward in the glory our Lord Jesus Christ." | It was said concerning Abba Macarius that when he was passing through Egypt one time with some brothers (…). And he said to them (…), "This, moreover, is the precious stone of great value. When the merchant had paid all his heart's desires and taken this stone into the inner chambers of his heart, he found it—that is, our Lord Jesus Christ— sweeter than honey and the honeycomb. For the person who will safeguard this very stone in his heart will receive great recompense in the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ in the kingdom of the heavens forever (…)." |

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[715] Vat.Copt.64 fol. 86rv, new transcription and translation by Miroshnikov.
[716] Mt 13:45–46.
[717] Ps 19:10.

Lastly, one of the apophthegmata in R dossier JP (Vat.ar.460 305) appears in ECM-Arras and EA-Arras as well, without any significant changes in wording between the three witnesses.[718]

## 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted cases of textual revision in the selected dossiers in R. As I have demonstrated, the wording in the apophthegmata in the dossiers has, in smaller and larger ways, been revised in comparison with their parallels other AP versions.

The portrayal of Antonius in R dossier 1 exhibits two major interesting revisions. Firstly, the dossier includes hagiographical episodes that are distinctly Copto-Arabic, thus grounding R in Coptic traditions that, moreover, were especially popular at DAA. Furthermore, the apophthegmata in R dossier 1 have been rewritten to present Antonius as a model for the virtue of the fear of God.

The portrayal of Arsenius in R dossier 2 exhibits smaller revisions. Like R dossier 1, the dossier contains hagiographical episodes that embed apophthegmata, and these embedded apophthegmata are written in a more embellished and detailed style than their parallels in other AP versions. Furthermore, the dossier presents Arsenius as being in conversation with Macarius, and I have argued that this might be a curation which serves to genealogically link this dossier with the next one in R.

Meanwhile, the example of textual revision in R dossier JP shows with clarity how certain apophthegmata are textually revised in R to forcefully advocate an ascetic practice that only appears peripherally in other AP versions.

Since none of the revisions I have evoked appear in any other AP versions (apart from minor aspects that also appear in other Arabic AP recensions), it is likely that the revisions were made by the Copto-Arabic curators of R. This makes these revisions suitable as objects of study in the history of late medieval Coptic monasticism and asceticism.

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[718] ECM-Arras.lat 13:43 and EA-Arras.lat 26.

Another important result is that R is not as unsystematic as it might at first seem. As we saw in chapter 3, the macrostructure of this florilegium is neither alphabetically nor thematically organized. Nevertheless, one can discern dossiers in R that treat distinct themes or figures. These types of micro-level organizations of apophthegmata are not easy to identify if one does not combine structural comparisons with textual comparisons. As I presented in section 5.1, previous scholarship on AP reception has mostly operated on the structural level. This chapter demonstrates the fruitfulness of combining structural and textual studies of AP recensions, since it can lead to a more thorough understanding of its internal coherence.

# 6  Intralingual Translation and Vocabulary

In the previous chapter, I have presented examples of textual revisions that have effectively modified the portrayal of certain desert fathers and themes in R. I have interpreted the revisions in the selected dossiers in R as indicative of a changing cultural memory of the desert fathers and their way of life in late medieval Coptic.

In this chapter, I move from redaction criticism to translation studies, and instead consider changes in the textual material that are not due to revision, but rather to translation. A fundamental difference between revision and translation is that a translator intends, by and large, to preserve the *sensum* of his or her source (although s/he can be very free in her translation strategy), whereas a redactor intends to change the *sensum* of his or her source. In this chapter I present variations in wording in Vat.ar.460 (vis-à-vis parallels in other AP versions) that, I argue, are the results of translation strategies rather than of revision. I focus in this chapter on creative Arabic renderings of Greek terms and phrases as they appear in Vat.ar.460. More specifically, I focus on instances of creative translation in which the Arabic translators have employed phrases and vocabulary that can be labeled as Islamic.

For this analysis, I have used truncated word searches in *Monastica* to find instances where there is a Greek apophthegmata with a parallel in Vat.ar.460 to compare (see section 1.3.2.2).[719] Although this survey is far from comprehensive, it nevertheless has attempted to find the passages throughout Vat.ar.460 where such comparisons are possible. This analysis thus brings up apophthegmata from Vat.ar.460 at large and does not restrict its scope to the selected dossiers presented in the previous chapter.

As has been demonstrated in chapter 3, many of the apophthegmata in R are likely intralingually translated from Arabic models akin to those found in other Arabic AP text witnesses. Indeed, when considering translation strategies in R, it is important to remember that much of the textual content in R is not the work of the Copto-Arabic

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[719] All Greek texts in this chapter are from G and GS, except for one excerpt from HL and one from PS.

curators *per se*, but rather the work of the translators of the source texts that the Copto-Arabic curators used. For this reason, I include wordings from parallel texts in other Arabic AP recensions together with the wording in Vat.ar.460 whenever possible for a more nuanced image of Arabic AP translation strategies.

As will become clear from the analysis, the occurrence of Islamic vocabulary in apophthegmata in Vat.ar.460 is not to be overestimated. In general, the Arabic wording in Vat.ar.460 tends to be close to the wording in other AP versions. Furthermore, many Islamic ascetic *termini technici* are to a high degree equivalent to Judeo-Christian counterparts and cannot therefore accurately be called "Islamic" (see section 1.3.5). Nevertheless, there are instances when the wording in Vat.ar.460 and other Arabic AP recensions varies from parallel texts in other AP versions in its employment of terms that are more central within Islamic discourse than within Judeo-Christian discourse (= Islamic vocabulary). The instances of Islamic vocabulary in Vat.ar.460 and other Arabic AP recensions are interesting, since they indicate how the cultural memory of the desert fathers was curated not only in respect to changing monastic communities but also in respect to changing socio-linguistic realities.

This chapter consists of three sections. In section 6.2, I bring up examples of Islamic vocabulary in R. In section 6.3, I focus on how two Greek ascetic *termini technici* (*politeia* and *aktēmosynē*) are translated in Vat.ar.460 as well as other Arabic AP recensions in various interesting ways.[720] In section 6.4, I discuss the occurrence of two ascetic concepts that appear in Vat.ar.460 and are also central within Islamic ascetic discourse, namely the concept of *jihād* and militant imagery (section 6.4.1) and *dhikr* (section 6.4.2). Before the analysis starts, I provide, in the following, some examples of scholarly works that have investigated the occurrence of Islamic vocabulary in Arabic Christian translations.

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[720] It is uncertain whether the apophthegmata in CAB were, originally, translated directly from Greek or not (see section 3.4). As for Coptic, however, many Greek ascetic concepts were brought into Coptic without being translated, so Greek and Coptic represent similar linguistic paradigms in most cases of this analysis.

## 6.1 Scholarship on Islamic vocabulary in Arabic Christian literature

The occurrence of Islamic vocabulary in Arabic Christian discourse has led to varying opinions among scholars about whether Arabic Christians perceived their linguistic affinity with Islamic discourse as something uncomfortable or not. Kenneth Cragg argues that the embeddedness of the Arabic language within Islamic discourse constituted a problem for the sense of identity among early Arabic-speaking Christians. Cragg describes how early Arabic Christian translators struggled to render Christological thought, bound as it was to Greek linguistic norms, into the Arabic idiom.[721] He interprets the situation as marked by feelings of anxiety of influence and strong linguistic identity, evoking examples from the formative period of Islam in which Muslims sought to prohibit Christians from using "cherished Arabic words," and that the aversion was later softened as Islam was "Hellenized" during the ʿAbbāsid period.[722] He also stresses how Arabic Christians in turn perceived feelings of anxiety of influence and strong linguistic identity as well:

> When Islam expanded in conquest over the whole territory (…) Arabic-speaking Christians were caught in a strange paradox, which has attended them ever since. The paradox passes from language to identity, from the medium of faith and culture to the psyche and the soul. The language that gives them identity has its supreme identity elsewhere.[723]

Lois Farag, however, takes a contrary position compared to Cragg, arguing that the transition from Coptic in or Greek to Arabic was neither inevitable, nor problematic for the Copts:

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[721] Kenneth Cragg, *The Arab Christian: A History in the Middle East* (London: Mowbray, 1992), 19, 31.
[722] Cragg, *The Arab Christian*, 57, 62, 64.
[723] Cragg, *The Arab Christian*, 31.

Thus when we discuss Greek writings or Arabic writings, the composers are not ethnically Greek or Arab but Copts who are expressing their intellectual heritage in various tongues dictated by political conditions. (…) English is the present language of information dissemination, but there are more English speakers than native English speakers; and how many of these can claim to be ethnically English? Coptic writers disseminated their message in both Greek and Coptic, and later in Arabic. When Copts used Arabic as a language of communication, distinctive terms were introduced into the language to express specific Christian ideas, An Arabic text is distinctively Christian based on the content and the specific use of the language.[724]

By considering case studies of Arabic Christian translators, a more nuanced image of translation strategies and possible feelings of identity and anxiety of influence emerges. The case studies presented in the following scholarly works show that different translators made use of Islamic vocabulary to varying extents and for various motives.[725]

A good example of varying translation strategies is found in Miriam L. Hjälm's survey of early Arabic Bible translations. Hjälm identifies two main groups, which differ in their attitude towards employing Islamic vocabulary.[726] The first group consists of Arabic translations from Greek models and tends to be more source-faithful, whereas the second group consists of Arabic translations from Syriac models and tends to be freer, representing "some kind of school or tradition" with Islamic vocabulary often being used to legitimize Christian discourse in the Islamicate world.[727]

In his epitome of works by Isaac of Nineveh and other ascetic writers named *Thalāth rasāʾil* (*Three Treatises*), the 9th–10th century East Syriac writer Ḥanūn ibn Yūḥannā ibn al-Ṣalt is an example of an Arabic Christian translator who was eager to employ Islamic vocabulary.[728] As Alexander Treiger describes, Ibn al-Ṣalt frequently uses

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[724] Lois M. Farag, "Introduction," in *The Coptic Christian Heritage*, edited by Lois M. Farag (London & New York: Routledge), 5.
[725] Swanson, "Arabic Hagiography," 351.
[726] Mirjam L. Hjälm, "Scriptures Beyond Words: 'Islamic' Vocabulary in Early Christian Arabic Bible Translations," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 15 (2018): 49–69.
[727] Hjälm, "Scriptures Beyond Words," 65.
[728] Mark Swanson, "Ḥanūn ibn Yūḥannā ibn al-Ṣalt," in CMR online, ed. David Thomas (Brill, 2010), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_25060 ; Mark Swanson, "*Kitāb al-Sinaksār al-jāmiʿ li-akhbār al-anbiyāʾ*

"Islamic turns of phrase" and "allusions to the Qur'an and Hadith" and even interpolates excerpts from Muslim ascetic texts into his treatise.[729] Ibn al-Ṣalt's engagement with Islamic discourse might suggest that he prepared *Thalāth rasāʾil* for a Muslim rather than Christian audience.[730]

We find a very different translation strategy in the 11th-century Melkite deacon Yānī Ibn Al-Duks's translations of Germanos I's homilies. Far from appropriating Islamic vocabulary or even Arabic parlance, Yānī produced a translation that was so faithful to the Greek source text that Joe Glynias describes the text as "translationese".[731] It seems likely that such a translation was aimed not to be read and comprehended by the (Arabic-speaking) Melkite population, and certainly not by a Muslim audience, but rather aimed at promoting the Greek legacy and enforcing the sense of Greek identity among the intellectual élite in Antioch.[732]

There is only very little previous scholarship on Arabic translations of AP. Sauget provides a Greek-Arabic glossary of ascetic *termini technici* found in the SA dossier in Vat.ar.71.[733] Jason Zaborowski, however, ventures into the topic of vocabulary and translation strategies in his study of the AP in Strasb.4225. According to Zaborowski, the AP in this text witness testifies to how "Christian Arabic translators subtly molded their renditions of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* to fit the didactic needs of living under Islamic rule, providing ways for their audience to express traditional Christian wisdom in Qur'anic idioms and concepts."[734] Zaborowski thus identifies instances of variations in wording where Islamic vocabulary is employed, such as the interpolation of the Qur'an-esque *ʾin kāna mustaqīm* (if he is upright) at the end of an apophthegm and the

wa-l-rusul wa-l-shuhadāʾ wa-l-qiddīsīn al-mustaʿmal fī kanāʾis al-karāza l-marqusiyya fī ayyām wa-āḥād al-sana l-tūtiyya," in CMR online, ed. David Thomas (Brill, 2010), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_cmri_COM_25560. Paul Sbath has published an edition and French translation (Paul Sbath, *Traités religieux, philosophiques et moraux, extraits des œuvres d'Isaac de Ninive (VIIᵉ siècle), par Ibn as-Salt (IXᵉ siècle): texte arabe publié pour la première fois, avec corrections et annotations, et suivi d'une traduction française et d'une table des matières* (Cairo: Imp. al-Chark, 1934)).
[729] Treiger, "The Fathers in Arabic," 447.
[730] Treiger, "The Fathers in Arabic," 447. An interesting detail to mention here is that Ibn al-Ṣalt's *Thalāth rasāʾil* seems to have circulated among Copts in Egypt by the late Middle Ages (the earliest extant text witness to *Thalāth rasāʾil* (ms Par.ar.173, 14th cent.) is of Copto-Arabic origin). I thank Adrian Pirtea for pointing this out to me.
[731] Glynias, "Homiletic Translation in Byzantine Antioch," 250.
[732] Glynias, "Homiletic Translation in Byzantine Antioch," 251.
[733] Sauget, "Une version arabe du 'Sermon Ascétique,'" 374, 402–06. See also Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony,* 92–93.
[734] Zaborowski, "Greek Thought, Arabic Culture," 327.

exchange of *faḍīlah* (virtue) for *riḍā Allāh* (the favor of God).[735] Zaborowski concludes that "Arabic translation of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* is a continuation of a long history of revising Christian literature (even in subtle ways) to teach Christian wisdom in another context."[736]

## 6.2 Islamic vocabulary

### 6.2.1 Islamic liturgical vocabulary: *Subḥān*

In a short apophthegm which appears in the middle of R (Vat.ar.460 377), Antonius states that God does not unleash the same severe afflictions on monks today as he used to, since the monks of this generation are not as strong as their predecessors used to be. Interestingly, the wording both in Vat.ar.460 377 and one of its Arabic parallels in Par.ar.253 has Antonius exalting God by an additional short phrase in the narrative.[737] In Par.ar.253 13v(2), one finds *'izzat ḥikmatih* (His wisdom be honored). In Vat.ar.460 377, Antonius instead adds a glorification of God (*subḥānahu*, Glory be to Him) after mentioning God. There is no such addition in any of the other parallel texts in other AP versions.[738] The phrase in Vat.ar.460 377 is significantly reminiscent of the Islamic *tasbīḥ* (*subḥān Allah*) and the common praxis within Islamic liturgy of adding an honorific *subḥānahu wa-ta'āla* (glory and exaltation be to Him) after mentioning the name of God. In other words, it seems that this apophthegm in Vat.ar.460 has added an embellishment to the text that also harmonizes with Islamic parlance. The praxis of glorifying God right after mentioning His name is not a common mode of expression in other AP versions, although naturally numerous passages in AP narrate that the desert fathers gave glory to God.[739] The liturgical *tasbīḥ* does not appear in other places in Vat.ar.460 or other Arabic AP recensions and should therefore not be

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[735] Zaborowski, "Greek Thought, Arabic Culture," 335–36 (Cf. e.g. Q 1:6), 339–340.

[736] Zaborowski, "Greek Thought, Arabic Culture," 341.

[737] In the other parallel in Par.ar.253 fol. 23r(4), no such exaltation of God is added.

[738] Although in Sin.syr.46 I.87 (fol. 8r) Antonius (not God) is called ܡܒܪܟܐ (blessed); Cf. SE-1907-Budge II.246 ("I heard that the blessed man Anthony used to say").

[739] To list but a few examples in which it is narrated that the desert fathers gave glory to God, see G Eucharist.1, G Elias.2, and G MacarAeg.7. One also finds passages in Vat.ar.460 where words from the root س ب ح appear as a straightforward translation of such passages, such as Vat.ar.460 15 (fols. 13r–14r).

interpreted as a pervasive inclusion of Islamic liturgical modes of expression, but rather as an occasional example of an Islamic-sounding turn of phrase.

| Vat.ar.460 377 (fols. 108v–109r) | Par.ar.253 fol. 13v(2)[740] | G-Cotelier Antonius.23[741] |
|---|---|---|
| قال انبا انطون ان الله سبحانه لا يدع قتال الجهاد [109r] يتور على هدا الجيل كمثل الاولين لانه قد علم انهم ضعفا لا يستطيعون الصبر | وقال ايضا ان الله عزة حكمته ما يظلق القتلا لامت على هذا الجيل كمثل القدما لانه عرف انهم ضعفا وما يحتملوها | Εἶπε πάλιν, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἀφίει τοὺς πολέμους ἐπὶ τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων. Οἶδε γὰρ ὅτι ἀσθενεῖς εἰσι καὶ οὐ βαστάζουσιν. |
| Anba Antonius said: "God, glory be to Him, does not let the fighting of struggle [109r] rise on this generation like he did with the first, because He knows that they are weak and uncapable of patience." | He (Antonius) also said: "God, His wisdom be honored, does not inflict battle on this generation like the old, because he knows that they are weak and cannot bear it." | He [sc. Antonius] also said: "God does not allow the battles against this generation like [he did][742] in the time of those of old; for he knows these are weak and cannot sustain it." |

## 6.2.2 Qur'anic vocabulary: *zamharīr*

Early in the prologue to Vat.ar.460, it is stated that the desert fathers were able to endure extreme weather changes with forbearance. This description of the desert fathers' experiences with harsh climates appears at the beginning of the pseudo-Serapionic VA as well.[743] In contrast to the pseudo-Serapionic VA, however, the prologue to Vat.ar.460 in Vat.ar.460 includes an unusual word when describing the winter cold, namely *zamharīr* (extreme cold).[744] To the best of my knowledge, *zamharīr* only appears here in Vat.ar.460.[745] The word *zamharīr* appears once in the

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[740] Identical wording in Sin.ar.444 fol. 323v(2).
[741] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Antonius.23).
[742] Wortley: "there to be battles against this generation such as there were"
[743] Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 124–25.
[744] Vat.ar.460 prologue 1 (fol. 1r).
[745] A word search in *Monastica* per May 2023 establishes that زمهرير does not appear anywhere in the transcribed texts of MSS Strasb.4225 and Vat.ar.71.

Qur'an, where it is contrasted with *shams* (sun), in a phrase that highlights the harshness of summer and winter:

> Reclining there on couches, they do not see there any (hot) sun or bitter cold [*zamharīr*],[746]

According to some Muslim exegetical traditions, *zamharīr* is one of the punishments in Hell, opposite and complementary to the punishment of *nār* (fire) or *shams* (sun), and some traditions even interpret *zamharīr* as a specific place within the infernal realm.[747] The idea of coldness as a divine punishment is in itself likely a Qur'anic appropriation of Zoroastrian cosmology in which the punishment of cold is more prevalent than within late antique Judeo-Christian or Arabian perceptions of Hell.[748] Of course, in the prologue to Vat.ar.460, it is earthly (not infernal) heat and cold waves that the desert fathers endure. The fact that *zamharīr* appears as a description of an earthly cold wave might, in fact, be an allusion to a well-known *ḥadīth* in which it is stated that God grants Hell to take two breaths per year, which results in one summer heat wave and one winter cold wave on earth.[749] In some versions of this *ḥadīth*, the winter cold wave is expressed as coming from the *zamharīr* of *Jahannam* (Gehenna).[750] Admittedly, one finds accounts of the desert father experiencing both extreme heat and extreme cold in other AP versions as well.[751] However, the addition of such a specific term as *zamharīr* in the prologue to Vat.ar.460 nevertheless indicates that the wording in Vat.ar.460 in this passage alludes to a motif that became popularized with in *Dar al-Islam* through its appearance in Islamic tradition.[752]

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[746] Q 76:13–14.

[747] Roberto Tottoli, "The Qur'an, Qur'anic Exegesis and Muslim Traditions: The Case of Zamharīr (Q. 76:13) among Hell's Punishments," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 10, no. 1 (2008), 143–44.

[748] Tottoli, "The Qur'an, Qur'anic Exegesis and Muslim Traditions," 151–52 n37; Miguel Asín Palacios, *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia seguida de la historia y crítica de una polémica* (Madrid: C.S.J.C, Madrid-Granada, 1943 (1919)). Palacios argues that Dante's image of Hell as cold in the *Divina Commedia* might have been influenced by Islamic accounts of Hell as cold (Palacios, *La escatología musulmana*, 148).

[749] Lange Christian, "Hell," in *EI* Three Online, ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Brill, 2010), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23502.

[750] Tottoli, "The Qur'an, Qur'anic Exegesis and Muslim Traditions," 144.

[751] See e.g. G MarcAeg.2.

[752] Another possibility is that the term زمهرير made its way into R via conceptual appropriation of medieval Jewish (Judaeo-Arabic?) descriptions of hell. As Valts Apinis mentions in his dissertation, medieval Jewish texts often describe how the people in hell are tortured both by heat and cold (Valts Apinis, "Zoroastrian Influence Upon Jewish Afterlife: Hell Punishments in *Arda Wiraz* and Medieval Visionary Midrashim" (PhD Diss., University of Latvia, 2010), 129–30). There are

### 6.2.3 Impious and heretic people

In another apophthegm found in the middle of R (Vat.ar.460 383), an anonymous elder teaches that one must not fear the assaults of the impious. In this apophthegm, it is not entirely clear who is meant by "the impious," which in Greek appears as *asebōn*. In early Christian discourse, *asebeia* referred to acts of sacrilege, impiety, paganism, atheism, as well as heresy.[753] In ancient Athens, *asebeia* was a punishable act; it was for this crime that Socrates was convicted to death. In the AP tradition, the concept seems to refer primarily to acts of impiety, and not to acts of atheism or paganism. In other words, when a person is called *asebēs* in AP, it usually refers to a Christian, albeit a bad and impious one.[754]

The ambiguity of the term *asebeia* makes the translation of this term in this apophthegm into other languages somewhat variegated. In the Latin parallels to this apophthegm, the *asebōn* are described as *malignorum* (bad, wicked).[755] Interestingly, in Vat.ar.460 383, as well as in several other instances in other Arabic AP recensions, the Greek *asebēs* is rendered as *munāfiq* (hypocrite).[756] The concept of *munāfiq* appears frequently in the Qur'an, where it is used to describe, in a strongly negative way, those who were part of the Believers' movement but whose actions, beliefs, or behavior caused harm to the movement.[757] Arguably, the term *munāfiq* is functionally equivalent to what the Greek concept *asebeia* connotes in AP, since both concepts refer to someone within one's own group who is reprehensible due to their bad behavior. At the same time, *munāfiq,* whose root *n-f-q* relates to acts of merchandise, is far from a direct translation of *asebeia*.[758] In other words, it seems that the rendering

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accounts of cold punishments in the early Christian apocryphal *Apocalypse of Peter* and *Apocalypse of Paul* as well (Apinis, "Zoroastrian Influence Upon Jewish Afterlife," 131–32).

[753] Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 242–43.

[754] There are examples, however, of when ἀσέβεια is also used to describe a pagan, such as Julian apostate (GN-Wortley 409). This apophthegm has one Arabic parallel (Sin.ar.547 AN.I.36 (fol. 46rv)) and in this case Julian is described as a كافر (infidel).

[755] (PJ-Rosweyde V.XI.47), Cf. SE-1907-Budge_Eng I.33a and SE-1907-Budge_Eng II.73 where "sinners" and "the wicked" appear.

[756] In Sin.ar.444 fol. 197v(7) (Epiphan.12), ἀσεβῶν is rendered as منافقين. Idem for Sin.ar.444 fol. 203rv (TheophArc.4).

[757] Adrian Brockett, "al-Munāfiḳūn," In EI (Second Edition) Online, ed. Peri Bearman et al., (Brill, 2012, Consulted online on 25 May 2023), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0795.

[758] Brockett, "al-Munāfiḳūn," http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0795.

of *asebēs* as *munāfiq* in the Arabic AP is a form of appropriating an Islamic term that succeeded in transferring the topic of dissenters prevalent in Greek Christian discourse into elegant Arabic parlance.

| Vat.ar.460 383 (fol. 109rv) | GN-Wortley 274[759] |
|---|---|
| وقال شيخ اقتنى السكوت وبمعرفه الله اهتم وبشى ارضى لا تهتم وافحص امورك وفى مقامك [109v] وفى دخولك وجلوسك استند الى الله ومن حميه المنافقين لا تفزع | Εἶπεν γέρων· Σιωπὴν ἄσκει, μηδενός φρόντιζε, Πρόσεχε τῇ μελέτῃ σου, κοιταζόμενος καὶ ἀνιστάμενος μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀσεβῶν ὁρμὰς οὐ φοβηθήσῃ. |
| An elder said: "Acquire silence, and pay attention to the knowledge of God, and do not pay attention to worldly things. Check your affairs both while standing [109v], entering and sitting. Rely in God, and do not dismay on part of the fanaticism of the hypocrites." | An elder said: "Practice silence; be anxious about nothing. Devote yourself to meditation[760] when lying down and getting up with fear of God and you will not be frightened by[761] the assaults of the impious."[762] |

In other apophthegmata in Vat.ar.460 and other Arabic AP recensions, however, *asebēs* is rendered with composite expressions that describe a mean person instead.[763] The fact that *asebēs* is not unanimously translated as *munāfiq* in the Arabic AP

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[759] Trans. Wortley (GN-Wortley.eng 274), partly adapted by me.
[760] Wortley: Changed word order.
[761] Wortley: "fear"
[762] Wortley: "godless"
[763] Vat.ar.460 681 (fols. 158v) وكان فى المدينه التى بالقرب منه رجل غنى جدا وكان مذموم الطريقه قليل الرحم (and in the city near him there was a very wealthy man of despicable manner [and] of little mercy), cf. GN-Wortley 368: Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος καὶ ἀσεβής (There was also in the city a rich man who was godless). Similarly, EP-Arras.lat 98 reads *et in oppido illis propinquo erat homo dives malus in omnibus operibus suis* (And in a town nearby there was a wealthy man who was wicked in all his works) and in HS-Leloir.lat B.XVIII.72 *Et erat in civitate (+n) illa Vir unus locuples et iniquus et nequam valde* (and there was in the city a wealthy man who was oppressive and very vile). In the parallels to this apophthegm in Par.ar.253 fol. 170r(2) and Sin.ar.444 fol. 88v(1), however, ἀσεβής is rendered as منافق, and in Sin.ar.547 An.I.11 (fol. 41v), one finds كافر. Meanwhile, in Vat.ar.460 21:3 (fol. 17r), μέθην ἀσεβείας (drunkenness and godlessness) instead appears as intoxicated thought انها صالحات والتى تبصرها عند صدرى فهم مخازن افكارى ومنها اسقى القلوب الي سكر الفكر (and the ones you see on my chest are the depositories of my thoughts, and from them I imbue hearts with intoxication of the thought), cf. GN-Wortley 488 Τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ στῆθος μου βλέπεις τῶν ἐμῶν ἐννοιῶν εἰσι δοχεῖα ἐξ ὧν ποτίζω τὰς καρδίας εἰς μέθην ἀσεβείας (The flasks you see on my chest are the repositories of my own thoughts; from these I imbue men's hearts with drunkenness and godlessness). Cf. *iniquitatum* (crimes, HS-Leloir.lat B.XVIII.62b) Through a word search in *Monastica*, I conclude that منافق does not appear in the transcribed texts of MSS Strasb.4225 and Vat.ar.71.

tradition implies that such a translation was not wholly intuitive but was the result of a certain creativity when translating.

## 6.2.4 Demons and jinns

Demons play a central role in the AP universe. They are portrayed as the main antagonists to the desert fathers. Although the demons are portrayed as especially hostile towards the ascetics in the deserts, there are also many stories in AP about laypeople who were afflicted by demons. Particularly common are stories about laypeople who are possessed by demons and come to the desert to be healed by one of the desert fathers.

The portrayal of the demons and their interactions with monks and laypeople in R does not differ from what is found in other AP versions. In most cases, the Greek term *daimonion* (demon) is translated as *shayṭān* (demon). However, in some cases in Vat.ar.460 and, less frequently, other Arabic AP recensions, the term *jinn* is employed instead of *shayṭān*.

Jinns are supernatural creatures whose history goes a long way back in Arabic culture. The Islamic image of the jinn, present already in the Qur'an, builds upon pre-Islamic Arabic folklore.[764] In contrast to the Judeo-Christian demons, the jinn is capable of both good and evil.[765] In this respect, the concept of the jinn is quite similar to the ancient Graeco-Roman concept of the demon.[766] The delineation between demons and jinns in the Qur'an is ambiguous and has given place to a range of interpretations within Islamic tradition.

A common Arabic idiom is madness being expressed as a state of being *majnūn* (possessed by a jinn).[767] It is therefore not surprising to find *majnūn* or similar

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[764] Jinns appear in e.g. Q 27:17 and 51:56.
[765] Duncan B. MacDonald et al., "Djinn." in *EI* (Second Edition) online, eds., Peri Bearman et al. (Brill, 2012, consulted online on 25 May 2023), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0191.
[766] Geoffrey W. Hugo Lampe (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 327–28. As MacDonald et al. state, the etymology of jinn "is very difficult, and the possibility of explanation through borrowing from Latin (*genius*) is not entirely excluded." (MacDonald et al., "Djinn.", http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0191).
[767] Farah Islam and Robert A Campbell, "'Satan Has Afflicted Me!' Jinn-Possession and Mental Illness in the Qur'an," *Journal of religion and health* 53 (2014): 229–43; Travis Zadeh, "Commanding Demons and Jinn: The Sorcerer in Early

expressions that refer to demoniac possesssion in Vat.ar.460 as well as in other Arabic AP recensions. We have already encountered an example of this in the description of the son of the king of Ankbard who in a state of *junūn* (madness, Vat.ar.460 7:1, see section 5.2.1). One finds another example in the same dossier when Antonius sends a possessed man to Paul the Simple who exorcises the demon.[768] In the Arabic text, the man is possessed by a jinn, whereas in the parallel in HL the man is possessed by a leader among the demons:

| Vat.ar.460 2:4 (fol. 3v) | HL-Butler 22.9[769] |
|---|---|
| وفي غد دلك احضروا الى القديس رجل معترض[770] من الجن.  (...) | (...) ποτὲ καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν δεινότατος ἤχθη τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ **δαιμονιῶν ἀρχοντικὸν** ἔχων πνεῦμα, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐδυσφήμει. |
| The next day, they brought a man who was possessed by a jinn to the saint [sc. Antonius]. (...) | (...) One most dreadful, possessed as it were by a leader among the demons,[771] one who cursed heaven itself, was brought to Antony. |

The descriptions of demons who possess people in Vat.ar.460 and other Arabic AP recensions use expressions containing *shayṭān* and jinn interchangeably.[772] This is, as I have already indicated, more the act of adopting an Arabic idiom of jinn-possession as madness, than an act of appropriating Islamic vocabulary. Whenever the apophthegmata in Vat.ar.460 and other Arabic AP recensions mention demons but not specifically demoniac possession, most of the instances employ the term *shayṭān*, not jinn. A telling example is the following apophthegm in which the desert father Mark the Egyptian is visited by someone who is possessed by a demon. In this apophthegm,

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[768] Other instances of jinn vocabulary for describing demon possession are also found in Strasb.4225 IV.3 (fol. 22r), Strasb.4225 VIII.414 (fol. 128v), Strasb.4225 VIII.147 (fol. 88v–89r), and Vat.ar.460 162 (fol. 78rv), in contrast to Par.ar.253 fol. 42v(2) and Sin.ar.444 fol. 4r(2) where it reads شيطان.
[769] Trans. Meyer (HL-Meyer.eng 22.9), partly adapted by me.
[770] Sic, probably a passive participle of عرض (to go mad). EG-Arras.lat 2:4 reads *hominem quem possedit daemonium* (a man possessed by a demon).
[771] Meyer: the very Prince of Demons
[772] Cf. e.g. Par.ar.253 fol. 37v(1) where متشيطن (possessed by a demon) translates δαιμονιζόμενος (possessed by a demon, G-Cotelier Bessarion.5, trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Bessarion.5). This general observation of the occurrence of demonic possession in R is conducted through searching "posse" and "daemon" in EG-Arras.lat.

the Arabic texts describe the man as being in a state of *junūn* (madness) or as being *min al-mumtaḥinīn* (one of the examiners). When Mark is able to cast out the demon from the man, the demon is nevertheless called a *shayṭān* and not a jinn. Likewise, the *diabolos* (devil) who conspires against Mark is also called a *shayṭān*, not a jinn.

| Vat.ar.460 112 (fols. 70v–71r) | Par.ar.253 fol. 86r(3)[773] | G-Cotelier MarcAeg.1[774] |
|---|---|---|
| (...) فلما راى الشيطان صبر الشيخ وفضيلته مكر به ليجربه وجاب له انسان كان به جنون بحجه يسله ان يصلى عليه فقال له المجنون هذا (...) فلما سمع الشيطان هذا الجواب فزع وارتج وطلب الخروج فدعا الشيخ دلك المجنون وصلا عليه وهرب الشيطان عنه (...) | (...) فلما عاين الشيطان صبر الرجل الفاضل احتال ان يمتحنه بالدينونه فجعل انسانًا من الممتحنين ان يمضي الي الشيخ بعلة صلاه فاما الممتحن فقبل كل شي صوت بالشيخ قايلاً 83v (...) وعلي هذا القول عمل صلاه وهرب الشيطان من الانسان واصفه صحيحا (...) | (...) Ὁ δὲ διάβολος, θεωρήσας τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐνάρετον ὑπομονὴν, ἐπανουργεύσατο ἐν κατακρίσει[775] πειράσαι αὐτόν· καὶ παρεσκεύασέ τινα πνευματιῶντα[776], πρὸς τὸν γέροντα προφάσει εὐχῆς ἀπελθεῖν. Ὁ δὲ πνευματιῶν[777] πρὸ παντὸς λόγου προσεφώνει τῷ γέροντι·[778] (...) Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ποιήσας εὐχὴν, ἐφυγάδευσε τὸν δαίμονα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἀπέλυσεν[779] αὐτὸν ὑγιῆ. |
| (...)When the devil saw the patience and virtue of the elder, he tricked him to test him. He sent him a man who was mad with an excuse to ask him for a prayer. The possessed man said to him (...) When the demon heard his answer, he panicked and jolted and pleaded to exit. Then the elder addressed the possessed man and | (...) When the devil saw the patience of the virtuous man, he conspired to test him with a trial, so he made a man from among the examiners go to the elder by way of prayer. Before anything [was said], the examiner called out to the elder saying: (...) And on saying this he offered a prayer and the demon fled from the man | (...) when the devil saw [Mark's] virtuous patient endurance, he contrived to condemn him by testing him.[780] He arranged for somebody possessed of a demon to go to the elder, ostensibly for prayer. Before anything was said, the possessed one called out to the elder (...) On saying this he offered a prayer, chased the demon out of the |

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[773] Identical wording in Sin.ar.444 fol. 225r(2).
[774] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng MarcAeg.1), partly adapted by me.
[775] GS-Dahlman IX.4 omit. ἐν κατακρίσει.
[776] GS-Dahlman IX.4 var. δαιμονιζόμενον.
[777] GS-Dahlman IX.4 var. πασχικὸς.
[778] GS-Dahlman IX.4 add. λέγων.
[779] GS-Dahlman IX.4 var. ἐποίησεν.
[780] Wortley: "putting him to the test"

| prayed for him and the demon fled from him. (...) | and sent him away healthy. (...) | fellow and sent him away whole. (...) |

I have, however, found two exceptions from this general tendency in R. We have already encountered its first appearance in section 3.4.3.1, where the leader of the demons is described as *raʾs al-jinn* (leader of jinns) both in Vat.ar.460 48 and Sin.ar.547 C.III.18, whereas he in Par.ar.253 fol. 149v(1) is called *raʾs al-shayāṭīn* (leader of demons):[781] The other instance appears in in an apophthegm in R dossier JP which has no Greek parallel. It is obvious, however, from the apophthegm that the jinns in the text are to be understood as demons.

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**Vat.ar.460 304 (fol. 96r(2))**

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اخ سال شيخ تشا ان اترك قلبى عند خطاياى قال لا فاتركه عند جهنم قال لا بل عند ربنا يسوع المسيح فقط والصق به عقلك لان الجنون يريدون[782] يشوا ان ياخدوا ضميرك الى كل موضع لكنى لا تاخده انت الي موضع ربنا يسوع المسيح وساله ايضا مادا يجعل يصير حق[783] مع يسوع المسيح قال له العزله وعدم الهم والتعب الجسداني بقدر

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A brother asked an elder: "Do you want me to leave my heart (occupied)[784] with my sins?" He said: "No." "Should I leave it (occupied) with Hell, then?" He said: "No, but with our Lord Jesus Christ only. Attach your mind to Him, for the jinns want to take your conscience to every place, if you do not take it to the place of our Lord Jesus Christ." He also asked him: "What makes it true with Jesus Christ?"[785] He said to him: "Isolation, lack of concern, and bodily toil according to one's ability."

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[781] See also Vat.ar.460 26 (fol. 20v),where رايت جوى الهيكل موضع الصنم ملكًا عظيمًا جالسًا وعلى راسه تاج جليل (I looked inside the temple, and at the site of the idol I saw a great king seated with a mighty crown on his head) translates Ἅπαξ δὲ ἐν κρυφῇ εἰσελθὼν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ, εἶδον τὸν Σατανὰν (I secretly went in behind him and I saw Satan, GN-Wortley 191 (trans. Wortley (GN-Wortley.eng 191)). In contrast, Par.ar.253 fol. 168r, Sin.ar.444 fol. 86r(4), Strasb.4225 VIII.140 (fol. 86v), Mil.Ambr.L120sup 163 (fol. 34r). and Vat.ar.71 X.14 (fol. 184v) read الشيطان (Satan).

[782] لا corr.

[783] حق s.l.

[784] Inspired by Regnault's translation of the same apophthegm in CAB-Cairo (Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes," 349).

[785] Unclear passage in Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras.lat 253 which reads *Quid faciam cum Jesu?* (What should I do with Jesus?) while StMacar.371 fol. 34r (CAB-Epiphanius 71) reads وباى نوع يلتصق الضمير بالرب يسوع المسيح (and with what kind does the conscience attach itself to the Lord Jesus Christ?).

The inclusion of non-Christian elements and folk religion elements in Vat.ar.460 and other Arabic AP recensions is in itself a pervasive phenomenon in many regional forms of Christianity, and Coptic Christianity is no exception. A multitude of witnesses from late antique Egypt, for example, testify to the inclusion of non-Christian lore into various aspects of Christian life.[786] Moving into the late Middle Ages, there are Copto-Arabic documents that attest to a belief in Islamicate Egypt (Copts included) that jinns existed insofar as they were the cause of diseases such as the plague.[787]

## 6.3 Translating *termini technici*

### 6.3.1 *Politeia*

The concept of *politeia* is central within classical Greek philosophical discourse. It originally denotes *citizenship*, and connotes types of political systems, organizations, and even types of individual comportment. Citizens of the Graeco-Roman world were trained, through *paideia*, to embody the values of city or empire and hence achieve harmony between individual and collective *politeia*. The analogy between macro- and microforms of *politeia* is central in, for example, Plato's *Politeia* (*Republic*).

The concept of *politeia* as a description for citizenship appears in early Christian discourse including the New Testament.[788] In Paul's writings, however, appears a new and more eschatological use of *politeia*, designating the ideal community in heaven.[789] The early monastic movement, which advocated asceticism as a way of life that would lead to salvation, appropriated *politeia* as a term describing the ascetic way of life.[790]

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[786] David Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt: Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018).

[787] Mohamed S. Maslouh, "On Body, Soul and Popular Culture: A Study of the Perception of Plague by Muslim and Coptic Communities in Mamluk Egypt" (MA Thesis, American University in Cairo, 2013), 26).

[788] Lampe (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 1113–14. See e.g. Acts 22:28 (ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ χιλίαρχος· ἐγὼ πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην ἐκτησάμην (The tribune answered, "It cost me a large sum of money to get my citizenship.)); and Ephesians 2:12 (ὅτι ἦτε τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ χωρὶς Χριστοῦ, ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ((remember) that you were at that time without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel)).

[789] Philippians 3:20: ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (But our citizenship is in heaven, and it is from there that we are expecting a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ.) Cf. τὴν οὐράνιον πολιτείαν in the prologues to G and GS (section 4.2.1).

[790] Claudia Rapp, "Monastic Jargon and Citizenship Language in Late Antiquity," *Masaq* 32, no. 1 (2020).

*Politeia* occurs quite frequently in AP, where it typically denotes the ascetic way of life, and sometimes even ascetic practices.[791] The concept which originally stressed the analogy between individual and city-state has clearly been appropriated by a Christian ascetic discourse that has transferred the analogy to signify the ascetic as a microcosmos of Paradise.[792]

The embeddedness of the concept of *politeia* within Graeco-Roman philosophy makes the word difficult to translate from Greek to other languages. In Sahidic- and Bohairic-Coptic AP recensions *politeia* typically occurs as a loanword.[793] In Latin AP recensions the most common translation of *politeia* is *conversatio,* literally meaning *conversation,* or *association*, but also connoting *monasticism* and *way of life*.[794] Occasionally, *politeia* is translated as *vita* (life),[795] *opus*/*operatio* (work)[796], or *virtus* (virtue).[797]

The most direct translation of *politeia* into Arabic is *madīnah,* and this is how one encounters translations of Greek-philosophical *politeia* discourse in medieval Arabic philosophical works.[798] In Vat.ar.460 and other AP recensions, one instead finds *politeia* translated into concepts that focus on *politeia* as ascetic labor. In the following survey, I have searched for the occurrence of *politeia* in Greek AP versions (as well as satellite works with texts available in *Monastica*) and noted the instances where there

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[791] Rapp, "Monastic Jargon," 59–60.
[792] Hausherr, *Noms du Christ et voies d'Oraison*, 162–67.
[793] See e.g. CS-Chaine 69. For the occurrence of πολιτεία as a loanword in the Coptic tradition, see Wolf-Peter Funk, "Polis, Polites und Politeia im Koptischen. Zu einigen Fragen des einschlägigen koptischen Lehnwortschatzes." *Das Fortleben altgriechischer sozialer Typenbegriffe in den Sprachen der Welt* 2 (1982): 283-320; Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 49; and Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice*, 124. Πολιτεία as a loanword also appears in early medieval Syriac literature where it is used in the classical Greek sense of collective identity, but in this case undoubtedly a Christian identity (Nathanael Andrade, "The Syriac Life of John of Tella and the Frontier Politeia," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 12, no. 1 (2011): 204). See also the argument on the concept of πολιτεία as (baptized) community in Rapp, "Monastic Jargon." For Syriac renderings of πολιτεία, see Adam Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 28); and David Phillips, "Lost and found: Dadishoʿ Qatraya's Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers as a witness to the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia," in *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century,* eds. Mario Kozah et al. (Piscataway, US: Gorgias Press, 2014), 210.
[794] E.g. PJ-Rosweyde R.XVIII.4, R.IV.15b, IV.XXI.30, R.XV.9, R.V.24, and R.VIII.22. Less common translations are *legem* (PJ-Rosweyde R.IV.13) and *via* (R-Rosweyde 175).
[795] PJ-Rosweyde R.XI.30.
[796] PJ-Rosweyde R.XIII.8.
[797] R-Rosweyde 150.
[798] Wael Abu-ʿUksa, "The Construction of the Concepts 'Democracy' and 'Republic' in Arabic in the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean, 1798–1878," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 80, no. 2 (2019): 252.

is a parallel passage in Vat.ar.460.[799] From the survey, the following Arabic concepts appear as translations of *politeia*:[800]

- *ʿamal* (work)[801]

- *nusk* (asceticism)[802]

- *faḍl* (merit)[803]

- *sīrah* (way of life)[804]

As the list shows, the Arabic translation of *politeia* is quite analogous to how the word is translated in the Latin AP tradition, using words that denote work, virtue, and way of life. In addition to the translations mentioned, there is an additional translation of *politeia* in one apophthegm in Vat.ar.460 (Vat.ar.460 559) in which the desert father Agathon is asked about the most demanding ascetic practice to engage in. In Vat.ar.460 559, this expression, which appears twice in the apophthegm, reads *taʿb ʿibāḍah* (labor of worship) and *ʿibāḍah* (worship). The appearance of *ʿibāḍah* in this apophthegm is interesting since this is an Islamic technical term which usually refers

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[799] I used the truncated word search "πολιτε" in the digitized texts available in *Monastica*, per 18.04.2023.

[800] Apart from the renderings mentioned, Vat.ar.460 102 (fols. 69r–70r), which is parallel with PS-Migne 19, does not include the passage in which the πολιτεία appears in the Greek.

[801] Vat.ar.460 146 (fol. 75r(2)), Sin.ar.444 fol. 84v, and Par.ar.253 fol. 167r: عمل الملايكه (angelic work), cf. GN-Wortley 186: τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ταύτην πολιτείαν (this angelic way of life, trans. Wortley (GN-Wortley.eng 186)).

[802] Vat.ar.460 152 (76v(4)) كيف نحن نتعب في الاعمال والنسك وليس ننال المواهب متل الاولين (why is it that we toil in working and asceticism and yet do not acquire gifts as did those before?), cf. GN-Wortley 349: Πῶς εἰσὶ καὶ ἄρτι τινὲς κοπιῶντες ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις καὶ οὐ λαμβάνουσι τὴν χάριν ὡς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι (How is it that nowadays there are some who labour away in the [various] ways of life but do not receive grace the way those of old time did? trans. Wortley (GN-Wortley.eng 349)). In GS-Dahlman XVII.21, πολιτείαις is instead written as ἀρετὰς. In HS-Leloir.lat B.XVII.R22, one finds *certaminibus* (struggle); cf. "labour" in SE-1907-Budge.eng II.276. In Par.ar.253 fol. 176v(4) and Sin.ar.444 fol. 95v(1) one finds تعب without further qualifications.

[803] Vat.ar.460 509 (134r(2)): اى فضل عملت حتى استفدت هدا الحلم (what merit did you practice to earn this maturity?), cf. G-Cotelier Silvanus.6: Ποίαν πολιτείαν εἰργάσω, Πάτερ, ἵνα λάβῃς τὴν φρόνησιν ταύτην; (How have you lived, father, in order to become so wise? Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Silvanus.6)). Cf. *certamen* (struggle, in HS-Leloir.lat B.XI.R31); Cf. Strasb.4225 VIII.284 (fol. 108r), Mil.Ambr.L120sup 363 (fol. 73v), and Vat.ar.71 X.46 (fol. 190v) where πολιτεία, like Vat.ar.460 509, is translated as فضل . In Par.ar.253 fol. 138r(3) and Sin.ar.444 fol. 55r(2) one finds فضيلة instead.

[804] Vat.ar.460 73:1 (fols. 56r): كان فى الصعيد راهب من الرهبان له سيرة ضيقه ونسك (In Upper Egypt there was a monk among the monks who had a cumbersome way of life and asceticism. Identical wording in Par.ar.276 76 (fol. 165v). cf. GN-Wortley 641: Ἦν τις μοναχὸς ἐν Θηβαΐδι ἀκροτάτην ἄσκησιν καὶ πολιτείαν ἔχων. (There was a monk of the highest discipline and way of life in the Thebaid, trans. Wortley (GN-Wortley.eng 641)). For other appearance of πολιτεία as سيرة see Vat.ar.71 X.35 (fol. 189v), Strasb.4225 VII.47 (fol. 59r), Strasb.4225 VII.56, (fols. 60v–61r) and Strasb.4225 VII.18 (fol. 55v, hendiadys together with اعمال). See also Vat.ar.460 63 (fol. 42r): فانا لاخل تعبك القديم وحسن سيرتك السالف (I will, for the sake of your old toiling and your former good way of life). Similar wording in Sin.ar.547 An.I.71 (fol. 56r). I was not able to compare the wording in Par.ar.276 38 (fol. 145v) due to the poor quality of the image on the online facsimile. Cf. GN-Wortley 479: διὰ τὸν πρότερόν σου κόπον καὶ τὰς ποτέ σου πολιτείας (given the way you have worked hitherto and your way of life so far, trans. Wortley (GN-Wortley.eng 479)). Cf. *exercitationes* (exercises, HS-Leloir.lat B.VIII.R15).

to acts of religious observance.[805] I give the apophthegm in full below, together with parallel texts in two other Arabic AP recensions. This example shows particularly well how Arabic translators used various concepts to convey the meaning of *politeia* in different ways.[806]

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[805] The plural *ibāḍāt* is a category (contrasted against *muʿalamāt*) within *fiqh*. Georges-Henri Bousquet, "Ibadat," in EI (Second Edition) Online, ed. Peri Bearman, et al, (Brill, 2012, Consulted online on 25 May 2023, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573–3912_islam_SIM_3014). See also Melchert, *Before Sufism,* 12.

[806] There is even more variation in parallel texts in other AP versions: *conversatione* (PJ-Rosweyde R.XII.2; Brux.BR.8216-18 C.X.2; Darm.1953 I.128), *vita* (Brux.BR.8216-18 A.XXXI.1a); *virtus* (HS-Leloir.lat A.XII.4); جهاد (CAB-Epiphanius 143); اعمال الرهبانيه (Vat.ar.71 X.85, fol. 196v); تدبير الفضيلة (Sbath.182 67r).

| Vat.ar.460 559 (fol. 143r(2)) | Strasb.4225 VIII.309 (fol. 111v)[807] | Par.ar.253 fols. 33v-34r | G-Cotelier Agathon.9[808] |
|---|---|---|---|
| اخوه سالو انبا اغاثون اي الفضيله في تعب العباده ما هي فقال اغفرو لي انا اظن انه ليس تعب اكثر من الصلاه لله لان كل وقت يشاء الانسان يصلي فان العدو يريد يمنعه لانه يعلم انه لا يغلب الانسان من مقاومته لله لان كل عباده يصنعها الانسان الله لها حد فانه يحتاج الي اخر نفس لاجل هذا دايم الي اخر نفس لاجل جهاد كثير | اخوه سالو انبا اغاثون اي الاعمال يا ابونا اشرف في طلب رضا الله واكثر تعب فقال لهم الشيخ اغفرو لي انا اظن انه ليس تعب اكثر من الصلاه لله لان الانسان اذا اراد ان يصلي يمنعه لانه يعرف انه ليس شي يبطل وقت من مقاومته لله وكل عباده يعملها ويصبر عليها فانه مثل راحه فاما عمل الصلاه فهو يحتاج الي اخر نفس ويتشدد فيها[809] | سالوه مره الاخوه وقالو له يا ابونا اي شي تعب كثير في كل تدبير الفضايل فاجابهم وقال لهم اغفرو لي اني اظن انه ليس تعب اكثر من الصلاه الله في اي وقت. لان كلما اراد الانسان ان يصلي بحرصو الشياطين ان يبطلو لانهم يعلمو كما نبطل من الصلاه الله في اي انه في شي يبطلو من الصلاه الله وكل تدبير يدخل فيه الانسان ويصبر فيه يجد فيه نسمه الانسان هم يستقبلها عليه نسمته محتاج ان يجاهد فيها | Ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν πάλιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ λέγοντες· Ποία ἀρετή ἐστι, Πάτερ, ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις, ἔχουσα πλείονα κάματον; Λέγει αὐτοῖς· Συγχωρήσατέ μοι, λογίζομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερος κάματος, ὡς τὸ εὔξασθαι τῷ Θεῷ. Πάντοτε γὰρ ὅτε θέλῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος προσεύξασθαι, βούλονται οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἐκκόψαι αὐτόν· οἴδασι γὰρ ὅτι οὐδαμόθεν αὐτὸν ἐμποδίζουσιν, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὔξασθαι τῷ Θεῷ. Καὶ πᾶσαν δὲ πολιτείαν ἣν ἂν μετέλθῃ ἄνθρωπος, ἐγκαρτερῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, κτᾶται ἀνάπαυσιν· τὸ δὲ εὔξασθαι, ἕως ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς ἀγῶνος χρήζει. |

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807 Transcription by Zaborowski. Identical wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 120 318 (fol. 66v). Similar wording in Vat.ar.71 X.85 (fol. 196v), but the phrase describing how in other ascetic practices there is some rest is missing.

808 Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley,eng Agathon.9), partly adapted by me.

809 ينيح and ناح in Par.ar.253: repose, from Syriac. I thank Markos el-Macari for helping me understand this term.

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|---|---|---|---|
| Some brothers asked anba Agathon: "Which virtue among the labors of worship is the greatest?" He said: "Forgive me, there is no labor which is more severe than prayer to God, because every time that a person wants to pray, the enemy wants to prevent him, for he knows that nothing overpowers his resistance to man like the time of prayer to God. While all [other acts of] worship that God ordinates to humans have a limit, prayer requires continuance until the last breath, and for this it requires great struggle." | Some brothers asked Anba Agathon: "What of the works is noblest and greatest in toil in seeking God's favor, father?" The elder said to them: "Forgive me, I think there is nothing more laborious than perpetual prayer to God. For when a person wants to pray, this upsets the demons, and they are eager to interrupt him from prayer. For they know that nothing invalidates their tricks like praying to God. In all righteous work that a person sets out to practice and persevere in, he can finish it and be at peace. As for prayer, it requires from the person that he struggles in it until the last breath." | Once the brothers asked him [sc. Agathon] and said: Father, what among all the virtuous conducts entails the most labor?" He answered them and said: "Forgive me, I believe that there is no more difficult toil than prayer to God at all times. Whenever a person wants to pray, the demons make sure to interrupt him, for they know that nothing invalidates their tricks as perpetual prayer to God. In all action that a person does and perseveres in, there is in it some repose. But for prayer, they (the demons) will force themselves on a person as long as he breathes, and with all their might try to interrupt him." | The brothers also asked him: "Among all kinds of ascetic practices,[810] father, which virtue demands most toil[811]?" He said to them: "Forgive me; I reckon there is no other toil[812] like praying to God. For when a man wishes to pray, the enemies always want to interrupt him—for they know that they are not impeded in any other way except by prayer to God. One experiences some repose in every politeia[813] a person practices and perseveres in it; but to pray, that requires a struggle until the last breath." |

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810 Wortley: "[our] activities"
811 Wortley: "effort"
812 Wortley: "exertion"
813 Wortley: "activity"

### 6.3.2 *Aktēmosynē*

In Greek, *aktēmosynē* denotes *poverty*. Within Greek ascetic discourse, *aktēmosynē* (or sometimes *penia* (poverty)) connotes an attitude of voluntary poverty or renunciation but refers to involuntary poverty as well.[814] The ascetic is expected to embrace *aktēmosynē* as the proper attitude towards worldly things. In other words, (voluntary) *aktēmosynē* is considered an ascetic virtue.

Poverty is an easy enough concept to translate into Arabic, for it has at least two well-suited candidates to signify poverty: *faqr* and *maskana*. *Faqr* denotes poverty and destitution, while *maskana,* which is originally an Aramaic loanword, also connotes wretchedness and abasement.[815] Both concepts occur in the Qur'an, sometimes together.[816] The appearance of both concepts in the Qur'an has led to discussions within *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) on what the terms mean, in particular when it comes to who has the right to receive alms.[817] Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr (d. 1311) thus writes in his *Lisān al-ʿArab* (*Tongue of Arabs*), that a *miskīn* is characterized by a certain level of wretchedness and misfortune that sets him apart from a *faqīr* and makes him the subject not only of alms but also pity.[818] The *miskīn* seems in Islamic discourse to describe a poor state in which nobody wants to be. In contrast, *faqr* arose as the term used for the virtuous state of voluntary poverty in Islamic ascetic discourse. *Faqīr* is thus the most common epithet for a Sufi or Islamic ascetic who engage in voluntary poverty with the aim of finding comfort in God alone.[819] By contrast, Islamic ascetics who practice voluntary poverty never seem to refer to themselves as *miskīn*.

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[814] Lampe (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 67 (ἀκτημοσύνη), 1058–59 (πενία).

[815] K.A. Nizami, "Fakir," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. Peri Bearman, et al., Encyclopaedia of Islam (Brill, 2012). F. Buhl and Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Miskin," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. Peri Bearman, et al, Encyclopaedia of Islam (Brill, 2012).

[816] E.g. Q 9.60.

[817] K.A. Nizami, "Fakir," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. Peri Bearman, et al, Encyclopaedia of Islam (Brill, 2012).

[818] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, paraphrased in Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 10.

[819] Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 35th Anniversary Edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011 (1975)), 120–24; Brooks L. Barber, "Poverty in Al-Ghazali's Ihyā' 'Ulūm Al-Dīn" (PhD Diss., Catholic University of America, 2016), 113–14.

It is therefore interesting that in R, as well as in other Arabic AP recensions, the most common way to translate voluntary *aktēmosynē*, which the desert father practiced, is *maskana*, not *faqr*. In the following survey, I have searched for the occurrence of voluntary *aktēmosynē* in Greek AP versions (as well as satellite works whose text is available in *Monastica*) and noted the instances where there is a parallel passage in Vat.ar.460.[820] In almost all of the instances, *aktēmosynē* is translated as *maskana*.[821] The concept of *faqr* appears much more seldom, and never as a translation of voluntary *aktēmosynē*.[822] One finds this strong preference of *maskana* over *faqr* in Strasb.4225 and Vat.ar.71, as well, for in their AP content the concept of *faqr* does not appear at all.[823] It is tempting to view this as a systematic avoidance of *faqr* and preference for *maskana* within the Arabic AP tradition.[824]

In two instances in R, voluntary *aktēmosynē* is not translated as *maskana* but instead using composite expressions. In Vat.ar.460 90, one finds *aktēmōn* (poor) being expressed as someone who is *zāhid fī l-qunyān* (renunciant towards possessions).[825] Lastly, in Vat.ar.460 259, voluntary poverty is described with a composite expression that evokes an idea about poverty within Islamic asceticism as well. While the parallel in Strasb.4225 reads *maskana* (lack of possessions), one instead finds *kufr bi-l-ashyāʾ*

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[820] I used the truncated word search "ἀκτημ" in the digitized texts available in *Monastica*, per 18.04.2023. A truncated word search of "πεν" (πενία) generated no texts that had parallels to texts in Vat.ar.460.

[821] Vat.ar.460 129 (73v(3)) and 348 (102r(2)), Strasb.4225 V.14 (fol. 28v) and 354 (fol. 117r), Vat.ar.71 X.60 (fol. 192v), Mil.Ambr.L120 322 (fol. 67r), Sin.ar.444 fol. 80r(6), and Par.ar.253 fol. 163r(3), all parallels to GN-Wortley 302; Vat.ar.460 123 (72v(2)), 359 (103v(1)), and 660 (153v(2)) as well as Sin.ar.547 AN.I.88 (fol. 74v) and Strasb.4225 V.14 (fol. 28v), all parallels to GN-Wortley 578; Vat.ar.460 542 (138v(1)), cf. PS-Migne 113; and Vat.ar.460 389 (fol. 110r(3)) parallel to PS-Migne 9, in which مسكين denotes both πτωχὸς (beggar) and ἀκτήμων (a poor person by volition, renunciant). The passage mentioning ἀκτημοσύνη in GN-Wortley 641 is omitted in Vat.ar.460 73:1 (fol. 56r). Idem for Vat.ar.460 635 (fols. 150r–151r, parallel to GN-Wortley 596:7). See also Vat.ar.460 5 (fol. 4v(3)), which does not have a Greek parallel.

[822] See Vat.ar.460 15 (fol. 13): وكان فقير من امور العالم الي ما لا يمكن وصفه غنى بنعمه ملكوت السموات (he was indescribably poor regarding worldly things, but he was rich regarding grace of the kingdom of heaven). This passage does not appear in the parallels in other AP versions.

[823] Through truncated word search for common فقر forms in *Monastica*. See also Sauget's Greek-Arabic index, where ἀκτημοσύνη corresponds to مسكنة (Sauget, "Une version arabe du 'Sermon Ascétique'," 402).

[824] See also Vat.ar.460 6, in which Antonius repeatedly refers to himself as مسكين. This would be an interesting contrast to ʿAbdallāh Ibn Al-Faḍl's 11th century translation of the sacro-profane Byzantine florilegium *Loci Communes* in which the Greek concept πενία has been translated into فقر (Alexander Treiger, "Greek into Arabic in Byzantine Antioch: ʿAbdallāh Ibn Al-Faḍl's *Book of the Garden* (*Kitāb ar-rawḍa*)," in *Ambassadors, Artists, Theologians: Byzantine Relations with the Near East from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, edited by Zackary Chitwood and Johannes Pahlitzsch (Regensburg: Verlag Schnell & Steiner, 2019), 231. Other Copto-Arabic ascetic authors have also throughout history defined themselves as مسكين (cf. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice*, 272).

[825] Vat.ar.460 90 (fols. 62v–63r): ان شبت ان تكون زاهدًا فى القنيان فامقت حب الفضه (if you wish to be renouncing worldly possessions, abhor the love for money), cf. GN-Wortley 744: Θέλεις ἀκτήμων εἶναι, μίσησον τὴν φιλαργυρίαν (You wish to be indifferent to possessions? Hate the love of money. Trans. Wortley (GN-Wortley.eng 744)).

*wa-bi-nafsih* (disbelief in things and in oneself).[826] The added disbelief towards oneself or one's own soul that one finds in this apophthegm in Vat.ar.460 is not found in any of the parallel texts other AP versions. The phrase adds an extra aspect to voluntary poverty by being in a state of renunciation not only of worldly possessions, but also from one's own ego. This line of thought resonates with ideas of overcoming the ego in both Christian and Muslim discussions about how to attain unity with the Godhead. Its most evident parallel is, arguably, Sufi discourse, in which the *faqīr* renunciates his own ego and all that is outside the *tawḥīd* (oneness) of God with the aim of reaching *fanāʾ* (annihilation).[827]

| Vat.ar.460 159 (fol. 78r(1)) | Strasb.4225 VIII.62 (fol. 71r)[828] | G-Cotelier Euprepius.5[829] |
|---|---|---|
| اخ سال شيخ كيف ياتى خوف الله الى النفس قال له الشيخ ادا كان الانسان فيه اتضاع وكفر بالاشياء وبنفسه وقله دينونته فخوف الله ياتيه | اخ سال شيخ كيف ياتي خوف الله في النفس؟ فقال له الشيخ ان اقتنى الانسان الاتضاع والمسكنة ولا يدين احد جاه خوف الله | Ἀδελφὸς ἠρώτησε τὸν αὐτὸν γέροντα. λέγων· Πῶς ἔρχεται ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὴν ψυχήν; Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ γέρων· Ἐὰν ἔχῃ ἄνθρωπος τὴν ταπείνωσιν, καὶ τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην, καὶ τὸ μὴ κρίνειν, ἔρχεται αὐτῷ ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ. |
| A brother asked an elder: "How does the fear of God come to the soul?" The elder said to him: "When a person has humility, disbelief in things and in himself, and lack of judgment, then the fear of God comes to him." | A brother asked an elder: "How does the fear of God come to the soul?" The elder said to him: "If a person acquires humility, poverty, and does not judge anyone, the fear of God comes to him." | A brother asked the same elder [sc. Euprepius]: "How does fear of God come to the soul?" The elder said: "If a person has humility, poverty,[830] and does not pass judgment, the fear of God comes to him." |

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[826] There are many variants to this passage in other AP versions: voluntary poverty is expressed as in the following ways: Par.ar.253 fol. 46r(2) and Sin.ar.444 fol. 199r(2): قلة الاقتنا (lack of possessions); StMacar.317 fol. 90v (CAB-Epiphanius 433): رفض المقتنيات (rejecting possessions); ECM-Arras.lat 16:31: *nec divitias possidere* (not possessing wealth). SE-1907-Budge.eng II.111 has "practice abstinence".

[827] Papas Alexandre, "Fakir," in *EI* Three Online, eds. Kate Fleet et al. (Brill, 2007,) http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_35316.

[828] Transcription by Zaborowski. Identical wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 19 (fol. 4r).

[829] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley.eng Euprepius.5), partly adapted by me.

[830] Wortley: "is indifferent to goods"

## 6.4 Islamic ascetic concepts

### 6.4.1 *Jihād* and militant imagery

Within Islamic discourse, *jihād* (struggle) is a central albeit controversial virtue and is often described as a sixth pillar of Islam. The need to, and aspects of, struggle are central topics also in Christian ascetic discourse. The desert fathers are in AP portrayed as struggling, both with following the ascetic way of life and not least against the demons who assault them.[831] The primary word for connoting struggle in the Greek AP is the noun *agōn* (struggle, fight) and the cognate verb *agōnizomai*.[832] Like *politeia*, the term *agōn* in turn resonates with Graeco-Roman virtue discourse, in which the physical education for the purpose of theatre and culture was a constituent part of the formation of a citizen.

The most equivalent translation of *agōn* into Arabic is *jihād* or *qitāl* (fight). Hence, the appearance of *jihād* or synonyms in Vat.ar.460 and other Arabic AP recensions to translate such Greek struggle vocabulary is entirely predictable.[833] There are, nevertheless, instances in which the concept of struggle and fighting is accentuated in Vat.ar.460 compared with parallel texts in other AP versions, and they are the focus of this section. The occurrence of such imagery in Vat.ar.460 is in line with the development of late medieval Coptic ascetic discourse, for some scholars have stressed that, in this period, Coptic literature and art was more concerned with depicting asceticism as a struggle than their predecessors. Heather Badamo, for example, suggests that the 13th-century iconography in the church at the monastery of DAA display a typological pairing of the desert fathers with Christian martyrs and

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[831] David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, US: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[832] Lampe, *A Patristic Greek* Lexicon, 25–26. For ἀγών, cf. G Agathon.9, Syncletica.1, GN 188, and GN 201. For ἀγωνίζομαι, cf. G Achillas.4, Poemen.116, GN 165, and GN 188. ἀγών was considered a heroic virtue in classical Greek discourse (John D'Alton, "St. Isaac and Agōn: Isaac's Development of the Greek Notion of the Heroic Struggle and His Metaphors for the Ascetic Life," *Universitas: Monthly Review of Philosophy and Culture* 43, no. 5 (2016): 59–95.

[833] E.g. Vat.ar.460 60 (fol. 40v) and Sin.ar.547 AN.I.33 (fol. 44v) المجاهد, cf. GN 406 ἀγωνιστής (combatant). Interestingly, the Arabic parallels in Par.ar.253 fol. 146r(1) and Sin.ar.444 fol. 60v(3) translate this as فارس (horseman), a term that in a way reflects the aristocratic undertone of ἀγωνιστής.

warriors.[834] Badamo stresses how the iconography promotes the virtue of combat to a greater extent than earlier Coptic art had previously done. She also argues that late medieval Coptic discourse was "characteristically structured to draw out similarities between Christianity and Islam as a step toward staking out exclusive claims to religious truth and Christian preeminence."[835]

In the prologue to Vat.ar.460, the desert fathers are referred to by several honorable epithets, one of which is *mujāhidūn* (strugglers).[836] One also finds the term with a similar meaning at the end of Vat.ar.460 6, in which God gives Antonius the monastic *iskīm* (*skhēma*, garb) in reward for his patience against the demonic assaults. The narrative goes on to say that Antonius is made *maḥsūb min al-mujāhidīn* (counted among the strugglers), which seems to refer to the rank of saints.[837] As Badamo writes, "In the post-conquest era, Arab Christian writers employed the similarities between *mujāhidūn* and warrior saints to assert their own claims to religious truth and preeminence."[838]

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**Vat.ar.460 6:2 (fol. 6r)**

(...) فلما راى الرب يسوع المسيح [6r] كثرة صبره وعظم احتماله اعطاه القلنسوه المكرمه التى هى تاج الراهب وقال له يا انطونيوس بهده القلنسوه تهزم كدادسين المردة بهده القلنسوه يا انطونيوس تظفر بنعمتى طوباك ثم طوباك يا انطونيوس. فان اسمك يكون فى اقطار الارض وملكوت السما عظيما جدا ثم لبسه الرب يسوع القلنسوه بمينيه المقدسه. وبعد تلتين سنه اعطاه الاسكيم العظيم الحله السماويه وصار محسوب من المجاهدين. وانكسر عنه شده قتال الاعدا بركه صلاته معنا

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[834] Heather Badamo, "Depicting Religious Combat in the Thirteenth-Century Program at the Monastery of St. Anthony at the Red Sea," *Gesta* 58, no. 2 (2019): 157–181.

[835] Badamo, "Depicting Religious Combat," 157.

[836] The concept of struggle is even more accentuated in EG-Arras.lat prologue, as the term *certamen* (struggle) appears instead of *sir[a]* (life). In the Ethiopic tradition, a *vita* is often entitled *gädl* (struggle, Witakowski "*Filekseyus*," 282). Neither the prologue to G/GS nor the prologue to StMacar.367–372 mention the concept of struggle. Instead, one finds πολιτεία or, in the case of the prologue to StMacar.367–372, سلوك. *Sulūk* is used within Sufi discourse to denote the "spiritual progress" which combined "what in Christian mystical theology are known as the *via purgativa* and the *via illuminativa* into a broad-based mystical highway." Leonard Lewisohn, "Sulūk," In *EI* (Second Edition) Online, eds, Peri Bearman et al., (Brill, 2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1119.

[837] Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 89–90.

[838] Badamo, "Depicting Religious Combat," 178.

> (…) When Lord Jesus Christ saw [6r] the magnitude of his patience and the greatness of his endurance, he gave him the honorable cowl, which is the monastic crown, and said to him: "Antonius, with this cowl you will defeat the rebellious multitude.[839] With this cowl, Antonius, I bestow upon you my grace. Blessed are you, and blessed again. Your name will be all over the countries of the earth and will be great in the kingdom of heaven." And Lord Jesus clothed him with a cowl with His holy hands. Thirty years later, he gave him the great *iskīm*, which is the heavenly garb, and he was ranked among the strugglers, and the intensity of the fight against the enemies was lifted of him. May the blessing of his prayers be with us.

In other instances in Vat.ar.460, *jihād* or cognate concepts appear as descriptions of the ascetic way of life, much as *politeia* appears in the Greek AP to describe the ascetic way of life. In Vat.ar.460 28, for example, Macarius wants to scrutinize an elder in the desert who boasts about his ability to subdue his inner passions. When Macarius approaches the elder, he asks, in Vat.ar.460 28, the elder about his *ʿazāʾ* (composure), his *aḥwāl* (conditions) and *qitāl* (battle).[840] The *qitāl* in this passage refers back to the elder who claims that he has killed the passions of fornication, love of money, and vainglory, but the expression also seems to function as a reference to the elder's way of life in general.[841] In contrast, the parallels to this apophthegm in other AP versions does not include this questioning by Macarius (who, in all other parallels in other AP versions, is Abraham in this case).

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[839] The image of the rebellious Satan and the jinns is an Islamic trope. See Thierry Bianquis, "Mārid," In *EI* Three Online, eds. Kate Fleet et al. (Brill, 2007), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8815.

[840] احوال (sing. حال, state), a concept which in Sufism denotes a spiritual state as a result of mastering virtues.

[841] This particular passage where one would have expected πολιτεία in the Greek reading does not appear in the Greek AP.

| Vat.ar.460 28 (fol. 21r) | Par.ar.253 fol. 20r(2)[842] | G-Cotelier Abraham.1[843] |
|---|---|---|
| خبر عن القديس مقاريوس انه بلغه رجلاً شيخًا متوحدًا له تقدير خمسين سنه وكان يقول عن نفسه انه قتل عنها تلاته اعدا منها الزنا وحب الفضه والسبح الباطل. فلما سمع عنه الشيخ هدا حزن عليه. ثم اخد عصاه بيده وسار اليه. فلما دخل عليه فرح به الشيخ فرحًا عظيمًا وكان الشيخ سادجًا. فلما اخدوا بركه بعضهم بعضًا وجلسا[844] سأله انبا مقاريوس عن عزاه وعن احواله وعن قتاله. (...) | عن الاب ابرام القديس. اخبرونا عنه بعض الشيوخ انه مكث خمسين سنه ما اكل فيها خبز ولا شرب ما سريعًا. وكان يقول انه قد قتل الزنا ومحبة الفضه والسبح الباطل. فاتاه انبا ابرام لانه سمع هذا عنه فقال له انت قلت هذا القول. (...) | Ἔλεγον περί τινος γέροντος, ὅτι ἐποίησε πεντήκοντα ἔτη, μήτε ἄρτον ἐσθίων μήτε οἶνον πίνων ταχύ. Καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Ἀπέκτεινα τὴν πορνείαν καὶ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν καὶ τὴν κενοδοξίαν. Καὶ ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀβραὰμ, ἀκούσας ὅτι εἶπε τοῦτο καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Σὺ εἶπας τὸν λόγον τοῦτον; (…) |
| It was told about saint Macarius that he was informed of an elderly solitary man estimated to be fifty years old. He was saying about himself that he had killed three enemies within himself: fornication, love of money, and false praise. When the elder heard about him, he was unhappy with him. He took his staff in his hand and went to him. When he came to him, the elder rejoiced greatly. The elder was simple-minded. After they had received blessings from each other and they had sat down, anba Macarius asked him about his composure, his state, and his battle. | About father Saint Abraham: Some of the elders told to us about him that he remained for fifty years without eating bread and not drinking anything readily. He used to say that he had killed fornication, love for money, and false praise. Anba Abraham went to him, because he had heard this about him, and he said to him: "Did you say this?" (…) | They used to say of a certain elder that he went fifty years without eating bread or readily drinking wine. He used to say, "I have put to death fornication,[845] love for money[846], and vainglory." Abba Abraham, who had heard that he said this, came to him,[847] and he said to him, "Did you say this?" (…) |

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We have already encountered one more example of the use of the concept of struggle to describe the desert father way of life in Copto-Arabic tradition, namely in the catalogue by Ibn Kabar (section 4.3.1), who describes CAB as containing accounts of the *tadbīr* (conduct) and *jihād* (struggle) of the monks. In fact, the word *tadbīr* (conduct)[848] here serves yet another way of rendering *politeia* (cf. Vat.ar.460 10:4).[849] In this catalogue, *tadbīr wa-jihād* seems to form a hendiadys denoting the ascetic way of life. *Tadbīr wa- jihād* is thus analogous with the medieval Byzantine hagiographical title commonly used for hagiographies, namely *bios kai politeia* (life and way of life).[850]

Another example where Vat.ar.460 highlights the virtue of struggle in contrast to its parallels in other AP versions is found in Vat.ar.460 663, which I have already presented in section 3.4.4. Here, Poemen explains that the monk must be patient and refrain from speaking, a practice that will make his bad thoughts perish. Interestingly, in Vat.ar.460 this action as requiring both patience and struggle, while other AP sources solely the practice of patience is mentioned.

Lastly, the following apophthegm, Vat.ar.460 670, also provides a more battle-oriented, indeed militant, description of the monastic life compared with its parallels in other AP versions (to such an extent that we are, admittedly, actually in this case dealing with an act of revision rather than an act of translation). In the apophthegm, whose first part was presented in section 3.2.2, a brother asks Theodorus of Pherme for help, since he finds no comfort in either the anchoretic or the coenobitic way of life. In Theodorus's reply, the commitment to the monastic way of life is described as clothing oneself in *libās al-ajnād al-abṭāl* (clothing of courageous soldiers).[851] In other AP versions, Theodore does not embellish his statement using militant imagery but merely asks him why he embarked on the monastic path to begin with.[852] The clothing

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[848] Gerhard Endress and W. Heffening, "Tadbir," In *EI* (Second Edition) Online. Eds. Peri Bearman et al., (Brill, 2012, consulted online on 25 May 2023), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1139.
[849] Cf. CAB-Epiphanius 819 and 116; and Vat.ar.460 10:4.
[850] Rapp, "Monastic Jargon," 60; Hausherr, *Noms du Christ et voies d'Oraison*, 164.
[851] Cf. the Syriac version of HL 22.9, where Paul obtains the "don de guérison" (HL-Draguet.Fre R3.22.8a).
[852] Cf. لماذا اتراهبت / why did you become a monk,Vat.ar.71 X.119 (fol. 200v), Par.ar.253 fol. 148v(1) and 56v(5).

referred to is the monastic *iskīm*, which, as we saw in Vat.ar.460 6:2, was described as an armor against demonic assault.

| Vat.ar.460 670 (fol. 155v) | Strasb.4225 VIII.153 (fol. 89v–90r)[853] | G-Cotelier TheodPhe.2[854] |
|---|---|---|
| فقال له ادا كان لراحه الك مع الاخوه ولا في الوحده فلم لبست لباس الابطال وسميت نفسك راهبا الا لتحتمل الضرب والطعن والاحزان التي اصغرها الجوع والعطش. كم الك سنه 855 لابس الاسكيم. في هذا الاسكيم... | (...)فقال له الشيخ ان كنت لا وحدك خرجت تسير الي الرهبانيه؟ فما الك خرجت الي الرهبانيه؟ قال له الشيخ انا الي الان في الرهبانيه سبعين سنة وما استرحت يوم واحد وانت في تمان سنين تطلب الني...؟ | [...] Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· Εἰ μόνος οὐκ ἀναπαύῃ, οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, διατί ἐξῆλθες εἰς τὸν μοναχόν; οὐχὶ ἵνα ὑποφέρῃς τὰς θλίψεις; εἰπὲ δέ μοι· Πόσα ἔτη ἔχεις εἰς τὸ σχῆμα; Λέγει· Ὀκτώ. Εἶπεν οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· Φύσει ἔχω ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη, καὶ οὐδὲ μίαν ἡμέραν εὗρον ἀνάπαυσιν· καὶ σὺ εἰς ὀκτὼ ἔτη θέλεις ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχειν; Καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσας, ἐδραιωθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν.[856] |
| (...)Then he said to him: "If you do not have relief neither with the brothers nor in solitude, then why have you put on the clothes of the courageous soldiers and called yourself a monk unless it is to endure beatings, strikes, and bitter sorrows, the least of them being hunger and thirst? How many years have you worn the *iskīm*?" He | (...) The elder said to him: "If you do not find repose alone or with others, why did you set out for the monastic life? | [...] The elder said to him: "If you do not experience repose either alone or with others, why did you come out to be a monk? Was it not to endure afflictions? |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| said to him: "Eight years." The elder said to him: "Well, my son, today I have worn this *iskīm* for seventy years, and I have not been free of sorrow even for one day." When the brother heard the words of the elder, he was strengthened, and he went and lived alone and began to wear the instrument of war, and took in his hand the invincible shield which is true honesty, and put on his head the helmet of salvation, which is hope and belief in what is in the books and the lives of the saints, and shod his feet with the good news of the Holy Gospel saying: "Do not fear the one who afflicts the body, fear He who is able to throw the soul into hell."[857] He set out to prove himself by good comportment, and when the stubborn one who hates goodness saw him, he was afraid of him, and his strength left him. | Is it not so to be patient in hardships and sorrows? Tell me, how long is it since you took the *iskīm*?" The brother told him: "Eight years." The elder said to him: "I have been in the monastic life for seventy years, not finding relaxation for one day, and you are asking for repose after eight years?" | Tell me now: how many years have you worn the habit?" "Eight years," he said and the elder replied: "Well now, I have worn the habit for seventy years without finding repose for one day -- and you want to experience repose in eight years?" [The brother] went off reinforced on hearing this. |

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857 Matt. 10:28

## 6.4.2 The Jesus Prayer as *dhikr*

In this section I wish to return to R dossier 1 and R dossier JP and focus on a specific term used for describing the JP in it, namely *dhikr* (remembrance). In this dossier appears three terms used for referring to the JP: *dhikr* (remembrance), *mudāwamah* (continuance), and *taḍarruʿ* (invocation). As I have mentioned, the contemporary Coptic tradition refers to the JP as *al-ṣalāt al-dāʾimah* (unceasing prayer, with *dāʾimah* coming from the same root as *mudāwamah*). *Dhikr*, in turn, is a central prayer practice within Islam.

By the late Middle Ages, Sufi *dhikr* was a well-established ascetic practice (see section 7.5.2).The virtue of *mneme Theou* or *dhikr Allah* (remembering God) is central within Judeo-Christian discourse as well as Islamic.[858] In early Christian ascetic writing, the need to strive to remain in a continuous remembrance of God is a pervasive theme, and as such it also appears in AP.[859] It is even more developed in conjuncture with the JP in the writings of Chalcedonian authors such as Diadochus of Photice, Dorotheus of Gaza and John Climacus.[860] The remembrance of God was also a salient feature among Syriac ascetic authors such as Philoxenos of Mabbug, John of Dalyatha, and Isaac of Nineveh.[861] Indeed, in classical as well as monastic *paideia* which was a culture of *mimēsis* (emulation) it was stressed that any intellectual progression was related to the faculty of remembrance.[862]

There is nevertheless a significant difference between describing the remembrance of God as a virtuous state and as a concrete prayer practice. As Teule shows in his study of remembrance of God in the Syriac Evagrian corpus, Isaac of Nineveh, John of Dalyatha, and Bar ʿEbroyo, only the latter describes *ʿuhdōnō d-Alōhō* (remembrance of

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[858] The remembrance of God is a theme in the Hebrew Bible and New Testament as well; see e.g. Ps. 111:1–5.
[859] Teule, "An Important Concept," 11. See e.g. G Sisoes 13.
[860] Kallistos Ware, "The Origins of the Jesus Prayer: Diadochus, Gaza, Sinai," in *The Study of Spirituality*, ed. Cheslyn Jones et al. (Cary, US: Oxford University Press, 1986), 254–55, 257, 260.
[861] Mary Hansbury, "Remembrance of God and its Relation to Scripture in Isaac III Including insights from Islamic and Jewish Traditions," in *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century,* eds. Mario Kozah et al. (Piscataway, US: Gorgias Press, 2014), 93–122.
[862] Hausherr, *Noms du Christ et voies d'Oraison*, 157.

God) as a concrete prayer practice.[863] Teule moreover argues that Bar ʿEbroyo's main inspiration for doing so is, in fact, the Sufi *dhikr* practice, especially as promulgated by al-Ghazālī in IUD (see section 7.5.2).

The term *dhikr* appears once in Vat.ar.460 dossier JP as a clear denoter of the JP. In Vat.ar.460 291, an elder thus explains that the holy name provides a protection against any kind of danger and refers to the JP as *al-dhikr al-ṣāliḥ* (righteous remembrance).

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**Vat.ar.460 291 (fol. 94v)**

(...) بصرت ياحبيب ان التمسك بهدا الدكر الصالح الدي هو ربنا يسوع المسيح هو خلاص عظيم وحصن لا يخل وسلاح عال وخاتم خلاص النفس (...)

(...) You see, beloved, that adhering to this good remembrance, which is our Lord Jesus Christ, is a great salvation, a fortress that does not prejudice, an effective weapon, and a seal of the salvation of the soul. (...)

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*Dhikr* also appears as a probable reference to prayer in an Vat.ar.460 3. This apophthegm, which appears in many AP versions, narrates how an angel disguised as a monk teaches Antonius some ascetic practices to avoid *akēdia* (boredom).[864] The wording in Vat.ar.460 3 contains several minor, yet interesting revisions compared with parallel texts in other AP versions. The most interesting revision is that Vat.ar.460 3 has the angel showing Antonius two commendable ascetic practices apart from manual labor and prayer, namely *dhikr al-mawt* (remembrance of death) and *dhikr* (remembrance or meditation).[865] The few passages in Vat.ar.460 in which *dhikr* appears to describe a prayer practice are, I argue, analogous to the appearance of *ʿuhdōnō* as a prayer practice in Bar ʿEbroyo's *Ethicon*.[866] The difference regarding how the concept of remembrance (of God) is used in the passages in Vat.ar.460 I have

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[863] Teule, "Al-Ghazâli Et Bar ʿEbroyo."
[864] This episode also appears (but in much shorter form) in the pseudo-Serapionic VA, CAS, and ES (Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 134–35).
[865] The angel practices yet other ascetic works in another Arabic AP text witness as well, namely Vat.ar.71 X.73 (fol. 195v), the angel engages in a practice described as السيرة يعمل (practicing the life), whose meaning is unclear, but which could be a rendering of πολιτεία (see section 6.3.1).
[866] Cf. Teule, "Al-Ghazâli Et Bar ʿEbroyo," 221.

evoked here compared to other AP versions and the JP tradition in general is that it seems to denote a practice, something which comes out most clearly in Vat.ar.460 3. The use of the term *dhikr* in the passages brought up in this section constitute, I argue, yet another example of how concepts that are central within Islamic discourse appear in the Vat.ar.460 and other Arabic AP recensions for the purpose of infusing the teaching of the desert fathers with *termini technici* that were central in their Islamicate context.

| Vat.ar.460 3 (fol. 4v) | Strasb.4225 VIII.149 (fol. 89rv)[867] | G-Cotelier Antonius.1[868] |
|---|---|---|
| خبر عن القديس انطونيوس انه كان جالس يوم من الايام في قلايته وقد نو ترت عليه الكار و طلبت افكاره فتح الي الله وقال يا رب اريد ان اخلص فما تتركني الافكار. فماذا اصنع بشني هذه؟ وبكن انجو؟ واله قام فمشي قليلا يصلي اخري تراب ثم بدا يبكر الموت وبيكي علي نفسه فلما رام [الي]ه القديس 869 انطونيوس فلح يرا 870 ملكا قايما من القلايه قايم انطونيوس عجب 869 فقال له يا بر كته871 ثم نبتت اليه القديس هكذا و انت تخلص. فعجب منه كثير. ثم جلس يعمل كمل ما راي بر كته وخلص يعمل كمل امين | كان القديس مار انطونيس جالس مرة في البرية [89v] فقاتله الضجر جدا و اظلمت افكاره فصرخ الي الله وقال يا رب اريد ان اخلص فما تتركي الافكار. فماذا اصنع بنفسي هذه؟ وكيف انجو واله قام فمشي قليلا، ثم انه قام من القلايه فابصر انسان بشبهه جالس يعمل فضلي. وهو كان ملاك الله بعث لتقوم و تحفظ انطونيس. ويسمع الملاك يقول له كذا ارتني اعمل كذلك فاعمل و انت تخلص. فلما سمعه فاعل وخلص. وكذلك كان يعمل وخلص. | Ὁ ἅγιος ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος, καθεζόμενός ποτε ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐν ἀκηδίᾳ γέγονε καὶ πολλῇ σκοτώσει λογισμῶν· καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· Κύριε, θέλω σωθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐῶσί με οἱ λογισμοί· τί ποιήσω ἐν τῇ θλίψει μου; πῶς σωθῶ; Καὶ μικρὸν διαναστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω, θεωρεῖ τινα ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὡς ἑαυτόν, καθεζόμενον καὶ ἐργαζόμενον, εἶτα ἀνιστάμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ προσευχόμενον, καὶ πάλιν καθεζόμενον καὶ τὴν σειρὰν πλέκοντα, εἶτα πάλιν εἰς προσευχὴν ἀνιστάμενον· ἦν δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου, ἀποσταλεὶς πρὸς διόρθωσιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν Ἀντωνίου. Καὶ ἤκουσε τοῦ ἀγγέλου λέγοντος· Οὕτως ποίει, καὶ σώζῃ. Ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας, πολλὴν χαρὰν ἔσχε καὶ θάρσος, καὶ οὕτος ποιῶν ἐσώζετο. |

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[867] Transcription by Zaborowski. Very similar wording in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 173 (fol. 39v). Vat.ar.71 X.73 (fol. 195v) is quite different from Strasb.4225 VIII.149 when it comes to the vocabulary employed. On the sentence level, however, Vat.ar.71 X.73 and Strasb.4225 are close to each other. The apophthegm ends after شكل رسله الله ليترشد. Idem for Sin.ar.444 fol. 322r(1).

[868] Trans. Wortley (G-Wortley,eng Antonius.1) partly adapted by me.

[869] ي s.l.

[870] عليه l. dub: the word starts with غ.

[871] In the margin is added a phrase, in another hand partly, unclear (الراهب به...الر).

[872] Athos.Prot.86 VII.1 (fol. 27rv) var. ἐργαζόμενον

| It was told about Saint Antonius that one day, as he was sitting in his cell, his thoughts ran on repeat until his mind wandered and he was overwhelmed by the world, and his chest narrowed until he almost was lost and unable to endure. He went out through the door of his cell and found a monk who was braiding palm leaves for one hour, then standing up praying another (hour), then remembering death and weeping for himself that will become dust. After this the saint began to meditate. When Antonius saw him, he was amazed. Then he said to him: "Do this, Antonius, and you will be saved." When the saint turned towards him, he did not see him, and was greatly surprised. Then his thoughts calmed down and he sat down, practicing that which he had seen. May the blessings of his prayers be with us. Amen. | Once, saint *Mār*[873] Antonius was sitting in the desert. He was embattled by intense boredom, and his thoughts darkened. He cried to God and said: "Lord, I want to be saved, but the thoughts do not leave me. What am I to do in this affliction? How can I escape?" He got up and walked a little outside the cell and saw a person who looked like him sitting working with braiding. Then he arose from his work to pray. He was an angel of God sent to correct and assure Antonius. And he heard the angel say to him: "As you have seen me do, do so, and you will be saved." When Anthony heard him, he was very happy and assured. He did so, and he was saved. | Once when the holy Abba Antony was residing in the desert, overcome by boredom[874] and a great darkening of thoughts[875] he was saying to God: "Lord, I want to be saved but[876] my thoughts[877] do not leave me alone. What am I to do in my affliction? How am I to be saved?" Going outside [his cell] a little way, Antony saw somebody like himself, sitting working—then standing up from his work and praying; sitting down again, working at rope-braiding, then standing to pray once more. It was an angel of the Lord sent to correct Antony and to assure him. And he heard the angel saying: "Act like this and you shall be saved." He experienced much joy and courage on hearing this and, acting in that way, he went on being saved. |

873 ܡܪ (mār) is a Syriac title of reverence.
874 Wortley: "accidie"
875 Wortley: "logismoi"
876 Wortley: "and"
877 Wortley: "logismoi"

## 6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted cases of creative renderings of Greek terms and concepts using terms that are central in Islamic ascetic discourse in Vat.ar.460 and other Arabic AP recensions. The findings presented confirm Zaborowski's statement that the Arabic AP was made fit to serve the need "to express traditional Christian wisdom in Qur'anic idioms and concepts"[878] while still preserving the *sensum* of the desert father teachings. From the analysis it has become clear that Vat.ar.460 and the other AP recensions present an Arabic text that is neither like Ibn Al-Duks's "translationese", nor like Ibn al-Ṣalt's Islamic-infused Arabic. In general, the *termini technici* in the Arabic AP tradition remain equivalent, by and large, to the *termini technici* in the Greek AP tradition. Nevertheless, there are many terms and turns of phrase in Vat.ar.460 and other Arabic AP recensions that do not directly translate the meaning their Greek equivalents, but that appropriate Islamic vocabulary and imagery for the purpose of producing a text that fits within the Arabic translators' and curators' Islamicate literary context.

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[878] Zaborowski, "Greek Thought, Arabic Culture," 327.

# 7 Comparing R and IUD

Chapters 5 and 6 have presented apophthegmata from R that differ from other AP versions in smaller and larger ways. Some of the variant characteristics of in R are, I argue, due to a process in which the Copto-curators have adapted the AP tradition to harmonize it with the late medieval Coptic cultural memory of the desert fathers. Other characteristics in R, and indeed in other Arabic AP recensions as well, are, I argue, due to a process in which the originally Greek AP tradition has been translated into Arabic, occasionally making use of Islamic vocabulary and imagery while maintaining the *sensum* of the Greek models.

In this chapter, I take examples from the themes I have discussed in chapter 5 and 6 as a point of departure for investigating formal and functional aspects of those variations in relation to the Islamicate context of the Arabic AP tradition. The investigation proceeds by means of comparison. By bringing in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (*The Revival of the Religious Sciences*, IUD) as an illuminative comparandum (cf. section 1.3.6), this comparison aims to understand certain parts of the ascetic program in R in relation to its wider religious context. More specifically, in this chapter, I analyze the presentation of three themes in R, comparing them with the presentation of corresponding virtues in selected books in IUD. The three variations that I compare are: the virtue of the fear of God as presented in R dossier 1 (section 7.3), the virtue of struggle which appears occasionally throughout R (section 7.4), and the virtue of recitative meditative prayer as presented in R dossier JP (section 7.5). These themes in R are compared with corresponding themes from the following books in IUD:[879]

> **Fear of God:** book 33 (*Kitāb al-Khawf wa-l-rajāʾ* / *the Book of Fear and Hope*);[880]

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[879] There exists no reliable complete English IUD translation. For the Arabic original text I use the so-called Ṭabbāna edition (ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.). al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, with an introduction by Badawī Ṭabbāna, 4 vols., reprint (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, 1957 (1939)). There are many IUD editions, and the translations of separate books that I consult here have made use of different editions (and manuscripts), but Nakamura and McKane mainly consult the Ṭabbāna edition.

[880] William McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965).

**Struggle:** book 1 (*Kitāb al-ʿIlm* / *the Book of Knowledge*). *Jihād* is not the subject of a particular book in IUD. I here focus on its appearance in book 1, as the words connoting struggle deriving from the root *j-h-d* appear more frequently in this book than in other parts of IUD;[881]

**Recitative meditative prayer:** book 9 (*Kitāb al-Adhkār wa-l-daʿwāt* / *the Book of Invocations and Supplications*). [882]

As mentioned in section 1.3.6, this comparison focuses on how the author of IUD and curators of R employ and comment on ascetic vocabularies, images, and themes to tap into, engage with, and contribute to already existing discourses within Islamic and Christian asceticism. This chapter commences with a literature review of previous comparisons of medieval Christian and Islamic ascetic discourses and discussions about their interdependence that frequently arise (section 7.1) and a brief contextual description of al-Ghazālī and IUD (section 7.2), after which comes the analysis.

## 7.1 Scholarship on Christian and Islamic ascetic discourses

There are numerous examples of early Islamic ascetic authors using the desert father figure as a trope, a conveyer of pre-Islamic wisdom, in their own writings. In the Qur'an, monks receive some praise (albeit not without reservation); and in the biography of the prophet Muhammad, a certain hermit named Baḥīrā plays an important role in the identification of Muhammad's prophethood.[883]

Scholars who compare medieval Christian and Islamic ascetic discourses have mainly been interested in discerning whether, and to what extent, Christian and Islamic ascetics were in contact with each other and influenced each other.[884] This endeavor makes good sense, given that Muslims and Christians lived to a large extent in the

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[881] Nabih Amin Faris (trans), *Al-Ghazālī: The Book of Knowledge* (New Dehli: Islamic Book Service, 1962). The basis of my observation is a word search of the occurrence of the words جهد , جهاد , مجاهدة,مجاهد,مجاهد in the whole IUD corpus as it is given in a digital edition at *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, available at Ghazali.org, a virtual online library, https://www.ghazali.org/rrs-ovr/ (October 2022).
[882] Kojiro Nakamura (trans.), *al-Ghazālī: Invocations and Supplications (Kitāb al-adhkār wa-l-daʿawāt)*, revised edition (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1990 (1973)).
[883] Q 5.82; Key Fowden, "The Lamp and the Wine Flask," 8.
[884] See e.g. Cragg, *The Arab Christian*, 85–86; Treiger, "Mutual Influences and Borrowings," 196; Key Fowden, "The Lamp and the Wine Flask," 14; Thomas, "Christians under Muslim Rule, 650–1200," 69–70.

same culture. The synergy between Christian and Islamic ascetic thought seems to have played an important role during formative Islam, as people from various Christian (and Jewish) backgrounds played important roles in the budding Islamic ascetic community.[885] Scholars have thus often pointed to the occurrence of Christian ascetic elements in early Islamic *zuhd* (asceticism). In Ignac Goldziher's words:

> Christian asceticism offered at the beginning of Islam the immediate model for the realization of the ascetic world view […] those people within Islam who nurtured an inward inclination to reject this world received their first stimulus from, and were influenced by, the example of Christian wandering monks and penitents.[886]

Similarly, Tor Andræ argues that the Qur'an and other early Islamic texts show a familiarity with and appropriation of Christian ascetic thought.[887] Andræ especially points out that early Islamic apophthegmatic literature such as *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ* by Abū Nuʿaym al-Isfahānī (from now on: HA) contains many stories about Islamic ascetics who converse with Christian monks and hermits. Although Andræ believes most of the content in these apophthegmata to be fiction, he nevertheless suggests that they reveal that Muslims and Christian monks were in contact with each other.[888] Moreover, the common interest in the apophthegmatic genre has led scholars to suggest that early Islamic ascetics were particularly appreciative of collections of apophthegmata such as AP.[889] Andræ points, for example, to similarities between an apophthegm found in HA and an apophthegm from AP.[890] Further close similarities between HA and AP has more recently been surveyed by Sabino Chialà, Suleiman Mourad, Jack Tannous, and Bradley Bowman.[891]

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[885] Suleiman Mourad, "Christian Monks in Islamic Literature: A Preliminary Report on Some Arabic *Apophthegmata Patrum*," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 6, no. 2 (2004): 84.

[886] Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, 130; David Cook, "Muḥammad and Christianity," in *Routledge Handbook on Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. David Thomas (London & New York: Taylor & Francis, 2018): 64.

[887] Tor Andræ and Geo Widengren, *Muhammed: Hans liv och hans tro* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1930), 108–14.

[888] Andræ, *I myrtenträdgården*, 24; Ofer Livne-Kafri, "Early Muslim Ascetics and the World of Christian Monasticism," *JSAI* 20 (1996): 107–08. Andræ situates this historical development from the 7th to the early 9th century. After this, the rise of organized Sufism and other factors led to increased depreciation of Christian asceticism. Andræ, *I myrtenträdgården*, 53.

[889] Treiger, "Mutual Influences and Borrowings," 197.

[890] Andræ, *I myrtenträdgården*, 42. The apophthegm in question is GN-Wortley 312. Parallel in Vat.ar.460 50 (fol. 39r(2)).

[891] Chialà, "Les mystiques musulmans"; Jack Boulos Victor Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East: Religion, Society, and Simple Believers* (Princeton, US: Princeton University Press, 2018), 463; Mourad, "Christian Monks in Islamic

Other scholarly investigations focus on how the contact and exchange of ideas between Christian and Islamic asceticism continued during the Middle Ages, and how the Arabized Oriental Christian communities appropriated Islamic motives and idioms as they sought to formulate their traditions in the Arabic language. We saw a couple of such scholarly studies in section 6.1.[892] As Treiger suggests, it is plausible that Muslim authors continued to engage with Christian ascetic thought, not only during formative Islam but also during classical Islam, although this phenomenon is "still insufficiently researched."[893]

There are also scholars who argue that apparent similarities between Christian and Islamic asceticism are not to be interpreted as evidence of contact between the two communities, but rather as evidence of aspects that appear independently in most ascetic systems. A good example here is Serafim Seppälä's comparison of mystical practices and experiences among medieval Sufi and Syriac writers.[894] Seppälä eschews interdependence as an explanatory model for the similarities and difference he observes between his comparanda. While Seppälä acknowledges that contact, leading to influence, might occasionally have occurred between the two groups, he denies that such encounters provide the primary reason why both groups approach mysticism in similar ways.[895] As Seppälä argues, "too much discussion concerning 'influences', especially in the history of religions, has been based on common features that are merely parallel with no actual causal link."[896] Another critical voice is found in

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Literature" 88; Bowman, *Christian Monastic Life in Early Islam*, 191–92. Currently, Ute Pietruschka is conducting a research project concerning the AP's legacy within early Islamic ascetic literature as evidenced by apophthegmata found in HA (Ute Pietruschka, "The Monk as Storyteller? On the Transmission of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* among Muslim Ascetics in Basra," in *Wisdom on the Move: Late Antique Traditions in Multicultural Conversation. Essays in Honor of Samuel Rubenson*, eds. Susan Ashbrook Harvey et al., (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2020), 167.

[892] See e.g. Treiger, "Mutual Influences and Borrowings," 201–03.

[893] Treiger, "The Fathers in Arabic," 450. For an example of such an inquiry, see e.g. Alexander Treiger, "From Dionysius to Al-Ġazālī: Patristic Influences on Arabic Neoplatonism," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 9, no. 1–2 (2020): 189–236.

[894] Serafim Seppälä, *In Speechless Ecstasy: Expression and Interpretation of Mystical Experience in Classical Syriac and Sufî Literature* (Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2003).

[895] Seppälä, *In Speechless Ecstasy*, 311.

[896] Seppälä, *In Speechless Ecstasy*, 2, 311). Another argument, raised by Robert Hoyland, is that we still know too little about the historicity of Christian-Muslim encounters to speak of borrowings or appropriations: "Much effort has been expended in the past on highlighting the similarities and parallels between the literatures of the different communities of the Middle East, especially traits common to Judaism and Islam, but often with a view to ascertaining origins and establishing borrowing. Before such judgments can be made, greater consideration would have to be accorded to the ways in which information was transmitted and to the effects of a shared physical and cultural environment" Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997), 34.

the works of Seyyid Hussein Nasr, whose comparison of recitative meditative prayer within medieval Christian asceticism and Sufism I bring up again in section 7.5.1.[897] Nasr's main argument against conjecturing mutual influences between Christian and Islamic asceticism is that it risks reducing the autonomy and authenticity of the separate traditions.[898]

All in all, there has for a long time been an interest among scholars to chart medieval encounters between Christian and Islamic asceticism. This interest is often, but not always, accompanied by a belief that early Islamic asceticism appropriated Christian ascetic themes and motives, and that, reciprocally, Oriental Christians who in the Middle Ages sought to formulate their asceticism in the Islamicate world looked to Islamic ascetic themes and motives. As I have stated in section 1.1.4, I do not wish to claim that there is a direct interdependence between R and IUD. Yet, as I have mentioned in section 1.3.6, evidence suggests that al-Ghazālī had a reception among Copts during the Coptic Renaissance, and that the ascetic program in al-Ghazālī in turn shows a familiarity with themes and motives from desert father literature, both of which make R and IUD commensurable in interesting ways. Ultimately, as the comparison in this chapter shows, there are in fact some thematic similarities in R and IUD, and I will argue that those similarities are best explained by the impact that Syriac asceticism has had on both medieval Islamic and Copto-Arabic thought.

## 7.2 Description of al-Ghazālī and IUD

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) was born in Khurasan, Persia. As a youth, he studied under the prominent theologian al-Juwaynī in Nishapur. Al-Ghazālī later moved to Baghdad and became the head of the Niẓāmiyya, which was the leading intellectual center in the Islamicate world. Al-Ghazālī was much appreciated in Baghdad's courtly life, where he engaged in various philosophical

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[897] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Prayer of the Heart in Hesychasm and Sufism," *Greek Orthodox Tehological Review* 31, no. 1–2 (1986): 196. Nasr is a follower of the Traditionalist school (William Rory Dickson, "René Guénon and Traditionalism," in *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements*, eds. Muhammad Afzal Upal and Carole M. Cusack (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2021), 590).
[898] Nasr, "The Prayer of the Heart," 202.

and theological disputes. Around the year 1095, when he was 37 years old, al-Ghazālī experienced an existential crisis and left Baghdad for a peripatetic and renunciant lifestyle.[899] Some years into this new way of life, while residing in Damascus, al-Ghazālī compiled and composed IUD.

IUD is an extensive treatise comprising 40 books. It consists of compilations of Qur'anic passages, *aḥādīth* (sing. *ḥadīth*) and other apophthegmata, as well as an integrated commentary and systematization by the author himself.[900] It is structured into four parts: 1) *ʿibādāt* (acts of worship); 2) *ʿādāt* (acts of custom); 3) *muhlikāt* (ways of perishing); and 4) *munjiyāt* (ways of salvation). The quarters are, in turn, divided into ten books, each treating a specific theme. Since each book relies heavily on Islamic apophthegmatic literature and quotes extensively from the Qur'an, al-Ghazālī is not only an author, but also a curator, of an authoritative Islamic corpus with which he engages in highly original ways.

IUD addresses a broad audience, promoting al-Ghazālī's own interpretation of how Sufism and Islamic *sunna* (tradition) are in accordance with each other and indeed applicable to any devout Muslim.[901] The kind of asceticism that IUD recommends is thus individualized and moderate, and does not presuppose an ascetic institution, such as a Sufi brotherhood. Importantly, however, al-Ghazālī distinguishes between at least two levels of ascetic mastery among his readers and provides in IUD different advice on how Muslims with varying mastery of asceticism should act.[902]

As scholars have pointed out, al-Ghazālī's IUD differs from both Islamic *sunna* and Sufism in its focus on cultivating virtues.[903] As Frank Griffel writes:

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[899] Ormsby, *Ghazali*, 1.
[900] Ormsby, *Ghazali*, 106. Al-Ghazālī's use of weak *ḥadīth* traditions has been a source for criticism.
[901] Al-Ghazālī belonged to the Ashʿarī school of theology and the Shāfiʿī school of law, but in his writings, he engages with representatives of various theological/philosophical/legal schools. Ormsby, *Ghazali*, 3.
[902] Ormsby, *Ghazali*, 115–16.
[903] Trimingham also points to the fact that al-Ghazālī's treatise is uncharacteristic of Sufism in emphasizing the salvific role of ethics, in distinction to Sufi notions about charisma, ecstasy and (to some extent) antinomianism: "The ethical virtues (…) have nothing to do with the spiritual pilgrimage. They offer, say the Sufis, knowledge of the goal, but leave one deficient in the power of reaching it. This was Abu Ḥamīd's [sc. al-Ghazali] tragedy. (…) The lives of the saints show that they are above any moral code." Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 159.

> In the *Revival [IUD]* he teaches ethics that are based on the development of character traits (sing. *khulq*, pl. *akhlâq*). Performing praiseworthy deeds is an effect of praiseworthy character traits that warrant salvation in the next life […]. He criticizes the more traditional concept of Sunni ethics that is limited to compliance with the ordinances of the religious law (*sharî'a*) and following the example of the Prophet Muhammad.[904]

As Mohamed Ahmed Sherif explains, al-Ghazālī's perception of the role of virtues reflects al-Ghazālī's engagement with ancient Greek philosophy, especially Aristotelian ethics.[905] There are, in fact, a number of medieval Islamic authors, such as al-Fārābī (d. 951,) al-Makkī (d. 996), Ibn Miskawayh (d. 1030), and Ibn Sinā (d.1037), who also attempt to synthesize Greek-philosophical virtue ethics with Islamic tradition and mysticism, and al-Ghazālī appropriates many ideas from these authors in IUD. Al-Ghazālī's appropriation of Aristotelian ethics is, for example, evident in his prescription of the middle way, a healthy equilibrium between extreme behaviors, emotions, and mindsets.[906] Importantly, however, al-Ghazālī differs from the Aristotelian virtue discourse in adding that the middle way is impossible to achieve without the help of God.[907]

# 7.3 Fear of God

The fear of God is a central concept in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and indeed attested widely in pre-modern religious discourse. Some religious groups in the Mediterranean and Near East simply identified themselves as God-fearers.[908] The characterization of God as awesome and fear-installing appears frequently in the Hebrew Bible, New Testament, and Qurʾan.[909] In the New Testament, the concept appears as *phobos tou Theou* (fear of God) or *theosebeia* (piety).[910] In Greek religion,

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[904] Frank Griffel, "al-Ghazali," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Summer 2020 edition), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/al-ghazali/ See also Ahmed, *What Is Islam,* 310.
[905] Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*.
[906] Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue,* 33–35; See Taneli Kukkonen, "Al-Ghazālī on the Emotions," in *Islam and Rationality: The impact of al-Ghazali. Papers collected on his 900th anniversary*, ed. Frank Griffel, volume 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 152, who characterizes al-Ghazālī's advocation of the middle way as *metriopatheia*.
[907] Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*, 38.
[908] Such as the Hellenistic Jewish gentiles, the school of Nisibis, etc.
[909] See e.g. Gen 22:12, Isaiah 11:1–3, and Proverbs 9:10.
[910] See e.g. 1 Tim 2:10. For the concept of fear of God in East Syriac scripture, see Adam H. Becker, "Martyrdom, Religious Difference, and 'Fear' as a Category of Piety in the Sasanian Empire," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2, no. 2 (2009).

the adjacent concept of *eusebeia* (reverence) was a prominent virtue (and *asebeia* was its opposite, cf. section 6.2.3). In the Qurʾan, this virtue is mainly expressed as *taqwā* (piety).[911] Given the wide pre-modern endorsement of the fear of God as a prominent religious virtue, it is not surprising that the virtue of the fear of God takes a central role within Christian as well as Islamic asceticism, and more specifically within the ascetic program as expressed in both R and IUD.

## 7.3.1 Fear of God in R dossier 1

The fear of God is a central virtue in AP, appearing as a part of the ascetic program in the discourse of many of the desert fathers.[912] In the Greek AP, the concept mainly appears as *phobos tou Theou*.[913] In AP, the desert fathers recognize that fear is a natural part of life and that it is directed towards many objects, such as worldly affliction, death, or demons. Although there is no clear exposition in AP regarding which fears are good and bad, the apophthegmata indicate that God, His Judgment, and the machinations of the demons are valid objects of fear, while death and worldly hardships are invalid objects of fear.[914]

As was demonstrated in section 5.2.1, a majority of the apophthegmata in R dossier 1 center around the virtue of the fear of God, there forcefully advocated by Antonius. The portrayal of the virtue of the fear of God in these apophthegmata largely conforms with how this virtue is presented in AP in general. In the dossier, and in the rest of AP, the fear of God is presented as a mental or inner state. Thus Vat.ar.460 1 employs the image that fear is like a light that illuminates the inner and true self of the ascetic. This description taps into the popular late antique and medieval image of spiritual advancement as a process of inner illumination, which is also evident in the prologue

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[911] Fazlur Rahman, *Major Themes of the Qur'ān* (Minneapolis, US: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1989), 28.

[912] According to Bang, the virtue of the fear of God is an even more prominent theme in AP than in other Christian ascetic literary works (without specifying which works he has consulted) (Seongkyou Bang, "Rediscovery of the Fear of God: A Study of 'the Sayings of the Desert Fathers'" (PhD Diss., Emory University, 1999), 153).

[913] Bang's linguistic analysis shows that the fear of God in the Greek AP is always connoted as φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ and never as εὐσέβεια (Bang, "Rediscovery of the Fear of God," 153).

[914] See e.g. G-Cotelier Nisterous.1.

to Vat.ar.460.[915] Furthermore, AP teaches that it is important to consistently stay in a state of fear of God. Thus one finds in both Vat.ar.460 1 and 4 a stress on the importance of abiding by the fear of God if one wishes to advance on the ascetic path. Nevertheless, Vat.ar.460 4 admits that this is a difficult task, especially when the monk leaves his cell.

The difference between the presentation of the fear of God in R compared to how it is presented in other AP versions is thus not so much a matter of changing the view of the virtue itself, but rather a matter of ranking this virtue. The fear of God does not appear at the beginning of any other AP version than R, which is where the virtues suitable for novices to start emulating usually appears in thematic AP collections.[916] On the contrary, Seongkyou Bang argues that AP presents the fear of God as a virtue for the advanced ascetic rather than for the novice:

> [A]s a single virtue, the fear of God is the one that the abbas tried to achieve at the highest peak of their life. As a soteriological virtue, it was pursued not only as the goal that the practitioners longed to reach but also as the practical means that enabled other virtues to reach perfection.[917]

The fact that the virtue of the fear of God appears in the beginning of R might be due to the Copto-Arabic engagement with works by Syriac ascetic authors, many of which grant the fear of God an even larger role in the ascetic program compared to early monastic works.[918] In the writings of Isaac of Nineveh, for example, the fear of God is the basic character trait of the ascetic way of life. As Patrik Hagman explains, "Isaac recognizes fear as a strong force in a person, and ascetic life has the ability to first transform this force and finally make it disappear completely."[919] According to a

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[915] Cf. IUD 3:4 "The flowing of the breath of life and its motion in the body is like the motion of a lamp in the corners of a house when someone moves it about." Trans. Ormsby (Ormsby, *Ghazali*, 127).

[916] By contrast, it is not common within AP to describe the fear of God. Isolating oneself from the world is, rather, the most common point of departure. See e.g. GS, in which the first theme is general advice on how to become ascetic, followed by a chapter on *hēsychia* (stillness).

[917] Bang, "Rediscovery of the Fear of God," 102-03.

[918] Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 83–84; Bowman, *Christian Monastic Life in Early Islam*, 220–21. As Bowman notes, the Arabic word for monk, *rāhib*, from the Arabic root *r-h-b*, denotes *one who fears God*. This can be contrasted with the Greek *monachos* or *anachōrētēs*, that both denote *one who isolates himself*. In Syriac discourse, the monk is an *ihidaya*, which can be translated both as *solitary* but also as *single-minded*, stressing the monk's ability to dwell in mental states.

[919] Hagman, *The Asceticism of Isaac of Nineveh*, 113.

parable employed by Isaac of Nineveh, the fear of God is the "captain" of the boat that wishes to cross the ocean and reach the "divine port of love".[920] In other words, the fear of God is a compass which helps the ascetic find the way which leads into divine love. This divine state is furthermore elaborated on by Isaac as a level of spiritual perfection, that is achieved only by very few. At this level, the ascetic is immersed by divine love and is able to cast off himself the fear he had previously felt.[921]

A similar ranking of fear and love appears in R dossier 1 as well, when Antonius in Vat.ar.460 8 says that he longer fears God but that he loves Him instead. As I have discussed in section 5.2.1, this statement is narrated as something which shocks Antonius's disciple, and it indeed comes as a stark contrast to what the reader has learned until then in the dossier about the importance of the fear of God. The structure of the presentation of the fear of God in R dossier 1 suggests that this dossier provides an exposition, however brief, of the role of the fear of God from the beginning of the ascetic life to its end, a state of perfection which only very few ascetics succeed in achieving. As I have suggested, it is probably no coincidence that it is Antonius, highest in rank among the desert fathers, who gets to say this.[922] Since the advancement in asceticism is a movement towards perfection, Antonius, who is more perfect than his peers, masters the asceticism necessary to dwell in a state of love of God, untainted by feelings of fear.[923]

In contrast, the virtues of fear and love of God are not explicitly ranked this way in other AP versions. In his study of G, Bang rather argues that the fear of God and the love of God are in AP presented as contrasts that balance each other.[924] He therefore writes that "[i]n terms of order, the fear of God may not be prior to the love of God.

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[920] Translation by Hagman (?). Hagman, *The Asceticism of Isaac of Nineveh*, 114.

[921] Hagman, *The Asceticism of Isaac of Nineveh*, 123.

[922] The discussion on fear and love also echoes the wording in 1 John 4:18: φόβος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ τελεία ἀγάπη ἔξω βάλλει τὸν φόβον, ὅτι ὁ φόβος κόλασιν ἔχει, ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος οὐ τετελείωται ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ. / "There is no fear in love, but perfect love casts out fear; for fear has to do with punishment, and whoever fears has not reached perfection in love." Cf. G-Cotelier Ammon.1.

[923] Bang has another interpretation of this apophthegm, suggesting that Antonius does not consider the virtue of the fear of God as transitory, but rather thinks that "love goes with or surpasses fear, not that love rejects fear." (Bang, "Rediscovery of the Fear of God," 131). For his discussion of the passage, see Bang, "Rediscovery of the Fear of God," 127–31.

[924] Bang, "Rediscovery of the Fear of God," 29.

[…] The fear of God always comes with the love of God."[925] Admittedly, love is considered a virtue that ranks above many of the other virtues, as is evident from the organization of GS in which the chapter on *agapē* (love) comes almost last in the collection. The love advocated in the chapter in GS, however, is not so much described as a direct love for God, but rather as a communal love, a love directed towards one's brotherhood and towards humanity, although this love is naturally a product of one's love for God. Compared with the virtue of love expressed in at least G and GS, R dossier 1 approaches the virtue of love from a more mystical point of view, akin to that found in Syriac as well as Sufi literature as well.

Apart from R dossier 1, mentions of the virtue of the fear of God naturally occur frequently throughout R, to such an extent that it is not possible to include all instances in this analysis. For this limited investigation, it will suffice to bring to attention the complementary descriptions of the role of the fear of God found in other texts in R that I have presented in my study thus far. The virtue appears in the prologue to Vat.ar.460 which states that it was the fear of God which motivated the desert fathers to practice such severe asceticism.[926] Furthermore, the fear of God appears in Vat.ar.460 159 (see section 6.3.2) and 304 (see section 6.2.4), where it is explained how ascetic practices such as poverty (or rather in the case of Vat.ar.460 159, disbelief in things and in himself), humility, isolation, and compunction help the ascetic enter a state of fearing God. In Vat.ar.460 303, it is once more established that the fear of God is closely connected to the knowledge of Him, and that the virtuous fear in itself acts as a compass on the ascetic path.

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[925] Bang, "Rediscovery of the Fear of God," 30.
[926] By contrast, there is an omittance of the virtue of the fear of God in Vat.ar.460 383, compared to parallel texts in other AP versions.

وايضا ساله اخ كيف تقتنى النفس خوف الله اجابه ادا لم يظهر الله للنفس ليس تخافه قال له وبمادا يظهر الله للنفس اجاب بالعزله والضيقه والصراخ كل حين بشوق لا يفنا قايلاً[927] يا ربى يسوع المسيح ارحمنى فادا هو كان كاين في قلبك تصنع دكره كل حين فهو يجى ويسكن فيك ويعلمك الاعمال الصالحه لتسير فيهم

A brother also asked him: "How does the soul acquire the fear of God?" He replied: "If God does not appear to the soul, then it is not afraid of Him." He said to him: "And through what does God appear to the soul?" He replied: "through isolation, anguish, and crying every now and then with unceasing longing, saying: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me'. If it is present in your heart, as you keep the memory of him all the time, it comes and dwells in you and teaches you all righteous works so you are guided by them."

To sum up, the virtue of the fear of God in R dossier 1 is presented as a first step on the ascetic path and as a virtue that is closely connected with wisdom and knowledge. The fear of God acts as a compass since it acknowledges the awesomeness of God and the terrible consequences if one is not saved in the Hereafter. Moreover, the virtue of the fear of God is presented as a mental state by which one must abide to proceed on the ascetic path. The safest way to maintain one's state of fear of God is to remain in one's cell, in isolation from the world, occupied with one's own *politeia*.

## 7.3.2 Fear of God in IUD Book 33

IUD book 33 concerns the virtues of *khawf* (fear) as well as the virtue of *rajāʾ* (hope) —virtues that al-Ghazālī considers closely related and to some extent complementary to each other.[928] This book appears in the fourth part of IUD, which deals with *munjiyāt* (ways of salvation) through the acquirement of what Sherif calls mystical

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[927] قايلاً in marg.

[928] الرجاء والخوف جناحان بهما يطير المقربون الى كلّ مقام محمود (al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.) al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, 4:138) / "Hope and fear are two wings by means of which those who are brought near fly to every commendable station"(McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 1). Ghazālī favors the term *khawf* over *taqwā* in book 33, probably since he is aiming at grasping fear as a psychological state, which, when being used in the right way, can become virtuous as is *taqwā* (see Leonard Lewisohn, "Taḳwā," In *EI* (Second Edition) Online, eds. Peri Bearman et al., (Brill, 2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_DUM_3354; Berger Lutz, "Fear of God and Hope (in Sufism)," In *EI* Three Online, eds. Kate Fleet et al., (Brill, 2007), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27081).

virtues.[929] In the fourth part of IUD, al-Ghazālī presents an ascetic program which is more or less recognizable in many other Sufi works as well. [930] The focus of the fourth part of IUD is to chart out the process of reaching more and more elevated *maqāmāt* (stages) on the way towards unity with God. In conformance with the general method of IUD, book 33 consists of a combination of excerpts from the Qur'an and *ḥadīth* tradition with al-Ghazālī's own reflections.

According to al-Ghazālī, fear is an emotion, or passion, that greatly influences the lives of most people.[931] Humans fear many things, and before their knowledge of God is mature, their objects of fear are in general related to matters of one's earthly life. Al-Ghazālī stresses, however, that as soon as one gains religious insight, the human propensity for fear is redirected towards God and His Judgment.[932] Like the curators of AP, al-Ghazālī thus clearly identifies the fear of God as inextricably linked with religious knowledge and wisdom. Interestingly, the affinity between fear and wisdom appears in book 33 in the form of a quote which we recognize from Vat.ar.460 1 as well. The Biblical *dictum* that the fear of God leads to wisdom, that in R was attributed to Antonius, is in IUD book 33 attributed to the prophet Muhammad instead:[933]

| IUD book 33[934] |
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| وقال عليه الصلاة والسلام "رأس الحكمة مخافة الله" |
| And Muḥammad said: The head of wisdom is the fear of God. |

Al-Ghazālī categorizes the virtue of the fear of God into two God-fearing sub-categories, suitable for Muslims mastering varying degrees of asceticism. The first

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[929] Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*, 132–38.
[930] Especially al-Makkī (Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue* 105–06, 108, 112–13).
[931] Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*, 132–33.
[932] McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 52–54.
[933] Al-Ghazālī quotes many times from Islamic tradition in IUD book 33 when stressing that knowledge about God installs the fear of Him. E.g. وكذلك قال الله تعالى: إنما يخشى الله من عباده العلماء (al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.). al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 4:152) / "And likewise God said: Only the knowledgeable among his creatures fear God." McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 27. See Q. 35:28.
[934] al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.). al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 4:158 / McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 40.

category is the fear of God that focuses on His ability to punish mankind. This type of fear is suitable for the ṣāliḥ (righteous), that is, for people who are not advanced in asceticism. The second category is the fear of God of those who understand the nature of God and longs to achieve unity with Him, and therefore fears the separation from Him. This type of fear appears in the heart of the ʿārif (gnostic), that is, the advanced ascetic.[935] Al-Ghazālī describes how the fear of God facilitates the advancement of the ascetic to higher maqāmāt (stations) of virtue.[936] The ascetic who fears God is thus able to acquire first the virtue of waraʿ (abstinence), restraining himself from what is maḥẓūr or taḥrīm (forbidden). Next, he can acquire the virtue of taqwā (piety), refraining not only from what is forbidden but also from worldly things in general since their status as commendable is contingent. Lastly, he may reach the virtue of sidq (sincerity) in which the fear of God is always present in his life.[937]

Importantly, however, Al-Ghazālī stresses that people ought not let the fear of God take complete control of their way of life. Al-Ghazālī therefore compares the fear of God with a whip that, when used in moderation, leads the person to good conduct, but when used in excess only causes torment. Developing the whip metaphor further, al-Ghazālī stresses that fear is only virtuous if it leads to proper behavior, just as the strike of a whip should discipline an animal but not torture it for the purpose of inflicting pain alone.[938] This is in line with al-Ghazālī's adherence to the middle way, that is, the balance between excessive behavior and emotion.[939]

In IUD book 33, al-Ghazālī identifies the virtue of hope as being closer in character to the love of God. Al-Ghazālī therefore actually considers the virtue of hope to be a superior virtue in relation to the virtue of fear. Nevertheless, he insists that it is better to let one's ascetic way of life be more governed by fear than by hope, since mankind is faulty and erroneous in character to its nature. Al-Ghazālī is thus pragmatical in this

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[935] McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 52–53.
[936] Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*, 132.
[937] al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.), al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, 4:153 / McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 28.
[938] McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 29.
[939] Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*, 135.

sense, as he recognizes the usefulness of fear as an ascetic tool, although hope is a more noble emotional state.[940]

The advancement from the fear of God to the love of God is not a major theme of book 33, but the ranking between them is obvious from the general structure of the fourth part of IUD in which the fear of God appears in book 33 which comes before the book on the virtue of love of God (IUD book 36). There are only occasional mentions of the relationship between fear and love in book 33. From them, it nevertheless becomes clear that al-Ghazālī considers fear (and hope) to be transitory virtues that the ascetic is to abandon when (s)he reaches a state of divine love. He thus states in the beginning of the exposition on fear:

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px;">

**IUD book 33**[941]

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ومن أنس بالله وملك الحق قلبه وصار ابن وقته مشاهدا لجمال الحق على الدوام لم يبق له التفات إلى المستقبل فلم يكن له خوف ولا رجاء بل صار حاله أعلى من الخوف والرجاء فإنهما زمانان يمنعان النفس عن الخروج إلى رعوناتها

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Whoever is intimate with God, whose heart is ruled by truth and who lives in the present through his seeing the majesty of truth perpetually, no longer turns to the future and is possessed of neither fear nor hope. More, his state has become higher than fear or hope, for both of these are reins which preclude the soul from its excursions into laxness.

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### 7.3.3 Comparison

There are many similarities between how the fear of God is presented in R dossier 1 and in al-Ghazālī's IUD book 33. In both comparanda, the fear of God is presented as a driving force and compass that facilitate the ascetic person in his progress towards perfection and, ultimately, *theōsis* or *tawḥīd*. Moreover, the fear of God is perceived in both comparanda as a transitory virtue which is later superseded when the ascetic becomes able to abide in the love of God, leaving the fear of God behind him. In this

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[940] McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 45.
[941] al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.), al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 4:152 / McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 25.

aspect, IUD, R, as well as Syriac ascetic thought as expressed by Isaac of Nineveh differ from the presentation of the fear of God in the early AP tradition.

Another significant similarity between how the fear of God is presented in R dossier 1 and in al-Ghazālī's IUD book 33 is that the fear of God is closely linked with the virtue of knowledge. Although the image of the fear of God as a light does not appear in IUD book 33 the way that it does in Vat.ar.460 1, there are frequent passages in book 33 to knowledge being expressed using light metaphors.[942] Knowledge as illumination is indeed a central element of al-Ghazālī's worldview (and, as has been brought up, a pervasive theme in medieval philosophy in general), although it does not take up much space in IUD book 33.[943] There are also passages in IUD book 33 in which the fear of God is likened to a fire, which is somewhat similar to the metaphor found in Vat.ar.460 1.[944]

The qualification of the fear of God into two types (either fearing His Judgment or fearing separation from Him), which one finds in IUD book 33, is, however, not present in R dossier 1. Furthermore, the warning against excessive fear, which is one of al-Ghazālī's more interesting and nuanced claims, is not present in R dossier 1, where it is instead stressed that it is important to immerse oneself in fear as completely as possible. For example, in Vat.ar.460 4, there is no call for moderation when Antonius recommends the monk to be in his cell at all times, letting the state of fear of God be present so that it does not die out like a flame that goes out. This difference between R dossier 1 and IUD book 33 illustrates a general difference between AP and

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[942] E.g. بل هو تحقيق فانك لو شاهدت بنور البصيرة باطنك لرأيته مشحونا بأصناف السباع وأنواع الهوام مثل الغضب والشهوة والحقد والحسد والكبر والعجب والرياء وغيرها (al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.), al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 4:185) / "No, it is reality, for, if you were to view your inner man with the light of insight, you would see it filled with different kinds of wild beasts and species of reptiles, like anger, lust, rancour, envy, pride, self-esteem, self-righteousness and the rest." (McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 98).

[943] See Julie Loveland Swanstrom, "Illumination of the Heart: Doubt, Certainty, and Knowledge Acquisition in Al-Ghazali and Augustine," *Res Philosophica* 98, no. 2 (2021): 307–30.

[944] E.g. فإن كنت تعلم أن ذلك محال أو عسير فلا بد وأن يغلب عليك من الخوف ما غلب على العارفين حتى يطول بسببه بكاؤك ونياحتك ويدوم به حزنك وقلقك كما سنحكيه من أحوال الأنبياء والسلف الصالحين ليكون ذلك أحد الأسباب المهيجة لنار الخوف من قلبك (al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.), al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 4:175 / "Consequently, if you know that that is absurd or difficult, the fear which prevailed over the Gnostics will inevitably prevail over you, so that your weeping and wailing will be prolonged on this account, and your grief and anxiety will be permanent because of it, just as we shall relate concerning the states of the prophets and the Fathers who were sound in faith, that it may be one of the causes which will excite the fire of fear in your heart." (McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 75).

al-Ghazālī concerning the limits of asceticism. While in R (and AP in general), the desert fathers often represent a more total asceticism which uses the full range of human emotions and practices and strives for *apatheia* or the killing of the passions, al-Ghazālī's more moderate form of asceticism also takes into consideration the danger of excess, and turns to a wider audience and explains that different types of people may acquire a virtuous way of life in different ways and to different extents.

## 7.4 Struggle

The need to struggle is, arguably, a necessary part of asceticism itself since asceticism is essentially counter-intuitive, and one must struggle not to fall out of its path. In Christian and Islamic ascetic discourse, the need for and aspects of struggle are widely discussed. A comparison of asceticism as struggle and warfare in medieval ascetic Christian and Islamic discourse is particularly interesting given the fact that Christian and Islamic ascetics themselves seem to have juxtaposed their own attitudes towards the idea of struggle against the other. As Goldziher and others have shown, early Muslim ascetics both admired and shunned parts of the monastic way of life. As Christian Sahner suggests, early Islamic ascetics brought the centrality of warfare, dictated by the Qur'an and *ḥadīth* tradition as an obligation to conduct *jihād*, into their formulation of the ascetic way of life, which in turn was inspired by Christian monasticism.[945] This fusion is most clearly visible in the following popular *ḥadīth*, which appears in 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak's (d. 797) *Kitab al-Jihād* (*the Book of Struggle*):

> He [sc. the Prophet Muhammad] used to say: Every community has its *rahbāniyya* [monasticism], and the *rahbāniyya* of my community is ğihād.[946]

In the late medieval period, Sufism offered a new and complementary interpretation of the idea of *jihād*. While *jihād* connotes militancy in the form of warfare and patrol on

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[945] Christian C. Sahner, "'The Monasticism of My Community Is Jihad': A Debate on Asceticism, Sex, and Warfare in Early Islam," *Arabica* 64, no. 2 (2017): 154. See also Cragg, *The Arab Christian*, 177.
[946] Trans. Sahner (Sahner, "'The Monasticism of My Community Is Jihad,'" 156). see Thomas Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam* (Philadelphia, US: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 161–62; Bowman, *Christian Monastic Life in Early Islam*, 181–86; and Melchert, *Before Sufism*, 130–31.

behalf of the *ummah* (community) in the Qur'an and *ḥadīth* collections,[947] Sufi discourse interpreted *jihād* (or, rather, *mujāhadah*, their preferred term) as a spiritual as well as militant effort, directed towards battling one's own ego as well as external enemies. Al-Ghazālī is, in fact, a key figure in the medieval re-interpretation of Islamic *jihād* as also connoting spiritual struggle against the ego. He is attributed with the doctrine of *jihād* as classified into Greater and Lesser *jihād*, where greater *jihād* signifies the struggle against one's inner shortcomings and lesser *jihād* signifies physical warfare.[948] Importantly, however, the aspect of concrete militant actions against enemies of the *ummah* continued to be advocated even among Sufi mystics. According to David Cook, there is in medieval Sufism "no separation between militancy and asceticism."[949]

The concepts of struggle in the form of *jihād* and *qitāl* sometimes appear in R to describe the ascetic way of life in general, and this to a greater extent than in parallel texts in other AP versions. In IUD, the virtue of struggle is not accorded a separate book. The following section offers a comparison of how struggle is presented as part of the ascetic program in selected dossiers in R and in IUD book 1 in which the virtue of struggle is mentioned quite often.

## 7.4.1 Struggle in R

In section 6.4.1, I have presented instances in Vat.ar.460 in which *jihād* or related terms that connote struggle appear in ways that are unparalleled in other AP versions, except for other Arabic AP recensions. As was shown in that section, there are several instances in Vat.ar.460 where the monk is referred to as a *mujāhid* (struggler). Moreover, I have brought up examples where *jihād* or *qitāl* appears as descriptors of the ascetic way of life, much like the Greek concept *politeia* appears in the Greek AP

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[947] Ella Landau-Tasseron, "Jihad," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2003), 35.

[948] David Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, second edition (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 37; see also Harry S. Neale, *Jihad in Premodern Sufi Writings* (New York, US: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016), 4–7.

[949] Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, 44; see also Neale, *Jihad in Premodern Sufî Writings*, 4–7).

tradition.[950] As I have argued, the occurrence of *jihād* in R testifies to a linguistic situation in which Islamicate ascetic concepts are appropriated in order to situate the cultural memory of the desert father in the Islamicate context, much like the early AP tradition had appropriated concepts from Graeco-Roman philosophy.

Moreover, it must be added that the description of the monastic state as a state of struggle—even warfare—was prevalent already during Late Antiquity, and not unique for Arabic Christian discourse, although it is not as common in other AP versions as in Vat.ar.460.[951] One can thus find militant imagery such as that found in Vat.ar.460 670 in late antique hagiographical accounts, although not in the parallels to this particular apophthegm.

To sum up, describing the desert fathers as strugglers does not constitute a radical textual change of the cultural memory of the desert fathers. Rather, I argue, the use of *jihād* and cognates in Vat.ar.460 rather serves as a translation strategy, whose aim is not to change the perception of the desert fathers but to situate it and elevate its status within the Islamicate context, while tapping to already existing perception of the saint as a warrior for Christ in late antique and medieval Christian discourse.

## 7.4.2 Struggle in IUD book 1

Al-Ghazālī brings up the concept of struggle in passing throughout IUD, not least in the many excerpts of the Qur'an and *aḥādīth*, reflecting the centrality of *jihād* in early Islamic literature. Nevertheless, al-Ghazālī does not show a great enthusiasm for *jihād* as a central tenet of Islamic asceticism. As Sherif points out, it is telling that al-Ghazālī does not devote a specific book to the virtue of struggle in IUD.[952] When *jihād* appears in al-Ghazālī's own discussions, it is often referred to as a virtue that is to be compared with and contrasted against other virtues that al-Ghazālī seem to be more interested in promoting. For example, he argues several times in IUD book 1 that the virtue of

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[950] The term جهاد and synonyms appear much more often in CAB-Epiphanius, but that is beyond the scope of this investigation.
[951] Cf. Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity*.
[952] Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*, 91.

pursuing knowledge is of equal rank as the virtue of *jihād*, quoting a *ḥadīth* which states that "the nearest people to prophethood are the people of knowledge and the warriors of *jihād*."[953] Al-Ghazālī's attitude towards *jihād* as expressed in IUD is thus somewhat ambiguous. Although he quotes traditions that stress the need for *jihād*, al-Ghazālī himself rarely discusses militancy as a virtue in his own exposition. Rather, as Cook argues, "al-Ghazali does not entirely abandon militant interpretations of jihād, but rather sidelines them to a greater extent than had the predecessor ascetics and Sufis."[954] As the original propagator of the greater jihād-discourse, al-Ghazālī shows much more interest in the cognate concept *mujāhadah*, which in Sufi discourse denotes spiritual combat.[955] According to al-Ghazālī, progression on the ascetic path is carried out by pursuing *mujāhadah* (spiritual combat) against one's own shortcomings.[956] Al-Ghazālī clearly considers the concept of *mujāhadah* as synonymous with asceticism itself, as is evident in the following passage from book 1:

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**IUD book 1[957]**

ومنها أن يكون أكثر اهتمامه بعلم الباطن ومراقبة القلب ومعرفة طريق الآخرة وسلوكه وصدق الرجاء في انكشاف ذلك من المجاهدة والمراقبة فان المجاهدة تفضي إلى المشاهدة ودقائق علوم القلب تنفجر بها ينابيع الحكمة من القلب (...) فذلك مفتاح الإلهام ومنبع الكشف

Another characteristic expected of the learned man is that he devotes the greatest part of his attention to esoteric knowledge, the observation (*muraqabah*) of the heart, the path of the hereafter and how to journey thereon, as well as to an abiding faith in finding that path through self-mortification (*mujahadah*) and observation. For self-mortification leads to contemplation (*mushahadah*), and through the intricate details of the sciences of the heart fountains of wisdom will gush forth. (…) This is the key to illumination (*ilham*) and the fountainhead of revelation *(kashf)*.

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[953] Faris (trans), *Al-Ghazālī: The Book of Knowledge*, 5. أقرب الناس من درجة النبوة أهل العلم والجهاد (al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.), al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 1:6). See also the following *ḥadīth*: فالمتكفلون بالعلوم كالمتكفلين بالثغور والمرابطين بها والغزاة المجاهدين في سبيل الله (al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.), al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 1:53) / "those who have undertaken to study them [sc. the sciences] are like those who have undertaken to guard the outpost of Islam where they are encamped, or like the conquerors who are warring on behalf of God." (Faris (trans), *Al-Ghazālī: The Book of Knowledge*, 131).
[954] Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, 37–38. But for another view see Neale, *Jihad in Premodern Sufi Writings*, 63–64.
[955] Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, 37. Neale, *Jihad in Premodern Sufi Writings*, 48.
[956] Faris (trans), al-Ghazālī: *The Book of Knowledge*, 128.
[957] al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.), al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 1:70–71 / Faris (trans), al-Ghazālī: *The Book of Knowledge*, 182.

Like fear, al-Ghazālī considers spiritual combat a transitory virtue which can be abandoned when the ascetic reaches the goal of union with God. In book 33, two passages provide an exposition of the virtues that are attained after one has acquired the virtue of the fear of God, and al-Ghazālī ranks *mujāhadah* as a virtue that becomes possible through the mastering of *ṣabr* (patience), which in turn is instilled by fear.[958] Al-Ghazālī's interpretation of asceticism as struggle in IUD book 1 resonates with both Christian and Islamic ascetic thought. He distinguishes, like other Sufi authors, between *jihād* and *mujāhadah*, where only the latter refers to spiritual combat and is thus favored by him as a constituent of the ascetic program. Moreover, al-Ghazālī is less inclined to grant militant *jihād* the role as a central virtue which is more accentuated in the works of other medieval Islamic ascetic authors. Rather, IUD book 1 presents an ascetic program which suggests a supersession from the early Islamic focus on *jihād* to the pursuit of intellectual asceticism.

### 7.4.3 Comparison

When it comes to the employment of the concept of asceticism as *jihād*, there are major differences between R and IUD. The first difference concerns quantity: the concept of *jihād* is much more pervasive in IUD book 1 (and IUD in general) than it is in R. This can be explained by the fact that the two comparanda curate two different traditions which in turn treats the theme of struggle and warfare differently. While AP draws its traditions from Greek discourse in which *agōn* was related to theatrical and athletic contest and was not expressed as the core of the virtuous life, al-Ghazālī

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[958] ثم يؤدي مقام الصبر المستفاد من الخوف والرجاء إلى مقام المجاهدة والتجرد لذكر الله تعالى والفكر فيه على الدوام ويؤدي دوام الذكر إلى الأنس ودوام الفكر إلى كمال المعرفة ويؤدي كمال المعرفة والأنس إلى المحبة ويتبعها مقام الرضا والتوكل وسائر المقامات فهذا هو الترتيب في سلوك منازل الدين وليس بعد أصل اليقين مقام سوى الخوف والرجاء ولا بعدهما مقام سوى الصبر وبه المجاهدة والتجرد لله ظاهرا وباطنا (al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.), al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, 4:164) / "Then the station of patience, which is derived from fear and hope, gives access to the station of spiritual combat and exclusive devotion to the recollection of God and constant reflection on Him. And constant recollection gives access to intimacy and constant reflection to the perfection of 'knowledge'. And perfection of 'knowledge' and intimacy give access to love and the station of satisfaction and trustfulness, and the remainder of the stations follow it. And this is the order of ascent of the stages of religion; and no station can succeed the root of assurance except fear and hope, and only patience can succeed these two, and accompanying it is spiritual combat and utter devotion to God outwardly and inwardly" (McKane (trans.), *Al-Ghazali's Book of Fear and Hope*, 51–52). Cf. Vat.ar.460 663, in which evil thoughts are cured by صبر (patience) and جهاد (struggle).

curates in IUD book 1 the Qur'an and *ḥadīth* tradition in which *jihād* (warfare) on behalf of the *ummah* (community) is a central virtue.

Seen in this light, it is interesting to see how the two comparanda are, in a way, curated by opposite discourse strategies, hence differing from each other once more. In Vat.ar.460, the term *jihād* and synonyms seem to have been added to adapt the desert father discourse to an Islamicate context, al- Ghazālī on the contrary curates IUD book 1 to convey an alternative view of *jihād* as a lesser virtue than it has previously been viewed in Islamicate discourse.

Like other Sufi authors, al-Ghazālī favors the term *mujāhadah* whenever discussing the virtue of spiritual struggle. In contrast, the concept of *mujāhadah* does not appear in R or other Arabic AP recensions. This is yet another difference between the R and IUD. The difference in terminology between the comparanda is interesting, since it indicates that, at least in this case, the Arabic AP tradition and Sufi discourse were terminologically separated. Zaborowski, who in his study of Strasb.4225 and Greek *gnomologia* comments upon an analogous case, stating that "the translation of Greek *Apophthegmata Patrum* into Arabic and the translation of Greek *Gnomologia* of the Classical philosophers represent two different streams of culture flowing into two Arabic pools, or two different semantic houses."[959] In the case of expressing the role of struggle in the Arabic AP tradition and Sufi discourse, they too seem to belong to two different semantic houses.

## 7.5 Recitative meditative prayer

Recitative meditative prayer is a type of formulaic prayer which features in many religions. A recitative meditative prayer typically consists of a short formula that is repeated many times. The formula often describes the Godhead or states a central

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[959] Zaborowski, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 338. As Zaborowski states, he takes the concept of "semantic house" from Richard M. Frank and Martin Heidegger.

religious creed. The practice has a meditative aim, as the practitioner seeks to enter an altered state of mind caused by immersion in the prayer's perpetuity.[960]

The most popular examples of Christian and Islamic recitative meditative prayer are the JP and *dhikr*.[961] Consequently, many scholars have pointed to apparent similarities between the JP (as practiced in Greek-orthodox tradition) and *dhikr*. As Alexander Knysh observes, the JP and *dhikr* traditions are examples of a universal religious phenomenon:

> As an ejaculatory litany tirelessly repeated by the pious practitioner, dhikr exhibits many parallels with the "Jesus Prayer" of the Eastern Christians of Sinai and Mount Athos in Greece. […] Without denying possible influences and causal relations between these modes of prayer, one may argue that we are dealing with a universal tendency that cuts across geographical regions and religious confessions.[962]

In his comparison of hesychast JP and Sufi *dhikr*, Nasr lists the most pertinent similarities as being 1) the importance of the role of the master-disciple relationships for those who practice the prayer; 2) the locus of the prayer in the heart; 3) the overall aim to achieve both a state of freedom from the passions, expressed as *hēsychia* or *fanāʾ*, and deification, expressed as *theōsis* or *tawḥīd*; and 4) the use of breathing techniques.[963] Notable differences are, according to Nasr, that the recipient of the prayer differs (Jesus vs God), and that the hesychast JP is practiced only by a spiritual élite, the monastic community, while *dhikr* is practiced more widely among Muslims.[964] As I have mentioned in section 7.1, Nasr disfavors the notion that similarities between the JP and *dhikr* could be the result of interdependence. Rather, he

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[960] Within Christianity and Islam the concept of meditation is not as widely used as it is in other traditions, but from a comparative perspective meditation well encapsulates the *geist* of some Christian and Islamic ascetic practices (Halvor Eifring, "Meditation in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Technical Aspects of Devotional Practices," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography,* vol. 1, ed. Stephanos Efthymiadis (London & New York: Routledge, 2016), 3.

[961] Halvor Eifring, synthesizing meditative practices within Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, classifies both the Jesus Prayer and *dhikr* as examples of recitative meditation. Halvor Eifring, "Meditation in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Technical Aspects of Devotional Practices," in Meditation in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Cultural Histories, ed. Halvor Eifring (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 6.

[962] Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 317–18.

[963] As comparanda, Nasr uses the *Philokalia* and secondary sources, mentioning Sufi works such as ibn ʿAṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī 's (d. 1310) *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ* in passing. Nasr, "The Prayer of the Heart."

[964] Nasr, "The Prayer of the Heart," 202.

argues (in a Traditionalist spirit) that their similarities attest to their separate connections with true universal spirituality.[965]

As I have demonstrated in section 6.4.2, the term *dhikr* sometimes appears in R when describing the JP. On his part, al-Ghazālī considers the *dhikr* practice to be a central ascetic practice, and he devotes book 9 in IUD to it. In the following section, I compare how recitative meditative prayer, as it appears in the form of JP in R and *dhikr* in IUD book 9, is described and ranked in the different ascetic programs.

## 7.5.1 The JP in R dossier JP

As I have demonstrated in section 5.4, R dossier JP consists almost entirely of apophthegmata that center around the topic of the JP. Only a few of them have parallels in Greek, Coptic, or Ethiopic AP versions. As Swanson has shown, the JP was practiced widely among the medieval Coptic population.[966] As he describes, the medieval Coptic JP tradition is less formalized than its Byzantine counterpart. From the apophthegmata in R dossier JP, one can nevertheless distinguish some aspects of how the JP was performed and what role the JP had in the ascetic formation of medieval Copts. I take the formula to as a point of departure, as it is found in Vat.ar.460 300, 303, and 305:

| Vat.ar.460 | Text | Transl. |
|---|---|---|
| **300** | يا ربى والاهى يسوع المسيح عينى يا ربى يسوع المسيح تحنن على انا اسبحك يا ربى يسوع المسيح | My Lord and God Jesus Christ, help me; my lord Jesus Christ, have pity for me; I praise you, my Lord Jesus Christ. |

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[965] Nasr, "The Prayer of the Heart," 202.
[966] Swanson, "'These Three Words Will Suffice'." See also Badamo ,who has an interesting but somewhat farfetched hypothesis that the medieval Coptic laity's adoption of the JP was due to a more intense perception of the Christian faith as being in combat in late medieval Egypt ("Texts like the Jesus prayer suggest that the spiritual struggles of the day were conceptualized as an externalized fight, waged against worldly threats to the Church." Badamo, "Depicting Religious Combat," 177).

| 303 | يا ربى يسوع المسيح ارحمنى | My Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me. |
|---|---|---|
| 305 | يا ربى يسوع المسيح ارحمنى يا ربى يسوع المسيح اعنى اسبحك يا ربى يسوع المسيح | My Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me; my Lord Jesus Christ, help me; I praise you, my Lord Jesus Christ. |

This formula is similar but not identical to the formula found in the hesychast tradition (*Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner*). Although there is some variation between the Copto-Arabic accounts of the JP formula, two notable aspects in the Copto-Arabic formula that differ from the hesychast version are that the Copto-Arabic JP lacks the specification of Jesus's status as *Son of God*, and that it often ends by a glorification of God rather than by an expression of abasement on behalf of the practitioner.[967] The glorification in the Copto-Arabic JP bears an interesting morphological similarity with *dhikr*. However, already in the early medieval Coptic VrM, one finds JP formulae including the glorification of God, so the apparent morphological similarity between the Copto-Arabic JP and Islamic *dhikr* is probably not due to the Copto-Arabic JP appropriating Islamic liturgical parlance.[968]

R dossier JP also offers some details on how the JP is to be performed. In Vat.ar.460 300 (see section 5.4), the anonymous elder prescribes the JP as an excellent ascetic activity in the cell, that is, when one is alone (an aspect which the parallels to this apophthegm stress much more). Furthermore, in Vat.ar.460 298, it is stressed that the JP is a private ritual. As the anonymous elder explains, the JP is appropriate to perform either when alone or, if other people are around, in the mind without showing anyone that one is praying. The description of the JP as a private prayer conforms with how the JP is performed in the hesychast tradition as well. Vat.ar.460 298 is interesting in its listing of what seems to be several distinguishable prayer practices, namely *ṣalāh* (prayer), *ṭalab* (entreaty), and *taḍarruʿ* (invocation), the last one denoting the JP. The

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[967] Cf. characteristics as listed in Hausherr, *Noms du Christ et voies d'Oraison*, p. 125.
[968] Swanson, "'These Three Words Will Suffice'," 706.

three-fold classification of prayer in this apophthegm is interesting due to its analogy with the classification of three types of Islamic prayer, namely *ṣalāh* (ritual prayer), *duʿāʾ* (supplication or personal prayer), and *dhikr*, although admittedly another terminology is used in the Copto-Arabic text.[969] Here it is worth remembering that the description of cell practices in Vat.ar.460 300, which were considered in section 5.4, included a recommendation that the monks should perform *al-ṣalawāt al-jāmiʿāt* (communal prayers) in their cells. In Vat.ar.460 300, it is not entirely clear what is meant by *al-ṣalawāt al-jāmiʿāt* as a cell activity. It might refer to the *synaxis*, which, according to Robert Taft, the desert fathers sometimes practiced alone in their cells.[970] In these two apophthegmata, *ṣalāh* seems in any case to refer to ritual prayer, in contrast to the JP which is never referred to as *ṣalāh*.

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**Vat.ar.460 298 (fol. 95v(1))**

قال شيخ ليس عمل اخر فى جميع الفضايل مثل مداومه الصلاه والطلبات وان تضرع الى اسم ربنا يسوع المسيح كل حين اما فى العزله واما فى القلب بغير تنزه

An elder said: "No other deed among all the virtues is like continuance in prayer and entreaty, and to supplicate in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ at all times either in solitude, or in the heart without showing."[971]

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The depiction of JP as private also appears in Vat.ar.460 305, where Jacob visits Isidorus and catches him performing the JP. Isidorus does not utter the JP, but only moves his lips as if whispering. In this apophthegm it is also indicated that the JP can

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[969] This three-fold classification of prayer also appears in Bar ʿEbroyo's *Ethicon* (Teule, "Al-Ghazâli Et Bar ʿEbroyo," 219–220). Notably, Bar ʿEbroyo names the "prière des heures" (ritual prayer) *slutō* (cf. صلاة), which Teule translates as "prière commune."

[970] Robert Taft writes that prayer life in Sketis consisted of 1) two daily prayers (synaxis), one in the morning and one in the evening; and 2) unceasing prayer. As for the synaxis, it was only communal during Saturday and Sunday, whereas during the week it was done in one's cell, alone or with visitors: "In the *Apophthegmata*, 'synaxis' is synonymous with 'office' or a period or place of prayer, and 'to do the synaxis' […] is used indifferently for common assemblies as well as for the prayer of solitaries." Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*, Second Edition (Collegeville, US: The Liturgical Press, 1993 (1986), 71. Cf. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice*, 77; and Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 118, 122.

[971] Regnault translates تنزه as "manifestation extérieur," explaining that it is reflected in the recent CAB edition "d'un terme arabe difficile" (Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes," 348).

(should?) be performed with one's eyes raised towards the sky. This small detail is interesting, since it differs from the hesychast tradition in which it was common to lower one's head and close one's eyes when performing the JP.[972]

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**Vat.ar.460 305 (fol. 96r(3))**

قال انبا يعقوب زرت انبا ايسيدرس فوجدته فى القلايه. وهو ينسخ وانى جلست عنده قليل فرايته فى كل قليل يرفع عينيه الى السماء وتتحرك شفتيه ولا اسمع له صوت البته قلت له مادا تعمل هكدا يا ابي قال لى ما تعرف انت هكدى قلت له لا يا ابى قال لي ان كنت لا تعرف انت هكذا فما صرت بعد ولا يوم راهب وهدا هو الدي كان يقوله يا ربى يسوع المسيح ارحمنى يا ربى يسوع المسيح عيننى اسبحك يا ربي يسوع المسيح

Abba Jacob said: "I visited Abba Isidorus and found him in his cell. He was copying. I sat by him a while. I saw him in raise his eyes to the sky and move his lips every few moments, but I did not hear his voice at all. I said to him, "What is this that you practice, father?" He told me: "Do you not know this?" I told him: "No, father." He told me: "If you do not know this, you have not become a monk even for a day." This is what he was saying: 'O my Lord Jesus Christ', have mercy on me; Oh my Lord Jesus Christ, help me; I praise you, Oh my Lord Jesus Christ.'"

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Yet one can also utter the JP at full voice, as becomes clear in Vat.ar.460 303, where an elder recommends performing the JP as a *ṣurākh* (cry).[973]

These details aside, the focus of R dossier JP lies more on the spiritual value of the JP rather than on providing advice on how it should be practiced. The apophthegmata tell of the virtue of invoking the salvific name of Jesus, with the prayer being a concrete embodiment of this virtue. In many of the apophthegmata in R dossier JP, the power of the *ism* (name) is described without mentioning any prayer practice. The name of Jesus Christ is thus compared to a precious jewel (Vat.ar.460 291) which is sweet in one's mouth (Vat.ar.460 296).[974] Alternatively, the holy Name is described as a fortress and

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[972] Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes," 350 n3. See also Kallistos Ware, *A Fourteenth-Century Manual of Hesychast Prayer: The Century of St Kallistos and St Ignatios Xanthopoulos* (Toronto, Canadian Institute of Balkan Studies, 1995), 21–22.

[973] As Hausherr argues, the desert father *meletē* was often carried out with one's full voice, but was still considered a private prayer, since the anchoretic lifestyle allowed the desert fathers to speak in their cells without having others hear them (Hausherr, *Noms du Christ et voies d'Oraison*, 171–172).

[974] Cf the merchant parable in Matt 13:45.

a weapon (Vat.ar.460 291) which brings hope and mercy (Vat.ar.460 5). It is described as having the salvific power of purifying and protecting the soul (Vat.ar.460 293 and 299). Through concentrating on the name of Jesus Chris, the soul of the practitioner becomes capable of seeing God (Vat.ar.460 303). Its centrality in ascetic life is stressed in Vat.ar.460 305, as Isidorus tells Jacob that he cannot even call himself a monk for a single day, unless he practices the JP.

### 7.5.2 *Dhikr* in IUD book 9

Al-Ghazālī treats the topic of *dhikr* in the first part of IUD book 9, which appears at the end of the first part of IUD which treats *ʿibādāt* (acts of worship).[975] As Sherif explains, "Ghazali emphasizes that invoking God's name (*dhikr Allah*) is the most virtuous and useful act of worship. All other practices lead to this and they are necessary as means to it."[976] Al-Ghazālī thus strongly advocates for the practice of *dhikr*. In line with his characteristic, non-institutionalized version of Sufism, al-Ghazālī recommends a type of *dhikr* practice which is not like the collective, ritualized, and ecstatic Sufi practice which was later formalized into *awrād* (offices, sing. *wird*) specific to each Sufi order.[977] In this respect, the *dhikr* prescribed by al-Ghazālī in IUD book 9 is much closer to how the JP is described.

In support for *dhikr* being a central ascetic virtue, al-Ghazālī cites in IUD book 9 both *ḥadīth* tradition and the Qur'an. The *dhikr* in the *ḥadīth* traditions is often in the form of credos and glorifications, such as *tahlīl* (*lā Ilāha illā Allāh*, *there is no god but God*), *tasbīḥ* (*subḥān Allāh*, *Glory be to God*), or *taḥmīd* (*al-ḥamdu li-llāh*, *Praise be to God*).[978] Like the JP, their content as well as their length are characteristic of

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[975] Sections 2–5 instead deal with forms of commendable *duʿāʾ*.
[976] Sherif, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*, 91.
[977] Louis Gardet, "Dhikr," in *EI* (Second Edition) Online, eds. Peri Bearman et al (Brill, 2012), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0162; Shahzad Bashir, "Movement and Stillness: The Practice of Sufi *Dhikr* in Fourteenth-Century Central Asia," in *Meditation in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Cultural Histories*, ed. Halvor Eifring (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 201.
[978] Nakamura (trans.), al-Ghazālī: *Invocations and Supplications*, 11–21.

recitative meditative prayer formulae. Additionally, like the JP, the common *dhikr* formulae have their scriptural basis in the Qur'an.[979]

In IUD book 9 al-Ghazālī does not provide many details on how *dhikr* is to be performed. However, by citing passages from the Qur'an and *ḥadīth* tradition, al-Ghazālī provides the following concrete details regarding its performance: 1) *dhikr* should succeed *ṣalāh* (ritual prayer) or other rituals; 2) *dhikr* should be performed "standing, sitting, or lying down", in other words in whatever posture he finds himself in; and 3) *dhikr* should be performed in a low voice.[980] Al-Ghazālī also quotes *aḥādīth* stating that *dhikr* can be performed in a group.[981] Lastly, al-Ghazālī quotes a *ḥadīth* which recommends the practitioner to raise his eyes towards the sky whilst performing the *dhikr*.[982]

Another notable feature of the *aḥādīth* that al-Ghazālī chooses to quote in IUD book 9 is the high ranking of *dhikr* among the *ʿibādāt* (acts of worship). In those *aḥādīth* one finds descriptions of *dhikr* that are similar to how the holy Name is described as a salvific power in R dossier JP. Thus, according to a quoted *ḥadīth*, an ascetic who practices *dhikr* becomes *ʾarfaʿ* (exalted), surpassing both warriors and beneficiaries in virtue:

| IUD book 9[983] |
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| وقال أبو الدرداء قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ألا أنبئكم بخير أعمالكم وأزكاها عند مليككم وأرفعها في درجاتكم وخير لكم من إعطاء الورق والذهب وخير لكم من أن تلقوا عدوكم فتضربون أعناقهم ويضربون أعناقكم قالوا وما ذاك يا رسول الله قال ذكر الله عز وجل دائما |
| Abu'l-Dardā said, 'The Emissary of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, "Shall I not tell you about the best and purest of your works for your Lord, and |

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[979] E.g. Q 1:2, 47:19, and 56:74.
[980] Q 7:205. Nakamura (trans.), *al-Ghazālī: Invocations and Supplications*, 5–6, 19–20. But see Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 167.
[981] Nakamura (trans.), *al-Ghazālī: Invocations and Supplications,* 9–11.
[982] Nakamura (trans.), *al-Ghazālī: Invocations and Supplications,* 12.
[983] al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.), al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, 1:296 / Nakamura (trans.), *al-Ghazālī: Invocations and Supplications*, 8.

the most exalted of them in your ranks, and the work which is better for you than giving silver and gold, and better for you than encountering your enemy, with you striking their necks and them striking your necks?" Thereupon the people said, "What is that, O Emissary of God?" He said, "The constant remembrance of God"'.

When al-Ghazālī's own argumentation starts, however, it becomes clear that he only considers *dhikr* to be effective if it is done with the right mindset, in the practitioner's *qalb* (heart). Seen in this light, the practical aspects of *dhikr* are not essential for al-Ghazālī. Consistent with his characteristic psychological attitude towards asceticism and the cultivation of virtues, al-Ghazālī argues that *dhikr* is important because it ameliorates the ascetic's attention towards God, and he accordingly puts less focus on the salvific power of *dhikr* than does the traditions from which he cites.[984]

**IUD Book 9[985]**

والقدر الذي يسمح بذكره في علم المعاملة أن المؤثر النافع هو الذكر على الدوام مع حضور القلب فأما الذكر باللسان والقلب لاه فهو قليل الجدوى

The extent to which it is allowed to be mentioned in the science of religious practices (*ʿilm al muʿāmalah*) is this: the effective and useful factor is constant invocation with the presence of the heart (*qalb*). As for the invocation on the tongue and without the presence of the heart, it is of little use.

Moreover, al-Ghazālī once more shows a preference for framing the ascetic way of life as taking control over universal emotions, such as fear, desire, and love, and redirecting them in the pursuit of unity with God. One finds an example of al-Ghazālī's tendency to use emotions as vehicles of asceticism in the following passage from IUD book 9 (whose theme appears in similar form in HA as well) where it is explained that the practice of *dhikr* becomes an instinct if it is motivated by feelings of love that are recognizable from mundane life:[986]

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[984] See Kojiro Nakamura, "A Structural Analysis of Dhikr and Nembutsu," *Orient* 7 (1971): 82.
[985] al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.) al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, 1:303 / Nakamura (trans.), *al-Ghazālī: Invocations and Supplications,* 22. See also Nakamura (trans.), *al-Ghazālī: Invocations and Supplications,* 82.
[986] HA 10:44 (Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 168.

| IUD book 9[987] |
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| فإن من أحب شيئا أكثر من ذكره ومن أكثر ذكر شيء وإن كان تكلفا أحبه فكذلك أول الذكر متكلف إلى أن يثمر الأنس بالمذكور والحب له ثم يمتنع الصبر عنه آخرا فيصير الموجب موجباو الثمر مثمرا |
| Truly when a man loves a thing, he repeatedly mentions it, and when he repeatedly mentions a thing, even if that may be burdensome, he loves it. Thus the beginning of invocation is burdensome, until intimacy and love of the One invoked result. And then finally it becomes impossible to endure without invocation. The cause turns into an effect and the fruit becomes fructified. |

### 7.5.3 Comparison

The centrality of recitative meditative prayer is evident in the ascetic program of both R and IUD book 9. As scholars have pointed out, there are many similarities between the JP and Sufi *dhikr*. When comparing how the JP and *dhikr* are portrayed in R dossier JP and IUD book 9, one therefore finds some of the same similarities and differences that other scholars such as Nasr have pointed out, but also some differences.

According to Nasr, the main similarities between the JP and Sufi *dhikr* were 1) the importance of the role of the master-disciple relationships for those who practice the prayer; 2) the locus of the prayer in the heart; 3) the overall aim of achieving freedom from the passions and deification; and 4) the use of breathing techniques. In our comparanda, the role of the master-disciple relationship is only found in R dossier JP, and not in al-Ghazālī's IUD book 9. Never does al-Ghazālī mention that *dhikr* is something that one learns in a community, which once again reflects al-Ghazālī's non-institutional appeal. In R dossier JP, in contrast, it is stressed that the JP is something that the elders teach their disciples, especially in Vat.ar.460 305. As for the locus of

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[987] al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī (ed.) al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, 1:303 / Nakamura (trans.), *al-Ghazālī: Invocations and Supplications*, 23.

the prayer in the heart, this is indeed found in many passages of both R dossier JP and IUD book 9. Moreover, one finds in both comparanda descriptions of the JP and Sufi *dhikr* as mental states which can only be achieved by detaching oneself from the passions, although there are formulations in both comparanda that suggest that passion, in the form of longing for God, could actually help the ascetic in his or her recitative meditative prayer practice. In most cases, however, R dossier JP situates the JP as a virtuous monastic practice among other virtuous monastic practices and insists that it is reached by cultivating specific monastic traits such as isolation, compunction, and renunciation (Vat.ar.460 291 and 303). Lastly, there are no mentions in neither R dossier JP nor IUD book 9 about breathing techniques. As has been demonstrated, the Copto-Arabic JP tradition appears to be less formalized than its hesychast counterparts. The same can be said for al-Ghazālī's exposition on *dhikr* compared to the *dhikr* practices of institutionalized Sufism. Both the curators of R and al-Ghazālī are more concerned with explaining the role of recitative meditative prayer in the cultivation of virtues and progression in the ascetic program than in concrete details of its performance. Even so, there is a peculiar similarity in one performative detail mentioned, namely the raising of one's eyes upwards, which appears in IUD book 9 as well as R dossier JP, but not in the hesychast JP tradition.

The differences between the expositions on the JP and *dhikr* in our comparanda are smaller than their similarities. One notable difference is that al-Ghazālī allows *dhikr* to be practiced in a group, while the recommendation to perform JP alone is very strong in R dossier JP and the JP tradition in general. According to Nasr, the main difference between the JP and Sufi dhikr is that the JP is only practiced by the monastic community. However, as Swanson has shown, the JP was practiced by the Coptic laity as well as by monks.

The commensurability between the two prayer practices becomes even more evident in our comparanda, since they are both in Arabic and employ, to some extent, the same vocabulary when describing the recitative meditative prayer practice. As I have discussed in section 6.4.2, there is yet an illuminating analogous source to R dossier JP

with respect to how the JP is expressed as *dhikr*, namely Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ethicon*.[988] Once again, the Syriac ascetic tradition is important to consider when approaching the ascetic thought of both medieval Sufism and Copto-Arabic monasticism.

## 7.6 Concluding discussion

The aim of the comparison in this chapter has been to illuminate aspects of the ascetic program in R and how it relates both to Islamicate ascetic thought. Books 1, 9, and 33 from al-Ghazālī's IUD have been selected as comparanda to R dossier 1, R dossier JP, and the occurrence of struggle vocabulary in R.

When it comes to the genre, AP and IUD have many similarities. For one thing, they are both examples of apophthegmatic literature that has been curated for the purpose of revivifying the cultural memory of the desert fathers and early Islamic tradition. Moreover, AP and IUD both present what they envisage as the true philosophy, in which religious doctrine and ascetic practices merge with philosophical notions about how to cultivate the ideal man. Both comparanda legitimize their ascetic programs through the authority of ideal ascetics of the past, which makes reading texts a practice of emulation. In Flood's words, "the ascetic self performs the memory of tradition and in so doing attempts to become like every other ascetic self in the tradition."[989]

As the comparison has shown, there are many similarities in how the virtue of fear and recitative meditative prayer are presented in our comparanda. In the comparison of these virtues I have also brought up examples of Syriac ascetic authors, such as Isaac of Nineveh and Bar 'Ebroyo, to stress the role of Syriac asceticism as the middleman between the AP tradition, Copto-Arabic monasticism, and Islamic asceticism. As I have argued in this dissertation, R is a product of the Coptic Renaissance, during which Copts took part of Syro-Arabic Christian literature and thus embraced the long and rich Syriac ascetic literary tradition. The same can be said for Islamic asceticism, whose encounter with Christianity was often an encounter with Syro-Arabic

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[988] Teule, "An Important Concept," 21–22. See also Seppälä, *In Speechless Ecstasy*, 304.
[989] Gavin Flood, *The Ascetic Self: Subjectivity, Memory and Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 212.

Christianity. It is thus more likely that morphological similarities between R and IUD are due to both al-Ghazālī and the curators of R having been inspired by Syriac asceticism than them having been in direct contact with each other's works, although it cannot be excluded.

Meanwhile, there presentation of the virtue of struggle is quite different between R and IUD. In R, a struggle-oriented vocabulary has occasionally been employed, as I argue to accommodate the portrayal of the desert fathers with medieval Islamicate parlance, in which asceticism was associated with *jihād*. In IUD, al-Ghazālī seems to aim for an almost opposite goal, namely, to downplay the role of *jihād* in his presentation of the ascetic program, for the benefit of the more spiritually connoted term *mujāhadah*. This difference shows how important it is to consider that the curators of R and al-Ghazālī very actively engaged with their respective scriptural and apophthegmatic traditions. To some extent, of course, the Christian and Islamic scriptural and traditional universes converge, but the topic of *jihād* illustrates a case where they are different.

Another difference between R and IUD concerns the acquirement of virtues. On the one hand, R, and AP in general, typically advocate *apatheia* (freedom from passions) by means of a radical asceticism that can be understood as total devotion, albeit framed in an institutional form which forbids the most extreme forms of asceticism and demands obedience to the community leaders.[990] By contrast, al-Ghazālī advices his audience to reach the middle way, a balanced cultivation of virtues, achieved by engaging in moderate forms of asceticism. This becomes most obvious when considering how differently the virtue of the fear of God is described in IUD book 33 compared to how it is described in R dossier 1.

A last important difference between R and IUD concerns the formulation of the ascetic program itself. While IUD is written as an extensive treatise, carefully curated by a single curator, R (and the AP tradition in general) is a composite florilegium, and is

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[990] Ingvild Sælid Gilhus, "'Tears Flowed from His Eyes Unceasingly': Weeping and Total Devotion in Egypt in Late Antiquity," *Religion* 53, no. 1 (2022): 116–34.

likely the result of several curators and indeed a collective rather than individual project.[991]

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[991] Lori Branch, "The Desert in the Desert: Faith and the Aporias of Law and Knowledge in Derrida and 'the Sayings of the Desert Fathers,'" *JAAR* 71, no. 4 (2003): 816; see also Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *The Ascetic Imperative in Culture and Criticism* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 88.

# 8 Conclusion

The main goal of this dissertation has been to investigate the medieval Copto-Arabic reception of AP. For this purpose, I have focused on a Copto-Arabic *Bustān al-ruhbān* (CAB) recension. This investigation has brought methods from philology, digital humanities, translation studies and the comparative study of religions together. I have postulated a CAB recension with the siglum R out of MS Vat.ar.460, a 13th-century manuscript which presents a CAB recension from beginning to end. As I have shown, R is largely represented in EG-Arras and, to some extent, in CAB-Epiphanius as well. I have argued that R was curated during the Coptic Renaissance, during which there was a renewed interest in patristic literature and in re-formulating early Christian traditions for an Arabized Coptic community. Furthermore, I have suggested that R was curated in a monastic milieu and that DAA is a plausible candidate for the place of curation, although it cannot be asserted with certainty. From my structural and textual comparisons of R with other AP versions available in *Monastica*, I deem it likely that the curators of R have to a large extent made use of previously existing Arabic AP recensions, although there also appear some texts in R that are evidently drawn from Coptic traditions as well. Since there appear revisions of the text in R that I have not found anywhere else in the parallel texts in other AP versions, I propose that these revisions were made by the Copto-Arabic curators themselves.

In this dissertation I have investigated monastic reading practices related to R and the medieval CAB tradition in general. In chapter 4, I have proposed that R was likely read collectively and for the general purpose of educating monks. With this hypothesis in mind, further studies of the oral and mnemo-technical qualities of the text and structure in R are likely to yield a deeper understanding of how it was used and experienced. Such an analysis has, however, been outside the scope of this dissertation. Although it is certain that the practice of reading CAB aloud in the refectory was well established by the 19th century, it is less clear whether this was the reading technique employed during the Middle Ages, since late medieval monastic life

in DAA and Wādī al-Naṭrūn was less coenobitic in character during that period. Furthermore, I suggest that the method used when reading R was probably similar to what Michelson has identified as ascetic contemplative reading. I furthermore suggest that the mixed character of R might indicate that the curators sought to formulate AP in a literary educational form which was widespread in *Dār al-Islam*, namely the *adab* genre. Importantly, however, I have nuanced the image of R as an unorganized AP florilegium in chapter 5, as I have shown that textual revisions in R have served to harmonize excerpts from various sources on the textual level, thereby presenting mixed dossiers that nevertheless are coherent in their treatment of certain themes or desert fathers.

Furthermore, as I have shown in chapter 5, the compilation of AP and satellite works and the textual revisions of apophthegmata in R serve various purposes. I consider it fruitful to look at R through the lens of the concepts of curation and cultural memory. The textual revisions and variations in R make good sense if they are described as the work of curators who sought to create an AP florilegium that would be of use when promoting an updated Copto-Arabic communal cultural memory of the desert fathers, and with that a suitable ascetic *vademecum* which included medieval Copto-Arabic communal practices. As my analysis has shown, the texts in the studied dossiers provide a changed portrait of the desert fathers and their way of life compared to what one finds in dossiers of early AP text witnesses. The fact that textual revisions are quite rare in the AP tradition makes this phenomenon in R even more interesting. The interspersed texts in the selected dossiers show, in the case of the pseudo-Serapionic VA and the Coptic JP apophthegmata, that the curators of R brought in material from Coptic traditions to their florilegium. The selected material in chapter 5 is, of course, very limited, and R is an extensive florilegium. Further studies of other dossiers in R are likely to bring out many more interesting aspects of curational concerns, and ultimately of the medieval Copto-Arabic cultural memory of the desert fathers.

Other interesting signs of Arabic or Copto-Arabic curation do not manifest themselves in textual revisions, but instead in creative translation solutions. In chapter 6, I have brought up examples from R in which the texts from AP (and occasionally from satellite works) have rendered Greek concepts and phrases using Islamic vocabulary. In accordance with what Zaborowski observed for Strasb.4225, it seems as if the translators of the texts in R occasionally employed Islamic idioms and concepts to convey the teachings of the desert fathers. It is very hard to state with certainty whether the employment of Islamic vocabulary in R can be attributed to the Copto-Arabic curators or if it was already present in the models from which they copied. As my analysis has shown, Islamic vocabulary appears occasionally in all consulted Arabic AP text witnesses. Further studies of different Arabic AP recensions should be conducted before distinctive translation strategies among extant text witnesses can be identified. Suffice it so say here that my analysis strengthens the view that the Arabic AP translators occasionally transplanted certain Greek concepts, phrases and idioms into the Arabic linguistic soil and enriched the apophthegmata by employing Islamic vocabulary to convey the *sensum* of the originally Greek tradition. The approach I have used in this dissertation is in line with the call within studies of the Coptic Renaissance, formulated recently by Monica Mitri, to move beyond descriptions of Copts being "influenced" by Islam and, as such, passive recipients of the process of Islamization of Egypt, to instead consider the literature of this period as marked by a Copto-Arabic literary vitality, spurred by an inclusivist approach towards non-Coptic traditions.[992]

The aim of chapter 7 has been to highlight interesting aspects of R that I had pointed out in chapters 5 and 6 and look at how those aspects related to the Islamicate context of R. In doing so, I have compared themes from the selected dossiers in R with parallel themes in al-Ghazālī's IUD. My comparison has yielded many interesting similarities as well as differences. Most importantly, and as comes out in my analysis, both the Copto-Arabic curators and al-Ghazālī took great interest in Syro-Arabic asceticism and

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[992] Mitri, "How Do We Tell the Story of Medieval Copts? Inspirations from Burton Mack," 13.

probably appropriated ideas therefrom into their ascetic programs. This shows the importance of Syriac asceticism within the medieval Islamicate intellectual world.

With this dissertation I have studied aspects of what needs to be considered when studying a fluid textual tradition. While scholars during the 20th century struggled to chart the origin and early development of the AP tradition using conventional philological methods, digital tools such as *Monastica* has proven themselves very useful when approaching AP as a dynamic tradition. For a better understanding of the AP as a literary tradition, recensions such as R are important objects of study. By chiseling out differences between AP versions, as I have done in this dissertation, we gain a fuller and more nuanced mapping of this literary tradition.

This dissertation ventures into an area which has been very little studied before, namely the CAB tradition. The study of R is greatly aided by Sauget's structural table of the content of Vat.ar.460, which is reproduced (and complemented by my additional observations) for the first time in this dissertation (Appendix A). Admittedly, many of the ideas and interpretations of this tradition that I have offered are tentative and may well have to be nuanced in the future when the Arabic reception of the desert father tradition has been further studied by scholars. Although many of the conclusions I have drawn are far from definitive, I can say with certainty that I have found R to be a fruitful source for the study of medieval Copto-Arabic culture and education. With this dissertation, I have suggested some answers to these questions with special reference to R, and I have sought to establish what role R might have played for medieval Copts. Although my suggestions in many cases are more tentative than definitive, they will at least have demonstrated what rich discoveries can be made in the hitherto unexplored garden of the monks.

The CAB has played a major role in the spiritual formation of the Coptic community. Popular CAB editions circulate widely in Egypt today. It is read not only in monastic communities, but by the laity as well. Of these editions, CAB-Epiphanius continues to be less popular than CAB-Athanasius. In contrast to CAB-Athanasius, CAB-

Epiphanius uses a less modern language and is therefore perceived as more difficult to read. Nevertheless, this investigation has confirmed that CAB-Epiphanius is a highly valuable edition for those who wish to study the historical Copto-Arabic tradition, since much of its textual content can be traced back to medieval traditions.

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# Appendix A. Structural Table of R in Vat.ar.460

| Fol. (Sauget)[993] | Mon.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (Sauget) | Additional or corrected parallel (Airijoki) | EG-Arras | CAB-Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 664r | **1a** | **2r(1)** | G Iacobus.3 | + GN 678a (≠) | 1 | 1 |
| 664r | **2** | **2r–4v** |  | Pseudo-Serapionic VA 8r–9r + 10v–11r + 25r–27r;[994] HL XXII 22 | 2 | 2 |
| 664r | **3** | **4v(1)** | G Antonius.1 | (≠) | 3 | 3 |
| 664r | **4** | **4v(2)** | G Antonius.10 (≠)[995] |  | 4 | 8 |
| 664r | **5** | **4v(3)** | *Antonius* | SE-Bedjan I.528 (≠) | 5 | 726 |
| 664r | **6** | **5r–6r** | *Antonius* | Pseudo-Serapionic VA 10rv + 13r–17r | 6 | 5 + 6 |
| 664r | **7** | **6r–7r** | *Antonius* | Pseudo-Serapionic VA 16r–17r | 7 |  |
| 664r | **8** | **7r(1)** | G Antonius.32 (≠) |  | 8 | 23 |
| 664r | **9** | **7r–10r** | Arsenius | CAS 13 Bashans + G Arsenius.1 + G Arsenius.28 (≠) | 9 | 94 |
| 664r | **10** | **10r–12r** | G Achillas.3 + G Arsenius.6 + G Agathon.15 | + G Arsenius.2 (≠) | 10 | 95 + 97 + 96 |
| 664r | **11** | **12rv** | G Arsenius.18 (≠) |  | 11 | 100:2 |
| 664r | **12** | **12v(1)** | G Arsenius.41 + G MacarAeg.35 (≠) |  | 12 | 101 + 50(≠) |
| 664r | **13** | **12v–13r** | G Arsenius.40a |  | 13 | 126 |
| 664r | **14** | **13r(1)** | G Arsenius.30 + G Arsenius.14 |  | 14 | 109:1 |
| 664r | **15** | **13r–14r** | GN 214 |  | 15 | 495 (≠) |

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[993] Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane contenant des collections d'apophthegmes et d'histoires édifiantes," in *Fonds Sauget* (unpublished: BAV, n.d.).
[994] The folio references are according to Agaiby's critical edition based on MS St Paul (hist.) 53 (Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony,* 122–219).
[995] (≠) means revised version.

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 665r | **16** | **14rv** | G Antonius.20[996] | | 16 | 809 (≠) |
| 665r | **17** | **14v–15r** | *Macarius* | GN 259 | 17 | 340 |
| 665r | **18** | **15rv** | *Macarius* | GN 494 | 18 | 341:1 |
| 665r | **19** | **15v(1)** | *Macarius* | G IoaColob.43 | 19 | 341:2 |
| 665r | **20** | **15v–16r** | G Ammonas.10 | | 20 | 388 |
| 665r | **21** | **16r–18v** | *Macarius* | G MacarAeg.3 | 21 | 47 |
| 665r | **22** | **18v–19r** | GN 489[997] | | 22 | |
| 665r | **23** | **19rv** | G Macarius.38 | | 23 | |
| 665r | **24** | **19v–20r** | G Macarius.13 | | 24 | 41 |
| 665r | **25** | **20r(1)** | | HS-Sarkissian A.V.10 | 25 | 431 |
| 665r | **26** | **20r–21r** | GN 191 | | 26 | 46 |
| 665r | **27** | **21r** | GN 244 | | 27 | 48 |
| 665r | **28** | **21rv** | G Abraham.1 | | 28 | 49 |
| 665r | **29** | **21v–22r** | | | 29 | |
| 665r | **30** | **22r(1)** | | GN 343 | 30 | |
| 665r | **31** | **22r(2)** | | | 31 | |
| 665r | **32** | **22r(3)** | | | 32 | 51 |
| 665r | **33** | **22rv** | VPC-Lefort p. 1 | VPG-Festugiere 15 | 33 | |
| 665r | **34** | **22v–23v** | *Pachomius* | | 34 | |
| 665r | **35** | **23v–24v** | PS-Migne 203[998] | | 35 | |
| 665r | **36** | **24v–25v** | *Zozimas* | G Moyses.3 (≠) | 36 + 37 + 38 | |
| 665r | **37** | **25v–26v** | PS-Migne 207 | | 39 | |
| 665r | **38** | **26v–29r** | | CS-Chaine 210 | 40 | |
| 665r | **39** | **29r–30v** | | GN 715 | 41 | |
| 665r | **40** | **30v–31v** | *Moses*[999] | IsMA-Broc 16 | 42:1 | 185 |
| 665r | **41** | **31v–36r** | *Moses*[1000] | | | |
| 665r | **42** | **36rv** | | | 44 | |
| 665r | **43** | **36v(1)** | *Pachomius* | | 45 | |
| 665r | **44** | **36v–37r** | *Pachomius* | VPG-Festugiere 75 | 46 | |
| 665r | **45** | **37r–38r** | | GN 31 | 47 | |
| 665r | **46** | **38r** | G Ammonas.9 (≠) | | 48 | 273 |
| 665r | **47** | **38rv** | G Poemen.109b | | 49 | |
| 666r | **48** | **38v–39r** | GN 77 | | 50 | 1162 |
| 666r | **49** | **39r(1)** | GN 310 | | 51 | 731 |
| 666r | **50** | **39r(2)** | GN 312 | | 52 | 732 |

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[996] "ici trad. longue" (Sauget).
[997] Cf. CAS Baramhat 25
[998] "suivi d'un commentaire" (Sauget).
[999] Ascetic treatise identified as *Capitula de Moïse à Poemen*, see Sauget, "Le Paterikon du manuscrit arabe 276," 379n55.
[1000] Ascetic treatise identified as "sur les vertus", see Sauget, "Le Paterikon du manuscrit arabe 276," 379n55.

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|--------|--------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----|------|
| 666r | **51** | **39r(3)** | ~~GN 313~~[1001] | | 53 | |
| 666r | **52** | **39rv** | [---][1002] | GN 393 | 55 | |
| 666r | **53** | **39v(1)** | GN 396 | | 56 | 1164 |
| 666r | **54** | **39v–40r** | GN 397 | | 57 | |
| 666r | **55** | **40r(1)** | GN 402 | | 58 | |
| 666r | **56** | **40rv** | G Elias.7 | | 59 | 450 |
| 666r | **57** | **40v(1)** | GN 403 | | 60a | 522:1 |
| 666r | **58** | **40v(2)** | GN 404 | | 61 | |
| 666r | **59** | **40v(3)** | GN 405 | | 62 | |
| 666r | **60** | **40v–41r** | GN 406 | | 63 | |
| 666r | **61** | **41rv** | GN 437 | | 64 | 523 + 524 |
| 666r | **62** | **41v–42r** | GN 452 | | 65 | 708 |
| 666r | **63** | **42rv** | GN 479 | | 66 | 1211 |
| 666r | **64** | **42v** | Zenon | GN 570 & GN 571 | 67 | 350 + 351 |
| 666r | **65** | **42v–43r** | DanS-Clugnet 1 | PE II.1.8.2 [1003] | | |
| 666r | **66** | **43rv** | DanS-Clugnet 4 | DanS-Dahlman 3 | 68 | |
| 666r | **67** | **43v–45r** | DanS-Clugnet 2 | DanS-Dahlman 5 | 70 | |
| 666r | **68** | **45v–49r** | DanS-Clugnet 10 | DanS-Dahlman 7 | 71 | |
| 666r | **69** | **49r–52v** | DanS-Clugnet 9 | DanS-Dahlman 6 | 72 | |
| 666r | **70** | **52v–55v** | EP-Arras 176[1004] | | 73 | |
| 666r | **71** | **55v–56r** | *Athanasius* | GN 600 | 74 | 711 |
| 666r | **72** | **56r** | GN 638 | | 75 | 712 |
| 666r | **73** | **56r–58r** | | GN 641 | 76 | 519 |
| 666r | **74** | **58r** | | GN 706 | 77 | |
| 666r | **75** | **58rv** | *Moyses* | | 78 | |
| 666r | **76** | **58v** | G Elias 3 | | 79 | 714 |
| 666r | **77** | **58v–59r** | AnSN-Nau 17 | | 80 | |
| 666r | **78** | **59r(1)** | PS-Nissen 3 | | 81 | |
| 667r | **79** | **59rv** | G Poemen.76 | | 82 | |
| 667r | **80** | **59v–60r** | G Agathon.1 (≠) | | 83 | 135 |
| 667r | **81** | **60rv** | | PE II.1.18; PE II.1.8.3 | 84 | |
| 667r | **82** | **60v–61r** | PS-Migne 200 | | 85 | |
| 667r | **83** | **61rv** | | EvPPr-Guillaumont 15 | 86 | |
| 667r | **84** | **61v(1)** | *Poemen* | GS X.30 | 87 | |

[1001] *Pace* Sauget, Vat.ar.460 51 and GN 313 are not parallels.
[1002] "à cause de la lacuna de vat.grec.1599" (Sauget)
[1003] I provide additional references to Dahlman's recent edition of Daniel of Sketis, since Léon Clugnet's edition has been criticized for inaccuracies (Britt Dahlman, *Saint Daniel of Sketis: A Group of Hagiographic Texts Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2007), 43–46).
[1004] John of Dalyatha, "Résumé du traité sur la garde des sens, " in *Senior Spiritualis Ioannis sabaitae* (See Arras, *Patericon*, 2:95).

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|--------|--------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----|------|
| 667r | 85 | 61v(2) | | | 88 | |
| 667r | 86 | 61v–62r | *Pachomius* | GS XVIII.25 | 89 | |
| 667r | 87 | 62r | *Esaias Monachus* | IsMA-Augoustinos 26.1:8 | 90 | |
| 667r | 88 | 62rv | GN 528 | | 91 | |
| 667r | 89 | 62v | PS-Migne 152b | | 92 | |
| 667r | 90 | 62v–63r | PS-Migne 187 | GN 744 | 93 | |
| 667r | 91 | 63r | GN 459 | | 94 | |
| 667r | 92 | 63rv | GN 510 | | 95 | |
| 667r | 93 | 63v–65r | *Alexandrie; temple de Sérapion* | | 96 | |
| 667r | 94 | 65rv | *Anastasius Sinaita* | GN 530 | 97 | 401 |
| 667r | 95 | 65v–66v | DorGD-Preville VI.69 | | 98 | |
| 667r | 96 | 66v–67r | VPG-Festugiere 69 | | 99 | |
| 667r | 97 | 67rv | HL-Butler 27.1–2 | | 100 | 744 |
| 667r | 98 | 67v | HL-Butler 28.1 | | 101 | 745 |
| 667r | 99 | 67v–68v | *Epiphanius* | | 102 | |
| 667r | 100 | 68v | G Achillas.5 | | 103 | 277 |
| 667r | 101 | 68v–69r | *Cassianus* | | 104 | |
| 667r | 102 | 69r70r | PS-Migne 19 | | 105 | |
| 667r | 103 | 70r(1) | G Mios.3 | | 106 | 402 |
| 667r | 104 | 70r(2) | | GN 208 | 107 | 653 |
| 667r | 105 | 70r(3) | G Poemen.23 | | 108 | |
| 668r | 106 | 70r(4) | G Sarmatas.1 | | 109 | 404 |
| 668r | 107 | 70r(5) | GN 271 | | 110 | 405 |
| 668r | 108 | 70rv | GN 296 | | 111 | 570:1 |
| 668r | 109 | 70v(1) | G IsaacCell.12 | | 112 | 357 |
| 668r | 110 | 70v(2) | G Nisterous.1 | | 113 | 518 |
| 668r | 111 | 70v(3) | G Synclet.S3 | | 114 | 849 |
| 668r | 112 | 70v–71r | *MarcAeg* | G MarcAeg.1 | 115 | |
| 668r | 113 | 71r | GN 255[1005] | | 116 | 676 |
| 668r | 114 | 71rv | ~~GN 530~~ | GN 401 | 117 | |
| 668r | 115 | 71v(1) | GN 531 | | 118 | 678 |
| 668r | 116 | 71v(2) | GN 521 | | 119 | |
| 668r | 117 | 71v–72r | | G Poemen.58 | 120 | |
| 668r | 118 | 72r(1) | | GN 225 | 121 | 1011 |
| 668r | 119 | 72r(2) | GN 573 | | 122 | |
| 668r | 120 | 72r(3) | GN 575 | | 123 | |
| 668r | 121 | 72r(4) | GN 576a | | 124a | |
| 668r | 122 | 72v(1) | GN 577 | | 124b | |
| 668r | 123 | 72v(2) | GN 578 | | 124c | 683a |
| 668r | 124 | 72v(3) | | | 125a | |
| 668r | 125 | 72v(4) | | | 125b | |
| 668r | 126 | 72v–73v | GN 528 | | 126:1 | |

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[1005] "abregée" (Sauget).

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 668r | **127** | **73v(1)***[1006] | G Hyperech.1c | | 126:2 | |
| 668r | **128** | **73v(2) *** | G Synclet.11a | | 126:2c | 689 |
| 668r | **129** | **73v(3) *** | GN 302 | | 284a | 718 |
| 668r | **130** | **73v(4) *** | GN 309 | | 128a | 658 |
| 668r | **131** | **73v(5) *** | GN 384 (partie) | | | |
| 668r | **132** | **73v(6) *** | GN 279 | | | 568 |
| 668r | **133** | **73v–74r*** | GN 299 | | 128d | 722 |
| 668r | **134** | **74r(1) *** | GN 108.Poemen | | 129a | 555 |
| 668r | **135** | **74r(2) *** | G Or 7 | | 129b | |
| 668r | **136** | **74r(3) *** | G Poemen.156 | | | |
| 669r | **137** | **74r(4) *** | GN 120 | | 264a | 184:2 |
| 669r | **138** | **74r(5) *** | G Poemen.148 + SE-Bedjan I.527 | | 130ab | 725 |
| 669r | **139** | **74r(6) *** | SE-Bedjan I.528 | | 130c | 726 |
| 669r | **140** | **74rv*** | GN 328 | | 131 | |
| 669r | **141** | **74v(1) *** | G Poemen.41 | | 132a | 727 |
| 669r | **142** | **74v(2) *** | G Poemen.168 | | 123bc | 604 |
| 669r | **143** | **74v(3) *** | G Matoes.2 | | 133a | 508 |
| 669r | **144** | **74v–75r*** | SE-Bedjan I.548 | GN 316 | 133b | 728 |
| 669r | **145** | **75r(1) *** | G IoaColob.20 | | 133c | 240 |
| 669r | **146** | **75r(2) *** | GN 186 | | 134 | 690 |
| 669r | **147** | **75rv*** | GN 164 | | 135a | 691 |
| 669r | **148** | **75v–76r** | GN 582 | | 136 | |
| 669r | **149** | **76v(1)** | GN 330 | | 137 | 497 |
| 669r | **150** | **76v(2)** | | | 138 | |
| 669r | **151** | **76v(3)** | G Poemen.55 | | 139 | 774 |
| 669r | **152** | **76v(4)** | GN 349 | | 140 | 775 |
| 669r | **153** | **77r(1)** | SE-Bedjan I.354 | | 141 | |
| 669r | **154** | **77r(2)** | VPG-Festugiere 103 | | 142 | |
| 669r | **155** | **77rv** | G Paphnutius.1 | | 143 | |
| 669r | **156** | **77v(1)** | GN 197 | | 144 | 646 |
| 669r | **157** | **77v(2)** | GN 140 | | 145 | 776 |
| 669r | **158** | **77v–78r** | John Chrysostom | | 146 | |
| 669r | **159** | **78r(1)** | GN 137 | | 147 | 433 |
| 669r | **160** | **78r(2)** | G Esaias.4 | | 148 | |
| 669r | **161** | **78r(3)** | GN 253 | | 149 | 778 |
| 669r | **162** | **78rv** | G Daniel.3 | | 150 | 423:2 |
| 669r | **163** | **78v(1)** | G Arsenius.10 + 40c | | 151 | 128 |
| 669r | **164** | **78v(2)** | G Isidorus.2 | | 152 | 159 |

[1006] * Cf. Sauget, *Une traduction arabe*, 119.

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 669r | **165** | **78v(3)** | ECM-Arras 13:28 | | 153 | |
| 669r | **166** | **78v(4)** | ECM-Arras 13:59 | | 154 | |
| 669r | **167** | **78v–79r** | ECM-Arras 13:60 | | 155 | |
| 670r | **168** | **79r(1)** | ECM-Arras 13:73 | | 156 | |
| 670r | **169** | **79r(2)** | ECM-Arras 13:38 | | 157 | 782 |
| 670r | **170** | **79r(3)** | ECM-Arras 14:15 | | 158 | |
| 670r | **171** | **79r(4)** | ECM-Arras 14:18 | | 159 | |
| 670r | **172** | **79r(5)** | ECM-Arras 14:19 | | 160 | |
| 670r | **173** | **79rv** | | G Motius.1 | 161 | 505 |
| 670r | **174** | **79v(1)** | GN 604 | | 162a | 353 |
| 670r | **175** | **79v(2)** | G Simon.2 | | 162b | 832 |
| 670r | **176** | **79v(3)** | | | 163 | |
| 670r | **177** | **79v–80v** | GN 66 | | 164 | 811 |
| 670r | **178** | **80v(1)** | G Ammonas.4 | | 165 | 813 |
| 670r | **179** | **80v(2)** | G TheodEnn.2 | | 166 | |
| 670r | **180** | **80v–81r** | G Cassianus.5 | | 167 | 889 |
| 670r | **181** | **81r(1)** | [---]1007 | | 168 | |
| 670r | **182** | **81r(2)** | VPC-Lefort p. 196 | | 169 | |
| 670r | **183** | **81r(3)** | | | 170 | 891 |
| 670r | **184** | **81r(4)** | ECM-Arras 39:30a | GS I.33 | 171 | 892 |
| 670r | **185** | **81rv** | GN 200 + 201 | | 172 | 470:1 |
| 670r | **186** | **81v** | GN 210 | | 173 | 471 |
| 670r | **187** | **81v–82r** | GN 400 | | 174 | 893 |
| 670r | **188** | **82r(1)** | | | 175 | |
| 670r | **189** | **82r(2)** | | | 176 | |
| 670r | **190** | **82(3)** | GN 193 | | 178 | 1150 |
| 670r | **191** | **82rv** | | EA-Arras 39 | 179 | 895 |
| 670r | **192** | **82v–83r** | GN 491 | | 180 | 896 |
| 670r | **193** | **83rv** | | EA-Arras 6 | 181 | 897 |
| 670r | **194** | **83v(1)** | *Basil* | | 182 | |
| 670r | **195** | **83v(2)** | ECM-Arras 14:3 | | 183 | |
| 670r | **196** | **83v(3)** | | G Serapion.3 | 184 | |
| 670r | **197** | **83v–84r** | | | 185 | |
| 670r | **198** | **84r(1)** | G Poemen.91 | | 187 | |
| 670r | **199** | **84r(2)\*1008** | G IoaColob.21 | | 188 | 902 |
| 671r | **200** | **84r(3) \*** | GN 332 | | 189a | 903 |
| 671r | **201** | **84rv\*** | GN 306 | | 189b | 904 |
| 671r | **202** | **84v(1) \*** | G IoaColob.22 | | 190 | |
| 671r | **203** | **84v(2) \*** | G Agathon.19 | | 191 | 148 |
| 671r | **204** | **84v(3) \*** | G Sisoes.13a | | 192 | 905 |

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1007 Sauget has erased his own note.
1008 * Cf. Sauget, *Une traduction arabe*, 119.

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 671r | **205** | **84v(4) \*** | GN 107 | | 193 | |
| 671r | **206** | **84v(5) \*** | G Isidorus.2 | | 194 | 159 |
| 671r | **207** | **84v(6) \*** | GN 305 | | 195 | 1025 |
| 671r | **208** | **84v(7) \*** | G IoaCell.2 | | 196a | 246 |
| 671r | **209** | **84v(8) \*** | SE-Bedjan I.506[1009] | GS XV.34 | | 704 |
| 671r | **210** | **84v(9) \*** | SE-Bedjan I.507 | | 196b | |
| 671r | **211** | **84v(10) \*** | G Xanthias.3 | | 196c | |
| 671r | **212** | **84v(11)** | | | 197 | |
| 671r | **213** | **84v–85r** | | | 198 | |
| 671r | **214** | **85r** | | EA-Arras 9 | 199 | |
| 671r | **215** | **85rv** | | | 200 | 61 |
| 671r | **216** | **85v** | *Esaias* | | 201 | |
| 671r | **217** | **85v–86r** | | | 202 | |
| 671r | **218** | **86r(1)** | | | 203 | |
| 671r | **219** | **86r–87r** | G Serapion.1 | | 204 | 251 |
| 671r | **220** | **87r(1)** | G Serapion.3 | | 205 | 1095 |
| 671r | **221** | **87r(2)** | | | 206 | |
| 671r | **222** | **87r(3)** | ECM-Arras 13:19 | | 207 | |
| 671r | **223** | **87r(4)** | | | 208 | |
| 671r | **224** | **87rv** | ECM-Arras 14:5 | | 209 | |
| 671r | **225** | **87v(1)** | ECM-Arras 14:8 | | 210 | |
| 671r | **226** | **87v(2)** | ECM-Arras 14:9 | | 211 | |
| 671r | **227** | **87v(4)** | GN 512 | | 212 | |
| 671r | **228** | **87v-88r** | | GN 530 | 213 | 401 |
| 671r | **229** | **88rv** | | | 214 | |
| 671r | **230** | **88v(1)** | GN 183[1010] | | 215:1a | 911 |
| 671r | **231** | **88v–89v** | | | 215:1b & 215:2 | |
| 673r[1011] | **232** | **89v(1)** | *Evagrius* | | 216a | |
| 673r | **233** | **89v(2)** | *Evagrius* | EvPOr-Suares 5[1012] | 216b | |
| 673r | **234** | **89v–90r** | *Evagrius* | | | |
| 673r | **235** | **90r(1)** | | | 217 | |
| 673r | **236** | **90r(2)** | Abraham and George[1013] | EA-Arras 13 | 218 | |
| 673r | **237** | **90r(3)** | Abraham and George[1014] | | 219 | |
| 673r | **238** | **90rv** | GN 318 | | 220 | 380 |

[1009] Difficult to read Sauget's note.
[1010] "(trad.brève)" (Sauget).
[1011] Sauget fol. 672r is a small loose leaf with a short concordance between EP-Arras and Vat.ar.460.
[1012] Giuseppe Maria Suares, *Sancti patris nostri Nili Abbatis tractatus, seu opscula ex codicibus manuscriptis Vaticanis, Cassinensibus, Barberinis, & Altaempsianis eruta*, reprinted in PG 79:1165–1200 (Paris: .P. Migne Imprimerie Catholique, 1865).
[1013] Cf. Ugo Zanetti, "Le dossier d'Abraham et Georges, moines de Scété", in *Monachismes d'Orient: Images, échanges, influences, hommage à Antoine Guillaumont*, eds. Florence Jullien and Marie-Joseph Pierre (Brepols: Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études sciences religieuses, 2011), 234.
[1014] Zanetti, "Le dossier d'Abraham et Georges," 234.

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 673r | **239** | **90v(1)** | GN 381 | | 221a | 720 |
| 673r | **240** | **90v(2)** | GN 121 | | 221b | 643b |
| 673r | **241** | **90v–91r** | | EA-Arras 14:1 | 221c | |
| 673r | **242** | **91r(1)** | G Antonius 9 | | 222 | |
| 673r | **243** | **91r(2)** | *Pachomius* | | 223 | |
| 673r | **244** | **91r(3)** | *Athanasius* | | 224a | |
| 673r | **245** | **91r(4)** | *Athanasius* | | 224b | |
| 673r | **246** | **91r(5)** | *Timotheus* | | 224c | |
| 673r | **247** | **91r(6)** | | | | |
| 673r | **248** | **91r(7)** | | | | |
| 673r | **249** | **91v(1)** | | | | |
| 673r | **250** | **91v(2)** | *John* | GN 183 (≠) | 225a | 911 (≠) |
| 673r | **251** | **91v(3)** | GN 387 | | 225b | 674 |
| 673r | **252** | **91v(4)** | | | 225c | |
| 673r | **253** | **91v(5)** | | | | |
| 673r | **254** | **91v(6)** | *Athanasius* | | 226a | |
| 673r | **255** | **91v(7)** | *Athanasius* | | 226b | |
| 673r | **256** | **91v(8)** | *Timotheus* | | 227a | |
| 673r | **257** | **91v–92r** | *Timotheus* | | 227b | |
| 673r | **258** | **92r(1)** | | *Timotheus* | 227c | |
| 673r | **259** | **92r(2)** | | *Timotheus* | 227d | |
| 673r | **260** | **92r(3)** | *Pachomius* | | 228a | |
| 673r | **261** | **92r(4)** | | *Pachomius* | 228b | |
| 673r | **262** | **92r(5)** | | *Pachomius* | 228c | |
| 674r | **263** | **92r(6)** | *Athanasius* | | 229a | |
| 674r | **264** | **92rv** | *Athanasius* | | 229b | |
| 674r | **265** | **92v(1)** | *Athanasius* | | 229c | |
| 674r | **266** | **92v(2)** | *Athanasius* | | 229d | |
| 674r | **267** | **92v(3)** | *Timotheus*[1015] | | 230 | |
| 702r[1016] | **268** | **92v(4)** | *Pachomius* | | 231 | |
| 702r | **269** | **92v(5)** | *Macarius* | | 232a | |
| 702r | **270** | **92v(6)** | *Macarius* | | 232b | |
| 702r | **271** | **92v–93r** | *Macarius* | | | |
| 702r | **272** | **93r(1)** | *Athanasius* | | 233a | |
| 702r | **273** | **93r(2)** | *Athanasius* | | 233b | |
| 702r | **274** | **93r(3)** | *Athanasius* | | 233c | |
| 702r | **275** | **93r(4)** | *Paphnutius* | | 234a | |
| 702r | **276** | **93r(5)** | *Paphnutius* | | 234b | |
| 702r | **277** | **93r(6)** | *Pachomius* | | 235ab | |
| 702r | **278** | **93r(7)** | *Pachomius* | | 235c | |
| 702r | **279** | **93rv** | *Ephraem* | | 236 | |
| 702r | **280** | **93v(1)** | | | 237a | |
| 702r | **281** | **93v(2)** | *Cronios* | | 237b | |
| 702r | **282** | **93v(3)** | GN 106 | | 237c | |
| 703r | **283** | **93v(4)** | ECM-Arras 13:40 | | 237d | |
| 703r | **284** | **93v(5)** | ECM-Arras 13:47 | | 238 | 961 |

[1015] Difficult to read Sauget's note.
[1016] Sauget fols. 674 to 702 consists of transcriptions from an unidentified source.

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 703r | **285** | **93v(6)** | ECM-Arras 13:54 (≠) | | 239a | |
| 703r | **286** | **93v(7)** | ECM-Arras 13:65 (≠) | | 239b | |
| 703r | **287** | **93v–94r** | ECM-Arras 13:67 | | 240 | |
| 703r | **288** | **94r(1)** | ECM-Arras 13:68 | | 241 | |
| 703r | **289** | **94r(2)** | ECM-Arras 13:69 | | 242 | |
| 703r | **290** | **94r(3)** | ECM-Arras 13:76[1017] | | | |
| 703r | **291** | **94rv** | | | 243 | 62 |
| 703r | **292** | **94v(1)** | GN 228 | | 244a | 63 |
| 703r | **293** | **94v(2)** | | | 244c | 64 |
| 703r | **294** | **94v–95r** | *Macarius* | | 245a | 58 |
| 703r | **295** | **95r(1)** | *Macarius* | | 245b | 59 |
| 703r | **296** | **95r(2)** | *Poemen* | CB-Amelineau D.13 (≠) | 246 | 60 |
| 703r | **297** | **95rv** | *John Chrysostom[1018]* | | 247 | |
| 704r | **298** | **95v(1)** | | | 248a | 65 |
| 704r | **299** | **95v(2)** | | Friday psali[1019] | 248b | 66 |
| 704r | **300** | **95v(3)** | | G Poemen.168a (≠) | 249 | 67 |
| 704r | **301** | **95v(4)** | | | 250 | 68 |
| 704r | **302** | **95v–96r** | | | 251a | 69 |
| 704r | **303** | **96r(1)** | | | 251b | 70 |
| 704r | **304** | **96r(2)** | | | 252 | 71 |
| 704r | **305** | **96r(3)** | ECM-Arras 13:43 | | 253 | 72 |
| 704r | **306** | **96r(4)** | G MacarAeg.37 | | 254a | |
| 704r | **307** | **96rv** | G MacarAeg.11 | | 254b | 876 |
| 704r | **308** | **96v(1)** | G MacarAeg.19 | | 255 | 53 |
| 704r | **309** | **96v(2)** | *Sisoës* | CB-Amelineau E.25 | 256 | |
| 704r | **310** | **96v–97v** | *Abraham* | | 257 | |
| 704r | **311** | **97v–98r** | | | 258 | |
| 704r | **312** | **98r(1)** | | | 259 | |
| 704r | **313** | **98r–99r** | | | 260 | |

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[1017] Difficult to read Sauget's note.
[1018] "Ethiop ⁽ᴼʳ⁾ 29" (Sauget). Does Sauget refer to MS Brit.Orient.763 and 29 is the folio?
[1019] Lanne, "La 'prière de Jésus' dans la tradition égyptienne," 178

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 704r | **314** | **99rv** | Pachomius, Budge I,p. 290; Asceticon C.V[1020] | | 261 | |
| 705r | **315** | **99v(1)** | *Arsenius* | | 263a | |
| 705r | **316** | **99v(2)** | *Arsenius* | | 263b | |
| 705r | **317** | **99v(3)** | *Arsenius* | | 263c | |
| 705r | **318** | **99v(4)** | *Arsenius* | | 263d | |
| 705r | **319** | **99v(5)** | *Arsenius* | | 263e | |
| 705r | **320** | **99v(6)** | *Arsenius* | | 263f | |
| 705r | **321** | **99v(7)** | GN 120 | | 264a | 969:1a |
| 705r | **322** | **99v(8)** | | | 264b | 969:1b |
| 705r | **323** | **99v(9)** | Cf. S.II,280 (un peu ≠) | GS IV.95 | 264c | 969:2 |
| 705r | **324** | **100r(1)** | G IoaColob.16 | | 265 | |
| 705r | **325** | **100r(2)** | GN 141 | | 267 | 971 |
| 705r | **326** | **100rv** | G Elias.1 | | 268 | 449 |
| 705r | **327** | **100v(1)** | G Iacobus.3 | | 269 | 970 |
| 705r | **328** | **100v(2)** | G Silvanus.2 | | 270 | 828 |
| 705r | **329** | **100v(3)** | *Anonyme* | GN 498 | 271 | 972 |
| 705r | **330** | **100v(4)** | G Antonius.38 | | 272a | 31:1 |
| 705r | **331** | **100v(5)** | G Antonius.37 (≠) | | 272b | 31:2 |
| 705r | **332** | **100v(6)** | GN 502 | | 272c | |
| 705r | **333** | **100v(7)** | GN 107 | | 273a | |
| 705r | **334** | **100v(8)** | P.263, M.56[1021] | GN 305/1 | 273b | 1027a |
| 705r | **335** | **100v–101r** | *Maximos* | | 274 | |
| 705r | **336** | **101r(1)** | G Matoes.4 | | 275 | 1166 |
| 705r | **337** | **101r(2)** | GN 124 | | 276a | |
| 705r | **338** | **101r(3)** | *Dieve Divinite 2*[1022] | G PetrPion.2 | 276b | |
| 705r | **339** | **101r(4)** | G Hyperech.7 | | 277 | 1096 |
| 705r | **340** | **101v(1)** | GN 267 | | | 1159 |
| 706r | **341** | **101v(2)** | G MacarAeg.16 | | 278 | 45 |
| 706r | **342** | **101v(3)** | G Poemen.42 | | 279a | 973 |
| 706r | **343** | **101v(4)** | G Poemen.57 | | 279b | 974 |
| 706r | **344** | **101v(5)** | G Antonius.7 | | 280 | 975 |
| 706r | **345** | **101v(6)** | G Sara.3 | | 281 | 835 |
| 706r | **346** | **101v–102r** | GN 199 | | 282 | 976 |
| 706r | **347** | **102r(1)** | *Isaïe* | IsMA-Broc 17 | 283 | |
| 706r | **348** | **102rv(2)** | GN 302 | | 284a | 718 |
| 706r | **349** | **102r(3)** | GN 321 | | 284b | |
| 706r | **350** | **102r(4)** | GN 273 | | 284c-e | 979 |
| 706r | **351** | **102r(5)** | G Antonius.32 | | 285a | 23 |
| 706r | **352** | **102rv** | | CB-Amelineau B.45 | 285bc | 978 |

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[1020] I do not understand Sauget's reference.
[1021] Difficult to read Sauget's note.
[1022] Difficult to read Sauget's note.

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 706r | **353** | **102v(1)** | | ECM-Arras 21:1 | 286 | |
| 706r | **354** | **102v(2)** | G Poemen.S.19 | | 287 | 980 |
| 706r | **355** | **102v(3)** | Vitae Pah. VI, PJ IV,6 = PJ 73, cf. 1015 | G Moyses.18c | 288 | |
| 706r | **356** | **102v–103r** | Basil | | 289 | |
| 706r | **357** | **103r(1)** | | GN 575 | 290 | |
| 706r | **358** | **103rv** | GN 577 | | 291a | |
| 706r | **359** | **103v(1)** | GN 578 | | 291b | 683a |
| 706r | **360** | **103v(2)** | GN 579 | | 291c | |
| 706r | **361** | **103v(3)** | GN 581a | | 291d | |
| 706r | **362** | **103v(4)** | GN 581c | | | |
| 706r | **363** | **103v(5)** | *Serapion* | | 292 | |
| 707r | **364** | **103v(6)** | *Zeno* | | 293 | |
| 707r | **365** | **103v(7)** | | | | |
| 707r | **366** | **103v–106r** | *John* | | 294 | |
| 707r | **367** | **106r–107r** | *Nil* | Nil[1023] | 295 | |
| 707r | **368** | **107r(1)** | | | 296a | |
| 707r | **369** | **107rv** | | | 296b | |
| 707r | **370** | **107v(1)** | *Gerasimos* | GN 154 | 297 | |
| 707r | **371** | **107v–108r** | GN 154 (≠) | | 298 | |
| 707r | **372** | **108rv** | *Zeno* | | 299 | 992 |
| 707r | **373** | **108v(1)** | *Hilarion* | | 300 | 994 |
| 707r | **374** | **108v(2)** | GN 249 | | 301 | 274 |
| 707r | **375** | **108v(3)** | G Poemen.S.1 | | 302a | 996:1 |
| 707r | **376** | **108v(4)** | G Poemen.56 | | 302b | 996:2 |
| 707r | **377** | **108v–109r** | G Antonius.23 | | 303 | |
| 707r | **378** | **109r(1)** | GN 275 | | 304 | 997 |
| 707r | **379** | **109r(2)** | G Poemen.69 | | 305a | 666 |
| 707r | **380** | **109r(3)** | | G Rufus.2b | 305b | |
| 707r | **381** | **109r(4)** | G Evagrius.2 | | 306a | 439 |
| 708r | **382** | **109r(5)** | GN 54 | | 306b | 999 |
| 708r | **383** | **109rv** | GN 274 | | 306c | 1000 |
| 708r | **384** | **109v(1)** | GN 291 | | 307a | |
| 708r | **385** | **109v(2)** | *Moyses* | GN 539 | 307b | 1005 |
| 708r | **386** | **109v–110r** | *Moyses* | | 307c | |
| 708r | **387** | **110r(1)** | G Moyses.3 | | 308 | 179 |
| 708r | **388** | **110r(2)** | PS-Nissen 5 | | 309 | |
| 708r | **389** | **110r(3)** | PS-Nissen 9 | | 310 | 1001 |
| 708r | **390** | **110r–111r** | PS-Nissen 39 | | | |
| 708r | **391** | **111rv** | PS-Nissen 76 | | 312 | |
| 708r | **392** | **111v–112r** | Levi 3[1024] | | 313 | |
| 708r | **393** | **112rv** | *Esaias* | IsMA-Broc 8 | 314 | |
| 708r | **394** | **112v(1)** | | | | |
| 708r | **395** | **112v(2)** | G IoaColob.29 | | 315 | |
| 708r | **396** | **112v–120r** | *Isaïe cf. édition* | EA-Arras 52 | 316 | |
| 708r | **397** | **120r(1)** | GN 266 | | 317 | |

[1023] See Paolo Bettiolo et al. (eds.), *Gli scritti siriaci di Nilo il Solitario* (Leuven: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1983), 32.
[1024] Giorgio Levi Della Vida, "Le 'stratagème de la vierge' et la traduction arabe di 'Pratum Spirituale' de Jean Moschus," in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, tome 7, ed. M. J. Milne (1939–1944), 7.

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 709r | **398** | **120r(2)** | G Isidorus.2 | | 318 | 159 |
| 709r | **399** | **120r(3)** | | | 319 | 1002 |
| 709r | **400** | **120r(4)** | | | 320 | |
| 709r | **401** | **120r(5)** | G IoaColob.9 | | 321 | 234 |
| 709r | **402** | **120rv** | | | 322 | 892 |
| 709r | **403** | **120v–121r** | | | 323 | 1003 |
| 709r | **404** | **121r(1)** | GN 538 | | 324 | |
| 709r | **405** | **121r(2)** | GN 539 | | 325 | 1005 |
| 709r | **406** | **121rv** | G Antonius.4 | | | 1004 |
| 709r | **407** | **121v(1)** | GN 264[1025] | | 327a | 1006a |
| 709r | **408** | **121v(2)** | GN 297 | | 327b | 1006b |
| 709r | **409** | **121v(3)** | IoaColob | G PaulMagn.1 | 328 | 631.2 |
| 709r | **410** | **121v(4)** | G Poemen.14 | | 329 | |
| 709r | **411** | **121v–122r** | GN 183 | | 330 | 1008 |
| 709r | **412** | **122r(1)** | G IoaColob.3 | | 331 | 225 |
| 709r | **413** | **122r(2)** | G Poemen.38 | | 332a | 1009 |
| 709r | **414** | **122r(3)** | G Synclet.4 | | | 843 |
| 709r | **415** | **122r(4)** | G Poemen.42 | | 333 | 973 |
| 709r | **416** | **122r(5)** | GN 3 | | 334 | 416 :1 |
| 709r | **417** | **122r(6)** | GN 225+330a | | 335 | 1011 + 497a |
| 709r | **418** | **122r(7)** | G Nilus.9 | | 336 | 1012 |
| 709r | **419** | **122rv** | G Elias.1 | | 337 | 449 |
| 709r | **420** | **122v(1)** | GN 556a | | 338 | |
| 710r | **421** | **122v(2)** | GN 249 | | 339a | 274 |
| 710r | **422** | **122v(3)** | GN 353 | | 339b | |
| 710r | **423** | **122v(4)** | *IoaColob[1026]* | G IoaColob.S.1b | 340a | 704 |
| 710r | **424** | **122v(5)** | G IoaColob.22 | | 340b | |
| 710r | **425** | **122v(6)** | G Synclet.11a | | 340c | 689 |
| 710r | **426** | **122v–123r** | | | 341 | 1013 |
| 710r | **427** | **123r(1)** | G Antonius.10 | | 342a | 8 |
| 710r | **428** | **123r(2)** | G Antonius.11 | | 342b | 1014 |
| 710r | **429** | **123r(3)** | G Arsenius.13 | | 343 | 108 |
| 710r | **430** | **123r(4)** | G Sisoes.3 | | 344 | 1015 |
| 710r | **431** | **123rv** | G Poemen.26 | | 345 | 1016 |
| 710r | **432** | **123v(1)** | G Arsenius.14+15 | | 345/1 | 109 |
| 710r | **433** | **123v(2)** | G IsidorPre.1 | | 346 | 168 & 169 |
| 710r | **434** | **123v(3)** | G MacarAeg.16 | | 347 | 45 |
| 710r | **435** | **123v–124r** | G Poemen 57 | | 279b | 974 |
| 710r | **436** | **124r(1)** | G Sisoes 5; avec ethiop[1027] | | 348ab | 1017 |
| 710r | **437** | **124r(2)** | G Hyperech 5[1028] | | 348c | 1018 |
| 710r | **438** | **124r(3)** | GN 156 | | 349 | 473 |

[1025] " +add (an.)" (Sauget)
[1026] Difficult to read Sauget's note.
[1027] "ethiop" (Sauget).
[1028] "avec ethiop" (Sauget).

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 710r | **439** | **124r(4)** | G Antonius 22 | | 350a | 11 |
| 710r | **440** | **124v–125r** | GN 173 | | 351 | 1019 |
| 710r | **441** | **125rv** | *Pachomius* | VPC-Lefort p. 35 | 352a | 1020 |
| 710r | **442** | **125v** | *Pachomius* | VPC-Lefort p. 35 | 352b | |
| 710r | **443** | **125v–126r** | GN 184 | | 353 | 561 |
| 710r | **444** | **126rv** | GN 191 | | 354 | 46 |
| 710r | **445** | **126v** | | | 355 | |
| 710r | **446** | **127r(1)** | G Poemen.176 (≠) | | 356 | 1021 |
| 710r | **447** | **127r(2)** | G IoaColob.4 | | 357 | 1022 |
| 710r | **448** | **127r(3)** | G Apollo.1 | | 358 | 421 |
| 710r | **449** | **127r(4)** | G Or.2 + 3 | | 359 | 865 |
| 710r | **450** | **127r(5)** | GN 271 | | 110 | 405 |
| 711r | **451** | **127rv** | G Ares.1 | | 361 | |
| 711r | **452** | **127v(1)** | GN 296 | | 362a | 570:1 |
| 711r | **453** | **127v(2)** | GN 296 | | 362b | 666 |
| 711r | **454** | **127v(3)** | G Antonius.7 | | 280 | 975 |
| 711r | **455** | **127v(5)** | G TheophArc.1 | | 363 | 460 |
| 711r | **456** | **127v(5)** | G Tithoes.2 | | 364b | 1026 |
| 711r | **457** | **127v(6)** | GN 305/1 | | 365 | 1027 |
| 711r | **458** | **127v(7)** | P. 263[1029] | | | |
| 711r | **459** | **127v–128r** | P. 279[1030] | | | |
| 711r | **460** | **128r(1)** | GN 324a & 325 | | | 1169 |
| 711r | **461** | **128r(2)** | GN 336 (≠) | | | 1028 |
| 711r | **462** | **128r(3)** | GN 584 | | 366 | 1029 |
| 711r | **463** | **128rv** | | GN 585 | 367 | |
| 711r | **464** | **128v(1)** | | GS XV.123 | 368 | |
| 711r | **465** | **128v(2)** | | EP-Arras 154 | 369 | 572 |
| 711r | **466** | **128v(3)** | GN 559 | | 370a | |
| 711r | **467** | **128v(4)** | ~~GN 560~~ | | 370b | 1030 |
| 711r | **468** | **128v–129r** | GN 549 | | 371 | 1031 |
| 711r | **469** | **129rv** | GN 551 | | 372 | |
| 711r | **470** | **129v(1)** | GN 552 | | 373a | 1032 |
| 711r | **471** | **129v(2)** | GN 555 | | 373b | |
| 711r | **472** | **129v(3)** | | | 374 | 1033 |
| 711r | **473** | **129v(4)** | | | 375a | 1034a |
| 712r | **474** | **129v(5)** | | G Theodora.3a | 375c | 1034c |
| 712r | **475** | **129v–130r** | GN 359 | | 376 | 1036 |
| 712r | **476** | **130rv** | *Arsenius* | | 377 | |
| 712r | **477** | **130v(1)** | G Agathon.18 | | 378 | 155 |
| 712r | **478** | **130v(2)** | | | | |
| 712r | **479** | **130v(3)** | G Nisterous.3a | | 379 | 1037 |
| 712r | **480** | **130v(4)** | PS-Migne 217 | | 380 | 1039 |
| 712r | **481** | **130v(5)** | | | | |
| 712r | **482** | **130v(6)** | | | | |

[1029] I do not understand Sauget's reference.
[1030] I do not understand Sauget's reference.

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 712r | **483** | **130v–131r** | ~~Budge I,578~~ | | | |
| 712r | **484** | **131r(1)** | | ECM Arras 21 | 381 | |
| 712r | **485** | **131r(2)** | G Antonius.9 | | 382 | |
| 712r | **486** | **131r(3)** | GN 566 | | 383 | |
| 712r | **487** | **131v(1)** | G Antonius.38 + 37 (≠) | | 310 | 31 |
| 712r | **488** | **131v(2)** | GN 146a | | 384 | |
| 712r | **489** | **131v(3)** | GN 90 | | 385a | 554 |
| 712r | **490** | **131v(4)** | ~~SE 1904~~ ~~Budge II.189~~ | GS XXI.7 | 385b | 1041 |
| 712r | **491** | **131v(5)** | GN 110 | | 385c | 1042 |
| 712r | **492** | **131v(6)** | GN 119 | | 386a | 184:1 |
| 712r | **493** | **131v(7)** | GN 364 | | 386b | 1043 |
| 712r | **494** | **131v(8)** | GN 85a | | 387 | |
| 713r | **495** | **132r(1)** | G Pambo.8 | | 388 | 292 |
| 713r | **496** | **132r(2)** | GN 218 | | 389a | |
| 713r | **497** | **132r(3)** | GN 247 | | 389b | 1044 |
| 713r | **498** | **132r(4)** | GN 139 | | 389c | 1045 |
| 713r | **499** | **132r(5)** | GN 141a | | 390 | 1046 |
| 713r | **500** | **132r(6)** | | BJE-Neyt 150[1031] | 391 | 1047 |
| 713r | **501** | **132rv** | G Abraham.1 | | 392 | 49 |
| 713r | **502** | **132v(1)** | PS-Migne 90 | | 393 | |
| 713r | **503** | **132v–133r** | PS-Migne 91 | | 394 | |
| 713r | **504** | **133rv** | PS-Migne 105a | | 395 | |
| 713r | **505** | **133v(1)** | G IoaColob.28 | | 396 | 241 |
| 713r | **506** | **133v(2)** | G IoaColob.12 | | 397 | 236 |
| 713r | **507** | **133v–134r** | GN 236 | | 398 | 1048 |
| 713r | **508** | **134r(1)** | GN 239 | | 399 | 1049 |
| 713r | **509** | **134r(2)** | G Silvanus.6 | | 400a | 279 |
| 713r | **510** | **134r(3)** | GN 265 | | 400b | |
| 713r | **511** | **134r(4)** | GN 273 | | 401 | 979a |
| 713r | **512** | **134r(5)** | G Arsenius.40b | | 402 | 127 |
| 713r | **513** | **134r(6)** | G Zacharias.3[1032] | | 403 | 196:2 |
| 713r | **514** | **134rv** | GN 331 | | 404 | 1050 |
| 713r | **515** | **134v(1)** | G Agathon.2 | | | 137 |
| 713r | **516** | **134v(2)** | G Poemen.67 | | 127 | 188 |
| 713r | **517** | **134v(3)** | G Poemen.65 | | 408 | 1052 |
| 713r | **518** | **134v(4)** | G Poemen.13 | | | 1157 |
| 713r | **519** | **134v(5)** | G Poemen.177 | | 408a | 1053 |
| 713r | **520** | **134v(6)** | G IosPaneph.2 | | 409a | 1054 |
| 713r | **521** | **134v(7)** | G Poemen.64 | | 409bc | 1055 |
| 713r | **522** | **134v(8)** | *Anonyme* | CS-Elanskaya 20b | 409e | 1056 |
| 713r | **523** | **134v(9)** | GN 206 | | 409f | 1057 |
| 714r | **524** | **134v–135r** | G IoaColob.13 | | 410 | 1058 |
| 714r | **525** | **135r(1)** | G PaulMagn.1 | | 411a | |

[1031] I thank Adrian Pirtea for identifying this text.
[1032] "(abrégé)" (Sauget).

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 714r | **526** | **135r(2)** | GN 225 + 330a (≠) | | 335a & 137a | 1011 & 497a |
| 714r | **527** | **135rv** | G Silvanus.2 | | 270 | 828 |
| 714r | **528** | **135v(1)** | GN 249 | | 301 | 274 |
| 714r | **529** | **135v(2)** | IoaColob | G IoaColob.S1b | 411b | 238b |
| 714r | **530** | **135v(3)** | IoaColob.22 | | 411c | |
| 714r | **531** | **135v–136r** | *Antonius* | | 412:1 | |
| 714r | **532** | **136rv** | *Antonius* | GS XI.51 | 412:2 & 3 & 4 | |
| 714r | **533** | **136v** | *Antonius* | | 412:5 | |
| 714r | **534** | **136v–137r** | *Gregorius* | | 413 | |
| 714r | **535** | **137rv** | *Pachomius* | | 414 | |
| 714r | **536** | **137v(1)** | *Stephen of Thebes* | | 415 | |
| 714r | **537** | **137v(2)** | | IsMA-Broc 16 | 416 :1 | |
| 714r | **538** | **137v–138r** | | | 416:2 | |
| 714r | **539** | **138r(1)** | | | 416:3 | |
| 714r | **540** | **138r(2)** | | | 416:4 | |
| 714r | **541** | **138rv** | | | 417 | |
| 714r | **542** | **138v(1)** | PS-Migne 113 | | 418 | |
| 714r | **543** | **138v(2)** | PS-Migne 152[1033] | | 419:1 | |
| 714r | **544** | **138v(3)** | PS-Migne 152 | | 419:2 | |
| 714r | **545** | **138v–139r** | AnSN-Nau 54 | | | |
| 715r | **546** | **139rv** | GN 530 | | 420 | 401 |
| 715r | **547** | **139v** | GN 521 | | 119 | |
| 715r | **548** | **139v–140r** | GN 591 | | 421 | |
| 715r | **549** | **140rv** | ROC X (2905), pp. 39–40, no 1–2 | Levi *Merc*[1034] | 422 | |
| 715r | **550** | **140v–141v** | | | 423 | |
| 715r | **551** | **141v–142r** | *Esaias* | IsMA-Broc 26 | 426 | |
| 715r | **552** | **142r(1)** | *Esaias* | | 427 | |
| 715r | **553** | **142rv** | G Antonius.33 | | 428 | 1068 |
| 715r | **554** | **142v(1)** | G TheophArc.5 | | 430 | 130 |
| 715r | **555** | **142v(2)** | | | | |
| 715r | **556** | **142v(3)** | G Poemen.50 | | 431 | 707 |
| 715r | **557** | **142v(4)** | GN 139 | | 389c | 1045 |
| 715r | **558** | **143r(1)** | GN 140 | | 432 | 776 |
| 715r | **559** | **143r(2)** | G Agathon.9 | | 433 | 143 |
| 715r | **560** | **143r(3)** | G MacarAeg.19 | | 255 | 53 |
| 715r | **561** | **143r(4)** | | | 434a | |
| 715r | **562** | **143r(5)** | | | 434b | |
| 715r | **563** | **143rv** | | | 434c | |

[1033] Cf. Ambu, "Du texte à la communauté," 225 n47.
[1034] Giorgio Levi Della Vida, "Sulla versione araba di Giovanni Mosco e di Pseudo-Anastasio Sinaita secondo alcuni codici vaticani, " in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati, III. Letteratura e storia bizantina* (ST 123) (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1946), 113–14.

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|--------|--------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----|------|
| 715r | **564** | **143v(1)** | | | 434d | |
| 715r | **565** | **143v–144r** | GN 107 | | 434e | |
| 715r | **566** | **144r(1)** | | | 435 | |
| 716r | **567** | **144r(2)** | *Stephen of Thebes* | SA 37[1035] | 436 | |
| 716r | **568** | **144r(3)** | *Isaac* | | 437 | |
| 716r | **569** | **144rv** | *Barsanuphius and John* | | 438 | |
| 716r | **570** | **144v(1)** | | | 439a | |
| 716r | **571** | **144v(2)** | | | 439b | |
| 716r | **572** | **144v(3)** | | | 439c | |
| 716r | **573** | **144v(4)** | | | 439d | |
| 716r | **574** | **144v(5)** | | | 439e | |
| 716r | **575** | **144v–145r** | | | 439f | |
| 716r | **576** | **145r** | | GN 310 | 440 | 731 |
| 716r | **577** | **145rv** | GN 381 | | 441 | 720 |
| 716r | **578** | **145v(1)** | G Antonius.9 | | 222 | |
| 716r | **579** | **145v(2)** | *Pachomius* | | 442 | |
| 716r | **580** | **145v(3)** | *Athanasius* | | 443 | |
| 716r | **581** | **145v(4)** | *Athanasius* | | 443 | |
| 716r | **582** | **145v(5)** | *Timotheus* | GN 387 | 444a | 674 |
| 716r | **583** | **145v(6)** | *Timotheus* | | 444b | |
| 716r | **584** | **145v(7)** | *Athanasius* | | | |
| 717r | **585** | **145v–146r** | *Pachomius* | | 445 | |
| 717r | **586** | **146r(1)** | *Gregorius* | | 446 | |
| 717r | **587** | **146r(2)** | *John Chrysostom* | | 447a | |
| 717r | **588** | **146r(3)** | *John Chrysostom* | | 447b | |
| 717r | **589** | **146(4)** | *Ephraem* | | 448a | |
| 717r | **590** | **146r(5)** | *Ephraem* | | 448b | |
| 717r | **591** | **146r(6)** | *Ephraem* | | 448c | |
| 717r | **592** | **146r(7)** | *Barsanuphius* | | 449a | |
| 717r | **593** | **146r(8)** | *Barsanuphius* | | 449b | |
| 717r | **594** | **146rv** | *Barsanuphius* | | 449c | |
| 717r | **595** | **146v(1)** | *Barsanuphius* | | | |
| 717r | **596** | **146v(2)** | *Barsanuphius* | | | |
| 717r | **597** | **146v(3)** | GN 316 | | | 728 |
| 717r | **598** | **146v(4)** | | | | |
| 717r | **599** | **146v–147r** | | | 451 | 73 |
| 717r | **600** | **147r(1)** | G Serapion.3 | | 452 | 1095 |
| 718r | **601** | **147r(2)** | G Hyperech.7 | | 453a | 1096 |
| 718r | **602** | **147r(3)** | G Orsisius.2a | | 453b | |
| 718r | **603** | **147r(4)** | GN 268 | | 454 | 1098 |
| 718r | **604** | **147r(5)** | G Zacharias.5 | | 455 | 197 & 198 |
| 718r | **605** | **147rv** | GN 309 | | 456 | 719 |
| 718r | **606** | **147v(1)** | *Dorotheus* | | 457 | |
| 718r | **607** | **147v(2)** | *Dorotheus* | | 458 | |
| 718r | **608** | **147v(3)** | | | | |
| 718r | **609** | **147v–148r** | *Barsanuphius* | | | |

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[1035] Identified by Suciu and Tefera (Suciu and Tefera, "The Ethiopic Version," 479).

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 718r | **610** | **148r(1)** | *Maximus* | | | |
| 718r | **611** | **148r(2)** | | | | |
| 718r | **612** | **148r(3)** | | GN 196 | 459 | |
| 718r | **613** | **148r(4)** | | GN 746 | 460 | |
| 718r | **614** | **148r(5)** | *Esaias* | | 461 | |
| 718r | **615** | **148r(6)** | G Poemen.49 | | 462 | 1109 |
| 718r | **616** | **148r(7)** | *John Climacus* | | 463 | |
| 718r | **617** | **148r((8)** | *Maximus* | | 464 | |
| 719r | **618** | **148r(9)** | G Tithoes.3 | | 465a | 1112 |
| 719r | **619** | **148r(1)** | GN 381 | | 465b | 720 |
| 719r | **620** | **148r(2)** | GS XV.125 + 126 | | 465cd | 1114 |
| 719r | **621** | **148r(3)** | EP-Arras 424 | | 466 | 1115 |
| 719r | **622** | **148v–149r** | G Evagrius.1 | | 467a | 437a |
| 719r | **623** | **149r(1)** | | | | |
| 719r | **624** | **149r(2)** | GN 252 | | 467b | 1117 |
| 719r | **625** | **149r(3)** | GN 54 (trad ≠) | | 306b | 999 |
| 719r | **626** | **149r(4)** | GN 226 | | | 1119 |
| 719r | **627** | **149r(5)** | SE-Bedjan I.418 | | | |
| 719r | **628** | **149rv** | G MacarAeg.41 | | 442a | 1121 |
| 719r | **629** | **149v(1)** | | | | |
| 719r | **630** | **149v(2)** | | | | |
| 719r | **631** | **149v(3)** | | | 468 | |
| 719r | **632** | **149v–150r** | | EA-Arras 46 | 469 | |
| 719r | **633** | **150r(1)** | | | 470 | |
| 720r | **634** | **150r(2)** | [---][1036] | ECM-Arras 14:8 | 471 | |
| 720r | **635** | **150r–151r** | DanS-Clugnet 7[1037] | DanS-Dahlman 5 | 472 | |
| 720r | **636** | **151v(1)** | | | 473 | |
| 720r | **637** | **151v(2)** | *Evagrius* | EvPPr-Guillaumont 4 | 474 | |
| 720r | **638** | **151v(3)** | | EA-Arras 43 | 475 | 1127 |
| 720r | **639** | **151v(4)** | | | 476 | |
| 720r | **640** | **151v–152r** | | | 477 | |
| 720r | **641** | **152r(1)** | | EA-Arras 44 | 478 | 1129 |
| 720r | **642** | **152rv** | | | 479 | |
| 720r | **643** | **152v(1)** | *Athanasius* | | | |
| 720r | **644** | **152v(2)** | | | | |
| 720r | **645** | **152v(3)** | | | | |
| 720r | **646** | **152v(4)** | *Athanasius* | | 480 | |
| 720r | **647** | **152v(5)** | *Timotheus* | | 481 | |
| 720r | **648** | **152v(6)** | | G Sisoes.38 | 482 | 695 |
| 720r | **649** | **152v(7)** | | | | |
| 720r | **650** | **152v(8)** | | | 483 | |
| 720r | **651** | **152v–153r** | *Pachomius* | | 484 | |
| 721r | **652** | **153r(1)** | *Athanasius* | | 485 | |

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[1036] "Ethiop." (Sauget).
[1037] "pp. 23–24" (Sauget).

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 721r | **653** | **153r(2)** | *Macarius* | | 486 | |
| 721r | **654** | **152r(3)** | *Ephraem* | | 487 | |
| 721r | **655** | **152r(4)** | *Joseph* | | | |
| 721r | **656** | **152r(5)** | | | | |
| 721r | **657** | **152r(6)** | SE-Bedjan II.87 | | 488a | 969:1 |
| 721r | **658** | **153rv** | SE-Bedjan II.280 | | | |
| 721r | **659** | **153v(1)** | *Antonius* | | | |
| 721r | **660** | **153v(2)** | GN 578 + 579 | | 291bc | 683a |
| 721r | **661** | **153v(3)** | GN 581a | | 291d | |
| 721r | **662** | **153v(4)** | GN 581c | | | |
| 721r | **663** | **153v–154r** | G Poemen.21 | | 490 | 1132 |
| 721r | **664** | **154r(1)** | | | | |
| 721r | **665** | **154rv** | | | 492 | |
| 721r | **666** | **154v(1)** | | HL-Butler 21.16 + 17 | 493 | |
| 721r | **667** | **154v(2)** | G Poemen.183 | | 494 | |
| 722r | **668** | **154v–155r** | GN 158 (≠) | | 495 | |
| 722r | **669** | **155r(1)** | GN 179 | | 496 | 1133 |
| 722r | **670** | **155rv** | G TheodPhe.2 | | 497 | 452 |
| 722r | **671** | **155v–156v** | G Gelasius.6 (≠) | | 498 | 419 |
| 722r | **672** | **156v** | GN 197 | | 144 | 646 |
| 722r | **673** | **156v–157r** | GN 198 | | 499 | 647 |
| 722r | **674** | **157r** | G Antonius.14 | | 500 | 488 |
| 722r | **675** | **157rv** | G Nisterous.1 | | 113 | 518 |
| 722r | **676** | **157v(1)** | G Synclet.S.3 | | 114 | 675 |
| 722r | **677** | **157v(2)** | GN 256 | | 501 | 1134 |
| 722r | **678** | **157v–158r** | GN 255 | | 502 | 397 |
| 722r | **679** | **158rv** | | GN 401 | 503 | |
| 722r | **680** | **158v** | | EP-Arras 83 | 504 | |
| 722r | **681** | **158v–159r** | GN 368 | | 505 | 1136 |
| 722r | **682** | **159r–160r** | | | 506 | |
| 722r | **683** | **160r–161r** | HME (, §§37–44[1038] | | | |
| 722r | **684** | **161r** | GN 404 | | 61 | |
| 722r | **685** | **161r–162v** | | | | |
| 722r | **686** | **162v–163v** | GN 569 | | 508 | 547a |
| 723r | **687** | **163v–165r** | | | 509 | |
| 723r | **688** | **165r(1)** | | | 510 | |
| 723r | **689** | **165rv** | | | 511 | |
| 723r | **690** | **165v–166v** | | | 513 | |
| 723r | **691** | **166v–167r** | | *erōtapokriseis* | | |
| 723r | **692** | **167r(1)** | | *erōtapokriseis* | | |
| 723r | **693** | **167r(2)** | | | | |
| 723r | **694** | **167rv** | | | 513:8 | |
| 723r | **695** | **168r(1)** | EP-Arras 167 | | 522 | |
| 723r | **696** | **168r(2)** | | | 523 | |
| 723r | **697** | **168r(3)** | | | 524 | |

[1038] I do not understand Sauget's reference.

| Fol. S | MON.ID | Fol. (VA460) | Parallel (S) | Parallel (A) | EG | Epi. |
|--------|--------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----|------|
| 723r | **698** | **168rv** | | | | |
| 723r | **699** | **168v(1)** | | | | |
| 723r | **700** | **168v(2)** | | | | |
| 723r | **701** | **168v–169r** | | *erōtapokriseis* | | |
| 724r | **702** | **169r(1)** | | *erōtapokriseis* | | |
| 724r | **703** | **169r–173r** | | *erōtapokriseis* | | |
| 724r | **704** | **173r(1)** | | HM-Festugiere 6 | 533 | |
| 724r | 705 | **173r(2)** | G Poemen.21 | | 534 | 1146:2 |
| 724r | 706 | **173r(3)** | | | 535 | |
| 724r | 707 | **173rv** | | | | |
| 724r | 708 | **173v(1)** | | | 536 | |
| 724r | 709 | **173v–175v** | | | 537 | |

# Appendix B. Concordance Vat.ar.460 & CAK

| ID | Fragment | Fol.[1039] | Parallel[1040] | Vat.ar.460 | EG-Arras | CAB-Epiphanius |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | A[1041] | 1rv | CB-Amelineau D.10 | - | - | - |
| 2 | A | 2rv | CB-Amelineau E.8; G MacarAeg.33 | - | - | 44 |
| 3 | A | 3r | - | | | |
| 4 | A | 3v | CB-Amelineau D.6; G MacarAeg 23 | - | - | 43 & 258 |
| 5 | A | 4rv | CB-Amelineau D.27 | - | - | - |
| 6 | A | 4v | CB-Amelineau D.28 | - | - | - |
| 7 | A | 5r | CB-Amelineau D.23 | - | - | - |
| 8 | A | 5rv | CB-Amelineau D.24 | - | - | - |
| 9 | A | 6rv | CB-Amelineau E.34; G MacarAeg.3 | 21 | 21 | 47 |
| 10 | A | 7r | CB-Amelineau H.9 | - | - | - |
| 11 | A | 7r | G IoaColob.24 | - | - | - |
| 12 | A | 7v | CB-Amelineau H.37 | - | - | - |
| 13 | A | 7v-8v | CB-Amelineau H.26; G IoaColob.2 | - | - | 224 |
| 14 | A | 9rv | CB-Amelineau H.15 ; G IoaColob.14 | - | - | 237 |
| 15 | A | 9v–10r | G IoaColob.4 | 447 | 357 | 226 & 1022 |
| 16 | A | 10r | G IoaColob.35 | - | - | - |
| 17 | A | 10v | CB-Amelineau H.10; G IoaColob.12 | 506 | 397 | 236 |
| 18 | A | 11r | G Poemen.187 | - | - | - |
| 19 | A | 11r | G Sisoes.28 | - | - | - |
| 20 | A | 12rv | G Sisoes.49 | - | - | - |
| 21 | A | 13r–14r | - | | | |
| 22 | A | 14v | G Poemen.31 | - | - | - |
| 23 | A | 14v | - | | | |
| 24 | A | 15r | - | | | |

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[1039] Based on Sobhy's enumerations (Evelyn-White and Sobhy, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*,234–69).

[1040] Identifications by Sobhy.

[1041] A = MS Copt.mus.2521. Folio notations and identifications of sources by Sobhy (Evelyn-White and Sobhy, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, 234–67).

| ID | Fr. | Fol. | Parallel | VA460 | EG | Epi. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | A | 15v | - | | | |
| 26 | A | 16rv | GN 184[1042] | 443 | 353 | 561 |
| 27 | A | 16v | G Synclet.13b[1043] | 445 | 355 | 1023 |
| 28 | A | 17r | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.1:1 | | | |
| 29 | A | 17r–18v | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.1:2 | | | |
| 30 | A | 19rv | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.2:1 | | | |
| 31 | A | 19v–20r | IsMA–G–Augoustinos 3.2:2 | | | |
| 32 | A | 20v | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.2:3 | | | |
| 33 | A | 21r | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.2:4 | | | |
| 34 | A | 21rv | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.3:2 | | | |
| 35 | A | 22rv | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.3:3 | | | |
| 36 | A | 23rv | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.3:4 | | | |
| 37 | A | 23v–24r | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.4:3 | | | |
| 38 | A | 24r–25r | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.4:4 | | | |
| 39 | A | 25r | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.4:5 | | | |
| 40 | A | 25rv | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.4:6 | | | |
| 41 | A | 26rv | IsMA-Augoustinos 4.6:2 | | | |
| 42 | A | 26v–27v | IsMA-Augoustinos 4.6:3 | | | |
| 43 | A | 28r–29v | IsMA-Augoustinos 4.7:3 | | | |
| 44 | A | 30r | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:1 | | | |
| 45 | A | 30v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:2; GS V.53a | | | 24a |
| 46 | A | 30v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:3;GS V.53b | | | 24b |
| 47 | A | 30v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:4-5; GS V.53c | | | 24c |
| 48 | A | 30v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:6; GS V.53d | | | 24d |
| 49 | A | 30v–31r | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:7; GS V.53e | | | |
| 50 | A | 31r | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:8; GS V.53f | | | 24e |
| 51 | A | 31r | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:9 ; GS V.53g | | | 24f |

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[1042] Identified by Moa Airijoki.
[1043] Identified by Moa Airijoki.

| ID | Fr. | Fol. | Parallel | VA460 | EG | Epi. |
|----|-----|------|----------|-------|-----|------|
| 52 | A | 31r | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:10; GS V.53h | | | |
| 53 | A | 31rv | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:11; GS V.53i | | | 24g |
| 54 | A | 31v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:12; GS V.53j | | | 24h |
| 55 | A | 31v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:13; GS V.53k | | | 24i |
| 56 | A | 31v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:14; GS V.53l | | | 24j |
| 57 | A | 31v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:15 | | | 24k |
| 58 | A | 32r | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:16 | | | |
| 59 | A | 32r | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.1:17 | | | |
| 60 | A | 32v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.2:2 | | | |
| 61 | A | 32v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.2:4 | | | |
| 62 | A | 32v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.2:5 | | | |
| 63 | A | 32v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.2:6 | | | |
| 64 | A | 32v | IsMA-Augoustinos 9.2:7 | | | |
| 65 | A | 33r–35v | Unidentified | | | |
| 66 | B [1044] | 1r–2v | GN 211 | | | |
| 67 | C [1045] | Ar | G Sisoes.48 | | | |
| 68 | C | Arv | G Sisoes.16 | | | 299 |
| 69 | C | Br | G IoaColob.9 | 401 | 321 | 234 |
| 70 | C | Bv | G IoaColob.33 | | | |
| 71 | C | Cr | G Poemen.72 | 431 | 345 | 1016 |
| 72 | C | Cv–Dr | Unidentified | | | |
| 73 | C | Dv | G MacarAeg.3[1046] | 21 | 21 | 47 |
| 74 | C | Er | Unidentified | | | |
| 75 | C | Ev | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.1:4 | | | |
| 76 | C | Ev[1047] | IsMA-Augoustinos 3.1:5 | | | |

[1044] B = Cambridge University Library Add. 1886 (17). Folio notations and identifications of sources by Sobhy (Evelyn-White and Sobhy, *New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, 268–69).

[1045] C = Hamburg MS Arab.Monast.1. Folio notations in KHS-Burmester, "Further Leaves," 55–64. Identifications of sources by me.

[1046] C Dv shows some textual similarity with EP-Arras 97.

[1047] Fols. C Fr–Hv are very fragmentary, and it is not possible to identify the texts therein.

# Appendix C. Concordance CAB-Epiphanius and Vat.ar.398

This table exemplifies how CAB-Epiphanius follows the structure of CAB-Cairo rather than of StMacar.371, and that sometimes the texts in CAB-Epiphanius are not found in StMacar.367–372 at all.

| Fol. (Vat.ar. 398) | CAB-Epiphanius | Fol. (StMacar .371) | Parallel | Vat.ar.460 | EG-Arras |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 113v | 316 | 72v | BJE-Neyt 237 | | |
| 114r | 317 | 73r | BJE-Neyt 240 | | |
| 115v | 605 | 132v | G Poemen.21 | 663 & 705 | 490 & 534 |
| 115v | 606 | 102r[1048] | G Poemen.147 | | |
| 115v | 607 | 132v | | | |
| 116r | 610 | 133r | | | |
| 116r | 611 | 133r | | | |
| 117r | 613 | 133v | | | |
| 117v | 615 | 134r | | | |
| 117v | 616 | 134r | GN 134 | | |
| 118v | 620 | 134v | | | |
| 126v | 612 | 133r | | | |
| 132v | 654 | 138v | | | |
| 132v | 655 | 138v | | | |
| 132v | 656 | 138v | G Sisoes.13 | 204 | 192 |
| 132v | 657 | 138v | GN 305 | 207 | 195 & 364b |
| 140v | 1213 | | | | |
| 141r | 1209 | | | | |
| 141r | 361 | 79v | | | |
| 141rv | 523 | 121v | GN 437a | 61a | 64a |
| 141v | 524 | 121v | GN 437b | 61b | 64b |
| 141v | 525 | 122r | | | |
| 141v | 526 | 122r | | | |
| 141v–142r | 121:1 | | GN 479 | 63 | 66 |
| 142r–143v | 121:2 | | GN 487 | | |

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[1048] NB! Reference to StMacar.370, not to StMacar.371.

| VA398 | Epi. | SM371 | Parallel | VA460 | EG |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 143v | 527 | 122r | | | |
| 143v | 528 | 122v | | | |
| 143v | 530 | 122v | GN 169 | | |
| 143v | 531 | 122v | | | |
| 144r | 532 | 122v | | | |
| 144r | 533 | 122v | | | |
| 144r | 534 | 122v | | | |
| 144v | 536 | 123r | | | |
| 144v | 537 | 123r | | | |
| 144v | 538 | 123r | VA 8 | | |
| 144v | 539 | 123r | | | |
| 144v | 540 | 123r | | | |
| 144v–145r | 541 | 123r | | | |
| 145r | 542 | 123v | GN 554 + 606 | | |
| 145r | 543 | 123v | GN 558 | | |
| 145r | 544 | 123v | | | |
| 145r | 545 | 123v | DorGD-Preville 12 | | |
| 145r | 546 | 123v | | | |
| 145rv | 547 | 123v | GN 587 | 686 | 508 |
| 145v–146r | 548 | 124r | | | |
| 146r | 549 | 124r | GN 607 | | |
| 146r | 550 | 124r | | | |
| 146r | 551 | 124r | | | |
| 146r | 552 | 124v | | | |
| 146r | 553 | 124v | DorGD-Preville 12 | | |
| 146r | 554 | 124v | GN 90 | 489 | 385a |
| 146rv | 555 | 124v | GN 108 | 134 | 129a |
| 146v | 556 | 124v | | | |
| 146v | 557 | 124v | | | |
| 146v | 558 | 124v | GN 128 | | |
| 146v | 559 | 124v | | | |
| 146v | 560 | 125r | | | |
| 146v–147r | 561 | 125r | GN 184 | 443 | 353 |
| 147r | 562 | 125v | | | |

# Appendix D. Statistics of occurences of segments in R and other AP sources

Ordered by size "Perc of A in B." Per June 2023. Both editions and manuscripts. They are distinguished from each other in how they are referenced, since editions have the [PREFIX-EDITOR] format while manuscripts have shelfmark designation, separated by dots (.). I have omitted sources that are translations of existing editions or that in other ways are redundant. I have also omitted all sources where "Perc of A in B" is equal to 0.

| SC | Perc of SS in SC | Perc of SC in SS | SS found in SC | SS not in SC | SC found in SS | SC not in SS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EG-Arras | 96 | 85 | 851 | 36 | 822 | 148 |
| Sin.gr.448 | 54 | 19 | 480 | 407 | 432 | 1862 |
| Par.Coisl.126 | 52 | 20 | 462 | 425 | 415 | 1682 |
| Par.Coisl.127 | 52 | 16 | 458 | 429 | 406 | 2128 |
| HS-Sarkissian B | 49 | 18 | 432 | 455 | 374 | 1716 |
| Athens.504 | 49 | 19 | 437 | 450 | 395 | 1702 |
| HS-GrigorYohannes | 47 | 16 | 419 | 468 | 357 | 1888 |
| CAB-Epiphanius | 45 | 23 | 397 | 490 | 372 | 1252 |
| Vat.ar.77 | 44 | 23 | 392 | 495 | 415 | 1362 |
| GS-Guy | 42 | 21 | 376 | 511 | 311 | 1197 |
| PE-ed6-Makarios | 42 | 6 | 369 | 518 | 306 | 4533 |
| Par.Coisl.232 | 42 | 19 | 374 | 513 | 323 | 1338 |
| SkP-Veder | 41 | 18 | 367 | 520 | 297 | 1317 |
| Mosc.GIM.Sin.3 | 40 | 13 | 351 | 536 | 287 | 1944 |
| Mosc.RGB.F310.2119 | 39 | 19 | 345 | 542 | 283 | 1244 |
| Mosc.GIM.Uvar.483 | 39 | 18 | 345 | 542 | 283 | 1275 |
| Mosc.RGB.F178.8240 | 38 | 18 | 340 | 547 | 276 | 1257 |
| Mosc.RGB.F304.37 | 37 | 21 | 331 | 556 | 266 | 979 |
| Beog.NBS.Dec.93 | 36 | 18 | 319 | 568 | 255 | 1128 |
| StPet.RNB.Pog.267 | 36 | 19 | 322 | 565 | 260 | 1109 |
| Mars.BM.1233 | 35 | 24 | 307 | 580 | 246 | 772 |
| Mosc.GIM.Cudov.318A | 35 | 21 | 314 | 573 | 250 | 934 |
| Par.ar.253-JMS | 35 | 20 | 312 | 575 | 300 | 1216 |

| SC | Perc of SS in SC | Perc of SC in SS | SS found in SC | SS not in SC | SC found in SS | SC not in SS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mosc.RGB.F304.703 | 34 | 21 | 305 | 582 | 245 | 911 |
| Mosc.GIM.Cudov.18 | 34 | 21 | 305 | 582 | 245 | 913 |
| Mil.Ambr.C30inf | 34 | 20 | 299 | 588 | 240 | 931 |
| HS-AUA | 34 | 18 | 304 | 583 | 264 | 1175 |
| Mun.SB.Clm.18093 | 34 | 24 | 298 | 589 | 240 | 744 |
| Par.gr.914 | 34 | 21 | 301 | 586 | 246 | 919 |
| PJ-Rosweyde | 34 | 24 | 298 | 589 | 240 | 744 |
| SE-Bedjan | 34 | 18 | 306 | 581 | 273 | 1233 |
| Lviv.LNB.ASP.56 | 33 | 21 | 293 | 594 | 239 | 901 |
| Athens.500 | 33 | 22 | 293 | 594 | 241 | 870 |
| Par.Coisl.282 | 33 | 22 | 295 | 592 | 239 | 827 |
| StPet.BAN.Belokr.2 | 33 | 22 | 296 | 591 | 241 | 853 |
| Strasb.4225 | 33 | 30 | 292 | 595 | 222 | 510 |
| Rom.Vall.C.47 | 32 | 26 | 286 | 601 | 232 | 676 |
| Sin.ar.444-JMS | 32 | 19 | 282 | 605 | 264 | 1135 |
| Vat.Chigi.F.VIII.208 | 32 | 23 | 282 | 605 | 227 | 748 |
| Par.lat.5387 | 31 | 24 | 278 | 609 | 224 | 727 |
| HS-Sarkissian A | 30 | 20 | 269 | 618 | 268 | 1052 |
| Athos.Prot.86-BD[1049] | 30 | 21 | 264 | 623 | 216 | 810 |
| Beog.MSPC.Krka.4 | 30 | 20 | 264 | 623 | 215 | 862 |
| GN-Wortley | 30 | 21 | 269 | 618 | 234 | 875 |
| Par.Coisl.126-JCG | 30 | 23 | 263 | 624 | 224 | 730 |
| Sin.gr.448-JCG | 30 | 21 | 268 | 619 | 232 | 871 |
| Brux.BR.8216-18 | 29 | 22 | 258 | 629 | 221 | 773 |
| Athos.Prot.86 | 29 | 21 | 261 | 626 | 213 | 810 |
| StGall.SA.XIII | 29 | 24 | 255 | 632 | 204 | 648 |
| EP-Arras | 28 | 34 | 248 | 639 | 205 | 392 |
| Flor.Laur.Ash56 | 28 | 25 | 250 | 637 | 203 | 612 |
| Vat.gr.1599 | 28 | 21 | 252 | 635 | 217 | 830 |
| Brux.BR.9850-52 | 27 | 27 | 243 | 644 | 194 | 516 |
| Mil.Ambr.L120sup | 27 | 30 | 241 | 646 | 191 | 438 |
| Par.gr.2474-BD[1050] | 27 | 25 | 237 | 650 | 185 | 546 |

[1049] Alternative analysis by Britt Dahlman, not published.
[1050] Alternative analysis by Britt Dahlman, not published.

| SC | Perc of SS in SC | Perc of SC in SS | SS found in SC | SS not in SC | SC found in SS | SC not in SS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Par.lat.9729 | 27 | 27 | 243 | 644 | 195 | 525 |
| Beog.NBS.Pec.86 | 26 | 24 | 234 | 653 | 185 | 580 |
| Naples.II.C.27 | 26 | 17 | 235 | 652 | 200 | 995 |
| G-Cotelier | 26 | 17 | 232 | 655 | 198 | 958 |
| Par.gr.1599 | 25 | 17 | 226 | 661 | 190 | 935 |
| Par.lat.13756 | 25 | 27 | 223 | 664 | 179 | 491 |
| StPet.RNB.Tix.552 | 25 | 21 | 223 | 664 | 179 | 672 |
| Stu.LB.ThPhFol.303 | 25 | 25 | 221 | 666 | 186 | 544 |
| Mun.SB.Clm.7980 | 24 | 24 | 212 | 675 | 173 | 537 |
| Mosc.RGB.F113.601 | 23 | 22 | 202 | 685 | 162 | 560 |
| Lond.Add.22508 | 23 | 15 | 205 | 682 | 173 | 948 |
| Leiden.UB.Scal.74 | 23 | 26 | 204 | 683 | 156 | 446 |
| Par.Coisl.283 | 22 | 25 | 198 | 689 | 161 | 477 |
| Vat.gr.2592 | 22 | 25 | 199 | 688 | 162 | 492 |
| Par.BN.Slav.10 | 21 | 23 | 185 | 702 | 146 | 487 |
| Par.gr.890 | 21 | 24 | 183 | 704 | 151 | 482 |
| Ven.Marc.II.70 | 21 | 25 | 185 | 702 | 150 | 456 |
| Mosc.RGB.F236.93 | 20 | 22 | 180 | 707 | 142 | 491 |
| Par.gr.917 | 20 | 22 | 175 | 712 | 142 | 510 |
| Mosc.GIM.Sin.989 | 19 | 9 | 169 | 718 | 144 | 1381 |
| Sin.ar.492-JMS | 19 | 21 | 165 | 722 | 148 | 546 |
| Sin.ar.565-JMS | 19 | 20 | 172 | 715 | 147 | 574 |
| StPet.RNB.Hilf.90 | 19 | 18 | 167 | 720 | 130 | 592 |
| Berl.Phill.1624 | 18 | 16 | 156 | 731 | 133 | 685 |
| Cologn.DB.165 | 18 | 27 | 159 | 728 | 123 | 334 |
| IA-Dvali | 18 | 15 | 161 | 726 | 133 | 769 |
| Darm.1953 | 17 | 14 | 152 | 735 | 125 | 797 |
| Sin.syr.46 | 17 | 21 | 147 | 740 | 119 | 457 |
| StPet.RNB.KB.20-1259 | 17 | 18 | 154 | 733 | 123 | 549 |
| Vat.Ottob.174 | 17 | 21 | 153 | 734 | 125 | 466 |
| PA-Freire | 16 | 22 | 139 | 748 | 107 | 380 |
| Athos.Ivir.geo.12 | 16 | 14 | 141 | 746 | 121 | 746 |
| Sin.geo.35 | 16 | 19 | 140 | 747 | 113 | 477 |
| VP-Ale-Williams | 15 | 20 | 132 | 755 | 107 | 421 |
| Berl.SB.Wuk.40 | 14 | 17 | 128 | 759 | 103 | 492 |
| Mosc.NBMGU.1310 | 14 | 26 | 126 | 761 | 98 | 280 |

| SC | Perc of SS in SC | Perc of SC in SS | SS found in SC | SS not in SC | SC found in SS | SC not in SS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vat.ar.71 | 14 | 29 | 121 | 766 | 86 | 206 |
| GSab[1051] | 13 | 23 | 113 | 774 | 91 | 311 |
| Lond.Add.12173 | 13 | 14 | 112 | 775 | 93 | 561 |
| Athos.Karak.38 | 12 | 25 | 104 | 783 | 81 | 245 |
| Athos.Lavra.B37 | 12 | 23 | 110 | 777 | 84 | 280 |
| HeML-Klemming | 12 | 26 | 109 | 778 | 100 | 278 |
| HeMS-Unger | 12 | 22 | 109 | 778 | 94 | 326 |
| R-Rosweyde | 12 | 24 | 108 | 779 | 79 | 245 |
| Wien.ONB.Slav.152 | 12 | 21 | 110 | 777 | 90 | 340 |
| Yer.MM.787 | 12 | 15 | 107 | 780 | 86 | 493 |
| AIP-Caldarelli | 11 | 11 | 94 | 793 | 84 | 694 |
| Par.gr.919 | 11 | 14 | 102 | 785 | 88 | 523 |
| Mun.SB.Clm.6293 | 10 | 26 | 91 | 796 | 67 | 193 |
| ECM-Arras | 10 | 10 | 86 | 801 | 66 | 589 |
| Sin.geo.8 | 10 | 12 | 88 | 799 | 75 | 559 |
| Sofia.NBKM.673 | 10 | 34 | 85 | 802 | 62 | 123 |
| CS-Chaine | 8 | 19 | 72 | 815 | 64 | 272 |
| GSd-MegaGerontikon | 8 | 3 | 75 | 812 | 62 | 2123 |
| Mosc.RGADA.F181.603 | 8 | 22 | 67 | 820 | 49 | 172 |
| Sin.ar.559-JMS | 8 | 22 | 75 | 812 | 64 | 222 |
| Worcester.F84 | 8 | 22 | 73 | 814 | 55 | 197 |
| GScA[1052] | 7 | 22 | 63 | 824 | 53 | 190 |
| Par.ar.276[1053] | 6 | 25 | 57 | 830 | 48 | 146 |
| Par.gr.916 | 6 | 17 | 49 | 838 | 40 | 196 |
| Sin.ar.547 | 6 | 14 | 52 | 835 | 42 | 254 |
| Lond.Add.17176 | 5 | 19 | 47 | 840 | 38 | 163 |
| PaVP-Rosweyde | 5 | 16 | 46 | 841 | 37 | 199 |
| DanS-Dahlman | 4 | 80 | 37 | 850 | 33 | 8 |
| CB-Amelineau | 4 | 9 | 35 | 852 | 29 | 294 |
| MD-Rosweyde | 4 | 18 | 39 | 848 | 26 | 121 |
| Mosc.Syn.gr.345 | 4 | 19 | 38 | 849 | 31 | 128 |
| StPet.RNB.Sof.1391 | 4 | 15 | 33 | 854 | 29 | 166 |
| DorGD-Preville | 3 | 10 | 23 | 864 | 16 | 141 |
| EA-Arras | 3 | 7 | 29 | 858 | 27 | 349 |

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[1051] The Greek-Sabaitic AP version.
[1052] Greek Scorialensis alphabetic collection.
[1053] Currently being revised by Britt Dahlman and Kenneth Berg.

| SC | Perc of SS in SC | Perc of SC in SS | SS found in SC | SS not in SC | SC found in SS | SC not in SS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mosc.Syn.gr.163 | 2 | 11 | 21 | 866 | 18 | 142 |
| Mosc.GIM.Sin.995 | 2 | 5 | 20 | 867 | 20 | 373 |
| Mosc.GIM.Voskr.115 | 2 | 23 | 21 | 866 | 15 | 50 |
| CSP-Freire | 2 | 16 | 17 | 870 | 16 | 85 |
| HL-Butler | 2 | 2 | 14 | 873 | 14 | 863 |
| HL-Wellhausen | 2 | 2 | 14 | 873 | 14 | 855 |
| HL-Draguet | 2 | 2 | 14 | 873 | 26 | 1456 |
| Lond.Add.14626 | 2 | 19 | 17 | 870 | 14 | 60 |
| Par.gr.1600 | 2 | 20 | 17 | 870 | 12 | 47 |
| PJ-Wilmart | 2 | 24 | 14 | 873 | 9 | 28 |
| PS-Migne | 2 | 7 | 20 | 867 | 20 | 286 |
| PS-Traversari | 2 | 6 | 20 | 867 | 20 | 288 |
| Rav.ASD.4 | 2 | 29 | 19 | 868 | 11 | 27 |
| AIPSup-Capaldo | 1 | 6 | 12 | 875 | 11 | 164 |
| CS-Elanskaya | 1 | 21 | 10 | 877 | 8 | 31 |
| IsMA-Broc | 1 | 1 | 12 | 875 | 12 | 1178 |
| HL-Pall-Rosweyde | 1 | 3 | 5 | 882 | 5 | 138 |
| HM-Festugiere | 1 | 1 | 9 | 878 | 9 | 638 |
| IN-Dvali | 1 | 9 | 13 | 874 | 9 | 90 |
| IsMA-G-Draguet | 1 | 1 | 10 | 877 | 10 | 1130 |
| IsMA-L-Draguet | 1 | 20 | 10 | 877 | 10 | 39 |
| IsMA-Syr-Draguet | 1 | 1 | 12 | 875 | 21 | 1611 |
| Lund.UB.54 | 1 | 12 | 7 | 880 | 5 | 37 |
| Mun.SB.Clm.18475 | 1 | 19 | 5 | 882 | 5 | 22 |
| Par.gr.1598 | 1 | 12 | 9 | 878 | 10 | 74 |
| PJ-Batlle | 1 | 29 | 10 | 877 | 8 | 20 |
| ThAsc-Possinus | 1 | 11 | 9 | 878 | 8 | 66 |
| Zur.W3.AG19 | 1 | 23 | 11 | 876 | 5 | 17 |

# Appendix E. Diplomatic edition and English translation of selected parts in Vat.ar.460

## Prologue Vat.ar.460 (fols. 1r–2r)

**Vat.ar.460 prologue:1**[1054]

بسم الاله الواحد الاب والابن والروح القدس[1055]
نبتدى بعون الله وحسن توفيقه بنسخ سير الابهات القديسين الاطهار المكرمين المنتخبين الابرار
المجاهدين الاخيار[1056] الرهبان المتوحدين والنساك والزهاد العباد الذين رفضوا اللذات الدنيانية
وكل نعيمها وحلواتها بشهوتهم واختيارهم حباً لسيدهم وتركوا مملكتهم وحسبهم بارادتهم وقاسوا حر
الصيف وناره وبرد الشتا وزمهريره وعملوا ذلك لخلاص نفوسهم بركة صلواتهم تكون معنا الجميع
امين
وهو مجموع من اخبار الرهبان المعروف
ببستان الرهبان[1057]

In the name of the one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

We begin, with the help of God and His good guidance, to copy the lives of the holy, pure,[1058] honorable, elect, just, struggling, and outstanding fathers, the anchoretic, ascetic, and worshipping monks, who rejected worldly pleasures and all its bliss and sweetness, voluntary and willingly out of love for their Master. They voluntarily left their kingdom and rank, enduring the heat and fire of summer and the cold and frost of winter.[1059] They did this for the salvation of their souls. May the blessing of their prayers be with us all. Amen.

This is a collection of the stories of the monks known as the *Garden of the Monks*.

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[1054] Transcription by Sauget (Sauget, description of Vat.ar.460, https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.ar.460), partly adapted by me.

[1055] The formula is framed by four dots shaped as a cross.

[1056] الاخيار: Sauget instead gives الاخبار (Sauget, description of Vat.ar.460, https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.ar.460).

[1057] ببستان الرهبان is framed by crosses. There also appears a cross after امين, two lines above.

[1058] طاهر (pure) can be considered a Coptic calque, cf. ογααв (holy, pure; Hacken, "The Legend of Saint Aūr," 199).

[1059] Cf. prologue pseudo-Serapionic VA (fol. 4r, Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony,* 124–25).

مفتاح باب فردوس الله التى به تضى العقول وتضى الادهان وتضى عقل الانسان وتشهيه الى نعمة
ملكوت السموات[1061] وتضى عيني عقله المظلمه وتجعله اشرف من الملايكه واشرف من
الروحانيين وتتلدد نفسه وحواسه بالهبات هاولاي المضيين والدي خيار الفهم في [l. dub][1062]
[1v] واخبار هم الحسنه وصبر هم الكامل الدى يفوق العقل وما قد عملوا بنفوسهم والزموا ارواحهم
بالصوم المفضل السرمد والسهر الدايم الدى هو العداب والعطش الشديد بشهوة نفوسهم هاولاي الابا
التى دفعوا نفوسهم ونحلوا اجسادهم لاجل خوف الله ربهم وعملو اكتر مما امروا به من السهرو
والعطش والجوع وقالوا بعد هدا انا عبيد بطالين ولزموا دكر الموت دايما بين عينيهم ففازوا
وتركونا خلفهم نتعجب من سماع اخبار هم المفخره ومن اتعابهم المفرطه فواجب علينا ايها الاخوه
والاباء ان نطلب من الرب يسوع المسيح الاله المتحنن معدن الراحه والنعمه ان تعيننا بحسن
صلواتهم ويو هبنا قلبًاء نقي بطهاره وعينين مضيه في ان نقتفى اثار هم الصالحه وان نعد من جمله
تلاميدهم وخدامهم في ملكوت السماء وان لا يبعدنا الرب يسوع المسيح من رحمته كما وعد في
انجيله المقدس الطاهر نهر الحياة يا تعالوا الي أيها المتعوبين وانا اريحكم [2r] وقال ايضًا من فمه
الطاهر المملو حياه من طلب وجد ومن سال أعطى ومن قرع فتح له ونحن بهدا الامل والاتكال
الحقيقي قد هجمنا على باب ملكوتك وطلبنا نعمتك وسالنا رافتك وقرعنا باب ملكوتك ان تجعل لنا
اخره صالحه مقبوله قدامك امين

(This is) the key to the door of God's Paradise through which the minds are illuminated and the hearts are illuminated, and the human mind is illuminated and filled with desire towards the grace of the heavenly kingdom,[1063] and (through which) the eyes of his darkened intellect are illuminated,[1064] making him more honorable than the angels[1065] and more honorable than the spiritual beings. (It) makes the soul and senses delight in the gifts of those luminous people which the [innermost] intelligence focuses on by their descriptions [1v] and their good stories and perfect patience which surpasses the intellect. They have labored with themselves, and they have committed their spirits to impressive fasting, permanent combat and perpetual vigil, which is the torment and intense thirst with the passion of their souls. Here are the fathers who offered their souls and gave up their bodies for the fear of God, their Lord, and practiced more than what was commanded in terms of vigil, thirst, and hunger, but who afterwards said: "We are unworthy slaves."[1066] And they always held the remembrance of death between their eyes. Thus they triumphed and left us (who come) after them amazed at hearing (of) their glorious stories and extraordinary toiling. Thus, brothers and fathers, it is necessary

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[1060] Partly transcribed by Sauget (Sauget, description of Vat.ar.460, https://opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.ar.460).
[1061] End of Sauget's transcription.
[1062] EG-Arras.lat prologue:2 reads *intimum* (innermost).
[1063] Cf. Lectio divina, Michelson, *The Library of Paradise*, 280.
[1064] Cf. Eph. 4:18.
[1065] Cf. Hebrews 1:13–14.
[1066] Cf. Luke 17:10.

that we ask the Lord Jesus Christ, the compassionate God, the mine of comfort and grace, to help us, with their good prayers, and grant us a very pure heart and brightened eyes, with which we may follow in their righteous traditions, so that we may be counted among the collective of their disciples and servants in the heavenly kingdom; and that Lord Jesus Christ does not remove from us his mercy, as He promised in His holy and pure Gospel, river of life: "Come to me you who are weary and I will give you rest".[1067] [2r] He also said, with a pure mouth, full of life: "Whoever seeks shall find, and whoever asks will be given, and whoever knocks, it is opened up for him."[1068] And we, with this true hope and reliance, throw ourselves at the door of Your kingdom, and we seek Your blessing and ask for Your mercy, and we knock on the door of Your kingdom so that You may make a good and proper afterlife for us before You. Amen.

## Vat.ar.460 prologue:3

والان ايها الاخوه المنتخبين ان اردنا ان نكتب اخبار الابهّات القديسين ومواليدهم يضجر الكاتب ويمل القارى. وانما اختصرنا ان نكتب بعض اخبارهم الحسنه واقوالهم الفاخره لنعزى نفوسنا بدلك ونطلب بركه صلواتهم تكون معنا الجميع امين

And now, elect brothers, if we wanted to write the (complete) stories of the saintly fathers and their biographies, then the scribe would be weary, and the reader would be bored. Instead, we have summed up into writing some of their good stories and glorious sayings so that we may console our souls by it. We ask that the blessing of their prayers be with us all. Amen.

## Prologue StMacar.367–372[1069]

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس[1070] نبتدى بمعونة الرب لذكره السجود وبنسخ قليل من سير اباينا القديسين واقوالهم المنيرة العقول مما اختصر من بستان الرهبان بركاتهم تشملنا امين

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[1067] Matt 11:28.
[1068] Matt 7:7–8; Luke 11:9–10
[1069] Collation of StMacar.371 fol. 15v (base text); StMacar.367 p. 15; StMacar.368 p. 9; StMacar.370 fol. 6r; and StMacar.372 fol. 3r.
[1070] StMacar.370 add. الله واحد; idem in StMacar.367, with an added له المجد امين after واحد; StMacar.368 has the same wording as StMacar.367 with an added المجد الى الابد after المجد. StMacar.372 has the same reading as StMacar.370 with an added امين.

<div dir="rtl">

<sup>1071</sup> فواجب علينا ايها الاباآ والاخوة ان نطلب من ربنا يسوع المسيح الاله المتحنن ان ينظر الينا برافته ويعطينا قلوب مستقيمه كحسب ارادته ويويدنا<sup>1072</sup> على السلوك في اثارهم الصالحه ويوهلنا للخلود معهم فى ملكوته السماييه امين

</div>

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. We begin, with the help of the Lord—to whose memory belongs the adoration—to copy a few of the lives of our Holy Fathers, and their sayings that illuminate the minds, which are epitomized from the *Garden of the Monks*. May their blessings include us. Amen.

For we are obliged, fathers and brothers, to ask from our Lord Jesus Christ, the merciful God, that He may look at us with His compassion, and give us upright hearts as is His will, and guide us in the manner of their righteous traditions and grant us everlasting happiness with them for eternity in His Heavenly Kingdom. Amen.

## R dossier 1 (Antonius)

### *Vat.ar.460 1 (fol. 2r)*

<div dir="rtl">

قال القديس العظيم الجليل انطونيوس كوكب البريه وتاج الرهبان راس كل الفضايل وراس الحكمه مخافه الله وقال ايضًا كما ان الضو ادا دخل الي بيت مظلم طرد ظلمته واضاه هكذا خوف الله ادا دخل الى قلب الانسان طرد ظلته وعلمه كل الفضايل والحكم

</div>

The magnificent, exalted saint Antonius, star of the desert and the crown of monks said: "The beginning of all virtues and wisdom is the fear of God."<sup>1073</sup> He also said: "As the light, when it enters a dark house, chases away its darkness and lights it up, so also the fear of God, if it enters into the heart of someone, chases away its shadow, and teaches him all virtues and wisdoms."

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[1071] StMacar.367 has the following alternative reading until تشملنا:

<div dir="rtl">

نبتدى بعون الله وحسن توفيقه له المجد امين كتاب يدعا بستان قليل من اقوال اباينا القديسين بركت صلوتهم تكون معنا امين

</div>

(We begin, with the help and good guidance of God——Glory be to Him, Amen——a book called *the Garden*, (containing) a few of the sayings of our Holy Fathers. May the blessings of their prayers be with us. Amen.)

[1072] StMacar.367 var. ويويد.

[1073] Ps 110:10; Prov 9:10.

**Vat.ar.460 2:1**

قيل عن القديس انطونيوس العظيم انه كان من اهل صعيد مصر من وادى الاقباط وسيرته عجيبه طويله وانما نذكر بعض اليسير من فضايله انه لما توفى والده [2v] دخل اليه وتامله وعجب منه كثيرًا جدا وقال تبارك اسم الرب الاله ان هدا الصوره لم يتغير منها شي البته الا هدا النفس الضعيف ثم جس والده وقال اين هى همتك وعزيمتك وسطوتك العظيمه ورايك ارى الجميع بطل واين جمعك المال الجميع وتركته فارغ من الكل. يا لهده الحسره العظيمه والشده الجزيله فان كنت انت خرجت بغير اختيارك فلا عجبن من نفسى ان عملت كعملك. ثم ان القديس انطونيوس بهده الفكره الواحده الصغيره ترك والده لم يدفنه وجميع ما خلف من مال وجوار ونعم وحشمه. وخرج تايهًا على وجهِه هاربًا خارجًا من الدنيا طايعًا ولا يخرج منها كابوه كارهًا ولم يزل ساير الى ان وصل الى شاطى النهر فوجد هناك[1074] جميزة كبيره وعندها بربا[1075] وسكن. وكان قريب منه عربان فلزم النسك العظيم والصوم السرمد.

It was said about Saint Antonius the Magnificent that he was from the Wādī of the Copts in Upper Egypt.[1076] His biography is wonderful and long, and so we mention (only) a few of his virtues. When his father[1077] had died [2v], he went in to him, studied him, and wondered greatly. He said: "Blessed be the name of Lord God! Nothing whatsoever about this figure has changed except [the disappearance of] this weak breath." Then he touched his father and said: "Where is your aspiration, your determination, your great strength, and your ambition? I see that all is lost. And where is all your wealth? He has left completely empty-handed. Oh great sorrow and great loss! Since you have left unwillingly, I would not be surprised if I myself would do the same." With this single small thought, saint Antonius left his father without burying him, and left behind all his money, protection, livestock, and servants. He went out, wandering around aimlessly, with the aim of fleeing the world willingly, not unwillingly like his father. And he did not stop walking until he reached the bank of a river. There he found a large sycamore tree next to a ruined temple and dwelled there. Close to him were a group of Arabs. He committed to severe asceticism and prolonged fasting.

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[1074] هناك in marg.

[1075] بربا: Coptic loanword (ⲡⲉⲣⲡⲉ (Sahidic)/ⲡⲉⲣⲫⲉⲓ (Bohairic)). Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān*, 21n1; Bishai, "Coptic Lexical Influence on Egyptian Arabic," 40. The parallel in the pseudo-Serapionic VA instead reads مقابر (graveyard) Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 132; idem in Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 174 (facsimile of CAB-Agaiby 67)).

[1076] According to Agaiby, the Wādī of the Copts in Upper Egypt refers to the Nile valley south of Cairo (Agaiby 2021, p. 145 n336).

[1077] In both the Athanasian VA 2 and the pseudo-Serapionic VA, the demise of both parents is mentioned. Tomas Hägg and Samuel Rubenson (trans.), *Antonios liv, I översättning och med inledning och kommentar* (Skellefteå: Artos bokförlag, 1991), 45; Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony*, 130–31.

فبينما هو يوم من الايام هناك واذا بامراة جميلة الصوره من العرب نزلت هى وجوارها الي
شاطى النهر تغسل رجليها ورفعت ثيابها وجوارها كمثل ذلك فلما راهم القديس على هذا الحال
غمض عينيه ساعة زمانيه [3r] واعتقد انهم راحوا فبدوا يستحموا فقال القديس اتيها الامراة ما
تستحى منى وانا رجلٍ راهب. قالت له الامراة اصمت يا رجل. من اين انت راهب لو كنت
راهب كنت في البريه الجوانيه لان ما هنا مسكن للرهبان. فلما سمع القديس انطونيوس هذه
الكلمه لم يرد عليها جواب وكثر تعجبه لان لم يكن بعد راى راهب ولا سمع بمثله فقال لنفسه
ليس هذه الكلمه من هذه الامراة بل هذا صوت ملاك الرب يوبخني ثم ترك ذلك الموضع لوقته
وهرب الى البريه الجوانيه واقام بها متوحد لان ما كان احدٍ دخل البريه الا هو. لانه اول من علم
طريق الرهبنه. واول من علم الوحده. وهو اول من ترهب من يد الرب يسوع المسيح. واخذ
اسكيم الرهبنه لباس الملايكه التى به نقهر الاعدا. وان القديس اقام بالبرية الجوانيه فوق من مدينه
اطفيح بدياره مصر مده تلته ايام وابتنا له قلايه[1079] صغيره وهو من وادي قريب من وادى
البريه.[1080]

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One day, while he was there, it happened that a beautiful Arab woman went down to the bank of the river with her neighbors to wash her feet. She lifted her clothes, and her neighbors did the same. When the saint saw them in this condition, he covered his eyes for an hour [3r] and reckoned that they had gone away. But they started to bathe. So the saint said to her: "Woman, are you not ashamed in front of me, a monastic man?" But she said to him: "Be silent, Man. From where are you a monk (from where did you get that idea)? If you were a monk, you would have been living in the inner desert, because here is no place for monks." When Antonius heard these words, he did not respond to her, and he was very astonished, since he had not yet seen a monk, nor heard of anything like it. He said to himself: "This speech is not from this woman, but it is the voice of the angel of the Lord reprimanding me." Right away, he left that place and fled to the inner desert where he dwelled in solitude. No one had entered the wilderness but him. He was the first to know the monastic path, and the first to know solitude, and the first to become a monk by the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ. He took the monastic *iskīm*,[1081] the garb of the angels, by which we conquer the enemies. The saint dwelled in the inner desert, north[1082] of the city of Aṭfīḥ[1083] in Egypt, three

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[1078] This episode where Antonius meets the Arab woman is, according to Agaiby, "[o]f all incidences in Antony's life […] the most ingrained in the Coptic mind (Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony,* 1 n2). Although not known from the Athanasian VA, we recognize the narrative logic —a male ascetic being troubled at the sight of a bathing woman and the dangers of fornication arising in the mind—from other ancient religious narratives such as that of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam 11, cf. also G Arsenius.32).

[1079] قلايتة, monastic cell. Cf. Greek κελλíον. Graf, *Verzeichnis Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, 92.

[1080] البريه : probably a misspelling of عربه; in Agaiby's translation one finds "Wādī al-ʿArabah" (Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 147), and Antonius's monastery is situated close to Wādī al-ʿArabah in Egypt.

[1081] *iskīm*: Greek loanword, *schema* (dress), a monk's garment.

[1082] Literally: "above" ( Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 147 n350.)

[1083] Ancient Aphroditopolis. (Agaiby and Vivian, *Door of the Wilderness*, 147 n351.)

days away, and he built for himself a small cell in a valley close to Wādī al-[ʿArabah].

**Vat.ar.460 2:3**

وكان فى دلك الوقت رجل علماني شيخ كبير يقال انه بولا اعنى بولص وكان ساكن بمدينه اطفيح واتفق ان زوجته ماتت وتزوج امراه [3v] صبيه وكان له نعمة جزيله لانه كان من بعض المواريث فدخل يوم من الايام الى بيته وجد بعض خدامه على السرير مع امراته فقال لزوجته يبارك لك فيه ايها الامراه ويبارك له فيك اد اخترتيه دوني. ثم اخد بردته عليه ومضى تايهًا علي وجهه فى البريه الجوانيه. وبقى متحيرًا تايهًا زمانًا طويلًا الى ان اتفق انه وقف على قلايه القديس انطونيوس. فدق باب القلايه فلما راه القديس عجب منه غاية العجب لانه لم يكن بعد راى انسان بهده الصفه فسلم على القديس[1084] وسجد على الارض بين يديه فاقامه القديس وعزاه وفرح منه غاية الفرح. ثم جلس عنده اربعين يومًا لازم الزهد الكامل والوحده الصعبه فلما كمل له اربعين يومًا قال له يا بولص روح الى لحف الجبل واتوحد ودوق[1085] الوحده وان القديس بولص عمل كما امره وعمل له مثل مربط شاه

At that time there was a secular man, a great elder, who was called Būlā, that is, Paul, who lived in the city of Aṭfīḥ. It happened that his wife died, and he married a (new) young woman. [3v] He had great possessions from some inheritance. One day as he entered his house, he found one of his servants in bed with his wife. He said to his wife: "May God bless you, woman, and blessed be him, whom you have chosen over me." Then he put on his cloak, and went, wandering around in the inner desert. He was wandering around lost for a long time, until he arrived standing at the cell of saint Antonius. He knocked on the door of the cell. When he saw the saint[1086] he was utterly amazed, because he had not yet seen a man of this type. He greeted the saint and prostrated himself on the ground before him. The saint lifted him up and consoled him, and he rejoiced greatly. He resided next to him for forty days, observing absolute asceticism and strenuous solitude. When the forty days were over, he said to him: "Paul, go to the foot of the mountain, live in solitude and taste [the taste of] solitude." Saint Paul did as he commanded him and made for himself a similar girdle of sheep(skin).[1087]

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[1084] القديس in marg.

[1085] In the margin is added a word which is not possible to read (طو ...). EG-Arras.lat 2:3 reads *saporem* (the taste).

[1086] Alt. "when the saint saw him".

[1087] The meaning of مثل مربط شاه is unclear. In *Churches and monasteries of Egypt* it is described that Antony and Paul were the first to clothe themselves in wool (p. 161/55) لبس الصوف And in *Historia Lausiaca* Paul has a μηλωτή (sheepskin coat). This makes me think that what is referred to here is some sort of clothing made of wool or sheep. Evetts (ed.), *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, 161/55; HL-Butler 22.11.

وفي غد دلك احضروا الى القديس رجل معترض[1088] من الجن. فلما نطره القديس انطونيوس
عجب منه ثم قال لمن احضره ودوة الي القديس بولص ببريه لاني عاجز عنه. وهد هي اول
تجاربه فعملوا امر القديس واحضروه وقالوا له معلمك الاب انطونيوس
يامرك ان تخرج هدا الشيطان عن هدا الانسان. وكان القديس بولص سادج. فلوقته اخد الرجل
المعترض وخرج الي برًا الجبل. وكان وقت حر شديد وكانت [4r] الشمس تحكي وهج النار
العظيم فقال يا شيطان استحلفك كما امرنى معلمى انطونيوس انك تخرج. وان العدو الشيطان بدا
يتكلم على لسان الانسان المعترض ويضحك ويشتم ويقول من هو انت ومن هو معلمك
انطونيوس الحال العيان الكداب. وان بولص قال له انا اقول لك ايها الشيطان انك تخرج من هدا
الانسان. واد لم تخرج منه انا اعدب نفسى. وان القديس بولص طلع على حجر وكان يتقد النار
كانه جمر نار واخد حجر حطه[1089] اخر علي راسه وقال وحق الرب يسوع المسيح وحق
صلوات معلمى مارى انطونيوس العظيم لابقيت ازال هكدا الي ان اموت واعمل طاعة معلمى
وتخرج ايها الشيطان كما امر معلمى وبقى فهكدا واقف والعرق نازل كانه المطر والدم يانبع من
فمه وانفه ودلك العالم وقوف. فلما راي الشيطان دلك تصرخ باعلى صوته وقال العفو العفو
بالهرب الهرب من شيخ يقسم علي بالله بدكاوه قلبه. حقًا لقد احرقتنى بسداجتك تم خرج من دلك
الانسان شخص مغير اللون طول [l. dub.] [1090] اربعين دراع. وان القديس كان يعلم بدالك و
صرخ وقال يا بولا لا تحسب ان بحشاشه دمك وخروجه خرجت [4v] لكن احرقتنى صلاه
انطونيوس وهو غايب. فلما سمعوا الحاضرين تعجبوا بركه صلاتهم تحفظنا.

The next day, they brought a man who was possessed by a jinn to the saint. Saint
Antonius was amazed when he saw him. Then he said to those who had brought
him: "Take him to saint Paul in the desert, for I am not able to help him." This
was his first trial. They did as the saint had ordered and brought him before saint
Paul and said to him: "Your teacher, father Antonius, commands you to cast out
this demon from this man." Saint Paul was simple-minded. Right away, he took
the possessed man and went out away from the mountain. It was a really hot time
of the day, and the sun [4r] resembled the flame of a great fire. He said: "Demon,
I beseech you, as my teacher Antonius has ordered me, to come out!" Satan, the
enemy, started to speak through the mouth of the possessed man, laughing and
cursing, saying: "Who are you and who is your teacher, the crazy liar?" Paul said
to him: "I say to you, Satan: come out of this man! If you do not come out, I will
torture myself." And Saint Paul went up on a rock that was blazing as if there

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[1088] Sic, probably a passive participle of عرض (to go mad). EG-Arras.lat 2:4 reads *hominem quem possedit daemonium* (a
man possessed by a demon).

[1089] حطه s.l.

[1090] EG-Arras.lat 2:4 reads *caudae eius* (its tail)

were embers of fire, and took another stone on top of his head, and said: "By the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the prayers of my teacher *mārī*[1091] Antonius the Great, I will remain like this until I die; I obey my teacher. Come out, demon, as my teacher commanded!" He stood in this manner, and the sweat was coming down like rain, and blood was flowing from his mouth and nose, and the people were standing (watching). When the demon saw this, he shrieked at the top of his voice and said: "Pardon, pardon! I flee, flee from the elder who swears by God with the purity of his heart! Truly, your simplicity burned me." And out of the man came a creature in shifting colors, [its tail being] forty arms long. The saint knew this. He cried out and said: "Paul, do not think that I have come forth for the sake of the effusion of your blood; [4v] but I was burned by the prayers of Antonius from a distance." When those who were present heard him, they were amazed. May their prayers preserve us.

### Vat.ar.460 3 (fol. 4v)

خبر عن القديس انطونيوس انه كان جالس يوم من الايام فى قلايته[1092] وقد تواترت عليه الافكار حتى تاه عقله وبقى داير في الدنيا وضاق صدره حتى كاد يتيه ولم يقدر يصبر فخرخ من باب قلايته فوجه راهب يظفر خوص ساعه وقوم يصلى اخرى ويدكر الموت ويبكى على نفسه كيف يصير تراب. ثم بدا يدكر القديس. فلما راه انطونيوس عجب. فقال له يا[1093] انطونيوس اعمل هكدا وانت تخلص. ثم التفت اليه القديس فلم يراه فعجب منه كتيرًا جدًا. ثم تهدّت ع[ليه][1094] الافكار وجلس يعمل كمتل ما راي[1095] بركته صلاته معنا آمين

It was told about Saint Antonius that one day, as he was sitting in his cell, his thoughts ran on repeat until his mind wandered and he was overwhelmed by the world, and his chest narrowed until he almost was lost and unable to endure. He went out through the door of his cell and found a monk who was braiding palm leaves for one hour, then standing up praying another (hour), then remembering death and weeping for himself that will become dust. After this the saint began to meditate. When Antonius saw him, he was amazed. Then he said to him: "Do this, Antonius, and you will be saved." When the saint turned towards him, he did not see him, and was greatly surprised. Then his thoughts calmed down and he sat down, practicing that which he had seen. May the blessings of his prayers be with us. Amen.

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[1091] مار (*mār*), from Syriac ܡܪܝ, a title of reverence. Graf, Verzeichnis *Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, 7.
[1092] قلايتة, monastic cell. Cf. Greek κελλίον. Graf, *Verzeichnis Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, 92.
[1093] يا s.l.
[1094] عليه *l. dub*: the word starts with ع.
[1095] In the margin is added a phrase, in another hand partly, unclear (الراهب به...).

*Vat.ar.460 4 (fol. 4v(1))*

وكان القديس يعلم تلامده [l.dub][1096] هده الكلامه ويقول يا اولادي كما ان السمك ادا خرج من الما يموت كدلك الراهب ادا خرج من قلايته يموت خوف الله من قلبه.

The saint [constantly] taught his students this saying, saying: "My children, just as the fish die if they leave the water, so the fear of God dies in the heart of the monk if he leaves the cell."

*Vat.ar.460 5 (fol. 4v(2))[1097]*

وقال القديس انطونيوس كما ان الكبريا والعظمه اهبطت الشيطان من العلو الى التري هكذا الاتضاع والهدو ويرفع الانسان من الارض الي السماء.

Saint Antonius also said: "Just as pride and arrogance brought Satan from the heights to the dust,[1098] so humility and stillness raise man from earth to heaven."[1099]

*Vat.ar.460 6 (fols. 4v–6r)*

**Vat.ar.460 6:1**

وخبر ايضًا [5r]عن القديس انطونيوس انه لما ترك العالم وهرب منه ودخل البريه الجوانيه نظرت الشياطين الى صورته وقالوا ان صورة هدا الادمي قد از عجتنا ونخشى ان يحل بنا من هده الصوره كما حل بنا مع ابوه ادم. فاجتمعت اليه الشياطين وصاروا يقولوا له[1100] يا صبى بالعمر والعقل. كيف جسرت ودخلت الى بلادنا. لان ما راينا هاهنا شخص ادمى سواك. وابتدوا يجاهدوه كلهم بكل قوتهم. وكان هو يقول يا اقويا مادا تريدون مني انا الضعيف انا المسكين. وايش هو مقداري حتى تجتمعوا كلكم على وانا تراب ووسخ ولا شي وضعيف عن قتال احد اصغركم. وكان يلقى جسد على الارض ويقول يا رب عينى وقوي ضعفى. انا الضعيف في كل الجهات بالقدره والحيل والعمر والعمل. ارحمني يا رب صدقه على من عندك فانني التجيت اليك. يا رب لا تخيبني ولا تقوى هولاي الدين يحسبوا انني شي يا رب انت تعلم انني ضعيف عن مقاومه بعض اصاغر

[1096] EG-Arras.lat 4 reads *perpetuo* (constantly).
[1097] The wording in the parallels in Par.ar.253 fol. 118v(7) and Sin.ar.444 fol. 38v(5) is not similar.
[1098] Isa 14:12
[1099] Luke 14:11.
[1100] له s.l.

It was also told [5r] about Saint Antonius that when he left the world, fled from it, and entered the inner desert, the demons saw him appearing and said: "The appearance of this human disturbs us, and we fear that this figure will deal with us as did his father Adam." The demons gathered around him and were saying to him: "Young boy of age and mind, how do you dare enter our land? We have not seen any human being here than you!" They all began to struggle against him with all their strength. He would say: "You strong ones! What do you want from me, I who am weak, I who am poor. Who am I that all of you would team up against me, I who am dust, dirt, and nothing, and (too) weak even to battle one of the weaker of you." He would throw his body on the ground, saying: "Lord, help me and strengthen my weakness. I am weak in all aspects: ability, energy, vigor and working. Have mercy on me, Lord, and allow me to be near you, for I flee to you.[1101] Lord, do not leave me, and do not affirm the religious leaders who consider me of some worth. Lord, you know that I am weak enough to not resist even the smallest ones." When the demons heard this prayer filled with life and humility, they were fleeing [5v] and were not able to approach him.

**Vat.ar.460 6:2**

وان الاركون[1102] تعجب جدًا. وجمع جميع الات اللهو والطرب والفرح والسرور واللدات والنعيم والاشباه المفرحه وترانها للقديس. وهو لم يترك الطلبه من الله ساعة واحده باتضاع. ثم انه كان يلقى نفسه على الارض دايمًا ويقول الحقني يا رب بمعونتك ولا تبعد عن ضعفي. فللوقت تهرب عنه الشياطين. ثم جمعوا له ساير الات الزنا ولداته وساير انواع النسا فكان يغمض عينيه ويقول عجبًا منكم. كيف تجعلوا الي مقدار وتتعبوا وتحتالوا على سقوطي. انا الضعيف انا التراب. انا الغير مقتدر ان اقاوم بعض اصاغركم. ابعدوا عن ضعفي انا المسكين. وكانت الافكار تسقط عنه بمعونه الله والشياطين تحترق من كثرة الاتضاع. وبعد هدا فاحضروا اليه بجميع الات الخوف والانزعاج والتهويل والعداب وهو يصرخ الى الله ويقول يا رب الحقني انا الضعيف. ودفوع كثيره هجموا عليه وضربوه وجرروه حتى لم يبقي على لحمه شعر ودفوع لم يبقى على لحمه جلد واقام هكدا على هدا الجهاد تلاتين سنه فلما راى الرب يسوع المسيح [6r] كثرة صبره وعظم احتماله اعطاه القلنسوه المكرمه التى هى تاج الراهب وقال له يا انطونيوس بهده القلنسوه تهزم كدادسين المرده بهده القلنسوه يا انطونيوس تظفر بنعمتى طوباك ثم طوباك يا انطونيوس. فان اسمك يكون فى اقطار الارض وملكوت السما عظيما جدا ثم لبسه الرب القلنسوه بيمينه

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[1101] Ps 143:9.
[1102] اركون: leader, Greek loanword, cf. ἄρχων (ruler). Graf, Verzeichnis *Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, 7.

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The ruler [of demons] was very surprised. He gathered all the instruments of amusement, glee, joy, satisfaction, pleasure, bliss, and such joyous things and showed them to the saint. But he did not stop supplicating to God, not even an hour, in humility. He was, as always, throwing himself on the ground, saying: "Save me, Lord, with your help, and do not distance yourself from my weakness." Immediately, the demons fled from him. Then they appeared for him using the instruments of fornication and pleasure, and various women. But we closed his eyes, saying: "I am amazed by you. How can you deem me worthy and toil and plot for my downfall? I am weak, I am dust, I am incapable of resisting even the smallest one of you. Go away from me, I who am weak, I who am poor." And through the help of the Lord, his thoughts cleared, and the demons were burned by the magnitude of his humility. After this, they brought to him all the instruments of fear, discomfort, intimidation, and torture. He cried out to God, saying: "Lord, save me, I who am weak!" And many troops attacked him, beat him, and dragged him until there was not hair left on his flesh and until no skin remained on his flesh. He kept up this struggle for thirty years. When Lord Jesus Christ saw [6r] the magnitude of his patience and the greatness of his endurance, he gave him the honorable cowl, which is the monastic crown, and said to him: "Antonius, with this cowl you will defeat the rebellious multitude.[1103] With this cowl, Antonius, I bestow upon you my grace. Blessed are you, and blessed again. Your name will be all over the countries of the earth and will be great in the kingdom of heaven." And Lord Jesus clothed him with a cowl with His holy hands. Thirty years later, he gave him the great *iskīm*, which is the heavenly garb, and he was ranked among the strugglers, and the intensity of the fight against the enemies was lifted of him. May the blessing of his prayers be with us.

### Vat.ar.460 7 (fols. 6r–7r)

**Vat.ar.460 7:1**

خبر عن القديس انطونيوس انه ملك الانكبرد كان له ولدٍ وكان وارث الملك بعده. فلحقه جنون وصرع وخشن. فجمع له كل علما بلاده فلم يقدر احد ان يعينه ولا يشفيه واتصل به خبر القديس انطونيوس الصعيدي فنفد رسله اليه بهدايا جليله. فلما وصلوا اليه لم يشاء ان يقبل شئ من الهدايا ولا يفرح بالسمعة ثم انه كلمهم بترجمان. وقال لتلميذه مادا تشير علي يا بنى او رح او اجلس قال له يا ابه ان جلست انت انبا [6v] انطونيوس ان رحت فانت انطونه. وكان التلميذ يحبه ولا يشتهي

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يفارقه. وانه قال وانطونه اريد اكون. وفى تلك الليله عمل صلاه في الدير وسار الي بلاد الانكبرد
حملته سحابه بقوه ربنا يسوع المسيح. ودخل الى مدينه الملك وجلس على باب دار الوزير كمثل
انسان راهب غريب. ولما عبر وزير الملك وكان الليل فامر الوزير بالدخول. فلما دخل منزله وهم
على المايده وكانت عند الوزير خنزيره ولدت اولاد عمى وواحد اعرج. وان الخنزيره اخذت
اولادها وهجمت على القديس والقتهم بين يديه وانه تكلم مع الوزير بالانكبردي قايلا[1104] اتظنوا ان
ما يريد احد الشفا لولده الا الملك. ثم صلب على اولادها وبصق في عيني الاعمى صارت له عينين
وابراهم وان القوم لما راو ذلك صاروا كانهم الاموات.

It was told about Saint Antonius that the king of Ankbard[1105] had a son who was to
be the heir of the kingdom after him. He had been overtaken by madness, epilepsy,
and primitivism. So he gathered all the scholars of his country, but no one was able to
help or heal him. The news of Saint Antonius of Upper Egypt reached him. His
messengers ran out to him a with splendid gifts, but when they reached him, he did
not want to accept any of the gifts, nor did he rejoice in the reputation. Then he
spoke with them through an interpreter. He said to his disciple: "What do you
suggest, my son? Should I go or remain?" He said to him: "Father, if you remain
you are anba [6v] Anṭūnīyūs; if you go, then you are Anṭūna." The student loved
him and did not want to part from him. He said: "I want to be Anṭūna." That night
he made a prayer in the monastery and went to the country of Ankbard, carried on a
cloud by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ. He went into the king's city and sat by
the door of the minister's residence, looking like a foreign monastic man. When the
king's minister passed by during the night, he ordered him to enter. He entered his
house while they were at the table. The minister had a pig that had given birth to
bling piglets, and one of them was lame. The pig took her children and approached
the saint and threw them before him. He spoke with the minister in Ankbardian,
saying: "Do you think that no one wants healing for their children but the king?"
Then he made the cross on her piglets and spat in the eyes of the blind, and they
eyes started to function, and they were cured. When the people saw this, they were
stupefied.


**Vat.ar.460 7:2**


ووصل الخبر للملك فلما احضروه للوقت ابرى ابنه وقال ايها الملك بلغني انك نفدت الى انطونه
المصري العيار ونفقت مالك واتعبت رسلك ولاجل هذا نفدنى الله اليك. ثم ودعه وانصرف الي
ديره. ولما كان التاني يوم [7r] حضروا الرسل اليه وقالوا تعول معنا[1106] فقال اسبقوني وانا احضر
خلفكم. وانهم رجعوا واتقين بكلامه وقاسوا شدايد كثيره وتعب في[1107] البحر وهول السفر. ولما
وصلوا سمعوا ان قد برى ابن الملك وان قديس اخر ابراه وهذا كان قصد القديس انطونيوس انه

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[1104] قايلا s.l.

[1105] See Agaiby, *The Arabic Life of Antony,* 72 n47; 202–03.

[1106] معنا s.l.

[1107] في s.l.

The news reached the king, and when they brought him, he healed his son right away. He said: "King, it has reached me that you have sent for Anṭūna the Egyptian vagrant. You have spent your money and tired your messengers. For this reason God has sent me to you." Then he bid him farewell and went to his monastery. When it was the second day, [7r] the messengers came to him and said: "Come with us." He said: "Go ahead of me, and I will come after you." They returned, trusting his words, and suffered many hardships, toiling at sea and when traveling. When they arrived, they heard that the king's son had been healed, and this by another saint. This was the intent of Saint Antonius, to cleanse himself of pride and vainglory. However, after this, the Lord did not conceal his virtues, and the news spread to the land of the Franks, and the messengers were amazed at how he had travelled during one night and spoken with them in their own language and on the second day had answered them, and they glorified God.

### Vat.ar.460 8 (fol. 7r(1))

انه كان فى بعض الاوقات لتلميده يا ابنى انطونه ما يخاف من الله. فقال له تلميده ما هده الكلمة
الصعبه التى تقولها يا معلم قال نعم يابنى لانى احبه والحب يطرد الخوف.

Sometimes time he was saying to his disciple: "My son, Anṭūna does not fear God." His disciple said to him: "What is this shocking statement that you are saying, teacher?" He said: "Yes, my son, because I love Him, and love chases away fear."[1108]

## R dossier 2 (Arsenius)

### Vat.ar.460 9 (fols. 7r–10r)

**Vat.ar.460 9:1**

خبر عن القديس ارسانيوس صلاته تحفظنا انه كان يعلِّم اولاد الملوك بمدينه القسطنطينيه المدينة
العظمى في بلاط الملك يعنى قصره وكان بين يديه شرا ماله الف مملوك متمنطق بمناطق بالدهب

1108 1 John 4:18.

واذا ركبوا خلفه كان يكون قريبا من الانبروز وكانت همته عظيمه وامره [.dub .l] [7v]
في نفسه وكان يعلم اولاد الملوك الادب والحكمه والفلسفه. وكان قد بلغ مبلغ عظيم كتيرًا جدا. فخلى
بنفسه وافتكر ان هذا الدي هو فيه يتلاشي الى لا شي. وان مصيره الي الزوال. وان كلما هو فيه
كمتل الظل. ثم التفت الى نفسه وقال ما هو متل هذه الدنيا الا كمتل انسان راى في منامه انه ملك
الملوك وان الامر والنهى والسلطنه في يده ونام هكذا حتي هجم الصبح. فلم يجد في يده شي ولا معه
مما راي شي بل الجميع هبا وباطل. وايضاً نحن اهل الملكه والقدرة التي هي في يدينا لم نزل
في تعبها الي ان يهجم الليل نفارقها وندخل الجميع فراشنا خاليين منها كان ما فى يدنيا منها شي
فصح بان الجميع منا الي ساير ثم صار هذا القديس الحكيم بالله الفيلسوف بنعمه روح القدس.
اكثر اوقاته واعظم زمانه متفكر فى زوالة وكيف يخرج من الدنيا غصب كما خرج ابايه واجداده
ولا ياخد معه منها شي ولا ينفع الانسان الا خير يقدمه.

It was told about Saint Arsenius—may his prayer preserve us—that he used to teach the children of kings in the city of Constantinople, the greatest city, in the king's court, meaning his castle. And he was in possession of a fortune (and) a thousand slave-soldiers, girded with golden belts. When they rode behind him, he would be close to the emperor. His status was great and his achievements [7v] [were many, his voice was mighty, and he was contemptuous] of his soul. He was teaching the royal children manners, wisdom and philosophy. He had reached a very great and large magnitude. Then his soul wandered, and he recalled: "This which exists perishes into nothing; evanescence is its fate, and whatever exists is like a shadow." Then he turned to himself and said: "What is the likeness of this world if not a man who in his dreams sees that he is the king of kings, and that command, reason and sultanate are in his hands, and who dreams about this until morning, when there was nothing left in his hand and nothing with him of what he had seen. Rather, all is dust and void,[1114] and so also we, the royal people, even with the power which is in our hands, do not tire in toiling until night falls,[1115] when we part from it and leave everything, our bed empty, nothing in our hands. Truly, all of us are to walk this path." This wise saint became, a philosopher by God and the grace of the Holy Spirit. Most of his time he spent wondering about his demise and how he would be leaving the world by force, just as his fathers and ancestors had done, and that he would not take anything with him, and that a person does not benefit from anything except the benevolence that he offers.

**Vat.ar.460 9:2**

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[1109] الانبروز Latin loanword, cf. *imperator*. Cf. Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān*, 71n23.

[1110] EG-Arras.lat has *fuit opus eius multum et vox eius potens et fuit in anima sua contemptor* (his achievements were many, his voice was mighty, and he did not care about his soul).

[1111] شي s.l.

[1112] ان s.l.

[1113] الى in marg.

[1114] Ecc 1:2

[1115] Ecc 1:3

ثم بدا يتذكر قول الانجيل المقدس اد يقول اد لم [8r] يترك الانسان اباه وامه وامراته واولاده وماله ونعمه حتى يكفر بنفسه ويحمل صليبه ويتبعنى كما يستحقني. وبقى ابدًا تايه الفكر في هدا ومثله. وكان الفيلسوف بالله الحكيم بروح القدس المغبوط ارسانيوس صدقاته ونعمته علي اكثر مساكين اهل القسطنطينيه وعلى حبساها وديارتها واكثر كنايسها وصدقته على الحبوس ويخلص من يستحق الخلاص. وكان بره عظيمًا جدا. ولم يكن يتخد امراه فى منزله بل كان كل عقله في السما فطلب من الرب يسوع المسيح وقال¹¹¹⁶ علمني يا رب كيف اخلص لانني ضعيف افتح لى يا رب نعمتك ادخل فيها انت قلت يا رب وقولك الحق. اطلبوا تجدوا سالوا تعطوا اقرعوا يفتح لكم وانا يا رب طلبت رحمتك وسالت تحننك وقرعتب باب ملكك. افتح يا رب باب رحمتك ولا تمنعنى اياها ولم يزل هكدا يطلب هكدا يتضرع وبكاو اتضاع وحسره ويقول علمني يا رب كيف اخلص. فسمع الرب صاحب كنوز معدن الرحمه وجاه صوت يقول له يا ارسانه يا ارسانه اهرب من العالم وانت تخلص. فلما سمع هدا الصوت [8v] فرح فرحًا عظيم وقال استحقيت انا يا رب ان يجيني صوت ملاكك. ثم قام وخلا باب قصره مفتوح وركب سفينه وبتدبيره الله دخل الي مدينه الاسكندريه وكان في ايام البطريرك انبا تاودوسيوس. فبات فى مدينه الاسكندريه ليلة واحده وخرج منها الى الاسقيط وادى هبيب فجلس هناك في بعض قلالي دير القديس مقاريوس. وصار له نسك عظيم وصوم وصلاه وقدس وزهد حتى فاق من سبقه من القديسين. وتسامعت به اولاد ملوك القسطنطينيه وعظما دواقستها¹¹¹⁷ وابتدوّا محتشمين القسطنطينيه يجوا الى ديار مصر ويترهبوا.

Then he began to recollect the words of the Holy Gospel, saying: "As long as [8r] a person does not leave his father, mother, woman, children, money, and possessions to deny himself and take up his cross and follow me, is not worthy of me."[1118] He did not stop from thinking this and similar thoughts. He was a philosopher by God (and) wise by the Holy Spirit. Blessed Arsenius gave charity and blessings to the poorest people in Constantinople and its prisons, monasteries, and most of its churches, and gave charity to the prisoners, and saved those who deserved to be saved. His piety was very great. He did not take a woman in his house, but all his mind was in heaven. He asked the Lord Jesus Christ and said: "Teach me, Lord, how can I be saved, for I am weak! Open a door for me to enter by your grace, Lord! For you spoke, Lord, and you spoke truly: 'Seek and you shall find, ask and you will be given, and knock and it will be opened for you.'[1119] Lord, I have sought Your mercy, and I have asked for Your goodness, and I have knocked on the door of Your kingdom. Lord, open the door to your mercy and to not prevent me from it!"[1120] He did not stop asking for this, pleading, crying in humility and anguish, saying: "Teach me, Lord, how to be saved." When the Lord, the possessor of the treasure of mercy, heard (this) there came a voice saying to him: "Arsenius, Arsenius, flee from the world and you will be saved." When he heard this voice [8v], he rejoiced greatly and said: "Lord, I was deemed worthy to hear the voice of your angel." Then he got

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¹¹¹⁶ قال s.l.

¹¹¹⁷ Sing. دوقس : Latin loanword, cf. *ducus.* Epiphanius (ed.), *Bustān al-ruhbān*, 71n24.

¹¹¹⁸ Luke 14:26–27; Matt 16:24.

¹¹¹⁹ Matt 7:7–8; Luke 11:9–10. Cf. the prologue to Vat.ar.460.

¹¹²⁰ Cf. The prologue to Vat.ar.460.

up and left the door of his castle open and boarded a ship. By God's arrangement he entered the city of Alexandria. This was in the days of Patriarch anba Theodosius. He stayed in the city of Alexandria for one night and then went to Sketis in Wādī Habīb.[1121] He dwelled there, in one of the cells of the monastery of St. Macarius, and he started practicing great asceticism, fasting, praying, sanctifying, and renouncing, until he surpassed the saints who had preceded him. The children of the kings of Constantinople and its mighty dukes heard of him, and the modest in Constantinople began to come to monasteries (in) Egypt to become monks.

**Vat.ar.460 9:3**

وسمعت بخبره الاريا ابنة صاحب القسطنطينيه فحملت معهما من المال والجواهر والنعم ما لا يمكن عاقل وصفه ووصلت الى الاسكندريه بحشمه عظيمه وعسكر عظيم. فالتقاها الاب البطريرك بجاه عظيم واعطته نعمه كبيره برسم المساكين والديارات والمنقطعين مقداره اربع مايه الف دينار تم سالت الاب البطريرك ان يكشف لها سيرة القديس ارسانيوس فاعلمها انه من وقت دخل الدير لم ينظر الى وجه امراه وان الدير بنفسه رسمه ان لا يعبر فيه امراه فحزنت الامراه وسالت الاب البطريرك ان يفسح لها بالعبور الي الدير فكتب لها كتاب الي مقدم [9r] الدياره بان يمكن الست الملكه القديسه من زياره الاباء القديسين الاطهار واخد بركتهم.

And Hilaria, the daughter of a lord of Constantinople, also heard the news about him. She brought with her money, pearls, and unfathomable riches and arrived in Alexandria with a large entourage and army. The patriarch[1122] met her in great dignity. She gave him a large sum to be handed out to the poor and the monasteries and the outcasts, consisting of four hundred thousand dinars. Then she asked him to reveal to her the life of saint Arsenius. He informed her that from the time he had entered the monastery he was not looking at the face of women, and indeed, the monastery itself was designed so that no woman would visit it. The woman was afflicted and asked the patriarch to allow her to visit the monastery. He wrote a letter on her behalf to the official [9r] of the monasteries to enable the holy lady queen to visit the holy and pure fathers to receive their blessing.

**Vat.ar.460 9:4**

فلما سمع القديس ارسانيوس بالخبر نفد اليها البركه من عنده. فلما وصلت بركته اليها اعلموها الرهبان انه لا يشتهى يبصر صوره امراه فلما سمعت دلك قالت لمقدم عسكرها امر بتجهيز العسكر لاني لي رجا من الرب يسوع المسيح انني اعاين شخصه الملايكي. لانني ما تعب وتعنيت من بلدي الي هاهنا ان ابصر وجه انسان بل وجه ملاك الله. لانني ان شيت ابصر انسان فالناس في بلدي

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[1121] Wādī Habīb was the name used for Wādī al-Naṭrūn during the Middle Ages.
[1122] Literally: father Patriarch (i.e. the pope).

When saint Arsenius heard these news he sent her his blessing for her. When his blessing reached her, the monks informed her that he does not desire to look upon the image of a woman. But when she heard this, she told the official of her army to prepare the army, "for I have hope in the Lord Jesus Christ that I will get to see his angelic appearance. I have not toiled and tired from my country here to see the face of a person, but rather the face of an angel of God. If I would wish to see a person, the people in my country are many." This was in line with God's plan, and thus the queen arrived at the monastery unexpectedly. She found saint *Mār* Arsenius standing and digging in a small garden. She dismounted her wagon and studied his face. He turned around and looked at her face and said: "This is my face, queen, so meditate at its reprimand! Now, do not make the road from Constantinople to hither a passage for women!" She said: "Father Arsenius, remember me in your prayers." He said to her: "May the Lord Jesus Christ erase your appearance, memory, name, and thought from my heart!" Then he went into his cell.

**Vat.ar.460 9:5**

فلما سمعت الست الملكه دلك اخدها لوقتها الرعد والحما ولم تقدر ترد له جواب ورجع العسكر
[9v] باسره على متل هدا وهى محموله على سرير ولم يقدر تركب الى ان دخلت الى الاسكندريه.
فخرج الاب البطريرك والتقاها بساير الكهنه وحشمه عظيمه والشموع والبخور والاناجيل. فلما
جلس الاب البطريرك مع الست الملكه وبدا يسايلها عن اخبارها فوجد افكارها مطربه كتيرًا جدا.
وهي حزينه على خروجها من بلدها وتعبها وعبناها وبدلها المال ورواح تعبها جميعه باطل سايلها
الاب البطريرك عن سبب دلك فاعلمته بجواب القديس ارسانيوس ومن تلك الكلمة حدث لها هدا
المرض والحما فلما سمع الاب البطريرك دلك بدا ان يسليها ويعزيها وقال اعلمى ايتها الست الملكه
ان انبا ارسانيوس مصلى عليك دايمًا وانما القديس عمل هده الحكمه حتى لا يبقى صوره امراه
غيرك تعبر البريه لان اذا كنتي انتي الملكه العظيمه هدا جوابك تعتبر بقيه النسا. وهدا سبب عماره
الدياره وانتي سببه. فالواجب عليك ان تفرحى وتبتهجي وتسيري غايه السرور واما قول القديس
الرب يمحى اسمك من قلبي فلاجل ان العدو يقاتل القديسين بنوع الزنا واكثره بشخوص النسا وما
هو شي [10r] يخفى عن مملكتك وعقلك ورياستك ولم يزل الاب البطريرك يسليها ويعزيها ويطيب
قلبها الى ان مضت وهي مسروره القلب مباركه الله جل اسمه على نعمته التى اهلها ان ابصرت
شخص القديس ماري ارسانيوس البار بركه صلاته معنا امين.

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When the lady heard this, she was taken by tremor and fever, and she was unable to give him an answer. Her army returned (her) to her company in this state, and she was carried on a bed for she was not able to ride, until she entered Alexandria. The patriarch and the priests came out and met her with other priests, a large entourage, candles, incense, and the gospels. When the Patriarch sat with the lady queen and began to ask her about what had happened, he found her thoughts very distraught. She was grieving over here departure from her country, and her toiling and tiring, her spending of money, and that her toils had all been in vain. When the patriarch asked for the reason for this, she told him about saint Arsenius's answer, and that she had been afflicted by illness and fever by those words. As soon as the patriarch heard this, he began to solace and comfort her, and he said: "Know, Lady Queen, that anba Arsenius will always pray for you. Rather, the saint practiced his wisdom so that there would be no female figures visiting the desert other than you. Because since you are being the great queen, and this being your answer, the rest of the women would be warned. This is the reason for the construction of the monasteries, you are its cause. You ought to rejoice and be glad and depart with gladness. As for the saint's words: 'may the Lord erase your name from my heart', this was because the enemy fights the saints in the form of fornication, and often in the shapes of women. There is nothing [10r] concealed from your queenhood, mind, or leadership." The patriarch did not stop solacing and comforting her and gladdening her heart, until she went away happily, praising God—may His name be exalted—for bestowing upon her the grace of seeing the appearance of saint *mār* Arsenius the Pious. May the blessings of his prayer be with us. Amen.

## Vat.ar.460 10 (fols. 10r–12r)

**Vat.ar.460 10:1**

خبر عن القديس ارسانيوس انه جلس يومًا ياكل فول مصلوق وعادة الاخوه ان لا ينقوه فصار القديس ينقى الفول الابيض من الاسود والمسوس وياكل ولم يعجب دلك رييس الدير خوفًا ان ينفسد قانون الاخوه فقال لواحدًا من الاخوه يا اخى احتمل ما اعمله بك لاجل الله واصبر لمحبه المسيح. وقال امر يا ابي. قال اعمل كما يعمل انبا ارسانيوس ونقى الفول الابيض من الاسود. فعمل الاخ كما امره رييس الدير. فاخده ولطمه لطمة مرة. وقال كيف تنقى الفول الابيض من الاسود وتختار الاجود وتترك لاخوتك الادون فسجد القديس ارسانيوس للاخوه وللرييس. وقال للاخ يا اخى هده اللطمه ما هي لك هده فى خد ارسانيوس. وكان يقول دايمًا انبا ارسانيوس معلم اولاد الملوك ما عرف ياكل الفول مع رهبان اسقيط مصر. وازداد فهم ورياسه

It was told about saint Arsenius that one day he sat eating boiled beans. The brothers usually did not sort them. The saint began sorting out the white beans from the black

and rotten ones and eat. The head of the monastery did not approve this, fearing that he would corrupt the rule of the brothers. He said to one of the brothers: "My brother, bear with what I will do to you for the sake of God and endure for the love of Christ." And he said, "Do what, my father?" He said, "Do as anba Arsenius does, and sort out the white beans from the black." So the brother did as the head of the monastery commanded him. He took him and slapped him once and said: "How can you sort out the white beans from the black ones and choose the best ones and leave the bad ones for your brothers?" Saint Arsenius prostrated before the brother and the head and said to the brother: "Brother, this slap that you received should be on the cheek of Arsenius." He always used to say: "Anba Arsenius, teacher of the sons of kings, does not know how to eat beans with the monks in Sketis in Egypt." Thus his understanding and leadership increased.

## Vat.ar.460 10:2[1124]

(...) فلما هرب صار في بريه الاسقيط هدا ارسانيوس البار الحكيم ابتدا ان يصلى ويطلب من الله ان يعلمه كيف يخلص وقال يا رب يا رب قد هربت كما تعلم انت وعلمتنى بمشورتك فجاه صوت تانى وهو يقول يا ارسانيوس اهرب واهدى واسكت وانت تخلص وهكدا لما سمع الصوت تاني دفعه كان يهرب ايضا[1125] من الاخوه ويلزم الهدو والصمت صلاته تحفظنا. ولما قصد السكوت القديس انبا ارسانيوس لما ابتدا ان يتعلّم الصمت كما جاه الصوت فلم يقدر سريع فعمل حصاه وزنها انتى عشر درهم فى فمه تلت سنين لا يخرجها الا وقت ياكل او لجى عنده غريب يعزيه [11v] لاجل الله وبهده الفضيله قوّم السكوت وعلم فمه الصمت

(…) When he fled, he came to the desert of Sketis. This pious and wise Arsenius began to pray and ask God to teach him how to be saved. He said: "Lord, I fled, as you know. Teach me [again] by your advice." A second voice then came, saying: "Arsenius, flee, be calm, and silent, and you will be saved." When he heard the second voice, at once he was fleeing from his brothers, and observed calmness and silence. May his prayers preserve us. When Saint anba Arsenius aimed at silence and began to learn silence, whenever the voice came, he was not fast enough. So he took a pebble weighing twelve dirhams in his mouth for three years, not taking them out except for when eating or when a stranger came to be consoled [11v] for the sake of God. Through this virtue he acquired silence and taught his mouth to be quiet.

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[1124] Vat.ar.460 10:2 starts with a lengthy hagiographical text which contains many interesting details about Arsenius life which, as I have mentioned, are not present in the Byzantine, Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic sources that I have consulted. For example, Arsenius reflects upon his former glory and mastery of both كيما (chemistry) and سيما (alchemy), and compares his level of learning with both Aristoteles and Hermes Trismegistos (هرمس الهرامسه). The editing and translating of this lengthy text presents problems, and moreover falls outside the focus of this investigation. For this reason, I have only edited and translated the latter part of Vat.ar.460 10:2 in which episodes recognizable from the AP tradition appear.

[1125] ايضا in marg.

وان القديس ارسانيوس لما دخل الاسقيط رأي الرهبان فى تزهد عظيم وطريقه شاقه وعباده صعبه
حتى ان بعض الاخوه الدين كانوا المجاورين قلايه انبا ارسانيوس خرج يوماً يقطع خوص وكان
يوم حر عظيم جدا. فقطع الخوص ورجع الى قلايه واخد الخبز واراد ان ياكل. فلم يقدر يبلع الخبز
من شدة الحر الدي سد حلقه فاخد الاخ قليل ما[1127] وملح ووضع الخبز فيه بدا ان ياكل ليشيع لقمته
وان الاب القديس انبا شعياء دخل عليه يفتقده فلما حس الاخ بانبا شعيا رفع القصعه من قدامه
وخباها بين الخوص وكان القديس انبا شعيا انسان دكى حادق نحرير وكان يبصر القديس انبا
ارسانيوس يعمل فى قلايته كل يوم طعامين بقل وخل ولاجل حشمته ما ارادوا الاخوة يكسروا بقلبه
سريعًا. واراد هدا الطبيب الماهر الحادق انبا شعيا يودب انبا ارسانيوس بدالك الاخ. فقال لدلك الاخ
ايش هدا الدي قد خبيته منى. قال اغفر لى يا ابي من اجل محبة المسيح ولا تواخدني بخطاياي انا
اعلمك اننى دخلت [12r]الي البريه لاقطع خوص وقوي علي الحره ولما دخلت قلايتى اردت ان
اكل خبز فيبست احناكى وبطلت لهواتي ولم اقدر اشيع طعامى. فاخدت ما وملح وبليت به القراقيش
لاشيع طعامى فاخد القديس انبا شعياء القصعه وخرج بين الرهبان قدام قلاية انبا ارسانيوس وقال
للرقبانى يا اخي دق الناقوس حتى تحضر الاخوه يبصروا الاخ زينن كيف يأكل في الاسقيط مرقاً تم
التفت الي الاخ وقال يا اخي زينن تركت نعمتك وجمالك وحشمتك وجيت الاسقيط لاجل محبة الله
وخلاص نفسك وتريد ان تلدد نفسك بالاطعمة الشهيه ان كنت تريد ان تاكل مرقًا يا اخى الحبيب
امضى الى مصر. ولما سمع انبا ارسانيوس هدا قال لك يا ارسانيوس يقولواء. ومنع خادمه ان يعمل
الا بقل واحد.

When Saint Arsenius entered Sketis, he observed the monks engaging in great
asceticism, arduous regime, and strenuous religious observance, to the point that one
of the brothers who were neighbors to the cell of anba Arsenius went out one day to
cut palm leaves during a very hot day. He cut the palm leaves and returned to his
cell and took some bread, wanting to eat it. He was unable to swallow the bread
because of the intensity of heat that blocked his throat. So the brother took a little
water and salt and put the bread in it. He began eating, circulating his bites. Saint
abba Isaiah went in to visit him. When the brother became aware of anba Isaiah, he
lifted the bowl before him and hid it among the palm leaves. Saint anba Isaiah was
an intelligent, sharp-witted, and skillful man. He was observing Saint anba Arsenius
preparing two foods, vegetables and vinegar, in his cell every day. Because of his
decency, the brothers did not want to break his spirit too quickly. Anba Isaiah, this
skilled and sharp-witted doctor, wished to discipline anba Arsenius through this

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[1126] The parallels in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 130 (24v–25r), Sin.ar.444 fol. 2r, Par.ar.253 fol. 35v(5), and Strasb.4225 VIII.104 (fols. 79v-80r) are not similar in wording.

[1127] In the margin is added two words that are unclear (وضب فيه); EG-Arras.lat 10:3 reads *et misit in eam parum* (and put in it a little).

brother. He said to the brother: "What is it that you have hidden from me?" He said: "Forgive me, father, for the love of Christ, and do not punish me for my sins! I will tell you. I went into [12r] the desert to cut palm leaves, and the heat was very strong on me. When I entered my cell, I wanted to eat some bread. But my jaws were dried out and my uvula was nullified, and I was unable to hold my food. So I took water and salt and soaked my crackers in it to be able to hold my food." Saint anba Isaiah took the bowl and went out among the brothers in front of anba Arsenius's cell and said to those observing: "Brothers, ring the bell until the brothers come to see brother Zenon eating broth in Sketis!" Then he turned towards the brother and said: "Brother Zenon, you have left your luxury, beauty, and servants, and have come to Sketis for the love of God and the salvation of your soul, and now you want to indulge yourself with delicious food? If you want to eat broth, beloved brother, go to Cairo!"[1128] When anba Arsenius heard this, he said: "Arsenius, they are saying this to you." He forbade his servant from preparing anything except vegetables.

**Vat.ar.460 10:4**

ثم التفت الى اصحابه اليونانين وقال اخبركم انني تادبت بساير اليونانين وفضلهم. واما حكمة هدا المصري الاكبار يعنى الفلاح وحسن تدبيره فانني [1129] بعدما وصلت اليه ولا حكمته والان صدق الكتاب اد يقول تادب موسى بكل اداب المصرين.

Then he turned to his Greek companions and said: "Let me tell you that I have been taught by the way of the Greeks and their virtues, but as for the wisdom of this great Egyptian, meaning in cultivation and good comportment, I have not yet reached it, nor his wisdom. Now, Scripture is right in saying that Moses was instructed by all the teaching of the Egyptians."[1130]

### Vat.ar.460 11 (fol. 12rv)[1131]

وخبر عن القديس ارسانيوس انه بلغ فى المتواضع والهدو والسكينه ما لا وصل اليه احدا فى زمانه وكان القديس ادا جلس يظفر الخوص يترك الوعاء سنه الدي يبل فيه الخوص لا يغيره. وكان يصير له رواح كر هه جدا ونتن صعب ذايله فدخل الى عنده الاب مقاريوس الاسكندراني فلما راي دلك وشتم [12v]بدلك الروايح الكريهه. قال له يا ابني انبا ارسانيوس لم لا تامر بان يغير هدا الما قال له يا ابي انبا مقاريوس الحق اقوال لك انى ما اقدر اصبر عليه لكن اكلف نفسي اللزوم يقول هده

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[1128] مصر here means Cairo.
[1129] حكمة in marg., unclear where to be interpolated.
[1130] Acts 7:22.
[1131] The parallel in Par.ar.253 26v(1) is not similar in wording.

الروايح الكريهه. عوض من دلك<sup>1132</sup> الروايح اللديده التى تمتعت بها في العالم. وكان مع دلك
القديس مقاريوس جماعه من الاخوه المفرطين فلما سمعوا دلك انتفعوا كثيرًا جدًا وهدا كان قصد انبا
ارسانيوس منفعه الاخوه بغير عجب ولا كبريا.

It was also told about saint Arsenius that he reached humility, calmness, and
tranquility in a way that no one had in his time. When the saint was sitting braiding
palm leaves, he would leave the bowl that he soaked the palm leaves in for a year
without changing (the water in) it. A very foul odor and difficult stench started
coming out of it. Abba Macarius of Alexandria came to him, and when he saw this
and smelled [12v] this stench he said to him: "My son anba Arsenius, why do you
not make sure to change this water?" He said: "Father anba Macarius, truly I say to
you that I am not able to endure it; but I impose upon myself this necessity, saying
that this foul stench makes up for the pleasurable smells that I enjoyed in the world."
There was a group of immoderate brothers with saint Macarius. When they heard
this, they benefited greatly. It was the intention of anba Arsenius to benefit the
brothers without boasting or pride.

### Vat.ar.460 12 (fol. 12v(1))

خبر عن القديس ارسانيوس انه كان ادا جلس يظفر الخوص كان ياخد خرقه ويضعها. على ركبتيه
ينشف بها الدموع. التى كانت خرج من عينيه وفى زمان الحر كان بدموعه يرطب الخوص<sup>1133</sup>
وهو يظفر ولاجل هدا لما توفى القديس انبا ارسانيوس واستراح قال القديس انبا مقاريوس الطوبا ثم
الطوبا لك يا ابى انبا ارسانيوس لانك بكيت فى هدا العالم على نفسك واسترحت هناك. قال له لتلميده
كيف تقول هدا الكلام يا ابى. قال الحق اقول لك يابنى ان كل من لم يبكي على نفسه هاهنا سوف
يبكي عنه ايضًا انه من كثرة هدوه واتضاعه التى كانت له دخلت عليه فى قلايته الشياطين
وقدم واحد منهم ومعه سكين يريد يقطع بها يده فلم ينزعج القديس ولا اختبل بل مد يده وقال اعمل
ما شيت لاجل محبة المسيح فلما راى العدو دلك زعق اخرقتنى يا شيخ السو بكبيرة هدوك
واتضاعك.

It was told about saint Arsenius, that when he was sitting braiding palm leaves, he
would take a rag and put it on his knees so that it would dry the tears that were
coming out of his eyes. At the time of heat, he would wet the palm leaves that he
was braiding with his tears. For this reason, when Saint anba Arsenius passed away,
Saint anba Macarius said: "Blessed and blessed again are you, father anba Arsenius.
Since you wept for your soul in this world, you will find rest there." His disciple
said: "What do you mean with this saying, father?" He said: "In truth, let me tell
you, son, that whoever does not weep for his soul here will weep there." (It was also

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<sup>1132</sup> دلك in marg.
<sup>1133</sup> الخوص in marg.

said) about him that because of his abundance of calmness and humility, when the demons entered his cell, and one of them came forward with a knife, wanting to cut off his hand with it, the saint was not disturbed, nor was he confounded, but he stretched out his hand and said: "Do whatever you want, for the love of Christ." When the enemy saw that, he shrieked: "Again you have defeated me, [l. dub.] elder, by your abundance of calmness and humility."

## Vat.ar.460 13 (fols. 12v–13r)[1134]

خبر عن القديس ارسانيوس [13r] انه لما كبر وطعن في السن جمع تلاميده بين يديه واوصاهم قايلاً يا اولادي انا اسلكم لاجل محبةً المسيح اننى ادا مت لا توسخوا بى التراب[1135] ولا تدفتونى[1136] البته بل اسالكم ان تربطواء فى رجلى حبل واجبدوني وارمونى فوق الجبل ينتفع بى الطير والوحش. ولما سمعوا دلك تلاميده بكوا جميعهم على نفوسهم.

It was told about Saint Arsenius that when he became old and aged, he gathered his disciples before him and instructed them, saying: "My children, I ask you, for the love of Christ, that, when I am dead, you do not pollute the soil by me, and do not bury me under any circumstances. Rather, I ask you to tie a rope around my legs, pull me out and throw me on top of the mountain so that the birds and the beasts can feast on me." When the disciples heard this, they all wept for their souls.

## Vat.ar.460 14 (fol. 13r(1))[1137]

خبر عن القديس ارسانيوس انه كان يقف ليلة الاحد في الصلاه لا ياخد عكاز بيده ولا يستند الى حايط الى ان تطلع الشمس وكان يجلس قليلاً تم يقول للنوم ياعبد. ردي وخد يسير[1138] وللوقت كان ياخد يسير. من راحه النوم ثم يرجع الى وقوف القداس مع الاخوه فكانوا يتعجبوا منه

It was told about Saint Arsenius that he used to stand in prayer on Sunday night from sunset until the sun rose, without holding a staff in his hand or leaning against the wall. Only then would he be sitting down for a while, saying to sleep: "Go

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[1134] The parallels in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 303 (fol. 64v) and Par.ar.253 fol. 29r(3) are not similar in wording.

[1135] Sic, probably a misspelling of التراب (dust).

[1136] Sic, probably a misspelling of تدفنونى (bury me).

[1137] The parallels in Mil.Ambr.L120sup 285 (fol. 61r), Par.ar.253 fol. 25v(3), and Strasb.4225 VIII.308 (fol. 111v) are not similar in wording.

[1138] Sic, repeated اخد يسير In EG-Arras.lat 14 and CAB-Epiphanius 109 this repetition is not present.

ahead, wicked slave", and he would go and catch a short nap for a while. Then he would go return standing in liturgy with the brothers. They were amazed by him.

## R dossier JP

### Vat.ar.460 291 (fol. 94rv)

قال شيخ مثل هكذى كان انسان فى قريه له اخت جميله ولما كان يوم عيد فى تلك القريه سالته اخته ان يرسلها الى عيد دلك الموضع وكان اخوها يخاف ان يطلقها وحدها ليلا يحل بقوم عتره بسبب شبابها فقام اخوها مسك بيدها ومضى بها الى عيد القريه وكان يدخل معها ويخرج وهو ماسك بيدها[1139] قال لكى ادا هى تنازت الفكر لتعمل جهاله وانها لا تستطيع ان تعمل الجهاله لكونى ماسك يدها وكتيرين كانوا ينظروا الصبيه يشتهوها من اجل جمالها ولم يكونوا يستطيعوا قلعها من احوها وهو ماسك يدها وكدلك كانت الاخرى تشتهى الصبيان الدى ينظروها وكانت تنخط مع ضميرها وتميل بقلبها الى اللده ولم تكون تستطيع ان تكمل الشهوه من اجل اخوها الماسك يدها كل وقت قال الشيخ الدى ضرب هدا المثل هكدا النفس ما دامت ماسكه [94v] لهدا الاسم الدى هو ربنا يسوع وان تنازلت مع افكارها ومالت الى لده العالم بل مادات ماسكه يد اخوها الدي هو ربنا يسوع المسيح الاسم الخلص الدى صارلنا اخ بالتدبير فليس يستطيعوا البته الاعدا الغير منظرون ان يقلعوها من يد الرب يسوع المسيح ولو تنازلت مع افكارها او لم تتنازل بصرت ياحبيب ان التمسك بهدا الدكر الصالح الدي هو ربنا يسوع المسيح هو خلاص عظيم وحصن لا يخل وسلاح عال وخاتم خلاص النفس فلا تتوانا ان تقتنى لنا هدا الكنز الدي لا يسرق وهده الجوهره الكتير التمن فان قلت كيف اقتنى لى هدا الكنز الدي لا يسرق هكدا انت تقتنيه ياحبيب بالعزله وعدم الهم وتعب الجسد بقدر هولاي هداهم الدي يلدوا الاتضاع فى القلب والدموع الحقانيه وواضع داتك تحت كل الخلق وبهولاى ايضا يصير الانسان ابن الاله على الارض وينتقل من على الارض الى السماء من حين هو فى الجسد النعمه هى لك يا رب ان تصنع الرحمه مع ضعفنا فى ملكوتك الى الابد امين

An elder told this example: "There was a man in a village who had a beautiful sister. When there was a feast day in the village, she asked him to let her go to the feast at this place. Her brother was weary of letting her go alone lest it happen that people sidestep because of her youth. Her brother arose and took her hand and took her to the village feast, entering and leaving with her, holding her hand, and said: 'If she is tempted to something foolish, she cannot do something foolish since I am holding her hand.' Many were looking at the young girl, desiring her for the sake of her beauty, but they were not able to take off with her since her brother was holding her hand. Similarly, the latter was desiring the boys who looked at her, and she was overtaken by passion, tilting towards lust in her heart, but she was unable to realize her desire because her brother was holding her hand all the time." The elder who stroke this parable said: "This is how the soul is, as long as it holds on [94v] to this name, which is our Lord Jesus. Even if it gives in to thoughts and tilts towards the

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temptations of the world, as long as it holds the hand of its brother which is our Lord Jesus Christ, the Name of salvation, who became our brother by incarnation, the unseen enemies are never able to take off with it from the hand of the Lord Jesus Christ; even if she gives in to her thoughts, she is not lost. You see, beloved, that adhering to this good remembrance, which is our Lord Jesus Christ, is a great salvation, a fortress that does not prejudice, an effective weapon, and a seal of the salvation of the soul. Let us not hesitate to acquire this treasure that cannot be stolen. This is a very precious pearl. If you say: 'How do I obtain this treasure that cannot be stolen?', then this is how obtain it, beloved: Through isolation, and lack of concern, toil of the body according to its measure. They give birth to humility in the heart and sincere tears. And position yourself below all creation. By this man will become a son of God while on earth is able to move from the earth to heaven even when being in the body.' The grace is Yours, Lord. You show mercy with our weakness in Your kingdom forever. Amen."

### Vat.ar.460 292 (fol. 94v(1))

قال بعض الشيوخ ان الانبياء قالوا فى الكتب فعملتها اباونا وكذلك ومن اتا من بعدهم استطهروها فلما جات هده القبيله وهدا الجيل كتبوها ووضعوها فى الكوي بلا فايده

One of the elders said: "The prophets stated (what is) in the books. Then our fathers practiced it, and, likewise, those who came after them sought to purify it. Then came this tribe and generation—they wrote it down and placed it in the niches without use."

### Vat.ar.460 293 (fol. 94v(2))

اخ سال شيخ يابى مادا اعمل بهده الحروب الكاينه معى قال له الشيخ مداومه اسم ربى يسوع المسيح تقطع من النفس كل اكله

A brother asked an elder: "My father, what ought I do about these wars that exist in me?" The elder said to him: "Continuation (in) the Name of the Lord Jesus severs all gangrene from the soul."

### Vat.ar.460 294 (fols. 94v–95r)

قال ابو مقار الاسم القدوس الدى لربنا يسوع المسيح هدا هو الجوهره[95r] التى اباع الرجل التاجر

جميع اهويه قلبه واشتراها الى داخل بيته ووجدها احلا من الشهد والعسل فطوبا للانسان الدي يحفظ هده الجوهره فى قلبه انها ستعطيه مكافاه كتيره فى مجد ربنا يسوع المسيح

Abū Macarius said: "The holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the jewel [95] for which the merchant man sold all that his heart desired to purchase it[1140] to bring to his house. He found it sweeter than nectar and honey.[1141] Blessed is the man who keeps this jewel in his heart, for it will give him a great reward in the glory our Lord Jesus Christ."

### *Vat.ar.460 295 (fol. 95r(1))*

وهو ايضا قال له اخ انا يابى انا يابى من اجل خطاياى جبان قال له استيقظ وتمسك برجا الحياه والرحمه التى لا طرف لها التى هى ربنا يسوع المسيح

A brother also said to him: "My father, I am a coward because of my sins." The elder said to him: "Wake up and hold on to the hope of life and mercy that has no end, which is our lord Jesus Christ."

### *Vat.ar.460 296 (fol. 95r(2))*

قال انبا بيمين زرت ابو مقار دفعه فقلت يابى مادا يعمل الانسان ليقتنى له الحياه. اجاب ادا انت اجتريت كل حين على طعام الحياه الدى للاسم القدوس المحيي لربنا يسوع المسيح بغير فتور فهو يكون حلو فى فمك وحلقك وبرودته[1142] تدسم نفسك

Abba Poemen said: I visited Abba Macarius once and said: "Father, what should a man do to acquire life?" He answered: "If you are all the time ruminating on the food of life, which is the holy and reviving Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, without languor, it is sweet in your mouth and throat and its freshness makes the soul smooth."

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[1140] Mt 13:45–46.
[1141] Ps 19:10.
[1142] وبرودة: freshness, common in funeral Copto-Arabic liturgies. I thank Markos el-Macari for helping me understand this term.

قال فم الدهب انا اخبركم يااحباى عن السكوت انه نمو عظيم للانسان ونياح[1143] وبروده[1144] لنفسه لان السكوت يصبر فى كل شي السكوت يعطى القلب عزله دايمه السكوت يعمل دعه مع كل احد السكوت لا يغضب السكوت يعطى نسك ويحرص المعرفه والهدو[1145] والهد وروح القدس معهم كاين السكوت له فى القلب كل حين مالفوق وما فى العلاء السكوت يحرص الحب ولا يوجع قلب انسان ولا يشكك احد بل مهما سمع عمل بلا تقمقم السكوت يحفظ شفيته ونفسه وشى من الشر لا يبقا فى السكوت بل جميع المناقص الدي فى غيره يظن بهم انهم فيه كلهم و يتحنن على كل احد من اجل خوف الرب يسوع المسيح السكوت لا يقلق ولا يسرع وله الرب كاين فيه بالحقيقه ولا يخاف من صوت ردي ولا من شى اخر ردي شرير لان من لا يخاف في السكوت ليس [95v] امانه كامله لان السكوت هو فلسفه وعظم حكمه فمن تمسك بالسكوت هو يستطيع ان يتمسك بجميع الحسنات الاخر الدي يلازم السكوت بمعرفه فهو يختم بخاتم المسيح والحافظ له هو بلا شك يدخل الي ملكوت السموات لان لابسين هولاي هم الحافظين لوصاياه بالسكوت الممتلى من كل حسنه وكل فضيله لروح القدس

Chrysostom said: "I will tell you, beloved, about silence. It is a great progress for man, and a repose and freshness for the soul, because silence is patient in all things. Silence brings the heart to permanent isolation. Silence creates mildness against everyone. Silence does not stir up anger. Silence brings asceticism and encourages knowledge, calmness, and meditation, and the Holy Spirit is with them. Silence makes one have what is lofty and upon high in his heart all the time. Silence encourages love and does not hurt the heart of man and does not question anyone. Rather, no matter how much he (who is silent) hears, he goes on with his business without resentment. Silence honors his health and his soul. No evil whatsoever can remain in silence. Rather, it supposes that all the imperfections that are in others are also in him, and has compassion for everyone for the sake of the fear of the Lord Jesus Christ. Silence does not worry or panic. The Lord is with it in truth. It does not fear bad sounds, or anything else which is bad, because whoever does not fear in silence is not [95v] mindful, for silence is philosophy and the greatest wisdom. Whoever holds on to silence is able to hold on to all other good things. Whoever adheres to silence with knowledge is sealed with the seal of Christ, and he who honors it will undoubtedly enter the heavenly kingdom. For wearing it, they are honoring the commandments of silence, which is replete with every good and every virtue, by the Holy Spirit."

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[1143] نياح from Syriac ܢܝܚ. Graf, *Verzeichnis Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, 114.

[1144] برودة, common Copto-arabic term in funeral liturgies.

[1145] للمعرفه corr.

*Vat.ar.460 298 (fol. 95v(1))*

قال شيخ ليس عمل اخر فى جميع الفضايل مثل مداومه الصلاه والطلبات وان تضرع الى اسم ربنا يسوع المسيح كل حين اما فى العزله واما فى القلب بغير تنزه

An elder said: "No other deed among all the virtues is like continuance in prayer and entreaty, and to supplicate in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ at all times either in solitude, or in the heart without showing."[1146]

*Vat.ar.460 299 (fol. 95v(2))*

قال شيخ ادا ما رفض الفهم اوامر روح القدس تبعد القوه داتها وتزعج الاوجاع القلب ادا ما رد القلب الى الله وحفظ اوامر الروح القدس تكون عليه ستر حينيد يعلم الانسان ان مداومه اسم ربنا يسوع المسيح وذكره القدوس هو الدي يحرسه تحت ستر رحمته

An elder said: "Whenever the mind refuses the instructions of the Holy Spirit, its strength is driven away, and the pains of the heart are stirred up. But when the heart returns to God and observes the instructions of the Holy Spirit is protected. Thus one learns that the perseverance in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and His holy remembrance is what guards him under the protection of His mercy."

*Vat.ar.460 300 (fol. 95v(3))*

اخ سال شيخ يابى عرفنى الجلوس فى القلايه قال له الشيخ هدا هو عمل القلايه اكل مره واحده في[1147] كل يوم وعمل اليد وكمال الصلوات الجامعه وافضل ان يكون مداوما اسم ربنا يسوع المسيح بغير فتور وفى كل قليل ارفع عينيك الى فوق وقول يا ربى والاهى يسوع المسيح عينى يا ربى يسوع المسيح تحنن على انا اسبحك يا ربى يسوع المسيح

A brother asked an elder: "Father, teach me how to remain in the cell." The elder told him: "This is the work of the cell: Eating once every day, manual labor, and perfecting the communal prayers. But best of all is continuation in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ without tepidness, and in every now and then lifting your eyes upward saying: 'My Lord and God Jesus Christ, help me; my lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me. I praise you, O Lord Jesus Christ.'"

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[1146] Regnualt translates تنزه as "manifestation extérieur," explaining that it is reflected in the recent CAB edition "d'un terme arabe difficile" (Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes," 348).

[1147] واحده في in marg.

*Vat.ar.460 301 (fol. 95v(4))*

قال شيخ ادا كنت جالس فى القلايه فنشط نفسك وليكن خدم القلب عندك افضل من خدم الجسد لان الله يريد القلب ان يكون ملازم اسمه القدوس كل حين مثل عبد ملازم سيده وخايف منه

An elder said: "When you are sitting in the cell, activate yourself. Let the service of the heart be prioritized over the service of the body, for God wants the heart to be observing His holy name at all times, like a slave who is observing and fearing his master."

*Vat.ar.460 302 (95v–96r)*

اخ سال شيخ كيف اجد اسم ربي يسوع المسيح قال له الشيخ اذا لم تحب الضيقه اولا [96r] ليس تستطيع ان تجده

A brother asked an elder: "How do I find the name of my Lord Jesus Christ?" The elder said to him: "If you do not first love hardship, [96r] you will not be able to find Him."

*Vat.ar.460 303 (fol. 96r(1))*

وايضا ساله اخ كيف تقتنى النفس خوف الله اجابه ادا لم يظهر الله للنفس ليس تخافه قال له وبمادا يظهر الله للنفس اجاب بالعزله والضيقه والصراخ كل حين بشوق لا يفنا قايلاً¹¹⁴⁸ يا ربى يسوع المسيح ارحمنى فادا هو كان كاين في قلبك تصنع دكره كل حين فهو يجى ويسكن فيك ويعلمك الاعمال الصالحه لتسير فيهم

A brother also asked him: "How does the soul acquire the fear of God?" He replied: "If God does not appear to the soul, then it is not afraid of Him." He said to him: "And through what does God appear to the soul?" He replied: "through isolation, anguish, and crying every now and then with unceasing longing, saying: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me'. If it is present in your heart, as you keep the memory of him all the time, it comes and dwells in you and teaches you all righteous works so you are guided by them."

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¹¹⁴⁸ قايلاً in marg.

اخ سال شيخ تشا ان اترك قلبى عند خطاياي قال لا فاتركه عند جهنم قال لا بل عند ربنا يسوع المسيح فقط والصق به عقلك لان الجنون يريدون[1149] يشوا ان ياخدوا ضميرك الى كل موضع لكنى لا تاخده انت الي موضع ربنا يسوع المسيح وساله ايضا مادا يجعل يصير حق[1150] مع يسوع المسيح قال له العزله وعدم الهم والتعب الجسداني بقدر

A brother asked an elder: "Do you want me to leave my heart (occupied)[1151] with my sins?" He said: "No." "Should I leave it (occupied) with Hell, then?" He said: "No, but with our Lord Jesus Christ only. Attach your mind to Him, for the jinns want to take your conscience to every place, if you do not take it to the place of our Lord Jesus Christ." He also asked him: "What makes it true with Jesus Christ?"[1152] He said to him: "Isolation, lack of concern, and bodily toil according to one's ability."

قال انبا يعقوب زرت انبا ايسيدرس فوجدته فى القلايه. وهو ينسخ وانى جلست عنده قليل فرايته فى كل قليل يرفع عينيه الى السماء وتتحرك شفتيه ولا اسمع له صوت البته قلت له مادا تعمل هكذا يا ابى قال لى ما تعرف انت هكدى قلت له لا يا ابى قال لي ان كنت لا تعرف انت هكذا فما صرت بعد ولا يوم راهب وهدا هو الدي كان يقوله يا ربى يسوع المسيح ارحمنى يا ربى يسوع المسيح عينى اسبحك يا ربي يسوع المسيح

Abba Jacob said: "I visited Abba Isidorus and found him in his cell. He was copying. I sat by him a while. I saw him in raise his eyes to the sky and move his lips every few moments, but I did not hear his voice at all. I said to him, "What is this that you practice, father?" He told me: "Do you not know this?" I told him: "No, father." He told me: "If you do not know this, you have not become a monk even for a day." This is what he was saying: 'O my Lord Jesus Christ', have mercy on me; Oh my Lord Jesus Christ, help me; I praise you, Oh my Lord Jesus Christ.'"

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[1149] لا corr.

[1150] حق s.l.

[1151] Inspired by Regnault's translation of the same apophthegm in CAB-Cairo (Regnault, "Quelques apophtegmes arabes," 349).

[1152] Unclear passage in Vat.ar.460 and EG-Arras.lat 253 which reads *Quid faciam cum Jesu?* (What should I do with Jesus?) while StMacar.371 fol. 34r (CAB-Epiphanius 71) reads وباى نوع يلتصق الضمير بالرب يسوع المسيح (and with what kind does the conscience attach itself to the Lord Jesus Christ?).

## Miscellaneous apophthegmata from R

### Vat.ar.460 28 (fol. 21rv)

خبر عن القديس مقاريوس انه بلغه رجلاً شيخًا متوحدًا له تقدير خمسين سنه وكان يقول عن نفسه
انه قتل عنها تلاته اعدا منها الزنا وحب الفضه والسبح الباطل. فلما سمع عنه الشيخ هدا حزن عليه.
ثم اخد عصاه بيده وسار اليه. فلما دخل عليه فرح به الشيخ فرحًا عظيمًا وكان الشيخ سادجًا. فلما
اخدوا بركه بعضهم بعضًا وجلسا[1153] ساله انبا مقاريوس عن عزاه وعن احواله وعن قتاله. وانه
اعلم الاب بان ما بقى له محبه الفضه شيًا[1154] ولا فى الزنا ولا فى السبح الباطل. فعجب الاب عجبًا
كثيرًا. وقال يا ابي ايش تقول ادا خرجت الى البريه ووجدت دهبًا وحجاره تميز بعضهم من بعض
تحب كل واحد لمنزلته. قال نعم ولكن اقاتل فكري الا اخد منه شيًا قال حسنًا [21v] فادا دخلت الى
قلايتك وجدت فيها امراه جميله يمكنك ان تميز انها رجل قال لا ولكن امنع فكرى وشهوتى منها قال
مبارك فان سمعت ان اخًا يحبك ويشكرك ويمدحك واخر يدمك ويبغضك ويكر هك ادا حضروا
اتنينهما عندك فهما فى منزلة واحده عندك ام لا[1155] فقال لا ولكن امسك فكرى وقبلى ان ان لا اكافيه
بما قال عني بل اريه محبه قال له القديس مقاريوس. اغفرلى ياابي فانك حسنًا قاتلت وجاهدت
وصبرت لاجل المسيح لكن اوجاعك الى الان ما ماتت بل هي بعد حيه ولكنها مربوط فتب[1156]
واستغفر الله ولا ترجع تقول عن نفسك هدا تحيى فيك الاوجاع اكثر. فلما سمع الشيخ هدا الكلام انتبه
من نومه ومن غفلته وسجد بين يدى الاب القديس انبا مقاريوس. وقال اغفرلى يا ابي لقد داويت
جراحات قلبى بمراهم وعظك الصالح. ثم اخدوا بركه بعضهما بعض وانصرف عنه

It was told about saint Macarius that he was informed of an elderly solitary man
estimated to be fifty years old. He was saying about himself that he had killed three
enemies within himself: fornication, love of money, and false praise. When the elder
heard about him, he was unhappy with him. He took his staff in his hand and went to
him. When he came to him, the elder rejoiced greatly. The elder was simple-minded.
After they had received blessings from each other and had sat down, anba Macarius
asked him about his composure, his state, and his battle. And he told the father that
he no longer had love for money, fornication, or false praise. The father marveled
greatly and said: "Father, what do you say if you go out into the desert and find gold
and stones, do you differentiate one from the other and love each one for its worth?"
He said, "Yes, but I would fight my thought so as not to take anything from it." He
said, "Very well. [21v] So if you entered your cabin and found a beautiful woman, is
it possible for you to classify her as a man?" He said: "No, but I would keep my
thoughts and desires away from her." He said: "Congratulations. So, if you hear that
a brother loves, praises you, and compliments you, while another speaks evil of you,
hates you, and detests you and hates you, when the two of them are present with
you, do you consider them of equal rank or not?" He said: "No, but I control my

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[1153] وجلسا in marg.

[1154] شيًا s.l.

[1155] عندك ام لا in marg.

[1156] فتوب و in s.l.

thought and heart so as not to repay him for what he said about me but to show him love." Saint Macarius said to him: "Forgive me, my son, for you have fought, struggled, and endured well and for the sake of Christ, but your passions have not died so far. Rather, they are still alive, but they are tied up. So repent and seek God's forgiveness, and do not go back to talking about yourself, for this will vivify your passions even more." When the elder heard these words, he realized his deluge and negligence, and prostrated himself before the holy father anba Macarius and said: "Forgive me, father! you have healed the wounds of my heart with the ointment of your righteous preaching." They received each other's blessings and he left him.

### Vat.ar.460 48 (fols. 38v–39r)

خبر عن راهبين قديسين كانوا اخوه وسكنوا البريه. فحرص الشيطان ان يفرق بينهما ففي بعض الايام اوقد الصغير منهم سراجًا وجعله على المناره وبحيله الشيطان وقع وانطفى السراج حينيد حرد الاخ الكبير عليه وضربه فصنع له الاخ الصغير 1157 مطانيه1158 وقال لا تضجر يا اخى وطول روحك علىّ وانا واقده ايضًا فلما ابصر الرب صبر الاخ عذب الشيطان الي الصباح. ثم دهب دلك الشيطان فاخبر ريس الجن الدى كان. وكان هناك كاهن الاوثان فلما سمع هدا ترك كل شى وامن وترهب ومن بد ورهبانيته. كان يستعمل الاتضاع الكامل وكان يقول. ان الاتضاع يقدر [39r] يقهر وتحل ويبطل كل قوة العدوه وانا سمعت منهم وهم يقولون بعضهم لبعض ان كلما القينا السجس بين الرهبان يلتقونه باتضاع هو يعملون بعضهم لبعض مطانيه ويبطلوا قوتنا

A story about two holy monks: They were brothers and lived in the desert. A demon wished to separate them from each other. One day the younger of them lit a lamp and put it on the lamp stand. By the demon's tricks, the lamp fell and went out. The older brother became angry with him and beat him. Then the brother prostrated to him and said: "Do not be fed up, my brother, but be patient with me. I will light it again." When the Lord saw the patience of the brother, he tortured this demon until dawn. Then the demon went and reported to the head of jinns about what had happened. There was a priest of idols there. When he heard this, he left everything, changed religion, and went into monasticism and practiced complete humility. He used to say: "Humility is able [39r] to vanquish, dissolve, and extinguish all the power of the enemy; I heard them say to each other that whenever we cast out conflict among the monks, they meet it with humility, making *metanoia* towards each other, thus extinguishing our strength."

### Vat.ar.460 112 (fols. 70v–71r)

خبروا شيوخ عن انبا مرقص المصري انه اقام فى قلايته تلتين سنه لا يخرج منها وكان قسيس في بعض الاوقات يجى ويقدس له قربانًا فلما راى الشيطان صبر الشيخ وفضيلته مكر به ليجربه وجاب له

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1157 الصغير in marg.

1158 مطانيه: prostration, Greek loanword, cf. μετάνοια. Graf, Verzeichnis *Arabischer Kirchlicher Termini*, 106.

انسان كان به جنون بحجه يسله ان يصلى عليه فقال له المجنون وهو اول كلمه نطق بها قدامه ان القس الذى يجيك خاطى فلا تتركه حتى يجى اليك فقال له انبا مرقص يابنى انه مكتوب لا تدينوا ليلا تدانوا وهدا ان كان خاطيًا فالرب يغفر له وانا فقد اخطات اكتر منه فلما سمع الشيطان هذا الجواب فزع وارتج وطلب الخروج فدعا الشيخ دلك المجنون وصلا عليه وهرب الشيطان عنه فلما جا القس [71r] كعادته فقبله الشيخ بفرح فنظر الله الى تواضع الشيخ وقله شره فاراه علامه عجيبه ودلك هى ان القسيس لما اراد ان يقف بين يدى المذ[بح]¹¹⁵⁹ المقدس فقال يا ابنى¹¹⁶⁰ رايت ملاكًا قد انحدر من السما ووضع يده على راس القس فصار واقفا فى دلك القداس متل عمود من نار ولما رايت هذا المنظر العجيب وتحيرت منه سمعت صوت يقول لى ايها الانسان لا تعجب من هذا الامر ان ملك ارض لا يترك واحد من اولياييه ودوى المراتب من اصحابه الدين بين يديه بتياب دنسه لكن بلباس حسن ومجدًا عظيم فكم بالحرى القوه الالهيه الا يحتمل لخدام سر القداس العظيم ان يقفوا قدام المدبح والمجد السماى الا بنقا فاما المغبوط اهل بان يرى هده النعمه عندما لم يدين القس

The elders told about anba Mark the Egyptian that he was residing in his cell for thirty years without leaving it. A priest used to come sometimes and offer him the Eucharist. When the devil saw the patience and virtue of the elder, he tricked him to test him. He sent him a man who was mad with an excuse to ask him for a prayer. The possessed man said to him—and this was the first saying he uttered in front of him —"The priest that comes to you is a sinner; do not leave him until he comes to you." Anba Mark said to him: "My son, it is written: 'Do not judge, so that you are not judged'.¹¹⁶¹ If this one is a sinner, then the Lord will forgive him, and I have sinned more than he." When the demon heard his answer, he panicked and jolted and pleaded to exit. Then the elder addressed the possessed man and prayed for him and the demon fled from him. When the priest came [71r] as usual, the elder received him with joy. When God saw the humility and lack of greed of the elder, he showed him a strange sign, that is: As the priest wanted to stand before the holy altar, he said: "My son, I saw an angel descending from heaven, and he put his hand on the head of the priest, and he became standing in that service like a pillar of fire, and when I saw this wondrous sight and was astonished by it, I heard a voice saying to me: 'Man, do not be surprised over this. An earthly king does not leave anyone of his friends and the ranks of his companions that are in front of him in dirty clothes, but only in nice clothing and in great glory. How much more the Divine Power [makes] it not possible for those who serve the great Mystery of the Mass, standing before the altar and the heavenly glory to be anything else but purified (by it)?'" The blessed one was able to see this grace since he did not condemn the priest.

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¹¹⁵⁹ Ut vid.
¹¹⁶⁰ ابنى corr. in marg.
¹¹⁶¹ Matt 7:1.

اخ سال شيخ كيف ياتى خوف الله الى النفس قال له الشيخ ادا كان الانسان فيه اتضاع وكفر بالاشياء وبنفسه وقله دينونته فخوف الله ياتيه

A brother asked an elder: "How does the fear of God come to the soul?" The elder said to him: "When a person has humility, disbelief in things and in himself, and lack of judgment, then the fear of God comes to him."

قال انبا انطون ان الله سبحانه لا يدع قتال الجهاد [109r] يثور على هدا الجيل كمثل الاولين لانه قد علم انهم ضعفا لا يستطيعون الصبر

Anba Antonius said: "God, glory be to Him, does not let the fighting of struggle [109r] rise on this generation like he did with the first, because He knows that they are weak and uncapable of patience."

وقال شيخ اقتنى السكوت وبمعرفه الله اهتم وبشى ارضى لا تهتم وافحص امورك وفى مقامك [109v] وفى دخولك وجلوسك استند الى الله ومن حميه المنافقين لا تفزع

An elder said: "Acquire silence, and pay attention to the knowledge of God, and do not pay attention to worldly things. Check your affairs both while standing [109v], entering and sitting. Rely in God, and do not dismay on part of the fanaticism of the hypocrites."

*Vat.ar.460 408 (fol. 121v(2))*

قال شيخ من اجل هدا ليس نفلح لانا ليس نعرف اقدارنا وليس لنا صبر فى عمل نبدا به ولكنا نريد نقتنى الفضايل بلا تعب

An elder said: "On account of this, we are not satisfied, because we do not know our capacities, nor do we have patience in the work that we undertake but we want to obtain virtues without labor."

*Vat.ar.460 480 (fol. 130v(4))*

قال انبا مينامين[1162] متل ما ان التلج يخرج من الما وفى الما ينحل ويدوب كدلك الرجال من النسا يخرجون ومن النسا يهلكون

Anba Benjamin said: "Just as snow comes from water, and dissolves and melts in water, so also men come from women, and perish by women."

*Vat.ar.460 559 (fol. 143r(2))*

اخوه سالوا انبا اغاتن ما هى الفضيله فى تعب العباده بالاكتر فقال اغفروا لي ليس تعب اخر يكون اشد من الصلاه لله لان كل وقت يشاء الانسان يصلى فان العدو يريد يمنعه لانه يعلم انه لا يغلب سى من مقاومته للانسان متل وقت الصلاه لله لان كل عباده يضعها الانسان لله لهاحد فاما الصلاه فهو يحتاج اليها دايم الى اخر نفس لاجل هدا يحتاج لجهاد كتير

Some brothers asked anba Agathon: "Which virtue among the labors of worship is the greatest?" He said: "Forgive me, there is no labor which is more severe than prayer to God, because every time that a person wants to pray, the enemy wants to prevent him, for he knows that nothing overpowers his resistance to man like the time of prayer to God. While all [other acts of] worship that God ordinates to humans have a limit, prayer requires continuance until the last breath, and for this it requires great struggle."

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[1162] Sic. StMacar.371 fol. 205r (CAB-Epiphanius 1039) and EG-Arras.lat 380 read بينامين/*Benjamin*.

قال انبا بيمين ان الانسان ادا اخد [154r] حيه او عقرب ويجعلها فى قاروره او فى غيرها تم غطاها فانها تموت هكدى الافكار الرديه الشيطاينه ادا قامت على الانسان فان الصبر والجهاد يهلكه

Abba Poemen said: "If a person takes a [154r] snake or a scorpion and puts it in a bottle or in something else and then closes it, it will die. So it is also with bad, demonic thoughts; if they arise against a person, then patience and struggle will destroy them."

اخبروا عن[1163] بعض الاخوه انه كان متوحد [155v] فى قلايه وانه فى بعض ايام قلق وتزايدت عليه الافكار قام ومضى الى انبا تادرس الدى كان ساكن فى الفرمى فاعلمه بقضيته قال له الشيخ امض افكرى تقلق اكتر منك لكن امض واشترك فى الجماعه ودع الوحده فى هدا الايام حتى يسكن العاصف فمضى الى جبل السلوى وسكن مع الاخوه وبعد قليل رجع الى الشيخ وقال له ومع الاخوه ما وجدت راحه فقال له ادا كان لا راحه لك مع الاخوه ولا فى الوحده فلم ليست لباس الاجناد الابطال وسميت نفسك راهباً الا لتحتمل الضرب والطعن والاحزان المره واقلهم الجوع والعطش. كم لك سنه[1164] لابس الاسكيم قال له تمانيه سنين. فقال له الشيخ هيهات يابنى لى فى هدا الاسكيم الى يومى هدا سبعون سنه ولا يوماً واحد اخلوت من الاحزان المره. فلما سمع الاخ كلام الشيخ تعزا كتراً. ومضى وسكن وحده وابتدى يلبس اله الحرب واخد بيده الترس المنيع الدى هو الامانه الصحيحه ووضع على راسه الخوده المخلصه الدى هى الرجا والتصديق بما فى الكتب وسير القديسين وانعل اقدامه ببشاره الانجيل المقديس حيت يقول لا تخافوا ممن يعتل الجسد خافوا من الدى له قدره ان يلقى النفس فى جهنم واخد يتبت نفسه بتدبير حسن. فلما نظره المعاند المبغض الخير خاف منه تم انحلت قوته عنه

It was told that one of the brothers was alone [155v] in his cell. One day he became worried, and the thoughts overwhelmed him. He got up and went to anba Theodorus who lived in Pherme. He informed him about his situation. The elder said to him: "Go, my thoughts worry me more than you; but go, participate in a community and leave solitude behind during this period, until the storm calms down." He went to Jabal al-Salwā and lived with the brothers. But after a little while, he returned to the elder and said to him: "I did not find relief with the brothers either." Then he said to him: "If you do not have relief neither with the brothers nor in solitude, then why have you put on the clothes of the courageous soldiers and called yourself a monk unless it is to endure beatings, strikes, and

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[1163] عن in marg.
[1164] سنه in marg.

bitter sorrows, the least of them being hunger and thirst? How many years have you worn the *iskīm*?" He said to him: "Eight years." The elder said to him: "Well, my son, today I have worn this *iskīm* for seventy years, and I have not been free of sorrow even for one day." When the brother heard the words of the elder, he was strengthened, and he went and lived alone and began to wear the instrument of war, and took in his hand the invincible shield which is true honesty, and put on his head the helmet of salvation, which is hope and belief in what is in the books and the lives of the saints, and shod his feet with the good news of the Holy Gospel saying: "Do not fear the one who afflicts the body, fear He who is able to throw the soul into hell."[1165] He set out to prove himself by good comportment, and when the stubborn one who hates goodness saw him, he was afraid of him, and his strength left him.

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[1165] Matt. 10:28

# Appendix F. List of AP sources in *Monastica* per June 2023

| AP Source |
| --- |
| AIP-Caldarelli |
| AIPSup-Capaldo |
| Am (AP, Coptic Bohairic Collection (Regnault)) |
| Ans1 (Anastasius Sinaita, Narrationes (Nau)) |
| AnS2 (Anastasius Sinaita, Narrationes (Canart)) |
| AnS3 (Anastasius Sinaita, Narrationes (Binggeli)) |
| AnSN-G-Binggeli |
| AnSN-G-Binggeli_Fre |
| AnSN-G-Caner_Eng |
| AnSN-G-CPG |
| AnSN-G-Nau |
| App (AP, Vitae Patrum, Appendix (PL 74, 243-342) |
| Athens_500 |
| Athens_504 |
| Athens_504-JCG |
| Athos_Ivir_geo_12 |
| Athos_Karak_38 |
| Athos_Lavra_B37 |
| Athos_Prot_86 |
| Athos_Prot_86-BD |
| B (AP, Greek Anonymous Collection in Berli_Phill_1624 (Bousset table)) |
| Be (AP. Syriac systematic collection (Bedjan)) |
| Beog_MSPC_Krka_4 |
| Beog_NBS_Dec_93 |
| Beog_NBS_Pec_86 |
| Berl_Phill_1624 |
| Berl_SB_Wuk_40 |
| Brux_BR_8216-18 |
| Brux_BR_9850-52 |

| AP Source |
| --- |
| Bu (AP. Syriac systematic collection (Budge)) |
| CAB-Cairo |
| CAB-Epiphanius |
| CAB-Regnault_Fre |
| CasI-L-Gazet |
| CasI-L-Guy |
| CasI-L-Petschenig |
| CasI-L-Ramsey_Eng |
| CB-Amelineau |
| CB-Amelineau_Fre |
| CB-Guillaumont_Fre |
| Cologn_DB_165 |
| CS (AP. Coptic systematic collection (Chaine-Elanskaya)) |
| CS-Alcock_Eng |
| CS-Chaine |
| CS-Elanskaya |
| CS-Elanskaya_Eng |
| CS-Regnault_Fre |
| CSP-Freire |
| CSP-Regnault_Fre |
| CSP-Wortley_Eng |
| DanS-G-Dahlman |
| Darm_1953 |
| Dayr_alAbyad_MONB-EG |
| DorGD-G-Preville |
| Dra (Draguet numbering) |
| EA-Arras |
| EA-Arras_Lat |
| EA-Regnault_Fre |
| ECM-Arras |
| ECM-Arras_Lat |
| ECM-Regnault_Fre |
| ECM-Witakowski_Eng |
| EG-Arras |
| EG-Arras_Lat |
| EG-Regnault_Fre |

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|---|---|
| EMg1 (Esaias Monachus, Ascetikon (Augoustinos)) | HeML-Klemming |
| EMg2 (Esaias Monachus, Ascetikon (Chryssavgis)) | HeMS-Unger |
| EMg3 (Esaias Monachus, Ascetikon (Broc)) | HL-G-Bartelink |
| EP-Arras | HL-G-Butler |
| EP-Arras_Lat | HL-G-Meyer_Eng |
| EP-Regnault_Fre | HL-L-Pall-Rosweyde |
| EP-Witakowski_Eng | HL-L-Wellhausen |
| EvPOr-G-Casiday_Eng | HL-Syr-Draguet |
| EvPOr-G-Suares | HL-Syr-Draguet_Fre |
| EvPPr-G-Guillaumont | HM-G-Festugiere |
| Flor_Laur_Ash56 | HM-G-Preuschen |
| G (Apophthegmata Patrum. Greek Alphabetical Collection (PG 65)) | HM-G-Russell_Eng |
| | HM-L-Cain_Eng |
| | HM-L-SchulzFlugel |
| G-Cotelier | HS-AUA |
| G-Guy | HS-GrigorYohannes |
| G-Ward_Eng | HS-Leloir_Lat |
| G-Wortley_Eng | HS-Regnault_Fre |
| GN (Apophthegmata Patrum. Greek Anonymous Collection (Regnault-Wortley)) | HS-Sarkissian |
| | HS-Thomson_Eng |
| | IA-Dvali |
| | IN-Dvali |
| GN-Nau | IsMA-Ara-Sauget |
| GN-Regnault_Fre | IsMA-Ara-Sauget_Fre |
| GN-Wortley | IsMA-G-Augoustinos |
| GN-Wortley_Eng | IsMA-G-Broc_Fre |
| GS (AP, Greek Systematical Collection (Guy)) | IsMA-G-Chryssavgis_Eng |
| | IsMA-G-Draguet |
| | IsMA-L-Draguet |
| GS-Dahlman | IsMA-Syr-Draguet |
| GS-Guy | IsMA-Syr-Draguet_Fre |
| GS-Paradiset_Swe | K251-Draguet |
| GS-Wortley_Eng | Leiden_UB_Scal_74 |
| Gsab (Greek Sabaitic collection) | Lond_Add_12173 |
| | Lond_Add_14626 |
| GscA (Greek Scorialensis alphabetic collection) | Lond_Add_15350 |
| | Lond_Add_17176 |
| GSd Apophthegmata Patrum. Greek systematical derivata (To Mega Gerontikon)) | Lond_Add_22508 |
| | Lond_Add_22508-JCG |
| | Lund_UB_54 |
| | Lviv_LNB_ASP_56 |
| | Mars_BM_1233 |
| | MD-Barlow |
| GSd-MegaGerontikon | MD-Barlow_Eng |

| | |
|---|---|
| MD-Regnault_Fre | Par_Coisl_127 |
| MD-Rosweyde | Par_Coisl_232 |
| Mil_Ambr_C30inf | Par_Coisl_232-JCG |
| Mil_Ambr_L120sup | Par_Coisl_282 |
| Mosc_GIM_Cudov_18 | Par_Coisl_283 |
| Mosc_GIM_Cudov_318A | Par_Coisl_283-JCG |
| Mosc_GIM_Sin_3 | Par_gr_1598 |
| Mosc_GIM_Sin_989 | Par_gr_1599 |
| Mosc_GIM_Sin_995 | Par_gr_1600 |
| Mosc_GIM_Uvar_483 | Par_gr_2474 |
| Mosc_GIM_Voskr_115 | Par_gr_2474-BD |
| Mosc_NBMGU_1310 | Par_gr_890 |
| Mosc_RGADA_F181_603 | Par_gr_890-JCG |
| Mosc_RGB_F113_601 | Par_gr_914 |
| Mosc_RGB_F178_8240 | Par_gr_916 |
| Mosc_RGB_F236_93 | Par_gr_917 |
| Mosc_RGB_F304_37 | Par_gr_919 |
| Mosc_RGB_F304_703 | Par_lat_13756 |
| Mosc_RGB_F310_219 | Par_lat_5387 |
| Mosc_Syn_gr_163 | Par_lat_9729 |
| Mosc_Syn_gr_345 | PaRo (AP, Paschasius collection (PL)) |
| Mun_SB_Clm_18093 | PaVP-Barlow_Eng |
| Mun_SB_Clm_18475 | PaVP-Rosweyde |
| Mun_SB_Clm_6293 | Pd (Paschasius' collection, spuria in Freire) |
| Mun_SB_Clm_7980 | PE-Chrysostomos_Eng |
| Naples_II_C_27 | PE-ed5-Makarios |
| ON (AP, Slavonic anonymous collection (Ierusalimskij Paterik) | PE-ed6-Makarios |
| OS | PE-Regnault_Fre |
| Osup (Slavonic AP collection of supplementary material in MSS with alph and anon collections) | PE-Wortley_Eng |
| | PJ-Batlle |
| PA-Freire | PJ-Chadwick_Eng |
| PA-Regnault_Fre | PJ-Regnault_Fre |
| PA-Wortley_Eng | PJ-Rosweyde |
| PaFr (AP, Paschasius collection (Freire)) | PJ-Ward_Eng |
| Par_ar_253-JMS | PJ-Wilmart |
| Par_ar_276 | PS-G-Migne |
| Par_BN_Slav_10 | PS-G-Nissen |
| Par_Coisl_126 | PS-G-Wortley_Eng |
| Par_Coisl_126-JCG | PS-L-Traversari |
| | QRT-Regnault_Fre |
| | R-Regnault_Fre |
| | R-Rosweyde |

| | |
|---|---|
| R-Wortley_Eng | StPet_RNB_Pog_267 |
| Rav_ASD_4 | StPet_RNB_Sof_1391 |
| RE (Regnault, Sentences des Pères) | StPet_RNB_Tix_552 |
| Regn (AP, Regnault list) | Str4225-Sauget |
| Rom_Vall_C_47 | Str4225-Sauget_Fre |
| SE-1904-Budge | Strasb_4225 |
| SE-1907-Budge_Eng | Strasb_4225-JMS |
| SE-Bedjan | Stu_LB_ThPhFol_303 |
| SE-Kitchen_Eng | TA (Thesaurus asceticus) |
| Sin_ar_444-JMS | ThAsc-Possinus |
| Sin_ar_492-JMS | Vat_ar_71 |
| Sin_ar_547 | Vat_ar_77 |
| Sin_ar_559-JMS | Vat_ar_77-JMS |
| Sin_ar_565-JMS | Vat_Chigi_F_VIII_208 |
| Sin_geo_35 | Vat_gr_1599 |
| Sin_geo_8 | Vat_gr_2592 |
| Sin_gr_448 | Vat_Ottob_174 |
| Sin_gr_448-JCG | Ven_Marc_II_70 |
| Sin_syr_46 | VP-Ale-Williams |
| SkP-Veder | W (Wortley register) |
| SkP-Veder_Eng | Wien_ONB_Slav_152 |
| Sofia_NBKM_673 | Worcester_F84 |
| StGall_SA_XIII | Yer_MM_787 |
| StPet_BAN_Belokr_2 | ZosA-G-Augoustinos |
| StPet_RNB_Hilf_90 | ZosA-G-Chryssavgis_Eng |
| StPet_RNB_KB_20-1259 | Zur_W3_AG19 |

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