

THE MOST ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT WITNESS
TO THE *PARADISE OF THE FATHERS* (CPB 464,
OLIM MOSUL 810 AND MOSUL SCHER 94): A
NEW DESCRIPTION AND SOME PRELIMINARY
REMARKS¹

GIOVANNI GOMIERO

FWO-PHD FELLOW, UNIVERSITEIT GENT

¹ I want to thank Grigory Kessel for his help and his patience with all my questions and emails. The form of this article is built upon the example of his series of articles published in *Hugoye* as *Fields Notes on Syriac Manuscripts*. I want also to thank Peter Van Nuffelen, David Phillips and Vittorio Berti for their corrections, and all the colleagues with whom I shared this ongoing research (Adrian Pirtea, David Phillips, David Michelson, Matteo Poiani, Marco Pavan, Michael D. Ethington). This article is dedicated to André Binggeli and Flavia Ruani, who showed me how and why working directly on the manuscripts is decisive and fascinating for a young historian. The research was supported by FWO with a PhD Fundamental Research Fellowship (Grant n. 1196025N, Project Title: “Thomas of Marga and the *Book of Superiors*: texts, formation and socio-cultural context of an East-Syrian bishop in the mid-ninth century”, supervised by Peter Van Nuffelen and Vittorio Berti). I want to thank also the anonymous peer reviewer and the editors for the corrections and suggestions.

ABSTRACT

In the comprehensive introduction to his edition of the Syriac Lausiaca, René Draquet discussed the tradition of the Paradise of the Fathers, a monastic collection of texts related to the Egyptian monasticism of the 4th c. This collection, which originated in the East-Syrian reformed monasticism of the 7th c., survives in several manuscripts, and the most ancient one is the olim Mosul / Scher 94, marked by Draquet as Mosul nr. 801. Long considered to have disappeared, it is conserved in the collection of the CNMO in Ankawa (Erbil, Iraq), and it is available online in the vHMML reading room without a detailed description or any hints underlining its importance. This study aims to shed new light on a manuscript that, despite its terrible state of preservation, remains key to understanding the manuscript and literary tradition of the Paradise of the Fathers.

The collection of Syriac manuscripts in the Chaldean Patriarchate of Mosul, first catalogued by Scher (1907), has played a significant role in understanding East Syrian literature and its manuscript tradition². Unfortunately, this collection has gained notoriety due to its tumultuous journey since 1969, when it was relocated to Baghdad, then Mosul (Qaraqoş), and finally to Erbil (Ankawa, *Centre Numérique des Manuscrits Orientaux*, C. N. M.

² Addai Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat Chaldéen de Mossoul" (*Revue des bibliothèques* 17 [1907]): 227–260.

O.)³. Over the past 55 years of turmoil, wars, and devastation, the collection has been repeatedly scattered and mixed. The scarcity of information in the Scher catalogue, compounded by various challenges, has made it difficult to recognize and identify manuscripts that are now part of other collections, often digitized by HMML. One such manuscript is among the oldest of the 116 catalogued by Scher: Mosul Scher MS. 94. Today, it is labeled with the shelfmark (HMML project number) CPB 464, part of the collection of the Chaldean Patriarchate of Baghdad. Thanks to the information and description provided by René Draguet in 1978 (based on his observation of the manuscript in Mosul in 1952 and subsequent work with a microfilm copy), we know that it was listed as Mosul 810 in the lost catalogue of Mgr. Bidawid⁴. The manuscript was digitized in January 2016 and

³ Alain Desreumaux and Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits syriaques* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), 193–195 and for a more recent history see the introduction of Grigory Kessel and Nicolás Bamballi, “Field Notes on Syriac Manuscripts II: A Philosophical Manuscript *Olim* Mosul 35 Rediscovered” (Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies 21:1 [2018]), 21–42.

⁴ René Draguet dedicated years and several publications in editing and studying the Egyptian monastic literature translated in Syriac and transmitted in the several forms and recensions. See in particular René Draguet, *Les cinq recensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'Abba Isaïe*, CSCO, Syr. 120, 121, 122, 123 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1968); René Draguet, *Les formes syriaques de la matière de l'Histoire Lausiaque*, CSCO, Syr. 169, 170, 173, 174 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1978); René Draguet, *La vie primitive de S. Antoine conservée en syriaque*, CSCO, Syr. 183–184 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1980). The description of the manuscript *Mosul 810* can be found in Draguet (1978), CSCO, Syr. 169, 83*–93*. On his life and his works, see for more detail Gérard Garitte, “Notice sur René Draguet” (Annuaire de l'Académie Royale de Belgique 148 [1982]), 115–141 and Ward de Pril, *Theological Renewal and the Resurgence of Integrism: The René Draguet Case (1942) in its context*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 266 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016).

currently exists in a more fragmented state than the one described by Draguet. Grigory Kessel briefly catalogued it in the HMML reading room and is available online at the vHMML Virtual Reading Room (www.vhmml.org). Thanks to the help of David Phillips, in August 2023, I discovered a microfilm copy that was made when the manuscript was in much better condition than it is today. This microfilm copy is preserved in René Draguet's private collection, kept at the *Bibliopôle* of the *Bibliothèque des arts et des lettres* of the Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve⁵. This microfilm copy of the manuscript needs a proper study. It will add some information in the future since it reveals a more complete form of this critical manuscript - the oldest version of the *Paradise of the Fathers* (henceforward PF).

We need to provide a new detailed description for this manuscript for three reasons. Firstly, the existing catalogue provided by Draguet, which was based on his private microfilm, primarily focuses on identifying the presence of the *Historia Lausiaca* in the collection. Secondly, Draguet's copy differs from the version currently available online. He catalogued 16 additional folios at the beginning (conserved only in the microfilm and not on vHMML), and many of the folios he catalogued are

⁵ I want to thank also the librarians and the archivists of the *Bibliopôle* for their kindness and their help. Together with Prof. Andrea B. Schmidt, Nicolas Atas and Carlo E. Biuzzi, we prepared a full inventory of the entire Draguet's microfilms archive, an extremely rich and fascinating collection that contains 1300 microfilms ca., published for the *Bulletin de l'Académie Belge pour l'Étude des Langues Anciennes et Orientales*: Nicolas Atas, Carlo Emilio Biuzzi, Giovanni Gomiero, Andrea B. Schmidt, "Le Paradis retrouvé à Louvain-la-Neuve. Inventaire préliminaire des microfilms de manuscrits du Fonds René Draguet-CSCO, suivi d'un *Appendix* sur les manuscrits syriaques du Centre d'Études sur Grégoire de Nazianze", *BABELAO* 13, 127-151 (<https://doi.org/10.14428/babelao.voli3.2024>"doi.org/10.14428/babelao.voli3.2024").

now only present as small fragments for us. In contrast to Draguet's catalogue, which indicates pages using the numbers of the photos of his microfilm, we will adopt the traditional folio-system, specifying *recto* and *verso*, both for complete folios and fragments (and we will indicate the correspondent number of images inside the microfilm of Draguet). This is because the manuscript on vHML contains a coherent foliation series in the left margin of every *recto*, ranging from 1 to 105 (which Draguet did not indicate, suggesting that it was added after the 1960s). Thirdly, this manuscript is the oldest known manuscript of the PF, the famous monastic collection on Egyptian monasticism in the East-Syrian tradition, and it deserves a dedicated description and more attention⁶. Despite its significance, it

⁶ Thanks to the ongoing research of Adrian Pirtea (in particular his forthcoming chapter titled: "Paradise Before Paradise: The Earliest Syriac Collections of *Apophthegmata Patrum* and the Work of 'Enānīšō' of Beth 'Abe (7th century)") and the recent monograph of David Michelson, *The Library of Paradise. A History of Contemplative Reading in the Monasteries of the Church of the East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), it is possible to restart studying the tradition of the Egyptian monastic literature in Syriac (and so the tradition of the PF) from a new perspective. The biggest part remained unstudied, and transmitted in PF, is the Syriac Collection of *Apophthegmata*. In the past some scholars (with the above mentioned René Draguet) tried in several ways to approach this puzzling literary tradition, see Wilhelm Bousset, *Apophthegmata: Studien zur Geschichte des Ältesten Mönchtums* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1923); Bo Holmberg, "The Syriac Collection of *Apophthegmata Patrum* in MS Sin. Syr. 46" (*Studia Patristica* 55:3 [2013]), 35–57; Louis Leloir, *Désert et communion: témoignage des pères du désert recueillis à partir des Paterica arméniens*, *Spiritualité orientale* 26 (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1978); Lucien Regnault, *Les sentences des Pères du désert, 5vols: 1. Recension de Pélage et Jean, 2. Nouveau Recueil, 3. Troisième recueil & tables, 4. Collection alphabétique, 5. Série des anonymes* (Solesmes: Abbaye de Solesmes, 1966–1985);

Lucien Regnault, *La vie quotidienne des Pères du désert en Egypte au IV^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1990); Lucien Regnault, *Les chemins de Dieu au désert. Collection systématique des apophthegmes* (Solesmes: Abbaye de Solesmes, 1992); Jacques-Marie Sauget, *Une traduction arabe de la collection d'Apophthegmata Patrum de 'Enānīšō'. Étude du ms. Paris arabe 253 et des témoins parallèles*, CSCO, Subs. 78 (Louvain: Peeters, 1987); Samuel Rubenson, "The Apophthegmata Patrum in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic: Status Questionis" (*Parole de l'Orient* 36 [2011]), 319–327; Samuel Rubenson, "The formation and Re-formations of the Sayings of the Desert Fathers" (*Studia Patristica* 55:3 [2013]), 5–22. It is important to remember some other general and specific studies, that are crucial to understand the development of this literature, its environment and the current state of the research: Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, "Apophthegmata Patrum: Some Crucial Points of Their Textual Transmission and the Problem of a Critical Edition" (*Studia Patristica* 30 [1997]), 455–467; Antoine Guillaumont, *Aux origines du monachisme chrétien. Pour une phénoménologie du monachisme*, *Spiritualité orientale* 30 (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1979); Louis Leloir, "Il refusa d'apprendre les lettres'. Culture ou absence de culture des Pères du désert" (*Acta Orientalia Belgica* VII [1992]), 41–56; Claudia Rapp, "The Origins of Hagiography and the literature of early monasticism: purpose and genre between tradition and innovation", in C. Kelly, R. Flower and M. Stuart Williams, *Unclassical Traditions, Vol I: Alternatives to the Classical Past in Late Antiquity*, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society. Supplementary Volume* 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 119–130; Samuel Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of a Saint* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995); Tim Vivian, *Joureying into God: Seven Early Monastic Lives* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996); Tim Vivian, *Witness to Holiness: Abba Daniel of Scetis* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publication, 2008); Tim Vivian, "The origins of monasticism", in I. L. E. Ramelli, J. A. McGuckin, P. Aswhin-Siejkowski, *T & T Clark Handbook of the Early Church* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022), 483–500; Ewa Wipszycka, *The Second Gift of the Nile* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów Tyniec, 2014); Ewa Wipszycka, *The Alexandrian Church: People and Institutions*, *The Journal of Jurisic Payrology: Supplement* 25 (Warsaw: Journal of Juristic Papyrology, 2015); Ugo Zanetti, "Les Pères du désert (Égypte – IV^e siècle)", in M.-A. Vannier, *Découvrir les Pères de l'Église*,

currently lacks a detailed catalogue. As we will discuss in the concluding remarks, studying this manuscript can shed new light and provide insights into how the reformed monasticism of the Church of the East, following the reform of Abraham of

Nouveau manuel de patristique (Paris: Artège, 2024), 1003-1031. In September 2023 a huge conference took place in the Monastery of Bose (Magnano, Italy), on the topic of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* in several traditions and with several approaches and points of view. With the participation of some of the leading scholars mentioned above (namely Samuel Rubenson, Ewa Wipszycka, Tim Vivian, Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, etc.), the publication of the proceedings is another crucial reference point for academia: Luigi d'Ayala Valva, Sabino Chialà, Lisa Cremaschi, *Isacco di Ninive e il suo insegnamento spirituale: Atti del XXVIII Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa, Bose, 6-9 settembre 2022* (Magnano: Qiqajon, 2023). Regarding the editions, we have two Syriac texts and one English translation. The Syriac text by Bedjan (1897) is edited from more or less 8 manuscripts from 9th to 14th c. But the criteria he used to provide the Syriac text are not clear and not conforming to the modern methods of textual criticism. Just to add more confusion, Budge published in 1904 his diplomatic edition of a manuscript copied from a 13th c. original. Then he produced an English translation that follows, without indication for the reader, a mixture between the text of Bedjan and his own edition. A table of concordance between the two edition and the translation can be found in Bousset (1923), for the editions see Paul Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, vol. 7 (Paris-Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1897); Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *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 'Anân-Īshô' of Bêth 'Ābhê, Edited with an English Translation*, 2 vols. (London: W. Drugulin, 1904); Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *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 A.D. CCCC Circiter*, 2 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1907).

Kaškar, developed its own monastic education and literature⁷. Finally, a comprehensive overview of the contents of this manuscript will inform us about the literary history and historical development of the PF as a collection and a distinct work. This tradition started somewhere between the region around the Persian Gulf (Bet Qaṭraya) and Northern Iraq in the 7th century and is linked with the historical situation of the monasticism of the Church of the East and with the complex world of the transmission of Greek-Egyptian monastic literature from the Eastern Mediterranean of the 5th c. to the Tigris basin in the 7th c. The structure of this manuscript, as shown in the concluding remarks, will help us connect and understand the several stages and attestations of this literary tradition inside its own context of production and use⁸.

⁷ Regarding this crucial moment within the history of monasticism of the Church of the East and concerning the leader of this monastic reform, namely Abraham of Kaškar (d. 585), see Sabino Chialà, *Abramo di Kashkar e la sua comunità. La rinascita del monachesimo siro-orientale* (Magnano: Qiqajon, 2005); Florence Jullien, *Le monachisme en Perse: la réforme d'Abraham le Grand, père des moines de l'Orient*, CSCO, Subs. 121 (Leuven: Peeters, 2008).

⁸ Grigory Kessel has already provided an example of how much a close detailed analysis of one single manuscript can improve our knowledge of all the literature represented in it: Grigory Kessel, "An East Syriac Book in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai: The Case of the Monastic Collection M20N from the 'New Finds'" (Христианский Восток NS 6 (12) [2013]), 185–215. In this article Kessel demonstrated the circulation of Egyptian materials independently from the PF in the East Syrian monastic milieu of the 9th c., namely the Syriac versions of Jerome's *Vita Pauli* and the *Life of John of Lycopolis*, and the Syriac *Pachomiana* (see below for a discussion of this corpus). These three works are part of the PF represented in the manuscript CPB 464 (8–9th c.), also originated from an East Syrian monastic milieu; this comparison shows that, between 8th and 9th c., the

ERBIL-ANKAWA, C. N. M. O., CPB 464 (*OLIM MOSUL*
SCHER 94 *ET MOSUL BIDAWID* 810)

Draguet readily recognized the significance of this manuscript during his visit to the Mosul Library in 1952. To the best of our knowledge, it represents the oldest known evidence of the East-Syrian monastic collection known as the PF. The manuscript preserves the colophon and table of contents (henceforward called Tab794, following the abbreviation given by Draguet) with the date 794⁹. We'll discuss this date and the problems related below. In 1969, the entire collection was transferred to Baghdad, where it remained until the troubles and wars of the past 20 years. Our manuscript likely returned to the Mosul area and eventually found its current location at the *Centre numérique des manuscrits orientaux* in Erbil-Ankawa. It was digitized and made available on the HMML Reading Room (HMML project number CPB 464). Following Michelson's recent study, *The Library of Paradise*, a new examination of the PF tradition (which has not been attempted since the editions by Bedjan and Budge) should start with this manuscript. The reasons for this will be discussed in detail in the conclusion. In his work,

materials organized under the name *Paradise of the Fathers* circulated also independently, as selections. The early state of circulation is attested by the manuscript Sinai, syr. 46 (dated 534), analysed and described by Draguet (1978), CSCO, Syr. 169, 21*-22* and CSCO, Syr. 170, 61*-64*, for the part concerning the so called *Recueil des XVIII histoires*. This little collection is composed by 14 histories extracted from the *Historia Lausiaca* (Palladius), 3 from the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (Jerome), and the *Vita Pauli* (Jerome). This way of collecting and re-assembling materials from the Egyptian monastic literature flourished between the early 6th and the late 7th c., when in the East-Syrian monastic milieu all this material was assembled in a single compilation, the PF.

⁹ For the transcription, translation and analyse of the Tab794, see Draguet (1978), CSCO, Syr. 169, 47*-63*.

Draguet already emphasized the importance of this manuscript in understanding the *Lausiaca* tradition within the PF¹⁰. However, this is just one aspect of interest within this now fragmented and damaged witness of a literary tradition that likely began at least in the mid-7th c. (as attested by the *Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers* (henceforward CPF) by Dadišo', now accessible thanks to the invaluable work of David Phillips)¹¹.

Paper/Parchment (the first 12 folios are covered by a paper restoration datable to the 12–13th c.; the rest of the manuscript is the original parchment of the 8–9th c.) – 24 × 16,5 cm (according to Draguet's description) – 105 fols. (122 in Draguet's description) – 1 col., 24–28 l.

Modern Western foliation in pen, from 1 to 105. Several traces of previous foliations-paginations in Arabic in pencil, on the borders (see e.g., from 2v-12v the foliotation 36–56, or in the inverted sense from 26r-29r the foliotation 90–84).

¹⁰ Regarding the transmission of the *Historia Lausiaca* (CPG 6036, Clavis Patrum Graecorum, see bibliography) inside the ascetical literature in Syriac, and its relevance for the monastic and hagiographic literature, see the masterpiece of Draguet (1978), CSCO, Syr. 169, 170, 173, 174, more than an edition and a translation of the text. Draguet investigated the structure of the work, its Coptic-Greek context of elaboration and the peculiarities of the Syriac translation. For a recent and updated study, see also Claudia Tavolieri, "Historiography and Hagiographic Texts: The Syriac Versions of Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*" (Annali di Ca' Foscari, Serie orientale 52 [2016]), 45–57.

¹¹ The edition provided by David Phillips gave us access to a long-awaited invaluable source to study the monasticism of the Church of the East in the 7th c., see David Phillips, *Commentaire sur le Paradis des Pères de Dadisho' Qatraya*, Sources chrétiennes 626, 627, 628 (Paris: Éditions du CERF, 2022). Before this three-volume edition, the only pioneer study was that one by Nicholas Sims-Williams, "Dādišo' Qatrāyā's Commentary on the *Paradise of the Fathers*" (Analecta Bollandiana 112:1–2 [1994]), 33–64.

CONDITION: Currently, most of the manuscript consists of severely damaged isolated fragments. For example, f. 14r contains only nine lines, each with three to four words. Only in certain sections at the beginning and end of the manuscript do the folios remain connected through surviving parts of the original binding. Specifically, folios 13–53 and 100–105 are severely damaged, mostly appearing as fragments. None of the 105 folios are entirely readable from the first word to the last. Sections with evident loss of folios, such as sections 8, 10, 11, and 13, have been identified. In some cases, the order of the fragments accessible on vHMML is mixed, and we'll provide the indication of the correct order of reading thanks to the complete version we are using from Draguet microfilm.

DATE: According to Draguet and Bidawid, the manuscript's first section (1r-12v) is a paper restoration with a script that can be paleographically dated to the 12–13th c. It should be noted that this first section was the fourth part in Draguet's analysis, and unfortunately, we have lost the first three parts within the last 50 years. Regarding the dating of the entire manuscript, Scher dated it to the 8th c., Draguet to the 9th c., and Kessel again to the 8th c. Draguet was convinced that the colophon containing the date 794 was copied, together with the table of contents, from the model manuscript of CPB 464. So he fixed the date of the manuscript somewhere between 9th and 10th c. However, the main argument was that the manuscript doesn't precisely follow the table of contents, but this is probably due to the features of the PF as a compilation, as we'll see below. Paleographically speaking, the manuscript is perfectly fitted as an 8th c. In the East Syrian manuscript, the quire signatures, visible in the microfilm possessed by Draguet, are located in the left corner of the page, vertically to the main text, with a point decoration above and below. This use is typical of the East Syrian manuscript 8th c. (see, for example, Kessel 2013 mentioned

above). Despite this unsolvable discussion between an 8th or 9th to 10th c. date, the Table of Contents that will guide the following analysis shows us, for sure, a stage of the PF in 794.

SCRIBE: since the manuscript is *acephalus* and *desinit mutilo*, we don't have any information about the scribe.

BINDING: The manuscript binding is now completely absent. Draguet described only its bad state of conservation in the 1960s.

CATALOGUE DESCRIPTION: Scher, A., "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat Chaldéen de Mossoul." *Revue des bibliothèques* 17 (1907), ms. 94 p. 251 (a short description in French); Draguet, R., *Les formes syriaques de la matière de l'Histoire Lausiaque*, CSCO, Syr. 169. Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1978, 83*-93* (a long analysis of the Palladius' section of the microfilm possessed by Draguet).

CONTENTS

1. ff. 1r-2r [DraguetMf 33-35]¹²

The History of the Blessed Evagrius, the Solitary and Strenuous Monk¹³ (Tab794 Il. 15 *Évagre*).

Tit.:

missing

¹² I will provide the correspondent numbers for every section of the manuscript, which can be found in the microfilm inside the Archive Draguet.

¹³ To facilitate access to the Bedjan edition and to the Budge translation, we always used, when possible, the English title given to the text by Budge (1907), even if it is not perfectly correspondent with the Syriac text preserved by CPB 464. After the title follows the indication of the number in Tab794 as indicated by Draguet, and in italics the French title translated by Draguet from the Tab794.

Inc.:

missing

Exp.:

ܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ
ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 231–236; Budge (1904), 279; Draguet (1978), *CSCO*, Syr 170, chap. 38, 266.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 222; Draguet (1978), *CSCO*, Syr. 174, 178.

Notes: As identified by Draguet, this chapter was originally part of the *Historia Lausiaca* (CPG 6036, chapter 38 in the Syriac version edited by Draguet), but in this manuscript, it is placed outside that work as an independent *Life of Evagrius* (as attested in other Syriac manuscripts, see BHSE 486 [<https://syriaca.org/work/486>]¹⁴).

2. ff. 2r-7v [DraguetMf 35–46]

The History of Marcus/Malchus the Solitary Monk (Tab794 II. 16 *Marc*).

Tit.:

ܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ

Inc.:

ܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ

Exp.:

ܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ
ܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܠܝܬܐ

¹⁴ BHG: Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca (see bibliography); BHO: Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis (see bibliography); BHSE: Bibliotheca Hagiographica Syriaca Electronica (see bibliography); CPL: Clavis Patrum Latinorum (see bibliography).

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 236–251; Budge (1904), 275.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 226.

Notes: A famous hagiography, often attributed to Jerome, widely spread in all languages of Eastern Christianity (BHG 1015, BHO 586, BHSE 487 [<https://syriaca.org/work/487>], CPL 619). The Latin version of the text has been edited and published in the *Source Chrétiennes* series¹⁵.

3. ff. 7v-11r [DraguetMf 46–53]

The History of Mar Paulus the Prince of Monks and Anchorite (Tab794 II. 17 *Paul, premier des solitaires*).

Tit.:

ܬܝܬܘܠܐ ܕܡܪ ܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪ ܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ

Inc.:

ܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ

Exp.:

missing

Ed.: Bedjan (1895) *AMS* 5, 561–572; Budge (1904), 242.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 197.

Notes: For a detailed description of a Syriac version of the same *Vita Pauli* from another East-Syrian manuscript witness of the 9th c. (Sinai, syr. M20N), see Kessel (2013), 199–202. Often attributed to Jerome, widely spread in all languages of Eastern Christianity (BHG 1466–1470, BHO 909–916, BHSE 366

¹⁵ Pierre Leclerc, Edgardo Martín Morales, Adalbert de Vogüé, *Jérôme. Trois vies de moines. Paul, Malchus, Hilarion*, Sources chrétiennes 508 (Paris: Éditions du CERF, 2007).

Notes: This hagiographical account is known in several versions among several languages of Eastern Christianity (BHG 1177–1180, BHO 699). There are two Syriac versions circulating in Late Antiquity of the *Vita Sancti Martiniani* that are edited and studied: the *Long Version* edited by Michel van Esbroeck, “La Vie de Saint Martinianus en version syriaque”, *Parole de l’Orient* 20 (1995), 237–269, and the *Short Version* edited by Guido Venturini, “La tradizione manoscritta della *Storia di Martiniano* e le sue versioni siriane”, *Le Muséon* 134 [3–4] (2021), 283–323. The text in CPB 464, checked by me on the basis of the complete microfilm copy kept in the microfilm archive of Draguet, corresponds to the *Short Version* edited and studied by Venturini. Now, a new Syriac version, attested at least in the 9th c., has been discovered by André Binggeli, who is editing this text together with the Arabic version of the *Vita*. A fourth short text, probably composed later using the previous versions, has been edited by Bedjan, as mentioned above.

In his recent publication, Phillips argues against the inclusion of the *Vita Sancti Martiniani* in the PF, despite the section dedicated to Martinianus by Dadišoʿ in his CPF²⁴. However, the CPB 464, the most ancient witness of the PF, considers this Story part of the second section of the first volume, attributed to Palladius. Additionally, comparing this attestation with the order of questions and answers in the CPF, the question on Martinianus (Tab794 II. 33) is numbered as I. 56, while the question I. 50 pertains to the *Holy Man with Nine Virtues* (Tab794 II. 30). While we agree with Phillips that the *Vita Sancti Martiniani* seems to have disappeared early from the PF tradition (and so it is absent in Bedjan and Budge’s editions), it is evident that Dadišoʿ (7th c.) and CPB 464 (8–9th c.) consider this Story as part of the PF. They both placed it in the same position in the second

²⁴ Phillips (2022), I. 56, 324–325.

section of the first volume. To add complexity, we can also consider that later, in the 11th c., probably before the standardization of a text of the PF we received in the editions of Bedjan and Budge, the East-Syrian polymath Elijah of Nisibis (d. 1046) mentioned the *Vita* as a part of the PF, in his *Risāla fī Faḍīlat al-ʿAfāf* (studied by Grigory Kessel, “A Fragment from the Lost ‘Book of Admonition(s)’ by Abraham Bar Dašandad in *Risāla Fī Faḍīlat al-ʿafāf* (‘Letter on Priority of Abstinence’) of Elias of Nisibis”, in M. Tamcke, *Gotteserlebnis und Gotteslehre. Christliche und Islamische Mystik im Orient*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, I. Reihe: Syriaca 38 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 109–130, in particular p. 111).

13. ff. 21v-22r [DraguetMf 73–75]²⁵

Of two Brothers who dwelt in a Persian Monastery (Tab794 II. 34 *Les deux frères qui habitaient dans un monastère chez les Perses*).

Tit.:

[...] ܠܠܚܝܡ ܠܠܚܝܡ [...] ܠܠܚܝܡ ܠܠܚܝܡ [...]

Inc.:

missing

Exp.:

ܠܠܚܝܡ ܠܠܚܝܡ ܠܠܚܝܡ ܠܠܚܝܡ [...] ܠܠܚܝܡ ܠܠܚܝܡ ܠܠܚܝܡ ܠܠܚܝܡ

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 281–285.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 253.

Notes: See BHSE 500 [<https://syriaca.org/work/500>].

²⁵ Section 13 is mixed on vHML; the story, in its correct order, is as follows:
21v-21r-22r.

14. ff. 22r-24v [DraguetMf 75–80]²⁶

The History of a certain Virgin who grew old in the works of the Fear of God (Tab794 II. 35 *La vierge don't le père était bon et la mère [...]*).

Tit.:

[...] ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟ [...] ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟ

Inc.:

ܠܡܠܟ [...] ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

Exp.:

missing

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 285–292.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 255.

Notes: See BHSE 501 [<https://syriaca.org/work/501>].

15. ff. 24v-27r [DraguetMf 80–88]²⁷

Abbreviated Life of Onesima (Tab794 II. 36 *La vierge [O]nésima*).

Tit.:

ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܠܟ ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܠܡܠܟ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

Inc.:

ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

Exp.:

²⁶ Section 14 is mixed on vHML; the story, in its correct order, is as follows:

22r-22v-23r-23v-24r-24v.

²⁷ Section 15 is mixed on vHML; the story, in its correct order, is as follows:

24v-25r-25v-29v-29r-28v-28r-27v-27r.

18. ff. 35r-36r [DraguetMf 101-103]

Tit.:

മലയാളം ഭാഷ

אם אדם ברוך הוא לא יצא ממנו אדם אחר. וזהו חסד.

ה. המעורבות של הממשלה, המוסדות הממשלתיים, המוסדות
המקצועיים והאקדמיים.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 260; Draguet (1978), CSCO, Syr. 174, 239.

Notes: This chapter, as identified by Draguet, was originally part of the *Historia Lausiaca* (CPG 6036, chapter 73 in the Syriac version edited by Draguet), but in this manuscript is placed outside that work, as an independent *Life of Eucarpus* (see also BHSE 503 [<https://syriaca.org/work/503>]).

19. ff. 36r-43v [DraguetMf103-116]

Various stories on fallen monks, repented and forgiven (Tab794 II. 40 [Jacques] *qui tomba et se releva*).

Tit.:

ዓባይ ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት
ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት.

Inc.:

ዓባይ ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት [...] ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት

Exp.:

ዓባይ ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት
ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት.

Ed.-Trans.: neither edited nor translated.

Notes: This relevant section (8 folios), composed of several stories about repentance, is attested only in this manuscript, at the current state of the research. It deserves a dedicated study in the forthcoming years.

20. ff. 43v-44r [DraguetMf 116–117]

Of a certain famous Deacon who dwelt in a Coenobium in Egypt (Tab794 II. 41 *Le diacre d'un koinobion, à la prière duquel le fleuve monta*).

Tit.:

ዓባይ ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት [...] ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት.

Inc.:

ዓባይ ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት [...] ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት
ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት.

Exp.:

ዓባይ ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት
ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት ኣብ ኣብይነት.

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 300–301.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 264.

Notes: See BHSE 504 [<https://syriaca.org/work/504>].

21. f. 44r [DraguetMf 117]

Of a certain excellent Bishop who fell into fornication, and the People having trampled upon him he was forgiven (Tab794 II. 42 *L'évêque sur lequel marcha le peuple*).

Tit.:

മാർഗ്ഗരേഖയ്ക്ക് അനുമതി നൽകുന്നതിനായി തയ്യാറാക്കിയ ഡ്രോയിംഗ് ഹാൻഡ് ഓൺ ഫോമിന് താഴെ കാണുക.

Inc.:

መከላከል ማድረግ ይቻላል።

Exp.:

1. የገንዘብ ምንጭ ምንጭ ምንጭ [...] ለገንዘብ ምንጭ
 ምንጭ ምንጭ [...] ለገንዘብ ምንጭ

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 301–302.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 265.

Notes: See BHSE 505 [<https://syriaca.org/work/505>].

22. f. 44r-44v [DraguetMf 117–118]

Of a certain Brother who was a Neighbour of Abba Poemen
(Tab794 II. 43 *Le frère voisin d'abba Poemen*).

Tit.:

ה. חל אשכ עבדך ופסע למלך.

Inc.:

Tit.:

[...] ເປັນ ກຸ່ມມະນຸດ ນຳໃຊ້, ກໍ ກ່ຽວ ຂ້າ.

ಶಿವನು ಕುಳಿತು [...] ಕುಳಿತು ಕೂಗುತ್ತಾ ಹೋಗುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಕೂಗುತ್ತಾ ಹೋಗುತ್ತಾನೆ.

[illegible]

Notes: See BHSE 510 [<https://syriaca.org/work/510>].

Of Abba Apollo who was in Scetis (Tab794 II. 48 *Apollo, qui fendra une femme et en vit l'enfant*).

പ്രശ്നം: എന്താണ് കേന്ദ്രീകൃതമായ പരിഹാരം?

መጠራጠር ሲሆን የሚታወቀው ስለ ሌላ ሰው ሆኖ ማመን ሲባል
ይህን ስራ ማጠናቀቅ ይቻላል።

התאריך 15.05.2019. [...] הודעה זו תישלח ל...

Notes: See BHSE 511 [<https://syriaca.org/work/511>].

28. ff. 46v-47r [DraguetMf 122-123]

Of Cosmas who was in Mount Sinai (Tab794 II. 49 *Cosmas, du mont Sinäi, qui fut calomnié*).

Tit.:

الحل [...] انقلب في صدره.

Inc.:

אשר לא ידע להאריך את ימיו. [...] והוא ימות ביום אחד. [...] והוא ימות ביום אחד. [...] והוא ימות ביום אחד.

Exp.:

[illegible]

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 309–310.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 270.

Notes: See BHSE 512 [<https://syriaca.org/work/512>].

29. ff. 47r-48r [DraguetMf 123-125]

Of Abba Macarius who was accused of committing fornication (Tab794 II. 50 *Macaire, à qui ils suspendirent des cruches et qu'ils noircirent*).

Tit.:

.ආචාර්ය [...] සිංහල ජන මත

Inc.:

...
 ...

Exp.:

ገጽ ፩ ለጥያቄው ማረጋገጫ የሚያስፈልጉ ሰነዶች
 ለማቅረብ ያስፈልጋል፡፡

ܐܡ ܡܝܢ ܡܢܠܚܡܐ ܕܐܡ ܝܗܘܐ ܡܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ [...] ܡܠܟܐ
ܡܠܟܐ.

Inc.:

ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܡ [...] ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܡ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܡ ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ.

Exp.:

[...] ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 313–314.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 273.

Notes: See BHSE 514 [<https://syriaca.org/work/514>].

32. ff. 49r-51v [DraguetMf 127–132]

Of Abba Macarius the Egyptian, the Disciple of Mar Anthony
(Tab794 II. 53 *Macaire, qui vit Satan par deux fois porteur de
cruches et de [fioles] diverses*).

Tit.:

ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

Inc.:

ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ [...] ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

Exp.:

ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ [...] ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 314–322.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 273.

Notes: See BHSE 515 [<https://syriaca.org/work/515>].

33. f. 51v [DraguetMf 132]

Of Abba Mark the Less, the Disciple of Abba Sylvanus (Tab794 II. 54 *Marc le Petit, disciple de Silvain, qui décéda dans sa jeunesse*).

Tit.:

[...] ܠܟܝܢ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Inc.:

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ [...] ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ
[...]

Exp.:

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ [...] ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 322; Budge (1904), 298.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 278.

Notes: See BHSE 516 [<https://syriaca.org/work/516>].

34. ff. 51v-52r [DraguetMf 132–134]²⁹

First section of *Abba Paule the Simple, the Disciple of Mar Anthony* (Tab794 II. 55 *Le frère entrant et sortant de l'église dont Paul le Simple vit l'âme*).

Tit.:

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Inc.:

ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ
ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ [...] ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Exp.:

missing

²⁹ Section 34 is mixed on vHML; the story, in its correct order (even if *desinit mutilo*) is as follows: 51v-52v-52r.

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 322–326; Budge (1904), 298.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 278.

Notes: The worst section of the manuscript, in terms of preservation, corresponds with the ending of the *Life of Abba Paule the Simple* (see BHSE 517 [<https://syriaca.org/work/517>]). The entire last section is missing. The text from f. 52r corresponds to AMS 7, 326 (the text edited by Bedjan continues until p. 329).

35. ff. 53r-58r [DraguetMf 135-147]³⁰

Final section of *The Rule of Pachomius at Tabenna* [Syriac *Pachomiana*] (Tab794 II. 56 *Ascéticon des Pachômiens*).

Tit.:

missing

Inc.:

missing

Exp.:

אדם נכבד נהנה נהנה. אדם נכבד נהנה נהנה, אדם נכבד
 נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה
 נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה
 נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה
 נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה נהנה

Ed.: Bedjan (1895) *AMS* 5, 158–176 (see *AMS* 7, 329 for the final section of the *explicit*); Budge (1904), 301.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 283.

Notes: The worst section of the manuscript, in terms of preservation, corresponds with the beginning of the Syriac

³⁰ The numbers of Draguet microfilms are not well marked in this section, jumping from 135 to 138. In the absence of the numbers, we are giving the number of the microfilm following the consecutive order of the images.

Pachomiana (BHG 1399, BHO 829, BHSE 438 [<https://syriaca.org/work/438>]). The entire first section is missing, the text from f. 53r corresponds to AMS 7, 158 (the *Pachomiana* in Budge edition starts at p. 122). This collection transmitted in Syriac of texts didn't receive any detailed study, despite its importance and its diffusion in the entire East Syrian monastic literature³¹. The only preliminary analysis is that one of Kessel (2013), 204–208. The Syriac *Pachomiana* was used only for the first edition of the Greek text by François Nau and Jean Bousquet, *Histoire de Saint Pacome (une rédaction inédite des Ascetica): texte grec des manuscrits Paris 881 et Chartres 1754 avec une traduction de la version syriaque et une analyse du manuscrit de Paris Suppl. Grec 480*, Patrologia Orientalis, 4.5 (n. 19) (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1908), 409[125]–511[227]. The most stunning feature of the structure of this Syriac version is the perfect accordance of the chapter order with some Greek manuscripts analyzed by Halkin in his edition of the Greek *Pachomiana* (1936)³². Halkin used two Greek manuscripts, of the 11th and of the 14th c., and he was aware about the structure of the corpus in the Syriac tradition. He decided to follow his manuscript of 11th c., building a new structure of the collection, denying the structure attested in Syriac and in the 14th c. manuscript. The study of the Syriac tradition can shed new light also on the Greek text, and furthermore this *corpus*

³¹ The Greek corpus of the *Pachomiana* received a recent detailed study with a full Italian translation, by Luigi d'Ayala Valva: Luigi d'Ayala Valva, *Pacomio, servo di Dio e degli uomini. Fonti greche sulla vita di Pacomio e dei suoi discepoli* (Magnano: Qiqajon, 2016). This new study could permit a comparison, also in terms of structure and transmission, with the Syriac *Pachomiana*.

³² François Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae. Ediderunt hagiographi bollandiani*, Subsidia Hagiographica 19 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes 1932).

can be an interesting marker of the development of the PF, see below in the Concluding remarks nr. 1.

36. ff. 58r-90v [DraguetMf 147–220]

Historia Monachorum in Aegypto (= HMA) by Pseudo-Jerome (Tab794 III)

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Ch. 1, ff. 58r-59v (Tab794 III. 1) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 329; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 317; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Prologus</i> . |
| Ch. 2, ff. 59v-66r (Tab794 III. 2) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 334; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 320 ³³ ; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput I</i> ; See BHSE 520 [https://syriaca.org/work/520]. |
| Ch. 3, ff. 66r-67r (Tab794 III. 3) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 358; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 334; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput II</i> ; See BHSE 521 [https://syriaca.org/work/521]. |
| Ch. 4, f. 67r-v (Tab794 III. 4) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 362; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 336; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput III</i> ; See BHSE 522 [https://syriaca.org/work/522]. |
| Ch. 5, f. 67v (Tab794 III. 5) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 363; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 337; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput IV</i> ; See BHSE 523 [https://syriaca.org/work/523]. |
| Ch. 6, ff. 67v-68v (Tab794 III. 6) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 364; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 337; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput V</i> ; See BHSE 524 [https://syriaca.org/work/524]. |

³³ On this specific chapter, circulating also separated in the manuscript Sinai, syr. M20N, see again Kessel (2013), 202–204.

| | |
|---|--|
| Ch. 7, ff. 68v-69r (Tab794 III. 7) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 366; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 338; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput VI</i> ; See BHSE 525 [https://syriaca.org/work/525]. |
| Ch. 8, f. 69r (Tab794 III. 8) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 368; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 339; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput VII</i> ; See BHSE 526 [https://syriaca.org/work/526]. |
| Ch. 9, ff. 69r-76r (Tab794 III. 9) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 369; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 340; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput VIII-IX</i> ; See BHSE 527 [https://syriaca.org/work/527]. |
| Ch. 10, ff. 76r-77v (Tab794 III. 10) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 392; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 353; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XII</i> , §1-15; See BHSE 528 [https://syriaca.org/work/528] ³⁴ . |
| Ch. 11, ff. 77v-78v (Tab794 III. 11) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 396; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 356; |

³⁴ The final part of the story of Abba Apellen (f. 77r-v) as conserved in CPB 464 is in perfect accordance with the final part edited by Nicholas Sims-Williams, *An Ascetic Miscellany: The Christian Sogdian Manuscript E28*, Berliner Turfantexte 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), p. *16-17. The Sogdian parallel text published at p. 164-167 demonstrates the circulation of the same version of the *HMA* (or at least of a section) between Iraq and the Silk Roads. In the same Sogdian manuscript E28 can be found also a text (p. 60-64) from the CPF, vol. III, p. 189-191 (until line. 32): is an anonymous saying (in Sogdian), attributed to Lot by Dadišo', but again anonymous in PF edited by Bedjan (n. 206, p. 776) and Budge (II, n. 209, p. 198). The circulation of materials, around the 9th c., involved already not only the texts that composed the PF, but also the CPF by Dadišo' (see also a recent new attestation of the PF's materials in Erica C. D. Hunter, "Discovering 'Paradise' at Turfan", in Erica C. D. Hunter, *Šalmūtā Šapīrtā. Festschrift for Rifaat Y. Ebied in honour of his contributions to Semitic Studies*, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 65 (Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2023)).

| | |
|---|---|
| | Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XIII</i> ; See BHSE 529 [https://syriaca.org/work/529]. |
| Ch. 12, ff. 78v-80v (Tab794 III. 12) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 400; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 358; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XIV</i> ; See BHSE 530 [https://syriaca.org/work/530]. |
| Ch. 13, ff. 80v-81r (Tab794 III. 13) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 408; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 362; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XVI</i> ; See BHSE 531 [https://syriaca.org/work/531]. |
| Ch. 14, f. 81r (Tab794 III. 14) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 408; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 363; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XVII</i> ; See BHSE 532 [https://syriaca.org/work/532]. |
| Ch. 15, f. 81r-v (Tab794 III. 15a) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 410; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 363; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XX</i> , §1-4; See BHSE 533 [https://syriaca.org/work/533]. |
| Ch. 16, ff. 81v-85r (Tab794 III. 23) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 410; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 364; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput X + Caput XII</i> , §16; See BHSE 534 [https://syriaca.org/work/534]. |
| Ch. 17, ff. 85r-86r (Tab794 III. 24) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 424; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 372; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XI</i> ; See BHSE 535 [https://syriaca.org/work/535]. |
| Ch. 18, f. 86r (Tab794 III. 29) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 426; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 373; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XX</i> , §15-17; See BHSE 536 [https://syriaca.org/work/536]. |
| Ch. 19, f. 86r-v (Tab794 III. 25) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 427; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 374; |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XV</i> ; See BHSE 537 [https://syriaca.org/work/537]. |
| Ch. 20, ff. 86v-87v (Tab794 III. 26) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 428; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 374; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Epilogus</i> ; See BHSE 538 [https://syriaca.org/work/538]. |
| Ch. 21, f. 87v (Tab794 III. 15b) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 431; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 376; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XX</i> , §5–8; See BHSE 539 [https://syriaca.org/work/539]. |
| Ch. 22, f. 87v-88r (Tab794 III. 16) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 432; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 377; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XXII</i> , §1–6; See BHSE 540 [https://syriaca.org/work/540]. |
| Ch. 23, f. 88r-v (Tab794 III. 17) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 434; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 378; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XX</i> , §9–11; See BHSE 541 [https://syriaca.org/work/541]. |
| Ch. 24, f. 88v (Tab794 III. 18) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 435; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 378; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XX</i> , §12; See BHSE 542 [https://syriaca.org/work/542]. |
| Ch. 25, f. 88v (Tab794 III. 19) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 435; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 379; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XX</i> , §13; See BHSE 543 [https://syriaca.org/work/543]. |
| Ch. 26, ff. 88v-89r (Tab794 III. 20) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 436; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 379; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XX</i> , §14; See BHSE 544 [https://syriaca.org/work/544]. |
| Ch. 27, f. 89r (Tab794 III. 21) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 436; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 379; |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XXV</i> ; See BHSE 545 [https://syriaca.org/work/545]. |
| Ch. 28, f. 89r (Tab794 III. 22) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 437; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 379; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XXVI</i> ; See BHSE 546 [https://syriaca.org/work/546]. |
| Ch. 29, f. 89r-v (Tab794 III. 27) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 437; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 380; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XVIII</i> , §1-3a; See BHSE 547 [https://syriaca.org/work/547]. |
| Ch. 30, ff. 89v-90v (Tab794 III. 28) | Ed.: Bedjan (1897) <i>AMS</i> 7, 438; Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 380; Greek ed. Festugière (1971), <i>Caput XVIII</i> , §3b + <i>Caput XIX</i> ; See BHSE 548 [https://syriaca.org/work/548]. |

Tit.:

ܐܡܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
✧ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Inc.:

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Exp.:

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 329-442; Budge (1904), 345.

Trans.: Budge (1907), I. 317.

Notes: This Syriac version of *HMA* (CPG 5620) features an almost complete concordance with the Bedjan and Budge

Exp.:

חַסְדֵּיךָ [...] וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לִחְלֹם חֶלְמוֹ כְּחֶמְדְּךָ [...] וְנִסְתַּחֲרֶנּוּ בְּדִמְיוֹתֶיךָ.

Ed.: Bedjan (1897) *AMS* 7, 992–1001 (the Syriac text came from London, BL Add. 17174 (dated 929), ff. 166r–170r³⁸), for the Greek original, see Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* 57, *Commentarius in Sanctum Matthaeum Evangelistam*, VIII.4–5, cols. 86–90).

Trans.: The Syriac version edited in Bedjan has never been translated.

Notes: The text from the 8th Homily on Matthew of John Chrysostom inside the Paradise (CPG 4424), attested from the 8th to 9th centuries, can be another relevant marker for a further study of the evolution of the structure and text of PF.

38. ff. 93v-95r [DraguetMf 226-229]

Table of contents dated to 794 (= Tab794), fully transcribed, translated, and analyzed by Draguet (1978), CSCO, Syr. 169, 47*-63*.

Exp.-Colophon:

[illegible]

Notes: The colophon, together with the problems of dating this manuscript we discussed above, can be found transcribed,

³⁸ BL = British Library.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this last section, I want to emphasize some points that help us understand the importance of manuscript CPB 464 in clarifying the formation of the *Paradise of the Fathers*.

AGREEMENT WITH THE EDITIONS OF BEDJAN AND BUDGE.

The editions by Bedjan and Budge, along with Budge's English translation, have not been well received by scholars, both during Draguet's time and in the present day. According to Draguet (1978), Bedjan's edition does not meet the requirements of critical scholarship, and Phillips (2022) also acknowledges the lack of a critical edition of the entire PF. Budge's edition, on the other hand, is simply a diplomatic edition of the manuscript he found in Iraq (Lady Meux 6, now lost), without any critical intention, merely reproducing the manuscript, which was a copy of a 13th c. manuscript, as stated by Budge. The Bedjan edition is more complex. It is not a critical edition, as how he used his collated manuscripts is often unknown. The *apparatus* is unsatisfactory, and the only clear indication is that Bedjan decided to follow the order and structure of Città del Vaticano, BAV Vat. sir. 126, a West-Syrian manuscript from 1223, as mentioned in his introduction³⁹. According to his introduction, some of the manuscripts he used include Paris, BnF syr. 317; Berlin, SzB Sachau 329; London, BL Add. 12173, BL Add. 14583, BL Add. 17174, BL Add. 17175, and BL Add. 17177⁴⁰. Given these considerations, using the Bedjan and Budge editions can be complicated because they appear to represent both a later stage of the PF's textual transmission (while the PF was already compiled around the mid-7th c.) and, in the case of Bedjan, an *invented* text, as

³⁹ BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

⁴⁰ BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France; SzB = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

described by Draguet, in the sense that the methodology used by the editor is not clear and produced a puzzling eclectic edition. However, if we focus on CPB 464, a different perspective on the two editions emerges. As it turns out, the composition of the editions of both Bedjan and Budge follows that of CPB 464. Draguet noted and clarified that the copyist of CPB 464 does not strictly follow the order of Tab794. The order of the texts in both the *Lausiaca* and the HMA sections is mixed. Regarding the HMA section, if we use the consecutive numbers given by Tab794 to identify the texts as they are ordered in the manuscript, it would be the following: Tab794 n. 1–15a, Tab794 n. 23–24, Tab794 n. 29, Tab794 n. 25–26, Tab794 n. 15b–22, Tab794 n. 27–28. So the order preserved in this manuscript from the 8–9th c. contradicts the Greek and the Latin extant texts and Tab794 itself but aligns with Budge and Bedjan editions (as mentioned above, see Festugière’s edition). The two, methodologically speaking, imperfect editions, surprisingly, follow the most ancient manuscript most closely. Regarding the HMA section, the case is evident, but this is also true for another part of the manuscript, the Syriac *Pachomiana* (also called *Asketikon* or the *Rules of Pachomius*). This collection of texts related to Pachomius is inserted between the *Lausiaca* and HMA sections in the manuscript. There are no traces of it in Bedjan’s edition (who decided to publish the text in a precedent volume of his AMS collection), but it is preserved in the same position in Budge edition. However, the CPF of Dadišo‘ didn’t indicate the position of this corpus inside the PF on which the author is commenting. On the contrary, the second part of the first book of PF ends in CPF with the *Life of Paul the Simple* (Phillips 2022, vol. 1, 349–353), which is precisely the text that we find before the *Pachomiana* in the CPB 464. This analysis shows that the Syriac *Pachomiana* entered into the PF during the 8th c., as CPB 464 testifies, as a further development, but could also circulate

independently, as demonstrated by the 9th c. manuscript from the Monastery of S. Catherine, Sinai syr. M20N. Another example of the same way in which this collection was built up is the *Vita Antonii*, added at the end of the PF in our manuscript, after Tab794, indicating a stage between 8th and 9th c., when it was not considered part of the PF. Bedjan edition didn't include it, again in accordance with the old version of Tab794, but in Budge edition, it appears at the beginning of the manuscript, still outside the PF. In sum, although both editions cannot be regarded as critical, the text of the PF they offer aligns closely with the most ancient manuscripts regarding its order and selection of texts. Therefore, they accurately reflect, at least for the section that can be verified with CPB 464, the earliest stage in the history of the PF as a collection (8–9th c.).

*PARADISE OR PARADISES? COPYISTS, COMPILERS, AND
WAYS OF COMPOSING A MONASTIC COLLECTION.*

Draguet's observation regarding the disagreement between the content of manuscript CPB 464 and the copied table of contents raises an interesting problem. Why would the copyist choose not to follow it? The most striking case is the structure of the *HMA* section, as mentioned earlier. This evidence provides insight into the nature of the PF as a monastic collection, which could be re-arranged by each copyist in the transmission process. Adding to this discussion, the recent edition of Dadišo's CPF provides valuable information. In section I. 66, pages 354–357, Dadišo' comments on the beginning of the third part of the first book of the PF, specifically Jerome's writings with the

*HMA*⁴¹. He mentions a previous *Recueil des anciens*, a collection of Egyptian monastic texts that existed before the formalization of the PF. In this earlier collection, for example, the *Vita Pauli* was placed at the beginning, which makes sense as he is considered the first monk. However, in the PF that Dadišo' is commenting on, Paul is positioned at the beginning of Jerome's section, preceding the *HMA*. This arrangement is more coherent, combining Jerome's attributed writings in a single section. Thus, even in its initial composition phase in the mid-7th c., the main characteristic of the PF appears to be an attempt to rearrange and reorganize the Egyptian materials that were circulating in Syriac from the late 5th century.

Examining Tab794, we find that the *Vita Pauli* is the 17th text in the second part attributed to Palladius, and the compiler of this manuscript respects the order of the table of contents, maintaining Jerome as the author of this *Vita*, despite the title and ending of the section attributing the texts to Palladius. However, in Bedjan edition, the *Vita Pauli* is not part of the PF. In Budge edition, it is placed in the second position of the second part, again attributed to Palladius, but with the final *captatio* mentioning the author, Jerome. Draguet accurately identified the level of independence of the copyist of CPB 464. Expanding on this, all the copyists after the PF commented by Dadišo', CPB 464, the editions of Bedjan and Budge demonstrate an evident freedom in rearranging and mixing the chosen materials to construct their respective versions of the PF. In a

⁴¹ We follow Draguet (1978) in his analysis of the structure of the PF, in which he argued in favour of four distinct parts: Pa1 (Syriac *Lausiaca* by Palladius), Pa2 (various materials, also from the *Lausiaca*, attributed to Palladius too), Pa3 (*HMA* by Jerome), Pa4 (*Systematic* and *Anonymous* collections of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, attributed to Palladius). The manuscript CPB, in its current state, is a witness to Pa2 and Pa3.

sense, it may be more accurate to speak of several *Paradises of the Fathers*, each representing a new approach (and a new stage of development, depending on its time and context) to construct *the* monastic collections of Egyptian materials that emerged in the reformed monasticism of the Church of the East from the mid-7th c. onward⁴².

ST. EUPRAXIA OF THEBAID, A SYMBOL OF THE PF IN CPB 464.

The presence of *Eupraxia* in Tab794 and CPB 464, despite the absence of her life in the PF known to Dadišo' and in the PFs edited by Bedjan and Budge, highlights again the freedom and independence with which the compilers explored the vast array of materials from Egyptian monastic literature. The Syriac *Life of Eupraxia*, unfortunately, remains unedited, although it is found in ancient manuscripts such as London, BL Add. 14651 (dated 850), BL Add. 14649 (dated 9th c.), Damascus, Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate, cod. 12/18 (12th c.), Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs [CFMM] 253 (dated 13–14th c.), and Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs [CFMM] 1054 (20th c.). Now we can include CPB 464 (8–9th c.), ff. 27r–34r, among the manuscripts containing the *Life of Eupraxia*, although it must be noted that it is fragmentary. Similarly, the *Life of Onesima*, which had a significant circulation in Syriac in both the Eastern and Western traditions, does not appear in the PF of Dadišo', Bedjan, and Budge, except for a brief mention by Dadišo' when he speaks

⁴² All these reflections follow the hypothesis formulated by Adrian Pirtea in December 2022 at a conference in Leuven. I am really thankful to him for his availability and for the further discussions of the last months, crucial for better understanding at the environment in which this collection originated and the importance of the direct work on the manuscript tradition.

about chapter 34 of the Syriac *Lausiaca*⁴³. The question arises: why did the compiler of CPB 464 include these two lives in his PF? I think including Onesima and Eupraxia in Tab794 and CPB 464 is understandable because they belong to their rightful place as part of Egyptian monastic literature. *Onesima* and *Eupraxia* lived and died, according to their *Acta*, in the Egyptian desert in the 4th c. The insertion of these lives in CPB 464 suggests that between the 8th and 9th c., the selection of materials for compiling a PF collection was not firmly established. The PF had to be composed, starting from the 7th c., with the *Lausiaca* and the *HMA* as the obliged initial texts, which remained consistent throughout the witnesses and the centuries. However, the *Vita Pauli*, the Syriac *Pachomiana*, the *Vita Antonii*, the *Lives of Onesima*, and *Eupraxia* (and possibly the less known *Vita Sancti Martiniani*, as explained in its description) are all examples of materials that can be added to or omitted from the collection. Regardless of their presence, it is legitimate for all these texts to be included since they are all works that originated in the 4–5th c. environment of Egyptian monasticism. This common background underlying all these texts authorized also all the following copyists of PF's manuscripts to add and omit materials. It explained the extreme variety in the composition of this work, attested in the study of Draguet regarding the transmission of the *Historia Lausiaca*. Only with a further in-depth analysis of the *Paradise of the Fathers* and its version in the second millennium will it be possible to understand better when and if the PF started being considered as a close and fixed work.

⁴³ Phillips (2022), vol. 1, 381 and 387–389.

TAB794–CPB 464: A NEW INTERMEDIATE STAGE BETWEEN
THE 7TH C. *FIRST* RECENSION AND THOMAS OF MARGA'S
ACCOUNT

In his mid-9th c. work on the history of the Bet 'Abe monastery, Thomas of Marga provided a comprehensive narrative that spanned three centuries, highlighting the monastery's significant role in the Church of the East⁴⁴. He dedicated two chapters (Book II, chapters 11 and 15) to present an episode inside the "History of East-Syrian Literature," specifically focusing on the composition of the PF. According to Thomas, the PF was a unique literary product created by the famous author and monk 'Ananišo' in the mid-7th c. at the Bet 'Abe monastery⁴⁵. Thomas states that George I (d. 680), a patriarch who was also educated in Bet 'Abe, asked 'Ananišo' to organize and collect texts related to Egyptian monasticism. 'Ananišo' agreed and prepared the PF into two volumes. The first volume included the Syriac *Lausica*, the *HMA*, and other texts attributed to Palladius or Jerome

⁴⁴ On this author, see the little account dedicated to him by Jean-Maurice Fiey, "Thomas de Marga. Notule de littérature syriaque" (Le Muséon 78:3–4 [1965]), 361–366 and the entry of Herman G. B. Teule, "Thomas of Margā", in D. Thomas, B. H. Roggema, *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 1 (Leiden, Brill, 2009), 688–690. For an updated bibliography, a *status quaestionis* and a first research on his historiographical method, see Marco Pavan, "Le rappresentazioni del bosco e del mondo vegetale nel *Liber Superiorum* di Tommaso di Margā", in F. Carta, R. Michetti, C. Noce, *Sacra Silva. Bosco e religione tra tarda antichità e Medioevo*, Sacro/Santo 34 (Rome: Viella, 2024), 149–188, and the forthcoming Giovanni Gomiero, "Riflessioni ed esperimenti di metodo storiografico nelle opere di Tommaso di Marga: annotazioni sull'utilizzo e sulla traduzione del termine *šarba*." (2024).

⁴⁵ The information provided by Thomas of Marga are the only ones on this author, and are synthetized by François Nau, "Ananjésu", in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastiques*, t. II (Paris: Éditions Letouzey et Ané, 1914), col. 1437.

(Pa1, Pa2, and Pa3 in Draguet's analysis). The second volume contained the Syriac *Apophthegmata Patrum*, divided into one systematic collection of 615 sayings into 14 sections and one anonymous/mixed collection⁴⁶. Additionally, the second volume featured an extract from John Chrysostom's 8th *Homily on the Gospel of Matthew*, the *Encomium* to the Egyptian monks, and a collection of discourses and advice attributed to Abraham of Nathpar, an influential East-Syrian ascetic author of the mid-6th c.⁴⁷. However, Thomas' description raises several questions. Scholars such as Bousset, Draguet, and Michelson (following Assemani, who reinforced the description given by Thomas) have attempted to match his description with the extant manuscript tradition. Yet, trying to understand Thomas' intentions

⁴⁶ Concerning the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, we have a long tradition of study and editing work on the Greek versions (*Systematic*, *Anonymous* and *Alphabetical Collection*) and the recent work by Kitchen on some *AP* transmitted only in Syriac. See Jean-Claude Guy, *Les Apophthegmes des Pères. Collection systématique*, Sources chrétiennes 387, 474, 498 (Paris: Éditions du CERF, 1993, 2003, 2005); John Wortley, *The Book of the Elders, Sayings of the Desert Fathers. The Systematic Collection* (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications Liturgical Press, 2012); John Wortley, *The Anonymous Sayings of the Desert Fathers. A select Edition and complete English Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); John Wortley, *Give me a Word. The Alphabetical Sayings of the Desert Fathers* (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2014); John Wortley, *More Sayings of the Desert Fathers: An English Translation and Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Robert A. Kitchen, "Sayings Preserved in Syriac", in J. Wortley, *More Sayings of the Desert Fathers: An English Translation and Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 66–95; John Wortley, *An Introduction to the Desert Fathers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

⁴⁷ See these chapters fully analysed and translated in Charbel C. Chahine, "Le témoignage de Thomas de Margâ sur les extraits d'Abraham Nethprââ dans le *Livre du Paradis* de 'Nânîšo'" (*Augustinianum* 40:2 [2000]), 439–460.

in writing these chapters is more interesting. Dadišo's CFP, which was contemporary to the supposed composition that Thomas narrated, presents a different structure and texts as part of the PF. The CPB 464 manuscript also depicts a distinct Paradise, lacking a "second volume" with the collection of *Apo-phthegmata* (the colophon after Pa3 states: "here the *complete* Paradise of the Fathers ends"), but including extracts from John Chrysostom at the end. The CPB 464 made its first innovation by adding the *Vita Antonii* at the end (unfortunately, subsequent texts and folios are lost). Finally, the Budge and Bedjan editions, based on manuscripts from the 9th to 14th c., align more closely with Thomas' structure regarding the division into two volumes and their contents. However, when we examine the first centuries, between Dadišo's CPF (late 7th c.), CPB 464 (8–9th c.), and Thomas of Marga's account (ca. 850), we encounter at least three versions of the PF. The common characteristic is that the PF must be a collection of monastic materials related to Egyptian monasticism, beginning with Palladius's *Lausiaca* and Jerome's *HMA*.

So, what is Thomas of Marga attempting to do by writing his account of the composition of this important book? He is probably seeking to establish the prominence of the Bet 'Abe monastery as the place where it was composed one essential collection of texts for the monasteries of the Church of the East. He describes an actual manuscript in his monastery, probably composed around the mid-7th c. by the renowned monk 'Ananišo'. However, this was not the first time the PF was compiled, as claimed by Thomas, nor was it the definitive version. Thomas may be simply describing the *Bet 'Abe Version of the PF*. This could explain the absence of 'Ananišo's name in the entire manuscript tradition. In this scenario, the 'Ananišo' recension was simply the version produced and used in Bet 'Abe until Thomas of Marga's time. However, the manuscript tradition

reveals that numerous versions of the PF circulated between northern and southern Iraq (and were transmitted along the Silk Roads) between 650 and 850. The oldest version appears to be the one commented on by Dadišo' in Bet Qaṭraye in the mid-7th c., which is now available to us through his CFP.

In conclusion, only a detailed study of the entire manuscript tradition, an inquiry started by Draguet with his *Lausiaca* edition, can provide new insights into the literary corpus transmitted under the name of the PF. With the recent edition of CPF by Phillips, revealing the earliest known stage of development of the PF and considering Thomas' account not as a neutral note of literature's history but as a narrative deeply rooted in his historiographical agenda, we can examine the manuscripts, such as CPB 464, to understand how, when, and according to which criteria this significant monastic collection was organized, modified, and rearranged between the 7th and 9–10th c.

ABBREVIATIONS

BHG = Halkin F. and the Bollandists Fathers, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1957.

BHO = Peeters, P., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, Subsidia Hagiographica 10. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1910.

BHSE = Mellon Saint-Laurent, J.-N., Michelson, D. A., Zanetti, U., Detienne, C., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Syriaca Electronica* [<https://syriaca.org/bhse/index.html>]; see also Zanetti, U., "La *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Syriaca Electronica*. Réflexions d'un Utilisateur." *Analecta Bollandiana* 134:2 (2016): 321–330.

CPG = *Clavis Patrum Graecorum I, II, III + Supplementum*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–2023.

CPL = *Clavis Patrum Latinorum I*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1951–1995.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agaiiby, L., *First in the Desert: St. Paul the Hermit in Text and Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, 2024.

Atas, N., Biuzzi, C. E., Gomiero, G., Schmidt, A. B., “Le Paradis retrouvé à Louvain-la-Neuve. Inventaire préliminaire des microfilms de manuscrits du *Fonds René Draquet-CSCO*, suivi d’un *Appendix* sur les manuscrits syriaques du *Centre d’Études sur Grégoire de Nazianze*.” *BABELAO* 13 (2024): 127–151 [doi.org/10.14428/babelao.vol13.2024].

Bedjan, P., *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, vols. 1, 5, and 7. Paris-Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1890, 1895 and 1897.

Bousset, W., *Apophthegmata: Studien zur Geschichte des Ältesten Mönchtums*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1923.

Budge, E. A. W., *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 ‘Anân-Îshô’ of Bêth ‘Âbhê, Edited with an English Translation*, 2 vols. London: W. Drugulin, 1904.

Budge, E. A. W., *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 A.D. CCCC Circiter*, 2 vols. London: Chatto & Windus, 1907.

Chahine, C. C., “Le témoignage de Thomas de Margâ sur les extraits d’Abraham Nethprâîâ dans le *Livre du Paradis* de ‘Nânîšo’.” *Augustinianum* 40:2 (2000): 439–460.

- Chialà, S., *Abramo di Kashkar e la sua comunità. La rinascita del monachesimo siro-orientale*. Magnano: Qiqajon, 2005.
- D'Ayala Valva, L., *Pacomio, servo di Dio e degli uomini. Fonti greche sulla vita di Pacomio e dei suoi discepoli*. Magnano: Qiqajon, 2016.
- D'Ayala Valva, L., Chialà, S., Cremaschi, L., *Isacco di Ninive e il suo insegnamento spirituale: Atti del XXVIII Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa, Bose, 6–9 settembre 2022*. Magnano: Qiqajon, 2023.
- De Pril, W., *Theological Renewal and the Resurgence of Integralism: The René Draguet Case (1942) in its context*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 266. Leuven, Peeters, 2016.
- Desreumaux, A. and Briquel-Chatonnet, F., *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits syriaques*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991.
- Draguet, R., *Les cinq recensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'Abba Isaïe*, CSCO, Syr. 120, 121, 122, 123. Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1968.
- Draguet, R., *Les formes syriaques de la matière de l'Histoire Lausaque*, CSCO, Syr. 169, 170, 173, 174. Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1978.
- Draguet, R., *La vie primitive de S. Antoine conservée en syriaque*, CSCO, Syr. 183–184. Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1980.
- Faraggiana di Sarzana, C., "Apophthegmata Patrum: Some Crucial Points of Their Textual Transmission and the Problem of a Critical Edition." *Studia Patristica* 30 (1997): 455–467.

- Festugière, A.-J., *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto. Édition critique du texte grecque*, Subsidia Hagiographica 34. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1971.
- Fiey, J.-M., "Thomas de Marga. Notule de littérature syriaque." *Le Muséon* 78:3–4 (1965): 361–366.
- Garitte, G., "Notice sur René Draguet." *Annuaire de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* 148 (1982): 115–141.
- Gomiero, G., "Riflessioni ed esperimenti di metodo storiografico nelle opere di Tommaso di Marga: annotazioni sull'utilizzo e sulla traduzione del termine *šarba*." (forthcoming in *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 17, 2024).
- Guillaumont, A., *Aux origines du monachisme chrétien. Pour une phénoménologie du monachisme*, Spiritualité orientale 30. Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1979.
- Guy, J.-C., *Les Apophthegmes des Pères. Collection systématique*, Sources chrétiennes 387, 474, 498. Paris: Éditions du CERF, 1993, 2003, 2005.
- Halkin, F., *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae. Ediderunt hagiographi bollandiani*, Subsidia Hagiographica 19. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1932.
- Holmberg, B., "The Syriac Collection of *Apophthegmata Patrum* in MS Sin. Syr. 46." *Studia Patristica* 55:3 (2013): 35–57.
- Hunter, E. C. D., "Discovering 'Paradise' at Turfan", in E. C. D. Hunter, *Šalmūtā Šapīrtā. Festschrift for Rifaat Y. Ebied in honour of his contributions to Semitic Studies*, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 65. Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2023.

- Jullien, F., *Le monachisme en Perse: la réforme d'Abraham le Grand, père des moines de l'Orient*, CSCO, Subs. 121. Leuven: Peeters, 2008.
- Kessel, G., "A Fragment from the Lost 'Book of Admonition(s)' by Abraham Bar Dašandad in *Risāla fī Faḍīlat al-'aḡāf* ('Letter on Priority of Abstinence') of Elias of Nisibis", in M. Tamcke, *Gotteserlebnis und Gotteslehre. Christliche und Islamische Mystik im Orient*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, I. Reihe: Syriaca 38. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010: 109–130.
- Kessel, G., "An East Syriac Book in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai: The Case of the Monastic Collection M20N from the 'New Finds'." *Христианский Восток* NS 6 [12] (2013): 185–215.
- Kessel, G., and Bamballi, N., "Field Notes on Syriac Manuscripts II: A Philosophical Manuscript *Olim* Mosul 35 Rediscovered." *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 21.1 (2018): 21–42.
- Kitchen, R. A., "Sayings Preserved in Syriac", in J. Wortley, *More Sayings of the Desert Fathers: An English Translation and Notes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019: 66–95.
- Leclerc, P., Martín Morales, E., de Vogüé, A., *Jérôme. Trois vies de moines. Paul, Malchus, Hilarion*, Sources chrétiennes 508. Paris: Éditions du CERF, 2007.
- Leloir, L., *Désert et communion: témoignage des pères du désert recueillis à partir des Paterica arméniens*, Spiritualité orientale 26. Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1978.

Leloir, L., “Il refusa d'apprendre les lettres’. Culture ou absence de culture des Pères du désert”, *Acta Orientalia Belgica* VII (1992): 41–56.

Lewis, A. S., *Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest as Written above the Old Syriac Gospels by John the Stylite, of Beth-Mari-Qanūn in A.D. 778*, 2 vols., *Studia Sinaitica* 9–10. London: C.J. Clay and Sons, 1900.

Michelson, D., *The Library of Paradise. A History of Contemplative Reading in the Monasteries of the Church of the East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022.

Nau, F., “Histoire de Sainte Marine, qui vécut sous des habits d’homme au couvent de Kanoubine, siège patriarcal des Maronites.” *Revue de l’Orient chrétien* 6 (1901): 276–290.

Nau, F., “Ananjésu”. *Dictionnaire d’Histoire et de Geographie Ecclesiastiques, t. II*. Paris: Éditions Letouzey et Ané, 1914: col. 1437.

Nau, F., Bousquet, J., *Histoire de Saint Pacome (une rédaction inédite des Ascetica): texte grec des manuscrits Paris 881 et Chartres 1754 avec une traduction de la version syriaque et une analyse du manuscrit de Paris Suppl. Grec 480*, *Patrologia Orientalis*, 4.5 (n. 19). Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1908: 409[125]–511[227].

Pavan, M., “Le rappresentazioni del bosco e del mondo vegetale nel *Liber Superiorum* di Tommaso di Margā”, in F. Carta, R. Michetti, C. Noce, *Sacra Silva. Bosco e religione tra tarda antichità e Medioevo*, *Sacro/Santo* 34. Rome: Viella, 2024: 149–188.

- Phillips, D., *Commentaire sur le Paradis des Pères de Dadisho' Qatraya*, Sources chrétiennes 626, 627, 628. Paris: Éditions du CERF, 2022.
- Rapp, C., "The Origins of Hagiography and the literature of early monasticism: purpose and genre between tradition and innovation", in C. Kelly, R. Flower and M. Stuart Williams, *Unclassical Traditions, Vol I: Alternatives to the Classical Past in Late Antiquity*, Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society. Supplementary Volume 34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010: 119–130.
- Regnault, L., *Les sentences des Pères du désert*, 5vols: 1. *Recension de Pélage et Jean*, 2. *Nouveau Recueil*, 3. *Troisième recueil & tables*, 4. *Collection alphabétique*, 5. *Série des anonymes*. Solesmes: Abbaye de Solesmes, 1966–1985.
- Regnault, L., *La vie quotidienne des Pères du désert en Egypte au IV^e siècle*. Paris: Hachette, 1990.
- Regnault, L., *Les chemins de Dieu au desert. Collection systématique des apophthegmes*. Solesmes: Abbaye de Solesmes, 1992.
- Rubenson, S., *The Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of a Saint*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995.
- Rubenson, S., "The Apophthegmata Patrum in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic: Status Questionis." *Parole de l'Orient* 36 (2011): 319–327.
- Rubenson, S., "The formation and Re-formations of the Sayings of the Desert Fathers." *Studia Patristica* 55:3 (2013): 5–22.
- Sauget, J.-M., *Une traduction arabe de la collection d'Apophthegmata Patrum de 'Enānīšō'. Étude du ms. Paris arabe 253 et*

- des témoins parallèles*, CSCO, Subs. 78. Louvain: Peeters, 1987.
- Scher, A., "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat Chaldéen de Mossoul." *Revue des bibliothèques* 17 (1907): 227–260.
- Sims-Williams, N., "Dādišo' Qatrāyā's Commentary on the *Paradise of the Fathers*." *Analecta Bollandiana* 112:1–2 (1994): 33–64.
- Sims-Williams, N., *An Ascetic Miscellany: The Christian Sogdian Manuscript E28*, Berliner Turfantexte 42. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.
- Takeda, F. F., *A Study of the Syriac Version of the Life of Antony: A Meeting Point of Egyptian Monasticism with Syriac Native Asceticism*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1998.
- Tavolieri, C., "Historiography and Hagiographic Texts: The Syriac Versions of Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*." *Annali di Ca' Foscari, Serie orientale* 52 (2016): 45–57.
- Teule, H. G. B., "Thomas of Margā", in D. Thomas, B. H. Roggema, *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 1. Leiden, Brill, 2009: 688–690.
- Tóth, P., "Syriac Versions of the 'Historia Monachorum in Aegypto': A Preliminary Investigation on the Basis of the First Chapter." *Oriens Christianus* 94 (2010): 58–104.
- Van Esbroeck, M., "La Vie de Saint Martinianus en version syriaque", *Parole de l'Orient* 20 (1995): 237–269.
- Venturini, G., "La tradizione manoscritta della *Storia di Martiniano* e le sue versioni siriane", *Le Muséon* 134 [3–4] (2021): 283–323.

- Vivian, T., *Joureying into God: Seven Early Monastic Lives*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996.
- Vivian, T., *Witness to Holiness: Abba Daniel of Scetis*. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publication, 2008.
- Vivian, T., "The origins of monasticism", in I. L. E. Ramelli, J. A. McGuckin, P. Aswhin-Siejkowski, *T & T Clark Handbook of the Early Church*. London: Bloomsbury, 2022: 483–500.
- Ward, B., Russell, N., *The Lives of the Desert Fathers: Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*. Collegeville, Minnesota: Cistercian Publication, 1981.
- Wipszycka, E., *The Second Gift of the Nile*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów Tyniec, 2014.
- Wipszycka, E., *The Alexandrian Church: People and Institutions*, The Journal of Jurisitic Payrology: Supplement 25. Warsaw: Journal of Juristic Papyrology, 2015.
- Wortley, J., *The Book of the Elders, Sayings of the Desert Fathers. The Systematic Collection*. Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications Liturgical Press, 2012.
- Wortley, J., *The Anonymous Sayings of the Desert Fathers. A select Edition and complete English Translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Wortley, J., *Give me a Word. The Alphabetical Sayings of the Desert Fathers*. New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2014.
- Wortley, J., *More Sayings of the Desert Fathers: An English Translation and Notes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Wortley, J., *An Introduction to the Desert Fathers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Zanetti, U., "Les apophtegmes et l'histoire." *Irénikon* 91 (2018): 5–51.

Zanetti, U., "Les Pères du désert (Égypte – IVe siècle)", in M.-A. Vannier, *Découvrir les Pères de l'Église, Nouveau manuel de patristique*. Paris: Artège, 2024: 1003–1031.