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PALLADIANA.

SIXTEEN years have elapsed since the publication of my edition of the Lausiac History of Palladius, and twelve since the publication of the tract on the Authorship of the Dialogue on the Life of Chrysostom. During these years the two works have been the object of study and of criticism on the part of a number of scholars of first rank; and in particular during the years of the war they have been occupying the attention of several scholars in Germany. It is my intention in a series of three articles, 'Palladiana', to take a survey and form an estimate of the work that has been bestowed upon Palladius and the cognate literature since the appearance of the two works mentioned above.

The subject matter of the articles will be :

- I. The Lausiac History : Questions of Text ;
- II. The Lausiac History : Questions of History ;
- III. The *Dialogus de Vita Chrysostomi*.

I.

THE LAUSIAC HISTORY: QUESTIONS OF TEXT.

Since the appearance of the Greek text in 1904, there have been produced one new edition of the Greek and three translations.

The edition is that of Abbé A. Lucot¹: the text is substantially mine, but is an improvement on it in that the readings of the Wake MS, which I could record only in an appendix, have been incorporated in the text as I should have wished, had I found the MS in time. It is accompanied by excellent Introduction, Notes, and Index, all Lucot's own, supplementing and criticizing those which I had furnished. A French translation, at once literal and easily readable, is provided. So that in all respects this French edition has supplied what is needful for a successful popularization of Palladius's book.

A German translation has been made by Dr Krottenthaler,² and an English one by Mr Lowther Clarke,³ both from my text. The latter is an excellent and scholarly piece of work, presenting the Lausiac History

¹ *Palladius, Histoire Lausiaque*, in series of 'Textes et Documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme'. (Picard, Paris, 1912.)

² *Palladius, Leben der heiligen Väter*, in 'Bibliothek der Väter'. (Kosel, Kempten, 1912.)

³ *Lausiac History of Palladius*. (S.P.C.K., London, 1918.)

in an attractive English dress. Another English translation, from the Syriac, has been made by Dr Wallis Budge, and forms Book I of the great Syriac collection of monastic material named 'The Paradise of the Holy Fathers'.¹

To turn now to the text itself. When the edition appeared in 1904 it was carefully reviewed by well-known scholars, and various criticisms were passed on the method of editing adopted. Among those who criticized was Dr Richard Reitzenstein in the book *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (1906); and, so he tells us, in order to find relief from the strain of war conditions, he returned to the subject, and produced in 1916 a substantive monograph on the two works *Historia Monachorum* and *Historia Lausiaca*.² Here, amid a mass of material of considerable value in illustration of the earliest monachism, runs a continuous thread of criticism of my text, on the ground that the authentic text is that of the Turin MS (my T), which I did not adopt as the principal authority. This judgement, if well founded, would vitiate my edition through and through; and this Reitzenstein says: 'Unfortunately Butler has wholly misjudged the worth of the most important MS, T.... A new edition of the text is urgently needed' (*op. cit.* p. 2, note). This verdict is being accepted currently by German scholars, as by Krüger: 'Reitzenstein seems to me to have brought forward very cogent reasons for holding that Butler's text, through the neglect of codex T, is untrustworthy' (*Theologische Rundschau*, 1917, p. 75); and Haurath: 'Through the entire book are strewn fully convincing and illuminating emendations of the text of Butler's edition' (*Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1916, col. 1361).³

In the same place Reitzenstein pronounces my edition to have been made 'with the most devoted industry, but not always with adequate philological equipment'. In the presence of a scholar like Reitzenstein who has won for himself recognition as a philologist of eminence, I have no difficulty in acknowledging this criticism to be well founded. But I, on my side, say that he betrays no appreciation of the principles or procedure of scientific textual criticism. A theme running through the book is the assertion of the claim of the philologists to divide the ground with the theologians. Here and there the historians also are

¹ (Chatto and Windus, London, 1907.)

² *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca, eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums* in 'Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des A. und N. Testaments'. (Vandenhoeck, Göttingen, 1916.)

³ Dr Haurath's competence as a judge is, however, gravely compromised by the fact that he has read Reitzenstein's book with so little care as to confuse the two works, *Hist. Mon.* and *Hist. Laus.*, and so attributes to Reitzenstein and to Preuschen the absurd notion that the Latin form of *Hist. Laus.* is the original. (*Ibid.*)

recognized. What here follows is in effect an assertion of the claim to a place for that humbler class of workers, the textual critics. The question to be worked out is a wider one than whether T or P be the better MS of the Lausiac History: its interest lies in the contrast between the ideas of the philologists and of the textual critics as to the method of constructing a text.

In order to make the ensuing discussions easily intelligible it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the outstanding textual facts of the *Historia Lausiacæ*.¹

There are two great types of the text:

B—a longer form, contained in the great majority of the Greek MSS, and in the printed editions previous to my own;

G—a shorter and simpler form, found in a very small number of Greek MSS, but also in the principal early versions, two Latin and two Syriac, and printed for the first time in my edition.

It is not possible to prove priority of date for either type of text; each can be shown to have existed in the fifth century.² I gave reasons for the conclusion that G is the original text and B a metaphrastic enlargement of it.³ The theory that B was a revision of his own work by Palladius himself cannot be said to be excluded; but, so far as I know, it has not been defended by any critic. Nor has any one yet come forward to assert that B is the original form of the text.

On the ground, therefore, that G is the original form of the work, and also because it had not yet been edited, whereas B was already in print, and (with certain precautions) could be read in Migne *P.G.* xxxiv, I decided to edit G, leaving B alone, except in so far as it might help to determine readings of G. The text of B presents no difficulty as Greek MSS abound. But for G the materials are scanty and in a high degree unsatisfactory. Only one Greek MS has so far been found containing the whole book in a G text: this is P (Paris, 1628) a late and deteriorated copy. An earlier and better, but closely related, MS contains about half the book in a G text: this is W (Wake, 67). These are the only Greek MSS offering consistent G texts. Three other Greek textual witnesses offer G texts in parts of the work and B texts in other

¹ These are worked out in full detail in the Introduction to my edition, on the 'Sources of the Text'.

² On p. xxxv of my *Historia Lausiacæ* II, I place the life of Olympias in the seventh century; this is an error, it dating probably from the second half of the fifth (*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1906). It contains long passages of the B text from ch. Ivi.

³ *Ibid.* pp. xxvii–xxx, I showed that Sozomen bears witness to the G text. Reitzenstein appears to hold that he used not the Lausiac history, but sources used also by Palladius. This view, if correct, would afford proof positive of the priority of G.

parts (these are my T, A, and VC); and there are a few fragments. The early versions, however, come to the rescue. The G text is witnessed to throughout the entire work quite unequivocally by the early Latin version (*lat₁*), and in great part by another Latin version (*lat₂*), and by two Syriac versions (*syr₁*, *syr₂*). It is these versions that make it possible to judge the Greek MSS and edit the G text.

In my volume of the text a number of pieces are printed in juxtaposition from B and G (see pp. xix, xxxii, xxxvi–xli, xl, lx, lxii, 202–203); and some samples are given below. Any one who studies these passages, or who compares almost any page of my text (G) with the corresponding place in Migne *P. G.* xxxiv (B), will realize that the two forms of text differ so continuously, though in very varying degrees, that each form would require to be edited by itself as an independent text; the attempt to record the readings of one in a critical apparatus as variants of the other would in most parts of the book be cumbersome beyond endurance, and indeed quite impracticable. Often the B enlargements are merely stylistic and ornamental; often the piece has been wholly rewritten; often substantive passages consisting of several lines have been inserted.

Concerning the broad features of these two texts there is no room for uncertainty. By the control of *lat₁*, and the other versions, supplementing P and the few other incomplete Greek MSS, it is possible to construct a G text with proximate correctness; and, apart from the inevitable minor variants, the B text is known with perfect certitude from the Greek MSS. There are two texts, a shorter and a longer recension, the line of demarcation between them being as clear-cut as that between the short and long recensions of the genuine Ignatian Epistles. It is open to any one, if he see fit, to argue that B is the original form of the work, and G an abridgement. But the entire sweep of B readings and enlargements has to be accepted or rejected as a whole. The principles of scientific textual criticism declare that it is not possible to pick and choose from among them those that seem good in an editor's eyes.

Yet this is what Reitzenstein desires to do.

In illustration we may take the case of Nathanael (ch. xvi),¹ with which he deals in detail, maintaining that T has preserved the authentic text. This is a good test case of the whole theory. In the following table the three texts, G, B, and T, are printed in parallel columns.

¹ The numbers of the chapters are those of my edition.

G

W P lat₁ lat₂ syr₁ syr₂

Γέγονεν ἄλλος τις τῶν παλαιῶν ὄνδρας Ναθαναῆλ. τοῦτον ἐγὼ ἔντα μὲν οὐ κατείληφα· κεκοίμητο γάρ πρὸ τῆς ἡμῆς εἰσόδου πρὸ τῆς ἔτῶν δεκάπεντες· τοῖς δὲ συναστήσασιν αὐτῷ καὶ συνχρονίσασι περιτυχῶν ἐφιλοπραγμάτουν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν. ἔδειξαν δέ μοι αὐτοῦ [καὶ]^{*} τὴν κέλλαν, εἰς ἣν ὥκει μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτέρων αὐτὴν εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης· ἐκεῖνος γάρ τότε αὐτὴν ἔκτισεν διτε σπάνιοι ἥσαν οἱ ἀναχωρηταῖ, δηγοῦντο οὖν τοῦτο περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔξαρτως, διτε τοσαύτην ἔσχεν ὑπομόνην ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ὡς μὴ σαλευθῆναι.

τῆς προβέσσεως, ἐν οἷς ἐμπαχοῦν κατ' ἀρχὰς παρὰ τοῦ πάσιν ἐμπαζούντος καὶ ἀπατῶντος δαίμονος,

ἔδοξεν ἀκηδιῶν εἰς τὴν πρώτην κέλλαν· καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἄλλην ἔκτισε πλησιώτερον κώμης.

* καὶ is not in W P, but is represented in the four versions.

B

(Migne P. G. xxxiv 1041)

Ἐτερός τις τῶν ἀγίων γέγονεν τῶν παλαίων ἄριστος ἀθλητὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὄνδρας Ναθαναῆλ. τοῦτον ἐγὼ ἐν σαρκὶ οὐ κατείληφα· κεκοίμητο γάρ πρὸ τῆς ἡμῆς εἰσόδου ἐν τῷ ὅρει πρὸ τῶν δεκαπέντες· τοῖς δὲ συναστήσασι τῷ ἀγίῳ τούτῳ καὶ συνχρονίσασι περιτυχῶν, φιλοφρόνων ἡρώντων περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς. ἔδειξαν δέ μοι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν κέλλαν, εἰς ἣν ὥκει μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτέρων εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης· ἐκεῖνος γάρ διακάριτος τότε αὐτὴν ἔκτισεν διτε σπάνιοι ἥσαν οἱ ἀναχωρηταῖ, δηγοῦντο δέ μοι τοῦτο περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔξαρτον τῆς ἀσκήσεως, διτε τοσαύτην ἔσχεν ὑπομόνην ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ, ὡς μὴ σελευθῆναι ποτε τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς προθέσεως. ἐν οἷς ἐμπαχθεὶς κατ' ἀρχὰς παρὰ τοῦ πάσιν ἐμπαζούντος καὶ ἀπατῶντος δαίμονος, τοῦ καὶ τοῦτον τῷ ἀκηδίᾳ περιβαλόντος, καὶ τῆς κέλλης αὐτὸν ἔξελασαντος.

ἔδοξεν γάρ ἀκηδιῶν εἰς τὴν πρώτην κέλλαν ἀναχωρησας ἐκεῖνης ἀπελθὼν ἄλλην ἔκτισεν πλησιώτερον κώμης.

T

(Turin MS. graec. 141.) Same text as G except—

αὐτῷ after συγχρονίσασι

*καὶ

ἐγγύτερον

*ἔξαρτον

*ἀπὸ

πάντας

πάντας

* These three readings should probably be adopted in G against W P.

The Devil had recourse to various devices to induce him to leave his cell.

G

'Ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦτο· ἐπιτηρήσας,
παν ἀγίων ἐπίσκεψιν,
ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας
γενομένην ἢ ἐκ πειρασμοῦ
ἐκείνου, παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν.
ἔξωκειλε τῆς προθέσεως.
τῶν γάρ ἐπισκόπων
μετὰ τὸ εὑξασθαι ἔξερχομένων,
οὐ προέπεμψεν αὐτὸν
οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός.

λέγοντιν αὐτῷ οἱ διάκονοι·
Τηρήφανον

B

'Ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦτο· ἐπιτηρήσας
ὅ μασκαλος ἐπηρέασι τοῦτον
ἐσπούδασεν εἰς ἐγκοπὴν
τῆς προθέσεως. ἐπτὰ ἐπισκόπων
ἀγίων ἐπισκεψαμένων
τὸν ἀγίον, ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας,
ἢ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πειρασμοῦ
ἐξ ἐκείνου, παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν
ἔξωκειλε τῆς προθέσεως.
τῶν γάρ ἐπισκόπων μετὰ τὴν
ἐπίσκεψιν εὑξαμένων, καὶ
μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐξιόντων,
οὐ προέπεμψεν αὐτὸν ὃ γενναῖος οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός.

λέγοντιν αὐτῷ οἱ διάκονοι·
Τηρήφανον

T

'Ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦτο· παρατηρήσας
παν ἀγίων ἐπισκεψαμένων
αὐτόν, ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας
ἢ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πειρασμοῦ,
παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν
ἔξωκειλε τῆς προθέσεως.
τῶν γάρ ἐπισκόπων μετὰ τὴν
ἐπίσκεψιν εὑξαμένων, καὶ
μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐξιόντων,
οὐ προέπεμψεν αὐτὸν ὃ γενναῖος οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός.

λέγοντιν αὐτῷ οἱ διάκονοι·
Τηρήφανον

G

πρᾶγμα ποιεῖς, [ἀββᾶ.]^{*}
μὴ προπέμπων τὸν ἐπισκό-
πους. δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ
καὶ τοῖς κυρίοις μον τοῖς
ἐπισκόποις

καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ὅλῳ

ἀπέθανον· ἔχω γάρ κεκρυμ-
μένον σκόπον, καὶ οἶδεν δὲ
θεὸς τὴν καρδίαν μου

διὸ οὐ προπέμπω αὐτούς.

B

πρᾶγμα ἐργάζη, ἀββᾶ,
μὴ προπέμπων τὸν ἐπισκό-
πους. δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ
καὶ τοῖς κυρίοις μον τοῖς
ἐπισκόποις σέβω, καὶ πάντα
τὸν κλῆρον τιμῶ, καὶ πάνταν
ἀνθρώπων ἐγὼ δὲ ἀμαρτωλὸς
περιψήμα πατεῖ δὲ τούτοις
καὶ δῆλο τῷ βίῳ δύον τὸ
ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τῇ προθέσει ἀπέ-
θανον. ἔχω γάρ κεκρυμ-
μένον σκόπον δὲ οἶδεν δὲ
κύριος, δ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ
τῆς ἡμής καρδίας εἰδὼς,
διὰ τοῦ προέπεμψα.

T

πρᾶγμα ἐργάζη
μὴ προπέμπων τὸν ἐπισκό-
πους. λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ
καὶ τοῖς κυρίοις μον τοῖς
ἐπισκόποις σέβω καὶ πάντα
τὸν κλῆρον τιμῶ, καὶ πάνταν
ἀνθρώπων
περιψήμα εἰμι· πάσοι δὲ τούτοις
καὶ δῆλο τῷ κόσμῳ

ἀπέθανον· ἔχω δὲ κεκρυμ-
μένον σκόπον καὶ οἶδεν δὲ
θεὸς τὴν καρδίαν μου

διὸ οὐ προπέμπω κυρίοις μον.

* ἀββᾶ WP syr₂; om lat₁
lat₂ syr₁: probably should be
omitted.

In the opening portion T presents an absolutely pure G text, indeed in two or three points probably a better one than W P. But in the second portion T agrees with B in the principal points of difference from G. Reitzenstein's comment here is that the G text is that of 'the inferior MSS, which abbreviate the story'. Prescinding from the general phenomena of the two texts throughout the work, and concentrating on this passage alone, this idea might be defensible, were the two Greek MSS W P the only witnesses to G; but in this case we have also all four versions, which support W P,¹ and shew that their text is not one that has arisen in a subordinate group of Greek MSS, but is the genuine text of the G form of the book. In nearly all the numerous cases wherein Reitzenstein asserts the superiority of the T reading, the difference lies in a B reading found in T, but not in W P or the versions.

It is evident that Reitzenstein's contention postulates that the text preserved in T is the authentic text, the other two forms being derived from it, G by abbreviation, B by interpolation. It is necessary to examine whether such a textual theory is admissible.

The great outstanding fact is that the principal Greek representatives of G, viz. W and P, and also syr₁, form a group apart, marked by certain corruptions in common that may be called monstrous. The principal of these corruptions are (1) the omission of certain sections by W P syr₁, amounting to about 100 lines in all, and accepted as genuine

¹ Attention has to be called to the fact that for lat₁ and both syr recourse must be had to MSS, the printed editions containing texts revised on B MSS (*Lausiac History II*, lxxvi, lxxxix).

portions of the book by all the critics, Reitzenstein included¹: (2) a reconstruction and change of order in the second part of the work, ch. xl to the end; here again the critics agree that this order is a depravation of that found in the other main tradition of the text, that viz. of the metaphrastic recension B, and of the Latin version lat.₁. Let the lost G MS from which the metaphrast made B, be called β ; and the one from which lat.₁ was made, be called λ . It has been shewn in the Introduction to my edition that β and λ were closely akin, and preserved a purer tradition of G than W P syr₁, being free from the corruptions just noted as common to W P syr₁. Unfortunately no copy, and not even the smallest fragment, of the type of Greek text $\beta\lambda$ has yet been brought to light.

But T quite definitely belongs to the same group as W P syr₁, sharing in the corruptions just signalized. This means that W P T and syr₁ are all alike the progeny of a single vitiated ancestor, γ .

Nor is this all: within the group there is a special affinity between T and syr₁, which sometimes agree together in very striking readings against all the other authorities. The principal case occurs in ch. xl on Ephraim:

W P B lat.₁

κατοικτειρήσας πᾶσαν τὴν ἀγρού·
κίαν διαφθειρομένην προσῆλθε τοὺς
ἀδροῦς ἐν ὑλῃ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Τίνος
ἐνεκεν οὐκ ἐλεάτε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
διαφθειρομένην φύσιν;

T syr₁.

κατοικτειρήσας τὴν ἀνθρώπειαν
διαφθειρομένην φύσιν, προσῆλθε τοὺς
πλουσίοις ἐν ὑλῃ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς·
Τίνος χάριν οὐ μιμεῖσθε τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν
φιλανθρωπίαν;

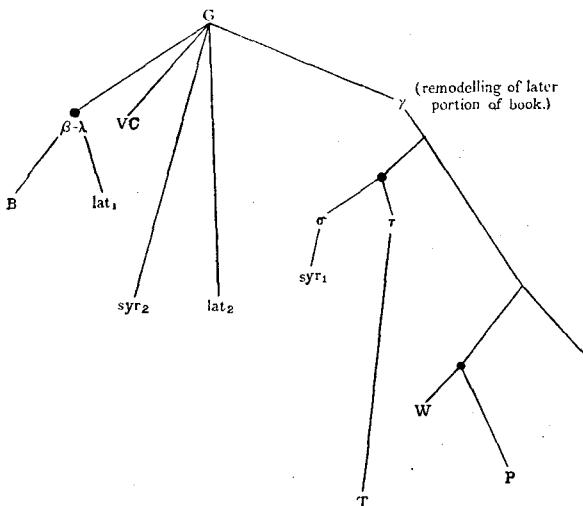
In this place Sozomen decisively supports W P B lat.₁: *κατεμέμφατο τὸν τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντας ὡς οὐ δέον ὑπερορῶντες τὸ δρόφυλον ἀπορίᾳ ἐπιτηδείων φθειρόμενον* (iii 16). Thus the T syr₁ reading is proved to be an error that had crept into a common ancestor, one of the progeny of γ , but of the sixth century, for copies of syr₁ exist dating from that century. (For another case, see Introduction, p. lxii.)

The facts just recited call for a stemma somewhat as follows, as the pedigree of the principal sources for the text. (See next page.)

This stemma makes it clear at a glance that by no possibility can T be the original text from which have been derived G and B. I confidently challenge Reitzenstein to construct any tolerable pedigree embodying the priority of T.

Were the text of T even a homogeneous whole, a middle text from beginning to end, and bearing the same relation throughout to G and

¹ So also Bousset, in a review of Reitzenstein's book, in *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1917.



NOTE.— σ and τ are the lost Greek MSS from which were derived syr_1 and T . It is not pretended that the stemma covers all the textual facts; it covers the greater outstanding facts above recited. In cases of any considerable complexity it is not possible to construct a stemma to cover all the facts. VC are twin MSS preserving an independent G text in certain chapters.

to B, the theory of its being the original text might have had some *prima facie* verisimilitude. But it is not homogeneous. Throughout the greater portion of the book T presents a perfectly pure G text of the type of W and P (as in the first portion of Nathanael, above); in certain other portions (ch. xvii, xviii, lxvi, lxvii, lxviii) it presents what is practically a full B text¹: in these chapters I did not record its readings

¹ This may be illustrated from the opening words of ch. xvii on the two Macarii:

G	B	Same as B except—
W P lat ₁ lat ₂ Syr ₁		
τὰ κατὰ τὸν δύο Μακάριους,	τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀγίους καὶ ἀθνάτους πατέρας Μακάριον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ Μ. τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα, τὸν γενναῖον ἄνδρας καὶ ἀκατηγωνίστου ἀθλητᾶς τοῦ ἐναρέτου βίον ἀθλα πολλὰ ὅντα καὶ μέγαλα, καὶ μικροῦ δὲν δύσπιστα τοῖς ἀπίστοις, ὅκνῳ διηγήσασθαι καὶ γραφῇ παραδόναι, μῆποτε καὶ ψεύστον δύξαν ἀπενέγκωμαι	ἀοιδίμους οπι ἀκαταγωνίστους οπι ἀθλα ὅκνῳ . . . ἀπενέγκωμαι same as G
τὸν δοιδίμους ἄνδρας,		
πολλὰ καὶ μέγαλα		
καὶ δύσπιστα ὅντα, ὅκνῷ καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν,		
μῆποτε καὶ ψεύστον ὑπόληψιν ἀπενέγκωμαι		

in the apparatus ; in other chapters again (viii, xiv, xv, xvi, xix, xxi, xxxvii, lxi, lxii), though the text is fundamentally G, yet B readings and enlargements are found in varying degrees.

My own interpretation of the phenomenon of the varying amount of B elements in T, was that the text of T was fundamentally a G text of the same type as W P, though in its pure state a better one than theirs ; but that it has unfortunately undergone revision in varying degrees on a B MS. This hypothesis of contamination by B is no mere *deus ex machina* ; it has been shown in the Introduction that every one of the principal Greek G texts exhibits signs, greater or less, of such infiltrations of B.

In some places in T the indications of the intrusion of material from B lie on the surface : had Reitzenstein written out in full the passage of T in Nathanael that he accepts as the true text *παρατηρήσας ἐπτὰ ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκεψαμένων αὐτὸν* (Table, p. 25) he would have recognized that the bad grammar proclaims the patchwork (for another case see Introduction, p. xix).

It is of course impossible to consider all, or nearly all, the T readings defended by Reitzenstein ; but a small number of them will be commented on.

(1) Both in *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* and in his recent book Reitzenstein singles out for special treatment the account of Sarapion Sindonita (ch. xxxvii). Sarapion had sold himself as a slave to some actors in order to convert them, and when he had effected their conversion they wished to free him, and desired that he should live with them ; he on his side gave them back the purchase money, which they had originally paid for him, and desired to leave them and go and help others ; they then told him to distribute the money to the poor, and to visit them at least once in each year : *τότε λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Δὸς τὸ χρυσίον τοῖς πτωχοῖς, ἀρραβών γὰρ ήμιν γέγονε σωτηρίας· ἀλλὰ καν δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ ήμᾶς ὥρα* (p. 110, l. 15).

This implies that Sarapion retained the money as they asked, in order to distribute it to the poor. Such is the text not only of W and P, but of a group of Greek G MSS, V C (independent of γ), and of lat₁ and syr₁. But after ὥρα T adds : *ὅ δέ φησιν· ‘Υμεῖς δότε τὸ ὑμέτερον· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀλλότρια χρήματα οὐχιζομαι πάντοις.*

On these words Reitzenstein says that I have so completely mistaken the primitive controversy on ἀκτημοσύνη, 'poverty', that it is necessary to sketch its outline ; this he does in a note of a page and a half (p. 63). The burden is that the primitive idea of ἀκτημοσύνη was absolute poverty, to possess nothing, but that mitigations tended to come in. He concludes : 'He who cuts out the passage found only in T destroys a special feature of the story, which, being opposed to the later Church

theory, could easily have been suppressed but could hardly have been inserted.'

The statement here is not correct, that the piece in question is found only in T ; it is also in B, after *σωτηρίας*. The fact that *syr₁* (the earliest representative of γ) supports WP in the omission shews that the sentence was not in γ ; nor is it in lat₁, the best representative of βλ, the other principal branch of G ; nor in VC, a subsidiary tradition of G independent of both βλ and γ. Thus it would be impossible to have a stronger body of external evidence against the authenticity of the sentence, as any one versed in the methods of textual criticism will see by referring to the stemma (p. 28). Were this the only piece common to T and B alone, Reitzenstein's theory might claim consideration ; but it is only one out of a hundred and more, found not only in this chapter but in various portions of the work. In the great majority of these cases no motive could with any show of reason be alleged for their suppression ; and it would be fantastic to suggest that in all these cases the matter found only in T and B had been cut out in all the other types of text (WP, VC, and the versions) independently of each other. Reitzenstein's exegesis of the passage is thus shewn to be arbitrary and fanciful, the words in dispute being only one in the series of B additions incorporated in T.

(2) There are certain readings of T, really singular, defended by Reitzenstein. Let us test one of them. At the end of note 5, p. 196, he refers to p. 14, l. 17, as a place wherein T alone has preserved the original reading. The passage is near the end of the long introductory piece, and stands thus in my text :

ὑπὲρ δὲ θυρίδα φωτεινὴν μεταδίκωκε ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ὁσίας συντυχίας, ἵνα διὰ τούτων, καθάπερ λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον, δυνηθῆσ σαφῶς ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν σὴν καρδίαν, διὰ τῆς παραθέσεως τὴν ῥᾳθυμίαν ἢ τὴν ἀμέλειαν δυνάμενος τὴν σὴν δοκιμάζειν.

B lat₁ καθάπερ λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον

WP καθάπερ λέγει τὸ γράφον βιβλίον

T καθάπερ λέγει τὸ γραφικὸν λόγιον.

This last is the reading that Reitzenstein believes to be original. I wonder did he consider the question, What 'Scriptural text' (for γραφικὸν λόγιον can mean nothing else) could be referred to ? Further, did he consider by what process λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον could have originated out of λέγει τὸ γραφικὸν λόγιον ? It is easy to see how the λέγει τὸ γράφον of WP could have come from λεπτόγραφον, and then how τὸ γραφικὸν λόγιον was a further 'correction', an attempt to patch up the meaningless and impossible reading of WP, the congeners of

T, which the scribe of T (or rather of its ancestor τ) found in his MS.
But the reverse process—

T : WP : β lat₁

seems plainly impossible.

It will not be questioned that, in itself, τ ò γραφικὸν λόγιον is a simpler and more obvious idea than λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον; and so Reitzenstein seems to adopt, irrespective of all the considerations that would weigh with the textual critic, just the reading that appears to him to give the best meaning: though in this case I do not think it really does so.

When printing my edition I put λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον between †† as probably corrupt, and suggested λεπτογράφων βιβλίων. M. Lucot has adopted this; but I now see that no correction is needed. Mr Lowther Clarke translates the text as follows: ‘Go near a bright window and seek encounters with holy men and women, in order that by their help you may be able to see clearly also your own heart as it were a closely-written book, being able by comparison to discern your own slackness or neglect’: as at a window one is able to read a closely-written book, so will you be able to read your own heart in the light of the examples and sayings of holy men contained in this book.¹ The idea is artificial and the wording rhetorical, but not more so than much else in the book: in this Prologue and in other places the author shews himself something of a rhetorician. I conclude that the reading of T cannot be adopted.

(3) Let us take another example of such subjective critical methods. At p. 16, l. 5 occur the words δὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔξουσίαν. Χριστοῦ is the reading of the three G MSS, WP and T alike, and of B.² It is also attested by both Latin versions. The two Syriac versions, however, have ‘God’; and, apparently, just because he likes it better, Reitzenstein adopts this reading, writing τοῦ Θεοῦ in place of τοῦ Χριστοῦ (pp. 156, 157). Here, I cannot but think, the ‘philologist’ betrays himself. It may safely be said that no professional textual critic would venture to alter the text in face of the evidence. But philologists, especially when dealing with classical works, commonly have to edit texts from very scant materials, often from a single MS. In such cases conjectural emendation has to play a large part, and the editor’s critical acumen is shewn in the choice of the best out of a number of proposed emendations. Such subjective methods have small place in ecclesiastical texts like the *Lausiac History*, for the

¹ Similarly the German translator. I do not think Mr Lowther Clarke’s ‘Go near a bright window’ can be allowed to pass; rather, ‘Better than a bright window’.

² Certain B MSS have variant *Kupiov*, but the support of lat₁ is proof that Χριστοῦ was certainly the correct reading of β and B.

editing of which there exist textual sources so copious as to be even embarrassing.

(4) In ch. xviii, on Macarius of Alexandria, is a series of four short passages found in the Greek offspring of γ , viz. WPT, also in lat₂ (and the closely allied Coptic, where extant), but absent from B, lat₁, syr₁ (and syr₂, where extant). These passages I printed, not in the text, but underneath it as doubtful. Among them is the well-known conversation between Macarius and the hyena whose cub he had cured of blindness. Reitzenstein criticizes me for excluding this passage, which he regards as manifestly genuine.

My reasons were :

(1) In matter of structure and contents the union $\beta\lambda$, represented by B and lat₁, is, as has already been seen, the highest authority.

(2) The Syriac version syr₁ being the earliest by five centuries of the extant offspring of γ , its omission of these pieces demonstrates that they did not stand in γ , but crept into its Greek representatives at some later date.

(3) Thus the passages do not belong either to $\beta\lambda$ or to γ , the two principal branches of G ; nor do they belong to syr₂.

(4) They probably had their origin in the textual type represented by lat₂ and Coptic.¹ This was a type very inferior to the other two, and inferior also to syr₂.

The phenomena seemed to be analogous to those of Hort's 'Western non-interpolations'. I could go on interminably, but I shall confine myself to one more instance.

(5) Reitzenstein says that the passage on p. 50, ll. 12-17, shews well the worth of T. I print it, not as in my text, but as in T :

ἄφθι αὐτῷ κόρη τις, ὡς διηγήσατο, καθαρὰν ὀθόνην φοροῦσα καὶ κατέχουσα βαυκάλιον ὕδατος στάζον· ἦρεν ἔλεγεν ἀποθεν αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἀπὸ σταδίου. καὶ ἐπὶ ήμέρας τρεῖς ὅδενσε βλέπων μὲν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ βουκαλίου ὡς ἐστῶσαν, καταλαβεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν μὴ δυνάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ιερέων καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστι οὐδεὶς τῇ δὲ ἐλπίδι τοῦ πιεῖν ὑπομείνας ηὔτονε.

The only substantive difference from my text is the presence of the words *καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστι οὐδεὶς*, found in T and B. The sentence has been a crux for the translators, ancient and modern alike. Reitzenstein says (p. 176, note) that evidently ('offenbar') the words *ὡς ἐπὶ . . . οὐδεῖς* have got out of their place and ought to come between *ἐστῶσαν* and *καταλαβεῖν*, thus restoring an intelligible meaning to the passage.

¹ The Coptic version is extant only in a few fragments. Its principal value is that it demonstrates, by its close relationship with lat₂, that this latter is no mere Latin depravation of one of the other Greek texts, but represents a real Greek type of text independent of $\beta\lambda$ and γ alike.

This reconstruction depends on two things, (1) the authenticity of the words *καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν*, and (2) the displacement of the clause of which they form part. It does not seem to present any difficulty to Reitzenstein that the clause (whether with or without the words *καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν*) stands in its present place in all the Greek witnesses to the text, WP and T and B alike, and quite definitely in both Latin versions (the Syriac omit or alter the passage). Thus the hypothetical transposition would have to be placed at a point in the textual history prior to the formation of any one of the extant types of the text—prior to the point G in the stemma on p. 29.

As to the words *καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν*, they are found only in T and B. Reitzenstein's explanation is that having got out of their proper place they were left out as unintelligible by the scribe of P (he should have said, the scribe of the archetype of P and W). But such a scribe would surely not have allowed the still more unintelligible *ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ιερέων* to remain. Here once again the words of TB defended by Reitzenstein have no trace in either of the Latin or either of the Syriac versions. They are demonstrably no more than one of the series of B glosses taken over by the scribe of T. He says that I rejected the words as a gloss without considering whether they have any meaning. I wonder did he consider the meaning of his own reconstruction—whether girls robed in white linen could have been seen in the Christian Mysteries? they could be seen in Catholic processions in modern times, but hardly in the Liturgy of the fourth century.

I still hold that I was well advised in regarding the words *ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ιερέων* as of the nature of Hort's 'primitive errors', 'one affecting the texts of all existing documents, and thus incapable of being rectified without the aid of conjecture', and that the proper thing to do was to leave them as such between ††.¹

What has been said will, I hope, have made it clear that my refusal to take T as the most authentic source for the text was motived by the deterioration it had undergone through infiltrations of the metaphrastic rewriting of the book which is found in B; not, as Reitzenstein suggests, by its having preserved 'the popular orthography of late Greek'. I do not know how he can have ascertained this feature of T. No eye but my own has examined this MS in

¹ In the apparatus the conjecture was offered that 'sicut somnians' of lat₂ suggests
ωσεπιτζεονειρων

as the possible source of

ωσεπιτωνιερεων

Lucot and Lowther Clarke adopt the suggestion; the German translator omits the clause, as did the Syrians; lat₁ boldly understands it of a sort of 'mirage'—'quod in curvatura celi videri ambulantibus solet'—but what the Greek could be does not appear.

modern times, and none ever will, for it perished in the fire of 1903. So Reitzenstein can have no information concerning it, beyond that which I give in my volume. Nothing is there said of late Greek orthography, but examples are given of such readings as ἐμαρτυρίσαντο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῆς ἀστηρίσαντο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀκινήτοις ἢ ἔσχον; or καὶ ἀστηρίσαντο τὰ βίαια. I do not conceive that these and such as these are instances of popular late Greek orthography. However, when the editor arises who thinks T ought to be the basis of the text, I shall be happy to place my notes at his disposal. I shall be surprised if he does not soon come to the conclusion that the project must be abandoned.

I do not think that Reitzenstein can have read with any care the 'Introduction on the Sources of the Text'. Had he done so, I believe his technical method in dealing with the textual problems would have been different. And yet in the Preface I had given the warning that 'no one will be in a position to pass judgement on the text here offered, who has not mastered the Introduction as a whole' (p. iv).

There are places in which T alone of the Greek MSS has preserved the true reading: this is possible under the stemma in cases where the others have all gone wrong in different ways. An instance occurs on p. 109, ll. 9, 10, where T has φύσις, WP προαιρέσις, VC πρόθεσις, B ἔξις, and syr₁ 'asceticism'; lat₁ supports T, 'natura': and so I adopted φύσις in my text. In 1906 Reitzenstein pronounced it 'wholly unintelligible' ('mir vollständig unverständlich'—*Hell. Wundererzählungen* p. 65, note), and adopted ἔξις; but he now recognizes φύσις as the true reading (p. 62; I accept his correction that καὶ should be omitted in l. 9). Similarly I do not doubt that there are other singular readings of T that preserve the true text; the trouble is to be sure of them when they are not attested by a version.

To conclude: the whole series of definite B enlargements found in T is to be rejected in its entirety. But there are also a number of what may be called merely variant readings attested by T and B, and very probably many of these are genuine, especially in the portions of the book wherein T presents an unalloyed G text. In the Introduction (p. xcii) I explained the reasons which made me chary in accepting such TB readings: owing to the extensive contamination of T by B, though many of these TB variants must be right, each one is individually suspect.

My most serious critics at the time the text appeared, Professors Turner and Max Bonnet and Dr Preuschen,¹ were agreed that I relied too much on the Paris MS (P). I admit that this is a valid criticism, and had

¹ In *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1905; *Revue des Études anciennes*, 1904; *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1905.

I discovered the Wake MS (W) at an earlier stage I would have followed P much less confidently. The fact however remains that P is still the 'principal MS', being the only Greek MS that contains an unadulterated G text of the whole book.

Prof. Turner urged in particular that the series of β lat₁ readings ought to have been incorporated. Should a Greek MS of the $\beta\lambda$ type ever be forthcoming its claims would be strong to be made the basis of the text; but so far not even the smallest Greek fragment of this type of text is known to exist. The reasons for my decision not to attempt to incorporate the β lat₁ readings are set forth on p. lxxxiv of the Introduction, and need not be repeated: they seem to me still to be valid.

Were I to undertake now to re-edit the text, I would give less weight to P, and greater weight to the variants (strictly so called) of T, certainly when supported by any other witness to the text. The text would, no doubt, be improved in many places; but it would not be substantially altered: only the production of a Greek MS of type $\beta\lambda$ could call for substantial alterations.

I add a couple of notes on fresh textual material brought to light since 1904.

(1) A Greek MS in America had escaped my notice. It was presented to the Library Company of Philadelphia a century ago, and is now 'Ridgway, 1141 (Cent. xiv)'. It is fully described in *Proceedings of American Oriental Society*, May, 1886. I have obtained photographs of some pages, and they shew that the MS belongs to the great B class, and is therefore of small value for textual purposes.

(2) The fourth of the additional 'Homilies of Macarius', printed by Mr. G. L. Marriott from Bodleian Cod. Baroc. 213,¹ is made up of the long chapter xlvi of *Hist. Laus.* 'Chronius and Paphnutius'. That the piece is excerpted from *Hist. Laus.* is not in question (*J. T. S.* Oct. 1916 p. 68). It is a G text.

At the end, as if spoken by Paphnutius, occurs the difficult piece in ch. lviii p. 152, 10-15 (cf. Introduction, p. lxii), also in a G text. It is a welcome addition to the materials for establishing the text of one of the most puzzling passages in the book.

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¹ *Macarii Anecdota*, Harvard Theological Studies V (1918).