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Edited by Dom Cuthbert Butler

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The Lausiac History of Palladius

The church historian and Benedictine monk Cuthbert Butler (1858–1934) was known for his expertise on the monastic life and wrote several books on the subject, including *Benedictine Monachism* (1919) and *Western Mysticism* (1922). Previously he had produced this two-volume edition of Palladius of Galatia's *Lausiac History*. Written in the early fifth century, it records the lives of the Egyptian 'Desert Fathers' and is an important source for early monasticism. Volume 2 (1904) contains Butler's edition of the Greek text, supported by an extensive critical apparatus. Butler's substantial introduction first surveys the various Greek manuscripts and earlier editions of the text, before outlining the method he adopted in editing the work. His text is supported by detailed critical and historical notes. The volume also includes a reassessment of the chronology of Palladius' life and helpful supporting material in the form of a map and chronological table.

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THE LAUSIAC HISTORY
OF PALLADIUS. II

THE GREEK TEXT EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES

BY

DOM CUTHBERT BUTLER M.A.

BENEDICTINE MONK OF THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION
AND OF DOWNSIDE ABBEY

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IN · MEMORIAM
FORBES · ROBINSON
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PREFACE.

DR EHRHARD, in the theological section which he contributed to the second edition of Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, declared in 1897 that in the domain of Greek Hagio-graphy "the most pressing need is a critical edition of the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius." After pointing out that the task would be a laborious one, he continued: "The labour, however, bestowed upon it would be amply repaid not only by the results for Byzantine Monasteriology, but also from the point of view of the history of civilisation, as we have here to do with a popular book of far reaching influence" (*op. cit.* p. 188). This estimate by so eminent a patrologist and hellenist is at once a justification for the appearance of this edition of the Lausiatic History, and an explanation of the fact that so much longer a time than I had anticipated has elapsed since the publication of the volume of Prolegomena which formed the First Part of this Study (*Texts and Studies*, VI 1, 1898). The value of the work as one of the chief authorities for the beginnings of the Christian Monastic movement, itself one of the most important episodes in Christian history, is now recognised by all critics, as may be seen in § 1 of the ensuing Introduction. The partially unforeseen difficulties of the undertaking are the result of the popularity which the book at once obtained. So popular was it that no respect whatever was felt for its text: it was re-written, re-arranged, enlarged, shortened, paraphrased, combined with kindred works, without

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any scruple. Thus every known process of corruption—revision, interpolation, redaction, intermixture of texts—has had free play among the MSS. both of the Greek text and of the versions. It will be seen as we proceed that all printed copies of the Greek present a metaphrastic re-writing of the text, while those in current use are in addition interpolated with great masses of foreign matter; similarly all printed copies of the versions present them in advanced stages of deterioration. I do not think it is an illusion to suppose that the editor's task has been of quite extraordinary difficulty. In such circumstances all pretence to finality is excluded: what I do believe, however, is that now, for the first time, the Lausiac History is printed in a form that may justly claim to represent substantially what Palladius wrote. Thus for historical purposes the present text may be used with security, and for these purposes I do not think it will ever require substantial revision. For mere textual criticism there may yet be room; but that would depend on the discovery of new types of MSS. in the East, for I believe I have practically exhausted the material available in Western Libraries. The claims and limitations of the edition are set forth in §10 of the Introduction. It may be well to state that no one will be in a position to pass judgment on the text here offered, who has not mastered the Introduction as a whole.

I venture to direct attention to the body of Notes. One of the objects kept in view in writing them has been to control Palladius' statements wherever they come in contact with external history, that so it may be possible to form a judgment of his character as a historian. I believe that he emerges from the trial with an enhanced reputation.

My best thanks are again due to the editor of this Series; his insight and experience in textual work have helped me materially in arriving at the practical conclusions, formulated on pp. lxxxiv and xcii, as to the proper mode of procedure in the selection of

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readings: also to Mr Edmund Bishop, for many criticisms and suggestions in Introduction, Notes, and Appendices: and to Dom Rylance for verifying a large number of my collations of Italian MSS., and for drawing the map of Monastic Egypt. Other obligations are acknowledged as they occur. But it would not be right to pass by without mention and thanks my debt to the Managers of the Hort Fund, who by their two grants made it possible for me to visit the Italian libraries: how much this edition of the Lausiac History owes to their assistance may be estimated by considering what it would have been without the Turin and Venice Greek MSS., the Roman and Cassinese Latin MSS., and the Vatican Syriac MS.

A note from the Librarian at Turin leaves little hope that the Palladius MS. is among those saved from the recent fire. There is therefore a double cause of satisfaction that its readings in the Lausiac History have been preserved:—both for their own intrinsic value, and because without them the determination of the relations between the textual sources would have been well nigh impossible.

CUTHBERT BUTLER.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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INTRODUCTION ON THE SOURCES OF THE TEXT.

Throughout this volume *Introd.* signifies the present Introduction, *Prolog.* the previous volume of Prolegomena (*Texts and Studies* vi. 1).

§ 1. PRESENT OPINION OF CRITICS AS TO EARLY EGYPTIAN MONACHISM.

Within half a year of each other three works appeared dealing with the origins of Christian monachism in Egypt and the literary and historical criticism of the chief sources for that history:—*Palladius und Rufinus* by Dr Preuschen (Giessen, 1897), *Le Cénobitisme Pakhomien* by Abbé Ladeuze (Louvain, 1898), and the present writer's *Lausiatic History of Palladius* (Cambridge, 1898). Though dealing with different aspects of the subject matter, the three writers had to a great extent to investigate the same problems, and on a large number of the more important points they independently arrived at substantially identical results. The three books were reviewed by scholars of competence and even of eminence, so that it is possible from the reviews to gauge the present attitude of expert opinion in regard to many questions raised by the early history of Egyptian monachism, a subject of much debate during the past thirty years. It will be in place here to put on record the verdict of the critics on the more fundamental of these questions.

(1) The first point that stands out with almost startling clearness is the absolute abandonment on all hands of the sceptical

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attitude in regard to the traditional account and to the documents, which gained currency through Weingarten's articles a quarter of a century ago¹. Nothing can bring out the change so strikingly as a comparison of Weingarten's article *Mönchtum* in the second edition of Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, x (1882), with Grützmacher's article on the same subject in the third edition, XIII (1903); there is hardly anything in common between them. Preuschen in a Programme published after his *Palladius u. Rufinus* does not hesitate to say: "All the assertions which Weingarten put forward and defended, in a presentation full of suggestiveness and life, have been attacked and abandoned as exaggerated or unfounded²." Similarly Lejay: "Of the scepticism of Weingarten and his disciples nothing remains³"; and Grützmacher: "Weingarten's criticism went essentially wrong" over the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Historia Monachorum*⁴; and again: "The time is past when anyone regards, like Weingarten, the sources of early monastic history as fantastic romances devoid of historical value⁵." And this, so far as my knowledge goes, is universally the tone of the critics.

(2) Of all Weingarten's speculations those concerning St Anthony are the best known, and they were popularised in an accentuated form in England. But in his review of my book Preuschen implied that the section wherein I argued the question was superfluous, for in Germany "there is no longer any doubt concerning the historical character of Anthony's personality⁶." In regard to the *Vita Antonii*, while avowing my own deficiency in the special knowledge requisite for a pronouncement as to the vexed question of authorship, I stated that "the tendency seems to be in the direction of connecting the *Vita* with St Athanasius" (*Prolog.* 226). Since these words were written the following scholars have unreservedly declared for the Athanasian author-

¹ His views were sufficiently indicated in *Prolog.* (i.e. Texts and Studies, vi. 1), pp. 3, 194—6, 215, 216.

² *Mönchtum und Sarapiskult*, 4 (Darmstadt, 1899; reprinted, Giessen, 1903).

³ *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* (1899), i. 150.

⁴ *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1898), 107. (The *Historia Monachorum* is a book of the same character as the *Historia Lausiaca* described in *Prolog.* § 3.)

⁵ *Theologische Rundschau* (1899), 99.

⁶ *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1899), 123.

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ship: Preuschen¹, Stülcken², Bardenhewer³, Holl⁴, Völter⁵, Leipoldt⁶, and Grützmacher, who in his article in the *Realencyklopädie* says that “the *Vita* without any doubt goes back to Athanasius”; and adds: “As to the historical value of the source there can be no doubt, as Athanasius stood in close relationship with Anthony” (xiii., p. 218).

It will be instructive to summarise the opinions of Holl and Völter. The former says that he is inclined to give more credence to the *Vita Antonii* than it usually receives; “there is on all hands a reaction from Weingarten’s doubt as to the genuineness of the work, but the tone in which he applied his criticism still remains. And yet it would be impossible more completely to mistake the spirit and character of the *Vita*, than by seeing in it, as Weingarten did, a kind of Christian romance”: the writer, in common with his contemporaries, believed in the conflicts with demons which he relates: certainly it is not to be supposed that Athanasius reproduced the speeches from short-hand reports: no doubt his intention was to set forth an ideal; this ideal, however, he did not invent, but derived it from the reality (*loc. cit.*). Völter, a member of the Dutch critical school, pronounces the *Vita* to be partly history, partly legend, and partly idealisation; but even the legendary and idealised portions contain a kernel of good history, and “the general picture which the *Vita* gives of its hero makes the impression of being essentially true to nature and true to history” (*loc. cit.*).

(3) The *Hist. Laus.*, the *Hist. Mon.*, the *Vita Pachomii* and the other sources of the history were all alike discredited by Weingarten and his followers as mere romance and fairy-tale. A protest was made by a few scholars, and notably by Zöckler, who, all through the period in which extreme scepticism was dominant, steadily maintained that substantial historicity of the chief documents which the critics now unanimously recognise.

¹ *Mönchtum u. Sarapiskult*, 4.

² *Athanasiana*, Texte u. Untersuchungen N.F., iv. 4 (1899), 79. (The purpose of the first half is to determine the genuine works of Athanasius.)

³ *Patrologie*, ed. 2 (1901), 225. ⁴ *Enthusiasmus u. Bussgewalt* (1898), 139, 140.

⁵ *Ursprung des Mönchtums* (1900), 6—9.

⁶ *Schenute von Atripe*, Texte u. Untersuchungen N.F., x. 1 (1903), 86.

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It is needless to multiply quotations; only one sentence shall be cited from Dr Carl Schmidt's review of Preuschen's book and mine, by far the most important of all the critiques, and itself a notable contribution to the study of Egyptian monastic literature. He says: "The high historical value of both sources (*Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.*) is proved beyond all doubt¹." What was said in §§ 15 and 16 of *Prolog.* (especially pp. 188—196) on the sense in which this cycle of literature may be taken as historical, and on the presence in it of so conspicuous a miraculous element, often grotesque and "merely magical," sufficed to make my position clear to my foreign critics of whatever school of thought, though I was not equally successful with some critics in England. So I will here only say further that Völter's estimate of the author of the *Vita Antonii* is, in my judgment, equally applicable to Palladius and his compeers: "He intended nothing else than to record the truth. But he accepted whatever he heard or came across, and related it without doubting and without examination, and the more wonderful it was the better was he pleased" (*loc. cit.*). Mr Burkitt's estimate of the Lausiaca History neatly characterises all this literature: "In Palladius we are reading neither romance nor scientific history.... We seem to have before us the narrative of a contemporary who saw much and heard more, and whose testimony, if not always credible, is at least honest and useful²." Finally Zöckler closes his review of Preuschen's book by saying that "notwithstanding the superabundance of miraculous stories," the *Hist. Laus.* "is of the highest interest as a rich repertory of authentic sketches³."

Naturally all the documents relating to early Egyptian monachism do not stand on the same level of historical value: on the relatively highest level I would place the Lausiaca History, the Greek *Vita Pachomii*, Cassian, and Schenoudi's writings; on a somewhat lower level, the *Vita Antonii*, the *Historia Monachorum*, the other Pachomian documents, the *Apophthegmata*, Schenoudi's Life, and the "subsidiary sources" (8—12) enumerated in *Prolog.* 197; and on a much lower level—indeed in a different category—

¹ *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1899), No. 1., 27.

² *Cambridge Review* (1898—9), 143.

³ *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (1898), 107.

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the other *Vitae*, including those by St Jerome: several of this last group are not historical in any sense at all.

In view of the disrepute in which this whole cycle of literature stood ten years ago and even later, it has seemed desirable thus to bring together a body of testimony as to the change that has come over critical opinion. We may now pass to more technical points of mere textual criticism.

(4) Preuschen, Ladeuze and myself all combated the theory that the Greek documents describing Egyptian monachism are translations from Coptic. This theory is now, to the best of my knowledge, universally and absolutely rejected, the critics one and all regarding the Greek (or in one or two cases perhaps the Latin) as the original. (The Schenoudi literature is Coptic.)

(5) With almost equal unanimity is the theory abandoned that Rufinus, Palladius and Sozomen derived their materials independently from a lost Greek common source: Grützmacher seems to have some hesitation as to whether such a document may not have stood behind the Greek and Latin forms of the *Hist. Mon.*; but in regard to the *Hist. Laus.* he shares the common opinion that Palladius used no Greek source in compiling his history¹.

(6) As a consequence it is accepted that Sozomen's abridgements are based on the *Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.* (see *Prolog.* § 8 and App. II),—a point of first importance for the textual critic. Preuschen indeed holds that Sozomen used not the works themselves, but a collection of excerpts: this, however, is a corollary of the view that the Latin, not the Greek, is the original of the *Hist. Mon.*,—a view shared by Zöckler², but opposed by the present writer with arguments accepted as convincing by the Bollandist reviewer, Burkitt, Chabot, Grützmacher, Lejay, Richardson, and by Carl Schmidt, who discusses the point with great care³.

(7) Finally, Dr Preuschen and I, by means of an extended examination of the MSS. and versions, arrived independently at

¹ See Appendix VI.

² *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (1899), 306.

³ *Analecta Bollandiana* (1898), 458; Chabot, *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* (1899), i. 491; Richardson, *American Journal of Theology* (1900), Jan.; for the others see *loc. cit.*

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the conclusion that the currently received Lausiatic History, the Long Recension (Migne and Hervet, Bk. VIII of Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum*) is an interpolated redaction, in which some later editor has fused together the *Hist. Mon.* and the true *Hist. Laus.*, and that the genuine work is represented substantially by the Short Recension (Meursius and the Latin *Paradisus Heraclidis*). This conclusion has been accepted on all hands. Zöckler, indeed, expresses some doubt whether Palladius himself may not have made the fusion of the two books; but I have confidence that the last scruples will be removed when the curiously composite and mixed character of the Greek text of the *Hist. Laus.* as it stands in the Long Recension, has been exposed.

I may add that no doubt has been expressed as to Palladius of Helenopolis being the author of the Lausiatic History.

The way has thus been made clear for a critical edition of the Greek text, and to this task I now address myself.

§ 2. THE GREEK MSS. OF THE LAUSIATIC HISTORY.

The following is a list of the Greek MSS. of the Lausiatic History with which I am acquainted.

The order is determined by textual, not by chronological, considerations. The dates assigned (in Roman figures) are commonly those of the Catalogues, but in the case of many of the Vatican MSS. I consulted Dr Mercati. Detailed descriptions of several are supplied by Dr Preuschen (*Palladius u. Rufinus*, 137—151).

1. **Vatican**, *Palatine* 41, x (ff. 8—222) [Preuschen μ].
(The MS. printed by Meursius, Leyden, 1616.)
2. **Venice**, *Bessarion* 338, x (ff. 217—270).
3. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 464, XVI (ff. 95—176) [Pr. P⁴].
4. **Oxford**, Christ Church, *Wake* 70, A.D. 1107 (ff. 1—111).
5. **Paris**, *Coislin* 83, x (ff. 148—266) [Pr. C¹].
- 5^b. **British Museum**, *Arundel* 546, xv (ff. 120—214).
(5^b is closely akin to 5, and is probably a transcript of it.)
6. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 853, XI (ff. 56—149) [Pr. P¹].
7. **Munich**, *graec.* 498, x (ff. 189—210) [Pr. M].
(Extracts from *Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.*: of *Hist. Laus.* it contains cc. 35 (imperf.), 26, 32—34, 4, 47, 46, 54, 61, 63 (imperf.)¹. This MS.

¹ The numbers of the chapters here, and always, are those of the present edition.

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was formerly at Augsburg, and under the title *Cod. Augustanus Rosweyd (Vitae Patrum)*, in the notes to the various Latin forms of the *Hist. Laus.*, cites a number of its readings from a copy apparently made for him and now at Brussels (cod. graec. 34). In this transcript c. 63 is complete and is followed by c. 65, which shows that some leaves of the Munich ms. have since been lost.)

8. **Venice**, *Nanianus* 92, XI | XII (ff. 1—71).
 9. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1596, XI (ff. 63—162) [Pr. P⁶].
(cc. 1—22 (med.) are lost.)
 10. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1597, XIII (ff. 1—95) [Pr. P⁷].
 11. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 594, XIII (ff. 357—476) [Pr. P⁸].
(Breaks off at c. 35, med.)
 12. **Leyden**, *Vossianus in fol.* 46, x (ff. 1—78) [Pr. L].
 13. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1600, XI (ff. 19—141) [Pr. P³].
 14. **Vienna**, *hist. graec.* 84, XI (entire codex) [Pr. V¹].
 15. **Vienna**, *hist. graec.* 9, XIV (ff. 163—230) [Pr. V²].
 16. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1532, XII (ff. 173—411) [Pr. P⁹].
 17. **British Museum**, *Arundel* 519, A.D. 1568 (entire codex).
 18. **Oxford**, Bodleian, *Cromwell* 18, XII | XIII (ff. 325—410).
(Broken up into sections, see Bernard's *Catalogus Codicum Angliae* i. i. 39, 40.)
 19. **Vatican**, *graec.* 2091, XII | XIII (entire codex).
 20. **Venice**, *Nanianus* 42, x (ff. 102—192).
 21. **Venice**, *Bessarion* 345, xv (ff. 89—159).
 22. **Vatican**, *graec.* 863, A.D. 1301 (ff. 1—209).
- Nos. 23—28 are only excerpts and fragments :
23. **Oxford**, Bodleian, *Baroc.* 240, XII (ff. 153, 154).
(c. 32, in a vol. of *Vitae* for May.)
 24. **Vatican**, *Palatine* 258 (passim).
(Several extracts in a large collection of spiritual precepts.)
 25. **Vatican**, *graec.* 375 (f. 169).
(The Dedicatory Epistle Μακαρίτω, in a collection of Letters.)
 26. **British Museum**, *Burney* 50, XIV (passim).
(Several extracts in a large collection of *Apophthegmata*.)
 27. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 635, XIV (ff. 232—237).
(Extract from c. 17, and cc. 25, 26, 27, 70.)
 28. **St Petersburg**, St Catharine
(c. 32; printed by Pitra, *Anal. Sacra*, v. 112.)
-
29. **Oxford**, Christ Church, *Wake* 67, x (ff. 150, 193—251). W
(To be described fully in § 9.)
 - 29^b. Same ms. (ff. 61—70). W^o
(cc. 22, 20, 21.)
 30. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1628, XIV (ff. 1—144) [Pr. P²]. P
 31. **Turin**, Università, *graec.* C. iv. 8 (*al.* 141), xvi (ff. 53—126). T
 - 31^b. Codex Venetus, used by Rosweyd, now lost (see § 9)

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32. **Oxford**, Bodleian, *Laud. graec.* 84, XI | XII (ff. 223—227). **O**
(cc. 32, half 33, 22.)
33. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 919, XIV (ff. 29—46).
(cc. 17, 18, 32, 33, 34, 37, and some chapters of *Hist. Mon.*)
34. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 881, X (ff. 222—224).
(c. 32, in collection of *Vitae* and *Acta.*)
35. **British Museum**, *Addit.* 14066, XII (ff. 164, 165).
(Fragment out of c. 17.)
36. Fragment. inter Opera S. Nili (Migne, *P. G.* LXXIX. 1312).
(c. 23.)
- 36^b. **Vatican**, *Ottoboni* 436, XV (f. 186).
(c. 23.)
-
37. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1626, XII (entire codex) [Pr. P¹⁰].
38. **Paris**, *Coislin* 295, XIV (ff. 1—218) [Pr. C⁴]. **A**
39. **Vatican**, *graec.* 864, XV (ff. 1—191).
40. **Vatican**, *graec.* 2092, X | XI (ff. 21—111).
41. **Grotta Ferrata**, B. β. 1, X (entire codex).
(Written by St Nilus, founder of the monastery; see Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses*, pp. 100 and 137.)
42. **Vatican**, *Ottoboni* 377, XV | XVI (entire codex).
43. **Oxford**, Christ Church, *Wake* 78, XVII (ff. 572—688).
(Considerable lacunae.)
44. **Vatican**, *graec.* 2081, XI (ff. 96—134).
(cc. 1—31.)
- 44^b. **Paris**, *Coislin* 370, X (ff. 199—245).
(Proem., Ep., cc. 1, 2, 4, 7—12, 14, 16, 17, 37.)
- 44^c. **British Museum**, *Addit.* 10073, XV (ff. 253—258).
(c. 22.)
45. **Venice**, *Bessarion* 346, XI (ff. 127—173). **V**
46. **Paris**, *Coislin* 282, XI (ff. 100—137) [Pr. C²]. **C**
47. **Paris**, *fonds grec* 1627, XIII (entire codex) [Pr. P⁵].
[The ms. referred to on p. 8 as 50 is 36^b in the List.]

The following MSS. are known to me only from the entries in the Catalogues :

- Madrid**, Escorial φ—III—4 (Miller).
Berlin, Royal Lib. 300, 322 (De Boor).
Palermo, Nat. Lib. I. D. 4 }
Parma, fondo de-Rossi 4 } (Martini).
Rome, Vallicellana 68 }
Moscow, H. Synod 340, 341 (Wladimir).
Athens, Nat. Lib. 228, 281 (Sakkelion).
Andros, Hagia 59 (Lambros).
Patmos, 176 (Sakkelion).

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Athos, 333, 574, 578, 1088, 1163, 1321, 1571, 2031, 2060, 2095, 2096, 2280, 2560, 2589, 3172, 3714, 3768, 4294, 4328, 4808, 5627, 5995: and numerous extracts (Lambros).

Jerusalem, H. Sepulchre 112; S. Sabas 368, 369; H. Cross 77 (Papadopulos-Kerameus).

Sinai, 431, 432, 433, 435 (Gardthausen).

Bernard in the *Catal. Codicum Angliae* (II. p. 390) mentions among the Moore mss. one "De Vita sanctorum Patrum et Paradisus de Eremitis &c. Ad Lausum Praepositum Palatii"; this is one of the mss. that did not come to Cambridge, and I have been unable to trace it: it is impossible to say whether this was a Greek or a Latin ms., but more probably it was Latin.

The Bollandists in their Catalogues of Greek hagiographical mss. have not included copies of the *Hist. Laus.*, though in the corresponding Latin Catalogues they did include copies of the Latin versions and of *Hist. Mon.* No doubt other extracts and fragments exist in the libraries in which I have worked; in the Vatican I had not time to examine all the mss. in the list I made from the unprinted Catalogue. In no other library at Rome, nor at Naples, Florence or Milan, did I find any Greek mss. of the *Hist. Laus.*

Out of the fifty-three mss. and fragments in the numbered List, I have personally inspected and collated in test passages all except five. Of these five, the fragments 28 and 36 are in print: 31^b I have been unable to trace, but the readings given from it by Rosweyd show it to have been closely akin to 31: concerning 14 and 15 abundant information is available for their identification as members of the same sub-group as 16, 17, 18 (see Note 11). Information kindly supplied to me by the Librarian at the Escorial shows that the Escorial ms. (saec. XIV) is a member of the great class hereafter called B. The Berlin mss. and the three Italian mss. mentioned by Martini contain mere fragments: doubtless as the cataloguing of the Italian libraries progresses other mss. will be revealed. But at the present time I may claim to have seen every Greek ms. of the Lausiatic History in Western Europe, the existence of which is known to me after a diligent search in the printed catalogues, except only three (14, 15, and Escorial); and I possess adequate information as to the character of these three. I regret that I have been unable to extend my researches to the East¹.

I proceed to the classification and characterisation of the mss. They fall into three main groups:

¹ See note on p. xevi.

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I. Nos. 1—28 are representatives of what may be called the *Textus Receptus*, the text found in all Greek editions hitherto printed. These MSS. contain the form of the *Hist. Laus.* designated B throughout the first volume of this study (*Prol.*); it is therefore natural to call this the B group, and these MSS. the B MSS., and the type of text which they contain the B text.

II. Nos. 29—36^b contain a text of a type quite distinct from B: it may be characterised as simpler, less rhetorical, and shorter than B. There are also differences of redaction, in that the structure of the later portion of the book differs from B. This group was called γ in *Prol.* 139; and therefore the letter G will be affixed to it, so that we shall speak of the G MSS. and the G text. In 33, 34, 36^b the G text has been freely subjected to literary revisions, independent of each other.

III. Nos. 37—47 contain composite texts, *i.e.* texts made up in various ways of portions of B and portions of G.

It is desirable to adhere, as far as possible, to the nomenclature employed in the former volume of this study (*Prol.*). There the main problem investigated was the question of *redaction*, and the symbol B was used to represent the uninterpolated form of the book, the type of text now designated as G being treated as a variety of B. Here it is assumed, in view of the common consent of the critics, that the question of redaction has been settled by Dr Preuschen and myself; so that the only problem to be investigated is the question of *text*. Thus it is now necessary to distinguish the two types of text in which the genuine uninterpolated *Hist. Laus.* has been transmitted. I do not think that any inconvenience will arise from continuing to use B to designate the numerically predominant type of text, which was practically always taken throughout *Prol.* as representing the uninterpolated work. In the discussions that follow, the text of the *Hist. Laus.* alone is considered, no account being taken of the fact that in certain groups of B MSS. (8-9-10-11 and 14-15-16-17-18) fusions of the *Hist. Mon.* with the *Hist. Laus.* have been effected distinct from that in the Long Recension (A), discussed in *Prol.* Thus B no longer primarily signifies a redaction; it signifies primarily a type of text.

The first problem that faces an editor of the Lausiatic History is the relationship between the B and G texts; it is therefore important that a just idea of the magnitude and character of the differences between them should be formed at the outset. As might be expected, the degree of difference varies very much in different parts of the book. But it is necessary to establish at

once the fact that in some places the divergence is so great that it cannot be due to ordinary errors in transmission, but is the result of a deliberate re-writing of the text on one side or the other. To exemplify this I take a passage out of the story of Eulogius and the Cripple (c. 21): the portions common to B and G are printed in Clarendon type, those peculiar to B in ordinary type: words found in G but not in B are enclosed in parenthesis. A few unimportant variants are not here noticed.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰ δεκαπέντε ἔτη δαίμων ἐνέσκηψεν εἰς αὐτὸν θέλων τάχα καὶ τὸν Εὐλόγιον τῆς ἐντολῆς καὶ τῆς προσθέσεως στερηῆσαι, καὶ τὸν λελωβημένον τῆς ἀναπαύσεως καὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας κυρίου· καὶ ἀποστασιάζει οὗτος πρὸς τὸν Εὐλόγιον· καὶ ἤρξατο λέγειν κατ' αὐτοῦ πολλά δύσφημα (τοσαύταις δυσφημίαις) ὡς καὶ λοιδορίας λοιπὸν πλύνει τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπιλέγων αὐτῷ· Σχάστα, γλούττων, φυγοκύρι, ἀλλότρια χρήματα ἔκλεψας, καὶ τάχα δούλος ὑπάρχων τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην ἐσύλησας· καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ προφάσει βούλει λαθεῖν, ὡς ἐπὶ προφάσει δῆθεν εὐποιίας εἰς τὸ ξενιδιὸν σου λαβῶν με, καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ θέλεις σωθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Εὐλόγιος παρεκάλει αὐτὸν θεραπεύων αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν, λέγων· Μή, κύριε, μὴ λέγε τοιαῦτα· ἀλλ' εἰπέ τί σε ἐλύπησα, καὶ διορθοῦμαι. ὁ δὲ ὅλος λελωβημένος ἔλεγεν ἐμβριθῶς· Οὐ θέλω σου ταύτας τὰς κολακείας· ἀπένεγκε, ῥύψόν με εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρὰ τὴν σὴν μοι ἀνάπαυσιν. ὁ δὲ Εὐλόγιος· Παρακαλῶ σε, θεραπεύθητι, εἴ τι λυπῆς, κύριε ὁ μέγας. ὁ δὲ λελωβημένος ἀγριαίνων θυμῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν· Οὐκέτι ἀνέχομαι τῆς ὑπόουλου σου καὶ εἰρωνικῆς κολακείας. οὐκ ἀρέσκομαι τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ τῇ τεταρριχευμένη καὶ φειδωλῷ. ἐγὼ κρέα θέλω ἐσθίειν. ὁ δὲ μακρόθυμος Εὐλόγιος ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ κρέα. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν (+ οὖν) ἀνέκραξεν ὁ δυσπαθής· Οὐ πληροφοροῦμαι εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ μόνον· ὄχλους θέλω. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐλόγιος· Ἐγὼ σοι φέρω ἄρτι πλήθος ἀδελφῶν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποδυσπετῶν λέγει· Οὐαί μοι τῷ ταιλαιπῶρῳ, τὴν σὴν ὄψιν οὐ θέλω ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἄγεις μοι τοὺς ὁμοίους σου ἀργοφάγους; καὶ σπαράξας ἑαυτὸν, ἀτάκτω φωνῇ ἀνέκραξε λέγων· Οὐ θέλω, οὐ θέλω· εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν θέλω¹. ὦ βία· ῥύψόν με ὅπου με εὔρες. λέγω ὅτι (ὡς) εἰ εἶχε χεῖρας τάχα (+ ἂν) οὐ παρητέτο καὶ ἀγχόνῃ χρῆσασθαι (ἀπήγξατο) ἢ ξίφει ἑαυτὸν χεῖρισσασθαι, τοῦ δαίμονος αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐξαγριώσαντος.

This passage has been selected as a fair sample of the differences often found between B and G: sometimes, as in the chapters

¹ The Turin ms. (No. 31) here agrees with the B text; it reads as follows: ὄχλους θέλω εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν θέλω. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐλόγιος· Ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ. ... Οὐ θέλω, οὐ θέλω εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν θέλω. κ.τ.λ. (The words τῷ ταιλαιπῶρῳ... ἄγεις μοι are omitted, evidently by homoeoteleuton.) Elsewhere throughout this passage the Turin ms. agrees with the other G mss. 29^b and 30; the fact that the clause εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν θέλω occurs both at the beginning and at the end of the passage in 31, shows clearly that the passage did not originally stand in the text represented by 31, but has been interpolated from a B ms.

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on Olympias (c. 56) and the Calumniated Lector (c. 70), they are even more considerable; sometimes, as in the story of Pachon (c. 23; see § 5, where B and G are printed in full), they are comparatively trifling.

We must now speak of the third group of MSS. (37—47), those which contain composite texts.

By a *composite* text is meant one in which some sections are taken from a B ms. and others from a G ms.; the term *mixed* text is reserved for cases in which a B text or a G text has been contaminated by the introduction of readings from the rival type of text. Both phenomena are common in MSS. of the Lausiaca History.

Of group III, Nos. 37—44^c are the MSS. which represent the Long Recension (that of Hervet, Du Duc, and Migne), called A in *Prolog.* It may be remembered that the characteristic feature of A *as a redaction* was shown to consist in this: that it is an *interpolated* edition, containing a particular kind of fusion of the *Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.*, essentially different from the other fusions of the two works. The characteristic feature of A *as a text* consists in this: that the text of the *Hist. Laus.* which it contains is a *composite* text, being partly a B text and partly a G text, distributed as follows:

(The order is the order of A, but the numbers of the chapters are those of the present edition: the corresponding numbers in A may be seen in the List of Chapters preceding the Text: the question of order is dealt with in § 7. On the printed Greek text of A see § 3.)

B	Prologue, 1—24,	29,	32—34,
G	18 (<i>med.</i>), 25—28,	30, 31,	35—37,
B	38, 39,	42,	48—52, 45, 66,
G	39 (<i>med.</i>), 47, 58, 40,	44, 43, 53,	
B	68, [+] ¹ 41 (<i>init.</i>),	54 (<i>init.</i>), 61, 62, 41, 67, 63,	
G	46, 54,		59, 60,
B	69, 70,	56, 57, 64, 65, [+] ¹ ,	Epilogue.
G	55,	71,	

¹ At the two points marked [+]¹ occur respectively the chapters numbered 116 and 150 (the first half) in A, containing matter not found in any other redaction of the *Hist. Laus.*, nor as yet discovered elsewhere. No account is taken in the above Table of the interpolations from *Hist. Mon.*

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It will be convenient to continue to apply the symbol A to the text contained in these MSS. (37—44^c), distinguishing, however, as A^B the portions that contain a B text: so that hereafter A will signify a special sub-group of the G text, and A^B a variety of the B text which is not found elsewhere. The characteristics of both portions will be examined later.

The Vatican ms. 863 (no. 22) has the outward semblance of an A ms.; for the *Hist. Mon.* has been interpolated almost in the manner characteristic of the Long Recension. But the entire text of the *Hist. Laus.* is a B text of the type found also in mss. 19-20-21, and quite distinct from A^B; the order, too, of the later portion of the book is that of B. It seems as if a scribe incorporated a ms. of the *Hist. Mon.* with a B ms. of the *Hist. Laus.*, making the product resemble an A ms. lying before him,—why he should not, rather, have copied the latter, it is impossible to surmise. In places, too, he introduced A readings into his B text: (see instances below in c. 18, p. 51, 1, and in c. 35, p. 101, 8—10, and p. 102, 9—11, where clauses omitted in all other known B mss. stand in no. 22).

On Ottoboni 377 (no. 42) see § 3.

Nos. 45 and 46 are of great importance. They are so closely allied both in structure and in text as to be evidently collateral descendants of a single proximate ancestor; they are, indeed, twin manuscripts. Their text falls into three sections:—

- (1) Proem (Ἐν ταύτη) and cc. 1—20; from an A^B text.
- (2) cc. 23—28, 31, 35—39; from a G text.
- (3) cc. 21, 22, 32—34, 71; from a B text, and a singularly interesting representative of the type.

The rest of the *Hist. Laus.* is wanting; there follow three chapters of the *Hist. Mon.* (1, 8, 16, ed. Preuschen).

No. 47 is the most anomalous ms. of all; (for description and contents see Preuschen, P⁵, *op. cit.* 142—144). I have examined its textual affinities only here and there, but sufficiently to see that, though of considerable textual interest for the *Hist. Mon.* (see *Prolog.* 269), it possesses little or no value for the *Hist. Laus.*

The following summary of its contents will suffice:

- (1) Proem, Ep. Μακαρίζω (with title found elsewhere only in no. 19), Prologue (without fresh title).
- (2) *Hist. Laus.* cc. 1—21: (cc. 8—10 are B text; c. 17 is the unique re-writing of G found in ms. 33; c. 18 is again B: cc. 17 and 18 both have a number of Apophthegmata interpolated).

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- (3) *Hist. Laus.* cc. 32—34: (the form of G found in ms. 33).
- (4) John of Lycopolis from *Hist. Mon.* (c. 1) and *Hist. Laus.* (c. 35, incomplete).
- (5) *Hist. Mon.* cc. 8, 9.
- (6) *Hist. Laus.* cc. 22—31: (c. 22 is A^B; c. 27 is B).
- (7) The bulk of *Hist. Mon.*: (as in (4) and (5), the text is that signalised as unique in *Prolog.* 269; but the lives follow the certainly wrong sequence found elsewhere only as incorporated in the Long Recension—cc. 16, 21—24, (25, 26), 19, 32, 33, 17, 18, 20 (Hervet cc. 62—76).
- (8) *Hist. Laus.* cc. 36, 37 (c. 38 is wanting): (B text).
- (9) *Hist. Laus.* c. 39 onwards, in the sequence of the Long Recension, including the chapter on Bessarion, found only in that recension; but omitting a few chapters. I am unable to say whether in this portion the text exhibits the alternations of A and A^B found in the normal mss. of the Long Recension.

How such a medley of texts ever came together into a single codex is inexplicable. The scribe must have had before him a copy of the Long Recension, and also a number of other mss. and fragments of *Hist. Laus.* and *Hist. Mon.*, and, as appears evident from (7), must have tried to build up out of these heterogeneous elements a text on the general model of the Long Recension.

This will be the most convenient place to indicate the grouping and relationships of the great body of MSS. containing the B text. The annexed Table is based upon a full collation of c. 32 (Pachomius) made in all the mss., supplemented by collations of other selected passages, and in many cases by external phenomena of structure, order, omissions, fusion with *Hist. Mon.*, and general contents of the codices: Note 32 affords a detailed sample of the phenomena which underlie the classification of the B MSS.

Mere fragments are not included in the Table. MSS. containing composite texts are enclosed in brackets; account is taken only of the portions of the B text which they contain. mss. which are the offspring of a single proximate ancestor are linked by hyphens. Of all these B mss. the sub-group 14-15-16-17-18 alone shows signs of a deliberate literary revision; their text differs notably from the normal B type (see Note 11). In all the rest the texts are, considering the circumstances, wonderfully in accord. In the sub-groups 8—11, 14—18, 37—44, and in 7, 22 and 47, the *Hist. Mon.* has been fused with the *Hist. Laus.* in various ways; and in the majority of the other mss. it goes either immediately before or after the *Hist. Laus.*