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THE COLLECTION OF PAUL EVERGETINOS: DESCRIPTION AND SOURCES

M. A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

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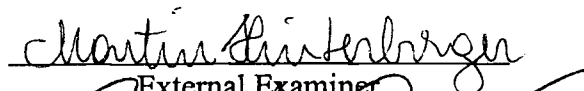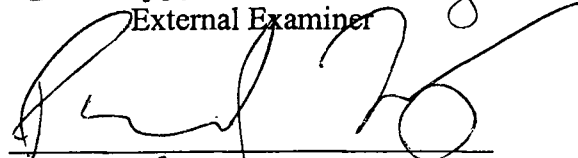# The Collection of Paul Evergetinos: Description and Sources
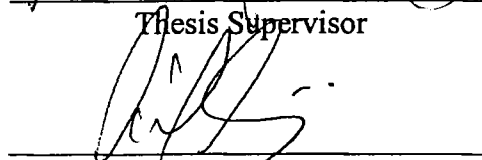
by

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I, the undersigned, Natalia KOTSIOUBA, candidate for the M.A. degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of this thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Chapter I

Paul Evergetinos: His Life and Writing

The only known fact about Paul Evergetinos is that in 1048 or 1049 he founded in the suburb of Constantinople the monastery of Our Lady the Doer-of-good-deeds, Evergetis, and six years later, on 16 April, 1054, he died. The monastery was situated on the *proasteion* that Evergetinos acquired through a family inheritance. It is presumably during his five-year tenure as superior of the monastery that he compiled a *florilegium* known as *Evergetinos* or *Synagoge*. It seems that this collection has always enjoyed great popularity among readers: there are sixty-eight surviving manuscripts and seven reprints; the first edition was in Venice in 1783, the latest two (1985-86, 1990) are accompanied by a modern Greek translation in order to make the material more accessible to the modern Greek reader. However, there is still not a single scholarly edition of the text of *Evergetinos*.[1] Until recently, all the scholarly attention was limited to several mentions in different articles and to an article in the *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité ascétique et mystique* dedicated mainly, as the biographical data about Paul are very scarce, to the sources of his works and to the history of the monastery founded by him.

After two conferences held in Belfast in 1992 and 1994 which concentrated on Evergetis, the monastery of Paul, two collections of articles dealing with this subject came into existence.[2] Most of them concentrated on the history of the monastery itself and its Typikon, and paid very little attention to its founder and his other work. However, in two articles dedicated to the *Evergetinos*, M. Wortley tried to describe the genre of the work and its possible sources. As a result of this effort, he provides the following table where the sources cited by Paul and their frequency are indicated:

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[1] A commented edition accompanied by an English translation is now in preparation.

[2] M. Mullett and Antony Kirby, *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism [Papers of the third Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 1-4 May 1992]*, Belfast Byzantine texts and translations n. 6.1 (Belfast : Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, School of Greek, Roman and Semitic Studies, the Queen's University of Belfast, 1994); idem, *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis, 1050-1200 : [Papers of the Fourth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, Portaferry, Co. Down, 14-17 September 1995]*, Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium n. 6.2 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, School of Greek, Roman and Semitic Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1997).

Source	Bk I	Bk II	Bk III	Bk IV	Total
Gerontikon	68	55	44	50	217
Ephrem the Syrian	36	30	24	21	111
Isaiah of Scetis	21	26	22	17	86
Mark the Monk	15	11	11	21	58
Maximos	9	10	15	15	49
Palladios	10	19	8	9	46
Gregory the Great	12	15	7	11	45
Isaac the Syrian	13	12	6	12	43
Diadochos	6	8	7	10	31
Barsanouphios	12	3	11	5	31
Antiochos the Monk	4	12	3	6	25
Life of Synkletike	6	7	9	2	24
Other	52	51	43	36	182
Total (approximately 4.7 citations per *hypothesis*)					948

Together with this table comes some brief information about the authors of the works which could have been used by Paul. As this information concentrates rather on the religious and ideological characterization of these authors, it seems appropriate to provide here more detailed information about those writers and works which influenced the author of *Evergetinos*.

While compiling the text, Evergetinos used a large variety of sources which he probably had close to hand or remembered well enough to write them down. A list of the names and works he cites would comprise those belonging to the standard monastic readings, including hagiographical as well as theological works. Here a description of (almost) every mentioned source will be provided:

The *Gerontikon* (*Paterikon, Apophthegmata patrum*) is a generic term for different collections of sayings initially coming from the desert fathers of Scetis[3] but later augmented with other material.[4] The tradition of sayings can be analyzed as divided into two periods: oral and written.

It seems that at the beginning of their existence, the sayings of the most distinguished desert fathers were transmitted orally and represented a kind of 'case law'[5] used for the help and education of younger monks. These sayings, as well as the procedure of their transmission, were carefully collected and remembered in order to find the answers to most of the questions of ascetic life.[6]

At a certain stage these collections began to be written down. The motives for this are still unclear. A number of possible causes have been proposed: the growth of the collection made it impossible to be transmitted orally;[7] the dispersion of the monks from Scetis engendered a need to conserve the wisdom of the "ancients;"[8] the fear of moral decay provided the impetus for writing down the sayings of the "ancients" lest they be forgotten.[9]

All the sayings could be roughly divided into two different categories: simple pronouncements, including only a question and the response of the Abba, and longer narratives. The argument advanced by W. Bousset[10] and later supported by J.-C. Guy[11] was that this difference represents two different stages of the development of the genre of

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[3] Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell and Mott, 1966), 67.

[4] Jean-Claude Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum*, Subsidia Hagiographica 36 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1962), 231.

[5] The term was used by Derwas Chitty concerning the written collection (Chitty, *Desert a City*, 67), but it seems justified to apply it to all the stages of the existence of the sayings.

[6] In the earliest written collections, like the one preserved in Ethiopian, the chain of transmission of a particular saying can be quite impressive: "A brother said to me: Abba Isaac said to me: I visited Abba Sisoes of Petra, the disciple of Abba Antony, and I asked him: 'Speak to me a word'" (cited according to Burton-Christie, *Word in the Desert*, 78).

[7] Guy, *Recherches*, 231.

[8] Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press,1993), 80.

[9] Chitty, *Desert a City*, 67.

[10] Wilhelm Bousset, *Apophthegmata: Studien zur Geschichte des aeltesten Moenchtums* (Tuebingen Mohr, 1923), 76-93.

[11] Jean-Claude Guy, "Remarques sur le texte des *Apophthegmata Patrum*," in *Recherche de science réligieuse* 63(1955), 252-258.

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sayings: the simple, short *logoi* belong to the ancient tradition, while longer narratives are the result of the later process of combining and elaboration. Accordingly, short unelaborated sayings are considered to be more "genuine" and to be of more interest.

This position has been criticized because of its excessive rigor and limits imposed on the development of the genre of sayings. In fact, that group of "simple" sayings which, according to Guy, truly belong to the genre of *Apophthegmata*, is rather small even in early collections. On the other hand, the study of narrative sayings make clear the importance of the oral tradition in their development.[12] Finally, "to reject sayings that are longer or more complex or those that are dogmatic or philosophical only strengthens the prejudice against the early monks as simple, uneducated peasants."[13] It would seem more reasonable to suppose that narrative sayings were a part of the *Apophthegmata* from its very origin.

Although the *Apophthegmata* collections existed in many languages,[14] all of them are organized according to one of two types: the sayings in these collections are organized either on an alphabetical basis (with the addition of anonymous sayings), or on a systematic one.[15] In the alphabetical collections the material was arranged according to the names of the fathers to which the sayings were ascribed with an appendix of anonymous sayings. In the systematic collections the sayings are divided into twenty- one general chapters, each of which is dedicated to a particular theme. These themes, which are always arranged in the same way, are supposed to cover all aspects of monastic life.[16]

The origins and relationship between these two types of the Greek *Apophthegmata* pose a very intricate question. All in all, we are dealing with more than 2,500 different sayings extant in seven major and five minor collections (alphabetical as well as systematic); about six hundred sayings are found in more or less all the major compilations, while about a hundred are extant only in a single collection. This supports

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[12] See Burton-Christie, *Word in the Desert*, 81-85 for the discussion about the role of the narratives in the collection of *Apophthegmata*.

[13] Samuel Rubenson, *The Letters of St. Antony: Monasticism and the Making of a saint*, Studies in Antiquity and Christianity (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 151.

[14] See Burton-Christie, *Word in the Desert*, 85-86 for a brief review of available compilations.

[15] Guy, *Recherches*, 231-232.

[16] Guy, *Recherches*, 118-119.

the argument that the whole collection has some common origin.[17] Two different approaches were proposed concerning the relationship between alphabetical and systematic collections: while Bousset advanced the idea that the systematic collection was created on the basis of the alphabetical one,[18] Guy argued that both of the types represented an independent result of a long history of redactions of some "regroupement primitif."[19] Recently a more moderate point of view was proposed by S. Rubenson, who argued as follows:[20] as there exist collections organized strictly on an alphabetical basis as well as strictly on a systematic one, both types must be original creations; the combination of these two types which is found in Greek and Latin systematic collections (an alphabetic structure within each chapter of the systematic structure) obviously derives from both these traditions; thus they can neither be regarded as derived from an alphabetical collection (Bousset's point of view) nor be seen as having developed independently (Guy's point of view).

It is considered that the alphabetical collection was compiled at some time during the first half of the sixth century in the region of Gaza in Palestine;[21] it is argued that the systematic division seems to be older than the alphabetical one: there exist arguments for this both in the form of the direct evidence provided by Evagrius and Cassian, who treated collections of sayings thematically,[22] and the more theoretical reasoning that "an arrangement according to the themes of monastic virtues and dangerous thoughts . . . seems more in conformity with the early monastic setting than an alphabetical arrangement according to the names of the fathers."[23]

However, in the later tradition these two types of the organization of the sayings often influenced each other, so that there appeared, for instance, a collection converted

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[17] The data are provided according to Rubenson, *Letters*, p. 145-146. However, the author took into account only published collections of sayings, so the numbers could change with new publications.

[18] Bousset, *Apophthegmata*, 18-53.

[19] Guy, *Recherches*, 190-200; ibid., 231-232.

[20] Rubenson, *Letters*, 145-152.

[21] Burton-Christie, *Word in the Desert*, 86-88. Unfortunately, the works he relies on are inaccessible for me.

[22] Rubenson, *Letters*, 149; Bousset, *Apophthegmata*, 71-76.

[23] Rubenson, *Letters*, 149.

according to alphabetical form from a systematic collection, which, in turn, was a result of the "systematization" of some initial alphabetical collection.[24]

Saint Ephrem the Syrian (ca. 306- June 373)

We have very little evidence permitting us to reconstruct the life of St. Ephrem. Despite a considerable number of sources, only a little information can be drawn from them. The most reliable source of information are the writings of Ephrem himself. In his hymns he implicitly states that he was born to Christian parents at Nisibis, where he spent most of his life. After 325, Bishop Jacob of Edessa (died ca. 338) appointed Ephrem to the position of catechetical teacher. He was also a deacon.[25]

Ephrem left Nisibis only in 363, when, according to the treaty between Persians and Romans, the city was to be given to the Persians. According to this treaty, the Christians had to leave the town and Ephrem went to Edessa, where he spent the last ten years of his life and died in 373.[26]

Besides his own works, we have several later accounts of his life, which, however, contain only a little supplementary information. St. Jerome mentions him in his book on famous men, without, however, providing any information other than the most general: Ephrem was a deacon in Edessa, who wrote many works and was very popular in Syria, and part of his works had already been translated into Greek by the time of Jerome (that is, in the second half of the fourth century).[27]

Palladius gives a more comprehensive account of Ephrem in his *Lausiac History* (ca. 419), where he dedicates a whole chapter to him.[28] In the work of Palladius, Ephrem is implicitly described as a monk (as he lived in a cell); there is also a story about the role of Ephrem during the famine of 372-373: Ephrem organized the distribution of food and

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[24] Guy, *Recherches*, 212-220.

[25] Brock, *Hymns*, 9-10; Brock, *Luminous Eye*, 16.

[26] Brock, *Hymns*, 10-11; Brock, *Luminous Eye*, 16.

[27] Brock, *Hymns*, 12. However, the earliest extant manuscript of Ephrem in Greek dates only from the tenth century.

[28] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, XXXX.

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cared for sick and dying people. While the information about Ephrem's activity during the famine could be true, Ephrem was certainly never a monk.[29]

Sozomenus also devotes a chapter in his *Ecclesiastical History*[30] to Ephrem and provides us with even more incredible information: not only was Ephrem a monk, but he also created Syriac hymnography, was rather hostile towards women, and avoided being appointed bishop by pretending he was a fool. All of this seems rather improbable or strongly distorted.[31]

All the later accounts do not present much of interest, being based on the described ones and only distorting and interpolating the details provided by them.[32]

Although beginning with Palladius, Ephrem was constantly described as a monk, this is not true; he could meet the real monks (coming from Egypt at this period) only in Edessa during the last decade of his life.[33] He probably belonged to the movement qualified by Sebastian Brock as "proto-monasticism"[34] being an *ihidaya*, that is single, a virgin, an ascetic who lives an ἀγγελικὸς βίος, an angelic life.[35]

St. Ephrem was a very prolific author; among his extant works are more than four hundred hymns (*madrashe*), several homilies in verse (*memre*), polemical, and exegetical works. Enjoying a great popularity in the Syriac and Greco-Latin world, the authority of Ephrem provoked a great amount of dubious and spurious works, especially when we deal with translations into Greek.[36] Often it is extremely difficult to discern genuine works from the works ascribed to Ephrem.[37] This task is also not simplified by the fact,

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[29] Brock, *Hymns*, 12-15.

[30] Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III,16; See also ibid., VI.34.

[31] Brock, *Hymns*, 15-19; Brock, *Luminous Eye*, 17.

[32] See Brock, *Hymns*, 19-25.

[33] E. Beck, "Ascétisme et monachisme chez saint Ephrem," *L'Orient Syrien* 3(1958), 273-298. This idea is also supported in Brock, *Luminous Eye*, 131-141. However, A. Vööbus (*History of Ascetism in the Syrian Orient*, II, 70-110) supports a different point of view (see Brock, *Hymns*, 25, n.17).

[34] See S. Brock, "Early Syrian Ascetism," *Numen* 20 (1973), 1-20.

[35] Brock, *Hymns*, 25-33; See Brock, *Luminous Eye*, 131-141 for more detailed discussion about this conception.

[36] Brock, *Hymns*, 36.

[37] "Impossibile adhuc videtur scripta graeca, quae sub nomine Ephraemi traduntur, cum certitudine in authentica, dubia et spuria distinguere..." *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, II, 366.

that many of Ephrem's works have perished and exist now only in Greek, Armenian, and other translations.[38]

Isaiah of Scetis (or of Gaza[39]) (d.489) began his career first in the *coenobium* and then in the Interior desert of Scetis; then, because of his excessive popularity, he moved to Palestine and, having spent about fifty years there, died near Gaza in August 489.[40] The works of Isaiah are present in several languages, including Greek, which was probably the original language, but also Syriac, and Coptic. Possibly the circle of Isaiah had something to do with the creation of the *Apophthegmata patrum* discussed earlier, as he plays a prominent role in this collection, and several anecdotes found in the *Apophthegmata* are also found among his works extant only in Syriac. D. J. Chitty considers them to have originated from this Isaiah collection, only afterwards constituting a part of the *Apophthegmata*.[41] In Greek there exist twenty-nine homilies ascribed to Isaiah, usually dealing with different aspects of the monastic way of life or allegorical interpretation of Scripture, which are mostly cited in the collection of Evergetinos.[42]

Mark the Monk (d. after 430), or Mark the Hermit, the fourth most frequently quoted author in the *Evergetinos*, is an ascetic writer to whom at least 14 works are ascribed in Greek and oriental (Syriac and Arabic) tradition;[43] it is still unclear whether they were works of a single or different authors. Even though Mark was often cited by the church fathers (Dorotheos of Gaza, John of Damascus, Theodore of Stoudios, and so on),

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[38] It is sometimes stated that dealing with Greek text the analysis concerns at best whether the work in question is a translation of a Syriac work ascribed to Ephrem - see, for example, H. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "L'authenticité sporadique de l'Éphrem le Syrien," in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses* (Munich: Beck, 1960), 232-236 - but this assumptions seems dubious to me. Taking into account the situation when we deal with the work extant only in Greek without any known Syriac prototype, it is obvious that Greek, Armenian, Georgian and other variants of Ephrem's work must be analyzed not only from the point of view of their possible translations, but also using other methods of study.

[39] There is a discussion concerning the relationship between Isaiah of Scetis and Isaiah of Gaza. R. Drague supposed that they were different persons and that the author of the *Asceticon* is Isaiah of Scetis (R. Draguet, *Les cinq récensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'Abbaa Isaie*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 289-290, 293-294 (Louvain, Secrétariat de CSCO, 1968), 85-126); this opinion was criticized by D. J. Chitty (D. J. Chitty, "Abba Isaiah," Journal of Theological Studies 22 (1971), 47-72).

[40] Chitty, *Desert a City*, 73.

[41] Ibid., 74.

[42] *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, III, 79. There exist a concordance in Draguet, *Cinq récensions*, 53-56.

[43] *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, 10, 274-283.

his biography is totally unknown and can be reconstructed only hypothetically.[44] On the basis of his works, Mark has been variously dated between the end of the fourth and the sixth centuries, and situated in Palestine, or Egypt.[45]

Maximus the Confessor (580-662), theologian and saint, was born in 580. According to the Greek *Life of St. Maximus*,[46] composed in the tenth century by the Studite monk, Michael Exaboulites, he was born of noble parents in Constantinople, received a good education, and held the position of "protosecretary" at the court of the Emperor Heraclius. It has been shown by W. Lackner[47] that Michael composed this *Life* using different materials, and that for Maximus' early years, he simply paraphrased the beginning of the *Life* of St. Theodore the Studite, omitting the proper names. Moreover, this information drawn from the Greek *Life* has been thrown into question by the publication of the Syriac Life of Maximus, which tells a different story.[48] According to this account, Maximus was born in the village of Hesfin in Palestine to a Samaritan man and a Persian slave-girl. He was christened Moschion. The young Moschion became the monk Maximus of the monastery of Palaia Lavra. It is also mentioned that he was tonsured by a "wicked Origenist." The important thing about this Syriac account is that, unlike the tenth-century Greek account, this *Life* seems to be contemporaneous with Maximus' life and death.[49]

The hostility of the Syriac account about the early years of Maximus could be explained by its Monothelite origins; it contains more information and, according to S. Brock, is more plausible in its details,[50] but still it provokes several problems: it seems almost impossible that a simple Palestine monk could have become an imperial

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[44] Actually a Ph. D. dissertation about Mark the Monk is in preparation at the Catholic University of America by Clark Carlton.

[45] H. Chadwick, "The Identity and Date of Mark the Monk," *Eastern Churches Review*, 4, n.2 (1972), 125-130.

[46] PG 90.68-109

[47] W. Lackner, "Zu Quellen und Datierung der Maximosvita," in *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 (1967), pp. 285-316.

[48] S. Brock, "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor," in *Analecta Bollandiana* 91 (1973), pp. 299-346.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

protosecretary, and, even if we accept that it was the case, it does not explain the origins

of the great learning that he showed in his writings.[51]

Having received the important position of protosecretary, three years later Maximus

resigned from it and left the capital for the monastery of Chrysopolis, where he soon

became *hegoumenos*. However, in 624 or 625 he transferred to the monastery of St.

George at Cyzicus. It is from this period that Maximus' earliest writings - several letters

and treatises on the spiritual life - have been usually dated.

After several years of traveling Maximus arrived at Carthage in North Africa in 630.

From the 640s Maximus energetically fought against Monotheletism. He supported Pope

Martin I on the council of 649, and because of that was accused by Constans II of treason.

In 655, after his trial, he was exiled to Bizye in Thrace; after a second trial in 662 he was

condemned to mutilation in Constantinople and exiled to Lazica, where he soon died.

For his works Maximus used traditional monastic genres: centuries, questions and

answers (*erotapokriseis*), and commentaries; besides these works, we possess a number

of Maximus' letters. Among his most important works are *Mystagogy, The Ascetic Life,*

Questions to Thalassios, The Four Hundred Chapters on Love, The Four Centuries on

Charity, and *Our Father.*

In his ascetic writings, Maximus was strongly influenced by such different sources as

Evagrius' interpretation of Origenism,[52] the tradition of prayer as an activity of the heart,

found in the Macarian Homilies,[53] and the doctrine of Diadochus of Photike.[54]

Palladius (ca. 363–ca. 431) was born in Galatia around 363, and died in Aspuna

around 431. He was a pupil and a friend of Evagrios Pontikos, with whom he stayed for

nine years in Nitria until, in 399, his group of Origenists was thrown out,[55] and a friend of

John Chrysostom. Exiled from Bithynia in 406 as a supporter of John Chrysostom, he

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[51] See Andrew Louth, *Maximos the Confessor*, The Early Church Fathers (London, New York: Routledge, 1996), 6, n. 11.

[52] M. Viller, "Aux sources de la spiritualité de S. Maxime. Les oeuvres d'Evagre le Pontique," *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 11(1930), 156 sqq.

[53] Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, 25.

[54] Ibid., 25-26.

[55] E. D. Hunt, "Palladius of Helenopolis: A Party and its Supporters in the Church of the Late Fourth Century," Journal of Theological Studies 24 (1973), 456-480; Rubenson, *Letters*, 180.

traveled the next few years in Egypt, Palestine, and perhaps India, before finally arriving at Helenopolis, where he became a bishop in approximately 420.[56] His *Lausiac History* records the author's experiences in visiting monastic communities in Egypt at the beginning of the fifth century and it was written for the imperial *koubikoularios* of Theodosios II, named Lausos. Written around 419, it combined the traditions of biography and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. From the structure of the work and its relationship to the other texts it seems that while writing it, Palladius used written sources.[57] The *Lausiac History* may be considered as a treatise on asceticism taught by means of the biographies of the monks of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts.[58] However, as Samuel Rubenson puts it, "a strong flavour of Origenism" is evident in the work.[59] The *Lausiac History* was translated into Latin by Rufinus of Aquileia and into Oriental languages, including Coptic. The authorship of another major work ascribed to Palladius, the *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, written around 408, is questionable.

Gregory the Great (Gregorios ho Dialogos) (590-604), pope from 590, was born to an aristocratic family in Rome. Before becoming pope, Gregory was urban prefect in 572 and 573 and papal representative (ἀποκρισάριος) in Constantinople. The *Dialogues* were written between 593 and 594 and were strikingly different from Gregory's other works because of their naïve tone and the attention paid to (or emphasis on) miraculous stories.[60] The *Dialogues* were written at the request of the relatives of Gregory, in order to provide a collection of different miraculous stories connected with saints from Italy. The whole work, written as a dialogue between Gregory himself and deacon Peter, is divided into four parts; the first and the third books contain a collection of rather short stories about the saints and their miracles, the second book is dedicated to the life of St. Benedict, the fourth to didactic deliberations. In the eighth century the work was translated into Greek

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] R. T. Meyer, "Palladius and Early Christian Spirituality," *Studia Patristica* 10 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970), 379-390.

[59] Rubenson, *Letters*, 180.

[60] This difference in style has provoked a long discussion about the attribution of the *Dialogues*. See : F. Clark, *The Pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues*, Studies in the history of Christian thought, 37-38 (Leiden: Brill, 1987).

by the last of the Greek popes, Zacharias (741-752), and from then it enjoyed such popularity in the Greek world that its author became known as Γρηγόριος ὁ Διάλογος.[61] This popularity could be explained by the fact that the ideas expressed by Gregory in his *Dialogues* were relevant both for Eastern and for Western Christianity. It was suggested that Zacharias translated the *Dialogues* on account of their teaching about compunction, a doctrine highly esteemed among Eastern Christians.[62]

Besides compunction, Gregory promotes some other ideas relevant for Eastern Christianity. For example, he pays much attention to saints' ability to foresee the future and to discern the souls of their companions. Still, one can find some difference between the use of these abilities in the Eastern tradition (in *Apophthegmata*) and the Western tradition (as found in the *Dialogues*): while Eastern saints use their gift in order to contribute to the salvation of their fellows (to reveal hidden heretics, to advise tempted ones, and so on), Western saints mainly use it in order to keep up the discipline in the monasteries.[63]

Finally, the propaganda of chastity and abstinence from marital intercourse is also found in the *Dialogues*.[64]

Probably in these ideas Gregory was influenced by the Latin translation of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, which he certainly knew.[65]

Isaac the Syrian, or Isaac of Nineveh (d. ca. 700), Syrian mystical theologian, was born in the region of Qatar on the Persian Gulf. Isaac became a Nestorian monk and eventually bishop of Nineveh; five months later he abdicated and went to live in solitude in the mountains of Huzistan in southwestern Iran, where he reportedly lost his sight as a

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[61] F. Halkin supposes that this very translation made Gregory the most popular Western saint among the Byzantines. See F. Halkin, "Le pape St. Grégoir le Grand dans l'hagiographie byzantine," in *Recherches et documents d'hagiographie byzantine*, Subsidia Hagiographica 51 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1971), 106.

[62] I. Hausherr, *Penthos: La doctrine de la componction dans l'Orient crètien*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 132 (Rome: Pont. Inst. Orientalium Studiorum, 1944), 23; Petersen, *Dialogues*, 161.

[63] Petersen, *Dialogues*, 166-167.

[64] Petersen, *Dialogues*, 178.

result of his intensive studies. Isaac composed, in Syriac, treatises, dialogues, and letters on ascetical and mystical topics. In the ninth century a selection of Isaac's ascetic writings (which are deeply influenced by Evagrios Pontikos) was translated into Greek at the well known translation center, Palestinian Lavra of St. Sabas, by the monks Abramios and Patrikios.[66] The translators tried to make Isaac more acceptable to Orthodox readers by eliminating some of his references to suspect authors, such as Evagrios Pontikos, and replacing them with references to more official church fathers. In his works Isaac presented the way of salvation as consisting of three stages: repentance, purification, and perfection. The writings of Isaac of Nineveh were often used by some Byzantine writers (Peter Damaskenos, Symeon the New Theologian, Gregory Sinaites); later some of them were included in the *Philokalia*.

Diadochos (ca. 400-before 486), bishop of Photike in Epirus after 451, was born around 400, and died before 486. Diadochos was one of the masters of spiritual life. Three works are unanimously ascribed to him: a sermon on the Ascension; the *Vision of St. Diadochus*, a collection of *aporiai*, and questions and answers (in which the author conducts a dialogue with John the Baptist in a dream); and his major work, *One Hundred Chapters on Spiritual Perfection* (also known as *capita gnostica*), which was widely admired in Byzantium.[67] Its major concerns are to advocate the virtues of asceticism, and to stress the three virtues of faith, hope, and especially love as the basis for spiritual contemplation. Under his name there also existed a *Catechesis* which in several manuscripts is ascribed to Symeon the New Theologian.

Barsanouphios (d. ca. 543), the recluse at the *koinobion* of Abba Seridos at Thavatha, near Gaza, died about 543. Together with another recluse at the same monastery, John "the Prophet", Barsanouphios issued opinions, presumably in Greek, on a wide range of problems presented to him as questions coming from other monks,

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[65] This was a translation of the middle of the sixth century, attributed to two Roman clerics, the deacon Pelagius and subdeacon John. See Petersen, *Dialogues*, 170-171; Burton-Christie, 85.

[66] Chitty, *Desert a City*, 180.

bishops, and lay people.[68] The responses of the two holy men, called "the Great Old Man"
and "the Other Old Man" respectively, were gathered by an anonymous monk of the
monastery into a collection of 850 questions and answers.[69] The texts of the responses of
the two recluses provide abundant evidence for many of the practical problems which
churchmen and others encountered in fifth- and sixth-century Palestine. They approved
the ascetical counsels of Evagrios Pontikos, while rejecting his "Origenism." The
teaching of the two recluses was extremely influential in monastic circles.

Antiochos the Monk, author of the *Pandects of Sacred Scripture* ('Ἀντίοχος
ὁ Πάντεκτος or ὁ Πανδέκτης), is usually identified with Antiochos Strategos, the witness
to the fall of Jerusalem in 614 who died after 619, although this identification is not
proved. The *Pandects* is a collection of 130 homilies "which are in fact a compendium of
extracts from the Old and the New Testaments, with not a little from Ignatius of Antioch
and other fathers, and a minimum of personal comment, culminating in a statement of full
Chalcedonian faith (in view specially of the abandonment of the throne of Antioch to the
Jacobite Anastasius), anathema on a long list of heretics, and a summon to seek the
kingdom of Heaven."[70] The Greek original is lost; the text is preserved in Georgian and
Arabic versions.

The *Life of St. Synkletike*

In the *Evergetinos* there is a group of sayings and stories which are attributed to women
or are about women. One of these few women is St. Synkletike. All the information about
her life comes from several sayings in the *Gerontikon* attributed to a certain Synkletike,
who was abbess in a monastery. It seems that the short *Life* of St. Synkletike[71] is of the

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[67] For instance, they are quoted by Maximus the Confessor and in the *Philokalia* of Nikodemus of the Holy Mountain.
[68] Chitty, *Desert a City*, 132-133.
[69] Ibid., 132-140.
[70] Ibid., 159.
[71] Bernard Flusin and Joseph Paramelle, "De Syncletica in deserto Iordanis (BHG 1318w)," in *Analecta Bollandiana* 100 (1982), 291-317.

same person mentioned in the *Gerontikon*.[72] According to this *Life*, presumably written in the Palestine in the sixth century,[73] Synkletike, the daughter of noble and wealthy parents, fled to the desert during their voyage to Jerusalem and spent more than twenty years there.

But was there any contribution made by Evergetinos himself, except that of copying the excerpts of the works of all the mentioned authors into one collection? Can we say that he created an independent (in any respect) literary work, or was his work only that of a copyist? In the following chapters, Evergetinos' use of the different sources will be analyzed in order to find an answer to this question. However, first, a description and analysis of the work itself may be appropriate.

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[72] Benedecta Ward, "Apophthegmata Matrum," in Studia Patristica 16 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), 64-66.
[73] Ibid., 302-303.

Chapter II

The *Collection of Evergetinos*:[74] Description and Analysis

A question evident to anyone attempting to analyze the collection of Paul Evergetinos is whether this analysis is possible at all: it is obvious that Paul Evergetinos was not an author in the modern sense of this word, that is a person somehow creating a literary work "out of nothing" or, at least, strongly reorganizing and remaking the material he is basing that work upon. His situation is quite different: not only does Paul not invent his material, but he clearly states that these are not his stories, but rather that these are stories taken from strongly traditional oral and written sources of monastic stories known at least since the sixth century AD. How then can these stories, some of which are quite old, compiled together, help to reconstruct the ideas and opinions of a person who just collected them?

In fact, Paul not only collated of these stories, but he also chose them for his collection and created a coherent and homogeneous, strongly structured work. This fact indicates that his role was not only that of a compilator, but rather of a modern redactor who can approve or disapprove different material and choose the stories he prefers and agrees with. Thus it is possible to say that the views and opinions of Paul Evergetinos are somehow present and reflected in his work.

In the present chapter these views and opinions as they are reflected in the description of the world and of its inhabitants will be examined.

a. Classification of the Stories

Although, as was said, the collection of Paul Evergetinos is a homogeneous work, the material it is compiled of is quite different in genre and in presentation. Not all of it can

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[74] Makarios of Korinth and Nikodemos Hagiorites, eds., *Evergetinos etoi Synagoge ton theophthongon rhematon kai didaskalion ton theophoron kai hagion pateron* (Evergetinos, or Collection of the divinely uttered sayings and teachings of the God-bearing and Saint Fathers). Venice: Antonio Bortoli, 1783. Reprint, Athens: Mone Metamorphoseos, 1985-86.

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be used for the purpose of the present work. Several types of classification of these stories are possible.

First of all, the collection is compiled according to the author's classification, that is, according to the content and final purpose of the stories. Paul Evergetinos divided his work into four books, each of which is supposed to deal with a particular subject. The stories of the first book concentrate on the general principles of monastic asceticism; the second book deals with monastic usages and requirements of cenobitic life; the third with personal morality; the fourth with progress in spiritual life. Each book is divided into fifty chapters (ὑποθέσεις), each of which deals with a more specific subject in the framework of the main theme of the book.

It is more or less possible to divide all the material presented in the collection of Evergetinos into two parts: narrative and non-narrative material. Narrative stories, that is those having a plot and presenting a kind of development of events, constitute about half of the whole collection; non-narrative material, represented by sermons and a sort of Question-and-Answer format (ἐρωταποκρίσεις)[75] - the other half. This classification is only approximate, because narrative fragments can be inserted into non-narrative text and vice versa, but still useful: only narratives deal more or less with the material world, as will be analyzed in this chapter.

b. The World of Evergetinos: People and Places.

The world is presented by Evergetinos as a number of different places inhabited by different types of personages; the role and the function of these places and personages in the context of the stories will be discussed later, while here their customary attributes and characteristics will be analyzed.

➤ Personages

Although the stories are full of all kinds of personages, we hardly ever find any specific or individual traits in their description. Usually these personages bear only general names,

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[75] A popular genre of the Byzantine literature.

like monks, bandits, prostitutes and so on, and function as is appropriate for the bearers of these names. Some of them are frequent heroes of the stories, while others appear only occasionally.

Frequent personages

Monk (μοναχός, ἀναχωρητής, ἀσκητής, γέρων, πρεσβύτερος)

As the stories were created and circulated mainly in the monastic circles, there is no wonder that monks frequently play important roles there. All the monks are divided into two groups: there are exemplary, diligent monks (σπουδαῖοι μοναχοί) and there are careless monks, who do not pay enough attention to the monastic way of life (ἀμελεῖς μοναχοί)[76]. Pious monks are characterized by the virtues which the author deals with in this or that chapter of the collection, while the bad monks usually lack these particular virtues.

Great Fathers (πατέρες μεγάλοι καὶ ἄκροι)

Great fathers represent the highest possible achievement of the monastic life. These are monks who have overcome the temptations of this world and live almost in the next world. Their judgments often play the role of commentary or explanation in the story.

Relatives and friends of the monks (συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι)

They usually are considered to be disturbances in the monastic life. The situation when they come and try to fetch the monk back to the world is often described in the stories of the collection. Also, the monks' relatives and friends are used in death scenes, as witnesses to the dying person who sees miracles accompanying his death.

Mother of the monk (μήτηρ)

This is a personage with twofold significance; on the one hand she can be portrayed as supporting by all means the love of God in her son, advising him to leave the worldly life and join the monks, or supporting him during torture;[77] on the other hand, she represents the attachments to the worldly, sentimental life, and thus can impede her son in his good deeds.

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[76] For example, *Evergetinos,* I, 13,1
[77] In *Evergetinos,* I, 12, 4 mother supports his son in the tortures he has to overcome for his belief, and when she finds out that he was not killed by his torturers, she finishes him off herself, in order to help him to join the Saints.

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Robber (ληστής)

He appears only rarely, for example in the story about the youth of the holy father Moses, who had been a bandit once. Usually the bandits are characterized by their specific illegal activity, that is by sudden attacks and robbery, but also by all kinds of reckless and brave deeds: they can cross wide rivers, they are extremely strong, they can drink a lot of wine without getting drunk, and so on.

Prostitute (πορνή)

She is also a personage with a twofold function: basically she represents the attractions of the unholy, carnal life and thus she is an instrument and the helper of the devil; on the other hand, a prostitute can play the role of the most radical manifestation of the salutary function of repentance by abandoning her sinful way of life and thus saving her soul.

Voice (φωνή)

In these stories, a voice is a direct action of the Lord. Usually some godly or holy voice answers the questions of holy fathers about different events they saw and did not understand. In most cases this voice explains the moral content of the story, which is frequently quite different from the one apparent from the story's events. Also this voice often warns the people who are about to do something inappropriate in other words, to commit some sin, not to do it.

Saint (ἅγιος), **Prophet** (προφήτης), **Apostle** (ἀπόστολος), **Martyr** (μάρτυρος), **Heavenly Powers** (δυνάμεις οὐράνιοι), **Angel** (ἄγγελος)

All these figures are the messengers of God, who explain His will or His decisions to the monks (usually to the wisest ones, such as great fathers). Besides that, the main function of these characters is to accompany the soul of the holy men to Paradise after their death. They come to the future saints shortly before their death and comfort them.

God, Savior (Κύριος, Δεσπότης, Σωτήρ)

God never acts directly in the stories of the collection. His intermediaries are His voice, answering questions and giving advice, angels, saints, martyrs, and so on. However every support which a man receives in the salvation of his soul comes from God.

Satan, Devil, Diabolical Dragon (Σατανᾶς, διάβολος, ἐχθρός τῶν ἀνθρώπων, δράκων)

The Devil never interferes directly in the action, but he is the master of all the demons tempting people, and people sin following his orders.

Black Men (ἄνδρες μελανοί)

These are the opposites of the angels, apostles, and so on. Black men on black horses arrive in order to take the soul of the sinners and to cast it into Hell. They also appear to the sinners during their lifetime in order to scare and to deceive them into thinking that there is no hope of salvation.

Demon (δαίμων)

The Demon is a helper and intermediary of the Devil. He appears to the holy men, tempting or scaring them in order to make them leave their holy way of life. Demons appear to the sinners providing them with the instruments of their failure. It is recognized in Christian tradition that demons played the role of gods during pagan times, and thus whoever is worshipping pagan gods is worshipping demons.

Occasional personages

Rich man (πλούσιος)

The wealthy man is always a sinner. Usually a pitiful death awaits him and he becomes aware of this fact only shortly beforehand. His fate is a lesson for some holy father who happens to be around.

Secular authorities (βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰνδίων, ἄρχων τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ)

Ecclesiastical authorities (ἐπίσκοπος, διάκονος κτλ.)

Bishops and deacons are often considered rather skeptically by the tellers of the stories.[78] Their example shows that no one is safe from the temptations of this life - richness, vice, and so on. On the other hand there exist some really holy bishops and other high authorities, who are able to advise monks and laymen about righteous ways of life.

The Virgin Mary (θεοτόκος)

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[78] Probably this is a reflection of the usual tension between the monks and ecclesiastical leaders

Dragon (δράκων)

This dragon is distinct from the diabolical one identified with Satan. The dragon tortures sinners immediately after and during their death. Sometimes they still can tell their relatives about it, for example, in *Evergetinos*, η´β´

Pagan priest (ἱερεὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων)

He is a man worshipping demons, because pagan gods were demons. He possibly does not know about it and thinks that he is worshipping real gods.

Other people

There is also a number of other people mentioned in the collection, such as the Merchant (ἔμπορος), the Doctor (ἰατρός), Soldiers (στρατιόται), but as they do not have any distinct characteristics, it is possible just to enumerate them here. Usually they play the role of simple witnesses without any particular purpose.

These are the people living in the world of Evergetinos, but this world is also constituted by a number of different places.

➢ Places

The different places mentioned in the collection of Evergetinos are hardly ever described more minutely than the personages. Usually the place is given a name implying some general qualities. One can enumerate several places of action.

Cell, cave, grave (κελλίον, σπήλαιον, τάφος)

The cell is the place of being of a monk, where he spends most of his time praying, meditating, and sleeping. It is a narrow dark place considered to be the best sort of refuge from the world and its temptations.

Desert (ἔρημος)

The desert is another locale for monks, where they flee from worldly life. In this respect the desert is equivalent to the cell.

Monastery (μοναστήριον)

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This is the normal place for a monk. The action of leaving the monastery is considered to be something exceptional, needing some special motivations and serious reasons. In most cases, monks leave their monastery with regret, hoping to return there as soon as possible.

City (πόλις)

The city is the place of temptation *par excellence.* It is the place where worldly intentions prevail, where the relatives of the monks live, and where there are situated brothels, markets, and other centers of social life. Usually the city is presented as a contrast to the monastery.

Road (ὁδός)

This is not a real place of someone's being, but rather a place of transition. Usually it is the road from the monastery to the city or from the city to the monastery. In both cases it is strongly symbolic.

Other places, like forests, rivers, and so on, are rarely mentioned and do not have any particular function in the stories, so they can be passed over.

c. The World of Evergetinos: The Events.

Although all the stories of the collection of Evergetinos have different subjects, illustrating different ideas in different chapters of the work, still it is possible to analyze them in comparison to each other.

➢ Plot of the Stories: Causes - Personages' Actions - Consequences

The stories of Evergetinos are organized according to the principle of *récit*, described, for example, by Tsvetan Todorov. Each story begins with a kind of equilibrium: the status of the personages and places is quite stable and not inclined to any change; than, as a result of some external force this equilibrium breaks and a number of events, and personages' actions follow. Finally, as a result of these events and actions, the former stability is restored, although somehow differently, compared to the initial situation.

The initial equilibrium usually concerns the life of the main personage in this world (in relation to the next world): he may be a virtuous monk, an innocent person, or a sinner. Only a little attention is paid to this state in the story. It is mainly resumed by a kind of introductory statement. The main attention is paid to the second stage of the scheme: the breaking of the equilibrium.

The breaking of the equilibrium concerns more precisely the relations of the personage to the next world. The monk may be tempted; the innocent person may be corrupted; occasionally the sinner may try to abandon his way of life and to atone for his sins. Usually it is a result of some supernatural activity: the intervention of the demons, or of the godly voice. It may also be provoked by the approach of death, which is a kind of restoration of the equilibrium. However, the actions of the main personage somehow change his standing in relation to the next life. It is interesting to note that the active force in this stage of the scheme is the force of Evil: the main personage is tempted by demons, by thoughts, or by any other means. If he chooses to stay on the side of good, his role becomes essentially passive: he has to overcome the attacks of the devil, and preserve the purity of his soul. On the other hand, if the personage is a sinner, he is rather more active: he blasphemes, he leads a life full of different sins, and so on. This situation changes when we deal with the sinners trying to atone for their sins: here they have to abandon their former way of life, and thus they act. Often their activity is symbolically represented as an act of leaving: the prostitutes depart from their towns, the bandits quit their bands, and so on.

There exist two possible outcomes of the events: the soul can be saved or can perish. If the soul is saved, the development of the events may finish here: as the devil is defeated, the personage may well live for a long time as example for those surrounding him. On the other hand, if the soul perishes, it is necessary to show it, so we are usually informed about the pitiful death of the sinner and his punishment in the other world.

> Personages

The personages of the stories can be divided into two groups: principal and secondary characters. Usually the principal personage is a person whose salvation is in doubt or

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whose virtues have to be shown. All the other personages contributing to or opposing the principal one are only secondary, and are mentioned only when it is necessary. In most cases monks play the main role, trying to flee from the temptations of this world and encountering different helpers and opponents. The helpers are different divine forces (Angels, martyrs, Apostles, and so on) or just personages who have already succeeded in the task: more virtuous monks, great fathers, and so on. The opponents are the forces of Evil in all their shapes: demons, tempting visions, dreams. There exist also personages who represent the worldly bonds for the ones saving their soul: the mother, relatives and friends, prostitutes with whom the main personage may fall in love, and so on.[79]

There exists also another case: the presence of two main personages, one of whom passes through some spiritual experience dealing with his soul, the other one being witness of this experience, whose task is to propagate the account of the things he saw.[80] Usually this witness is a virtuous monk or an innocent child who can see divine things.[81]

We hardly can speak about God and the devil as personages of the stories, but their presence is constant. The devil is behind all the tempting activity of all the secondary personages of the story, while God is behind all the salutary events which happen to the main personage. God also takes the final decision which stops all the development of the events and fixes a new, eternal equilibrium: the soul is saved or perishes.

> ➢ Life as a lesson

The stories of *Evergetinos* are educating by their purpose and thus are not only informing him, but also explaining things and giving important pieces of advice. Not only were they used as the examples of different ways of life by Evergetinos and his fellow monks, but, more surprisingly, they are revealed as hidden examples within the text itself by the very personages. Very often, at the end of some story, some of the personages explain to the others what lesson they have to find in these events and how they should interpret

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[79] *Evergetinos*, I, 1, 10; 12, 3; 15, 6.
[80] Possibly this case presents a parallel with a standard practice of Holy Fools who try to make the others think that they are real fools, but always find one person who knows their saintliness and their real deeds.
[81] *Evergetinos*, I, 7, 4; 7, 1.

them. Sometimes this role is played by some old and wise monk;[82] sometimes the supernatural personages explain why they act as they act here and now;[83] sometimes God himself by means of his Voice explains the hidden sense of the events.[84]

> ➢ Personages/Places

The places in connection with the activity of the personages have a strong symbolic meaning in *Evergetinos*. There are places to which some personages belong or do not belong; the presence of a person in a place to which he does not belong is considered to be a disruption. Thus, those monks who for some reason leave the monastery try to return there as soon as possible and, while staying in a place dangerous for them, they do not accept the rules of that place and try to make any contact with it as superficial as possible (the monk closes his eyes entering the city; the monk refuses to enter the house of his sister).[85] On the other hand the presence of strangers in the monastery is not welcomed by the monks, who try to drive them away as soon as they can.

Another example of the symbolism of the places is the situation of being on one's way. The road between the monastery and the city is a kind of place of transition where the direction of the movement has a very important meaning. The monks going to the city are going from God's place towards the worldly place and are thus approaching the dangers and the temptations of life. On the other hand, the prostitute leaving the brothel and the city and going towards the monastery is rejecting her sinful way of life and thus is saving her soul. If she dies on her way there, her soul is still saved.[86]

There are also places of direct contact between this world and the supernatural world. First of all it is the church, where God and the Saints communicate with the people and help them to fight their Enemy.[87] Another place of direct contact with the other world is the bed of a dying man. Usually he is visited by angels or demons (depending on his way of life) and other people present there can also communicate with them. It is also

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[82] ibid., 1, 4.
[83] ibid., 8, 4.
[84] ibid., 13, 1; 7, 1.
[85] ibid., 15, 1.
[86] ibid., 1, 4.
[87] ibid., 1, 6.

frequently the case that the death is commented on by the divine voice in order to provide an example to the people present. The cell or the cave of the monk can also be a place of contact between him and God, as happens in *Evergetinos*, I, 1, 5, where a praying monk was raised up by God directly from his dark and narrow cell to Heaven and then was returned.

> ➤ Time/Events

Some events are directly connected with the time of day. For example, the angels appear at dawn, the demons visit the sinners at midnight, the sinners die at night. Generally speaking, the night with its darkness is considered to be the time of the devil and his demons, who come to torture sinners, tempt and scare holy men, tempt the people with sensual visions, and so on. The day is the time of God, as is explicitly stated by a servant of the devil in *Evergetinos*, I, 8, 4, but unlike the devil, He is not limited to the daytime. If He finds it useful, He can drive away the dark and create day from night, but this is an exceptional event.

d. The World of Evergetinos: An overview.

The analysis in the preceding parts of this chapter permits us to draw an approximate picture of the world of Evergetinos. As in every synthesis some details will possibly lose their exact meaning, some details will be over- emphasized, and some will be lost altogether, but it will still provide a basis for further analysis.

Evergetinos does not provide any description of a person or a place independent of its role, or its social status; the monks act as is appropriate for monks, the prostitutes are the instruments of perdition, the relatives try to make the monk abandon his righteous way of life. The personages do not have any personality, but they are rather a kind of personification of certain virtues or sins common to humankind; they act according to these virtues or sins - in fact they *are* these virtues or sins, because they do not have any traits besides these.

The places where the personages are living are also quite common places, the nature of which is fully present in their names: a monastery is a monastery, nothing else; a cell is a cell; a brothel is a brothel. (I mean that monastery in the text does not refer to individual entities- monasteries with their own history, settings and so on, but it is a generic term always designating the same entity with a fixed symbolic meaning.) At the same time, being extremely poor in connotations from the "material" point of view, they are directly connected to the next world, and are the place of activity of supernatural forces.

The time of the events interests the narrator only in terms of its connection with the events: there is a certain time for the forces of evil, a certain time for the forces of good, a certain time for the death of the sinners, a certain time for the appearance of the angels. Time in itself does not have any meaning, and because of that it is passed over.

Thus the world of Evergetinos is a highly symbolic world: we do not find any real personages here, we do not find any indication of any precise time or place, but have only a combination of symbolic values which are not only provided as examples or lessons, but which *are* examples and lessons in themselves. The symbolic world has a direct connection with the supernatural world of Angels and demons, which seems to be much more real. Being enlightened and saved is not a fact worth mentioning in itself, but just a result of God's grace. Evergetinos is not very interested in the personages who are without tensions- those monks, for example, who lead a holy life from the beginning to the end; he rarely mentions such figures preferring to write about those whose life was marked by a significant break (in this case, for the saintly life), in which God's grace is a prominent factor.

The subject of the story is not the death of the person, but the fate of the soul; the death on the way to the monastery is a symbol of the salvation of the soul, but the salvation of the soul is not a symbol. It is the only thing which means anything, the only *real* thing. The general personages marked out as monks, soldiers, doctors, and so on, in their travels through the different places of this illusory world, are just a reflection of the confrontation between God and the devil (in the life of human being according to Evergetinos, the confrontation between these two powers is irreducible).

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Chapter III

Evergetinos' Use of his Sources: Palladius, Ephrem, the *Gerontikon*

Having compiled his collection of such a number of different sources, Evergetinos must have adapted their language and style to his own ideas about how his collection must look like. This chapter will analyze the peculiarities of his use of three works different in genre: the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, a number of collected stories about the most prominent desert fathers; different ascetic works of Ephrem the Syrian belonging to the genre of preaching; the *Gerontikon*, a collection of sayings and short stories concerning different desert fathers.

Evergetinos' Use of Palladius

In his work Evergetinos made rather moderate use of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, providing only 46 entries constituted from the excerpts from this work.[88] Now, how did Evergetinos process the material provided to him by this work?

In no case did Evergetinos repeat Palladius word for word; his version of the stories of the *Lausiac History* always differ in some details, sometimes only slightly, sometimes quite significantly. Roughly speaking, all the changes introduced in these stories by Evergetinos may be divided into two general groups.

First of all, we should discern that group which shows relatively little or insignificant discrepancies between the texts of stories provided by the *Lausiac History* and *Evergetinos,* which, however, do not affect (or do so only slightly) the initial structure and meaning of the story.

The second group comprises stories marked by such textual changes which clearly do affect the structure and the meaning of the initial story.

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[88] One entry could be constituted from several different excerpts.

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While the changes of the first group are probably more or less infrequent and not deliberate, possibly resulting from a textual tradition of the *Lausiac History* different from that in our possession, or to the method of Evergetinos (which will be discussed later), the changes of the second group may provide us with an important tool for understanding the purposes and ideas of Evergetinos concerning his own work: as it is doubtful that he introduced important changes because of ignorance or misunderstanding of Palladius' text, we may suppose that they result from his deliberate intervention in Palladius' text in order to make it better fit his collection.

> ➢ Minor Changes

Among the changes which do not affect the story itself could be enumerated different minor textual, grammatical, syntactic, and other changes which are found in abundance in Evergetinos' version of the *Lausiac History*. There is no point even in enumerating them all, because, as was said earlier, they are found literally everywhere but one example of these changes could be provided by an excerpt dealing with Evagrios the Deacon, which is one of the most closely related by Evergetinos:

Historia Lausiaca,[89] v. 38, s. 11, 1-4:

Τούτῳ ὤχλησεν εἰς βάρος ὁ τῆς πορνείας δαίμων, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγεῖτο· καὶ διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς γυμνὸς ἔστη ἐν τῷ φρέατι χειμῶνος ὄντος, ὡς καὶ παγῆναι αὐτοῦ τὰς σάρκας.

Evergetinos, II, 287, no.1:

Ὤχλησῃ ποτε τῷ μακαρίῳ Εὐαγρίῳ τῷ Διακόνῳ ὁ τῆς πορνείας δαίμων εἰς βάρος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν διηγήσατο, καὶ διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς γυμνὸς ἔστη ἐν φρέατι ἐν χειμῶνι, ὡς παγῆναι αὐτοῦ τὰς σάρκας.

It is evident that despite minor changes it is basically the same text with the same meaning. In this particular case it is even unclear whether the changes belong to Paul Evergetinos, or (except the name of the main personage deliberately inserted instead of toÚtJ which linked to now unexistant context) to the textual tradition of *Lausiac History*.

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[89] This, like all subsequent quotations, is taken from the edition of Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.

However, the changes could be more important and still not affect the story, as could be shown from the example of the beginning of the story of Pior:

Historia Lausiaca, v. 39, s. 1, 1. 1-10

Πίωρ τις Αἰγύπτιος νέος ἀποταξάμενος ἐξῆλθε τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρικοῦ, καὶ λόγον ἔδωκε τῷ θεῷ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ζήλου μηκέτι ἰδεῖν τινα τῶν ἰδίων. Μετὰ οὖν πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἡ ἀδελφὴ τούτου γηράσασα καὶ ἀκούσασα ὅτι ζῇ, εἰς ἔκστασιν ἤλαυνεν ἐὰν μὴ αὐτὸν ἴδῃ. Ἐλθεῖν δὲ μὴ δυναμένη ἐν τῇ πανερήμῳ, ἱκέτευσε τὸν κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐπίσκοπον γράψαι τοῖς πατράσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποστείλωσι καὶ ἴδῃ αὐτόν. Βίας οὖν αὐτῷ πολλῆς περιτεθείσης ἔδοξεν ἄλλον ἕνα παραλαβεῖν καὶ ὑπάγειν.

Evergetinos, I, 204, no. 1

Πίωρ τις ὀνόματι, Αἰγύπτιος τὸ γένει, νέος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, ἀποταξάμενος ἐξῆλθε τοῦ πατρικοῦ αὐτοῦ οἴκου δι' ὑπερβολὴν θείου ἔρωτος, καὶ λόγον ἔδωκε τῷ θεῷ μηκέτι ἰδεῖν τινα τῶν ἰδίων. Μετὰ οὖν πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἡ τούτου ἀδελφὴ γηράσασα, καὶ μαθοῦσα παρά τινος ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς ζῇ, εἰς ἔκστασιν ἤρχετο γλιχομένη τῆς τούτου θέας· μὴ δυναμένη οὖν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πανέρημον, ἱκέτευσε τὸν κατὰ τόπον ἐπίσκοπον γράψαι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἁγίοις πατράσι, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποστείλωσι καὶ ἴδῃ αὐτόν. Βίας οὖν αὐτῷ πολλῆς περιτεθείσης, ὑπακούσας τῶν Πατέρων, συμπαραλαβὼν ἄλλον ἕνα ἀπῆλθε·

The versions of this story have more important and more "authorized" discrepancies than the previous ones: the parallel constructions at the beginning of the text, for instance, are likely to have been consciously introduced by Evergetinos. Still the structure and the meaning of the two texts remain absolutely the same. This is usually not the case with other "authorized" departures from the *Lausiac History* made by Paul Evergetinos.

➢ Major Changes

The changes deliberately introduced by Evergetinos in the text excerpted from the *Lausiac History* usually depend on the place of the excerpt in the collection of *Evergetinos*. As the collection is divided into a considerable number of chapters, each bearing its proper title and concentrating on its own theme, the excerpts could not be

placed in just any place, but only in a certain place in the collection, a place which depended on the meaning of the excerpt.

Basically, this reason determined where the stories of Palladius should be placed, and, furthermore, what of their content had to be retained and what could be passed over. So, for example, this is how the story of St. Philoromos was transformed:

The story as it is found in the *Lausiac History* could be presented as follows (unfortunately, it is too big to be reproduced here):

1. Brief description of Philoromos, his origins and his time.[90]

2. An account of his fights with the demons of Carnal Pleasures (τῆς πορνείας) and Gluttony (τῆς γαστριμαργίας).[91]

3. An account of his relations with Basil the Great and the saying of Philoromos «Ἀφ' οὗ ἐμυσταγωγήθην καὶ ἀνεγεννήθην μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας, ἄρτον ἀλλότριον δωρεὰν οὐ βέβρωκα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόνων.»[92]

4. An account of his travel on foot through all the lands significant for a Christian: the tombs of the Apostles, Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and so on, accompanied by another sentence that «Οὐ μέμνημαί ποτε ἀποστὰς κατὰ νοῦν τοῦ θεοῦ μου.»[93]

The excerpt from this story of Palladius is found in the fourth chapter of the second book of the *Evergetinos*;[94] the chapter is entitled "That no one should be idle, but should work bodily, and that idleness is the cause of many bad things,"[95] accordingly, the whole story somehow changed its shape and is now presented as follows:

1. Information about Philoromos, the feelings of Basil the Great towards him, and his saying which now has considerably changed: Οὗτος ὁ μακάριος ἔφησεν, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ὥρας ἄρτον παρά τινος δωρεὰν οὐκ ἔφαγον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόνων τοῦ ἐργοχείρου διακόσια νομίσματα τοῖς λελωβημένοις δέδωκα.

2. The account of his trip through holy places and the sentence mentioned earlier.

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[90] *Historia Lausiaca*, v. 45, s. 1, l. 1-11.
[91] Ibid., v. 45, s. 2, l. 1-11.
[92] Ibid., v. 45, s. 3, l. 1-10.
[93] Ibid., v. 45, s. 4, l. 1-7.
[94] *Evergetinos*, II, 80.
[95] Ibid.

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Thus Evergetinos adapts the story provided by Palladius in order to make it fit the theme of the chapter. An even more interesting example can be found in Evergetinos' use of Palladius' story of Abba Moses:

The story of Moses in *Historia Lausiaca* contains the following material:

➢ the story about the impious way of life which Moses led before becoming a monk, namely the story about his vengeance upon some shepherd, when Moses took four of his rams and crossed the Nile with them in tow[96]

➢ the account of his becoming a monk, his repentance and persuading some of his fellow robbers to do the same[97]

➢ the story about the temptation of Moses by a demon of carnal pleasures and of his numerous attempts to fight this temptation;[98] this part of the story includes the account of different deeds of Moses intended to win the battle with the demon and of his final victory because of divine help

➢ the account about the end of his life being one of the most outstanding fathers in Scetis[99]

Evergetinos made quite good use of this material. In the first book, in the chapter entitled "That one should never despair of oneself even if one has sinned a lot, but hope for salvation because of one's repentance,"[100] he presents the aforementioned extract in the following form:

➢ the simplified story about impieties of Moses (just the story about the shepherd)

➢ his becoming a monk and persuading some former robbers to join him

➢ the end of his life as an outstanding father

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[96] *Historia Lausiaca*, v. 19, s. 1, l. 1 - s. 3, l. 5.
[97] Ibid., v. 19, s. 3, l. 6 - s. 4; l. 9.
[98] Ibid., v.19, s. 5, l. 1 - s. 11, l.6.
[99] ibid., v. 19, s. 11, l. 6 - s. 11, l. 10.
[100] *Evergetinos*, I, 23.

Thus presented, the situation, which in the original version was not regarded from this point of view, clearly and perfectly matches the title of the chapter and provides an illustration of how the atonement could transform an ex-robber into one of the most distinguished desert fathers.

In the second book of *Evergetinos*, in the chapter entitled "That we can not completely escape the carnal temptations without help of God who supports those who fight; and on complete purity,"[101] we encounter another fragment of Moses' history, namely, an abbreviated account of his fights with a demon of carnal temptation where he nearly fails and escapes only with God's help.[102] Again, the situation which did not stand out in Palladius' version of the story plays an important role in the *Evergetinos*.

Finally, in the fourth book we find an even more abbreviated version of the same story, but one which now is supposed to illustrate "How and when we have to participate in the Divine and what our conscience should be"[103] and is constructed in the following way:[104]

> ➢ the story about Moses' temptations

> ➢ his dialogue with St. Isidore about this problem and how to solve it

> ➢ the sentence of St. Isidore: "In the name of Jesus Christ, from this moment on your impure visions will cease and you will easily take part in divine mysteries."

Here again we see that the detail which was not different from others in the story of Palladius' plays the most important role here and permits Evergetinos to illustrate the theme of the chapter.

> ➢ Conclusions: Exemplification of the Stories

The main concern of Evergetinos when he was writing his compilation was to make the stories he used fit the chapters of his book, so that it could make them illustrate the themes of the chapters. In the *Lausiac History* of Palladius Evergetinos found a good source of stories about distinguished persons, but these stories, being compiled of many

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[101] *Evergetinos*, II, 304.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Evergetinos, IV, 520.
[104] Ibid.

different anecdotes and sayings of the persons in question, did not illustrate any precise idea,[105] and thus needed some changes in order to be used in the *Evergetinos*.

Paul Evergetinos skillfully introduced these changes in the stories while selecting and rewriting them for his collection: not all the material provided by the stories of Palladius' was used, but only the elements that supported the theme of the chapter where the story was used.

The nature of the minor changes found in the stories of Palladius' used in the *Evergetinos* could probably give us some hint about the method Paul Evergetinos used when writing his collection: in many cases the structure and meaning of the stories stayed practically unchanged while the structure, words, and word order of every particular sentence of the story underwent some transformation. This situation could probably mean that in many cases Evergetinos cited the *Lausiac History* from memory, without having the text to hand; thus he could more or less correctly reproduce the overall structure of the story he wanted to put in his collection, but had to improvise when writing it down.

Evergetinos' Use of the Works of Ephrem the Syrian

Ephrem the Syrian is the second most often cited author in the compilation of Paul Evergetinos,[106] and, unlike the first most cited one, the *Gerontikon*, on the one hand, there exists a more or less dependable textual tradition of Ephrem's works, on the other hand, his works are coherent and they have a specific internal structure. The analysis of their use by Evergetinos would contribute to our understanding of his method of compilation.

Comparing the text of Ephrem's works with the parallel texts provided in the *Evergetinos*, it is possible to divide them into two groups according to all the differences found in them. The first group is characterized by the differences which could well have resulted from different textual traditions followed by those of Ephrem's works in our possession and those used by Evergetinos. The second group would comprise texts with

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[105] Except, probably, the idea of godliness and holiness of the fathers.
[106] In the present chapter we deal only with Greek works ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian in Byzantium to which, for the sake of simplicity, we will refer as to the works belonging to Ephrem.

the differences which are likely to result from Evergetinos' activity as a redactor, that is, changes in the text which could hardly be understood in the framework of the textual tradition of Ephrem's works.

> Different Textual Traditions

While in most cases Evergetinos' text closely follows that of Ephrem, this only makes clearer the differences due to different textual traditions. Almost all possible types of these differences could be illustrated by the following example:

In the first book, in the chapter dedicated to the words of Holy Fathers,[107] Evergetinos uses the following excerpt from *Attende tibi ipsi* of Ephrem:

Attende tibi ipsi,[108] 8, 77-88:

Ἐάν τις ἐξείπῃ σοι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμούς, μὴ ἐξιχνιάζῃς ἐν τῷ πράγματι, ἐάνπερ ἀσθενῇ τὸ ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας σου, μήποτε ἐκείνου λέγοντος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀχληθήσῃ παθῶν καὶ ἔσῃ ὅμοιος κυβερνήτῃ ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι. Χρὴ οὖν ἀκούσαντας ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν λεγομένων τὰ ἐπόμενα νοεῖν καὶ οὕτως παρακαλεῖν τὸν θλιβόμενον, ἐξ ὧν παρειλήφαμεν ἐξ ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν, ἢ ἐξ ὧν ἐπειράθημεν ἡμεῖς. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου ἄλλον δι' ἄλλου καταπεσεῖνῥ τοὺς πάντας γὰρ αὐτὸς θέλει σωθῆναι. Σὺ δέ, ἀγαπητέ, μὴ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔκφαινέ σου τοὺς λογισμούς, ἀλλ' οὓς ἐὰν δοκιμάσῃς ὅτι πνευματικοί εἰσι

In *Evergetinos*, I, 287 we find this text provided in the following form:

Ἐὰν ἐξαγγέλλῃ σοι τις τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμούς, πρόσεχε, ἀδελφέ, μήποτε ἐκείνου λέγοντος, ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ σὺ ὀχληθήσῃ λογισμῶν, καὶ μάλιστα, εἰ ἔτι μικρὸν ἀσθενεῖ τὸ ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας σου, καὶ ἔσῃ ὅμοιος κυβερνήτῃ ἐν πολλῷ κλύδωνι. Ἀλλὰ χρὴ ἀκούσαντα σε τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν λεγομένων, ἐκ τούτων τὰ ἐπόμενα νοεῖν καὶ οὕτω παρακαλεῖν τὸν θλιβόμενον, ἀφ' ὧν προειλήφαμεν ἐξ Ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν, ἢ ἀφ' ὧν ἐπειράθημεν ἡμεῖς· οὐ γάρ ἐστι θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου ἄλλον δι' ἄλλου καταπεσεῖν· τοὺς γὰρ πάντας αὐτὸς θέλει σωθῆναι· καὶ σὺ δέ, ἀγαπητέ, μὴ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔκφαινέ σου τοὺς λογισμούς, ἀλλ' οἷς ἐὰν δοκιμάσῃς, ὅτι πνευματικοί εἰσι

It is easy to see that the difference between the two texts is minimal and works only on the lexical and grammatical level: : ἐξείπῃ is replaced with its synonym ἐξαγγέλλῃ;

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sometimes the enclitic τις changes its place in the sentence; instead of παρειλήφαμεν, we find used προειλήφαμεν, which is, basically, the same thing here; instead of ἐξ with the genitive the *Evergetinos* text contains ἀπό; there exists a difference in number with τὴν ἀρχήν - τὰς ἀρχάς; and so on. Certainly, all of these changes could have been introduced by Evergetinos himself, but this explanation does not seem necessary, as differences like this could easily be found in the *apparatus criticus* of any good edition of almost any ancient or medieval Greek text. Another argument indirectly supporting the idea that this sort of changes probably depends on the textual tradition of Ephrem's work and not on Evergetinos' activity as a redactor is that we could also find numerous excerpts from Ephrem in the *Evergetinos* that do match the initial text without any changes.

While compiling his work, Evergetinos had to introduce important changes in the texts of his excerpts from Ephrem's works in order to make them fit his standards. Usually, the goal of these changes was, on the one hand, to provide a brief account, a kind of summary of Ephrem's text which would correspond to the theme of the chapter, and on the other, to make an independent piece out of an excerpt deprived of its context.

> ➤ Minimal Changes

Very often, Evergetinos changed the excerpt as little as he could, only trying to make it look like a gramatically independent piece of writing. The change he introduced could be shown from the following example:

Ad imitationem proverbiorum, 196, 5-8:

Οὐκ ἐν πολυμαθίᾳ γραμμάτων σοφία, ἀλλά, καθὼς γέγραπται, ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος Κυρίου· τὸ δὲ γνῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς. Πίστις τίκτει διάνοιαν ἀγαθήν, διάνοια δὲ ἀγαθὴ ποταμὸς ὕδατος ζῶντος· καὶ ὁ κτησάμενος αὐτὴν ἐμπλησθήσεται τῶν ὑδάτων αὐτῆς.

Evergetinos, IV, 326, no.1:

Ἀδελφέ, οὐκ ἐν πολυμαθίᾳ γραμμάτων ἐστὶν ἡ σοφία, ἀλλά, καθὼς γέγραπται· ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος Κυρίου· τὸ δὲ γνῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς· πίστις γὰρ τίκτει διάνοιαν ἀγαθήν, διάνοια δὲ ἀγαθὴ ποταμὸς ὕδατος ζῶντος, καὶ ὁ κτησάμενος αὐτὴν ἐμπλησθήσεται τῶν ὑδάτων αὐτῆς.

Although the difference between these two texts is also very small, even less evident than in the previous example, in fact it is much more important here, because it is conscious and deliberate: a fragment of Ephrem's text, which, in fact, is a link in his chain of reasoning, is transformed into a separate piece by adding a vocative Ἀδελφέ, which plays the role of a marker of introduction of some statement, and by adding a verb to οὐκ ἐν πολυμαθίᾳ γραμμάτων σοφία and thus transforming it into a normal sentence.

➢ Compilatory Changes

In many cases Evergetinos just makes a selection of sentences or paragraphs from the works of Ephrem in order to create a brand new sermon dedicated to a particular theme. This is the case with *Evergetinos*, II, 577:

In the chapter "On the word and the silence, and how and when one should use them, and on the possibility that idle talk could be reproached,"[109] following entry εντιτλεδ Τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἐφραίμ is provided (by numbers in round brackets are marked the sentences coming from different works or from different locations in a single work):

(1) Οὐ χρονιεῖ μοναχὸς ἐν τόπῳ ἑνί, οὐδὲ εὑρήσει ἀνάπαυσιν, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσῃ τὴν σιωπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν. (2) Ὁ πληθύνων λόγους ἐν μέσῳ ἀδελφῶν, πληθύνει μάχας, καὶ πληθύνει μῖσος ἑαυτῷ. Φειδόμενος δὲ χειλέων, ἀγαπηθήσεται. (3) Ἀδελφέ, ἀθλητὴς ἀγωνιζόμενος στόμα αὐτοῦ σφίγγει, καὶ σὺ σφίγγε τὸ στόμα σου ἀπὸ τῶν περισσῶν καὶ ἕξεις ἀνάπαυσιν. (4) Ὁ πληθύνων λόγους αὐτοῦ βδελυχθήσεται, ὁ δὲ τηρῶν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἀγαπηθήσεται. (5) Ὁ φυλάσσων τὸ στόμα ἑαυτοῦ, τηρεῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν, ὁ δὲ προπετὴς χείλεσι, ποιήσει ἑαυτόν ἢ ἐγγίζει συντριβῇ, ὡς ἀλλαχοῦ γέγραπται. (6) Παράδεισος φραγμὸν μὴ ἔχων πατούμενος ἐρημοῦται, καὶ ὃς οὐ φυλάττει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στόμα ἀπολεῖ τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτοῦ. (7) Περὶ τῆς πολυλογίας νόει, Μοναχέ, ὅτι μυρίων λόγων τὸ τέλος σιγή. Προλαβὼν οὖν κέρδος ἤτοι τὴν σιωπήν, φεῦγε τὰς ζημίας. (8) Σιγὴ νεωτέρῳ, ὥσ περ ἵππῳ χαλινός· ὁ δὲ ἀχαλίνωτος πεσεῖται κακοῖς.

[109] *Evergetinos*, II, 573.

Although this short sermon seems to be (and is, formally speaking) quite intact and coherent, it is created by Evergetinos from eight sentences found on different works of Ephrem. Here a table of concordances is provided:

(1) Οὐ χρονιεῖ μοναχὸς ἐν τόπῳ ἑνὶ καὶ οὐχ εὑρήσει ἀνάπαυσιν, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἀγαπήσῃ τὴν σιωπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν (*Capita Centum*, 68, 1-2).

(2) Ὁ πληθύνων λόγους ἐν μέσῳ ἀδελφῶν, πληθύνει μάχας, καὶ πληθύνει μῖσος ἑαυτῷ· φειδόμενος δὲ χειλέων, ἀγαπηθήσεται (*Capita Centum*, 74, 1-2).

(3) Ἄκουε, ἀγαπητέ· ἀθλητὴς ἀγωνιζόμενος τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ σφίγγει, καὶ σὺ σφίγγε τὸ στόμα ἀπὸ τῶν περισσῶν, καὶ ἕξεις ἀνάπαυσιν (*Ad imitationem proverbiorum*, 216, 14-15).

(4) Ὁ πληθύνων λόγους αὐτοῦ βδελυχθήσεται, ὁ δὲ κρατῶν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἀγαπηθήσεται (*Ad imitationem proverbiorum*, 246, 2-3).

(5) Ὁ φυλάσσων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στόμα τηρεῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν, ὁ δὲ προπετὴς χείλεσι πτοήσει ἑαυτόν (*Ad imitationem proverbiorum*, 246, 11-12).

(6) Παράδεισος φραγμὸν μὴ ἔχων πατούμενος ἐρημοῦται, καὶ ὃς οὐ φυλάττει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ἀπολεῖ τοὺς καρπούς (*Ad imitationem proverbiorum*, 247, 3-4).

(7) Περὶ τῆς πολυλογίας νόει, μοναχέ, ὅτι μυρίων λόγων τὸ τέλος σιγή· προλαβὼν οὖν τὸ κέρδος, φεῦγε τὰς ζημίας (*Ad imitationem proverbiorum*, 250, 12-14).

(8) Σιγὴ νεωτέρῳ, ὥσπερ ἵππῳ χαλινός· ὁ δὲ ἀχαλίνωτος πεσεῖται κακοῖς (*Ad imitationem proverbiorum, 263, 13*).

Although he manages to finish with an independent piece of writing, the changes introduced by Evergetinos in every single sentence are almost nonexistent. This is not always the case: sometimes he considerably changes the material drawn from Ephrem's work.

> Radical Changes

The entry entitled Τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἐφραὶμ in *Evergetinos*, III, 264 is also constructed from the sentences taken from different places of the text, but if we compare it with the previous example it presents some peculiarities.

Evergetinos, III, 264:

(1) Ἀδελφέ, ἐὰν συμβῇ σοι ἀσθενείᾳ περιπεσεῖν, μὴ γράφε περὶ χρειῶν τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα συγγενέσι σου ἢ γνωστοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ φίλοις τοῖς κατὰ κόσμον, μηδὲ φεῦγε ἐπὶ νεκρὰν βοήθειαν καὶ σκέπην ἀνθρωπίνην· ἀλλὰ μακροθυμήσον μᾶλλον ἐλπίζων ἐπὶ Κῶριον, καὶ ἐκδεχόμενος τὸ παρ'αὐτοῦ ἔλεος, ἵνα σε κυβερνήσῃ κατὰ πάντα.

(2) Ὁ γὰρ συγχωρήσας σε συμφερόντως ἀρρωστῆσαι, αὐτός σου καὶ προνοήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐάσει σε πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύναμαι, κατὰ τὴν Γραφήν· τούτῳ οὖν εὐαρεστεῖν ἐν πᾶσιν σπουδάζωμεν, ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ ἡμῶν.

(3) Οἶδα γὰρ ἀδελφόν, ὃς ἀρρωστήσας ποτέ, ἐβιάζετο εἰς τὸ ἔργον, κλαίων δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ αὐτοῦ, παρεκάλει τὸν Κύριον ὑγιείαν αὐτῷ χαρίσασθαι λέγων· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, οἶδα ὅτι ἡ ἀρρωστία τοῦ σώματος εἰς θεραπείαν ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς μου, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ γένωμαι εἰς βάσταγμα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου, δέομαί σου, φιλάνθρωπε, αὐτὸς τῇ παρὰ σοῦ χάριτι ἴασαί μου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ τοῦ ἔλεος Θεός, καὶ ὁ ἰατρὸς τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, καὶ δέξαι μου τὴν μετάνοιαν, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ δεῖξον τὴν μεγαλωσύνην σου, καὶ τὰ πειρα καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστα ἐλέη σου, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμός.

(4) Οὕτω δεόμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ εὐθὺς ἰάθη.

Here are the sources of this entry as they are present in the texts of Ephrem:

(1) Ἐὰν συμβῇ σε ἀσθενείᾳ περιπεσεῖν, μὴ συνεχῶς γράφε τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα γονεῦσι· μὴ φεῦγε ἐπὶ νεκρὰν βοήθειαν καὶ σκέπην ἀνθρωπίνην· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μακροθυμήσωμεν ἐκδεχόμενοι τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα αὐτὸς κυβερνήσῃ ἡμᾶς κατὰ πάντα· ἔστι γὰρ καιρός, ὅτε καὶ ἡ σὰρξ ἐπιδέεται παιδείας. Ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τῷ Κυρίῳ εὐαρεστήσωμεν, ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ ἡμῶν (*Capita centum*, 55, 1-4).

(2) There is no similar text in Ephrem's works.

(3) Ἀδελφὸς ἠσθένησέ ποτε, καὶ βιαζόμενος ἑαυτὸν εἰργάζετο· κλαίων δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ αὐτοῦ, παρεκάλει τὸν Κύριον ὑγιείαν αὐτῷ χαρίσασθαι. Εἶτα πάλιν ἔλεγεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ· οἴμοι τῷ ἀμελεῖ· ἡ ψυχή μου καθ' ὥραν ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐ μέλει μοιρ καὶ ἵνα τὸ σῶμά μου μικρὸν κακωθῇ, μετὰ δακρύων τὴν ἴασιν αἰτοῦμαι παρὰ Κυρίου. Καὶ ἔλεγεν· Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἴασαί μου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἵνα μὴ γένωμαι εἰς βάσταγμα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, οὐχ ὅτι δέ, Κύριε, ἐξ ἰδίας δυνάμεως τρέφεται ἄνθρωπος. Ἐὰν μὴ σύ, Δέσποτα, ἐπιχορηγήσῃς τὰ δέοντα καὶ αὐτάρκη, ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐδέν ἐστι. Πλήν, Δέσποτα, καὶ τὴν ὑγιείαν χάρισαί μοι τῷ ἀχρείῳ δούλῳ σου, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν μετανοούντων, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ δείξῃς τὴν μεγαλωσύνην σου· καὶ εἶπε· τὸ ῥητὸν διὰ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, ὅταν ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυνατός εἰμι, εἰς ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐπληρώθη ἐπ' ἀληθείας. Ὅτε ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀσθενεῖ, τότε καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐκπερισσοῦ ζητεῖ τὸν Κύριον. Ἀγαθὴ οὖν ἡ παιδεία, ἐάνπερ

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εὐχαριστεῖ ὁ παιδευόμενος· εἰπάτω δὴ ὁ τοιοῦτος· εἰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐδεξάμεθα παρὰ Κυρίου, τὰ κακὰ οὐχ ὑποίσομεν; Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν (*Capita centum*, 56, 1-16).

(4) There is no similar text in Ephrem's work.

Comparing the version of Evergetinos with its sources one notices that, in fact, in the *Evergetinos* we find quite a different story. In the first and the second sentences Evergetinos summarizes his source more or less closely; that is to say that he states that a sick monk should seek help from God and not from anything earthly, but he further reworks the story about the monk, which initially was only an example of the situation described earlier, so that it becomes not only an example of the correct behavior of a sick monk, but also an example of God's instant help in this case. He achieves this result by rephrasing the prayer of the monk and by adding the information that the monk was healed. Finally, the whole story begins to look like an *exemplum* of God's help and not as an example of correct behavior.

> Conclusions

While Paul Evergetinos is happy to use the works of Ephrem the Syrian in his collection, he does not simply rewrite it piece by piece, but in case of need he freely changes the structure and even the meaning of the material he uses.

Small excerpts are usually included in the *Evergetinos* without major changes; at most the author can change the grammatical structure in order to make a more independent piece of text out of it. Dealing with large amounts of material, Paul Evergetinos usually abbreviates, it often creating one piece of text out of several in Ephrem's works. As a result of this compilation the initial story can be slightly changed or even completely reinterpreted.

Unlike the case of Palladius, it seems that Evergetinos had the works of Ephrem the Syrian to hand when he was writing his work: the citations usually closely follow the text provided in Ephrem's work; rephrasing occurs, as was mentioned earlier, usually when Evergetinos resumes the content of a larger piece of writing in several lines, and even then the key-terms and overall structure of the text are preserved. Another argument

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supporting the point of view that Evergetinos directly used the works of Ephrem is that in the entries compiled from several excerpts from the same work of Ephrem, Evergetinos usually follows the order of his source.

Evergetinos' Use of the *Gerontikon*

While comparing the *Evergetinos* with the *Lausiac History* of Palladius and ascetic works of Ephrem the Syrian, our task was simplified and somehow justified by the supposition that there existed some textual tradition of these works, one of the outcomes of which was in the possession of Paul Evergetinos and the scientifically approved outcome of which we now have in our possession, we do not have this certitude dealing with the collection of the *Gerontikon*.

In fact, taking into account the number of different extant collections of the *Gerontikon*, the basically different principles of their organization, and the fact that in the *Evergetinos* there is a number of sayings and stories ascribed to the *Gerontikon* but which are not found in any of the published collections, we could almost definitely state that we do not have in our possession any collection close to that one used by Paul Evergetinos. How, then, it is possible to make any comparison between this non-existent collection of sayings and sayings taken from it and changed by Paul Evergetinos?

A natural supposition would be that this comparison is impossible in principle: since we do not know what this presumed collection looked like, we do not have anything to compare with the *Evergetinos*: even if a part of Evergetinos' sayings is represented in the extant collections of the *Gerontikon*, still we can not be sure that these collections belong to the textual tradition of Paul's *Gerontikon*. Thus we do not have any proof that the difference between *Evergetinos'* sayings and the sayings of the collections in our possession are introduced by Paul himself and were not taken from the collection he used.

On closer analysis, however, a certain comparison seems more or less possible because of the following reasons: all the differences between different collections of the sayings mentioned earlier are relevant only when we deal with the collection of the

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sayings as a whole, that is, when we try to compare the structure and the content of the whole collections; or, in the case of *Evergetinos*, we do not compare the structure of some collection in our possession to some structure found in *Evergetinos*, but we compare the single elements of this structure, that is, the sayings.

It seems that the sayings passed through a huge number of different collections without important changes either in their structure or in their content, or in their attribution.[110] It is, in fact, quite understandable: every saying presented an interest exactly because of this peculiarity, that it was uttered in - or applied to - this particular case by this particular person and accordingly adjusted; thus they could not be changed without destroying the very reason for their existence.[111]

On the other hand, as it was demonstrated by the analysis of Paul's use of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius and works of Ephrem the Syrian, Evergetinos himself felt free to change the texts he used in order to better adjust them to his collection even if this distorted initial texts and changed their meaning.

As a result of these preliminary statements, a number of methodological assumptions relevant for our study of Evergetinos' use of the *Gerontikon* can be made: with some caution, we can suppose that while minor changes or changes dealing with peculiar details in the sayings found in *Evergetinos* in the comparison with existing collections of sayings could be just some by-product of a long textual tradition which is unfortunately unknown for us, the major changes found in the sayings are likely to have been introduced by Paul himself, acting as a redactor and compiler. In other words, Evergetinos' use of the *Gerontikon* could be analyzed on the same methodological basis that was employed in the analysis of his use of Palladius and Ephrem the Syrian.

In the same way, we can say that there are almost no sayings in the collection of Evergetinos which are not somehow different from the corresponding sayings in the collections of the *Gerontikon*. The amount and the importance of these changes vary considerably from case to case.

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[110] See Rubenson, *Letters,* 145-152.
[111] In fact, this is what makes possible any strict comparison between the collections written in different time periods and different languages.

➤ Minor Changes

All of these changes could be illustrated by an analysis of the story of the alphabetical collection found in *Patrologia Graeca* and the corresponding citation of the *Gerontikon* found in *Evergetinos*:

Collectio Aplphabetica,[112] 188, l. 14-28

Ἀδελφός τις καθεζόμενος εἰς τὰ Κελλία ἐταράσσετο καταμόνας· καὶ ἀπελθὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Θεόδωρον τὸν τῆς Φέρμης, εἶπεν αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ γέρων εἶπεν· Ὕπαγε, ταπείνωσον τὸν λογισμόν σου, καὶ ὑποτάγηθι, καὶ μεῖνον μετὰ ἄλλων. Καὶ ὑποστρέφει πρὸς τὸν γέροντα, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναπαύομαι. Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· Εἰ μόνος οὐκ ἀναπαύῃ, οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, διατὶ ἐξῆλθες εἰς τὸν μοναχόν; οὐχὶ ἵνα ὑποφέρῃς τὰς θλίψεις; εἰπὲ δέ μοι· Πόσα ἔτη ἔχεις εἰς τὸ σχῆμα; Λέγειρ Ὀκτώ. Εἶπεν οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· Φύσει ἔχω ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη, καὶ οὐδὲ μίαν ἡμέραν εὗρον ἀνάπαυσιν· καὶ σὺ εἰς ὀκτὼ ἔτη θέλεις ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχειν; Καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσας, ἑδραιωθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν.

Evergetinos, I, 613, no. 3.

Ἀδελφός τις καθεζόμενος εἰς τὰ κελλία, ἐταράσσετο κατὰ μόνας· καὶ ἀπελθὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Θεόδωρον τὸν τῆς Φέρμης, ἀήγγειλλεν αὐτῷ ὃ ἔπαθε· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ γέρων· ὕπαγε, ταπείνωσον τὸν λογισμόν σου, καὶ ὑποτάγηθι, καὶ μεῖνον μετὰ ἄλλων. Ὁ δὲ ἐποίησεν οὕτω· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὑποστρέψας πρὸς τὸν γέροντα εἶπεν· οὐδὲ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀναπαύομαι· καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ γέρων· καὶ εἰ οὐκ ἀναπαύῃ, οὔτε μόνος οὔτε μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ὑπομείναι, διατὶ ἐξῆλθες Μοναχός; οὐχ ἵνα ὑποφέρῃς τὰς θλίψεις; εἰπὲ δέ μοι πόσα ἔτη ἔχεις εἰς τὸ σχῆμα; καὶ ἀπεχρίθη, ὀκτώ· λέγει ὁ γέρων· φύσει, ἀδελφέ, ἔχω ἐν τῷ σχήματι ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη, καὶ οὐδέποτε εὗρον τελείαν ἀνάπαυσιν οὐδὲ μίαν ἡμέραν· καὶ σὺ εἰς ὀκτὼ ἔτη θέλεις τελείαν ἀνάπαυσιν; Καὶ ἑδραιωθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ γέροντος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀπῆλθεν.

In this case we are dealing with three types, of the following divergences:

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[112] This, like all subsequent quotations, is taken from the edition of Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.

First of all, there are lexical and grammatical differences. For example, εἶπεν is sometimes replaced by its synonyms in this context - ἀήγγειλλεν or λέγει; *praesens historicum* of ὑποστρέφει is replaced by *participium aoristi* ὑποστρέψας, and so on.

Then we deal with changes in the structure of the sentence: an old man's question is present in a slightly changed form in *Evergetinos*· διατὶ ἐξῆλθες εἰς τὸν μοναχόν; compared to διατὶ ἐξῆλθες Μοναχός; of the *Gerontikon*.

Finally, in the text provided by *Evergetinos* we find some information which is only implicitly present in the variant of the *Gerontikon*; so, for example, after the advice of the old man, the variant of the *Evergetinos* explicitly states that the young monk followed this advice and, accordingly, "returned after some time:" Ὁ δὲ ἐποίησεν οὕτω· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὑποστρέψας . . . in the *Evergetinos*, and so on.

Another case of implied information which is explicitly stated in the Evergetinos is the story of Amma Theodora:

Collectio alphabetica, 204, 23-28:

Εἶπε πάλιν ἡ ᾿Αμμᾶς Θεοδώρα, ὅτι ῏Ην τις μοναχός· καὶ ἀπὸ πλήθους τῶν πειρασμῶν λέγει· ῾Υπάγω ἔνθεν. Καὶ ὡς ἔβαλεν ἑαυτοῦ τὰ σανδάλια, ὁρᾷ ἄνθρωπον ἄλλον βάλλοντα καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ σανδάλια αὐτοῦ, καὶ λέγοντα αὐτῷ· Οὐ δι᾿ ἐμὲ ἐξέρχῃ; ἰδοὺ ἐγώ σε προάγω ὅπου ἐὰν ἀπέρχῃ.

Evergetinos, I, 576:

Εἶπε ἡ ᾿Αμμᾶς Θεοδώρα, ὅτι ἦν τις μοναχός· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πειρασμῶν λέγει πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὕπαγε ἔνθεν. Καὶ ὡς ἔλαβεν αὐτοῦ τὰ σανδάλια, ὁρᾷ ἄνθρωπον βάλλοντα καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ σανδάλια αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντα αὐτῷ· Οὐ δι᾿ ἐμὲ ἐξέρχῃ; ἰδοὺ ἐγώ σου προάγω ὅπου ἐὰν ἀπέρχῃ· ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ δαίμων ὁ πειράζων αὐτόν.

Not only we are dealing here with slightly different details of the story (which are, however, very well understandable in the frames of the textual tradition of the *Gerontikon*), but we are also provided with the information that the man the monk saw was actually a demon.

It is clear that these changes do not alter the structure and the meaning of the story, and nor do they influence the overall style of it much. Accordingly, we may suppose that

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these changes could well have been introduced in the story at any stage during its existence in the framework of the *Gerontikon* tradition. This is, however, not the case with all of the changes in *Evergetinos.*

> Major Changes

A number of sayings from the Gerontikon are considerably changed in the collection of the *Evergetinos* and it seems that these changes could hardly have resulted from the tradition of the *Gerontikon* itself.

A good example of this type of difference is present in the story of *Evergetinos*, I, 134 in comparison with the story of *Collectio anonyma*, 135:

The story is about a man who wanted to become a monk, but whose mother tried to dissuade him by all means. Finally he left his home and his desire was realized, but one day he fell ill and saw a vision, where he was present at the Last Judgement and saw his mother, who had died not long ago, among the condemned. His mother also saw him and addressed him with words of reproach, asking what he was doing there, he who left home in order to save his soul.

Until this, both stories provide quite a similar account, but later the accounts are slightly different; this is what we find in the version of the *Gerontikon*:

Ὡς δὲ τέλος ἔσχεν ἡ ὅρασις, ἐπανέρχεται εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ διηγεῖτο τοῖς παροῦσι ταῦτα. Πρὸς δὲ βεβαίωσιν καὶ πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων, παρεσκεύασέ τινα ἀπελθεῖν εἰς ὃ ἤκουσε κοινόβιον, καὶ ἰδεῖν εἰ ἐκοιμήθην ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀδελφὸς περὶ οὗ ἤκουσεν. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ πεμφθείς, εὗρεν οὕτως. Ὅτε δὲ ἀνέλαβε καὶ ἐγένετο ἑαυτοῦ, κατακλείσας ἑαυτὸν ἐκάθισε φροντίζων τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, μετανοῶν καὶ κλαίων ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἔπραξεν ἐν ἀμελείᾳ τὸ πρότερον. Τοσαύτη δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ κατάνυξις, ὥστε πολλοὺς παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐνδοῦναι μικρὸν, μήποτε καὶ βλάβην τινὰ ὑπομείνῃ διὰ τὴν ἀμετρίαν τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελε παρακληθῆναι λέγων· Εἰ τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν τῆς μητρός μου οὐκ ἤνεγκα, πῶς τὴν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ἐνέγκω αἰσχύνην ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως.

The version of the *Evergetinos* presents some supplementary details in the account of these events:

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Ὅτε οὖν ἀνέλαβεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας, ἐγκλεισάμενος ἐκάθισε φροντίζων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτερίας, μετανοῶν τε καὶ πενθῶν ἐφ'οἷς ἔπραξεν ἐν ἀμελείᾳ τὸ πρότερον· τοσαύτε δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ κατάνυξις καὶ τὸ δάκρυον, ὥς τε πολλοὺς τῶν ὁρώντων δυσωπεῖν αὐτὸν ενδοῦναι μικρόν, μή ποτε καὶ βλάβην τινα ὑποστῇ, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ κλαυθμοῦ ἀμετρίας· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἤτελε παρακληθῆναι, λέγων· εἰ τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν τῆς μητρός μου οὐκ ἔνεγκα, πῶς τὴν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀγγέλων, καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ἐνέγκω αἰσχύνην ἐν ἡμέρα τῆς κτίσεως;

Finally, we find a part which is simply absent fron the *Gerontikon*:

Πρόσχωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἀγωνιζώμεθα πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα καὶ τὴν τῶν συγγενῶν ἡμῖν κατὰ σάρκα καὶ λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἡμῶν ὑπόληψιν, ὧν ἀπέστημεν ὁμολογουμένως διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν εὐαρέστησιν· εἰ δὲ ἄλλως βιώσομεν (ὃ μὴ γένοιτο), πῶς τὴν ἐν τῷ φοβερῷ κριτηρίῳ αἰσχύνην ἐνέγκωμεν, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς ἄνω καὶ κάτω κτίσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν ποτε οἰκείων ἡμῶν καὶ γνωστῶν, οὓς ἐφύγομεν, ἵνα Θεῷ προσχωρήσωμεν; τότε οὖν εἰ καὶ αὐτοῖς συγκατακριθείημεν, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡμῶν κακοῖς ἅπασι, καὶ τούτους κατηγόρους, καὶ ὀνειδιστὰς ἕξομεν, εἰ καὶ τὸν συνκλητικὸν ἀπολέσαντες, ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν Ἁγίων, οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Μοναχοῦ κατωρθώσαμεν, διὸ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξήλθομεν.

It seems that while the differences between first two fragments of text could result from differences in the tradition of the *Gerontikon* which Paul Evergetinos used, it is very improbable when we deal with the concluding fragment of the story. In fact, this does not match the common characteristics of this genre of sayings: this fragment is not presented as a saying of one person to another, but as a kind of preaching which is not included in the story, but is addressed from the perspective of the first person (the author) to his audience (the readers or listeners). It could be supposed that this is an excerpt from some other work, comparable, for example, to the works of Ephrem, but evidently this is not the case, because the content of this conclusion closely follows the meaning of the story and makes more evident the motifs, which is important for this chapter of Evergetinos' work, entitled "On those who die and then revive; that it happens according to God's will; and that often the sinners, still being alive, are scared seeing the places of torture found in Hell and the demons; and thus the souls separate from the bodies."[113]

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[113] *Evergetinos*, I, 121.

Accordingly, we have to suppose that Evergetinos wrote this conclusion himself in order to make the sense of his citation clear in the framework of the announced theme of the chapter. This is not a unique case, for example, we find more or less the same situation in *Evergetinos*, II, 246; *Evergetinos*, II, 475; *Evergetinos*, III, 106; and so on.

> ➢ Type of the Collection

Although we do not have in our possession the collection of the sayings that Evergetinos used, we still can formulate several ideas about its shape and structure.

It does not seem that we deal with an alphabetic collection here. Not only would the nature of the *Evergetinos* make it more comfortable to use systematic collection, but we also do not find any trace of distribution tending to use the sayings of fathers beginning with one particular letter on a more regular basis than other sayings.

Taking it into account that the distribution of sayings found in the *Evergetinos* does not match the distribution in extant systematic collections, and that several sayings found in the *Evergetinos* are not attested anywhere else, one can reasonably conclude that while writing his work, Paul Evergetinos used some systematic collection which differed considerably from the extant ones. However, it seems possible to reconstruct it, based on our knowledge of Evergetinos' method of using his sources: as was demonstrated when dealing with Ephrem the Syrian, usually the order of Evergetinos' quotations of his source matches the order of the source itself. Accordingly, the *Gerontikon* of Paul Evergetinos could be partly restored by collecting the sayings from the *Evergetinos* and distributing them, still conserving their order, according to twenty-one traditional chapters of any systematic collection.[114]

> ➢ Conclusions

Although we do not have in our possession a collection of the *Gerontikon* comparable to the one used by Paul Evergetinos, it still seems possible to formulate the following conclusions concerning his processing of his source's material:

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[114] According to Guy, every systematic collection is constituted by twenty one chapters which could bear different titles, but the themes and the order of which is always the same (Guy, *Recherches*, 118-119).

In most cases Evergetinos does not introduce any change in the sayings of the *Gerontikon* that he uses in his collection; he is content only to distribute them according to the theme of the his chapters.

On the other hand, sometimes Evergetinos considers it necessary to state the idea expressed by a saying or a story more explicitly, and adds his own commentary to it. This commentary is never introduced into the saying or story itself so that it would change the structure of it; normally, it is placed immediately after the excerpt from the *Gerontikon* and contains a brief summary of the most important ideas expressed in it and sometimes a kind of interpretation of it in the framework of the theme of the chapter. This commentary usually has a form of a sermon addressed from the author to the readers/listeners.

Chapter IV

Conclusions: Author's Approach

In the previous chapter the use of three different sources by Paul Evergetinos was analyzed. These sources are different not only by name, but also by genre: while the *Gerontikon* is a compilation of stories independent of each other, the *Lausiac History* is an author's work based on stories similar to those of the *Gerontikon*, and, finally, the works of Ephrem the Syrian are represented by different sermons.

The analysis of Evergetinos' strategies in adapting such disparate texts to fit his collection could possibly allow us to draw several conclusions about whether the *Evergetinos* could be considered as a whole, somehow coherent, work, or whether it is just a plain compilation without any internal unity.

When we speak about the "internal unity" of a text, we can speak about two different things. Naturally, if we begin our analysis from the text itself, by internal unity we understand the situation when the text is written on more or less the same level of prose, uses more or less the same words, belongs to a particular genre or literary style, and so on. Clearly, this is not the case with the *Evergetinos*. Having drawn his material from more than fifteen sources belonging to different genres, different time periods, and different geographical regions, the author naturally could not unify his work. In fact, as is clear from the arrangement of the quotations in the collection, he did not even try to do this: each excerpt from every single author is presented separately, with its own standard title, and without any textual attempt to connect it with the "context" - which actually consists of similar isolated excerpts. From this point of view, there can be no doubt about the "internal unity" of the *Evergetinos*; it simply does not exist.

But this is not the only possible interpretation of the "internal unity" of this collection. Another one involves looking at the text from the author's point of view, and asking the following questions: how far could and did the author influence the sources he used while compiling them in his own collection? We may also consider the collection from the perspective of purpose, trying to determine to what extent the sources are

reworked to fulfill a particular purpose of this collection. Certainly, these are very intricate questions, because the only information we can glean about the author's way of writing, as well as about his purposes, must itself be drawn from that same text of his collection, but still it seems to be a problem deserving of some exploration.

In fact, a general answer to these question is already found in the composition of the work: taking into account the carefully constructed structure and rational goal of the collection (to provide a kind of exhaustive educational reading for monks), it is obvious that it has some internal unity. But while we can certainly speak about a coherent structure of the whole work and its parts, it does not logically follow that the same situation will be found on the level of single entries provided in the collection of Paul Evergetinos. A comparative analysis of the author's role in the creation of his text might be of value here, and could contribute to our understanding of it: we could try to ascertain how far he was dependent on the source texts of his collection, how easily and how freely he could introduce changes into initial texts, and, finally, how he used this possibility,.

So, how did Evergetinos use three of his sources? The general analysis will be divided into three categories, to answer three questions: firstly, how closely he follows the text of his source (if there is any possibility that we can find it out); secondly, how easily he introduces changes in his sources' texts; thirdly, how he uses his ability to change his material.

> Textual Correspondences

We can not positively affirm anything concerning the *Gerontikon* here, because we do not have in our possession the collection used by Evergetinos. The comparison between his version of sayings and stories and the version provided in the extant collections of the *Apophthegmata* reveals considerable differences on both the textual and the grammatical level, but we cannot apply this conclusion to the relations between Evergetinos' excerpts and the collection of the sayings in his possession.

In the case of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, if we suppose that the version of the *Lausiac History* in our possession belongs to the same textual tradition as the version of

Evergetinos, then we have to admit that the excerpts made by Evergetinos are rather different from the text of the *Lausiac History*. This difference is so important that maybe we could suppose that it was provoked by the fact that Evergetinos did not have the text of *Lausiac History* to hand while writing his collection, and so had to summarize it from memory - thus keeping the overall structure of the stories he summarized, but almost completely changing the words and construction of the sentences in his collection.

Finally, when we deal with Ephrem the Syrian, the situation is completely different: in most cases Evergetinos follows the text of Ephrem very closely; the minor differences between their versions could easily be ascribed to *variae lectiones* of the textual tradition.

Thus we are dealing with three different situations; however, if the explanation that Evergetinos had to summarize the *Lausiac History* using only his memory is valid, perhaps we could suppose that in general his excerpts remained quite close to the source text, just as we see in the case of Ephrem the Syrian. If it was not Evergetinos' style of work, then the excerpts from the works of Ephrem would also be quite different from the original.

> Changes in the Texts

In this respect the results of the analyses of all the sources are rather similar. in every case: Evergetinos can, and does, in case of need, change his sources on the lexical and grammatical level; he also can easily change the structure of his sources in order to make it fit his requirements, but he does not regularly do this. So, for example, he adds his own commentaries to some stories of the *Gerontikon*, but not to all of them; he interprets one and the same story differently from different points of view when dealing with the *Lausiac History*, but he uses another story only once and without any changes; he compiles several sermons of Ephrem the Syrian into one which has a different sense, and at the same time he provides a considerable number of excerpts form Ephrem's works which do not differ from the initial text at all.

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> Purpose of Changes

Evergetinos feels free to change the structure, form and even content of his source, but he does not use this freedom to create a textually unified work out of many excerpts different in genre and in style. It seems that Evergetinos changes the material only in order to make it fit the purpose of his work better; in every single case his main concern is to provide a better illustration to the theme declared in the title of the chapter. Accordingly, the changes are usually supposed to make the didactic side of the material clearer and more explicit. The conclusions in the excerpts from the *Gerontikon* provide short and polyvalent stories with a definitive explanation and interpretation which puts them in the framework of the given chapter. The triple use of the story about Moses taken from the *Lausiac History*, and the changes made in every version of it, are also provoked by the desire to make this or that particular meaning more clear. Finally, in his excerpts from the works of Ephrem the Syrian, Evergetinos includes those fragments which are the most appropriate for this particular theme of the chapter, sometimes even changing the sense of it.

Accordingly, it seems that from the author-purpose point of view, the collection of Evergetinos represents quite a unified and coherent text, but its coherence is engendered not by the bounds and links internal to the text itself, but by the unity of purpose and consequent use of every element of the collection in order to fulfill its goal as well as it can.

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