

Yuliya Minets

**CONSTRUCTING IDEALS OF CHRISTIAN LIFE:  
STRATEGIES OF INTERPRETATION OF THE BIBLE IN  
THE *LAUSIAC HISTORY* OF PALLADIUS OF HELLENOPOLIS**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

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Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

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I, the undersigned, Yuliya Minets, candidate for the MA 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 the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 26 May 2008

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Signature

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## INTRODUCTION

The transition from paganism and the ancient Graeco-Roman culture to Christianity, the development of the Christian religion in the fourth and the fifth centuries A.D. needed to be supported by elaborated narratives in which the representation of ideal Christian lifestyle(s) would be given, and ideals and values of righteousness and asceticism would be proposed and expounded.

The main research question of the present study is how biblical texts were used to construct ideals of exemplary Christian lives in the early Eastern Christian writings while paying particular attention to the different purposes and the “target audiences” of the texts analyzed. The rhetorical structures<sup>1</sup> where the biblical quotations, references, and allusions to the Scripture were used will be investigated as well as their understanding and interpretation by Late Antique Christian authors, the meanings which were read into the sacred texts and used for developing ideas and ideal images of Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries. The main source for this study is the text authored by Palladius, the bishop of Hellenopolis (363/364 – 431), the *Lausiac History*. Another work of the same author, the *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom*, will also be used as a term of comparison. Furthermore, wherever it is necessary to define the position of Palladius and his works in his contemporary context, I will also discuss other texts which constituted the Christian discourse in the fourth – fifth centuries.

The present study belongs to the rapidly developing academic field which investigates the processes of the construction of Christian discourse in the cultural and ideological conditions of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages; its conclusions

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<sup>1</sup> By the term “rhetoric” or “rhetorical structure” which will be frequently used in the current work I mean the same concept as was used by Averil Cameron: “Finally, a problem with the word “rhetoric,” for I do not (obviously) use it in its technical sense, but rather in the current, far looser sense it seems to have acquired, by which it can mean something like “characteristic means or ways of expression”” in *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*, Sather Classical Lectures 55 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 13.

should be relevant for the understanding of the processes of creating Christian narrative as a complex, articulated system of texts meant to encapsulate and enforce a certain worldview.

My own contribution will be the clarification of the ways and methods in which biblical texts were used by some Eastern Christian writers in order to build up different ideals of Christian life depending on the aims and potential audiences of their texts. Previous researchers who adopted this approach, most of all Elizabeth Clark, have focused especially on the Western part of the Christian world and on Latin writings. Similar research on the Greek texts produced by Christian authors in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity are, to the best of my knowledge, not too well represented in the existing scholarship. Palladius is crucial for such an investigation because this author was able to produce two texts which are very different from each other in terms of style, language, and level of theological elaboration, precisely because they targeted two very different audiences.<sup>2</sup>

### **The Aim and Subject of the Study**

My research analyzes the different strategies employed by Palladius when he uses and interprets the text of the Bible in his works in order to construct and present to his readership ideals of Christian life. I investigate the representation of different types of the exemplary Christian life in the texts of Palladius, including the monastic ideal, the secular ascetic ideal appropriate for ordinary Christians, and the ideal of the authoritative Church leader.

The objectives of the present study are, first of all, to characterize Palladius's strategies of using and reworking biblical texts (i. e., his rhetorical strategies),

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<sup>2</sup> See below the section about the sources.



especially when he made deliberate changes to the meaning of the passages from the Scripture he quoted or when he introduced a new emphasis in them by intentionally changing the text and the context of biblical words. Second, I will try to define the exemplary images and ideas which Palladius produced from such reading of the Scripture, and place them in his contemporary cultural, literary, and ideological context. This will offer the opportunity to trace the development of the key issues, concepts, and ideas of the Christian discourse from within as far as it is possible for a modern scholar.

In other words, by beginning with the textological aspects of Palladius' works, I move beyond these, to the level of the development and transformation of ideas, that is, to the level of mental processes such as self-understanding and identity; this approach helps us to understand the construction of the Christian discourse.

One very important point, in which I strongly believe, is also worth mentioning: there was no solid, unitary whole that can be labeled "the Christianity of the fourth-fifth centuries." The most important point is to understand that there were many different trends and parties inside "Christianity itself." These developed in different, sometimes even contradictory, ways. Moreover, one should exclude teleological approaches and retrospective projections of our modern understating of later Christianity onto its early origins: it was not obvious that Christianity would develop as it did.

### **Issues of Methodology**

My research is a part of the historical field on the crossroads of textual studies, the history of ideas and mentalities. It is also related to hermeneutics, semiotics, and theories of narrative. Particularly, I share the idea that every text is connected with previous literary tradition and depends on previous texts even more than it is connected with the reality of life which this text tries to explain or describe. Therefore, I will use

some concepts originally formulated in the framework of poststructuralism, namely, the intertextuality and discourse.

The concept of intertextuality, used in my study, grounds on the premise that history and society are something that can be read as a text; this idea results in the understanding of the whole human culture as a united inter-text. Moreover, this inter-text is the pre-text of any newly created text.<sup>3</sup> Roland Barthes precisely expressed this idea: “Every text is an intertext; other texts are present in it, at varying levels, in more or less recognizable forms: earlier cultural texts and those of the surrounding culture; every text is a new texture of passing citations... Intertextuality, the condition of every text, no matter what it is, is obviously not limited to a problem of sources or influences; it is the common field of the anonymous formulations, whose origins are difficult to find, unconscious and automatic quotations which are given without quotation marks.”<sup>4</sup> All this is very important for understanding of the methodological background of our study, not only because it is the study analyzes literal quotations from the Bible, but, first of all, because the *Lausiac History* also can be consider as some kind of intertext containing unconscious and semi-unconscious “quotations.” The attempts to find their origins allow us to place Paladius’ work in the coordinates of his contemporary Christian discourse.

Here another important concept needs to be introduced, namely, the concept of discourse. I understand it as corpus of all has been were written in the frame of a single ideology or *Weltanschauung*, and where the usual categories such as “an author,” “a

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<sup>3</sup> On this assumption, Julia Kristeva introduced the concept of intertextuality, so important for my study, and noted: “Any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another.” Julia Kristeva, “Word, Dialogue, and Novel,” in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 37.

<sup>4</sup> R. Barthes, “Texte,” in *Encyclopedia universalis*, vol. 15 (Paris: Encyclopedia universalis, 1973), 1015.

work,” or “a book” become watered down.<sup>5</sup> Averil Cameron, in *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, demonstrates how this concept can be employed in the studies of the Late Antiquity. She emphasized the fact that Christian discourse, as any other discourse, was artificially elaborated; it was elaborated under the influence of the rhetoric as it was presented in the literary tradition of the Roman Empire.<sup>6</sup> As Averil Cameron showed, early Christian authors writing their texts and providing ideals of Christian righteousness relied mostly on the Bible as the main source for ideas, images, personalities, and plots.

In other words, the text an author writes depends heavily on the texts this author has read and used before; for Christian author of the fourth-fifth centuries there were, first of all, the Bible, and previous works which refer to or discuss biblical texts. Here I do not have in mind only literal borrowings, but also allusions, and the use the same narrative strategies and organizational patterns as ones of previous authors.

At the same time, I do not share the idea that the use of certain cultural quotations completely belongs to the sphere of the unconscious.<sup>7</sup> My position on this issue is closer to the hermeneutical approach of Hans-Georg Gadamer,<sup>8</sup> and his thesis about the existence of the primary meaning of the text that was inserted by the author and which is in a significant measure defined by culture. This means that modern interpreters are able to attempt to look for the primary meaning of the text and the author’s intentions. In this way, by the use of achievements of the two approaches, i.e., post-structuralism and the hermeneutical theory, I am convinced that, through an analysis of the hypothetical circle of the works the author read and of his intellectual

<sup>5</sup> Originally this idea was expressed by Michel Foucault in his “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?” in *Dits et écrits*, vol. 1 (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1994), 789 – 821.

<sup>6</sup> Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*.

<sup>7</sup> as is argued by Roland Barthes and Julia Kristeva.

<sup>8</sup> Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, tr. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall, 2d rev. ed. (New York: Continuum, 2003).

environment, some meanings of the text can be found which are important, even though not obvious at first sight.

The issue to what extent these modern theories can be used in the studies on the Christian writings of the Late Antiquity was discussed in articles of Averil Cameron, Elizabeth Clark, and Philip Rousseau,<sup>9</sup> and in the work of Elizabeth Clark *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn*. Clark demonstrates the opportunities and limitations of contemporary linguistic approaches for pre-modern textual studies; she also gives illustrative examples about how various theoretical approaches might illuminate ancient texts. Particularly important for my own approach in the present study is the following remark about biblical texts and Christian writings of Late Antiquity: “Early Christian writers also struggled to overcome the contradictions and fill in the gaps in biblical texts. Their own writings, too, reveal problems and aporias that signal for modern readers the textual and extratextual conflicts in which these writers were mired.”<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth Clark emphasizes the necessity to contextualize every text, but also mentions the difficulties connected with contextualization: “But with critics of contextualism, it recognizes that contexts may be either unknown or multiple, are variously assigned by different readers, and largely come to scholars of premodernity in already-textualized form; although historians will doubtless continue to accord an important place to contextualization, it should be one that takes account of these issues.”<sup>11</sup>

In my opinion, the best examples of practical realization of the approach I plan

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<sup>9</sup> Averil Cameron, “History and the Individuality of the Historian: The Interpretation of Late Antiquity,” in *The Past before Us. The Challenge of Historiographies of Late Antiquity*, ed. Carole Straw and Richard Lim (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 69-77; Elizabeth Clark, “Rewriting the History of Early Christianity,” in *ibid.*, 61-68; Philip Rousseau, “The Historiography of Asceticism: Current Achievements and future Opportunities,” in *ibid.*, 89-101.

<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 171.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *History, Theory, Text*, 157.

to follow can be found in the research of Averil Cameron,<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Clark, and Georgia Frank. Elizabeth Clark, in *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity*, shows that writers used different methods and rhetorical tools in order to produce ascetic and Christian meaning from the Bible.<sup>13</sup> The fact is that the Bible itself includes different types of texts, such as those which are appropriate and ready-to-hand for providing Christian concepts and ideals, as well as those which seemed inappropriate or weakly appropriate for this purpose. This is especially true for the texts of the Old Testament. Elizabeth Clark investigates how Christian authors used biblical texts in direct and indirect quotation, as references, borrowed fragments, and how they deliberately changed the emphasis of biblical passages by changing both their text and context in order to provide ascetic meaning. Moreover, Palladius was given special attention in the work of Georgia Frank, but she considered mostly his perception of pilgrimage and the main biblical examples connected with it.<sup>14</sup>

The practical methods I intend to apply in my study of the *Lausiac History* include textual (*verbatim* quotations and quotations with less important or secondary literal changes) and contextual analysis (references, allusions, and inexact quotations) of biblical fragments in the *Lausiac History*. I will look at their changes in comparison with the text of the Bible trying to relate this to the audience and the purpose of the text. I also intend to compare Palladius' treatment of biblical passages with examples of similar use in the texts of other Christian writers of the time.

Some practical remarks about my approach to the *Lausiac History* also are also in order here. The logical chain of work is the following: first, I identify a biblical quotation or reference in the text of the *Lausiac History*; second, I assemble all the

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<sup>12</sup> Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*.

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Clark, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

differences in the readings of the same fragment in different manuscripts of Palladius' work according to the apparatus of the critical editions; third, I check the same fragment with the help of the critical editions of the Bible in order to avoid taking into account casual and secondary changes; then I mean to compare the contexts in which the same fragment was used in the Bible and in the *Lausiac History*; I will also attempt to define the strategies of change and correspondingly, the possible purpose and the target audience these changes imply; I trace where, when, how, and why the same quotations and references were used by authors contemporary to Palladius, and in such a way introduce my results into the general discourse of Late Antique Christian literature.

### **The Primary Sources of the Study**

I will conduct the present study focusing on one of the most important authors of Eastern Christianity, Palladius, the bishop of Hellenopolis (c. 363/364 – c. 431), and his texts, especially the *Lausiac History* and, where necessary, the *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom*.

These texts are particularly interesting due to the fact that they were written by one author, but differ considerably both from a linguistic point of view and in their contents. The texts differ in features of style and rhetorical organization, in the level of theological understanding and elaboration of ideas, in the use of well-known patterns and examples from the Bible, early Christian writings, and from the literature of the Classical world. This can be explained by the different audiences they targeted: a wide public of ordinary Christians for the former and well-educated readers from the highest layers of secular and Church circles for the latter.

The text of the Bible against which I check the scriptural quotations in

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<sup>14</sup> Georgia Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

Palladius' works is the Gottingen critical edition of the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament (in its different text forms).<sup>15</sup> As additional sources I use the texts of other Eastern Christian writers of Palladius' time, with special attention to the figures who had a close relationship with or significant influence on Palladius, such as John Chrysostom, Evagrius Ponticus, Origen, Basil the Great, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus.

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<sup>15</sup> *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, 16 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960-2007); *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, ed. Barbara and Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994); *The New Testament in the Original Greek Byzantine Textform*, ed. Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont (Southborough: Chilton Book Publishing, 2005).

## CHAPTER ONE

### The Author and his Works in their Contemporary Context

#### 1.1 *Palladius, the bishop of Hellenopolis*

In this chapter I will, first, clarify some points and reconstruct the chronology of important events in Palladius' life, especially in connection with his educational and social background, intellectual circle, and teachers (John Chrysostom, Evagrius Ponticus, Rufinus). Second, I will characterize the works of Palladius—the *Lausiaca History* and the *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom*. The first work will be discussed in some depth: the history and characteristics of the text, the sources, origins, the type of text, the language, the contents, its audience, circulation, and ancient translations, the history of research on the text, and modern critical editions.

The main points of Palladius life are well-known; he was born about 363/364, in Galatia; around 387 he became a monk in Jerusalem. Quite soon after (ca. 388), he went to Alexandria and then spent several years in the monasteries of the Egyptian desert among the most famous hermits of the day. About 400 he was appointed bishop of Hellenopolis (Asia Minor) by John Chrysostom, the archbishop of Constantinople (398-404); after John Chrysostom was deposed in 404, Palladius was in exile for about one year. Then he traveled to Rome to support the cause of Chrysostom with the Pope. After a long period of eclipse, in about 412 Palladius was appointed bishop of Aspsundia. He died in Galatia sometime before 431.<sup>16</sup>

Beside the fact that the main events of his biography are well-known to contemporary scholars, many particular issues are still quite obscure. The main

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<sup>16</sup> B. Flusin, "Pallade d'Helenopolis" in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, vol. 12 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 113-126; H. Leclercq, "Palladius," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, vol. 13(1) (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ane, 1937), 912-930; J. Quasten, "Palladius," in J. Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature: From the Council of Niceae to the Council of Chalcedon* (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1992), 177-180; Bruno W. Häuptli, "Palladios von Helenopolis," *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, available at



chronological reconstruction of Palladius' life was formulated by C. Butler.<sup>17</sup> This traditional version is generally accepted by scholars; grounded on this, D. F. Buck propose some alternative solutions.<sup>18</sup>

### Sources

There are not many available sources for research into the life of Palladius; most of these are his own works: the *Lausiatic History*<sup>19</sup> and the *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom*.<sup>20</sup> The information which helps to establish a rough chronology of his life can be found in the Prologue of the *Lausiatic History*, addressed to Lausus, a high-ranking official in Constantinople and a prominent member of the imperial household,<sup>21</sup> to whom this work is dedicated: "I decided then, O man most fond of learning, to set forth for you an account of my entire experience. It was the thirty-third year of my being in the company of the brethren and of my own solitary life, my twentieth year as bishop, and the fifty-sixth year of my life as a whole."<sup>22</sup>

Autobiographical information can also be found throughout the whole text, although the structure of the *Lausiatic History* itself can hardly be called chronological. This text covers only the first part of Palladius' biography, his life in Palestine and Egypt. His work as the bishop and his activities around John Chrysostom can be

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www.bautz.de/bbkl (last accessed: 20.02.2008).

<sup>17</sup> Cuthbert Butler, *The Lausiatic History of Palladius: A Critical Discussion Together with Notes on Early Egyptian Monachism*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1904), 237-247 (hereafter: Butler, *The Lausiatic History*).

<sup>18</sup> D. F. Buck, "The Structure of the *Lausiatic History*," *Byzantion* 46 (1976): 292-307.

<sup>19</sup> Palladio, *La storia Lausiaca*, ed. G. J. M. Bartelink (Verona: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1974), hereafter: *HL*. The text is traditionally divided into the Prologue and 71 chapters, each of which is further divided into smaller paragraphs. In what follows, I will refer to this critical edition in the following manner: I will give the number of the chapter (or the Prologue) followed by the number of the paragraph (for example: *HL* Prol. 6 or *HL* 18.5).

<sup>20</sup> Palladios, *Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome*, critical edition Anne-Marie Malingrey, Sources Chrétiennes 341, 342, (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1988) (hereafter: Malingrey, ed., *Dialogue*).

<sup>21</sup> About him see: *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, vol. 2, A.D. 395-527 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 660-661; Claudia Rapp, "Palladius, Lausus and the *Historia Lausiaca*," in *Novum Millennium: Studies on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck 19 December 1999*, ed. Claudia Sode and Sarolta Takács (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2001), 279-89; Sarah Guberti Bassett, "'Excellent Offerings': The Lausus Collection in Constantinople," *The Art Bulletin* 82 No. 1 (Mar., 2000): 6-25.

reconstructed mainly from the *Dialogue*.

Besides Palladius' own work, information about him can also be found in the texts of the Church historians Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen. Epiphanius of Salamina mentioned Palladius in one of his letters which is preserved among the letters of Jerome.<sup>23</sup> Jerome also wrote about Palladius in his *Dialogue* against the Pelagians.

### **The Chronology of Palladius' Career**

In 363 or 364, Palladius was born in Galatia, in Asia Minor. The chronology of his childhood and youth is unknown, but, judging from the quality of his Greek he must have had a good education; he probably spent some years studying, perhaps even in Constantinople.<sup>24</sup> About 386 he became a monk, perhaps in his native Galatia, but in any case he soon left for Jerusalem. There he lived with the famous monk Elpidius near Jericho in the Lavra of Ducas,<sup>25</sup> then with Innocent on the Mount of Olives.<sup>26</sup> It was there that he met Melania the Elder.<sup>27</sup> After spending about three years in Palestine he went to Egypt.<sup>28</sup>

Probably in 388 he went to Alexandria. In the *Lausiaca History* it is said that Palladius was met by Isidore, the famous ascetic and hospitaller of the church of Alexandria.<sup>29</sup> Isidore directed Palladius to practice the asceticism in the monastery of Dorotheus, not far from the city, where he spent some time between 388-390, but due to

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<sup>22</sup> The English translation is that of *The Lausiaca History*, tr. and annotated by Robert T. Meyer (Westminster and London: Newman Press and Longmans, Green, 1965): 23.

<sup>23</sup> D. F. Buck, "The Structure of the *Lausiaca History*," 297.

<sup>24</sup> Karin Hult, *Syntactic Variation in Greek of the Fifth Century A. D.* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1990), 56-60, 97-102, 131-135, 166-207, 212-213; R. T. Meyer, "Proverbs and Puns in Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*," in *Papers Presented to the Fourth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1963*, *Studia Patristica* 8, part 2, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966), 420-423; R. T. Meyer, "Lexical Problems in Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*," in *Papers Presented to the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1955*, *Studia Patristica* 1, part 1, ed. Kurt Alan and F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957): 44-52.

<sup>25</sup> *HL* 48; 49.1.

<sup>26</sup> *HL* 44.

<sup>27</sup> *HL* 54; 55.

<sup>28</sup> Butler, *The Lausiaca History*, 244-245.

<sup>29</sup> *HL* 1.1.

the rigid asceticism of this monk and Palladius' poor health he returned to Alexandria before three years had elapsed: "As I fell ill, I could not stay the full time, so I left before the end of three years—his way of life was squalid and harsh."<sup>30</sup> Later, Palladius lived in Alexandria, associating with monks, church figures, and secular ascetics.<sup>31</sup>

About 390 Palladius went into the desert, first to Nitria, where he met such famous monks as Arsisius, Poutoubastes, Asius, Cronios, Sarapion, and others.<sup>32</sup> He says: "Now I spent three years in the monasteries in the neighborhood of Alexandria with their some two thousand most noble and zealous inhabitants. Then I left and crossed over to Mount Nitria."<sup>33</sup> It seems that these three years included the time spent in Alexandria itself and with Dorotheus.

After spending some time (probably about a year) in Nitria, Palladius went further to the desert of Scete and Cellia, about 19 km from Nitria. He lived there for nine years.<sup>34</sup> He met Macarius the Great, Macarius of Alexandria,<sup>35</sup> and Evagrius Ponticus, and became his disciple.<sup>36</sup> It is quite possible that he did not live in the desert all time, but left it several times (maybe he carried the correspondence between Evagrius and Melania). He traveled also widely in the Egypt,<sup>37</sup> visiting famous monks such as John of Lycopolis.<sup>38</sup> During this time Palladius gathered the information which

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<sup>30</sup> HL 2.1.

<sup>31</sup> HL 4.

<sup>32</sup> HL 7-14.

<sup>33</sup> HL 7.1.

<sup>34</sup> HL 18.1.

<sup>35</sup> HL 17; 18.

<sup>36</sup> HL 38. About Evagrius see: Evagrius of Pontus, *The Greek Ascetic Corpus*, tr., introd., com. Robert E. Sinkewicz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Evagrius Ponticus, *Selections*, ed. A. M. Casiday (London: Routledge, 2006); Gabriel Bunge, *Paternité spirituelle: la gnose chrétienne chez Évagre de Pontique* (Bégrolles en Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1994).

<sup>37</sup> Despite the general negative attitude to monks' traveling, this played an important part in Palladius' life. He traveled from Galatia to Palestine, then to Egypt; from Egypt to Palestine and back; he traveled in the Egyptian desert, from Egypt to Bythinia and during his time as bishop of Helenopolis; he made a journey to Rome and Campania, returned to Constantinople, went into exile in Egypt, and traveled to Galatia.

<sup>38</sup> HL 35.

he later used for the *Lausiac History*.<sup>39</sup>

About 399 Palladius left Egypt and went to Palestine.<sup>40</sup> It is difficult to say whether he was in Egypt near Evagrius when he died on the day of Epiphany in 399, but C. Butler supports this idea. In Palestine Palladius visited the monks in Bethlehem.<sup>41</sup> Ca. 399 Palladius also accompanied Melania and Silvanus while they traveled through Egypt.<sup>42</sup>

The further life of Palladius is less clearly documented; definite evidence is lacking. It seems that he went to Galatia and Constantinople; ca. 399/400 he was appointed bishop of Hellenopolis (Asia Minor) by John Chrysostom because, according to the *Dialogue*, in the spring of 400 Palladius took part in a synod in Constantinople as the bishop of Hellenopolis.

In 403, at the “Synod of the Oak,” due to his relationship and friendship with John Chrysostom, Palladius was charged as a follower of Origen and had to justify himself.<sup>43</sup> Until 404 Palladius stayed in the Constantinople, then was in exile for about one year.

Palladius also traveled to Rome to support the cause of Chrysostom with Pope Innocent I. He went to Campania, where he met the family of Melania the Elder.<sup>44</sup> He obtained letters from the pope and Emperor Honorius supporting the case of John Chrysostom, but on his back way he was detained and arrested in Thrace and then he

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<sup>39</sup> Based on Coptic and Syrian fragments and information in Socrates’ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, A. de Vogüé and G. Bunge proposed the hypothesis that in the 390s in the Egyptian desert Palladius wrote his first work—the so-called *Monobiblion*, which later became the basis for the *Lausiac History* itself. See: Gabriel Bunge and A. de Vogüé, *Quatres ermites égyptiens d’après les fragments coptes de l’Histoire Lausiaque* (Bégrolles en Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1994).

<sup>40</sup> *HL* 35.11.

<sup>41</sup> *HL* 36.6.

<sup>42</sup> *HL* 55.

<sup>43</sup> J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, “The Fall of John Chrysostom,” in *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest: Change in the Late Roman Empire* (London: Variorum, 1990), 1-31; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, “Friends and Enemies of John Chrysostom,” in *ibid.*, 85-111.

<sup>44</sup> *HL* 61.6.

was sent into exile in Upper Egypt<sup>45</sup>—at first to Syene, then to Antinoe,<sup>46</sup> where he probably wrote the *Dialogue* in 408.

During this time he may have visited the Pachomius monasteries (Tabennesi).<sup>47</sup> Generally speaking, however, Palladius' information about the Tabennesiotes' monasteries is so obscure that it seems he obtained it second hand.<sup>48</sup>

After the death of Empress Eudoxia in 404, of Emperor Arcadius in 408, and that of Theophilus of Alexandria in 412, the process of rehabilitating John Chrysostom began.<sup>49</sup> He did not come back to Hellenopolis, but probably spent some time living in Galatia with the monk Philoromus.<sup>50</sup> Thus, ca. 412 Palladius was appointed bishop of Asputa after a long period of eclipse. About 420 he wrote the *Lausiac History*.

There is no evidence about his further life. The fact that in 431 another bishop of Asputa, Eusebius, came to participate in the first Council of Ephesus suggests that Palladius died in Galatia between 420 and 431.

### **The problems of chronology**

The calculation of the whole chronology above is very approximate, and grounded mostly on relative dates; the most important piece of information is extracted from the fragment of the "Prologue" of the *Lausiac History* quoted above. The dates depend on the time of the writing of the *Lausiac History*: it was the thirty third year of his being a monk, the twentieth year of his bishopric, the fifty sixth year of his life. These relative dates form a firm basis when correlated with Palladius' statement in the *Dialogue*, where he wrote that he took part as bishop of Hellenopolis in the synod convened by Chrysostom at Constantinople in the spring or summer of 400. Butler

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<sup>45</sup> *HL* 35.13.

<sup>46</sup> *HL* 58.1.

<sup>47</sup> *HL* 32; 33. About the Tabennesiote monasteries see Philip Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

<sup>48</sup> *HL* 32; W. Telfer, "The Trustworthiness of Palladius," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 38 (1937): 379-383.

supports the idea that Palladius was present at the death of Evagrius in Kellia in 399 or 400,<sup>51</sup> at which point he was not yet a bishop. On the other hand, if this evidence is regarded as uncertain, D. F. Buck draws the same conclusion—Palladius was ordained about 400<sup>52</sup>—based on the information about the travels of Silvia<sup>53</sup> and Melania the Elder in company with Palladius from Jerusalem to Egypt and on the chronology of Melania's life. The establishment of this correlation is important because it gives a general scale to which other events can be added.

The second firm date in Palladius' life is his arrival in Alexandria in 388, during the second consulate of the Emperor Theodosius the Great.<sup>54</sup> Palladius also says that he met Isidore, the famous ascetic and the guest master of the church of Alexandria, who lived fifteen years after this meeting and died in 403.<sup>55</sup> After spending about three years near Alexandria, he went to Nitria, so this was approximately in 390.

The further chronological evidence is contradictory and confusing. On the one hand, the traditionally accepted point of view is that Palladius was in the desert for nine years: "I met the other Macarius, however, the one from Alexandria, a priest of so-called Cellia, where I stayed for nine years;"<sup>56</sup> and that he was also present at the death

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<sup>49</sup> Claudia Rapp, "Palladius, Lausus and the *Historia Lausiaca*," 279-289.

<sup>50</sup> *HL* 45; however, it have been before his life in Jerusalem.

<sup>51</sup> At the end of the story about Evagrius, Palladius wrote: "This was his way of life, and he died after having communicated in the church at Epiphany. Near the time of his death he said: 'This is the third year that I am not tormented by carnal desires'—this after a life of such toil and labor and continual prayer" (*HL*, 38.13). Based on this evidence, Butler and many scholars concluded that Palladius was present near Evagrius at time of his death (C. Butler, *The Lausiaca History*, vol. 2, 243; C. H. Turner, "The *Lausiaca History* of Palladius," *Journal of Theological Studies* 6 (1905): 321-355). D. F. Buck completely disagrees with this idea in "The Structure of the *Lausiaca History*," 299.

<sup>52</sup> D. F. Buck, "The Structure of the *Lausiaca History*," *Byzantion* 46 (1976): 294-295.

<sup>53</sup> The preferred form is now "Silvia," not "Silvania" (*Ibid.*, 294).

<sup>54</sup> He was the emperor from 379 to 395; D. F. Buck and M. Starowieyski indicate the year 388 (Marek Starowieyski, "Wstęp. Bibliografia (Introduction. Bibliography)" in Palladiusz, *Opowiadania dla Lausosa* (The *Lausiaca History*), polish tr. Stanisław Kalinowski, introd. by Marek Starowieyski, ed. Józef Kozak (Cracow: Tyniec Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 2003), 11-67). About the late antique consulates see *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. R. S. Bagnall (Atlanta: Published for the American Philological Association, 1987).

<sup>55</sup> *HL* 1.1.

<sup>56</sup> *HL* 18.1.

of Evagrius,<sup>57</sup> so he left the desert in 399. On the other hand, Palladius wrote that he left the desert three years after meeting with John of Lycopolis, which took place in 394: “I forgot his advice, but after three years I fell sick with an ailment of the spleen and stomach. From there I was sent to Alexandria by the brotherhood to be cured of hydropsy.”<sup>58</sup>

There have been many attempts to solve this contradiction between 399 and 397: Butler supposes that Palladius spent the years 395, 396, and 397 in Kellia, fell ill in 398, and finally went to Alexandria in 399. Butler’s assumption is still difficult; this stretches the three years after the meeting with John of Lycopolis and it shortens Palladius’ years in the desert to nine.

Taking all these contradictions into account, Buck<sup>59</sup> tried to reconsider the chronology of Palladius’ life. Despite some remaining problems, he came to the following conclusions: first, he insisted that Palladius became a monk in 388 in Alexandria and had not been a monk three years earlier in Palestine. These three years could be either 397-400 or later, some period between 400 and 417. Second, Palladius visited John of Lycopolis in 394 before leaving the desert in 397. Hence, Buck says, Palladius was not present at the death of Evagrius, but he did journey to Egypt with Melania the Elder and Silvia in 400, the same year in which he was made a bishop.

Thus, one can conclude that there are two main systems of chronology for Palladius’ life, those of Butler and of Buck. Both of them solve some problems, but there are still contradictions in the evidence of the sources which they cannot explain. Historians usually accept one of them, but much more often try to combine both approaches. For example, R. T. Meyer,<sup>60</sup> E. D. Hunt,<sup>61</sup> Claudia Rapp,<sup>62</sup> M.

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<sup>57</sup> *HL* 38.13.

<sup>58</sup> *HL* 35.11-12.

<sup>59</sup> Buck, “The Structure of the *Lausiaca History*,” 292-307.

<sup>60</sup> R.T. Meyer, “Introduction,” in Meyer, ed., *The Lausiaca History*, 3-15; R.T. Meyer, “Palladius as

Starowieyski,<sup>63</sup> E. Wipszycka,<sup>64</sup> and A. Balakhovskaya<sup>65</sup> give information about both chronologies. Overall, historians have only fragmentary information about the childhood and youth of Palladius, when exactly he became a bishop, his exile after John Chrysostom was deposed, his second episcopacy in Aspuna, and the last years of his life. The date of his death also cannot be established clearly.

### Intellectual circle: friends and teachers

The issue of the intellectual circle and cultural background is very important for this investigation. Speaking about the ideas and ideals promoted by Palladius in his works, one should pay attention the cultural, ideological, and even political context, including the influence of the authoritative persons, and circles he may have been associated with. In other words, turning on to the world of texts, if the works of Palladius contain some cues, I would like try to understand which questions they were meant to answer; who asked these questions, who prompted the answers, and who disagreed.

As it was said above, in the fourth – fifth centuries Christianity was not consistent ideological unity. It had several trends, parties, and groups. In spite of a general impression about righteous lives and the behavior of the members of these groups—who were canonized as saints some generations later, such as Chrysostom,

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Biographer and Autobiographer,” in *Papers of the Ninth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1983*, Studia Patristica 17, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Kalamazoo, MI.: Cistercian Publications, 1985), 66-71.

<sup>61</sup> E. D. Hunt, “Palladius of Helenopolis: a Party and Its Supporters in the Church of the Late Fourth Century” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1973): 456-480.

<sup>62</sup> Rapp, “Palladius, Lausus and the *Historia Lausiaca*,” 279-289.

<sup>63</sup> Marek Starowieyski, “Wstęp. Bibliografia,” 11-67.

<sup>64</sup> E. Wipszycka, “*Historia Lausiaca* Palladiusza,” (Palladius’ *Historia Lausiaca*) in *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności: studia źródłoznawcze: praca zbiorowa* (Christianity at the Late Antiquity), ed. Tomasz Derda and Ewa Wipszycka (Warsaw: Wydaw. Uniwers. Warszawskiego, 1997): 229-279.

<sup>65</sup> [A. Balakhovskaya] A. C. Балаховская, *Диалог Палладия, епископа Еленопольского, с Феодором, римским диаконом, повествующий о жизни блаженного Иоанна, епископа Константинопольского, Златоуста*” в историческом контексте, (The Dialogue of Palladius the Bishop of Hellenopolis with Theodorus the Deacon of Rome about the Life of Blessed John the Bishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom in its Historical Context) (Moscow: Институт мировой литературы имени А. М. Горького, Российская академия наук, 2002): 3-42.



Jerome, Melania, and so on—it is worth mentioning that their real lives were full of various conflicts, political reckonings, mutual theological polemics, and competition concerning various spheres of influence.

The circle of Palladius' friends and enemies is particularly well-researched. The relatively old, yet still important and valuable article by E. D. Hunt<sup>66</sup> proposes a well-grounded account of the social, religious, and political context of his time. Hunt, as many other researchers, came to define two parties, which were opposed by political, theological, and personal conflicts. The first party was centered around Jerome and the highest level of church administration of Alexandria (patriarch Theophilus and others); this was the so-called "Alexandrian group." The second party included Evagrius and his disciples (Palladius was, probably, among them) and the "Jerusalem group," which consisted of Rufinus of Aquileia, Melania the Elder, and their friends. The trump main weapon of the first party was accusing their rivals of sympathy with Origen's ideas.<sup>67</sup> The second group relied on the support of the monks of the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem and of many Egyptian ascetics; through Rufinus they also had not lost relations with the western part of the Empire.

Controversy developed around church business, spiritual authority, and the influence on the emperor and the Constantinopolitan court, frequently wrapped in the sophisticated cover of theological discussions. Therefore, as E. Hunt and C. Rapp argues, the *Lausiaca History*, written by a member of Evagrius' group, reflects this contemporary religious and political situation.<sup>68</sup>

The ardent debates within Christianity in the period spanning from the 380s to

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<sup>66</sup> Hunt, "Palladius of Helenopolis: a Party and Its Supporters," 456-480.

<sup>67</sup> For background to the whole affair see: Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992). Here Elizabeth Clark has conducted an in-depth analysis of the discussions around Origen's legacy at the end of the fourth and at the beginning of the fifth century. She defined the position and argumentation of all the most important debaters: Evagrius Ponticus and Rufinus of Aquileia on one side, Epiphanius,

the 410s provoke a scholar to turn toward their main cause, i. e., the theology and philosophy of Origen. Origen himself is so complicated and contradictory, ambiguous and frequently fragmentary that it is easier for us now to take him as he was read in the first century after his death rather than perceive him through his own works. This is all the more so since by the end of the fourth century Origen had already become “a discourse,” rather than an author.<sup>69</sup> Elizabeth Clark argued in the same direction when she noted that she “was indeed tempted to title the book *Origenisms* in order to convey that there is neither a stable personal identity that can be definitively labeled Origen nor a uniform set of doctrines that can be called Origenism.” Moreover, she emphasized that the debates were not really over Origen: “‘Origen’ served as a code word for various theological concerns problematic to Christians at the turn of the fifth century.”<sup>70</sup>

One of the people who had a significant influence on Palladius’ life and creative work was Evagrius Ponticus, “one of the main Origenists” at the end of the fourth century in the eyes of his opponents. Palladius met him during his stay in the Egyptian desert among other famous monks in the 390s, and became his disciple. It is a problematic question whether Palladius was near Evagrius when he died, but probably Palladius carried the correspondence between Evagrius and Melania.<sup>71</sup>

Evagrius is one of the crucial personalities for understanding the processes which were taking place in Christianity at the end of the fourth century. His impact was significant on the formation of Christian asceticism as an ideal lifestyle. He developed a theoretical background for it focusing on the theological premises of Origen, due to which he was condemned and, after his death, his name was passed over in silence and

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Theophilus, Jerome, and Shenute of Atripe on the other.

<sup>68</sup> As argued by Hunt, “Palladius of Helenopolis: a Party and Its Supporters,” 456-480.

<sup>69</sup> About correlations the concepts of author and discourse see: Michel Foucault “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?” in *Dits et écrits*, vol. 1 (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1994), 789-821.

<sup>70</sup> E. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy*, 6.

<sup>71</sup> See above the biography of Palladius.

his works were preserved only partially in their Greek original and partly in other languages (Syrian, Armenian) or under someone else's name (i. e., Nilus of Ancyra).<sup>72</sup>

It is sometimes mentioned that Palladius' *Lausiac History* is almost a practical illustration of the theoretical ideas of his teacher,<sup>73</sup> who, elaborating sophisticated philosophical and mystical issues, paid less attention to their presentation on the level which would be understandable for less educated people, and left many ambiguous and obscure points. Palladius tried to transform Evagrius' ideas in a form convenient for Egyptian monks and secular people.

Another person whose fate influenced considerably that of Palladius was John Chrysostom. The important role that the archbishop of Constantinople played in Palladius' life has already been discussed above. After Chrysostom's deposition, Palladius traveled to Rome to support the archbishop's cause with Pope Innocent I, what was reflected in his work the *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom*. This was written ca. 408.<sup>74</sup> The work tells, in the form of a Platonic dialogue and in very refined Attic Greek, a carefully structured story about the life and death of John Chrysostom, the deposed archbishop of Constantinople. The text is strongly apologetic, gives an extremely tendentious description of John's enemies, and provides a highly partisan description of the events in Constantinople that led to Chrysostom's deposition in 404, discusses the features of the true priesthood. Palladius' work is one of the main

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<sup>72</sup> For Evagrius' ascetical works, see now the English translation and introduction: Evagrius of Pontus, *The Greek Ascetic Corpus*, ed. Sinkewicz. See also the discussion: Gabriel Bunge, *Das Geistgebet. Studien zum Traktat 'De Oratione' des Evagrius Pontikos* (Köln: Luthe-Verlag, 1987); Gabriel Bunge, *Akedia. Dei geistliche Lehre des Evagrius Pontikos vom Überdruß*, (Köln: Luthe-Verlag, 1983); Gabriel Bunge, *Paternité Spirituelle. La Gnose Chretienne chez Evagre le Pontique* (Bellefontaine: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1988); Leon OMI Nieścior, *Anachoreza w pismach Ewagriusza z Pontu [Anchoritism in the Letters of Evagrius of Ponticus]* (Cracow: Tyniec, Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 1997); Susanna Elm, "Evagrius Ponticus' 'Sententiae ad Virginem'," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 97-120.

<sup>73</sup> Marek Starowieyski, "Wstęp. Bibliografia," 29-30.

<sup>74</sup> This date results from the information of the Dialogue itself (see: chapter 5 about the death of John Chrysostom in 407 and chapter 20 that Heraclides of Ephesus had already been in prison for 4 years). Baur argued that the Dialogue was written after the death of Theophilus in 412 (see: Chrysostomus Baur, "Wo wurde der dem P. von Heliopolis zugeschriebene Dialog über das Leben des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus verfaßt?" *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 71 (1949): 466-468.)

historical sources for investigating the life of John Chrysostom and the events happening in Constantinople at the beginning of the fifth century.<sup>75</sup> Claudia Rapp connects the appearance of the *Lausiak History* about 420 with the rehabilitation of John Chrysostom.<sup>76</sup> She argues that in the 420s the processes of reconciliation between the surviving members of both groups—“Alexandrian” and “Jerusalem”—began in Constantinople, and Lausus’ request to Palladius, who after a long period of eclipse, ca. 412 was appointed bishop of Aspuna, to write a story about the Egyptian monks and their exploits was part of this process.

All in all, when speaking about different intellectual circles in late antique Christianity, it appears that it is not too difficult to establish who was friends with whom and who quarreled, who entered polemics and who agreed. Generally, all these issues have been established in previous scholarship. It is, in my opinion, much more interesting to understand how a particular text fits into this picture, especially, a text which does not pretend to be a theological treatise, and how the problems, which became the litmus test of the time were addressed in it. In other words, it is quite important to see who was the Palladius of the *Lausiak History*, because it seems to me quite clear that the Palladius of the *Dialogue* is a slightly different person.<sup>77</sup>

### ***1.2 The text of Lausiak History***

The *Lausiak History*, belonging to the hagiographic genre, is a collection of stories about monks, hermits, and secular ascetics, some of whom Palladius knew and met personally. The story pretends to be written as Palladius is traveling through the

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<sup>75</sup> J. N. D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom—Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (London: Duckworth, 1996); Claudia Tiersch, *Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel: (398-404): Weltsicht und Wirken eines Bischofs in der Hauptstadt des Oströmischen Reiches* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002). For the question of Chrysostom’s friends and enemies, see also: Liebeschuetz, “The Fall of John Chrysostom,” 1-31; Liebeschuetz, “Friends and Enemies of John Chrysostom,” 85-111.

<sup>76</sup> Claudia Rapp, “Palladius, Lausus and the *Historia Lausiaca*,” 279-289.

<sup>77</sup> Here I do not have in mind the problems with Palladius’ real authorship of the two works, which has been sometimes doubted in the scholarship, but rather the possibility of discerning the author’s different intentions, different ideas, and key messages as they appear in the two texts.

Egyptian desert; he visits the famous Desert Fathers, observes their life, and listens to their stories. Georgia Frank, in *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity*,<sup>78</sup> defines this particular type of hagiography as a “travelogue” since the main narrative is modeled by the travels of the author.

As it has been already said, the *Lausiac History* in the form as it is accepted in scholarship now<sup>79</sup> was written by Palladius in Greek ca.420. However, the surviving Coptic fragments and Syrian text are so different from Greek one that they are defined as the separated recensions. Moreover, may actually preserve material coming from an earlier version of the Greek text, which has not survived in the original language. Numerous translations and versions into Latin, Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Sogdian, and Old Slavonic derived from these three recensions.

The history of Greek text of the *Lausiac History* is difficult and tangled. First of all, it should be mentioned that it is only the Greek version that contains the “Letter to Lausus,” which precedes the Prologue and speaks about necessity to learn. Therefore, as Dunaev and Lurie have pointed out, it is only the Greek text that can be called *Lausiac History* in the exact meaning of this term.<sup>80</sup> The Latin and Slavonic translations are based on the Greek version of 420.

The Greek text has been published several times in different versions; the most complete information can be found in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*,<sup>81</sup> *Clavis*

<sup>78</sup> Georgia Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes*.

<sup>79</sup> See Bartelink edition.

<sup>80</sup> [V. M. Lurie] В. М. Лурье, *Призвание Авраама. Идея монашества и ее воплощение в Египте*, [The Vocation of Abraham. The Idea of Monasticism and Its Realisation in Egypt], (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2000), 211–212; [S. Khoruzhiy] С. Хоружий, ed., *Исихазм: Аннотированная библиография* [Hesychasm. The Annotated Bibliography] (Moscow: Издательский Совет Русской Православной Церкви, 2004), <http://www.danuvius.orthodoxy.ru/Lausaic.htm> (accessed March, 15, 2007).

<sup>81</sup> *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca seu Elenchus Vitarum Sanctorum*, Graece Typis Impressarum, Ediderunt Hagiographi Bollandiani (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1895), 102 (hereafter: *BHG*, 1895); *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1909); *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, ed. F. Halkin (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957), (hereafter: *BHG*, Halkin); *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, ed. F. Halkin (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984); about the *Lausiac history*: *BHG*, Halkin, Vol. 3: Supplement, Appendices et Tables, 191-192.

*Patrum Graecorum*,<sup>82</sup> and in the *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*.<sup>83</sup> The earliest publication accessible to me is Cotelier.<sup>84</sup> Until the end of the nineteenth century the most popular publication was the one in the 34<sup>th</sup> volume of the *Patrologia Graeca* of J.-P. Migne,<sup>85</sup> who reprinted the Paris publication of Fronto Ducaeus from 1624.

The critical edition of the text prepared by Butler in 1898 and 1904 was the result of many discussions at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>86</sup> This publication significantly differs from all previous traditions of the publication of the Greek text. After Butler's edition their value was almost lost. In 1974 G. J. M. Bartelink prepared a new critical edition of the *Lausiaca History* based on D. C. Butler's text, but takes into account later critical remarks, corrections, and emendations.<sup>87</sup>

The tradition of the Latin translations and publications of the *Lausiaca History* are closely connected with Greek text, therefore, before turning to the textual problems with the latter, some particularities of the former must be noted.

Butler defines two main early versions of the Latin text of the *Lausiaca History* which contain the so-called G-recension, which is, in all likelihood the closest to the original. In many cases Butler bases his version on these versions – respectively I and I<sub>2</sub> – for textual analysis of the Greek text.<sup>88</sup> Their authors may have been the Roman

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<sup>82</sup> *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard, Vol. 1, *Patres antenicaeni* (s. I-III), Vol. 2, *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Vol. 3, *A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum*, Vol. 4, *Concilia. Catenae*, Vol. 5, *Indices. Initia. Concordantiae*, Vol. 6, *Supplementum*, ed. M. Geerard, J. Noret, F. Gloire, J. Desmet (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974-1998). Number 6036 is devoted to the *Lausiaca History*.

<sup>83</sup> Bruno W. Häuptli, "Palladios von Helenopolis."

<sup>84</sup> "Ex Historia Lausiaca," in *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta, latine interpretatus est, notisque illustrant*, ed. Joh Baptista Cotelierus, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1686), 158-170.

<sup>85</sup> "Palladii Helenopolitani Episcopi Historia Lausiaca," in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Series Graeca, Vol. 34 (Paris, 1860), 995-1260 (hereafter: PG 34).

<sup>86</sup> Butler, *The Lausiaca History*.

<sup>87</sup> Bartelink, "Palladio. La storia Lausiaca."

<sup>88</sup> C. Butler, *The Lausiaca History*, Vol. 2, LXVI-LXXXI.

deacon, Paschasius, and an anonymous author of the sixth or seventh century.<sup>89</sup>

The most important point which needs to be clarified is the history and relationship of the different versions of the *Lausiac History*. I repeat that the text has a complicated and problematic manuscript history; it exists in numerous recensions, versions, copies, and translations; the same recension may be presented and may sometimes need to be checked according to different translations. Moreover, it is necessary to emphasize the close relationship of the *Lausiac History* with other texts of early monasticism: the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia* (Greek and Latin texts; the latter is ascribed to Rufinus) and the *Apophthegmata Patrum, Historia Ecclesiastica* of Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen. This relationship is so close that for a long time there was a problem in refining the “pure” *LH* from significant layers of other texts. It took several centuries to solve the textual problems of Palladius’ work – beginning from commentaries and introductions to the first publications of the sixteen – seventeen centuries up to present-day discussions. Here I will dwell on the crucial importance of Butler edition concerning.<sup>90</sup>

Butler’s significant achievement is separation, as far as possible, of the so-called “pure” *Lausiac History* and the publication of its text. By his work, he rejected the whole previous tradition of the publications, which caused many problems.<sup>91</sup>

Butler mentioned that problems around the *Lausiac History* come from the sixteen century, when there were no publications of the Greek text, but some of the Latin publications had already appeared.<sup>92</sup> In 1615 and 1628 in Antwerp the *Vitae Patrum* was published, a folio volume exceeding 1000 pages of Latin text and critical

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<sup>89</sup> M. Starowieyski, “Wstęp,” 37.

<sup>90</sup> C. Butler, *The Lausiac History*.

<sup>91</sup> R. Draguet, “Butler et sa *Lausiac History* face à un manuscrit de l’édition, le Wake 67,” *Muséon* 63(1/2) (1950): 205-230; D. Chitty, “Dom C. Butler, prof. Draguet and the *Lausiac History*” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 6 (1955): 102-110; R. Draguet, “Butleriana: une mauvaise cause et son malchanceux avocet” *Muséon* 68(1/2) (1955): 239-258.

notes. The editor was the Jesuit Rosweyde, one of the first pioneers of the great historical school of the seventeen and founders of the Bollandists' *Acta Sanctorum*.<sup>93</sup> Rosweyde published three Latin translations which were three versions of the text; however, the longest text had priority; the other two were placed in the Appendix. Butler writes that at that time Rosweyde's conclusion did not obtain a serious critique and was received uncritically by scholars; J.-P. Migne reprinted Rosweyde's text in volume 34 of the *Patrologia Graeca*.<sup>94</sup>

Many researchers noted that the texts which Rosweyde regarded as the *Lausiac History* itself contain almost whole the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia*, traditionally attributed to Rufinus, although this fact never became the object of serious critique. Rosweyde proposed two exhaustive explanations: firstly, one of the writers could have borrowed information from the other; secondly, both of them could have used the same sources.

Among the texts published by Rosweyde, Butler defines three Latin forms of the *Lausiac History*:

1) The first version:<sup>95</sup> according to Butler, it is presented in the earliest printed *Vitae Patrum*. Three copies can be found in British Museum, hypothetically dated to approximately 1470-1480 (according to the catalogue).

This text was reprinted by J.-P. Migne in volume 74 of the *Patrologia Latina*.<sup>96</sup> This version contains 19 chapters followed by 19 other sayings of Church Fathers. It is mentioned that the text is *incerto, sed veteri interprete*. The Prologue is short, beginning with the words *Multa quidem et varia diversis...* and ending with *...victores coronabit*,

<sup>92</sup> *Paradisus Heraclidis*, ed. Le Fèvre d'Estaples (Paris, 1504); *Paradisus Heraclidis*, ed. Lipomanus (Venice, 1554).

<sup>93</sup> *Vitae Patrum*, ed. H. Rosweyde (Paris, 1615; 1628).

<sup>94</sup> "Palladii Helenopolitani Episcopi Historia Lausiaca" in *PG* 34, 995-1260.

<sup>95</sup> *Vitae Patrum*, ed. H. Rosweyde, Appendix, (Paris, 1615), 978-995; (Paris, 1628), 984-1001.

<sup>96</sup> *PL* 74, 343-382.



which roughly reflects the beginning (approximately a paragraph and a half) of the *Prologue* of the Greek version, which Butler defines as the original. Butler said that this version may be rejected because it is not whole recension, but only corrupted and uncomplete fragments of the *Lausiaca History*. There is no corresponding Greek text; the early Latin, Syrian, Coptic versions also cannot be proven as originals.

2) Butler defines as “Short recension” of the *Lausiaca History* as the second version. At first the Latin text was published under the title the *Paradisus Heraclidis* by editor Le Fèvre d’Etaples in 1504 in Paris.<sup>97</sup> In 1554 in Venice Lipomanus reprinted the *Paradisus Heraclidis* and completed the lacunae with translations from Greek manuscripts from Venice collections.<sup>98</sup> H. Rosweyde used this publication when he composed his *Vitae Patrum*.<sup>99</sup>

The Greek text of the second version was published by Meursius<sup>100</sup> in Leiden in 1616, based on the manuscript of the tenth century from the Palatine Library, at that time in Heidelberg and now in Vatican. Butler also mentions that this text can be found in manuscript in the British Museum, Leyden University Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and elsewhere.

3) The third version is the so-called “Long recension” because it contains not only the *Lausiaca History* but also the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia*. According to Butler, the text is the translation from the Greek prepared by Gentianus Hervetus and published in 1555 in Paris.<sup>101</sup> H. Rosweyde considered this version as the original text of Palladius’ work.<sup>102</sup>

The corresponding Greek text was published in Paris in 1624 by Fronto

<sup>97</sup> *Paradisus Heraclidis*, ed. Le Fèvre d’Etaples (Paris, 1504).

<sup>98</sup> *Paradisus Heraclidis*, ed. Lipomanus (Venice, 1554).

<sup>99</sup> *Vitae Patrum*, ed. H. Rosweyde, Appendix (Paris, 1615), 933-977; (Paris, 1628), 939-983.

<sup>100</sup> *Palladii Episcopi Helenopoleos Historia Lausiaca graece, primus Graece nunc vulgavit et notas adjecit*, Joannes Meursius (Lugduni Batavorum, 1616), 1-166.

<sup>101</sup> *Palladii Helenopolitani Episcopi Historia Lausiaca*, ed. Gentianus Hervetus (Paris, 1555).

Ducaeus.<sup>103</sup> The same version (Ducaeus) can be found in volume 34 of J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*,<sup>104</sup> afterwards this text became conventional, although in fact it is the compilation of the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia* and the *Lausiac History*. The importance of the Butler's work is that he separated and published the so-called "pure" *Lausiac History*. Besides the fact that his publication caused significant discussions and considerable criticism (for example, because he did not use some important manuscripts),<sup>105</sup> it established a base for further improved publications (for example, G. J. M. Bartelink in 1974) and translations, and formed the modern view of the *Lausiac History*.

Butler also made significant attempts to reconstruct the Greek text which would be as close as possible to Palladius' original. Thus, in the "short form" of the *Lausiac History* he defined the so-called B- and G-recensions (respectively, the "long (extended) form" had the letter A<sup>106</sup> and the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia* had the letter C). The longer recension defined as B is the retold text; it is an extended and literarily elaborated version of the shorter and simpler text called recension G. The rhetorically improved B-recension is a rather early text; according to the quotations from in the works of other early Christian authors it can be asserted that this version existed already in the fifth century. Starowelski mentions that Honigman considers its author to have been Heraclides of Nyssa, the author of the *Life of Olympiada*.<sup>107</sup> Another recension, the G-text – the simple and shorter form of the *Lausiac History* – exists only in a few known Greek manuscripts, which may be evidence of its being less

<sup>102</sup>*Vitae Patrum*, ed. H. Rosweyde, Book 8 (Paris, 1615), 704-783; (Paris, 1628), 704-783 (The second edition with additions grounded on the Greek manuscripts).

<sup>103</sup>*Bibliotheca veterum patrum seu scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, ed. F. Ducaeus, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1624), 894-1053; the reprint: *Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum*, Vol. 13 (Paris, 1644, 1654), 894-1053.

<sup>104</sup> PG 34, 995-1260.

<sup>105</sup> D. J. Chitty, "Dom C. Butler," 102-110; R. Draguet, "Butleriana. Une mauvaise cause," 238-158.

<sup>106</sup> It is the compilation of two works – the *Lausiac History* and *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia*.

<sup>107</sup>E. Honigman, "Heraclides of Nyssa about (440 A.D.)" in E. Honigman, *Patristic Studies* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1953), 104-122 (cited in M. Starowieyski, "Wstęp," 37).

popular. This recension is older than the B-text, and, in all probability, is closer to the original written by Palladius. This text is the basis for the early versions – two Latin and two Syrian translations. Butler paid significant attention to these translations, defined respectively as  $l_1$ ,  $l_2$  та  $s_1$ ,  $s_2$ , while he prepared the publication. He also took into account Coptic (c), Arabic (ar), Armenian (arm), and Ethiopic (eth) versions.

Butler mostly followed the G-version in his publications. Unfortunately, to follow to this recension completely was impossible because the manuscripts were frequently fragmentary; the most frequent corruption is omission of the parts and whole stories about heroes whose names might be connected with accusation of Origenist sympathies. This conscious or unconscious “censorship” occurred quite early; the corresponding fragments are absent in the version hypothetically dated to the end of the fifth and in the passages of Sozomen’s work borrowed from Palladius; they are partially preserved in the translations in the Eastern languages. Butler reconstructed such fragments according to the B-recension and partially according to the “long version” (A) which contains B-fragments ( $A^B$ ).

In spite of all the critical remarks, Butler’s publication and textual analysis of the *Lausiac History* became the basis for all further editions. The work is now regarded as a prominent example of textual research, which is shown by numerous positive reviews.

### ***1.3 Historiography of the Lausiac History***

The history of research of the *Lausiac History* can be divided on several stages. First, “pre-Butler” discussions in the scholarship were overlooked by Butler.<sup>108</sup> Three researchers at the end of nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth centuries—D. C. Butler, E. Preuschen,<sup>109</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge<sup>110</sup>—made significant contributions to the

<sup>108</sup> Butler, *The Lausiac History*, Vol. 1, 3-5: Tillemont, Weingarten, Zöckler, Lucius, E. Amélineau.

<sup>109</sup> E. Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus, ein Beitrag zur Quellengeschichte des ältesten Mönchtums*

further development of the history of early monasticism; the value of their works consists of critical publications of sources based on thorough textual research.

The second stage includes the discussions of Butler's publication. It caused the significant resonance in the scholarship. One of the first and immediately fairly positive reviews of Ernest Cushing Richardson appeared in *The American Journal of Theology*.<sup>111</sup> Chronologically the next review was written by H. M. Gwatkin in the March issue (1899) of *The Classical Review*.<sup>112</sup> The important critical works were the

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(Giessen: J. Rickersche buchhandlung, 1897). In the *Introduction* to his study Butler speaks about his fruitful collaboration with E. Preuschen. The work of the German scholar contains critical reflections related to the initial form of both texts (the *Lausiac History* and the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia*), their authorships, the dates of appearance, their value as historical sources, and the languages of originals. Unlike Butler, the starting point for E. Preuschen was not the *Lausiac History*, but the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia* (its Greek text was included in the publication). E. Preuschen defended the thesis about the Latin original and Rufinus' authorship of the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia*; however, his arguments looked weaker in comparison with the proofs of Butler, who argued for an initial Greek original of this text and scribed it to Thimotheus.

<sup>110</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Paradise of the Holy Fathers (English Translation of the Syriac Version)* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1907). I used the two-volume reprint: Washington: St. Nectarios Press, 1978. E. A. Wallis Budge was the first to publish an English translation of the Syrian text of the *Lausiac History*. The manuscript that was the basis of the publication was given to Budge by the vicar of the Charledean Patriarch at Môsul (Nineveh) in 1888; hypothetically, it can be dated to the thirteenth or the fourteenth century. E. A. W. Bunge mentions the large size of the copy: "I was familiar with the Syriac manuscripts of the *Paradise* of Palladius in the British Museum, but I had never before seen so lengthy a copy of the work." The manuscript contained the Syrian translations of the *Life of St. Anthony*, by Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, the *Book of Paradise*, by Palladius, the *Askêtikon* or *History of the Monks of Tabenna*, the *Histories of the Solitaries of the Desert of Egypt*, attributed to St. Jerome, the *Sayings of the Fathers*, and the *Questions and Answers of the Holy Men*. In 1893 Budge published the full description of the contents of the manuscript, and several extracts from it, after which it was generally recognized that the manuscript contains a copy of the famous redaction of the *Book of Paradise* which was made by Anan-Isho. The most reliable date of creation for the redaction was the beginning of the seventh century, when Anan-Isho was the monk of monastery Beth Abhe. In 1904 Budge published a two-volume edition of *Paradisus* – the Syrian original of the *Lausiac History* and the English translation. The book, printed for private circulation only, soon became unavailable to the public, so the issue of a second publication arose. The second work had the English translation only (without the Syrian text) and the extended *Introduction*.

<sup>111</sup> Ernest Cushing Richardson, "Review [Untitled, Reviewed Works: The *Lausiac History* of Palladius. A Critical Discussion Together with Notes on Early Egyptian Monachism by Dom Cuthbert Butler; Palladius und Rufinus. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des ältesten Monchthums by Erwin Preuschen]," *The American Journal of Theology* 3, No. 1 (Jan, 1899): 173-177. The author pointed out that the editions of both texts (Butler's and Preuschen's) were crucial, but not final, particularly because not all existing handwritten materials were used; their lists can be extended. Positive feedback on the works of both authors was given in the review; it ended with an extraordinarily approving passage: "Butler's work is an extremely brilliant piece of clear and conclusive argument – which in not, of course, saying that the results will infallibly stand. Dom Butler is one of the fruits of the recent "open-door" policy of the English universities; and neither Cambridge University, the Benedictine order, nor Roman Catholic church has reasons to be ashamed of this work."

<sup>112</sup> H. M. Gwatkin, "Guenther's *Epistulae*; Tischendorf's *Synopsis*; Butler's *Lausiac History*; Gelzer's, Hilgenfeld's and Cuntz's *Nicene Council Reviewed Work(s)*: *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* by Ottonis Guenther; *Synopsis Evangelica* by Tischendorf; *Texts and Studies* by J. Armitage

articles of M. Bonnet<sup>113</sup> and E. W. Watson,<sup>114</sup> issued correspondingly in 1904 and 1907. Unlike these, rather short reviews, the article of C. H. Turner in *The Journal of Theological Studies* is not only a feedback on the publication of English scholar, but also the quite extended and self-reliant study of the *Lausiac History*, the circumstances of its appearance and the information about early Egyptian monasticism presented in the text.<sup>115</sup> Generally speaking, the first reaction of the academic world to Butler's publication was highly positive and critical remarks of the secondary significance. The main and, sometimes the only reproach was that Butler did not use all accessible manuscripts (particularly M. Bonnet and C. H. Turner). The problem was that one of the crucial Greek manuscripts containing the text of Palladius (so-called Oxford manuscript of Wake 67) was discovered by the researcher too late; it would have meant completely revising the publication, which was already printing. Variant readings were added in the appendixes, which made work with the text more complicated.

The next publication of the Greek text of the *Lausiac History* together with the

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Robinson; Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina by H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld, O. Cuntz," *The Classical Review* 13, No. 2 (Mar., 1899): 134-135. The author underlines the enormous value of the academically proved definition of the "short recension" of the *Lausiac History* by cutting out the stories of the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia*. The skilful analysis of recensions and translations of the text (Latin, Syrian) was highly appreciated, and the importance of textual connection of the *Lausiac History* with other sources of early Christian monasticism (the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia*, Sozomen's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the *Life of St. Anthony*) defined by Butler was emphasized. In general, Butler's conclusions of are acknowledged as authoritative and the review on the publication was positive, there were only two second-rate factual remarks.

<sup>113</sup> M. Bonnet, *Revue des etudes anciennes*, vol. 4 (1904): 341-347.

<sup>114</sup> E. W. Watson, "Palladius and Egyptian Monasticism," *The Church Quarterly Review* 44 (1907): 105-128.

<sup>115</sup> C. H. Turner, "The Lausiac History," 321-355. Generally following the paradigm set by Butler (obviously, that C. H. Turner's intellectual searches were provoked by him), the scholar thoroughly stopped on the history of research and publications of the *Lausiac History*. He investigated the handwritten tradition of the texts, the appearance and hierarchy of numerous recensions and translations, the relationship with other texts. C. H. Turner gave the extended review of all literature of the early Egyptian monastic tradition, that includes besides the hagiography itself, the numerous *Epistles*, *Apophthegmata*, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, *Regulae*, the works of synthetic genres combining the descriptions of trips, theological remarks, biographical and didactical stories, and so on. Although C. H. Turner made same critical remarks to Butler's work and discussed with him in minor issues, in general the article might be defined as some kind of the summary of all material expounded by Butler in two large volumes of his research. So, the *Lausiac History* was put in the context of writing tradition and intellectual trends of its time.

French translation was published by A. Lucot in 1912.<sup>116</sup> In 1921, D. C. Butler answered the critique on his work.<sup>117</sup> F. Halkin, a prominent researcher of the Greek hagiography and the future editor of the edition *BHG*,<sup>118</sup> published an article devoted to the problems of the *Lausiac History* in the authoritative Bollandist periodical *Analecta Bollandiana* in 1930.<sup>119</sup>

The continuation of the discussions around the critical edition became, as R. T. Meyer mentioned, the study of E. Schwartz.<sup>120</sup> W. Telfer also added some critical remarks to Butler's work and conclusions. As he said, his study is the translation of the main theses of Père Peerers' article published a year before,<sup>121</sup> rather than the piece of independent research. W. Telfer explains the reasons of such retelling by the necessity to repeat "his [P. Peerers'] warning in the same language in which Dom Cuthbert Butler's *Lausiac History* and *Palladiana* have, for thirty years, advocated a most

<sup>116</sup> Palladius, *Histoire Lausiaque (Vies d'ascètes et despères du desert)*, ed., introduc., tr. A. Lucot (Paris, 1912). A. Lucot followed Butler's text, but he gave other readings for a few problematic fragments, which attracted the attention of the critics of his predecessor. In addition, as R.T. Meyer marked, A. Lucot shown himself a more erudite philologist than Butler (Meyer, "Introduction," 14).

<sup>117</sup> C. Butler, "Palladiana I: The Lausiac History: Questions of Text," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 22 (1921): 21-35; C. Butler, "Palladiana II: The Lausiac History: Questions of History," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 22 (1921): 138-155. He agreed that he had relied too much on the Paris manuscript (P), and should have paid more attention to the Oxford manuscript which was found too late, so that only the major fragments of the variant readings were given in the appendices. He still insisted that the P-manuscript was the crucial one, however, because only there can one find the whole *Lausiac History* of the G-recension, while the others contain only fragments. Butler admitted that if he reprinted the critical edition now, he would attach less importance to the Paris manuscript and pay more careful attention to the variant reading. Although, in spite of his confession of the necessity of improving the text in many places, Butler stated that in general the publication would not be changed significantly.

<sup>118</sup> *BHG*, Halkin.

<sup>119</sup> F. Halkin, "L'Histoire Lausiaque et les vies grecques de St Pachôme," *Analecta Bollandiana* 48 (1930): 257-301. He gave a general description of study of the text during the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, focused on Butler's achievements, expounded his point of view on the particularities of the relations of the B- and G-recension and the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia*, *Apophthegmata Patrum*, and other texts of early monasticism. F. Halkin was particularly interested in Palladius' story about Pachomius. A considerable part of the article is devoted to the textual analysis of the fragments which contain the variant reading. F. Halkin suggests improving certain parts of the publications for which Butler was criticized.

<sup>120</sup> E. Schwartz, "Palladiana," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 36 (1937): 161-204 (according to R.T. Meyer, "Introduction," in *Palladius: The Lausiac History*, 13). He working with the photographs of the Oxford manuscript *Wake 67* for the investigation of Cyril Scytopolis' *Life of Euthymius*, found inlaid by mistake the folio which contained the conclusion of Palladius' *Lausiac History*. Comparing these pages with Butler's edition, E. Schwartz published the variants.

<sup>121</sup> P. Peerers, "Une vie Copte de S. Jean de Lycopolis," *The Journal of Theological Studies* Autumn

favorable view of Palladius” because the conclusions of the study based the doubt in the trustworthiness of Palladius as a witness, and of his text as a historical source.<sup>122</sup>

R. Draguet became the next prominent critic of Butler. The scholar firstly was oriented on this authoritative critical edition for the preparation of the French translation of the *Lausiatic History* for the series *Sources chrétiennes*, but, after the acquaintance with E. Schwartzes article and other critical remarks, his trust to the work of the English researcher decreased.<sup>123</sup> R. Draguet worked with the Athenian manuscript which contains the G-recension known for Butler, although he did not use it directly.<sup>124</sup> In 1950 R. Draguet published the article in which the sharp critique for unused the Oxford manuscript *Wake 67* sounded again.<sup>125</sup> In this situation another scholar of the history of early Egyptian monasticism Derwas J. Chitty stood up in defense of Butler. In the article, published in *The Journal of Theological Studies*,<sup>126</sup> the author brings the critical

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(1936).

<sup>122</sup> W. Telfer, “The Trustworthiness of Palladius,” 379-383. Criticism has two basic points: firstly, Peerers analyses the Coptic fragments of the *Life of St. John of Lycopolis* and characterizes their author. The scholar comes to conclusion that the author of the Coptic texts had opportunity to use both the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia* and Palladius’ *Lausiatic History*, but gave preference to the former. It means, Peerers argued, that a man who actually knew the realities of life of the Egyptian monks did not trust to Palladius’ text and generally followed the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia* in the descriptions of details of everyday life. The second step of the researcher was the analysis of Palladius’ text, what allowed him to draw conclusions about mostly rhetorical character of it which is typical for made-up, concocted story, rather than for description of the real events. Eventually, the whole Palladius’ narration, as Peerers insists, is the compilation of several plots, images, and rhetorical fragments which appeal to the different sources, such as John Chrysostom’s Homily XXX in *Matthaeum* and the New Testament (Mark 2:17). W. Telfer mentioned that Peerers’ work is limited by consideration of the *Life of John of Lycopolis* only, and does not draw the further conclusions about trustworthiness of the whole *Lausiatic History* which Butler defended so strongly. However, the article is finished with the pessimistic passage: “It remains to be seen whether other parts of the *Lausiatic History* can be put to the test in similar ways. Unless they yield very different results from those attained in respect of the Lycopolis visit, Dom Butler’s favourable estimate of Palladius can hardly be maintained.”

<sup>123</sup> Rene Draguet, “Le chapitre de l’Histoire Lausiaque sur les Tabennésiotes dérive-t-il d’une source copte?” *Muséon* 57 (1944): 53-146; Rene Draguet, “Le chapitre de l’Histoire Lausiaque sur les Tabennésiotes dérive-t-il d’une source copte?” *Muséon* 58 (1945): 15-96; Rene Draguet, “Une nouvelle source copte de Pallade: le ch. VII (Amoun),” *Muséon* 60 (1947): 227-255 (cited in Meyer, “Notes,” 165-166).

<sup>124</sup> Rene Draguet, “Un nouveau témoin du texte G de l’Histoire Lausiaque (MS. Athenes 281). Mélanges Paul Peeters,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 67 (1949): 300-308 (cited in Meyer, “Introduction,” 14)

<sup>125</sup> Rene Draguet, “Butler et sa Lausiatic History,” 205-230 (cited in Meyer, “Introduction,” 14).

<sup>126</sup> Derwas J. Chitty, “Dom C. Butler, prof. Draguet,” 102-110. Consistently admitting almost all points, but far more positively estimating Butler and his academic creativity, at the end of the article Derwas J. Chitty breaks up all these arguments, maintaining it that Butler consciously paid no attention to the numerous variant readings of the Oxford manuscript *Wake 67* wherein the manuscript gives the

arguments to which R. Draguet appeals. Very soon Derwas J. Chitty received the sharp answer from R. Draguet, where he, remaining on critical position toward Butler, proved the weakness and groundlessness of the arguments of his defender.<sup>127</sup>

The third stage is study of the *Lausiac History* in the mid-twentieth century. The prominent researcher R. T. Meyer made significant contribution. The first article was devoted the lexical problems of this text.<sup>128</sup> R. T. Meyer also prepared a general essay on the particularities of the text and source problems which arose around the *Lausiac History* as the introduction to the publication of the English translation of the text (in the *Ancient Christian Writers* series). Comments on the text are given in detailed notes.<sup>129</sup> R. T. Meyer examines proverbs and puns which Palladius used in the *Lausiac History*, some of them demonstrating the plays on words which the author exploited.<sup>130</sup>

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fragments of the *Aegyptiorum Monachorum Historia* (it means the pieces of the “long recension,” which is not the *Lausiac History* itself). The author of the defensive article explains some other omissions by the personal circumstances of Butler’s work with the Oxford manuscript and impossibility to change the text which was already in print.

<sup>127</sup> R. Draguet, “Butleriana: une mauvaise cause,” 239-258 (cited in Meyer, “Introduction,” 14). As R. T. Meyer mentioned, after the publication of this article the critical common opinion that “Butler’s “case” is a bad one and Chitty was indeed an “ill-favored advocate”” became firmly established. R. T. Meyer notes that in a letter from R. Draguet points out that, despite all previous criticism, it is obvious that Butler’s edition must be the basis for all subsequent publications and translations. Until the time when the better Greek manuscripts of the G-recension are found, this book is the best accessible text and basis for any new research on the *Lausiac History*.

<sup>128</sup> R. T. Meyer, “Lexical Problems in Palladius,” 44-52. Working on the English translation of the *Lausiac History*, R. T. Meyer discovered that not all the words which Palladius used, can be found in the dictionary. Thus, the problem of forming a specific “Palladius’ Lexicon” arose. Butler had already tried to solve the problem – he prepared a list of Palladius’ Greek words, also incomplete (Butler, *The Lausiac History*, Vol. 2, 270-276). Sture Linnér explored the vocabulary of the *Lausiac History* more thoroughly (St. Linnér, *Syntaktische und lexikalische Studien zur “Historia Lausiaca” des Palladius*, (Uppsala: Almqvist und Wiksell, 1943). R. T. Meyer also compiled list (also selective) of nonclassical words used by Palladius, offering their short etymology and an approximate definition. The list includes Greek borrowings from Latin, neologisms created by the addition of suffixes and/or prefixes, words derived from the different lexemes, and so on. The article ends with the optimistic hope for the publication of a new improved Lexicon which would include the numerous new words and word-forms of post-Classical Greek.

<sup>129</sup> R.T. Meyer, “Introduction.” He studies Palladius’ life and creation, focuses on the problems of the trustworthiness of the information, textual problems (translation into old languages of Eastern Christianity, the “long” and “pure” recensions of the *Lausiac History*), current study, criticism, and publications. Overall, the author follows Butler’s position on the issues of the history of the text and trustworthiness, acknowledging his significant. However, he does not deny many appropriate critical remarks and expands the polemic between D. J. Chitty and R. Draguet. In the translation R. T. Meyer mainly follows Butler’s text, taking into account certain corrections by A. Lucot.

<sup>130</sup> R.T. Meyer, “Proverbs and Puns,” 420-423. He also tried to find the etymology of such expressions and modern analogies for them. Overall, the position of R. T. Meyer is the same that Butler argued—that the original of the *Lausiac History* was written in Greek and was not translated from Coptic sources.



In the further articles R. T. Meyer focuses not only on textual problems of the *Lausiaca History*, but also on its contents. Several extended articles are devoted to the meaning and significance of the Scripture in Palladius' work, its Christian spirituality, and important Church figures - *Lectio Divina in Palladius*,<sup>131</sup> *Palladius and Early Christian Spirituality*,<sup>132</sup> *Palladius and the Study of Scripture*,<sup>133</sup> *Holy Orders in the Eastern Church in the Early Fifth Century as Seen in Palladius*,<sup>134</sup> *Palladius as Biographer and Autobiographer*.<sup>135</sup>

Paul Devos was another prominent researcher of the *Lausiaca History*. The first of his article is devoted to Poemenia (Ποιμενία), the ascetic, "la servant de Dieu" who was mentioned by Palladius.<sup>136</sup> The article *Sylvie la sainte Pélerine*, published in two

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Proverbs, which create syncretism and are not useful in a word-for-word translation, are the best proof this idea.

<sup>131</sup> R.T. Meyer, "Lectio Divina in Palladius" in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, ed. P. Granfield, J. A. Jungmann (Münster: West, 1970), 580-584. As one of the most widespread ascetic exploits, *Lectio divina*—"Divine reading"—is mentioned many times in the description of devotees throughout the whole text. Meyer shows how this was executed and perceived, what its value was, how it was described, and what place the reading of "Divine books," including the Sacred Scripture, occupied in monastic life.

<sup>132</sup> R.T. Meyer, "Palladius and Early Christian Spirituality," in *Papers Presented to the Fifth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1967*, *Studia Patristica* 10, part 1, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970): 379-390. Meyer underlines the considerable influence of the theological and ascetic views of Evagrius Ponticus, the friend and teacher of Palladius, on the formation of his general world outlook represented in the text. Through this influencing Palladius' inclination toward Origen's ideas and his belonging to the circle of ascetics who divided these ideas (so-called "Tall brothers") are perceptible. Meyer gives a wide exposition of the moral, ethics, and ascetic norms of Christian spirituality expounded by Palladius because this text can be defined as a peculiar "illustration" of the practical embodiment of Evagrius' theoretical ideas in live reality.

<sup>133</sup> R.T. Meyer, "Palladius and the Study of Scripture," in *Papers Presented to the Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford, 1971*, *Studia Patristica* 13, part 2, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975): 487-490. Meyer also dwells on the question of the significance of the Sacred Scripture in Palladius' descriptions. Nevertheless, he speaks not about the textual analysis of the biblical fragments in the *Lausiaca History*, but rather about "factual" mentions of the Bible, its role in the lives of monks: for example, how the heroes "learn in Scripture," rewrote it, granted it authority, treated it as a material object of the written Sacred Word, and so on.

<sup>134</sup> R.T. Meyer, "Holy Orders in the Eastern Church in the Early Fifth Century as Seen in Palladius," in *Papers of the Ninth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1983*, *Studia Patristica* 16, part 2, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Kalamazoo, MI.: Cistercian Publications, 1985): 38-49. Meyer grounding on the *Lausiaca History* writes about different Church and monastic ranks such as bishops, chorbishops, archimandrites, priests, archpriests, deacons, archdeacons, deaconesses, lectors, exorcists, readers, and processes of recapitulation. The text of the *Lausiaca History* is perceived as a reliable historical source which represents reality correctly enough; therefore, as R. T. Meyer expounds, the particularities and functions of the Church ranks at the beginning of the fifth century can be described by relying on it.

<sup>135</sup> R.T. Meyer, "Palladius as Biographer," 66-71. The article is devoted to the issue of to what extent Palladius' biographical and autobiographical information is reliable.

<sup>136</sup> P. Devos, "La "servante de Dieu" Poemenia d'après Pallade, la tradition copte et Jean Rufus," *Analecta Bollandiana* 87 (1969): 189-212. The author collates testimonies about her from different often

parts four years later, exposes the features of the story about St. Silvia.<sup>137</sup> In the article *Approches de Pallade à travers le dialogue sur Chrysostome et l'Histoire Lausiaque* Paul Devos proves the important point which caused significant discussions yet in the XIX c. Grounding on the analysis of the texts, the scholar argues that the author of the *Dialogue on the Life of John Chrysostom* and the author of the *Lausiak History* were the same person – Palladius of Helenopolis.<sup>138</sup>

I have already mentioned the article of E. D. Hunt about the two parties and their supporters in the Church of the late fourth century.<sup>139</sup> D. F. Buck, whose article was also mentioned earlier, approaches the chronological problems in the *Lausiak History*.<sup>140</sup>

Among the more recent studies I should mention, first the article of A. L. Fisher published at the beginning of 1990s, which is devoted to Palladius' text. The author tries to approach the text from the perspective of gender studies and scrutinize the role and significance of women in the world of the *Lausiak History*.<sup>141</sup>

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scrappy sources, which are accessible, – fragments of the Coptic and Syrian sources.

<sup>137</sup>P. Devos, "Sylvie la sainte Pélerine," *Analecta Bollandiana* 91 (1973): 105-120; P. Devos, "Sylvie la sainte Pélerine," *Analecta Bollandiana* 92 (1974): 321-343. The manuscript tradition of the life is examined in two aspects – its history on the West and on East. The issue about the microtextual analysis of the information arises again. The author comes up on the high level of generalization in questions on the origins of text, trustworthiness of information, its sources and historiographical discussions around the text.

<sup>138</sup> P. Devos, "Approches de Pallade à travers le dialogue sur Chrysostome et l'Histoire Lausiaque," *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989): 243-265. Paul Devos mentioned that "if any doubts were left on this score, these new parallels, that might escape too hasty a reading, as well as new light thrown on old ones, should sharpen awareness of the writer's idiosyncracies and warn the reader to be on this guard in using him as an historian."

<sup>139</sup> Hunt, "Palladius of Helenopolis: a Party and Its Supporters," 456-480.

<sup>140</sup> Buck, "The Structure of the Lausiak History," 292-307.

<sup>141</sup> A. L. Fisher, "Women and Gender in Palladius' Lausiak History," *Studia Monastica* 33 (1991): 23-50. The research question induces the author of the article to appeal to the theoretical premises formulated in the works of the researchers of gender history; the exploitation of methods of quality and quantity analysis. Besides the description of the features of woman's status in the *Lausiak History*, A. L. Fisher focuses on the figures of the few most prominent heroines – Melania the Elder, Melania the Younger, Albina, and so on. The author investigates the perception of femininity and girlhood, beauty and humility, the issue of women-temptresses and womanish demons; her household status and social functions. The scholar comes to conclusions that female asceticism was perceived as one of the secondary importance in comparison with male, although quantitative factors (the male-female communities ratio, number of heroes-heroines of stories, secondary and episodic characters, secular persons) can be defined as enough proportionally presented.

J. L. North carried out a careful comparative lexical and semantic analysis of one term which appears in Palladius' works and in the *Apostolic Constitutions* – „χρηστοφάγος”. Thanks to the example of the functioning of one word, J. L. North demonstrates how the new invisible from the first sight meanings and accents of the word become actual with help of the intertextual mental cross-references. In the result it is possible to see new meaning of the whole fragment of the text.<sup>142</sup>

As already mentioned, Claudia Rapp's important article focused on the social and ideological circumstances of the writing of the *Lausiaca History* ca. 420, and connected this with the rehabilitation of John Chrysostom, Palladius' patron.<sup>143</sup>

In 2004 in the Department of Theology of Berne University for the research seminar *Spiritualität und Theologie in der Ostkirche* the presentation Ἀββᾶ, μὴ πάσχε ὕβριν· σαλή ἐστι was prepared. The author, Simon Hofstetter, gives the extended characteristic of the text of the *Lausiaca History*, describes the history and features of early Egyptian monasticism, and further focuses on the issue of “holy fools” in Palladius' work.<sup>144</sup>

Among other studies devoted to the *Lausiaca History*, that of the Italian scholar

<sup>142</sup>J. L. North, “Abstention from “Dainty Food”? Comments on *χρηστοφάγος* etc. in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and Palladius” in *Studia Patristica: Papers Presented at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 1995*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1997), Volume 29: Historica, theologica et philosophica, critica et philologica, 501-507. The word literally means “fond to delicacies,” “one who eats dainty food”. However, the evolution of its appearance and existing in different texts allows scholar to make conclusion that it has indirect meaningful message in Palladius' works – from accusation of gluttony to Jewish sympathies.

<sup>143</sup> Rapp, “Palladius, Lausus and the *Historia Lausiaca*,” 279 -289. Thus, she argues, after a long period of eclipse, ca 412 Palladius was appointed bishop of Aspsina. Till the 420s in the Constantinople began the processes of reconciliation between survived allies of Chrysostom and anti-Chrysostom groups, and Lausus' request to Palladius to write story about Egyptian monks and their exploits was part of these actions.

<sup>144</sup> Simon Hofstetter, “Ἀββᾶ, μὴ πάσχε ὕβριν· σαλή ἐστι. Die „Heilige Torheit“ - eine Untersuchung des Motivs des Σαλός anhand einer Erzählung aus der *Historia Lausiaca* des Palladius sowie weiterer Geschichten,” Universität Bern, Historische Theologie, Kirchengeschichtliche Proseminararbeit, zum Proseminar „Spiritualität und Theologie in der Ostkirche,” durchgeführt von Prof. Martin George und Ass. Christian Münch, WS 2002/2003, 6. Semester, 31. Juli 2004. <http://www.simon-hofstetter.ch/dokumente/ht-ps.pdf> (accessed March 15, 2007). He carries out the careful study of the text concerning mentions of *σαλός*, which includes an analysis of the narration, genre, context, personalities, syntactic and semantic particularities of language, and interpretation of the concept “holy fool.”

Elena Magheri Cataluccio should also be mentioned here. Her work considers the semantic models in the text and their relation with real historical circumstances.<sup>145</sup>

Another modern scholar, Nicolas Molinier, focused on different forms, periods, motivations, and ideas of ascetic renunciation according to the *Lausiaca History* as well as different degrees and types of sanctity of its characters.<sup>146</sup>

One of the issues most acutely discussed by modern scholarship is the relationship between the Greek and Coptic versions of the *Lausiaca History*. The Coptic text was preserved only in fragments and is insufficiently studied.<sup>147</sup> Recently, an important contribution to the Lausiaca studies was made by A. de Vogüé. He revisited the idea which Amélineau had yet expressed in the nineteenth century: the original sources which Palladius used for his work could be Coptic. That is why, in this author's opinion, Palladius appears actually not as the author, but only as the editor and compiler the stories existed previously. Moreover, according to de Vogüé, Palladius was not even the translator of these sources, but used primary Coptic material already translated into Greek.<sup>148</sup> A. de Vogüé published emendations<sup>149</sup> and variant readings<sup>150</sup> for the Coptic

<sup>145</sup> Elena Magheri Cataluccio, *Il Lausaicon di Palladio tra Semiotica e Storia* (Roma: Herder Editrice e Libreria, 1984).

<sup>146</sup> Nicolas Molinier, *Ascèse, contemplation et ministère. D'après l'Histoire lausiaque de Pallade d'Helenopolis* (Bégrilles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1995).

<sup>147</sup> E. Amélineau, *De Historia Lausiaca* (Paris: Leroux, 1887), 73-124; M. Chaîne, "La double recension de l'Histoire Lausiaque" dans la version copte," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 25 (1925-1926): 232-275. Amélineau warmly supported the idea that these fragments reflect the primary Coptic sources of the Greek *Lausiaca History* and its Syrian version. Later on, this hypothesis was accepted by A. de Vogüé and G. Bunge (see below). On the contrary, R. T. Meyer following Butler's analysis, argued that several quite extended Coptic fragments of the *Lausiaca History*, including *Epistula ad Lausum*, are certainly translations from a Greek original because some mistakes and irrelevancies in the expressions, most notably the various puns can only be explained as the result of misunderstandings of the original Greek text. Butler also explained that other fragments which indeed contain information absent from Palladius' Greek version of the *Lausiaca History* are borrowed from other Greek sources such as Socrates' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Butler, *The Lausiaca History*, Vol. 1, 107-155; Meyer, "Introduction," 10); Meyer refers to W. Till, *Koptische Heiligen und Märtyrerlegenden* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1935) where the Coptic fragments of the *Life of John of Lycopolis* can be found).

<sup>148</sup> A. de Vogüé, "L'«Histoire Lausiaque.» Une oeuvre écrite dans l'esprit d'Evagre," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 42 (1947): 5-49; A. de Vogüé, "Points de contact du chapitre XXXII de l'«Histoire Lausiaque» avec les écrits d'Horsiese," *Studia Monastica* 13 (1971): 291-294; see also G. Bunge and A. de Vogüé, *Quatre érmite égyptiens*.

<sup>149</sup> A. de Vogüé, "Les fragments coptes de l'Histoire Lausiaque. L'édition d'Amélineau et le manuscrit," *Orientalia* 58 (1989): 326-332.

texts published by Amélineau.<sup>151</sup> Tim Vivian has translated these Coptic fragments into English.<sup>152</sup> A. de Vogüé's conclusions about the originality of the Coptic fragments based on his analysis of these fragments found many supporters in the academic world. His hypothesis of a Coptic original of the *Lausiac History* renders obsolete many of Butler's theses and contribute to revising the previous understanding of the time, place, and authorship of the text.<sup>153</sup>

A. de Vogüé expanded his conclusions in a common work with G. Bunge. Grounding on information in Socrates' *Historia Ecclesiastica* that Palladius wrote the work—an *Idion Monobiblion*—about monks and ascetics, and on the analysis of the Coptic fragments, they developed the hypothesis that Palladius wrote not only the *Lausiac History*, but these two texts.<sup>154</sup> This explains many problematic issues: why the Syrian and Coptic versions are very similar, and at the same time they both significantly differ from the Greek text; moreover, why all these texts have signs of undoubted Palladius' authorship; how the vivid descriptions and dialogues can appear in the *Lausiac History*, if work was written 20-30 years after described events. According to the reconstruction of A. de Vogüé and G. Bunge, Palladius wrote his *Monobiblion* for the Egyptian monks during his stay with them in the 390s; this text contained the stories

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<sup>150</sup> A. de Vogüé, "La version copte du chapitre XVII de l'Histoire Lausiaque. Les deux éditeurs et les trois manuscrits," *Orientalia* 58 (1989): 510-524; A. de Vogüé, "Le texte copte du chapitre XVIII de l'Histoire Lausiaque. L'édition d'Amélineau et le manuscrit," *Orientalia* 61 (1992): 459-462.

<sup>151</sup> É. Amélineau, *De Historia Lausiaca*.

<sup>152</sup> T. Vivian, "Coptic Palladiana I: The Life of Pambo," *Coptic Church Review* 20, no. 3 (1999): 66-95; T. Vivian, "Coptic Palladiana II: The Life of Evagrius," *Coptic Church Review* 21, no. 1 (2000): 8-23; T. Vivian, "Coptic Palladiana III: The Life of Macarius of Egypt," *Coptic Church Review* 21, no. 3 (2000): 82-109; T. Vivian, "Coptic Palladiana IV: St. Macarius of Alexandria," *Coptic Church Review* 22, no. 1 (2001): 2-22.

<sup>153</sup> For the bibliography of A. de Vogüé's works see: [S. Khoruzhiy] С. Хоружий, ed., *Исихизм: Аннотированная библиография*; [V. Lurie] В. М. Лурье, *Призвание Авраама*, 211–212. Also see the critical position of Vera Zemskova about Palladius' authorship and the history of the text: [Vera Zemskova] Вера Земскова, "Рецензия на: Диалог Палладия, епископа Еленопольского, с Феодором, римским диаконом, повествующий о житии блаженного Иоанна, епископа Константинопольского, Златоуста / Вст. статья, пер. с древнегреческого, комментарии А. С. Балаховской (М., ИМЛИ РАН, 2002). 248 с. (The Review on *The Dialogue of Palladius the Bishop of Hellenopolis with Theodorus the Deacon of Rome about the Life of Blessed John the Bishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom in its Historical Context*, ed., tr. A. Balakhovskaya (Moscow: ИМЛИ РАН,

about the life of famous ascetics and was preserved in the Coptic and Syrian translations. A few decades later, the work was rewritten for a secular audience and complemented with stories about other, non-Egyptian ascetics. Together with the letter and the dedication to Lausus, which were added later, this first book became a basis for the *Lausiac History*, written about 420.

Today the conclusions of G. Bunge and A. de Vogüé are considered as authoritative, although it is rather difficult to accept a virtual, hypothetical text that may have existed, but was not preserved. In any case, these hypotheses do not invalidate the fact that the *Lausiac History*, in the form identified by Butler's research on the textual tradition of the text (with possible insignificant variants) was created by Palladius about 420 even if in this case he was the editor of his earlier material, rather than the writer.

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2002),” in [http://www.portal-credo.ru/site/?act=tv\\_reviews&id=13](http://www.portal-credo.ru/site/?act=tv_reviews&id=13) (accessed March 15, 2007).

<sup>154</sup>G. Bunge and A. de Vogüé, *Quatre érmîtes égyptien*, 58-80.

## CHAPTER TWO

### The Solid Ground of Textual Analysis

This chapter is devoted to the textual peculiarities of Palladius' quotations and interpretations of the Bible in the *Lausiatic History*. This is a necessary part of my investigation, which gives solid ground before the further exploration into the world of ideas associated with such quotations.

First, I will clearly define the terms which I intend to use. Throughout this study I will use the following concepts to refer to and categorize Palladius' use of biblical material: biblical quotations, *verbatim* and adapted, biblical references, and allusions. By *verbatim* biblical quotation I mean those instances when the author employs an exact quotation, reproducing the original biblical text word for word. Sometimes, small and insignificant changes may be introduced in these quotations; this means that such changes are either allowed by Greek spelling or syntax, or that the biblical material quoted can be found in different versions in different manuscripts of Palladius' *Lausiatic History* and of the Greek Bible and, as a result, it would be difficult to establish the exact form of Palladius' original quotation. By "adapted quotations" I understand all the instances where quoting also involves more or less significant changes of the biblical text such as the addition or omission of some parts of a sentence, rearranging the structure of the sentence, and so on. A biblical reference can be called the type of usage in the *Lausiatic History* where the author does not repeat a biblical text *verbatim*, but rather refers to it as a term of comparison, by evoking the names of certain biblical heroes and types of situations identified by him as biblical. The passages of the *Lausiatic History* which are modeled in a way similar to the biblical narrative, but do not quote or refer to it directly I regard as biblical allusions. In most cases, however, it is almost impossible to distinguish between a reference and an allusion; therefore, apart from

examples which without doubt can be established as definite allusions, all other instances will be regarded as references.

To sum up, the logical chain of the work I have applied in my approach on the textual analysis of the *Lausiaca History* is the following: first, I define a biblical quotation or reference in the text of the *Lausiaca History*; second, I analyze all the differences in the readings of the same fragment in different manuscripts of Palladius' work according to the critical editions (Butler and Bartelink); third, I check the textual form of the same fragment in the critical editions of the Greek Bible in order to avoid taking casual and secondary changes into account.<sup>155</sup>

One of the aims of my investigation is to define/ "identify" sounds a bit better, don't you think? the main textual version of the Bible used by Palladius through discovering the textual peculiarities of the exact quotations and of those quotations that exhibit small or secondary literal changes. It is not possible to trace, however, any clear tendency to use one of the revised Greek translations of the Septuagint (Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion)<sup>156</sup> or preferences for any particular textform of the Bible.<sup>157</sup> Based on my research, it has become clear that Palladius probably used the standard text of the Scripture.

Moreover, it cannot be determined whether Palladius discussed the biblical

<sup>155</sup> *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, 16 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960-2007); *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*, ed. Barbara and Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994); *The New Testament in the Original Greek Byzantine Textform*, ed. Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont (Southborough: Chilton Book Publishing, 2005). The English translations used are based on Brenton's English translation of the Septuagint, checked against the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS) where available, and on the NASB for the New Testament unless the text requires a very literal rendering.

<sup>156</sup> For all these, see Karen H. Jobes and Moises Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2000), 38-43; Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible. An Introduction to the History of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 313-317; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek version of the Bible*, tr. W. G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

<sup>157</sup> For discussion around different textforms of the Bible, see: Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964),



passages which were later defined by Bart E. Ehrman as problematic in the context of Christological controversies.<sup>158</sup>

On the whole, my analysis has produced the following results: throughout the *Lausiaca History* there are 93 cases of using biblical quotations, references, and allusions involving 114 different biblical passages. This difference in numbers can be explained mostly by the fact that some quotations and references have two or more sources. First of all, the same quotation can have parallel places in several books of the Bible (for example, the adapted quotation from the chapter about Paesius which said “sell all and give to the poor, and every hour both day and night carried the cross and followed the Saviour even in his prayers”<sup>159</sup> has 8 parallel places in the Scripture<sup>160</sup>). Second, the quoted fragment can combine two different biblical fragments, as in the adapted quotation in the story about Valens: “I have seen a righteous man perishing in his righteousness; and this all is futility,” which combines two fragments from the Ecclesiastes.<sup>161</sup>

A total of thirty seven borrowings from the Bible can be defined as *verbatim* quotations, which include insignificant changes (the addition of καί or γάρ; the omission of αὐτῶν, γάρ, δέ; changing διά into ἵνα, δέ into γάρ, ἀπό into ἐκ; καί into ἡ, ἡ into ἀλλ’), changes allowed by Greek spelling or syntax (λέγουσι – λέγουσιν; ἐστὶ – ἐστὶν; κληρονομήσουσι(ν), χερσί(ν), ἀλλά used in the short form ἀλλ’; σατανᾶ – σατᾶν; ηὐχαρίστησαν – εὐχαρίστησαν; ποιμένων – ποιμαίνων); or using alternative

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36; he also remarks that John Chrysostom was the earliest Church Father to use the Byzantine text-type of the Greek New Testament in his biblical quotations. *The New Testament*, ed. Maurice A. Robinson, 9.

<sup>158</sup> For these, see Bart E. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

<sup>159</sup> HL 14.5: πάντα πωλήσας καὶ δοὺς πτωχοῖς, καὶ καθ’ ὥραν καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ κατὰ νύκτα τὸν σταυρὸν βαστάζων, καὶ ἀκολουθῶν τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

<sup>160</sup> Luke 18:22, Matt. 10:38, Matt. 16:24, Matt. 19:21, Mark 8:34, Mark 10:21, Luke 9:23, Luke 14:27.

dialect forms (πρᾶϋς [Ionian] in the place of Attic πρᾶος). Among these *verbatim* quotations I have also included cases where it is impossible to establish the original text. For example, in the story about John of Lycopolis, Palladius used the phrase: “(It is) not those who are healthy who need a physician, but those who are sick.”<sup>162</sup> Here the word used is ὑγιαίνοντες “healthy”, but variant readings of the *Lausiac History* allow also ἰσχύοντες “strong.” This fragment is borrowed from and has parallels in three Synoptic Gospels.<sup>163</sup> Among these, Mark and Matthew prefer ἰσχύοντες, while Luke opts for ὑγιαίνοντες. All three of them, however, allow the second alternative reading according to the textual variants attested in the manuscripts of the New Testament. As a result, it is difficult to establish the exact form of Palladius’ original quotation.

Thirty three fragments can be called adapted quotations. These include changes in the syntax and structure of sentences; lexical and stylistic changes (synonyms, word usage); changes in grammar (verb forms and declensions). The main methods Palladius used for adapting such biblical quotations to the context of his *Lausiac History* are the following: the abridgement or expansion of phrases (ἵνα τί οἱ μαθηταί σου οὐ νηστεύουσιν ὥς καὶ οἱ Ἰωάννου;<sup>164</sup> becomes Διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταί Ἰωάννου (καὶ οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων) νηστεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ σοὶ μαθηταί οὐ νηστεύουσιν;<sup>165</sup>); replacement of some words, word combinations, or parts of the sentence (Μὴ καλέσητε διδάσκαλον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς<sup>166</sup> becomes Καὶ πατέρα μὴ καλέσητε ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἷς γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῶν ὁ

<sup>161</sup> HL 25.6: Εἶδον δίκαιον ἀπολλύμενον ἐν δικαιώματι αὐτοῦ· καὶ γε τοῦτο ματαιότης; Eccles. 7:15; Eccles. 7:6.

<sup>162</sup> HL 35.6: Οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες ἱατροῦ ἀλλ’ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες.

<sup>163</sup> Matt. 9:12; Mark 2:17; Luke 5:31.

<sup>164</sup> HL Prol. 11: “Why do your disciples not fast as do the disciples of John?”

<sup>165</sup> Mark 2:18: “John’s disciples and the Pharisees were fasting; and they came and said to Him, ‘Why do John’s disciples and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, but Your disciples do not fast?’”

<sup>166</sup> HL 26.1 “Do not call (anyone) on earth your teacher.”

πατήρ ὁ (εν τοις)<sup>167</sup> οὐράνοις. μηδὲ κληθῆτε καθηγηταί, ὅτι καθηγητῆς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν εἷς ὁ Χριστός<sup>168</sup>); the rearranging of sentences (questions turned into declarative sentences: Ὁ γὰρ τὰ ὄρη σταθμίζων<sup>169</sup> becomes τίς ἔστησε τὰ ὄρη σταθμῶ<sup>170</sup>), change of the subject, or direct speech changed into a question (Ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας, ὁ βαστάζων τὰ κακὰ πάσης κτίσεως καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν πταιόντων<sup>171</sup> is turned into Εἶπον αὐτοῖς Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος οὐ βουλόμεν τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς ὡς τὸ ἀποστρέψαι τὸν ἀσεβῆ ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ζῆν αὐτόν<sup>172</sup>); changes in the forms of verbs and nouns;<sup>173</sup> use of synonymous words and phrases.<sup>174</sup>

In the present analysis it is difficult to say whether all these textual changes always bring some meaningful emphasis, but there are several notable exceptions. In

<sup>167</sup> Variant readings; it appears without accents and spiritus.

<sup>168</sup> Matt. 23:9-10: “Do not call (anyone) on earth your father; for One is your Father, He who is in heaven. Do not be called leaders; for One is your Leader, (that is,) Christ.”

<sup>169</sup> HL 10.4: “He who measures the mountains.”

<sup>170</sup> Isa. 40:12: “who weighed the mountains in a balance?”

<sup>171</sup> HL 69.2: “O Great God, who tolerates the evil of every creature and does not want the death and fall of those who fall.”

<sup>172</sup> Ezek. 33:11: “Say to them, ‘As I live!’ declares the Lord GOD, ‘I do not want the death of the wicked, (but rather that the wicked turn from his way and live.’

<sup>173</sup> ἀστοχεί (verb, praes. imper. act., pers. 2, sing.) in Sir 8:9 is changed into ἀστοχίης (aorist conjunct. act, pers.2, sing.) in HL Prol. 4; ὀφειλέτης (noun, nom. sing. masc.) in Matt. 18:24 is changed into ὄφειλον (verb, imperf. act.) in HL Prol. 6; διηγούμενον (partic. praes. indic. pass. Nom. sing. neut. from διηγέομαι - to tell, describe) in Heb. 11:32 is changed into διηγήσασθαι (aorist I, infinit. med.) in HL 1.2; πώλησον (verb, aorist imperat. act. pers. 2 sing. from πωλέω - to sell) in Luke 18:22 is changed into πωλήσας (participium, aorist act. nom. sing. masc.) in HL 14.5; etc.

<sup>174</sup> ἀνῆλθον (from ἀνέρχομαι - went up) in Gal. 1:18 is changed in ἀνέβην (went to) in HL Prol. 6; ἔρχεται (from ἔρχομαι - to come) in Luke 14:27 is changed into ἀκολουθῶν (from ἀκολουθέω - to follow) HL 14.5; ἀράτω (from αἶρω - raise, take up) in Matt. 16:24 is changed into βαστάζων (from βαστάζω - carry, raise) in HL 14.5; ἡγεῖτο (from ἡγέομαι - to go ahead, lead) and δεῖξαι (from δείκνυμι - to show, point) in Exod. 13:21 are changed into ὁδηγήσαντι (from ὁδηγέω - to be guide, to lead) in HL 18.7; δικαίω (from τό δίκαιον - justice, righteousness, truth) in Eccles. 7:15 is changed into δικαιώματι (τό δικαίωμα - just act, deed, commandment) in HL 25.6; καθηγητῆς (leader) and πατήρ (father) in Matt. 23:9-10 are changed into διδάσκαλον (teacher) in HL 26.1; χρόνος (time) and μακρός (big, long) in Wisd. 4:13 are changed into ἔτος (year) and πολλά (big, many) in HL 38.1; δειλοί ἐστε (adj. nom. pl. masc., from δειλός - timid, timorous, cowardly, and verb. praes. act. ind. pers.2 pl., from εἰμί - to be) in Matt. 8:26 is changed into ἐμικροψυχῆσατε (aorist indic. act. pers. 2, plur. μικροψυχεῖω - show lack of spirit, lose heart) in HL 39.4; ἐφάγομεν (aorist indic. act.-med., pers. 1 plur., from ἐσθίω - to eat) in 2 Thess. 3:8 is changed into βέβρωκα (perf. indic. act. pers.1 sing., from βιβρώσκω - to eat, consume) in HL 45.3; διηγῇ (from διηγέομαι - to declare, tell, describe) in Ps. 49:16 is changed into ἐκδιηγῇ (from ἐκδιηγέομαι

the story about the nun who fell and repented, the heroine addresses God with the phrase which generally repeats the biblical words, but the nun uses τῶν πταιόντων (“the fallen ones”)<sup>175</sup> in the place of the biblical τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς (“the sinful one”).<sup>176</sup> Here she is clearly speaking about her sinful action, a bad deed committed in the past, rather than the general sinfulness of humankind as in the biblical passage.<sup>177</sup> Another example comes from story about Heron, where the biblical πατήρ - “father” and καθηγητής - “leader” in the prohibition to call anyone on earth with these words are changed into διδάσκαλον “teacher.”<sup>178</sup> As far as I can see, Palladius deliberately changed these words probably due to the fact that the phenomenon of spiritual paternity had important significance in the ascetic ideas of his own teacher, Evagrius; Evagrius emphasized on the extreme necessity of the spiritual guidance for every monk.<sup>179</sup> A closer investigation of the narrative strategies and rhetorical tools which Palladius used when working with and changing the biblical text will be carried out in the next chapter.

In addition to what was mentioned above, most of the textual changes result from the adaptation and incorporation of a biblical phrase in the text of the *Lausiac History*; this frequently explains the grammatical and syntactic changes that add nothing to the meaning of the biblical phrases. Such word changes and the use of synonyms are also not unusual for medieval texts. The text of Scripture had not yet been stabilized in a canonical form in Palladius’ time such as that printed in the modern critical editions of the Bible. Moreover, these changes are not surprising if one takes the

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- to tell, recount) in *HL* 47.9; ἐρρύσθην (from ῥύομαι – to rescue, release) in 2 Tim. 4:17 is changed into ἐξαρπάσσα (from ἐξαρπάζω – to save, rescue) in *HL* 61.5.

<sup>175</sup> Participium, praes. indic. act., Gen. plur. from πταίω

<sup>176</sup> Adj. Gen. sing. from ἀσεβής.

<sup>177</sup> *HL* 69.2: μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν πταιόντων - “[O Great God, who...] does not want the death and fall of the fallen men”; Ezek. 33:11: Οὐ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς - “[God declares:] ‘I do not want the death of the wicked.’”

<sup>178</sup> *HL* 26.1; Matt. 23:9-10.

methods of medieval authors into account; especially with biblical texts, in most cases the quotation was based on memory.<sup>180</sup>

Generally speaking, my results agree with the main conclusions of the analysis of the syntactic variations in Greek in the fifth century made by Karin Hult. She mentions that Palladius as the author of the *Lausiac History* was a “non-literary” writer, which does not mean that his Greek is bad, but just that in the *Lausiac History* he chose not to write Atticist prose, and does not use learned variants to embellish his style; truly colloquial variants are mostly confined to quoted speech; the Prologue is much more stylistically elaborated.<sup>181</sup> For example, in some cases Palladius stylistically improves a biblical quotation (the Septuagint’s ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης is changed in the *Lausiac History* into τῷ στύλῳ τῆς νεφέλης<sup>182</sup>). On the other hand, he also used terms that belonged to the popular, colloquial Greek of his time instead of more literary synonyms, for instance, the perfect form βέβρωκα (from βιβρώσκω “to eat, consume”) in the place of the aorist ἐφάγομεν (ἐσθίω “to eat”).<sup>183</sup>

References are the most popular form of involving of biblical texts in Palladius’ story; I have identified forty two such cases. These include mentions of biblical heroes; Palladius constructs the images of righteous people and sinners illustrating them with the help of biblical examples, including human qualities and *topoi* or similarities in the biographies of characters. The situations described in the *Lausiac History* frequently have biblical parallels, so descriptions of current events are formulated in biblical terms. In the *Lausiac History* Palladius also tries to build a mental bridge connecting biblical

<sup>179</sup> For Evagrius’ views on spiritual paternity, see Gabriel Bunge, *Paternité Spirituelle. La Gnose Chrétienne chez Évagre le Pontique* (Bégrolles en Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1994).

<sup>180</sup> See Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of the Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 3-22.

<sup>181</sup> Karin Hult, *Syntactic Variation in Greek of the Fifth Century A. D.* (Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1990), 222.

<sup>182</sup> HL 18.7; Exod. 13:21; the meaning is the same: “in the pillar of cloud,” but Palladius proposes a variant which is grammatically more correct).

times and places with those of his days. In these cases the references serve as a link between the Bible and Palladius' work, including coincidences in geography, when the events of the *Lausiac History* take place in the same places where the biblical events happened, and the fulfillment or re-enactment of biblical events by Palladius' heroes. He also used references to the Bible as arguments to justify ideas which he presents. All these points will be closely investigated below.

Only two examples can be defined without doubt as biblical allusions. The first is an allusion at the beginning of the Prologue: as R. Meyer mentioned, the introductory part of it is modeled on the Prologue to the Gospel of Luke;<sup>184</sup> the second is the situation in chapter 40, where Pior chided and then helped the discouraged people who dug a well but could not reach water. This case probably alludes to an Old Testament passage where, similarly, a well was dug by the servants of Isaac, who found "living water."<sup>185</sup>

It is important to note that among the biblical books which were the most popular sources for quoting and referring to, the material of the New Testament is more widely used. There are 72 cases of the use of the New Testament versus 42 of the Old Testament. They number 24 and 13 *verbatim* quotations, 26 and 7 adapted quotations, 21 and 21 references, correspondingly. There are also allusions one to each Testament.

The frequency of the use of Septuagint and New Testament books by Palladius is illustrated in Table 1 below.

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<sup>183</sup> *HL* 45.3: βέβρωκα; 2 Thess. 3:8: ἐφάγομεν.

<sup>184</sup> Palladius of Aspuna, *The Lausiac History*, tr. and annot. Robert T. Meyer (Westminster and London: Newman Press and Longmans, Green, 1965), 169, n. 14.

<sup>185</sup> *HL* 39.5; Gen. 26:15-19.

Table 1.

The frequency of different uses of the Bible in Palladius' *Lausiaca History*.

Books	Verbatim quotations	Adapted quotations	References	Allusions	Total
<b>Old Testament (totals)</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>42</b>
Genesis	1		4	1	6
Exodus			5		5
Leviticus			1		1
Joshua			1		1
4 Kings			1		1
Psalms	6	1	1		8
Proverbs	4		2		6
Ecclesiastes	1	1			2
Job	1	1	2		4
Wisdom		1			1
Sirach		2	1		3
Isaiah			1		1
Ezekiel		1			1
Daniel			2		2
<b>New Testament (totals)</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>72</b>
Matthew	6	9	2		17
Mark	1	3	2		6
Luke	3	5	4	1	13
John	1				1
Romans	4	1	1		6
1 Corinthians	3	1	1		5
2 Corinthians	2		1		3
Galatians		4	2		6
Ephesians			1		1
Philippians	1				1
2 Thessalonians	1	1			2
1 Timothy	1		3		4
2 Timothy		1	1		2
Titus			1		1
Hebrews		1	1		2
James			1		1
1 John	1				1

Among the books of the Old Testament the most quoted are: Psalms (8 times), Proverbs (6), Genesis (6), Exodus (5), Job (4), and Sirach (3). From the New Testament, the most often quoted books are: the Gospels of Matthew (17), Luke (13),

Mark (6), the Epistles to the Romans (6), Galatians (6), the first letter to the Corinthians (5), the first to Timothy (4), and the second to the Corinthians (3).

These results require some commentary. The first interesting fact is that even if the New Testament is more popular in the *Lausiac History*, Palladius, as other late antique authors, used texts from the Old Testament widely. Some explanations for this fact can be found in the scholarship. Thus, Sergey Ivanov mentions that although it would seem that ideological reasons should assure the Gospels' complete dominance, the Byzantines liked to quote the Old Testament no less than the New. This can be explained because "everyday life itself inspired associations with the Old Covenant," while "the world of the New Testament is marginal, and the solutions proposed in it could not have been used as a recipe for everyday life."<sup>186</sup> Thus, the extensive use of Old Testament materials is conditioned by the significant size and varied contents of that part of the Bible; many different examples, illustrative images, and plots could be taken from it. In contrast to the books of the New Testament, it was easier and more convenient to find necessary analogies in the Septuagint.

Ewa Wipszycka gives a similar explanation. Speaking about the usage of biblical texts in the monastic literature of late antique Christianity, she mentions the attention with which the whole Old Testament was interpreted (not only the Psalms, which were recited quite frequently); sometimes it is referred to even more often than the New Testament. Scholars are not entirely sure why this was so. A preference for appealing to the Old Testament might stem from its richness; among the significant number of different texts about different characters it is possible to find fragments that were necessary for monks. Ewa Wipszycka has also proposed another explanation;

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<sup>186</sup> [Sergey Ivanov] Сергей Иванов, "Соотношение новозаветных и ветхозаветных цитат в византийской литературе: К постановке вопроса [The correlation of the New and Old Testament quotations in the Byzantine literature: The statement of a question]," in *Одиссей: Человек в истории*.



perhaps the authors appealed to the Old Testament because it contains a number of prophecies which had been fulfilled in the New Testament and in the Church (in the meaning of the “Christian people”).<sup>187</sup>

The second important issue is whether the Bible itself was the direct source for quotation. In medieval texts, quite frequently, quotations were not based on the read text (as we do now), but on the heard text; moreover, when one speaks about quoting from the Bible, this heard-text was heard during church services (oral reading of Bible was part of divine worship). Therefore, in this case the main source for the biblical quotations may be the various *Lectionaries*, i. e., books containing readings appointed to be read at divine services according to the calendar.

On the one hand, this hypothesis offers a wonderful opportunity to develop the textual study about the use of the Bible in the narrative by comparing quotations from the medieval text, in my study – from the *Lausiac History*, with the *Lectionary*. On the other hand, unfortunately, this is inappropriate for the *Lausiac History*. Palladius’ text was written at an early time (beginning of the fifth century), while the canon of service in the Greek Church was only formed by the seventh or eighth century, and the earliest preserved manuscript dates from the ninth century (Sinai, gr. 7). Thus, there are no clear criteria for checking quotations from the *Lausiac History*.<sup>188</sup> For an author of such a

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*Язык Библии в нарративе* [Odysseus: Man in history: The language of the Bible in the narrative] (Moscow: Nauka, 2003), 12.

<sup>187</sup> E. Wipszycka, “Historia Lausiaca Palladiusza [Palladius’ *Lausiac History*],” in *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności: studia źródłowe: praca zbiorowa* [Christianity in Late Antiquity: source studies: A Collective volume], ed. Tomasz Derda, Ewa Wipszycka (Warsaw: Wydaw. Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1997), 258.

<sup>188</sup> As only an approximate background for comparison I used the Slavic lectionary from the Institute of Manuscripts of the National Library of Ukraine (Kyiv). The manuscript dates from the last quarter of the fifteenth century; it is a translation of a Greek lectionary from the ninth century (*Паремійник останньої чверті XV ст. з зібрання Златоверхого Михайлівського монастиря* [The lectionary of the last quarter of the fifteenth century from the collection of Zlatoverkhoho Monastery of St. Mihail], Інститут рукописів Національної бібліотеки України ім. В. Вернадського (The Institute of Manuscripts of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine) Ф. 307, од. 433п/1639). Almost all the biblical quotations found in the *Lausiac History* are among the biblical fragments in the lectionary. However, this analysis does not have ultimate academic significance because of methodological inaccuracies (to check an earlier text against a later one).

level of education and cultural background as Palladius, however, a more fruitful result may be obtained through comparison of his quotations with those which were used by his teachers and the members of his intellectual circle. I will return to this issue below.

Another important question is how frequently, or, more exactly, how uniformly, the quotations and the references to the biblical texts are found in the *Lausiac History*. The answer is that they are located irregularly. One can observe two fragments where the usage of the biblical texts is extremely frequent. In the Prologue there are twenty one instances of using biblical texts, and in chapter 47, about Chronius and Paphnutius, eleven biblical passages appear. This can be explained by the significance they had for Palladius concerning the main ideas behind his work. Moreover, the fact is that biblical quotations in both fragments are not just used frequently; the point is that in both cases they are connected in a common logical unit. In other words, they are used for developing the same ideas and are involved in the same contexts, so the quotations, previously separated and derived from different parts of the Bible, become links in one chain, and help elaborate the author's point(s). In the Prologue there is an illustration of the idea of monastic life, its justification and aims; in the chapter about Chronius and Paphnutius, the answer to the question of why some of the men living in the desert are deceived in their mind and others destroyed by lust. Both issues were crucially important for Palladius in his work.<sup>189</sup>

Unlike these two fragments, five biblical passages used in chapter 18 about Macarius of Alexandria are just separate examples, and are conditioned, in addition to others, by the large size of the story itself. The use of the Scripture in other chapters of the *Lausiac History* can be defined as sporadic and irregular. Usually one finds between

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<sup>189</sup> This issue will be investigated in later chapters.

one and three biblical references or quotations per chapter, although some chapters have none.

The following observation can be made about the “introduction words” – author’s words that immediately introduce the biblical quotations in the text of the *Lausiac History* (for quotations, they are more easy to spot than for references). They allow one to investigate the aim of using biblical fragments in the *Lausiac History* because they provide the author’s explanations and comments just before or after the quoted phrase itself. The most frequent examples I have found in the *Lausiac History* are presented in Table 2.

Table 2.

Examples of the introductory words used in the *Lausiac History*.

HL 47.9	ὥς πληροῦσθαι τὸ γεγραμμένον	“so that the Scripture is fulfilled”
HL 22.13	ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθέν	“in order to fulfill what has been said”
HL Prol.3	συνεκδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καθ’ ἡμέραν, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον	“be ready for releasing of your soul, as it is written”
HL Prol.4	κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον	“according to what has been said”
HL 4.2	ὥς καθ’ ἱστορίαν πληροῦσθαι ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τὸ γεγραμμένον	“so that in him that which has been written was fulfilled literally”
HL 6.3	εἰδὼς τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὅτι	“knowing well what has been said”
HL 23.4	κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον	“as it is written”
HL 34.1	ἔργῳ πληροῦσα τὸ γεγραμμένον	“fulfilling indeed the words of Scripture”
HL 61.3	ὥς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς πληροῦσθαι τὸ γεγραμμένον	“so that the Scripture was fulfilled in their case”

Based on these introductory words, Palladius’ attitude to the usage of biblical texts can be discovered. In most cases he intends to demonstrate that contemporary people fulfill ideas and prophecies of the Bible, act “as it is written” or “as it is said” in the Scripture. The main conclusion about his perception of the biblical words and his

methods of incorporating them in his own narrative is that he tries to show that biblical events became the reality of life, and that situations involving heroes of the *Lausiac History* re-enacted the Sacred History.

In this chapter I have summarized the textual peculiarities of Palladius' quotations and interpretations of the Bible in the *Lausiac History*. I have defined the key concepts used in this study (*verbatim* quotation, adopted quotation, biblical reference and allusion), and clarified some practical approaches to my textual analysis. References are the most frequent form of involvement of the biblical examples on the pages of the *Lausiac History*; Palladius also widely uses *verbatim* and adapted quotations; allusions appear only twice in the text. The passages from the New Testament are introduced in the *Lausiac History* almost twice as often as from the Old Testament. From the books of the Old Testament the most quoted are Psalms, Proverbs, Genesis, Exodus, Job, and Sirach; from the New Testament books the Gospels of Matthew, of Luke, of Mark, Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, the first and second letters to the Corinthians, and the first to Timothy. In most cases quotations and references to the biblical texts appear irregularly in the chapters of the *Lausiac History*; two fragments (the Prologue and chapter 47 about Chronius and Paphnutius) engage biblical passages more frequently; they are organized in logical chain for development author's idea. The analysis of introductory words shows Palladius' perception of the biblical text and the methods of involvement them in the *Lausiac History*: the author wants to show that his heroes realize biblical prophecies and follow examples from the Scripture.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **Interpreting the Bible: Narrative Strategies and Rhetorical Devices**

The analysis of the contextual changes resulting from Palladius' use of biblical material in the *Lausiac History* allows the discovery of new shades of meaning and often a different emphasis which the author intended to introduce in his work, and, respectively, evoke in the minds of his readers. The contextual changes of the biblical quotations used by Palladius in the *Lausiac History*, require the investigation of two main aspects: first, the narrative strategies and rhetorical tools which are used for this construction, in other words, what the mechanism of these constructions is; second, what these references and quotations speak about, what images are constructed, and what ideas are provided to the reader, that is to say, what the subject matter itself is. The second question will be left for a further chapter. The first question, i.e., the most important features of the mechanisms of the process of constructing new meaning, will be explored in what follows.

Since the main aim of the present work is to characterize Palladius' strategies of using and interpreting the Scripture, my task is to clarify what narrative tools and means he used when he integrated biblical examples and parallels in his text. In his work, Palladius presents the monastic ideal as an example of a righteous Christian life<sup>190</sup> and, at the same time, he also upholds the secular ascetic ideal as appropriate for ordinary Christians. How the author reaches his aim, how he constructs the images of righteous men, how he introduces biblical phrases and allusions in the pages of the *Lausiac History*, all these questions need to be carefully investigated.

**Connecting people, places, and times: The historical present and the biblical past**

The description of current events in biblical terms clearly emphasizes the author's intention to introduce into the historical present, i. e., his contemporary events, the present in which his heroes live and act, the biblical past, that is, the situation described in the pages of the Scriptures. Parallels between contemporary and biblical events help build a semantic network or inner system of coordinates to facilitate the self-orientation of Christian. This part of the new-created Christian discourse, however, needed to be elaborated and developed, and Palladius had an impact on this process.

For example, being rescued from a dangerous situation, a situation evoked in chapter 61 of the *Lausiac History*, that dedicated to Melania the Younger, is described in the same words which Paul used when he spoke of his own salvation from the hands of his enemies: "saved from the lion's mouth."<sup>191</sup> Besides the fact that the metaphor of the mouth of the lion and salvation from it are quite common in biblical imagery,<sup>192</sup> this *verbatim* quotation stresses the link between the Bible and the historical event of Alaric's conquest of Rome in 410, which concerned Melania the Younger. Moreover, Palladius introduces an interesting detail: according to him, Melania was saved "from the mouth of the lion Alaric." Thus, a biblical phrase of general application receives a very concrete historical meaning.

### Coincidence in geography

Coincidence in geography is another important form of creating a sort of mental bridge between the Bible and the *Lausiac History*. By this I mean that some characters of Palladius' work live and act in the same places where certain biblical events happened and this fact is pointedly speculated by the author. Thus, in the chapter about

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<sup>190</sup> The term "the image of a righteous person" will be widely used further in this work, so here I would like to explain that by this term I mean the idealized image of a righteous person which Palladius constructs using biblical models and embodies in the various characters he creates in the *Lausiac History*.

<sup>191</sup> *HL* 61.5: ἐκ στόματος λέοντος; 2 Tim. 4:17.

Elpidius it is said that he lived in a cave near Jericho. Palladius makes it clear that this was the same cave which had been hewn out of the rock by the Amorites when they fled Joshua, the son of Nun, who plundered the foreign tribes on the mountain of Dukas.<sup>193</sup>

Another remarkable example of such geographical interaction between the past and the present can be found in the chapter about Macarius of Alexandria.<sup>194</sup> Palladius reports that Macarius, after coming to the desert, wished to enter the garden-tomb of Jannes and Jambres and turned out their evil spirits. Palladius explains that these two were the magicians of Pharaoh who competed with Moses and Aaron. A close connection between the past and the present again is emphasized by the fact that the events of the Bible and the *Lausiac History* focus on the same location. This simple connection combines space as well as time.

### **The human factor**

Besides a connection of times and places, an even stronger virtual link is built through Palladius' constructing the biographies of his heroes according to biblical patterns. For instance, in the chapter about Macarius the Younger, Palladius reports that this Egyptian monk accidentally killed a man and was so afraid that he did not tell anyone about it, but fled to the desert. The situation described, the sequence of events, and the justification of the hero's actions are patterned upon the biblical story about young Moses, who also went off into hiding after having killed an Egyptian.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Cf. Ps. 21:14-22, Ps. 57:7, Dan. 6:20, Amos 3:12, LXX; Heb. 11:33, Rev. 13:2.

<sup>193</sup> *HL* 48.1; Josh. 10:16. Dukas is probably the same place (Ain Duk) that is mentioned in 1 Macc. 16:15 (as suggested by Bartelink in his commentary, 385, who also remarks that the Bible does not say that the caves were hewn out of the rocks; this detail was added by Palladius).

<sup>194</sup> *HL* 18.5; See Exod. 7:11-22, 2 Tim. 3:8.

<sup>195</sup> *HL* 15.3; Exod. 2:12-15.

Another example can be found in the situation where Eulogius of Alexandria decides to help a cripple for God's sake. This case could be interpreted as a variation of the biblical story about the good Samaritan who helped a suffering man.<sup>196</sup> The commandments that require Christians to show compassion and to help each other are basic values of the Christian faith. Palladius' use of a verbal parallel to that New Testament passage in his narrative is probably meant to emphasize the fact that his hero's life was organized following the pattern of exemplary lives proposed in the Scripture.

### **The re-enactment of biblical situations**

Palladius frequently uses descriptions in biblical style to refer to the situations in which his heroes find themselves, or, even more, he models episodes in the *Lausiac History* as re-enactment of the Scripture: Paul the Simple suffered from the enormous heat in the Egyptian desert, which was just like the furnace of Nebuchadnezzar in the biblical story about the miracle with the three young men.<sup>197</sup> The extended description of the night in the chapter about Pachon is taken from the Psalms, where the verse quoted by Palladius is just a part of the description of God's work as the maker of the earth.<sup>198</sup>

Examples of this kind appear frequently throughout the *Lausiac History*: while wandering through the desert, Macarius of Alexandria marked his way by reeds only to find them gathered together by demons; this happened, according to Palladius' explanation, so as to remind him not to put his trust in human ways and means, but rather rely on God's help, or, as Palladius puts it, in the "pillar of cloud" that guided

<sup>196</sup> HL 21.4: "and he kept taking care of him" (καὶ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελούμενος) referring to Luke 10:34: "and took care of him" (καὶ ἐπεμελήθη αὐτοῦ).

<sup>197</sup> HL 22.12 referring to Dan. 3.

<sup>198</sup> HL 23.4 quoting Ps. 103:20 LXX.



Israel for forty years in the desert.<sup>199</sup> The wild hyena submitted to Macarius just like the lions did not harm Daniel.<sup>200</sup>

In certain episodes of the *Lausiac History* Palladius uses the biblical quotations and allusions in such way that he introduces events and episodes from the lives of scriptural characters as a virtual part of the lives of his heroes. They perceive the biblical events as those of their own biographies or as facts directly connected, in one way or another, with themselves personally. One of the most interesting illustrations of this point is the situation of Candida, one of the heroines of Chapter 57, who tries to destroy the arrogance of Esau, the Old Testament character who sold his birthright for a meal of lentils.<sup>201</sup>

The same tendency is found in the Prologue to the *Lausiac History*, where Palladius exploits the mention of Paul's story about his trip to Jerusalem to see Peter, making it the motive and the justification for the concept of pilgrimage. In the fourth century the concept of pilgrimage was being actively developed in Christian discourse.<sup>202</sup> In this particular case Palladius explains his own travel to Egypt as motivated by the intention to see righteous men.<sup>203</sup> This mental connection of both trips, the repetition of the biblical situation in the new circumstances, and, moreover, the motivation to see the apostles in the Bible and holy men in Palladius' work, introduce a new meaning into the biblical phrase. This clearly demonstrates how some concepts such as the idea of pilgrimage, especially significant for late antique Christianity, were constructed.

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<sup>199</sup> *HL* 18.7; Exod. 13:21.

<sup>200</sup> *HL* 18.28; Dan. 6:22.

<sup>201</sup> *HL* 57.2 referring probably to Gen. 25:25-34 (This is suggested by Bartelink in his comments *ad locum* in his edition, 390).

<sup>202</sup> On this, see now Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300/800* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2005).

## Descriptive markers

Palladius describes human features using biblical epithets and metaphors that work as what I would term descriptive markers, which refer to a certain biblical context.<sup>204</sup> An example can be found in the chapter about Didymus the Blind.<sup>205</sup> Palladius introduces his story by mentioning the virtuous and meek men and women in Alexandria who were worthy of inheriting the earth. The image of the meek who will inherit the earth appears in both the Old Testament<sup>206</sup> and in the Gospels.<sup>207</sup> Palladius' recourse to this biblical metaphor allows him to give a short and clear description of the many virtuous people living in Alexandria and then to evoke associations with biblical contexts so that an abstract scriptural description is illustrated by evidence from real life. The important point here is that it is not only the biblical phrase which illustrates the description of holy men and women from Alexandria contemporary with the author, but the reality of a virtuous Christian life itself, as Palladius would like to present it, becomes a concrete illustration of the Bible. The reference to the Bible functions as a descriptive marker.

The next examples develop this tendency even more visibly. In the same chapter about Didymus the Blind, Palladius writes about his hero that "he was so endowed with the gift of learning so that the Scriptures were literally fulfilled in him: 'the Lord gives

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<sup>203</sup> *HL* Prol. 6; Gal. 1:18.

<sup>204</sup> Speaking here about descriptive markers I should also mention the so-called "memory quotation," a concept that refers to phrases taken out of their original place, but which still preserves some shades of their previous meaning in the new context. This concept, used by some scholars (for example, [I. N. Danilevskij] И. Н. Данилевский, *Повесть временных лет: Герменевтические основы изучения* (The story of the years gone by: The hermeneutical principles of studies) (Moscow: Аспект-Пресс, 2004), 32-75) is based on the main premises of the theory of intertextuality as elaborated in the works of Julia Kristeva, Roland Barthes, and other theorists, but in contrast with this use, it emphasizes the conscious intention of the author to adduce particular hints or accents, something which comes close to the hermeneutical approach of Hans-Georg Gadamer developed in his *Truth and Method*.

<sup>205</sup> *HL* 4.1.

<sup>206</sup> Ps. 36:11 LXX.

<sup>207</sup> Matt. 5:4.

wisdom to the blind’.”<sup>208</sup> As can be clearly observed, in Palladius’ opinion the phrase borrowed from the Psalms was literally fulfilled in the real man the author claimed to have known personally: Didymus was blind, but in Palladius’ text this fact becomes important not as a physical or medical feature, but rather as a descriptive marker or a mental reference to the biblical phrase and a good pretext for Palladius to engage in biblical hermeneutics in order to praise his hero. The author started from the fact of Didymus’ blindness and then used this by means of an appeal to a biblical phrase in order to justify the man’s wisdom, which was paradoxically acquired in spite of his blindness.

### **Exemplary images**

In addition to using biblical allusions and quotations as markers in his descriptions of human qualities, Palladius’ frequently exploits the images of scriptural characters as illustrative examples for the heroes of the *Lausiac History*. Thus, the situation with the Macarius of Alexandria,<sup>209</sup> mentioned above, gives such an example: Macarius drove the evil spirits of two magicians out of a tomb. By setting up this indirect comparison of his hero with Moses and Aaron, because they struggled with the same evil power, Palladius elevates Macarius to the high level of the greatest biblical characters.

This approach to exemplary characters from the Scriptures is close to the well-known biblical typology widely used by medieval authors. I would hesitate to qualify the following examples as biblical typology, however, because in the *Lausiac History* one is not dealing with the constant use of the same epithet for the same person or character, but rather with the exploitation of these images for constructing a certain

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<sup>208</sup> *HL* 4.2: Κύριος σοφοῖ τυφλούς (Ps. 145:8 LXX).

ideal of a proper Christian life, more precisely, of an ascetic lifestyle. For instance, introducing exemplary figures of righteous persons, Palladius frequently uses biblical images. Thus, speaking about Benjamin, who suffered from a terrible illness just like Job,<sup>210</sup> Palladius not only emphasizes the suffering of his hero, but also insists on his patience and gratitude, referring to both the situation of and literally defining the person as a “new Job” (νέον Ἰώβ).

The highest level of comparison in such exemplary images is Christ himself, so sometimes the characters of the *Lausiaca History* become comparable with him. Palladius achieves this first of all through the actions of his heroes, which imitate and re-enact the deeds of Christ; such is, for instance, the situation when Macarius heals the blind cub of a hyena; here the parallel with the biblical healing of a blind man is underlined by a *verbatim* quotation: “and immediately he/it regained his/its sight.”<sup>211</sup>

Then, there is the explicit comparison: Palladius makes use of a *verbatim* quotation from the Gospel of Matthew (the passage where the devil tempted Jesus by offering him the kingdoms of the world and glory), applying these words to the situation of the dedicatee of his work, the rich and influential *praepositus sacri cubiculi* Lausus.<sup>212</sup> As far as I can see, Palladius intends to compare Lausus with Christ; Lausus enjoys the same riches and worldly power as those offered to Christ by the devil, yet, just like Christ, he is able to resist the temptation of the devil and his creatures and tries to keep his soul pure.

Finally, the fact that a hero imitates Christ is underlined by Palladius by means of ascribing to him the same words and expressions once used by Christ. Thus, an old monk called Mark repeats to himself as a rebuke the words which Christ said to the

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<sup>209</sup> *HL* 18.5.

<sup>210</sup> *HL* 12.1; Job 2:7; *HL* 12.2; Job 12:13-24.

<sup>211</sup> *HL* 18.27: καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψε; Luke 18:43.

“unbelieving and perverted generation:” “How long shall I be with you?”<sup>213</sup> Palladius saw him when ascetic was in the cell and, after taking some oil and wine, scolded himself as if he were “white-haired glutton.”

### **Literal reading and literal succession**

Another narrative strategy of using the biblical texts in the *Lausiac History* can be defined as literal reading, because Palladius makes his heroes fulfill biblical ideas, prophecy, and words by their behavior; moreover, they frequently follow the Scripture literally. A remarkable case of the literal use of biblical words can be found in the chapter about Valens. Here, a reference to the First Epistle to the Corinthians reminds the reader that, according to Paul, Corinthians are arrogant; the apostle reproached them for this. This general idea then introduces the concrete example: as far as the Corinthians are arrogant, and Valens is “a Corinthian by disposition,” it should not be a surprise that this monk will eventually fall because of his pride.<sup>214</sup>

A further example of literal reading as an illustration of biblical ideas can be found in the story about Gelasia. Palladius refers to a saying in the Epistle to the Ephesians that a righteous man does not let the sun go down on his anger. The commandment not to be angry is fulfilled in the life of Gelasia who, according to Palladius, put this principle into practice.<sup>215</sup> In another instance, the commandment for the rich to share their wealth with the poor was used by Ephraem the Syrian, according to Palladius, as an argument when he appealed to the rich to help the poor of Edessa during a famine.<sup>216</sup>

<sup>212</sup> HL 18.26: “All these things I will give You, if You fall down and worship me” (Matt. 4:9).

<sup>213</sup> HL 18.26: ἕως πότε ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ; Matt. 17:17.

<sup>214</sup> HL 25.1 referring to 1 Cor. 4:18.

<sup>215</sup> HL 57.3; Eph. 4:26.

<sup>216</sup> HL 40.2; James 5:2.

Such a literal succession to New Testament exemplary figures is also provided when Palladius refers twice to the same passage of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, where Paul the Apostle gave himself and his disciples as examples of righteous life, stating that: “nor did we eat anyone’s bread without paying for it.”<sup>217</sup> Palladius placed these words of the apostle, a characterization of a righteous life lived in voluntary poverty, in the mouth of dying Pambo and old Philoromus.<sup>218</sup>

### **The concretization of the Scripture and vivid description**

Using borrowed biblical fragments, Palladius frequently puts concrete meaning into quite abstract words of the Scriptures. Thus, the anchorite who was deluded by the madness of vainglory is characterized as “he who is herding winds.”<sup>219</sup> This phrase in its original context in the Old Testament is used to describe a foolish man: he wanders and shepherds winds, i.e., he does something without any sense. The common element in both contexts that allows Palladius to use this rather enigmatic phrase is the expression of fruitless and vain attempts to do, to reach, or to rely on something which is *a priori* false, such as vainglory (in the *Lausiac History*) and lie (in the Bible).

Moreover, Palladius sometimes invents the details and adds them to a biblical fragment in order to make the description more vivid. The most remarkable example of this kind occurs in the chapter about Macarius of Alexandria, which has already been explored above.<sup>220</sup> Here what is interesting is not in the so-called coincidence in geography, but the fact that Palladius introduces a short but clear description of the tomb of Jannes and Jambres, the garden where this was located, and the circumstances of their building, all of which are absent in the Scripture. It can be said that Palladius

<sup>217</sup> 2 Thess. 3:8: δωρεὰν ἄρτον ἐφάγομεν.

<sup>218</sup> See *HL* 10.6 and 45.3.

<sup>219</sup> *HL* 58.5: ἀνέμους ποιμαίνων referring to Prov. 9:12A LXX.

<sup>220</sup> *HL* 18.5.

invented this description to make his story closer to his audience and more vivid. His text deals not with some abstract magicians whose evil spirit Macarius drove out, but with the tomb of biblical characters belonging to the remote age of Old Testament patriarchs.

### **Constructing contrasts: oppositions and contrasting examples**

In addition to other rhetorical devices and approaches Palladius also uses a technique that I would like to refer to as the construction of oppositions. To give just one example, in the Prologue Palladius defines his aim as telling the truth in his stories, not just speaking eloquently. He illustrates this by the biblical words: “Open your mouth for the word of God.”<sup>221</sup> It is worth noting here that Palladius emphasizes his ability as an author through the rhetorical artifice of self-humiliation (the *topos* of modesty). An even more important point, however, is that he constructs a opposition between telling the truth and speaking eloquently which is not intended in the original biblical context. The section of the Book of Proverbs from where Palladius extracted this phrase can be regarded as a collection of advice for leading a righteous life; there, the commandment to tell the truth is given as one of the main features of the righteous man. In the *Lausiac History*, however, Palladius introduces it in a carefully constructed opposition between “telling the truth” (in a narrative) and “speaking eloquently,” in the way sophists do (σεσοφισμένως φράζειν). There is no trace of such an opposition in the original biblical context, where the commandment to tell the truth is associated with the injunction to “judge all fairly.”

Another example of the same technique is the following: a righteous person, according to the *Lausiac History*, should care about his/her soul, not about his/her body

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<sup>221</sup> *HL* Prol. 4: Ἀνοιγε σὸν στόμα λόγῳ θεοῦ; Prov. 31:8 LXX.

or his/her relatives, as Palladius suggests by the negative example of the rich virgin who loved her niece too much. Describing the woman, Palladius contrasts her with the ideal image of the righteous man in the Psalms: “Who shall go up to the mountain of the Lord?” (“and he means to say that only very few people,” adds Palladius), “and who shall stand in his holy place? The one who is innocent in his hands and pure in his heart, who has not lifted up his soul to vanity.”<sup>222</sup> In fact, the biblical context of the quoted phrase does not imply any opposition of care about the soul and care about the body (as in Palladius’ interpretation), and what is more important, the biblical verse was not meant to show that love for one’s relatives is a negative feature, detrimental to a proper and righteous ascetic lifestyle, as implied by Palladius in accordance with the ascetic tradition.

What I would call a contrasting example is a particular form of construction of a opposition, which can be found in cases where Palladius plays on contrasts, illustrating a positive idea by negative examples and vice versa. I noted an instance of the first kind in the story about Candida,<sup>223</sup> where a positive story about the virtuous lady is illustrated by the negative example of the biblical character, whose arrogance she tries to destroy by her exploits. In this particular episode, Palladius plays on a contrast which he himself has built up.

The opposite type of contrast is found in Chapter 47. The author, through the mouth of Paphnutius, emphasizes several times that humans’ acts and intentions should be in agreement and eloquent words should be confirmed by a righteous life. Palladius’ hero expresses this principle by means of an explanation and of examples of people who lead a sinful and unrighteous life. It is interesting that his negative description ends

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<sup>222</sup> *HL* 6.4: Τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ κυρίου; ἀντὶ τοῦ, σπανίως· ἢ τίς στήσεται ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ; ἁθῶρος χερσὶ καὶ καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὃς οὐκ ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ; *Ps.* 23:3-4 *LXX*.



with a positive example, namely, the passage from the Epistle to the Romans which states that it is necessary for a merciful man to be compassionate with cheerfulness and generosity, i. e., to keep acts and intentions in harmony.<sup>224</sup>

### **The change of context: the Christianization of concepts**

The work of Palladius presents different forms of contextual changes of biblical quotations and references. At least one of these strategies can be characterized as the Christianization of concepts, particularly, from the Old Testament. The aim of such a procedure, by intentional changing of the context of the biblical words, is to interpret them so that they take on a Christian meaning which originally was not implied.

An illustrative example for this can be found in the chapter about Paul the Simple. Describing a miracle, when Paul drove an evil spirit out of a man, Palladius mentions that this happened so that “the saying might be fulfilled: ‘A righteous man proclaims the faith which is revealed [in the open].’”<sup>225</sup> Here, Palladius probably interprets the Greek word *πίστιν*, which he found in the biblical text he quoted, as “Christian faith, the faith in Christ,” which is proclaimed openly by Paul’s driving out the demon, who cries out his defeat. This suggests that Palladius significantly changed the original context of Proverbs, where *πίστις ἐπιδεικνυμένη* simply means “the truth as it happened” and refers to what a just person (*δίκαιος*) who acts as a witness in a trial will do, i.e., tell the truth.<sup>226</sup> Nothing of this legal context appears in Palladius’ story about Paul the Simple, where the Old Testament quotation is re-interpreted in terms of

<sup>223</sup> *HL* 57.2 probably refers to Gen. 25:25-34 (This is suggested by Bartelink in his comments *ad locum* in his edition, 390).

<sup>224</sup> *HL* 47.7: δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐλεήμονα ἐν ἰλαρότητι ἐλεεῖν καὶ ἀφειδίᾳ “it is necessary for a merciful man to be compassionate with cheerfulness and generosity” (cf. Rom. 12:8).

<sup>225</sup> *HL* 22.13: Ἐπιδεικνυμένην πίστιν ἀπαγγελεῖ δίκαιος; Prov. 12:17 LXX.

<sup>226</sup> The original context is: “A just person proclaims truth as it is, but the witness of unjust things is deceitful.” Prov. 12:17 LXX.

publicly confessing the true faith (πίστις). This example shows that the author made deliberate changes to the meaning of the Scripture and introduced a new emphasis, more precisely, a Christian one, by changes of context.

### **The change of audience**

Constructing the ideal of a proper Christian life with help of scriptural examples, Palladius emphasizes ascetic virtues and re-addresses biblical fragments from ordinary Christians to ascetics. Elizabeth Clark defines this rhetorical approach as a “change of audience.”<sup>227</sup> Palladius used this form of changing the context quite deliberately to promote the monastic and ascetic ideal as a proper form of Christian life.

Thus, one of the important features which Palladius adds to the image of the righteous man is the idea that evil will not come to someone who is perfect. In order to prove this, he uses a quotation from the Psalms, where it is said that “no scourge comes near the dwelling” of a righteous man.<sup>228</sup> Whereas in the Old Testament these words of encouragement are said to the righteous who takes refuge with the Lord, in the *Lausiac History* they are introduced in the prophecy delivered by Macarius the Egyptian to his younger disciple named John, when the older ascetic teaches the younger brother that if he listened to the advice of his elder he would escape temptation, become perfect and be glorified. The new meaning that Palladius gives to the quotation from the Psalms is interesting: first, he makes Macarius equal with God, who defends the righteous who come to him against the enemy; the warlike imagery of the Psalms is used appropriately here to refer to the spiritual warfare of the ascetic against demons; Palladius uses this biblical quote to bolster the authority of the ascetic master by comparing him with God, the defender from enemies, as he appears in the Psalms. The warlike context is retained,

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<sup>227</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 136-137.

but transformed the real-life warfare of the Psalmist into the spiritualized warfare of the ascetics.

To give a further example, in Chapter 40, Pior chides and then helps the discouraged people who dug a well but could not reach water. The case is an interesting example when a scene of the *Lausiac History* is possibly linked to biblical models by means of a vague biblical allusion: the monks “of little faith” who dug a well in the desert saw water gushing forth following the prayer of the old ascetic Pior to the “God of the holy Patriarchs.” This probably alludes to an Old Testament passage where similarly a well was dug by the servants of Isaac, who found “living water.”<sup>229</sup> So, in this particular story the situation with biblical servants is transferred to monks; monks are shown in this repetition of the scriptural episode.

Another situation where a biblical phrase with quite a wide audience is readdressed to a monk or, at least to an ascetic, is in the chapter about Paphnutius, in which Palladius’ hero explains that righteous words should be in agreement with a righteous life. For this he exploits a biblical quotation where God reproaches a sinful (and because of this unworthy) person for speaking of his laws and uttering the words of his covenant.<sup>230</sup> It seems that Paphnutius describes any Christian who has a gift of eloquence, but one phrase in particular, namely, this person does not thank God for his gift, “but [thanks] his own ascetic practices or his nature”<sup>231</sup>, allows me to suppose that the hero means here primarily a person who practices asceticism.

This rhetorical device of changing the audience of certain biblical texts is also exploited in the chapter about Sisinnius. Here, by the use of possible biblical allusions Palladius presents the ascetic acting as a priest and a righteous man who followed the

<sup>228</sup> HL 17.4: καὶ μάστιξ οὐκ ἐγγεῖ ἐν τῷ σκηνώματί σου; Ps. 90:10 LXX.

<sup>229</sup> HL 39.5; Gen. 26:15-19.

<sup>230</sup> HL 47.9; Ps. 49:16 LXX.

<sup>231</sup> HL 47.9: ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ ἀσκήσει ἢ φύσει

commandment to share his wealth and be hospitable, thus becoming a living reproach to the rich.<sup>232</sup> The description of the priest's virtues (the original context of the Bible) are transferred to Sisinnius, who indeed attained the priesthood, but is presented in the story mostly as an ascetic.

### **Changes of voice or of speaker**

Quoting or alluding to the Bible, Palladius also uses the rhetorical device defined by Elizabeth Clark as the "change of voice or speaker."<sup>233</sup> This means that he puts words in the mouth of his heroes which were originally said by some biblical character. In the chapter about John of Lycopolis the author places a rephrased quotation from the Gospel in the mouth of that famous monk: "No one, after putting his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God."<sup>234</sup> By doing this, the biblical injunction that people who want to be with Christ should leave everything and not turn to look back is changed into a warning addressed by the experienced ascetic to Palladius not to leave the desert and return into the world. This means, in fact, that it is precisely this way of life, that of ascetic exploits in the desert, which is presented here as the only proper manner of practicing the way of Christ. In another case, in order to achieve the intensification of eschatological motifs, Palladius puts the words of John from his First Epistle in the mouth of Melania the Elder when she addressed to her relatives and Roman citizens: "Children, it is the last hour!"<sup>235</sup>

One form of changing the voice can be observed when Palladius ascribes the same words and expressions once used by Christ to one of his heroes. Thus, in the already mentioned situation when the people who dug a well but could not reach water

<sup>232</sup> *HL* 49.2 probably referring to 1 Tim. 6:17-18; Titus 1:8.

<sup>233</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 141-145.

<sup>234</sup> *HL* 35.9: Οὐδείς ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' ἄροτρον καὶ στραφεὶς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω εὐθετὸς ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν; Luke 9:62.

were discouraged, Pior chided them with Christ's words to the apostles frightened by a storm on the sea: "Why are you afraid, O you of little faith?"<sup>236</sup> Thus the author underlines that a character of the *Lausiaca History* imitates Christ, so he becomes comparable with Christ.

### **The combination of texts**

In some cases Palladius uses fragments from different biblical texts, combining them in such way that they become connected in one logical unit, explaining each other, and helping the author to introduce a certain idea or prove his argument. This way of handling biblical material was defined by Elizabeth Clark as "intertextual exegesis."<sup>237</sup> She mentions that this interpretative strategy is close to the contemporary literary theory of intertextuality. The validity of the use of the concept of intertextuality with application to early Christian or, generally, to any pre-modern texts is widely debated; however, Elizabeth Clark gives the long list of successful examples of this approach in the scholarly literature on Late Antique topics.<sup>238</sup>

Turning back to Palladius, it is worth saying that the instances where he used such combinations of texts (i. e., his "intertextual exegesis") are less elaborated and less sophisticated than the ones from other church writers presented and discussed by Elizabeth Clark.<sup>239</sup> However, some interesting examples of this technique can still be documented from his work. Thus, in the Prologue, Palladius, when describing the image of the righteous man, uses a biblical phrase of quite general application: "You will know them by their fruits."<sup>240</sup> By using this particular quotation, which has a very wide-

<sup>235</sup> *HL* 54.5; 1 John 2:18.

<sup>236</sup> *HL* 39.4: Τί ἐμικροψυχήσατε, ὀλιγόπιστοι; Matt. 8:26.

<sup>237</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 122-128.

<sup>238</sup> See examples: Ibid., 125-128.

<sup>239</sup> See examples: Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 125-128.

<sup>240</sup> *HL* Prol. 13: Ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς; Matt. 7:16, 7:20.

open meaning, he tries to emphasize the fact that the righteous man and the sinner differ in their deeds. For this he connects the quote from Matthew 7:16 with a partial quote from Paul's Epistle to the Galatians: "[the fruit of the Spirit is] love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control,"<sup>241</sup> thereby giving his own interpretation of that Gospel passage. Further, to bolster his interpretation he claims that it was in fact Paul who gave the same interpretation and, to prove this, he quotes the beginning of Galatians 5:22: "the fruit of the Spirit is..."<sup>242</sup> This long list of virtues applies to the general ideals of Christianity, but also has an ascetic emphasis (for example, patience and self-control).

One of the most frequent types of "textual exegesis" in the *Lausiac History* is the interpretation of an Old Testament passage in the light of the New Testament, in other words, quoting the former through the latter, often with additional information. Thus, it is important to note that in the story of Macarius of Alexandria's coming into the garden tomb of Jannes and Jambres,<sup>243</sup> Palladius' description of that place refers not only to the Old Testament directly (in the book of Exodus the magicians are unnamed),<sup>244</sup> but via the New Testament, where the story about Jannes and Jambres (named as such), who opposed Moses, is used as an example of sinners who oppose the truth.<sup>245</sup>

The second example is in the story about Candida, who, as has been already said, tries to destroy the arrogance of Esau, the Old Testament character who sold his birthright for a meal of lentils.<sup>246</sup> At first sight and judging simply from the context offered by the story, it is not completely clear why she felt a personal responsibility for

<sup>241</sup> *HL* Prol. 13: ἀγάπη ἐστὶ καὶ χαρὰ καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις, πραῦτης, καὶ ἐγκράτεια; Gal. 5:22-23.

<sup>242</sup> *HL* Prol. 14: Ὁ γὰρ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματός ἐστι; Gal. 5:22-23.

<sup>243</sup> *HL* 18.5.

<sup>244</sup> See Exod. 7:11 and 7:22.

<sup>245</sup> 2 Tim. 3:8; Bartelink's commentary, 335-36.

this particular biblical story. Palladius suggests that in order to destroy Esau's sin (gluttony), Candida kept up her rigorous fasting, but, not content with this, she also worked hard with her hands and spent her nights keeping vigil. A closer look at the situation described by Palladius, however, suggests that the intentions and aims of Candida are not directly related to the Old Testament story. It should be linked rather with the reinterpretation of this story in the New Testament, particularly in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where Esau is mentioned as an immoral and godless person who is condemned for his sin and serves as a caution against committing such sins.<sup>247</sup>

In conclusion, I believe that for Palladius the Old and the New Testament are not individual books, but two pieces of the same account and he reads and interprets one in the light of the other. On the whole, quite frequently some biblical fragments, especially those of the Old Testament, besides their literal biblical context acquired new connotations in the New Testament. This formed a wider cultural context which is often reflected in late antique Christian writings,<sup>248</sup> as it can be noted in this last example about Esau.

The logic of my investigation raises the question of whether it is possible to trace some general intentions which Palladius might have had when he used these strategies and rhetorical devices, that is to say, whether some crucial paradigms may be discovered beyond the use of such narrative tools and patterns.

First, throughout the whole text of the *Lausiac History* I found different kinds of comparisons, the main intention of which is to attempt to describe situations

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<sup>246</sup> *HL* 57.2 referring to Gen. 25:25-34.

<sup>247</sup> Heb. 12:16, where Esau is qualified as βέβηλος, variously translated as “unholy,” “godless,” “profane,” “worldly minded.”

<sup>248</sup> Medieval people probably did not make clear distinguish between two parts of the Scripture. About this, see: [Sergey Ivanov] Сергей Иванов, “Соотношение новозаветных и ветхозаветных цитат в византийской литературе: К постановке вопроса [The correlation of the New and Old Testament quotations in the Byzantine literature: The statement of a question],” in *Одиссей: Человек в истории. Язык Библии в нарративе* [Odysseus: Man in history: The language of the Bible in the narrative] (Moscow: Nauka, 2003), 10.

contemporary with Palladius by connecting them with their biblical parallels. The circumstances described in the stories frequently have biblical analogies, so current events appear in biblical terms. Quotations are used to build certain links between the Scriptures and the *Lausiac History*. Connection of times, places, biographies of peoples, and repetition of the biblical situation are rhetorical techniques with help of which this mental bridge is created by referring to the certain biblical context. Moreover, constructing the images of righteous people, Palladius illustrates them with the help of biblical characters including descriptive epithets, metaphors, and exemplary images.

Second, the narrative strategies of literal reading, literal succession, concretization of the Scripture, and vivid description allow the author to show his heroes as those who really fulfill the biblical prophecies and ideas in their everyday lives, literally following the words of the Scripture, so that they themselves become the illustrations of sometimes quite abstract biblical truths and commandments. Palladius puts very concrete meaning into general statements and introduce some details, so descriptions became more vivid and closer to his audience.

Third, the Christianization of certain biblical concepts helps the author to introduce a new meaning into the Scripture and involve new Christian accents, particularly in the texts from the Old Testament. Palladius use successfully this rhetorical device to develop his argumentation in the *Lausiac History*. Moreover, such forms of changes of context as “change of audience” and “change of voice or speaker” were used by Palladius quite deliberately to promote monastic and ascetic ideals as proper forms of exemplary Christian life. Re-addressing the biblical fragments from usual Christians to ascetics and descriptions of situations with monks as those with biblical characters allows the author to emphasize ascetic virtues. He demonstrates that precisely this life, i. e., the ascetic exploits in the desert, is the proper form of practicing



the way of Christ; thanks to that, the hero of the *Lausiac History* may become comparable with Christ.

Last, Palladius puts together fragments from different biblical texts, especially from the New and Old Testament, combining them, connecting them in one logical unit, interpreting one in the light of the other, and extracting additional information. So, the Old and the New Testament were regarded as a single message, rather than books of different separate traditions.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Interpreting Biblical Ideas: Shifts in Focus

In the present chapter I group the biblical quotation, allusions, and references from the *Lausiaca History* around several key ideas which were important to or were reflected in Christian discourse of the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries. The main issues discussed in the present chapter are what images are constructed and what ideas are offered to the reader, in other words, what the biblical references and quotations used by Palladius speak about and how they correspond with the texts of other contemporary Christian authors. I am interested in finding parallels or, vice versa, contradictions, and latent links between the ways Palladius and these authors use biblical quotations, especially those of them who may have influenced Palladius in order to define his place in the different intellectual trends of Christianity of these centuries.

In what follows, my analysis will focus on the following topics:

- Eschatological ideas;
- Changes from Jewish to Christian law;
- The perception of women, family, and kinship;
- Knowledge and wisdom;
- The appearance of holy men;
- The question why God abandons people and they are tempted in desert;
- Asceticism and the significance of the Church;
- The topos of modesty;
- The image of sinners.

#### 4.1 Eschatological ideas

##### a) Introducing eschatological meaning where it was absent

Interpreting biblical ideas in the *Lausiaca History*, Palladius frequently emphasizes the eschatological sense in the biblical phrases he quotes, going as far as to introduce such meanings where they were not present in the original. For example, he enhances some of the *memento mori* accents in Paul's words he uses in his reminder to

Lausus in the *Prologue* of the *Lausiac History*. He says: “Each day you will be expecting the departure of your soul, as it is written:” and continues with the biblical quotation: “It is good to depart and be with Christ.”<sup>249</sup> He emphasizes this meaning adding immediately (by means of a linking *kai* (and)) the following phrase cited from the book of Proverbs, which in this context becomes a metaphorical description of all Christian life: “Prepare your works for your going out and make yourself ready for the field.”<sup>250</sup> It seems that here Palladius introduces an eschatological reading because the original in the Septuagint does not speak about death, but simply of “going out to work in the fields.” This fact needs further investigation; first of all, it needs to be checked against parallel texts of other Christian authors to see whether or not Palladius’ interpretation of this biblical phrase is common in Christian exegesis.

Both these biblical passages appear quoted in the context of ideological discussions of Palladius’ time. Jerome in his *Fifty-Nine Homilies on the Psalms*, dated to 401-402, appeals to the quotation from Philippians 1:23 as an example of Origen’s misinterpretation of the Scriptures. Jerome particularly presents the idea that Origen regarded this biblical passage as a reference to embodied angels; therefore, Jerome wants to prove that Origen’s view on the soul is wrong and heretical. As E. Clark shows, here Jerome reminds the reader that in the Greek original of this passage, the verb ἀναλῦσαι does not mean “to be released” but “to return,” and “returning to Christ” from prison of a body is better applied to Christian martyrs than to embodied angels.<sup>251</sup> However, this is a case where the wrong meaning was intentionally read from Origen’s text, and Jerome himself introduces “heretical ideas” which he then refutes. Palladius uses these words teaching Lausus, moreover, he explains them with previous

<sup>249</sup> *HL* Prol. 4: Ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι; Phil. 1:23.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*: Ἐτοίμαζε εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ παρασκευάζου εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν; Prov. 24:27.

<sup>251</sup> Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 139-140.

phrase: “Each day you will be expecting the departure of your soul”<sup>252</sup> and, therefore, he is, probably, slightly closer to Origen’s original understanding, who meant here a human soul which comes to Christ after death, that to Jerome’s interpretation.

The second quotation: “Prepare your works for your going out and make yourself ready for the field,” also had some connotations in contemporary discourse, but for another great teacher of Palladius. G. Bunge points out that this was an important text for Evagrius. However, Evagrius speaks about wisdom which can come only to those who are ready for such divine grace (otherwise, pearls will be thrown before swine), and cannot live in a wicked and sinful body. So, Evagrius attached a slightly different meaning than Palladius to this biblical quotation: “Prepare your works for your going out and make yourself ready for the field.” Palladius means eschatological reminder about finiteness of a human life, while Evagrius emphasizes that the earthly life of every person should be an appropriate preparation and necessary condition for wisdom and divine grace.<sup>253</sup>

#### b) Eschatology as a motivation for an ascetic life

In order to achieve intensification of eschatological motifs, Palladius places the words from the first Epistle of John in the mouth of Melania the Elder: “Children, it is the last hour!”<sup>254</sup> Moreover, Palladius is not simply emphasizing an eschatological message, but placing this quotation in the context of an exhortation to take up an ascetic lifestyle; thus, eschatology is used here as a motivation for asceticism. The important point to note is that in the first Epistle of John the connotation is different; there the

<sup>252</sup> HL Prol. 3: συνεκδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν ἀνάλυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καθ’ ἡμέραν.

<sup>253</sup> Gabriel Bunge, *Ewagriusz z Pontu - mistrz życia duchowego: modlitwa Ducha, Acedia, ojcowsstwo duchowe* [Original title: *Das Geistgebet. Studien zum Traktat ‘De Oratione.’ Akedia. Dei geistliche Lehre des Evagrius Pontikos vom Überdruß. Geistliche Vaterschaft. Christliche Gnosis bei Evagrius Pontikos*], tr. Jerzy Bednarek, Andrzej Jastrzębski, OMI, Arkadiusz Ziernicki; ed. Leon Nieścior OMI (Cracow: Tyniec Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 1998), 364.

author also talks about the coming of the Antichrist and the end of the world; he emphasizes: “Do not love the world nor the things in the world;” but he does not speak about asceticism and exhortation to choose this lifestyle.

Another example of a key argument for asceticism can be found in the *Life of Melania the Younger*,<sup>255</sup> where conversion is ascribed to different reasons and motivated by a different biblical quotation: “Hear, daughter, and see; turn your ear and forget your people and your father’s house, and the king will desire your beauty.”<sup>256</sup> E. Clark notes that this biblical verse is commonly cited by patristic writers to encourage young women to the ascetic life and gives some examples.<sup>257</sup> So, Palladius motivates the ascetic impulse differently.

However, the words from the first Epistle of John used in the *Lausiac History* also were reflected in contemporary Christian discourse. This quotation “Children, it is the last hour!” is a demonstrative example. It works as a litmus test for the question of who was the target audience of the *Lausiac History* and whose views it reflects. Thus, high-level and educated church authorities and secular officials in the fourth century did not have so strong eschatological expectations as the Christians of the second century, in other words, they did not expect the end of the world during their lives. For example, speaking about the church fathers’ interpretation of another biblical verse, 1 Corinthians 7:31, E. Clark emphasizes that “the Fathers did not expect an imminent end of the world, and hence did not interpret this verse in an eschatological framework.”<sup>258</sup> She shows that, for example, Augustine explains the words 1 John 2:15-16 from the same

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<sup>254</sup> HL 54.5; 1 John 2:18.

<sup>255</sup> Another example can be found in the *Life of Melania the Younger* by Gerontius, tr. Elizabeth Clark (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1984), 31, par. 7.

<sup>256</sup> Ps. 44:11 LXX.

<sup>257</sup> *Life of Melania the Younger* by Gerontius, tr. Clark, 189, n. 9.

<sup>258</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 312.

Johannine fragment I have been discussing (1 John 2:18) in the light of Paul's advice to "use the world as if we have no dealings with it."

Peter Brown formulates another interpretation of the attitude towards death among Christians in Late Antiquity in his investigation of the beginnings of the cult of saints and martyrs in the Mediterranean lands. Brown mentions that:

The martyrs had triumphed over death; the iconography of the saints in late antiquity made no attempt to encompass 'grim death' and 'sweet grace' in one symbol. As Andre Grabar has written, "The imagery of martyr's relics is never in any case an imagery of the *memento mori*; rather it strives by all means in its power to proclaim the suppression of the fact of death." Plainly, at such a place 'Death's grim grim face' had already been 'farily Washt.'<sup>259</sup>

The difference between this interpretation and what I can find in Palladius' case is in the fact that Brown studies "another historical reality" of Mediterranean Late Antiquity, namely, the spread of Christianity among secular and sometimes still semi-pagan communities of the empire, while in Palladius' case I work with description of the specific situation of Egyptian monasteries.

Another level of Christian discourse has the same eschatological register as Palladius. Here I mean *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, which reflects the popular level of perception of Christianity and eschatological ideas. Burton-Christie writes that it is likely that the importance of *eschaton* in the popular imagination of the fourth-century Egyptian was due at least in part to the influence of these texts. He underlines that:

it is clear that the monks' awareness of the "end," of the final judgment, and of the kind of response required of them, was deepened through reference to particular text and images from Scripture. Certain texts led them to see the apocalyptic character of the age in which they lived and understand the particular struggles and crises they faced in light of this. Remembrance of judgment also engendered an awareness of the need for repentance and for a profound exploration of the self. The fact of an

<sup>259</sup> Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 75.

ultimate moral reckoning helped to focus attention on the need to cultivate moral purity—both in the hidden recesses of the heart and in the more visible acts of everyday life.<sup>260</sup>

V. Lurie provides examples of this mental reception of the last days in the texts ascribed to Pachomius and preserved in Coptic.<sup>261</sup> On the whole, these expectations of the Last day spread among Egyptian monks are the ground on which the heroes of Palladius proclaim their eschatological views. In this case the *Lausiac History* belongs to the lower register of Christian discourse—or at least it was aimed for an audience of those who shared such ideas—communities of monks in the Egyptian desert, the same people who were the heroes and audience of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, and who sometimes were not very sophisticated in their understanding of biblical words.

c) *Apatheia*—death as life for God, and life as death for God

In the *Lausiac History* the discourse of death is closely connected not only with the general advice of *memento mori*, but, what is more important, with an ascetic attitude to life and death. According to this, to be an ascetic does not mean to be alive to this world and be pleasing to mankind, but to be dead to the world. This interpretation of asceticism is connected with Palladius' Origenist background and Evagrius' teaching.<sup>262</sup> Evagrius' emphasis on the necessity of the complete *apatheia* for a true ascetic life, i.e., freedom from all passions, was not shared by other ascetics, who regarded complete *apatheia* as an impossible task for human beings to achieve and spoke instead of *metriopatheia*, that is, “moderating one's passions,” which was within men's power to achieve.

<sup>260</sup> Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 182.

<sup>261</sup> [V. Lurie] B. M. Лурье, *Призвание Авраама*, 150-151.

<sup>262</sup> Gabriel Bunge, *Akedia: Dei geistliche Lehre des Evagrius Pontikos vom Überdruß*, (Köln: Luthe-Verlag, 1983).

The literal fulfillment of this idea, i. e., complete *apatheia* can be found in the intriguing provocation launched by the ascetic Sarapion to a consecrated virgin who lived in Rome,<sup>263</sup> when it was found out that the ascetic virgin was not quite “dead” to the world, at least not according to Palladius’ exigent standards.<sup>264</sup> The logic of Sarapion’s behavior follows Evagrius’ ideas about the death as life for God and the life as death for God.<sup>265</sup> To construct this ascetic interpretation of the whole incident, Palladius uses two references which have no ascetic connotations in their original biblical contexts; the first of these was meant only as a commandment not to strive to please men, but God, while the second is contained in Paul’s words that through the cross of Christ the world has been crucified to him, and he to the world.<sup>266</sup> The new context built up for these quotations by Palladius resulted in quite an unexpected meaning (or, on the contrary, quite expected, if one keeps in mind the specific ways of constructing an ascetic discourse used by Palladius and his motivations).

However, Palladius was not the first who introduced ascetic meaning into the passage from the Galatians 1:10. This phrase was popular among the writers of the time. As such it appears in the words of Theodore of Pherme in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* when he answered Abba Macarius, who rebuked him that he would cause a scandal by rejecting a cloak, the gift of a visitor. Theodore did not want to be more presentable in the eyes of other people because he did not want to strive to please men, but God. Burton-Christie comments on the story: “The allusion to Galatians provides a hint regarding how Theodore understood the value of poverty: he saw it as an aid in developing a detachment from the concern for appearance or propriety which could

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<sup>263</sup> Sarapion challenged her to go out of the house where she had been living as a recluse for twenty five years and show herself to the world, then to undress and walk through the city stark naked as he was himself prepared to do. The Roman virgin refused this provocation, thinking of the scandal it would cause and, for Sarapion (and implicitly for Palladius) this was enough proof that she was not really “dead to the world.”

<sup>264</sup> *HL* 37.14.



compromise the monk's total devotion to God."<sup>267</sup> Another Christian author, Cyprian of Carthage, went much further in his interpretation of this biblical passage. Elizabeth Clark defines the rhetorical device which he used here as an example of the "changing sex" technique of obtaining ascetic meaning. She writes: "In a few instances, the customary understanding of *anthropos* as denoting both women and men as 'human beings' was given an exclusively masculine edge—an ancient example of a practice all too familiar to modern women." Clark points out that Cyprian reads Paul's warning not to strive to "please *anthropous*" as to "please males," a practice from which, he avers, female virgins should be dissuaded.<sup>268</sup>

Last, Palladius, like many other ascetic authors, describes earthly life as something which is characterized by futility, so a person should not be attracted by earth passions and desires, what generally reflects the idea of *apatheia*. To do this, he exploits a famous motif from Ecclesiastes, but develops it in quite a concrete context; for him, the *vanitas vanitatum* saying functions as a warning against exaggerated virtues, which can cause one's fall if they become insincerity or pride.<sup>269</sup> G. Bunge points out that a similar interpretation of this passage can be found in the works of Evagrius.<sup>270</sup>

#### 4. 2 Changes from Jewish to Christian law

Palladius insists many times on the significant changes which had happened to ideas and ideals related to the Old Testament commandments (the Jewish law) and their reinterpretation into New Testament values. Elizabeth Clark observed the same tendency in the case of Western Christian literature; she termed this particular

<sup>265</sup> Bunge, *Evagrius z Pontu*, 279.

<sup>266</sup> The two biblical quotations are taken from Gal. 1:10 and Gal. 6:14, respectively.

<sup>267</sup> Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 218.

<sup>268</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 140.

perspective “the change of times.”<sup>271</sup> This definition can be argued because the Old and the New Testament were perceived not as individual books, but as two pieces of the same account, with the latter fulfilling the former. By this term, however, Clark describes the considerable shifts in meaning in the biblical texts used by Christian authors in their ascetic discourse: things which were prohibited by the Mosaic Law were allowed by Christianity, and that which was necessary and mandatory in the Old Testament became unimportant in the new ideological circumstances.

To give one example of this interpretative strategy in the *Lausiac History*, Jewish law forbade a man with a physical defect to bring offerings to God, in other words, to be a priest. According to Palladius, it was exactly this prescription that one of his ascetics, Ammonius, tried to use as an argument in order to avoid ordination as a priest, among other things by cutting off his left ear.<sup>272</sup> This fact took a place in reality, not only mentioned in the *Lausiac History*, but is also attested in Socrates’ *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>273</sup> Jerome also speaks ironically about this “earless Ammonius.”<sup>274</sup> Clark says that Ammonius thus rendered himself unfit for ecclesiastical service because of the Church’s interpretation of Levitical regulations governing priestly “wholeness.”<sup>275</sup> Palladius makes an important clarification, however: Ammonius was given the answer by the archbishop of Alexandria that “this law was kept by the Jews” and it was no longer necessary for Christians and that even a monk who cut off his nose would be fit

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<sup>269</sup> HL 25.6 referring to Eccl. 7:15.

<sup>270</sup> Bunge, *Ewagriusz z Pontu*, 86.

<sup>271</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 145-52.

<sup>272</sup> HL 11.2 referring to Lev. 21:17.

<sup>273</sup> Socrates, *HE IV*, 23.

<sup>274</sup> Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 144.

<sup>275</sup> Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 46.

for ordination; to this, the ascetic reacted by threatening to cut out his own tongue and thus escaped ordination.<sup>276</sup>

On the other hand, the situation also occurs in the *Lausiac History* when Old Testament values are changed into their direct opposites. Thus, the Jewish rule to wash ones hands before eating was rejected by Palladius,<sup>277</sup> who gave the example of Melania avoiding washing any part of her body; in an elaborate discourse she even reproached Iovinus, an ascetic for whom Palladius nevertheless has some words of praise, because he took a basin and washed himself.<sup>278</sup> In spite of the fact that in the literal context of the *Lausiac History* “taking a basin” refers to refreshment on a hot day after difficult trip, Palladius describes the way Iovinus washed by using a New Testament quotation that alludes to a specific kind of washing, namely, Jewish ritual washing (νιπτῆρα...νίψασθαι). The Christian ascetic, whom Palladius otherwise praises, (he is an ἀνὴρ εὐλαβὴς καὶ φιλόλογος), is not preparing to eat, so the fact that this particular allusion to ritual washing is used here means that Palladius implies the man’s adherence to a set of laws which is incompatible with his Christian ascetic lifestyle and which is implicitly defined as a life according to the “Old Testament.” Living in the world (and washing) and an ascetic lifestyle are thus opposed as living according to the Jewish law (washing ritually) and living a true Christian life, i.e., an ascetic one, where not washing becomes a ritual activity, a defining characteristic of the new person. This is then emphasized by the discourse Palladius places in the mouth of Melania.<sup>279</sup>

<sup>276</sup> Ascetics’ reluctance to be ordained is also an important topic that has been intensively discussed: see Bartelink’s comment, p. 325 with further examples; Andrea Sterk, *Renouncing the World Yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2004).

<sup>277</sup> Mark 7:3: “For the Pharisees and all the Jews do not eat unless they carefully wash their hands, thus observing the traditions of the elders.”

<sup>278</sup> *HL* 55.1.

<sup>279</sup> Bartelink, p. 389.

When it becomes necessary to make a choice between a biblical commandment and a personal intention or resolution, a different situation is introduced in the chapter about the monk Nathaniel. This monk felt tempted to fail in his resolution to stay in his cell because a demon in the appearance of a boy asked for his help. Nathaniel found himself in an ambiguous situation where he had to choose between breaking God's commandment of loving one's neighbor and his own ascetic resolution not to abandon his cell. His decision was justified—in Palladius' account— by references to cases where Christ broke a commandment in order to do good.<sup>280</sup> The interesting point here is that the biblical situation of Jesus' healing a woman and a man on the Sabbath shows a clear example of a "change of times." This means that the Old Testament rule is not obligatory for a "man of the New Testament," while in the *Lausiac History* the situation is slightly different: in Palladius' view, the personal and justified intention or resolution of a true ascetic can be more significant than the biblical commandments in their original formulation. The biblical commandments here are perceived as a general minimum which becomes unnecessary for those who have reached a higher spiritual level. In this case it is more important to keep the true meaning than the letter of the law.

#### **4. 3 The perception of women, family, and kinship**

Palladius also has his own ideas about gender issues and family relations in his ideal view of Christian life. First of all, the *Lausiac History* does not define one firm and stable attitude towards women and kinship. The image of woman in general depends on the context, maybe even more so than any other aspect of human culture among those explored in this chapter. This attitude, generally speaking, reflects the

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<sup>280</sup> *HL* 16.5; Luke 13:11-17 and 14:5. This refers to Jesus' healing of a woman and of a man with dropsy on the Sabbath.

situation in the Bible itself. Thus, two opposite viewpoints and a wide range of images between them can be defined.

a) The equality of all before God

The first extreme position, illustrating a positive attitude towards women is the following: Palladius emphasizes the equality of all, men and women, in front of God by using a quotation from the Epistle to Galatians: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free man, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.”<sup>281</sup> Palladius is interested in one particular part of this sentence that refers to how men and women relate to each other and together to God. Palladius omits the other contrasts present in the biblical passage, namely between Jews and Greeks and between slaves and free men, and rearranges the phrase so as to say: “In Jesus Christ there is not male and female.”<sup>282</sup> Palladius uses this phrase as an argument in the chapter about Sisinius, who, in his opinion, fulfilled the Scriptures by gathering together a brotherhood of men and women.

The biblical phrase used here by Palladius was one of the key arguments in different discussions of his time, and, therefore, had many connotations in late antique Christian writing. Its second part, “there is neither slave nor free man,” resonated in the ideas of extreme poverty professed by the most radical ascetic movement.<sup>283</sup> The third part, i. e., that which Palladius used, became especially popular where it was important to prove the necessity of sexual renunciation and in a wide range of other situations.<sup>284</sup> For example, E. Clark emphasizes that in the controversies around Origen the opponents of asceticism rejoined that asceticism promoted an elitism discordant with

<sup>281</sup> Gal. 3:28.

<sup>282</sup> HL 49.2: Ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ.

<sup>283</sup> Susanna Elm, “Evagrius Ponticus,” 106.

<sup>284</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 138.

the confession that we are “all one in Christ Jesus” (Gal. 3:28).<sup>285</sup> In another case, in the interpretation of Gregory of Nyssa the assertion that in Christ there is “no male and female” confirms Genesis 1:27 (“So God created man in his own [sexless] image”). Gregory’s intention was slightly different from Palladius’: Gregory would like to show that sexual division was a departure from the “prototype,” sexless Christ, the “image” of God the Father, and thus he changes the meaning of Gen. 1:27, which is usually used to promote marriage.<sup>286</sup> Jerome, in his *Ephesians Commentary*, combines this biblical quotation with others, producing the allegory: “if husbands (coded as souls) nourish their wives (coded as bodies), then wives may be raised up as “men” (i.e., as souls), diversity of sex will cease, and “like the angels” (Matt. 22:30 = Mark 12:25), there will be “no male and female” (Gal. 3:28).”<sup>287</sup> In another text Jerome declares that “since the ‘image of God’ does not involve marriage, our re-creation in that image (Col. 3:10) implies that differences of sex will be erased, as Paul signifies by his phrase “no male and female” (Gal. 3:28).”<sup>288</sup> Gregory argues that we are rather born again in Christ and become “a new man.”<sup>289</sup>

Thus, different shades of ascetic meaning were introduced into this biblical phrase by Christian authors of Late Antiquity. However, the application of Gal. 3:28 to the ambiguous situation of a united male and female ascetic community seems to be slightly unusual. Such non-separated *synoikiai* were a historical reality, typical for so-called urban monasticism, which developed first in Anatolia in the fourth century<sup>290</sup> and continued in Constantinople.<sup>291</sup> The suspicions, doubts, and temptations among pagan

<sup>285</sup> Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 5.

<sup>286</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 127.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 335.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, 360.

<sup>290</sup> Gilbert Dagron, “Les moines et la ville: Le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu’au concile de Chalcédoine (451),” *Travaux et Mémoires* 4 (1970): 229-276.

<sup>291</sup> Timothy S. Miller, “The Sampson Hospital of Constantinople,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990): 111.

critics and some Christian authors which were caused by this form of asceticism and the literal understanding of this biblical phrase (Gal. 3:28) that was sometimes used to justify them are discussed by Daniel F. Caner.<sup>292</sup> Palladius justifies this phenomenon, bolstering it by his particular, quite literal, interpretation of the biblical words and claiming that it is a true form of complete *apatheia*.

b) Women converting husbands to an ascetic lifestyle

An even more instructive example illustrating Palladius' positive attitude towards a woman can be found in the story about Melania the Younger. According to Palladius, she, a woman, saved her husband by convincing him to embrace an ascetic lifestyle.<sup>293</sup> To make this point, Palladius uses the biblical quotation which speaks about marriage between a Christian and pagan, when a wife really was regarded as a rescuer for a husband, but the meaning he gives it in the *Lausiac History* is quite different from that which it had in its original context. In the Bible "to save" is to convert to Christianity; for instance, this is how Augustine interpreted this biblical passage: if the couple of Christian and pagan stay together the unbeliever may eventually become a Christian.<sup>294</sup> As E. Clark shows, however, this caused some problems of interpretation for the Church Fathers: "the troubling aspect of this verse for several Fathers lay in the claim that the wife might 'save' the husband: how could this be, if women were not allowed to teach, according to 'Paul' in I Timothy 2:12?"<sup>295</sup> Theodore of Mopsuestia and John Chrysostom gave their answers to this question, but their interpretations were

<sup>292</sup> Daniel F. Caner, "The Practice and Prohibition of Self-Castration in Early Christianity," *Vigiliae Christianae* 51, No. 4 (1997): 396-415; 409.

<sup>293</sup> *HL* 61.3; 1 Cor. 7:16: "For how do you know, O wife, whether you will save your husband?"

<sup>294</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 249.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

mainly “secular,”<sup>296</sup> while Palladius interprets “to save” as to turn towards an ascetic life. So, to be ascetic and to be Christian in this context become synonymous and the role of a woman is appreciated as quite positive, but only in such a strictly defined ascetic context. E. Clark has noted the same positive attitude, with a similar limitation to an ascetic context, in the works of John Chrysostom, Palladius’ friend and mentor.<sup>297</sup> Palladius’ interpretation is a most instructive example of using these biblical words in an ascetic meaning.

c) A woman as the root of all evil and an unfaithful wife

The opposite position, illustrating an extremely negative attitude to women can also be found in Christian discourse in Late Antiquity. For example, E. Clark mentions that Proverbs 6, 7, 9, 21, 25, and 30 could be and were used as warnings against the dangers of “loose” or “foolish” women and sexual involvement, for example, in Jerome’s texts.<sup>298</sup> Moreover, other biblical texts seem to contradict each other on the issues of divorce and hate towards one’s wife, so that they caused significant discussion among Christian authors and interpreters.<sup>299</sup>

An instructive illustration of such negative opinions appears in the *Lausiac History* in the chapter about Paul the Simple. When the hero saw his wife with another man, he decided to become a monk and went into the desert because “he preferred, I believe, to herd scorpions than to live with an unfaithful wife.”<sup>300</sup> It can be argued whether or not this is an allusion to the book of Proverbs, but the intention of the author

<sup>296</sup> I.e., women can teach their husbands at home, they teach children, moreover, they are capable of heroic action.

<sup>297</sup> E. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1979), 8, 18-21.

<sup>298</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 111.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid., 115, 178, 195, 242; Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 97-98.

<sup>300</sup> *HL* 22.7: ἤρκειτο γὰρ ὡς οἶμαι σκορπίους ποιμᾶναι ἢ μοιχαλίδι γυναικὶ συζῆσαι. This possibly alludes to Prov. 9:12.



and his attitude are very clear: he shows women as the source of great evil, remarking that it is preferable to herd scorpions than to live with them. The original biblical context of the phrase on which Palladius' own expression is based describes the image of a foolish man who wanders, tries to control the winds, and does something without sense.

Moreover, the reference to "scorpion" in this phrase can cover another unexpected meaning and kindle with new light if placed in the context of the Origenistic controversy of the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. The interesting fact is that "scorpion" is an expression of Jerome, who belonged to party of Palladius' opponents, his favorite code name for Rufinus, Palladius' colleague.<sup>301</sup> It is difficult to suggest that this offensive sobriquet was unknown for Rufinus himself and for people from his nearest circle. So, there might be a hidden argument that, in Palladius' eyes, it is much better to live with Rufinus-"scorpion" in the desert, than be tempted in everyday life in secular world. "Scorpion" may be used here ironically, with great respect for Rufinus. It can be argued whether or not this is a subtle hint in favor of Palladius' friend Rufinus. Moreover, probably the simple monks, who were the main audience of the *Lausiaca History*, were not able to recognize such a sophisticated allusion. However, some readers who had an appropriate background and knowledge of the texts may have understood the pique in Jeromes' address.

#### d) Relatives, kinship, and family bonds

Palladius' attitude to relatives and family ties is also ambivalent. On the one hand, Palladius inherited the usual biblical pseudo-family terminology, i. e., "father," "brother," "daughter," "sister," and so on, for describing relationships within monastic

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<sup>301</sup> Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 146, 148.

communities. On the other hand, he regards real blood ties as something of secondary importance as compared to the spiritual links established in ascetic communities.

This tendency, namely, the idea that spiritual links are more significant than blood ties, can be identified not only in Palladius, but also in other Christian authors. E. Clark points out that Augustine denied the necessity of begetting children as a civic duty; John Chrysostom said not to be afraid that one's line would be eradicated because it was the rule of Old Law. Moreover, she writes:

For John Cassian, the Septuagint reading of Isaiah 31:9 ('blessed is he whose seed is in Zion'), demonstrates the attachment to reproduction that was characteristic of the Law, so different from the advice of the New Testament, such as contained in Luke 14:26 (hating one's relatives), Luke 23:29 (the day when the barren will be blessed), and I Corinthians 7:29 (wives 'as if not').<sup>302</sup>

Origen insisted that it is impossible to connect prayer and marriage.<sup>303</sup> Authors such as Basil of Caesaria, Evagrius, Jerome, John Cassian, who differed among themselves on other issues, unanimously warn monks against the dangers of visiting their relatives because it is better to offend one's parents, if necessary, rather than God.<sup>304</sup>

Palladius presents a negative image of those for whom relatives and their pleasure are more significant than God. For example, he condemns the virgin who loved her niece dearly,<sup>305</sup> but praises Melania by saying that her love toward her son did not separate her from her love toward Christ. In this context he refers to the passage

<sup>302</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 195.

<sup>303</sup> Antoine Guillaumont, *U Źródell Monastycyzmu Chrześcijańskiego* [Original title: *Aux origines du monachisme chrétien. Pour une phénoménologie du monachisme*], vol. 1, tr. Scholastyka Wirprzanka OsBap (Cracow: Tyniec, Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 2006), 30.

<sup>304</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 197.

<sup>305</sup> *HL* 6.3; 1 Cor. 6:9-10. Palladius here used the biblical quotation: Ἀδικοὶ βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσι "The unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God." The interesting fact about this case is that the biblical text has a very general meaning referring to sinners who will not inherit heaven and adding a commandment not to judge. However, Palladius' comments in the *Lausiac History* give it an absolutely new and concrete sense: it is bad, he says, to care about one's relatives more than about one's own soul.

from the Epistle to Romans, where it is said that nothing can divide people from God, except that the biblical text does not specifically mention relatives here.<sup>306</sup>

Nevertheless, this phrase from the Scripture allows a wide range of possible interpretations of what precisely “cannot divide” people from God. For example, Origen uses these words against astrologists and diviners and their attempts to explain the existence of the world in a naturalistic and physical manner. He argues that it is not the business of the human mind to enter divine spheres; he avers that “the ‘deceptions of the *mathematici*’ cannot ... ‘separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus.’”<sup>307</sup>

E. Clark points out an instance in the work of Basil of Ancyra’s *De virginitate* when the interpretation of Romans 8:35 is exactly the same as in Palladius’ *Lausiac History* and directed specifically against family ties. She writes:

In an intertextual exhortation, Basil of Ancyra links Jesus’ words on the household ‘foes’ to Abraham’s renunciation of homeland (Gen. 12:1), and ingeniously reinforces these verses with Paul’s passionate query in Romans 8:35, ‘who can separate us from the love of God?’ (‘No one, certainly not families,’ is the presumably correct answer.)<sup>308</sup>

On the whole, such a negative attitude to relatives is a *topos* in ascetic texts, especially in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, also relying on the Gospel, where Jesus says that only those who leave behind their fathers and mothers can follow him.

#### 4. 4 Knowledge and wisdom

Palladius’ attitude to knowledge and wisdom are particularly interesting for my study. First of all, he stresses that true knowledge can only be attained by righteous life, which generally reflects the ideas of Evagrius (G. Bunge points out that, according to Evagrius, wisdom can come only to those who are ready for such divine grace, and

<sup>306</sup> *HL* 54.2; Rom. 8:35.

<sup>307</sup> Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 183.

cannot live in a wicked and sinful body<sup>309</sup>). For example, in the chapter about Paphnutius, the hero quotes the biblical phrase “kindness, and discipline, and knowledge,” emphasizing “goodness, without which wisdom is useless,”<sup>310</sup> while in the original context of the Bible, David asked God for kindness, discipline, and knowledge in equal measure. It should be emphasized that goodness or good thought are very important concepts in the theological system of Evagrius, and assure the impassibility of the wise soul.<sup>311</sup>

Elsewhere, Palladius exploits the literal meaning of a quite abstract biblical phrase: “If any man among you thinks that he is wise in this age, he must become foolish, so that he may become wise.”<sup>312</sup> This biblical injunction to become a fool on earth in order to become wise in God’s kingdom receives a very concrete illustration in Palladius’ story about the nun who feigned madness. It should be said that particularly this biblical phrase about foolishness for people as wisdom for God had significant resonance in the writings of late antique Christian authors. Averil Cameron writes that “there was much mileage for Christians in the claim (following St. Paul’s precedent) that they possessed the ‘true philosophy,’ in contrast to the wisdom of the world.”<sup>313</sup> For example, in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Ammonas uses this phrase as an argument for the necessity to avoid judging a sinner because, as he argued, it is God who can judge people.<sup>314</sup> But these words became much more important for the appearance of

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<sup>308</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 197.

<sup>309</sup> Bunge, *Ewagriusz z Pontu*, 364.

<sup>310</sup> HL 47.10: Χρηστότητα καὶ παιδείαν καὶ γνῶσιν referring to Ps. 118:66 LXX.

<sup>311</sup> Bunge, *Ewagriusz z Pontu*, 33; Leon OMI Nieścior, *Anachoreza w pismach Ewagriusza*, 37.

<sup>312</sup> HL 34.1: Εἴ τις δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι ἐν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ μωρὸς γενέσθω ἵνα γένηται σοφός; 1 Cor. 3:18.

<sup>313</sup> Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, 33.

<sup>314</sup> Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 281, 294.

the such a phenomenon of Christian asceticism as “holy fools.”<sup>315</sup> Jeffrey Conrad writes:

There were also ascetics who chose to live the angelic life out-of-doors in the cities of Syria, such as Antioch, Damascus and Apamea. Their way of life, as visible eccentrics, living an other-worldly life in the midst of civilized cities, earned them the name ‘holy fools.’ These ascetics found biblical motivations for their vocations: ‘Let no one deceive himself. If anyone among you thinks that he is wise in this age, let him become a fool that he may become wise. For the wisdom of this world is folly with God’ (1 Cor. 3:18-19).<sup>316</sup>

But, probably, the most thorough account of this phenomenon is presented in Sergey Ivanov’s book *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond* and other works.<sup>317</sup> He emphasizes the crucial importance of this particular biblical passage as the argument for the existence and development of the phenomenon of Holy Fools.<sup>318</sup>

Other examples develop this attitude toward wisdom as a gift of God even more visibly. I have already analyzed the instance of Didymus the Blind, where Palladius mentions that “he was so endowed with the gift of learning that the Scriptures were literally fulfilled in him: ‘the Lord gives wisdom to the blind’.”<sup>319</sup> In contrast with Palladius’ concrete example, Evagrius uses this biblical passage in a very general way: he proves that God created only good things, and even if ascetics renounce the world and that which is in the world it does not mean that the world is evil.<sup>320</sup>

On the whole, it should be said that a *topos* about God-taught Christian ascetics as opposed to the school-trained philosophers of the pagans was wide-spread in

<sup>315</sup> John Saward, *Perfect Fools: Folly for Christ's Sake in Catholic and Orthodox Spirituality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 12-17; Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

<sup>316</sup> Jeffrey Conrad, “Egyptian and Syrian Asceticism in Late Antiquity. A Comparative Study of the Ascetic Idea in the Late Roman Empire during the Fourth and Fifth Centuries,” <http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~epf/1995/ascetic.html>, note 57 (accessed March 15, 2007).

<sup>317</sup> [Sergey Ivanov] С. А. Иванов, *Византийское юродство* [Byzantine Holy Folly] (Moscow: Международные отношения, 1994); Sergey Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Sergey Ivanov, “From ‘Secret Servants of God’ to ‘Fools for Christ’s Sake’ in Byzantine Hagiography,” *Византийский Временник* 55 (80) (1998): 188-194.

<sup>318</sup> [Sergey Ivanov] С. А. Иванов, *Византийское юродство*, 17-21.

<sup>319</sup> HL 4.2: Κύριος σοφοὶ τυφλοῦς (Ps. 145:8 LXX).

Christian hagiography.<sup>321</sup> Palladius generally follows this idea, but he introduces specific emphasis in the scriptural words.

#### 4. 5 The appearance of holy men

The image of a righteous person includes not only spiritual virtues, but, somewhat unexpectedly, an appropriate external appearance as well. Thus, when describing ascetic men and women, Palladius shows clearly that a devout ascetic life should also be confirmed by one's appearance and, to prove this point, he uses a biblical quotation: "The way a man dresses, the way he walks, and the way he laughs tell you what he is."<sup>322</sup> The author explains this biblical expression by referring to the physical characteristics of holy men and women:

For the appearance of their faces abloom with grey hairs, and the arrangement of their dress, together with their conversation so free from arrogance, and the piety of their language—all this and the grace of their thoughts will increase your strength, even should you be afflicted with spiritual dryness.<sup>323</sup>

The issue of ascetic appearance in Byzantine hagiographical texts is a well researched topic.<sup>324</sup> Here I am much more interested, however, in the tradition of the use of this particular quotation (Sir. 19:30 LXX) in the meaning that some external features could testify to spiritual qualities. First, this phrase is found in Clement of Alexandria, but, in contrast with Palladius, he uses it in a negative way, namely, about

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<sup>320</sup> Bunge, *Ewagriusz z Pontu*, 266.

<sup>321</sup> For example, the story about Paul the Simple in *HL* 22.

<sup>322</sup> *HL* Prol. 16: Στολισμός γὰρ ἀνδρὸς καὶ βῆμα ποδὸς καὶ γέλως ὀδόντων ἀναγγελεῖ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ; Sir. 19:30 LXX (= 19:27 Vulg. as indicated by Bartelink in his edition, 17, *apparatus ad loc.*)

<sup>323</sup> *HL* Prol. 16.

<sup>324</sup> The problems of ascetic appearance, especially in connection with the Egyptian ascetics, is discussed by Georgia Frank in her book *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 134-170, especially in the chapter "How to Read a Face: Pilgrims and Ascetic Physiognomy;" Theresa M. Shaw, "Askesis and the Appearance of Holiness," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6, No. 3 (1998): 485-99.

those people who are disgraced.<sup>325</sup> Basil of Ancyra, in the *De virginitate*, gives a touching and extended account of the visual manifestation of the righteous soul; the author used the metaphor of a mirror (κατόπτρον).<sup>326</sup> The phrase can also be found in the work of Diodorus,<sup>327</sup> but, what is more important, John Chrysostom used it at least five times.<sup>328</sup> He is the only Christian writer in whose work these scriptural words were so frequent; moreover, he uses them in approximately the same context as Palladius, that is, to show that a devout ascetic life should also be confirmed by one's appearance. Thus, it seems that Palladius might have borrowed this phrase from the writings of his teacher and friend, or, at least, he follows the general idea promoted by John Chrysostom providing his own particular interpretation.

#### 4. 6 Why God abandons people and they are tempted in desert

In the *Lausiac History* there are two fragments where biblical quotations and references borrowed from different parts of the Scripture are connected and recombined in a common context which was absent from the Bible. These are the *Prologue* and the story about Paphnutius where biblical quotations are used to introduce and develop one idea so that they become the links of one logical chain.

<sup>325</sup> ἐλεγχόμενοι; M. Harl, H.-I. Marrou, C. Matray, and C. Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Le pédagogue*, (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1960), Book 3, chapter 3, subchapter 23, section 4.

<sup>326</sup> Basilus, *De virginitate*, in PG 30, coll. 741, line 18.

<sup>327</sup> Diodorus, "Fragmenta in epistulam ad Romanos" in *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*, ed. K. Staab (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933), 94, line 12.

<sup>328</sup> Joannes Chrysostomus, *In Kalendas*, in PG 48, coll. 960, line 41; Joannes Chrysostomus, *Homilia in martyres*, PG 50, coll. 666, line 11; Joannes Chrysostomus, "Epistulae ad Olympiadem" in *Jean Chrysostome. Lettres à Olympias*, ed. A.-M. Malingrey (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968), epistle 8, section 9, line 34; Joannes Chrysostomus, "Catecheses ad illuminandos 1-8" in *Jean Chrysostome. Huit catéchèses baptismales*, ed. A. Wenger (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970), catechesis 4, section 26, line 2; Joannes Chrysostomus, "In Isaïam" in *Jean Chrysostome. Commentaire sur Isaïe*, ed. J. Dumortier, (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1983), chapter 3, section 8, line 44; Joannes Chrysostomus, *De precatone (orat. 1-2) [Sp.]* in PG 50, coll. 776, line 56.

The issue around which these quotations are accumulated in the story about Paphnutius is why people are sometimes abandoned by God. Paphnutius answered this question and offered several reasons, giving biblical examples in support of his words.

First, he introduced the case of Job: he was allowed to suffer so that his righteousness might be made evident.<sup>329</sup> Second, Paphnutius exploits the words of Paul where the Apostle says that he will boast only of his weaknesses and that he has a thorn in his flesh in order to avoid arrogance.<sup>330</sup> The author uses this quotation to show that people are abandoned by God because of their arrogance. At first sight it seems that the biblical idea is taken completely out of its context. After closer examination, however, it becomes clear that Palladius uses the rhetorical tool of opposition and plays on the contrasts between the suffering and humble self-humiliation of the righteous Paul and a warning about arrogance to sinful people. Palladius thus uses a positive example to illustrate a negative point.

Moreover, similar connotations of this phrase can be found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Burton-Christie points out that this biblical passage held important words of encouragement in the struggle with demons and temptation, including, among other things, arrogance. Thus, he writes that, for example, Amma Syncletica suggested a whole catalogue of biblical texts to be used in times of trial, and quotes her words:

Rejoice that God visits you and keep this sweet-sounding word on your lips, 'The Lord has chastened me sorely but he has not given me over unto death' (Ps 117:18) ... Have you been given a thorn in the flesh [2 Cor. 12:7]? Exult, and see who else was treated like that: it is an honor to have the same sufferings as Paul...<sup>331</sup>

<sup>329</sup> HL 47.14; Job 40:8: Μὴ ἀποποιῶν μου τὸ κρῖμα, μηδὲ οἶον με ἄλλως σοι κεχρηματικέναι, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀναφανῇς δίκαιος "Do not shrug my judgement! And do you think I have dealt with you in any other way than that you might appear to be righteous?"

<sup>330</sup> HL 47.15; 2 Cor. 12:7.

<sup>331</sup> Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 200.



This fragment from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* may explain why Palladius uses this particular biblical quotation and where the meaning which he puts in it came from.

Besides the *Apophthegmata* tradition, this phrase was also used in the corpus of texts prescribed to Pseudo-Macarius. Even more, it was one of the crucial points in the ascetic teaching contained in these texts. Vincent Desprez mentions that, according to Pseudo-Macarius, pride is one of the most dangerous enemies:

Question: Et comment ceux qui sont travaillés par la grace de Dieu peuvent-ils tomber? Réponse: Même les pensées qui sont pures dans leur proper nature dérapent et tombent. Car on commence à s'élever, à condamner, à dire: 'Toi, tu es un pécheur', à se tenir pour juste. Ne sais-tu pas ce que dit Paul: 'Il m'a été donné une échaede dans ma chair, un ange de Satan qui me souffle, pour que je ne m'enorgueillisse pas' (2 Cor. 12:7). Car la nature pure est susceptible de s'enorgueillir.<sup>332</sup>

Thus, one can suggest that the phrase in 2 Cor. 12:7 had its own connotations in early Christian discourse, particularly in the monastic oral and written tradition; it was used as a warning against arrogance, support in suffering and temptation, and as a sign of humiliation. Probably Palladius followed the early monastic tradition of interpretation of these scriptural words, which also is reflected in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and the texts of Pseudo-Macarius.

Third, Paphnutius (or Palladius through the mouth of the hero) explains that God abandons people because of their sins. The author introduces the case of Esau, who sold his birthright for a meal;<sup>333</sup> to emphasize this point Palladius reminds his readers of Jesus healing a paralytic man and his warning not to sin afterwards.<sup>334</sup> It should be said that Esau's case does not seem casual in the pages of the *Lausiac History*. The theological problems that arose due to the divergent fates of Jacob and Esau held the attention of a number of Christian authors, including Origen. The Bible here needed to

<sup>332</sup> Vincent Desprez, *Le Monachisme Primitif. Des origines jusqu'au concile d'Ephèse* (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1998), 433.

<sup>333</sup> *HL* 47.16; Gen. 25:29-34.

<sup>334</sup> *HL* 47.16; John 5:14.

be carefully explained, and Origen tried to do it by excluding determinist interpretations. E. Clark writes:

Origen stands firm against astral determinism. Likewise, he frequently criticizes Gnostics (whether rightly or wrongly interpreted) for their implication that God is responsible for the world's injustice and cruelty. To prove that 'there is no unrighteousness with God' (Rom. 9:14) and that 'God is no respecter of persons' (Rom. 2:11) – later to be favorite scriptural verses of the Pelagians – Origen explicates the 'hard' Biblical passages in such a way that he excludes determinist explanations. Thus, the divergent fates of Jacob and Esau relate to their merits in a previous existence..."<sup>335</sup>

In this example, Palladius would also like to emphasize that there are not determinism, but Esau himself was guilty (he sold his birthright for a meal), which was why God abandoned him.

Finally, one of the most rigorous reasons why people are abandoned by God is that God will abandon those who sin even after they have known the true God. Palladius borrowed the quotations which precisely describe this situation from the Epistle to the Romans:

And just as they did not see fit to acknowledge God any longer, God gave them over to a depraved mind, to do those things which are not proper. Because that, when they knew God, they did not honor Him as God or give thanks, so God gave them over to degrading passions.<sup>336</sup>

Palladius uses the description of sinful people (that is the meaning of the phrase quoted above in its original biblical context) to provide an explanation as to why God abandons people. These problematic passages from the Bible were warmly discussed by Christian authors, and Clark gives probably the most complete account of these debates.<sup>337</sup> Many writers, however, addressed "natural" or "unnatural" relationships and

<sup>335</sup> Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 195.

<sup>336</sup> HL 47.17: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα· περὶ δὲ ἑτέρων τινῶν τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν γνῶσιν θεοῦ μετὰ διεφθαρμένης γνώμης· Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ γνόντες τὸν θεὸν οὐ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ὑψαρίστησαν, παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας; Rom. 1:21, 26, 28.

<sup>337</sup> Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 331-332; also see: Columba OSP Steward, *Kasjan mnich* [Cassian the Monk], tr. Teresa Lubowiecka (Cracow: Tyniec, Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 2004), 357, note 54.

other sexual issues derived from the scriptural text, while Palladius did not clarify what τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα means for him, but emphasizes the sin of people forgetting of God after they had known Him.

On the whole, the chapter about Paphnutius, especially those parts where he answers the question of his disciples why some of the men who lived there in the desert were deceived in their minds and others defeated by lust seems to be unusual and strange in the general context of the *Lausiac History* narration, and, therefore, it deserves some detailed discussion. First, as has been already said, the text here is a solid unit, more elaborated theologically and rhetorically than any other part of the *Lausiac History* apart from Prologue. Moreover, Palladius uses here as arguments and examples eleven references to the Bible in this quite short piece of the text. In all probability, the issue had crucial importance for Palladius himself, and maybe his story was some kind of illustration for the theoretical ideas of Evagrius, his teacher and friend. Here is Evagrius' typical attention to the concepts of πειρασμός (trial) and ἐγκατάλειψις (abandonment, dereliction, desertion).<sup>338</sup> Unfortunately, Evagrius' work which could explain Palladius' story about Paphnutius or could be its direct or indirect source is not known. It is certainly worth exploring this text elsewhere because it is so different from the other parts of the *Lausiac History*.

Second, the text of one of the Homilies of Pseudo-Macarius, namely, Homily 54,<sup>339</sup> is similar to the story about Paphnutius. Athanasios Hatzopoulos says that Homily 54 is composed of extracts from Palladius.<sup>340</sup> Moreover, the unknown editor of this homily repeated all Palladius' quotations and reference to the Scriptures. The

<sup>338</sup> Bunge, *Ewagriusz z Pontu*, 88-90.

<sup>339</sup> Pseudo-Macarius, "Homiliae 7" in *Macarii Anecdota. Seven unpublished Homilies of Macarius*, ed. G. L. Marriott (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), homily 54.

<sup>340</sup> Athanasios Hatzopoulos, *Two Outstanding Cases in Byzantine Spirituality: The Macarian Homilies and Symeon the New Theologian* (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1991), 28.

history of the texts of Pseudo-Macarius' works is complex;<sup>341</sup> exactly who made this compilation and when has not been established, although it is clear that the *Lausiac History* is earlier and the homily later, not vice versa.

#### 4. 7 Asceticism and the significance of the Church

In this section of the present chapter I will focus on Palladius' approach to the significance of the Church for a true Christian, especially that of one leading an ascetic lifestyle. The *Lausiac History* exhibits a somewhat ambivalent attitude towards the Church as an institution which is responsible for true guidance in the lives of Christians. Generally speaking, at least two different attitudes can be defined: as described above, it is proper for the righteous man (i. e., the ascetic) to avoid being involved in the church structure as, for example, Ammonius, who was ready to maim himself in order not to be ordained as a priest.<sup>342</sup> Palladius also mentions many cases when ascetics who regarded themselves as perfect and neglected the guidance of the Church eventually fell into sin. One such example is that of Ptolemy, who had lived a hard ascetic life and then took excessive pride in this, refused the teaching of the Church and the Eucharist, and as a result fell into sin. Palladius sums up the story by the phrase: "Those who have no guidance fall like leaves."<sup>343</sup> The original biblical context of this phrase refers to civic life and the organization of a city, while Palladius applies it here to spiritual matters.

In a similar situation Heron, another fallen ascetic hero of the *Lausiac History*, in Palladius' account rephrases the words of Christ and uses them as an argument that

<sup>341</sup> *Macarii Anecdota. Seven unpublished Homilies of Macarius*, ed. G. L. Marriott (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918); G. L. Marriott, "The Lausiac History of Palladius and a Homily ascribed to Macarius of Egypt," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 18 (1917), 68-69; A. Baker, "Corrections in "Macarii Anecdota," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 22 (1971): 538-541; Desprez, *Le Monachisme Primitif*, 401-501.

<sup>342</sup> *HL* 11.2 referring to Lev. 21:17.

<sup>343</sup> *HL* 27.2: Οἷς μὴ ὑπάρχει κυβέρνησις πίπτουσιν ὥσπερ φύλλα; Prov. 11:14.

he does not need the Church.<sup>344</sup> The phrase Μὴ καλέσητε διδάσκαλον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (“Do not call [anyone] on earth your teacher”) refers to Matt. 23:9-10, merging in a very tendentious way the two biblical injunctions: “Do not call anyone on earth your father; for One is your Father, He who is in heaven” and “Nor must you allow yourselves to be called teachers, for you have only one Teacher, Christ.” Here is a case when, as already noted, Palladius’ *Lausiaca History* becomes a “literary illustration” of Evagrius’ theoretical ideas. The concept of spiritual paternity was very important in his ascetic teaching.<sup>345</sup> Palladius presents those who break Evagrius’ rules and commandments as the most negative characters. The story about Heron is Palladius’ response to the opponents’ rebukes of Evagrius. Moreover, Palladius tends to emphasize the extreme necessity of Church guidance in Christian life, while the true ascetic way (serving God) he sometimes considers as a higher level of perfection than being involved in the Church structure (serving people). In this position Palladius generally follows his spiritual teacher.

#### 4. 8 The topos of modesty

Biblical allusions and references also help the author express the topos of modesty and at the same time underline his ability to write. One such instance appears in the Prologue, where Palladius characterizes himself as “a man who owed ten thousand talents.”<sup>346</sup> The phrase used here is an allusion to Jesus’ parable about the man who owed ten thousand talents, but was forgiven and then he himself did not forgive his own debtor.<sup>347</sup> This New Testament phrase, which at first sight attributes negative characteristics to Palladius, should be regarded as a gesture of self-humiliation. In

<sup>344</sup> HL 26.1: Μὴ καλέσητε διδάσκαλον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς refers to Matt. 23:9-10.

<sup>345</sup> Bunge, *Paternite Spirituelle*, 9; Bunge, *Evagrius z Pontu*, 309-402.

<sup>346</sup> HL Prol. 6: ὁ μυρίων ταλάντων χρεωφειλέτης.

Palladius' contemporary Christian discourse this biblical passage had its own context involving some of the dangerous aspects of Origen's discussion. Clark mentions:

Origen's comment on this passage implied that the servant who is forgiven the huge debt of ten thousand talents by the master (God) is the devil. Jerome rejects this interpretation: why then is the servant who owed much less, only one hundred denarii, not forgiven by the master? If the greater debt is forgiven, so should the lesser. To Jerome, the interpretation of the passage given by Origenists is inconsistent.

She continues that "the implication of this reading for the Origenist interpretation would suggest that humans are indebted to the devil, a point likewise anathema to Jerome."<sup>348</sup>

Turning to Evagrius' written heritage, for him the most important point here is the biblical commandment of compassion and forgiveness to one's enemies. He takes the story about the servant as an example of how people have to forget others' debts, love, and pray for them.<sup>349</sup> It seems that in the *Lausiac History*, however, Palladius does not use these complicated "links" with contemporary discussion and uses the phrase "one who owed ten thousand talents" meaning just the *topos* of modesty.

Moreover, Palladius' self-humiliation is intensified by the comparison with Paul and reference to the story about Paul's trip to Jerusalem.<sup>350</sup> Paul, whom Palladius regarded as superior to himself, traveled to Jerusalem to meet the other apostles, not being content with hearing about them from afar; then Paul boasted about his own trip for the sake of virtue in order to shame those living in carelessness to do the same. Palladius, vastly inferior to Paul, a fact that he stresses by comparing himself with the man who owed a thousand talents, was under great obligation not only to improve others, as Paul did, but also to improve himself. Thus, he had an even greater obligation to go visit the holy men of Egypt and then narrate his journey for his own and other people's spiritual benefit.

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<sup>347</sup> Matt. 18:24.

<sup>348</sup> Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 128-129.

<sup>349</sup> Bunge, *Evagrius z Pontu*, 86-87.

#### 4. 9 The image of sinners

Palladius pays significant attention not only to the image of the righteous man, but to that of the sinner as well. In the chapter about the monk called Valens Palladius explains why he chose to write the story about a fallen monk among all the other stories that told of virtuous monks by invoking a biblical testimony: “and (among) the holy trees of Paradise there was the tree of knowledge of good and evil.”<sup>351</sup> Palladius’ rhetorical phrase explains that just as in heaven there was a tree which allowed for the knowledge of both good and evil, so in his work there should be some examples of bad monks, so that the readers could distinguish what is good and what is bad in their own lives by referring to the definitions of good and bad that the author illustrates. Palladius explains that the examples of bad monks should serve as a caution for those who come across them. Here Palladius touches the important issue about the relations of good and evil. This biblical fragment was difficult to explain, so, as Maxim the Confessor later wrote, the Church Fathers, who could sometimes tell a great deal about this fragment (Gen. 2:9) thanks to the divine grace which they had obtained, knew that it is better to keep silence about it, thinking that the spirit of the explanation or interpretation is not able to emerge from the depth of these words.<sup>352</sup>

Negative descriptions supported by biblical references are built up by different means: first, by comparison: for example, the devil hardened the heart of young Evagrius as in the case of the Pharaoh.<sup>353</sup> The metaphor of a cruel “hardened” heart like Pharaoh’s caused some reflections among Christian authors. It was involved in Origen’s

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<sup>350</sup> Gal. 1:18.

<sup>351</sup> *HL* 25.6: Αναγκαῖον δέ ἐστι καὶ τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων βίους ἐνθεῖναι τῷ βιβλιδαρίῳ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων, καθάπερ καὶ ἀγίοις φυτοῖς τοῦ παραδείσου τὸ ξύλον τὸ γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ· ἵνα εἴ ποτε αὐτοῖς συμβαίῃ κατόρθωμά τι, μὴ μέγα φρονήσωσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ; Gen. 2:9 LXX.

<sup>352</sup> Bunge, *Ewagrius z Pontu*, 96.

discussions about the correlation between divine determinism and free will, and Jerome's critique of this.<sup>354</sup> In these hard-to-understand passages Origen tried to avoid deterministic explanations, and explained that "Pharaoh's 'hardening' results from his own evil, not to his creation as a 'lost nature'."<sup>355</sup> The issue directly relates to the Pelagian discussions, and, as is mentioned by E. Clark, the fragment about Pharaoh's heart was one of the favorite biblical passages of the Pelagians.<sup>356</sup> The case was really difficult to explain, and, after long discussions, the correct answer was found: "God knew how people would turn out, who would love him and who would despise his ways, and dispensed his mercy on this basis."<sup>357</sup> It seems to me that in this complicated situation, Palladius, mentioning Pharaoh's heart, indirectly refers to the Pelagian controversies, but he was able to skillfully avoid saying definitely who, man or God, caused the hardening of Pharaoh's heart (the question at the core of the problem). Palladius accuses the devil: Πάλιν δὲ τοῦ διαβόλου σκληρύναντος αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν καθάπερ τοῦ Φαραώ.<sup>358</sup>

The images of negative heroes in the *Lausiac History* are also constructed by exploiting the images of negative biblical characters and the situations where they appear (Macarius predicted to his younger disciple that if he did not listen to advice from his elder he would suffer the same fate as Giezi, the Old Testament character who sinned and was punished by a terrible illness),<sup>359</sup> by using illustrative examples (in order to describe a man of vulgar lifestyle, Palladius made use of the biblical image of

<sup>353</sup> HL 38.8, referring to Exod. 7:14.

<sup>354</sup> Clark, *Origenist Controversy*, 138-139.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid., 195.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid., 195.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid., 213.

<sup>358</sup> HL 38.8.

<sup>359</sup> HL 17.4; 4 Kings 5:20-27 LXX.



the serpent, who is both the embodiment of evil and of cunning wisdom on the earth),<sup>360</sup> or by using typical epithets.

This chapter presents the analysis of changes in meaning which biblical quotations and allusions underwent due to changes in the context as can be observed in Palladius' *Lausiaca History*. I have been able to identify important shifts in focus in interpreting biblical ideas and concepts: the author introduces eschatological meanings where they are absent in the biblical original; he emphasizes changes due to that transition from the Jewish law to Christianity; he develops a discourse about women and female ascetics important for the Christian writings of his time; he discusses the issue of why God sometimes abandons people; he characterizes the significance of the Church for the Christians and especially for the Christian ascetics; he discusses issues of knowledge and wisdom; appearance of Holy men; image of sinners; he uses the *topos* of modesty.

Regarding Palladius' contemporary Christian discourse, I should mention that the biblical quotations and allusions which he uses do not hang in empty space, but they are direct or indirect reflections of discussions of the fourth and fifth century, open or hidden responses to challenges of Palladius' time, rebukes to opponents, and illustrations or developments of the ideas of his teachers.

The examples of eschatological ideas, the attitude to the Church, to knowledge and wisdom (the *topos* about the God-taught Christian ascetic as opposed to the school-trained philosophers of the pagans), and some others demonstrate that Palladius tends to present the ideas, expectations, and the worldview of communities of monks in the Egyptian desert and, probably, the lower layer of secular people who sometimes were

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<sup>360</sup> *HL* 47.13 referring to Gen. 3:1 LXX: "the serpent was the most sagacious of all the animals that were upon the earth."

not so sophisticated in their understanding of biblical words. Here I do not mean that Palladius expressed simple ideas, he rather presented them in the form which would be understood for his audience. Regarding the different levels of Christian discourse, Averil Cameron made a very appropriate remark, which deserves quoting in full:

The general adoption of Christian discourse brought major problems. The mixture of half-understood beliefs and prejudices held by the general population was only part of the difficulty. At an even more basic level the problem of Christian language was such that generations of the most powerful Christian thinkers had to wrestle with questions of representation, rationality, realism, and naming. Naturally these problems did not present themselves equally to all strata of society. Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine knew perfectly well that their philosophical difficulties would be of no interest to the majority. Yet the philosophical and theological problems that they, as well as later thinkers such as ps.-Dionysius and Maximus the Confessor, attempted to face did determine the framework within which more ordinary intellects could operate...<sup>361</sup>

After the analysis developed in this chapter, I can say that the *Lausiaca History* belongs to the lower register of Christian discourse, and sometimes it is much closer to the *Apophthegmata Patrum*<sup>362</sup> than to ideas delivered in theological treatises of the Church Fathers and high-ranking Church leaders. Correspondingly, it was aimed at the audience of those who shared these ideas.

Among the earlier and contemporary Christian authors who used and interpreted in their texts the same biblical quotations and allusions as Palladius, the author of the *Lausiaca History* most frequently follows or modifies the interpretations of Origen, John Chrysostom, and Basil of Ancyra; some phrases from the *Lausiaca History* might be interpreted as indirect discussions with Jerome and his anti-Origenist attacks;<sup>363</sup> his

<sup>361</sup> Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, 223.

<sup>362</sup> The obvious parallels between the *Lausiaca History* and *Apophthegmata Patrum* are mentioned in Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 93.

<sup>363</sup> It can be argued that in this case Palladius had to know Latin. However, if even it was not so, it is difficult to assume that Rufinus, Evagrius, and, therefore, the people who belonged to their group, including Palladius himself, were not aware of Jerome's anti-Origenist rebukes and attacks; so, indirectly, some of Palladius' passages might be replies to the accusations which Jerome addressed to "Origenists."

ascetic ideas and ideals show his adherence to the teaching of Evagrius, especially on the issue of spiritual paternity and the concept of *apatheia*.

To conclude, I would like to quote D. Burton-Christie on the “desert understanding” of the Scripture:

Interpretation and misinterpretation of Scripture in the desert had little to do with doctrinal orthodoxy; rather, the aim of interpretation was moral purity and integrity and through this, the experience of God. Holiness for the desert fathers was expressed as personal transformation arising from the realization of Scripture within oneself.<sup>364</sup>

It seems to me that these words fit perfectly to Palladius’ text.

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<sup>364</sup> Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 300.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### The History of One Idea: The idea of asceticism in the *Lausiac History*

The Prologue of the *Lausiac History*, in which Palladius proposes to Lausus (and, presumably, to other members of his readership) arguments in favor of a Christian ascetic lifestyle, is particularly important. In this section the author uses extensive references to the Bible: direct and indirect quotations, images and situations, ideas and arguments. Moreover, here biblical quotations and references borrowed from different parts of the Scripture are connected and recombined in a common context which was absent in the Bible. They become the links of one logical chain; therefore, the Prologue introduces, develops, and justifies one idea, namely, a concept of Christian asceticism. To understand his points it is necessary to analyze this concatenation of ideas.

The first logical step in his demonstration is the idea that “Law is not made for a righteous person” (1 Tim. 1:9).<sup>365</sup> This quotation from the First Epistle to Timothy is used to prove Palladius’ main idea in this part of the Prologue: there are no sinful or righteous things *per se* in human actions, there are no universally applicable rules for everyone for all circumstances (probably, here he also tries to distance himself from Judaism). Palladius emphasizes that everything depends on human ability to discern between appropriate and inappropriate actions<sup>366</sup> which is founded on faith, person’s internal perception, on his/her intentions as well as on the adequate reaction to external circumstances: “and no longer blame or praise the material, but count happy or wretched the minds of those who use the material well or ill.”<sup>367</sup> To support this idea, the author then proposes various images and examples from the Scripture and

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<sup>365</sup> *HL* Prol. 10: Δικαίῳ γὰρ νόμος οὐ κεῖται.

<sup>366</sup> He calls it *theios logos*

ancient history: thus, Joseph drank wine, but his mind was not affected by this and he kept his thoughts under control; Peter and other apostles also used wine; on the other hand, such ancient heroes as Pythagoras, Diogenes, and Plato, and what is worse—the Manicheans and “the rest of the crowd of the so-called philosophers” τὸ λοιπὸν σύνταγμα τῶν ἐθελοφιλοσόφων—drank water, but they failed to know the true God because “they reached such a pitch of vain-glory in their intemperance.”<sup>368</sup> Therefore, in his narration Palladius expresses the ideal of Christian righteousness and holiness, namely, that certain actions as such cannot be righteous or sinful, but it is the human intention behind them that makes them righteous or sinful.

The next fragment is interesting because here the author borrows phrases from different parts of the New Testament and thus he creates a dialogue which is absent in the Scriptures. The quotations which he combines in his text do not occur together in the Gospels; they do not create the cohesive unit which Palladius gets from a successful use of rhetorical device – combination of texts. He plays with the idea of drinking wine and consuming meat: the Jews rebuke Christ because of his disciples, and the disciples because of their teacher. So, they address themselves to Christ with the words “Why do not your disciples fast as do the disciples of John?”<sup>369</sup> And, turning to the pupils, they say: “Your Master eats and drinks with the publicans and sinners.”<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> *HL Prol. 10*: καὶ μηκέτι ψέξης τὴν ὕλην ἢ ἐπαινέσης, ἀλλὰ μακάρισον ἢ ταλάνισον τὴν γνώμην τῶν καλῶς ἢ κακῶς χρωμένων τῇ ὕλῃ.

<sup>368</sup> *HL Prol. 10-11*, reference to Gen. 43:34.

<sup>369</sup> *HL Prol. 11*: Ἵνα τί οἱ μαθηταί σου οὐ νηστεύουσιν ὡς καὶ οἱ Ἰωάννου; Mark 2:18.

<sup>370</sup> *HL Prol. 11*: Ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει; Matt. 9:11; Luke 5:30.

However, Palladius argues that this double rebuke has no sense because: “John came in the way of righteousness, neither eating nor drinking.”<sup>371</sup> The author of the *Lausiaca History* uses this quotation in order to show that, in contrast with those who unreasonably praised drinking of water and reproached drinking of wine, Christ remembered John, who had fasted, yet, at the time, it was said that he was possessed by a demon: “and they say: He has a devil. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say: Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, and a friend of publicans and sinners.”<sup>372</sup>

The situation created by such oppositions serves Palladius to point out the contradictions in the Jews’ rebuke, and, at the same time, the idea that Christian ethics cannot solve the problem of right/wrong with the help of traditional categories such as “allowed” or “prohibited.” Palladius again builds up a unitary complete expression constructed by contrasting the attitude to John and that of Christ in order to show that both of them were “wrong” and “sinful” in the eyes of the Jews despite the fact that they behaved differently; Palladius achieved all this by building into a coherent logical unit different sections of the Gospels which are not connected logically in the Bible.

After this comparison Palladius asks, what are we to do then? And he answers: “Let us follow neither those who blame nor those who praise;” he then writes: “let us either fast with John reasonably even if they say: ‘They have a devil,’ or let us drink wine wisely with Jesus, if the body needs it, even if they say: ‘Behold men gluttonous

<sup>371</sup> *HL* Prol. 12: Ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης, μήτε ἐσθίων μήτε πίνων; Matt. 11:18; Matt. 21:32.

<sup>372</sup> *HL* Prol. 12: καὶ λέγουσι· Δαιμόνιον ἔχει. Ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων, καὶ λέγουσιν· Ἴδού ἄνθρωπος φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης, τελωνῶν φίλος καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν, Matt. 11:18-19.

and wine-bibbers.”<sup>373</sup> Palladius emphasizes the fact that “in truth neither is eating nor refraining anything, but faith extending itself in love to works.”<sup>374</sup> What is done with faith should not be condemned.

Thus, the whole previous chain of thought leads to a second thesis: “for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.”<sup>375</sup> The corresponding quotation from the Epistle to Romans generalizes all the arguments which Palladius uses above about what is allowed and prohibited. He says that the most important thing is faith, not the rigid norms of righteousness.

The third thesis introduced by Palladius is the following: “By their fruits you shall know them.”<sup>376</sup> By this quotation the author continues his thought about sinfulness and righteousness. Here Palladius clarifies the previous idea that everybody’s acts will be judged according to their faith. In order to avoid the literal understanding of this statement, and, therefore, failure due to complacency and excessive confidence in one’s own faith, the author notes that everyone who has committed a sin and said that he believed, but continued to do the same will be condemned. The quotation is used as an example of the principle according to which it is possible and quite important to distinguish between a sincere righteous man and a sinner who pretends to be a believer.

He illustrates this idea with instructive examples, showing that “a good fruit”:  
 “The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness,

<sup>373</sup> *HL Prol. 12:* Μήτε τοῖς ψέγουσι μήτε τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσιν ἀκολουθήσωμεν, ἀλλ’ ἡ μετὰ Ἰωάννου λόγῳ νηστεύσωμεν κἂν εἴπωσι· Δαιμόνιον ἔχουσιν· ἡ μετ’ Ἰησοῦ ἐν σοφίᾳ οἰνοποτήσωμεν, εἰ χρήζοι τὸ σῶμα, κἂν εἴπωσιν· Ἴδου ἄνθρωποι φάγοι καὶ οἰνοπόται.

<sup>374</sup> *HL Prol. 13:* Οὐτε γὰρ ἡ βρωσίς ἐστὶ τι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν οὔτε ἡ ἀποχή, ἀλλὰ πίστις δι’ ἀγάπης τοῖς ἔργοις παρεκτεινομένη; *Gal. 5:6.*

<sup>375</sup> *HL Prol. 13:* πᾶν γὰρ ὃ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἁμαρτία ἐστίν; *Rom. 14:23.*

<sup>376</sup> *HL Prol. 13:* Ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς; *Matt. 7:16; 20.*

faithfulness, meekness, temperance.”<sup>377</sup> This quotation presents a list of virtues of those who “those who live with reason and understanding.”

Palladius then introduces his fourth thesis: “Every man that strives for mastery is temperate in all things.”<sup>378</sup> These words are crucial for understanding why, along with all that was said above (righteousness based on faith, the options of fasting and restraint for everybody), the idea of asceticism was developed in Christian discourse, particularly, in Palladius’ *Lausiac History*. Obviously, although asceticism is not a duty for everyone, it is welcome because allows one to obtain the “fruits of the spirit” listed above. This tenet is illustrated by the example of the apostle Paul who, although he did not avoid meat and wine when it was not necessary, also noted that everyone who tries to reach the highest level or win in the competition has to be temperate in all things. Palladius explains this idea,

When the body is in health he abstains from fattening things, when it is weak or in pain or meets with griefs or misadventures, he will make use of foods or drinks as medicines to heal what grieves him, and he will abstain from all that harms the soul—anger, envy, vain-glory, accidia, detraction, and unreasonable suspicion—giving thanks to the Lord.<sup>379</sup>

Therefore, this fragment of the Prologue is of crucial importance for understanding the basis of early Christian asceticism. Four key ideas are defined with phrases borrowed from the Bible; combinations of them allow the author to produce the logical chain that argued in favor of the concept of asceticism as the best option

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<sup>377</sup> *HL* Prol. 13-14: ἀγάπη ἐστὶ καὶ χαρὰ καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις, πραῦτης, καὶ ἐγκράτεια... Ὁ γὰρ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστὶ; Gal. 5:22-23.

<sup>378</sup> *HL* Prol. 14: Πᾶς ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται; 1 Cor. 9:25.

<sup>379</sup> *HL* Prol. 14: ὑγιαίνουσιν μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεχόμενοι τῶν παινόντων, ἀρρωστούσης δὲ ἢ ὀδυνωμένης ἢ καὶ λύπαις καὶ περιστάσεσι κοινωνούσης χρήσεται μὲν βρώμασιν ἢ πόμασιν ὡς φαρμάκοις εἰς ἴασιν τῶν λυπούντων, ἀφέξεται δὲ τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν βλαβερῶν, ὀργῆς, φθόνου, κενοδοξίας, ἀκηδίας, καταλαλιᾶς καὶ ὑπονοίας ἀλόγου, εὐχαριστῶν ἐν κυρίῳ. The advice to use a small amount of wine to be healthy is a reference to 1 Tim. 5:23.



for every Christian who wants to rise above the average. Following the text of the Scripture, these ideas are the following:

1. The law is not made for a righteous person (1 Tim. 1:9);
2. For whatsoever is not of faith is sin (Rom. 14:23);
3. By their fruits you shall know them (Matt. 7:16; 20);
4. Every man that strives for mastery is temperate in all things (1 Cor. 9:25).

Therefore, the text allows one to understand the inner rhetorical, ideological and theological tools by which one particular Christian author of the Late Antiquity produced a certain concept of Christian asceticism as well as a certain intellectual image of monasticism. As Elizabeth Clark observed, asceticism as such was not present in the Bible in “ready-to-hand” form;<sup>380</sup> Christian authors such as Palladius built it with the help of different biblical quotations and allusions by combining and recombining these in order to achieve the meaning they intended to draw from such biblical passages. In this particular example Palladius intends to demonstrate that observance of the Law (according to concepts such as “allowed”/“prohibited”) is not as important as personal faith (according to concepts such as “sincerity”/“insincerity”). It was significant for Palladius to show that this position was essentially new in comparison with the ethics of the Old Testament. He thus skillfully argues for the necessity to be temperate in all things.

It seems to me that this idea is not Palladius’ own discovery; he just spells it out in a persuasive and coherent rhetorical form. Nevertheless, it is necessary to trace whose and what writings Palladius might have used as direct or indirect sources for

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<sup>380</sup>Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 104.

constructing his ideas. Therefore, I have attempted to locate the key quotations of this logical chain in the works of other Christian authors.<sup>381</sup>

The results of my examinations are the following: almost all the biblical phrases which Palladius used are quite common in the Christian writings of the time. They can also be found individually in the works of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Epiphanius, Athanasius of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Caesarea, Adamantius, Didymus the Blind, Severian of Gabala, John Chrysostom, and in the text ascribed to Ephraem Syrus.<sup>382</sup> These texts are mainly commentaries on different biblical books. Unfortunately, for most of them it is impossible to trace a similar combination of biblical phrases and their use together in a common context as the one I have discussed coming from Palladius' Prologue. However, one can find

<sup>381</sup>The quotations were checked in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae database and with the help of *Biblia patristica: index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique*, ed. J. Allenbach, vol. 2, *Le troisième siècle, Origène excepté*, vol. 3, *Origène*, vol. 5, *Basile de Césarée, Grégoire de Nazianze, Grégoire de Nysse, Amphiloque d'Iconium* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1975-2000).

<sup>382</sup> The whole list is too long to be presented here. I just focus on the works where the biblical quotations analyzed here occur in the same text more than once: Clemens Alexandrinus, "Stromata," in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ed. L. Früchtel, O. Stählin, and U. Treu, Vols. 2-3 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960-1970); Origenes, "Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei (lib. 10-11)" in Origenes, *Commentaire sur l'évangile selon Matthieu*, ed. R. Girod, vol. 1 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970); Origenes, "Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei (lib. 12-17)" in Origenes, *Werke*, ed. E. Klostermann, vol. 10.1-10.2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1935-1937); Origenes, "Fragmenta ex commentariis in epistulam i ad Corinthios" in C. Jenkins, ed., "Documents: Origen on I Corinthians," *Journal of Theological Studies* 9 (1908): 232-247, 353-372, 500-514; 10 (1908): 29-51; Epiphanius, "Panarion" in Epiphanius, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, ed. K. Holl, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915-1933); Basilii Caesariensis, "Epistulae" in Saint Basile, *Lettres*, ed. Y. Courtonne, 3 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957-1966); Basilii Caesariensis, "De baptismo libri duo" in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, Vol. 31, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857-1866), coll. 1513-1628; Basilii Caesariensis, "Regulae morales" in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, Vol. 31, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857-1866), coll. 692-869; Didymus Caecus, "De trinitate (lib. 1)" in Didymus der Blinde, *De trinitate, Buch 1*, ed. J. Honscheid (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1975); Didymus Caecus, "De trinitate (lib. 2.1-7)" in Didymus Caecus, *De trinitate, Buch 2, Kapitel 1-7*, ed. I. Seiler (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1975); Didymus Caecus, "De trinitate (lib. 2.8-27)" in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, Vol. 39, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857-1866), coll. 600-769; Didymus Caecus, "Commentarii in Zacchariam" in Didyme l'Aveugle, *Sur Zacharie*, ed. L. Doutreleau, 3 vols. (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1962); Joannes Chrysostomus, "In epistulam i ad Corinthios" in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, Vol. 61, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857-1866), coll. 9-382; Joannes Chrysostomus, "In epistulam ad Galatas commentaries" in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, Vol. 61, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857-1866), coll. 611-682; Joannes Chrysostomus, "In Matthaeum" in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Vol. 57 (Paris: Migne, 1857-1866), coll. 13-472; Vol. 58, coll. 471-794; Joannes Chrysostomus, "Expositiones in Psalmos" in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, Vol. 55, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857-1866), coll. 39-498; Joannes Chrysostomus, "Catecheses ad illuminandos 1-8" in Jean Chrysostome, *Huit catéchèses baptismales*, ed. A. Wenger (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970).

almost all the same scriptural quotations combined in the *Regulae morales* of Basil of Caesarea. This text seems to have been the main source of inspiration and ideas for Palladius in his Prologue to the *Lausiac History*. In saying this, I am referring more to the general inspiration and the type of argumentation that Palladius may have drawn from Basil's text rather than about literal borrowings.

The *Regulae morales* of Basil of Caesarea contain the biblical quotations discussed in this chapter in the following order: First, *Regula* 26.2 has the quotation from Matt. 7:16, 20: Ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.<sup>383</sup> The author speaks about the necessity of everyone's words and acts agreeing with the Scripture. Interestingly, two other biblical passages are also used, first, from the Gospel of Luke, where the disciples of Christ were asked why they were eating and drinking with the publicans and sinners (Luke 5:30-31); second, about someone who competes and needs to be careful and assiduous (2 Tim. 2:4-5); the author alludes to someone engaged in an ascetic lifestyle. Therefore, Basil speaks about "fruits" and "eating and drinking with the sinners" describing the general principles of Christian life just as Palladius does; afterwards, he mentions "someone who competes" and by this he introduces a significant ascetic emphasis and comes closer to the monastic level of Christian discourse rather than to general remarks. Palladius does approximately the same, when he finishes his long discussion with the quotation from 1 Cor. 9:25: "Every man that strives for mastery is temperate in all things."<sup>384</sup> So, what is common for both authors is the tendency of expounding the basic Christian verities that nothing is absolutely prohibited, and that faith is the most important thing; from this they both move up to the idea that, nevertheless, it is better to follow

<sup>383</sup> Basilus Caesariensis, *Regulae morales* in PG vol. 31, col. 745, line 20.

<sup>384</sup> *HL* Prol. 14.

the ascetic way. Thus, according to Basil and Palladius, the ideal Christian life is the ascetic one.

Second, *Regula* 28 contains the quotation from Matt. 7:16, 20: Ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.<sup>385</sup> This rule is about the division of people into good and wicked, and the quotation is intended here as general advice.

Third, *Regula* 54.2 contains the quotation from Rom. 14:23: “πᾶν γὰρ ὃ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἁμαρτία ἐστίν.”<sup>386</sup> Basil writes here that one should carefully decide what is allowed and what is prohibited in the Scriptures; like Palladius, he mentions that eating is allowed if it is with faith and damnable if a man doubts; he emphasizes that it is necessary to judge without haste and with great care.

Four, *Regula* 69.2 contains the quotation from Gal. 5:22: Ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἀγάπη, χαρὰ, εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθοσύνη, πίστις, πραότης, ἐγκράτεια, ἀγνεία.<sup>387</sup> The phrase is one of a long list of other biblical quotations which present Christian virtues and explain what is allowed, approved, and blessed according to the Scriptures.

In the *Regula* 70.20 the quotation from Matt. 9:11 or Luke 5:30 occurs: Διὰ τί μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν;<sup>388</sup> The rule says that a priest should be merciful and compassionate especially to those who are suffering in spirit. The author argues that there should be forgiveness for the weak and sick. This biblical passage is not among Palladius’ key phrases—as I have defined them at the beginning of this chapter—, yet the author of the *Lausiac History* does use this quotation as an important illustration of his thesis.

<sup>385</sup> Basilus Caesariensis, *Regulae morales*, *ibid.*, col. 748, line 18

<sup>386</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 781 line 2.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 813, line 39.

*Regula* 72.2 contains two important biblical quotations. These are the passages from Gal. 5:22: ἐν τοῖς καρποῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος (γνωρίζειν τὸν χαρακτήρα τῶν ἁγίων)<sup>389</sup> and from Matt. 7:16, 20: Ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.<sup>390</sup> Basil of Caesarea speaks here about the characteristics of saints: there is the fruit of the spirit; moreover, “By their fruits you shall know them.” The construction used here, namely, the combination of Gal. 5:22 and Matt. 7:16, 20, is similar to Palladius’ text. However, Basil does not list the virtues which specifically belong to the fruits of the spirit.

In the *Regula* 80.22 the quotations from Gal. 5:6: Πίστις δι’ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη<sup>391</sup> and Rom. 14:23: Εἰ γὰρ πᾶν ὃ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, ἁμαρτία ἐστίν<sup>392</sup> occur together. Here Basil writes about faith working through love and states that this is the true feature of a Christian, and everything that is done without the faith which is peculiar to Christian believers is a sin. The combination of both biblical passages is similar to that present in Palladius’ Prologue.

It seems to me that the measures of the influence of the *Regulae morales* on Palladius’ work best can be described with the help of the concept of intertextuality. Intertextuality implies unconscious and automatic quotations that express a general meaning and convey verbal formulations. The links between two texts are not so direct that it would be possible to speak about literal borrowings or to say that Palladius composed his Prologue with arguments taken from Basil’s work, as is the case of the story about Paphnutius and the *Homily 54* of Pseudo-Macarius discussed

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<sup>388</sup> Ibid., col. 833, line 12.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid., col. 848, line 19

<sup>390</sup> Ibid., col. 848, line 26.

<sup>391</sup> Ibid., col. 868, line 33.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid., col. 868, line 40.

above.<sup>393</sup> On the other hand, the *Regulae morales* of Basil of Caesarea might be considered the main source of inspiration and of ideas for Palladius in the Prologue to the *Lausiaca History*, and more so than any other Christian text of Palladius's time.

This also makes it possible to have some observations concerning the target audience of the two texts. Palladius' Prologue (here I do not speak about the whole *Lausiaca History*) is oriented to a secular audience. The urgent claim about the necessity of leaving everything, "take up his cross and follow Christ" does not sound in the Prologue (the corresponding reference appears in the *Lausiaca History* pages only later on, in chapter 14).<sup>394</sup> On the other hand, the works which were really aimed at a monastic audience such as, for example, the works of Evagrius, whose views on asceticism and monasticism were probably the most essential for Palladius,<sup>395</sup> concentrate on quite different biblical passages which are more proper for supporting the idea of rigorous asceticism. However, speaking to secular audience, Palladius tries to prove that asceticism is a welcome feature of an exemplary Christian life. In all probability, Palladius drew for inspiration in Basil's *Rules*, but that it is remarkable that he makes use of such an elaborate argument for asceticism in a text addressed to a prominent Christian official.

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<sup>393</sup> *HL 47; Macarii Anecdota. Seven unpublished Homilies of Macarius*, ed. G. L. Marriott (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), homily 54.

<sup>394</sup> See *HL 14.5*: one of the central aspects of a proper Christian life is contained in the biblical sentence that someone who wants to follow the Savior should sell all and give it to the poor, and night and day carry one's cross. The relevant phrases are frequently found in the New Testament (Luke 18:22, 9:23, 14:27; Matt. 10:38, 16:24, 19:21; Mark 8:34, 10:21). The idea becomes the meaningful core of the Christian lifestyle and the way of Christ. Palladius uses it when describing Paesius, who, as a righteous man whose image is carefully constructed by the author, fulfilled these biblical commandments and is presented an example of one who indeed sold all and gave the money to the poor to follow the Savior.

<sup>395</sup> Evagrius of Pontus, *The Greek Ascetic Corpus*, tr., introd., com. Robert E. Sinkewicz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

## CONCLUSION

My research has analyzed the different strategies Palladius employed when he used and interpreted the text of the Bible in his work. In other words, I have tried to show how he used biblical texts to construct ideas and ideals of exemplary Christian lifestyles, paying particular attention to the purpose and the target audience of the text.

In his *Lausiaca History* Palladius used a standard text of the Scriptures; there are 93 cases of using biblical quotations, references, and allusions, involving 114 different biblical passages (37 *verbatim* quotations, 33 adapted quotations, 42 references, and 2 allusions); 72 cases refer to the New Testament, 42 to the Old Testament. From the books of the Old Testament the most quoted are the Psalms, Proverbs, Genesis, Exodus, Job, and Sirach; from the New Testament books the Gospels of Matthew, that of Luke and that of Mark, the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, the first and second letters to the Corinthians, and the first to Timothy.

The objectives of the present study were not limited to just counting the cases where Palladius involved biblical phrases in his narration. I wanted to characterize his narrative strategies and rhetorical devices of using and reworking biblical texts. At the end of this research, I can define some key paradigms according to which he put to good use the narrative tools and patterns with which his rhetorical education had equipped him. First, different kinds of comparisons can be found in the *Lausiaca History*, the main aim of which is the attempt to describe situations contemporary with Palladius by connecting them with biblical parallels; here he used connections of times, places, biographies of peoples, re-enactment of biblical situations, descriptive markers, and exemplary images. Second, the narrative strategies of literal reading, literal succession, concretization of the Scripture, and vivid description allowed the

author to show his heroes as those who fulfill the biblical prophecies, words, and ideas in their everyday lives. The analysis of introductory words which incorporate biblical phrases in the *Lausiaca History* also demonstrates this. Third, the Christianization of various concepts helped the author to introduce new Christian emphasis in the biblical material he quoted; the strategies that I have referred to, following Elizabeth Clark, as the change of audience and the change of voice or speaker were used in order to show monastic and ascetic ideals as desirable forms of Christian life. Last, Palladius put together fragments from different biblical texts, especially from the New and Old Testaments, interpreted one through the other, thus emphasizing their inseparable unity.

I have also defined the changes in meaning which biblical quotations and allusions undergo due to changes in the context, in other words, I identify shifts in focus in interpreting biblical ideas and concepts. Thus, the author introduces eschatological meanings where they are absent in the biblical original; he emphasizes changes due to the transition from the Jewish law to Christianity; he develops a discourse about women and female ascetics; he discusses the issue of why God sometimes abandons people; he characterizes the significance of the Church for Christian ascetics; he discusses issues of knowledge and wisdom; the appearance of Holy men; the image of sinners; and he uses the *topos* of modesty.

Another objective of the present research was to define Palladius' place in his contemporary cultural, literary, and ideological context, paying attention to ongoing discussions and controversies within the Christian milieu at the time, as well as to the different levels of Christian discourse. I have identified where and how Palladius follows the patterns of other authors and texts in his interpretation of the Scriptures. The examples of eschatological ideas, attitudes towards the Church, towards



knowledge and wisdom, and so on demonstrate that Palladius tended to present the ideas, expectations, and world understanding of communities of monks in the Egyptian desert and the lower layer of secular people. Thus, I believe it safe to say that the *Lausiac History* belongs to a lower register of Christian discourse, and sometimes it is much closer to the *Apophthegmata Patrum* than to ideas delivered in the theological treatises of Church Fathers. Correspondingly, the *Lausiac History* is aimed at an audience of those who shared these ideas. Among the earlier and contemporary Christian authors who used and interpreted the same biblical quotations and allusions in their texts as Palladius, the author of the *Lausiac History* the most frequently follows or modifies the interpretations of Origen, John Chrysostom, Basil of Ancyra; some of Palladius' phrases might be interpreted as indirect discussions with Jerome and his anti-Origenist attacks; in the ascetic ideas and ideals Palladius adheres to Evagrius' teaching, especially on the issue of spiritual paternity and the concept of *apatheia*.

In the last chapter I paid special attention to the *Prologue*, which develops and justifies the idea of asceticism; there, biblical quotations and references borrowed from different parts of the Scriptures are connected and combined in a common context. Palladius intends to demonstrate that the observance of the Law is not as important as personal faith; however, he proves the necessity of being temperate in all things. The *Regulae morales* of Basil of Caesarea seem to have been the main source of inspiration and ideas for Palladius in his Prologue. In saying so, I mean rather the general impressions and the character of the text rather than literal borrowings. The measure of the influence of this text on Palladius' work can best be described with the help of the concept of intertextuality. Moreover, the Prologue is oriented to a secular audience; the persistent claim to rigorous asceticism cannot be traced here. It is

important fact that, using for inspiration Basil's *Rules* aimed ascetic communities, Palladius readdresses this elaborate argument for asceticism to a prominent Christian official. So, the author of the *Lausiac History* tries to prove that asceticism is a welcome feature of an exemplary Christian life.

## APPENDIX 1

### Overview of Polish and Russian Historiography on *Lausiac History*

Polish and Russian historiography have a certain achievements in the *Lausiac* studies which, unfortunately, still are little-known in the Western scholarship. Therefore, in this appendix I aim to present main authors and works.

In contemporary Polish historiography there are traditionally many studies devoted to the history of early monasticism, including the works about the *Lausiac History*. Ewa Wipszycka is the author of an extensive article on Palladius' work in *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności: studia źródłoznawcze*.<sup>396</sup> She presents the image of the early monasticism and asceticism in Palladius' work, the biography of the author, the history of the studies on the *Lausiac History*, its structure and style. Special attention is paid to the hypothetical sources of the Palladius' information. Ewa Wipszycka does not exclude the possibility that a significant part of the stories was written according to author's own memories; however she also underlines the considerable role of the literary sources, monastic fairy tales, rhetorical expressions and formulas. Wipszycka interprets the use of numerous pieces of evidence, the names of witnesses who saw the prominent saints or people who told the stories (so-called "second-hand information") as a rhetorical device which had been used by authors for a long time to prove the trustworthiness of their stories. Ewa Wipszycka also investigates the geography of the Palladius' world, the life in Pachomius' monastic communities, ascetic spirituality as it is presented in the *Lausiac History*, and the biblical references. A significant place is devoted to Palladius' teacher Evagrius Ponticus, his ascetic ideas and their concretization in the pages of the

<sup>396</sup>E. Wipszycka, "Historia Lausiaca Palladiusza (Palladius' Historia Lausiaca)," in *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności: studia źródłoznawcze: praca zbiorowa* (Christianity at the Late Antiquity), ed. Tomasz Derda and Ewa Wipszycka (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1997), 229-279.

*Lausiac History*. She concludes her study with a section about the further fate of Palladius' work, its popularity and difficult manuscript history.

A Polish translation of the *Lausiac History* was published in 2003 in the series *Źródła monastyczne* which is published by the Benedictine Society in Cracow.<sup>397</sup> The text was translated from the best modern critical edition of G. J. M. Bartelink. The extended introductory article was written by Marek Starowieyski, professor of theology at Warsaw University. Thanks to the carefully selected sources and bibliography, he exposes the main achievements of the Lausiac studies and characterizes the contemporary situation in historiography. Most important are two points: first, the detailed analysis of the relations of the B and G recensions; second, Starowieyski does not reject Palladius' authorship and does not regard the text as just the translation and edition of the earlier Coptic and Greek sources, although he presents the hypothesis of G. Bunge and A. de Vogüé according to which Palladius wrote two works – The *Monobiblion* and the *Lausiac History* itself.<sup>398</sup>

In Russian historiography of the nineteenth century two scholars focused on the problems of the *Lausiac History* – P. Kazanskiy and S. Spasskiy.<sup>399</sup> The starting point for both of them was doubt whether the publication of the *Lausiac History* in the *Patrologia Graeca* of J.-P. Migne is really the original work of Palladius. They investigated the textual problems of manuscripts and publications and concluded that Migne's edition is not the "pure" *Lausiac History*, but rather the result of a later

<sup>397</sup> Palladiusz, *Opowiadania dla Lausosa* (The *Lausiac History*), polish tr. Stanisław Kalinowski, introd. by Marek Starowieyski, ed. Józef Kozak (Cracow: Tyniec Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 2003).

<sup>398</sup> Marek Starowieyski, "Wstęp. Bibliografia (Introduction. Bibliography)" in Palladiusz. *Opowiadania dla Lausosa*, 19-20, 27, 41.

<sup>399</sup> [P.Kazanskiy] П. Казанский, "Об источниках для истории монашества египетского в IV и V веках (About the sources for the History of the Egyptian Monasticism in the IV and V c.)," in [P.Kazanskiy] П. Казанский, *История монашества на Востоке* (The History of the Monasticism in the East), part 1: Монашество в Египте (The Monasticism in Egypt) (Moscow, 1854), 1-56; [Sergiy Spasskiy] Сергей Спасский, "Лавсаик и История египетских монахов (The *Lausiac History* and the History of Egyptian Monks)," *Чтения в Обществе любителей духовного просвещения* (The

compilation of different hagiographical texts. Each scholar offered his own list of the order of the chapters as they probably were in Palladius' original.

In the beginning of the twenties century, the considerable significance of Butler' edition was mentioned by I. Troitskiy in his work devoted to the sources of the history of early monasticism published in 1906.<sup>400</sup> In the chapter about the *Lausiac History*, the author on the whole accepted Butler's conclusions, appealed to his arguments, and followed his chain of proofs.

Among other names should be mentioned: Aleksandr Rudakov, who frequently uses Palladius work for descriptions of different features of the Byzantine culture;<sup>401</sup> Sofia Poliakova, whose first article is a slightly tendentious study about some particularities of early monastic ideology and everyday life with a negative characterization of monks as idlers and spongers who exploit and deceive poor people.<sup>402</sup> Her later research focuses on the literary issues of the *Lausiac History*.<sup>403</sup> Sergey Averentsev made a significant contribution in the studies of early Christianity, hagiography, and translated the fragments of the *Lausiac History*.<sup>404</sup> Vadim Lurie and A. Dunaev a prepared a detailed bibliography of the text.<sup>405</sup> In 1996 Anna

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Readings in the Society of Fanciers of Spiritual Enlightenment) 2 (1882): 197-248.

<sup>400</sup> [I. Troitskiy] И. Троицкий, *Обозрение Источников начальной истории египетского монашества* [The Review of the Sources of the Early History of Egyptian Monasticism] (Sergiev Posad: Типография Св.-Тр. Сергиевой Лавры, 1906), 189-260.

<sup>401</sup> [A. Rudakov] А. П. Рудаков, *Очерки византийской культуры по данным греческой агиографии* (Essays about the Byzantine Culture according to Greek Hagiography) (Moscow, 1917).

<sup>402</sup> [S. Poliakova] С. В. Полякова, "Εἰς διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν τοὺς τοῦχους τηρῶ. О некоторых особенностях раннемонашеской идеологии и быта согласно «Лавсаику» Палладия и сочинениям Василия Великого (About Some Features of Early Monastic Ideology and Everyday Life according to Palladius' *Lausiac History* and works of Basil the Great)," *Византийский временник* 14 (1958): 185-189.

<sup>403</sup> [S. Poliakova] С. В. Полякова, "Византийские легенды как литературное явление (The Byzantine Legends as the Literary Phenomenon)," in *Византийские легенды* (The Byzantine Legends), ed., tr. S. Poliakova (Saint-Petersburg: Наука, 1972); [S. Poliakova] С. В. Полякова, "Византийские жития как литературное явление (The Byzantine Lives as Literary Phenomenon)," in *Жития византийских святых* (The lives of Byzantine Saints), ed., tr. S. Poliakova (Saint-Petersburg, Наука, 1995).

<sup>404</sup> *Многоценная жемчужина: литературное творчество сирийцев, коптов и ромеев в I тысячелетии* (The Treasure Pearl: the Literary Creativity of Syrians, Coptics, and Romei in the I millennium), tr., ed. S. Averintsev (Kyiv: ДУХ І ЛІТЕРА, 2003): 59-71.

<sup>405</sup> [V. M. Lurie] В. М. Лурье, *Призвание Авраама. Идея монашества и ее воплощение в Египте,*

Balakhovskaya defended her PhD dissertation on the topic “The artistic organization of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius as the reflection of the medieval ascetic world outlook.” She considers the functions of cultural categories of time, space, ascetic ideas, creativity, and so on in the early monastic discourse.<sup>406</sup> Anna Balakhovskaya also prepared and published the Russian translation of Palladius’ *Dialogue*;<sup>407</sup> some critical remarks on this work can be found in the review of Vera Zemskova.<sup>408</sup>

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[The Vocation of Abraham. The Idea of Monasticism and Its Realisation in Egypt], (Saint-Petersburg: Алетея, 2000), 211–212; [S. Khoruzhiy] С. Хоружий, ed., *Исихазм: Аннотированная библиография* [Hesychasm. The Annotated Bibliography] (Moscow: Издательский Совет Русской Православной Церкви, 2004), <http://www.danuvius.orthodoxy.ru/Lausaic.htm> (accessed March, 15, 2007).

<sup>406</sup>[A. Balakhovskaya] А. С. Балаховская, Художественный строй «Лавсаика» Палладия как отражение средневекового аскетического мировоззрения. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук 10.01.05 – Литературы народов Европы, Америки и Австралии. Научный руководитель член-корреспондент РАН С.С.Аверинцев. Российская академия наук, Ордена дружбы народов Институт мировой литературы имени А. М. Горького (“Artistic organization of the *Lausiac History* of Palladius as the reflection of the medieval ascetic world outlook, PhD dissertation) (Moscow, 1996), unpublished.

<sup>407</sup>*Диалог Палладия, епископа Еленопольского, с Феодором, римским диаконом, повествующий о житии блаженного Иоанна, епископа Константинопольского, Златоуста* (The Dialogue of Palladius the Bishop of Hellenopolis with Theodorus the Deacon of Rome about the Life of Blessed John the Bishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom), ed., tr. А. Balakhovskaya (Moscow: Институт мировой литературы имени А. М. Горького, Российская академия наук, 2002).

<sup>408</sup>[Vera Zemskova] Вера Земскова, “Рецензия на: Диалог Палладия, епископа Еленопольского, с Феодором, римским диаконом, повествующий о житии блаженного Иоанна, епископа Константинопольского, Златоуста / Вст. статья, пер. с древнегреческого, комментарии А. С. Балаховской (М., ИМЛИ РАН, 2002). 248 с. (The Review on *The Dialogue of Palladius the Bishop of Hellenopolis with Theodorus the Deacon of Rome about the Life of Blessed John the Bishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom in its Historical Context*, ed., tr. А. Balakhovskaya (Moscow: ИМЛИ РАН, 2002),” in [http://www.portal-credo.ru/site/?act=tv\\_reviews&id=13](http://www.portal-credo.ru/site/?act=tv_reviews&id=13) (accessed March 15, 2007).

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