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### Homiletic Collections in Greek and Oriental Manuscripts

Edited by Jost Gippert and Caroline Macé

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#### Layout

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#### Cover

The front cover shows the three church fathers Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicholas of Myra and John Chrysostom in a 16th-century fresco of the Church of the Archangels in Matskhvarishi, Latali, Svanetia (photography by Jost Gippert). All three fathers bear a board with text fragments from the *Liturgy* by John Chrysostom (CPG 4686) in Georgian; the text passage held by Cyril of Jerusalem is the beginning of the sentence რამეთუ სახიერია და კაცთ-მოყუარე ღმერთი ხარ ‘For you are a benevolent and philanthropic God’, which also appears in lines 6–7 of Fig. 1 on p. 2 below (from an 11th-century scroll of the Iviron Monastery on Mt Athos, ms. Ivir. georg. 89).

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## Article

# The Transmission of Cyril of Scythopolis' *Lives* in Greek and Oriental Hagiographical Collections

André Binggeli | Paris – Aubervilliers

The *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* was composed in the second half of the sixth century by Cyril of Scythopolis and appears to have been originally conceived by the author, a monk himself at the Laura of Saint Sabbas in the Judean Desert, both as a hagiographical cycle meant to glorify the great figures of Palestinian monasticism who fought for the Chalcedonian creed and as a chronicle relating the history of foundations of monasteries around the Laura of Saint Sabbas. Cyril of Scythopolis' hagiographical writing amounts to no less than seven *Lives* of figures who distinguished themselves in establishing the monastic movement in the Judean Desert during the fifth and sixth centuries: Euthymius (BHG 647–648b), Sabbas (BHG 1608), John the Hesychast (BHG 897–898), Cyriacus of Souka (BHG 463), Theodosius the Cenobiarch (BHG 1777), Theognius, Bishop of Betylia (BHG 1787) and Abraamius, Bishop of Cratea (BHG 12). One last *Life*, viz. that of Gerasimus of the Jordan (BHG 693), is sometimes associated with the Cyrillian cycle, but recent scholarship considers it to be pseudepigraphic.<sup>1</sup>

It is the merit of Eduard Schwartz's critical edition published in 1939 to have reconstructed the unity of Cyril's authorial project and edited the collection of *Lives* to form a coherent work. In its present form, the collection of 'Monastic histories' (Μοναχικαὶ ἱστορίαι) consists of three 'discourses', or *logoi* (λόγοι), as shown by Bernard Flusin:<sup>2</sup> the two longer *Lives* dedicated to the major monastic figures, Euthymius and Sabbas, are the first and second *logoi* of the cycle, conceived as a kind of diptych and preceded by a dedicatory epistle to Abba George of Beella; the *Life of John the Hesychast* appears to be the first of the third *logos*,

which would have comprised the minor *Lives*, although, as we will see, the precise number and sequence of *Lives* in this third *logos* is uncertain. For the needs of liturgy in Byzantium, where most collections were organised in terms of the liturgical year, the original corpus was dismembered and from the ninth century onwards, the *Lives* were included in the Byzantine menological collections at their liturgical date, some of them directly, some of them indirectly through metaphrastic rewritings.

Notwithstanding its qualities, Schwartz's edition is by no means the awaited *editio maior* of the Cyrillian cycle:<sup>3</sup> he used a very limited selection of Greek manuscripts (mainly three); he barely looked at the Oriental versions, which are contemporary with the oldest preserved Greek witnesses; and he ignored the metaphrastic rewritings. In themselves, all of these are sufficient grounds to look back at the textual transmission of the corpus. One more reason is that a great deal of new material has come to light since the publication of Schwartz's edition that allows a new assessment of the corpus of Cyrillian *Lives*. Most of this new material comes from the New Finds made at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mt Sinai in 1975 and gives us access to some ancient ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts that were produced in Palestine in Greek and in Oriental languages, precisely in the same monastic environment where the original work was written and first circulated three centuries earlier.

The cycle of *Lives* composed by Cyril of Scythopolis thus appears to be a perfect case study for the present topic. Are there any means of evaluating the ways in which the cycle was read and circulated in different kinds of collections before it underwent the process of Byzantine standardisation? How exactly did the change from it being an authorial collection to a liturgical one occur? It is also the occasion to study a particular category of collections, viz. the 'Spezial-

<sup>1</sup> See Flusin 1983, 35–40, with a discussion of former scholarship on the question of the authenticity of the *Life of Gerasimus*.

<sup>2</sup> Flusin 1983, 34–35. The title Μοναχικαὶ ἱστορίαι, which was restored by Flusin, is derived from the title of the *Life of Sabbas* (Μοναχικὴ ἱστορία δευτέρα..., 'Second Monastic History...'), which is found in two of the oldest Greek manuscripts, Vatican City, BAV, Ott. gr. 373 and Vat. gr. 1589.

<sup>3</sup> See the book reviews by Dölger 1940; Thomsen 1940; Stein 1944.

sammlungen', in particular the collections of monastic *Lives* ('Sammlungen von Mönchsleben') that Albert Ehrhard discussed at the end of his monumental *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur* (1952) and which have little in common with homiletic literature proper.<sup>4</sup>

### 1. The Greek corpus in Southern Italy

For his edition, Schwartz used three main Greek manuscripts that all contain a similar corpus of *Lives*. The oldest of the three, Vatican City, BAV, Ott. gr. 373, a ninth-century early minuscule manuscript (241 folios, 245 × 175 mm), is a typical example of a monastic collection of hagiographical texts.<sup>5</sup> In its present form, it begins in a mutilated form with the *Life of Chariton* (BHG 300z) the founder of Palestinian monasticism, followed by the *Life of Anthony* (CPG 2101) the founder of Egyptian monasticism, a block of three Cyrillian *Lives* in the middle, Euthymius, Sabbas and John the Hesychast, the latter mutilated at the end, and, after a lacuna of undetermined length, the *Life of Gregory the Illuminator* (CPG 7545.2). Although not specifically monastic, this last text – which is devoted to the founder of the Armenian Church, who allegedly converted Armenia to Christianity – goes with the general theme of this collection, which is centred on foundation stories.

The second manuscript, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 1589, from the tenth century (305 folios, 224 × 160 mm), is a much larger collection and celebrates many more pioneering figures of Palestinian and Egyptian monasticism.<sup>6</sup> It offers in particular a similar sequence to that of the first manuscript Ott. gr. 373 with the *Lives* of Chariton, Anthony, and the Cyrillian corpus, which appears here in an extended version preceded by the *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch* and followed by the *Life of Cyriacus of Souka*.

The third manuscript, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 11.9, was copied in the early eleventh

century (312 folios, 390 × 340 mm).<sup>7</sup> The first part of the manuscript contains a large collection of *Lives*, many of them concerning monastic figures and practically all of Syrian, Palestinian or Egyptian origin; these include the block of three main Cyrillian *Lives* and the two minor *Lives of Cyriacus of Souka* and of *Theodosius the Cenobiarch*. The collection also contains a short section of ascetic literature. The second part of the manuscript contains a collection of homilies or *Margaritai* by John Chrysostom; this section appears to be a totally independent one that was originally copied from another model. The manuscript was used for liturgical purposes in a second stage and liturgical dates were added in the upper margin at the beginning of most of the *Lives*.

As Ehrhard pointed out, the three manuscripts are clearly related in their general structure and belong to the same general tradition, which he called 'Sammlungen von Mönchsleben'.<sup>8</sup> They contain the same block of three main Cyrillian *Lives* (Euthymius, Sabbas, and John the Hesychast), to which two more *Lives* (Cyriacus of Souka and Theodosius the Cenobiarch) are more loosely connected. They also have several other texts in common – the *Lives of Anthony, Hilarion* (CPG 3630), *Chariton*, and *Pachomius* (BHG 1396) – although not in the same version for this last text.<sup>9</sup>

This general structure is probably not a mere coincidence and could be due to a common model (see Table 1). When the history of these manuscripts is considered, it is striking that all three of them have a connection with Southern Italy. The origin of plut. 11.9 is proven by its colophon, which states that the manuscript was copied in 1020/1021 by two monks, Loukas and Isaias, belonging to the 'itinerant scriptorium' of Nilus of Rossano, for Isidoros, *hegumen* of the Basilian monastery of San Giovanni a Piro, in Campania.<sup>10</sup> Vat. gr. 1589, formerly from the Monastery of Grottaferrata, a complex manuscript which was copied by no less than nine scribes, has equally been ascribed a Campanian or Calabrese

<sup>4</sup> Ehrhard 1952, III, 916–942.

<sup>5</sup> On this manuscript, see Feron and Battaglini 1893, 191; Hagiographi Bollandiani and Franchi de' Cavalieri 1899, 273–274; Ehrhard 1952, III, 917–918. Also see a complete description by Lafontaine 1973, 72–76 with reference to earlier bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> It must be noted, however, that the last text in the manuscript is the *Life of Stephen the Younger*, a martyr of iconoclasm. On this manuscript, see Giannelli 1950, 211–215; Ehrhard 1952, III, 918–920. Also see the description by Faraggiana di Sarzana 2000, 48, and recently Ronconi 2018, which was published just as the current article was going into press.

<sup>7</sup> On this manuscript, see Bandini 1764, I, 502–507; Ehrhard 1952, III, 938–940. Also see the description by Baldi 2009, 123–128.

<sup>8</sup> Ehrhard 1952, III, 921.

<sup>9</sup> Plut. XI.9 contains a substantial Pachomian dossier beginning with the *Vita prima*, of which it is the main witness, while Vat. gr. 1589 has the *Vita altera* (BHG 1400), the most widely circulated version of the text in Byzantium.

<sup>10</sup> Baldi 2009, 127.

Table 1: *Lives* in manuscripts Vatican City, BAV, Ott. gr. 373, Vat. gr. 1589, and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 11.9.

Ott. gr. 373	Vat. gr. 1589	plut. 11.9
	Barypsabas ( <i>BHG</i> 238)	
	Arsenius ( <i>BHG</i> 167z)	
	Paul of Thebes ( <i>CPG</i> 3636)	
Chariton ( <i>inc. mut.</i> )	Chariton	
Anthony	Anthony	
	Hilarion	Hilarion ( <i>inc. mut.</i> )
	<b>Theodosius the Cenobiarch</b> <sup>13</sup>	
<b>Euthymius</b>	<b>Euthymius</b>	<b>Euthymius</b>
<b>Sabbas</b>	<b>Sabbas</b>	<b>Sabbas</b> (5 Dec.)
<b>John the Hesychast</b> ( <i>des. mut.</i> )	<b>John the Hesychast</b>	<b>John the Hesychast</b> (7 Dec.)
	<b>Cyriacus of Souka</b>	
Gregory the Illuminator	John the Armenian ( <i>BHG</i> 895)	Epiphanius of Constantia ( <i>BHG</i> 596–599)
	Martinianus ( <i>BHG</i> 1177–1177g)	Miracles of Menas (11 Nov.; <i>CPG</i> 2527)
	Mary the Egyptian ( <i>CPG</i> 7675)	Miracles of Michael (8 Nov.; <i>BHG</i> 1285–8)
	Synkletike ( <i>CPG</i> 2293)	Elias et Elijah (20 July; <i>BHG</i> 572yb)
	Xenophon ( <i>BHG</i> 1877z)	Symeon Salos (21 July; <i>CPG</i> 7883)
	Eudocia ( <i>BHG</i> 604–605)	Abramius the ascetic (29 Oct.; <i>CPG</i> 3937)
		Ascetic treatises ( <i>CPG</i> 7868.1 + 2266)
		Spyridon of Tremithus (12 Dec.; <i>CPG</i> 7884)
		<b>Cyriacus of Souka</b> (29 Sept.)
		<b>Theodosius the Cenobiarch</b> (11 Jan.)
	Pachomius ( <i>BHG</i> 1400)	Pachomius ( <i>BHG</i> 1396)
	Stephen the Younger ( <i>BHG</i> 1666)	

origin by specialists.<sup>11</sup> The origin of the last manuscript, Ott. gr. 373, is more difficult to specify.<sup>12</sup> However, it has some

polychrome illuminated initials (fols 14<sup>v</sup>, 60, 198) which could well be of Southern Italian origin. Even though this

<sup>11</sup> Lucà 1991, 356; Faraggiana di Sarzana 2000, 48.

<sup>12</sup> Contrary to Garitte 1954, 75–76, and Lafontaine 1973, 76, who refer to Hengstenberg 1909, 38, there seems to be no particular reason to set the production of the manuscript itself in Palestine, even if the collection of monastic *Lives* that it contains is certainly of oriental origin. The script in any case is without parallel in Palestinian scripts of the ninth century. Giannelli 1950, 214, firmly believes the manuscript to be of Southern Italian origin, while Ehrhard 1952, III, 917, n. 1 is more cautious. The fact is that the manuscript has not been thoroughly examined on a palaeographical basis yet. Perria 2000, 65, however, rightly points out some common palaeographical

features shared by our manuscript and Munich, BSB, gr. 457, an early minuscule manuscript, which is probably of Constantinopolitan origin.

<sup>13</sup> As the second column of fol. 95<sup>r</sup>, at the end of the *Life of Theodosius* by Cyril of Scythopolis, has been left blank in the Vatican manuscript and the copyist has written in the margin ζῆτ(εῖται), Ronconi 2018, 165 and 182, assumes that the *Life* is mutilated. This assumption does not seem relevant. The *Life* lacks indeed a final doxology, but other short Cyrillian *Lives*, for example that of Theognius, have the same characteristic. The recent literary analysis of this *Life* by Déroche, 2018 pleads on the contrary for the completeness of the *Life*.

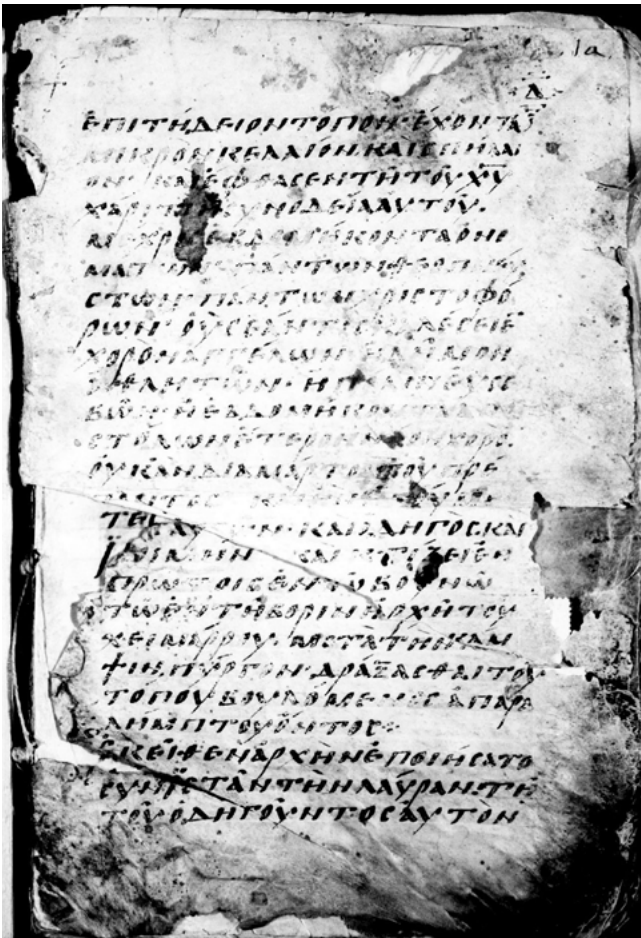


Fig. 1: Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 494, fol. 1a' (formerly Harris 17 + 28).

decoration was a later addition<sup>14</sup> and does not hint at the place where the manuscript was originally copied, this feature does suggest that the book was used in an Italo-Greek environment at an early stage.<sup>15</sup> Besides this, their relatively large format – especially that of plut. 11.9 – indicates that they could have been used for community reading in monasteries.

Thus the 'corpus' manuscripts of Cyrillian works are all monastic collections devoted to major Palestinian and Egyptian figures. They resemble similar thematic monastic collections that have been dated to Late Antiquity in other parts of the Mediterranean, in particular in the Syriac world.<sup>16</sup> Although it

<sup>14</sup> The original initials, in a minuscule set back in the margin, are still visible on certain folios; see Lafontaine 1973, 73–74.

<sup>15</sup> One later manuscript of Southern Italian origin, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 2022 from the twelfth century, contains the *Life of John the Hesychast* and the *Life of Paul of Thebes* in a fragmentary part (fols 206–235), followed by some *apophthegmata*. Although it is of a smaller format (185 × 140 mm), it is probably related to the three 'corpus' manuscripts; see Ehrhard 1952, III, 923.

<sup>16</sup> See Binggeli 2012, 60–62.

is impossible to reconstruct a single original collection at this stage without having done a precise philological examination on each *Life* in the collection, these three manuscripts probably reflect the kind of collections that were brought to Italy in the sixth to eighth century with the migration of monks from the Eastern provinces.<sup>17</sup> It would also be interesting to see if this collection had an influence on the early Latin translations that were made of Cyrillian *Lives* in Italy by comparing these manuscripts with the Latin versions. The *Life of Euthymius* was, indeed, translated in Naples by John the Deacon in the first decade of the tenth century, but this version appears to have had a very limited diffusion as it is only known by way of a single surviving manuscript.<sup>18</sup> The *Life of Sabbas*, on the other hand, was probably translated into Latin in Rome in the monastery of Saint Sabbas, where Palestinian emigrants settled in the seventh century, and appears to have been circulated much more widely, as more copies of it have survived.<sup>19</sup>

## 2. Early translations in the Palestinian milieu

Now let us come back to Palestine, where the Cyrillian corpus originated. It is unfortunate that Schwartz did not use the oldest known Greek manuscript, Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 494 (Figs 1 and 2), for his edition – it is a ninth-century manuscript in a sloping majuscule of Palestino-Sinaitic origin (170 folios, 275 × 187 mm).<sup>20</sup> In its present mutilated form, this manuscript only contains Cyrillian *Lives*, but it has a slightly different corpus than the one that is preserved in the South Italian manuscripts: the first text is the *Life of Sabbas*, which is acephalous, followed by the *Life of John the Hesychast* and the *Life of Abraamius of Cratea*, which is atelous; the Sinai manuscript is the only preserved Greek witness of this last text. Unfortunately, we do not have the end of the manuscript to see how the collection continued. The beginning is also missing, but the gap can be partly filled by three fragments. The first two, which James Rendell Harris described separately as fragments 17 and 28 in 1894,<sup>21</sup> were reinserted into the main manuscript before

<sup>17</sup> For more on this movement, see Sansterre 1993, for example.

<sup>18</sup> BHL 2778d: see Dolbeau 1982.

<sup>19</sup> BHL 7406: see Dolbeau 1982, 315, n. 4, and Sansterre 1993, I, 148–149.

<sup>20</sup> Schwartz 1939, 319–328, nevertheless named the variants in a separate apparatus. For more on this manuscript, see Gardthausen 1886, 121; Grégoire 1906a; Ehrhard 1952, III, 916–917.

<sup>21</sup> Rendell Harris 1894, 110, 113–114. Also see Ehrhard 1936, I, 79–80. On

the photographic mission of the Library of Congress in 1951, and now form the first folio of the manuscript, numbered '1a': this is the initial folio of the fourth quire, with the signature Δ' in the upper right-hand corner (Fig. 1).<sup>22</sup> The first quire of the manuscript was found among the New Finds brought to light in Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai in 1975 and now bears the shelf mark Sin. gr. NF MF 57.<sup>23</sup>

This discovery confirms the fact that the manuscript originally began with the *Life of Sabbas*, but it also has two curious features. Firstly, the dedicatory epistle to Abba George of Beella, which precedes the *Life of Euthymius* in the Southern Italian tradition, comes before the *Life of Sabbas*, albeit with a change of names and subject: 'May faith be my guide in this narration (*diegema*) on the citizen of heaven Sabbas' instead of 'May faith be my guide in this sermon (*logos*) on Euthymius the well-named'.<sup>24</sup> Secondly, the introductory phrase of the *Life of John the Hesychast*, which presented this text as the first of the 'third' *logos*, is lacking. These adaptations are probably due to the model or to the copyist himself, who probably wanted to copy a corpus suited to his own taste or to that of the monastic community for which the book was intended.<sup>25</sup> However, it also suggests that the Cyrillian corpus was not as immutably fixed in Palestine as the Southern Italian tradition might let us think.

Another very fragmentary manuscript from Mt Sinai gives us one more example of manuscripts containing *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis that were copied for personal use in the monasteries of Palestine or Sinai. St Petersburg, RNB, gr. 28 (formerly Tischendorf Fragment 17) is a single folio from a very small manuscript (just 170 × 130 mm in size),

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the fate of the fragments described by Rendell Harris, see Velkovska 2013. In any case, the insertion of the fragment is posterior to the edition of the *Life of Sabbas* by Augustinos Iordanites in the periodical *Néa Σίων* in 1914.

<sup>22</sup> Library of Congress, *Digital Collections: Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai* <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279381828-ms/?sp=3>>.

<sup>23</sup> On this fragment, see Nikolopoulos 1998, 152, and pl. 77. The join is due to Harlfinger 2010, 472 and pl. xvi.

<sup>24</sup> Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. NF MF 57, fol. 1: Πίστις προηγείσθω τ[ὸν] περι τοῦ οὐρανοπο[λίτου] ἀββᾶ Σάβα δηγημ[άτων], instead of Πίστις προηγείσθω τῶν περι Εὐθυμίου τοῦ φερωνύμου λόγων (*VEuth* 5, 4–5). The word οὐρανοπολίτης is typically Cyrillian (cf. *VEuth* 8, 20; 84, 24; *VTheo* 235, 27), but without a full collation of the prologue, no specific conclusions can be made about it.

<sup>25</sup> It is notable that the Sinai manuscript is of a similar format to those of the Southern Italian tradition, but as it is written in majuscule, it contains much less text and may not have contained much more than the Cyrillian corpus originally.

which contains the beginning of the *Life of John the Hesychast*.<sup>26</sup> The format of the fragment makes it unlikely that the original manuscript would have contained much more than one or two *Lives*.

The New Finds of Mt Sinai have also brought new Cyrillian material to light in Syriac, Arabic and Georgian. The Syriac version was completely unknown until the publication of the catalogues of the Syriac New Finds in 1995 and 2008, where several fragments containing *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis are described.<sup>27</sup> All these fragments have a similar small format (148–165 × 115–120 mm) and were copied by at least two different hands in a Melkite transition script from the ninth or the tenth century. The fragments have been grouped into two different entities, according to the hands, the layout and the texts they contain. The first codex, Sin. syr. NF 11 (Fig. 3), contains the *Life of Sabbas* copied by a scribe we shall simply call 'A' here. The second, Sin. syr. NF 13, to which several smaller fragments must be added,<sup>28</sup> contains the *Life of Euthymius*, which begins in a mutilated form, the *Life of Gerasimus* and possibly a third *Life*,<sup>29</sup> which ends in a mutilated form, copied by scribe 'B'. On closer inspection, however, it appears that there is some overlapping of codicological features between both codices (see Table 2). Firstly, the last quire of Sin. syr. NF 11, which contains the end of the *Life of Sabbas* by scribe A, also contains the beginning of the *Life of Euthymius* by scribe B and links up to the second codex perfectly. Secondly, this same quire, which was copied consecutively by both scribes, uses the same palimpsest manuscript with the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem as an undertext, as has been highlighted by the Sinai Palimpsests Project.<sup>30</sup> Considering the fact that the second codex, after the transition quire copied by scribe B,

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<sup>26</sup> On this fragment, see Granstrom 1959, 228; Ehrhard 1936, I, 77–78.

<sup>27</sup> On these fragments, see Brock 1995, 32–33, 100–101 (Sparagma 36), 222–227 (photos 220–229) and 278–279 (Sparagma 77: photos 371–372); Philothée 2008, 300–305 (M11N), 312–314 (M13N), 539–540 (M57N); Géhin 2009, 74–75.

<sup>28</sup> Géhin 2017, 183: M13N + M57N + Sparagma 36 + Sparagma 77 (photos 371–372). According to some recent images of the manuscript (see footnote 31), apparently all of these fragments have now been reunited under one single shelfmark Sin. syr. NF 13, and the total number of folios would be today 81 or 84.

<sup>29</sup> Géhin 2009, 75.

<sup>30</sup> Müller-Kessler 2018 <[sinai.library.ucla.edu](http://sinai.library.ucla.edu)>, especially fols 105–112.



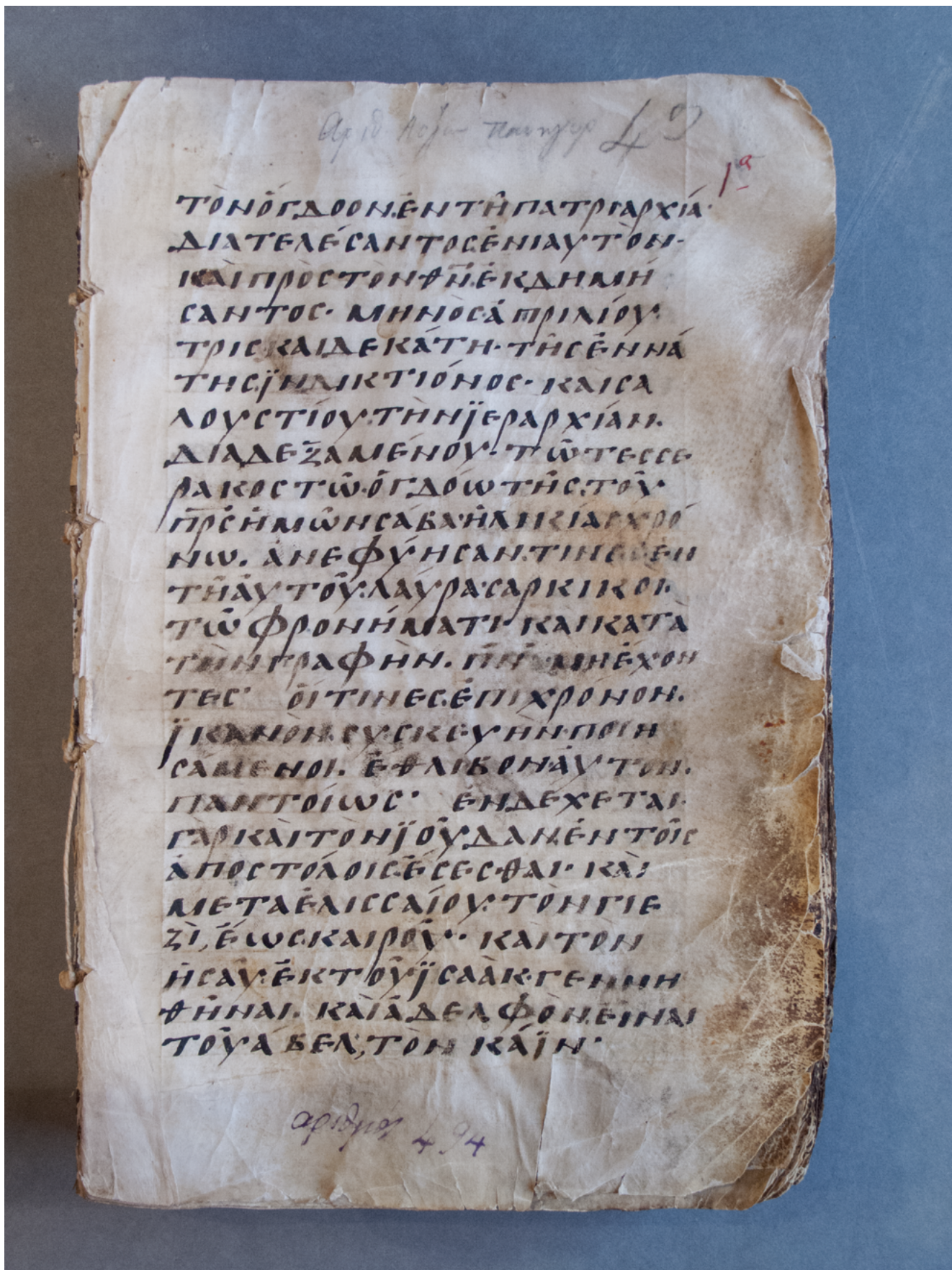


Fig. 2: Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, gr. 494, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.

Table 2: Structure and content of Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, syr. NF 11 + NF 13.

	Catalogues by Brock 1995 and Philothée 2008	Current foliation (with reference to images if they exist) <sup>31</sup>	Quires	Contents	Scribe
NF 11	A <sup>r-v</sup> (Philothée 2008, 301–302)	1 <sup>r-v</sup> (63076–63077)	first folio of first quire; the recto is blank, the verso has the rubricated title	<i>Sabbas</i> , title: $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\ \dots\ \kappa\epsilon\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \kappa\epsilon\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \kappa\epsilon\iota$ [...]	A
	B <sup>r-v</sup> (Philothée 2008, 302)	1 <sup>r-v</sup> (63074–63075)	last folio of first quire; signature $\kappa$ at the bottom of the verso	<i>Sabbas</i> , ch. 9	
	C1 <sup>r</sup> –64 <sup>v</sup> (not described by Philothée 2008)	1 <sup>r</sup> –64 <sup>v</sup> (no images)		<i>Sabbas</i> , ch. 10–56?	
	C65 <sup>r</sup> –104 <sup>v</sup> (Philothée 2008, 302)	65 <sup>r</sup> –104 <sup>v</sup> (63002–63059)	quires $\Delta$ – $\Delta$ : signatures at the bottom of the first recto (fols 65, 73, 81, 89, 97)	<i>Sabbas</i> , ch. 56–87	
	C105 <sup>r</sup> –110 <sup>v</sup> (Philothée 2008, 302)	105 <sup>r</sup> –110 <sup>v</sup> (63060–63069 [no images for fol. 110 <sup>r-v</sup> ])	no signature	<i>Sabbas</i> , ch. 87–90; ends at the bottom of fol. 110 <sup>v</sup> <sup>32</sup>	
	Not described by Philothée 2008	111 <sup>r-v</sup> (no images)		<i>Euthymius</i> , title and ch. 1?	
Not described by Philothée 2008	112 <sup>r-v</sup> (63072–63073)	last folio of a quire; signature $\kappa$ at the top of fol. 112 <sup>v</sup>	<i>Euthymius</i> , ch. 1–2; last words: $\kappa\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\ \kappa\alpha$ (= δεόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ <i>VEuth</i> 9, 1)		
NF 13	M57N fols 1 <sup>r</sup> –20 <sup>v</sup> (Philothée 2008, 539–540)	NF 13, fols 1 <sup>r</sup> –20 <sup>v</sup> ? (no images)	quires $\omega$ – $\omega$	<i>Euthymius</i> , ch. 2–17; first words: $\kappa\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\ \kappa\alpha$ (= τοῦ ἐνδόξου καὶ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος <i>VEuth</i> 9, 3)	
	SP 36 (Brock 1995, 32–33)	NF 13, fols 21–29? (no images)	quire $\alpha$ and first folio of quire $\omega$	<i>Euthymius</i> , ch. 17–25	
	M13N fols 1 <sup>r</sup> –52 <sup>v</sup> (Philothée 2008, 313–314)	NF 13, fols 30–81/84? (no images)	quires $\omega$ , $\omega$	<i>Euthymius</i> , ch. 25–60; <i>Gerasimus</i> and possibly another <i>Life</i>	

<sup>31</sup> For some pictures, see the website *Sinai Palimpsests Project* <<https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/>>, a publication by St Catherine's Monastery of the Sinai in collaboration with EMEL and UCLA.

<sup>32</sup> The rubricated explicit of the *Life of Sabbas*, which was transcribed by Philothée 2008, 302, can be seen on the left margin of the image of fol. 109<sup>v</sup>, see Fig. 4 (63069). According to Father Justin (16 February 2019), fols 110–111 are stuck together and cannot be photographed in their present state.



Fig. 3: Mt Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, syr. NF 11, fol. 1<sup>r</sup> (beginning of the *Life of Sabbas*).

is also a palimpsest<sup>33</sup> and that it has the same format and a similar layout, it seems very probable that both codices belong to the same manuscript: scribe B completed the volume containing the *Life of Sabbas* started by scribe A by adding two more *Lives* in his irregular – and rather ugly – hand, and by starting a new series of quire marks. A study of translation techniques in both parts, a thorough examination of the manuscript itself and deciphering of the undertexts in the second part would probably allow us to clarify whether both parts were foreseen in the original project and were copied contemporaneously or whether the second part is a later continuation.

Nonetheless, it can be observed that, as in the case of Sin. gr. 494, which was copied in the same Palestino-Sinaitic mi-

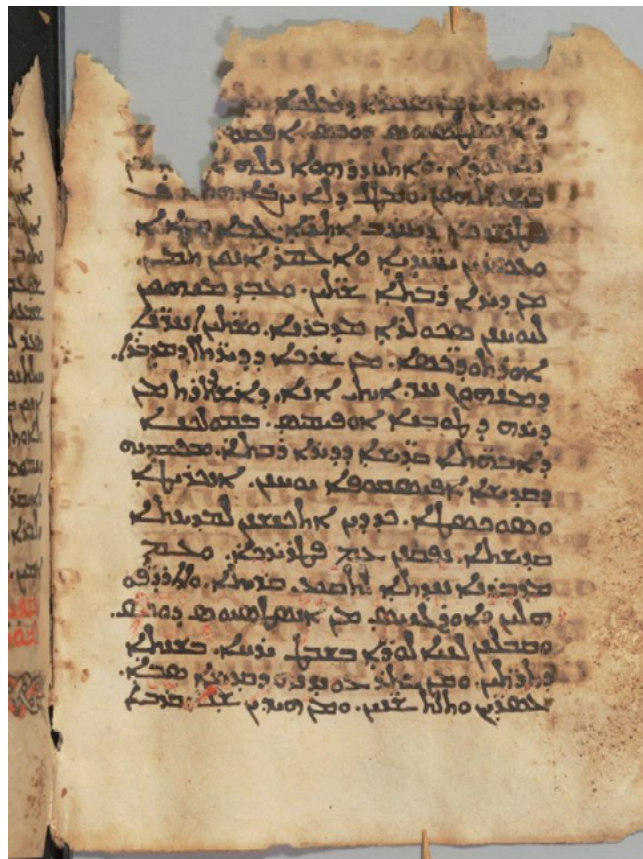


Fig. 4: Mt Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, syr. NF 11, fol. 109<sup>v</sup> (end of the *Life of Sabbas*, with the *explicit* of fol. 110<sup>r</sup> appearing in rubrics in the left margin).

lieu and approximately in the same period, the Syriac manuscript appears to have been copied by monks for personal use in their cells because of its pocket format. Preference was given to the *Life of Sabbas*; as the first text in the manuscript, it seems to have been considered the main source of inspiration for the monks. The corpus was then enlarged in another direction, the *Life of Euthymius* being followed by a pseud-epigraphic text, the *Life of Gerasimus* and possibly one more work.<sup>34</sup> This unusual Syriac ‘corpus’ manuscript of the work by Cyril of Scythopolis gives us a very different impression compared to those with a uniform Italo-Greek tradition.

The situation in Arabic is even more complex than in Syriac. The most representative manuscript is a very fragmentary one that is now dispersed between Leipzig, St Petersburg, Cambridge, UK and the New Finds of Mt Sinai.<sup>35</sup> The manu-

<sup>33</sup> Sin. syr. NF 13 has not been examined by the *Sinai Palimpsests Project*, but the beginning of the manuscript is apparently a palimpsest according to Philothée 2008, 539 (described as M57N; see Géhin 2017, 183); according to Brock 1995, 33, the same goes also for the middle part (described as Sparagma 37). The last part (described as M13N by Philothée 2008, 312–314) is equally a palimpsest: it presents a Syriac undertext according to the images of fols 65<sup>v</sup>–72<sup>v</sup> which were kindly sent to me by Father Justin in February 2019 – let him be warmly thanked here.

<sup>34</sup> Géhin 2009, 75.

<sup>35</sup> For a reconstruction of the manuscript and the identification of the copyist, see Binggeli 2016, 100–106, with reference to earlier catalogues and bibliography. One last fragment from the manuscript, Cambridge, UL, Add. 1879.5, was identified by Tchernetska 2001. Also see Rossetto 2018 <sinai.library.ucla.edu>.

Table 3: *Lives* in the fragmented Arabic manuscript Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, gr. 2 (L) + St Petersburg, RNB, gr. 26 (P) + Mt Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, arab. NF perg. 66 (S) + Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1879(C).

L + P	Euthymius ( <i>inc. mut.</i> )
	Sabbas
	Abraamius of Cratea
	Theodosius the Cenobiarch ( <i>des. mut.</i> )
	...
S + C?	Stephen of Mar Saba ( <i>inc. mut.</i> )
	Stephen and Nicon ( <i>des. mut.</i> )

script, which is a palimpsest, was copied in the early tenth century by a scribe named David of Homs in the Monastery of Mar Saba in Palestine. This large volume (300 × 230 mm) containing more than 300 folios must have originally contained a great number of texts; all of those preserved today relate to Palestinian monasticism, or rather Sabaitic monasticism (see Table 3).

It is difficult to say what the other texts in this collection might have been, but the parallel with Greek manuscripts of the South Italian tradition and with other contemporary Arabic collections which preserve individual *Lives* of Cyril as well as the Georgian tradition described below seems to point to a collection composed exclusively of Palestinian and Egyptian monastic hagiography or a mixture of hagiography and ascetical literature.

Nevertheless, several points can be made on this particular Cyrillian corpus. Firstly, the *Life of John the Hesychast*, which is regularly found as the third text of the corpus after the *Life of Sabbas*, is absent in this manuscript (unless it was once included in a part of it that has now been lost).<sup>36</sup> Secondly, the Arabic corpus contains the *Life of Abraamius of Cratea*, also found in Greek in Sin. gr. 494, but absent in the Italo-Greek and the Byzantine tradition. Thirdly, the *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch* is a translation of a lost Greek original, which is neither Cyril's version nor Theodore of Petra's.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Curiously, the *Life of John the Hesychast* has not been preserved in any early Arabic manuscript; see Garitte 1954, 83, n. 1. However, it certainly existed in Arabic at an early date, since the Georgian version of the *Life*, present in the codex London, BL, Add. 11281, was in all likelihood translated from Arabic; see p. 55 below.

<sup>37</sup> Van Esbroeck 1993, 48–49.

This is the only preserved 'corpus' manuscript in Arabic, but other manuscripts from the same milieu also exist containing one or two *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis.<sup>38</sup> One of them in particular, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. ar. 71 (236 folios, 230 × 170 mm), was copied in 885 CE by Anthony David of Baghdad, again at the monastery of Mar Saba.<sup>39</sup> It contains, at the beginning of a collection of hagiographic and ascetical literature, the *Lives of Euthymius* and *of Sabbas*, broadly in the same version, though slightly abridged according to Van Esbroeck.<sup>40</sup>

The Georgian tradition is very similar to the Arabic one, on which it appears to be largely based. The main manuscript for the Georgian tradition, which is now preserved in the British Library in London as 'Additional 11281' (see Fig. 5), is a large book of 369 folios (350 × 250 mm in size) that was copied at the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem during the first half of the eleventh century by a monk named Black John.<sup>41</sup> It contains a collection of hagiographical texts concerning monks of Egyptian, Palestinian and Syrian origin (see Table 4).

Most of these texts, if not all of them, appear to have been translated from Arabic – even those on Syrian monks.<sup>42</sup> This is especially true of the Cyrillian *Lives*, which are parallel texts to those present in the Arabic manuscript.<sup>43</sup> What is striking here is that Add. 11281 has the same general structure of a monastic hagiographic collection as the Italo-Greek tradition, with some common texts (the *Lives of Anthony* and *of Chariton*). For the first time, however, the *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis are not presented as a coherent corpus, but are dispersed throughout the collection.

<sup>38</sup> See a preliminary survey of the Arabic manuscripts containing Cyrillian *Lives* by Graf 1944, 407–408.

<sup>39</sup> On this manuscript, see Binggeli 2016, 82–83, 90–95, with reference to earlier catalogues and literature.

<sup>40</sup> Van Esbroeck 1986, 88; Van Esbroeck 1993, 49–50.

<sup>41</sup> Wardrop 1913, 397–405 and the complete edition by Imnaišvili 1979. Also see the description on the British Library website *Digitised Manuscripts* <[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_11281](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_11281)> (accessed on 10 September 2018) and the additional study in Gippert 2016.

<sup>42</sup> This has been shown by Lamoreaux and Khairallah 2000, 446–447 for the *Life of John of Edessa*, by Outtier 1977, 103–104 for the *Life of Ephrem*, and by Peeters 1909 for the *Life of Barlaam of Mount Casius*.

<sup>43</sup> On the *Life of Cyriacus of Souka*, see Garitte 1971; on the *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch*, which is not, however, the version by Cyril of Scythopolis, see Van Esbroeck 1993.

Table 4: *Lives* in the Georgian codex London, BL, Add. 11281.

Anthony
<b>Sabbas</b>
Chariton
<b>Euthymius</b>
<b>Theodosius the Cenobiarch</b>
Barlaam of Mt Casius
Ephrem the Syrian
John of Edessa
<b>Cyriacus of Souka</b>
Stephen and Nikon
Paul and John ( <i>BHG</i> 1476)
<b>John the Hesychast</b>
Symeon the Fool
Gerasimus

The New Finds of Mt Sinai have also brought some new fragments of the Cyrillian corpus in Georgian to light, apparently related to the same translation from Arabic that is found in the London manuscript. They represent both sides of the Palestino-Sinaitic book tradition in Oriental languages. On the one hand, we find small-format manuscripts for personal monastic use containing single *Lives*, such as Sin. georg. 43 and NF 94 (137 + 2 folios, 165 × 125 mm), which was copied in Palestine in the tenth century, possibly at the monastery of Mar Chariton or at Mar Saba, and then sent to Mt Sinai; this manuscript only contains the *Life of Euthymius*.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, we find larger hagiographical collections with several *Lives*, mainly those of holy monks, similar to the London manuscript – for example Sin. georg. NF 17 (132 folios, 180 × 140 mm), also from the tenth century, which contains the *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch* and the *Life of John the Hesychast*.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> On this manuscript, see Garitte 1956, 159–161; Aleksidze et al. 2005, 435.

<sup>45</sup> On this manuscript, see Aleksidze et al. 2005, 390. For a preliminary survey of manuscripts containing the *Lives* of Cyril of Scythopolis in Georgian, see Garitte 1962, 399–400. Also see Gippert 2016 for the *Life of Sabbas* in Mt Athos, Iviron Monastery, georg. 40.

The number of Palestino-Sinaitic manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries containing Cyrillian material has dramatically grown with the addition of the New Finds of 1975. This reminds us that the *Lives* of Cyril of Scythopolis were one of the favourite readings of the Palestinian monks – probably both as community reading and as private reading in their cells, as attested by the pocket-size books – and that they were translated at an early date in all the languages used in the monasteries of Palestine and Sinai (Syriac, Arabic and Georgian), especially at Mar Saba.<sup>46</sup> The Palestino-Sinaitic tradition in both Greek and Oriental languages seems to reflect the same general features as what we find in manuscripts from Southern Italy, albeit with more variety in terms of forms and usage. The authorial collection of *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis appears to have been transmitted originally as a coherent corpus independently or inside large collections devoted exclusively to monastic hagiography and having practically no intersection with homiliaries. At the same time, the Palestinian tradition shows much more fluctuation in the sequence of the *Lives* than the Italo-Greek tradition and reminds us that the reconstruction of the Cyrillian corpus by Schwartz is partly hypothetical.

### 3. Reception in Byzantium and the Greek metaphrastic version

The reception of the work of Cyril of Scythopolis in Byzantium brings us to the breaking up of the corpus into individual *Lives* to serve the purpose of the Byzantine liturgical tradition. Several questions arise here. How and when did the *Lives* arrive in Constantinople? Was it directly from Palestine or through Southern Italy? Did they arrive as a corpus or was the corpus already dismembered in Palestine, seeing as we have not encountered any corpus manuscript of proven Constantinopolitan origin yet?<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> To all the new witnesses that have been discovered over the last few decades, we should also add an extract of the *Life of Euthymius* in Greek, which has been identified at the end of one of the oldest dated manuscripts of Palestinian origin, the Uspensky Psalter (St Petersburg, RNB, gr. 216), copied in the year 862/863 or 878 CE at the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem; see Olivier 2011, 61–63.

<sup>47</sup> Although it is not impossible that BAV, Ott. gr. 373 is of Constantinopolitan origin; see n. 12 above.

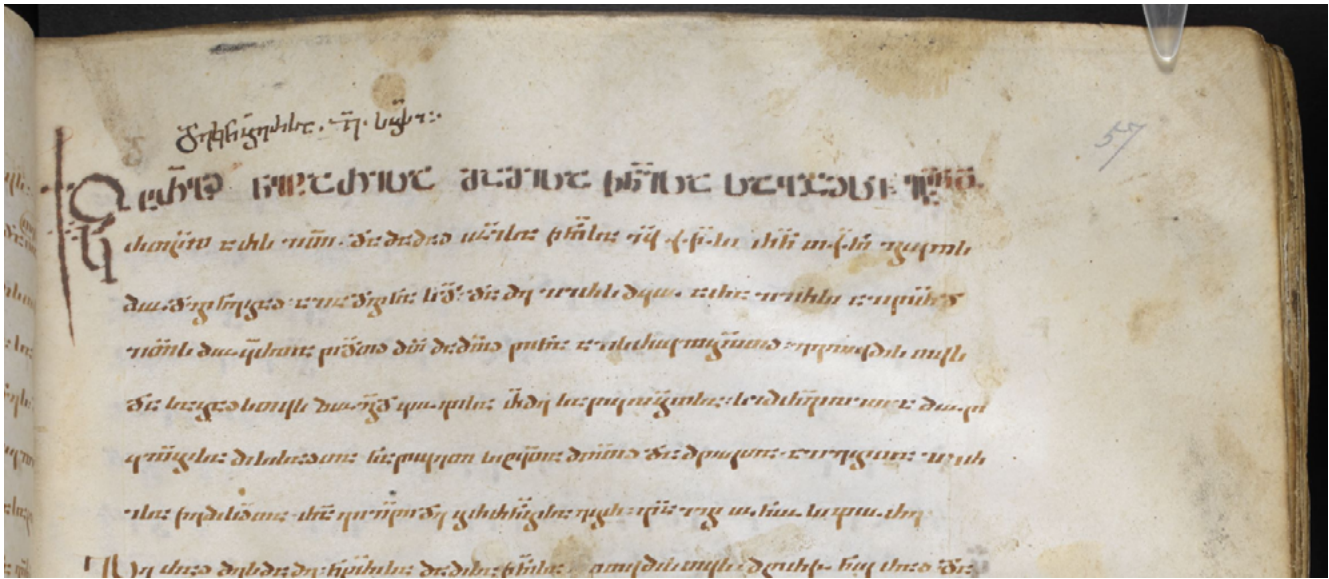


Fig. 5: London, BL, Add. 11821, fol. 57r (beginning of the *Life of Sabbas*).

A manuscript that was not used by Schwartz gives us part of the answer to the second question: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. VII.34, from the tenth century (242 folios, 311 × 219 mm),<sup>48</sup> is badly mutilated now, unfortunately, and only contains parts of the *Life of Euthymius*, but a later *pinax* allows us to reconstruct the general structure of the collection it contained (see Table 5). It is clearly related to the three Italo-Greek manuscripts by its contents, and we find the same texts in it, mainly devoted to monastic founders of Egyptian and Palestinian origin. However, the texts have been reordered here according to the liturgical calendar, from September to January, as a prefiguration of the Byzantine *menologion*.<sup>49</sup> At the end, the manuscript originally contained the *Lives* of several bishops: Gregory of Nazianzus, John the Almsgiver of Alexandria, John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea. The liturgical calendar is curiously muddled in this last part, as if the copyist originally intended the collection to contain nothing other than monastic *Lives* and *Passions*, but on second thought he added bishops' *Lives* as well, albeit in a separate section.

Table 5: *Lives* in Venice, Marc. gr. VII. 34 (*pinax*).

Chariton (28 Sept.)
<b>Cyriacus of Souka</b> (29 Sept.)
Gregory Thaumaturgus (17 Nov.)
<b>Sabbas</b> (5 Dec.)
<b>John the Hesychast</b> (8 Dec.)
Eustratius the martyr & companions (13 Dec.)
Martyr monks of Sinai (14 Jan.)
Anthony (17 Jan.)
<b>Euthymius</b> (20 Jan.)
Gregory of Nazianzus (25 Jan.)
John the Almsgiver (12 Nov.)
John Chrysostom (13 Nov.)
Basil of Caesarea (1 Jan.)

Van Ommeslaeghe has shown that this last part of the manuscript starting with the *Life of John the Almsgiver* is composed of different units copied by different hands in the tenth century. The various parts of the manuscript were then put together before the end of the fourteenth century at the latest, but probably much earlier. So the original part of the manuscript up to the *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus*, as reconstructed by the *pinax* (if this actually reflects a unitary manuscript), was a *menologion* for the first semester mainly

<sup>48</sup> On this manuscript, see Ehrhard 1952, III, 920–921; Mioni 1960, 63–64. See especially van Ommeslaeghe 1982, who corrects Mioni's mistakes.

<sup>49</sup> The only preserved liturgical date in the first part of the manuscript, at the beginning of the *Life of Gregory of Nazianzus*, appears to be original (fol. 29r in the upper margin): μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ κε'. The manuscript itself is posterior to the appearance of *menologia* in Byzantium, however.

containing monastic *Lives* (but not exclusively), including four Cyrillian *Lives*. It is probably not a coincidence that its contents are very closely related to those of the Southern Italian collections, as already noted by Ehrhard,<sup>50</sup> even if the texts are re-arranged here according to the Byzantine liturgical year. The fact is that the manuscript could be of Constantinopolitan origin if Van Ommeslaeghe's identification in a handwritten note from the Monastery of the Acheiropoietos or of the Abraamites in Constantinople is correct.<sup>51</sup> The close relationship that exists between the Byzantine and the Italo-Greek traditions thus seems to point to the fact that the same type of collections of monastic hagiography containing the corpus of *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis arrived from Palestine both in Constantinople and Southern Italy.

The case of the *Life of Theognius* also gives us some interesting insights into the process of the Cyrillian corpus's transmission from Palestine to Constantinople. The *Life* is now preserved in a single Greek manuscript: Paris, BnF, Coislin 303 from the tenth century (364 folios, 235 × 185 mm). This is yet another collection of monastic hagiography, characteristic of the Palestinian tradition. However, it contains none of the usual *Lives* that have been referred to up till now.<sup>52</sup> In fact, many of the texts are *unica*; some of them are related to the Monastery of Mar Saba, but they pertain to the period after the Arabic conquests of Palestine in the seventh century. The collection also contains lay hagiography devoted to Christian martyrs killed at the hands of the Arabs. In a note at the end of the manuscript, it is said that the collection was brought from Jerusalem; I have shown elsewhere that it was actually brought to Constantinople in the late ninth or early tenth century, probably to the Monastery of Stoudios or of Chora, a little after the period when the first pre-metaphrastic *menologia* were being constituted in the Studite milieu.<sup>53</sup> Curiously, none of the hagiographic texts contained in the Coislin manuscript – including the *Life of Theognius of Betylia* by Cyril of Scythopolis –, which essentially form a corpus of 'forgotten' Palestinian hagiography, entered the Byzantine liturgical tradition and the manuscript was buried

in the Library of the Monastery of Stoudios or another Constantinopolitan monastery.

Conversely, it is probably not a coincidence that the oldest manuscript of the *Life of Sabbas* that is definitely of Constantinopolitan origin – Istanbul, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Trin. 88 from the late ninth to the early tenth century (286 folios, 390 × 270 mm) – is precisely a representative of the Studite pre-metaphrastic *menologion* for December.<sup>54</sup> The *Life of Sabbas* by Cyril of Scythopolis was indeed well circulated in Byzantium in this period, *viz.* as the reading for 5 December.<sup>55</sup> The *Life of Euthymius* was copied equally often in the pre-metaphrastic *menologion* as a reading for 20 January.<sup>56</sup>

The fact is that the whole of the Cyrillian corpus did not have the same fate in Byzantium (see Table 6). Of the seven *Lives* written by Cyril of Scythopolis, only five entered the Byzantine liturgical tradition and actually only the two *Lives* of the great founders Euthymius and Sabbas were widely circulated in the Constantinopolitan pre-metaphrastic *menologia* (i.e. collections of *Lives*). The minor *Lives* of John the Hesychast and Cyriacus of Souka appear to have had a very limited transmission in these pre-metaphrastic *menologia*,<sup>57</sup> although they must have been read, since the saints entered the liturgical calendar of the Church of Constantinople and metaphrastic *Lives* were composed. The *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch* is a special case because it is the *Life* written by Theodore of Petra (CPG 7533), longer and more complete than that by Cyril of Scythopolis, which circulated in Byzantium and entered the pre-metaphrastic *menologia* as a reading for 11 January. The *Lives* of Abraamius, Bishop of Cratea, and of Theognius, Bishop of Betylia, which happen to be the two texts that were completely left out of the Greek 'corpus' manuscripts, had

<sup>50</sup> Ehrhard 1952, III, 921.

<sup>51</sup> Van Ommeslaeghe 1982, 507, 513.

<sup>52</sup> On this manuscript, see Devreesse 1945, 286–288; Ehrhard 1952, III, 926–927. See also Binggeli 2018.

<sup>53</sup> Binggeli 2018, 271–275.

<sup>54</sup> For more on this manuscript, see Binggeli et al. 2019, 238–241.

<sup>55</sup> On the insertion of the *Life of Sabbas* in the pre-metaphrastic *menologion* for December, see Ehrhard 1937, I, 509–521 and Schwartz 1939, 328.

<sup>56</sup> On the insertion of the *Life of Euthymius* in the pre-metaphrastic *menologion* for January, see Ehrhard 1937, I, 532–540 and Schwartz 1939, 328. To the tenth-century manuscripts listed by Ehrhard and Schwartz, we can add a manuscript known as Glasgow, University Library, MS Gen 1112 (BE 8.x.5); see Halkin 1957.

<sup>57</sup> The *Life of John the Hesychast* is found on 13 May in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 819, an eleventh-century *menologion* of the type 'vermischter Metaphrast' running from May to August. A Slavonic translation is also included in the Codex Suprasliensis on 29 March, a witness of the Byzantine pre-metaphrastic *menologion* in Slavonic (see Christian Hannick, this volume, 133–134). The *Life of Cyriacus of Souka* is found on 29 September in a single *menologion*, Vatican City, BAV, Vat. gr. 866, a *menologion* for the whole year of the eleventh–twelfth century, of Southern Italian provenance.

no success whatsoever in Byzantium – they are completely absent in Byzantine *menologia*, no metaphrastic rewriting exists, and the saints never entered the liturgical calendar of the Church of Constantinople.

Table 6: The Cyrillian corpus in Byzantium.

	Synaxarion	Metaphrastic Life
Euthymius	20 Jan.	BHG 649
Sabbas	5 Dec.	BHG 1609
John Hesychast	7 Dec.	–
Cyriacus of Souka	29 Sept.	BHG 464
Theodosius the Cenobiarch	11 Jan.	BHG 1778
Abraamius of Cratea	–	–
Theognius of Betylia	–	–

The *Lives* written by Cyril of Scythopolis were rapidly replaced in the Byzantine *menologia* by the metaphrastic rewritings, which appear to be of some value in understanding the process of transmission that the Cyrillian corpus experienced. Henri Grégoire pointed out the existence of a passage concerning the monk Gerasimus in the metaphrastic version of the *Life of Euthymius*,<sup>58</sup> absent from all the Greek manuscripts except for one,<sup>59</sup> Sin. gr. 524, which contains an odd collection of *Lives* (Gregory Thaumaturgus, Gregory of Agrigent, Gregory of Nazianzus, Euthymius, Barlaam and Ioasaph) from the eleventh or the twelfth century (195 folios, 300 × 225 mm).<sup>60</sup> Schwartz and Flusin quite convincingly believe this passage to be an interpolation, probably going back to a sixth- to seventh-century rewriting of the Cyrillian *Life* made at the Old Laura (Souka) in Palestine in order to

associate Gerasimus with the Sabaitic monastic tradition.<sup>61</sup> Whether or not this passage is an interpolation, it does provide some interesting insights into the process of transmission that the Cyrillian corpus went through on its way from Palestine to Constantinople. This manuscript could represent an alternative tradition that arrived in Constantinople and served as a basis for the metaphrastic version. As neither this manuscript nor the other manuscripts which contain the *Life of Euthymius* were collated by Schwartz, we cannot say what the diffusion of this particular version actually was at this stage.

#### 4. Conclusion

This case study has highlighted the fact that the corpus of *Lives* of the Palestinian monks composed by Cyril of Scythopolis was mainly read and transmitted in a monastic environment, either through small manuscripts intended for personal use or through larger collections of monastic hagiography which circulated in Palestine. All of these older collections of monastic hagiography seem to have overlapped very little with homiletical collections, if at all. It is probable that one or more of these monastic collections arrived in Constantinople at an early date as well as in Southern Italy, but we have no trace of the reading of the corpus as a whole in Constantinople and no trace of a specifically monastic use of the collection. It was digested and then included in the standardised Byzantine liturgical collections very rapidly.

<sup>58</sup> PG 114, 672–673.

<sup>59</sup> Two fragments of a manuscript apparently containing the same version have been discovered in flyleaves of Patmos manuscripts: Patmos, Mone Hagiou Ioannou tou Theologou, 13, fol. Γ' + 43, fol. 327; see Kominis 1988, κη', 19, 112.

<sup>60</sup> On this manuscript, see Gardthausen 1886, 128; Grégoire 1906b. The manuscript contains some other strange textual features as well. On the *Life of Barlaam and Josaphat*, see Volk 2009, 442, who says it is the 'wichtigste Zeuge für die systematisch verkürzte Familie des Barlaam-Romans'. On the *Life of Gregory of Agrigent*, see Berger 1995, 125: 'Auf der Grenze zwischen einer variantenreichen Handschrift der alten Gregorios-Vita und einer eigenen Rezension steht die Fassung des Sin. Gr. 524 ... möglicherweise sind alle diese Veränderungen das Werk eines einzigen Redaktors, der freilich nicht mit dem Schreiber der Handschrift

identisch sein muss'; Berger 1995, 88, believes that the manuscript could be of Southern Italian origin.

<sup>61</sup> Flusin 1983, 36–40, referring to Grégoire 1906b.



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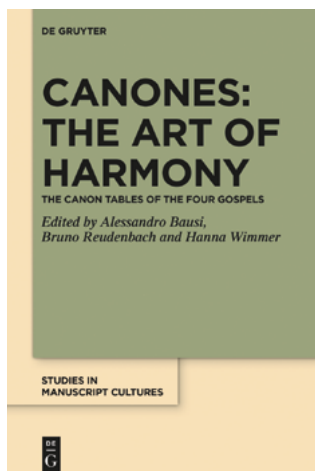
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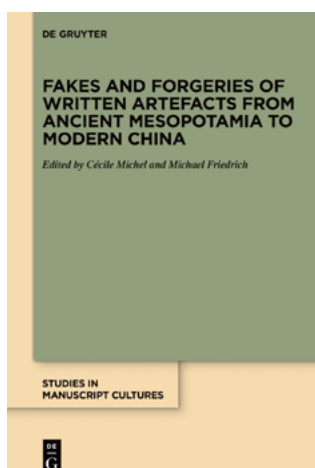


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