AN ADDITION
TO THE CHRISTIAN-PALESTINIAN
ARAMAIC LITERARY CORPUS:
LOGOS XV OF ABBA ISAIAH OF SCETIS *

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Abstract

This study focuses on two Christian-Palestinian Aramaic parchment folios from the Monastery of St Catherine in Sinai, which were published by Pavel Kokowzoff in 1906. The fragments are currently in the possession of the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg (Siriyskaya novaya seriya no. 21). They contain the end of a sermon on penitence attributed to Ephrem the Syrian and the beginning of a previously unidentified text introduced as the 'Doctrine of the Egyptian Fathers'. The article provides a paleographical and codicological examination of the St Petersburg fragments and identifies the second text as a portion from Logos XV of Isaiah of Scetis.

The Apophthegmata Patrum (CPG 5560–5615) and the Asceticon of Isaiah of Scetis (CPG 5555) undoubtedly stand out as the most widely spread literary works of the Egyptian monastic tradition. In his introduction to the Syriac version of the Asceticon, René Draguét noted that the writings of Abba Isaiah are attested under various forms in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic and Arabic.1 Since then, important additions have been made to the Syriac2 and

* I owe a special debt of gratitude to Adam McCollum and Grigory Kessel for their comments on an earlier draft of this article.
1 R. Draguét, Les cinq recensions de l’Ascéticon syriaque d’Abba Isaïe (4 vols, CSCO 289–90, 293–4, Scriptores syri 120–3, Louvain 1968), here CSCO 289, 39*-67*. In the following footnotes, I will quote each volume according to its CSCO number.
Coptic\textsuperscript{3} dossiers. Moreover, Armenian,\textsuperscript{4} Georgian,\textsuperscript{5} Old Slavonic\textsuperscript{6} and Sogdian\textsuperscript{7} versions have surfaced. The numerous languages in which the works of Isaiah of Scetis are preserved demonstrate their very wide diffusion, from the monastic complexes of the Ethiopian highlands to the Slavic medieval monasteries, and from the abbeys of the Latin West to the monastery of Bulayiq, situated near the Silk Road in western China. His writings were so highly esteemed in Egypt that, sometime between the sixth and the eighth centuries CE, a Christian monk copied a passage about humility extracted from the Sahidic version of \textit{Logos XX} on the pillar of a Theban tomb in Sheik Abd el-Qurnah, which he used as a cell.\textsuperscript{8} To the ancient translations from the writings of Abba Isaiah amassed until

\begin{itemize}
  \item\textsuperscript{5} Until now, only quotations have been identified in Georgian, see G. Garitte, \textit{Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinai} (CSCO 165. Subsidia 9, Louvain 1956), 28, 61–2, 107–8, 115, 119, 138.
  \item\textsuperscript{6} An inventory of the works of Isaiah of Scetis in Slavonic has not been compiled yet, but see W.R. Veder, ‘Le Skitskij Paterik (Collection systématique slave des \textit{Apophthegmata Patrum})’, \textit{Polata knigopisnaja} 4 (1981), 51–72, at 62, who mentions twenty-three extracts from the \textit{Asceticon}; idem, \textit{The Scete Paterikon} (Pegasus Oost-Europese Studies 12, Amsterdam 2012), 22 n. 6. A fragment from the \textit{Asceticon} is preserved in a Slavonic manuscript in the Library of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, under the self-mark BAR, MS 160, ff. 162v–164r (fourteenth century, Neamt Monastery). Other manuscripts containing works of Abba Isaiah in Slavonic include Hilandar 459 (Slavoserbian, fourteenth century); Zographou 162 (Slavonic, dated 1756); Hilandar 195 (Slavonic, fifteenth century); Hilandar 210 (Slavonic, eighteenth century); Hilandar 394 (Slavoserbian, fifteenth century). I am grateful for the references to the manuscripts to monk Filotheus Bălan (Petru Vodă Monastery, Romania).
  \item\textsuperscript{7} N. Sims-Williams, \textit{The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2} (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients. Berliner Turfantexte 12, Berlin 1985), 165–7 (= no. 12).
  \item\textsuperscript{8} A joint mission of the Egyptological Seminar of the University of Basel and the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo discovered the graffito in tomb TT 95. The text of the graffito was sent to me for identification by Heike Behlmer.
now, we can add a previously unidentified Christian-Palestinian Aramaic version of one of his discourses. The Logos in question is preserved in a fragmentary manuscript from Sinai, which will be analysed in this article. I will first supply an overview of the manuscript and then touch upon the identification of the text and its philological value.

In 1906, Pavel Kokowzoff published two Christian-Palestinian Aramaic parchment folios, which were kept at that time in the Imperial Public Library in St Petersburg, known today under the official title of the National Library of Russia.9 Kokowzoff provided a description of the fragments, linguistic analysis of the text, transliterations into Hebrew and Estrangelo characters, the latter accompanied by a French translation, and complete photographic plates. The fragments had formerly been in the possession of the archimandrite Porphyrius Uspeński, who sold them to the Imperial Library in 1883. The catalogues of the St Petersburg (Leningrad) collection, published by Heinrich Goussen in 1927 and Nina Pigulevskaya in 1960, mention the two folios edited by Kokowzoff under the inventory number ‘(Sirjyskaya novaya seriya) no. 21’.10

The Christian-Palestinian Aramaic fragments are written in a neat uncial Melkite script. According to reports, the size of the folios is c. 25 × 19cm.11 The text is arranged on two columns of twenty-two lines.12 The fact that they are copied in the same scribe’s hand and have an identical format indicate clearly that they once belonged to the same codex. The appearance of the pages is generally sober, with

(Göttingen University) in March 2013. Matthias Müller (University of Basel) is preparing the Christian epigraphic material in this tomb for publication.

9 P. Kokowzoff, Nouveaux fragments syropalestiniens de la Bibliothèque Impériale publique de Saint-Pétersbourg (St Petersburg 1906).

10 H. Goussen, ‘Über die syrischen Handschriften in Leningrad (Petersburg)’, Oriens Christianus 23 (1927), 169–73, at 171 (= no. 21); N.V. Pigulevskaya, ‘Каталог сирийских рукописей Ленинграда’, Палестинский сборник 6 (69) (1960), 109 and 111 pl. 5 (= no. 31). An abrégé in English of Pigulevskaya’s catalogue has been prepared by Grigory Kessel and is available online at https://www.academia.edu/749639/N.V._Pigulevskaya_Catalogue_of_the_Syriac_manuscripts_in_Leningrad__Moscow-Leningrad_1960.


12 With the exception of the left-hand column on fol. 2v, which has only nineteen lines because it contains a decorated subscriptio and lemma of the following text.

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the exception of fol. 2v, which contains the following embellishments: (1) decorated subscriptio and superscriptio on the second column; (2) the first letter of the new text written in ekthesis in orange ink; (3) the tail of the letter ﬁ extends and develops a coil into the lower margin of the pages when written in the last line of the columns. Concerning the age of the fragments, Kokowzoff tentatively assigned them to the eighth to tenth century. Due to the uncertainties inherent in the paleographical approach, Alain Desreumaux opted with caution for an eighth-century dating. Indeed, the age of the fragments is difficult to establish paleographically because comparable dated and datable examples are not available. The script belongs to the early period of the Melkite uncial, but this handwriting was in use for a long period, from the sixth to the ninth century CE.

Two notes of later date in minuscule Greek letters appear on the fragments. The first of them seems to be a quotation from a liturgical text dedicated to John Chrysostom, written upside down on the bottom of fol. 1r: τὸν ἐν Ἱεράρχοις (sic) θαυματουργὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνάγκαις σώμαχον τὸν βοηθόν, τὸν θείον ποιμένα, καὶ λειτουργὸν Χρυσοστόμου (sic) τὸν μέγαν ὁμοίως τίμιον. Remarkably, this text is applied to various other saints in the Greek Menaion. For example, a similar text refers to Athanasius the New, bishop of Christianopolis (d. 1735): Τὸν ἐν Ἱεράρχαις θαυματουργὸν, καὶ τὸν ἐν κινδύνοις, ἀπροσμάχητον βοηθόν, τὸν θείον ποιμένα, καὶ λειτουργὸν Κυρίου, Ἀθανάσιον τὸν νέον πάντες τιμήσωμεν (passage for May 17, when the saint is commemorated), but also to Nectarios of Aegina and Athanasius of Alexandria. In all cases, the text is used as a meglynarion, which is a hymn made of short exclamations at the end of a kanon parakletikos. As this service appeared at the end of the

13 Technically, ‘recto’ designates the page which appears at the right side when a book is open, and ‘verso’ the page at the left side. However, as the two terms have been coined for manuscripts written in languages which read from left to right, especially Latin and Greek, they are somewhat ambiguous when applied to documents in idioms read from right to left, like Christian-Palestinian Aramaic. Therefore, the use of ‘recto’ and ‘verso’ in the present article does not take into account the aforementioned sense of the terms, but designates instead the front (recto) and the back (verso) side of a folio according to the direction of the narrative.

14 The photographic reproduction of this page is available in Kokowzoff, Nouveaux fragments, pl. 4; Pigulevskaia, ‘Κατάλογος’, 111 pl. 5; C. Müller-Kessler, Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen, I: Schriftlehr, Formenlehre (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York 1991), 334 pl. 6.

15 Desreumaux, ‘Εφραίμ’, 223.
thirteenth or early fourteenth century, it provides a *terminus post quem* for the first Greek note.\(^{16}\)

The second note is an extract from Exod. 15:17 and fills the inter-column space of fol. 2r: *εἰσαγαγὼν κατεφύτευσων (sic) αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄρος κληρονομίας· εἰς ἔτοιμον κατοικητήριον σου. On the recto of fol. 1, Uspensky wrote in pencil ‘Sinai’, which suggests that the fragments were brought from the St Catherine’s Monastery at Sinai. It is possible that Uspensky acquired the fragments during one of the two visits that he made to St Catherine’s in 1845 and 1850 respectively.\(^{17}\)

Uspensky’s note corroborates well with the codicological information about the manuscript. To his credit, Desreumaux has identified several *membra disjecta* that belonged to the same codex.\(^{18}\) Thus, he pointed out that five other fragments of the manuscript are in Göttingen, in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (Syr. 17a–e), and one in the Princeton University Library. To this list must be added at least two folios still kept in St Catherine’s Monastery (CPA Sparagma 1) and another in the possession of Princeton University. The two Princeton fragments (Garrett 24, ff. 87, 90) are halves of the same leaf.\(^{19}\) As all the dispersed fragments found thus far certainly belonged to St Catherine’s Monastery in Sinai, they confirm beyond reasonable doubt that the folios edited by Kokowzoff came from the same location.

With the exception of the St Petersburg fragments and those still in the monastery, the other identified vestiges of this codex had been dismantled from the original manuscript and reused for a Georgian palimpsest. Hugo Duensing edited separately the fragments from the Göttingen collection in 1906 and 1944.\(^{20}\) In the latter publication,

\(^{16}\) I am indebted to Michael Zheltov (Post-Graduate School of the Moscow Patriarchate) for these details related to Byzantine hymnology.

\(^{17}\) Cf. O.V. Volkoff, *À la recherche de manuscrits en Égypte* (Recherches d’archéologie, de philologie et d’histoire 30, Cairo 1970), 221.

\(^{18}\) Desreumaux, ‘Ephraim’, 223.

\(^{19}\) Sebastian Brock has kindly pointed out to me these fragments. The folios still in the Monastery of St Catherine contain portions of Ps.-Ephrem’s sermon on the penitence; see S.P. Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments (New Finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Athens 1995), 79–80 (description), 122–5 (edition and parallel Greek text), 280–1 (photographic reproductions). Brock also pointed out to me that the Princeton leaf identified by Desreumaux corresponds to Garrett 24, f. 87.

he likewise highlighted that the underlying Christian-Palestinian Aramaic script of a Georgian palimpsest fragment sold by the Leipzig-based antiquities dealer Karl W. Hieremann shares the same paleographical features with the Göttingen folios that he edited in 1906 and, very likely, they all originally belonged to the same manuscript.\textsuperscript{21} Since Hieremann had published a photograph of the flesh side of his fragment in a sales catalogue, Duensing was able to decipher this portion of the underlying Christian-Palestinian Aramaic text and edited it together with three other Göttingen fragments of the same manuscript.\textsuperscript{22} Although Duensing was not aware of the whereabouts of the fragment in Hieremann’s possession, we know today that the Leipzig dealer sold it together with other leaves of the Georgian palimpsest to Robert Garrett, who donated it later to the Princeton University Library.\textsuperscript{23} All the fragments edited by Duensing belong to the Christian-Palestinian Aramaic version of the \textit{Apophthegmata Patrum}. Returning now to the St Petersburg fragments, we see that almost the entire fol. 2 consists of another ascetical writing in Christian-Palestinian Aramaic, that is, \textit{De poenitentia} (CPG 3915) by Ephrem Graecus.\textsuperscript{24} They were preceded in the original manuscript by the two fragments, Sinai CPA Sparagma 1, which belong to the same text.\textsuperscript{25} On parallel columns, Kokowzoff provided the Greek original of Ps.-Ephrem’s homily according to the \textit{editio romana} of Joseph Simon Assemani.\textsuperscript{26} The pseudo-Ephrem text closes on the verso’s left-hand column, line 12 with the \textit{subscriptio} ܐܿܦܪܝܡ ܡܪܝ ܖܐܡܪ ܡܐ ܡܫܝܠܫܡ ܬܗܘܬܐ ܛܒ ܥܠ ‘(ends that which Mar Ephrem said concerning penitence').

\textsuperscript{21} Duensing, \textit{Neue}, 220.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibidem, 225. The photograph appears in K.W. Hieremann, \textit{Orientalische Manuskripte} (Leipzig n.y.), 6 (description of the manuscript) and pl. 3.
\textsuperscript{24} On this text see K. den Biesen, \textit{Annotated Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian} (n.p. 2011), 227 (= § 250).
\textsuperscript{25} Cf. Brock, \textit{Catalogue of Syriac Fragments}, 80
\textsuperscript{26} Parallel Greek text in J.S. Assemani, \textit{Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia}, I: \textit{Graece at latin}e (Rome 1732), 153.

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Below the subscription of the pseudo-Ephrem writing, a lemma introduces laconically the next writing in the manuscript as ܐܘܠܦܢܡܨܪܝܐܿܒܗܬܵܐܡܢ‘ Doctrine of the Egyptian Fathers’ (fol. 2, left column, lines 15–16). Kokowzoff maintained that the other leaf, i.e. fol. 1, contains yet a third text, probably because the two folios give a discontinuous text. However, he left unidentified both the ‘Doctrine’ and what he believed to be the third work, albeit he cautiously subscribed to the view that the author of the latter might be the same Ephrem: ‘Malgré toutes nos recherches, nous n’avons pas eu la chance de pouvoir en déterminer l’auteur, non plus que celui du troisième fragment beaucoup plus étendu, qui occupe entièrement le fol. 1 (recto et verso) et paraît également appartenir à quelque homélie d’un des pères renommés de l’Église. Par son style ce dernier fragment rappelle beaucoup, à notre avis, St-Ephrem’.27 To the best of my knowledge, the two fragments published by Kokowzoff have remained unidentified until now.28

Although the ascetic aspects of the text on fol. 1 are rather common in Christian monastic literature, and it may well stem from the pen of Ephrem Graecus as Kokowzoff suggested, the left-hand column of the recto contains an expression which furnishes a clue to some possible authors. Thus, the words ‘while you are sitting in your cell’ (ܩܠܝܬܟܒܓܘܝܬܝܒܡܢ, followed by a point of practical or spiritual advice concerning the self-discipline of the monk, occurs often in Paul of Tamma’s De cella (clavis coptica 0251),29 Stephen of Thebes’ Sermo asceticus (CPG 8240),30 Evagrius’ writings and the Logoi

27 Kokowzoff, Nouveaux fragments, 19.
of Abba Isaiah of Scetis. Upon closer examination, it becomes apparent that the text represents a portion from *Logos XV* of the *Asceticon* of Abba Isaiah. Moreover, the comparison against the Greek original has led to the conclusion that the text entitled ‘Doctrine ([ܐܘܠܦܢ] של היב grandi) of the Egyptian Fathers’ belongs to the same discourse of Abba Isaiah.

Although the lemma does not include the name of the real author, certain Syriac manuscripts sometimes attach the heading ‘Doctrine of the Fathers’ as well as other similar titles to the writings of Isaiah of Scetis. For example, *Vaticanus syriacus* 123, f. 208r (sixth century) introduces *Logos V* (according to the Syriac order) as ‘Doctrine (ܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ) [of the] Egyptian [Fathers to those that come] to the monastic life’, and *Logos XIV* as ‘Holy doctrines of the Egyptian Fathers’. The lemma of Abba Isaiah’s *Logos X* in the British Library codex Add. 12.175 (dated 534 CE) reads ‘Doctrine ([ܝܘܠܦܢܐ) of the Fathers’, without any other specification as to its author. Similarly, British Library Add. 17.215, fol. 47 features the heading ‘Doctrine ([ܝܘܠܦܢܐ) of the Egyptian Fathers concerning the fear of God’. The Syriac text corresponds to certain portions from *Logos XIII*.

The aforementioned examples show that, although not formally identified in the manuscript, the lemma of Abba Isaiah of Scetis’ discourse in the St Petersburg fragments has precise parallels in the


31 The numbers of Abba Isaiah’s *Logoi* in this paragraph refer to the Syriac order found in Draguet’s edition.

32 J.S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus* part III/1 (Rome 1759), 142; identified in Draguet, CSCO 289, 31*.

33 Assemani, *Bibliothecae*, 143: identified in Draguet, CSCO 289, 33*.

34 W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, Acquired Since the Year 1838* part II (London 1871), 635a (= no. 727); identified in Draguet, CSCO 289, 34*.

35 Description in W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, Acquired Since the Year 1838* part III (London 1872), 1074b (= no. 927). The remains of this manuscript consist of two parchment folios. They were not taken into consideration by Draguet, but for a similar lemma of the same *Logos*, see Draguet, CSCO 289, 34*.
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Syriac tradition of the *Asceticon*. Such titles are typical in the codices that are not exclusively devoted to Isaiah of Scetis, but are rather *Paterica*, selections of different ascetic writings. However, the similarity provided by the titles does not presuppose a Syriac model for the Christian-Palestinian Aramaic version of Abba Isaiah’s *Logos*, since it stands to reason that the Syriac translators did not coin these titles but rather found them in the Greek manuscripts they used. Furthermore, concerning a hypothetical Syriac intermediary, it should be stressed that such a possibility seems to be excluded from the outset, since the Greek *Logos XV* has a completely different structure in the Syriac recensions of the *Asceticon*.37

The following pages briefly address the issue of the relationships between the Christian-Palestinian Aramaic version of Abba Isaiah’s *Logos XV* and its Greek original. However, the fact that a proper edition of the Greek *Asceticon* still remains a desideratum jeopardizes a detailed comparative study. The project initiated by Hermann Dörries in Göttingen, which intended to offer the first critical edition of the Greek original of the *Asceticon*, has never been accomplished. The Greek text is available in Augoustinos Iordanites’ publication of a single lacunary manuscript in Jerusalem, dated 1679.38 Augoustinos filled the portions where the Jerusalem codex contained lacunae with the Greek retroversion of the Latin text of the *Asceticon* printed in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* volume 40, coll. 1105–1206. The library of the House of St Gregory and St Macrina in Oxford possesses Derwas Chitty’s collation of Augoustinos’s text with the Bodleian

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36 The Syriac *ܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ, ܝܘܠܦܢܐ* and the Christian-Palestinian Aramaic *ܐܘܠܦܢ* translate the Greek διδαχή, διδασκαλία.

37 The Syriac versions of the *Asceticon* incorporate the material of *Logos XV* in various ways, but never give the whole text as some Greek manuscripts do, see Draguet, CSCO 293, 185–6. This feature is not proper only to the Syriac, but also to the Greek recension Gα, in which the writings of Isaiah appear as anonymous apophthegms (cf. Draguet, CSCO 289, 56*–58*), and the Armenian (under the name of Serapion of Thmuis), cf. Outtier, ‘Un Patericon arménien’, 306–12. On the other hand, in the Greek manuscripts of the recension G examined by Draguet, the Coptic (Sahidic) and Christian-Palestinian Aramaic versions, *Logos XV* has an identical arrangement of the material. For the Sahidic text see A. Guillaumont, *L’Asceticon copte de l’Abbé Isaïe* (Bibliothèque des études coptes 5, Cairo 1956), 8 (Sahidic text), 56 (French translation). Unfortunately, only the beginning of this discourse has survived in Sahidic.

38 A. Iordanites, Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἤμων ἄρβη Ἡσαΐων λόγοι κ’θ (Jerusalem 1911).
manuscript Cromwell 14 (thirteenth century). René Draguet made a salient, albeit incomplete, contribution to the knowledge of the Greek text by collating four manuscripts ranging from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. As the Greek text of Logos XV is fully available in Draguet’s edition, the present research is primarily based on this publication, with occasional references to Augoustinos’s text.

Even without a proper edition of the Greek Ascticon, it can be sensibly said that the fragments edited by Kokowzoff contain an accurate, source-oriented rendering. The incipit of the Christian-Palestinian Aramaic version of Logos XV (fol. 2v, left column, lines 15–19) corresponds well to the Greek original:

\begin{quote}
\textit{\textoma{ܝܟܠܐܠܡܘܬܘܒܢܗܘܡܟܢܫܟܒܪܖܩܪܣܐܠܓܪܡܢܢܝܨܘܦܚܒܝܒܐ}}
\end{quote}

The text of fol. 2v breaks off at this point. The comparison against the original indicates that there is a gap of one leaf between fol. 2v and fol. 1r. Logos XV continues on fol. 1r with the comparison of the ascetic, who cannot repent without humility and bodily torments, to the land, which cannot give fruits without seeds and rain. The first part of the paragraph is lost in the preceding lacuna, but the surviving text (fol. 1r, right column, lines 1–4) keeps a remarkable faithfulness to the Greek original:

\begin{quote}
\textit{\textoma{ܐܘܐܠܡܡܟܝܟܘܡܢܠܒܪܖܝܬܗܐܒܪܢܫܝܟܠܐܠܡܗܟܖܢܘܡܝܢ}}
\end{quote}


40 The manuscripts are listed in Draguet, CSCO 289, 40*.

41 Both Kokowzoff, Nouveaux fragments, 19 and Desreumaux, ‘Ephraim’, 223 underlined the accuracy of the translation of the other text of the St Petersburg fragments, the sermon of Ps.-Ephrem on penitence.

42 The Greek texts in Augoustinos, Άββᾶ Ησαΐαν λόγου 82 and Draguet, CSCO 293, 190 are identical at this point.
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(Ὡσπερ ἡ γῆ οὐ δύναται καρπὸν ποιῆσαι ἄνευ ἀπέρματος) καὶ ὦδατος, οὕτως οὐ δύναται ὁ ἄνθρωπος μετανοῆσαι ἄνευ ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ κόμου σωματικοῦ. 43

The Christian-Palestinian Aramaic translator preserved certain Greek technical terms which belong to the vocabulary of ascetic literature. For example, in the syntagm ἡ γῆ οὐδενὸς καρπὸν ἐποίησε ἀνεύ αἴματος (fol. 1v, right column, lines 1–2), which renders τῆς διακρίσεως τοῦ λογισμοῦ τούτου, the translator used the Greek noun διάκρισις. Although some minor differences can be detected, the text of the St Petersburg fragments is obviously based on a Greek text similar to the one published by Draguet according to the manuscripts γκβξ. 44 Below are the *variae lectiones* of the Christian-Palestinian Aramaic version.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fragment reference</th>
<th>CPA text</th>
<th>Greek text⁴⁵</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 1r, right col., ll. 8–9</td>
<td>ἔφεσαν ἐνσοφιᾶς αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἐνσοφιῶν</td>
<td>διὰ τῶν ἐνσοφιῶν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 1r, right col., ll. 12–13</td>
<td>ἐπεδέδοσεν ἐνσοφιᾶς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ</td>
<td>ἐπεδέδοσεν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 1r, right col., l. 16</td>
<td>ἐφέσαν εἰς τὸ νῦν ἐνσοφιᾶς</td>
<td>συνείδησιν κατὰ θεόν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 1r, right col., ll. 17–21</td>
<td>ἐφέσαν εἰς τὸ νῦν ἐνσοφιᾶς</td>
<td>omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 1r, right col., l. 22–left col., l. 1</td>
<td>ἐφέσαν εἰς τὸ νῦν ἐνσοφιᾶς</td>
<td>ἡμῶν τῆς πορνείας</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 1r, left col., ll. 11–12</td>
<td>ἔφεσαν ἐνσοφιᾶς + τοῦ θεοῦ</td>
<td>+ τοῦ θεοῦ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 1v, right col., l. 4</td>
<td>ἐφέσαν + σου</td>
<td>omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fol. 1v, right col., l. 5</td>
<td>ἐφέσαν + ἐκ ζέσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος</td>
<td>omitted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above shows that the differences between the surviving portions of the Christian-Palestinian version of Abba Isaiah’s *Logos XV* and the Greek original are generally minor. One notable exception occurs on fol. 1r, right column, lines 17–21, where the St Petersburg fragment has a quotation from John 14:23–4. This part does not have parallel elsewhere, either in the available Greek texts of

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43 Draguet, CSCO 293, 190.
44 For the manuscripts behind these sigla, see Draguet, CSCO 289, 40*. For *Logos XV*, Draguet gave the text of manuscript ξ and offered the *variae lectiones* of γκβ in the critical notes at the bottom of the pages.
45 Draguet, CSCO 293, 190ff.
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Logos XV, or in its Syriac versions published by Draguet. However, as I have already noted, we should not underestimate the possible diversity of the Greek text of the Asceticon, which is still unavailable in an edition based on a sufficient number of manuscripts.

Conclusions

This article has shown that the text which follows the sermon of Ps.-Ephrem on penitence in the St Petersburg Christian-Palestinian Aramaic fragments edited by Kokowzoff is a translation from Greek of Abba Isaiah’s Logos XV. As the text analysed hereby has not been identified until now, the order of the folios has been wrongly referred to, fol. 2 (end of Ps.-Ephrem, De poenitentia and beginning of Isaiah of Scetis, Logos XV) being the real fol. 1. The comparison against the Greek original has indicated that, after a gap of one leaf, the Logos of Abba Isaiah continues on fol. 1, i.e. the real fol. 2.

A final remark may be made concerning the content of the codex to which the St Petersburg fragments originally belonged. In addition to the discourse of Isaiah of Scetis and the sermon on penitence by Ps.-Ephrem, the manuscript also included at least portions from the Apophthegmata Patrum, which feature in the Göttingen and Princeton fragments. On the superior margin of the Göttingen second sheet’s verso, published by Duensing in 1906, stands the Greek word βίος written in Melkite characters (ܒܝܘܣ), which is probably part of the title ‘lives or the Fathers’. This constitutes a common designation of the collections of apophthegms. For example, in the early sixth century, Barsanuphius and John already used the title Βίοις τῶν Πατέρων when they quoted the Apophthegmata. Similarly, Ps.-Rufinus’s Latin collection of sayings of the Fathers is designated as Vitae Patrum (BHL 6525; CPG 5574). We may conclude thus that the Sinai Christian-Palestinian Aramaic codex to which the St Petersburg fragments belonged was a Patericon, lato sensu, comprising a compilation of apophthegms and various ascetic works.

46 Cf. note 21 supra. Sebastian Brock communicated to me that both fragments in the Princeton University Library (Garrett 24, f. 90 + 87) contain apophthegms of Silvanus.
47 Duensing, Texte und Fragmente, 41.
48 Cf. letters 150, line 29; 469, line 2; 584, lines 44–5; 689, line 6; 708, line 5 in F. Neyt, P. de Angelis-Noah and L. Regnaut, Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza. Correspondance (3 vols in 5 parts, Sources chrétiennes 426–7, 450–1, 468, Paris 1997–2002) vol. 2/1, 538; vol. 2/2, 568, 780; vol. 3, 126, 152.
fragments in question not only broaden our picture concerning the circulation of Abba Isaiah’s works, but also add a new title to the meagre corpus of Christian-Palestinian Aramaic literature.

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