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Ann Ellis Hanson

COLUMBIA PAPYRI VIII

Roger S. Bagnall, Timothy T. Renner,
Klaas A. Worp

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Literary Texts

192. Abbot Isaias, *Discourse IV*

Inv. 553 recto
Pl. 1

30.5 x 52.5 cm.

VI
Fayum

Published: E.R. Hardy, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1944) 127-136 (Van Haelst 673)

The papyrus was purchased in 1932, when H.I. Bell reported that it originated in the Fayum, probably at Philadelphia. A cogent argument for a provenance in the Fayum is the fact that all of the individuals mentioned in the fragmentary sale of land on the back, which is published in this volume as 244, pertain to Arsinoe. Both texts were written in single columns running the length of the papyrus. This *transversa charta* format is common for Byzantine documents but rare for literary texts even during that period.¹ In antiquity the papyrus was folded--or rolled and then crushed--in such a way that the lower edges of both texts were on the inside of the packet. The papyrus is currently missing its upper portion, which has broken away along a line of fold. In addition, the strip containing lines 1-4 of the Isaias text has separated from the main surviving part of the papyrus along the next fold line. Another fold line just below line 28 coincides with a kollesis.

Both its cursive hand and its contents place the sale document in the sixth century. The Isaias text is written in a practised, serviceable, sloping book hand distinguished by few ornamental features except for the *xi*, the bottom of which is drawn out into a huge, descending S-curve. Palaeographical parallels suggest a date in the sixth century for this hand also, but in any case more than a few years may well have elapsed

¹On texts so written, see E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brax. 16) 26-53.

between the copying of the Isaías and the re-use of the papyrus for the document.²

The text consists of an exhortation directed toward monks of the Egyptian and Near Eastern type who customarily lived in solitary cells in the desert. The subjects covered include proper behavior toward fellow monks, the need to confide in one's elders, the avoidance of heretical thoughts, the subduing of passions, and the proper way to pray to God. The whole has a very practical character which makes it typical of a gradually evolving corpus of λόγοι or instructive discourses, as well as apophthegmata, attributed to a certain Abbot Isaías and circulating under his name from the early Byzantine period onward. The original Isaías in question seems to have been Isaías of Scete in Egypt, who at some time in his life headed a monastery in the Wadi Natrun and who probably flourished around the year 400. That he was actually the same as the monk Isaías of Gaza, who died around 488 and to whom some modern authorities have attributed the Isaian corpus, seems unlikely. In any case the discourses and sayings attached to the name of Isaías took on a life of their own and were eventually translated into a variety of languages including Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Latin.³

Only one other papyrus of the Isaian corpus has come to light. This is a piece of a fourth or fifth century codex in Florence published by S.G. Mercati in *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 463-471 (Van Haelst 1221) and containing a passage from *Discourse XXI*.

In the course of a few centuries or even generations following the original composition, widely differing Greek texts of the Isaian discourses came into circulation. The differences are often much greater than variations among manuscripts of, say, classical Greek authors. The

²G. Cavallo/H. Machler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* = *BICS*, Suppl. 47 (1987), nos. 32a (ca. A.D. 560-575) and 32b (A.D. 571) illustrate the type to which the Isaías hand belongs. Compare the following, all assigned to the same century: Schubart, *Palaeographie* Abb. 63, first hand; Schubart, *P.Graec.Berol.* 44b (cf. *Palaeographie*, p. 142); Seider, *Paläographie* II 64. Hardy's picture of the papyrus' history is plausible: "For a generation or two it served for the instruction of novices and other monastic purposes. Then, treated as an old letter rather than a book, it was thrown out and used for the business document now on the verso."

³For a very full discussion of the sources on the two individuals named Isaías, as well as for painstaking analysis of the development of the Isaian corpus, see R. Draguet, *Les cinq recensions de l'Asceticon syriaque d'Abba Isaie* (Louvain 1968), vol. 3, 11-126*. Cf. also the introductory material to vol. 1. Although Draguet's four-volume study has as its primary goal an edition of the Syriac version of the discourses, its treatment of the historical question and the textual tradition as a whole, including extensive discussion of the Greek versions, makes it the only comprehensive work on the Isaian corpus to date.

commentary below, in which variant versions have been cited rather extensively after Draguet, illustrates well this phenomenon.⁴ Draguet distinguishes two branches of the Greek textual tradition:

(1) **Ga**, an older layer represented for this passage by λ = Cod. Par. Coisl. 283 (saec. XII)

(2) **G**, a more recent layer represented by
 β = Cod. Ven. Marc. 132 (saec. XIII)
 γ = Cod. Par. Coisl. 123 (saec. XI)
 κ = Cod. Oxf. Bodl. Cromwell. 14 (saec. XIII)
 ξ = Cod. Muscov., Musée Hist., 320 (saec. XII)

Within **G**, βξ and γκ form distinct subgroups. The γκ branch shows strong affinities with Σ, a Jerusalem codex written in 1769. Σ formed the basis of an edition published in 1911 by the monk Augoustinos and reprinted as S. Schoinas, *Toû ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀββᾶ Ἡσαίου λόγοι κθ'* (Volos 1962), which it has not been possible to consult here.

As may be seen from the commentary, the papyrus supports **G** against **Ga** almost constantly throughout this part of the work. This prejudice extends to the inclusion of three passages which **Ga** either omit entirely or place elsewhere in the discourse (see notes on 3-4, 6-9, 22-23). Within its preference for **G**, the papyrus on occasion offers entirely new variants, as apparently in the fragmentary line 1 and again in 6 ὁσιέλης. More frequently, the papyrus shows a preference for the reading of one or more manuscripts of **G**; often this is βξ. On one occasion, however, **Ga** is preferred.

In the commentary reference has also been made to Z, the Latin version of a now-lost Greek manuscript which was made by the Veronese Pietro Zini in 1574 (see Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 40, 1103ff.). It would appear that this manuscript followed **G** for the most part.

The educated Koine of the discourse shows two features which are worthy of special mention and which occur frequently in the Isaian texts transmitted in manuscript. One of these--also well paralleled in other patristic works as well as in documentary papyri--is a sporadic confusion in the use of moods in the protases of conditions: ἐάν with indicative in 23, εἰ apparently with subjunctive in 2.⁵ The other is a penchant for using

⁴ Cf. previous note. For the parallel Greek versions printed by Draguet, see vols. 3-

4. The portion of the Greek *Discourse IV* given by the papyrus corresponds to the Syriac *Discourse XI*, sections 60-75; see vol. 3, 174-182.

⁵ In the latter, θελήσῃ could of course be just an itacistic spelling of the future. In 43 ἐάν . . . εἰσακούσῃ could be reconciled with classical rules by assuming another itacism. On this problem in the Isaian corpus see Draguet III, 62*. A breakdown in the norms surrounding the subjunctive may be seen in many writers of this general period. See Mayser, *Grammatik* II 284-285; H. Reinhold, *De graecitate patrum apostolicorum*

the present tense in a futuristic sense, especially to describe the results of proper behavior in the eyes of God. The example in 6-8 is characteristic: πάντα λογισμῶν πολεμοῦντά σε μὴ αἰσχυνοῦθῃς εἰπεῖν τῷ μείζονί σου, καὶ κουφίζονται ἀπὸ σου (sc. οἱ λογισμοί; see comm.).⁶ Additional points of language peculiar to the papyrus, such as an unusual dative usage in 27, are discussed in the notes. Minor spelling variants of the sort commonly found in documentary papyri occur with some frequency. In 22 the scribe wrote ἀνθίστ<ατ>αι by haplography.

The text is punctuated rather frequently with high stops. It displays no breathings and only one accent, on the subjunctive ῖς in 31. Occasional diaereses and word-dividers assist the reader. *Nomina sacra* are abbreviated in the customary way. All of these features are noted in the critical apparatus.

 ὑποστρέψεις [ca. 13] . . [. .] . . . [.] ν σεαυτῷ ἄλλο
 κελλίου
 . . . μὴ ἁμαρτήσης εἰς θεόν. εἴ τε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσει
 θελήσῃ ἀναχωρήσῃ
 ἄθως εἴ. εἴ τε καὶ σκευὴ ἴσας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνῆλθωσιν
 αὐτὰ, μὴ ζητή-
 4 σης αὐτὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς ἀναχωρήσαι ἀπὸ
 κελλίου, βλέπε τὴν
 χρεῖαν, μὴ αὐτ[ή]ν λάβῃς μετὰ σου· ἀλλ' ἔασο[ν] αὐτήν
 ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ ἀδελφόν
 πτωχόν, καὶ ὁ θεός οἰκονομεῖ σε ὅπουδ' ἀπέλθῃς.
 πάντα λογισμῶν
 8 πολεμοῦντά σε μὴ αἰσχυνοῦθῃς εἰπεῖν τῷ μείζονί σου, καὶ
 κουφίζονται
 ἀπὸ σου· χαρὰν γὰρ ἄλλην οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὰ πν(εύμα)τα εἰ
 μὴ εἰς ἄν(θρωπ)ον σιωπῶντα
 εἰπεῖν τοὺς ἀλογισμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἴτε καλοὶ εἰσιν εἴτε κακοί.
 φύλαξον

librorumque apocryphorum Novi Testamenti quaestiones grammaticae (Vienna 1923) 101-109; G. Ghedini, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 234-237.

⁶ Three additional examples appear in 4-6 and 26-27; others may be seen in the GGA versions of earlier parts of the discourse. Similar is *Herm. Past.* 2.2.4: μετὰ τὸ γνωρίσαι σε ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῖς . . . τότε ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. Cf. *P.Lond.* II 404.7 (mid-fourth cent.). Jannaris, *Grammar* 434, 553 and Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen 1976) 267 list other parallels.

σεαυτὸν μεταλαμβάνων τῆς προσφορᾶς τῶν μυστηρίων
 μὴ σχεῖν
 κακίαν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, ἐπεὶ σεαυτὸν ὁπατῆς. ἐὰν
 ὁποκαλυφθῶσιν
 12 σοι οἱ λόγοι τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ ἀλληγορήσαι αὐτ[ο]ῖς,
 ἀλληγόρησον. φύλαξον δὲ
 σεαυτὸν μὴ καταργῆσαι τὸ γράμμα, ἵνα μὴ πιστεύῃς τῇ
 γνώσει σου ὑπὲρ
 τὴν ἀγίαν γραφήν· σημεῖον γὰρ ἐστὶν τοῦτο τῆς
 ὑπερηφανίας. ἐὰν ὁπατη-
 θῇ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐν λόγοις αἰρετικῶν καὶ πλανηθῇ ἐν
 ἀγνωσίᾳ
 16 ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ μὴ
 ἐξουθενήσῃς αὐτόν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδίῳ θελήματι τοῦτο ἐποίησεν. φύλαξον
 σεαυτὸν τοῦ διαλέ-
 γεσθαι μετὰ αἰρετικῶν θέλων στήσαι τὴν πίστιν, μὴ ποτε
 ὁ ἰὸς τῶν
 λόγων αὐτῶν πλήξῃ σε. ἐὰν εὖρης βιβλίον αἰρετικῶν
 λεγόμενον, μὴ θε-
 20 λήσῃς αὐτὸ ἀναγνῶναι, μὴ πως πληρώσῃ τὴν καρδίαν σου
 ἰοῦ θανάτου,
 ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ἐβαπτίσθης κατέχε· μὴ προσθῇς μήτε ἀφέλῃς
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
 φύλαξον σεαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, ἥτις
 ἀνθίσταται τῇ ὑγίαι-
 νούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος. ἐὰν
 νεώτερος εἴ καὶ
 24 ἀκμὴν οὐκ ἐτέλεσας τὴν δουλίαν τῆς κακοπαθίας τοῦ
 σώματος καὶ ἀκούσης
 περὶ μεγάλων καὶ ὑψηλῶν ἀρετῶν πι(ατέ)ρων, μὴ θέλε
 φθάσαι εἰς αὐτὰς ἀκόπως·
 οὐ γὰρ ἔρχονται σοι ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ποιήσῃς τὴν
 λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. ἐὰν δὲ τελέσῃς
 τὸν κόπον αὐτῶν, ἑαυταῖς ἔρχονται σοι. φύλαξον σεαυτὸν
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκηδίας·
 28 αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀφανίζει πάντα καρπὸν τοῦ μοναχοῦ. ἐὰν
 ἀγωνίξῃ πρὸς πάθος,
 μὴ ἐγκαθήσῃς, ἀλλὰ παράριψον σεαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ λέγων

- "βοήθει μοι τῷ
 ταλαιπῶρῳ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐγὼ δύνομαι πρὸς αὐτόν"· καὶ
 βοηθεῖ σοι ἐν τάχει.
 7 ἐὰν ᾗς ἐν ἀσκήσει ἀνθιστάμενος τῇ ἐχθρᾷ καὶ ἴδῃς αὐτὴν
 ἀσθενήσασαν
 32 ἀπὸ σου καὶ φυγοῦσαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, μὴ χαρῇ σου ἡ καρδία,
 ὅτι ἡ κακία τῶν
 πν(ευμάτ)ων ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἐστίν· ἐτοιμάζουσι γὰρ
 πόλεμον χεῖρονα τοῦ πρώτου, καὶ
 ἐῷσιν αὐτὸν ὀπίσω τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐντέλλωνται αὐτῷ μὴ
 κινηθῆναι· καὶ
 ἐὰν ἀντιστῇς πολέμων μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ
 σου ἐν πανουργίᾳ·
 36 καὶ ἐὰν ὑψηλοφρονήσῃς καὶ θαρρυσήσῃς τῇ δυνάμει σου καὶ
 ἐάσῃς τὴν
 πόλιν τοῦ καταδιώξαι ὀπίσω αὐτῶν, ἐὰν οὖν ἴδωσιν ὅτι
 κατέλειψας τὴν πόλιν,
 οἱ μὲν ἀνθίστανται ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ ἐγείρονται ὀπισθεν
 καὶ συγκλείουσιν τὴν
 ταλαίπωρον ψυχὴν ἐμ μέσῳ αὐτῶν μὴ ἔχουσα παντελῶς
 ποῦ φύγῃ.
 40 ἡ πόλις οὖν ἐστίν τῳ παραρίπτειν ἑαυτὸν τῷ θ(ε)ῷ
 ἀδιαλείπτως· εἴ τις οὖν
 ἀεὶ παραρίπτει ἑαυτὸν ἐνόπιον τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ,
 βοηθεῖ αὐτῷ ἐν παντὶ
 πειρασμῷ καὶ σώζει αὐτὸν ἐκ πάντων τῶν πολέμων τοῦ
 ἐχθροῦ.
 [ἐὰν εὐχῇ τῷ θ(ε)ῷ περὶ πειρασμοῦ ἵνα λάβῃ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ
 σου καὶ οὐκ εἰσακούσῃ σου,]
 44 [μὴ ἐγκακήσῃς· γινώσκει γὰρ τὸ συμφέρον σοι
 περισσώτερόν σου. ἀλλ' ἐὰν εὐχῇ]
 [περὶ παντὸς αἰτήματός σου ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου, μὴ
 εἴπῃς "ἄρον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τόδε"]
 [ἢ "δόξαι μοι τόδε" ἀλλὰ εὐξέ λεγῶν οὕτως, "κ(ύρι)ε
 Ἰ(ησο)ῦ, σὺ εἶ βοηθός μου, ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου]
 [εἰμὶ· σὺ γινώσκεις τὸ συμφέρον μοι· βοήθησόν μοι· μὴ
 ἐάσῃς με ἀμαρτῆσαι εἰς σέ."]

- 1 See comm.; σαυτῷ ed. pr. 2 See comm.; ἦν pap.;
 θελήσει 3 ἀθῶος· καθαρὸς ed. pr.; εἴασας (ἴασας pap.)
 4 αὐτου· pap. 5 See comm.; ἀλλ' pap.; ἕα ταύτην ed. pr.
 6 Ἦς, ἀπελθῆς· pap. 8 πάντα, αὐτου pap.; σιωπῶντα
 9 κακοὶ pap. 11 ἀπατας· pap. 12 τοῦ ἀλληγορήσαντος
 εὖ ἀλληγορήσων ed. pr. 13 γραμμα· ἵνα pap.
 14 ὑπερηφανίας· pap. 17 ἐποίησεν· pap. 18 ἴος pap.
 19 σε· pap. 20 ἴου pap. 21 ἀλλ', αὐτου· pap.
 22 ἀνθίσταται 23 ἀποστολός·, εἰς· pap.; καὶ ex corr.
 (. . . ην) 25 πρῶν pap. 26 λειτουργίαν
 27 σοι· pap. 28 μοναχου· pap. 29 παρὰρριψον; ἦν pap.
 30 δύναμαι, αὐτό 31 ἦς pap. 33 πρῶν pap.
 34 ἐντέλλονται 36 ὑψηλο- pap. (η corr. ex o?); θαρσύνῃς
 39 ἐν, ἔχουσαν 40 τὸ, παραρίπτειν (second i corr. ex e);
 τῷ ex corr. (supralin. bar above); ἦν pap. 41 παραρίπτει,
 ἐνώπιον; ἦν pap. 42 αὐτόν; ἐχθρου/ pap. 43 ἦν pap.
 44 ἀλλ' pap. 46 δός, εὐξαι; κε ἵω pap. 47 γινώσκεις

. . . [and if] you return, [do not expel him (sc. the other brother)] but [find] for yourself another cell, lest you sin against God. But if by his own choice he wishes to depart, you are innocent. But if you left goods in it as well and he consumed them, do not require them from him.

(4ff.) If you wish to depart from your cell, see to it that you do not take the necessities with you; but leave them for a poor brother, and God provides for you wherever you go.

(6ff.) Do not be ashamed to tell your superior all hostile thoughts, and they are removed from you. For the spirits have no other joy except against a man who keeps his irrational thoughts (?) secret, whether they be good or evil.

(9ff.) When sharing in the offering of the mysteries, beware of holding malice against your brother, for you are deceiving yourself.

(11ff.) If the words of scripture are revealed to you for the purpose of allegorizing them, allegorize. But beware of annulling the letter, lest you trust your knowledge above the holy scripture; for this is a sign of pride.

(14ff.) If your brother is deceived by words of heretics and wanders in ignorance from the orthodox faith, if he returns do not despise him, for he did not do this by his own will.

(17ff.) Beware lest, wishing to establish your faith, you dispute with heretics--lest at some time the poison of their words smite you.

(19ff.) If you find a book said to belong to the heretics, do not desire to read it, lest in some way it fill your heart with deadly poison. But hold fast to that into which you were baptized; neither add to nor take away from it.

(22f.) Beware of knowledge falsely so called, which is contrary to the sound teaching, as the Apostle said.

(23ff.) If you are young and have not as yet ended the slavery of the evil passion of the body, and you hear about great and lofty virtues of elders, do not desire to attain to them without effort. For they do not come to you unless you first perform their service; but if you accomplish their labor they come to you of themselves.

(27ff.) Beware of discouragement, for it destroys every profit of the monk. If you struggle against passion do not be remiss, but cast yourself on God saying, "Help me in my misery, for I can do nothing against it"; and he helps you speedily.

(31ff.) If you are resisting the hostile power by ascetic discipline and see that it has weakened before you and has fled in retreat, do not let your heart rejoice, because the wickedness of the spirits is behind them. For they prepare a war worse than the first and leave it behind the city and order it not to move; and if you resist and combat them, then they flee from you deceptively; and if you are proud and confident because of your strength and leave the city to pursue after them--if they see that you have left the city, some offer resistance in front and some rise up behind, and they surround the miserable soul in their midst, having nowhere to flee. Now the city is the constant casting of oneself on God. If therefore one always casts himself down before God with whole heart, he helps him in every temptation and saves him from all the onslaughts of the enemy.

(43ff., **CROSSED OUT**.) If you pray to God about temptation, that he take it from you, and he does not hear you, do not be discouraged; for he knows what is to your advantage more than you. But if you pray about every request of yours in time of struggle, do not say "Take this from me" or "Give me this," but pray saying thus: "Lord Jesus, you are my rescuer, I am in your hands. You know what is to my advantage. Help me, do not allow me to sin against you."

1 E.g. [καὶ εἰ] ὑποστρέψεις, [μὴ ἐκβάλῃς αὐτὸν] (sc. τὸν ἄλλον ἀδελφόν) [ἀλλὰ εὐρ[ο]ν σεαυτῷ ἄλλο κελλίου. The traces representing εὐρ- are not at all distinctive, but the second aorist form built on a first aorist stem would be very much at home in the Koine (Gignac, *Grammar*

II 335-345; Jannaris, *Grammar* 200, 202). εἰ . . . ὑποστρέψεις μετὰ καιρὸν εἰς τὸν τόπον, μὴ ἐκβάλῃς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ζήτησον σεαυτῷ ἄλλο κελλίου G(γκβ; κελλίου ἄλλο ξ); sim. Z; μὴ ἐκβάλῃς (sic) τὸν ἀδελφόν ἐκ τοῦ κελλίου Ga. See Draguet III, 63* on the text of this and the following line. The situation being discussed here is that of the monk who has temporarily abandoned a cell which he has built but has then returned to find it occupied by another monk.

2 At the beginning, ἵνα looks slightly more probable than καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἁμαρτήσῃς εἰς θεόν G(γβ; ξ has ἁμαρτήσης, κ has ἁμαρτήης); sim. Z; καὶ ἁμαρτήσῃς εἰς θεόν Ga; sim. Z.

2-3 εἴ τε . . . ἄθῳς εἴ: ἄλλ' ἐὰν θέλει ἰδίῳ θελήματι ἐξελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κελλίου, ἄθῳς εἴ GGa; sim. Z; Draguet notes that βξ have προαιρέσει and that γκ have προθέσει in place of it but does not give other details of G's text.

εἰ . . . θελήσῃ: On the mood see introd.

3-4 εἴ τε καὶ . . . παρ' αὐτοῦ: So G; sim. Z; om. Ga.

4-6 Of the words printed with dotted letters in 5, all but μὴ offer at least some letters which may be read even without context; the ed. pr., however, printed only dots preceding ἄλλ' (βλέπε τὴν | χρείαν μὴ λάβῃς τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ sugg. Draguet). Reading the papyrus is assisted by a comparison with the version of the whole section given by GGa: ἐὰν ἐξέλθῃς ἀπὸ κελλίου, βλέπε μὴ λάβῃς τὰς χρείας τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἄφες αὐτὰς δι' ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν πτωχόν, καὶ ὁ θεὸς οἰκονομεῖ σε (φροντίζει σοι Ga) ὅπουδ' ἀπέρχῃ; sim. Z.

5 χρεῖαν: In earlier passages of this discourse the word is used in the singular to refer to the daily food necessary to sustain the monk and in the plural to describe unspecified necessities which he must buy. Z has "quae in ea (sc. cella) sunt usui necessaria."

6 ὅπουδ' ἂν: The word occurs from time to time in Christian literature and in Byzantine papyri, but it does not seem to be attested before the third century (Dio Cas. *Fr.* 109.21).

πάντα λογισμῶν: Taking the noun as it stands, rather than as a spelling error for λογισμὸν (the reading of GGa), would allow for a plural subject to be understood in the case of κουφίζονται following. A genitive construction with πᾶς is paralleled by Dio Chr. 3.70 τῶν γε ἀνθρώπων πᾶς; cf. [Xen.] *Ath.* 3.3, Diod. Sic. 36.4.3, Dion. Hal. 6.74 (B).

6-9 πάντα . . . κακοί: So G; sim. Z; πάντα λογισμὸν πολεμοῦντά σε μὴ αἰσχύνου ἀποκαλύψαι ἐνώπιον τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἀναπαύει οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ χαρὰ τῶν δαιμόνων εἰ μὴ τι ἀνθρώπῳ κρύπτοντι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμούς Ga (but placed earlier in the discourse; cf. Draguet, ad loc.).

9 ἀλογισμούς: The word seems not to be attested elsewhere, but we may compare ἀλογία and ἀλογίζομαι. All of the Greek manuscripts have λογισμούς; cogitationes Z.

9-11 φύλαξον . . . ἀπατάς: So G; sim. Z; πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, μήποτε ἔχεις κατὰ τινος καὶ μεταλαμβάνεις εἰς κρίμα τῆς ψυχῆς Ga.

11-14 ἐὰν . . . ὑπερηφανίας: So G; very similar are Ga ἐὰν ἀποκαλυφθῇ σοι λόγος τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς τοῦ ἀλληγορήσαι αὐτόν, ἀλληγόρησον· πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ μὴ καταργῆσαι τὸ γράμμα, ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσεις τῇ γνώσει σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ἁγίαν γραφήν· σημεῖον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας and Z.

14-17 ἐὰν . . . ἐποίησεν: So G(βξ), but with ἐξέπεσεν in place of τοῦτο ἐποίησεν; sim. Z; ἐὰν δὲ πλανηθῇ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας πίστεως ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ ἢ ἀπὸ αἰρετικοῦ, ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ μὴ ἐξουδενώσεις αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδίῳ θελήματι ἔπεσεν Ga.

17-19 φύλαξον . . . σε: So G (βγκ; ξ has πνίξῃ instead of πλήξῃ); sim. Z; φύλαξον σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ αἰρετικοῦ τοῦ μὴ διακρίναι μετ' αὐτοῦ θέλων στήσαι τὴν πίστιν, ὅπως μὴ βλάβῃ τὴν καρδίαν σου ὁ ἰὸς τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ κινδυνεύσεις Ga.

19-21 ἐὰν . . . αὐτοῦ: So G (γκ; β has θανατηφόρου and ξ θανατικοῦ instead of θανάτου); sim. Z; ἐὰν εὖρης σύνταγμα αἰρετικῶν, μὴ θέλῃ ἀναγνῶναι αὐτό, ἵνα μὴ πληρώσει τὴν καρδίαν σου ὁ ἰὸς τοῦ θανάτου, ἀλλ' εἰς δὲ ἐβαπτίσθης ὀρθοδόξως οὕτως κάτεχε τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα, μηδὲν προστιθῶν μηδὲ ἀφαιρῶν, ὅπως ποιήσεις τὸν πάντα σου χρόνον ἐν ἀναπαύσει Ga (on ἐὰν with indicative, see introd.).

22-23 φύλαξον . . . ἀπόστολος: So G; sim. Z; om. Ga. The scriptural allusion is apparently to *I Tim.* 6.20.

23-27 The differences between G and Ga in this section are usually very minor; sim. Z.

23 ἐὰν . . . εἴ: See introd.

25 ἀκόπως: So G(βξ)Ga; ἐν ἀναπαύσει G(γκ).

26 τελέσης: So G(βξ); ποιήσης G(γκ)Ga.

27 ἐαυταῖς ἔρχονται σοι: ἐαυτοὶ σοι ἔρχονται Ga. For the tense see introd. The use of the reflexive pronoun where classical practice expects a form of αὐτός is well attested in the Koine of Roman and Byzantine papyrus documents (Gignac, *Grammar* II 170). But the use of the dative in the papyrus is hard to categorize; it apparently carries a vague associative sense and is equivalent to καθ' ἑαυτούς.

27-28 φύλαξον . . . μοναχοῦ: So γκβ; sim. Z; om. ξ; φύλαξον σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας· αὕτῃ γὰρ ἀπόλλυσι πάντα καρπὸν μοναχοῦ Ga.

28-30 ἐὰν . . . τάχει: So G (γκ have ἀναπαύει instead of βοηθεῖ σοι ἐν τάχει); ἐὰν ἀγωνίζῃ πρὸς πάθος, μὴ ἐγκαθήσεις, ἀλλὰ πρόσπιπτε τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ σου λέγων ὅτι οὐδὲν δύναμαι, καὶ βοηθεῖ σοι ἐν τάχει Ga; Si cum animi perturbationibus et vitiis pugnas, ne defice, sed te ipsum prosterne coram Deo, "non possum" inquires in toto corde tuo "per me resistere. Tu mihi misero, Domine, fer auxilium." Et superabis Z.

30 δύνομαι: On thematic forms of this verb in Koine, see Gignac, *Grammar* II 384-385; Jannaris, *Grammar* 198, 234, 258.

31 The wedge-shaped paragraphos at 31 signals clearly the beginning of a new section, which consists of a striking and rather elaborate passage likening the attacks of the πνεύματα upon the soul to those of an enemy upon a city, itself a metaphor for submission to God. Immediately before it, however, G(γκ)Ga (sim. Z) include another, rather extensive one which inveighs strongly against sexual passion; G(βξ) like the papyrus omit the passage but insert it at a later point in the discourse (see Draguet ad loc.).

31-42 ἐὰν . . . ἐχθροῦ: So G (γκ have ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ instead of ἐν πανουργίᾳ); ἐὰν ἀγωνίζῃ κατὰ ἐχθρῶν σου καὶ ἴδῃς αὐτοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπὸ σου, μὴ χαρῆς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, ὅτι ἡ κακία τῶν δαιμόνων ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἐστίν· ἐτοιμάζουσι γὰρ πόλεμον πονηρότερον τοῦ προτέρου καὶ ἀφίουσιν αὐτὸν ὀπίσω τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐντέλλονται αὐτῷ μὴ κινηθῆναι· καὶ ἐὰν <ἐξω?> τῆς πόλεως πολεμήσεις, τότε φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ σου ἐν πονηρίᾳ· καὶ ἐὰν ὑψηλοφρονήσεις καὶ θαρσῆσεις τῇ δυνάμει σου καὶ ἐάσεις τὴν πόλιν τοῦ καταδιώξαι ὀπίσω αὐτῶν, ἐὰν ἴδωσιν ὅτι ἀφήκας τὴν πόλιν, οἱ μὲν ἀνθίστανται ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεγείρονται ὀπίσω, καὶ οὐκ ἀφίουσι τὴν ἄθλιαν ψυχὴν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, μὴ ἔχουσιν ποῦ φυγεῖν· τὸ προσπίπτειν ἀδιαλείπτως αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις· εἴ τις οὖν προσπίπτει τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, βοηθήσει αὐτῷ ἐν παντὶ πειρασμῷ Ga; Z compresses considerably.

33 πόλεμον: "A battle force" Hardy; "une guerre" Draguet, based on the Syriac. Is this a concretization, a personification, or both? Zini's Latin expands the sentence, probably to address this problem.

36 θαρρσήσης: Gignac, *Grammar* I 142-145 lists no documentary examples of -pp/ρσ- spelled in such a fulsome manner.

42 αὐτῷ (read αὐτόν): Perhaps best explained by the ο/ω interchange (cf. line 40) plus the writer's tendency to omit final ν (cf. 26, 39).

43-44 [ἐάν . . . σου]: So G (γκ have πολέμου instead of πειρασμοῦ); sim. Z; ἐάν παρακαλέσεις τὸν θεὸν βοηθήσαι σοι περὶ πειρασμοῦ καὶ οὐκ εἰσακούσῃ σου, μὴ ἐγκαθήσεις· αὐτὸς γὰρ οἶδεν τὰ συμφέροντά σοι ὑπέρ σε Ga. On ἐάν with indicative see introd.

44-47 [ἀλλ' . . . σέ]: The papyrus in general follows G, which however have λαβὲ instead of ἄρον; ἐάν παρακαλέσεις τὸν θεὸν διὰ πᾶν αἶτημά σου, μὴ εἴπῃς· ἄρον ἅπ' ἐμοῦ τι, ἢ δός μοι τι, ἀλλ' εὖξαι λέγων οὕτως· δέσποτα Χριστέ, σὺ βοηθός μου· ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου εἰμὶ ἐγώ, βοήθησόν μοι· μὴ ἑάσεις με ἀμαρτῆσαι εἰς σέ Ga; Z compresses considerably.

46. δόις (read δός): See Mayser, *Grammatik* I.1 89; cf. Gignac, *Grammar* I 197, 293.

193. Homer, *Iliad* 1.159-167

Inv. 178gl
Pl. 2

6.2 x 7.0 cm.

II/III

Provenance unknown

Verso

Published: L. Feinberg, *BASP* 8 (1971) 27-28 (MP³ 581.1)⁷

The popularity of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as literary works in Greco-Roman Egypt has provided us with a quantity of Homeric papyri that is very large in relation to those of other authors. As is exemplified by the nine fragments of Homer published in this volume,⁸ these numerous papyri constitute evidence for ancient books of widely varying qualities. Some of the fragments are likely to represent not complete papyrus volumes containing entire books of Homer but excerpts from the poems made for practice or study. Such might be the case with the lines written on the verso of this small scrap, although the fact that the column begins in mid-sentence shows that there ought to have been at least one preceding column containing the first part of Achilles' speech. The verses

⁷ For the Mertens-Pack number, see "Note on Editorial Procedure."

⁸ We do not republish in this volume P. Col. inv. 695 recto, *BASP* 8 (1971) 35-38 = *PSI*Od. 11, the whole containing *Od.* 18.2-42.

are in an irregular, unpracticed school hand which could fit into the second or third century; indicative of this general period is part of a single line of writing in a good documentary hand which survives on the recto. The piece was reused for the school text at a time when a section of the verso fibers of the papyrus had already stripped away.⁹ Lectional signs are entirely lacking. There are no real textual variants, although a spelling interchange has produced οὐδ for οὐδ' in 160.

The evidence of the papyri shows clearly that of all the books of the Homeric epics, *Iliad* I was the one most frequently read or used for study purposes.¹⁰ The lines represented in our fragment occur also in the following published papyri:¹¹

P. Ryl. I 43 (III; roll) = Pack² 578 - Verses 161-167.

P. Bibl. Bodl. MS. gr. class. g 16(P) *descriptum*, Lameere, *Paléographie homérique* 004 = Pack² 581 (III; roll) - Verses 159-166.

P. Oxy. IV 749 = Pack² 582 (II; roll) - Verses 160-167.

P. Univ. Giss. IV 36 = Pack² 583 (ca. 100 B.C.; roll) - Verses 163-167.

P. Berol. inv. 9813 *descriptum*, *BKT* V.1 p. 4 = Pack² 584 (II-III; roll) - Verses 164-167.

P. Mich. inv. 6653, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 54-55 (II/III; roll) - Verses 159-167.

P. Berol. inv. 6869 + 21158, *APF* 24-25 (1976) 6-12 (I/II; roll) - Verses 159-164 (no overlap).

⁹ For the hand of the Homer text compare Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*² no. 5 (II/III, assigned); Roberts, *Literary Hands* nos. 20b (206) and 20c (mid-III, assigned) are professional hands which provide some general points of comparison. Lack of attention to the verticality of the left margin by the writer of the Columbia papyrus, as well as fluctuating letter size and spacing, must be responsible for the fact that, although according to the received text lines 160-161 have 37-38 letters apiece, they do not project as far to the right as one would normally expect (contrast especially verses 166-167, with 39 letters apiece, in the photograph).

¹⁰ See *BASP* 22 (1985) 272 n. 2; as of 1979, 9.5% of published Homeric papyri (totaling 674 at the time) came from Book I.

¹¹ For the sake of completeness, in this list and in the similar lists for the other eight Columbia Homeric fragments all papyri which contain any part of the verses in question are given. However, a papyrus which because of its state of preservation and that of the relevant Columbia papyrus (for example, if the one papyrus preserves only line ends and the other only line beginnings) shows *no textual overlap at all* with the portions of verses contained in the Columbia text under discussion, is annotated with "no overlap." If actual textual overlap concerns only some of the verses, the fact is ignored. Of course, it is often not possible to verify such particulars for papyri which were published only as *descripta*.

