Position of Arabic in the Literatures of the Christian Orient:
The Case of the *Life of Saint Macarius the Egyptian*

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The so-called Christian Orient can be characterized both by its unity which is manifest from the existence of its lingua franca (Greek in antiquity, and Arabic from the Middle Ages down to the present), and by its multiple cultural interactions which can be best seen in the way various literary works were transmitted from one language into another. From both points of view, the case of the *Life of Macarius*, which is preserved in various languages of the Christian Orient, deserves special attention, especially because its Greek version seems to derive from its Arabic version, as the present article shows.

**Keywords:** Christian Orient, Greek, Arabic, Translation, Macarius the Egyptian

One of the attractive features of the Christian Orient is that it is marked by linguistic diversity. The *Life of Macarius* (VM1), which is preserved in several languages of the area (Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Greek etc.), is just an example of it among many others.

This diversity does in no way mean that there has been no unity whatsoever. The Christian Orient has always had its lingua franca: in antiquity it was Greek, and from the Arab conquest onward Arabic has gradually taken its place. Given this situation, it is only natural that various works, written originally either in Greek or in other languages, have flowed into Arabic through translation.

However, cultural interaction in the Christian Orient was so complicated that things could sometimes go in the opposite direction. The purpose of the present article is to show one interesting example of this complication: it seems that the extant Greek version of the *Life of Macarius* derives from the Arabic version.

One thing should be noted before starting the discussion. On another
occasion I discussed the relation between the Coptic, the Syriac and the Arabic versions of the \textit{Life}, and argued that the Arabic version of the \textit{Life} is a translation of the Syriac version which, in its turn, derives from the Bohairic version.\textsuperscript{2} This is presupposed in the following discussion.

\section*{I. Preliminary remarks}

Two things should be clear at the outset. First, compared on the textual level, the Greek and the Arabic versions are completely different from each other; they clearly represent two different recensions of the \textit{Life}. Thus I will \textit{not} argue that the Greek version is a literal translation of the Arabic version; the relation between the two, if any, would be that of rewriting. So the resemblance between them should be looked for on the level of the content.

Second, it should be stressed that the Greek version which will be discussed here is the \textit{extant} one.

In Coptic literature, to which belongs also the Coptic \textit{Life of Macarius}, the problem of the language of composition is omnipresent: one is far from certain whether a literary work preserved in Coptic was originally written in Greek or in Coptic.\textsuperscript{3} Here a question can be posed: is it possible that this \textit{extant} Greek version is the original, from which would derive all the other versions (Coptic, Syriac, Arabic etc.)?

The answer to this question is obviously negative. The following two passages, presented in four different versions, will clearly show the point.

(a) In a chapter which I titled "Macarius, father of a child?", the extant Greek \textit{Life} has a following passage:

\footnotesize
\begin{quote}
'Εν δὲσι γὰ 
τα καθάπερ λέοντες ὄρωμενοι, ἀνδρῶν αἰδεσιμοτάτων ἐπέστη πλῆθος τὴν ἁπατὴν ἑκείνων ὁμὴν ἑπισχοδόσα, ἀγγέλων οἶμαι ἦν ἑκείνη ἐπιστασία καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωποι.
\end{quote}
\end{footnotesize}

While they were like roaring lions, a multitude of venerable people appeared, blocking their chaotic attack (I think this appearance was that of angels and not that of men).

By contrast, the corresponding passages of the other three versions are far shorter:

\footnotesize
\begin{quote}
[1] VMBoh XVI 15\textsuperscript{5}
\textit{Hēppē is hanrōmt mpistos aui ebol [A fol. 107\textsuperscript{v}] hi phouei.}
Behold, some faithful men came from afar.
\end{quote}
\end{footnotesize}
And suddenly, the angels appeared before the people, in the form of faithful and known men (who looked) like those who came from afar.

The underlined part of the Greek version would be best explained as a gloss to the text the author of the Greek Life used as model for his composition. In other words, far from being the original, the extant Greek Life seems to represent a later text.

(b) In the chapter which I titled “The end of an avaricious monk” (this chapter is lacking in the Coptic Life), one can read, in the extant Greek Life, a passage which apparently contains a similar gloss of the author (underlined below):

- VMGr XLII

    ἐν οἴκασῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἑνα τῶν ἁθενοῦντων ἁγίῳ ἐλαιω χρίσας ὑγιῆ εἰς τὰ ἱδα παρέτειμε. [B fol. 214va] τούς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτῶθι κατερείν κατέλιμπαν, οὑς ὡς ἐνδείχτης χάριτος, ὥσπερ! πῶς γὰρ ὁ τὰ φρικτὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ τὰ παράδοξα ἐργασίμενος καὶ τὴν ἁέναν πηνήν τῆς χάριτος οἰκοθεν ἑχον ἢν ἐνδειχτης, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μυρίους ἀρρόστους ἐν μία ῥοπῆς ἱάσασθαι;

And everyday, by applying the sacred oil, he made one of the sick go back to his country healed; the others he let them persist in perseverance. Not that he lacked the grace, far from it! For how (could) he, who had realized the formidable and extraordinary things and had from his childhood the inexhaustible source of the grace, lack the grace, so that he could not heal thousands of sick people in the twinkling of an eye?

Once again, the corresponding passages of the other versions are far shorter:

- VMSyr L 2

    w-kul yawmō mōse hwō l-had men-hun kad msalle hwō 'al meṣḥō w-mōṣaḥ leh.

    Everyday he healed one of them, by praying on the oil and applying it (to him).

- VMarab L 2

    wa-kulla yaumin kāna yubri'u min-him wāhidan yuṣallī 'alā zait wa-yadhunu-hu.

    And everyday he healed one of them, (for whom) he prayed on the oil and applied it (to him).

The underlined part of the Greek version would be best explained as a gloss to the text the author of the Greek Life had as model for his composition.
Thus these two passages seem to indicate that the extant Greek version, far from being the original, occupies a secondary and late place in the transmission of the Life of Macarius.

The implication of this observation should be clear. Mention was made above of the problem of the language of composition in Coptic literature, and it is still possible to think that the Life of Macarius was written originally in Greek, and then translated into Coptic. But our observation seems to indicate that even if that should be the case, this original Greek Life would apparently have no direct relation with the extant Greek version, since, as we saw above, the extant Greek Life differs significantly from the Coptic Life which must be the direct descendant of the original Greek Life if the latter really existed.

II. Two sub-recensions of the Arabic Life

A closer look on the Arabic version of the Life is now necessary. The Arabic version can be divided into two sub-recensions, as is clear from the following table of comparison which shows that the four different versions of the Life of Macarius (VMopt, VMSyr, VMArab and VMGr) omit (or add) chapters differently.11
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*Table of comparison of the versions of the VM*

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*<Legends>*

O = the chapter is attested  
Pt = the chapter is partially attested  
M = the chapter is lacking

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Looking at this table, one can find that, among the eleven manuscripts which contain the Arabic *Life of Macarius*, four of them (ArabA, B, C and D) contain a much shorter text than the remaining seven witnesses. I call this shorter sub-recension ArabX, and the longer one ArabY. The sub-recension ArabY can be divided into two groups, and one of them, ArabY2, which comprises ArabE, F, G, H, I and K, is most probably related to the Wadi n-Natrun, with the four manuscripts of the group (ArabE, F, G and H) preserved in the Monastery of saint anba Macarius. ArabY comprises also a karshuni manuscript, ArabL, which is preserved in the Mingana collection.

In addition to this major difference which is concerned with the length of the text, ArabX and ArabY present the following notable dissimilarities.

(1) At the beginning of the text, ArabX says that Macarius was of Egyptian origin; this mention lacks in ArabY:

1. VMArab (ArabX) I 1

hatJ.a kana min misra [A fol. 1]\v
ibn abwaini sālihaini.

This man was of Egyptian origin, a son of pious parents.

2. VMArab (ArabY) I 1

hādā, yā ahibbāi, al-'azīm al-muwayyad bi-nil'mat allāh, al-ab al-qiddis maqāriyus al-naqīy fi al-batūliyāh, kānā min abwaini sālihaini. [E fol. 58]

This man, o my beloved, (who was) great and confirmed by the grace of God, (i.e.) saint father Macarius, (who was) pure in virginity, was (born) from pious parents.

As mentioned earlier, one of the subdivisions of ArabY, ArabY2, is most probably related to the Wadi n-Natrun; ArabY2 is apparently an Egyptian branch of the Arabic version, and probably so is ArabY as well. Thus it is natural that ArabY lacks the mention of Macarius’ Egyptian origin, because it is completely evident for Christians in Egypt. The mention lacks also in the Coptic and Syriac *Lives*. Thus this addition “min misra”, which is peculiar to ArabX, seems to suggest that this branch of the Arabic *Life*, ArabX, was formed outside Egypt.

(2) In the *Life*, the story which recounts the monastic vocation of Macarius contains the following episode: eager to become monk, Macarius asked a certain hermit to give him advice, and the hermit let him stay in his cell. At night, while Macarius was asleep, the hermit saw a splendid vision about Macarius. Next morning when Macarius was about to leave, the hermit asked him if he saw anything during the night; Macarius said “No”. Then comes the passage in question. According to the Bohairic and Syriac *Lives*, the hermit did not tell Macarius the vision, in order that the latter might not be puffed up:
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[1] VMBoh XIII 5

mpejfe hli nsaji naf [A fol. 105'] nje pihello Salir ne etafnaa erou hina je nnefcisi nhèt. alla ashonhen etotj je hina efchol hi phouei ntefjopì ëhaten ketimi hê nimonê.

The old man told him nothing of what he had seen, in order that he (Macarius) might not be puffed up, but he ordered him to go away and to dwell near another village in the monasteries.


w-lô glo leh sôbô medem da-hzô d-lô lam nettvîm b-re'yôneh. w-paqdeh d-nizal l-ruhzhô gâril men qriêth w-ne'mar b-dayrô balhudawhy.

The old man did not reveal to him what he had seen, in order that he (Macarius) might not be puffed up. And he ordered him to go a little away from his village and to dwell alone in a monastery.

But the story changes in the Arabic version. In ArabX as well as some manuscripts of ArabY the sentence is affirmative, whereas it is negative in the other manuscripts of ArabY (see the note to the expression wa-kasafa):

• VMArab XIII 5

wa-kasafa lah al-sâyh al-manzar alladì obshara-hu, wa-li-allâ yata'zzam bi-ra'y-hu amara-hu al-sâyh an yamdía ba'îd qalîlan min al-qaryah wa-yaskuna fi qallîyah wahdahu.

And the old man revealed to him the vision he saw, and in order that he (Macarius) might not be puffed up in his thought, the old man ordered him to go a little away from the village and to dwell alone in a cell.

It is interesting to note that the negative appears only on the side of ArabY.

(3) According to the Life (ch. XX), Macarius went to the “mountain” (i.e. monastery) of Saint Antony to ask him advice about how to lead his monastic life. In this story, the “mountain” of Antony is mentioned as “al-ğabal al-ğarbi = the western mountain” in ArabX, whereas in ArabY it is called “al-ğabal al-şarqî = the eastern mountain”. Since the Syriac version has the expression “tûrô d-mdwnhô = the mountain of the east” (the expression in question is lacking in the Coptic version), the reading “eastern” is original. Why did ArabX change it into “western”?

A possible explanation would be that Antony had two monasteries, one in the inner desert and the other near the Nile, and that the expression “western” refers to the monastery near the Nile. That Antony had two monasteries is a well-known fact, but this explanation seems unconvincing for the following reason: according to the Life of Macarius, Macarius visits Antony twice, and
during his second visit Antony dies in his presence. We know from the *Life of Antony* that he died in the monastery of the inner desert. So it follows that, when visiting him for the second time, Macarius went to Antony’s monastery of the inner desert. However, nothing in the *Life of Macarius* suggests that the destination of Macarius’ first visit was different from that of his second visit.

Another explanation which I propose here is that, for the author or the compiler of ArabX, the monastery of Antony was located somewhere in the west. As we saw earlier, ArabX contains a mention of Macarius’ Egyptian origin, which is superfluous for Christians in Egypt. This detail, together with the expression “western”, seems to suggest that ArabX is a branch which was formed outside Egypt, i.e. east of Egypt; and in fact, one of the manuscripts of this branch, ArabB, is preserved in the monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai, i.e. outside Egypt.

(4) According to the *Life of Macarius* (ch. XXXIV), one day a cherub appears to Macarius. Then comes the following passage, which is preserved only in ArabX and the manuscript ArabL:

- VMArab XXXIV 219
  \[ fa-lammā abzara-hu faraḥa katīran. \]
  When seeing him (the cherub), he rejoiced greatly.

Since the same passage figures both in Bohairic and Syriac, the original Arabic text must have had this passage.

(5) The last example, taken from ch. LXII, is concerned with the spelling of the name of Pachomius in Arabic. ArabX as well as the manuscript ArabL have a Greek ending,\(^\text{20}\) whereas in all the other manuscripts of ArabY the shorter form without Greek ending is used.\(^\text{21}\) In the Arabic Life of Pachomius, edited by Amélineau and which I suppose to have been translated in Egypt, it is the shorter form that is used predominantly. The Coptic and the Syriac *Lives* have *paḥōm* and *pakum* respectively, i.e. form without Greek ending. It is not impossible that the form without Greek ending was preferred in Egypt, and that elsewhere the form with a Greek ending was preferred.

These differences between the two sub-recensions of the Arabic *Life*, which might appear trivial at first sight, will be found important in the following discussion.\(^\text{22}\)
III. Relation between the Arabic and the Greek versions: the name of a dignitary

Now the relation between the Arabic and the Greek versions should be discussed.

The *Life of Macarius* has a story about the healing of the daughter of a dignitary (VMBoh: ch. XL, VMSyr and VMArab: ch. LIX, VMGr: ch. XLVII), and the problem concerns the name of this dignitary.

1. VMBoh XL 12 *agathonikos pieparchos nte antiochia* Agathonikos, the governor of Antioch
2. VMSyr LIX 12 *gatqliniqus huparko d-Antiokyō* Gāqlīniqus, the governor of Antioch
3. VMArab LIX 12
   - ArabA: *diyūqlitnānūs al-wālī* Diocletian the governor
   - ArabB, C: *diyūklitīyānūs [C diyūqlitīyānūs] wālī al-madīnah* Diocletian, the governor of the city
   - ArabD: *diyūklitīyānūs wālī al-madīnāt [sic] mīṣra* Diocletian, the governor of the city of Egypt
   - ArabE, F, G, H: *diyūqlitīyānūs wālī madīnāt Anṭākiyāh* Diocletian, the governor of the city of Antioch
   - ArabI: *diyūqlitīyānūs malik madīnāt Anṭākiyāh* Diocletian, the emperor of the city of Antioch
   - ArabK: *wālī madīnāt Anṭākiyāh* the governor of the city of Antioch
   - ArabL: *Anās wālī madīnāt Anṭākiyāh* Anas, the governor of the city of Antioch
4. VMGr XLVII *Διοκλητιανός ὁ βασιλεὺς* Diocletian, the emperor

The name in the Syriac *Life*, which is probably to be pronounced like "Gāqlīniqus", is apparently a corrupted form of "Agathonikus" which is found in the Coptic *Life*. It should be reminded here that the Syriac *Life* was probably translated from Bohairic, and that the Arabic *Life* is probably a translation from the Syriac version. Then the Arabic and the Greek versions have the same name "Diocletian", but with different titles.23 One can pose two questions: why do the Arabic and the Greek versions have the same name "Diocletian", and why does Diocletian have different titles in Arabic and in Greek?

Another observation might help to answer the second question. In the same chapter, one finds (in the Coptic, the Syriac and the Arabic versions, but not in the Greek version) the following passage which tells us the Christian faith of the dignitary:
is ἡπεὶ γαρ ηθεὶς ἐπιστεύω ἐναγιός ἐν τῷ πνεύμα νεκρός ἐνταῦθα ἐφον ἐτιορθοδοξία καὶ πὲς ἐν καταλόγῳ ἐπιταῖχο.

(Macarius said:) “For behold, because of the faith of her father in the saints and (because of) his upright faith in the orthodoxy, the Lord gave the healing to the girl.”

(Macarius said:) “In fact, because of the faithfulness of the father of this girl in the saints and in the orthodox faith, the Lord gave her the healing.”

(Macarius said:) “Then, because of the faithfulness of the parents of this girl to the saints and to the orthodox faith, the Lord gave her the healing.”

Thus according to the Coptic, the Syriac and the Arabic Lives, the dignitary had Christian faith. So the aforementioned second question can be reformulated as follows: why is Diocletian in the Arabic Life depicted as the governor of Antioch who had Christian faith, whereas the Greek Life simply characterizes him as the emperor? In Egypt there was a peculiar tradition, according to which Diocletian was at first Christian, resident in Antioch, and it is only later that he abandoned his faith. One can see that the description about Diocletian in the Arabic Life is in perfect harmony with this tradition.

Then, how are we to explain the fact that the Greek version, like the Arabic version, has the name of Diocletian, but that it lacks the detail about his being governor of Antioch and his Christian faith? The following seems to be the best explanation: the model which the author of the Greek Life used for his composition contained the name of Diocletian, and since he was ignorant of that peculiar Egyptian tradition about Diocletian, he modified the text accordingly – Diocletian as the persecutor of Christians, so necessarily as a “non-Christian” “emperor”. Thus this detail about the name of a dignitary strongly suggests that the author of the Greek version had before him something like the Arabic version.
IV. The origin of the Greek Life of Macarius

On closer look, we find more similarities, on the level of the content, between the Greek Life and ArabX, a branch of the Arabic version.

(1) At the beginning, the Greek Life specifies Macarius’ Egyptian origin (see 2. (1) above):

- VMGr I

  Τούτω πατρίς μὲν Αἰγυπτος ἦν, περὶ ἦν ὁ χρυσορρόφος Νεῖλος διέρχεται ποταμός.

  Egypt was his (i.e. Macarius’) homeland, around which runs the gold-streaming river, the Nile.

(2) According to the Greek Life, the hermit told the vision he had seen to Macarius (see 2. (2) above):

- VMGr XIII

  ἔπειτα τῷ Μακαρίῳ φησίν - «Ὁ βούλει, τέκνον, ποιεῖν, ποιεῖ · ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς συνεργαζόμενος σοὶ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πάλλων σε προσκαλεύμενος σωτηρίαν. τοιαυτοῦ μὴ ἔστω σοὶ μέλλησις, μηδέ τῶν θείων ἐργῶν ἐστὶ ύπερθετικός.» ταῦτα εἰπὼν τὴν ὁπτασίαν ἔξη̇ γε, καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἀπείραστος τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀμαρτάνῃ, διαθέμενος καὶ αὐτός τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ, πόρρω τούτῳ οικεῖν ἐξέπεμψε τῆς κώμης ἐν τινι κελλίῳ.

  Then he said to Macarius: «Do what you want to do, my child, for God works with you, He who calls you for the salvation of many people. So do not hesitate, and do not be slow in the divine works.» Having said that, he told the vision, and in order that he (Macarius), as an unexperienced man, may not miss the goal, he arranged what seemed to him good for him (Macarius), he sent him away to live outside the village in a cell.

(3) According to the Greek Life, Macarius rejoiced at the vision of the cherub (see 2. (4) above):

- VMGr XXXIV

  καθεξομένῳ τοῦν εν τῷ αὐτοῦ κελλίῳ, ἐφίσταται τῷ Μακαρίῳ ἄγγελος ἀγαθὸς. καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν ἀφθέντα ὁ ὅσιος καὶ ἐπιγνωσάς αὐτόν τίς ὁν καὶ εἶν, λίκαν τῇ ὧδε έξαρσί.

  While Macarius was sitting in his cell, a good angel appeared to him. And seeing the figure who appeared and realizing who he was, the saint rejoiced greatly at the vision.

(4) In the Greek Life, the name of Pachomius has evidently a Greek ending: Παχώμιος (see 2. (5) above).

(5) However, the most striking similarity between ArabX and the Greek version can be found in the way some of the chapters are omitted. Another look at the table of comparison presented above will show that the omitted chapters overlap.
very largely between ArabX and the Greek *Life*; this can hardly be explained away as a mere coincidence. I suggest that the Greek version of the *Life of Macarius* is most probably a rewriting based on the Arabic version, more precisely a branch of the Arabic version, ArabX.

**V. Conclusion**

A remark should be noted here concerning the date of composition of the Greek *Life*. It appears that a monastic florilegium compiled by John Oxeites, who was active at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, contains two excerpts from the Greek *Life of Macarius*. Consequently, the extant Greek version must have been written at the latest in the late eleventh century, and the Arabic version, in its turn, must have come into being at the latest in the eleventh, or maybe even in the tenth century. On the other hand, it is probably in the ninth century that the *Life of Macarius* was translated from Sahidic into Bohairic. All this seems to indicate that the transmission of the *Life of Macarius* from one language to another may have been rather swift and compact in time.

As for the place of composition of the Greek *Life*, Palestine is evidently a milieu in which such a Greek rewriting could be done; in this context one may remind that one of the manuscript of the branch ArabX, ArabB, is preserved in the Greek orthodox monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai. However, another candidate can be proposed: in view of the aforementioned fact that the Greek *Life* was known to an author who once resided in Antioch, this city and its surrounding area may have been the place. The existence near Antioch of a multilingual monastery, such as Saint Symeon of the Black Mountain, favors this idea. Furthermore, one may recall that it is precisely in this milieu that the Arabic *Life of John of Damascus* was translated into Greek.

In conclusion, it seems that the extant Greek version of the *Life of Macarius* is most probably a rewriting based on the Arabic version, more precisely a branch of the Arabic version, ArabX; the rewriting was realized probably in the eleventh century.

We know that, from the tenth century onward, metaphrasis, i.e. stylistical rewriting, became a mode in the field of Greek hagiography with the famous menologion of Symeon the Metaphrastes; perhaps the composition of the Greek *Life of Macarius* is to be understood in this context of Byzantine literature.

Passage from Arabic into Greek may not be so astonishing, although one
can say that relatively few examples have been pointed out so far. In any case, it is interesting to see an example which shows that the Arabic language, a newcomer in the literatures of the Christian Orient, could have some impact on the age-old Greek (Byzantine) literature, all the more because such an example stresses the character of the Orient as a crossroads of cultures.

The present article originates from the paper read at the seventh Conference on Christian Arab Studies held in Beirut, Lebanon, September 2004.

Notes

List of Abbreviations:


VM = Life of Saint Macarius the Egyptian.

1 The main object of my dissertation (TODA Satoshi, Vie de S. Macaire l’Egyptien. Edition et traduction des textes copte et syriaque), which was presented to Leiden University (The Netherlands) on March 22, 2006, has been to reedit the Coptic (Bohairic) and the Syriac versions of the Life of Macarius (VMBoh and VMSyr), formerly edited by AMéLINEAU, 46-117, and BEDJAN, 177-262, respectively. Quotations from the Coptic and the Syriac versions are thus made from my new editions, using the division into chapters (indicated in Roman numerals) and sections (indicated in Arabic numerals) which I introduced into my editions; for the division into chapters, see TODA, 279-284. For convenience’ sake, however, the reference to the former editions is also noted. The critical apparatus of the passages quoted from the versions of the VM is omitted here, unless it is deemed useful or necessary for the discussion.


3 This implies, it should be noted in passing, that if the language of composition is Greek, the preserved Coptic version should be a translation made directly from the Greek original.

Paris, BNF, Ar. 4885, no. 1/ fol. 1r-56r, 19th c.; ArabL = Birmingham, Mingana Collection, Syr. 21 (karshuni), no. 14/ fol. 184r-280v, between 1709 and 1722 A.D. Lastly, for the Greek Life (VMGr): GrA = Athinaï, National Library, no. 231, no. 17/ fol. 184r-211v, 14th c.; GrB = Meteorai, Monastery of Barlaam, no. 154, no. 16/ fol. 190v-220v, 1548 A.D. For more information on the manuscripts, see Toda, 269-278.

5 BohA fol. 107r, BohC fol. 5v; Amélineau, 69.
6 SyrA fol. 19r, SyrB fol. 384ra, SyrD fol. 4v, SyrE fol. 49v, SyrF fol. 14v; Bedian, 197.
7 ArabA fol. 17r, ArabB fol. 189v, ArabC fol. 187v, ArabD fol. 59r, ArabE fol. 66v, ArabF fol. 12r, ArabG fol. 7r, ArabH fol. 99r, ArabI fol. 12r, ArabK fol. 14r, ArabL fol. 204v.
8 GrA fol. 205r, GrB fol. 214vb.
9 SyrA fol. 46v, SyrB fol. 4Q4rb, SyrC fol. 68vb; Bedian, 239.
10 ArabA fol. 46r, ArabB fol. 212r, ArabC fol. 193v, ArabE fol. 86v, ArabF fol. 30r, ArabG fol. 20r, ArabH fol. 134r, ArabI fol. 36v, ArabK fol. 41v, ArabL fol. 252v.

For the first half of the Life (Prologue + ch. I – XXXV) there is no major difference concerning the way of omitting chapters. Thus the following table begins from ch. XXXVI, from where differences between the versions become considerable.

12 What ArabD contains is an abridged text of the shorter sub-recension.
13 ArabA fol. 1r, ArabB fol. 176r, ArabC fol. 181r, ArabD fol. 57r.
14 ArabE fol. 57r, ArabF fol. 3r, ArabG fol. 2r, ArabH fol. 82v, ArabI fol. 2v, ArabK fol. 2r, ArabL fol. 186r.
15 BohA fol. 104r, BohB fol. 11r, BohC fol. 3r; Amélineau, 64.
16 SyrA fol. 16v, SyrB fol. 382ra, SyrC fol. 59ra, SyrD fol. 3r, SyrE fol. 48v, SyrF fol. 12v; Bedian, 193.
17 ArabA fol. 13r, ArabB fol. 186r, ArabC fol. 185r, ArabD fol. 58r, ArabE fol. 64v, ArabF fol. 10r, ArabG fol. 6f, ArabI fol. 96v, ArabJ fol. 10r, ArabK fol. 11r, ArabL fol. 199v.
18 They are mentioned in the Life of Antony as the "inner mountain" (LX I etc.) and the "outer mountain" (LXI I etc.).
19 ArabA fol. 32r, ArabB fol. 203r, ArabC fol. 190r, ArabD fol. 63r, ArabL fol. 227v.
20 ArabA and ArabC: baḥūmiyyūs; ArabB and ArabD: baḥūmiyyūs; ArabL: baḥūmiyyūs (identical with ArabB and ArabD).
21 ArabE, ArabF, ArabG, ArabH, ArabI and ArabK: baḥūm.
22 A remark should be added here before continuing the discussion. In my earlier study, I presented the branch ArabX as an independent recension (called "recension B"), and I qualified it by the adjective "melkite"; see Toda, 274-275. While the idea of an independent "recension B" has been discarded since (the idea of two sub-recensions within the Arabic tradition is to be preferred), the other idea, i.e. the branch ArabX as a Melkite branch, still seems quite possible. For one thing, 3 of the 4 manuscripts of the branch, i.e. ArabB, C and D, mention January 19 as the commemoration day of Macarius, in accordance with the Byzantine tradition. The doubt remains, however, because the remaining manuscript of the branch, ArabA, presents as the commemoration day of Macarius the 23rd of the month of Adar, in accordance with the Coptic tradition and not with the Byzantine tradition. To come to a surer conclusion on this point, further investigation of the manuscripts of the branch ArabX seems indispensable.

23 More precisely, the original reading of ArabY must have been "Diocletian, the governor of the city of Antioch" (the omission of the name Diocletian in ArabK seems secondary), whereas that of ArabX seems to have been "Diocletian, the governor of the city" (the addition "of Egypt" of ArabD is apparently secondary). And in this case, the reading of ArabY, which contains the name of the city "Antioch", is more original than that of ArabX, as is clear from the comparison with the Syriac text.
24 BohA fol. 131r, BohB fol. 30v, BohC fol. 24v; Amélineau, 103.
25 SyrA fol. 52v, SyrB fol. 409vb, SyrC fol. 71vb, SyrD fol. 20v; Bedian, 250.
26 ArabA fol. 53r, ArabB fol. 218r, ArabC fol. 196r, ArabE fol. 92v, ArabF fol. 35v, ArabG fol. 24v, ArabH fol. 142v, ArabI fol. 44v, ArabK fol. 48v, ArabL fol. 265v.

GrA fol.185r, GrB fol.191ra.

GrA fol.189v, GrB fol.196ra.

GrA fol.199r, GrB fol.207ra.

I owe this information to Ms. E. Skaka, who was a Ph. D. student at the University of Oxford at the time when I contacted her.
