

The Desert In Words: Reading Ascetic Authority in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*

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Abstract

This paper textually investigates the alphabetical *Apophthegmata Patrum*, a text written in the late 5th or early 6th century CE that claims to record the sayings of the Egyptian Desert Fathers. The purpose of this investigation is to better understand the nature of Christian ascetic authority at this time as it moved from an oral to a written tradition. As this text bases its presentation of authority on sayings, or 'words', this paper will begin by focusing on a corpus of sayings which reveal how this text understands the power of 'words.' This text understands itself as enacting authority via words with the intention of transforming its readers. Once this paper has demonstrated this understanding, it will continue to outline a new understanding of the text's contradictions: that 'words' must be prescribed based on an individual and their situation, thus rendering contradictions non-problematic. Therefore, self-analysis and self-prescription of 'words' became necessary to ascetics as 'words' became written and not performed by the Fathers themselves. This aspect of written ascetic authority also exists within the later systematic *Apophthegmata Patrum* and other ascetic writings, with differences occurring because of their perceived audiences.

Keywords: asceticism, audience and readership, authority, the Desert Fathers, late antiquity

The *Apophthegmata Patrum* (*AP*), or *Sayings of the Fathers*, written in Palestine at the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century CE, is a compilation of sayings attributed to the Egyptian Desert Fathers from around 330 CE to 460 CE.¹ This text provides these sayings, or 'words', in a way that bases its authority on its presentation of the Desert Fathers. In this way the written text constructs itself as continuous with an oral tradition. However, this oral tradition was necessarily changed when the authoritative sayings moved to a written format that presented them concurrently. The text thus provides a unique opportunity to study the move of ascetic

authority from charismatic leaders to written texts.² I will focus on the corpus of sayings that explicitly show how the *AP* understands the role of words in relation to authority. This corpus mainly includes sayings in which disciples say to the Abba "Give me a word," but also to more subtle references to words. This selection will most clearly show how this text understands its own authority as a collection of sayings.³ From this base, my argument will proceed in two major arguments; the first will show that the *AP* enacts authority via words with the intention of transforming its readers.

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The second argument of this paper will show that previous understandings of supposed contradictions are no longer viable if one wants to understand this text as more than the 'raw material' of the Desert Fathers.⁴ This paper will therefore culminate by arguing that the contradictions in the *AP*, when explained with the ascetic concept of the prescription of words, function as part of this text's instructional program conditioning readers for self-analysis and self-prescription by allowing them to read themselves into the text.

It is first necessary to outline the scholarship that informs this paper's investigation. Building from the thesis of Edward Gibbon, traditional views of the *AP* cite it as evidence for the overall decline of the period and describe desert ascetics as practicing a savage and tyrannical form of false Christianity.⁵ In the late 50s and 60s, scholars like Jean-Claude Guy shifted focus and investigated the text's development in order to discuss its historicity.⁶ Scholarly methods changed again with the work of Peter Brown, who employed a socio-anthropological approach to history in order to answer questions of societal function, social relationships, and of 'average' individuals in history.⁷ Recent scholarship has rejected these previous approaches as not being critical of the textual nature of this and similar works.⁸ I will build on this recent trajectory by focusing on how the *AP*'s nature as a written collection affects its message, purpose, goal, and implications. Rather than looking at the *AP* for what it can say about the context of its production, similar to most recent scholarship,⁹ I will discuss how this text understands itself and how it wished to be read. This paper's focus is not on the world that made the *AP*, but rather the world that it sought to create in its text and in its readers.

As stated above, the first major argument of this paper will show that the *AP* can be understood as enacting authority via words with a view to spiritually transform its readers. The *AP* consistently shows that words have power and are the vehicles by which authority is enacted. The text reveals this aspect of words in three main types of sayings: those that relate the power of good words or bad words;¹⁰ those that define silence in terms of avoiding the power of bad words;¹¹ and those that show that words are transformative.¹² Evidence for these themes is found throughout the text. The power of good and bad words is made explicit when Abba Macarius states, 'One evil word makes even the good evil, while one good word makes even the evil good.'¹³ This concept is echoed by Abba Achilles who, found by a disciple to be vomiting blood, remarks, 'the word of a brother grieved me, I struggled not to tell him so I prayed God to rid me of this word. So it became blood and I have spat it out. Now I am in peace, having forgotten the matter.'¹⁴ Moreover, Abba Ammoe comments on the difference between good and bad words, saying that "edifying words" should not be allowed to decline into "irrelevant

conversation."¹⁵ In reference to ascetic silence, Abba Poemen relates that "[t]he man who speaks for God's sake does well; but he who is silent for God's sake also does well."¹⁶ At odds with this, Abba Poemen says "[i]f you are questioned, speak; if not, remain silent,"¹⁷ and similarly Abba Isidor of Pelusia states, "To live without speaking is better than to speak without living. For the former who lives rightly does good even by his silence but the latter does no good even when he speaks."¹⁸ Having shown that there is indeed a basis of power, which can justify the enactment of authority through words, it is now possible to look more specifically at the use of words as vehicles for authority in the *AP*.

As Philip Rousseau points out, there are a fair number of sections of the *AP* that relate to the perceived decline of holiness in the Desert tradition.¹⁹ These sections should be read with the understanding that they contribute to the *AP*'s construction and enactment of textual authority based on sayings of past Desert Fathers. While oral textuality did play a significant role in passing down these sayings,²⁰ this paper will focus on the written form of the *AP* that was disseminated to readers. Throughout the *AP* there are seven instances where Abbots comment directly on the perceived decline of the Fathers of the Desert tradition,²¹ and of these two require specific emphasis due to the clarity of their point. Firstly, a saying of Abba Felix states:

There are no more words nowadays. When the brothers used to consult the old men and when they did what was said to them, God showed them how to speak. But now, since they ask without doing that which they hear, God has withdrawn the grace of the word from the old men and they do not find anything to say, because there are no longer any who carry their words out. Hearing this, the brothers groaned, saying, 'Pray for us, abba.'²²

Similarly, a saying of Abba Macarius goes, "Abba Poemen asked him weeping; 'Give me a word that I may be saved.' But the old man replied, What you are looking for has disappeared now from among monks."²³ It is in this way that the text justifies its use of written authority; these sections clearly show how the *AP* understands its purpose to be the enactment of authority by presenting sayings attributed to the Desert Fathers. Thus, this text, as is explicit in its existence, suggests that ascetic authority can only exist in the preservation of the words of the Desert Fathers.

In the *AP*, words are asked for and given as the vehicles through which authority was enacted in order to transform the disciples receiving the words. This is happening in two possible ways: words could transform a disciple upon being heard and understood,²⁴ or words could transform a disciple when obeyed and practiced.²⁵ First, this transformation often took place because words taught the disciples something, revealed the virtue of an Abba, or had the power to change the disciples' attitudes. These instances

are almost always flagged by a term such as “hearing these words”²⁶ or “when they heard that”²⁷ and followed by phrases like “we went away, greatly edified,”²⁸ “they were all filled with wonder and edification at [the old man’s] discretion,”²⁹ or “all those present were pierced to the heart by the words of the old man.”³⁰ As for words needing to be put into practice for transformation to occur, this mechanism fits easily into the widely understood model of ascetic practice. Examples of this can be found in Abba Isaac’s frustration with his disciples, where he says “I am not giving you any more directions because you would not keep them,”³¹ and in Syncletica’s insistence that one cannot teach words unless they also practice that life.³² Since the *AP* sees its goal of enacting authority to be continuous with the transformation of disciples, it then follows that this text understands its purpose as the transformation of its readers. Thus, the *AP*, as a written text, employs words and sayings as vehicles to transform its readers through its authority.

However, as per this paper’s second argument, if the *AP* as a written text enacts authority with a definable goal then there must be a way of explaining the contradictions that does not undo the previous argument. This reconsideration must occur because it is no longer possible to simply explain the contradictions in terms of the text’s origin and compilation;³³ it is instead necessary to consider how the *AP* understands the nature of ascetic authority in a way that allows for such discrepancies. To begin this discussion it is first necessary to outline some examples of such discrepancies that occur in the *AP*. The most relevant type of contradiction is the soteriological discrepancies found in the text when Fathers, having been asked by a disciple to give a word in order to be saved, reply in entirely different ways. These replies range from relative laxity, such as Abba Macarius stating “take no account of either the scorn of men or their praises, and you will be saved”³⁴ and Abba Hierax saying “sit in your cell, and if you are hungry, eat, if you are thirsty, drink; only do not speak evil of anyone, and you will be saved.”³⁵ to far more strict instructions, such as Abba Ares asserting “go, and for the whole of this year fast for two days at a time.”³⁶ Such contradictions can also be found between how Abba Serapion says that it is impossible to edify a certain disciple because of his possession of books while Abba Epiphanius teaches “The acquisition of Christian books is necessary for those who can use them.”³⁷ Thus, upon seeing these contradictory instructions in the *AP*, it is clear that some understanding of this is needed if this text should still be considered as having a specific goal.

Previous scholarship explained these contradictions in reference to the *AP*’s origin.³⁸ Authors argued that different Desert Fathers simply taught different things and that words given orally as ‘word events’ were only meant to be instantaneous and for a specific situation as discerned by the Desert Father.³⁹ These arguments, however, do not consider

that the *AP* as a written text is not simply the direct recording of the “raw material” of Desert Fathers.⁴⁰ Even authors like Burton-Christie, who understands these contradictions to be based on passed down oral texts, do not fully recognize that the nature of a text changes when it is accessed directly by reading as opposed to prescribed orally; once the sayings are written, fixed, and presented concurrently, they no longer have the nature of instantaneous ‘word events’.⁴¹ As a brief note, it might be argued simply that ascetics did not care about consistency of belief, but did care about spiritual feelings; however, this concept does not derail this argument as words often needed to be practiced in order to transform the recipient, thus making some mutually exclusive.⁴² Phrasing this issue in terms of prescription on an individual level allows the second argument of this paper to find its next step. The *AP* clearly states that words need to be given according to an individual’s needs and abilities in order to edify the recipient.⁴³ One of the most explicit instances of this comes about after Abba Abraham notices that Abba Ares is prescribing different ‘yoke[s]’ to different brothers, which Abba Ares justifies by saying:

How I send them away depends upon what the brethren came to seek. Now it is for the sake of God that this one comes to hear a word, for he is a hard worker and what I tell him he carries out eagerly. It is because of this that I speak the word of God to him.⁴⁴

A similar saying is found in Abba Anthony’s section:

The brethren came to the Abba Anthony and said to him, “Speak a word; how are we to be saved?” The old man said to them, “You have heard the Scriptures. That should teach you how.” But they said, “We want to hear from you too, Father.” Then the old man said to them, “The Gospel says, ‘if anyone strikes you on one cheek, turn to him the other also.’” (Matt. 5.39) They said, “We cannot do that.” The old man said, “If you cannot offer the other cheek, at least allow one cheek to be struck.” “We cannot do that either,” they said. So he said, “If you are not able to do that, do not return evil for evil,” and they said, “We cannot do that either.” Then the old man said to his disciple, “Prepare a little brew of corn for these invalids. If you cannot do this, or that, what can I do for you? What you need is prayers.”⁴⁵

The *AP* demonstrably understands words as needing to be prescribed on a case-by-case basis in order to transform the recipient; just as the *AP* presents this paradigm as being true within its sayings, so too does it imply that the sayings it gives are to be used on a case-by-case basis. Having established this, it is finally possible to make a reevaluation of the nature of written ascetic authority on this basis.

Because this text enacts authority with the purpose of transforming its readers, and because it understands that words must be prescribed on an individual level, it is possible to state that the nature of ascetic authority in the *AP* encourages an asceticism that requires a reader to engage in self-analysis and self-prescription. Moreover, if one accepts the scholarship which suggests that these sayings are based on a highly consistent oral tradition, as Harmless provides much evidence for,⁴⁶ then it is possible to cite this change as part of the move from an oral tradition to a written one. With ascetic authority becoming vested in written works, individual ascetics who read the texts needed to develop the ability to self-prescribe words in order to be transformed. This need arose because the text replaced the Father who previously performed the analysis and prescription. This argument should in no way be taken to imply that obedience was undercut by this self-prescription, but rather that a text such as this required a type of discerning obedience as a replacement to the analysis and prescription originally practiced by the Fathers. It is worth noting that Rousseau specifically states that, for a time, written works were in fact only possessed by local monastic leaders, and thus the paradigm of the oral textual tradition, in which a Father prescribes words to a disciple, can largely be seen to remain.⁴⁷ While this fact does inform when and where the described effects of written ascetic authority would occur, the argument that the *AP* would promote the practice of self-analysis and self-prescription in those who were themselves reading it nevertheless remains unharmed. Thus, with this argument now being clear, it is possible to state that the nature of the written ascetic authority in the *AP* can be understood to encourage – and indeed require – a reader to engage in self-analysis and self-prescription if they are to be transformed by this text.

To support this thesis of the nature of written ascetic authority, it is necessary to locate examples of this aspect of self-analysis and self-prescription in other works of written ascetic authority. Two such examples can be found in the later systematic organization of the *AP* and in the *Conferences* of John Cassian. Steven D. Driver explicitly discusses how Cassian systematized his work in order to deal with the implications of conveying a tradition of oral instruction in writing.⁴⁸ To Driver, Cassian's main difficulty in writing this work came about because he "could not discern the needs of his individual readers; nor could there be any certainty that his *logoi* would fulfill a particular reader's needs"; the nature of this sort of written text leaves a reader "to his own devices, seeking from a written text the remedy for a self-diagnosed disease."⁴⁹ In order to facilitate a reader in such self-diagnosis [is], Cassian used both a narratively driven ascetic progression and Germanus, a character to be the eyes and ears for his Gallic audience, thus providing the reader with the "tools" once used by the Fathers.⁵⁰ In this way, Cassian's

work, the same as the *AP*, understands self-analysis and self-prescription to be integral to written ascetic authority inasmuch as its structure seeks to facilitate a reader in these tasks.⁵¹ In a similar vein, it is possible to see the later systematic organizations of the *AP* as also attempting to facilitate these same tasks by allowing a reader to search the work by topic.⁵² Thus, these three texts are profoundly similar; they all identify the requirement of a reader to self-analyze and self-prescribe and, furthermore, they condition their audience to do so by allowing a reader to read themselves into the text. Cassian encourages the "interiorization of the text" by allowing his Gallic audience to identify with Germanus.⁵³ Likewise, the *AP* can be seen as allowing its audience, at least that which was immediate to its production, to read themselves into the textual disciples who sought words from the Desert Fathers. Thus, this paper's thesis of the nature of written ascetic authority is supported by the fact that other ascetic texts share this self-analytical and self-prescriptive aspect with the *AP*.

In order to reinforce this final argument of these texts' similarity, it is prudent to preempt possible counterarguments based on the differences of the texts. The fact that the structures of the *Conferences* and the systematic collection may seem, to a twenty-first century reader, to more explicitly support self-analysis and self-prescription should not be taken as evidence that these aspects were not present, or were not attended to, by the alphabetical collection. Firstly, as per Cassian's structure, the fact that Cassian employs both a narrative journey and the character of Germanus in his text does not ubiquitously mean that a text without these elements, such as the alphabetical collection, could not be a written authority of the Desert tradition.⁵⁴ Rather, here it is important to note the audience. While Cassian's Gallic readers required Germanus as a self-stand-in, not being able to identify directly with the disciple Cassian,⁵⁵ the intended and immediate readers of the alphabetical collection are believed by the text to be able to identify directly with the disciples. Secondly, the fact that the alphabetical collection is not organized systematically does not mean that the systematic collection is superior to it in this self-prescriptive aspect. Rather, these differences can be explained, again, in terms of what each text believes would be the most suitable for its audience. On the one hand, the systematic collection's structure seems obviously helpful for its readers in this regard. Nevertheless, the alphabetical collection's method of 'sending' its readers from one Abba to the next, similar to Cassian's approach, was more useful to its particular presentation of the Desert tradition, while in no way undercutting its authoritative nature. Having dealt with these possible issues, it is finally possible to fully see the pervasiveness of self-analysis and self-prescription in texts of written ascetic authority.

It is in this way that the *AP* can be understood, through textually investigating the work's presentation of the role and purpose of words, to encourage an asceticism that requires both self-analysis and the self-prescription of practices. The case for this is made in this paper's two arguments, the first of which shows how the *AP* can be understood as a text that enacts ascetic authority via its words in order to try to transform the reader. Moreover, as per the second argument, the *AP*'s contradictions reveal how this text encourages self-analysis and self-prescription on the part of the reader because of the ascetic need for words to be prescribed. This ascetic aspect of self-analysis and self-prescription also exists explicitly in the structures of Cassian's *Conferences* and the systematic collection of these sayings, which reveals further how these texts of written ascetic authority conditioned their audience for these tasks by allowing readers to read themselves into the work. Because of the profound impact that asceticism came to have on the Late Antique and Medieval worlds, this understanding of the implications of written ascetic authority should be regarded as necessary in order to better view the historical readers of the texts, not the constructed pasts within texts.

References

- ¹ William Harmless, "Remembering Poemen Remembering," *Church History* 69, no. 3 (2000): 486.
- ² Philip Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church In the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 68-76.
- ³ Benedicta Ward, trans., *Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (London: Mowbrays, 1975), 112.
- ⁴ Owen Chadwick, *Western Asceticism* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1958), 33-34, quoted in Graham Gould, *Desert Fathers on Monastic Communities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 4.
- ⁵ Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 12-13; Gould, *Desert Fathers on Monastic Communities*, 2-3; Harmless, "Remembering Poemen Remembering," 486-487; Nicholas Marinides, "Religious Toleration in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20, no. 2 (2012): 235-236.
- ⁶ Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 81-83; Graham Gould, "A note on the *Apophthegmata Patrum*," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 37, no. 1 (1986): 133-138; Gould, *Desert Fathers on Monastic Communities*, 4-11; Jean-Claude Guy, "Les *Apophthegmata Patrum*," in *Théologie de la vie monastique*, ed. G. LeMaitre, Collection *Théologie* (Paris: Aubier, 1961), 73-83. It is also necessary to
- note Derwas J. Chitty's *The Desert a City* from this period, which employed texts 'factually' in order "to tell the story" of the Desert tradition in a largely narrative form. Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford: A. R. Mowbray, 1966), xvi.
- ⁷ Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 91, 99-101; Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 222, 217-240; Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 71-74; Gould, *Desert Fathers on Monastic Communities*, vi, 18-25; Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church*, 5.
- ⁸ Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 4-7; Elizabeth Clark, *Reading Renunciation: Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 5-12; Steven D. Driver, *John Cassian and the Reading of Egyptian Monastic Culture*, Studies in Medieval History and Culture, ed. Francis G. Gentry (New York: Routledge, 2002), 2-8, 66-71, 83-84; Harmless, "Remembering Poemen Remembering," 486-488, 516-518.
- ⁹ Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 79-81; Harmless, "Remembering Poemen Remembering," 488.
- ¹⁰ Ward, *Sayings*, 25, 26, 29-30, 63, 82, 84, 89, 116, 133, 145, 158.
- ¹¹ Ward, *Sayings*, 26, 84, 145, 158, 181.
- ¹² Ward, *Sayings*, 1, 6, 9, 18, 25, 36, 51, 60, 63, 74, 117, 139, 133-134, 178, 181, 190-191.
- ¹³ Ward, *Sayings*, 116.
- ¹⁴ Ward, *Sayings*, 25.
- ¹⁵ Ward, *Sayings*, 26.
- ¹⁶ Ward, *Sayings*, 158.
- ¹⁷ Ward, *Sayings*, 145.
- ¹⁸ Ward, *Sayings*, 84.
- ¹⁹ Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church*, 71.
- ²⁰ Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 88-92; Harmless, "Remembering Poemen Remembering," 515-518.
- ²¹ Ward, *Sayings*, 5, 60, 85, 94-95, 112, 202.
- ²² Ward, *Sayings*, 202.
- ²³ Ward, *Sayings*, 112.
- ²⁴ Ward, *Sayings*, 1, 6, 9, 18, 25, 36, 51, 202, 63, 74, 117, 139, 153-154, 178, 181, 190-191.
- ²⁵ Ward, *Sayings*, 1, 4, 22, 29, 43, 85-86, 89, 166-167, 195, 202, 205.
- ²⁶ Ward, *Sayings*, 139.
- ²⁷ Ward, *Sayings*, 117.
- ²⁸ Ward, *Sayings*, 25.
- ²⁹ Ward, *Sayings*, 74.
- ³⁰ Ward, *Sayings*, 6.
- ³¹ Ward, *Sayings*, 85-86.

³² Ward, *Sayings*, 195.

³³ Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 88-92. I, obviously, disagree with Burton-Christie's argument that it is too simplistic to view the AP as one text. Burton-Christie is correct in identifying, as I have stipulated, that the text grew out of a varied and extensive oral tradition, but this does not change the fact that, by collecting these sayings and fixing them into writing, the collection presents the individual sayings concurrently. This concept is both supported by the first argument of this paper and by Harmless, who both understands this text did not collect sayings simply for the act of historic recording, but for a spiritual purpose that required this text to work towards a goal; Harmless, "Remembering Poemen Remembering," 488.

³⁴ Ward, *Sayings*, 111-112.

³⁵ Ward, *Sayings*, 89.

³⁶ Ward, *Sayings*, 29-30.

³⁷ Ward, *Sayings*, 49, 190. It should here be noted that, despite some sayings opposing the use of books in general, the reading of Scripture is nevertheless accepted as a positive practice unanimously. In this way, none of the sayings can be seen to directly oppose the fact that the AP is a written work because, as Elizabeth Clark discusses in her *Reading Renunciation*, supplementary texts to scripture functioned to largely occupy the same role as scripture itself. See Clark, *Reading Renunciation*, 12, and Ward, *Sayings*, 27.

³⁸ Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 88-92; Ruth Frazer, "The Morphology of Desert Wisdom in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*," (Ph. D. Diss: University of Chicago, 1977), 178, quoted in Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 90; Guy, "Les *Apophthegmata Patrum*," 79-81, quoted in Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 90, 101.

³⁹ Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 88-92; Frazer, "Morphology," 178, quoted in Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 90; Guy, "Les *Apophthegmata Patrum*," 79-81, quoted in Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 90, 101.

⁴⁰ Chadwick, *Western Asceticism*, 33-34, quoted in Gould, *Desert Fathers on Monastic Communities*, 4; Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 88-92; Frazer, "Morphology," 178, quoted in Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 90; Guy, "Les *Apophthegmata Patrum*," 79-81, quoted in Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 90, 101.

⁴¹ Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 88-92.

⁴² See Ward, *Sayings*, 29-30, 89, 111-112 for the contradiction in soteriological instructions: should an ascetic eat when they are hungry, as in Ward, *Sayings*, 89, or should they fast for two days at a time, as in Ward, *Sayings*, 29-30? As argued, regardless of how these sayings functioned in the oral tradition, when these sayings occur concurrently there must be some way of deciding what an ascetic must actually do.

⁴³ Ward, *Sayings*, 4, 29, 29-30, 63.

⁴⁴ Ward, *Sayings*, 29-30.

⁴⁵ Ward, *Sayings*, 4.

⁴⁶ Harmless, "Remembering Poemen Remembering," 515-518.

⁴⁷ Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church*, 75.

⁴⁸ Driver, *John Cassian*, 2-8, 66-71, 83-84.

⁴⁹ Driver, *John Cassian*, 66.

⁵⁰ Driver, *John Cassian*, 66-71, 83-84.

⁵¹ Driver, *John Cassian*, 66-71, 83-84.

⁵² Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert*, 85. Burton-Christie discusses the systematic collection here, but not in terms of this argument.

⁵³ Driver, *John Cassian*, 84.

⁵⁴ Driver, *John Cassian*, 5. Driver seems to imply this thinking, but could also simply mean that Cassian's structure was needed for his Gallic audience, as discussed above.

⁵⁵ Driver, *John Cassian*, 67.

