

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD .....	XI
ABBREVIATIONS .....	XV
LIST OF MAPS AND FIGURES .....	XVII
MAPS .....	XIX

### Introduction

EGYPT – THE HOMELAND OF MONKS .....	3
-------------------------------------	---

A snapshot of the country – 3. The desert – 7. Alexandria – 8. The inhabitants – 9. The Church – 11. The birth of monasticism – 13. The emergence of Coptic script and literature – 17. Monks and doctrinal controversies – 19. What happened next with the monastic movement in Egypt? – 21. Bibliography – 22.

### Part One

THE GREAT MONASTIC TEXTS .....	25
--------------------------------	----

#### Chapter One

<i>VITA ANTONII</i> (THE <i>LIFE OF ANTONY</i> ) .....	27
--	----

Introduction – 27. The manuscript tradition of the *VA* – 29. The question of authorship – 33. When was the *VA* written? – 36. The readers of the *VA* and the circumstances of its composition – 38. The sources of the author of the *VA* – 40. Was Antony literate? Did he know Greek? – 50. The *Letters* of Antony and his theological culture – 52. Antony and the demons – 59. The conversion of Antony to ascetic life – 61. Antony during the persecutions. An analysis of the *VA* 46 – 72. The correspondence between Antony and emperors – 78. Antony's intercessions with the men in power – 82.

Antony's attitude to the clergy – 87. Antony's attitude towards the Arians and Melitians – 90. The final days of Antony's life – 92. Reading the *VA* with map in hand – 97. Bibliography – 105.

## Chapter Two

### *HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO*

(*HISTORY OF THE MONKS IN EGYPT*) ..... 109

The Greek original – 109. Rufinus and his *Historia monachorum* – 120. Bibliography – 134.

## Chapter Three

*HISTORIA LAUSIACA* ..... 137

The life of Palladius – 137. The title of the work and its textual history – 141. Structure and style – 144. Palladius's sources – 146. The image of the Egyptian monastic world depicted in *HL* – 148. The great master of Palladius: Evagrius of Pontus and his ascetic doctrine – 151. The two editions of *HL* authored by Palladius: a comparison – 155. Palladius's views on asceticism – 162. The fame of *HL* in later centuries – 167. Bibliography – 168.

## Chapter Four

### *INSTITUTA (RULES) AND CONLATIONES PATRUM*

(*CONFERENCES OF THE FATHERS*) BY JOHN CASSIAN ..... 171

## Chapter Five

*APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM (THE SAYINGS OF THE FATHERS)* ... 179

## Chapter Six

THE PACHOMIAN DOSSIER ..... 189

Sources for the history of the congregation in the fourth century – 189. Pachomius's early years – 200. The building of the community – 202. Later monasteries – 204. Pachomius as the charismatic leader of the congregation – 207. Theodore – 211. Pachomius before the episcopal tribunal – 214. The death of Pachomius and the crisis of the congregation – 217. The Bible in Pachomius's teachings – 221. The question of doctrine and discipline in the monasteries – 223. The organisation of the monasteries – 226. The

rhythm of prayer in Pachomian communities: the congregation comes together – 229. The teachings of Pachomius and Theodore – 230. The question of orthodoxy – 232. Bibliography – 235.

## Chapter Seven

### SHENOUTE: BIOGRAPHY – WRITINGS – MONASTERIES ..... 239

Dossier – 240. Shenoute's biography – 243. The federation – 245. Shenoute's *Rules* – 248. Shenoute outside the monastery – 251. Fighting against pagans – 252. Refugees in the monastery – 257. Bibliography – 260.

## Chapter Eight

### METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS: HOW CAN

### WE SEPARATE LITERARY REALITY FROM 'REAL' REALITY?

### ON THE VALUE OF PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS ..... 263

Different realities – 263. Papyri – 266. Archives of monastic documents – 268 (*The Melitian archive published by Harold Idris Bell* – 268; *The archive of Nepherus* – 269; *The archive of the monk Paphnutius* – 270; *The dossier of monastic documents from the covers of the 'Gnostic' codices of Nag Hammadi* – 270; *The archive of Apa Joannes, the recluse of Lycopolis* – 272; *The archive of the monks of Labla* – 273; *The archive of Dioscorus* – 274; *The archive of the monastery of Apa Apollo in Bawit* – 275; *The archive of the monastic community of Wadi Sarga* – 276; *The archive of Deir el-Balaizab* – 277; *The monastic dossier of Western Thebes* – 278; *The texts of the laura of Epiphanius* – 278; *The archive of Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis and prior of Apa Phoebammon Monastery, and the archive of Pisentius, bishop of Coptus* – 279; *The ostraca and papyri from the Topos of Mark the Evangelist* – 282; *The archive of the monk Frange* – 283).

## Part Two

### HOW THE MONKS LIVED ..... 285

## Chapter Nine

### MONASTIC HABITAT ..... 287

The criteria for choosing places for living a monastic life – 288. Hermitages – 290 (*Naqlun* – 292; *Esna* – 299; *A hermitage of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna* – 301; *Cellia* – 306). Laurae – 308. Cenobitic monas-

teries – 315 (*North Saqqara* – 316; *Saint Phoebammon in the Rock* – 318; *Barwit* – 322; *The White Monastery* – 328). Bibliography – 335.

## Chapter Ten

### THE MONKS AS A SOCIAL GROUP ..... 337

The ways to become a monk – 337. The social background of monks – 348. Egyptian monks and the question of literacy – 352. The hierarchical order of the monastic world – 355. The monks among their equals – 358. Monks on the move – 361. A note on bibliography – 369.

## Chapter Eleven

### THE SIZE OF MONASTIC COMMUNITIES ..... 371

Nitria, Cellia, Scetis, Pherma – 374. Alexandria and its environs – 379. The number of monks living near Antinoe – 383. The size of the Pachomian community in the fourth century – 384. The size of the Shenoutean congregation during the founder's lifetime – 390. Figures relating to specific monasteries – 392 (*The Monastery of Apa Apollo* – 393; *Qalamun and Naqlun* – 395). Closing remarks – 398.

## Chapter Twelve

### FEMALE ASCETICISM ..... 401

Introduction – 401. Double monasteries – 403. Independent female monasteries – 416. Home asceticism – 419. Female asceticism in the light of the apophthegms – 423. Nuns in the desert? – 429. Nuns in papyri – 436. Bibliography – 438.

## Chapter Thirteen

### CLERGYMAN IN MONASTIC CENTRES ..... 441

## Chapter Fourteen

### MONASTIC ECONOMY ..... 457

The resources of monastic communities – 457. The cultivation of land – 462. Handicraft in monastic communities – 465. Transport – 470. Boats – 472. Laymen working in monasteries – 473. Permanent lay residents in monasteries – 474. Trade in the Theban desert – 477. Bibliography – 484.

## Chapter Fifteen

## CELLIA – EVERYDAY LIFE IN HERMITAGES AND LAURAE ..... 487

How I went to Cellia – 487. Cellia – the character of the place – 489. Modalities of research on the economy of Cellia – 492. Every monk is supposed to work – 494. Plaiting – 496. Weaving – 498. Copying manuscripts – 500. Other crafts – 501. Economic relations with the ‘world’ – 503. Harvesting – 504. Monks and their balance sheets – 506. Alms and donations, given and reciprocated – 508. Servants in monasteries – 512. Bibliography – 514.

## Epilogue

## THE MONASTIC COMMUNITIES UNDER ARAB RULE ..... 517

## INDICES ..... 533

1. Sources – 533 (A. *Literary sources* – 533; B. *Papyri and ostraca* – 541; B. *Inscriptions* – 543).
2. Persons – 544.
3. Toponyms and ethnonyms – 552.
4. Modern scholars – 556.
5. Subjects – 558.