

The Sociopolitical and Economic Concepts of Monasticism in the
4th c. AD Byzantine Egypt and their Importance in Understanding
Contemporary Monasticism

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1. Pre-Christian and Christian references of Christianity

Looking at the socio-political concept of Byzantine monasticism in Egypt in the 4th cent., we understand not only the historical context but also the temporal evolution through historical continuity. We deem it necessary to give an overview of the Roman Empire and the differences between its eastern and western parts. The eastern part, the later Byzantine Empire, is characterized by four elements according to Ek. Christofilopoulou.

The first is the Roman origin of the state apparatus, the second is the configuration of the economy, the third is the Greek cultural background, and the fourth is the Christian religion. About the state organization, of prime importance, is the status of Roman citizenship. In economic relations, it is worth noting the superiority of the eastern part except Italy. The eastern part had *inter alia* highest urban population and from the 4th century onwards it strengthened the corporate character of the urban economy. On the other hand, serfdom is a dominant reality while Constantine creates a new stable monetary system. As to the third element, the Greek cultural background, it is worth noting the contribution of Christians and *ethnikoi* (Gentile) scholars of the 4th century to the formation of the political ideals of the Byzantines.

According to this ideal, the supreme ruler on earth, an imitator and image of God, is decorated with the highest moral virtues. The emperor must move within designated natural law and morality, the Christian teachings, and the intellectual heritage of antiquity with leading authorities on justice and charity. The latter requires overcoming social or ethnic types of discrimination. As a result of these principles, the 4th century is characterized by a spirit of cooperation and lack of fanaticism among Christians and Gentiles.

In the East, the initial rivalry between the first three centuries between Christianity and the old religion succeeds the 4th century. climate moderation and interest in antiquity. Then the event occurred that changed the course of history, the fact of the accession of Constantine to

Christianity. In the new state, the Church and the state cooperate, and peoples acquire a new module element common faith.¹

The Hellenistic and Greco-Roman worlds are altered in the latest centenaries before Christ by the phenomenon called 'religious syncretism.' "The Greek gods were imported into East and Eastern gods like Osiris, Cybele, Mithras, and Isis were introduced in the Greek world. There is an assimilation of gods together: Cybele identified with Rhea, Isis with Demeter, etc.² Zakythinos finds that both the 4th and the 5th centuries are transitory, because the Greco-Roman world, by abandoning the Roman Pantheon and the Greek Twelve Gods system adopts various religious standards from Asia who cultivate religiosity but do not provide a crystallized religion and constant values.

Christianity's attempt to combine elements of the past creates heresies and divisive tendencies within it. On the other hand, the mental fatigue dominates within Gentiles who reject the new religion while Christians feel the need to be redeemed from the social reality, seeking the solution to the exercise of the soul in the deserts of Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and by the Nile. This is the vacuum created by the gradual collapse of the Graeco-Roman world and the processing of data that will be the Byzantine state and culture.³

2. Forms of monastic life:

The idea of the exercise of the soul which requires similar body exercise is known already from Greek antiquity. The idea of the feat as a means to make the man "resemble God" by the ancient Greeks drew from their gods who fought each other in sporting competitions. The religious centers of Greek antiquity were organizing sporting, musical and poetic competitions, speech competitions, and fine arts, especially painting. The ideal of the Olympics aimed at mental exercise and had nothing to do with the Roman motto "citius, altius, fortius" (faster, higher stronger) which introduces the concept of competition and the objective was to conquer first.⁴

¹ Christophilopoulou Aik., *Byzantine History*, A' 324-610 (Athens, 1984), 102-138. Vas. Stefanidis, *Ekklesiastiki Istoría ap' archis mechri simeron* (Athens, 1978), 18.

² D. Zakythinos, *Byzantion, Kratos kai Koinonia*, Istoriki Episkopesis (Athens, 1951), 81-84.

³ N. Gialouris, Unpublished paper in the conference *O thalassodromos ellenikos politismos (hellenic civilization and sea)* Kentro Evropaikon Spoudon kai Meleton, (Kerkyra, 1998).

⁴ N. Tzirakis, *Megas Vasileios kai Ellenismos kata tin pragmateia tou M. Vasileiou pros tous neous* (Athina, 2004), 34-35, 152-155.

In the 4th century, there was an "explosion" in the field of patristic theology. Top prelates studied the philosophical school of Athens (Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, etc.). Others were students at schools that were under the influence of Greek philosophy and education. St. Basil the Great is mentioned in detail in many athletes of Greek antiquity who praises Socrates, Hesiod, Homer, etc. for acts and purposes designed to exercise the soul to virtue.⁵ Basil the Great urges the monks to live according to the sport's laws "You must participate in politics based on sports law" otherwise they would not be prized regarding the reasons of the Apostle Paul "And an athlete will not receive his prize if he does not sport legally."⁶ Indeed, Basil finds common ground between him, Plato, and St. Paul regarding the role of the body "... so we just have to take care of the body, as long as it is enough to have it as an assistant (serving us) in philosophy," Plato says similar to what Paul mentioned: "the body is strong enough only to serve the needs of philosophy, as Plato said, and the body cannot be used for the implementation of any desire." St. Basil views philosophy as a means and method of exercise.⁷

The Reports of the Apostle Paul in sport are inspired by the life and teachings of Christ. The concept of the exercise, according to the tradition of monasticism means: '... the internal struggle to achieve what one-man domination of the spiritual over the material. "The Christian exercise aims at the continuous conversation between the man and God, whether a monk or not. This is nothing more than a means, a strategy."⁸

Evdokimov observes that monasticism enters the stage of history when Constantine builds a Christian empire. He writes that "*monasticism is a direct accusation of any compromise and any accomplice of Temptation, disguised either in the form of the imperial crown or that of the Episcopal matrix. It is the resounding "yes" to the Christ desert ...*"⁹ From the very beginning, Egyptian monks became aware of this spirituality as a continuation of the battle, which the Lord first started in the wilderness. Beyond this, however, monasticism is modeled after the monastic community of Jesus Christ and His students. It has the position

⁵ Metropolitris Trikkis kai Stagon Dionysiou, *Anatolikos Orthodoxos Monachismos kata ta paterika keimena*, vol. I (Kerkyra, 2003), 188-189.

⁶ G. Tsoutsos, "E Chrese tou Platona sto enato kefalaio tis pragmateias 'Pros tous neous' tou Megalou Vasileiou," *Philogeneia*, I/4 (2009), 26-27.

⁷ Evdokimov, *E Pale me ton Theon* (Thessaloniki, 1981), 188-189.

⁸ Evdokimov, *E Pale me ton Theon*, 168-169.

⁹ Archim. Nektarios Ntovas, "O Christos archetypon ypotaktikou egoumenou eis panellenion monastikon Synedrion," in *O analloiotos orthodoxos monachismos sten anatole tes tritis chiletias*, 12-14 Septembvriou 2000, (Athena, 2003), 133-147.

of the abbot vis a vis his students but also, he subordinated himself to those through the ceremony of Washbasin teaching them the practice love, from which comes the humiliation and the ministry.¹⁰

Monasticism, and particularly the priory, was also inspired by the example of the early Church in Jerusalem in which first applied the "sharing of goods." This is described as follows in the Acts of the Apostles (4, 31-35)"... and, once they prayed to God, the place where they were gathered was shattered and they were united with the Holy Ghost, and they spoke the word of God with boldness. Most of them believed their heart and soul were one, and they had nothing for themselves, but everything was in common. And they attributed Christ's Resurrection to a great power-grace which was also active amongst them. There was no one in need amongst them since those who were rich sold some of their property and they put the money before the feet of the Apostles. And they distributed the property to everyone based on their needs. In general, the Church did not disapprove of private property but the misuse of wealth. ** Many Fathers of the Church faced prejudice to private property or communal ownership opted for missionary purposes.¹¹

The development of monasticism is gradual and begins the spiritual disciplines in which resorted individually or collectively reacting to the moral relaxation of the Christian life. Among these competitions are those highlighting the practices of chastity, abstinence, prayer, fasting, etc. From the 2nd c. AD we find similar examples of men and women but they are exercised within the Christian community to which they belong.

From the mid-3rd c. AD the flight to desert areas away from distractions to achieve better communication with God is the most important manifestation of spiritual practitioners in these events. This movement is based on the prototype of the departure of Christ in the desert while the bridge between the two was the ascetic life of St. Anthony, the greatest ascetic of the early 4th century. Egypt in this period is of particular importance for the political, ecclesiastical, and economic developments in the Roman Empire. As summarized by Arietta Papaconstantinou, *"The adoption of Christianity by Constantine and the initiation of an imperial policy of control over religious matters brought about a significant development, namely a much stronger*

¹⁰ V. Gioultsis, "Oikonomia, anthropene yparksi, orthodoxi empeiria kai theologia," *Theologia* 83/2 (April-June 2012), 70.

¹¹ Bl. Feidas, *Ekklesiastiki Istoria*, vol. I, (Athena, 1995), 935-936.

*connection between the political and religious history of the empire, both institutionally and in terms of events, tensions between center and periphery increasingly crystallized around issues of religion and were carried by religious institutions and officials. Because of its economic importance and the cultural dominance of Alexandria in the Eastern Mediterranean, Egypt pioneered those developments, followed closely by Syria and Palestine."*¹²

Unlikely in the 4th century the Western Roman Empire collapses and mutates from the barbarian invasions non-Romance peoples, such as the Huns and several Germanic peoples. The period from the mid-first millennium AD until the 5th century AD is called Dark Ages.¹³

From a social point of view before communal monasticism in Egypt, the tradition of the early church in Jerusalem in favor of the poor continues and contributes to the semi-Jewish practice that existed before the Gospels and provides for measures in favor of the weak. Texts such as the Doctrine of the 4th cent., normal texts of the principles of the same period, such as the Apostolic Orders, Rules of the Holy Apostles, and local meetings ensure the sound management of financial and redistribution in favor of the poor.¹⁴ As the resources of "social justice" and "protection of the poor and the weak" are the social content of monasticism and connected to the divine will, for the same reasons the Old Testament connects the implementation of social policy with the will of God.¹⁵ The social awareness of the Old Testament manifests characteristics in Exodus (v 21 eq.): "*Do not harm any widow or orphan. If you harm and they come to me in a shout, I will listen to them and I will be angry at you and I will kill you with my knife.*" Among them, there is praised the charity, social justice. The Mosaic Law strengthens its implementation with clear provisions. Examples include the right of the poor and converts to take part in the harvest and harvesting.¹⁶

The rise of the Christian church in the Mediterranean basin is partly since people gradually left their pre-Christian solidarity ties. According

¹² Arietta Papakonstantinou, *Egypt in the Oxford University of late Antiquity*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald-Johnson, (Oxford-New York, 2012), 197.

¹³ A. Kostam, *Istorikos atlas tes mesaionikes evropis*, trans. Paraskevi Augoustinou (Athena, 2005), 8.

¹⁴ Dem. Moschos, "Oikonomikes sxeseis ston monaxismo tes Aegyptou," *Theologia* 83/2 (April-June 2012): 122.

¹⁵ L. Patras, "Archetypa tes koinonikis politikis sti vivlo kai ten Palaia diatheke," *Xronika* (Maios-2007): 3-4.

¹⁶ Bratsiotis, *E koinoniki semasia tes Palaias Diathekes* (Athena, 1952), 33-34.

to Peter Brown, this shift is since between the years 40 and 200 more and more people embraced the Christian institutions. They believed in the fact that "divine power" lies amongst the church people, i.e. the apostles, and later the Bishops and the ascetics. This gave them an "empowerment" act between fellow human beings because of the special relationship they had with the supernatural. Hence institutions developed around people who had been given the gift from God, such as the monastic communities of Pachomios.¹⁷ The monastic life is a major event in the church history of Egypt. The father of monastic life is Antony, the so-called Great. For twenty years alone, he lived the ascetic life and was later surrounded by people who wanted to emulate him. In this way, the desert was filled with monasteries. The monastic life was supported by Saint Antony in indigence, the unceasing prayer, vigils, work, frugal diet, fighting carnal passions and thoughts but also "absolute devotion to the Church and its representatives."¹⁸

Tomas Hägg, considering the biography of St. Anthony from a strictly scientific point of view believes that Saint Athanasios, «embodies his ideal of the ascetical life in the figure of Antony, as Plato had embodied his philosophical figure in the figure of Socrates. » Hägg observes about Antony that «there is reason to believe that he was an important figure, otherwise it would not make sense for Athanasios to choose him. »He also notes that «...*some of the concrete information and realistic details in the Life are likely to be authentic, especially with regard to the part of Anthony's career that fell in the fourth century.* »¹⁹

The role of the monks of Egypt of the 4th century in the Christianization of the population has been particularly important. Saint Anthony and many other monks performed missionary work among others.²⁰ The communal monasticism in Egypt at this time was based on the principle of financial self-sufficiency. The second principle is charity. Also, of interest is the relationship between the monastic communities and the surrounding villages and the sturgeon, an entire city, based on charity thanks to ascetic-bishop Abba Apfy. The monasteries of Pachomios taxed and made efforts for the taxation of hermits and the

¹⁷ Brown, *E demiourgia tis ysteris arxaiotitas*, (Athena, 2001), 35-36.

¹⁸ Chrys. Papadopoulos, *Istoria tes Ekklesias tes Alexandrias (1934)*, (Athena, 1985), 211-215.

¹⁹ T. Hagg, "The Life of St. Anthony between biography and hagiography," in *the Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. I: Periods and Places, ed. Stephanos Ephthymiades England, USA, 2011, Ashgate Publishing Company, 28.

²⁰ Archim. Anastasios Yannoulatos, *Monachoi kai ierapostoli kata ton 4o ai.* (Athena, 1968), 15-27.

image of the Life of St. Anthony is probably idealized. Certainly, the ascetic communities in arid lands escaped taxation. The communes of Pachomios against donors in exchange for prayers before or after their death held negative attitudes. This attitude changed in subsequent centuries occasionally appeared doomed practices as usury, selling office and retreats to the laity.²¹

In the following centuries and especially after the end of Iconoclasm (843) large monastic centers flourished where the monks once became autonomous to move freely in cities while the monasteries were reluctant to recognize the normal supervision of lymph bishop. The full autonomy of monasticism was impossible in terms of normal and ecclesiological. Saint Anthony and generally each Christian "departed" for the desert, away from society and church, i.e. from the mundane, and seeking an "I" that had to be self-sufficient.²² The individualism of the hermit was defeated by Pachomius who gathered hermits in communes (communal monasticism) and imposing a common rule of life.²³ The concord, in Christ piety, application of gospel standards, and devotion to God were foundational elements of the structure and its existence.²⁴

The main concern of the monk or hermit is either a member of communal monasticism is a prayer for the people staying away from him. What was communal monasticism and what is the spirit? The spirit that penetrated the communal system of Pachomios was to ensure and strengthen through rules, as we shall see below, the love of the monks not only to God but also love between people, through work. Through this, the monks do not work to improve their living conditions or their assert themselves but they work for Christ and for the needy brother who is the Lord.²⁵ But work according to the standards of Pachomios, is not within the scope of competition, which is the prevailing perception in Western societies mainly, but to reign peace and concord between them, to obey their superiors, and to compete for the humiliation (rule 179): "There must be a prevailing spirit of mutual responsibility and mutual ministry in a spirit entirely evangelical."²⁶ Works will be performed in a

²¹ Moschos, "Oikonomikes sxeseis ston monaxismo tes Aegyptou," 136-142.

²² Agourides, *Monachismos, Erevnitiki Meleti*, (Athens, 1997), Ellinika Grammata, 37.

²³ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁴ Mitropolitou Trikkis kai Stagon Dionysiou, *Anatolikos kai orthodoxos monachismos kata ta paterika keimena, vol. I, Iera moni pantokratoros sotiros Christou* (Kerkyra, 2003), 404.

²⁵ Trikkis kai Stagon, *Anatolikos kai orthodoxos monachismos*, 404-405.

²⁶ Placide Deselle, *O pachomiakos monachismos*, trans. N. Barousis (Athena, 1992), 35.

regime of silence to allow the monk to pray and recite passages of Ag. Scripture.

The Pachomian communal model represented somewhat the Kingdom of God on earth. It is indicative of the high walls of monasteries where the intramural space symbolizes the Kingdom of God and the difficult entrance of people in it. The Pachomian model was at the heart of monasticism, not only in Eastern and Western monasticism. It is then also in the content of Sufism, as we shall see later. The whole historical evolution of monasticism is significantly affected by the monasticism of the 4th century. Already by the mid-4th century.²⁷

The whole historical evolution of monasticism is significantly affected by the monasticism of the 4th century. Already by the mid-4th century monks found monasteries around cities, abandoning the desert and this combined with their desire to escape from the episcopal controlled to the attempt of the Fourth and Quinisext Council of the dome (691-2) limiting the involvement of monks in ecclesiastical and politics, and regretting staying in cities. But monasticism strengthened the autonomy during the period of Iconoclasm (727-843).

These issues are analyzed in the context of the patriarchal system after the end of Iconoclasm in which the monks were the most relaxed and remote patriarchal authority was better than that of lymph bishop. However, monasticism of the East, including Russia, Bulgaria, etc., during the subsequent centuries following the model of Mount Athos tended to depart from the world and operated in deserted or inaccessible areas. During the Ottoman period, monasticism played an important role in the national, religious, and general spiritual survival of the Orthodox peoples.²⁸

The Mount Athos, where monasticism of early Christian times appeared and was established in the 9th and 10th c., became a center of

²⁷ James M. Drayton, *Pachomius as Discovered in the Worlds of Fourth Century Christian Egypt, Pachomian Literature and Pachomian Monasticism: A Figure of History or Hagiography?*, (Australia, 2002), 1-190; Saint Pachomius, *Instructions, letters, and other writings of Saint Pachomius and his disciples : translated, with an introduction, by Armand Veilleux*, (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1982), 1-312; G. H. Schodde, *The Rules of Pachomius: Saint Pachomius*, (New York, 1885), 1-10.

²⁸ Vl. Feidas, *Kyrioi stathmoi tis poreias tou monachismou eiw panellenion monastikon synedrion, sto synedrio O analloiotos orthodoxos monachiismos sten anatole tes tritis chiliotias*, 12-14 Septembvriou 2000 (Athena, 2003), 148-157.

Orthodoxy throughout Ottoman times and under the new Greek state acquired a special autonomous status in 1923.²⁹

3. Socio-economic approaches to Eastern/Western monasticism, Protestantism, and Islam (Sufism).

In this chapter, we are going to shortly approach a comparison between the socio-economic mentalities not only of the Eastern and Western monasticism but also of Sufism. The process of the comparison will be based on the criterion of the meaning that the term “Labour” receives in this different context.

In the context of Eastern monasticism “Labour” receives the content of spiritual asceticism. That would mean that the monk works attempting to quell his “ego” and to develop the concept of community, while at the same time he works to approach God through prayer. Furthermore, Eastern monasticism was characterized by the self-sufficiency of a closed economic unit, which meant that every monastery should support itself on its strengths and that the monks should work to make their living³⁰. As stressed by Theodorou: “The Greek-Orthodox monasticism of Eastern Christianity combines theory and practice, balances the *anachoretic* disposition or life with theory, and the all day long worshipping prayer with spiritual askesis³¹”. Moreover, it should be noted that according to the rules of Pachomius the monk as a spiritual worker should proceed in love and not coerce a soul into assaulting another, the monk should eat little (Canon 5) and sleep little as well. All the above constitute the criteria that advocate for the advancement of the monk’s spiritual work. The model of Eastern monasticism lived on into Western monasticism. The fundamental difference was the fact that, while the monasteries of Eastern monasticism were built on the mountains and generally on steep spots, the monasteries of Western monasticism were built near the cities and especially on river valleys³².

²⁹ Jacques Valentin, *The Monks of Mount Athos*, translated by Diana Athill, (London, 1904) 1-218; Nina Chichinadze, *Monastic Arts of Mount Athos of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Periods: Georgian Textual Evidences, Abstracts of prospective speakers for the third scientific workshop of the mount Athos Center*, (2018), 1-39; G. Printzipas, *Ekklesia kai Ellenismos apo to 1821 eos simera*, Istoriki Episkopese (Chalandri 2005), 195- 196; Robert F. Taft, “Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite,” *DOP* 42 (1988), 179-194.

³⁰ “The organizational norm of the Pachomian cenobite,” *Church*, 10 (June 1990): 339.

³¹ Evaggelos Theodorou, “A Phenomenological Sketch of Eastern and Western Monasticism,” *repr. the Journal Theology* 65/1 (1994), 13.

³² David Nicholas, *The Evolution of the Medieval World*, National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation (MIET) (Athens, 2009). 77.

As a consequence, large agrarian areas came under the possession of the monasteries of Western monasticism. The monasteries let those areas³³ and many settlements were founded around them³⁴, developing – especially after the 11th century- an intense trading activity. The choices of the monks to establish the monasteries near the cities automatically contributed to a gradual transition regarding the socio-economic reality of Western monasticism. Even if the fields under the possession of the monastery were not cultivated by the monks themselves, the fact that those areas were rented for cultivation still indicates a materialistic tendency. This materialistic approach was reinforced by Saint Benedict when he concluded that the monk should not be withdrawn from the world³⁵. Furthermore, an important influence towards the formation of the materialistic tendency in Western monasticism was the Latin translation of “Life of Antony”, the work of Athanasius the Great, by the presbyter Evagrius, later bishop of Antioch (late 4th century).³⁶ The school of Antioch bears a special significance due to the reason that it sought the essence of religion in the letter of the Scriptures. Saint Augustine followed the school of Antioch³⁷.

The materialistic tendency that was in part started with Western monasticism came to a fulfillment when Protestantism emerged. Protestantism renounces completely both monasticism and monasteries. In the major work by Max Weber “The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism” it is noted that a person ought to be dedicated to his profession to be successful in life. According to Max Weber, the protestant ethic consists of four elements: a) the development of the concept of individualism, b) rationalism c) hard work, and d) reinvestment of profit. In that way, the spirit of capitalism would be grasped. Weber stresses attention to the fact that for the achievement of the above criteria the individual should eat, speak, and sleep little, meaning to transform into a secular ascetic.

However, there is a continuity of the Eastern-Orthodox monasticism in Islam. The fundamental idea that lies in the heart of Sufism is that the human being ought to suppress its “ego “to break free from the bad feelings and to be able to ensure the life of heaven. For this goal to be achieved criteria are put. Among those criteria is that the

³³ Nicholas, *The Evolution of the Medieval World*, 76-77.

³⁴ Nicholas, *The Evolution of the Medieval World*, 256.

³⁵ Nicholas, *The Evolution of the Medieval World*, 75.

³⁶ Theodorou, "A Phenomenological Sketch", 14.

³⁷ Vasilis N. Tatakis, *Byzantine Philosophy*, trans. Eva Kaliourtzi (Athens, 1997), 29.

individual should eat little, sleep little, speak little. As far as labor is concerned, the individual should work due to the sacred essence given to labor, but at the same time, one should help those in need. However, while we observe continuity between Eastern monasticism and Sufism in Turkey, over time an alteration emerged regarding the content. The difference lies in the fact that, while in Eastern monasticism the monk aims to pray for the human being withdrawn from the world and away of men, in Sufism we may say that the concern of the Muslim is to maintain his spirituality living in the world. Moreover, in the last two decades, we observe a protestantization of Islam in Turkey. It commences to distance from the “we” and the spirituality attached to its everyday activities and gives a character consciously or unconsciously materialistic or protestant. Another central point of comparison would be that in Eastern and Western monasticism there is an order of clerics, while in both Protestantism and Islam there is not, and in that way the individual comes into direct communion with God without the mediation of a third party³⁸.

Conclusions

The fourth century had been rather important for the establishment and the evolution of the monastic life. However, it is significant that the theological reference of monasticism is situated in the Gospel and the life of Jesus Christ, while sociologically, culturally, and historically it is traced back to pre-Christian references, both in the Greek antiquity and in the Old Testament. Through monasticism as a social phenomenon, we can trace the reflections of the social changes that took place in the passing of centuries and continue until the present day. The spirit of monasticism had a wider influence than its mode of organization. Western monasticism was connected to the socio-economic reality during the medieval centuries. Protestantism rejects monasticism as a mode of organization and a way of life and offers secular content in opposition to the content given by Pachomius. In Sufi Islam –and we are referring to the Islam of Turkey- there was during the Ottoman Empire a continuity with the cenobitic monasticism of Pachomius regarding content and social organization. However, with the establishment of the Turkish Republic, and especially after 1980, the content of the moral values began to transform acquiring a secular or protestant character.

³⁸ Christos Teazis, “The Transformation of Social Mentality of Economy: Hellas and Turkey,” *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* 42 (Ankara, 2001): 131-138.

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