**At the Edges of the Desert: A Fictionalized Space in the Pseudo-Nilus’s *Narrations* and *The History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul de Qentos and Priest John of Edessa***

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1. **Introduction**

At the heart of the monastic experience of the first centuries, the desert occupies a special place as a literary space in the Christian hagiography of late antiquity from its very first appearance in Athanasius of Alexandria’s *Life of Anthony*, a formative work which served as a model for all ascetic hagiographies thereafter:

The voice said to him: “...If you really want to be at peace, go now into the desert interior. To which Antony responded: “Who will show me the way? I do not know it.” Straightaway, the voice told him of the Saracens who were going to take this route. Antony went and drew near to them and asked to accompany them to the desert. They, as if by Providence’s command, accepted him with good heart. Three days and three nights he traveled with them and arrived at a very high mountain. At the foot of the mountain there were waters extremely limpid, soft, and very cool and, further on, a plain with a few abandoned palm trees.[[1]](#footnote-1)

The desert is still only barely described in this passage, but several elements that contributed of this literary motif’s evolution in hagiographic literature are already present: The representation of the desert as an idealized place of solitude and tranquility; the appearance of the paradisiacal garden amid an arid landscape; the ambivalent coupling of the monk and the Saracen, the only inhabitants of this hostile environment.[[2]](#footnote-2) It is also through a certain stylistic technique that this place becomes a literary space through which we find the early traces of the ontologies that late-antiquity hagiographers deployed to give it form: Narrative ellipsis. Such ellipsis, breaking the continuity of the narrative – here the reduction of the “three days and three nights” traveling into a single sentence – creates the unexpected apparition of the Garden of Eden in the middle of the desert, as if it were a mirage or fantasy, thus contributing to endowing this space with an almost fictional character.

Saint Jerome developed this approach much further just a decade or two later. In the *Life of Paul of Thebes*, the hermit “begins to want to walk without knowing where to go.” With the protagonist’s (and, hence, the reader’s) temporal and spatial landmarks thus rendered ambiguous, we enter the realm of fiction where an encounter between two fantastic beings — a faun and a centaur — can take place that we would believe to be straight out of Greek mythology.[[3]](#footnote-3) Joëlle Soler sees this passage as Jerome using the classical imaginary to demonstrate the pagans’ submissiveness through the literary transmogrification of their culture.[[4]](#footnote-4) By thus adopting the tropes of the ancient world’s imagination and representing the desert as a place beyond the known world’s borders, populated by mythical creatures, Jerome creates a world of confines, a rarefied locus of divine manifestation and miracle. The narration, thus, opens out into a literary space in which the boundaries between the real and the fictive have been blurred.

Ascetic hagiography associates entrance into the desert with the desire to flee the world in search of solitude so as to rediscover a special relationship with God. If the desert initially appears as a site of marvels beyond the real world and peopled by the monk’s arrival, this spiritual battlefield between monk and demon is rendered tame and domesticated: To paraphrase the *Life of Antony*, “the desert became like a city of monks.”[[5]](#footnote-5)

A certain kind of late-antiquity literary tradition — at the intersection of ascetic hagiography, travelogue, and ancient novel — perpetuates this representation of the desert as an almost fantastical space of confines within which everything becomes possible. Adopting the tropes of ancient antiquity’s romances — one of the dramatic strands of which was the initiatory voyage in a pirate-infested sea entailing a dramatic kidnapping and the heroes’ parting — several late-antiquity hagiographies depict the wanderings of protagonists in a desert riddled with bloodthirsty barbarians. The *Narrations* of the pseudo-Nilus is probably one of the most famous examples of this literary genre, albeit an atypical and complex work with a place of its own in Grecophone hagiography. The story begins *in medias res* with the scene of a distraught father whose son has just been kidnapped by barbarians, they having both come to Sinai to experience monastic asceticism. A good part of the narrative framework of the story is then taken up with the narrator Nilus’s wanderings in an inimical desert in search of his son, Theodulus, until they are eventually reunited.

Heussi and others after him have shown the debt of the pseudo-Nilus to ancient Greek romances, especially Achilles Tatius’s *Leucippe and Clitophon* and other literary models, rejecting the realm of purely literary fiction.[[6]](#footnote-6) One question which has been debated for almost a century concerns the historicity of the work and much has been said in particular about the historical acknowledgment that must be made of the ethnological description of the customs of the Bedouins who populate the desert.[[7]](#footnote-7) However, we wish here to explore, independently of these debates, the procedures the author uses to fictionalize this space.

*The History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa* offers an interesting counterpoint in examining these processes. Although it has neither the breadth nor literary ambition of the pseudo-Nilus’s *Narrations*, this curious tale has, indeed, many points in common with it. Doubtless composed in the fifth or sixth century, the origin of the story and the circumstances of its composition remain unclear, to such an extent that the question of the original language in which the work was composed – Syriac or Greek – has not yet been settled.[[8]](#footnote-8) More of an adventure tale than a traditional hagiography, the work recounts the meeting of two protagonists, Bishop Peter and the Priest John, in Edessa under the Episcopate of Rabboula (411–435 CE). Their pilgrimage to Mount Sinai and their many adventures in the desert follow, ranging from their abduction by the barbarian Himyarites, who wish to sacrifice them to their deity, through to their encounters with solitary desert inhabitants whose ascetic deeds cannot fail to stir the reader’s imagination because they are, in certain ways, reminiscent of the fantastic beings Jerome conjures up.

Whether in the pseudo-Nilus’s *Narrations* or the *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa*, the desert surrounding Mount Sinai appears as a special location for the creation of this fictionalized space due to its location away from the inhabited world and the order that reigns there. This distinguishes it from the desert of Egypt, which lies at the margins of the inhabited world of the Nile without being clearly discrete from it.

Other contemporary hagiographies that depict the Sinai Desert — for example the Ammonius’s *Account of the Massacre of the Monks of Sinai and of Raithu* — could doubtless have been taken into account. Although it bears similarities with the works studied here, especially the pseudo-Nilus’s *Narrations*, Ammonius’s *Account* is not one of desert wandering: The barbarians certainly emerge from the desert, but the narrator, Ammonius, remains in the “civilized” space that is the monastery at the foot of Mount Sinai and barely ventures into the desert interior. However, what interests us here is precisely this literary space completely removed from the world. By following the journey of the inhabited world’s protagonists toward the desert within the stories themselves, we will study how it is made distant and fictive through three processes: Imaginative projection, narrative ellipsis, and the obfuscation of voice.

1. **The Desert: Imaginative Projection**

The first of the literary devices we consider here that make it possible to fictionalize the desert space in hagiographies is its pre-representation in characters’ imaginations. This projection of the desert occurs quite early in the narrative, before the characters (and, thereby, the reader) are physically confronted with it. In itself, this representation is largely a literary *topos* conveying the familiar desert-related tropes already mentioned. However, the desert is immediately placed within the framework of fictionality by being first presented as a space projected in the minds of the characters before being experienced as a real space. The process is the more notable for the desert being one of the few places subjected to such treatment in late-antiquity hagiography. The city, for example, is undoubtedly a much more fertile literary terrain and the descriptions of it largely borrow from quotidian spaces in a way often contrary to the idealization of the desert. The city is the space within which the saint moves. It can be the object of visions or encomia to the place which gave birth to a hero.[[9]](#footnote-9) However, the city is rarely pre-represented in the anticipatory imagination of characters.

In the imagination of the characters in our two stories, the desert is first and foremost a perilous space:

After that, Paul stood up amid his brothers and implored them: “I beg of you, my brothers, ask with me of God if it is His will that I go to see the holy place where the Divine Presence descended on Mount Sinai.” One of the 12 blessed men who were with him named Zenobius stood up and said: “If you go there, you will certainly be taken prisoner and a band of Arabs will fall upon you. After the Arabs have made you suffer many misfortunes, your faith will proliferate within their camp like a cloud of light.”[[10]](#footnote-10)

Nothing at the outset indicates that these words uttered by one of Paul’s companions in asceticism, on his announcing his intention to leave for Sinai, are prophetic in nature. They appear at first sight to be a warning bound up with the way the inhabitants of Edessa represent the Arabian desert around Mount Sinai to themselves, a space traversed by faithless, lawless bandits where one will inevitably be taken prisoner. It is only the sequence of events Zenobius announces, culminating in proselytization to those outside the Christian world, which transforms this hostile reality – or reality projected as such, at least – and that endows his words with a prophetic value. Paul himself recognizes them as such and Zenobius’s prophecy indeed comes true as the rest of the story unfolds, creating in an anticipatory way a fictional *mise en abyme* for what will follow in the narrative.[[11]](#footnote-11)

The literary device which first foregrounds the representation of the desert in the pseudo-Nilus’s *Narrations* is a little different. From the opening of its first sentence — “Wandering after the barbarians’ attack, I arrived at Pharan...”[[12]](#footnote-12) — the main character is already obliged to rove the desert, his adventures already begun. From a strictly narrative perspective, this entry *in medias res* should not inculcate an imaginary projection of the desert in the characters’ minds *a priori*, but the author manages nevertheless to do so, thanks to the way he structures the narrative. Indeed, the narrator/Nilus was already offstage in the desert before the curtain rose, while the story’s first five episodes take place in Pharan, a small Roman garrison town near Mount Sinai and its monastery. Throughout the narrative’s beginning, the desert interior exists only as a more-or-less hostile background from which information or characters sometimes emerge. Readers are not exposed to the physical desert until the sixth episode, when they follow the caravan crossing the desert that the narrator/Nilus has joined. This narrative construction allows the author/narrator to twice provide a projected representation of the desert to his reader.

The first occurs on the occasion of the initial threnody. The inclusion of this long contrivedly rhetorical piece is, in itself, a fictionalization process within the narrative, but the author also incorporates into it the first representation of the desert, directly appealing to the reader’s imagination through a series of rhetorical questions:

What place has received your body? What wild beasts have torn your limbs? What birds have feasted on your flesh? What star knows the secrets of your breast, having seen your entrails spilled in broadest day? Has anything survived the beasts’ fierce fangs? … If so, it is in the open air, exposed to the sun, deprived of burial sacrament, because of the desert’s solitude.[[13]](#footnote-13)

It is his child whose fate is pondered by the narrator in this funereal lamentation, but, as the last words of the above quotation indicate, it implicitly represents the desert as a hostile and dangerous place, without landmarks, where wild beasts reign.

The second such representation of the desert prior to the narrator being physically confronted with it borrows from another rhetorical device. It takes the form of a long excursus which makes up the whole of the third episode of the *Narrations*. Even if this passage is artificially put into the mouth of the narrator, who claims to give the reader the keys to the rest of the narrative, it gives way to an omniscient author’s voice. This omniscient voice describes the desert inhabitants’ way of life in two scenes, first of the Bedouins then of the monks, which both parallel and contrast with one another.[[14]](#footnote-14) Critics have not identified the source of this double representation — which begins: “The aforementioned nation [the barbarians] inhabit the desert which extends from Arabia to Egypt’s Red Sea and the River Jordan”[[15]](#footnote-15) — but it seems straight out of a work of ancient geography in the manner of Herodotus.[[16]](#footnote-16) Unlike fictionalization, this borrowing from a very different literary genre, which claims to describe the inhabited world as it is, ostensibly reinforces the historical veracity of this description of the desert occupants’ customs. However, the very economy of the story, the stylistic rupture it enacts, the shift from narrator to author, and its evidently digressive character immediately make it suspect. Even if it does not work by exactly the same mechanisms as pre-imagined representation, it is intended to stir the readers’ imaginations into the same kind of speculation that leads them into perilous fictional terrain, where everything seems possible.

1. **At the Desert’s Edge: Narrative Ellipsis**

The second process that can be observed at work in both texts is narrative ellipsis, that is the omission in the narrative of elements linked to the journey to the desert, something we have already mentioned in relation to the *Life of Antony*. In the *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa*, the two protagonists begin their pilgrimage to Mount Sinai after taking leave of their fellow ascetics in Edessa: “Paul and John bravely set out for the Mountain of God. When they reached the foot of Mount Sinai, a horde of Arabs fell on them. They seized them and led them captive to the place called ‘of the Himyarites.’”[[17]](#footnote-17) A narrative ellipsis appears here, with the nature of the journey from Edessa to Sinai rendered entirely opaque. Through an accelerated narrative rhythm, the protagonists find themselves immediately at the desert’s edge, where they are immediately taken prisoner and their adventures begin. The spatial obfuscation here is all the more complete since the captives find themselves taken, if we are to believe the location cited, several thousand kilometers away in the Arabian Peninsula’s south, in the land of Himyar (i.e., of the Homerites) renowned thanks to other contemporary hagiographical accounts, especially those related to the massacre of the Christians of Najran.[[18]](#footnote-18) This narrative ellipsis forcefully hurls the reader into a fictionalized space at the edge of the known world, where spatial coordinates have been eliminated. It is not by chance that the barbarians’ abduction occurs precisely at this point in the narrative. The technique is all the more effective if one considers that the work was most certainly originally composed in Edessa and probably originally intended for a local audience.[[19]](#footnote-19) The reader would, thus, have been transported from the known world of Edessa to the unknown world of the desert without any transition.

In itself, narrative ellipsis is only a device that signals an authorial intervention in the narrative construction and choice of the events presented. However, bringing this device into play precisely when the characters enter another world, that of the desert, seems to contribute to the fictionalization of this space by suggesting to the reader that one can only enter it through a kind of magic. The effect produced is all the more striking when we compare the account of the journey of our two pilgrims from Edessa to those of two contemporary pilgrims’ non-fictional accounts: The *Itinerary* of Egeria, who travels to Sinai at the end of the fourth century, and that of the Pilgrim of Piacenza in the second half of the sixth. Both give precise details of their time-consuming progress toward their final destination, noting the names of each of their staging points, where they exist, the distances between them, and the changes in the landscape, so that the entry into the desert seems the natural outcome of the journey. Conversely, Paul and John find themselves in the desert in the blink of an eye after exiting Edessa.

In the *Narrations* of the pseudo-Nilus, the crossing of the desert is not tied to a pilgrimage, even if the journey is made according in the same way. When the narrator ventures into the desert in the sixth episode, it is to accompany a delegation from Pharan to the camp of Amanès, the barbarian king, to negotiate peace. Nilus hopes to find his son there, who, he has learned, is still alive:

The next day … we set out on our way, equally driven by an auspiciously good omen. The journey lasted 12 days in all. On the eighth day, we found ourselves short of water. Gripped by thirst, we expected to meet the death that always lurks around situations of necessity. But those who knew the area said there was a spring somewhere nearby.[[20]](#footnote-20)

If the narrator pretends to give precise coordinates for this crossing of the desert, it is clear that his bearings – and those of the reader with him – are as completely lost as Egeria and the Piacenza pilgrim of late-antiquity. The desert exists only as a vast idealization and menacing expanse in which death prowls. The narrative ellipsis here concerns only the journey itself, but it facilitates a narrative dramatization by introducing the water shortage incident. The affirmation that a nearby spring exists engenders a thoroughgoing confusion among the thirsty travelers, with everyone running in all directions to find a drop of water. When the spring finally appears, it is behind a hill, like a mirage, but is found to be infested with barbarians too:

The spring was in the direction I was walking, but it was hidden by a hill that arose in the middle. Leaving the others who were scattering here and there, I went straight ahead, hoping to find it a little distance away more or less. Looking over the hill when I reached its summit, I was the first to see the spring but also the barbarians crowded around it.[[21]](#footnote-21)

Comparison with the Piacenza pilgrim’s story, which seems to follow the same trajectory through the Sinai Desert in similar conditions, gives one a sense of the scale of the dramatization in which the pseudo-Nilus engages:

We trekked through the desert for five or six days, the camels carrying our water. Every day, a *sextarius* [around a half-liter] was given to each person in the morning and one in the evening. When the water in the skins became as bitter as gall, we added sand to soften it. The Saracens’ servants, hailing from the desert, sat down at the roadside lamenting with their sacks in front of them, asking for bread from those who passed by.[[22]](#footnote-22)

What a contrast there is between this pilgrim’s testimony recounting his slow progress through the desert, water rationing, and occasional encounters with Bedouin beggars, and the pseudo-Nilus’s dramatically accelerated account.

If the ellipsis techniques in our two hagiographies adds to the narrative dynamics well by sparing the reader a tedious account of the protagonists’ journeys, it also creates favorable conditions for the fictionalization process. After having suggested to the readers’ imaginations that the desert was a perilous space from which danger could arise anywhere in any form, this new technique projects them there suddenly and in heedless and disorienting fashion.

1. **Between Autobiography and Embedded Narrative: Obfuscation of Narrative Turns and Voice**

A third technique that contributes to endowing the desert space with a fictional character is the obfuscation of narrative turns and voice, a well-attested indicator of fictionalization.[[23]](#footnote-23)

The borrowing of the autobiographical form from Greek romances in the *Narrations* of the pseudo-Nilus has long been expounded upon. The work is indeed entirely narrated in the first person. From the narrative’s beginning, the issue of voice is made more complex by the narration of the events being embedded within another story within the main text itself. The narrator tells the story of the barbarians’ abduction of his son by no longer directly addressing the reader, but an intradiegetic audience made up of the people of Pharan.[[24]](#footnote-24) In line with a technique widely used in the Greek romances, Nilus then gives the floor to other characters, who recount the events from other perspectives. This is particularly evident in the fifth episode when a slave, who had been kidnapped by the barbarians at the same time as Theodulus but who had managed to escape, recounts his story to the Pharanites. Furthermore, the principal narrator himself seems to give way to the author sometimes. In addition, we have already pointed to the duplication of the narrator and the author in the third episode’s long geographical digression in which the author no longer addresses, through his narrator, the Pharanite audience, but the reader directly, doing so to bring his imagination to bear on the representation of the desert as the author wants him/her to believe it. The pseudo-Nilus’s *Narrations*, thus, have a complex narrative structure whereby voice constantly changes with the interweaving of sub-discourses and narratives within the principal narrator’s account.

The use of embedded narrative technique gives rise to a narrative incoherence of particular interest to us here. Thus, at the very moment when Nilus finds himself face to face with the barbarians at the spring in the middle of the desert and about to be taken prisoner, an troop of armed Pharanites appears on the hilltop which frees Nilus and disperses the barbarians: “It had not been long before the armed men of *your* [italicization mine] troop appeared.”[[25]](#footnote-25) The incongruity of this appearance in the middle of the desert at the crucial moment, of a troop not previously mentioned is reinforced by the unexpected second person usage here. Indeed, nothing seems to justify its use here, given that the narrator is no longer addressing the Pharanites. This incongruity could be deemed a simple error in the historical transmission of the narrative, if similar signs of voice obfuscation were not found elsewhere.

The *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa* is recounted overall in the third person by an omniscient narrator. As with the *Narrations* of the pseudo-Nilus, it features a significant number of embedded narratives, all of which arise while the two protagonists traverse the desert. In these cases, we also find modifications of voice as one narrator hands over to another. Thus, on the way back from Mount Sinai to Edessa, after encountering perched up a tree on a desert mountain peak an ascetic man who tells his own story to Paul and John, the narrative suddenly shifts to the first person plural, the pair of them becoming joint narrators: “It happened that, after three days in which *we* [italicization mine] stayed with him, he gave up his soul to God.”[[26]](#footnote-26) From there, the narrative continually alternates between first and third person. Toward the end of the story, John assumes the role of sole narrator, before we return to the initial third-person narrative voice.[[27]](#footnote-27)

The vacillation between several ostensibly contradictory narrative turns is only observed in the episodes that take place deep in the desert, where most of the portended events occur. By thus disorienting the reader in the transitions between one embedded narrative layer and another, this technique contributes to the fictionalization of this space even further.

However, this fictionalization marker should contextualized with regard to the intentionality that one can attribute to it. As far as can be judged from only the preserved fragment of it that we have, the Greek version of the *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa* does not contain any of the inconsistencies of voice noted in the Syriac version. As the question of which was the original language remains unresolved,[[28]](#footnote-28) it must be concluded that these inconsistencies have either been erased in translation, if the Greek is the secondary language, or introduced by the Syriac translator erroneously or deliberately, if Syriac is the secondary.

The fact remains that this continual obfuscation of narrative turn and voice helps to filter what is real. What is particularly salient is that these transformations all take place at times when the narration is in its desert setting and, more precisely, at times when the technique contributes to reinforcing its dramatization.

1. **Conclusion: The Creation of an Imaginary Space**

These three techniques each contribute to the creation of the desert in the two tales we have studied in their own way. What is created is a distinct literary space, where the imagination can unfold more freely. Away from the known world, the desert is a place where space expands, time accelerates, and adventures multiply, often improbably. It then becomes amenable to the fabulous, as in Jerome’s *Life of Paul of Thebes*. This infiltration of the fabulous is particularly evident in the following episode from the *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa*: “It so happened that, when they were walking on their way at evening time, they came to a mountain, on top of which was a large tree. And behold, there was the shadow of a man standing on the tree.”[[29]](#footnote-29) This is the dendrite monk we have already mentioned, the one recounts his own story then dying before the very eyes of Paul and John, who bury him. This is not the first tree to appear like this in the middle of the desert. The two protagonists had already encountered a palm tree incarnating a venerated divinity in the encampment of their barbarian captors.[[30]](#footnote-30) There is no doubt that this recurring motif has a particular symbolic power in this account.[[31]](#footnote-31) However, just like the spring that appears in the desert in the pseudo-Nilus’s *Narrations*, what is immediately striking is the way in which this tree’s apparition is staged as if it were a mirage rising out of nowhere in the arid desert’s midst.

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1. Athanasius of Alexandria, *La Vie d’Antoine* (“The Life of Antony”), 49: 4–7; translated into French by Bartelink (1994: 269). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. For the representation of the desert in late-antiquity monasticism, see Guillaumont (1975). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Jerome *La Vie de Paul de Thèbes*, 7.2–8.6. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Soler (2011), 4–7; see also Cox Miller (1996) and Wisniewski (2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Athanasius of Alexandria, *La Vie d’Antoine*, 14: 7. On all these questions, as already mentioned, see Guillaumont (1975). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Heussi (1917), 139–144; Conca (1983); Caner (2004); Link (2005), 8–24; Morgan (2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. See, for example, Mayerson (1975). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. I refer here to the Syriac version edited by Arneson et al. (2010), which is complete, while the Greek version edited by Papadopoulos-Kerameus has been preserved only from a single fragmentary manuscript. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. On the representation of the city in hagiographies, see, for example, Saradi (2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa*, edited by Arneson et al. (2010): 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. On similar narratives in Greek romance, see Puccini-Delbey (2001): 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Pseudo-Nilus, *Narrations*, I.1, edited by Conca (1983): 1.6. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Pseudo-Nilus, *Narrations*, I.6, edited by Conca (1983): 3.20–24.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Pseudo-Nilus, *Narrations*, II.16, edited by Conca (1983): 11.20–24: “I must seize the opportunity afforded me by the narrative course to relate how holy men lived in these regions previously and to say what the means of subsistence were of the barbarians who attacked them, so that the body of my narrative proceeds smoothly.” [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Pseudo-Nilus, *Narrations*, III.1–4, edited by Conca (1983): 12.3–4. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. For example, see the parallel with Herodotus in *History* 2.32 and 4.99. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa*, edited by Arneson et al. (2010): 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. On texts relating to this episode, see the studies collected in Beaucamp et al. (2010). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. See Arneson et al. (2010): 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Pseudo-Nilus, *Narrations*, VI.12, edited by Conca (1983): 38.19–24. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Pseudo-Nilus, *Narrations*, VI.14, edited by Conca (1983): 392.12–18. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Pilgrim of Piacenza, *Itinéraire* (“Itinerary”), 38, translation by Maraval (2002): 229. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. On this process, for example in the *Life of Theoktiste of Lesbos*, see Høgels’ article in this volume: “From Cyclops to Unicorn.” [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Pseudo-Nilus, *Narrations*, I.3, edited by Conca (1983): 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Pseudo-Nilus, *Narrations*, VI.14, edited by Conca (1983): 40.14–15; see also Caner (2010): 123, fn.183. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa*, edited by Arneson et al. (2010): 61.18–19. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. See, for example, Arneson et al. (2010): 68, fn. 68, but there are very many prevarications of voice in the last part of the story. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Arneson et al. (2010): 19; Smith (2009): 122–123. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa*, edited by Arneson et al. (2010): 59.11–13. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Priest John of Edessa*, edited by Arneson et al. (2010): 55.4–7. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Smith (2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-31)