

Monastic Education in Late Antiquity

In re-examining the Christianization of the Roman Empire and subsequent transformation of Graeco-Roman Classical culture, this volume challenges conventional ways of understanding both the history of Christian monasticism and the history of education. The chapters interrogate assumptions that have framed monastic practice as pedagogically unprecedented, with few obvious precursors and/or parallels. A number explore how both teaching and practice merge Classical pedagogical structures with Christian sources and traditions. Others resituate monasticism within a longer trajectory of educational and institutional frameworks, elucidating models that remain central to the preservation of both Greek and Latin literary culture, and the skills of reading and writing. Through reexamination of archaeological evidence and critical rereading of signature monastic texts, each chapter documents the degree to which monastic structures emerged in close alignment with urban, literate society, and retained established affinity with Classical rhetorical and philosophical school traditions.

LILLIAN I. LARSEN is Professor of Early Christianity in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Redlands, California. Her foundational rereading of the desert fathers and mothers in light of ancient pedagogy grounds the work of the Monasticism and Classical Paideia project (MOPAI) research initiative.

SAMUEL RUBENSON is Professor of Church History in the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies at Lund University. He has long been engaged in research on the letters of St Antony.





Monastic Education in Late Antiquity

The Transformation of Classical Paideia

Edited by

LILLIAN I. LARSEN
University of Redlands, California

SAMUEL RUBENSON Lunds Universitet, Sweden





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107194953

DOI: 10.1017/9781108163842

© Cambridge University Press 2018

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-107-19495-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of Figures [page vii] List of Contributors [ix] Acknowledgements [x]

Introduction [1] LILLIAN I. LARSEN AND SAMUEL RUBENSON

PART I THE LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION [11]

- 1 Early Monasticism and the Concept of a "School" [13] SAMUEL RUBENSON
- 2 Translating *Paideia*: Education in the Greek and Latin Versions of the *Life of Antony* [33]

 PETER GEMEINHARDT
- 3 *Paideia*, Piety, and Power: Emperors and Monks in Socrates' Church History [53]

 ANDREAS WESTERGREN

PART II ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AND LITERACY [73]

- 4 The Educational and Cultural Background of Egyptian Monks [75] ROGER BAGNALL
- 5 "Excavating the Excavations" of Early Monastic Education [101] LILLIAN I. LARSEN
- 6 Homer and *Menandri Sententiae* in Upper Egyptian Monastic Settings [125] ANASTASIA MARAVELA

PART III GRAMMAR AND RHETORIC [151]

7 The School of Didymus the Blind in Light of the Tura Find [153] BLOSSOM STEFANIW

v



vi Contents

- 8 Affecting Rhetoric: The Adoption of *Ethopoeia* in Evagrius of Pontus' Ascetic Program [182]
 ELLEN MUEHLBERGER
- 9 Classical Education in Sixth-Century Coptic Monasticism: The Example of Rufus of Shotep [195] MARK SHERIDAN

PART IV PHILOSOPHY [217]

- 10 The Virtue of Being Uneducated: Attitudes towards Classical *Paideia* in Early Monasticism and Ancient Philosophy [219] HENRIK RYDELL JOHNSÉN
- 11 Plato Between School and Cell: Biography and Competition in the Fifth-Century Philosophical Field [236]

 ARTHUR URBANO
- 12 Pythagorean Traditions in Early Christian Asceticism [256] DANIELE PEVARELLO

PART V MANUSCRIPT AND LITERARY PRODUCTION [279]

- 13 Textual Fluidity and Authorial Revision: The Case of Cassian and Palladius [281]
 BRITT DAHLMAN
- 14 Production, Distribution and Ownership of Books in the Monasteries of Upper Egypt: the Evidence of the Nag Hammadi Colophons [306] HUGO LUNDHAUG AND LANCE JENOTT
- 15 Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: Approaching Arabic Recensions of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* [326]

 JASON ZABOROWSKI

Bibliography [343] Index [380] Index Locorum [389]



Figures

- 4.1 Classroom wall excavated at Amheida. © Roger Bagnall [page 78]
- 4.2 *P.Herm.* 5. The John Rylands Library (JRL1201518). Copyright of the University of Manchester [81]
- 4.3 P.Nag Hamm. 69 [82]
- 4.4 P.Nag Hamm. 68 [83]
- 4.5 P.Nag Hamm. 66 [84]
- 4.6 *P.Neph.* 11. © Institut für Papyrologie, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg [86]
- 4.7 *P.Neph.* 12. © Institut für Papyrologie, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg [87]
- 4.8 *P.Neph.* 18. With the permission of Universitätsbibliothek Trier [88]
- 4.9 *P.Neph.* 1. With the permission of Universitätsbibliothek Trier [90]
- 4.10 *P.Neph.* 2. With the permission of Universitätsbibliothek Trier [91]
- 4.11 *P.Neph.* 3. © Institut für Papyrologie, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg [92]
- 4.12 *P.Neph.* 4. © Institut für Papyrologie, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg [93]
- 4.13 *P.Neph.* 5. © Institut für Papyrologie, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg [94]
- 4.14 *P.Neph.* 6. With the permission of Universitätsbibliothek Trier [95]
- 4.15 O.Trim. 2.532. © Roger Bagnall [98]
 - 5.1 Champollion's transcription of the Beni Hasan Syllabary (1889) [109]
- 5.2 Newberry's transcription of the Beni Hasan Syllabary (1893) [110]
- 5.3 Beni Hasan Syllabary *in situ* (Detail). Photo: Hugo Lundhaug [111]

vii



viii List of Figures

- 5.4 Beni Hasan Syllabary *in situ* (Full). Photo: Hugo Lundhaug [112]
- 5.5 British Museum 'Abecedary' (O.BM 19082 *et al.*). © The Trustees of the British Museum [116]
- 5.6 Metropolitan "Miscellaneous" Fragment (*O.MMA*. 14.1.188).The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Rogers Fund, 1914, 14.1.188). Photo: Art Resource, NY. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art [117]
- 5.7 Lines from Proverbs (Cairo 44674.118 *verso*). Photo: Dr Kent Brown [119]
- 5.8 Saying of Basil (Cairo 44674.118 *recto*). Photo: Dr Kent Brown [120]
- 6.1 Monastery of Epiphanius, Cell A. From H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* 1 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926), 40 [128]
- 6.2 Monastery of Epiphanius, Cell B. From H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* 1 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926), 43 [130]
- 6.3 Homer, *Iliad* 1.1 (*Mon.Epiph.* 611 = *O.MMA*. 14.1.140). The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Rogers Fund, 1914, 14.1.140). © 2015 The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence [132]
- 6.4 Homer, *Iliad* 1.1–2 (*Mon.Epiph.* 612 = *O.MMA*. 14.1.139). The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Rogers Fund, 1914, 14.1.139). © 2015 The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence [133]
- 6.5 Lines from Homer, *Iliad* (O.Col.inv. 949). Columbia Libraries [138]
- 6.6 Sentences of Menander (*Mon.Epiph*. 615 = *O.MMA*. 14.1.210). The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Rogers Fund, 1914, 14.1.210). © 2015 The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence [140]
- 14.1 Colophon Nag Hammadi Codex VII 127 [307]
- 14.2 Colophon Nag Hammadi Codex II 145 [310]
- 14.3 Colophon Nag Hammadi Codex I Flyleaf B [312]
- 14.4 Colophon Nag Hammadi Codex VI [315]
- 14.5 Colophon Nag Hammadi Codex VII 118 [324]



Contributors

- Bagnall, Roger, Professor Emeritus of Ancient History and Director of the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University
- Dahlman, Britt, Researcher in Church History at the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, Lund University
- Gemeinhardt, Peter, Professor of Church History in the Faculty of Theology, Georg August University, Göttingen
- Jenott, Lance, Lecturer, Department of Classics, University of Washington in St. Louis
- Larsen, Lillian, Professor of Early Christianity in the Department of Religious Studies, University of Redlands
- Lundhaug, Hugo, Professor of Biblical Reception and Early Christian Literature in the Faculty of Theology, Oslo University
- Maravela, Anastasia, Professor of Ancient Greek in the Department of Philosophy, Classics, History of Art and Ideas, University of Oslo
- Muehlberger, Ellen, Associate Professor in the Departments of Near Eastern Studies and History, University of Michigan
- Pevarello, Daniele, Assistant Professor in Early Christianity in the Department of Religions and Theology, Trinity College, Dublin
- Rubenson, Samuel, Professor of Church History at the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, Lund University
- Rydell Johnsén, Henrik, Lecturer, Department of Religion, Stockholm University
- Sheridan, Mark, Benedictine friar at Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem, and Professor Emeritus of Pontificio Ateneo Sant'Anselmo, Rome
- Stefaniw, Blossom, Heisenberg fellow, Faculty of Theology, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg
- Urbano, Arthur, Associate Professor in the Department of Theology, Providence College
- Westergren, Andreas, Lecturer in Church and Mission Studies at the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, Lund University
- Zaborowski, Jason, Associate Professor in the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Bradley University

ix



Acknowledgements

This volume collects the revised versions of papers given at an international conference addressing monastic education, held at Lund University in October 2013. The conference was organized by the "Early Monasticism and Classical Paideia" research program. Six of the volume's chapters document research undertaken by members of the MOPAI research team. The remaining nine chapters reflect the work of respected colleagues in the field. The conversations at the conference were themselves a *distillata* of wider conversation that has taken place within the MOPAI program, and with a broader range of colleagues, over the past six years.

We are grateful to the Riksbankens Jubiléumsfond (the Tercennary Fund of the National Bank of Sweden) for generously funding both the conference and the MOPAI research venture that ran from 2009 to 2015. We likewise thank the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies at Lund University for hosting the conference and housing the MOPAI project, and the University of Redlands for ongoing support of integral international collaboration. Additional thanks are due the scholars, whose contributions have allowed us to put together a volume that reflects a fundamental shift in discussions of monastic education. Their outstanding essays invite readers to rethink almost every aspect of emergent pedagogical investments, and to reconsider the degree to which monasticism influenced the late-antique educational landscape, as a whole.

In the process of organizing and structuring this content, the assistance of the MOPAI research team was invaluable. In the final stages of assembling the bibliography and cross-checking references, Sebastian Ekberg and Stephen Lars Klein's close attention to detail was equally vital to timely submission of the collected essays.

Because this volume brings together scholarship that draws on a variety of methodologies and subfields (papyrology, material culture, literature), in a range of languages (Greek, Latin, Coptic, Syriac, Arabic), with respect to citation, we have sought to maintain internal consistency in the format of each contribution. Beyond this, we have, implicitly, deferred to each author's respective expertise in applying conventions appropriate to a given discipline.

As editors, we wish to thank Cambridge University Press for accepting the volume for publication, and Michael Sharp, Elizabeth Hanlon and Sarah Starkey for their generous assistance in facilitating the editorial process.

X