CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-15687-6 — Children and Family in Late Antique Egyptian Monasticism
Caroline T. Schroeder
Excerpt
More Information

Introduction

> Do not bring young boys here. Four congregations in Scetis are deserted because of boys.[1]
>
> *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, attributed to Isaac of Kellia

> [As for boys] or girls or old men or women among us, and it is the case that they eat twice a day, the order shall be given to them by the male Elder to eat at the hour that he has told the server to feed them.[2]
>
> Shenoute, *Canons*, vol. 5

Medieval and Byzantine monasteries and convents were teeming with children. From orphans deposited on their doorsteps to become monastics, to pupils studying in their schools before moving on to an uncloistered adult life, to sick children seeking care from church hospitals, monastic institutions for men and women across the East and West sheltered scores of children during the period we call the "Middle Ages."[3] What, however, of the formative period of Christian monasticism? Where were the children?

This book interrogates the narratives in ascetic and monastic literature about children – narratives in which the views articulated in the epigraph attributed to a certain Abba Isaac dominate. Such views have informed our historical imaginings of the earliest monasteries as child-free zones. I argue instead that late antique monastic textual sources (particularly those from Egypt in the fourth through sixth centuries) serve a different purpose, not to exclude children from monastic and ascetic life but rather to position the monastery as both rival and heir to the ancient institutions of the family and household. Moreover,

[1] *AP* Isaac of Kellia 5, in *PG* 65:225; trans. Ward, *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 100, mod.
[2] Shenoute, *Canons*, vol. 5, MONB.XS 319, in Leipoldt, *Vita et Opera Omnia*, vol. 4, 53–54; trans. Layton, *Canons of Our Fathers*, 159, mod.
[3] See the classic Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*. On children in the Byzantine era including monasticism with a postscript on the Latin West, see Miller, *Orphans of Byzantium*.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-15687-6 — Children and Family in Late Antique Egyptian Monasticism
Caroline T. Schroeder
Excerpt
More Information

even narratives that exhibit disdain for children do their work in a space, a place, and a time when children indeed roamed the monastery. The presence of monastic children, commonplace in medieval and Byzantine institutions, originates with the very beginnings of monasticism in Egypt, even though later authors lauded the region as home to some of the most rigorous monastic practices.

Sources for Egyptian asceticism document the presence of children among adult monks, as the epigraph from Shenoute attests. Certainly, minor children living in their parents' households formed a crucial wing of the ascetic movement from its beginnings in the wider Mediterranean world. Girls on the cusp of adolescence, as they approached the appropriate age for marriage as early as twelve years old, soon became the standard-bearers for a religion that prized moral and sexual virtue.[4] Male clerics extolled female martyrs, whom the men wrote into history as dying rather than risking losing their virginity to rape.[5] As early as the second and third centuries, male ecclesiastics held up virgin girls who shunned marriage to become brides of Christ as symbols of the church.[6] By the fourth century in Egypt, and particularly in Alexandria, "house virgins" and their families comprised an important religious and political constituency with whom Athanasius, bishop of the city, had to contend.[7]

But what of the emerging institutions we now call monasteries? What roles did children play in them? What role did they have in the monastic imagination?

Children Count

In accounting for children in monasteries, we must also ask who counts as a child. The field of childhood studies has long noted the socially and historically constructed character of "childhood" and the group of people we call "children," going back as far as Philip Ariès's argument in 1960 that "childhood" as a life phase distinct from infancy or adulthood emerged as a concept only in the thirteenth century, taking full form in the

[4] On marriage and betrothal, see Grubbs, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity*, 141–202; Caldwell, *Roman Girlhood*, 48, 116–19.
[5] Burrus, "Reading Agnes."
[6] E.g., Cyprian on the virgin as "flower" of the church in *De habitu virginum* 3 in *CSEL* 3.1:189; trans. Deferrari et al., *St. Cyprian: Treatises*, 33–34. See also Tertullian, *De exhortatione castitatis* and *De verginibus velandis* in *CCSL* 2:1015–35, 1209–26.
[7] See Brakke's translations and analyses of Athanasius' *Letters to Virgins* and *On Virginity* in *Athanasius and Asceticism*, 17–79 and 274–309.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-15687-6 — Children and Family in Late Antique Egyptian Monasticism
Caroline T. Schroeder
Excerpt
More Information

seventeenth century.[8] While Ariès's particular framing of childhood no longer dominates scholarship, most would agree with him that the *modern* idea of childhood did not hold sway in antiquity.[9] The very definition of a "child" – including the age range of who counts as a child – is historically contingent.[10] In Western societies today, many psychologists posit either the extension of childhood or youth into the late teens and early twenties or the existence of a transition period before adulthood ("emerging adulthood") for all genders.[11] Such a life phase, however, may not exist across the globe, much less in different historical periods; even its contours in the contemporary West are contested.[12]

Accounting for children by following a strictly philological approach of examining terminology for children and youth is not practical. This book draws on sources in Greek, Latin, and Coptic, all of which use vocabularies that possess ambiguities or fluidity. The classic example in Greek is *pais*, which can mean "child" or "enslaved person," and the challenges of terminology do not end there.[13] (Throughout this book, I follow the work of Gabrielle Foreman and use the language of "enslaved person" rather than "slave" as much as possible.[14])

This book follows a standard classification of life stages in late antiquity and attempts to be mindful of the fluidity of these phases and of the intersectionality of gender, economic status, and enslaved/free status. Infants typically are three or younger, with childhood ending at twelve for free girls and fourteen for free boys, and "youth" continuing into the late teens or early twenties

[8] Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, 33–34, 61, 128–29; see esp. 128: "In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist."

[9] Christian Laes assesses scholarship on childhood in antiquity in the aftermath of Ariès's work in *Children in the Roman Empire*, 13–18.

[10] See Ariès's survey of life stages in antiquity and the Middle Ages in *Centuries of Childhood*, 15–32; for more recent work on childhood in antiquity and late antiquity, see (among other studies): Beaumont, *Childhood in Ancient Athens*; Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*; Grubbs, Parkin, and Bell, *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education*; Vuolanto, *Children and Asceticism*; Horn and Martens, *"Let the Little Children Come to Me"*; Horn and Phenix, *Children in Late Ancient Christianity*; Laes and Vuolanto, *Children and Everyday Life*.

[11] Arnett, "Emerging Adulthood"; Tanner, "Recentering during Emerging Adulthood"; Kuper, Wright, and Mustanski, "Gender Identity Development."

[12] Compare to the life stage of "youth" in late antiquity: Laes and Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire*, 1–3, 23–30. On complicating the contemporary category of "emerging adulthood," see Ruddick, "Politics of Aging"; Arnett et al., *Debating Emerging Adulthood*.

[13] Surveys of the terminology in Greek and Latin appear in Laes and Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire*, 41–60; Grubbs, Parkin, and Bell, *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education*, 6–7; for Coptic, see Chapter 2 of this volume and Cromwell, "From Village to Monastery."

[14] Foreman et al., "Writing about 'Slavery'?"

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-15687-6 — Children and Family in Late Antique Egyptian Monasticism
Caroline T. Schroeder
Excerpt
More Information

for men.[15] For free girls, the end of childhood corresponded to the minimum legal age of marriage (twelve) and the expected age of menarche.[16] Yet typically only elite women married at twelve; women from lower classes married later. In Roman Egypt, women married in their mid- or late teens, and men around age twenty-five.[17] For most girls, womanhood began upon marriage. Technically, adulthood for free males involved legal rights; however, such maturity often did not fully begin until seventeen years of age or even twenty or twenty-five (the legal age of majority in the Empire and the typical age at which free, propertied men could hold office).[18] The concept of youth or adolescence applied to free males who had reached puberty but not full adulthood. These classifications reflect late antique understandings of biology as well as legal and social concerns. One question, for example, was whether males under twenty-five could be responsible for making wise financial decisions.[19] For free and primarily elite men in the early Western Empire, the transition out of childhood was marked with a ceremonial donning of an adult toga. The ritual seems to have continued even into late antiquity.[20] In Egypt, we have some evidence for a festival celebrating "cutting the hair lock" (a traditional boy's hairstyle).[21] Typically, enslaved and free boys and girls began apprenticeships at twelve to fourteen years of age, another indication of the significance of this age as a period of transition.[22] In Egypt, boys were considered of age and paid the poll tax beginning at fourteen.[23] Nonetheless, "youth" in adolescence and the early twenties, even for males, did not automatically confer all the privileges of adulthood; a young man could be appointed a *curator* to make financial and legal decisions for him, rendering boys minors up to the age of twenty-five. Under Constantine, men twenty years old could be considered legal adults with the support of character

[15] Laes and Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire*, 31; Prinzing, "Observations on the Legal Status of Children," 16–20; Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, chs. 3 and 4; Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire*, 113–39.
[16] Caldwell, *Roman Girlhood*, 125.
[17] Huebner, *Family in Roman Egypt*, 49–50. Also see Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 252–56.
[18] Laes and Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire*, 31–34.
[19] Laes and Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire*, 33–34; Prinzing, "Observations on the Legal Status of Children," 17–19.
[20] Laes and Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire*, 55–58.
[21] Legras, "Mallokouria et mallocourètes"; Laes and Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire*, 54.
[22] Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 191–95; Pudsey, "Children in Roman Egypt," 503–04.
[23] Huebner, *Family in Roman Egypt*, 18.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-15687-6 — Children and Family in Late Antique Egyptian Monasticism
Caroline T. Schroeder
Excerpt
More Information

witnesses.[24] Thus, for men, childhood might end at fourteen but adulthood might not begin until their twenties. Early monastic sources in particular rarely mention people's ages. Additionally, throughout the Empire, other factors besides strict biological age affected a person's stage in the life cycle: perceived wisdom or physical maturity, marital status, economic class, and gender.[25] Many people likely did not even know their specific age.

Sexuality did not mark the boundary between childhood and adulthood in late antiquity, since minor children were not regarded as "presexual." Enslaved children of all genders could be compelled to have sex with the people who owned them.[26] Judith Evans Grubbs has posited that for children who survived abandonment (exposure) as infants, "slavery, including sex slavery," was their most likely fate.[27] Children, enslaved or free, worked as prostitutes.[28] Adult men had sex with children and adolescent boys in late antiquity, despite Roman sensibilities that disapproved of such practices more often than ancient Greek sensibilities did.[29] Elite girls at times moved in with their intended fiancés at age ten or eleven, before their legal age of marriage.[30]

Likewise, neither did labor mark a boundary between childhood and adulthood. Outside of the elite classes, free children worked within the household (whether in urban or rural settings) and were often sent to be apprentices, living in other households.[31] Despite twelve to fourteen being a common age to begin apprenticeships, we know that boys especially apprenticed for a trade at a younger age.[32] In first-century Oxyrhynchus, for example, young Dioskus, while still "underage," went to live with and

[24] Laes and Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire*, 33–34.
[25] Hence, Huebner's assertion: "In general, it is, however, more helpful . . . to define the individual by their status in a specific life-cycle position" (*Family in Roman Egypt*, 18). Laes and Strubbe also emphasize the fluidity of the category of "youth" and the impossibility of applying specific age boundaries to the life stages of childhood and adulthood (*Youth in the Roman Empire*, chs. 2–4 throughout).
[26] Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 256–58.
[27] Grubbs, "Infant Exposure and Infanticide," 95.
[28] Canon 12 of the Canons of the Synod of Elvira (306) condemns parents who prostitute their children: von Hefele, *Histoire des conciles* 1.1, 228–29; Leyerle, "Children and 'the Child' in Early Christianity," 566.
[29] On sexuality, boys, and adolescent males in ancient Greece, much has been written; see especially Beaumont, "Shifting Gender," 203–04. On Roman practices, especially the distinctions of free status and citizenship, see Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 242–52.
[30] Caldwell, *Roman Girlhood*, 107–16.
[31] Sigismund-Nielsen, "Slave and Lower-Class Roman Children," 296–97; Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 148–221.
[32] See Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 191, on apprenticeship contracts, including the mention of children as "underage."

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-15687-6 — Children and Family in Late Antique Egyptian Monasticism
Caroline T. Schroeder
Excerpt
More Information

learn from the weaver Apollonios; Dioskus' father, Pausiris (also a weaver), pledged money for the boy's food and clothing.[33] Even when they are not specified as "underage," male apprentices are often called children and boys, and they cannot represent themselves legally, as in one contract from Tebtunis negotiated by a woman and her guardian for the apprenticeship of her son, a "child" (*pais*).[34]

Though demographic information, vocabulary, and knowledge about social norms can help us sketch some of the parameters of late antique childhood, we will never know for certain the precise age of most people under examination in this book. Our sources do not always use existing vocabulary to differentiate between infants (up to age three in the ancient world), adolescents, and children who fall between infancy and adolescence. Thus, throughout this book, the age of fourteen roughly marks the end of "childhood" per se, but references to "minor children" include persons under the age of twenty. While such terminology may seem imprecise and messy, it reflects our sources, which are equally imprecise and messy.

As this discussion of the definition of "childhood" has progressed, we can also see how much other status and identity markers affect who counts as a child. From education to sexual history to nourishment, enslaved girls under the age of fourteen lived very different lives from their wealthy counterparts; enslaved girls rarely even receive mention in our sources and so often do not count as "children" in the same sense as free girls. Similarly, working-class and elite boys would have experienced differing labor histories, healthcare, and educations.

Contested Childhoods

One aspect of late antique childhood that crosses different class and gender boundaries is childhood as the site of adult aspirations. And when those aspirations conflict or fail to materialize as expected, children become sites of contestation for adults, which is especially evident in both Christian literature and late antique papyri. In seventh-century Thebes, an outraged husband called upon Bishop Pisentius to resolve a dispute with his wife, who had left him for another man and had since given birth to a baby girl. The new lover insisted that the estranged husband bore responsibility for the infant, since she had been born only six months after the beginning of

[33] *P. Wisc. 1* 4. [34] *P. Tebt 2* 385.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-15687-6 — Children and Family in Late Antique Egyptian Monasticism
Caroline T. Schroeder
Excerpt
More Information

the affair.[35] Other petitions preserved in papyri position children as evidence in grievances between disputing parents – for example, a father complaining that his wife has run off with some of his property and left him to fend for their son,[36] and a sick woman charging that her husband abandoned her and their four sons.[37] One surviving papyrus from the early Roman period documents a widow who successfully petitioned to abandon her infant, presumably to increase her chances of marrying again, since the petition also addresses her dowry and potential remarriage.[38] A sixth-century petition even records an adult man complaining about his father's abandonment of him as a child, when the man left his career and family to become a monk.[39] In each of these cases, the interests of the children are subordinated to or placed in service of the objectives of the adults.

Of course, affect and aspiration were not mutually exclusive; children could be loved while also serving as projections of adult ambitions. In Oxyrhynchus, a woman named Thermouthian (possibly with no children, or at least no living sons) wrote of her "despair" upon the traumatic injury of Peina, an enslaved girl. Thermouthian described Peina as like her "own little daughter," which meant a relationship of economics and affection. Thermouthian intended for Peina to care for her as she aged, since she had no one else, and "loved" her. While walking to a singing lesson, Peina collided with (or was run down by?) a donkey driven by an enslaved man owned by someone else, resulting in a disabling and potentially deadly accident; she lost most of her hand. Thermouthian's concern – recorded in a petition to an official seeking redress for this injury – arises from her feelings for the girl, the economic loss of her property, and the future loss of a caregiver in her old age.[40] For all elderly free Egyptians, but especially widowed or divorced women, care in old age was of paramount concern; this need motivated childbirth as well as adoptions.[41] Free people also kept enslaved persons in their households to care for them until death, sometimes manumitting them in their wills.[42]

This understanding of children and childhood as the site of adult (and contested) aspirations is not merely an artifact of the genre of the sources.

[35] *P.Pisentius 17* (unpublished, Louvre Museum) as discussed in Cromwell, "Potential Paternity Problem."
[36] *P.Heid.* III 237 (*BL* V 43, IX 103).
[37] *SB Kopt.* IV 1709. See also discussion in Cromwell, "An Abandoned Wife and Unpaid Alimony."
[38] *BGU* IV 1104. On infanticide and exposure, see Grubbs, "Infant Exposure and Infanticide"; Grubbs, "Church, State and Children."
[39] *P.Lond.* V 1676. See also translation and discussion in Ruffini, *Life in an Egyptian Village*, 135.
[40] *P.Oxy.* L 3555; trans. Rowlandson, *Women and Society*, 92–93.
[41] Huebner, *Family in Roman Egypt*, 175–87. [42] Huebner, *Family in Roman Egypt*, 172–74.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-15687-6 — Children and Family in Late Antique Egyptian Monasticism
Caroline T. Schroeder
Excerpt
More Information

The examples listed here come primarily from documentary sources such as wills, petitions, contracts, and letters documenting a dispute – texts often deriving from confrontational circumstances. Literary sources, however, also testify to the construction of children as the embodiment of adult aspirations. Part II of the book addresses this theme's expression in multiple motifs in ascetic literature in more detail, but for now, two examples suffice. According to the Greek *Life of Pachomius*, of his own volition the young Theodore (eventual father of the whole monastic federation) joined a monastery of Pachomius at *around* fourteen years of age, meaning he may have been legally of age but still a youth potentially requiring guardianship, or he may have been just under fourteen and thus underage. His mother came looking for him, with letters in hand from bishops demanding his return to the family household. After telling Pachomius of his desire to remain, he went to meet his mother (who was staying at the women's monastery while awaiting his return). Seeing his dedication, she decided not only not to fight his decision but also to join the women's monastery herself.[43] Thus, Theodore's story is not only an account of a child forging his own path in life, distinct from his parents' aspirations, but also a narration of adult expectations, disappointment, and ultimately conversion.[44] The *Apophthegmata Patrum* narrates the choice of asceticism of another remarkable monk, Zacharias. According to the story, Zacharias became a monk only as a result of the choices and actions of his parents. His father, Carion, had abandoned his wife and two children (Zacharias and an unnamed sister) to join the monastic community at Scetis. During a famine, the unnamed woman came to the edge of Scetis and publicly shamed Carion with his hungry children. Carion called for both children to come to live with him, but the girl turned back to be with her mother. The boy, Zacharias, lived with Carion, eventually becoming a more accomplished monk than his father.[45] In the narrative, the parents drive the plotline of Zacharias' monastic vocation: Carion's failings as an absentee father, his mother's fortitude in demanding he support his children, and his father's decision to take physical custody of the child. Even the vignette about the boy's entry to Scetis appears in sayings classified under his father's name in the Alphabetical Collection of *Apophthegmata*. In neither of these instances do I posit that children named Theodore and

[43] *V. Pach. G*[1] 37, in Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae*, 22; ed. and trans. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia One*, 323–24.
[44] Vuolanto argues that intrafamilial disputes were not as common as the hagiography would lead us to believe in *Children and Asceticism*.
[45] *AP* Carion 1–3, in *PG* 65:249–52.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-15687-6 — Children and Family in Late Antique Egyptian Monasticism
Caroline T. Schroeder
Excerpt
More Information

Zacharias lived the lives these narratives describe. Rather, I argue that these literary accounts share with our documentary sources a profound ideological construction of "the child" as the embodiment of adult ambitions, which also presents us with a methodological conundrum: late antique accounts of children, including monastic sources, are written by and for adults and foreground adult concerns.

Trauma, Abuse, and Social Norms

In the 600s in upper Egypt, a girl ran away from her husband and took refuge in the home of another Christian couple, Elisabeth and Papnoute. We know little about her circumstances: Did she not love her husband? Did he hurt her? Did she simply not want to marry? We do not even know her name. All we know is that she was a "young girl" who fled her marriage in defiance of church regulations and social norms yet was supported in this decision by two other Christians. This girl was likely in her teens (and thus a girl by modern American standards). Even though the letter describes her as a "young girl," vocabulary was fluid when referencing teenagers; possibly she was in her early teens. We know of her situation thanks to a sternly worded letter from a prominent local priest ordering Elisabeth and Papnoute to instruct the girl to return to her husband and "obey him" or face excommunication.[46]

This one small story of an unhappily married girl opens a window to a number of aspects of late antique girlhood. The priest's letter articulates the widespread policy of the ancient church in Egypt, that leaving a marriage was forbidden except in cases of adultery. Even a girl who experienced domestic violence or extreme poverty could not divorce her husband and expect to remain in good standing with the church. A girl who wished to leave her husband needed a supportive social network outside her marital household – parents, friends, or other relatives.

And thus, we see quite clearly implemented the social norms of the time: child brides, church policy on divorce, expectations for wifely obedience. We also see quite clearly *resistance* to such norms. For whatever reason, this girl has taken hold of her own future and left her husband, flouting convention. Moreover, two other Christians have supported her disobedience.

Throughout this book, it is important to keep in mind these moments of resistance, because they speak to the cultural historian

[46] *O.Lips.Copt.* 24; see also the discussion in Cromwell, "Runaway Child Bride."

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-15687-6 — Children and Family in Late Antique Egyptian Monasticism
Caroline T. Schroeder
Excerpt
More Information

of religion faced with the challenge of analyzing social norms that we might consider violent. Child marriage, enslavement, corporal punishment, food deprivation – these are but a few of the *normative* and *traumatic* conditions of childhood we encounter in this book. Despite their normativity, views that diverge from or even challenge these norms existed. This fits with other examples in history in which an abusive social practice, such as the enslavement of people of African descent in Europe and the United States, was legal and widespread yet opposed by some. Proslavery views were normative among white free people, and many in the Northern "free" states of antebellum America acquiesced to slavery in the South.[47] Nonetheless, antislavery and abolitionist writing and activism were widespread in America and England when slavery was legal in each nation. In particular, people of African descent opposed slavery and the slave trade publicly, such as authors and speakers, including Olaudah Equiano in the late 1700s and Sojourner Truth and Fredrick Douglass in the 1800s.[48]

To understand the life of a child in late antiquity is to understand a life likely marked by violence – violence experienced structurally and personally, imparted by social systems and individuals. We need to name and analyze that violence, neither overlooking nor dismissing it because of its normativity. Likewise, we must not allow the normativity of violence against children in the ancient world to overwhelm our interpretive and methodological frameworks so that we overlook the evidence of both children and adults who questioned, challenged, or transgressed these social norms.

Evidence for violence against children comes in many forms, some documentary or legal, others literary or artistic. As Laura Nasrallah cautions historians of religion, setting aside violence in art and literature as symbolic and representational (and as such, not "real") brackets from our view significant cultural and historical justifications or motivations for violence: "The concern underlying the phrase 'representations of violence' . . . may be that representations of violence in image and word are ephemeral, hard to prove violent, even 'merely' rhetorical violence. Instead, we should be thinking about representations of violence as

[47] E.g., Dabney, *Life and Compaigns of Lieut.-Gen. Thomas J. Jackson*; Wheaton, *Discourse on St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon*; see also Boles, "Dabney, Robert Lewis (1820–1898)."

[48] Equiano, *Interesting Narrative and Other Writings*; for a history of black women using biblical interpretation to challenge social norms in the United States regarding gender and race, see Junior, *Introduction to Womanist Biblical Interpretation*.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org