

## SOCIAL CONTROL IN LATE ANTIQUITY

*Social Control in Late Antiquity: The Violence of Small Worlds* explores the small-scale communities of late antiquity – households, monasteries, and schools – where power was a question of personal relationships. When fathers, husbands, teachers, abbots, and slave-owners asserted their own will, they saw themselves as maintaining the social order, and expected law and government to reinforce their rule. Naturally, the members of these communities had their own ideas, and teaching them to ‘obey their betters’ was not always a straightforward business. Drawing on a wide variety of sources from across the late Roman Mediterranean, from law codes and inscriptions to monastic rules and hagiography, the book considers the sometimes conflicting identities of women, slaves, and children and asks how they found opportunities for agency and recognition within a system built on the unremitting assertion of the rights of the powerful.

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*A Companion to Isidore of Seville* (co-edited, 2019), and *Isidore of Seville and His Reception in the Early Middle Ages* (co-edited, 2016). Jamie's postdoctoral research was funded by a Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship and he has received grants from the British Academy and the Gulbenkian Foundation, among others. He is currently writing a book about the Byzantine presence in the Iberian Peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries.

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*The Violence of Small Worlds*

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## *Preface and Acknowledgements*

This volume has its roots in a collaborative research project on religion and violence in late antiquity, the RCUK-funded *Constantine's Dream: Belonging, Deviance, and the Problem of Violence in Early Christianity*, which was hosted by the University of Manchester from 2009 to 2012. One of the most important insights of that project was the critical importance of the 'small worlds' of the household, the monastery, and the schoolroom as the places where social change either did or did not happen, depending on whether or not the men (and women) tasked with maintaining the social order were successful in doing their job. We became fascinated by the problem of social reproduction and the reciprocal relationship between 'big ideas' and the 'small worlds' in which people lived out their lives. Of course, the very nature of our sources – fragmentary, allusive, frustratingly focused on the viewpoint of elites – posed a significant barrier to making sense of the problem. We were fortunate that Manchester was buzzing with young people who were keen to think 'outside the box' – postgraduates and postdoctoral fellows who have become colleagues to reckon with. (Though our own paths have eventually led us elsewhere, this volume is among other things a tribute to a university that shaped a generation of historians by fostering both independent thinking and creative collaboration.) In 2011–12 we were fortunate to receive a British Academy Small Grants Scheme Award for a project entitled *Cognitive Violence and Social Reproduction in Late Ancient Christianity: A Preliminary Study*.

The idea – and the crowd – kept growing. A workshop, 'Violence, Education and Social Reproduction in Late Antiquity', was organised to coincide with the XVI International Conference on Patristic Studies in August 2011. (We are grateful to Worcester College, Oxford, for hosting this memorable symposium.) Since Oxford, we have picked up several further conversation-partners, a number of whom have become contributors to the present volume. So our first vote of thanks goes to the friends

and colleagues who have lent their energy to the conversation – one that has made an immeasurable difference to our way of seeing the ancient world.

The chapters represent a collective effort to view the changing landscape of the fourth and fifth centuries from the perspective of lived experience. Wherever possible we have tried to bring forward the experience of people whose voices have largely been passed over by the historical record. Many of the sources on which our contributors draw – laws, hagiographies, and theological tracts by superstar bishops (many of them later saints) – have traditionally been understood to offer a ‘top-down’ point of view, so we have made every effort to read these texts against the grain. Rather than assuming that elite bishops were transparently accurate spokesmen for their communities, we have tried to assess their efforts to influence audiences who saw things from a point of view very different to their own.

A number of chapters in our collection demonstrate how social reproduction functioned in small-scale social contexts, and thus go some way to explaining how the late Roman social order perpetuated itself across time and space. This order was maintained as much through quotidian micro-aggressions as much as it was through the weight of the state and its legal system. Yet our constant interest has been in the point of view of the disempowered – women, children, and the enslaved, both how they were treated and how they resisted the worst excesses of their oppressors. It is in the contexts of small worlds that some individuals whose social power was modest or minimal were nonetheless able to carve out opportunities to exercise agency. In these contributions we gain insights into the resilience of individuals and social structures on a small, everyday scale.

In addition to the contributors, we would like thank our institutions – the Universities of Manchester and Lincoln, and Royal Holloway, University of London, along with the British Academy and Research Councils UK – for the support that has made this work possible. We must also acknowledge the acute and generous work of Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press and the anonymous peer reviewers, whose comments have done so much to sharpen our thinking. (Any errors that remain are, of course, our own.)

Finally, we must thank our families, whose bewildering power to charm, distract, and even educate us has made all the difference.

## *Abbreviations*

AA	Auctores Antiquissimi
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
<i>Adv. Jud.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Against the Jews</i>
<i>Alph.</i>	Alphabetical collection of <i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i>
Ambrose, <i>Ep.</i>	Ambrose, <i>Epistulae</i>
Ambrose, <i>Ep. extra coll.</i>	Ambrose, <i>Epistulae extra collectionem</i>
AP	<i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i>
can.	Canon
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
<i>c. Marc.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Contra Marcellum</i>
<i>Cod. Iust.</i>	Codex Justinianus
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
<i>Cod. Theod.</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
<i>Dig.</i>	<i>Digesta</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistula</i>
<i>Ep. Ant.</i>	<i>Epistulae Antonii</i>
<i>Euphemia</i>	<i>Euphemia and the Goth</i>
<i>Exp. Ps.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Commentary on the Psalms</i>
Field	F. Field, ed., <i>Ioannis Chrysostomi interpretatio omnium epistularum Paulinarum</i> , 7 vols. (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1854–62)
Foerster	Richard Foerster, ed., <i>Libanii opera</i> . Vols. I–IV (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–8)
FOTC	Fathers of the Church
GCS	Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
Gregory of Tours, <i>Hist.</i>	Gregory of Tours, <i>Libri historiarum X</i>
<i>Hab. eun. spir.</i>	John Chrysostom. <i>Homily on 'Those Who Have the Same Spirit of Faith' (2 Cor. 4:13)</i>

<i>Hist. Laus.</i>	Palladius, <i>Historia Lausiaca</i>
<i>Hom. acta apost.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles</i>
<i>Hom. Col.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Colossians</i>
<i>Hom. 1 Cor.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on 1 Corinthians</i>
<i>Hom. 2 Cor.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on 2 Corinthians</i>
<i>Hom. Eph.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Ephesians</i>
<i>Hom. Gen.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Genesis</i>
<i>Hom. Heb.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Hebrews</i>
<i>Hom. Jo.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on John</i>
<i>Hom. Laz.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Lazarus</i>
<i>Hom. Matt.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Matthew</i>
<i>Hom. Phlm.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Philemon</i>
<i>Hom. Philip.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Philipians</i>
<i>Hom. Rom.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Romans</i>
<i>Hom. 1 Thess.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on 1 Thessalonians</i>
<i>Hom. 2 Thess.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on 2 Thessalonians</i>
<i>Hom. 1 Tim.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on 1 Timothy</i>
<i>Hom. Tit.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Titus</i>
<i>Illum. catech.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Instructions to Catechumens</i>
<i>Inan.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>On Vainglory and the Education of Children</i>
John of Ephesus, <i>Vit.</i>	John of Ephesus, <i>Lives of the Eastern Saints</i>
<i>Laud.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>In Praise of Saint Paul the Apostle</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Leges	Leges nationum Germanicarum
<i>Lib. grad.</i>	<i>Book of Steps</i>
Libanius, <i>Ep.</i>	Libanius, <i>Epistulae</i>
Libanius, <i>Or.</i>	Libanius, <i>Orationes</i>
<i>Macrina</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Vita Macrinae</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
N	Anonymous collection of <i>Apophthegmata</i>
<i>Nov. Iust.</i>	<i>Novellae</i>
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church
<i>Or.</i>	Oratio
PE	Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>
Pelagius, <i>Ep.</i>	Pelagius I, <i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Perf. carit.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homily on 'Concerning Perfect Love'</i>

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PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
PLRE	Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
<i>Propt. fornic.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homily on 'For Fear of Fornication, Let Each Man Have His Own Wife' (1 Cor. 7:2)</i>
PS	Patrologia Syriaca
<i>Rhet.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Rhetorica</i>
<i>Sacr.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>On the Priesthood</i>
SC	Sources chrétiennes
<i>Serm. Gen.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Sermons on Genesis</i>
SRM	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
<i>Stat.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>On the Statues</i>
TCH	Transformation of the Classical Heritage
<i>Thecla</i>	<i>Acts of Paul and Thecla</i>
Theodoret, <i>Hist. mon.</i>	Theodoret, <i>History of the Monks of Syria</i>
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
VA	<i>Vita Antonii</i>
<i>Vidi Dom.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on 'I Saw the Lord' (Isa 6:1)</i>
<i>Virg.</i>	John Chrysostom, <i>On Virginity</i>
Zos.	Zosimus, <i>New History</i>

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