Early Monasticism and the Classical Heritage

RESEARCH PROBLEM

In the process of the Christianization of the Roman Empire and the transformation of the Graeco-Roman classical culture into early medieval Christian tradition, the rise of monasticism was one of the most significant developments. Without any obvious precursors in the Graeco-Roman world institutionalized monasticism rose in the fourth century, its historical roots and the explanations for its rapid development are still being intensively debated (Goehring 1992, Rubenson 1995, 1999, 2007, Rousseau 1997, Brown 1998, Wipszycka 2004) Within a hundred years a variety of forms of monasticism and monasteries had become a major concern for the emperors as well as the bishops, and by the sixth century monasteries and their leaders were important actors in imperial and ecclesiastical politics. Within the Christian Church they became main centres of power, a role they lost in the West at the time of the reformation and in the East only in the last century.

In addition to a political role, the establishment of monastic institutions of various kinds created an institutional framework that was to be largely responsible for the transmission of Greek and Latin literature, as well as classical traditions within agriculture, crafts, medicine, art and architecture. In the monasteries, a wide variety of expressions of classical culture were transformed and new forms in which to use and transmit them were developed. The importance of the monastic tradition for the development of European culture in the Middle Ages, Western as well as Eastern, can hardly be overstated (Brown 2002, Elm 1994).

Modern scholarship has largely studied the early developments of monasticism with a focus either on the question of its roots and first representatives in Egypt and Syria, or on the Western (Latin) tradition, but little interest has been shown the unfolding of developments in the East and the role of the Greek monastic tradition in the preservation and transformation of Graeco-Roman civilization and its transmission to Syriac and Arabic culture. More recent studies have increasingly begun to investigate individual actors or specific questions (Rousseau 1995, Schroeder 2007, Steppa 2002, Patrich 1995) and several important sources are being made available in critical editions (Guy 1993, 1995, 2003, Emmel 2004, Schulz-Flügel 1990). But still many texts coming out of the emerging monastic culture in the East in the fifth and sixth centuries have not yet been studied in full, and several have not even been made available for scholars through proper editions. Important questions about the rapid rise of monasticism in the East, its social, political and economic role in the society, its relation to classical philosophical traditions as well as to patterns of education, social welfare, and communal organization, are thus still unresolved.

An important reason for the lack of research on developments in Eastern monasticism and especially the role of the monastic tradition in the transmission of the classical cultural heritage, is, no doubt, the fact that the emerging monastic tradition in the East has been interpreted mainly as a movement of poor and uneducated rural groups rooted in a Jewish and Christian non-intellectual tradition (Heussi 1936, Dörries 1949, Watts 2006). Based on an un-critical, rather literal reading and a culturally biased view, the traditional sources have been used to dismiss the early Eastern monastic tradition as illiterate and disconnected from urban late antique society (Rubenson 1995, 1999, Martin 1979, Wipszycka 1994), and thus of little relevance for the transmission of the classical heritage.

Recent research, based on archaeological and papyrological studies, as well as studies of previous neglected monastic sources (Rubenson 2004, 2007, Caner 2002), as well as a reinterpretation of older texts with new methods (Rousseau, Goehring 1993, Elm 1994, Brakke 2001, Faraggiana Di Sarzana 1997), has, however, dramatically changed our understanding of the emergence of monasticism in the East. As the historical evidence makes clear, the early monastic tradition, at
least in Egypt and Palestine, was well integrated into the commercial and intellectual life of the cities and its major proponents were educated members of the upper classes of society. The literary papyri found in Egypt and research on the first monastic libraries shows that Alexandrian philosophical and theological literature was widely known among the monks of fourth-century Egypt (Roberts 1979, Gamble 1995).

This recent reinterpretation of the emergence of monasticism, summarized by Rubenson in the new Cambridge History of Christianity (Rubenson 2007), has opened the door for a more detailed investigation of the relation between emerging monasticism and the classical tradition as represented in late antique Greek society. Some important preliminary results have already been presented by members of the research group in the four dissertations presented in 2006 and 2007 (Larsen, Dahlman, Rönnegård and Rydell Johnsén), and further results are expected from the dissertation of Westergren.

AIM AND THEORY

The aim of the program is to contribute to our understanding of the role of emerging monasticism in the transformation of the classical heritage from antiquity to the medieval period by analyzing the development of Greek monastic culture in the fifth and sixth centuries. Due to the large amount of material and the meagre amount of research within this field, and in order to be able to establish a solid basis for future studies, the program will focus on the literature produced within or closely related to the Gaza area. As the gateway between Egypt and Palestine (and Syria), Gaza became a centre for the transmission of the Egyptian monastic tradition of the fourth-century to Palestine and Syria (Rubenson 1995b, Bitton-Ashkelony & Kofsky 2006). Due to the growing importance of Palestine and Jerusalem, in particular during the fifth and sixth centuries, both in imperial and ecclesiastical politics and in Church life in general as a consequence of the development of pilgrimage, the literature and traditions related to Gaza were to have a major impact on later developments throughout the Byzantine world, as well as within the oriental Christian traditions. The texts, of which some will be edited within the program, will be analyzed in detail as to rhetoric, literary form, educational function and use of authorities. The texts will, moreover, be placed in a context of more general cultural traditions in late antiquity, and attempts will be made to trace historical developments in the emergence of early monastic literature.

On a more profound theoretical level the program aims at a reformulation of basic theoretical approaches to the transformation of the classical heritage through the emergence of Christianity. Rejecting older, often polemical, views speaking of the triumph of Christianity or the defeat of pagan Antiquity, the issue, traditionally labelled “Antiquity and Christianity” has generated a vast literature in the last century (summarized by Markschies 2006). Adolf von Harnack’s extremely influential concept of a “Hellenization of Christianity”, according to which pristine Christianity gradually lost its identity through Graeco-Roman pagan influence, was countered by Franz Dölger’s impressive program “Antike und Christentum”, where original Christianity was unfolded and enriched by its incorporation of Graeco-Roman concepts and practices. Other scholars, like Hermann Gunkel, spoke of early Christianity as a “syncretistic” religion in which Jewish-Oriental and Graeco-Roman traditions merged, a development more recently termed a Christian “acculturation” to, or “inculturation” into the Graeco-Roman world. As pointed out by Christoph Markschies, all these concepts are based on Christianity and Antiquity as two, at least in principle, separate and identifiable entities that interact.

Based on recent studies of the fundamental Hellenic character of second-temple Judaism, as well as more dynamic interpretations of the emergence of Christianity, in particular by insights from social science (Brown 1992, Zetterholm 2003), the program avoids postulating a misleading dichotomy between Christianity and Antiquity. Instead the growth of Christian literature and Christian culture at large, will be regarded as developments within, and of, Graeco-Roman
tradition through a continuous reinterpretation of the classical literate culture into which non-Greek traditions had been incorporated by translations (especially the Septuagint), and within which new forms and concepts, including those of the New Testament, had emerged. We will thus read the Christian monastic texts as part of a reorientation within the rhetorical and philosophical schools, and relate this to increased social and geographical mobility and the challenges caused by political, economic and social change. Looking at the texts as part of a revitalization of educational and literary tradition, including the reshaping of genres, literary forms and styles, and a reinterpretation of moral and philosophical teaching, the transformation will be seen as more of a gradual development than a competition where one part overturns, merges with, transforms or appropriates the culture of another.

For its theoretical approach to the early monastic texts, the program is based on the emphasis of modern semiotics on how renewal of rhetoric and symbols create meaning and contribute to unity in cultural multiplicity. Building upon the social hermeneutics emanating from the works of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu and others, the texts studied in the program will be regarded as expressions of how institutions and ideologically defined parties and professions shaped and defined their identities within an arena of social and cultural competition. As has been exemplified on earlier Egyptian material, such as the Vita Antonii (Rubenson 2006) and early monastic correspondence (Rubenson 2007), the authors of early monastic literature used and transformed established models of identity (whether pagan or Biblical) to gain recognition.

METHODS & MATERIAL

The program will focus on a limited corpus of texts in Greek related to the fifth- and early sixth century Gaza region either by being written, collected or edited there, or by being strongly related to the monasteries in the area in matter of reception, distribution or dependence. These texts will be studied with the help of a variety of methods from within Classical and Semitic philology (projects 1 and 2), literary studies (project 3, 5, 6), biblical studies (project 3, 4), archaeology and papyrology (project 4) and historical theology and history of philosophy (project 5). For details on methods see the detailed plans of the projects. A close cooperation between the participants, and the concentration on a largely common corpus of texts, will assure that there will be a maximum of cross-fertilization between the projects.

The most important texts to be analyzed in detail and partly edited are the early monastic collections of Apophthegmata Patrum (AP). The emergence of these collections, which have had, and still have, a profound influence throughout Eastern monasticism, and of which there are a numerous versions in all the languages of early Christianity, have been identified with the Gaza communities (Regnault 1981). The collections, organized alphabetically, according to the names of the father or mother, or systematically according to virtues and vices, contain sayings by and anecdotes about early monastic figures. The collections, of which only some versions have been printed and very few given a critical edition, have mainly been studied as to historical accuracy (Bousset 1923, Dörries 1949) and general ideas (Burton-Christie 1993, Gould 1993), but little has been done to study the collections as literary texts or to analyze their educational setting.

A second group of texts of central importance are the works of early monastic hagiography and historiography. Some of these are closely related to the apophthegmata, including the Greek Life of Paul of Thebes, the Vita Synecletica, the Historia Monachorum in Aegypto (HM), and the Pratum Spiritualae by John Moschos. Other texts important for the creation of a monastic identity in historiography are the ecclesiastical history of Sozomenos and the polemical descriptions of deviant monastic tradition by Epiphanius of Salamis, both of whom had close links with the Gaza region.
A third group of texts vital to emergent monastic literature in the Gaza region are the writings by Evagrius of Pontus, and the discourses attributed to Abba Isaiah of Gaza (Esaias Monachos), Abba Zosimas and Dorotheus of Gaza, as well as the correspondence of Barsanuphius and John. With the exception of Evagrius of Pontus, these texts have not been the subject of any major studies, and as for Evagrius his works have mainly been read as part of ecclesiastical dogmatic conflicts (Cassiday 2006). The program will focus on these texts as educational texts, analyzing literary features, identifying educational strategies and situating them in the broader field of authoritative teaching in the period.

These monastic texts will be compared with material originating in non-Christian educational tradition. Among these the most important will be the major works of literary theory by Aphthonius, Hermogenes and Theon, the historical works of Procopius of Caesarea, moral treatises and collections of sayings by Plutarch, treatises by moral philosophers such as Epictetus, Musonius Rufus and Philodemus, and some of the Neo-Pythagorean writings by Porphyry and Iamblichus. These works and the secondary literature on them will be used both in order to delineate common literary forms, rhetorical devices, educational models and philosophical concepts and to be able to specify where and how monastic literature reshapes the classical literate culture and introduces new ideas or practices.

Other essential sources are the results of archaeological excavations of early monastic sites in Egypt and Palestine, and the publications of papyri related to education and monastic life (Gamble 1995, Cribiore 2001). Also important are a number of descriptions of schools in Late Antiquity, such as in the Life of Severos by Zacharias Scholastikos.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The program is based on the long tradition of international, and especially Nordic research cooperation that is part of the strength of the research milieu of Early Christian Studies represented by the Collegium Patristicum Lundense at Lund University (see further below). During the last fifteen years, Professor Rubenson has been active in creating an international network of scholars working on early Eastern monasticism, a network that has greatly contributed to the successful completion of the doctoral dissertations of four of the members of the research team.

The program will work in close cooperation with three centres for research on early Palestinian monastic tradition. The first is the “Sonderforschungsprogram Altes Mönchtum” of the Göttinger Akademie der Wissenschaften under the direction of Professor Ekkehart Mühlenberg. Two projects of the Academy are of special significance, the edition of the old alphabetical and systematical collections of the Apophthegmata Patrum by Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, and the edition of the corpus of Esaias Monachos by Ekkehart Mühlenberg. The contact with the research being done in Göttingen provides the program with direct access to the largest collection of early eastern monastic material on microfilm in Europe, excellent library facilities in the field of research, including rare catalogues, as well as to expertise in editions of early Christian texts. Professor Mühlenberg will be a senior external advisors to the program and Professor Faraggiana di Sarzana has agreed to come to Lund as guest researcher within the project.

The second centre with which the program is closely attached is the Department of Classical Studies at the University of Bologna, as well as Adamantius, the Italian Research Group on the Heritage of Origen centred in Bologna. Professor Lorenzo Perrone, who is the director of Adamantius and an international expert on Palestinian monasticism, both through his own writings and his close connection with scholars working in Israel and Palestine, has agreed to be a senior advisor and consultant of the program. Professor Faraggiana di Sarzana, who teaches at Bologna University, has agreed that the research team will have access to the material presently in Bologna.
The third centre of particular interest for the program is the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and their research program “Personal versus Established Religion: Revision, Stagnation and Synthesis in Eastern Christian Thought and Praxis (5th-8th Centuries)” due to start in 2009. The institute is in close collaboration with the department of Archaeology of Hebrew University, which has a long tradition of archaeological excavations of early Byzantine monastic sites in Palestine. The program will focus on the relation between monastic and secular traditions as well as individual versus collective identities in eastern Christianity in general, but includes studies of great relevance for the program. The program is directed by Professor Bruria Bitton-Ashkelony, who has previously worked specifically on the Gaza region, including the edition of a scholarly volume which incorporated a study originating in the research seminar in Lund (Steppa in Bitton-Ashkelony & Kofsky 2004).

From the international network mentioned above, the following scholars have agreed to cooperate with the program as external advisors:

Professor David Brakke, Professor of Religious Studies, University of Indiana, an expert on Egyptian monasticism, who has during many years supported the research in Scandinavia in general and Lund in particular.

Professor Troels Engberg-Pedersen, Professor of New Testament Studies at Copenhagen University and an expert on the use of Greek philosophy in early Christian literature.

Professor Tomas Hägg, Professor of Greek language and literature, University of Bergen, who has made major contributions to the study of the Greek novel and Greek biographical literature, and has also worked on early monastic sources.

Professor Samir Khalil Samir, Professor of Religious Studies at Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut and director of CEDRAC, Centre de documentation et de recherches arabes chrétiennes. He is also a standing guest Professor of Christian-Islamic studies at Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Rome and expert on Syriac as well as Christian Arabic literature.

Professor Columba Stewart, Professor of Theology at St. Johns University, Collegeville and Executive Director of the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML). He is well known for his penetrating studies of Syriac, Egyptian and Latin early monasticism.

Professor Frances Young, Professor emeritus of theology at Birmingham University, who has been very influential in redefining the role of the Bible in the shaping of Christian culture, and who has assisted in supervising the thesis of Per Rønnebjerg.

RESEARCH PLAN

The program consists of six independent, but closely related and partly overlapping projects and a final project of synthesis. The first two projects, which will run throughout the six first years are the editorial projects on the Greek Life of Paul and a Greek collection of anonymous apophthegmata, as well as the edition of examples of the Syriac and Arabic versions of the apophthegmata. These projects are closely linked to the editorial work of Professor Faraggiana di Sarzana and fundamental for future editions of other versions as well as studies of the apophthegmatic tradition and will both contribute to and gain from the common reading of the apophthegmata in the editions hitherto published in Greek, Syriac and Ethiopic.

The third project will analyze the educational setting of the early monastic texts using archaeological and papyrological evidence, as well a renewed reading of the early monastic sources, primarily the apophthegmata, as educational material. The purpose is to establish in what
sense the early monastic settlements can be seen as schools, and how the early monastic texts contribute to the development of a Christian continuation of classical educational models. The program will begin in January 2009 and run for five years.

The fourth project will look at the crucial role citations of authorities play in early monastic, as well as classical educational texts, and attempt to establish how quotations of biblical texts are related to the quotation of classical authorities in pagan material, and how quotations of apophthegmata are used in the later monastic tradition. The program will begin in January 2009 and run for five years.

The fifth project is concerned with moral formation in early monasticism, and will analyse the forms and arguments used in early monastic educational literature, as well as selected topics of moral formation (virtues and vices) and compare these with selected moral treatises from the late classical tradition. The project is closely related to both projects 3 and 4, and will partly be based on results from these, but will concentrate on the philosophical schools and the teaching of virtues. The program will begin in January 2009 and run for five years.

The sixth project, which will start later, will look more in general into the formation of monastic literature in relation to literary traditions and ideals in Late Antiquity in general. The focus will be less on educational practice and philosophy, and more on the formation of ideals through hagiography and historiography, and on rhetorical and stylistic features of literary practice. The program will begin in 2010 and run for four years.

Finally a seventh project will conclude the program by providing a synthesis on the role played by the early monastic tradition, as exemplified by the texts from the Gaza region, in transmitting and transforming classical paideia. This program will begin in 2012 and will conclude the entire program at the end of 2015.

Although much work has to be done independently by the scholars involved, the program will be held together by regular seminars and workshops on the main texts, including continuing training in the languages involved, mainly Greek and Syriac. In addition to regular seminars throughout the semesters in cooperation with the seminars for Greek language and literature, for Patristics and for New Testament studies at Lund University, four workshops, each one over two days, will be organized every year for the entire research group. These workshops will also ensure that the members of the program are continuously updated as to the research problems and results of all the projects.

Every year, one or two of the external advisors will be invited to give a guest lecture and if possible to attend one of the workshops. During the entire program three smaller symposia will be held (2009, 2011, 2013) to which the international experts and cooperating scholars will be invited. These, will as far as possible, be organized together with the cooperating programs in Göttingen, Bologna and Jerusalem. In 2011, the program will invite professor Faraggiana as guest researcher for three months. In 2013 a second invitation for a position of guest researcher for three months will be offered, the scholar to be invited will be decided on later. Preliminary results of the investigations within the program will be presented at various international conferences, including the International conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford in 2011.

Within at least the two first projects, the program will enable the scholars working on these to spend time for research in Bologna and Göttingen, as well as at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library in Collegeville and the CEDRAC in Beirut. A study tour to the archaeological sites of early monasticism in Egypt and Palestine will be planned for 2012. A final, larger international conference on the theme will be held in Lund in August 2015.
1. Apophthegmata Patrum: studies in the Greek alphabetica-anonyma derivata collection with critical editions of the Vita Pauli and of the anonymous series

The collections of the Apophthegmata Patrum (AP) preserve sayings, short dialogues and narratives of the fourth- and fifth-century Egyptian desert fathers and mothers. The material is organized into two main forms—alphabetically (according to the names of the desert fathers and mothers) and systematically (according to virtues). Collections organized alphabetically are usually combined with a systematic part with anonymous sayings arranged thematically according to subject, and traditionally referred to as alphabetical-anonymous. Collections are preserved in many various languages, but it is generally agreed that the texts were originally written and compiled in collections in Greek.

The question of where and when the collections were compiled and organized into the main types of collections is uncertain, but it has been suggested that the first alphabetical collection was compiled in the fifth–sixth centuries in Palestine, most likely in the region of Gaza (Regnault 1981). Another much debated subject concerns the dependence and relationship between the preserved collections. In his pioneering study of the AP collections, Wilhelm Bousset claimed that the Greek systematical collection derived from the alphabetical one (Bousset 1923, 1–13, 18–53). More recently Samuel Rubenson has proposed that both types of collections (the alphabetical and the systematical ones) evolved as independent traditions, this based on the fact that “there are alphabetical collections without signs of any systematical principle, and systematical collections without any alphabetical order” (Rubenson 1995, 148). He then argues that the systematical type may be older than the alphabetical one (149). This has been criticized by Graham Gould, who, referring to Derwas J. Chitty, claims that the correspondence between the material of the Latin systematical collection called “PJ” and that of the (Greek) alphabetical-anonymous collection shows that the first systematical collection was dependent on an early version of the alphabetical-anonymous collection (Gould 1993, 7–9; Chitty 1974, 18–19).

Three Greek collections have been printed: the (normal) alphabetical collection (AP/G), the (normal) anonymous collection, though only partly (AP/GN), and the (normal) systematical collection (AP/GS). Of these collections, only the last one is available in a modern critical edition. However, there are many manuscripts containing several more collections, both older and younger ones, of which several are of mixed type. The textual history of the AP collections is very complicated and there is a great need for more research on the relationships and sources, as well as for modern critical editions. There is also a great need for studies of the individual sayings and stories, which must be studied separately. There are often different redactions of the same saying or story and one cannot assume that one and the same (old) collection always gives the best text. Therefore the production of critical editions of later collections, too, is of great importance. Chiara Faraggiana di Sarzana, who is preparing the critical editions of the oldest Greek alphabetical-anonymous and systematical collections, has described the complicated problems of the textual history of some AP texts, viz. the relationship between some AP texts and other hagiographical texts, and the different attribution of some texts in various collections (Faraggiana di Sarzana 1997). AP collections contain many sayings and stories which are extracts from hagiographical works such as the Lives of Syncletica and Arsenios, Palladios’ Historia Lausiaca, Historia Monachorum in Aegypto, John Moschos’ Pratum Spirituale and many more (cf. Rönnergård 2007, 10–11). Many questions concerning the textual transmission of these texts are closely related to the textual history of the AP.

One example discussed by Faraggiana di Sarzana is the text of the Greek Vita Pauli (the Life of Paul of Thebes). Jerome wrote the vita in Latin between 373 and 378. It soon became widely read and made a huge impact on later hagiographical literature. We know of at least five Greek versions of this text. It is generally agreed that all the Greek versions are translations and revisions of
Jerome’s Latin text, although Nau unsuccessfully tried to prove that one of the Greek versions was originally used as a source by Jerome (Nau 1901). These five Greek versions were edited by Katharine Tubbs Corey, who rejected Nau’s theory as did many earlier scholars (Tubbs Corey 1943). Now, one of these versions—not the same as the one that Nau pointed out—is found in a small alphabetical collection containing various hagiographic and apophthegmatic material, in particular chapters from the Historia Lausiaca and the Historia Monachorum in Aegypto, which in many ways differ from the printed editions. Faraggiana stresses the importance of the material for the study of the textual history of these and the other works. She argues that this version of the Greek Vita Pauli (VP) which differs substantially from the Latin text, was written independently of Jerome’s Latin text, thus being the first source of the vita. She is emphatic about the need for a critical edition of VP as well as of the other texts in the collection (Faraggiana di Sarzana 1997, 462–465). Tubbs Corey only knew and used two manuscripts. She considered VP as a later revision of two translations, a point of view which is reflected in her choice of variants, and thus she believed it to be of little value for the textual history of the vita.

One aim of this project is to produce a critical edition of VP with an English translation to make it known to an international audience. Faraggiana is currently doing some more studies on VP. There is thus every prospect of mutual benefit. The small alphabetical collection containing VP is found in two manuscripts: Cod. Scorialensis R.II.1 and Cod. Parisinus gr. 919. It occupies the first 32 and 46 folios respectively. This initial collection is, in these manuscripts, followed by a larger, derived alphabetical-anonymous collection of the Apophthegmata Patrum (AP alph.-anon. deriv.). The alph. deriv. series is represented by two levels of the textual tradition: a (first level), which is found in the manuscripts mentioned above, and b (second level), which is found in a superior number of manuscripts. In alph. deriv. b material from the small initial Scor./Par. collection (including VP) is incorporated and placed in the alphabetical order of the alphabetical series. This is described by Britt Dahlman in her dissertation (Dahlman 2007, 93–94).

Another aim of this project is to examine this alphabetica-anonyma derivata collection, to identify its material, and to produce a critical edition of the anon. deriv. series, which consists of 23 chapters in systematical order. This collection has been claimed to be derived from another derived AP collection: the systematica derivata collection as it is represented in the cod. Paris, Coislinianus 127 (Guy 1984, 212–220). However, this has never been fully examined. An investigation of and a comparison with another important and inedited AP collection, which the alph.-anon. deriv. collection may be derived from, viz. the sabaitic collection, is needed as well. Faraggiana has partially collated the AP alph.-anon. deriv. as well as the systematica derivata collection, a work which will benefit this study. Nau, who published the so called normal anonymous series from the cod. Paris, Coislinianus 126 (AP/GN), only edited the texts of less than two thirds of the total number in this manuscript. The material of the anon. deriv. series is not believed to be derived from AP/GN. However, many of the texts in AP/GN, edited as well as inedited, are found in the anon. deriv. series too, although sometimes in different redactions. There is a great need for critical editions of (complete) anonymous series. Faraggiana’s edition of the old anonymous series will be of great value, but it is a small series. The anon. deriv. series contains more material. It seems to contain new material, which is not found in any printed collection. Some of the material may be transmitted in a very old textual tradition. The project will benefit from the investigations conducted by other members of the research program, especially the studies and editions of old Syriac and Arabic AP collections that will be made by Rubenson and Holmberg.

The following manuscripts contain the AP alph.-anon. deriv. collection:
Cod. Scorialensis R.II.1 (Revilla 21) (AP alph. deriv. a and anon. deriv.)
Cod. Parisinus gr. 919 (AP alph. deriv. a and the first part of anon. deriv.)
Cod. Mosquensis Synod. gr. 345 (Vladimir 342) (AP alph. deriv. b and anon. deriv.)
Cod. Vaticanus gr. 858 (olim 796) (only AP alph. deriv. b)
Cod. Athos Vatopedi 409 (AP alph. deriv. b and anon. deriv.)
Cod. Athos, S. Annae 2 (abridged collection)

The following manuscripts may contain the AP alph.-anon. deriv. collection:
Cod. Paris, Suppl. gr. 1319 (probably only AP alph. deriv. b)
Cod. Paris, Coislinianus 378 (abridged collection)

The project will involve the following steps:
1. Analysis of the manuscripts. A stemma is established. Transcription and collation of the manuscripts resulting in the constitution of a critical text of the Greek Vita Pauli. Translation of the text into English including the writing of essential notes.
2. Identification of the material of the AP alph.-anon. deriv. collection including an investigation of and comparison with two other inedited AP collections: the sabaitic collection and the systematica derivata collection.
3. Producing a list of concordances between the material of the AP alph.-anon. deriv. collection and that of other AP collections (primarily the normal alphabetical-anonymous collection, the normal and the derived systematical collections).
4. Transcription and collation of the manuscripts resulting in the constitution of a critical text of the AP anon. deriv. series.
5. Writing an introduction primarily presenting studies in the textual tradition including descriptions of the collection, its (possible) derivation, the manuscripts and their relationships.
6. Producing indexes of biblical quotations, Greek vocabulary and names.

Step 1 will be accomplished in 2009. The result of this step will be published as an article in a journal with a wide circulation. Steps 2–3 will be accomplished in 2010, step 4 in 2011–2013, and steps 5–6 in 2014. The result will be published in a monograph in English in order to make it available for an international audience. The project will be led by Dr. Britt Dahlman in close cooperation with Professor Faraggiana di Sarzana.

2. Analysis of the Syriac and Ethiopic versions of the AP in relation to the various Greek collections with the edition of a small ancient Arabic collection

Since collections of apophthegmata were rapidly translated into the other languages of early monasticism, the translations are of great value for the establishment of the original and the history of the text and its transmission. Among the earliest translations the Latin and Coptic have been edited and studied more thoroughly (Battle 1972, Chaine 1960), but the Syriac version, preserved in manuscripts of the early sixth century, has received little attention by scholars; the two editions (Bedjan 1897, Budge 1904) being based on later manuscripts representing a revised text. Of the later translations the Armenian, Georgian and Ethiopic versions have been printed and studied (Leloir 1974–76, Leloir 1987, van Esbroeck 1975, Outtier 1977, Arras 1963, 1967, 1984, Sauget 1978). As for the important Arabic tradition, only a single manuscript has yet been edited (Mansour 1972), but the edition, a Strasbourg thesis, is still not printed. In addition to their value for the establishment of the text and textual history of the original Greek collections, the other versions are also valuable as witnesses to the transmission of the Greek literary and educational model within a wider spectrum of monastic traditions.

Since very little work has been done on the Syriac version, extant in the most ancient manuscripts preserved, and even less on the Arabic versions, and since the edited Ethiopic version is an important witness to the Arabic tradition, the project will focus on the versions in these three Semitic languages. Thus the project also stays within the tradition to which Egypt and Palestine, as well as Syria and Ethiopia belongs. Future studies of the Armenian and Georgian versions will also be able to build upon this project as well as on project 1 and the editorial work of the Göttinger Akademie.
The project will first make a survey of the Syriac transmission of the *apophthegmata* on the basis of the major catalogues of Syriac manuscripts and the registers of the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library at the University of St. John, Collegeville, Minnesota, currently microfilming and digitalizing Syriac manuscripts preserved in the Middle East. The survey will result in a concordance of the *apophthegmata* preserved in the Syriac manuscripts in order to differentiate between different Syriac translations and recensions. In a second stage the oldest Syriac manuscript, Sin. syr 46 will be analyzed and selected sections of it transcribed and prepared for a partial edition, and subsequently collated against other manuscripts of the same recension, including the important Arabic translation preserved in a palimpsest in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana (Draguet 1963, Sauget 1987, Faraggiana di Sarzana 2002). The partial edition of selected chapters will shed new light on its Greek source and its role within the Syriac and later Arabic tradition. On the basis of this a full new edition of the oldest Syriac version is planned for the second half of the program period, but a competent scholar has yet to be found for this.

Parallel with the work on the Syriac version a similar survey of the Arabic transmission of *apophthegmata* will be undertaken. The great number of Arabic manuscripts, and the complicated textual transmission with translations into Arabic from Coptic, Greek, Latin and Syriac as well as subsequent revisions of the Arabic text, will necessitate a careful selection of Arabic manuscripts in order to reduce the number of recensions to be included in a concordance. For this some preliminary identification of old Arabic manuscripts containing the *apophthegmata* by Jean-Marie Sauget and others will be of great value (Oestrup 1897, Sauget 1962, Sauget 1964, Sauget 1969, Sauget 1973, Sauget 1977, Faraggiana di Sarzana 2002). No edition of an Arabic version will be attempted within the project, but the goal is to be able to define some early Arabic translations done from Greek and Syriac and to identify their sources. Of prime interest here is the Arabic version used as the basis for the edited Ethiopic text (Sauget 1974). The work on the Arabic versions will be done in collaboration with Professor Samir Khalil Samir of Université Saint Joseph in Beirut, Lebanon, a well-known expert on Christian-Arabic literature and the director of CEDRAC, Centre de documentation et de recherches arabes chrétiennes, which holds the largest collection of microfilms of Christian-Arabic manuscripts in the world.

The plan is to be able to finish and publish a concordance of the Syriac versions in 2010, and to end the analysis of Sin. syr 46 as well as the transcription of the selected parts in 2012, and finally conclude the collation with the other manuscripts including the Arabic for a partial edition in 2013. For the work on a full edition the program will need to find a competent scholar to be responsible for this in the years 2012-2015. On the Arabic tradition the plan is to complete the survey and publish the results in 2011 and to work on the identification of sources, in conjunction with the Syriac part of the project, publishing results in 2013 and 2014. If the results are promising and an edition of an old Arabic version seems to be feasible a prolongation and additional support will be asked for to complete such an edition in the years 2014-2018.

The project will be led by Professor Holmberg in conjunction with Professor Rubenson. The goal is to present a monograph on the old Syriac version or versions of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* to appear in Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, as well as some substantial articles on the Arabic tradition in major scholarly journals.

3. The Role of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* in Teaching, Transmitting and Transforming School and Civic Rhetoric

Literal readings of proto-monastic sources have long framed the earliest Christian monks as illiterate rustics, taught only by God. The limitations inherent in interpreting the early monastic record through this a-critical lens have, in many respects, determined the range of questions scholars bring to these texts, and the ‘allowable’ conclusions that follow. The prescriptive effect of this discourse has exerted particular influence in scholarly considerations of the *Apophthegmata*
Patrum, a body of pithy sayings and stories attributed to the earliest monks (Gould 1993; Burton-Christie 1993; Harmless 2004; Cf. Larsen 2006, 7-18). In what has become a vexing circular conundrum, the rhetorical simplicity of the Apophthegmata Patrum has served a pivotal role in sustaining images of monastic rusticity. In turn, framing the earliest monks as ‘illiterate rustics’ has mitigated consideration of the Apophthegmata Patrum as literary texts. If the monks ‘were taught only by God,’ any suggestion of early monastic investment in literate education is moot.

In the past decade, however, a number of scholars have effectively challenged the problematic assumptions that have long circumscribed treatments of early monastic texts (Brakke 1995; Caner 2002; Goehring 1999; 2005; Rubenson 1995; 2000). More recent studies have applied the groundbreaking principles, developed by these experts, to re-reading the Apophthegmata Patrum, more particularly (Larsen 2002, 2006, 2007; Rönnegård 2007; Rydell Johnsén 2007; Cf. Project 4 & 5). This new research is rooted in the simple, but transformative, principle of reading the monastic apophthegmatic collections (1) in ‘light of the literary genre to which they belong’, and (2) in conversation with what is known of the historical contexts in which the sayings and stories found their form (Larsen 2001; 2006; 2007; Cf. Hadot 1995).

The role accorded the gnomic genre of sayings and stories in Classical and Graeco-Roman education is well documented. Ancient manuals proscribe the use of the sayings of philosophers and civic leaders in executing elementary rhetorical exercises, not only because of their inherent malleability as literary building blocks (Theon, Progymnasmata; Hermogenes, Progymnasmata; Aphthonius, Progymnasmata; John of Sardis, Progymnasmata; Cf. Hock and O’Neill 1986, 2002; Kennedy 2003; Westberg, Project 6), but also because of their capacity to ‘arouse and catalyze virtue’ that lies latent in the soul (Isocrates Ad Demonicum 12; Cf. Larsen 2001; 2006; Rydell Johnsén 2007; Cf. Project 5). In recording and reflecting the ways in which monastic education transmitted and transformed Classical and Graeco-Roman school and civic traditions, the Apophthegmata Patrum stand squarely within this same pedagogical trajectory (Larsen 2006). The proposed project will apply the principles articulated and developed in preliminary work on Egyptian monastic education while exploring the particular contours of monastic pedagogical practice in a broader swathe of linguistic and geographical settings.

This research will proceed in two phases. The first will focus on locating and re-examining the papyrological and archaeological evidence that documents the general use of sayings in ancient education (Cf. Marrou 1956; Bourdieu and Passerson, 1990; Cribiore 1993; 2001; 2007; Fungi 2004; Morgan 1998; Becker 2006; Too 2000; 2001, Hirschfeld 1992, 1999, 2001). Within this frame, material that is identifiably monastic will be read in light of a wider array of monastic and non-monastic texts that explicitly or potentially derive from school settings (E.g. Dorotheus of Gaza; Isaiah of Gaza; John Moschos; Letters of Barsanuphius and John; Cf. Cribiore 2007; Becker 2006). Overall, particular emphasis will be placed on identifying school texts and artifacts that may have originated in a monastic milieu but have not been so attributed on account of ideological presuppositions of monastic rusticity, and/or derivative perceptions of monastic indifference to educational pursuits. Bearing out the governing premises of the larger research initiative, discussions of monastic education, with few exceptions (Cribiore 1993; 2001; Morgan 1998), take a Western frame as their starting point. The material remains that demonstrate an Eastern monastic investment in literate pursuits routinely go unnoticed (Cribiore, Class Lecture 2004). When identified, they are read as exceptional rather than representative of common practice (Winlock and Crum 1926, 1.44).

The second research phase will explore the application and adaptation of Classical and Graeco-Roman pedagogical strategies in the collections of monastic apophthegmata preserved in Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic and Arabic. The reading strategies developed by New Testament scholars in their scrutiny of the Gospels (Hock and O’Neil 1986, 2002; Kloppenborg 1987; 2001; Mack 1987) will inform the comparative aspects of this work. Here, the commonality and diversity inherent in
various linguistic collections of apophthegmatic texts will afford a rich narrative lens through which to re-envision monastic education and civic formation, across a spectrum of geographical settings and historical moments. Britt Dahlman’s text critical work (Project 1) will serve as an invaluable resource in identifying and analyzing respective redactional layers in the various monastic sayings collections. Rubenson and Holmberg’s work on the Syriac, Ethiopic and Arabic collections of the Apophthegmata Patrum will be similarly foundational (Project 2).

George Kennedy likens the mechanics of the rhetorical and literary manipulation of sayings to the “structural features of classical architecture” (Kennedy 2003, ix). As such, critical work on respective collections of the Apophthegmata Patrum retains the potential to inform our understanding of late-ancient and early medieval monastic literary practice, and its reframing of Classical and Graeco-Roman cultural and civic trajectories, in unprecedented ways. The importance of examining existing collections of monastic apophthegmata in light of ancient pedagogical methods, and in conversation with extant material evidence, cannot be over-emphasized. It is only by continuing to place monastic textual traditions in conversation with their broader literary antecedents, that we can begin to discern the truly distinguishing aspects of monastic practice. Simultaneously, it is only by setting diverse bodies of monastic sayings collections in conversation with one another, that we can begin to ascertain the particularities that characterize a given linguistic and/or geographical strain. Historically, sayings collections have served both as repositories and conduits of education and civic formation. The Apophthegmata Patrum are no exception. At once, highlighting and blurring boundaries, these texts afford an indisputably rich locus in which to explore the common and unique ways emergent Eastern monasticism preserved, transformed and transmitted Classical and Graeco-Roman civilization and culture.

Work on each of these phases will proceed as follows:

• Identification of extant papyrological and archaeological evidence that derives from an Eastern monastic milieu (2009).
• Examination of published collections of Eastern monastic papyrological and archaeological remains. Compilation of a register, listing and describing discrete apophthegmata, pedagogical papyri and school artifacts (2010).
• Examination of selected Greek collections of the Apophthegmata Patrum (1) in ‘light of the literary genre to which they belong’, and (2) in conversation with what is known of the historical contexts in which the sayings and stories found their form (2011).
• Examination of Syriac collections of the Apophthegmata Patrum (2012).
• Examination of Ethiopic and Arabic collections of the Apopthegmata Patrum (2013).
• Preparation of a summary monograph that elucidates the contours, context and content of Eastern monastic education (2014).

The project will be led by Assistant Professor Lillian Larsen.

4. The integration of the Bible into classical ideals of education

An important part of the transformation of the classical heritage involved the preservation of classical literary, rhetorical and educational ideals while substituting pagan authoritative texts with the Bible (Cameron, 1991). Christian culture in many ways mirrored classical culture, but ‘its discourse was formed by reference to another set of texts and stories – a novel intertextuality’ (Young, 1997, 47). This has been described well using examples which have been considered as more philosophical and learned texts, such as those of Clement of Alexandria (Dawson, 1992), Gregory of Nazianzen (Young, 1993; Demoen, 1996), Augustine, Jerome and John Chrysostom (Clark, 1999), but only recently has this appropriation been analyzed using examples from the emerging Egyptian and Palestinian monasticism (Larsen, 2006; Rydell Johnsen, 2007; Rønnegård, 2007). In fact, little interest has been shown the use of the Bible in those texts at all. This lack of
interest is highlighted by the fact that what has been considered as the standard study on the Bible and Apophthegmata Patrum (Burton-Christie 1993) in fact focuses not on the way the Bible is used in those texts but on the “biblical spirituality” of the desert fathers and mothers.

In the recent dissertation on the Apophthegmata Patrum (AP), the different functions biblical texts have and in the ways they have been integrated into the apophthegmata were analyzed. In that study, the insights of Frances Young on the relation between the Graeco-Roman tradition of literary criticism and Christian biblical interpretation (Young, 1997) plays a great role, as well as the categories of recontextualization developed by Elizabeth Clark in her widely recognized work on the biblical interpretation of the ascetical discourse of the church fathers (Clark, 1999), although the categories of the latter were modified to break free from the specific motives of that work. Drawing on the insights of Young, who has shown the traditional categories ‘literal’, ‘typological’ and ‘allegorical’ to be inadequate as analytical tools, a more nuanced way of describing the use of the Bible was developed, one which helps to elucidate continuities and discontinuities in relation to the use of authorities in pagan literature. Besides the approaches of Young and Clark, David Dawson offers great insights into the role of biblical hermeneutics in subordinating Greek literary culture to Christian culture (Dawson, 1992), insights which will be of vital importance to the present project.

A recent dissertation has placed AP firmly within the classical chreia-tradition (Larsen, 2006), and brief comparison of the use of the Bible in the AP with how a chreia was elaborated in the preliminary rhetorical exercise on the chreia, called ergasia has been done (Rönnegård 2007). However, a more thorough study of the use of the Bible in terms of the ergasia needs to be conducted. This is greatly facilitated by the investigation already made on the quotations, paraphrases and allusions to the Bible in the Rönnegård thesis.

This is, however, only one part of the heritage from the classical tradition which has influenced the use of authorities in AP and other texts from emerging monasticism. It needs to be investigated what other distinct patterns and ideals have been integrated in the way biblical texts are treated.

This study will focus mainly on the Apophthegmata Patrum, using the Greek systematic collection as the main source. However, the other Greek collections will be considered when studying specific sayings, since the different collections often represent different redactions of the same saying. Comparing the rendering of different sayings in different collections and mss. of AP will be facilitated by the insights and results of Britt Dahlman’s project in the present program. In order to get a broader view of the use of scripture in the monastic milieu of Gaza in the fifth and sixth centuries, the material studied will include two other genres besides the chreia collection of Apophthegmata Patrum: the Letters of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza, and the treatise-like Instructions of Dorotheus of Gaza. Since a preliminary study of the two latter texts has shown that citations from AP are used in much the same way as the Bible, the use of AP as an authority will also be considered.

Having analyzed the use of the Bible in the AP, and the use of the Bible and the AP in Barsanuphius and John, as well as Dorotheus, a comparison will be made with pagan apophthegmatic literature. The use of the Bible and the AP in the monastic literature will be compared with how authorities are used in the apophthegmata-collections included in Plutarch’s Moralia (Regum et imperatorem apophthegmata, Apophthegmata Laconica, Lacaenarum apophthegmata) as well as the apophthegmata of Diogenes Laertius. Continuities and discontinuities will be highlighted by seeing the use of authorities in light of how short excerpts of authorities were used traditional education, especially in the preparatory rhetorical exercises called progymnasmata, as well as in the philosophical schools. Although my perspective is a distinctly biblical one, there are clear connections here to the projects of Westberg (progymnasmata), Rydell
Johnsén (monasticism and philosophical schools) and Larsen (the connection between monasticism and educational tradition).

The project will involve the following steps:

1. An investigation of the use of the Bible and the AP in the correspondence of Barsanuphius and John and in the instructions of Dorotheus, presented in a manner that has already been done on AP in the Rönnegård dissertation.

2. An investigation of the use of classical authoritative texts in pagan counterparts, with a special focus on the apophthegmata in Moralia of Plutarch and in Diogenes Laertius.

3. A comparison between the monastic texts and their pagan counterparts, in terms of how authoritative texts are integrated into the new texts. The terminology already developed in my dissertation will be used, and new categories will be developed whenever needed.

4. Indexes, including biblical index and an index of other ancient authorities, will be constructed.

The first part is planned to be conducted during 2009 and 2010. The second part will be conducted during 2011. The third and fourth parts will be conducted during 2012 and 2013, and a monograph will be prepared for publication at the end of 2014.

The project will be led by Dr. Per Rönnegård.

5. Evagrius, Gaza and the making of monastic formation

This project deals with how the monastic tradition transmitted and transformed the heritage of Graeco-Roman philosophy, especially the philosophy concerned with moral therapy or moral formation; a feature that was crucial in philosophy of the centuries before the birth of monasticism (see Nussbaum 1994; Hadot 1981; 1995). The emergence of a monastic tradition of moral formation is crucial to our understanding of the role of the classical literate culture in early monasticism. The project will address two issues: (1) How did the heritage of pagan philosophy inform the outer structure of moral education in the early monasteries? (2) How were pagan ideals and patterns of teaching used and transformed? The first question deals with the form and structure of moral education; the second with its content, or with aspects of the message that was taught.

It is well established that the different schools of Graeco-Roman philosophy had an impact on monasticism in one-way or the other. Traditionally, however, the first generation of monks has been regarded as uneducated. Philosophy, it has been stated, was not introduced into the desert until later by figures like Evagrius Ponticus (d. 399). Even though scholars still often upholds this view (see e.g. Watts 2006), the picture is beginning to change. More and more Evagrius seems less isolated, and scholars are beginning to acknowledge the importance of a literate culture even before Evagrius arrival at the desert (Rubenson 1993; 1995; Brakke 2006). Another significant change concerns the range of intersections between monasticism and Graeco-Roman philosophy. What Evagrius brought to the desert, it was stated earlier, was especially speculative philosophy or metaphysics. However, with a new and deeper understanding of Graeco-Roman philosophy as such, foremost since the studies of Pierre Hadot, a dependence even regarding spiritual guidance and moral therapy is beginning to be acknowledged (Rabbow 1954; Hadot 1981; 1995; Driscoll 1991; Sorabji 2000; Brakke 2006. Cf. also Lim 1995; Francis 1995). Even though Hadot stressed the dependence, he also pointed out some differences and new emphases within monasticism like humility, obedience and repentance. What he suggested, however, was only stated in general terms and not investigated at depth. He also upheld the basic dichotomy between the early uneducated monks and the philosophical schools.
Evagrius Ponticus evidently played a significant role in the emergence of a monastic formative tradition. Another important part was the later development in Palestine, and especially in Gaza. It was here that the first collections of sayings and short stories (apophthegmata) about the early generations of monks were put together (Regnault 1981); texts with immense diffusion and pedagogical importance for the later monastic tradition. In Gaza, the heritage of Egypt, and of Evagrius in particular, was also carried on and adapted further more to the needs and ideals of a now well-established monastic tradition. Monastic writers in Gaza like Barsanuphius and John the Prophet, Isaiah of Gaza, Zosimas, and Dorotheus did not just use the texts of Evagrius, but also wrestled with his teaching. Evagrius and the writers of Gaza thus appear like a suitable choice when studying the development of a monastic formative tradition.

The form and structure of monastic education has only recently become the subject of in depth research. Historically, scholars have been concerned only with oral education – how the elder monks taught beginners in moral guidance face-to-face. There are studies of how biblical texts were read and used (Burton-Christie 1993; Rönnegard 2007). However, a textual approach to monastic education is first explored in a 2006 dissertation on the Apophthegmata Patrum (Larsen 2006; cf. project 3). These principles are further developed in a 2007 dissertation where they are applied to the sixth century writings of John Climacus (Rydell Johnsén 2007). Each of these treatments underscores the ways in which monastic education reflects structures similar to those employed in ancient/late-ancient philosophical schools (Cf. Hadot 1969). First, the monks were introduced into the tradition by collections of apophthegmata, and only then were they prepared to read more advanced treatises of moral therapy.

Against this background, the purpose of the first part of the project will be to explore certain aspects on the structure of the moral education in the early monasteries. This investigation will intersect with project 3 (Larsen), but the foci are different. As such, the two projects will benefit from and complement each other. What will be of concern in the present project are structures in the education of the philosophical schools specifically. An important question in the present project will be whether it is possible to discern a similar two-step program even behind the teachings in the treatises by Evagrius and by the writers in Gaza, like Dorotheus and Isaiah. The use of apophtegmatic material in the texts will be analyzed in order to investigate whether the teaching in these texts presupposes an acquaintance with, or a reading of, the apophthegmata tradition. Are there any changes between Evagrius and the writers in Gaza? And, how does a possible use of this pedagogical program shed light upon structural continuities between monasticism and the philosophical schools? (See e.g. Hadot 1969; 2003; Hahn 1998; Lim 1995).

When it comes to the content of the moral education in Evagrius and in the writers of Gaza, the state of research is somewhat different. Until the works of Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Aryeh Kofsky, scholars have not been much concerned with Gaza, nor with the reception of Evagrius (Bitton-Ashkelony and Kofsky 2000; 2006). Bitton-Ashkelony and Kofsky touch upon the reception of Evagrius, but do not develop it at depth. In addition to Hadot’s suggestions they argue for an emphasis on prayer as a new feature in how the philosophical heritage is carried on in the new monastic context.

Evagrius has been much more studied than the writers in Gaza, but there is still only a number of minor works on his actual dependence on Graeco-Roman philosophy (Guillaumont 1966; Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971; Pohlenz 1978; Shaw 1998; Sorabji 2000; Stewart 2001; Brakke 2006). Often scholars have stopped at observations of a prevalence of different philosophical concepts in his teaching, especially Stoic and Neo-platonic. And when this has not been the case, scholars have focused on ascetic theory or metaphysics in relation to philosophy rather than on moral formation (Shaw and Sorabji are partly exceptions). How philosophical moral formation is used and transformed in Evagrius’ teaching has not been dealt with thoroughly.
The purpose of the second part of the project is thus to investigate the teachings of an evolving monastic formative tradition. The focus will be on the teachings on vices and virtues. How was the philosophical heritage, concerning vices and virtues developed and transformed?

In order to restrict the investigation, the project will focus on a limited number of important virtues and vices and how they function in the different writers and in the different periods. On the one hand, the project will challenge and qualify the suggestions by Hadot regarding virtues like humility, obedience and repentance as something specifically monastic. On the other hand the project will focus on a selection of vices related to the so called generic eight vices (gluttony, lust, greed, sadness, anger, acedia, vainglory and pride); a crucial formative model in Evagrius’ teaching with roots in Graeco-Roman philosophy (Vögtle 1941; Guillaumont 1971), and a central motive in the later monastic tradition. What will be important is what these various virtues and vices means in the different writers, their respective importance and how they function in the overall formative project. What similarities are discernable, and what are the major changes over time? How is the heritage of Graeco-Roman philosophy carried on and transformed?

Of importance, however, will not be ascetic theory as such, but the very argument in the texts and the formative pattern which the various vices and virtues are a part of. Such a change of focus, from theory to pedagogy and argumentation can be seen not just in current scholarship regarding Evagrius (Driscoll 1991; Stewart 2003), but also in studies of Graeco-Roman philosophy (Nussbaum 1994). The project will here also fall back on recent research on rhetorical argumentation in monastic kepihalaia texts (Rydell Johnsén 2007; the project will also benefit from project 3 on this point). What is crucial, thus, is what the reader is supposed to learn from the text, what ideals he or she is supposed to strive for, and how they are to be attained.

The texts under consideration in the second part of the project will either, as far as possible, be complete treatises on various vices and virtues (in order to get a good picture of the argument), or texts that deal with moral education more generally, like Plutarch’s *De profectibus in virtute*. The philosophical material will be a selection of texts representing different schools and different authors, like Plutarch, Porphyry, Musonius Rufus, Philodemus, Galen, Epictetus and Aristo of Ceos. The intention, however, is not to give a complete picture of philosophical standpoints, but to use the texts of these authors as points of reference for the later monastic material, in order to illustrate dependence and difference in relation to a broader philosophical discourse (cf. e.g. Nussbaum 1994; Sorabji 2001). The monastic texts on the other hand will be selected from similar genres as the philosophical material. Besides moral treatises by Evagrius, similar kinds of text by Dorotheus and Isaiah of Gaza will be investigated.

The initial period of the project (2009 and half of 2010) will be devoted to the first issue of the study:

1. Analysis of the use of *apophthegmata*-material in Evagrius, Dorotheus and Isaiah. Does the use shed further light upon the structural continuities between monasticism and the philosophical schools? The first analysis as well as a shorter concluding discussion of structural continuities will form the basis for the second part of the project.

   The rest of the time (2010–2013), the focus will be on the second and more extensive issue. There will be two successive steps:

   2. Comparison between Evagrius’ teaching and the selected philosophical writers in terms of how they deal with a limited number of vices and virtues, their respective importance and function in the overall formative project. What similarities and differences are there between Evagrius and the philosophical writers?

   3. Comparison between Evagrius, and Dorotheus and Isaiah. Can we see any further changes between Evagrius and the writers in Gaza?
The result of the study will be published in a monograph for an international public.

The project will be led by Dr. Henrik Rydell Johnsén.

6. Rhetorical interchange and literary topography in Late Antique Palestine.

In Late Antiquity, as today, modes of expression varied in different places; to get one’s message through, it was necessary to find the expression appropriate to the place in question, and a single person may well have had to alter his or her speech considerably depending on location. This was also a time which saw the rise and development of a specifically Christian discourse, a theme which has received much scholarly attention during the last decades (Cameron, 1991, Brown 1992 among others).

In Palestine during the fifth and sixth centuries, a basic and traditional dichotomy may be posited between the city and the countryside, the first characterized by a sophistic, the second by a monastic discourse, which at times seem to belong to wholly different universes. This project aims to throw some light on the interaction between these two geographical and mental spaces and the ways in which modes of expression and entire literary genres have been distributed between them; more specifically, the aim is to chart the relationship of monastic literature from the fifth and sixth centuries to the heritage of Graeco-Roman rhetoric.

A common supposition, though gradually qualified in current research (see, e.g., Rubenson 2004) is that the monastic domain is rural, dominated by the lower classes and literary unadorned, whereas the sophistic domain is urban, upper-class and rhetorically embellished. Focusing on selected monastic texts, I intend to examine the overlaps and borderlines between these areas with special regard to rhetorical expression and literary composition. The nature of the interaction between the various groups in the Palestinian and Egyptian areas is a highly debated issue. Edward Watts has recently argued for an antagonistic relationship where two distinctively separate types of Christian teachers emerged depending on whether they interacted with philosophical and rhetorical schools or with monasteries (Watts, 2006). The aim of this project is to refine and modify this view. We know that monks and sophists intermingled, but to what degree did they allow their literary forms to be influenced and for which purposes? What was borrowed and why? The general hypothesis governing my project is that the monastic texts are consciously crafted pieces of literature, even if the author tries to hide it or even denies that this is the case. Such a denial may in itself be a rhetorical dodge in order to gain benevolence and ideological credibility (cf. Rydell-Johnsén 2007 on such strategies in later monastic literature).

The studied texts are selected from church history over hagiography and polemical literature to educational works. With regard to church history a primary text is the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Sozomen (ed. Bidez and Hansen, 1995), who was born in Bethelia, near Gaza, ca 400 and who—apart from earlier church historians such as the extant Socrates and Rufinus’ expanded version of Eusebius—also drew on the secular author Olympiodorus of Thebes. By comparing passages in Sozomen which deal with the same events as in the other two church historians, it is possible to make a stylistic and rhetorical apprehension quite apart from the text’s historical value or worthlessness which has been the focus of earlier studies. In this respect Sozomen’s work may also be compared to the classicizing history of Procopius of Caesarea and to John Malalas’ highly un-classical *Chronicle*, both secular works.
On the border between church history and polemical literature is the *Panarion* (or *Adversus haereses*) by Epiphanius of Salamis (ed. Holl and Dummer, 1980–85), who incorporates much historical material in his polemics against the heretics. The text is interesting precisely because of its hybrid form, which reveals the close connection between historiography and historical polemics during a period when authority had to be argued for in historical terms (cf. Steppa 2002). This connection will also be examined with particular regard to the rhetorical form. Another genre with strong polemical and doctrinal ties is hagiography; in my study the primary texts are the *Life of St. Paul*, the text of which will be critically edited by Dahlman, and the *Historia monachorum* (ed. Festugière, 1961). Here, the so-called rhetorical school of Gaza, which I am currently studying, will provide background material. This group of authors wrote mainly in classical rhetorical genres. Among these, not least the panegyrical and funeral speeches are interesting comparative material with regard to the contemporary hagiography, since they too aim at conveying an idealized image of a certain person, and often take on a biographical form.

The *Historia monachorum* is also of particular importance through its strong ties to the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. The analysis of the *Historia monachorum* will therefore contribute to and benefit from the studies on the *Apophthegmata Patrum* conducted by the other members of the project (Dahlman, Larsen, Rönnegård). The apophthegmatic tradition is further illuminated by an examination of selections from the *Alloquia* by Abba Zosimas (ed. Pousines 1683, repr. in Migne, 1912) and the *Discourses* by his disciple Dorotheus of Gaza (ed. Regnault and de Préville, 2001). These texts may be seen as educational works: they are lectures to instruct the monastic community, and have hitherto been neglected by scholars to a degree they do not deserve.

These works will not be studied primarily from a doctrinal point of view or as testimonies for monastic life, but from the point of view of literary history, and to some extent literary sociology. There are few instances of such an approach being systematically pursued (an exception is Watts 2005; cf. the arguments for monastic literacy in Rubenson 1995, 109ff.). Selected passages from these works will be considered from similar viewpoints. The first concerns stylistic considerations: to what degree do the monastic writers conform to the stylistic hierarchies and varieties prevalent in classical rhetoric (as set forth by theorists such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Hermogenes and others); to what degree do their eventual awareness of contemporary rhetorical developments (as found in the many rhetorical commentaries and handbooks of the 5th and 6th centuries such as Syrianus’ commentary on Hermogenes) show forth in their texts?

The questions do not apply only to style in the strict sense, but to other rhetorical devices as well, such as the so called *progymnasmata*, preliminary exercises used in the rhetorical schools; one example is the *ekphrasis*, a vivid description of a scenery or an artefact, the composition of which was more or less theoretically regulated – to what degree are the classical rules adhered to in the monastic works? And, on the contrary, when stylistics norms and rhetorical regulations are ignored, is this merely due to the author’s lack of education or is it a conscious refutation of classical ideals. If the latter is the case, is there a traceable differentiation between which rhetorical devices may be employed and which not?

This last question also brings genre to the fore. Which degree of freedom and restriction does a particular genre provide? Can different attitude to the classical heritage be found in different monastic genres or in texts belonging to other genres by the same author? A fairly large amount of work has been done on genres—and especially their transformations—in Late
Antiquity (see e.g. Cox, 1983 and the contributions in Hägg and Rousseau, 2000), but the insights gained from these studies needs to be confirmed by work on hitherto neglected texts.

The method consists in a close reading of the selected works with regard to rhetoric and from a predominantly comparative point of view. By analyzing the works on the various levels mentioned above, the project may move on to answer the overall question whether some developed theory of imitation, *mimesis*, with regard to literary form is articulated in or can be culled from the monastic texts and compared to similar, more expressed, theories by rectors and sophists of the time. The aim of the project is also to chart a 'literary topography': the distribution of rhetoric and genre that form part of the literary landscape in the 5th and 6th centuries.

A broader aspect of the literary topography is the mental and social geography of the authors, their distribution and connections. The last decades have seen a gradually increased interest in the reconstruction of the social network of Late Antique teachers and authors (from Kaster 1988 to Cribiore 2007), and their license in adopting or rejecting varieties of literary expression have been noted (cf. Heath 2004, 295ff.; Watts 2004). Elizabeth Clark (1992) has investigated specifically Christian aspects of this issue and also laid some theoretical foundations with regard to social construction and network theory; Jan-Eric Steppa (2004, 2005) has also made important studies of fifth century anti-Chalcedonianism in its cultural context, and thus contributed to our knowledge of the prevalent cultural idiom in general. These studies form a solid basis which may be employed and elaborated in the present project as well.

We also know that there was a high degree of mobility between geographical, social and literary spaces. Dorotheus is a good example: he received a classical education in Gaza, but later moved into a monastery. Other examples are Severus of Antioch and Zacharias of Mytilene who studied classical rhetoric together in Alexandria and later went on to the famous law-school in Berytus; they both considered becoming monks but only Severus took this step, while Zacharias continued his career as an advocate in Constantinople (and eventually became bishop of Mytilene). Yet Zacharias, in contrast to his contemporaries in the so called rhetorical school of Gaza, wrote within monastic forms of literature. Obviously the options were open, yet, within a particular paradigm or space, the borders of expression were restricted.

The project will result in a monograph to be written by Dr. Westberg, structured according to the various genres. It will begin with historiography (chapter 1), then proceed to hagiography and polemical literature (chapter 2) and finally analyse the educational works (chapter 3). Building on the findings in the studied texts and other works, the study of social networks and mobility makes up a concluding chapter (4) or a separate article to complement the strictly textual analysis.

In addition a further in depth study of the large hagiographic corpus with a focus on the competition between late pagan and early Christian lives of holy men will be pursued by a post.doc. scholar, possible Andreas Westergren, joining the program in 2012. This will build upon the studies of the hagiographical works of Athanasius, Eusebius and Theodoret, and comparative work on pagan biographical work, such as those by Porphyry and Iamblichus on Pythagoras, as well as the biographical works of Plutarch, Philostratus and Eunapius, and apply the insights gained from these on the Gaza tradition in order to shed new light on the so called “war of biographies”
The project will be led by David Westberg and will include a second scholar, most probably Andreas Westergren to join the program in 2012.

7. Concluding project

The program and the collaboration between the projects is designed to produce not only the individual results of each project through monographs and articles, but also to produce a major one-volume study of the transformation of the classical heritage in early monasticism. In this study the fundamental questions addressed in the research plan, that is the understanding of the transformation of classical education during the centuries of Christianization of the Roman empire, and the question of the role of education in emerging monastic tradition, will be discussed on the basis of the variety of perspectives and methods used in the projects outlined. The volume will be planned already in the early stages of the program and discussed at the workshops to be held four times a year. A first draft of the volume will be made in 2012 in order to find out if the projects planned need to be complemented with any further specialized studies, for which additional support will be applied for if necessary.

The final decisions about the scope and contents of the volume will be taken at one of the workshops in 2013 and work on the volume will be done in 2014 and 2015. The goal is to have the contributions presented at a major international conference on early monastic formation and the classical tradition in Lund, in the latter part of 2015, in order to have the volume published in the spring of 2016. This project will be led by Professor Rubenson who will also edit the final volume.

THE RESEARCH GROUP

Professor Samuel Rubenson, director of the program

Samuel Rubenson is Professor of Church History at Lund University since 1999. He became widely known internationally and accepted as an authority on early Egyptian monasticism through the publication of his *The Letters of St. Antony*, which marks a turning point in modern research on early monasticism. He has since participated widely in conferences on monasticism and published numerous important articles on monastic literature. He has studied Greek as well as Coptic, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic in Lund as well as in Tübingen, and is a member of several academic associations and academies, including the Norwegian Academy of Sciences and the International Association for Patristic Studies, where he has been a member of the executive for nine years. He has contributed greatly to Nordic cooperation in research on Early Christianity, including the organization of graduate courses in Egypt as well as Syria, and membership in two different research programs at the Centre for Advanced Study in Oslo. He was Nordic Guest Professor jointly at Oslo and Bergen Universities 1999-2001 and is invited to be Guest Professor at Aarhus University in the fall of 2008. He has also been Guest Professor in Kiel and Budapest, and has lectured in Helsinki, Uppsala, Bologna, Beirut, Cairo and Jerusalem. He has supervised several doctoral dissertations in Lund and abroad, either alone or jointly with others, including the dissertations of four members of the research group, and has been on the examination committee for a number of other Nordic dissertations. He has been the organizer of a long series of academic conferences, international, Nordic and Swedish, and has lectured at conferences in Australia, Belgium, Egypt, Ethiopia, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, the Netherlands, Romania, Turkey, United Kingdom, and USA.

Dr. Britt Dahlman

Britt Dahlman received her doctoral degree in Greek at Lund University in 2007. Her dissertation “Saint Daniel of Sketis. A Group of Hagiographic Texts Edited with Introduction,
Translation, and Commentary” has been favourably received. A review which stresses its value for studies in desert monasticism is published in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2007.12.10 [online http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2007/2007-12-10.html]. As is demonstrated in the dissertation, she has a deep knowledge of philological methods as well as of the sources and literature of the field of research. She has a solid education in Classical languages (Greek and Latin) and in Religious studies. She has international experience from being a participant and lecturer at several international conferences in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and the United Kingdom, and from research periods abroad, primarily manuscript studies in Greece (Athens), Germany (Göttingen), France (Paris), the United Kingdom (London), Spain (El Escorial) and Italy (Rome, Grottaferrata).

**Professor Bo Holmberg**

Bo Holmberg is Professor of Semitic Languages at Lund University. His research has been concentrated on the Christian minorities in the Middle East and their literature in Syriac and Arabic, where he has i.a. edited a major Christian-Arabic medieval theological treatise. But he has also made valuable contributions to medieval Arabic culture in general, translations of classical Greek texts into Arabic and the history of Arabic literature. He has recently finished a joint translation and interpretation of the modern Syriac poetry of Nizar Qabbani. Professor Holmberg has been an active member of the Collegium Patristicum Lundense almost since its inception and is also a member of several international scholarly societies, such as the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft and the American Oriental Society.

**Assistant Professor Lillian Larsen**

Lillian Larsen received her doctoral degree in Early Christianity from Columbia University in the fall of 2006. During her tenure at Columbia she refined her competency in Greek, Latin and Syriac literature and language in ongoing international study and collaboration with colleagues in both the United States and Europe. She has presented her ground-breaking work on the *Apophthegmata Patrum* at numerous scholarly conferences. Her dissertation, “Pedagogical Parallels: Re-reading the *Apophthegmata Patrum*,” has been well received, and is under review for publication by the Edwin Mellen Press. She is currently an Assistant Professor of Early Christianity at the University of Redlands in Southern California.

**Dr. Henrik Rydell Johnsén**

Henrik Rydell Johnsén’s doctoral thesis in church history, *Reading John Climacus: Rhetorical Argumentation, Literary Convention and the Tradition of Monastic Formation*, was defended at Lund University in 2007. The thesis is a study of John Climacus’ *The Ladder*, and has a focus on transmission and transformation of classical literary ideals, and on the reception of the Evagrian tradition. Rydell Johnsén has also translated a selection of chapters from *The Ladder of John Climacus* into Swedish that will be published in volume 5 of the series *Svenskt Patristiskt Bibliotek* (2008). He is a member of the International Association for Patristic Studies, and has participated with papers at several international conferences on Early Christian studies: Lund (2001), Oslo (2003), Oxford (2003); Oxford (2007). The paper delivered at Oxford (2003), “Rhetoric and Ascetic Ascent in *The Ladder* of John Climacus” has been published in *Studia Patristica* 39 (2006). He has also reviewed a number of publications within the field of Early Christian studies for the journal *Meddelanden från Collegium Patristicum Lundense*.

**Dr. Per Rönningård**
Per Rönnegård in his New Testament doctoral thesis, *Threads and Images: The Use of Scripture in Apophthegmata Patrum*, analyzed how the Bible is integrated in the sayings of the desert fathers and mothers. He has translated to Swedish a selection of the *Letters* of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza, a chapter of the Greek systematic collection of *Apophthegmata Patrum*, and a chapter from the *Discourses* of Dorotheus of Gaza (under publication in *Svenskt Patristiskt Bibliotek*, Artos 2008). He is presently translating half of the Greek alphabetical collection, which has not yet been translated into Swedish. He has presented papers at the Nordic PhD-colloquium of the project *Aesthetics and Cognition* at the Centre for Advanced Study in Oslo 11-12 April 2003, at the New Testament seminar at the University of Birmingham on May 4, 2005 (“The Use of Scripture in *Apophthegmata Patrum* – Describing How a Specific Reading-Community Explores the Semantic Potentials of Biblical Material”) and at *The 15th International Conference on Patristic Studies*, Oxford University, August 6-11 2007 (“The Use of Scripture in *Apophthegmata Patrum* in Light of the Ergasia Pattern”).

**David Westberg**

David Westberg has a background in Classical studies and literary history at Uppsala University and is currently working on his PhD-thesis *Literary Aesthetics in the Time of Justinian: The Rhetorical School of Gaza*. The thesis explores the poetics and hermeneutics of a literary coterie, who though Christians wrote in a highly classicizing manner. Among its authors are Procopius of Gaza and Choricius. Westberg’s research interests are primarily focused on the reception of classical literature in Late Antiquity and Byzantium.

**Andreas Westergren**

Andreas Westergren is currently writing his doctoral dissertation in Church History under the direction of Professor Rubenson and is employed as doctoral student by the faculty of Theology. He has a background in Theology as well as Classical studies and is writing his thesis on the *Historia Religiosa* of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, a fifth-century bishop in northern Syria. The text is a historiographic description of early Syriac monasticism in the form of short biographies of early monks. The dissertation, which is highly relevant for the program is due to be finished in 2011.

**RESEARCH MILIEU**

The program will be placed at the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies (CTR) at Lund University. CTR and the Faculty of Theology of Lund University has been an influential centre for Early Christian Studies since almost thirty years, largely due to Collegium Patristicum Lundense which as a scholarly community has for two decades held a regular seminar in Patristics, arranged yearly symposia and Nordic conferences every fourth year since 1979. It has also published a yearly Nordic journal since 1986, as well as hosted numerous guest lectures by acknowledged international scholars in the field, including Pauline Allen, David Brakke, Peter Brown, Averil Cameron, Garth Fowden, Susan Harvey, Lorenzo Perrone, Philip Rousseau, Reinhart Staats, Robert Wilken and Frances Young. The centre has an excellent library for research on Early Christianity with a good collection of studies on the monastic tradition, and regular seminars within the subjects Biblical and early Christian studies, History of Christianity and Systematic Theology.

The Centre is, moreover, part of the larger faculty of humanities and theology of Lund University and has close relations to the Greek, Latin and Semitic sections of the Centre for Languages and Literature, and within this larger faculty a number of scholars will be attached to the research group and will, when needed, be hired as consultants. These include:
**Sten Hidal**, professor of Old Testament studies, a specialist on the Bible in Early Christianity and an expert in Hebrew, Syriac, Greek and Latin.

**Lena Ambjörn**, Associate Professor of Semitic languages, and an expert on the transmission of Greek scientific literature into Syriac and Arabic.

**Jan-Eric Steppa**, Dr. of Theology, and an expert on monasticism in Gaza

CTR is also a very active part of the Nordic Network for Early Christian Studies, which organizes seminars and workshops within the larger field of Early Christian studies, as well as Nordic post-graduate courses which several of the members of the research group have attended. A recent Nordic external evaluation (2004) gave a very good rating for the research at CTR and within the evaluation the subjects, History of Religion, New Testament Studies and History of Christianity, were singled out as the most creative areas of research. It is precisely within the field of these three research areas that the program is situated.

**FINANCIAL NEEDS**

In addition to the salaries for the research group the program has the following financial needs:

1. Travel

a) For the workshops four times a year 60.000:-/year to cover the cost of the members of the research group not living in Lund, has been calculated

b) In order to consult the manuscript and microfilm collections in Bologna and Göttingen (project 1) and Collegeville and Beirut (project 2), and to coordinate with the work of the Göttinger Akademie a total of 210.000:- has been asked for. The plan is that Dr. Dahlman will stay in Bologna for three weeks in 2009 (35000:-) and that Professor Holmberg will spend two weeks at the HMM Library in Collegeville in 2010 (30.000:-) and Professor Rubenson will visit Beirut for a week in 2010 (30.000:-). For further visits to Göttingen, Bologna and Jerusalem by members of the research group in order to consult and coordinate the work 30.000:-/year is asked for the years 2011-2014.

c) For the organization of a panel at the International Conference of Patristic Studies in Oxford in 2011 and the participation of the entire team at that conference a total cost of 72.000:- has been added for 2011.

c) Since the program is focused on monasticism in the region of Gaza and its roots in the earlier Egyptian tradition an expedition to the archaeological remains of the early monastic period in Egypt and Palestine will add invaluable insights to the entire research team. A total of 150.000:- is asked for such an expedition planned to take place in 2012. A visit to Palestine and Gaza, if possible at that time, by an international academic research group will no doubt be an important contribution to academic studies in a city and region that has suffered much.

d) In order for us to be able to invite the external advisors and cooperating scholars to guest lectures, if possible in conjunction with workshops a total of 30.000:-/year is asked for, which will at an average make it possible for us to invite two international scholars every year.

II. Other costs

a) For initial costs for computer equipment 60.000:- is asked for the first year and another 20.000:- for the second year. In addition the program will need to have funds to buy specialized books, catalogues and microfilms not available at our universities, and for this we apply for 25.000:-/year.
b) In order to be able to organize the symposia planned for 2009, 2011 and 2013 we have estimated additional costs for those years amounting to 50.000:-/year.

c) In order to be able to invite Professor Faraggiana di Sarzana to Lund as guest researcher in 2011 we have calculated a total cost of 200.000:- which will be used to cover her salary as well as expenses. A second invitation for a research period of three months in Lund in 2013 is planned, but the question of who is to be invited is left open.

d) For the years 2012-2015 an additional sum of 600.000:-/year has been added to make it possible to employ one scholar for the edition of the Syriac version of the Apophthegmata Patrum, and for the employment of a post.doc. scholar, probably Andreas Westergren, for the study of the hagiographical works from the perspective of a competition for recognition as saintly heroes and divine men.

e) For the final larger international conference we apply for additional 200.000:- for 2015.
REFERENCES

Source Apophthegmata Patrum.


Regum et imperatorem apophthegmata; Apophthegmata Laconica; and Lacaenarum apophthegmata. Translated by Frank C. Babbitt in *Moralia* 3. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931.


LITERATURE


_____. “The Physical Structure of the New Laura as an Expression of Controversy over the Monastic Lifestyle,” in J. Patrich (ed.), *The Sabatite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* (Leuven 2001), 323-345.


_____.

_____.

_____.

_____.

_____.

_____.


_____.

_____.

_____.

_____.

_____.


_____.. *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.


