

actually weakened the eastern empire and led to its collapse. Again H. finds in favour of Justinian, and argues that it was external factors (the Avars and Arabs) that did for the Roman empire, though at the very end he poses the question whether the example of Justinian's spectacular military successes was responsible for subsequent emperors making poor decisions.

Such are H.'s answers to the central question he had posed. One may feel, however, that there is little to surprise here: Mark Whittow's 1996 assessment of the state of the empire around 600 in *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium* came to my mind. Furthermore, Heather offers a rather familiar account of the reign of Justinian. The campaigns are not his sole focus of interest, and all the usual suspects are encountered — Theodora, legislation, plague, church affairs, Hagia Sophia, to name but a few.

It is clear that the book is not primarily aimed at other academics but rather at a more general readership. The supplying of the glossary indicates this, as does the more informal style of writing: contractions abound, emperors are said to 'peg out', and we are assured that Totila 'would have made one hell of a polo player' (255). There is heavy use of historical parallels and allusions, some of which have a genuine point to make (Michael Gove surfaces more than once in relation to competition for power), while others seem just for colour (references to Trump and to Bill Clinton). H. even draws on his own experiences from working in the UK Treasury, in order to make a point about how government presents its actions in relation to the previous regime. Some of the illustrations are also suggestive of aiming at a popular audience; a nineteenth-century image of the eunuch Narses is included without any discussion (Fig. 4.1).

Another notable feature of the book is that some recent scholarship on the later Roman army is not utilised, such as work by David Parnell, Philip Rance and Michael Stewart, and the two volumes on *War and Warfare in Late Antiquity* edited by Alexander Sarantis and Neil Christie (2013). One imagines that the likely audience for H.'s book would have been interested in these also. There is the sense, too, that H. does not entirely solve the Procopius problem. It is revealing that Procopius is now receiving significant attention again: witness the volume *Procopius of Caesarea: Literary and Historical Interpretations*, edited by Christopher Lillington-Martin and Elodie Turquois (2018). Of course, H. did not set out to write a comprehensive history of the reign of Justinian; but his book reminds us that we still lack one.

Cardiff University
TougherSF@cardiff.ac.uk
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SHAUN TOUGHER

LILLIAN I. LARSEN and SAMUEL RUBENSON (EDS), *MONASTIC EDUCATION IN LATE ANTIQUITY: THE TRANSFORMATION OF CLASSICAL PAIDEIA*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Pp. x + 398, illus. ISBN 9781107194953. £90.00.

This fascinating book, the fruit of a conference held at Lund University, studies late ancient Christian monasteries as centres of education. It reconsiders monastic pedagogical strategies, school texts and literary culture in relation to their Greco-Roman counterparts. Its chapters focus on how monastic institutions transmitted Greek and Roman classical philosophy and literature. In monastic circles, teachers taught their students reading, writing and rhetoric, while they pursued the life of virtue through the exercise of ascetic discipline. The book argues for a dynamic continuity between emergent monastic movements and the practices and contours of Greco-Roman *paideia* and philosophical schools.

Lillian I. Larsen and Samuel Rubenson have edited this book meticulously. Its contributors come from subfields that include papyrology, material culture and literature, and they examine sources from Latin, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic. Some authors investigate inscriptions, notes on ostraca, papyri, or philosophical traditions; others analyse the monastic material itself, asking how these products came from 'a society steeped in Classical *paideia*' (3). The book contains five parts: I 'The Language of Education'; II 'Elementary Education and Literacy'; III 'Grammar and Rhetoric'; IV 'Philosophy'; V 'Manuscript and Literary Production'. Through studying what and how monks learned, we see the transmission and refashioning of classical *paideia* in its Christian ascetic form.

In ch. 1 ‘Early Monasticism and the Concept of a “School”’, Rubenson presents an overview of the terminologies and vocabulary of early monastic movements. He shows that monasteries were a type of school from the outset, focusing on leisure and withdrawal from society for the sake of learning. Like philosophical schools, monasteries stressed physical and mental exercises that emphasised repetition and imitation as students strived to progress in the moral and spiritual life. In ch. 2 ‘Translating *Paideia*: Education in the Greek and Latin Versions of the *Life of Antony*’, Peter Gemeinhardt studies Evagrius of Antioch’s translation of the *Life of Antony* into Latin. Gemeinhardt’s study reveals how translators of hagiographies constructed a vocabulary to express concepts of Christian piety. The elegant translation of Evagrius of Antioch suggests that he rendered the *Life of Antony* to stress the moral formation of his well-educated Latin-speaking audience. In ch. 3 ‘*Paideia*, Piety, and Power: Emperors and Monks in Socrates’ Church History’, Andreas Westergren problematises the portrayal of the uneducated monk. He argues that we must read Socrates’ characterisations of empire and monastery through the lens of *paideia* and power; he shows how Socrates idealised a society in which an educated elite ruled. Socrates applied that model to the monastic life too, which retained classes of both simple and educated monks.

In ch. 4 ‘The Educational and Cultural Background of Egyptian Monks’, Roger Bagnall studies several examples of letters from monastic papyri collections. His analysis of handwriting, format and writing styles suggests that most Egyptian monks had an education like that of mid-level bureaucrats (although there were exceptions like Shenoute). Larsen’s contribution in ch. 5 ‘“Excavating the Excavations” of Early Monastic Education’ surveys the form and content of school texts from monastic circles. Like students from the Greco-Roman world, students in monastic contexts rehearsed and memorised the alphabet and text passages. Eventually biblical texts of the Psalms and Christian exemplars of the apostles replaced classical precursors. In ch. 6, Anastasia Maravela examines ‘Homer and *Menandri Sententiae* in Upper Egyptian Monastic Settings’. She focuses on educational texts (ostraca) of the Monastery of Epiphanius. Monks used the verses of Homer and the sayings of Menander to train scribes in both writing practices and the life of virtue.

Ch. 7 features a compelling study by Blossom Stefaniw on the ‘The School of Didymus the Blind in Light of the Tura Find’. Stefaniw analyses the Tura Papyri and the lesson transcripts that they contain. She argues that Didymus the Blind was not an instructor of the catechuminate but rather a Christian grammarian who ‘used the same methods and introduced the same subject matter of any grammarian of his day’ (159). Didymus’ topics included work for both advanced and remedial students. It was the teacher who was the ‘focal point of the course of study’ rather than the institutional school (169). Ellen Muhlberger, in ch. 8 ‘Affecting Rhetoric: The Adoption of *Ethopoeia* in Evagrius of Pontus’ Ascetic Program’, studies Evagrius’ *Paraeneticus* and *Protrepticus*. She shows how these texts illustrate that Evagrius taught a form of *ethopoeia* (an exercise from classical rhetoric) to help monks meet the challenges of ascetic practices. In ch. 9 ‘Classical Education in Sixth-Century Coptic Monasticism’, Mark Sheridan focuses on a Coptic author from upper Egypt: Rufus of Shotep. Sheridan shows how the homilies of Rufus reveal a highly literate bilingual bishop who incorporated forms from classical Greek rhetoric into a Coptic homiletic idiom.

Henrik Rydell Johnsen, in ch. 10, discusses the portrait of the uneducated monk: ‘The Virtue of Being Uneducated: Attitudes towards Classical *Paideia* in Early Monasticism and Ancient Philosophy’. He argues that emphasis on the practice of virtue and scepticism towards certain forms of education are themes that monastic texts share with those of the Cynics and Epicureans. Arthur Urbano, in ch. 11 ‘Plato Between School and Cell: Biography and Competition in the Fifth-Century Philosophical Field’, studies fifth-century biographies (Theodore’s *Religious History* and Marinus of Neapolis’ *Proclus*). Urbano shows that biography was a field of cultural competition: biographers linked their founders and heroes to a Platonic past to claim that tradition for their own. Daniele Pevarello, in ch. 12, discusses ‘Pythagorean Traditions in Early Christian Asceticism’. Pevarello demonstrates that the *Sentences of Sextus*, a second-century Christian compilation of Neopythagorean maxims, exemplifies the refashioning of Classical *paideia*. Neopythagorean wisdom traditions lived on in different forms as they circulated in Christian ascetic communities.

Britt Dahlman, in ch. 13 ‘Textual Fluidity and Authorial Revision’, explores the circulation of texts in their draft and revised forms. Taking the texts of Palladius and Cassian as case studies, she examines the different drafts, expansions, revisions, abbreviations and translations of their works and shows the importance of attending to the fluidity of late ancient literary culture. Hugo

Lundhaug and Lance Jenott discuss 'Production, Distribution and Ownership of Books in the Monasteries of Upper Egypt' in ch. 14. They demonstrate that the colophons of the Nag Hammadi codices (which monks produced) reveal a robust culture of book production and exchange. Jason Zaborowski's contribution in ch. 15 'Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: Approaching Arabic Recensions of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*' explores how the study of the translation of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* into Arabic is a lens for understanding the monastic education of Arabic-speaking Christians. He notes that the Arabic translations of the *AP* show how Christians living in the Islamic world repackaged Christian wisdom 'in Qur'anic idioms and concepts' (327).

Overall, the book's chapters are sophisticated, well-researched, original and compelling. Thoughtfully written and rooted in primary sources, this book makes a vital contribution to late ancient monastic studies as well as the history of education in the ancient world.

Marquette University
jeannenicole.saint-laurent@marquette.edu
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J.-N. M. SAINT-LAURENT

STEPHEN MITCHELL and DAVID FRENCH (EDS), *THE GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS OF ANKARA (ANCYRA) VOL. II: LATE ROMAN, BYZANTINE AND OTHER TEXTS* (Vestigia 72). Munich: C. H. Beck, 2019. Pp. viii + 347, illus. ISBN 9783406732348. €108.00/£90.00.

Seven years after the publication of the first volume, which contained the inscriptions from Ankyra dated before the third century A.D., we have now the second volume of the Ankyran corpus, containing the inscriptions from the third to the tenth centuries, although most of them belong to the period between the third and the sixth centuries. The book contains 238 inscriptions, 142 of which were not previously published. Stephen Mitchell, who started to work on Ankyran inscriptions in the 1970s, tell us that David French, who died in 2017, was able to see the complete manuscript of the book before publication, though his contribution is smaller than in the first volume. The first volume included an introductory chapter on travellers and scholars in Ankara, and hence the introductory parts of the present volume are shorter, to avoid reiteration. The introductory chapter covers late antique and Byzantine Ankara, including discussion of imperial politics, ecclesiastical disputes and church councils, a chronology of late Roman inscriptions, funerary traditions and monuments in Late Antiquity, Christianity, society, onomastics and defensive structures. After a bibliography, chs 3 and 4 cover the post-third-century inscriptions of Ankyra. Ch. 5 collects Ankyrans abroad, and ch. 6 consists of addenda and corrigenda to the first volume. The final two chapters contain a comprehensive index and concordance of publications.

At the congress of Sivas (ancient Sebaste) in 1919, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, together with delegates from several cities of Anatolia, had many good reasons to choose Ankara (ancient Ankyra) as the headquarters of the national struggle. It was the safest location against foreign threats, located as it was in the middle of Anatolia, while also being not far from Istanbul, the western front, and other occupied territories in Anatolia. It allowed connections with harbours on the Black Sea (İnebolu) and Mediterranean (Antalya), as well as use of the railway and communication network. Such geographical and strategic reasons eventually led to the choice of Ankara as the capital of the modern Turkish Republic in 1923. Similar strategic and political features already existed in antiquity. Ankara was one of the most important power centres in the east (ch. 1), due to its significant location on the main road network. The roads leading to Paphlagonia and Black Sea in the north, Pontus and Armenia in the north-east, Kappadokia and the Euphrates to the south-east, Lykaonia and Mediterranean to the south and Phrygia and Asia to the south-west all departed from this hub, creating a foremost importance especially in military terms. Thanks to its strategic location on the main road from Constantinople to Antioch, Ankyra maintained its importance during Late Antiquity and the medieval period, although it was captured by the Sassanians (in 622) and exposed to Arab raids from the seventh to the ninth centuries. After 859, when Michael III and Basil constructed the citadel, Ankyra became the strongest fortified city in northern Anatolia. As M. and F. observe, church inscriptions indicate