




UNIVERSITY  
OF TAMPERE

This document has been downloaded from  
TamPub – The Institutional Repository of University of Tampere

 *Publisher's version*

The permanent address of the publication is  
<http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:uta-201407031950>

Author(s): Vuolanto, Ville  
Title: Family Relations and the Socialisation of Children in the  
Autobiographical Narratives of Late Antiquity  
Main work: Approaches to Byzantine Family  
Editor(s): Brubaker, Leslie; Tougher, Shaun  
Year: 2013  
Pages: 47-74  
ISBN: 978-1-4094-7219-3  
Publisher: Ashgate  
Discipline: History and archaeology  
School /Other  
Unit: School of Social Sciences and Humanities  
Item Type: Article in Compiled Work

All material supplied via TamPub is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all part of any of the repository collections is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or educational purposes in electronic or print form. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone who is not an authorized user.

## Chapter 3

# Family Relations and the Socialisation of Children in the Autobiographical Narratives of Late Antiquity<sup>1</sup>

*Ville Vuolanto*

### Introduction

The starting point for the present chapter is the recent discussion on the history of family and children in late antiquity. While this theme has aroused increasing attention, scholarly interest has mainly concentrated on issues such as family structure, attitudes and responsibilities of parents towards children, conceptions of childhood, and formal education. Scholars of both the ancient world and early Christianity have been interested in ideals of childhood and children's status in society and their possible change with the rise of Christianity. The view of childhood has been rather parent-centred, and analysis has mainly focused on the normative sources, such as tracts and sermons of ecclesiastical writers, and legal material. Children's roles and responsibilities in family dynamics, parent-child relations from the point of view of the children, and childhood experience have not been the subject of much research.<sup>2</sup> The focus has been on the history of childhood, not on the history of children. Thus, as my aim is to study representations of childhood socialisation and family dynamics in late antiquity, this would introduce a new approach to the study of late antique childhood.

For the source material, I use autobiographical texts dating from the late fourth to mid fifth century, which, rather surprisingly, have seldom been used as sources for family history as a group. These texts reveal their late antique authors at the crossroads of two sets of values: firstly, there was the public role of the traditional Graeco-Roman male elite: they needed to show themselves as family men, that is, concerned about their family background and tradition, eager to contribute to the family honour and renown, and capable of running their household in a proper

---

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the Academy of Finland for financial support, and *Institutum Romanum Finlandiae* for a place to do the major part of the work.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Shaw 1987; Nathan 2000; Bakke 2005; Horn and Martens 2009; Evans Grubbs 2009; and now the articles in Horn and Phenix (eds) 2009. On recent work in the history of children in antiquity, see further Aasgaard 2006; Harlow, Laurence and Vuolanto 2007, with Vuolanto 2010a.

way. Secondly, however, in late antiquity there developed a pervasive cultural ideal of an intellectual (a philosopher, Christian or pagan), devoted to his or her art (*teknee*) and intellectual pursuits (*logos*) in a way that would exclude any interference on the part of family life. The texts used in the present chapter result from the clash of these conflicting sets of values; some authors, like Gregory of Nazianzus, were more aware of and explicit about the nature and origin of this discourse, while others, like Paulinus of Pella, tried to combine the competing demands with less reflection.

### Autobiography and Socialisation: Limitations and Possibilities

Not only do the autobiographical writings inevitably advance some specific ideas and values of their authors, but even more importantly, they participate in elaborate discourses using different narrative strategies for self-promotion.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the autobiographical writing of late antiquity was heavily influenced by three interlinked aims which would have taken precedence over any truth claims or unmasking of the self which would nowadays be connected with literate ‘memoirs’ or ‘self portraits’: ancient autobiography was preoccupied with the preservation of memory, with portraying oneself as an exemplary figure, and with justifying some quite precise deeds or thought systems.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, Libanius is constantly depicting himself as the favourite of Fate (*Tykhe*), with a tendency to self-heroisation.<sup>5</sup> Both the autobiographical poems of Gregory of Nazianzus and his orations aim at explaining and rewriting his past deeds, first, as a fugitive local cleric and, later, as a church politician and patriarch forced to retire. Moreover, in Gregory’s narration, the typical features of ancient autobiography are combined with the rhetoric of Christian sainthood. Thus, he aimed at representing himself as a saintly figure, and, to use the words of Neil McLynn, he became ‘a self-made holy man’.<sup>6</sup> The same intention is clearly visible in the *Religious History* of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, in which the author appears as a virtuous and authoritative eyewitness and observer in his stories about lives of Syrian ascetics, interweaving himself and

<sup>3</sup> For autobiographical writing in antiquity, see especially the papers collected in Baslez, Hoffmann and Pernot (eds) 1993, with Starowieyski 2004.

<sup>4</sup> See especially Follet 1993, p. 326 (conclusions of the volume); and Hadas–Lebel 1993, p. 127, on specific characteristics of the Graeco-Roman autobiographers as child prodigies, philosophical seekers, heroes evading dangers (caused by diseases, shipwrecks or other disasters), and, most importantly, virtuous individuals perfected by god(s) taking special care of the writers in question as ‘the chosen ones’.

<sup>5</sup> Schouler 1993, pp. 317–19.

<sup>6</sup> McLynn 1998; for Gregory’s writing as apology, see Bernardi 1993, pp. 159–61. See also Elm 2009, pp. 289, 295–300.

his life as a child and a young man in the biographies of these living saints.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Augustine of Hippo's *Confessions* deals only with those instances in his life through which specific theological points and ideological statements can be made; he is scrutinising the significance of sin and the guidance of God in human life more than observing his own actions as an individual.<sup>8</sup> The same can be said about the figure of the young John appearing as the main protagonist in the frame narrative in John Chrysostom's *On Priesthood*.

Thus, the autobiographical nature of these narratives should be approached with caution. Rather, there is a continuum from anecdotes consisting of possibly first-hand experience, to the exemplary stories using the author himself and his family members as the main protagonists. Unfortunately, the mixing ratio for these ingredients is unknown to the modern scholar, and the texts are far from being transparent for modern social historical reading.<sup>9</sup> However, whereas it is questionable what is the exact relationship between these stories and the actual living conditions of the specific children they are supposed to refer to, they have to depict a childhood plausible for their audience. Thus, they help to understand not only contemporary values but also social practices; even to find some traces of the authors' own experience on living as a child is not impossible, even if complicated. Far from claiming that these texts describe facts about certain childhoods which could somehow be reconstructed, I rather aim to scrutinise what these literary representations of the self can tell us about social history and childhood socialisation. Even if it turns out to be futile to make any specific psycho-historical analyses, for example, based on Augustine's depiction of his childhood, at least his depiction should be a reliable source for seeing what kinds of forces an adult late antique elite male bishop sees at play during the period of childhood.

Beyond the Christian clerics and bishops, the material for the present chapter includes texts authored by Ausonius, Paulinus of Pella and Libanius, the first two Christian lay men of elite background, the last mentioned a non-Christian teacher of rhetoric. Paulinus of Pella's *Thanksgiving* and Libanius' *Autobiography* serve as points of comparison with the narratives of the Christian intellectuals. Writing about one's family is inevitably also writing about oneself; sometimes this is accomplished with direct references to self, sometimes as a part of promotion of oneself through one's family members, as in praising one's siblings' good birth (*eugeneia*).<sup>10</sup> Therefore, I have supplemented my primary source material with some texts which are not 'autobiographical' as such, as they deal with close family members. With Ausonius' texts, *Genethiacos* (Letter 21) and *Parentalia*, which

<sup>7</sup> See Urbainczyk 2002, esp. pp. 130, 140–42. I am currently writing an article on Theodoret as a self-made saint.

<sup>8</sup> Fredouille 1993, pp. 168–9, 177–8. See also O'Donnell 2005, pp. 88–9, on Augustine's self-promotion.

<sup>9</sup> As Burrus 2006, p. 168, rightly notes.

<sup>10</sup> See Bernardi 1993, p. 155, and Elm 2009, pp. 290–91, with Van Dam 2003, pp. 110 and 112, on both Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus.

celebrate his relatives, I also make use of the biography of Macrina by her brother Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus' funeral orations on his relatives.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, it is also possible to draw some comparisons between girls and boys. The sources span from the early 370s to the mid fifth century. It should be noticed that all the writers here involved were male members of prosperous families of the local or imperial elites.<sup>12</sup>

My specific approach to these childhood narratives is to search for traces of different factors in social interaction and, especially, in socialisation processes. I focus on three main questions: firstly, I address the question of how the processes of socialisation are depicted: which factors are mentioned, and what is their relative importance? Secondly, I am interested in the ways in which the authors represent family relationships during their own or their family member's minority. Who is mentioned, and in which contexts? At the most general level, I am interested in how much can be deduced about children's actual enculturation processes to the practices and values of the community in question.

Continuity within a community depends not only on its biological renewal and economical survival, but also on the transmission of its cultural and social norms and customs to succeeding generations. This socialisation begins right from birth, childhood as a whole being the key period in the development of personality, and in learning and absorbing the cultural rules. In modern childhood studies, the use of the socialisation theory has been criticised as a method by which the child is reduced to a passive object, created, measured and manipulated by others: the child is being socialised.<sup>13</sup> Most recent childhood studies have, however, focused on socialisation not as an automatic process, and children have been seen as agents on their own, active in their growing and learning processes, transforming and renewing the cultural heritage they were born into.<sup>14</sup> In contrast with modern studies, the socialisation of children in everyday life, through the daily interaction of family members, has received only marginal attention in the study of Roman and early Christian children, as the interest of studies dealing with the upbringing of children has mostly been in formal education, with children seen mostly as

---

<sup>11</sup> For these texts by the two Gregories see also the chapters by Nathan Howard and Fotis Vasileiou in this volume.

<sup>12</sup> Augustine was from a prosperous family, and his father belonged to the curial class (Shaw 1987, pp. 8–10, with O'Donnell 2005, p. 10); Theodoret was from a prominent and prosperous family (Urbainczyk 2002, pp. 21 and 150); Gregory of Nyssa's parents belonged to the local elites (Van Dam 2003, pp. 15–18); Gregory of Nazianzus' father was a member of the local city council and later a bishop (Van Dam 2003, p. 41); Ausonius and his grandchild Paulinus of Pella belonged to the senatorial class (Evans Grubbs 2009, pp. 202–3, 217); Libanius was a descendant of high elite families, and his father was a member of the city council (Schouler 2002, p. 152).

<sup>13</sup> James and James 2004, pp. 26–7; Alanen 1990.

<sup>14</sup> See for example James and James 2004, pp. 23–7 and 37–40.

passive recipients and professionals depicted as socialising agents.<sup>15</sup> The agency of children and the experience of childhood in antiquity is an even more marginalised viewpoint.<sup>16</sup> True enough, in ancient sources the direct experiences of children cannot be easily found. There are no interviews or diaries to use and any direct marks (such as toys, writings and drawings) are rare, if at all available. As a result, direct application of agency based theories is very difficult.<sup>17</sup> However, the questions and viewpoints derived from this approach are readily applicable to the study of these periods: socialisation is a concept directing attention to historically dependent social mechanisms and mentalities. By looking at patterns and forms of socialisation it is possible to scrutinise how communities worked and lived, cultural continuity and changes, and the freedom for action of an individual within the framework of the local community and culture at large.

I have divided the discussion of the autobiographical texts by different actors present in the processes of childhood socialisation. In this, I have started with the categorisation of modern sociological studies, which have identified family and parents, schooling, peer groups and mass media as the central socialising agents.<sup>18</sup> Naturally, in a pre-modern society like the late Roman empire, these categories take a different form; most importantly religious practices, public spectacles and work (among the lower classes) taking the role of media as agents socialising children in public life and values.<sup>19</sup> In the following, I will start with schooling and religion, and then consider the representations of work, play and peer groups. After that, I will continue to study the influence of parents, and finally that of relatives and other household members (that is, of those other people living in the same estate or house, under the authority of the household head. This would include slaves, paid workers and educators, resident freedmen and possibly other clients). Before presenting my conclusions, I will deal briefly with the role of storytelling in the narratives.

### Schooling and Religion

Literate education was, naturally, a central element in the lives of young elite boys. As learning became an important element in the future lives of the authors, these autobiographical texts often mention different elements of the curriculum – as boys they were supposed to know the basic canon of Latin and Greek authors in

<sup>15</sup> See however Harders 2010; Prescendi 2010; Vuolanto 2010b; Horn and Martens 2009; Rawson 2003, pp. 153–7 and 269–80.

<sup>16</sup> See Aasgaard 2009; Rawson 2003, pp. 269–80, with Katajala-Peltomaa and Vuolanto 2011.

<sup>17</sup> See however Aasgaard 2009.

<sup>18</sup> See for example Handel (ed.) 2006.

<sup>19</sup> See Katajala-Peltomaa and Vuolanto 2011.

their original language.<sup>20</sup> Two themes related to socialisation, however, emerge from the texts. Firstly, different kinds of educators and teachers appear all the time as background figures, unfortunately with little specific information about their influence. Gregory of Nazianzus refers to his seemingly long-time pedagogue and guide, Carterius, even having followed him to Athens when he started his studies.<sup>21</sup> Libanius mentions in passing his *paedagogus*;<sup>22</sup> Paulinus of Pella mentions the *magistri* who taught him Latin and Greek, and a *Grammaticus*;<sup>23</sup> Ausonius mentions the *magister* of his grandchild correcting and training his reading and pronunciation, and, on another occasion, seems to refer to his own experiences in urging his grandson not to be afraid of the stern discipline maintained by the teachers.<sup>24</sup> Augustine also mentions his *paedagogus* and *magister*, remembering his bad experiences in his teachers' clutches.<sup>25</sup> This leads to the second theme: the main thing these authors remember of their schooling time, or, at least, the main point they wished to transmit to their future readers, was the constant threat of violence,<sup>26</sup> leading to problems in learning and antipathy for their early studies. The narratives of Augustine and Ausonius on this issue are well known, both highlighting the acts of violence, flogging and beating, stripes, rod and birches. Paulinus of Pella also mentions his problems with learning Latin, albeit without mentioning violent teachers, and Libanius claims that before his conversion to rhetoric, he neglected his studies but, unlike in the cases of Augustine or Ausonius, his pedagogues could not intervene because of the lenience of his mother.<sup>27</sup> What has often escaped the attention of modern scholars is the place given to the power of teachers and the fear of pain in these narratives: it overshadows all the other issues related to schooling.<sup>28</sup>

In all, however, schooling comprised only a part of the education of the protagonists of the autobiographical depictions. Writing in the 440s, Theodoret of Cyrhus tells us that as a child he was once a week sent to Peter the Galatian,

---

<sup>20</sup> See for instance Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 68–80, 117; Augustine, *Confessions* 1.14.23. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina* 3: she was not educated with the stock Greek authors, but by reading biblical literature. I will not dwell on this discussion further, as the particulars of the curriculum as such do not tell us about childhood dynamics or experience. See further especially Morgan 1998.

<sup>21</sup> *Palatine Anthology* 8.142–6.

<sup>22</sup> Libanius, *Autobiography* 12.

<sup>23</sup> Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 68–80, 117.

<sup>24</sup> Ausonius, *Epistle* 21 (*Genethliacos*), 1–5; Ausonius, *Epistle* 22, poem to Ausonius the younger, lines 12–28.

<sup>25</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 1.9.30; 1.9.14–15; 1.14.23.

<sup>26</sup> For domestic violence see the chapter by Julia Hillner in this volume.

<sup>27</sup> Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 75–8; Libanius, *Autobiography* 4–5 and 12. Fear of punishment was also for Jerome one of the most characteristic features of his own childhood: Jerome, *Apology against Rufinus* 1.30.

<sup>28</sup> See however Laes 2005.



a hermit living on the mountains near Antioch, to obtain his blessing. He relates that he often sat on the knees of Peter, who gave him bread with raisins. Even if we, naturally, cannot know for sure if this idyllic recollection indeed represents an actual event taken place – as Theodoret programmatically highlights his nearness to the ascetics – the scene with homely nearness and sweetness of raisins is a perfect example of how a child would end up having a positive view of a certain lifestyle and values. Nor was Peter the only ascetic contact he had, as he claims he frequently met another hermit, Macedonius, to have his blessing and listen to his teachings during his childhood. Theodoret also joined his mother to see the hermit Aphrahat, and the ascetics visited their home at least occasionally.<sup>29</sup> These ‘pilgrimages’ to the ascetics continued in his youth: in the early 410s when Theodoret was a teenage student, and served as a reader in Antioch, he visited many ascetics: from the hermit Zeno he sought advice, and discussed asceticism with him for a long time. He also relates that he, along with some other pilgrims, lived for a week with the ascetic David.<sup>30</sup> Theodoret consistently depicts his childhood and youth as surrounded by holy people – and at the age of 22 or so, after his parents had died, he sold his patrimony and entered a monastery. Like Theodoret, many other children joined their parents as they visited the nearby ascetic holy men. These journeys, small-scale local pilgrimages to see the living saints, were an important part of the everyday religiosity in late antiquity – a practice that John Chrysostom was eager to promote in Antioch in the late fourth century.<sup>31</sup>

In the other childhood stories it is also commonplace to claim that mothers had given the basic religious and moral education to the child at home, but without much further detail. Only Paulinus of Pella gives equal credit for his education to his father and mother: almost immediately after having learned the alphabet, his parents made sure he would learn ‘to shun the ten special marks of ignorance’ and to avoid vices. Clearly, in the early Christian context, the religious education of the children was not institutionalised, and was seen as the duty of the parents, especially the mother.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 9.4 and 13.18 (Macedonius played a great part in the birth of Theodoret, as he was the hermit who interceded when the father-to-be of Theodoret prayed for progeny); Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 9.14 and 13.3.

<sup>30</sup> Aphrahat: Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 8.15; Aphrahat died most probably in AD 407, when Theodoret was 13 or 14. Zeno: Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 12.4. David: Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 4.10. On these visits, see also Horn 2007, p. 449.

<sup>31</sup> See for example John Chrysostom, *Homily* 14.13 (*On First Timothy*); *Homily* 72.4 (*On Matthew*), with Frank 2000.

<sup>32</sup> Mother: Augustine, *Confessions* 3.4.8; Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina* 3; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.1.1.445–54; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 7.5–8. I will return to the issue of maternal influence below. Parents: Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 60–67, 89–97; see also Basil of Caesarea, *Letters* 204.6 and 223.3, on the influence of his mother Emmelia and paternal grandmother Macrina on his religious upbringing as a



It is somewhat curious that Theodoret's story is ultimately unique with its many details related to religious participation in childhood. For example, none of the authors depict themselves attending the liturgy in their childhood, even if it is clear that many of them, like Gregory of Nazianzus and Augustine, had taken part in it regularly. Augustine, even if he was not baptised, was a catechumen since infancy, and, throughout his childhood, a member of the local Christian community, even if not a member of the Church.<sup>33</sup> Augustine is also exceptional in recalling praying to God, that he would not be flogged in school. He claims that he had learned to pray from observing other people doing so, stressing that nobody, not even his mother, had specifically taught him it.<sup>34</sup> The specific references to other religious practices are referred to only when the people are older. Augustine, for example, refers to himself as attending the mass regularly at the age of 19 (but he is not referring to it as if it was a new thing in his life), and Gregory of Nazianzus refers to his fervent prayers in the midst of a terrible sea storm.<sup>35</sup>

Like the motif of violence in schooling, the motif of serious illness and other mortal dangers appears often linked with the religious practices and life choices in the autobiographical texts. Issues of health, or more exactly, the lack of it, brought children frequently into contact with the religious life and saints, as the healing stories concerning Theodoret's household show. Already as a child, Theodoret learned to rely on the healing power of the ascetics and their relics.<sup>36</sup> In Gregory of Nazianzus' case his conversion – as he told it – was a result of a mortal danger he experienced on a stormy sea, and, consequently, led to his baptism, and functioned as a seal in his narrative on different kinds of divine favours in his life.<sup>37</sup> Augustine,

---

boy (especially his grandmother telling him stories about Gregory Thaumaturgus). For (the informal character of) religious education in the early Roman empire, see Prescendi 2010, pp. 76–9; Horn 2009, pp. 109–10. For mothers in charge of religious education, see also Nathan 2000, pp. 149–55, even if he exaggerates his point. After all, there are indications of fathers taking part in the religious education of children – Jerome, *Letter* 128, on the religious education of the girl Pacatula is, after all, addressed to her father (cf. Nathan 2000, p. 149). Nathan also claims that the mother was in charge of Paulinus of Pella's moral education, even if Paulinus' text gives equal appreciation to both parents (Nathan 2000, pp. 151, 153). Also, the claim of Nathan 2000, p. 144, that religious education was given even outside of the home is misplaced for the fourth–fifth century contexts.

<sup>33</sup> See especially Augustine, *Confessions* 1.11.17; also Augustine, *Confessions* 6.4.5. See O'Donnell 2005, p. 53. People commonly attended the liturgy when minors: see for example Horn 2009, pp. 135–6, with Horn and Martens 2009, pp. 292–4.

<sup>34</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 1.9.14–15. See Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina* 3, on Macrina as a child reciting the Psalter on all possible occasions, and rising in the night for prayer. For children and family prayer, see also Horn and Martens 2009, pp. 295–6.

<sup>35</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 3.3.5 and 3.4.7; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.1.1.308 and 320; 2.1.11.121–209.

<sup>36</sup> Theodoret of Cyrhus, *Religious History* 9.15 and 13.16, with Horn 2007, p. 447.

<sup>37</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.1.1.308 and 320; 2.1.11.121–209; see Elm 2009, pp. 289–91, on Gregory's self-portrait as a predestined divine messenger of the *Logos*.

in turn, writes that when he was still a child, he was taken suddenly ill with stomach pains, and it was thought that he would die. On that occasion, he himself begged for baptism, but, as he soon recovered, the baptism was postponed.<sup>38</sup> A serious fever affecting Paulinus of Pella at the age of 15 had more dramatic consequences: as his body was enfeebled, the physicians recommended that continuous gaiety and amusement would do him good, instead of studying. As a result, Paulinus began to neglect his studies and instead entertained himself especially by hunting with his father. His parents, delighted with his recovery, had no objection to this.<sup>39</sup> To be sure, the (auto)biographical genre required a dramatic change to take place so that one's real self and vocation could be able to shine forth. Moreover, these often somewhat miraculous stories of recovery and deliverance from danger could easily be utilised to highlight divine intervention in the lives of the protagonists in question, and thus to include reference to being chosen by God or Fate.<sup>40</sup> However, these stories also show the continual presence of death in the lives of children, and how the experience of this reality could mould the subsequent ideas about oneself and the way in which one's place in society is represented.<sup>41</sup>

In analysing the effect of religious practices on socialisation, there should be made a separation between socialisation into religion, and a more general concept of socialisation through religion into societal values and norms. Thus, for example, through frequent visits to the 'holy men of the family', Theodoret was, unquestionably, well socialised into the ascetic forms of Christianity, and in retrospect it is not surprising that he entered a monastery (even if he did not stay there long) and an ecclesiastical career. However, on the other hand, it is clear that through the kind of religious participation Theodoret relates, he was able to take part in community life and already as a child negotiate the mountains and outskirts of Antioch, meeting people independently. The importance of religion in socialisation was not limited to children who ended up in ecclesiastical careers or chose not to marry.

<sup>38</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 1.11.17.

<sup>39</sup> Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 121–53.

<sup>40</sup> For Augustine, the real turning point was, naturally, his baptism – thus, in his narrative his religiosity before that was not to be stressed (see also O'Donnell 2005, p. 53). Libanius in his autobiography constantly presents himself as a special favourite, even elect, of Fate. For him, the death of his father and his 'conversion' to rhetoric was the decisive turning point (see Schouler 1993, pp. 317–19). Theodoret's birth was also a double miracle (as a response to the prayers, and as surviving the danger of miscarriage) and he was 'ordained' by the hermits (see especially Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 9.15, with Urbainczyk 2002, pp. 138–42); similarly, Gorgonia's miraculous recovery from her illness and the cart accident were signs of her holiness (see Burrus 2006, pp. 162–3).

<sup>41</sup> On childhood mortality see also the chapter by Mary Harlow and Tim Parkin in this volume.

## Work, Play and Peer Groups

If religious practices had little space in the autobiographies, other activities with involvement in the public space during childhood and early youth are seldom mentioned either. Not surprisingly, elite boys did not do much housework – Theodoret mentions carrying food from his mother to the hermits on the mountain, but this was more part of his religious upbringing than work. For girls, the situation might have been somewhat different. Augustine, for example, mentions that the parents of his mother Monica used to send her to the cellar with a servant girl to draw wine from the cask ‘as was the custom’.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, Macrina is depicted as being engaged in household tasks and being proficient in woolwork before she reached the age of 12.<sup>43</sup> In all these instances, however, there was no need for a working contribution to the household, as the families were prosperous enough to have servants to take care of the necessary things. However, these instances show that parents in late antiquity used little tasks to introduce their children to the workings of a household and to adult responsibilities.<sup>44</sup>

Augustine mentions that he followed some, not further elaborated, spectacles and loved to play ‘games’ (*ludi*), especially with his friends on the streets of Thagaste: they used to exchange and sell to each other different kinds of small booty they had extracted from their parents or other citizens. He also mentions having played ballgames with a friend – instead of studying.<sup>45</sup> Libanius mentions his more innocent but again unspecified playing in the fields in his early teens – which he preferred to studying – and his hobbies of rearing doves and watching gladiator shows, both of which he laid aside when he ‘fell in love with rhetoric’ at the age of 15.<sup>46</sup> At the same age Paulinus of Pella had, as he enumerated, a fine horse bedecked with special trappings, a tall groom, a swift hound, a shapely hawk and a tinselled ball for games of pitching. At that age he hunted regularly with his father, whereas when he was younger he had played with the household

<sup>42</sup> Theodoret of Cyrhus, *Religious History* 13.3; Augustine, *Confessions* 9.8.17–18.

<sup>43</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina* 3–4; after her decision to remain unmarried at the age of 12, she is also depicted helping her mother in household management and, especially, in preparing meals for her.

<sup>44</sup> Naturally, the reference to wool-working in the *Life of Macrina* may well refer more to the idealistic picture of a wool-working chaste and diligent Graeco-Roman elite woman than her actual activities. See also Jerome, *Letter* 107.10, with Larsson Lovén 1998. That the imagery was not particularly common among the Latin speaking sub-elites and middling class people, as seen in the evidence of the inscriptions (Jeppesen-Wigelsworth 2010, pp. 11–13, 218–21), does not reduce its usefulness in creating the image of a woman waiting for her true spouse (here Christ) in the manner of Penelope.

<sup>45</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 1.19.30 and 1.9.15. See also Augustine, *Confessions* 2.4.9, for the stealing of pears (see below).

<sup>46</sup> Libanius, *Autobiography* 4–5.

servants.<sup>47</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus depicts in a similar way the entertainments of the elite youth, in claiming that his friend Basil of Caesarea was trained in education and exercised piety instead of shooting hares, running down fawn, hunting deer, excelling in warlike pursuits or in breaking in young horses.<sup>48</sup> What is interesting is the role of spectacles and gladiator shows in child's socialisation as a way for teenagers (if not also younger children) to take part in community life.<sup>49</sup>

As can be seen, in the descriptions of leisure activities age peers and childhood friends are seldom mentioned. In fact, the texts give an impression that it was only later, during student years, that any more tight friendship ties were established. This, naturally, may be due to the backward gaze too, as these relationships were those that lasted and had an influence also in later life. It is hard to say what kind of bonding is in fact referred to, when Basil later in life appeals to his boyhood acquaintances to get favours for him and his protégés.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, there seems to have prevailed a rather natural tendency for the writers (except Augustine) to depict themselves as 'older' and less childish than their age peers – using a *puer senex* motif was a standard way of depicting childhood both in earlier biographic and autobiographic writing, and in later hagiographical accounts.<sup>51</sup>

However, Paulinus of Pella explicitly highlights his bonding with his father in his youthful pastimes, and both Libanius and Gregory of Nazianzus enthusiastically depict the friendship networks they developed in Athens as a new feature of their lives: at last, they had found like-minded friends. Gregory, instead of mentioning his childhood friends, claims about his earlier relations only that 'of men I associated with those excellent in character'.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, the only playmates who are mentioned in the narratives concerning early childhood are servants of the household: a girl servant had carried Monica's father on her back when he was a baby, 'as older girls do with small children'.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, Paulinus

<sup>47</sup> Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 141–53 and 75–8 ('conloquio Graiorum adsuefactus famulorum / quos mihi iam longus ludorum iunxerat usus').

<sup>48</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 43.12 (AD 381 or 382).

<sup>49</sup> See also Horn 2009, p. 130, and Rawson 2003, pp. 331–2, on children and the violence of the spectacles in the early empire. As she notes, 'it is difficult to know what emotions and behavioural models children transferred from the amphitheatre to the rest of their lives'.

<sup>50</sup> See for instance Basil of Caesarea, *Letters* 272.1, 274 and 290, with Horn 2009, p. 134.

<sup>51</sup> Earlier (auto)biographies: Dixon 1992, pp. 104–5, and Schouler 2008, p. 234; for childhood in Byzantine hagiography, see Chavallier Caseau 2009, pp. 147–57, and Angelov 2009, esp. pp. 87–8.

<sup>52</sup> Libanius, *Autobiography* 56–8; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.1.11.95–100.

<sup>53</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 9.8.17. The servant was the same who later took care of Monica's upbringing.

of Pella writes that he had learned his Greek while playing with the household slaves (*famuli*) in Pella.<sup>54</sup>

It seems that elite families protected their children quite carefully, secluded them rather than let them be exposed to unwelcome acquaintances.<sup>55</sup> The criteria for friends were high: the processes of socialisation were not only positive and encouraging but also limiting. They define expectations and restrict the choices available. In his autobiographic sketch John Chrysostom, for example, gives as the foundations of his friendship with a certain Basil that, firstly, they shared everything, and, secondly, that their means were as matched as their views, as their families were of the same class: ‘everything was in keeping with our common opinion’.<sup>56</sup> Chrysostom depicts here his literate self as being in his early twenties, the same age at which both Gregory and Libanius praise their friendships keenly. In the same spirit, John makes his friend sum up the essence of friendship in his narrative rather idealistically: ‘no one knows me as well as you; since you know my inner nature better than my parents who brought me up’.<sup>57</sup>

Augustine, however, brings forth the significance of the peer groups – and even reflects the influence they have had in his own life. He gives an impression of having been part of a youthful group of boys playing and wandering in the streets of Thagaste in search of excitement. In this, they pilfered from here and there. An instance of taking a huge load of pears from a nearby tree and dumping them uneaten, makes him ask why did he and his companions end up doing such a thing, causing no profit for themselves, but only damage for others. Augustine highlights the role played by the company as such. He writes: ‘And yet, as I recall my feelings at the time, I am quite sure that I would not have done it on my own’, and again more pointedly:

By myself I would not have committed that robbery. It was not the takings that attracted me but the raid itself, and yet to do it by myself would have been no fun and I should not have done it. This was friendship of a most unfriendly sort, bewitching my mind in an inexplicable way.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 75–8. Unfortunately it is impossible to ascertain if these *famuli* were age peers of Paulinus.

<sup>55</sup> In the case of girls this feature is even clearer. The passage in John Chrysostom, *On Priesthood* 3.17, is telling, as John here first describes how in the ‘normal’ case a father should watch over his daughter, and then continues to compare this to a case in which a girl is vowed to virginity, demanding even stricter measures. See also for instance Jerome, *Letters* 22.16, 22.25 and 107.4–11, on the necessary seclusion of virgins.

<sup>56</sup> John Chrysostom, *On Priesthood* 1.1.

<sup>57</sup> John Chrysostom, *On Priesthood* 2.4. For further discussion of friendship in late antiquity, see Samellas 2010.

<sup>58</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 1.19.30, on pilfering in general. On the pear tree incident: Augustine, *Confessions* 2.4–10. Quotations: Augustine, *Confessions* 2.8.16, ‘Et tamen solus id non fecissem (sic recorder animum tunc meum) solus omnino id non fecissem. Ergo

Augustine here finely describes the power of a peer group in affecting behaviour and socialising to a certain subculture, and, as he also depicts, the subsequent strengthening of the sense of solidarity.

## Parents

What is eye-catching and common in the stories concerning the childhood of the bishops, and the likewise unmarried Libanius, is the central rôle played by their mothers both in their childhood and in later life. It was his mother who sent Theodoret as a child to converse with the ascetics, and also in other respects she took care of his religious education. Theodoret depicts her many times telling him stories about the renowned ascetics and the miracles they had accomplished. Often these stories concerned the mother herself, or other household members. His mother is a pious and ascetically oriented figure, presented with many of the characteristics of the Virgin Mary. The father is only occasionally mentioned in his stories.<sup>59</sup> After all, even if it was his father who went around asking the hermits for help and intercessions for his children, it was his mother who made the actual vows to dedicate her future child to God in the presence of the hermit Macedonius. Moreover, it was she who used the prophylactic belt of Peter to cure her husband, her son, and herself, or borrowed it for family friends.<sup>60</sup> Thus, it is she who is described as responsible for the interaction with the saints and the transcendent sphere.

The case of Theodoret was not unique. It was the mother of Gregory of Nazianzus, Nonna, who offered Gregory to God immediately on his birth, followed by a dream which announced his name. Gregory does not get tired of highlighting his mother's dedication to her son, her constant prayers for him, and her influence on her son's future spiritual strivings. Gregory even interprets his survival from the stormy sea and the subsequent baptism as a direct response to Nonna's prayers – to prove this, he claims that a boy on the ship had seen her walking on water and directing the ship through the storm.<sup>61</sup> John Chrysostom also depicted his widowed

---

amavi ibi etiam consortium eorum, cum quibus id feci'; Augustine, *Confessions* 2.9.17. According to Shaw 1987, p. 22, this kind of forming 'of peer groups with their own norms and powers' would have been impossible for peasant boys, not only for economic reasons, but also because of the lack of schooling and, thus, schoolmates – but this is an argument *ex silentio*. English translations from *Confessions* are by R.S. Pine-Coffin.

<sup>59</sup> On (the absence of) fathers in late antiquity see the chapter by Fotis Vasileiou in this volume.

<sup>60</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 9.9–10, 9.15, and 13.16–17; and see also Urbainczyk 2002, pp. 135–8.

<sup>61</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.1.1.118–122 and 424–4; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.1.11.51–94. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 7.4–8. See also Van Dam 2003, pp. 88–93, who concludes: 'Throughout his life Gregory's one true love had always been his mother'.



mother as having brought him up by herself, and having paid for his education, and Basil of Caesarea stressed his mother's and grandmother's influence on his upbringing and religious formation.<sup>62</sup> As is well known, Augustine's mother, Monica, is similarly depicted as the crucial person in the life of Augustine, trying to bring him up as a Christian, praying for her son year after year, and providing him with financial support for his studies. Monica is depicted as an exemplary 'ordinary' Christian and *materfamilias*, especially in her deathbed scene in the *Confessions* – again with Virgin Mary-like characteristics.<sup>63</sup> Likewise, in his early works, Augustine uses his mother as a character in philosophical conversations. In this, her role is akin to that of Macrina in her brother Gregory of Nyssa's *On Soul and Resurrection*,<sup>64</sup> but in other aspects Augustine's mother is depicted rather in a similar manner to Nonna or Emmelia, Macrina's and Gregory of Nyssa's mother. According to Gregory's *Life of Macrina*, Emmelia was a paradigm of simple piety in her life, not being able to stay unmarried despite her will. And, like Nonna, she also had a vision announcing to her the name of her future child – the secret name of Macrina, Thecla. Like Monica, Emmelia took care of both the religious and secular education of her children, praying and reciting psalms to Macrina. Later, Gregory depicts Macrina directing her mother to the monastic lifestyle, especially after the death of Basil the Elder, her husband. Elsewhere Gregory also mentions that Emmelia obliged him to participate in the festival of the Forty Martyrs when he was still a young man. In Gregory's stories the father's role is minimal – he is mentioned as active only when Macrina is about to be married off by her parents.<sup>65</sup>

The maternal influence and its results were not limited to the representation of Christian families – the demographic realities as such took care that there were plenty of fatherless children.<sup>66</sup> Libanius, for example, highlighted his mother's role in his education, both as a person in charge of the financial costs of his upbringing, and of the educational principles to be used. Libanius claims that 'she did not become angry with lazy children, as she thought that a loving mother should

<sup>62</sup> John Chrysostom, *On Priesthood* 1.5; Basil of Caesarea, *Letters* 204.6, 210.1 and 223.3 (see also Van Dam 2003, p. 100, on the role of Emmelia in the early religious education of Basil).

<sup>63</sup> See for example Augustine, *Confessions* 3.4.7–8 and 9.9–13; see further Clark 1999, pp. 14–15.

<sup>64</sup> In Augustine's *On the Happy Life* and *On Order*, Monica intervenes to ask questions and also to express her opinion. On Monica as a Christian philosopher, yet an uneducated model of simple female piety, see Clark 1999, pp. 15–20. In Gregory of Nyssa, *On Soul and Resurrection*, Macrina is depicted as a widely read and schooled teacher of Gregory (in philosophy, i.e. in Christian theology).

<sup>65</sup> On Macrina's education by her mother and her engagement, see Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina* 2–4. On the festival of the Forty Martyrs, see Van Dam 2003, pp. 101–2. On the virtues of Emmelia, see also Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina* 5, 7, 11 and 13.

<sup>66</sup> See for example Scheidel 2009.



never sadden her children in any way'.<sup>67</sup> Because of that even the pedagogues 'were powerless against the young orphan', and Libanius was able to be 'his own guardian (*phylaks*)'. It is interesting that Libanius himself reflects the significance of the early death of his father, and the fact that he was brought up by his mother with the help of her two brothers.<sup>68</sup> If his father had reached old age, instead of becoming a professional rhetorician he would have ended up a member of the local curia or having a career in the imperial bureaucracy. Even if Libanius is careful not to give an impression that he was happy that his father died young, he expresses his happiness at the outcome in retrospect.<sup>69</sup> What Libanius does not mention, but what also connects his situation with that of his Christian contemporaries, is the fact that he remained unmarried, even if he had on one occasion (like Augustine) a fiancée, and, (like Augustine) an illegitimate son by a concubine. Looking back, Libanius also interprets his bachelorhood as a matter of principle: in his youth, he preferred student life in Athens to marriage in Antioch; later, as a professor in Nicomedeia, he explains his decision to remain unmarried by claiming that 'my art is my spouse'.<sup>70</sup>

The religious education of the future bishops was depicted as depending on mothers even in cases in which fathers were alive. Augustine's father has a minimal role in his narrative.<sup>71</sup> The role of Gregory of Nazianzus' father is not, either, depicted as nearly as significant as that of his mother. Even in his father's funeral oration Gregory gives more praise to his mother than to his father. And, like Augustine, Gregory also takes opportunities to depict his father in not so positive a light without taking the edge away from his praise. If Augustine's father was ambitious to see his son a father and a renowned rhetor, and regularly beating his wife,<sup>72</sup> likewise Gregory's father is depicted as a self-centred, powerful and distant character who 'tyrannised' his son, his virtues depending on the good influence his wife had with him – as is the case with Augustine's father. Indeed, Gregory the Elder is depicted as Nonna's spiritual child.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Libanius, *Autobiography* 4 and 27.

<sup>68</sup> Libanius, *Autobiography* 12–13.

<sup>69</sup> Libanius, *Autobiography* 1.6. (1.5 ends with a note that Libanius' uncle had quite early thought that Libanius would become a sophist). See also Schouler 1993, p. 318.

<sup>70</sup> Libanius, *Autobiography* 12 and 54.

<sup>71</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 9.9, with O'Donnell 2005, pp. 57–8.

<sup>72</sup> Beating: Augustine, *Confessions* 9.9; ambitions for his son: Augustine, *Confessions* 2.3.5 and 2.3.8.

<sup>73</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 7.4 and 8; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 8.5; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 18 (on the death of his father), 8 and 11 (on his mother, see praise at 8–13, 30–31, 43). Father's power: *Oration* 18.40, and *Carmina* 2.1.11.340, 345 and 392. See also *Carmina* 2.1.11.503–14, with the father blackmailing Gregory to take ordination as the bishop of Sasima. Occasionally, however, the father is included in the affectionate language, as in *Carmina* 2.1.1.268–74, in which Gregory claims that he was overwhelmed by affection for his dear parents in their old age – immediately afterwards

The role of fathers is depicted rather similarly, that is, with at least a twist of uneasiness, in all of the autobiographical texts, even if in those texts in which the authors have ended up continuing their lineage instead of remaining unmarried the depiction is not as pointedly strained. Both Ausonius and Paulinus of Pella were married and had children. Ausonius' parents were rather distant to him during his childhood: even though he mentions his mother as having been in charge of his early education, he was sent to be brought up by relatives at an early age. This distance can be seen in Ausonius' depiction of his parents in his *Parentalia* as well as, for example, in his congratulatory letter to his father on the birth of his father's first grandchild by him.<sup>74</sup> Paulinus, in turn, claims that his parents aimed at renewing their line through him, and therefore married him off against his will. On the other hand, he presents his relationship with his father both during his teenage years, in hunting and other pastimes, and later when giving an overall appraisal on his father's death, as affectionate, calling him his 'dear comrade' (*carus socius*), and claiming that their relationship surpassed the friendship of age peers.<sup>75</sup>

In all, the fathers are represented as authority figures having high hopes for their progeny: sons are to their fathers sources of honour for the family with their learning and career, and, pointedly, also the providers of the next generation for their lineage. The fathers also expected their sons to bury them in the proper way.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, it seems that not only in the narratives of Gregory of Nazianzus, as analysed by Virginia Burrus and Susanna Elm, but also in the cases of Basil, Augustine and Theodoret, the mothers were highlighted at the expense of the *paterfamilias*, also in order to convey a sense of a sacred philosophical family and to be able to claim 'both the social and cultural potential of the role of the elite father and mother'.<sup>77</sup> The stress on positive femininity and the submission to the heavenly Father instead of the earthly one was, therefore, also a strategy in self representation for claiming a certain sanctity and authority.

However, despite this rhetoric tending to highlight the role of mothers (and other female relatives), it is safe to conclude that in the midst of family life, women's work

---

explaining that it is, after all, perhaps 'not so much affection indeed but pity'. Nonna as spiritual mother: Hägg 2006, p. 141, with Elm 2009, p. 297; Gregory's ambivalence towards his father and playing his role down: Hägg 2006, pp. 145–6, and McLynn 1998, pp. 472–3.

<sup>74</sup> Ausonius, *Parentalia* 2.5: the task of Ausonius' mother was 'natos cura regendi'; Ausonius and his father: Ausonius, *Epistle* 19.33–4, and *Parentalia* 1.

<sup>75</sup> Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 154–5, 176–86, 242–7 (on the death of the father, when Paulinus was around 30): 'per quem cara mihi et patria et domus ipsa fiebat ... tamque etenim fido tradentes nobis affectu consortio viximus aevo / vinceret aequaeuos nostra ut Concordia amicos ... tam caro socio et monitori fideli'.

<sup>76</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 2.3.5–8; Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 154–5, 176–86; Ausonius, *Epistle* 20 (*Genethliacos*), 1–5; Ausonius, *Epistle* 22, poem to Ausonius the younger, lines 35–8; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.1.11.506–14.

<sup>77</sup> Elm 2009, pp. 289, 296–300; Burrus 2006, pp. 156–65, with Hägg 2006, pp. 144–5. On Augustine, see also O'Donnell 2005, pp. 57–8.

was, nevertheless, acknowledged as a major factor in childhood socialisation and in transferring the cultural values of society to the next generation – and, on the other hand, fathers were, in general, rather distant and even frightening figures.<sup>78</sup> This same presupposition is also inherent in many of the texts promoting asceticism, highlighting the crucial importance of mothers in directing their progeny to make the ‘right’ choices and to choose perpetual virginity. However, in these cases it is most often a question of girls, not boys as in the autobiographical writings.<sup>79</sup>

### Other Relatives and Household Members

Naturally, parents were not the only relatives to have an influence on children and their youth.<sup>80</sup> In these autobiographical accounts, Ausonius devoted most space to his relatives – not only because he has set out a project aiming at commemorating his deceased relatives (in his poems in *Parentalia*), but also as he was brought up by relatives after his earliest childhood. Thus, he writes that after having been torn from his mother’s breasts, he received his early training under the stern but kindly rule of his maternal grandmother. Almost as an echo of this, Ausonius writes later to his grandchild claiming that grandchildren prefer their grandfathers and grandmothers to their own parents.<sup>81</sup> Basil and Jerome also emphasise their nearness to their grandmothers.<sup>82</sup> Ausonius gives credit for his upbringing to other relatives also: with his grandmother, his maternal uncle is the other person who took charge of the earliest years of his life; Ausonius depicted him not only as his ‘father and mother’,

<sup>78</sup> See also Shaw 1987, esp. p. 25.

<sup>79</sup> John Chrysostom, for example, pointedly urged women to consecrate their (firstborn) children to God: John Chrysostom, *Homily* 21.2 (*On Ephesians*). Although it was the father who was active in asking for advice, Jerome notably associates women with the making of the vow regarding a daughter (on the upbringing of Pacatula, Jerome, *Letter* 128, esp. 2 (AD 413). See also for example Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria, *Canons* 97 (Arabic text) (c. AD 370), for an exhortation to women to pledge their daughters to virginity in order to keep them pure for Christ (there is no such exhortation for men). For further discussion of mothers active in educative choices, see Vuolanto 2008, pp. 102–7.

<sup>80</sup> I will not deal in this chapter with the issue of family structure, but the conclusions in Shaw 1987, pp. 49–51, fit well with my analysis: the late Roman family was ‘neither a true nuclear family nor an extended-kin family, much less an agnatic lineage ... the family was a more complex aggregate that included assemblages of persons attached in an integral way to a discernible nuclear core’, that is, to a married couple and (their) children, on which the primary obligations were focused. What is interesting, though, is that in the present study, no clear difference can be discerned between the western and eastern Mediterranean patterns (cf. Shaw 1987, p. 51).

<sup>81</sup> Ausonius, *Parentalia* 5.9–10 (Aemilia Corinthia Maura). Ausonius, *Epistle* 22, poem to Ausonius the younger, lines 17–19.

<sup>82</sup> Jerome, *Apology against Rufinus* 1.30; Basil of Caesarea, *Letters* 204.6, and see also *Letters* 210.1 and 223.3.

but in addition as his teacher of rhetoric.<sup>83</sup> Ausonius also honours two of his maternal aunts ‘as a son’.<sup>84</sup>

Maternal uncles also play a major role in the life of Libanius. As his father died young, and the boy was brought up under his mother, the uncles served as the heads of the household one after another – and it was the younger uncle’s permission which in the end made it possible for him to leave Antioch to study at Athens, even if his mother opposed the plan, and the older uncle, before his death, had sided with the mother.<sup>85</sup> The presence of maternal uncles in these texts is not surprising: because of the demographic realities (women marrying earlier in the life course than men),<sup>86</sup> they were more likely than grandparents or paternal uncles to be available if surrogate fatherhood was needed.<sup>87</sup>

The role of siblings is not much elaborated in the autobiographical writings, and even when they are brought to the fore, there is a kind of distancing attitude prevailing in the texts. Gregory of Nyssa writes with great respect about his elder brothers Basil and Naucratius, not to mention his sister Macrina, who not only seems to have been responsible for his early education, but is described as the spiritual teacher of the whole family with incomparable virtue and perfection, and with affection about his younger brother Peter, but he does not elaborate their personal relationships further.<sup>88</sup> The same observation holds true also for Gregory of Nazianzus and his depictions of his brother Caesarius and sister Gorgonia – the latter being called ‘a common counsellor not only of her own family but also of those about her’, and described as having ‘reached a higher perfection in all than anyone else attained’.<sup>89</sup> Augustine

<sup>83</sup> Aemilius Magnus Arborius: Ausonius, *Parentalia* 3.8–10 and 3.19.

<sup>84</sup> Ausonius, *Parentalia* 6.12 (Aemilia Hilaria): ‘supremis redo filius exequis’; *Parentalia* 25.9–10 (Aemilia Dryadia): ‘discebas in me matertera / mater uti fieres’.

<sup>85</sup> Libanius, *Autobiography* 13: his mother opposed the idea of him departing for Athens. Her older brother sided with her, but when he (Panolbius) died, the younger brother (Phasganius) gave his permission (‘as my mother’s tears did not have as much influence on him’). It is unclear what the legal position of the uncles was, but in any case they had a determinant influence on Libanius’ life choices.

<sup>86</sup> For a Life Course approach to the Byzantine family see the chapter by Eve Davies in this volume.

<sup>87</sup> Scheidel 2009; Harders 2010. On the maternal uncle (*avunculus*) see also Tougher 2012, esp. pp. 189–90 and 195 n. 64 and n. 67. Also Gregory of Nazianzus’ maternal uncle Amphilocheus the Elder played a role in his life as a teacher (even when Gregory the Elder was still alive): see *Palatine Anthology* 8.131–8, and Van Dam 2003, p. 53. For uncles taking care of education, see also Cribiore 2009, pp. 262–4. See however Basil, *Letters* 204.6 and 223.3, on the influence of his paternal grandmother on his religious upbringing. The ‘*maiores*’ mentioned in Augustine, *Confessions* 1.6.8, 1.7.11 and 1.8.13–9.15, should, nevertheless, be understood in a more vague sense as ‘adults’ (in the sense ‘not children’) rather than ‘grandparents’ as understood by Shaw 1987, pp. 16–19 (moreover, Augustine claims he has never seen his grandfather).

<sup>88</sup> Van Dam 2003, pp. 67–74.

<sup>89</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 8.11–15, with Van Dam 2003, pp. 93–6.

mentions his brother only once in his *Confessions*, and his sister not at all. Libanius, in turn, does not mention his two brothers in the context of his childhood notes, but, for example, describes later very emotionally the misfortunes and eventual death of the younger brother.<sup>90</sup> It would be a mistake, therefore, to claim that siblings were of little importance or that after leaving the parental home the interrelationships broke down. I would suggest, rather, that it was part of the conventions of autobiographic writing, that siblings (and one's children, for that matter) were not to be taken up for discussion – at least not as long as they were alive. But, in view of the lack of studies on sibling relations in late antiquity, a theme certainly worth scholarly attention, this conclusion is bound to remain only a suggestion.<sup>91</sup>

One particular group of people is easily forgotten as socialising agents when studying the world of the Roman elites: servants and slaves. The wet-nurse especially features in the texts as a symbol of homeliness. For Augustine, the milk of his mother and his wet-nurse are the first consolations and gifts of God for a human being in this world.<sup>92</sup> Augustine also contrasts his experiences of learning Greek full of fear with the way of learning Latin in his infancy, 'by keeping my ears open while my nurses (*nutrices*) fondled me and everyone laughed and played happily with me'.<sup>93</sup> Ausonius – who mentions that his mother took care of his early education – even contrasts wet-nurses to mothers: 'A child will love its nurse's wrinkles, who shrinks from its mother'.<sup>94</sup> Augustine also reports that his mother gave credit for her good upbringing to an aged slave nurse, in whose care the children of the household were securely placed, rather than her own mother. Moreover, as already referred to, a servant had played with Monica's father when he was a child, and Paulinus of Pella claims he had learned Greek while playing with the household slaves.<sup>95</sup> Naturally, the narratives also mention the *paedagogi*, whose personal statuses are, however, hard to discern.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Augustine: Martin 2001, pp. 18–19; Libanius, *Autobiography* 197–204.

<sup>91</sup> For an examination of the relationship between imperial siblings in the Byzantine empire see the chapter by Shaun Tougher in this volume.

<sup>92</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 1.6.7.

<sup>93</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 1.14.23: 'Nam et Latina aliquando infans utique nulla noveram et tamen advertendo didici sine ullo metu atque cruciatu inter etiam blandimenta nutricum et ioca arridentium et laetitias alludentium'.

<sup>94</sup> Ausonius, *Epistle* 22, poem to Ausonius the younger, lines 17–19: 'rugas nutricis amabit / qui refugit matrem'. See also Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 27–32, for his nurse.

<sup>95</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 9.8.17 (thus, the children of the household were cared for and disciplined by the old slave even when the parents were *not* absent, cf. Shaw 1987, p. 42); Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving* 75–8 ('conloquio Graiorum adsuefactus famulorum / quos mihi iam longus ludorum iunxerat usus'). Nathan 2000, p. 142, interprets that it was his parents' idea to make the learning of Greek a game, but in the text itself there is no indication of any parental involvement in this.

<sup>96</sup> See above, and with Gregory of Nazianzus' teacher: *Palatine Anthology* 8.142–6. See Libanius, *Autobiography* 12, and Augustine, *Confessions* 1.9.30, for Libanius' and

More generally, the everyday presence of slaves is nearly invisible in the narratives – a telling example is the story by Augustine about his mother as a young girl fetching wine from the cellar: she used to seize the opportunity to drink it secretly. Only when Augustine refers to a slave girl who reproached ‘her young mistress’ as a drunkard, does it come out that Monica was not alone in the cellar, but in the company of a handmaid, who is, moreover, only in this point introduced as having been her personal servant, and most of the time in her company in any case.<sup>97</sup> It seems that in elite households children were habitually accompanied by slaves, and, at the very least, these slaves were in a much more central position for having influence on the freeborn children than their age peers of the same social class.

### The Role of Storytelling

The autobiographical narratives are full of references to stories apparently circulating inside the household, both vertically from generation to generation, and horizontally within the household and the networks of relatives. Libanius, Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine all refer directly to stories about their grandparents – and even their more distant ancestors. Libanius, for example, tells as a part of his family tradition, that his great-grandfather had seen beforehand, in a vision, the violent death of his sons. There also circulated stories about the great care he took in educating his children. Augustine, in turn, retells stories about his maternal grandparent, which he had heard from his mother.<sup>98</sup>

The richest range of this kind of story is told by Theodoret, linked to his family background and household, claiming in many cases that he had heard these directly from his mother, or from the hermits. Many of these stories concerned family tradition, like the stories about the mother’s eye disease and her recovery

---

Augustine’s pedagogues respectively.

<sup>97</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* 9.8.18: ‘Nam cum de more tamquam puella sobria iuberetur a parentibus de cupa vinum depromere, submisso poculo qua desuper patet, priusquam in lagunculam funderet merum, primoribus labris sorbebat exiguum, quia non poterat amplius sensu recusante. ... itaque ad illud modicum cotidiana modica addendo (quoniam qui modica spernit, paulatim decedit) in eam consuetudinem lapsa erat ut prope iam plenos mero caliculos inhiante hauriret. ... ancilla enim, cum qua solebat accedere ad cupam, litigans cum domina minore, ut fit, sola cum sola, obiecit hoc crimen amarissima insultatione vocans “meribibulam”’.

<sup>98</sup> Libanius, *Autobiography* 2; Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina* 2 and 20 (stories on Macrina the Elder, his and Macrina’s grandmother; Basil of Caesarea tells that he, in turn, had heard stories directly from Macrina the Elder: *Letters* 204.6). Cf. John Chrysostom, who recommended telling children (biblical) stories in the midst of daily routines because of the socialising effect of the practice (*On Vainglory* 39–41). On the memories of grandparents in Basil’s and Gregory of Nyssa’s family of origin, see also Van Dam 2003, pp. 66 and 108; Augustine, *Confessions* 9.8.17. For further reflection on women and the preservation of family memories, see Geary 1994, pp. 48–73.



from puerperal fever, in both cases Peter the Galatian curing her; or the stories concerning the miracles surrounding Theodoret's own birth; or the diet he was following, which the mother of Theodoret supplied: barley soaked in water.<sup>99</sup> There were also stories about other household members, like the exorcism stories about a peasant, whose grandmother was Theodoret's nurse, or a cook of Theodoret's parents' household, both of whom were cured by Peter.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, there were stories about the renowned ascetics, like the 'many stories' the mother of Theodoret had told to her son about Symeon the Elder.<sup>101</sup> Like Theodoret, Gregory of Nazianzus also must have heard repeatedly the story about his own birth, his dedication to God, and a vision of his mother which was linked to it; and Augustine mentions that his parents told him stories about his own infancy.<sup>102</sup> All were writing down family stories they must have heard countless times – or, at least, they wanted their audience to think that this was the case, and that they were intimately linked with their family heritage.

Thus, children were carefully integrated into family traditions and stories circulating in the household. That Theodoret heard about the eye disease of his mother is not surprising, but even more telling is that he can write about events which had happened to family servants and acquaintances. It seems that it was carefully made sure that all the household members had information on events deemed of importance. Stories were often repeated in the familial sphere, and children were made part of them.

## Conclusions

Taken as a whole, these autobiographical accounts depict rather scattered anecdotes about childhood and the life of young men from the elite male perspective. Moreover, with these stories we are completely at the mercy of our informants, as they use these stories for their own ends, willing to depict themselves both as family men and as heroes of their respective 'philosophies', to be held as exemplary characters. Taking these caveats into account, some features deserve attention, features which seem not to have been given much attention in previous scholarship, which has often concentrated on one narrative at a time. Firstly, the persons themselves seem to have been convinced that their childhood experiences had destined them to end up what they became. Despite their undeniable self-promotion, both Gregory and Theodoret seem to hold it central for their self-understanding and identity that they were born as God's gifts; Libanius, that he

<sup>99</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 9.9–10 (eyes); 9.14 (puerperal fever); 13.16–17 (birth); 13.3. (Macedonius' diet).

<sup>100</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 9.9–10.

<sup>101</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 6.14.

<sup>102</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina* 2.1.1.424–31 and 2.1.11.68–94; Augustine, *Confessions* 1.6.7–8.



has been under the special guidance of Fate; and Augustine, that the outcome of his spiritual journey was greatly due to his mother's heritage and her simple and continuous prayers. In this, nor in any other feature in the socialisation process or in family dynamics, Libanius' attitude does not stand out in any particular way from those of his Christian contemporaries.

Secondly, there is the role of mothers in these narratives: according to these stories, mothers frequently played the decisive part in making decisions. All point to the conclusion that the prominence of mothers in connection with either the early death of fathers, or their relatively distant role, had a strong positive influence for the authors ending up in intellectual and/or ascetic careers in late antiquity, and to stay unmarried.<sup>103</sup> Most importantly, it was to their mother's (or grandmother's) religiosity the bishops later on wanted to attach themselves, and to proclaim it to their readers. At the very least, it was socially accepted and 'normal' that mothers took care of the religious upbringing of their sons – and not only because of demographic reasons. However, I would like to propose that in many cases it is exactly because of the maternal influence that we have these autobiographies at our disposal: as Libanius himself notes, had his father lived longer, his future would have been different. An intellectual career in late antiquity, whether Christian or non-Christian, seems to have been more likely within the reach of the fatherless: the duty to continue the (male) family line was less pronounced in their cases.

Thirdly, what do these texts tell us about childhood socialisation and childhood experience of the late antique elites? The informal instruction and stimulus given during the practice of daily routines by the most intimate social circle, parents, and the closest kin (especially maternal uncles and grandparents) was the most important incentive to adopt certain behaviour and cultural expectations. The role of maternal relatives, servants and early life educators is more pronounced than might have been expected.<sup>104</sup> On the other hand, age peers feature rather seldom in these stories. It seems that elite children led rather secluded lives – even in cases in which there were no ascetic aspirations involved. However, it is clear that all these factors had their role. Moreover, the authority of teachers and the fear of pain comes up forcefully in their narratives: it overshadows all other issues related to schooling. As expected, the role of religion (or, in the case of Libanius, the role of rhetoric) comes out in the stories, together with public spectacles, as the socialising agents to public life and its values. However, the role religion plays is not as important as might have been expected in a situation in which most of the

---

<sup>103</sup> After all, Ausonius and, especially, Paulinus of Pella, were the only writers having an unstressed and longer or even (in the case of Paulinus) rather close emotional relationship with their fathers – and they were the only ones legally married. As Criboire 2009, pp. 271–2, shows, for an elite boy, fatherlessness as such was not a hindrance to acquiring higher education in late antiquity.

<sup>104</sup> It seems to be wrong to claim that 'in the Christian sources, nurses, teachers and slaves do not play any large part in the upbringing of children' (Bakke 2006, p. 163). See also Nathan 2000, p. 159.

‘informants’ are religious professionals, bishops. It is interesting, for example, that none of the authors give any details of their actual religious education. It seems that this depends at least partly on the requirement of the literary genres in question – the religious sphere of life can be stressed only after ‘a conversion’, or an act of divine intervention (understood as showing a special favour for the person in question) has taken place. In Augustine’s *Confessions*, this is his baptism (which almost took place when he was ill in his youth – which, in fact, is the only context in which his childhood religiosity is directly under scrutiny in his text); in Gregory of Nazianzus, this is his ‘conversion’ in the sea storm; in John Chrysostom, his ordination. In Theodoret, as he was ‘chosen’ right from his birth after miraculous events, the religious practices and religious education are present through all his narrative about himself.<sup>105</sup>

Moreover, these writings show the central role of storytelling in Graeco-Roman family culture – often linked with maternal influence – in creating a sense of belonging to a certain family background with certain values.<sup>106</sup> All were writing down family stories they must have heard countless times – or at least, they wanted their audience to think that this was the case, and to show that these family traditions had socialised them early and permanently to certain religious and intellectual traditions, and to their family heritage.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. J. O’Donnell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), trans.

R.S. Pine Coffin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961).

Ausonius, *Epistles*, ed. and trans. H.G. Evelyn White (Loeb Classical Library, 1919), vol. 2, pp. 3–153.

Ausonius, *Parentalia*, ed. and trans. H.G. Evelyn White (Loeb Classical Library, 1919), vol. 1, pp. 56–95.

<sup>105</sup> See also Theodoret’s mother, who started a new phase in her life when her eye disease was miraculously cured; Macrina, the death of whose fiancé made her dedicate herself to virginity; Paulinus of Pella, whose illness turned his life around in the opposite direction (and he did not end up in an ecclesiastical or intellectual career); Libanius, who was ‘converted’ to philosophy at 15 years of age. For these kinds of turning points as a characteristic feature of ancient autobiography, see Hadas-Lebel 1993, p. 127.

<sup>106</sup> Indeed, personal storytelling operates as a routine socialising practice in widely different cultures. However, the exact function of storytelling shifts according to time and place. In modern Chinese families, for example, storytelling is used, as in late antiquity, to convey moral and social standards, but European American families employ stories more as a medium of entertainment and affirmation. See Miller, Wiley, Fung and Liang 1997.

- Basil of Caesarea, *Letters*, ed. and French trans. Y. Courtonne (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957–66).
- Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina*, ed. A. Tuilier and G. Bady, French trans. J. Bernardi (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004).
- Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orations* 6–12, ed. and French trans. M.-A. Calvet-Sebasti (Paris: Cerf, 1995).
- Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration* 18, PG 35, 986–1043.
- Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orations* 42 and 43, ed. and French trans. J. Bernardi (Paris: Cerf, 1992).
- Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, ed. and French trans. P. Maraval (Paris: Cerf, 1971).
- Gregory of Nyssa, *On Soul and Resurrection*, PG 46, 12–160, trans. Catharine P. Roth, *St. Gregory of Nyssa: The Soul and the Resurrection* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1993).
- Jerome, *Letters*, ed. and French trans. J. Labourt (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1949–63).
- Jerome, *Apology Against Rufinus*, ed. Pierre Lardet (Turnholt: Brepols, 1982), trans. John N. Hritzu, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, vol. 53, *St. Jerome, Dogmatic and Polemical Works* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1965).
- John Chrysostom, *Homily* 14, *On First Timothy*, PG 62, 571–9.
- John Chrysostom, *Homily* 21, *On Ephesians 2*, PG 62, 149–55.
- John Chrysostom, *Homily* 72, *On Matthew*, PG 58, 595–603.
- John Chrysostom, *On Priesthood*, ed. and French trans. A.-M. Malingrey (Paris: Cerf, 1980).
- John Chrysostom, *On Vainglory*, ed. and French trans. A.-M. Malingrey (Paris: Cerf, 1972).
- Libanius, *Autobiography* (*Oration* 1), ed. and trans. A.F. Norman (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).
- Palatine Anthology*, ed. and trans. W.R. Paton (Loeb Classical Library, 1919).
- Paulinus of Pella, *Thanksgiving*, ed. and French trans. C. Moussy (Paris: Cerf, 1974).
- Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria, *Canons*, ed. and trans. W. Riedel and W.E. Crum (London and Oxford: Text and Translation Society & Williams and Norgate, 1904).
- Theodoret of Cyrhus, *Religious History*, ed. and French trans. P. Canivet and A. Leroy Molinghen (Paris: Cerf, 1977 and 1979).

### Secondary Sources

- Aasgaard, Reidar (2006), 'Children in Antiquity and Early Christianity: Research History and Central Issues', *Familia*, 33: 23–46.

- Aasgaard, Reidar (2009), 'Uncovering Children's Culture in Late Antiquity: The Testimony of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas', in Horn and Phenix (eds) (2009), pp. 1–28.
- Alanen, Leena (1990), 'Rethinking Socialization, the Family, and Childhood', *Sociological Studies of Child Development*, 3: 13–28.
- Angelov, Dimiter (2009), 'Emperors and Patriarchs as Ideal Children and Adolescents: Literary Conventions and Cultural Expectations', in Papaconstantinou and Talbot (eds) (2009), pp. 85–125.
- Bakke, O.M. (2005), *When Children Became People: The Birth of Childhood in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
- Bakke, O.M. (2006), 'Upbringing of Children in the Early Church. The Responsibility of Parents, Goal and Methods', *Studia Theologica – Nordic Journal of Theology*, 60.2: 145–63.
- Baslez, M.-F., Hoffmann, P., and Pernot, L. (eds) (1993), *L'invention de l'autobiographie d'Hésiode à Saint Augustin. Actes du deuxième colloque de l'Équipe de recherche sur l'hellénisme post-classique* (Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure).
- Bernardi, Jean (1993), 'Trois autobiographies de saint Grégoire de Nazianze', in Baslez, Hoffmann and Pernot (eds) (1993), pp. 155–65.
- Børtnes, Jostein, and Hägg, Tomas (eds) (2006), *Gregory of Nazianzus. Images and Reflections* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press).
- Burrus, Virginia (2006), 'Life after Death: The Martyrdom of Gorgonia and the Birth of Female Hagiography', in Børtnes and Hägg (eds) (2006), pp. 153–70.
- Chavallier Caseau, Béatrice (2009), 'Childhood in Byzantine Saints' Lives', in Papaconstantinou and Talbot (eds) (2009), pp. 127–65.
- Clark, Elizabeth A. (1999), 'Rewriting Early Christian History: Augustine's Representation of Monica', in Jan Willem Drijvers and John Watt (eds), *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium and the Christian Orient* (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill), pp. 3–23.
- Criboire, Raffaella (2009), 'The Education of Orphans: A Reassessment from the Evidence of Libanius', in Hübner and Ratzan (eds) (2009), pp. 257–72.
- Dasen, Véronique, and Späth, Thomas (eds) (2010), *Children, Memory, and Family Identity in Roman Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Dixon, Suzanne (1992), *The Roman Family* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Elm, Susanna (2009), 'Family Men: Masculinity and Philosophy in Late Antiquity', in Philip Rousseau and Emmanuel Papoutsakis (eds), *Transformations in Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate), pp. 279–301.
- Evans Grubbs, Judith, 'Marriage and Family Relationships in the Late Roman West', in Philip Rousseau (ed.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell), pp. 201–19.

- Follet, S. (1993), 'A la découverte de l'autobiographie', in Baslez, Hoffmann and Pernot (eds) (1993), pp. 325–8.
- Frank, Georgia (2000), *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press).
- Fredouille, J.-C. (1993), 'Les Confessions d'Augustin, autobiographie au présent', in Baslez, Hoffmann and Pernot (eds) (1993), pp. 167–78.
- Geary, Patrick J. (1994), *Phantoms of Remembrance. Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Hadas-Lebel, Mireille (1993), 'Le double récit autobiographique chez Flavius Josèphe', in Baslez, Hoffmann and Pernot (eds) (1993), pp. 125–32.
- Hägg, Tomas (2006), 'Playing with Expectation: Gregory's Funeral Orations on his Brother, Sister and Father', in Børtnes and Hägg (eds) (2006), pp. 133–51.
- Handel, Gerald (ed.) (2006), *Childhood Socialization* (Piscataway, NJ: Aldine Transaction).
- Harders, A.-C. (2010), 'Roman Patchwork Families. Surrogate Parenting, Socialization, and the Shaping of Tradition', in Dasen and Späth (eds) (2010), pp. 49–71.
- Harlow, Mary, Laurence, Ray and Vuolanto, Ville (2007), 'Past, Present and Future in the Study of Roman Childhood', in Sally Crawford and Gillian Shepherd (eds), *Children, Childhood and Society* (Oxford: Archaeopress), pp. 5–14.
- Horn, Cornelia (2007), 'Children as Pilgrims and the Cult of Holy Children in the Early Syriac Tradition: The Cases of Theodoret of Cyrrhus and the Child-Martyrs Behnām, Sarah, and Cyriacus', *Pilgrimages and Shrines in the Syrian Orient. ARAM Periodical*, 19.1 and 2: 439–62.
- Horn, Cornelia (2009), 'Children in Fourth-Century Greek Epistolography: Cappadocian Perspectives from the Pens of Gregory Nazianzen and Basil of Caesarea', in Horn and Phenix (eds) (2009), pp 171–98.
- Horn, Cornelia and Martens, John W. (2009), *'Let the Little Children Come to Me': Childhood and Children in Early Christianity* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press).
- Horn, Cornelia and Phenix, Robert (eds) (2009), *Children in Late Ancient Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Hübner, Sabine R. and Ratzan, David M. (eds) (2009), *Growing Up Fatherless in Antiquity* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press).
- James, Allison and James, Adrian (2004), *Constructing Childhood. Theory, Policy and Social Practice* (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Jeppesen-Wigelsworth, Alison (2010), *The Portrayal of Roman Wives in Literature and Inscriptions*, (PhD Thesis, University of Calgary), available at <https://dspace.ucalgary.ca/jspui/handle/1880/47797> [accessed 18.04.2013].
- Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari and Vuolanto, Ville (2011), 'Children and Agency. Religion as Socialization in Late Antiquity and the Late Medieval West', *Childhood in the Past* (Forthcoming).

- Laes, Christian (2005), 'Childbeating in Roman Antiquity: Some Reconsiderations', in K. Mustakallio, J. Hanska, H.-L. Sainio, and Ville Vuolanto (eds), *Hoping for Continuity. Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae), pp. 75–89.
- Larsson Lovén, Lena (1998), 'Lanam fecit – Woolworking and female virtue,' in Lena Larsson Lovén and Agneta Strömberg (eds), *Aspects of Women in Antiquity* (Jonsered: Aströms), pp. 85–95.
- Martin, René (2001), 'La jeunesse de saint Augustin, ou l'itinéraire d'un enfant gâté', *Cahiers des études anciennes*, 37: 17–25.
- McLynn, Neil (1998), 'A Self-Made Holy Man: The Case of Gregory Nazianzen', *J ECS*, 6.3: 463–83.
- Miller, P.J., Wiley, A.R., Fung H., and Liang, C.H. (1997), 'Personal Storytelling as a Medium of Socialization in Chinese and American Families', *Child Development*, 68.3: 557–68.
- Morgan, Teresa (1998), *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Nathan, Geoffrey (2000), *The Family in Late Antiquity. The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition* (New York and London: Routledge).
- O'Donnell, James (2005), *Augustine, Sinner and Saint: A New Biography* (London: Profile Books).
- Papaconstantinou, Arietta and Talbot, Alice-Mary (eds) (2009), *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks).
- Prescendi, Francesca (2010), 'Children and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge', in Dasen and Späth (eds) (2010), pp. 73–93.
- Rawson, Beryl (2003), *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Samellas, Antigone (2010), 'Friendship and Asceticism in the Late Antique East', in K. Mustakallio and C. Krötzl (eds), *De Amicitia: Friendship and Social Networks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Roma: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae), pp. 79–96.
- Scheidel, Walter (2009), 'The Demographic Background', in Hübner and Ratzan (eds) (2009), pp. 31–40.
- Schouler, Bernard (1993), 'Libanios et l'autobiographie tragique', in Baslez, Hoffmann and Pernot (eds) (1993), pp. 305–23.
- Schouler, Bernard (2002), 'Libanios en son temps, Libanios aujourd'hui', *Pallas*, 60: 151–64.
- Schouler, Bernard (2008), 'Réflexions sur les origines antiques de l'autobiographie', *Lalies*, 28: 229–39.
- Shaw, Brent (1987), 'The Family in Late Antiquity: The Experience of Augustine', *P&P*, 115: 3–51.
- Starowieyski, M. (2004), 'L'autobiographie dans l'Antiquité chrétienne', in B. Gain, P. Jay and G. Nauroy (eds), *Chartae caritatis: études de patristique et*



- d'antiquité tardive en hommage à Yves-Marie Duval* (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes), pp. 37–54.
- Tougher, Shaun (2012), 'Imperial Blood: Family Relationships in the Dynasty of Constantine the Great', in Mary Harlow and Lena Larsson Lovén (eds), *Families in the Roman and Late Antique World* (London and New York: Continuum), pp. 181–98.
- Urbainczyk, Theresa (2002), *Theodoret of Cyrrhus: The Bishop and the Holy Man* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).
- Van Dam, Raymond (2003), *Families and Friends in Late Roman Cappadocia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Vuolanto, Ville (2008), *Family and Asceticism. Continuity Strategies in the Late Roman World* (PhD thesis, University of Tampere).
- Vuolanto, Ville (2010a), *Children in the Ancient World and the Early Middle Ages. A Bibliography (8<sup>th</sup> c. BC–8<sup>th</sup> c. AD)* (University of Tampere), available at <http://www.uta.fi/laitokset/historia/sivut/BIBChild.pdf>.
- Vuolanto, Ville (2010b), 'Faith and Religion', in Mary Harlow and Ray Laurence (eds), *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family. Volume 1: Antiquity* (Oxford and New York: Berg), pp. 133–51, 203–6.