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Education and In-/Exclusion in Late Antique Gaul

Edited by
Tabea L. Meurer and
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Studies in Education and Religion in Ancient and Pre-Modern History in the Mediterranean and Its Environs 19

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Printed with the kind support of the Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald, the Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz and the University of Koblenz.

ISBN 978-3-16- 162437-7 / eISBN 978-3-16-162452-0
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-162452-0

ISSN 2568-9584 / eISSN 2568-9606 (SERAPHIM)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at *https://dnb.de*.

The book was printed on non-aging paper and bound by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen.

Coverimage: © British Museum; InvNr. 00493408001; The Projecta Casket, casket, Late Roman, Rome, San Francesco di Paola ai Monti.

Printed in Germany.

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Foreword

Peter Gemeinhardt

As was well known in Antiquity (and is still remembered today), *omnis Gallia est divisa in partes tres*. In turn, authors and writings from the classical past remained present in this tripartite Gaul even when the institutions of the Roman Empire were shaken by the social and political changes since the fourth century, traditionally termed 'Völkerwanderung'. Recent research has rightly pointed out that peoples like the "Goths" or "Vandals" developed over long periods and did not exist as fixed identities from the outset; and some of them did not constitute such identity with reference to a time of wandering, among them the conquerors of the former Roman provinces in Gaul, the "Franks". But yet, since the crossing of the Rhine by some "barbarian" groups in 406 at the latest, the inhabitants of Gaul were facing substantial and sometimes dramatic transformations of the world in which they had felt at home. This did not only affect political institutions and the career paths they had offered for centuries but also literary culture, education in the liberal arts and in philosophy, and even the production and transmission of manuscripts.[1]

Gaul may have been politically and geographically divided, but it was united with regard to education, and this remained its marker of excellence in Late Antiquity. Not everyone was ready to recognize this: the future emperor Julian, while serving in the Roman army in Gaul in the 350s, uttered bitter disappointment of this "barbarian" province: "As for my own progress, if I can still so much as speak Greek it is surprising, such a barbarian have I become because of the places I have to live in!"[2] Obviously, such a critique primarily testifies to a certain arrogance of the Greek-speaking élite of the empire, not to the actual state of educational affairs in Gaul at that time. In contrast, from Ausonius' *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium* to the letter collection of Sidonius Apollinaris

[1] The Swedish law professor Stig Strömholm has brilliantly staged these dramatic upheavals in his historical novel *Dalen* ("The Valley"), first published in 1976.

[2] Jul. epist. 3 (441C) to Eumenius and Pharianus: Τὰ δὲ ἐμά, εἰ καὶ φθεγγοίμην Ἑλληνιστί, θαυμάζειν ἄξιον· οὕτως ἐσμὲν ἐκβεβαρβαρωμένοι διὰ τὰ χωρία. Trans. Wilmer C. Wright, *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, vol. III (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923), 7.

(and far beyond), the sources reveal a lively engagement with traditional education and a remarkable degree of literary innovation by many Gallic authors.

The present volume does not stop at restating these well-known facts. Instead, the editors and authors aim at more: they want to enrich our understanding of the stability and transformation of literary life and educational practice in late antique Gaul by applying the analytical lens of "exclusion and inclusion" to the dynamical situation which the sources reveal. This is highly welcome: investigating mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion is an appropriate way to shed light on the value of classical education in the late antique world where everything else was stumbling to the ground, which meant to confirm existing boundaries and create new ones. Sidonius Apollinaris, who makes appearance different times in this volume, is a case in point: in his letters and poems, literary taste and skills serve to uphold social distinctions when other means of distinction are no longer available.

In order to achieve this goal, the manifold explorations are building on a wide definition of education as the editors elaborate it in their Introduction. The German notion of 'Bildung' has the potential to cover all aspects of a lifelong formation of a person through socialization in the family, education at school and self-formation by interaction with mentors, peers and literary role-models. The analytical dual of exclusion and inclusion, in my view, works as a fascinating tool to nuance the all too often supposed monolithic system of 'Bildung' in Late Antiquity. It serves to clarify how and why the *Galli docti* aimed at creating exclusive literary circles in order to distance themselves from the *plebs* and the "barbarians" but, at the same time, could not get rid of what was going on in the neighbourhood. They depended upon the imagination that their literary taste was representing what, in principle, every human being admired. Even if they counted themselves to an exclusive group of men of letters, they could not do without the idea of the education of humankind in general. Put more simply, distinction was not conceivable without participation.

Thus, the present volume conceptualizes late antique education in a highly innovative way. It depicts a landscape of learning in late antique Gaul, which was more populated than the letters of Sidonius and his friends sometimes suggest. There were many kinds of educational communities; and to be sure, there was not only *Gallia docta* in Late Antiquity but also other regions in the Mediterranean where educated people lived. However, occasional comparisons with other "learned landscapes" make clear that there was something special about Gaul. We are in the unique position to reconstruct the transformations of the political institutions in general and of education in particular by paying close attention to the wealth of sources from Gaul. The imperial administration had to give way to new rulers, but taken as a whole, the climate in Gaul remained favourable to education. One can even observe that education led to the establishment of new

configurations of inclusion and exclusion, moving beyond a simple "Roman–Barbarian" divide.

What unites Gaul with other regions of the disintegrating empire is the role of religion in such processes of transformation. Many protagonists in the present volume belonged not only to educational but also to religious communities. The relationship between Christianity and education has been the subject of many studies, and the present volume takes such individual and communal affiliations into due consideration. Christianity had been an educational community of its own kind from its inception, and to be precise, it had declared itself a highly inclusive community: ideally, it included people from all social strata, sexes and ethnic backgrounds. However, there were in fact many sub-groups (with the ascetical movement being the most exclusive within them). Thus, while the sharp difference between traditional ("pagan") and Christian education, which had impregnated the self-image of the generation of Jerome, Augustine and Paulinus of Nola, had been settled after a few decades, the question remains whether we should regard the literate circles in Gaul as exclusive sub-groups or as counter-cultural communities. As it seems, they acted inclusively insofar as they took part in different "language-games", to say it with Wittgenstein. In my view, this is an important signature of the time when the *Galli docti* were or became *Galli Christiani*; and when they received baptism and even entered the episcopal office, they had already transgressed specific limitations of learning which classical education had impressed upon them. The present volume does a great job to sophisticate our understanding of this period by applying the analytical lens of exclusion and inclusion.

It goes without saying that "inclusion" is also one of the pressing challenges of contemporary education. What we see in the mirror of Late Antiquity may perhaps come closer to experiences in the 21st century as it might seem at first glance. But this is another story. It is my hope that this volume will provide new insights into a vibrant environment of education and inspire further research into the entangled landscapes of educational and religious practices in Late Antiquity and medieval times in Gaul and beyond.

Acknowledgement

Tabea L. Meurer/Veronika Egetenmeyr

Omnis Gallia erat docta – this was the preconception we, the editors of this volume, used to have. Back in 2019, both of us had recently finished our respective PhD thesis when we started discussing the role education played for late Roman societies. Fairly soon, however, we felt the need to put a question mark over the initial statement. Given the in- and exclusive potential education has in modern societies, we began to challenge our *communis opinio*. Was Gaul really learned in its entirety? Or should one attribute education only to social and political élites? Did women participate in this landscape of learning? How did education affect processes of in- and exclusion? Which educational communities can we track down when perusing both literary and material evidence? With these issues in mind, we invited different *docti* and *doctae* within our field to share their insights at a conference hosted by the *Alfried Krupp Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald* and subsidized by both the *Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung, Essen* and the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. The idea for *Gallia docta?* was born.

Unfortunately, the pandemic thwarted our plans. Instead of a face-to-face workshop, we opted for a digital conference in March 2021 (17–21 March 2021) and were delighted about the outcome. We could not have imagined a more productive atmosphere. Thus, we owe many thanks to the staff as well as the board of the *Wissenschaftskolleg Greifswald*, especially to Natalia Zborka and Christian Suhm. The conference would not have run as smoothly without their support and flexibility. Furthermore, we are grateful for all contributions either through papers and presentations or discussions. Apart from our speakers, who appear in the table of contents, we are much obliged to Sigrid Mratschek for an inspiring keynote on Sidonius and the Muses. Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser skilfully tackled the issue of in- and exclusion at imperial *convivia* in Arles through a close reading of Sidon. epist. 1,11. Danuta Shanzer's insightful paper on Count Arbogast re-appraised the inclusion of barbarians in the educational communities of Sidonius and Auspicius and therefore provided a welcome conclusion. Martin Bauer, Susanne Froehlich, Immanuel Musäus, Jakob Riemenschneider, Roland Steinacher and Bernard van Wickevoort Crommelin generously offered to chair different conference sections and introduce our speakers to the audience.

Soon after the conference was over, Peter Gemeinhardt and the editorial board of SERAPHIM kindly signalled their interest in publishing an edited volume. During this process, we discovered that preparing a conference volume means more than just wrapping up papers and presentations. Therefore, we feel very much obliged to our co-authors for their patience and willingness to cope with requests for modifications. To put the jigsaw pieces together, we relied on Svenja Schneider, our student assistant from Mainz. Marietta Horster not only generously funded the former's position but also actively encouraged our project. Her observations as well as the productive remarks by Peter Gemeinhardt and the anonymous reviewer improved the volume's consistency. We are also grateful to the *Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz* for subsidizing the printing expenses and to the *Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung, Essen* for providing the funds for a professional proofreading. Claus-Jürgen Thornton's support allowed us to concentrate on content issues. His critical yet constructive eye spotted inconsistencies as well as typographical errors and potential for stylistic improvements. Thanks to his work, *Gallia docta?* became much more readable.

The editorial office at Mohr Siebeck, especially Tobias Stäbler, helped us tremendously with the last steps from draft to edited volume. We really appreciate their recommendations concerning both promotion strategies and copy editing.

This brings us to some final notes concerning general conventions. Throughout this volume, readers will find longer quotations from ancient texts in the apparatus. Translations of these passages are provided in the continuous text. The abbreviations of Latin authors and their works usually follow the index of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Greek authors and their works were abbreviated according to the specifications in H.G. Liddell/R. Scott/H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, sometimes with slight modifications. The full names of ancient authors and titles of their works can be gathered from the Index locorum. Please note individual remarks in the papers for exceptions. For ancient authors, we used standard names both in the texts and in the source sections. When referring to quotations or points of argument drawn from text editions, commentaries or translations, we decided to use modern authors' surnames. To improve legibility and avoid unnecessary duplications, the respective publications are listed under the heading "sources" in the bibliography to each article.

Mainz/Koblenz in spring 2023 Tabea L. Meurer/Veronika Egetenmeyr

Abbreviations

Journals, editions and series are abbreviated according to the index of the *Année Philologique* (APh). Additions and exceptions are included in the following list.

A&A	*Antike und Abendland*
AC	*L'Antiquité Classique*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*
AL	Anthologia Latina
AntTard	*Antiquité tardive*
AP	Anthologia Palatina
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*
BAKG	Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte
BzA	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
BKA.NF	Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, Neue Folge
BML	Bibliothek der mittellateinischen Literatur
BStudLat	*Bollettino di Studi Latini*
BT	Bibliotheca Teubneriana (= Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana)
ByzF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
CEFR	Collection de l'École française de Rome
CELAMA	Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages
ClAnt	*Classical Antiquity*
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*The Classical Quarterly*
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CUFr.SG	Collection des universités de France. Série grecque
CUFr.SL	Collection des universités de France. Série latine
ExClass	*Exemplaria classica*
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
Hypomnemata	Hypomnemata. Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGF	Inscriptions grecques de la France
IGUR	Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae
IJCT	*International Journal of the Classical Tradition*

ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae selectae
IMU	*Italia medioevale e umanistica*
InvLuc	*Invigilata lucernis*
JbAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JEH	*The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JLA	*Journal of Late Antiquity*
KFHist	Kleine und fragmentarische Historiker der Spätantike
KJV	King James Version
Latomus	*Latomus. Revue d'études latines*
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Auct. ant.	Auctores Antiquissimi
Epist.	Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi
SS rer. Merov.	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts (= Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis)
ODLA	*The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, ed. by Oliver Nicholson, 2 vols., Oxford 2018
PCBE	*Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire (313–604)*
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne
PLRE II	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II: A.D. 395–527, ed. by J.R. Martindale, Cambridge 1980
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC Suppl. 1	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Supplement-Band 1, Stuttgart 2001
RBen	*Revue bénédictine*
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REL	*Revue des études latines*
RGA Ergbd.	Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde
RH	*Revue historique*
RPh	*Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
RQA	*Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*
SAPERE	Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam REligionemque pertinentia
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SERAPHIM	Studies in Education and Religion in Ancient and Pre-Modern History in the Mediterranean and Its Environs
StPatr	Studia Patristica
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum/Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity
SLA	*Studies in Late Antiquity*
TAPhA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*

TK	Texte und Kommentare. Eine altertumswissenschaftliche Reihe
TLL	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
UALG	Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte
VChr	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VetChr	*Vetera Christianorum*
WS	*Wiener Studien*
ZAC	*Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*
ZKTh	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Gallia docta in Late Antiquity. Important cities mentioned in this volume

Introduction: Approaches to Education and In-/Exclusion

Veronika Egetenmeyr/Tabea L. Meurer

1. Prolegomena

"Gathered are all who excelled in the world, whom either you, Honorius, or your father awarded office and honour. You, a consul yourself, are surrounded by many past consuls, and you delight in the companionship of senators. Around you cluster the nobles from Spain, *Gaul with its learned citizens*, and Rome with the whole senate."[1]

The year is 398 CE. Gaul is entirely represented by its literate society at the celebration of Honorius' fourth consulship. Well, not entirely … One might question whether indeed *Gallia erat omnis docta*. Even panegyrists like Claudian suggested that mainly Gaul's élites excelled in education and thus spread their reputation throughout the empire – a phenomenon that rings familiar to contemporary observers concerned about social inequality and academic performance.[2]

[1] Claud. IV. Cons. Hon. 578b–583: *convenit in unum* / *quidquid in orbe fuit procerum*, *quibus auctor honoris* / *vel tu vel genitor. Numeroso consule consul* / *cingeris et socios gaudes admittere patres.* / *Inlustri te prole Tagus, te Gallia doctis* / *civibus et toto stipavit Roma senatu* (translation and accentuation by T.L. M.). Ronning 2007: 148 reckons that Claudian is referring to the superb reputation of Gallo-Roman rhetors. On a similar note, Symmachus praises Gallic eloquence in Symm. epist. 9,88,3; cf. also Hier. epist. 120 praef. 2 for the reputation of some Gallo-Roman rhetors in fourth-century Rome. We find a similar trope already in second-century literature, cf. Haarhoff [2]1958: 33–36. While Suetonius praised the knowledge and teaching skills of Gallic grammarians, cf. Suet. gramm. 3,6, Tacitus cast all dialogue partners in the *Dialogus de oratoribus* from Gaul. This tradition probably influenced the later testimonies even though the educational system in Gaul had changed massively since the second century, see Sivan 1993: 14–22 and cf. also Meurer in this volume.

[2] In recent years, educational reports from Germany, for example, the Bertelsmann educational report in Berkemeyer et al. 2017, and the European Union, e.g. Horváth et al. 2020, have linked social inequality to challenges in the educational system; see n. 62 below.

Yet the idea of late Roman Gaul as one unified landscape of learning influenced both ancient literature and modern research.[3]

From earlier scholarship, we derive further caveats: especially in the 19th century, *Gallia docta* could act as a thinly disguised proxy for national history. Camille Jullian, for instance, linked the intellectual prosperity of late antique Gaul to French refinement. For him, civilized Gallo-Romans almost fought a cultural battle against imperial forces recruited from raw barbarians.[4] This narrative was not restricted to French historiography. Even British and German scholars confirmed the claims behind it.[5] The *communis opinio* was that Gaul preserved Graeco-Roman culture "most vigorously"[6]; in fact, *Gallia docta* was the last outpost of traditional education in the empire. However, already Theodore Haarhoff challenged this view. In his 1920 seminal work on the *Schools of Gaul*, he alerted to the limitations of learning amongst the population in the Gallic provinces, especially concerning the varying degrees of literacy.[7]

Roughly a century later, neither historians nor philologists subscribe to a dualism between cultured Gallo-Romans and uncivilized barbarian troops. Instead, scholarship has drawn attention to the impact of otherness in élite discourses. This new focus of interest draws from a reappraisal of the political framework, that is, the point in time when the Roman administration withdrew from Gaul and so-called 'barbarians' established separate successor states.[8] Literary

[3] We have adapted the landscape term from Eigler 2013: 399 and passim. In his article, Eigler considers Gaul a unified literary and intellectual landscape; cf. Diefenbach/Müller 2013: 4 for Gaul as a region in Late Antiquity. For landscape as an analytical category, see Shipley 1996: 12; Cole 2004: 7–8, and Horster 2021: 20–23. Cf. also Meurer in this volume.

[4] See Jullian 1893: 48: "C'est un étrange spectacle que celui de la Gaule à la fin du ive siècle. D'un côté, les barbares qui forment les armées de l'empire. De l'autre, la société romaine, toute civile, on peut même dire tout [sic] intellectuelle […]." This antagonism probably mirrored the opposition between the Third French Republic and the German Empire that resulted from the Franco-Prussian War. The title of Jullian's article emphasizes these links between contemporary French and late antique Gallo-Roman culture further: the author claims to investigate "Les premières universités françaises".

[5] On *Gallia docta* as a symbol for Roman and later French culture and refinement, see also Dill [2]1899: 406 and Norden [3]1915: 631. Dill explicitly states that "[i]t is not a […] boast, prompted by national vanity" (loc. cit.). Eduard Norden draws attention to the intellectual tradition linking the Roman Empire and medieval France; see loc. cit: "Gallien war berufen, […] in höherem Maße als das eigentliche Mutterland Italien die Erhalterin der antiken Kultur zu sein. Von Barbaren überschwemmt, von Klöstern übersät, hat es […] die Fahne der alten Bildung hochgehalten."

[6] Dill [2]1899: 406; see n. 5 above.

[7] For a discussion of Jullian's view, see Haarhoff [2]1958: 131 who draws attention to "a very wide range of mere literacy". Cf., however, ibid. 39 where he praises the intellectual climate of fourth-century Gaul.

[8] There is a fair amount of literature on identity and alterity in élite discourses from late antique Gaul, like Mathisen 1993: 87–143; von Rummel 2010; Pohl et al. 2018; Egetenmeyr 2019,

constructions of Romans and barbarians should thus not be taken at face value but considered in contexts of dis- and reintegration. Additionally, there is a discussion about the role of traditional education and its maintenance in disintegration processes from the late fourth to the sixth century.[9] In conventional historiography, the ascetic movement, whose members demonstratively distanced themselves from both worldly knowledge and career patterns, marked a caesura in the field of education. Henceforth, only nostalgic nobles would have longed for traditional learning while newly founded monastic schools, for example, in Marseille or Lérins, advertised primarily religious education.[10] It has been assumed that this curriculum change befitted the élite's push into the clergy after they had lost access to secular offices.[11] The narratives underlying these assumptions have been met with scepticism in the past decades, however.[12] Recent publications have underscored that especially fifth-century élite culture tended to balance classical and Christian learning.[13] Which element was favoured would have largely depended on the social, political or literary context. It seems plausible that agents who regularly switched between élite circles and Christian congregations adapted their image to the respective community.

2022a and 2022b; Harland 2019; Hess 2019: 27–117. On the revaluation of the political framework, see Meier [7]2021: 545–648; Delaplace 2015: 45–281 with a focus on Gothic-Roman relations. For "barbarian" settlements in Gaul, see i.a. Kulikowski 2001, esp. 26–28; Goffart 2013: 48–55; Mratschek 2020a: 230–236.

[9] For the traditional historiographic narrative, see n. 5 above.

[10] On the ascetic movement as a caesura especially in the field of education, see i.a. Dill [2]1899: 180–181; Haarhoff [2]1958: 167–174; Prinz 1965: 65–67, and Heinzelmann 1976: 194–195; cf. Näf 1995: 115. For an account of monastic schools in Gaul, see Haarhoff [2]1958: 175–180 and Heinzelmann 1976: 197–199. For a discussion of "aristocratic" nostalgia, implied e.g. by Dill [2]1899: 200, 211–212, 222, cf. Meurer 2019: 3–11.

[11] On the élites' push into clerical offices (in German scholarship also known as 'Bischofsherrschaft'), see Prinz 1965: 59–60; Heinzelmann 1976: 204–208; Baumgart 1995: 134–137, and Jussen 1995; cf., however, Näf 1995: 86 for a modification.

[12] For a reappraisal of the 'Bischofsherrschaft', see e.g. Diefenbach 2013. On the ambiguous views of ascetic "Christian intellectuals" (Mratschek 2002) on traditional education, see i.a. Näf 1995: 87–88, 99–101; Mratschek 2002: 170–182, 600–602; Greschat 2007: 325–330, and Gemeinhardt 2008. Cf. Brown 2012: 412–414, 419–422 on the roots of Lérins in élite culture though he acknowledges that "nobility in Gaul was a fluid concept" (loc. cit. 422). For a discussion of the tricky question whether Christian clerics could advertise traditional, i.e. pagan education, cf. Gemeinhardt 2007: 307–349 with a reading of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*. On intellectual authority and the question of Hellenization in early Christianity, see Leppin 2019: 321–326. On changes in educational institutions and guiding principles, cf. Irmscher 1992 and see section 2 below.

[13] For an overview on élite culture and Christianization since the fourth century, see Salzman 2002: 14–18, 66–68, 201–218. For a balance between traditional and religious education in the community of Lérins, cf. Greschat 2007 and Egetenmeyr in this volume; see section 2 below.

Against this backdrop, one cannot but wonder about the correlation between in-/exclusion and education. How did education mark social status and differences in élite and non-élite contexts? Was there one landscape of learning in late antique Gaul or many with access based on different educational qualities ('Bildungsgüter')? Did religious education coincide with social authority? All these questions fit well into the on-going debates on transformation processes in late antique Gaul we have outlined above. However, surprisingly few studies tackle these issues systematically or within a larger chronological framework.[14] Research occasionally touches upon in- and exclusion through education, especially in the medium of epistolography.[15] On a similar note, several studies have focused on changing concepts of learning that resulted in in- and exclusion in or from the educational canon.[16] Yet, so far, neither category has been conceptualized. Nor is there a discussion about the idea of *Gallia docta* and its socio-political, literary and intellectual dimensions; the unity and universality of this concept are usually rather assumed than investigated[17].

We, the editors and contributors to this volume, aim to fill this gap in scholarship.[18] Therefore, we will focus on educational communities – élite and non-élite – and study how they established themselves through mechanisms of in- and exclusion, building landscapes of learning in late antique Gaul. On a meta-level, our volume will draw attention to the idea of *Gallia docta* in a period of drastic social and political transformation.

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[14] Several recent studies explicitly deal with education in relation to social status, cf. i.a. Schwitter 2015; Hess 2019; Meurer 2019, and Egetenmeyr 2022a but focus only on certain aspects of Gallo-Roman educational culture, for example, *obscuritas*, *exempla* or epistolographic practices, while others, e.g. Eigler 2003 and Gerth 2013, are mainly interested in different expression of educational ideas in élite literary culture. Another branch of scholarship is concerned with specific case studies, especially on the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, see n. 15 below. For further elaboration, see section 2 below.

[15] Joop van Waarden, for example, has explored the sophisticated use of 'You' and 'I' as a means of creating nearness and distance in Sidonius' correspondence, see van Waarden 2020: 420–424, 430–431, 437–438; cf. also van Waarden's contribution to this volume. For a more general approach on the (dis)integrating role of education in Sidonius' "social world" (Mratschek 2020a: 214), cf. i.a. Mathisen 1993: 22–24, 39–41; Harries 1994: 2–4, 7, 111–115; Mratschek 2008: 367–369, 373–377; Hanaghan 2019: 28–37, and Mratschek 2020b: 242–244, 253–257.

[16] On compilation processes as selective canonization of knowledge, see Dusil et al. 2017: 10–15. For the literary canon and concepts of learning, cf. Eigler 2003. For *exempla* in both the traditional and Christian educational culture, cf. Felmy 2001 and Sehlmeyer 2009. Throughout this volume, several papers deal with canonization as part of in- and exclusion processes, cf. the contributions by Egetenmeyr, Hindermann, John, Kötter, Meurer and Müller in this volume.

[17] See nn. 3–4 above.

[18] It goes without saying that this volume cannot tackle all related topics. Our aspiration is rather to test the scope of the field.

To approach these phenomena, we need a proper conceptual framework. The following sections will provide the necessary definitions as well as theoretical and methodological reflections, starting with the modern umbrella term *education*.

2. Towards a Definition of Education

Similar to today's world, in Hellenistic and Roman antiquity, the level of a person's education determined the level of social and/or political participation this person could have reached. The knowledge someone gains throughout their life contributes to the achievements, failures, social relationships, social distancing of this and towards this person.[19] But at the same time, it helps to shape their personality and to negotiate between their selves and others.[20] Thus, education is a crucial factor in processes of in- and exclusion and differentiating of the self and the other. In this edited volume, we are less interested in the role of education through the lens of alterity theory but more interested in how communities based participation on the educational capital of their members. In this section, we clarify the use and meaning of the term education and, subsequently, present our concept of educational communities embedded in a landscape of learning.

Non vitae sed scholae discimus[21] – We learn not for life but only for school! That is the criticism of Seneca in a letter to Lucilius about the philosophical schools in Rome. For Seneca, however, the real purpose of learning meant to be prepared for life. He complains that schools would not prepare their pupils to be *boni* but instead *docti*. Thus, for Seneca, education is meaningless if it fails to prepare people for 'real' life; this means to be a good citizen and person. In this line of thought, we can discern Plato's influence.[22] His allegory of the cave shows the constructiveness of reality and is resolved by suggesting that education saves

[19] For example, for climbing the higher ranks of the *cursus honorum*, education was a crucial factor. See e.g. Stroheker 1970: 29, 235; Kaster 1988: 28; Brown [3]1992: 36–70; Näf 1995: 6; Kleinschmidt 2013: 2; Gerth 2013: 1, 225; Pohl et al. 2018: 4, 21. The importance of literary knowledge for the *cursus honorum* was even legally recorded in law; cf. Cod. Theod. 14,1,1.

[20] For example, education appears in our sources as a major marker for differentiating between Romans and "Barbarians"; cf. Heather 1999: 237; Speyer/Opelt 2001: 824, 830; Goltz 2002; Schipp 2014: 147–148. However, education presents also a possibility to overcome alterity; cf. Egetenmeyr 2019; Stadermann in this volume.

[21] Sen. epist. 106,11.

[22] We argue that Plato's philosophy was transmitted through the ages and evolved in Late Antiquity with the Neoplatonic movement, which influenced Christian philosophical debates of that time. Thus, the transfer of knowledge is discernible, for example, in the writings of Eucherius of Lyon (see the contribution of Egetenmeyr in this volume). For more information on the influence of Plato's work on late antique Christianity, see Pavlos et al. 2019.

people from such constructions.[23] In Plato's cave, this knowledge can only be achieved if the entire body turns around, walks towards the light and learns. The philosopher, who freed himself from the chains of intellectual servitude, carries the responsibility to unchain others from such a fate.[24] For this purpose, Plato formulated an educational canon, institutionalized in the age of Hellenism and implied within the ancient Greek word of *paideia*.[25] *Paideia* seems not merely to include technical knowledge like Plato's canon but to aim at morality and "being good". Especially since the works of Werner Jaeger and Henri-Irénée Marrou, *paideia* seems self-explanatory and presents a welcome term to discuss education in antiquity;[26] in particular, the education of élites, who are using *paideia* to delineate themselves from others.[27] Yet scholars often forget that the term *paideia* has more than one meaning and is highly complex to grasp. To summarize the different layers of *paideia* in a universal explanation does not do justice to the term and its many connotations.

Additionally, a closer look at research on *paideia* reveals that it is often restricted or limited to institutional learning and schooling, to be literate, to know Latin and Greek, and, in the case of Late Antiquity, to emulate and imitate classical authors like Homer, Plato, Cicero or Ovid.[28] We agree with Jaś Elsner, who stated in 2013 that the term is "hardly fully explored" and "its ancient meanings are not obvious".[29] As the examples of Jaeger and Marrou's works on *paideia* demonstrated, the inner problems lie in defining and applying an ancient term as a universal concept bound to the background of our modern preconceptions. If we give a universal, atemporal meaning to an ancient word like *paideia*, we undress it from all its variations and, at the same time, limit our understanding and perception of the past. The multiple voices of *paideia* are reduced to a single entity and stripped

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[23] The *locus classicus* is Pl. pol. 7, 514a–517d. For Plato, education is the path towards true knowledge, towards perfection and ultimately towards the idea of good; cf. Pl. pol. 7, 518a.

[24] Pl. pol. 7, 519d–520d.

[25] On the history and development of education in antiquity, see Marrou ^{6}1965 (for the development process in the age of Hellenism esp. 151–322); Gemeinhardt 2007: 27–128 (with a focus on Roman education); Christes et al. 2006; Bloomer 2015; Joyal 2019. Schwitter 2015: 86 stresses the importance of schools as common educational background of a late Roman 'Bildungselite' (educational élite).

[26] Jaeger 1934–1947; Marrou ^{6}1965. See Christes et al. 2006 for the self-explanatory meaning of the term.

[27] As especially visible in late antique Gaul; cf. Stroheker 1970: 31; Meurer 2019: 248. For education in Late Antiquity, e.g. Brown ^{3}1992: 35–70; Sehlmeyer 2009: 115–159; Watts 2012, passim. For education in late antique Gaul, the following studies must be considered: Eigler 2003; Everschor 2007; Camastra 2012; Gillet 2012; Eigler 2013; Gerth 2013; Van Hoof/Van Nuffelen 2014; Blaudeau/Van Nuffelen 2015; Schwitter 2015; John 2018.

[28] E.g. Opelt 1974; Stenger 2019: 1; Van Hoof 2013: 387; Watts 2006: 5–7.

[29] Elsner 2013: 137.

of its context. The meaning of *paideia* differs from space, time, author and media (inscription, letters, laws), and thus it is, in our opinion, not a helpful starting point for establishing a concept for the research of education in antiquity. Using modern terminology as a conceptual framework offers an unbiased perspective on the antique use of *paideia*, avoids the problem of simply replacing it with another ancient expression[30] and – as Peter Gemeinhardt convincingly argued – allows diachronic and structural comparisons.[31] Therefore, we propose, in line with him, to avoid the use of *paideia* when researching education in late antique Gaul.

Even though the word education in sociology is understood as a form of cultivated knowledge that guides the actions of an individual,[32] education is commonly related to schooling and thus to an institutional form of learning. This common 'misunderstanding' of education is reflected in historical research; in our case, in research on education in late antique Gaul. This has to be seen in relation to the former hypothesis of an educational decline in Late Antiquity, drawing upon the theory of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.[33] In investigating smaller parts of classical education and their survival, scholars like Marrou, who in 1938 himself spoke of a cultural decline, slowly changed their minds in recognizing continuities and adaptions of classical education in Late Antiquity.[34] This shift towards a less negative interpretation of late Roman evidences towards education can be furthermore explained with the growing interest in Late Antiquity since the works of Peter Brown.[35] Since then, Late Antiquity is regarded as a transformative period worth studying for its own. The resultant increase of research interested in this period is also visible in research on late antique education, which is particularly devoted to questions about the transformation of classical education.[36] This general development is also visible for Gaul: since the 21st century, scholars have shown a growing interest in the role of education in late antique Gaul.

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[30] And the possibilities are many; e.g. *sophia*, *humanitas*, *eruditio*, *formatio* and so on.

[31] Gemeinhardt 2019a: 19–20 and 2019b: 453.

[32] Cf. Wenger 1998: 263–277; Grundmann 2011.

[33] Here, reference should be made above all to the work of Edward Gibbon *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which had influenced and still is influencing scholarly opinions. For an overview of the history of research on Late Antiquity, see e.g. Mitchell 2009: 5–9; Wood 2013: 287–329; Brown 2011; Wijnendaele 2011, passim, and Humphries 2017: 14–23.

[34] Marrou 1938. His change of mind is visible in his study on education in antiquity, published ten years later in 1948 (Marrou ^{6}1995, esp. 460–463). For a discussion of Marrou's ideas on education in Late Antiquity, see Inglebert 2004; Auffarth 2019.

[35] Brown 1971.

[36] E.g. Riché ^{4}1995; Kaster 1988; Schlange-Schöningen 1995; Vössing 1997; Eigler 2003: 113–129; Watts 2006 and 2012. On the tension between Christian and pagan education, cf. Dihle 1999; Greschat 2007: 326–329; Gemeinhardt 2007: 395–486; Schwitter 2015: 89–93; Stenger 2019; less optimistic McMullen 1997: 74–102.

Nevertheless, scholars often focus on distinctive elements of education or their institutional applicability.[37] Such distinct elements can be literary models to present an author's education, catalogues of learning subjects discernible in sources, questions regarding the schooling system in antiquity or the importance and shift of learning institutions in a region or city. However, a shift in research is discernible and a more sociocultural appropriation towards education visible.[38] We do not claim that one approach is better than the other but suggest to bring both lines of research together.

As Gemeinhardt has demonstrated, education has many dimensions. Based on an article by Samuel Vollenweider[39], he categorized these dimensions in five aspects: competences (e.g. writing, speaking), goals (e.g. career, reputation), knowledge (e.g. *artes liberales*), institutions (e.g. schools) and media (e.g. letters).[40] In looking at these five dimensions, we realize that modern scholarship focuses mainly on one or two aspects. Since we understand education in the modern sociological sense as a formation process of a person in its entirety, all dimensions of education have to be brought together to fully understand education as the sum of all its parts. For example, even if we discern which authors Claudian – to come back to our initial quote – is emulating in the composition of his poetry and, thereby, deduce which knowledge he might have had and which education he might have received, we will still have problems grasping Claudian's education to its full extent; this is to capture what shaped him and how he was formed to the person he presents through his writing. This example illustrates very rudimentarily what education is about. It is about the formation of a person in its entirety. Because education is about the (self-)formation of a person through teaching and learning processes, Gemeinhardt prefers the German word 'Bildung' since its etymological roots from the meaning "to form" are still visible in the word stem.[41] Even if we agree with him on the speciality of the German term 'Bildung' that is not translatable, we prefer to focus more on the definition of education as a research framework for Classics.[42]

We understand education as a lifelong formation of a person through social and institutional influences as well as experiences. Lifelong learning processes create a knowledge storage, guiding a person's development, actions and thinking.

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[37] So e.g. Haarhoff 1920; Opelt 1974; Kaster 1983; Gerth 2013; John 2020.

[38] As, for example, the study of Raphael Schwitter (2015) or the edited volume by Peter Gemeinhardt (2019) demonstrate.

[39] Vollenweider 2019: 287, 291–297.

[40] Gemeinhardt 2019b: 454–456. Such a categorization allows systematic research of not only what education meant for the people in late antique Gaul, but also what education was made of; thus, to combine its social practices with its individual and social meaning.

[41] Gemeinhardt 2019b: 447.

[42] For the meaning and development of the term 'Bildung', see Gemeinhardt 2019a: 9–19.

Therefore, researching education – be it in modern or premodern circumstances – means to research all learning options a person might have, and consequently, it means to research educational agents holistically. Thus, in line with the sociological understanding of education, we claim that it contributes to someone's personal identity.[43] Furthermore, if we understand education as lifelong teaching and learning processes, we can differentiate between active and passive learning, which can take place in institutions or in social environments (from the family to other groups the person belongs to). Claudian might have actively learned in school but also in his time of *otium* as an adult man, and he probably learned passively, through observations and examples, how to behave in senatorial circles.

Following the assumptions of Gemeinhardt, we emphasize that education is a continuum of socialization, upbringing and teaching, and that education is not bound to schooling only![44] Through *exempla*, we can learn – passively as well as actively – specific behaviours, norms or traditions of our surrounding environment (cf. Figure 1). This complex of life-long learning processes can be understood as a person's "education".

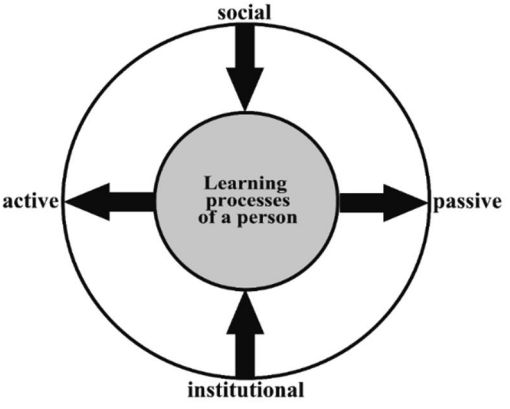

Figure 1: Learning processes

[43] We follow the assumption that a person's identity is developing and changing through their entire life; thus, it is in constant negotiating processes with its surroundings. Cf. Giddens 1991: 74–80. For identity/alterity theory, see n. 8 above.

[44] Gemeinhardt 2019b: 453.

3. Educational Communities

If we agree that socialization is an essential factor in the formation of a person and if we agree that education forms a part in shaping someone's personal identity, it leads to two further assumptions: firstly, education with all its social and institutional processes, whether it implies active or passive learning, is a communication process and, thus, a form of social action. Secondly, every person is part of a community – even if this community is only their family. Jan Assmann states that people must be aware and communicate common values to create communities;[45] we argue that education was such a value as the letters and poems from the senatorial élites in late antique Gaul demonstrate.[46] We can trace different parts, different dimensions of the education they share and communicate. Thus, we propose that education not only contributes to the identity formation of individuals but, moreover, to the identity formation of communities. Barbara Rosenwein has developed the concept of emotional communities, arguing that people sharing and valuing the same emotions form a community and that such a community can be retrospectively researched through discourse analysis.[47] On a similar note, we argue to see the society in late antique Gaul through the lens of educational communities ('Bildungsgemeinschaften'), each living in a landscape of learning ('Bildungslandschaft').

As an educational community, we define a group of people who follow the same educational norms and goals, expressing their shared knowledge through common institutions and media, and use education as cultural capital for forming a collective identity. Since collective identities are always socially constructed and share common values, like in our case education, these shared values can also be understood as a *habitus* in Bourdieuan terms[48]. Furthermore, we claim that educational communities can appear as literary discursive constructions that are

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[45] J. Assmann 2013: 134, 139; cf. A. Assmann 1994: 20.

[46] In those writings, it was mostly referred with the adjectives *doctus*, *-a, -um* or *litteratus*, *-a, -um*.

[47] Rosenwein 2006: 2, 24. She defines emotional communities as "groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions" (ibid. 2) and as "a group in which people have a common stake, interests, values and goals" (ibid. 24). This concept was recently applied on Sidonius and Ruricius by Egetenmeyr 2022b. For a different understanding of educational communities, cf. now Stenger 2022: 17–20, 42–53. Stenger's concept of educational communities draws from Brian Stock's textual communities rather than from Rosenwein's emotional communities. This means that Stenger's educational communities tend to be text-based whereas our model highlights social as well as normative aspects.

[48] Bourdieu [26]2018: 171, 174–175 and 1989: 87–88. Again, we follow the theoretical assumptions of Rosenwein 2006: 25 and transfer them on our concept of educational communities.

Index locorum

Italics indicate source citation with translation: italicized page number, with a footnote in parentheses, indicates translation in the body of the text with the original wording provided in the footnote. If page number and footnote are italicized, the original wording along with a translation are found in the footnote.

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