

verdict over the remains of Jeme had she been aware of the prominence and activities of the women in the town' (158).

The book includes instructive figures and plans, plates, a glossary, an extensive and well-chosen bibliography (165-83), and an index of quotations. To conclude: *Women of Jeme* is highly to be recommended. Combining archaeological expertise, subtle textual analysis and cautious adoption of recent methods and models provided by social history, W. succeeds perfectly in giving a vivid idea of different women's realities and lives in a late antique and early Islamic Egyptian settlement.

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Jennifer A. Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. 224 pp. ISBN 0 19 513609 8.

The significance of slavery in the Roman Empire has been recognized by Roman historians for a long time, and they have devoted numerous books and articles to the subject. Keith Hopkins has stressed that Roman Italy in imperial times was a 'slave society', where slaves constituted more than one fifth of the population, in contrast to 'slave-holding societies' at other times and places.¹ The impact of slavery on the inhabitants of Roman provinces and on particular religious and ethnic groups within the Roman Empire has received less scholarly attention so far. Jennifer A. Glancy sets out to fill this lacuna by focusing on the ways in which early Christians, who started out as a suppressed minority but eventually became a state religion, dealt with slavery within their midst. That slavery was of central significance not only in Roman Italy but throughout ancient society and greatly influenced early Christian life and rhetoric is taken for granted at the outset and forms the basis of her investigation.

A generalizing approach, which is less concerned with geographical and chronological differences and developments than with persistent attitudes and realities, also determines the author's methodology. The question of individual sources' representativeness for the Roman Empire at large is answered positively for almost any document at hand. Thus Egyptian papyri are quoted alongside Roman legal texts and ancient Christian writings. Since 'Egypt increasingly seems to resemble other provinces, neither more nor less unique than other provinces in the Empire', it is possible to 'turn to the Egyptian papyri for documentation of mundane details of daily life in the Empire' (ibid. 5). Similarly, Jewish attitudes and practices — which are rarely mentioned in the following discussion, though — are seen as not distinctive from Roman views and representative of slavery in the Roman world at large. They are used 'as literature that emerges from and sheds light on the practices and ideology of slaveholding in the Roman Empire' (7). That the practices and ideology of slavery in Roman Egypt and Palestine, alluded to in Egyptian papyri and rabbinic sources, were identical with those in Roman Italy, has to be examined and proven, however, before it can be assumed. Although all slave-owning societies share a number of common elements, the discourse on slavery and the actual treatment of slaves will have differed from one society to the next, and contextual variations have to be taken into account. These contextual variations apply not only to ancient Christianity but to Jewish and Egyptian representations of slavery as well.

The author's goal is to elucidate what is 'distinctive and typical about slavery in Christian circles' (7), while at the same time stressing that the Christian discourse on slavery is part of the Roman discourse on the issue. Since Christians were 'an integral part of the story of the Roman

¹ Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves. Sociological Studies in Roman History*, Cambridge 1978, 99.

Empire', 'Christian writings in fact contribute to our understanding of slavery in the Roman Empire from the first century through late antiquity' (7-8). A large amount of space is consequently devoted to establishing this general Roman background on whose basis the relatively sparse Christian references to slaves and slavery are then examined and elucidated as expressions of their very time and place. Although this approach of viewing early Christian attitudes toward slavery against the background of Graeco-Roman society is to be welcomed, the chapters presenting the general Roman views on various aspects of slavery often read like mere summaries of recent Roman historians' writings on the subject at hand.

Glancy puts great emphasis on the corporeality of slavery and its impact on Christian language. She alleges that this aspect of ancient slavery has often been disregarded in earlier studies. The view of slaves as vulnerable bodies to be used and abused is said to have persisted from early imperial times until late antiquity, that is, throughout the period under discussion here. The five chapters into which her book is divided consequently consist of examinations of the physical experience of slavery as the proper background for understanding slave parables and metaphors in the New Testament gospels and Pauline and post-Pauline epistolary writings. She argues that despite the 'theological displacement' of slavery in early Christian writings, 'Christian authors nonetheless employ conventions and clichés that construct an image of the slave body as vulnerable to invasion and abuse, reinforcing a range of other evidence from the early Empire' (10). Christian sources tend to downplay the brutality and harsh reality of slavery, but nevertheless use corporeal metaphors to depict spiritual states.

One may ask whether this focus on the 'body' of the slave and on corporeal aspects of slavery is not overemphasized here. It is based on the Pauline duality between body and soul, which Glancy's study tries to overcome but nevertheless takes as its basis. The focus on the individual slave's body means that social and economic aspects of slavery are only treated as far as they are relevant for understanding the physical reality of the slave's existence. The alternative sociological examination of slavery in the early Church, based on the structure of the ancient household which had its analogy in *oikos*-based communities, undertaken by Franz Laub, is not even mentioned.² This despite the fact that the *Haustafeln* (household codes) in the Pastoral Epistles, discussed in Glancy's final chapter, had their very *Sitz im Leben* in this social setting.³

After establishing the general background of the physical experience of slavery in the first chapter of her book ('Bodies and Souls: The Rhetoric of Slavery'), which emphasizes the gender-specific exploitation of slaves' bodies, their function as 'body doubles' of their owners, and the exclusion of male slaves from the category of manhood, all aspects of slavery well-known from other, earlier studies, Glancy argues that both Epictetus and Paul in his Letter to the Galatians downplay the significance of the slave experience when stressing that spiritual freedom is what matters most. She points out that from a modern standpoint Epictetus' argumentation has to be rejected because it suggests that slaves accept their fate and thereby supports the *status quo*. Although Paul maintains that belonging to Christ makes other status distinctions insignificant (Gal. 3:27-28), his subsequent rhetoric 'ironically underscores the somatic structure of ancient slavery' (34).

In the second chapter ('Body Work: Slavery and the Pauline Churches') Glancy examines the impact of slavery on Pauline communities and the impact of Christianity on the lives of slaves and slaveholders. She asks: 'How would a new identity as a Christian affect an urban slave, and how did the presence of slaves and slaveholders in the population affect the growth and practices of the churches?' (40) The large majority of slaves mentioned in Paul's letters are domestic slaves.

² See Franz Laub, *Die Begegnung des frühen Christentums mit der antiken Sklaverei*, SBS 107, Stuttgart 1982.

³ The important earlier study by Henneke Gülzow, *Christentum und Sklaverei in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Bonn 1969, is also not mentioned in this regard.

When the householders whom Paul encounters convert to Christianity, the slaves are willingly or unwillingly converted to the new religion as well. It is clear that slaveowners had a higher profile in the communities than their slaves, despite Paul's emphasis on equality in Christ. Slaves' lack of control over the sexual usage of their bodies must have conflicted with Christian teachings on *porneia*, sexual immorality. Paul never explicitly addresses the issue, though. The common ancient phenomenon of sexual services expected of slaves, which can hardly have been absent in Pauline communities, must have either inhibited 'immoral' slaves' full participation in communal life or been tolerated as 'morally neutral' (58). Later Christian writers' admonitions to Christian slaveholders to exercise sexual restraint and to have intercourse with their wives only are strikingly absent in Pauline writings. Paul may have remained silent on the issue because he was unwilling to challenge existing cultural norms and practices and thereby offend the slaveholding leaders of his communities.

The third chapter ('Body Language: Corporal Anxiety and Christian Theology') basically restates the same argument already made earlier in the book, that slave metaphors used in the New Testament 'depend on and ultimately reinscribe the ancient social relations of a slave system' (98). These metaphors are usually reminiscent of the threshold between slavery and freedom, relating to liminal moments such as enslavement, sale, escape and manumission. Again, Glancy devotes a large amount of text to summarizing what is known about these phenomena in Roman society at large (73-96) before analyzing their metaphorical usage in the gospels and Pauline writings. That the metaphor 'slave of God' already appears in the Hebrew Bible and is used in post-biblical Jewish literature as well is not even mentioned here. Besides examining the material background of slaves' lives, the tradition history of metaphors of enslavement should have been traced as well. Christian theology is not indebted only to 'ancient social realities' but also to prior and contemporary Jewish (and pagan) theological language. The image of human enslavement to evil forces, for example, has a long tradition in Hellenistic Jewish and philosophical literature and was adopted and elaborated by early Christians. It would be interesting to know why these metaphors were broadly expanded in Christian Gnostic and apocryphal texts (such as the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of Philip), which did not become part of the canon, but were used in the canonical New Testament texts in a more limited form only, which is closer to the biblical and post-biblical Jewish tradition.

In the fourth chapter ('Parabolic Bodies: The Figure of the Slave in the Sayings of Jesus') allusions to slaves and slavery in the parables of Jesus are examined. Slave imagery is not absent from any of the gospels but is most prominent in Matthew and Luke: 'In the parables of Jesus, the bodies of slaves are vulnerable to abuse. Beaten, stoned, and executed, the figure of the parabolic slave is repeatedly the locus of corporal discipline and other bodily violations' (103). That similar rabbinic slave parables exist is stated in one sentence, with reference to a page number in Jacob Neusner's translation of *Sifre Deut.* (105, cf. 173 n.15). Although Matthew often depicts slaves in managerial tasks, that is, slaves who had a high status within the servile status hierarchy, they are nevertheless also subjected to physical punishment and to their master's (abuse of) authority. They 'embody what may be the most basic and persuasive reality of ancient slavery: the slave's absolute corporal vulnerability' (114).

In the fifth and final chapter ('Moral Bodies: Ecclesiastical Development and Slaveholding Culture') Glancy deals with the question how the early Church managed to accommodate both slaves and slaveholders in its midst. She correctly concludes that the *Haustafeln* (household codes) of the post-Pauline Epistles are written from the perspective of the slaveholder and confirm the *status quo* of slave-master relationships. It becomes evident that 'the morality of the Christian *haustafeln* [sic!] promotes the interests of the slaveholders, not of slaves. The household codes identified submission and obedience as the highest virtues that slaves could attain. Slavery was thus perceived as a kind of moral training. The slave was the student, the slaveholder the teacher' (143).

More than previous studies of slavery in early Christianity this work shows the early Church's entanglement in general Roman middle- and upper-class values and practices, an entanglement which eventually led to the development of a double morality, which enabled both slaves and slaveholders to be members of Christian communities. This double morality is more troubling for modern readers than the lack of an early Christian struggle for the liberation of slaves.

Despite the shortcomings mentioned above, the book is well-written and provides a good introduction to ancient slavery in general and Christian attitudes toward slaves in particular. It may also attract the non-specialist reader interested in ancient society and Christian origins.

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Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*. Translated with introduction and commentary by Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999. xvii + 395 pp. ISBN 0 19 814971 4 (hbk) 0 19 814924 7 (pbk).

The so-called *Vita Constantini*, attributed in the manuscripts to Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine (d. 339), is one of the most important sources for the reign of Constantine the Great (d. 337) and his support of Christianity. Nevertheless, scholars are still divided on the way it should be treated. While some, such as Timothy Barnes and the authors of the book under review here, accept much of the evidence in the *Vita Constantini* as authentic, others are highly sceptical. This scepticism is nourished, first and foremost, by the personality of Eusebius himself. As the bishop of Caesarea, Eusebius was much influenced by the theology of Origen, whose library he inherited, and he was essentially pro-Arian in sympathy, until Arius was formally condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325. 'His experience at Nicaea', write Cameron and Hall, 'led him to support Constantine's formula, but the ecclesiastical politics of the rest of the reign proved complex and Eusebius' own position continued to dictate the manner of his writing and his presentation of evidence' (3). Moreover, Eusebius, one must constantly bear in mind, did not know Constantine personally before the Council of Nicaea, and even after the council he had very few personal dealings with the emperor.

As Cameron and Hall state at the very beginning of their preface, their aim is '... to make the *Life [of Constantine]* accessible to students and scholars alike, and to make use of the large amount of recent works on Constantine's reign' (v). After a short and extremely informative introduction (which discusses Eusebius and his work, the authenticity of the *Vita Constantini*, the dates and circumstances of composition, Eusebius' sources, the plan and the literary character of the work, Eusebius' Constantine, and the historical value of the *Vita Constantini*), Cameron and Hall provide a fluent and accurate translation of the text. Given the fact that Eusebius' Greek is often obscure and pretentious, this is not an easy task. 'We have not tried to gild the Lily', they declare, 'but to stay close to the original in the hope of conveying its very characteristic tone' (v). They have succeeded in achieving this aim in an admirable way. The commentary which Cameron and Hall provide elucidates the content of the text, without being repetitive or replete with unnecessary details and references. No doubt, Cameron and Hall's new translation, introduction and commentary will shortly become an indispensable tool for anyone interested in late antique history and early Christian studies. We should all be grateful for the great service they have done in producing this volume.

It is indeed rather surprising that no monograph has been dedicated to the *Vita Constantini* thus far. I do hope that Cameron and Hall will join forces again in order to write that monograph, for none can do it better. I, for one, would have liked to know what they think of the so-called media revolution of early Christianity (see, for example, Doron Mendels' book *The Media Revolution of Early Christianity. An Essay on Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History*, 1999), and how the