

# Mattias P. Gassman

September 2023

St Mary's College  
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University of St Andrews  
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## EMPLOYMENT

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**Research Fellow** March 2023 –  
University of St Andrews, St Mary's College

**British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow** September 2019 – February 2023  
University of Oxford, Faculty of Classics  
**Junior Research Fellow**, Wolfson College

**Research Assistant (Latin translator)** July – August 2019  
University of St Andrews, St Mary's College  
Translation and commentary on authorial *vita* and selections from Adam Zoernikav, *De processione Spiritus Sancti a solo Patre* (Königsberg, 1774–1776)

## EDUCATION

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**PhD in Classics** October 2017  
University of Cambridge

**MPhil in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies** July 2014  
University of Oxford, Distinction

**MA in Classical and Near Eastern Studies** May 2011  
University of Minnesota

**BA in Interdisciplinary Studies (Classical Studies)** May 2008

**BS in Biophysics, German, minor in History**  
Iowa State University, *Summa cum laude*

## PUBLICATIONS

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### 1. Books

*Worshippers of the Gods: Debating Paganism in the Fourth-Century Roman West*  
Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity. New York: Oxford University Press (2020)

2022 First Book Award, Classical Association of the Middle West and South  
2022 Best First Book Prize, North American Patristics Society

Reviews: Winn, *Choice* 58 (2021), 887; Whiting, *Rhea Classical Reviews* (October 2021); Hänninen, *Arctos* 55 (2021), 425–7; Fraser-Morris, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2022.04.32; Manzo, *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 39/1 (2022), 269–71; Coignet, *ARYS* 20 (2022), 471–4; Corke-Webster, *Greece & Rome* 70 (2023), 143–5; Metz, *The Journal of Roman Studies* FirstView

*In progress:*

*Citizens of the Earth: Pagans and Their Gods in Augustine's North Africa*  
140,000-word monograph, complete in manuscript. Submission invited by Oxford University Press, New York

## 2. Articles and chapters

- Forthcoming “The composition of *De consensu euangelistarum* 1 and the development of Augustine’s anti-pagan arguments,” *Augustinian Studies* (accepted pending minor revisions)
- Forthcoming “Semi-pagans? Some mutations of non-Christian thought in late antiquity,” *Studies in Late Antiquity* (accepted pending minor revisions)
- Forthcoming “The consul of heavenly Rome: reclaiming aristocratic virtue in Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 2,” *Hermes* (proofs reviewed; awaiting assignment to an issue)
- (2024) “The chronology of the final books of *City of God*: data and hypotheses,” *Revue bénédictine*
- (2024) “The Downfall of Caelestis: Salvian of Marseille and the End of Public Cult in Roman Carthage,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*
- (2023) “Converting after Constantine: Firmicus Maternus and the Scriptures,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies*
- 2022 “Christianity and Graeco-Roman Paganism,” *St Andrews Encyclopaedia of Theology* (20,000-word invited contribution, open-access)  
<https://www.saet.ac.uk/Christianity/ChristianityandGraecoRomanPaganism>
- 2022 “A Late Antique Preacher in Action: Augustine, *Ep.* 29,” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 15/1, 130–59. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/849266>
- 2021 “Arnobius’ Scythians and the Dating of *Aduersus nationes*,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 72/2: 832–42. doi: 10.1093/jts/flab103
- 2021 “An Afterlife of a Scholarly Epic: Frazer’s *Golden Bough* and Lewis’s Argument from Myth,” *Journal of Inklings Studies* 11/2: 133–152.  
doi: 10.3366/ink.2021.0111
- 2021 “An Ancient Account of Pagan Origins: Making Sense of Filastrius, *Diuersarum hereseon liber* 111,” *Revue d’études augustiniennes et patristiques* 67: 83–105
- 2021 “Directing the Eye of the Soul: Form and Function in an Ancient Scenic Monologue (Cyprian, *Ad Donatum*),” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 29/3: 371–96. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/804424>

- 2021 “On an Alleged *Senatus Consultum* against the Christians,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 75/5: 548–55. doi: 10.1163/15700720-bja10033
- 2021 “The Ancient Readers of Augustine’s *City of God*,” *Augustinian Studies* 52/1: 1–18. doi: 10.5840/augstudies20212461
- 2020 “A Feast in Carthage: Testing the Limits of ‘Secularity’ in Late Antiquity,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 110: 199–219. doi: 10.1017/S0075435820001409
- 2019 “Cyprian’s Early Career in the Church of Carthage,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70/1: 1–17. doi: 10.1017/S0022046917002780
- 2018 “Debating Traditional Religion in Late Fourth-Century Roman Africa,” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 11/1: 83–110. doi: 10.1353/jla.2018.0013
- 2017 “The Roman Kings in Orosius’ *Historiae Adversum Paganos*,” *Classical Quarterly* 67/2: 617–30. doi: 10.1017/S0009838817000702
- 2017 “The Conversion of Cyprian’s Rhetoric? Towards a New Reading of *Ad Donatum*,” *Studia Patristica* 94: 247–57
- 2017 “*Et Deus et Homo*: The Soteriology of Lactantius,” *Studia Patristica* 80: 35–41
- 2016 “Eschatology and Politics in Cyril of Jerusalem’s *Epistle to Constantius*,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 70/2: 119–33. doi: 10.1163/15700720-12341230

*In progress:*

“The debate over conversion,” in Richard Flower, Marietta Horster, Frédéric Hurlet, and Ralph Mathisen (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to Roman Prosopography* (invited; manuscript accepted by editors for book still in progress)

“‘A Thing Like God’: Re-Reading Gothic Philippians 2.6–8” (with Brendan Wolfe; in preparation)

“The *Vorlage* of the *Skeireins* and the Fragments of Theodore of Heraclea” (in preparation for a new edition of the Gothic John commentary edited by Carla Falluomini and Brendan Wolfe)

“Through Wulfila’s eyes: theology among the Goths” (with Brendan Wolfe; in preparation for the Gothic John commentary edition)

**3. Invited reviews**

- 2023 David G. Hunter and Jonathan P. Yates (eds.), *Augustine and Tradition: Influences, Contexts, Legacy* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2021), *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 148/3: 194–6
- 2022 “Violence and the Emperors in Lactantius,” review of Gianna Zipp, *Gewalt in Laktanz’ ‘De mortibus persecutorum’* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), *Histos* 16: ix–xiv. <https://histos.org/documents/2022RR03GassmanonZipp.pdf>
- 2022 J. Warren Smith, *Ambrose, Augustine, and the Pursuit of Greatness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 73: 128–30. doi:10.1017/S0022046921002025

- 2021 Young Richard Kim (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Council of Nicaea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), *Church History* 90: 647–9. doi:10.1017/S0009640721002213
- 2021 D.H. Williams, *Defending and Defining the Faith: An Introduction to Early Christian Apologetic Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), *Church History* 90: 400–1. doi:10.1017/S0009640721001505
- 2021 Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich and Stefan Rebenich (eds.), *Interreligiöse Konflikte im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert: Julian “Contra Galilaeos” – Kyrill “Contra Iulianum”* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 72: 144–6. doi:10.1017/S0022046920001931
- 2019 Benjamin Safranski, *St. Cyprian of Carthage and the College of Bishops* (New York: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2018), *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70: 587–8. doi:10.1017/S0022046919001015
- 2017 Blandine Colot, *Lactance: penser la conversion de Rome au temps de Constantin* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2016), *The Journal of Roman Studies* 107: 452–3. doi:10.1017/S0075435817000089

#### **SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS**

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- 2019–22 British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship (extended to 2023)
- 2014–17 Cambridge International Trust Scholarship, University of Cambridge
- 2012–14 Clarendon Scholarship, University of Oxford
- 2012–14 Ertegun Scholarship, University of Oxford (declined)
- 2012 Study Scholarship, Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (declined)
- 2005 Phi Beta Kappa
- 2004 National Merit Scholarship

#### **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

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##### **2019–23. University of Oxford**

Conversion of Augustine (sole instructor, 2021–22, 2020–21; tutor, 2022–23, 2019–20. Final-year undergraduate seminar including Latin classes, history lectures, and tutorials discussing research essays with students individually and in pairs)

The Greek City in the Roman World from Dio Chrysostom to John Chrysostom (joint-instructor, fall 2022. Final-year undergraduate seminar including small-group history classes and tutorials discussing students’ research essays)

Approaching Christianization in the Roman World (summer 2022. History lecture series supporting courses on late antiquity and Augustine)

Roman Religion in the Later Empire (spring 2020. Classics lecture series supporting courses on Augustine and Greco-Roman religions)

##### **2015–17. University of Cambridge**

Latin reading for second-year undergraduates (selections from Cicero, Lucan, Horace, etc.)

Latin reading for Master's students with a non-traditional background (Cicero, Tacitus, Ovid, and Lucretius)

Transformation of the Roman World, 284–476 (essays directed and discussed with individual and paired undergraduate students)

Sixteenth-century Latin texts in manuscript and print for a History PhD student

## **2008–11. University of Minnesota**

Beginning Latin 1 and 2 (sole instructor)

Jesus in History, Classical Mythology (discussion-section leader for large lecture classes)

World of Greece, Age of Constantine the Great (teaching assistant)

## **PRESENTATIONS**

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### **1. Seminars**

- 2023 “Against ‘identity’: thinking about paganism with Augustine,” Oxford Patristics Seminar (Oxford, March 7)
- 2022 “Before *City of God*: Roman religion in Augustine’s early polemics,” Rethinking Apologetic and Identity in the Late Roman Empire workshop (Oxford, April 28)
- 2022 “Between pagan and Christian: thinking through religious difference and religious change with Augustine,” Late Roman Seminar, University of Oxford (Oxford, February 3)
- 2022 “Re-thinking the Gods: Why Augustine Used Varro in *City of God* 6–7,” Re-thinking Roman Religions seminar, Institute of Classical Studies (London, January 20)
- 2021 “The consul of heavenly Rome: reclaiming aristocratic virtue in Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 2,” Seminar on the Works of Prudentius, University of Oxford (Oxford, June 2)
- 2021 “Augustine on Religion,” Systematic & Historical Theology Seminar, University of St Andrews (St Andrews, March 17)
- 2021 “Salvian, ‘Quodvultdeus,’ and the Cult of Caelestis in Roman and Vandalic Carthage,” Late Roman Seminar, University of Oxford (Oxford, January 28)
- 2019 “The Limits of ‘the Secular’ in Late Antiquity: A New Look at Augustine, *Sermo* 62,” Cambridge Late Antiquity Network Seminar (Cambridge, December 3)
- 2019 “A Feast of the Genius of Carthage: Paganism and Civic Life in Augustine, *Sermo* 62,” Late Roman Seminar, University of Oxford (Oxford, November 7)
- 2016 “Roman Aristocrats and Traditional Religion after the Altar of Victory,” Seminar of Leibniz-Project, “Polyphonie des spätantiken Christentums,” Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main (Frankfurt, December 13)
- 2016 “A Pagan Rome under Christian Emperors: Rethinking Symmachus on the Altar of Victory,” Late Roman Seminar, University of Oxford (Oxford, November 3)

2016 “Debating Traditional Religion in Late Fourth-Century Rome,” Cambridge Ancient History Research Seminar (Cambridge, January 25)

## 2. Selected conference papers

2023 “Augustine’s incomplete euhemerism: the gods in City of God 18,” Society for Classical Studies 153<sup>rd</sup> Annual Meeting (New Orleans, January 7)

2022 “‘Who is this God?’ Framing the history of religions in *De consensu euangelistarum* 1,” North American Patristics Society Annual Meeting (Chicago, May 26–28)

2022 “Semi-pagans? Some mutations of belief in late antiquity,” SCS 152<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting (San Francisco, January 5–8)

2021 “Ambivalence or Ambiguity? Revisiting the problem of ‘pagans,’” Ambiguity and Ambivalence in Late Antiquity (online, September 9–10, 16–17)

2021 “Salvian and the End of Public Paganism in Late Antique Carthage,” International Mediaeval Congress (online, July 5–9)

2021 “Identifying Pagans in Late Antiquity: The Example of Augustine,” North American Patristics Society Annual Meeting (online, May 24–29)

2021 “Questioning Divination: The Young Augustine and Friends,” Classical Association of the Middle West and South 117<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting (online, April 7–10)

2021 “The *libri pontificales* at the end of paganism,” SCS 151<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting (online, January 5–10)

2019 “*Quasi Africanus inter deos*: Lactantius’ Ciceronian Euhemerism,” 18<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, August 19–24)

2018 “Debating Paganism in a Christian Empire,” SCS 149<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting (Boston, January 4–7; delivered *in absentia*)

2016 “Ambrosiaster and the Theorisation of ‘Paganism,’” The Sixth British Patristics Conference (Birmingham, September 5–7)

2016 “Public and private in fourth-century paganism: Firmicus Maternus’ aristocratic Roman audience,” SCS 147<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting (San Francisco, January 6–9)

2015 “Correcting Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* 4.14.31: Towards a New Interpretation of Cyprian’s *Ad Donatum*,” 17<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, August 10–14)

2015 “Local Religion and Roman Culture in Late Fourth-Century Africa (Augustine, *Epistulae* 16–17),” International Society for Late Antique Literary Studies 3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Conference (Oxford, July 1–2)

2012 “Exile and the *Cosmopolis* in C. Musonius Rufus and Seneca the Younger,” CAMWS 108<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting (Baton Rouge, March 28–31)

2011 “*Et Deus et Homo*: The Christology and Soteriology of Lactantius,” 16<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, August 8–13)

2010            “The *Virtus* of Romulus: *De Re Publica* 2 and Divinization in Late Republican Rome,” CAMWS 106<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting (Oklahoma City, March 24–27)

## **SERVICE AND OUTREACH**

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### **Professional service**

Organizer (with Jeremiah Coogan), Rethinking Apologetic and Identity in the Late Roman Empire workshop (Oxford, April 28, 2022)

Respondent, OIKOS Oxford-Munich-Würzburg graduate conference (March 24, 2022)

Session moderator, “Augustine: Section III,” North American Patristics Society Annual Meeting (online, May 25, 2021)

Peer reviewer for *The Journal of Roman Studies*, *Theological Studies*, *Religion*, *St Andrews Encyclopaedia of Theology*, *Journal of the Oxford Graduate Theological Society*

Peer reviews assistant for *St Andrews Encyclopaedia of Theology* (2023)

### **Institutional service (Oxford)**

Co-convenor, Late Roman Seminar, Oxford, 2020–21, 2021–22, fall 2022 (five terms in total, with eight external or internal speakers per term; IT support in spring 2023)

Examination marker for “Conversion of Augustine” (Ancient History), 2021, 2022, “St. Augustine and the Last Days of Rome” (Classical Archaeology and Ancient History), 2021, Master’s theses in Greek and Latin literature, 2022

Co-organizer, Augustine Reading Group, Oxford, 2020–21

### **Public-facing/generalist talks**

2023            “Life in the World: Augustine, the *Saeculum*, and the Ordinary Christian,” Canterbury Institute (Oxford, January 25)

2020            “To Be Free of the Liberal Arts? Augustine on Education and Career,” Davenant Institute UK Convivium (Oxford, January 25)

## **LANGUAGES**

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German (speaking, reading, writing), Latin, Ancient Greek, French, Italian (reading), Akkadian, Syriac, Coptic (basic reading)