

Index

- Ablabius, praetorian prefect, 157
 Abraham, 70, 140, 233, 277, 279
Acephalous Bobbio Letter, 96, 100, 114,
 117–22, 182
 aims of, 118
 author of, 219
 contents of, 118–21
 dating of, 117–18, 122
 dependants in, 120, 121
domina, obligations of, in, 121
 manuscript tradition, 117–18
 martyrs as *exempla* in, 219
 offspring, upbringing of, in, 120
 vices and virtues in, 118, 119–21
 Acts of the Apostles, 42, 214
 Acts of the Apostles, Apocryphal, 163, 180
 Acts of the Martyrs, 28
Ad amicum aegrotum, 212
Ad Celanthiam, 176–80, 185
 author of, 176–80, 182
 authorship of, 173
 continence, vow of, in, 176, 179–80
Ad Claudiam, 135–41
 addressee of (Claudia), 136–41
 powerlessness of, 138–40
Ad Gregoriam in palatio and, 137–8, 140, 141
 aims of, 141
 author of, 219
 authorship of, 136–41
 consolation text, 137
 contents of, 137, 138
 martyrdom metaphor in, 138–9
paterfamilias, as oppressor of virtue, in, 138
 Pelagian text, 140
 spiritual battle metaphor in, 138–9
 structure of, 137–8
 vices and virtues in, 138
Ad Gregoriam in palatio, 6, 11, 18, 42–53, 54, 59,
 64, 70, 71, 72, 84, 85–92, 96, 99, 100, 107,
 114, 117, 122–33, 134, 137–8, 142, 143, 182,
 208–9, 211, 212, 219, 223–9
Ad Claudiam and, 137–8, 140, 141
 addressee of, 45–6, 87
 Apostles, as advisers to Gregoria, in, *see entries*
 for Andrew, James, John, Luke, Mark,
 Matthew, Peter
 audience of, 122
 author of, (John), 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52–3, 54,
 85–92, 116, 122–33, 134–8, 141, 143, 183–98,
 208–9, 212 n. 53, 223–9, 283
 aims of, 85–6, 89
 authorship of, 120
 biblical figures, as *exempla* for imitation, in, *see*
entries for Abraham, Anastasia, Anna,
 Aseneth, Deborah, Felicitas, Hannah,
 Isaac, Jacob, Jael, Joachim, Joseph,
 Judith, Maccabea, Magdalene, Martha,
 Moses, Rachel, Rebecca, Sarah,
 Shunamite, the, Susanna, Symphorosa,
 Zipporah
castitas in, 184, 185–6, 192–3, 243–4, 245, 247,
 260–2, 263, 269, 282
 continence in, 184–5
 vow of in, 185
 dating of, 46
De mortalitate and, 212 n. 53
De patientia and, 208–9
domina's role and relationship with
 dependants in, 122–33, 267–74
 dowry in, 144, 150
 endurance metaphor in, 48, 223–9, 243–5,
 262–3
 greed in, 255–60
 Gregoria as literary construct in, 188–9
 lust in, 260–2, 281
 manuscript history of, 44
 marriage in, 129–32, 144, 183–97, 243, 247–52,
 263–7, 278–81
 balance of power in, 190–1
 male authority in, 190–1, 197
 marital misbehaviour in, 186–7, 188–9
 martyrdom metaphor in, 223–9, 246–8, 270

- Ad Gregoriam in palatio* (cont.)
 martyrs as *exempla* in, 191–2, 224–7
miles Christi in, 50, 91, 134
 Gregoria as *miles Christi*, 48
 mistress as mother metaphor in, 127–9
 neo-Platonism and, 91
 Psalms in, 88
 sex and procreation in, 47, 123, 184–5, 196–7, 278–9
 spiritual battle metaphor in, 49–50, 51–3, 86–7, 88, 91, 141, 184, 246, 249, 253–60, 261, 262–4
 structure of, 50
 Tower of Contemplation metaphor in, 52, 53, 86, 253–4
 vices and virtues in, 50, 52, 70, 86, 88, 134, 184, 227, 229, 240, 243–6, 254, 262–3, 269, 277, 280, 281, 282
 wifely persuasion in, 193–5, 249–52
see also Gregoria, Roman *materfamilias*
- Aedeodatus, 154
 adultery, 174
see also marriage; divorce
- Aeneas, 67
 Africa, 32, 135, 220
 Agapetus, 79
 Agilulf, Lombard king, 201
 Alaric, Visigothic king, (395–410), 50, 53
 Albertini Tablets, 146
 Alexandria, 69, 72
 Altman, Charles F., 216
 Alypia, wife of Ricimer, 202
 Amals, 98, 99
 Amalaric, Visigothic king, 99
 Amalasuintha, Ostrogothic queen, 3, 99
 Ambrose, bishop of Milan, 30–1, 62, 107, 205, 214–16
Expositio in Psalmum 118, 214–16
On Duties, 30–1
 spurious attributions to, 8
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 104
 Ammonius, 72
 Anastasia, martyr of Rome, 46–7, 187–8, 224–6, 241 n. 8, 246
 shrine of, 47
 Anastasius, 53
 Anchises, 67
 Andrew, Apostle, 258
 Andromache, 67
 Anianus of Celeda, 171–2, 173
 as possible author of some Pseudo-Chrysostom texts, 172
Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum, 172
 prefatory letter to Evangelius, 172, 173
 prefatory letter to Orontius, 172, 173
 translation of Chrysostom's writings, 171–2
- Anicia Juliana, 19
 Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius, 19
 Anna, daughter of Phanuel, 192, 219, 243
 antebellum South, role of women in, 94–5
 Anthemius, Roman emperor (467–72), 202–3
 Antioch, 6
 Anton, H. H., 135
 Antony, Saint, 17, 18
 Apostle, the, *see* Paul
 Apostles, the, 242, 251, 259
 Arabia, 24
 Arator, 39, 76
De actibus apostolorum, 39, 76
 Arcotamia, 7
 Arians, 36
 Aristotle, 72
 Arles, 45
 Arnobius the Younger, 220–3
Commentary on the Psalms, 220, 221–3
Confliktus cum Serapione, 220
Gesta martyrum, possible author of, 221
 martyrdom, metaphor of, 221–3
 asceticism, 47, 174
 attacks on traditionalist Christians, 38
 appeal of, 29
 conflict over 'pagan' eloquence, 72–7
 conflict with traditional Roman values, 54–5, 60–1
 undermining of Roman Empire, 9–10
see also conduct literature, Christian
- Aseneth, 192, 242, 279
 Athalaric, Ostrogothic king, 3, 204
 Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, 17
Life of Antony, 17
 Athens, 61, 72
 Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, 173
 Atila, Hunnic king, 1–2, 5, 200, 220
 siege of Naissus and Viminacium (442), 51
 Augustine, bishop of Hippo, 19, 23, 28, 35, 40, 43, 56, 59, 62, 72, 77, 81, 100, 101, 140, 143, 146, 154, 160, 170–5, 180, 182, 188, 194, 196, 217, 218
 asceticism and offspring, views on, 174
City of God, 71, 77, 167
Confessions, 143, 217
Contra Faustum, 217
Contra Iulianum Pelagianum, 168–9
Contra mendacium, 254 n. 45
 correspondence of, 57, 197
De bono coniugali, 19, 168, 182
De catechizandis rudibus, 140
De mendacio, 254 n. 45
De sancta virginitate, 168
Excerpta Augustini, 56, 68, 92, 201
 greed, views on, 167

- Letter 262 to Ecdicia*, 174–5, 179, 180, 185, 189, 197
 wifely influence in, 175
Letter 6 to Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople, 173
 lust, views on, 147, 167–9
 Manichaeism and, 164, 165, 168, 171, 172
 marriage, views on, 119, 147, 148, 164–5, 167–75, 183–4
mendacium and, 254 n. 45
 mother of, *see* Monnica, mother of Augustine
 neo-Platonism and, 90, 164
 Pelagianism and, 171–3
Praeceptum, 42
 spurious attributions to, 8
 writings of, 56, 57, 182
 Augustus, Roman emperor (31 bc–14 ad), 108, 146, 149, 193
 Aurelian, Roman emperor (270–5), 156
 Ausonius of Bordeaux, 59
 Avitus, bishop of Vienne, 7
 writings of, 7
- Bagnall, Roger, 159
 Baluze, Etienne, 136
 Banaji, Jairus, 102–3, 104, 105
Baptismal Instructions, 165
 Bartlett, Richard, 38
 Bassus, 73
 Beatrice, Pier Franco, 171
Belgica Secunda, 3
 Belisarius, 32
 invasion of Africa (532–4), 32
 invasion of Italy, (535), 79
 siege of Naples, 2
 siege of Rome, (535), 51
 Benedict of Nursia, 58, 86
Rule of, 58, 229
 Bible,
 Hebrew, 140, 213, 217, 219
 New Testament, 35, 140, 146, 160, 165, 202, 213, 219
 Old Testament, 140
 bigamy, *see* marriage, polygamy and
 Bleda, brother of Attila, 51
 Bobbio, 117, 118
 Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus, 56, 69, 74–5, 77–8, 81–3, 84, 89–91, 103, 137, 141, 183, 212
 Christianity, attitude towards, 81–2
Consolation of Philosophy, 81–3, 90, 212
 literary career, 81
otium, concept of, 81
 Bonner, Gerald, 169
 Brown, T. S., 76
 Bruttium, province of, 80, 81
- Byzantines, 135
 forces of, 33
 rule over Italy, 79
- Caesarius, bishop of Arles, 46
 Cana, 165
 Canterbury, 136
 Capua, 229
 Carandini, Andrea, 106
Carmen de providentia Dei, 204
 Carthage, 32
 Cassiciacum, 81
 Cassiodorus Senator, Flavius Magnus Aurelius, 3, 7, 57, 58, 78–81, 83, 90, 204
Edictum Athalarici, 204
Explanation of the Psalms, 80
History of the Goths, 78
Institutes of Divine and Secular Learning, 78, 79, 80, 92
 letters of (*Variae*), 7, 8, 78, 124
Ordo generis Cassiodorum, 78
Roman History, 78
 writings of, 59, 78–80
castitas, 184, 185–6, 192–3, 243–4, 245, 247, 260–2, 263, 269, 282
 meaning of, 170, 175–6
 Celanthia, 176–80, 237
 Charles the Bald, Frankish king, 45 n. 128
 Chartres, 236, 237
 chastity, *see* *castitas*
 Childeric, Frankish king, 5
 Christian Church, as social organization, 60
 Christianity,
 appeal of, 27–8
 Senatorial, 75
 and asceticism, 38–44, 85
 importance of scholarship to, 76
 male, 78
 Chrysogonus, martyr of Rome, 187–8
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 90, 109
On Duties, 30, 109
otium, rhetoric of, 93–4
Somnium Scipionis, 74
 Clark, Elizabeth A., 67
 Claudia, *see* addressee of *Ad Claudiam*
 Claudius, Roman emperor (41–54), 156 n. 35
 Clodius Celsinus Adelfius, 67
 Clothild, Frankish queen, 2
 Clovis, 2, 99
 Cologne, 97
 Commodian, II, 13–16
Instructions, 13
 audience of, 14–16
Carmen apologeticum, dating of, 13–14
 dating of, 13–14

- concubinage, 145, 153–5, 153–154 n. 31, 156, 156 n. 37
see also adultery; divorce; marriage
- conduct literature, Christian, 7–8, 30, 31, 99, 100–1, 107, 143
- 4th- and 5th-century, 17–23
- addressed to women, 96
- bereavement in, 232–5
- dependants, obligations to, in, 112, 114–15
- domini*, role of, in, 134–5
- martyrs *as exempla* in, 219–27
see also asceticism
- Constantina, Roman empress (wife of Maurice, Roman emperor 582–602), 84
- Constantine, Roman emperor (306–37), 13, 23, 102, 130, 153, 155, 156, 156 n. 35, 157, 158
- constitution of (336), 157
- conversion of, 161
- lost law of, 156–7
- reforms of, 155
- Constantinople, 33, 45, 72, 80, 84
- Gothic Wars, aftermath, 97–9
- continence, 174, 175–6, 179, 181–3
- vows of, 174, 175–6, 180–3, 198
- Cosa, 94, 106
- Council of Chalcedon (451), 220, 236
- Council of Orange (529), 82
- Cracco Ruggini, Lellia, 103
- Creusa, 67
- Crispina, Saint, 119
- Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, 46, 70, 90, 91, 141, 206, 210–12, 212 n. 53, 214
- Stoicism, Christian and, 90, 91, 176
- Ad amicum aegrotum*, 212 n. 53
- De bono patientia*, 210
- De mortalitate*, 210–12
- Ad Gregoriam in palatio* and, 212 n. 53
- contents of, 210–12
- endurance metaphor in, 211–12
- miles Christi* in, 210–11
- spiritual battle metaphor in, 210–12
- vices and virtues in, 210
- Cyprian, joint author (with Firminus and Viventius) of *Vita* of Caesarius of Arles, 46
- Damasus, Pope, 161
- David, King, 140
- De actibus apostolorum*, 76
- De castitate*, 176
- De vera humilitate*, 40–2, 100, 101
- domina*, obligations of, in, 41–2
- Deborah, 192, 242
- Demetrias, Roman virgin, 18, 19–23, 40, 51, 53, 54, 178, 235
- Deuteronomy, Book of, 140
- Deutero-Pauline epistles (Letter to Timothy and Letter to Titus), 163, 165
- Deutherius, 75
- Diocletian, Roman emperor (284–305), 24, 25, 26, 38, 103, 144, 152
- Diocletian, reforms of, 24–6, 62, 155
- Disciples of Jesus, *see* Apostles, the
- divorce, 144, 145, 150, 158, 158 n. 43, 160, 175
- after Constantine (influence of Christianity), 153, 158–60
- offspring and, 149–50
- pre-Justinianic law and, 158–60
see also adultery; marriage
- domina*, 41–2
- Christian, 42, 85
- senatorial, 42, 85
see also materfamilias; Roman family; Roman household; women
- domini*, 134–5
- financial role of, 102
- landholding and, 93, 101–2
- meaning of, 102
see also domus; Roman family; Roman household
- dominus*, 105
see also paterfamilias; Roman family; Roman household
- Domnica, daughter of Rusticiana and sister of Eusebia, 84
- domus*,
- economic institution of, 101–3
- casta*, 66
- Roman law and, 107–10
- Roman concept of, 108–10
- social institution of, 107–11
see also familia; Roman family; Roman household
- dos*, *see* dowry
- dowry, 112, 144, 150
see also marriage
- Ecdicia, correspondent of Augustine, 174–5, 180, 185, 187, 189, 194, 198
- continent marriage and, 174
- Edictum Theoderici*, 46, 131–2, 133
- Egeria, pilgrim and writer, 251 n. 41
- Egypt, 102, 159, 220
- endurance metaphor, 48, 207–9, 211–12, 223–9, 243–5, 262–3
- Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, 7, 38, 39, 69, 74, 202–3
- letters of, 7
- Paraenensis didascalia*, 69, 74
- Vita Epiphani*, 39, 202–3
- Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia, 39, 202–3

- Epistula ad demetriadem de vera humilitate*, see *De vera humilitate*
- eschaton*, 161–3
- Etaix, Raymond, 28
- Eugippius of Lucullanum, 56, 73–4, 82, 89, 91
Excerpta Augustini, 56, 76
Rule of, 229, 235
Vita of Severinus of Noricum, 73–4
- Eusebia, daughter of Rusticiana and sister of Domnica, 84
- Eustochium, daughter of Paula, 17–18, 212
- Evagrius of Pontus, 17, 87, 206 n. 20, 211, 219, 222
De diversis malignis cogitationibus, 219
De octo vitiosis cogitationibus, 219
Praktikos, 206 n. 20
 writings of, 205, 214
- Evans Grubbs, Judith, 156, 157
- Evans, Robert F., 170
- Exodus, Book of, 140
- familia*, 109–10
 Roman concept of, 108
 see also *domus*; Roman family; Roman household
- Felicitas, martyr of Rome, 46, 224, 247
- Felix, correspondent of Fulgentius of Ruspe, 7
- Ferrandus of Carthage, 31–7, 100, 134–41, 204
Ad Reginum, 31–7, 100, 114, 134–5, 204
 writings of, 8
- Festus, Pauli, 112
- Firminus, joint author (with Cyprian and Viventius) of *Vita of Caesarius of Arles*, 45–6
- fornication, 164, 181
 see also *lust*
- Foucault, Michel, *History of Sexuality*, 161
- Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth, 94–5
- Foxhall, Lin, 101–2, 106
- Francia, 2, 61
- Franks, 2
- Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, 7, 31, 32, 33, 34, 160
 continence, views on, 176, 181–3
 fornication, views on, 181
Letter to Galla, 183
Letter to Optatus, 180–3
 addressee of, 180
 continence, vow of, in, 180–3
 paterfamilias, authority of, 182
 letters of, 32
 marriage, views on, 180–3
 widowhood, views on, 183
 writings of, 8, 197
- Fulgentius, Fabius Planciades, 74
Exposition on the Content of Virgil, 74
Mythologies, 74
- Gaca, Kathy, 162, 164
- Galla, 6th-century Roman aristocrat and sister of Proba, 7, 78, 183
- Garden of Eden, 249
- Gaul, 1, 5, 46, 202
- Gehenna, 248, 272
- Geiseric, Vandal king, sack of Rome (455), 51
- Gelasius, Pope, pseudonymous *Decretals* of, 13 n. 35, 226
- Gemina Januarilla, party to a marriage agreement recorded in the Albertini Tablets, 146
- Genesis, Book of, 140
- Gennadius of Marseilles, 136, 137
- Genovefa, Saint, 1–2, 3–6, 51
 family of, 4
 Frankish monarchy, relationship with, 5
 people of Paris, relationship with, 4
- Gens Anicia*, 67, 68, 83
- Gerontia, mother of Genovefa, 4
- Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae*, 116
- Gesta martyrum*, 224, 226, 230, 234
- Gibbon, Edward, 9
- Gordianus, father of Gregory the Great, 83
- Gospels, 251, 260, 266
- Gothic Wars, 45, 60, 75, 79, 80, 90, 97, 100, 106
- Goths, 2, 53, 99
 fear provoked by, 51
 gates of Rome opened for (410), 51
- Gratian, Roman emperor (367–83), 59
- Greece, 94
- greed, 165–7, 227, 255–60
- Greek literature, 133
- Gregoria *cubicularia*, 45
- Gregoria *illustrissima*, 45–6
- Gregoria, Roman *materfamilias*, 44, 45, 47, 85–92, 100, 122–33, 134, 141, 142, 183–98, 229, 237, 253 n. 43, 283
- Apostles, as advisers to, see *entries for* Andrew, James, John, Luke, Mark, Matthew, Peter
- aristocratic literary patron, 87–8
- biblical figures, as *exempla* to, see *entries for* Abraham, Anastasia, Anna, Aseneth, Deborah, Felicitas, Isaac, Jacob, Jael, Joachim, Joseph, Judith, Maccabea, Magdalene, Martha, Moses, Rachel, Rebecca, Sarah, Shunamite, Susanna, Symphorosa, Zipporah
- Boethius as a foil for, 89–91
- husband of, 229, 248–9, 283
- identity of, 45–6, 53
- links to court, 84
- married Christian woman, 141
- miles Christi*, 48
- model for imitation, 89

- Gregoria, Roman *materfamilias* (cont.)
 rank of, 138
 Republican *materfamilias*, compared to, 123
 warning to her class, 54
see also Ad Gregoriam in palatio
- Gregorius, praetorian prefect, 157
- Gregory the Great, 45–6, 58, 84–5, 199–201,
 218, 224
Dialogues, 86, 218
 Eusebia, correspondence with, 85
Exhortation to the Romans, 199–201
 Gregoria, correspondence with, 85
Homilies on Ezekiel, 86, 200
Homilies on the Gospels, 224
Moralia in Iob, 84
 praetorian prefect, 83–5
Regula Pastoralis, 33, 86
- Gregory, bishop of Tours, 199, 236
Decem Libri Historiarum, 199
Lives of the Fathers, 236
Vita Monegundis, 236
- Gunthamund, Vandal king, 146
- Hannah, mother of Samuel, 192
- Harries, Jill, 77
- Hatch, Diane, 67
- Heather, Peter, 24
- Heinzelmann, Martin, 3–4
- Helen of Troy, 86, 198
- Hermas, *see Shepherd of Hermas*
- Herod, King, 67
- Historia Augusta*, 156
- Homer, 61, 69, 198
Iliad, 69, 86
Odyssey, 133
- Honorati*, 25
- Honorius, Roman emperor (395–423), 10, 100,
 117 n. 82, 122
- Hopkins, Keith, 115
- Horace, 62, 65, 75, 77
- Howell, Martha, 97
- Huns, 1–2
see also Attila, Hunnic king
- Hunter, David, 152, 171
- Isaac, 279
- Isaiah, 140
 Book of, 140
- Isidore of Seville, 48
De viris illustribus, 46, 136
- Israel, 164
 tribes of, 213
- Italy, 13, 24, 26, 38, 39, 46, 50, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79,
 84, 88, 89, 97, 98, 100, 106, 118, 135, 164,
 168, 202, 234
- 5th-century civil wars and, 48, 50
 Byzantine, 100
 Gothic Wars, aftermath, 97–9
 invasion of (535), by Belisarius, 79
 military crises of, 51
 Ostrogothic, 52, 89, 98–9
- Jacob, 260, 279
- Jael, 192, 243
- James, Apostle, 22, 258
- Jeremiah, 231
- Jerome, monk and controversialist, 11, 17–18,
 38, 60, 62, 67, 73, 83, 101, 137, 164, 168,
 212, 235
Adversus Jovianianum, 168
 Ciceronian views, 72
De viris illustribus, 62
Letter 22 to Eustochium, 17–19, 212, 282 n. 72
Letter to Pammachius, 137
 spurious attributions to, 8
- Jerusalem, 42, 61, 72, 254
- Joachim, 279
- Job, 176, 211, 214
- Johannes episcopus, *see Sermons on the Resurrection*, author of
- Johannes mediocris, 230
- John, Apostle, 258, 264
 Gospel of, 163
- John Cassian, 17, 211, 219, 222
Conference, 87, 219–20
 Tower of Contemplation metaphor and, 86
mendacium and, 254 n. 45
 writings of, 205
- John Chrysostom, 45, 48, 101, 107, 165–7, 168,
 170–1, 230
12th Homily on Colossians, 165
20th Homily on Ephesians, 165
91 Homilies on Matthew, 165, 172, 173
 Anianus' translations of, 171–3
 greed, views on, 165–7
Homilies in Praise of Paul, 165–6, 172
 lust, views on, 166–7
 marriage, views on, 165–7, 278 n. 66
mendacium and, 254 n. 45
 spurious attributions to, 8, 169
- John II, Pope, *see John*, Roman Deacon
- John of Constantinople, *see Ad Gregoriam in palatio*, author of
- John the Baptist, 35
- John the Deacon, *see John*, Roman Deacon
- John the Faster, bishop of Constantinople, 45
- John, Roman deacon, 7, 8 n. 23
 writings of, 7
 Pope John I, identification as, 82
- Jones, A. H. M., 102

- Joseph, 66–7, 270, 279
 Joshua, Book of, 213
 Jovinian, 101, 168, 171, 179
 Judges, Book of, 35
 Judith, 70, 192, 219, 243
 Book of, 35
 Julian, bishop of Eclanum, 101, 152, 168–9, 170–1, 173
 Julian the Apostate, Roman emperor (361–3), 65
 Julianus, party to a marriage agreement recorded in the Albertini Tablets, 146
 Justin, Roman emperor (518–27), 157
 Justinian, Roman emperor (527–65), 2, 102, 108, 144, 147, 148, 153 n. 30, 156 n. 35, 157, 158
 Codex Justinianus, 158
 military expedition to Sicily (550), 82
 Novel 22, 147
 Pragmatic Sanction (554), 81
- Kelly, Christopher, 103
 Kreider, Alan, 196
- L'Orange, H. P., 62–4
Laudatio Turiae, 150
 Laurentius, *see* Leontius
 Lazarus, 277
 Leclercq, Jean, 57–8, 78, 80
 Leiden, 97
 Leo the Great, Pope, 145, 154–5, 200, 220
 letter book of, 145
 Leontius, 220
 Lerins, 46
 Leviticus, Book of, 140
Liber Pontificalis, 2
 Liberius the Patrician, 82
 Liebs, Detlef, 132
Lives of the Desert Fathers, 28
 Livy, 234
 Lombards, 2–3, 76, 84, 150, 200–1
 Lowe, E. A., 229
 Lucretia, 123
 Luke, Apostle, 264
 Book of, 35
 lust, 147, 166–9, 260–2, 281
 see also fornication
 Lydus, John, 103
- Maccabea, mother of the Maccabees, 192, 224, 232, 243, 247
 MacDonald, Dennis, 162
 Macrobius Plotinus Eudoxius, 74–5
 Magdalene, 192, 243
 Majorian, Roman Emperor (457–61), 51
 Manichaeism, 164, 165, 168, 171, 172, 173, 179
 Marcellianus, martyr of Rome, 39, 226
 wife of, 227
- Marcian, Roman emperor (396–457), 157
 Marcus, martyr of Rome, 39, 226, 228, 237
 wife of, 227
 Mark, Apostle, 264
 Markus, Robert, 164
 marriage, 61, 119, 129–32, 144, 147, 148, 160, 161–3, 164–75, 180–7, 188–9, 196–7, 243, 247–52, 263–7, 278 n. 66, 278–81
 affection in, 66
 ambivalence about institution of, 160–5
 asceticism and, 47
 balance of power in, 143–7, 148, 152, 155–8, 190–1, 197
 Carolingian period and, 176
 Christian views on, 145, 147
 continent, 174, 175–6
 contract, development of, 144–5, 190
 imperial reform and, 156–9
 marital intent, 146, 156
 marital relations, 47
 men's status increase due to, 149, 155–6
 offspring and, 148–9, 153, 156–7, 159
 Pelagian controversy and, 164, 169–70
 permanence of, 176, 237–8
 polygamy and, 145, 160
 procreation and, 146, 148, 152, 153, 162
 Roman law and, 144–7, 148–50, 152–60, 156 n. 35
 slaves and, *see* slaves, marriage and
 widowhood and virginity, hierarchy of, and, 47, 48, 183
 women's legal status and (*tutela mulierum*), 152, 152 n. 28, 156 n. 35
 see also adultery; concubinage; continence; dowry; divorce; Roman family; Roman household
- Marseilles, 94
 Martha, 192, 243
 Martianus Capella, 74
 De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, 75, 83
 Martin, bishop of Tours, 136, 237
 martyrs, 39, 46–7, 187–8, 191–2, 199–200, 214–19, 219–27, 228, 231–5, 237, 241 n. 8, 246, 247
 martyrdom, 13, 138–9, 221–9, 246–8, 270
 Mary, 66–7, 178
 Massacre of the Innocents, 67
materfamilias,
 contemplation and, 86
 legal sources and, 111–14
 Christian, as literary figure, 77
 representative of father's *familia*, 113–14
 role of, 94–5, 97, 101, 111–14

materfamilias (cont.)
 status of, 148–50
see also domina; Roman family; Roman household; women
 Matthew, Apostle, 140, 264
 Gospel of, 66, 168, 172
 Golden Rule of, 177
 Two Ways metaphor, 121, 177
 Matthews, John, 25–6
 Maurice, Roman emperor (582–602), 84, 85
 Mediterranean, 94, 161
 Melania the Younger, 54, 116, 235
mendacium, 254 n. 45
 Menippean satire, 83
 Milan, 30, 117, 154
 imperial capital, 25, 30, 103
miles Christi, 31, 33–4, 48, 49, 50, 91, 134, 203, 204, 210–11, 227
miles saeculi, 31, 33–4, 204
militia Christi, 31, 235
 Momigliano, Arnaldo, 72
 Monachesi, Maria, 221
 Monegund, Saint, 236–7
 Monnica, mother of Augustine, 143, 154, 194
 Morin, Dom Germain, 44, 169
 Moses, 19, 140, 218, 279
 mutual support, Christian, 201–2
 rhetoric of, 6
 Naissus, siege of (442), 51
 Nanterre, 4
 Naples, 76, 229, 230
 Lombard siege of (587), 2–3, 76, 201
 Neoplatonism, 69, 83, 90, 91, 164, 165
 Nîmes, 77
 Noah, 140
 Odoacer, 98
 Optatus (consul), possible addressee of
 Fulgentius' *Letter to Optatus*, 7, 157, 180
 Orange, Council of (529), 82
 Origen of Alexandria, 17, 206, 212–14, 217
Homily 15 on Joshua, 213
 writings of, 206, 206 n. 20
 Ostrogoths, 78, 82, 135
 monarchs, 78
 in Italy, 89
 Renaissance, 72, 74
otium, 81
 absence from Rome as, 93–4
 Christian, 80
 commerce and, 93
 concept of, 81, 93–4, 106
 rhetoric of, 93–4

P. Oxy VI 903, 159
 P. Oxy L 3581, 159
 Palatine Hill, 47
 Palestine, 224, 234, 247, 251
 Palladius, *Opus agriculturae*, 114
 Pammachius, brother-in-law of Eustochium and correspondent of Jerome, 137
Paranaeis didascalii of Ennodius, 69, 74
 Paris, Clovis' siege of, 1–2
 Paschasius, Roman deacon, 73
Passio Anastasiae, 187–8, 224–6, 241 n. 8
 spiritual battle metaphor in, 225–6
Passio Juliani et Basilissae, 235
Passio Pauli et Johannes, 230
Passio Felicitatis, 224
Passio Sebastiani, 39, 42, 203, 226, 227–8, 234, 235
mendacium in, 254 n. 45
miles Christi in, 203, 227
 spiritual battle metaphor in, 227–8
Passio Symphorosae, 224
paterfamilias, 108, 111, 138
 legal guardian, 111
 legal sources and, 111–14
 maintainer of public order, 38
 oppressor of virtue, 138
 property, owner, 54
 role of, 101, 109–11, 112, 114–15
 traditional idea of, 102
see also dominus; Roman household; Roman family
Patria, 9
 Patriarchs, 19
 Patricius, 194
 patronage, Christian, 13, 14–16, 37
 rhetoric of, 47
 Paul, Apostle, 22, 172, 173, 179, 181, 193, 211, 213, 240, 249, 253, 264, 266, 269, 275, 277, 282
Codex Pauli, 266
 Epistles of, 165, 213
 Letters to the Corinthians, 15, 162, 181, 193–4, 249
 Letter to the Ephesians, 17, 22
 Letter to Timothy, 41
 marriage, views on, 161–3
 virginity, views on, 162–3
 Paula, mother of Eustochium and friend of Jerome 17
 Paulinus, bishop of Nola, 75, 81, 168, 282 n. 72
 Pavia, 81, 203
 Pelagianism, 61, 164, 169–70, 171–3, 174
 Pelagius II, Pope, 84, 199
 Pelagius, monk and controversialist II, 23, 101, 169–70, 173–4, 178
Ad Celanthiam, possible author of, 173
 controversy concerning, 23, 174

- De castitate*, possible author of, 169
Expositions on Thirteen Epistles of Saint Paul, 170
 followers of, 169, 170, 171
Letter to Demetrias, 19–23, 178
 Manichaeism and, 173
 theology of will and, 19
see also Pelagianism
- Peter, Apostle, 22, 178, 258, 259, 275, 282
- Phineas, 221
- Pinian of the Valerii, husband of Melania the Younger, 116, 122
 criticism of, 117
- Plinval, Georges de, 169
- Plato, 72, 151, 163, 165
- Plotinus, 90
- Porphyrius, 72
- Porta Capena*, 75
- Poulin, Joseph-Claude, 4
- precario tenens*, 40, 41
- Primmer, Adolf, 173
- Priscian, 72
- Proba, 4th-century author, 57, 65–7, 68, 69, 76, 77
Cento of, 65–7, 68
- Proba, 6th-century virgin and literary patron, 7, 56–7, 68, 73, 74, 78, 237
 identity of, 67–8
- Proba, Anicia Faltonia, 51, 53, 54, 66, 67–8
- Proba, Faltonia Betitia, 67
- Probus, Roman emperor, (276–82), 158
- Probus, Sextus Claudius Petronius (consul, 371), 19, 67
- Procopius, 32, 53, 124
 wealthy wife of, 124
- Prosper of Aquitaine, 200
- Prudentius, 68–72, 75, 77, 86, 88, 211
 4th-century poem of, 50
Psychomachia, 50, 64, 68–72, 86
Peristephanon, 68
- Psalms, Book of, 22, 140, 214
- Pseudo-Chrysostom texts, 172
- Pseudo-Jerome, *Commentary on Mark*, 243 n. 20
psychomachia, 71, 88, 141, 211
see also Prudentias, *Psychomachia*; spiritual battle metaphor
- Publius, evil husband of Roman martyr Anastasia, 224
- Rachel, 192, 242, 279
- Radegund, Frankish queen, 198, 237
- Ravenna, 47
- Rebecca, 192, 242, 279
- Reginus, *dux*, addressee of Ferrandus of Carthage's treatise, 8, 31–7, 134, 204
- Regula Magistri*, 229, 234, 235
- Relihan, Joseph, 83
- Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, 99
- Remondon, Roger, 97, 102
- Revelation, Book of, 17
- Rhône, river, 99
- Ricimer, 202, 203, 220
 marriage of, 202
 stand-off with Majorian (471), 51, 220
- Roberts, Michael, 62, 63–5
- Roman family, 61, 66
 age of majority, 111 n. 62
 agnatic kin, 109, 109 n. 56
 balance of power in, 27, 153
 cognatic kin, 109, 109 n. 56
 importance of traditions and treasures, 57
 moral independence of sons, 28–9
 offspring, 149–50, 153, 156–7, 159
 emancipation of, 111, 144 n. 4, 149
 upbringing of, 8–10, 28–9, 109, 111, 120, 148–9
 paternal authority, 108, 144, 148–50
 usurpation of 38, 54–5, 235
see also familia; marriage; Roman household
- Roman household,
 dependants of, 93, 102, 104–6, 107, 108–9, 112, 114–15, 120, 121, 124
domina as mistress of, 96–101, 112, 114–17, 122–33, 267–74
 slave labour, 96
 landholding and, 93–4, 101–2, 106–7
 nuclear unit, 110
see also domus; marriage; Roman family; slaves
- Roman literature, 133
- Roman poetry,
 Christian, 61–72
 jewelled style, 62–4, 91
 late, 62–8
- Romans, Book of, 35
- Rome, 17, 23, 24, 25, 27, 39, 40, 46, 47, 56, 60, 72, 73, 85, 94, 98, 144, 171, 202, 247
 economy of, 104
 Gothic Wars, aftermath, 97–9
 martyrs of, 46–7
 palace at, 47
 plague (589), 199–200
 shrines of martyrs, 47, 200
 sieges and sackings of, 51
 Lombard siege of, 200–1
 sack of (410), by Alaric and the Goths, 46, 50, 51
 sack of (455), by Geiseric, 51
 siege of (451), 200
 siege of (471), 51
 siege of (535), by Belisarius, 51

- Rome (cont.)
 siege of (537–8), by Witiges, 3, 51, 76
 siege of (546–7), by Totila, 51
 siege of (555), by Totila, 51
 Vandal occupation of, 33
 St Peter *ad vincula*, church of, 56, 76
 Urban Prefect of, 115
 Rufinus of Aquileia, 206, 206 n. 20
 Ruricius of Limoges, 137
 Rusticiana, aristocrat of Constantinople and
 friend of Gregory the Great, 84
 Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne, 154, 220
- Salamito, Jean-Marie, 169
 Saller, Richard, 110, 111
 Salvian of Marseilles, 40, 72
Adversus Avaritiam, 40
mendacium and, 254 n. 45
 Sarah, 192, 242, 279
 Sardinia, 180
 Sarris, Peter, 133
 Scyllacium (Squillace), location of Cassiodorus'
 estates, 79, 80, 81
 Sebastian, martyr of Rome, 39, 46, 215, 226, 227
 Securus Memor Felix, 75
 Seleucia, bishop of, 251 n. 41, 252
 Seleucia of Isauria, 251 n. 41
 Seleucia Pieria, 251 n. 41
 self-examination, Christian, 202–4
 Senarius, Roman senator, 7, 82
 senate, 3, 53, 54, 83, 98, 152
 crisis, 100
 role of, 25–7
 elite, literacy of, 56–7, 58–60
 senators, 25
 Seneca, 90
 Septuagint, 164
 Serena, widow of Stilicho, 53–4
Sermons on the Resurrection, 230–4
 author of, 11, 230–5
 bereavement in, 232–5
 martyrs as *exempla* in, 231–5
 Sestius, senator, 1st-century bc, 94, 106
 Seven Deadly Sins, 205
 Severinus of Noricum, 73
 Severus, brother of Pinian, 116, 122
 Shanzer, Danuta, 83
 Shaw, Brent, 110
Shepherd of Hermas, 5–6, 50
 Shunamite, the, 192, 243
 Sicily, 82, 97
 Sidonius Apollinaris, 7, 73, 77
Panegyric to Anthemius, 202
 Simeon Stylites, 133
 Simplicius, *Enchiridon*, 99, 100–1
- Sion, 221
 slaves, 96
 marriage and, 129–32, 132 n. 122, 153 n. 30
see also Roman household, dependants of
 Socrates, 82
 Soldier of Christ, *see Miles Christi*
 Solomon, Wisdom of, 22
 Song of Songs, 22, 224
 Souter, A., 170
 Spain, 46, 94, 99
 spiritual battle metaphor, 49–50, 51–3, 86–7, 88,
 91, 138–9, 141, 184, 198, 202–5, 207–9,
 210–12, 220–3, 225–6, 227–8, 246, 249,
 253–60, 261, 262–4
 Stark, Rodney, 201
 Stilicho, husband of Serena, 53
 Stoicism, Christian, 23, 70, 90, 91, 163, 176, 201–2
 Sulpicius Severus,
 as possible author of *Ad Claudiam*, 136, 137
 Surgerius, 76
 Susanna, 244, 270, 279
 Symeon Stylites, 6
 Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius Memmius
 (consul, 485), 56, 74, 82, 183
 Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius, orator (consul,
 391), 30, 154
 Symmachus, L. Aurelius Avianus, father of the
 orator, 104
 Symphorosa, martyr of Rome, 46, 224, 247
 Syria, 251 n. 41
- taxation, 104
 tax collection, 24–5
teichoskopia, 86, 198
see also spiritual battle metaphor
 Tertullian of Carthage, 15, 70, 72, 83, 90, 91, 138,
 141, 206–10, 211
Ad martyras, 206
De patientia, 194, 206–10
Ad Gregoriam in palatio and, 208–9
 aims of, 206
 contents of, 207–8
 endurance metaphor in, 207–9
 spiritual battle metaphor in, 207–9
 vices and virtues in, 207–9
 Stoicism, Christian and, 90, 91
- Tetrarchy, 24
 Thagaste, 154
 Thecla, Saint, 119
 Theoderic II, Visigothic king (453–66), 132
 Theoderic the Great, Ostrogothic king
 (493–526), 3, 10, 38, 45, 46, 81, 100, 103,
 124, 132, 137
 letter of (511), 124
 rule of Italy, 98–9

- Theodora, Roman empress and wife of Justinian, 157
- Theodorus, 7
- Theodosius II, Roman emperor (408–50), 97, 100, 157
- Theodosius the Great, Roman emperor (379–95), ix
- Theodegunda, landowner and recipient of letter from Theoderic, 124
- Theudis, Visigothic king, 124
 wealthy wife of, 124
- Thonnard, François-Joseph, 170, 171
- Tiber, river, 104
 flooding of, 199
- Tiburine city *see* Tivoli
- Tivoli, 224, 247
- Tonnantius Ferreolus, 77
- Totila, Ostrogothic king,
 siege of Rome (546–7), 51
 siege of Rome (555), 51
- Touraine, the, 237
- Tours, 236
- Tower of Contemplation metaphor, 52, 53, 86, 253–4
- Trajan, Roman emperor (98–117), 24, 130
- Treggiari, Susan, 155
- Troy, 86
- Tuscany, 94
- Ulpian, 112
- Valentinian III, Roman emperor (425–55), 25, 26, 44, 129, 131, 220
Novel 31, 130–1, 133
- Vandals, 32, 135
- Varro, 77
- Vauchez, Andre, 217–18
- Venantia, correspondent of Fulgentius of Ruspe, 7
- Venantius Fortunatus, *Elegy on the Death of Galswintha*, 189
- verna* (house-born slave), 133
- Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius, 68, 75
- Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (consul designate at his death in 384), 75
- Vetus Latina*, 65
- vices and virtues, 23, 50, 52, 70–1, 86, 87, 88, 118, 119–21, 134, 138, 167, 178, 184, 205–9, 210, 227, 229, 240, 243–6, 254, 262–3, 269, 277, 280, 281, 282
- Vienna, 117
- Vigilius, Pope, 51, 76
- Viminacium, siege of (442), 51
- Virgil, 61–2, 65, 67, 69, 77
Aeneid, 65
Eclogues, 65
Georgics, 65
- virginity, 162–3, 183
 higher status of, 47, 48, 168
- Visigoths, 133
 kingdoms of, 46, 99, 124
- Vita Bassi*, 74, 82, 85
- Vita Caesarii*, 45, 46
- Vita Genovefae*, 1–2, 3, 4, 44, 53
 dating of, 3
 devotional literature and, 5–6
- Vivarium, 58, 80, 81
- Viventius, joint author (with Cyprian and Firminus) of *Vita* of Caesarius of Arles, 46
- Von Schubert, Hans, 220
- wealth, 66, 93–4, 102, 149, 153, 155
 personal poverty and, 38–44
 renunciation of,
- widowhood, 150, 183
 higher status of, 47, 48, 168, 281
- Witiges, King of Ostrogoths (536–40), 2, 3, 80
 siege of Rome (537), 3, 51
- women,
 correspondence to, 28
 male role of, 111–14, 134
 representation in texts, 12, 88
 property ownership, 112–14, 113 n. 69
see also domina; materfamilias; marriage;
 Roman family; Roman household
- Wormald, Patrick, 26–7
- Zachariah, 278
- Zeno, Roman emperor (474–91), 156
- Zion, 283
- Zipporah, 192, 242, 279
- Zosimus, early 6th-century historian, 53