

## Introduction

### *Paideia*, Masculinity, and Identity

In 362 Emperor Julian (331–63) issued an edict and a letter that prohibited Christians from serving as teachers of Greek grammar, literature, and philosophy.<sup>1</sup> A year later, in his early thirties and recently ordained presbyter in his father’s church, Gregory of Nazianzus (329–90) composed an epistle.<sup>2</sup> The addressee was Candidianus, governor of Cappadocia (Gregory’s home province).<sup>3</sup> “I’m stamping the ground (κόπτω τοῦδαφος) with my feet, as it were, like the most impetuous of horses,” Gregory wrote, “champing the bit, cocking my ear, chuffing hot breath (πνέω τε θυμόν) from my nostrils, gazing with ferocity (βλέπω δριμύ), shaking off the froth, yet still remaining within the corral, since the law does not permit me the race.”<sup>4</sup> Gregory was alluding to Julian’s

<sup>1</sup> *C. Th.* 13.3.5; Julian, *Ep.* 61. R. Cribiore, *Libanius the Sophist: Rhetoric, Reality, and Religion in the Fourth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 229–37 considers the measures an attempt to draw a stark religious binary between Christian and non-Christian intellectuals; A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformation of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 146–54 shows how near-contemporary authors misrepresented the legislation as an act of tyranny against Christians; and J. Stenger, *Hellenische Identität in der Spätantike: pagane Autoren und ihr Unbehagen an der eigenen Zeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 111–22 sees the actions not primarily as anti-Christian, but as part of Julian’s larger moral reform program. Nazianzen depicts the measures as directed against Christians and as personally confining.

<sup>2</sup> *Greg. Naz., Ep.* 10 (Storin 230).

<sup>3</sup> Candidianus: R. Van Dam, “Governors of Cappadocia during the Fourth Century,” *Medieval Prosopography* 17 (1996), 43–5; H–M, 51–2; and B. Storin, *Gregory of Nazianzus’s Letter Collection: The Complete Translation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019), 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Greg. Naz., Ep.* 10 (Storin 230): “law,” οὐκ ἐπιέντος μοι τοῦ νόμου τὸν δρόμον.

ban on Christians teaching classical texts, exclusion from “the race.”<sup>5</sup> Cueing the reader to imagine a caged animal, Gregory staged his restlessness. Horses were a point of pride for Cappadocians, who were famed across the Mediterranean for the quality of their stallions.<sup>6</sup> Equines were featured in Greek antiquity as noble animals, with a legacy in heroic combat stretching back to Homer’s *Iliad*.<sup>7</sup> In most of the Roman empire, moreover, by the late 300s horse-racing had surpassed athletics as the most widely attended and contested sport.<sup>8</sup> “Shall I toss aside eloquence altogether?” Gregory then asked. “Of course not!”<sup>9</sup> Gregory was personifying himself as the gallant steed, unwilling to be constrained. He was also alluding to a passage from Plato’s *Theaetetus* – where cavalry are preparing to race into battle – to signal that he had a natural calling to fulfill.<sup>10</sup> The emperor’s mandates could not deter his determination to race. He was showing off his elocution, a mark of his manhood.

In expressing defiance, Gregory was protesting Emperor Julian’s proscription. He was using the issue of Julian’s law to fashion an identity for himself, as a challenger craving the thrill of competition. And now, having recorded his audacity, he issued a panegyric for the addressee, the governor of his homeland. Gregory admired the “power of your speech” (τοῦ λόγου τὸ κράτος), pointing out that Candidianus’ just but imposing nature was manifest through his command over words.<sup>11</sup> He then likened Candidianus’ “resolve” (στερρός) to the “pounces of lions.”<sup>12</sup> And finally he delivered a litany of references from celebrated Greek authors

<sup>5</sup> F. Gautier, *La Retraite et le sacerdoce chez Grégoire de Nazianze* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 314–17, suggests that, because of his ordination to the priesthood, he was excluded from instruction. This is not a convincing argument.

<sup>6</sup> R. Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 23, on the association of horses with aristocratic honor in Cappadocia; J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 20–2, on Cappadocian horses as highly regarded warhorses,

<sup>7</sup> On Achilles’ immortal horses Balios and Xanthos, *Iliad* 2.760, 16.148, 17.426, and 19.292; Xenophon, *On Horsemanship* and *Calvary Commander* on the close relationship between superior horses and combat; A. Sestili, *L’equitazione nella Grecia antica: i trattati equestri di Senofonte e i frammenti di Simone* (Scandicci: Firenze Atheneum, 2006), 50–101, gives overview of Xenophon’s texts and shows that horsemanship played a crucial part of the civil and military life of the aristocratic Greek male.

<sup>8</sup> S. Remijsen, *The End of Greek Athletics in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 87–8.

<sup>9</sup> Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 10 (Storin 230): “toss aside,” παντάσῃ καταβαλοῦμεν τοὺς λόγους.

<sup>10</sup> Plato, *Theaetetus* 183d. <sup>11</sup> Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 10 (Storin 230).

<sup>12</sup> Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 10 (Storin 230).

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Sophocles, Pindar, Homer, Aristophanes, and Theocritus as he praised Candidianus for his resourcefulness, justice, wisdom, gentleness, and persuasion. Gregory extolled the qualities that made a legitimate ruler, and with well-suited citations from ancient Greek authors, he flaunted his fluency. The text simulated the youthful priest as performing at an *adventus* ceremony, when orators welcomed emperors and other imperial officials to their communities.<sup>13</sup> Gregory thus honored Candidianus, and by recalling glorious men of honor, he brandished his intimacy with a Greek past that was – according to Julian – incongruent with his position as a clergyman.<sup>14</sup>

Gregory's letter illustrates the major theme in *Christianity and the Contest for Manhood*: fourth-century clergy using the rhetoric of contest as a means of identifying with classical ideals of manhood. In texts such as the preceding, Gregory and his fellow clergy Basil of Caesarea (330–79) and Gregory of Nyssa (335–94) invested themselves, family members, and fellow pro-Nicene clergy with enduring attributes of classical Greek masculinity.<sup>15</sup> These bishops (the “Cappadocians”) represented their epistolary discourse with fellow intellectuals as emblematic of ἀρετή (*aretē*): the fortitude, the excellence, the virtue, that is, that ancient Greeks considered the product of rivalries between preeminent men. The Cappadocians penned and exchanged letters with fellow literati as part of a virtual ἀγών (*agōn*), competition that in classical Greece had included warfare, athleticism, and oratory. In hagiographic accounts (writings about saints), Nyssen and Nazianzen likewise endowed male

<sup>13</sup> For the nature of ceremony for establishing fluid relations between empire and province, and in particular the *adventus*, see S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 15–90; on the reception of governors, A. Bérenger, “L’*adventus* des gouverneurs de province,” in *Les Entrées royales et impériales: histoire, représentation et diffusion d’une cérémonie publique, de l’Orient ancien à Byzance*, eds. A. Bérenger and É. Perrin-Saminadayar (Paris: de Boccard, 2009), 125–38.

<sup>14</sup> A practice also carried out by prominent contemporary non-Christian writers. Libanius of Antioch, for instance, reached back to the classic past to celebrate the works of the fifth-century B.C. rhetorician Aristides. See R. Criboire, “Vying with Aristides in the Fourth Century,” in *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*, eds. W. V. Harris and B. Holmes (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 263–78.

<sup>15</sup> To delineate between the Gregories, I use “Nazianzen,” and “Nyssen.” In applying the term “pro-Nicene,” I am using the definition outlined by L. Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 236–40. Pro-Nicenes, that is, developed their theology using the Nicene Creed as a cipher. Ayres summarizes the principle that guided pro-Nicene arguments against rival Trinitarian theologies: “The unity of nature was understood to imply that the three persons were of equal ontological standing – all possessed the fullness of what it was to be God” (236).

and female ascetic figures with features of manhood coordinate with contest: bravery, constancy, and resolve. Such literary displays were conspicuous, an assertion of social and hierarchical authority.<sup>16</sup>

In the case cited above, Gregory of Nazianzus (Nazianzen) used his proficiency with ancient Greek literature to present himself as resolute and capable of matching anyone (including Emperor Julian) as an arbiter of manly deportment. His letter was an assurance to fellow intellectuals: first, that he belonged to their number; second, that he placed import on time-honored conventions of gender; and third, that with his learnedness, he was well-suited to habituate young men into leadership roles. An affiliation with a man of contest was significant in the late fourth century. Individuals and groups of intellectuals sought to claim classical Greece as part of their pedigree, a heritage that illustrated masculinity through scenes of struggle. In prohibiting Christians from teaching classical texts, Julian was symbolically emasculating church leaders such as Gregory and consequently maligning them. By declaring that clergy belonged outside this *agōn*, the emperor was declaring Christianity incompatible with classical masculinity. Gregory's performance was intended to shatter that disjunction.

But while Gregory was seeking to demonstrate his own manhood, he was not attacking the masculinity of his correspondents. Nor did Basil or Nyssen use letter writing to impugn the gender of rivals. Instead the Cappadocians participated in epistolary *agōnes* as a way of questing after the characteristics of idealized manhood. They distributed honor through literary exhibitions of correspondence, even as they were accruing status for themselves. The display of *aretē* through letters thus reflected the reciprocal nature of classical friendship (φιλία; *philia*), in which colleagues promoted a collective outlay of dignity. In managing this economy of virtue, the Cappadocians promoted confidence in the leadership of pro-Nicene Christians, believers who supported the tenets of the Creed of Nicaea, and in particular the sameness of nature in God the Father and God the Son. But in an epistolary network of intellectuals, the Cappadocians were not seeking either to isolate on an identity as pro-Nicene clergymen or to minimize the *aretē* of non-Christians. In this genre, they were attempting to gain creditability within a diverse religious community, whose affinity depended largely on a mutual sense of manhood.

<sup>16</sup> See Pierre Bourdieu's conception of *habitus*: that speech, behavior, education, and values produce social differences of hierarchy in each society. P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. J. B. Thompson, trans. G. Raymond and M. Adamson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 1–12.

Within hagiographic biographies, however, the Cappadocians linked *aretē* explicitly to subjects identified as pro-Nicene Christians. Through episodes of *agōnes*, figures as diverse as third-century bishop Gregory Thaumaturgus and Basil's and Nyssen's sister Macrina were characterized as epitomes of classical masculinity and as Trinitarian (pro-Nicene) Christians. In such representations, the Cappadocians used sacred figures or family members and friends as the medium through which to tether Trinitarian episcopal leadership to classical manhood. These texts, usually delivered first as speeches to large Christian crowds, were later circulated among a wide readership of Christians and non-Christians. The Cappadocians intended these rhetorical compositions to influence a broad segment of society to correlate pro-Nicene Christianity with classical manhood. Unlike epistolary performances, where the Cappadocians shared honor with correspondents, they designed hagiographic accounts to equate manliness with pro-Nicenes, and effeminacy with doctrinal opponents. These personifications thus accentuated the Cappadocians' identity as theologians while diminishing the trustworthiness of their adversaries. As Susanna Elm argues, such literary performances were used to discredit religious rivals; in particular the non-Christian Emperor Julian, but also theological rivals *within* Christianity such as Eunomius of Cyzicus (c. 335–c. 393), the one-time bishop, critic of Nicene Christology, and frequent object of the Cappadocians' invective.<sup>17</sup> The Cappadocians harmonized classical masculinity and piety in their pro-Nicene subjects to authorize them against such non-Trinitarians. The hagiographic discourses placed theological persuasion front and center by staging pro-Nicene feats of *aretē* against the unorthodox, thus delineating identity *within* Christianity. In both epistolary exchange and hagiographic composition, therefore, the Cappadocians framed pro-Nicene leadership as an extension of masculinity.

#### BISHOPS, AGŌN, AND CLASSICAL MASCULINITY

By the early 370s, Nazianzen, Basil, and Nyssen all were serving as bishops in Cappadocia. Basil was elected bishop at Caesarea, capital of

<sup>17</sup> S. Elm, *Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church: Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); although Elm focuses more specifically on the correct use of *λόγοι* (eloquence) as delineating true philosophy among rivals, my investigation into the Cappadocians' hagiography takes a similar approach. See especially Elm, 387–413.

Cappadocia, in 370. As the metropolitan bishop, in 372 he ordained Nazianzen at Sasima. The same year he appointed his younger brother Gregory (Nyssen) to an episcopal see at Nyssa. Before consecration as bishops, Basil and Nazianzen had both already served as lesser clergy: Basil, ordained as deacon in 362, and then as presbyter in 365; Nazianzen ordained presbyter at his father's church in 361. For Nyssen, his election to the episcopacy in 372 marked his first tenure as clergy. Momentarily we will turn to the familial and social background of the Cappadocians, but first an overview of the fourth-century episcopacy will show how, more generally, expectations of intellectual preparation and gender in church leaders made each Cappadocian a candidate to serve as a high-level clergyman.

During the mid-300s, bishops increasingly were conducting issues of provincial administration in association with, and sometimes in place of civic officials. In these roles, many clergy asserted status by deploying forms of cultural capital that acknowledged affinity with other provincial elites.<sup>18</sup> In the eastern Roman empire, most municipal offices were held by a longstanding local aristocracy (the curial class) that maintained a network of friends, patrons, and clients within the city and in other towns and provinces.<sup>19</sup> These individuals developed and maintained relationships, in large part, through a common social currency: a mutual acculturation (*παιδεία*; *paideia*) based on the study of classical Greek literature, philosophy, history, medicine, and oratory. The Cappadocians were born into families of these power brokers and each grew up studying and participating in the discourse of *paideia*. Personal honor and public status in this segment of provincial administration depended partly on playing a

<sup>18</sup> Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 41–7, uses the concept of cultural capital developed in Bourdieu. Brown's use of Bourdieu's cultural capital includes the language, the decorum, the rules of interaction that enabled provincial elites far removed from one another to participate in a mutual dialogue that showed respect for a shared curriculum of classical literature. Exhibiting fluency in this pedagogy was a means of participating in a collective identity that united distant parties in a common intellectual space. One of Brown's major contributions, in studying provincial administration through the framework of cultural capital, is his emphasis on well-educated bishops' ability to enter rather fluidly into influential social and political roles outside the church.

<sup>19</sup> S. Métivier, *La Cappadoce (IVe–Vie Siècle): une histoire provinciale de l'empire romain d'Orient* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005), 77–94; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, 3 vols (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964) specifically on the *curiales*, 1:737–57.

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role as a *pepaideumenos* (a performer of *paideia*).<sup>20</sup> Increasingly during the late-fourth century, Christian literati such as the Cappadocians – trained in *paideia* and from a heritage of provincial aristocracy – were being ordained as clergy. Such priests were thus equipped to petition various regional and imperial authorities through correspondence when the addressee understood the verbal cues that came from familiarity with tropes and references from the classical past.<sup>21</sup>

A cohesion based on habituation in the values of classical Greece facilitated requests for civic benefactions, exchanges of favors, personal patronage, and various forms of mediation between the Cappadocians and magnates across the eastern empire. In the early 370s, for example, Basil penned a petition regarding a fellow bishop to Aburgius, another native Cappadocian who had served as an imperial magistrate.<sup>22</sup> Basil spoke of honoring their common *ἑταιρεία* (*hetaireia*), a “brotherhood” of similarly educated men.<sup>23</sup> Basil reminded Aburgius of their mutual background and learning (*paideia*), which they had shared at Athens or at home in Caesarea. He praised Aburgius for his *aretē*, thus advertising his compatriot’s virtuous manhood. By accentuating reciprocal nobility, Basil was reminding Aburgius of their congruity in terms of education and status. Likewise in 385 Gregory of Nazianzus mediated for his grand-nephew’s family in a letter to Gregory, a governor in Cappadocia.<sup>24</sup> Gregory suggested that men who share a love for eloquence (*λόγος*; *logos*) are united because of their common passion. Thus, he was seeking “from

<sup>20</sup> L. Van Hoof, “Performing *Paideia*: Greek Culture as an Instrument for Social Promotion in the Fourth Century A.D.,” *CQ* 63 (2013), 387–9; S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World AD 50–250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 6–7.

<sup>21</sup> C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 181–7; R. Lizzi Testa, *Il potere episcopale nell’Oriente romano: rappresentazione ideologica e realtà politica (IV–V sec. d. C.)* (Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1987), 2–11.

<sup>22</sup> Aburgius: *PLRE* 1:5; Van Dam, *Kingdom*, 59.

<sup>23</sup> Basil, *Ep.* 33; E. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 51–3, on the nuances of the word *ἑταιρεία* in an intellectual context, and how the term in Eunapius’ account of sophists is used to describe persons who belonged to the inner circle of a teacher.

<sup>24</sup> Gregory: *PLRE* 1:403; Störin, *Gregory*, 30; Van Dam, “Governors,” 51–2; Gregorius had served as governor of Cappadocia Secunda or Cappadocia Prima; P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964), 86 n. 3, dates the epistle to 385 but does not specify if the recipient was, in fact, the governor of Cappadocia, or which of the two divisions he governed.

Your Friendliness (φιλία) the response that a friend would give.”<sup>25</sup> By doing so, the governor’s nobility (καλοκαγαθία) would be advertised through aiding these supplicants. Because of their common conception of *philia* (“camaraderie”) – as denoted in classical texts – the bishop was reminding the governor how a Greek gentleman behaves, thus encouraging him to act befittingly.<sup>26</sup> The ideal of *philia*, as a shared identity based on *paideia*, formed a cornerstone of networking across the empire during the late fourth century.<sup>27</sup>

If an individual played the role of the *pepaideumenos* correctly with another scholar, even if the two differed in religious beliefs, he could expect a degree of respect and reasonable consideration for his requests.<sup>28</sup> More important than leverage gained on any single issue, by appearing proficient through displays of cultural capital, an individual acquired cumulative honor that enhanced his influence in other matters. He would be taken seriously by his peers. For centuries, the overriding premise of a curriculum in *paideia* had been to cultivate the citizen male. As fourth-century *pepaideumenoι* participated in similar disciplines as their forebears, a mutual sense of masculinity provided symmetry among a cross-section of imperial and provincial intelligentsia. Peter Brown speaks of *paideia* as the common code among the educated that allowed individuals from otherwise politically subordinate positions to interact with and persuade superiors.<sup>29</sup> But the less powerful person was expected to project a bold persona in order to be effective when supplicating imperial

<sup>25</sup> Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 195 (Storin 82).

<sup>26</sup> D. Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 6–14, addresses the complexities in the Greek language for the bond that is most like conceptions of friendship in the modern western world. *Philia*, he points out, referred to affection that applied to multiple relationships, “friendship” outside of kinship groups being only one of these. The noun *philos*, he says, most closely approximates our word “friend.” In other words, the more accurate and specific designation for “friendship” would be to talk about “*philia* between *philoι*.” Our study will concentrate on *philia* as this latter form of friendship. That is, we will use the term *philia* about a voluntary association between individuals, involving mutual affection and commitment, and predicated on similarity of social values; and specifically rooted in mutual *aretē*.

<sup>27</sup> The shared identity of classical friendship, as Reeser notes, was rooted in a masculine ethos, T. Reeser, *Moderating Masculinity in Early Modern Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 55–6; for the variant terminology of friendship between Basil and Nazianzen, K. Treu, “Φιλία und Αγάπη: zur Terminologie der Freundschaft bei Basilius und Gregor von Nazianz,” *Studii Clasice* 3 (1961), 421–7.

<sup>28</sup> A. Schor, *Theodoret’s People: Social Networking and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) 139–43; Schor uses social network theory to explain how bishops could use *paideia* as a “gateway to the Roman elite” (141).

<sup>29</sup> Brown, *Power*, 61–3.



figures. Knowledge of ancient texts thus was insufficient, without the attendant deportment. Elm and Arthur Urbano similarly discuss *paideia* as the matrix of spiritual and philosophic authority in the late fourth century.<sup>30</sup> For Christian leaders, the dividing line between orthodox and heretical came to depend on the right and wrong uses of *logoi*; here meaning philosophic reason and eloquence. For Brown, Elm, and Urbano, intimacy with the ancients enabled individuals to assert control by crafting a variety of self-representations: as powerful, civilized, erudite, philosophic, and Greek.

*Christianity and the Contest for Manhood* focuses on masculinity as one such configuration; a disposition that the Cappadocians understood as confirmation of *paideia* fully developed and properly used. An identity as a classical male thus overlapped with or enhanced other models of *paideia*. The issue of masculinity, for example, played a significant role enhancing one's identity as a Hellene (a true Greek). To assert oneself as a philosopher, moreover, an individual had to have excelled in a course of studies (*paideia*) that promoted manhood as a moral virtue and set forth a myriad of classical Greek persons to emulate.<sup>31</sup> By definition, a true Greek in late antiquity had to appear manly.<sup>32</sup> *Paideia* was capital through which scholars interacted, while *aretē* was the ethical character (ἠθος) of an individual whose development was bona fide and comprehensive.

### *The Legacy of Agōn and the Semantics of Virtuous Manhood*

Antecedents for the cultural capital of masculinity in the fourth century appeared foremost in the earliest accounts of Greek society, where an individual gained honor by exhibiting exemplary manhood.<sup>33</sup> One's integrity and authority were reckoned according to his masculinity,

<sup>30</sup> Elm, *Sons*, 11–12; A. Urbano, *The Philosophical Life: Biography and the Crafting of Intellectual Identity in Late Antiquity* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2013), on intellectuals competing to claim Greek *paideia* as their heritage, 6–24.

<sup>31</sup> Elm, *Sons*, 479–87; Urbano, *Philosophical*, 8–9.

<sup>32</sup> On constructing an identity as a “Hellene,” a complex, multi-faceted designation in Christianity: C. Rapp, “Hellenic Identity, Romanitas, and Christianity in Byzantium,” in *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Katarina Zacharia (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 127–47, and R. Dostálová, “Christentum und Hellenismus: Zur Herausbildung einer neuen kulturellen Identität im 4. Jahrhundert,” *Byzantinoslavica* 44 (1983), 1–12.

<sup>33</sup> M. Finkelberg, “Timē and Aretē in Homer,” *CQ* 48:1 (1998), 15–16; as Finkelberg shows, this notion of honor is best understood as a broader concept that included status and prestige. Finkelberg also makes an important differentiation between *timē* (honor

an identity determined not based solely on sex, but rather earned through participating in contests (*agōnes*) deemed representative of a virtuous male.<sup>34</sup> A man might be criticized for exuding feminine traits, for example, while a woman might receive praise for demonstrating the probity of a noble man by proving herself in a struggle. The value-laden implication of gender comes across already in the Homeric vocabulary, where idealized masculinity was imbedded in *aretē* (ἀρετή), a term used to denote stateliness and supremacy. In the Homeric epics, *aretē* involved a number of qualities ranging from valor in combat to excellence of speech.<sup>35</sup> Earliest examples of such idyllic masculinity appear in the Homeric warriors, who proved their bravery in matches against other combatants (e.g. Achilles vs. Hector). The action always took place in view of others, so that the warrior's virtue was made known to his chieftain and fellow combatants and he could subsequently accrue the honor befitting his deeds.<sup>36</sup> In these encounters, courage stood out as an index of masculinity, thus authorizing these figures as (ἀγαθοί; *agathoi*), upstanding men. The exhortation found in Homer, “Be men” (ἀνέρες ἔστε) became a commonplace in later Greek writing, as an injunction to act with courage and resolve.<sup>37</sup> Such acts of mettle in Homer provided an antecedent to classical *agōn*, conspicuous competition that singularized leaders. As early as the Homeric epics, moreover, legitimate masculinity appeared as a social construct achieved in solidarity with other men. Ideal manhood, that is, constituted an enterprise that was based on a consensus

allocated by others through competition) and *aretē* (virtue recognized in oneself through competition). Both were important to fourth-century bishops.

<sup>34</sup> J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 170–7.

<sup>35</sup> W. Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, trans. G. Highet, vol. 1 (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945), 3–14; on distinction of *texne* (as “art” or “craft”) and comparison with *aretē* (as a moral virtue), J. Kube, *TEXNH und APETH: Sophistisches und platonisches Tugendwissen* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), 69–78; also H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb (New York, 1956), 95–101.

<sup>36</sup> J. Lendon, *Empire of Honour: The Art of Government in the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 32–6.

<sup>37</sup> For example *Iliad* 5.529; 6.1112; 11.287; in classical Greek, authors used the verb *andrizomai*, also translated “play the man”; M. Jones, *Playing the Man: Performing Masculinities in the Ancient Greek Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 158–9; Jones emphasizes the moral component in the word *andrizomai*, where demonstration of ἀνδρεία (manliness) contrasts with μαλακία (softness), a sign of moral weakness; the sense of honor and resolution in this phrase comes across, for example, in its only appearance in the New Testament, where the author of I Corinthians urges readers to “stand firm in the faith, be men of courage (ἀνδρίζομαι), be strong” (I Cor. 16.13); e.g. Basil, *Eps.* 106, 161, Greg. Naz., *Eps.* 166, 178.