

Christianity and the Contest for Manhood in Late Antiquity

In this book, Nathan D. Howard explores gender and identity formation in fourth-century Cappadocia, where pro-Nicene bishops used a rhetoric of contest that aligned with conventions of classical Greek masculinity. Howard demonstrates that epistolary exhibitions served as “a locus for” asserting manhood in the fourth century. These performances illustrate how a culture of orality that had defined manhood among civic elites was reframed as a contest whereby one accrued status through merits of composition. Howard shows how the Cappadocians’ rhetoric also reordered the body and materiality as components of a maleness over which they moderated. He interrogates fourth-century theological conflict as part of a rhetorical battle over claims to manhood that supported the Cappadocians’ theology and cast doubt on non-Trinitarian rivals, whom they cast as effeminate and disingenuous. Investigating accounts of pro-Nicene protagonists overcoming struggles, Howard establishes that tropes based on classical standards of gender contributed to the formation of Trinitarian orthodoxy.

Nathan D. Howard is Professor of History at the University of Tennessee at Martin. His scholarship has been supported by Dumbarton Oaks, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. His work has appeared in a number of edited journals and volumes, including the *Journal of Late Antiquity*, *Approaches to the Byzantine Family*, and *Studia Patristica*.

Christianity and the Contest for Manhood in Late Antiquity

*The Cappadocian Fathers and the Rhetoric
of Masculinity*

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FOR MY FATHER,
JAMES E. HOWARD

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A Note on Translations

In footnotes for quotations from ancient sources, the translator's name appears in parentheses following the citation: e.g., Homer, *Iliad* 2.135 (Lombardo).

Unless otherwise noted, translations of Gregory of Nazianzus' epistles come from Bradley Storin's *Gregory of Nazianzus's Letter Collection*. In each citation I have included both Paul Gallay's numbering, first, followed by that of Storin: e.g., Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 12 (Storin 176). Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres* follows the chronological scheme established by the Benedictine Maurists. Storin renumbered the epistles to reflect Gregory's original collection, which was based on groups of letters arranged by themes and personal relationships.

Most translations from *Life of Macrina* in this book come from Anna Silvas, *Macrina the Younger: Philosopher of God*. In reproducing the Greek text, however, I follow Pierre Maraval's edition, *Grégoire de Nysse: Vie de Sainte Macrine*, which has different chapter divisions than that of Silvas. Therefore, in footnotes I include the Maraval numbering, first, followed by that of Silvas: e.g., Greg. Ny. *Vit. Macr.* 31.15–20 (Silvas, 33.3).

In Chapter 4, I briefly refer to passages from Eunomius' *Apology for the Apology* (*Apol. Apol.*). This text has been preserved only in fragments from Gregory of Nyssa's refutation of it in his *Against Eunomius* (*Contr. Eun.*), a text edited and reproduced in Werner Jaeger's *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* (GNO). The fragments of *Apol. Apol.* have been organized and summarized in Richard Vaggione's *Eunomius: The Extant Works*. When I cite *Apol. Apol.*, I give its place within GNO as

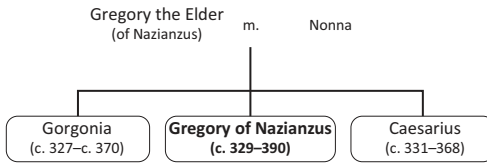
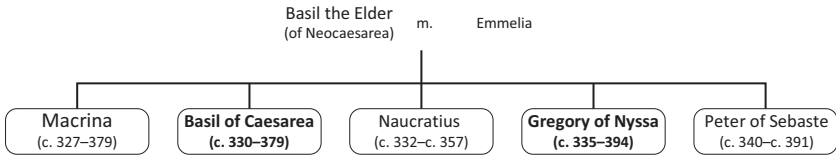
well as the page number in which it appears in Vaggione: e.g., Eunomius, *Apol. Apol.* 1.346.4–11 GNO (Vaggione, 108). Finally, I cite the epistles of Libanius according to their numbering by Richard Foerster in *Libanii opera*. In translations by Scott Bradbury, from *Selected Letters of Libanius*, I list the letter by Foerster's numbering, first, followed by that of Bradbury: e.g., Libanius, *Ep.* 482 (Bradbury 52). More recently, Raffaella Cribiore translated several of Libanius' letters in *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch*. In my book, letters she translated are cited with Foerster's numbering, first, followed by that of Cribiore. Likewise, in translations by Albert Norman, from *Libanius: Autobiography and Selected Letters*, I give Foerster's number, first, followed by that of Norman.

Abbreviations

ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AET	Abraham Malherbe, author and translator. <i>Ancient Epistolary Theorists</i> . Atlanta: SBL, 1988.
<i>Apol.</i> <i>Apol.</i>	Eunomius of Cyzicus, <i>Apology for the Apology</i>
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
CH	<i>Church History</i>
C.J.	<i>Corpus iuris civilis</i> . Volume 2. <i>Codex Justinianus</i> . 11th Edition. Edited by Paul Krüger. Berlin, 1954.
<i>Contr. Eun.</i>	<i>Against Eunomius</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
C.Th.	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> . Translated by Clyde Pharr. <i>The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions</i> . Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1957.
<i>Ep./Eps.</i>	Epistle/Epistles
FC	Fathers of the Church (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America)
GNO	<i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i> . 11 vols. Edited by Werner Jaeger. Berlin, 1921–2009.
Greg. Naz.	Gregory of Nazianzus
Greg. Ny.	Gregory of Nyssa
H.E.	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>
H-M	<i>Prosopographie zu den Schriften Gregors von Nazianz</i> . Edited by Marie-Madeleine Hauser-Meury. Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag, 1960.

<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>In Basilium</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Encomium on Basil</i>
<i>J ECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>J LA</i>	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
<i>J TS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University)
<i>N.E.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Nicomachean Ethics</i>
NIV	New International Version of the Bible
NPNF I	Nicene and Post-Nicene (First Series)
NPNF II	Nicene and Post-Nicene (Second Series)
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
<i>Or./Ors.</i>	Oration/Orations
PG	Patrologia graeca. Patrologia cursus completus. Series Graeca. 162 vols. Edited by J. P. Migne. Paris, 1857–1886.
PL	Patrologia Latina. Patrologia cursus completus. Series Latina. 221 vols. Edited by J. P. Migne. Paris, 1844–1900.
<i>PLRE</i>	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> . 2 vols. Edited by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1971, 1980.
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris 1941–.
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VCS</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae Supplements</i>
<i>Vit. GTh.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus</i>
<i>Vit. Macr.</i>	Gregory of Nyssa, <i>Life of Macrina</i>
<i>Vit. Phil.</i>	Eunapius, <i>Lives of Philosophers and Sophists</i>
<i>Vit. Soph.</i>	Philostratus, <i>Lives of Sophists</i>

The Cappadocian Fathers and their Families



Map of Eastern Roman Empire c. 370



(This map design is based on an earlier version published in Raymond Van Dam, *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.)