

Index

abbot (Benedictine), 274 Ablabius (rhetorician), 98-9 Abraham (O.T. patriarch), 58-9, 235 absence, 49 as literary trope for friendship, 53, 61, 104, 110-11 Aburgius (imperial magistrate from Cappadocia), 7 Achilles (Greek warrior), 2, 10, 72-4, 86, 93-4, 175, 203 Acts (N.T.), 129, 139-40 Adamantius (priest), 98 Adelphius (friend of Nyssen), 123-4 adolescence, 25, 43, 70-2, 101 and training for manhood, 70-2 as undeveloped, 266 adventus, 3 Aelius Aristides (orator), 68, 72, 127, 176, Aelius Theon (rhetorician), 54, 123 Aeschylus (Greek tragedian), 78, 138, 253, 267 aesthetic. See beauty of friendship, 104, 111, 143, 152 of manhood, 61, 106, 118, 158, 209 Aetius (theologian), 162, 173, 214, 220 abuse of language, 262-5 as foil to Macrina, 257, 266-8 background and contrast to Cappadocians, 218-23 lacking aretē as mentor to Eunomius, 261-6 Agamemnon (king of Mycenae), 92, 174 agapē, 107

```
agathos/agathoi, 10-12, 39, 58, 61-2, 65-6,
    82-4, 92, 99, 101, 103-4, 144, 154,
    174, 214, 233, 251, 257
agon. See virtual; agon, See exhibition; as
    agon, See asceticism, See purification;
    agon as, See arete; product of agon
  and identity, 10-14, 86-96
  and theological authority, 214-18,
    223-44, 247
  classical, 9-14, 44-5
  epistolary exchange as, 3-4, 17-18, 40-1,
    48-56, 77-86
  euergetism as, 35
  gift exchange as, 145
  in friendship, 103-8
  in hagiography, 5, 20-1, 44, 56-61,
    158-60, 186-200
  Second Sophistic antecedents,
    67-70
agora, 128
Ahab (Israelite king), 173, 232
Ajax (Greek hero), 96, 103, 145
Alexander the Great, 54-6, 239
Alexandria (city), 23, 26, 165, 216, 219,
    236-7, 243
Amalekites (enemy of Israel), 175-6
Ambrose of Milan, 112
Ammianus Marcellinus (historian), 182
Amphilochius the Elder, 25
Amphilochius the Younger, 24-5, 28, 84,
    91, 96-7, 100, 132, 134, 138-9, 141
Andronicus (Governor of Armenia), 49
Annesi (town in Pontus), 267, 269
Antioch, 47, 218-19, 269
```



Antiochanus (addressee of Nyssen), 54-5	andreia and endurance, 191
antithesis, 42, 59, 64, 89, 99, 183, 205, 224,	as a source of erudition, 171
234, 247	beauty and vision, 119, 205
Aphrodite (goddess), 90, 205	dialectic, 219
Apollinaris (bishop), 213	epistles as a gift, 150
Apollinarists, 212	friendship, 109
Apollo (god), 84	hands and gestures, 137
apologist, 153, 172, 219	hierarchy of the senses, 154
appetite, 237, 248	intimacy, 98
arbiter, 4, 117, 144, 256	on verbal description, 203
Cappadocians as judges of literary style,	physiognomy, 113
95	sound and voice, 133
aretē. See exhibition; of aretē, See family;	synkrisis, 184
and shared aretē, See beauty; and aretē,	teacher of Alexander the Great, 55
See character; as moral virtue	Arius (theologian), See Arian/Arians
and masculinity, 12, 91-101	Armenia/Armenians, 24, 42, 49, 178, 182-3
and theological rivalry, 223-4, 238,	characterized as theological rivals, 178
243-4, 256-7	asceticism, 4, 20, 25, 29
as source of friendship, 103–18, 124, 145,	and masculinity, 36-45
148–9	and purification, 217–18
classical, 3-5, 9-14, 32, 44, 54-6	as <i>agōn</i> , 45, 228–9
handwriting and, 141–5	in female saints, 160, 186–90, 193–9
in female saints, 186–200	in Life of Macrina, 257–60
manifest in the body, 200–1	as authorization, 215–18, 223–4
product of <i>agōn</i> , 11–21, 77–86	Athanasius and, 232–40
sacred, 48, 56–61, 155–60, 172–200,	Basil and, 41–4
216–18, 253, 272–4	Eunomians as antithesis of, 223–4
Arian/Arians, 165, 219	Macrina as contrast to Eunomius, 266–8
as inferior to Nicene bishop Athanasius,	paideia in Basil as asceticism, 247–50,
232-4	255
and flawed language, 241-2	silence as, 131–2
as counter ascetics, 237	Ascholius (Bishop of Thessalonica), 119
Arianzus (Cappadocian town), 23	Asianism, 89
Ariminum (Coucil of), 161–2	as effeminate style, 64, 89
aristocracy/aristocrat	
	Asterius (Cappadocian magistrate), 136
and athletics, 166, 187 and masculine deportment, 11–12, 37,	Athanasius (bishop). <i>See</i> biography; oration on Athanasius, <i>See</i> asceticism;
84, 158	Athanasius and, <i>See</i> Egypt; and Athanasius
association with <i>paideia</i> , 21–2, 67, 270	
expectations of provincial, 25, 32–5, 41,	and pure speech, 242–4
167, 253-4	as pro-Nicene hero, 217–18, 232–5
horses associated with, 2	asceticism and, 43, 232, 234
hunting as an activity of, 86	in fourth-century theology, 163, 235–9
image of, 106, 108, 118, 191, 198–200,	Life of Antony, 43, 239, 244
251-2	Athena (goddess), 136, 205
provincial, bishops coming from ranks of,	Athens
6-7	and <i>paideia</i> , 7
Aristophanes (playwright), 3, 95, 109	Athena myth, 136
Aristotle, 16, 112, 200	Basil and Nazianzen at, 22, 27–8, 70–4,
and <i>aretē</i> , 11–12, 19, 85	78, 88, 100, 177–8, 248
and friendship, 103	classical, 82, 97, 173



318 Index

Athens (cont.) generals from, 96, 98 Libanius at, 47 athlete and paideia, 159-60, 230 ascetic as, 20, 159 Athanasius as, 236, 238 beauty in, 209 Caesarius as, 168, 170-1, 273 Gregory Thaumaturgus as, 156-7, 166-8 female saints as, 38, 188 idealized masculinity, 11-14, 44, 66, 71-2, 170 Macrina as, 194-6 martyr as, 159, 187 Olympic, 137 and arete, 16-18, 159-60, 167 and aristocracy, 166, 187 as agōn, 11-12, 16, 78-82, 108, 145 Atticism (literary style), 53, 64, 148 Ayres, Lewis, 3, 162, 165 Baal (Canaanite god), 185 Balios and Xanthos (Achilles' horses), 2, 93 barbarian, 31, 100, 179 antithesis of Greek, 31, 99-100, 128, 223, 242 as effeminate, 19, 55, 183 as heresy, 177, 179 Barnes, Timothy, 27, 42, 232 Basil. See Athens; Basil and Nazianzen at Address to Young Men, 79-80 advises friend Leontius on handwriting, 144 Against Eunomius, 164, 220, 225 agon produces superior speech in, 254-6 antithesis of unmanly bishops, 246-56 as authentic theologian, 244-56 as bishop, 5-6 as combatant, 58-9, 172-84 as Moses, 184-5 asceticism of, 41-4 Asketikon, 42 beauty in friends as virtue and piety, 106, 109-13, 118-23 beauty of, 201-2 body and soul in letter to Maximus the Philosopher, 111-12 ceremony of letter delivery to Magninianus, 149

combat against Heterousians, 172-5 compared to Old Testament heroes, correspondence with Libanius, 27, 63 counters Homoians, 184-5 depicted in lineage of biblical protagonists, 58 education at Constantinople, 26 epistolary collection, 52, 90-1 exhorts like Nestor and Themistocles, 96-7 family of, 24-5, 261, 266-70 friendship with Nazianzen, 25-7, 73-5, influenced by Eustathius of Sebaste, 42, T62-3 laments Valens' administrative division of Cappadocia, 124-8 likened to Israelite kings, 176 likened to O.T. prophet Job, 185 Macrina as guide for, 266-9 Magninianus' daughter Icelium as letter carrier, 149 medical theory in letter to Eustathius the physician, 83 on agon and arete, 79-80 opposes Eunomius, 224-5 opposes Valens' religious policies in Cappadocia, 164, 175-6, 178-86, 273 paideia as asceticism in, 246-50, 255-6 petition for friend Domitian, 49-50 petitions Governor Andronicus through letter, 49-50 pleads to Martinianus on behalf of Cappadocia, 124-9 sensual appeal of correspondence, 115-16 shepherds congregation at Satala through letter, 49-50 studied through network theory, 51-2 study under Libanius, 26 subject in Encomium by Nyssen, 58-60, 172-7, 184-5, 194, 201-2, 223 subject of Oration 43 by Nazianzen, 177-86, 202, 246-56 the Basiliad (hospital), 33, 183 theology of, 163-4, 180-1, 246-50 training in paideia, 25-8, 44-5, 71, 73-5, 177-8, 246-56 transcendent masculinity, 40-4 use of ekphrasis, 124-6



use of hands and voice in letter to	non-Trinitarian, 161–2
Amphilochius, 139–40	pro-Nicene, 59, 62, 157–8, 209–10, 240,
uses metaphor of light, 121-2	273
voice depicted as fire, 254	theological rivalries, 166, 180–1
Basil of Ancyra (bishop), 162	unqualified, 253
Basil the Elder, 24, 259	body/corporeality, 116
Basiliad (Basil's hospital), 33	and fellowship, 153-4
Bassi, Karen, 14, 66, 96–7, 158	and <i>paideia</i> , 140, 211, 241
beauty (kalos; kallos)	and soul, 104, 109-15, 130-1, 133, 213
and <i>aretē</i> , 113–18, 200–11	and training, 79, 83
and materiality, 106, 121	as measure of manhood, 17, 19–20, 106
and vision, 118–27	112, 118, 203–9
as sign of moral virtue, 20, 124, 236	as society, 125, 128
of voice, 132	as text, 108, 115
Beeley, Christopher, 227	as the church, 125, 173, 210, 256
begotten/unbegotten (gennētos/agennētos),	association with femininity, 188, 202,
212-13, 220-2	227, 268
Benedictine monastic order, 274	beauty of, 202–3
Bernardi, Jean, 41, 157–8	control of, 159, 193, 195-7, 199, 215,
best (<i>aristos</i>), 16, 66, 74, 118, 137, 167, 191	223-4, 250, 254, 268
to outdo (as a verb), 11, 15	elevated status of, 117–18, 141, 153
oiography	hierarchy within, 113
and audience, 157	imagery in friendship, 108-24, 134-7,
and masculinity, 159	145
arbiters of, 218	in <i>ekphrasis</i> , 120–5
as polemic, 160, 173, 218-25, 244-69	body language, 43, 61, 110, 115, 136,
encomium, 56, 157	149, 153, 238
Encomium on Basil by Nyssen, 172-7,	management of in female saints, 203-7
194, 223	of Christ, 116
hagiographic (saints' lives), 56-61	punishment, 70
letters as, 91	rhetoric as struggle of, 78
letters as autobiography, 51-2, 151	soul and, 72
Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, 166–8	struggle within, 160, 188, 191–2, 196
Life of Macrina, 194–200, 256–69	training of, 74, 81, 247
Nazianzen's Oration on Basil (Or. 43),	unmanliness in, 200, 237
172-84, 244-56	voice as part of, 129, 241, 243, 254
Nazianzen's Oration on Athanasius (Or.	boldness
21), 231–44	in speech (<i>parrēsia</i>), 87, 128, 176
Nazianzen's Oration on Caesarius (Or.	sign of masculinity, 99, 143, 158, 166-7
7), 168–72	169, 183, 199
Nazianzen's Oration on Gorgonia (Or.	Bourdieu, Pierre, 4, 6, 66–7
8), 190–4	Brakke, David, 20–1, 45, 232
of female saints, 186–90, 203, 209, 211	breath
pro-Nicene, 161, 166, 215–17, 272	and <i>pneuma</i> , 254–5
oishops	and voice, 134, 254
and <i>paideia</i> , 6, 8, 49, 54, 76–7, 209, 253	of Zeus, 93–4
as provincial administrators, 6	Brown, Peter, 6, 8
as shifty, 63	Burrus, Virginia, 36–40, 189, 192, 261–2,
asceticism and, 257, 269-70	267
Moses as a model for, 235	Byzantine
New Testament descriptions of Too	illustrations of hishops 274 277



Cadenhead, Raphael, 38-40	Cappadocians as followers of, 34, 58,
Caesarea (capital of Cappadocia), 23, 26,	111, 170–1, 179, 196
29, 33	clergy submitting to, 37
and administrative divison of	divinity of, 185
Cappadocia, 125	eloquence submitted to, 256
as patron, 26	message of, 226
Basil and Nazianzen defend against	prize of salvation in, 159
Valens' policies, 164, 173, 180-1, 183	pure philosophy in, 261
Basil laments harm from administrative	reliance on, 196
division, 125-8	tempted by Satan, 167
Basiliad at, 33	Christology
Caesarius, 23, 59, 88, 114–15, 273	and Valens, 179
beauty of, 200-1	of Arius, 219
Nazianzen's Oration 7, 168-72	of Eunomius, 220–2
Callimachus (Athenian general at	theological rivalry over, 161-6
Marathon), 98	Cicero (Latin rhetorician), 96, 130
Calvet-Sebasti, Marie-Ange, 65	Clark, Elizabeth, 37, 43, 54, 198
Cameron, Averil, 153	Clement of Alexandria (theologian), 107
Candidianus (Governor of Cappadocia),	clothing
1-3, 146	and masculinity, 277
Carolingian	of letter deliverer, 149
monastery, 274	Cobb, L. Stephanie, 20–1, 45, 60, 160,
ceremony	187-8
letter as choreographing, 3, 126	collective, 181
letter delivery as, 148–9	aretē, 11
Chaeronea (Battle of), 176	identity, 6
champion	memory, 181
as defender, 232, 234, 255	munificence, 34
as masculine figure, 27, 108, 156, 166	sense of manhood, 25, 97, 108, 114, 128
character/disposition (<i>ēthos</i>)	184, 253
as essence of an individual, 73, 90,	suffering of Cappadocia, 126
104-13, 119-20, 123-9, 198, 201,	values, 15, 76, 97, 128, 167
209, 239	Colossians (N.T. book), 13, 111, 143
as moral virtue, 9, 17, 60, 82–4, 137, 141,	combat, 2, 10–12, 14, 20, 37, 64, 70, 72–3
153, 165, 175, 188, 214–17, 229, 243,	96, 145, 174, 181, 199, 209, 243
249-50, 258, 269	against demons, 20
lack of moral formation in rivals, 224,	against heresy, 167, 209, 273
264–6	and honor, 10–15, 59, 151, 243
charlatan	and horses, 2
as unmanly, 249	and piety, 273
Heterousians depicted as, 217, 225, 264	and trustworthiness, 94, 160, 174, 199
sophist as, 230	close rank, 174–5
unqualified bishops as, 247	gymnasium as training for, 81
cheat	in <i>Iliad</i> , 64, 103, 145
Aetius portrayed as a, 263	paideia as, 70, 230
Christ, 13, 116, 121, 226, 274, See Jesus	verbal, 15, 29, 53, 71–3, 86, 132, 178
Christ	Commodus (Emperor), 127
as bridegroom to Macrina, 260	composure
as counterpoint to philosophy, 260	as masculinity, 132, 144, 187, 191–2
as cure for Gorgonia, 193	in female saints, 187–97, 270
as the true male, 43	Constantine (Emperor), 32
, 7)	



Constantinople	emphasis on <i>paideia</i> , 218
Basil's training at, 26	expectations of patronage, 25
Council of 381, 22, 24, 45, 51, 165-6,	local aristocracy, 6
216, 226, 274	performance of civic duty, 32-5
Libanius teaches at, 47	Cynegirus (Athenian general at Marathon),
Nazianzen bishop at, 213, 226, 230–44	98
Nazianzen's dismissal and response, 131,	Cynic/Cynicism (philosophy)
244-6, 270	Diogenes, 239
Nyssen writing during Council of, 257	Maximus, 245
populist theologians in 381, 212	on acquiring virtue, 12-13
Synod of 360, 41, 162, 164, 180	Cyrus (King of Persia), 50
Constantius II (Emperor), 23, 161	
as supporter of Homoianism, 161-2	Daley, Brian, 204
contemplation of God (theōria), 215, 234	dance,
contest. See agōn	expression of excitement, 117
conversation	as image of effeminacy, 125, 230, 233,
letter as, 130, 134	249
Coon, Lynda, 58, 133, 190, 274	Daniélou, Jean, 221
courage/bravery (andreia)	Darius (King of Persia), 181
against sexual temptation, 207	David (King of Israel)
and paideia, 230	Athanasius likened to, 235
and piety, 61, 187, 270	Basil likened to, 176
as basis for manhood, 10–12, 17, 118,	friendship with Jonathan,
171	109
as emulated from the past, 55, 66, 78,	at right hand of Yahweh, 140
103, 236	declamation, 18, 53, 64, 128
in warriors, 64, 78, 145, 174–8, 181	as advertising manhood, 71
associated with pro-Nicenes, 158	as athletic event, 73, 75
based in the soul, 113	decorum
dependence on God, 260	as noble woman, 191
during suffering, 190–9, 199, 270, 273	as superior behavior, 6, 192, 194, 200,
in exile, 239	204, 211
in N.T., 10	of classical male, 45, 224
in predecessors, 98	decurion. See curiales
inner, 189	DelCogliano, Mark, 163, 221
craftsmanship (technē)	Demetrius of Phalerum (rhetorician), 89
dishonorable, 262–4	demons, 240
epistolary composition as, 18, 89, 101,	conquest of, 20–1, 157
127, 147-8	Demosthenes (Emperor Valens' official),
rhetoric as, 64, 69–71, 81, 110, 262	164, 182
Cribiore, Raffaella, 1, 47, 66, 76, 80	portrayed as effeminate, 182
Croesus (King of Lydia), 50	Demosthenes (orator), 69
crucifixion, 139	favors weapons of footsoldier, 175
cultural capital	on dying nobly, 176
among provincial elites, 6	on word and deed, 155, 239
and bestowal of honor, 8	portrayed as warrior, 72–3
epistles as, 61, 148, 160	training his voice, 133
in early Greece, 9	dialectic, 214, 219, 263
in Pierre Bourdieu, 6	and Heterousians, 226
curiales (local magistrates)	as insufficient means of knowledge, 169,
Cappadocians as, 23	214, 222, 226, 262
- ··rr ····· ···· - J	1,,,



dialectic (cont.)	Elijah (Israelite prophet), 58-9, 173, 185,
associated with practice of medicine, 219,	255
263	Elm, Susanna, 5, 36
use by Aetius, 219	and "new masculinity", 189
Dianius (Cappadocian bishop), 180	and Nazianzen's philosophical family,
Dio Chrysostom (orator), 33	169
athletics and manhood, 170	Nazianzen's vision of empire, 59, 247
body signifying manhood, 118	significance of paideia to theology, 9, 215
on false teachers, 225, 230-1, 249	eloquence. See warfare; eloquence and, See
meeting between Alexander the Great and	exertion; sweat of eloquence, See self-
Diogenes the Cynic, 239	representation; in paideia
Diogenes the Cynic (philosopher), 239	and <i>agōn</i> , 71–5, 78–80, 86, 101, 256,
Diogenes Laertius (biographer), 129	262
Diomedes (Greek warrior), 135	as source of identity, 7, 9, 11, 25, 30–1,
Dionysus (god of wine), 125	51-4, 65, 95, 198-9
disputation, public	shallow, 89, 265
and influence of holy women, 189, 210	emasculation
as entertainment, 234, 266	of church leaders by Emperor Julian, 4,
as site of agōn, 159	172
in Second Sophistic, 169	of Jesus, 35
theological, 180, 220, 269	Emmelia (mother of Basil and Nyssen), 24
domestic sphere	manages her beauty, 205
emphasized in female saints, 40, 187,	oversees Macrina's education, 258
194, 210	urges Macrina to accept medical help,
Domitian (friend of Basil), 49-50	260
· ·	emotion
effeminacy	associated with Asianic literary style, 89
and lack of civic responsibility, 41, 175	control over, 188
asceticism as, 42–3	directing, 111, 123, 127, 146
Athanasius in contrast to, 244	Gorgonia's restraint of, 191–3
characteristics of described by Lucian, 63,	letters as evoking, 145, 191–3
Chaistianity intermeted as a s	theology compromised by, 241
Christianity interpreted as, 35	encomium. See oration, See panegyric, See
dancing as. See dancing	biography Ephosiana (N.T. book) var. var.
Eunomians associated with, 225–7	Ephesians (N.T. book), 121, 135
heresy as, 21, 60 in Heterousians, 216, 233, 242	Ephraim (son of Jacob the Israelite), 139 Epictetus (philosopher), 233
in Nazianzen's description of bishops, 251	Epicurus (philosopher), 171
in opponents of pro-Nicenes, 5, 99, 160,	epinician (victory ode), 167–8
177, 182	Epiphanius (Bishop of Salamis, Cyprus),
luxury as, 179	228
Persia as metaphor for, 98	Epiphanius (friend of Nazianzen), 135
Egypt/Egyptians	epistle/epistolary exchange. See agōn;
and Athanasius, 164, 231–43	epistolary exchange as, See
Homoians represented as, 185	craftsmanship; epistolary composition
Joseph provides grain for, 186	as, See gamesmanship; epistolary
monks in, 20	exchange as
ekphrasis, 104, 120, 123	and erotic imagery, 114–18
in letters of friendship, 123-7	and friendship, 104-14
in recounting suffering, 124–7, 188, 191,	and identity formation, 48–56, 86–8,
196	132-4, 141-4



Index 323

and sensory rhetoric, 118-41 exertion/labor as gift exchange, 145 as manhood, 80-2 collections, 89-91 asceticism as, 158, 187, 234, 270 exhibition of, 4-16, 63-7, 82-6 classical precedents, 79 genre of, 50-4 indicative of paideia, 149, 235, 243, 247, network of, 50-2 254 eroticism/sensuality (erōs) letter writing as, 17, 48, 61, 67, 78, 100, and perfected manhood, 37 147 "sweat of eloquence", 63, 71, 78-9, 88 in epistolary exchange, 114-21 of body and soul, 153 exhibition/display Esau (O.T. son of Isaac), 176 and arete, 59 Eshleman, Kendra, 46, 224 as agōn, 86, 92, 243 as moral superiority, 30 Euclid (mathematician), 171 Eudoxius (rhetorician from Cappadocia), epistolary composition as, 4, 15, 21, 47, correspondent of Nazianzen, 84-6, 95-6 hagiographic biography as, 172, 175, Eudoxius of Antioch (Bishop of 188, 199 Constantinople), 162, 173, 219 in female saints, 187, 188, 191, 194, 199, euergetism/benefactor. See honor; through euergetism in friendship, 103, 127, 145, 152 and humility, 34 in Second Sophistic, 75-7, 77 and pride, 31-4 of arete, 14, 32, 44, 62, 76, 82, 135, as agōn, 31-2 Eugenius (deacon in Cappadocia), 140 of cultural capital, 8 of masculinity, 21, 99, 191, 195 Eunapius of Sardis (historian), 7, 27, 63, 71, oratorical, 14, 18-19, 30, 53, 66, 71, 134 74-5 Eunomius, 5, 22, See Aetius; as mentor to the body as, 113, 117, 124, 144, 158, 201 Eunomius, See polemic; against exile Eunomius as asceticism, 240 and distorted paideia, 59, 224-7, 264-6 of Aetius, 219 of Athanasius, 163, 231-44 as contrast to pro-Nicenes, 216, 243-56, of Diogenes the Cynic, 239 261-2 as flawed theologian, 214-15, 222-4, of Gregory of Nyssa, 164 of pro-Nicene bishops by Valens, 165, 227-31, 261-2 as opponent of pro-Nicenes, 218-22 180 family and background, 219-20, 265 Exodus (O.T. book), 129, 140, 168, 176, theology of, 162-6, 173, 212, 220-2 186 Eupatrius (lawyer from Pontus), 94-5 eyes/seeing/vision, 167 Euripides (playwright), 68, 125, 138, 148 and discernment, 16, 110, 119-20, 168, Eurybiades (Spartan naval commander), 235, 238 and ekphrasis, 123-8 96 Eurycleia (servant of Odysseus), 207 and penetration, 207, 261 Eusebius (Bishop of Caesarea in as portal for eros, 204 Cappadoca), 24, 179-80 as virtuous, 154 Eustathius (physician and friend of Basil), direct contact and reciprocity among friends, 122-3 Eustathius of Sebaste (bishop from highest sense of corporeal hierarchy, 113, Armenia), 42, 162-3 118-19 Eustochius (Cappadocian rhetorician), relationship to hands, 201 face 92-3, 132 Eutropius (Proconsul of Asia), 151-2 expression of, 136, 200



324 Index

festival face (cont.) face-to-face nature of agon, 82, 106, 122, athletic, 85 Gorgonia's deathbed as, 194 130, 174 in conversations, 130 letter reception as, 146 Finley, Moses, 145 in hierarchy of the body, 119 measure of the body, 113 family/families as a medium for testing, 245 and agon, 31-2 Basil's breath as, 254 and guest friendship (xenia), 103, light of as a beacon, 121 tongue compared to, 132 and shared arete, 45, 48, 97, 158, 187, I Corinthians (N.T. book), 111-12, 159, 226, 228, 237, 260, 268 190-1, 253-4, 272 beauty depicted in, 203, 208 I Kings (O.T. book), 173 in hagiography, 57, 200, 210, 267 I Peter (N.T. book), 77 I Samuel (O.T. book), 109, 129, 176 Macrina's consolation of, 194 of Aetius and Eunomius, 218-20, 265 I Thessalonians (N.T. book), 242 of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, 24-5, I Timothy (N.T. book), 100, 190, 196, 264 Fortunatus (friend of Nazianzen), 137 of Gregory of Nazianzus, 23-4, 257 Fourth Maccabees (book of), 13, 159 of Libanius, 47 Frank, Georgia, 122, 206 philosophical. See Elm, Susanna friendship/friend (philia/philos). See provincial elite, 6, 23, 33-5 literature; friendship in, See nobility; sacred pedigree in, 156-7, 164, 177 in friendship, See Homer; friendship in, theological and rhetorical education from, See reciprocity; in friendship among pepaideumenoi, 103-14 fellowship (koinōnia) and $ag\bar{o}n$, 103-8 based on Christian identity, 61, 102, 111, and honor, 103-8 135, 143 and reordering of materiality, 61, of pepaideumenoi, 15, 102, 147 108-10, 152-3 and rhetoric of gift-giving, 145-52 female/femininity. See domestic sphere; emphasized in female saints, See and sensory pleasure, 115-18 exhibition; in female saints, See and the senses, 113-34, 152-3 modesty; in female saints and the soul, 108-27 and male, dichotomy of, 18, 40-1 and the voice, 131-4 and male, fluidity between, 38-9, 60 ekphrasis in, 123-7 as instructive device, 37, 54 family/guest (xenia), 103, 135 as masculine, 187-90, 199 imagery of body in, 109-24, 134-7 asceticism as agon, 186-90, 192-9 in Aristotle, 85, 103, 119 body, in martyr accounts, 187-8, 191-4 in Second Sophistic, 105-6, 109, 118 body, management of, 202-8 networking in, 106-8 conventional characteristics of, 10, 188, philosophy of, 103-4 193, 205 rhetoric of, 103-8 in gender hierarchy, 43-4, 191 symbolism of the hand in, 134-8 saint as athlete, 38, 188 through epistolary exchange, 104-14 saints and arete, 186-99 with basis in arete, 103-8, 124, 145, saints, biography and, 186-90, 203-4, 148-9 Fruchtman, Diane, 188 saints, honor in, 188, 198-205, 211 Fulda (Benedictine monastery), 274 saints, piety associated with, 211 Galatians (N.T. book), 35, 135, 143, 195 soul as, 38 vanity, 205 Galen (physician), 83, 171



gamesmanship	Gregory of Nazianzus. See Nazianzen
epistolary exchange as, 63-5, 84-6,	Gregory of Nyssa. See Nyssen
91-3	Gregory Thaumaturgus. See also athlete;
Gangra (Council of), 42	Gregory Thaumaturgus as
Gautier, Francis, 2, 17, 77	agōnes, 167–8
gaze	aretē in, 59, 61, 166-7
as act of masculinity, 98-9, 122, 207	as man of deeds, 155
as penetration, 122, 205	as pro-Nicene, 168, 273
gender	Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus. See also
and <i>aretē</i> , 14, 133	biography; Life of Gregory
and asceticism, 38, 41-3	Thaumaturgus
and voice, 95, 98, 128	Gunderson, Erik, 63, 80, 129, 229, 231
classical conventions of, 4, 18-21, 57, 80,	gymnasium, 127
171, 186–7, 209	as crucible of masculinity, 81, 170, 186,
fluidity/reversal, 80–1, 97, 182, 227,	202
272	
hierarchy in, 39-44, 177, 198	habit, 7, 187, 231, 234
in Benedictine liturgy, 274	habitus in Pierre Bourdieu, 4
moral element of, 10, 13, 195, 211	heresy as, 264
reconfigured, 35-9, 60, 189	moral goodness as, 12, 17, 82
Genesis (O.T. book), 139, 185	paideia as, 36, 66, 143, 153
geometry, 169	hand/touch
George of Cappadocia (Arian Bishop of	and participation, 147
Alexandria), 219, 237	as active, 134
gesture	as medium of sanctity, 138-40, 154, 20
and mutual respect, 276	as most terrene of senses, 141, 153
as complement to text, 136-7	commanded by higher senses, 119
as index of gender, 43, 140	exceeding materiality, 140-1
vision as, 122	honor of right hand, 135, 138-41, 276
gift	in friendship, 134–8
as patronage, 31	in mediation, 136
epistle as, 61, 145-53	inferiority of left hand, 138
epistolary collection as, 24, 68, 90	significance in writing, 141-5, 150
exchange of between Homeric warriors,	handwriting/penmanship, 141-5
103, 145	autograph, 143-4
hagiographic narrative as, 201	calligrapher, 142
rhetoric of in friendship, 106, 145, 277	sign of aretē, 143-4
Glaukos (Trojan warrior), 135	stenographer, 142-3
Gleason, Maud, 14, 80, 254	Harrison, Verna, 38-41, 187, 267
gluttony	Harvey, Susan Ashbrook, 109
as disqualification for theologians, 237,	Hawhee, Debra, 17, 85
248, 250	Hector (Trojan warrior), 10, 103, 145, 17.
Goldhill, Simon, 14, 29, 124	heir
Gorgonia, 24, 39-40, 190, See also	of classical intellectuals, 47, 61–2, 67, 69
biography; oration on Gorgonia	169, 186, 271
<i>aretē</i> of body, 186–90, 194	Helen (of Sparta), 258
beauty of, 175–208	Helladius (Bishop of Caesarea in
biblical women as model for, 187	Cappadocia), 146
control of body, 207–8	Hephaestion (rhetorician/rival of
reconfigured masculinity in, 199–200	Prohaeresius), 74
Greekness/Hellenism, 55, 183-4, 209	Hera (goddess), 205



326 Index

Heracles (Greek hero), 80 Hodges-Kluck, Stefan, 133, 254 Homer, 64, 151, 206, 258, See hero; heresy, 177, 184, 224, 232, 243, 269, See habit; heresy as, See barbarian; as Homeric, See combat; close rank, See heresy, See combat; heresy as, See combat; in Iliad effeminacy; in opponents of proaretē in, 10-11, 65, 81, 95 Nicenes, See effeminacy; heresy as friendship in, 135-6, 138, 152 as disordered paideia, 242 in Second Sophistic, 68 associated with paideia, 228 Homoian/s Hermogenes (rhetorician), 123 Basil battles against, 184-5 Eunomius as, 219-20 hero/heroes, 158, 173, 234 as pro-Nicene, 161, 166 in fourth-century theology, 161-6 Nazianzen faces at Constantinople, 226, 232 athlete as, 158, 195 best man, 97, 167 Valens as supporter of, 175-84 biblical, 58-9, 184, 217, 235-6, 243, Homoiousian/s against Eunomius, 219 Homeric, 73-4, 94, 96, 145, 203, 210 and Valens, 175-84 in fourth-century theology, 163-4 Hero (mathematician), 171 Herod (King of Judea), 185 Homoousian/s, 165 Herodes Atticus (rhetorician), 72 and Cappadocian biography, 218, 226, Herodotus (historian), 50, 64, 68, 98 229, 273 heroic, 2, See combat; and honor and Valens, 182 combat, 2, 86, 97, 99, 167, See also Eunomius against, 218-21 combat; and honor in fourth-century theology, 161-6 honor. See courage; as warriors, See hand; past, 45, 65, 81, 99, 186, 189 heroine honor of right hand, See cultural as athlete, 158 capital; and bestowal of honor, See as pro-Nicene, 158, 161, 166 combat; and honor, See gift; exchange biblical, 58-9 of between Homeric warriors spiritual, 190 agon as, 85 Hesiod (poet), 68, 79, 85 among pepaideumenoi, 6-8, 15, 54, 81, hetaireia (companion), 7 253 Heterousian/s, 212, 246, 251, 270 as agōn, 159 as Basil's enemies, 172-6 based on classical precedents, 9-15, 95, as counterpoint to Macrina, 256-67, 273 as foil to pro-Nicene bishops, 216-44, epistolary exchange and, 3-5, 66, 77, 84, 273 146-53 as unmanly, 204 eyes and, 119 in fourth-century theology, 162-6 family, 190 in female saints, 188, 198-205, 211 hierarchy, 13, 46, 118, 133, 197, See in friendship, 85, 103-8 gender; and asceticism, See gender; hierarchy in of orators, 30, 66, 72 episcopal, 43, 100, 210, 214, 228-9, 240, of parents, 135 through euergetism, 32 of body, 118-19, 127, 133, 153 hoplite, 11, 176-7, See combat; and honor, of pepaideumenoi, 21-2, 34, 78, 88, 134, See combat; close rank, See courage; as warriors, See hero; Homeric 148, 153, 160 Hildebrand, Stephen, 162-3, 221 as symbol of masculinity, 20, 174-5, 194, Himerius (rhetorician), 27 210 Hippocrates (physician), 171 horse. 2, 26, 72, 85, 93, See combat; and history horses, See Balios and Xanthos as subject of paideia, 6, 14, 47, 65, 101 (Achilles' horses)



Index

327

Cappadocian pride in, 2 control of, 269 racing of, 73, 116 hunting, 25 activity of pepaideumenos, 86 for aretē, 86 hypostaseis (persons of the Trinity) in fourth-century theology, 221 Hypsistarii, 23 Iamblichus (philosopher), 116 Icelium (letter carrier for Basil), 149 Iconium (city in Lycaonia), 24, 96-7, 100, 138-9 identity. See fellowship; based on Christian identity, See literature; and identity, See self-representation; and identity formation, See voice; as identity agōn forms, 9-14, 86-96, 272-7 and asceticism, 41-4 as pro-Nicene, 5, 21, 47, 98-100 based on eloquence, 7-11, 25, 30-1, 51-4, 65, 95, 197-9 epistles in formation of, 48-56, 86-8, 132-4, 141-5 formation among pepaideumenoi, 41-55, 62, 145 formation and genre, 48-61 formation through martyr texts, 20-1, 46, 270 Iliad, 2, 64, 74, 86, 90, 92-3, 174, See Homer; friendship in, See gift; exchange of between Homeric warriors, See hero; Homeric, See combat; in Iliad, See combat; close rank illness and ekphrasis, 196 in Gorgonia, 273 in Macrina, 195-6, 207, 260 image. See body; imagery in friendship, See aristocracy/aristocrat; image of martial, 17, 86, 97, 103, 175, 236, 243 of classical masculinity, 12, 45, 172, 231, 261, 273 of contest, 81-2, 158, 161, 166, 194, 196, 209-10, 217, 238 of false theologian, 225, 231, 252, 263-4 of humility, 77 of philosopher, 238, 255, 257 of pro-Nicene clergy as ideal leaders, 218

of transcendent masculinity, 43-4, 189, paideia and, 62, 77, 93, 99, 144, 148, 248 scriptural, 208, 273 through letter collection, 51 imitation of classical Greece, 14, 69 intimacy among friends, 104, 131, 134, 143, 153 in hagiographic biography, 210, 268-9 letters promoting, 145 with ancient Greeks, 3, 9, 98, 153 with God (theosis), 224, 227, 235-6, 244, 256, 259, 261 invective. See polemic Isaac (O.T. patriarch), 235 Isaiah (O.T. book), 140 Jacob (O.T. patriarch), 139, 185 James (N.T. book), 131, 227, 241 Jeremiah (Israelite prophet), 179 Jeremiah (O.T. book), 179, 182 Jesus Christ, 116, 129-30, 227, See Christ, See emasculation; of Jesus hands of, 139 healing through touch, 139 Satan tests, 167 **Jewish** anti-Jewish polemic by Cappadocians, 232 exiles under King Nebuchadnezzar, 182 martyrs, 13 Job (O.T. book), 129, 186, 197 Job (O.T. prophet) Athanasius likened to, 237-8 Basil likened to, 185-6 Macrina likened to, 197, 199 John (N.T. book), 121, 139, 171 John the Baptist, 58, 185 Joseph (O.T. son of Jacob), 186 Joshua (Israelite leader), 139, 176, 186 Joshua (O.T. book), 186 Jovinus (Count of the East), 119 Judaism influence on Hypsistarii, 23 significance of hands in, 138 Julian (Emperor), 23, 59, 180, See emasculation; of church leaders by Emperor Julian and Nazianzen in rivalry, 5, 215 and paideia, 47, 62, 116, 189, 223



328 Index

Iulian (Emperor) (cont.) and epistolary exchange, 83-4, 120 as letter writer, 120 Basil's training under, 26 Caesarius outperforms in paideia, 170-2, emphasis on Greek paideia, 3, 30-1 identity similar to that of Cappadocians, 46-8 prohibits Christians from teaching classical paideia, 1-5 influence on Gregory of Nyssa, 28 Julianus (Cappadocian rhetorician), 27 library of, 69 Julius Victor (rhetorician), 65, 130 pursuit of friendship, 86, 116 reputation of, 18, 53, 147-8 Justinian (Emperor), 32 Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla, 187 Konstan, David Life of Syncletica, 192 beauty in actions, 200 light courage of heroines, 206 as good (versus evil), 20, 121 friendship between Basil and Nazianzen, 178 as revelation, 121 on philia, 8 classical and patristic sources for, 255 vision and beauty, 119 Lim, Richard, 214, 219, 222 vocabulary for friendship, 105 Limberis, Vasiliki, 123-4 Koskenniemi, Heikki, 51, 104 literature Krueger, Derek, 108, 115, 155, 259 and identity, 4, 11, 19, 61, 67, 103 Kurke, Leslie, 153 friendship in, 103, 106, 109, 115, 140 in paideia, 1, 6, 14, 47, 65, 88, 101 labor. See exertion literatus/literati. See pepaideumenos/ Laertes (King of Ithaca), 94-5 pepaideumenoi Lamachus (Greek general), 98 liturgy, 274 loggia, 274 Lamentations (O.T. book), 243 language. See Arians; and flawed language, Louth, Andrew, 115 See body; language, See combat; loyalty, 33, 126, 152, 173-4, 206 verbal, See Latin; language as threat to Lucian of Samosata (rhetorician), 68, 111, Greek culture See effeminacy; characteristics of abuse of in Eunomius, 265-6 described by Lucian and theology, 216-24, 241-2, 244, 259, athletics and manliness, 16, 82 false orator, 225, 230-1, 256 as core of *paideia*, 101, 251, 254 masculine orator, 80, 225, 242 Ludlow, Morwenna, 28, 70, 200-1, 262 biblical, 105 command of, 73, 95, 148, 247, 251 luxury. See effeminacy; luxury as figural, 153 Lycaonia (eastern Roman province), 24, 139 of giftedness, 106, 145 lyre/plectrum, 134 instrument of manhood, 84 language as threat to Greek culture, 30-1 medieval Christianity, 277 MacDougall, Byron, 64, 89, 146 Macrina, 5, 24, See virgin, See biography; monasteries, 277 physical performance, 19 Life of Macrina lectio (liturgical reading), 274 and Emmelia, 258, 260 lector (public reader), 133, 274 and illness, 195-7, 207-8, 260-1 leitourgia. See euergetism (benefactors) as athlete, 194-6 Leonidas (King of Sparta), 179 as contrast to Heterousians, 256-67 Leontius (rhetorician and friend of Basil), 144 as foil to Aetius, 265-8 letter. See epistle as philosopher, 198, 256-61, 266-70 Libanius. See Athens; Libanius, See asceticism of, 256-60

compared to Job, 197-9

guide for brothers, 266-8

Constantinople; Libanius teaches at,

See family; of Libanius



Index 329

Maenads (devotees of god Dionysus), 125 Magninianus (imperial magistrate and correspondent of Basil), 149 male/masculinity. See nobility; synonomous with classical masculinity, See boldness; sign of masculinity, See pepaideumenos/pepaideumenoi; masculinity of, See female; and male, See female; as masculine aretē as, 11-14, 90-9 as pedigree, 4, 94-5 asceticism and, 36-44 associated with paideia, 6-9, 65-7, 69-75, 168-72, 177-84, 247-52 athlete as idealized, 11-14, 170-1 athletics and, 16-17, 82 classical, characteristics of, 4-9, 13-15, 18-21, 30, 43-5, 99-101, 106, 254, clothing of, 277 composure as trait of, 132, 144, 187, 191-2 decorum as trait of, 45, 224 exhibition of, 21, 98-9, 191, 195 gaze as an act of, 98-9, 122-3, 207 gymnasium as crucible of, 80-1, 170, 186, 202 hoplite as emblematic of ideal, 20, 172-5, 209-10 illustrated by agon, 14-18, 44-5, 53-4, 66-70, 86-8 images of classical, 12, 44-5, 172, 231, 261, 273 in biography, 159 of monks, 20-1, 46 orator, 80 personified as champion, 28, 108, 156, "play the man", 10, 39, 96-7 self-control as trait of, 11, 19, 185, 240, 248, 251, 270 self-control in transcendent, 189, 217, 268 transcendent, 36-45, 188-90 virtus (Latin), 274 warfare as performance of, 3, 173-4 manuscript Codex 61 fol. 113r. Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos, 276 of texts by classical authors, 68 Marathon (Battle of), 98

Maraval, Pierre, 54, 187, 199 Marcus Aurelius (Roman emperor), 127 Martin, Dale, 110, 113 Martinianus (Cappadocian nobleman and retired imperial official), 124-8 martyr/martyrdom, 194 accounts of as identity forming texts, 20-1, 46, 270 and struggle, 158, 192, 194, 217, 238-40 as soldier, 38 Christian martyrs as more masculine than pagan, 160 exerting control, 60, 193, 199 Jewish, 13 role of body in female martyrologies, 187-8, 192 Martyrdom of Polycarp, 193 materiality. See beauty; and materiality, See hand; exceeding materiality, See memory; letter as material critique of teaching rooted in, 262, 268 in letters, 106, 112, 121, 137 Macrina exceeding, 196 of texts, 115 reordered in friendship, 61, 109, 134, 153 the material turn, 108-9 transcending, 235 mathematics, 169, 171 Matthew (N.T. book), 10, 112, 121, 129-30, 139, 167, 227 Mauss, Marcel, 145 Maximus the Cynic (rival to Nazianzen for bishopric at Constantinople), 245 Maximus the Philosopher (friend of Basil), 111-12 McGuckin, John, 34, 165, 170, 178, 245 McLynn, Neil, 52, 91 medicine. See dialectic; associated with practice of medicine as part of paideia, 6, 169, 193 Macrina's rejection of, 260 Meidias (Demosthenean character) as antithesis of hoplite, 175 Meletius (Bishop of Antioch), 245 memory. See collective; memory letter as material, 52, 150-1 of bravery, 103 of shared paideia, 88 pen and papyrus as medium for, 142 Menander Rhetor (rhetorician), 57, 123 Menelaus (King of Sparta), 64



330 Index

metousia (participation in the Divine), 261 Concerning Himself and the Bishops, Miller, Patricia Cox, 108, 120, 239, 261 245-53, 255 Miltiades (Greek general at Marathon), 98 Concerning His Own Affairs, 41 miniature (image adorning manuscript), Concerning His Own Life, 41 dispute between teachers over Nicobulus, 276-7 moderation (sophrosune), 207 92-3 in Athanasius, 239, 242-3, 270 episcopacy at Constantinople challenged in Gorgonia, 192, 204 by Maximus the Cynic, 245 Modestus (Prefect of the East), 16, 136, 181-3 epistle as handshake with Epiphanius, modesty 135-6 in female saints, 192, 203, 207-8, 260 epistles as agon, 91 in hagiographic subjects of epistles as self-portrait, 51-2, 90-1 Cappadocians, 191 epistolary banter with Eudoxius the monks, 32, 276, See Egypt; monks in rhetorician, 135-6 and civic leadership, 42 family of, 23-4, 200-1, 203-5, 208-9, Eunomians as antithesis of, 223-34 273 masculinity of, 20-1, 46 friendship with Basil, 22, 25-7, 73-5, under pro-Nicene church management, 105-6 43, 239-40 friendship with Eutropius represented as Moreschini, Claudio, 22, 227, 255 between Greek warriors, 151-2 Moses (O.T. prophet), 36, 58-9, 129, 139, friendship with Nyssen, 276 168, 176, 185, 235, 255, See bishops; honors Caesarius through Moses as a model for correspondence with Philagrius, 87-8, Mossay, Justin, 192, 255 Mount Sinai, 129, 168, 235 includes Aristotle's epistles as a gift, 150 mouth. See voice instructs Nicobulus on epistolary agon, movement 89-90 depictions of bodily, 106, 114, 134, 136, on effeminate bishops, 251 on flawed bishops and theologians, 138, 141, 230 eyes as ushering, 122 226-56 writing as kinetic, 53 opposes Valens' religious policies in Muehlberger, Ellen, 38, 194 Cappadocia, 178-83 mystagogy (a divine vision), 168 Oration 2, 276 Oration 11, 189 Nabuzardan (Babylonian general), 182 Oration 15, 124 nakedness Oration 18, 41, 222 as source of shame in O.T., 159 Oration 26, 41 Macrina safeguards, 207, 261 Oration 27, 213-14, 226-7, 249, 251 Naucratius (Basil and Nyssen's brother), 25, Oration 28, 227 203, 206, See body; beauty of Oration 29, 221 Nazianzen. See Athens; Basil and Oration 32, 226, 235, 241 Nazianzen at Oration 33, 230 acknowledges virtue in Eudoxius the Oration 35, 125 Oration on Athanasius (Or. 21), 231-44 rhetorician, 95-6 as bishop, 5-6, 33 Oration on Basil (Or. 43), 177-86, 202, asceticism of, 43 246-56 assumes the role of Nestor, 135-6 Oration on Caesarius (Or. 7), 168-72, beauty in family and friends as virtue and 200-1 Oration on Gorgonia (Or. 8), 190-4, piety, 106, 200-5 Bishop at Constantinople, 213-14, 226, 203-5, 207-9 230-45 plays the role of Zeus, 93-4



Index

33I

polemic against theological rivals at Constantinople, 208-9, 233-56 references to Greek generals, 98-9 responds to Julian's measures against Christian pepaideumenoi, 1-5, 62, 215 response after departure from Constantinople, 131, 244-7, 270 response to unjust ordination at Sasima, 276 self-imposed silence, 45, 131-2 sends letter collection to Nicobulus, 90-1 sensual appeal of correspondence, simulates handshake with Procopius through letter, 140 theology of, 22, 164-6, 177-84, 203-5, 213-14, 226-9, 234-44, 247-50 training in paideia, 25-8, 44-5, 70-1, 73-5, 177-8, 248 transcendent masculinity, 40-5 use of synkrisis, 93 vision of pro-Nicene empire, 59 voice as measure of virtue, 129-32 Nazianzus (Cappadocian town), 23-4, 245 Nebuchadnezzar (King of Babylon), 182 Nectarius (Bishop of Constantinople), 245-6, 249, 251-2 Nectarius (friend of Basil), 87 Neo-Caesarea (city in Pontus), 156, 168 Neo-platonism, 47, 54, 199, 215, 221 Nestor (King of Pylos), 96, 135, 176 network, 220 and friendship, 107-8 based on paideia, 6-8, 22, 40-1, 83, 153 epistolary, 4, 50-1 theory, 8, 51 Nicaea (Council of), 161, 213 Nicene Creed, 3-4, 273 Nicias (Greek general), 12 Nicobulus (grandnephew of Nazianzen), 24 Nazianzen intervenes in teachers' dispute Nazianzen petitions for, 136 Nazianzen's correspondence with, 89-90 receives letter collection from Nazianzen, 90-1, 151 Noah (O.T. patriarch), 185, 235 nobility and aretē, 7, 11, 59, 98, 155, 158, 192, as related to paideia, 22, 190, 265

in death, 193 in friendship, 122, 127, 145 synonomous with classical masculinity, 21, 40, 54, 62, 73, 86, 95, 97, 100, 153, 168, 190, 205, 216, 250 visible in body, 110, 202, 208, 211 voice associated with, 19 Nonna (mother of Nazianzen), 23, 39-40 Norris, Frederick, 41, 57, 157, 184 friendship between Basil and Nazianzen, 178 Numbers (O.T. book), 139 Nyssa (Cappadocian town), 6, 24, 164 Nyssen Against Eunomius, 41, 162, 182, 220, 224, 226, 237, 252, 262-6 and Naucratius, 202-3, 206 as bishop, 6 as pepaideumenos, 28-9 assumes role as King Laertes, 94-5 beauty in family and friends as virtue and piety, 108-24, 201-3, 205-7 considers epistle from Libanius a treasure, 147-8 correspondence with Libanius, 18, 84 deploys Macrina to chastise Eunomius, Encomium on Basil, 58-60, 172-7, 184-5, 194, 201-2, 223 exhorts Nazianzen after ordination at Sasima, 276-7 exile of, 164 family of, 6, 24-5, 201-3, 208-9, 266-70 friendship with Nazianzen, 276 gamesmanship with Stagirius, 63-7 Homilies on the Song of Songs, 115, 130 Libanius influence on, 28-9 Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, 155-7, 166-8, 273 Life of Macrina, 60-1, 194-200, 202-3, 205-8, 256-70, 273 Life of Moses, 38, 235 on flawed bishops and theologians, 212-26, 256-69 On the Soul and the Resurrection, 37 On Virginity, 37 sensual appeal of correspondence, 120-2 The Deity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, theology of, 21-3, 164-6, 168, 172-7, 212-13



332 Index

Nyssen (cont.) Otreius (bishop and friend of Nyssen), 122, transcendent masculinity, 37-40, 43-4 use of Alexander the Great, 54-6 ousia (essence), 162-3 use of ekphrasis, 123-4 use of synkrisis, 184 paideia. See pepaideumenos/pepaideumenoi writings in relationship to and image, 62, 77, 93, 99, 144, 148 and self-representation, 14, 29, 44, 73 Constantinople, 165, 168, 257 as habit, 36, 66, 143, 153 Odysseus (Greek warrior), 92, 94-5, 132, Basil excelling in, 246-52 bishops and, 5-8, 49, 75-7 206-Odyssey, 68, 94–5, 135, 138, 145, 193, Caesarius greater than Julian, 168-72 206-7 definition of, 6-9 oikeiōsis (intimacy with God), 215 history in, 6, 14, 47, 65, 101 Julian proscribes Christians from olive branch as gift included with letter, 136 teaching, 1-5 literature in, 1, 4, 6, 14, 47, 65, 88, 101 Oltiseris (Cappadocian town), 237 pedigree of, 28, 68, 133 as symbol of a competitor, 81, 157 philosophy in, 1, 6, 9, 14, 47, 65, 101, Olympianus (Governor of Cappadocia), 150 priests trained in, 7, 22, 25, 91 Olympius (Governor of Cappadocia, 95, pain. See suffering 114 Oosthout, Henri, 234 Palladas (Greek poet), 141 oration panegyric, 201, See biography; oration on advocacy of pro-Nicene theology, 5, Athanasius, See biography; Nazianzen 56-61, 214-18, 240-1, 246-51 oration on Basil epistle as, 2, 114, 149 as condemnation of non-Trinitarians, genre, 157 226-31, 233-4, 237, 241-2 Encomium on Basil (by Nyssen), 172-7 oration as, 190 genre of, 157-9 paper, 142 on Athanasius by Nazianzen(Or. 21), record of the hand writing, 141 recording of visual experience, 53, 110 231-44 on Basil by Nazianzen(Or. 43), 177-84, representation of voice, 130, 141 Paris (Trojan warrior), 64, 205 244-56 on Caesarius by Nazianzen(Or. 7), parrēsia, See boldness; in speech passion. See emotion 168-72 on Gorgonia by Nazianzen(Or. 8), 190-4 Patroclus (Greek warrior and Achilles' orator, 75, 77, See Lucian; false orator, See companion), 93 Lucian; masculine orator, See patronage. See euergetism exhibition; oratorical, See honor; of Paul (apostle and N.T. author), 58-9, 111, 116, 143, 196, 226, 228, 242, 273 orators pedigree. See family; sacred pedigree in and agon, 3, 11, 18, 181 and artifice, 17 and contempt for social mobility, 220, and paideia, 6 251, 262 as performance of manhood, 13-15, 30, and masculine identity, 4, 95-6 53, 67, 75, 98, 144, 171, 270, 274 aristocratic, 252 in Second Sophistic, 13-15, 89, 123, 169, inferior in false theologian, 230, 237, 192, 217, 223, 247 244, 265 writer as, 90, 106 in Macrina, 206 Origen (theologian), 115 of paideia, 28, 68, 133 othering philosophical, 15, 215 as a means of undermining, 226 sacred, 186, 218, 242



Index

333

Peloponnesian War, 98	Phaedra (wife of King Theseus in
Pelops (King from Peloponessus), 129	Hippolytus), 258
pen/stylus. See memory; pen and papyrus as	Pheidias (sculptor), 111
medium for, See handwriting/	Philagrius (childhood friend of Nazianzen),
penmanship	78, 87–8, 114, 141
as extension of a person, 141	Philemon (N.T. book), 143
as instrument of virtual agon, 53-4, 61,	Philippi (city in Macedonia), 116
86	Philippians (N.T. book), 77, 111, 116, 143
as the tongue, 142, 256	Philo of Alexandria (philosopher), 12–13,
Penella, Robert, 27, 74	36, 122, 235
Penelope (wife of Odysseus), 94, 206-7	philosopher
Pentheus (King of Thebes), 125	as distinct from sophist, 29, 77, 87, 101,
pepaideumenos/pepaideumenoi. See honor;	156, 184, 213, 215
among pepaideumenoi, See hierarchy;	as guide, 50
of pepaideumenoi	as honorable role, 176, 178, 216–17,
and <i>agōn</i> , 6-21, 30-5, 77-82, 210-11	235-6, 238, 251
and identity, 40-55, 62-7, 146-8	Macrina as, 198, 257-8
and Second Sophistic, 67-77	pro-Nicene as true, 243-4, 248-50, 263,
Basil as authentic, 246-54	269
false, 218-31, 264-6	Trinitarian rivals as flawed, 222-3, 225, 233
friendship among, 103-14	philosophy
masculinity of, 96-7, 127-34, 145-6,	and <i>aretē</i> , 9–14, 93
159-61	as theology, 59, 196, 269
the Cappadocians as, 25–9	asceticism as guide for, 227-31, 234, 241,
performance, 77, See orator; as	260, 267–9
performance of manhood	in <i>paideia</i> , 1, 6, 9, 14, 47, 65, 101, 200
as measure of <i>aretē</i> , 14, 23, 43, 105, 158,	misapplication by heretics, 215, 234, 261-6
214, 274	of friendship, 103-4
asceticism as, 223, 239	of language in theology, 219-22
epistolary, 5, 15, 18–19, 44, 53, 66–7, 83,	paideia in, 220
103, 121, 136, 148	true in pro-Nicenes, 247–51, 260–1, 271,
hagiographic, 195, 199, 259	273
intensity of, 70, 90	Philostorgius (church historian), 162,
of letter carrier, 149	218–20
of <i>paideia</i> , 66, 73–4, 133	Philostratus of Athens (rhetorician), 14–15,
recurrent, 82	53, 71-3
Pernot, Laurent, 14, 57, 75, 157	physician, 33, 125, See Galen (physician),
Perpetua (martyr from Carthage), 158, 188	See Hippocrates (physician), See
Persia. See Cyrus (King of Persia), See	Eustathius (physician and friend of
Darius (King of Persia), See Xerxes	Basil)
(King of Persia), See effeminacy; Persia	Aetius as, 263
as metaphor for	Caesarius as, 23, 170
antithesis of Greekness, 55, 64, 96, 98–9,	Gorgonia's refusal of treatment from,
181-2	192, 207
as metaphor for heresy, 99, 179, 273	Macrina's refusal of treatment from, 260
Peter (N.T. apostle), 129, 140	physiognomy, 113, 200–1, 203, 209, See
Peter of Sebaste (Basil and Nyssen's	Aristotle; physiognomy, See Pseudo-
brother), 25	Aristotle; <i>Physiognomonics</i>
under Macrina's guidance, 43, 217, 257,	piety. See combat; and piety, See courage;
261, 267–9	and piety
Pfitzner, Victor, 12, 159	and <i>agōn</i> , 13, 43–4, 274
11121101, 12001, 12, 139	43 45 47 4



334 Index

Polemon of Laodicea (rhetorician), 71-2, piety. (cont.) Arians as impious, 236, 241-2, 273 113-14, 201 associated with arete, 5, 62, 156-60, 224, polis (Greek city-state), 11, 31, 34, 42 as thriving, 128 biblical figures situated in, 185 authorial, 209, 240 in family, 58-60, 169-71, 189, 191-200, church and, 194, 209, 252 as crucible of aretē, 66, 81-2, 133, 167, 217, 267, 270 in laity, 198 Macrina secluded from, 197 through bodies of female saints, 207-8, sacrificing on behalf of, 174 210-11 Pindar (poet), 3, 68, 167 polytheists non-Trinitarians branded as, 185 Plato, 2, 16, 37, 109, 113, 115, 122, 133, 136, 171, 255, 264, 270 Pontus (eastern Roman province), 94, 168 family home of Basil and Nyssen, 24-6, agōn in, 16, 79 and eloquence, 69, 250 43, 156, 267 Porphyry (philosopher), 54, 134, 199 and love of the Beautiful, 104, 117-18 elevated status of eyes, 118-19 Porter, James, 130, 197, 243 on bravery, 11-12 posture, 136 on character of an instructor, 230, 234 as indicative of manhood, 99, 143 on disingenuous sophistry, 264 priest/s on education, 258-9 asceticism in, 132 on sophrosune, 191 Heterousian as illegitimate, 222, 233-4, purification in experiencing the divine, 247, 252-3 227, 247 non-Trinitarians as pagan, 173, 184 subjugation of the body, 237-8 provincial aristocracy as, 32-4 theory of language, 221 reverence for office of, 190, 198, 210 words as gateway to the Soul, 129 safeguarding Trinitarian Christianity, pleasure 178, 217 as indulgence and weakness, 231, 237, sanctity of hands, 139 training in *paideia*, 7, 22, 25, 91 248-50, 255 from correspondence, 114, 139, 142, 146 Priscus (rhetorician), 116 of the senses in friendship, 115-21 Plotinus (philosopher), 118 aretē as, 86 classical literature as, 150 Plutarch, 54, 72, 85, 90, 112, 133, 188, 200, 248, 267, 269 epistles as, 94, 147 aretē as habit, 17, 82, 131 salvation in Christ, 159 importance of childhood instruction, 258 Procopius (Cappadocian magistrate and on care of body, 26 friend of Nazianzen), 140 on self-restraint, 55 Procopius (general of Emperor Julian), 180 Prohaeresius (rhetorician), 27, 75, 100 on silence, 132, 242 suspicion of sophists, 176, 230, 234, 267, prompt to participate in epistolary exchange, 67, voice and self-presentation, 133 100-1, 123-4, 272 Pneumatomachi, 165 pro-Nicene, 3, See biography; pro-Nicene, Polanyi, Karl, 145 See bishops; pro-Nicene, See courage; polemic, 228, 237, See biography; and associated with pro-Nicenes, See polemic, See biography; as polemic effeminacy; in opponents of pro-Nicenes, See exile; of pro-Nicene against Eunomius, 163, 165, 214, 216, bishops by Valens, See monks; under 220, 223, 225-7, 251, 257 in Second Sophistic, 72 pro-Nicene church management, See theological, 59, 61, 216, 218 hero; as pro-Nicene, See heroine; as



pro-Nicene, See Heterousian/s; as foil	in friendship, 104, 124, 133, 147,
to pro-Nicene bishops, See image; of	152
pro-Nicene clergy as ideal leaders, See	Remijsen, Sofie, 20, 159
vision (as an ideal); conception of pro-	repetition (as habit). See habit; paideia as
Nicene leadership	in epistolary exchange, 82
affiliation with asceticism, 223–34	rhetoric
as antithesis of non-Trinitarians, 59–60,	and likeness of soul, 108–14
218	and philosophy, 227–31, 247–54,
as category of identity formation, 4–5, 21,	264
	•
47, 99–100	as a weapon, 70–7, 132
as true Christianity, 58, 100, 176,	as craftsmanship, 63-72
216–17, 228, 256–7	of contest (agōn), 3, 21, 62, 86, 88, 134,
community at Constantinople, 231	160, 178, 272
in opposition to Valens, 178–81	of erotic attraction, 114–18
theology of, 168, 173, 220, 222, 269	of friendship, 103–8
prophet, 160, 173, 179, 185	of gift exchange, 145-52
and <i>aretē</i> , 184, 217	of gift-giving, 106
godly versus pagan, 185	of hands, 134–41
rejection of luxury, 235	of the voice, 127–34
prostitution	visual, 118–27
verbal trickery as, 171	Ritter, Adolf-Martin, 163, 165, 213
Proverbs (O.T. book), 77, 204, 267	rivalry. See agon
provincial nobility. See aristocracy/	Roisman, Joseph, 81, 155, 174
aristocrat	Romans (N.T. book), 195, 241
Psalms (O.T. book), 140, 142, 243, 276	rose
Pseudo-Aristotle, Physiognomonics, 113, 128	symbolic of beauty, 120-1
Pseudo-Libanius, Epistolary Styles, 63, 65,	Rousseau, Philip, 26, 33, 42, 138, 161, 178, 260
	Ruether, Rosemary Radford, 120, 127, 159,
Prolemy (mathematician), 171	
Puertas, Alberto, 87, 101	192, 237
purification, 234, <i>See</i> Plato; purification in experiencing the divine	runner, 16, 72, 133, 157, 159, 196, 236, 252, <i>See</i> athlete, <i>See</i> Olympian
agōn as, 223, 228-9, 247, 254	
and asceticism, 213, 218, 227-8, 273	saints. See asceticism; and masculinity,
of theologian, 257	See asceticism; as authorization, See
through silence, 132	biography; hagiographic (saints'
Pythagoras (philosopher), 129, 243	lives)
	Salamis (Battle of), 96, 182
quest	Sasima (Cappadocian town), 6, 24, 164,
for <i>aretē</i> , 4, 17, 60, 85, 108, 272	245, 276
for family honor, 190	Satala (town in Roman province Armenia
Quintilian (rhetorician), 130	minor), 49-50
	Saul (King of Israel), 176
Radde-Gallwitz, Andrew, 48, 90, 163, 218,	Schmitz, Thomas, 66, 71
221	Schor, Adam, 8, 49, 51, 90, 136-7
Rapp, Claudia, 9, 235, 238-9	Scipio Africanus (Roman general), 200
Rebillard, Éric, 46, 227	Sebaste (city in Roman province Armenia
Rebillard, Suzanne Abrams, 127, 131–2,	minor), 25, 268
140, 217, 243, 245	II Chronicles (O.T. book), 77
reciprocity	II Corinthians (N.T. book), 111, 137, 228,
in epistolary <i>agōn</i> , 82, 91, 145	260
oriotolar, mgom, 02, 71, 14)	200



> Index 336

denunciation of, 29-30, 77, 87, 101, 177, Second Sophistic, 14-18, See disputation, public; in Second Sophistic, See exhibition; in Second Sophistic, See orator; in Second Sophistic and agōn, 29, 44, 229 and classical authors, 66-9, 97, 224 and friendship, 105-6, 109, 113, 118 and rhetoric of combat, 70-3 and the Cappadocians, 73-5 and Third Sophistic, 75-7 cultural influence on Nyssen philosophy, spectator, 248 epistolary in, 53, 61, 75-7 intellectual pedigree, 69-70, 272 II Thessalonians (N.T. book), 171 language Seleucia (Council of), 161-2 self-control, 234, 237 excellence of, 10, 46 feature of masculinity, 11, 19, 170, 185, 240, 248, 251, 270 in I Timothy and Titus, 100 241-2 in transcendent masculinity, 189, 217, 268 of martyrs, 21, 193, 200 See declamation stadium of O.T. patriarchs, 13 silence as, 82 self-representation, 76, 105, 133-4, 153 and identity formation, 9, 21-2, 44, 52, 114, 117, 132 62, 84, 130, 220, 272 in paideia, 14, 29, 44, 73 Seneca (philosopher), 89, 112, 120 sense/sensory, 52-3, See hand, See eyes, See stomach. See gluttony and rhetoric, 61, 106, 176, 192, 200, 272 in encounters, 134-45 strength, 45 in friendship, 114-34, 152-3 revalorization of, 104-53 from God, 156 Shepardson, Christine, 47, 232 silence, 82, 243 as self-control, 217, 241 as superior to speech, 131-2, 242-3 of speech, 133, 172 Nazianzen's self-imposed, 45, 131 Silvas, Anna, 24, 31, 48, 90, 124, 164 of voice, 128 Smoes, Étienne, 11, 176 Song of Songs (O.T. book), 115, 117, 121, 130 sophist/sophistry. See orator, See Plato; on disingenuous sophistry, See Lucian; false orator, See Second Sophistic; sweat. See exertion rhetoric of combat, See Plutarch; suspicion of sophists definition of during Second Sophistic, Telchine (from Greek mythology), 92 14-16

Sophronius (imperial magistrate from Cappadocia), 32-3, 130 soul. See body; and soul and friendship, 108-27 as guiding element of Macrina, 196-9, 208, 258, 267, 270 paideia as training, 254 Sparta (Greece), 64, 96, 129, 179, 273 at athletic games, 20, 73 hagiographic trope of, 170-1, 175, 196 speech. See boldness; in speech, See as index of character, 2, 4, 61, 73, 79-80, 87, 90, 128-34, 197-8, 216-18, 241-57 misapplication of, 156, 204, 224-6, speech (public presentation). See oration, site of performance, 81, 171, 196 Stagirius (Cappadocian rhetorician), 63-6, Sterk, Andrea, 42-3, 235 Stewart, Michael Edward, 20, 42 Stoic/Stoicism, 12-13, 117, 120, 233 Storin, Bradley, 29, 51-2, 111, 135 epistles as self-portrait, 51-2, 90, 111 verbal stillness in Nazianzen, 45 letter writing as exhibition of, 101 of body as symbol of arete, 17, 110, 118, 133, 170, 174, 209-10 of soul, 39, 186, 188, 193, 195, 204, 237 struggle, 78, 82, 158, 167, 190, 194, 209, 228, See martyr; and struggle, See body; struggle within, See agon agonistic vs. antagonistic, 85 Swain, Simon, 56, 59, 63, 89 synkrisis (rhetorical device), 54, 93, 184



Index

337

telos, 31, 79, 82 Cappadocian Fathers as, 22-3 doctrinal development in fourth century, temperance in I Timothy and Titus, 100 theatre Trinity (pro-Nicene doctrine), 38-9, 163, and classical Greek ideal, 97 168, 221, 234, 236-7, 250, 255 Trojan/Trojan War, 103, 135, 145, 205 site of gender instability, 81 Thecla (saint), 187, 194 trumpet Themistius (rhetorician), 101, 129-30 Athanasius as a trumpet of truth, 236 Themistocles (Athenian general), 96 used as call to battle, 236 Theodore (Bishop of Tyana in Cappadocia), Tyana (Cappadocian city), 146 146 tvranny Theodoret (Bishop of Cyrrhus), 38, 136 as antithesis of Greekness, 99, 174, 236, Theodosius (Emperor), 165-6, 213, 232, 245 theology. See warfare; theology depicted as, See language; and theology, See unbegotten. See begotten/unbegotten oration; advocacy of pro-Nicene Urbano, Arthur, 9, 257 biography as arena of competition, 62, theology and asceticism, 36-9, 62, 257-61, 215 268-70 on the philosopher's cloak and identity Basil and, 163-4, 172-83 formation, 274 conflicts in fourth century, 160-6 Nazianzen and, 164-6, 177-83 Vaggione, Richard, 162, 223, 238, 262, Nyssen and, 164-6, 168, 172-7 of Athanasius, 163-4, 231-9 Valens (Emperor), 23, See exile; of pro-Nicene bishops by Valens, See proof Eunomius, 162-6, 220-2 paideia and, 227-31, 247-56 Nicene; in opposition to Valens, See pro-Nicene, 168, 172-83, 219-22 Homoian; Valens as supporter of similarities among Cappadocians, 22-3 administrative division of Cappadocia, theoria (contemplation of God), 197, 215, 124 Van Dam, Raymond, 28, 136, 138, 156, 234 theosis (communion with God), 227 158, 166, 182 Thermopylae (Battle), 64, 179 division of Cappadocia, 125 Third Sophistic, 14-15, 75-7 on Amphilochius as the Fourth Cappadocia Father, 24 Thomas (N.T. apostle), 139 Timothy (correspondent of Nazianzen), 86 on challenges of letter exchange, 137 Titus (N.T. book), 100 on Emperor Valens' religious policies in tongue. See pen; as the tongue Cappadocia, 175 Van Hoof, Lieve, 27, 76, 220 and hierarchy, 133 Van Nijf, Onno, 167 as a weapon, 72, 132 Vandenbussche, E., 214, 219 as instrument of truth, 255-6 control of, 131-2, 217, 241-3, 249-50 Venota (Cappadocian town), 124 lack of control over, 227, 241, 255 purity of, 244, 254 as management of internal self, 20, 159, representative of the individual, 131 199 touch. See hand in hagiography, 158, 167-72, 192, 195, toughness 238 outcome of paideia, 71, 193 Olympic, 137 tribōn (cloak), 274 over heresy, 60, 177-84, 256 Trinitarian. See pro-Nicene, See biography; rhetorical, 73-5, 81, 85, 94, 108, 273 pro-Nicene, See biography; and virgin/virginity, 189, 260 polemic, See bishops; pro-Nicene as potential loss of manhood, 42



338 Index

virgin/virginity (cont.) community of virgins under Macrina, 43, 196, 198-200 Macrina as, 25, 60-1, 198, 200, 260, 267-9 virtual agōn, 3, 53, 67, 106, 158, 160, 170, 217 text as person, 108, 110, 112, 168, 272 vision (as an ideal) Basil's conception of a perfect society, 38 conception of pro-Nicene leadership, 59-60, 62, 77, 100, 158, 232, 244 vision (sight). See eyes voice. See body; voice as part of, See breath; and voice, See gender; and voice and friendship, 131-4, 139 as a weapon, 132, 243 as effeminate, 231, 249, 263 as identity, 128-31, 133, 141, 197-8, 247, 254-5 as measure of truth, 255-6, 269, 271 highest sense, 153 performance of, 19 purification of, 218, 235, 243, 254, 257-8 sound of as sign of strong society, 127-8 voyeurism, 207 warfare. See Second Sophistic; and rhetoric

of combat, See combat, agon as, 73, 78,

as antagonistic, 85

eloquence and, 75, 183 performance of masculinity as, 3, 173 theology depicted as in hagiography, 177-84, 210, 216-17, 236-7 warrior. See courage; as warriors, See hoplite, See combat, See warfare Watts, Edward, 7, 27, 74 weapon. See tongue; as a weapon as a gift, 145 patronage as, 64 rhetoric as, 72-4, 86, 93, 132 voice as, 243, 256 Webb, Ruth, 55, 104, 123 White, Carolinne, 104, 106-7, 111 Whitmarsh, Tim, 69, 89 wickedness of heresy, 168, 173, 238 wilderness as place of hardship, 185, 240 wrestler, 72, 236, See athlete and agon, 16, 72, 82, 133, 238

xenia. See family; and guest friendship (xenia) Xenophon (historian), 2, 85–6 Xenophon of Ephesus (novelist), 206 Xerxes (King of Persia), 181–3

Yahweh (Hebrew name for God), 129, 140, 168, 179

Zeus (god), 23, 109