

Chapter 7 then looks at Origen's attempt to articulate the other side of the trinitarian problematic—how the Father and Son are unified as well as distinct. Ip suggests that in discussions of this topic, Origen responded to defenders of Valentinus, perhaps one Candidus, criticizing, as Irenaeus does, the notion of emissions as materialistic. Origen instead argued that the generation of the Son from the Father results in a hypostasis that is distinct but not separate from the Father if one conceives of that generation as an act of the Father's will emerging from his mind. Such a generation would be compatible with divine simplicity because no corporeal element would impede it. It would result in two hypostases and two wills, but wills united and harmonious, another protection for divine simplicity. Likewise, such a mode of generation would guarantee that the Son is the perfect image of the Father, and would have to be co-temporal and thus co-eternal with the Father. In a final epilogue, the author asserts that looking at Origen's theology in its third-century context would help scholars understand the transition from third- to fourth-century theology. He argues that the integration of anti-Monarchian and anti-Valentinian functions of divine simplicity that one sees in Origen breaks down with the emergence of Arius and the Nicene response, the discussion shifting from locating divine simplicity in the Father to locating it in the divine essence/*ousia*. He urges scholars to explore the possible reasons for that change.

This is a dense but well-organized and clearly written study. It is convincing in laying out the concerns of early Christian theologians who sought to balance philosophical notions of deity with scriptural revelation and its interpretation, as well as liturgical experience and the pursuit of exemplary discipleship—and to do this in the face of contemporary interpretations of Christian teaching they deemed deficient. It offers the scholar a foundation for the “prospective” examination of the evolution of the doctrine of the Trinity the author calls for instead of the “retrospective” consideration historians of doctrine often give to third-century authors like Tertullian and Origen, assessing these writers' theology against the background of what became at the end of the fourth century Nicene orthodoxy. It further illuminates how Origen is the source for ideas on both sides of the fourth-century trinitarian debates, and is particularly relevant for understanding the context of the conflict between Eusebius of Caesarea, devoted student of Origen, and Marcellus of Ancyra, seen as the arch-Monarchian of the fourth century. This is an important study that historians of doctrine as well as scholars in systematic and philosophical theology will read with profit.

Kelley Spoerl  
Saint Anselm College  
doi:10.1017/S0009640723002433

***Christianity and the Contest for Manhood in Late Antiquity: The Cappadocian Fathers and the Rhetoric of Masculinity.***  
By Nathan D. Howard. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2022. vii + 338 pp. \$120.00 cloth.

Identity and gender remain important subjects of inquiry among scholars of Late Antiquity, and the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers—Basil of Caesarea (d. 379), Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 390), and Gregory of Nyssa (d. 394)—have received their

fair share of attention in this regard. Howard's approach is a departure, however, and in two critical ways. First, his book does not emphasize the Christianization of this period or its promotion of novel or subordinate forms of masculinity; instead, it insists upon the continued significance of Greek ideas about manliness (*andreia*) and manly excellence (*arete*), classical ideals that were intimately tied to learning (*paideia*), competition (*agon*), and sound leadership in the minds of elite eastern Romans, who shared an identity as upright and learned men (*agathoi* and *pepaideumenoι*, respectively), regardless of religious affiliation. Second, the book attempts to demonstrate how these ideas played a role in the theological controversies of the period, arguing that classical manliness could be weaponized by the Cappadocian Fathers, who disparaged non-Nicene Christians for failing to live up to its ideals: their theological rivals, in other words, were maligned as unlearned, inexperienced, unvirtuous, unmanly, and ultimately dangerous to the community.

The book begins with a lengthy introduction, which describes the classical masculine ideal, its component parts, and its development as a performative and rhetorical strategy into the Second Sophistic and beyond. Howard is keen to note that, while Christianity did pose certain challenges to classical norms, the two were not mutually exclusive: classical agonism, for instance, found parallels in scripture and could be appropriated for the spiritual and real-world struggles of contemporary Christians. The introduction then turns to a discussion of the book's principal sources, the Cappadocian Fathers' letters and an assemblage of encomia, funeral orations, and lives, collectively described as "hagiographic biography" (56), before concluding with a synopsis of its chapters. Chapter one focuses on epistolary exchange as a form of mutually beneficial competition and locus for exhibiting manliness. Derived from sweat and toil, the fourth-century *pepaideumenoι*'s eloquent language and classical erudition marked him as an authentic man among his educated peers, while the letters he exchanged offered a medium for demonstrating his hard-earned *arete*. These letters were imbued with agonism, from the tasks of writing, reading, and judging them, to their coded contents, which demanded both knowledge and reciprocity, to their circulation in deliberately arranged collections. Letters like these reached across religious and theological divides, yet, importantly, they were only addressed to men and thus reinforced a particular male identity within their limited audience. Chapter two continues Howard's study of epistolary exchange by focusing on the rhetoric of friendship. Letters, it is argued, created a virtual encounter between like-minded individuals, revealing a correspondent's inner man. In keeping with classical and Christian thought, friends were described as kindred souls, longed for and desired by the Cappadocian Fathers, who regularly appealed to sensory rhetoric in their correspondence: to sight, hearing, and touch, for which Howard provides many examples. Letters, finally, harkened to ancient ideas of gift-giving: they were a source of honor and celebration for their recipients, who were called upon and obliged to respond in kind. Chapter three shifts to the Cappadocians' hagiographic biographies, which were intended for a larger, more general, and typically Christian audience. The lives of five individuals are analyzed here, with an eye to how their biographies and biographers shaped conceptions of Christian manhood within the context of fierce theological debate. Both Gregory Thaumaturgus and Caesarius of Nazianzus, Howard demonstrates, were depicted as hardened athletes and manly men. The former successfully contended against evil spirits, temptation, and non-Nicene Christianity; the latter, a model Christian *pepaideumenoι*, driven by faith, could see through the emperor Julian's sophistry and verbal trickery, besting and emasculating the emperor in the process. Basil of Caesarea, in contrast, was a

learned and brave warrior, the manly fusion of a hoplite and a philosopher, who held fast against heresy and was likened to biblical prophets and the Greek heroes of old. Gorgonia and Macrina, finally, triumphed over their bodily suffering with fortitude, composure, and resolve, offering models of piety, self-control, and sacred *arete* within an appropriately familial and domestic sphere. Chapter four likewise focuses on hagiographic biographies, arguing that Nazianzen used the examples of Athanasius of Alexandria and Basil of Caesarea to associate pro-Nicene Christianity with rigorous training, expertise, and proper ascetism. Nyssen's Macrina, on the other hand, served as a model of spiritual excellence, self-control, and wisdom for her brothers, tempering their traditional *paideia* through her pious example. Such qualities, Howard asserts, were intended to legitimize pro-Nicene Christians as the heirs of classical learning, whose spiritual and physical *agones* purified them and thus authorized their understanding of the divine: they were holy *pepaideumenoï* and Christian *agathoi*, embodiments of traditional manliness who defended the truth; their non-Nicene rivals were the opposite. The book then concludes with a brief epilogue, which restates its chapters' conclusions and offers some suggestions as to the legacy of this form of masculinity into the Middle Byzantine Period.

This book is not always an easy read and may strike some, especially the nonspecialist, as something akin to *agon* in and of itself. Nevertheless, it is an important study, not just of the Cappadocian Fathers and their rhetoric, but also of the influence and pervasiveness of classical ideas about masculinity in an increasingly Christian world. Howard insists that such notions were inherently Greek and thus eastern, but one wonders the extent to which analogues might be found among contemporary Latin authors, who did not live in an intellectual vacuum. The letters of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine readily come to mind, as do a number of Christian biographies.

Jonathan J. Arnold  
University of Tulsa  
doi:10.1017/S0009640723002184

***Living Martyrs in Late Antiquity and Beyond: Surviving Martyrdom.***  
By Diane Shane Fruchtman. Abingdon: Routledge, 2023. xiii + 280  
pp. \$170 hardback; \$47.65 eBook.

Diane Fruchtman's main claim is that scholars too often conflate martyrdom with death and thus ignore "living martyrs," i.e., Christians who are considered as martyrs by their promoters without having faced a violent death and whose title to martyrdom comes not from death but from life. It is not that these living martyrs are not known but that they are explained away and marginalized. Diane Fruchtman makes a strong case that this is mistaken and can only lead to a partial understanding of martyrdom. Fruchtman endeavors to remedy this oversight by focusing on three authors who write in Latin at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century: Prudentius (chapters 1 and 2), Paulinus of Nola (chapters 3 and 4), and Augustine of Hippo (chapters 5 and 6).

The cases of Vincent, who died after his release from prison, or of Encratis, who lived to tell the tale of her tortures, illustrate how death is not centrally relevant to