

Hypatia of Alexandria

Edited by
DAWN LAVALLE NORMAN
and ALEX PETKAS

*Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum*



Mohr Siebeck

Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity

Herausgeber/Editors

CHRISTOPH MARKSCHIES (Berlin) · MARTIN WALLRAFF (München)
CHRISTIAN WILDBERG (Pittsburgh)

Beirat/Advisory Board

PETER BROWN (Princeton) · SUSANNA ELM (Berkeley)
JOHANNES HAHN (Münster) · EMANUELA PRINZIVALLI (Rom)
JÖRG RÜPKE (Erfurt)

119



Hypatia of Alexandria

Her Context and Legacy

Edited by

Dawn LaValle Norman and Alex Petkas

Mohr Siebeck

DAWN LAVALLE NORMAN, born 1983; 2015 PhD in Classics and Hellenic Studies at Princeton University; Research Fellow at Australian Catholic University's Institute for Religion and Critical Inquiry in Melbourne.
orcid.org/0000-0002-3354-1298

ALEX PETKAS, born 1984; 2019 PhD in Classics and Hellenic Studies at Princeton University; Assistant Professor of Classics at California State University, Fresno.
orcid.org/0000-0001-6891-8908

ISBN 978-3-16-154969-4 / eISBN 978-3-16-158954-6

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-158954-6

ISSN 1436-3003 / eISSN 2568-7433 (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2020 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset and printed on non-aging paper by Laupp & Göbel in Gomaringen and bound by Buchbinderei Nädle in Nehren.

Printed in Germany.

For Robert Germany
(1974–2017)

πάτερ καὶ ἀδελφὲ καὶ διδάσκαλε καὶ διὰ πάντων τούτων εὐεργετικὸ
καὶ ἅπαν ὅ τι τίμιον καὶ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα.

(Paraphrase of Synesius, Epistle 16)

Table of Contents

Introduction: The Timeliness of Hypatia	1
DAWN LAVALLE NORMAN AND ALEX PETKAS	

Hypatia and Synesius

1. Hypatia and the Desert: A Late Antique Defense of Classicism	7
ALEX PETKAS	
2. Desire and Despair: Synesius, Hypatia, and No Consolation of Philosophy	29
HELMUT SENG	
3. Synesius' Letters to Hypatia: On the "End" of a Philosopher- Friendship and its Timelessness	51
HENRIETTE HARICH-SCHWARZBAUER	

Hypatia in Context

4. Bloody Juvenalia: Hypatia, Pulcheria Augusta, and the Beginnings of Cyril of Alexandria's Episcopate	67
WALTER F. BEERS	
5. The Shattered Icon: An Alternative Reading of Hypatia's Killing (Socrates, <i>Hist. eccl.</i> 7.15.5–7, John of Nikiu, <i>Chron.</i> 84.100–103, and Rufinus, <i>Hist. eccl.</i> 11.23)	87
MAREILE HAASE	
6. The Private Devotions of Intellectual Hellenes	119
DAVID FRANKFURTER	
7. 'A Mere Geometer'? Hypatia in the Context of Alexandrian Neoplatonism	133
SEBASTIAN GERTZ	

Hypatia in her Ancient and Modern Reception

8. Hypatia's Sisters? Gender and the Triumph of Knowledge in Nonnus' <i>Dionysiaca</i>	151
JOSHUA FINCHER	
9. The Ideal (Bleeding?) Female: Hypatia of Alexandria and Distorting Patriarchal Narratives	171
VICTORIA LEONARD	
10. Hypatia and her Eighteenth-Century Reception	193
EDWARD WATTS	
11. Starring Hypatia: Amenábar's <i>Agora</i> and the Topology of Reception	209
CÉDRIC SCHEIDEGGER LAEMMLE	
Appendix A: Translation of Primary Sources on Hypatia	239
ALEX PETKAS AND DAWN LAVALLE NORMAN	
Appendix B: Hypatia's Death According to Socrates, <i>Hist. eccl.</i> 7.15: A Textual Commentary	255
MAREILE HAASE	
Bibliography of Primary Sources	285
Bibliography of Secondary Sources	291
Contributors	323
Index	
Ancient Authors and Works	325
Subjects	329

List of Abbreviations

Authors

Ach. Tat.	Achilles Tattius
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus Historicus
Ammon.	Ammonius
Apul.	Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis
Aug.	Augustus
Augustinus	Augustinus Hipponensis
Clem. Al.	Clemens Alexandrinus Theologus
Dam.	Damascius Philosophus
Demetr.	Demetrius Phalereus Rhetor
E.	Euripides Tragicus
Eun.	Eunapius
Eus.	Eusebius Caesariensis Scriptor Ecclesiasticus
Hes.	Hesiodus Epicus
Hierocl.	Hierocles Platonicus Philosophus
Hom.	Homer
Joh. Chrys.	John Chrysostom
Lact.	L. Caelius Lactantius Firmianus
Lib.	Libanius Sophista
Livy	Titus Livius
Marin.	Marinus Biographus
Non.	Nonnus of Panopolis
Olymp.	Olympiodorus Philosophus
Orig.	Origen
Phlp.	John Philoponus
Phot.	Photius
Pl.	Plato Philosophus
Plu.	Plutarchus Biographus et Philosophus
Porph.	Porphyry
Procl.	Proclus Philosophus
Procop. Gaz.	Procopius of Gaza
Prudentius	Aurelius Prudentius Clemens
Simp.	Simplicius Philosophus
Socr.	Socrates Scholasticus
Sozom.	Salminius Hermias Sozomenus
Syn.	Synesius of Cyrene
Them.	Themistius

Works

AUGUSTUS

R. G. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*

APULEIUS

apol. *Apologia**De deo Socratis*

CASSIDORUS / EPIPHANIUS

Hist. eccl. tripart. *Socrates Ecclesiastical History* (Latin Translation)

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS THEOLOGUS

Protr. *Protrepticus**Strom.* *Stromateis*

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

Adv. Iul. *Against Julian*

DAMASCIUS

PH *The Philosophical History*

DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS RHETOR

Eloc. *Demetrius on Style*

EPIGRAMS

AP *Anthologia Palatina*

EUNAPIUS

VS *Vitae Sophistarum*

EURIPIDES

Ba. *Bacchae*

EUSEBIUS

Comm. in Is. *Commentary on Isaiah**Dem. ev.* *Demonstratio Evangelica**De eccl. Theol.* *Ecclesiastical Theology**H. E.* *Ecclesiastical History**Praep. ev.* *Praeparatio evangelica*

HESIODUS EPICUS

Fr. *Fragmenta**Op.* *Opera et Dies**Sc.* *Scutum Herculis**Th.* *Theogonia*

HIEROCLES PLATONICUS PHILOSOPHUS

in CA *in Carmen Aureum*

HOMER

Il. *Illiad**Od.* *Odyssey*

HYMNI HOMERICI

h Ven. *hymnus ad Venerem* (Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite)

IAMBlichUS

de Anima *De Anima**Commentarius* *Commentary on the Timaeus*
in Timaeum

JEROME

Vir. ill. *De Viris Illustribus*

JOHN OF EPHEBUS	
<i>E. H.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>
JOHN OF NIKIU	
<i>Chronicle</i>	<i>The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu</i>
LACTANTIUS	
<i>Div. Ins.</i>	<i>Institutiones Divinae</i> [Divine Institutes]
<i>Ps.-Aristeas</i>	<i>Letter of Aristeas</i>
LIBANIUS	
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
LIVY	
<i>AUC</i>	<i>Ab Urbe Condita</i>
NONNUS OF PANOPOLIS	
<i>D.</i>	<i>Dionysiaca</i>
<i>P.</i>	<i>Paraphrase of John</i>
OLYMPIODORUS	
<i>in Alc.</i>	<i>in Platonis Alcibiadem commentarii</i>
<i>in Grg.</i>	<i>in Platonis Gorgiam commentaria</i>
<i>Proll.</i>	<i>Prolegomena</i>
ORIGEN	
<i>schol. in Lc.</i>	<i>scholia in Luc.</i>
PHILOPONUS	
<i>de aeternitate</i>	<i>On the Eternity of the World, against Proclus</i>
PHILOSTRATUS	
<i>Vit. Apoll.</i>	<i>Life of Apollonius</i>
PHOTIUS	
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>
PLOTINUS	
<i>Enn.</i>	<i>The Enneads</i>
PLATO	
<i>R.</i>	<i>Respublica</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
PLUTARCH	
<i>Pyrrh.</i>	<i>The Life of Pyrrhus</i>
<i>Apoph. lac.</i>	<i>Apophthegmata Laconica</i>
<i>Is. Os.</i>	<i>Isis and Osiris</i>
PORPHYRY	
<i>Abst.</i>	<i>de Abstinencia</i>
<i>Aneb.</i>	<i>Letter to Anebo</i>
<i>de Regressu Animae</i>	<i>On the Return of the Soul</i>
<i>Plot.</i>	<i>Vita Plotini</i>
<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Ep. ad Marcellam</i>
PROCLUS PHILOSOPHUS	
<i>in Ti.</i>	<i>in Platonis Timaeum commentarii</i>
<i>in Cra.</i>	<i>in Platonis Cratylum commentaria</i>
PROCOPIUS OF GAZA	
<i>In. Is.</i>	<i>Commentary on Isaiah</i>

PRUDENTIUS	
<i>Ad. Sym.</i>	<i>Contra Symmachum</i>
RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA	
<i>Hist. eccl. l.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical History (Latin Edition)</i>
SALMINIUS HERMIAS SOZOMENUS	
<i>HE</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Histories</i>
SIMPLICIUS PHILOSOPHUS	
<i>in Cat.</i>	<i>in Aristotelis Categorias commentarius</i>
SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS	
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>
SUDA	
	<i>Suidae Lexicon (Adler, ed.)</i>
SYNESIUS OF CYRENE	
<i>Aeg.</i>	<i>de providentia</i>
<i>astrolab.</i>	<i>sermo de dono astrolabii</i>
<i>de Dono.</i>	<i>De dono astrolabii</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistles</i>
<i>insomn.</i>	<i>de insomniis</i>
THEMISTIUS	
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
THEODORET	
<i>Hist. E.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>
THEODOSIAN CODE	
<i>Cod. Theod.</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
VERGIL	
<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>
 <i>Journals</i>	
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i>
<i>Acta Antiqua hungaricae</i>	<i>Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>Anabases</i>	<i>Anabases: traditions et réception de l'Antiquité</i>
<i>Apeiron</i>	<i>Apeiron: A Journal for Ancient Philosophy and Science</i>
ARG	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
<i>Byz. Z</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BzA</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ByzSt</i>	<i>Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines.</i>
<i>Church. Hist.</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>The Classical Journal</i>
<i>Class. Mediaev.</i>	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology: A Journal Devoted to Research in Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>Crit. Stud. Media Commun.</i>	<i>Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies</i>
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i>

CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i>
EMWJ	<i>Early Modern Women: an Interdisciplinary Journal</i>
Fem. Stud.	<i>Feminist Studies</i>
Gnomon	<i>Gnomon: Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
Gregorianum	<i>Gregorianum: periodicum trimestre a Pontificia Universitate Gregoriana editum</i>
Gymnasium	<i>Gymnasium: Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und humanistische Bildung</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
Hermes	<i>Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie</i>
Historia	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte</i>
Hypatia	<i>Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy</i>
Isis	<i>Isis: An International Review Devoted to the History of Science and Its Cultural Influences</i>
Klio	<i>Klio: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
J ECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Egyptian Studies</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JMEMS	<i>Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies</i>
JLA	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LSJ	<i>Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, 9th ed., rev. H. Stuart Jones (1925–40); Suppl. by E. A. Barber and others (1968)</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
MH	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
Millennium	<i>Millennium: Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.</i>
Mnemosyne	<i>Mnemosyne: bibliotheca classica Batava.</i>
OLD	<i>Glare, P. G. W. 1982. Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford.</i>
OSAPh	<i>Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy</i>
PCP	<i>Pacific Coast Philology</i>
Philologus	<i>Philologus: Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption</i>
Phronesis	<i>Phronesis: A Journal for Ancient Philosophy</i>
PG	<i>Patrologica Graeca</i>
PGL	<i>Lampe, G. W. H. 1961. A Patristic Greek Lexicon, Oxford</i>
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i>
Philologus	<i>Philologus: Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption.</i>
Phoenix	<i>Phoenix: Journal of the Classical Association of Canada revue de la Société canadienne des études classiques</i>
P. Oxy.	<i>Oxyrhynchus</i>

<i>Promethius</i>	<i>Prometheus: rivista quadrimestrale di studi classici</i>
PW	“Pauly-Wissowa”, i. e. August Friedrich von Pauly's <i>Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RAC	<i>Rivista di archeologia Cristiana</i>
RÉAug	<i>Revue des études augustiniennes et patristiques</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RFIC	<i>Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica</i>
RGRW	<i>Religions in the Greco-Roman World</i>
TAPhA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TCH	<i>The Transformation of the Classical Heritage</i>
TRE	<i>Theologische Realencyclopädie</i>
WJb	<i>Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft</i>
VChr	<i>Vigilae Christianae</i>
Vic Lit Cult	<i>Victorian Literature and Culture</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Introduction

The Timeliness of Hypatia

DAWN LAVALLE NORMAN and ALEX PETKAS

Hypatia is something of an academic household name. The story is so familiar, the sources for her life so apparently scarce, that one may wonder if there is much left to be said. Even as this volume was being finalized, a new biography of Hypatia appeared (written by one of our contributors).¹ But scholarship and culture continue to develop, and we are confident that each of the essays gathered here have some new perspective to share about Hypatia and her legacy.

To take one example, in early 2017 Hypatia's name was all over the internet, especially in those streets and alleyways of the web frequented by members of the academy. The reason was a controversy over an article published by *Hypatia*, a feminist journal which takes its name and inspiration from the topic of this volume, the fifth-century CE Platonist Hypatia of Alexandria.² The author of the article examined from a philosophical perspective the parallels between transgenderism and transracialism. This provoked a backlash in which many academics demanded that *Hypatia* rescind the article, an action which the editors ultimately did not take.

This controversy stirred discussion on issues relevant to all academics, about the publication, reception, and censorship of peer reviewed scholarship that risks or provokes public backlash. Turning to the historical Hypatia in terms of this debate can help us to approach aspects of her career with fresh eyes: how might she have reacted? Hypatia herself edited and published several school texts of notable mathematicians and astronomers, but she also seems to have published the controversialist intellectual work of her contemporaries, such as those of her student Synesius (see the first essay in this volume). And most vividly, Hypatia was also a female intellectual who faced public ire, albeit of a different sort.

Hypatia is unfortunately most famous for her untimely end, which has often been seen as marking the end of a great age – of learning and free thought, tol-

¹ Edward J. Watts, *Hypatia: The Life and Legend of an Ancient Philosopher* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

² Rebecca Tuvel, "In Defense of Transracialism," *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 32.2 (2017): 263–278.

erant multiculturalism, or even classical antiquity itself. In 415 a gang of Christians caught her off-guard in the streets of Alexandria and brutally lynched her.

The essays collected herein were first presented at a conference at Princeton University titled *Hypatia: Behind the Symbol*, which took place in December 2015, and was partly inspired by the 1600-year anniversary of her death. As the title of that conference suggests, the notion that her death was such a symbolic and epoch-making event is itself a viewpoint examined critically, rather than explicitly adopted, by contributors in this volume. The causes and consequences of this gruesome tragedy are indeed examined in detail in many of the essays in this volume, but we hope that, on the whole, this book has succeeded in getting past the age-old pattern of seeing Hypatia's death as the most noteworthy moment in her life.

We felt Hypatia to be a timely subject in 2015, and we believe this to be even more the case upon publication. Public and political interest in women's leadership in the arts and sciences has only increased and shows no signs of waning. In times of change, people often turn to history for ethical examples. Hypatia's life can provide one, for instance, to women interested in lessons for success in a male-dominated political and intellectual climate. Her publishing and teaching achievements matched or exceeded those of many of her noteworthy male contemporaries. But she also grounded her personal effectiveness in skills and activities which are often gendered as female, such as interpersonal charm, relationship cultivation, and (probably) conforming to gender-specific models of virtue enforced by her culture, such as her much-discussed chastity.

But one aspect of her life that deserves particular attention here, because it may be less obvious, is Hypatia's interest as a male role-model. This is not only because men can (of course) learn much from emulating admirable women, but also because Hypatia is a striking example of how many ancient men, too, were at least partially aware of this fact. In the absence, for the most part, of formal certifying bodies, intellectual formation in the ancient world was much more explicitly interpersonal, based on teacher-disciple relationships, and frequently theorized in terms of mimesis (e. g. in Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*). Hypatia taught, mentored, and thus left her own ethical imprint on a predominantly male student body – the clearest example is her student Synesius of Cyrene. Indeed, Hypatia and Synesius constitute perhaps the best documented historical example of female-male mentorship surviving from antiquity. Synesius is granted significant space in this volume, but he is not the only evidence one can find herein of men modeling themselves after this woman – see, for instance, Joshua Fincher's treatment of Nonnus' female intellectual figures in Chapter 8 or Edward Watts' discussion of Rev. John Toland in early eighteenth-century England in Chapter 10. We hope readers, regardless of their identity, will find this volume useful in clarifying their own reflections about the continuing timelessness of Hypatia.

Creating Unity from Fragments

Our knowledge of Hypatia herself rests upon a rather thin body of evidence, almost all of which we have collected and translated afresh at the end of this volume (Appendix A). These are followed by an in-depth commentary on some of the difficult parts of one of our most important sources, Socrates Scholasticus' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Appendix B). As mentioned above, a frequent frustration for interested scholars is both the lack of sources and the outsize role her death plays in many of those we do possess. The only trace of actual textual products we might have from Hypatia are from technical works of mathematics (see the selection of Hesychius from the *Suda* in Appendix A). Most promisingly for our purposes, her father Theon says in his introduction to his commentary on Book III of Ptolemy's *Almagest* that the text was "edited by my daughter the philosopher Hypatia" (παραναγνωσθείσης τῆ φιλοσόφῳ θυγατρὶ μου Ὑπατίᾳ).³ While the surviving version of Theon's mathematical works must owe *something* to Hypatia's editing hand, it is impossible to disentangle with any confidence her *ipsissima verba* from the treatises. In addition to her (probably) text-critical work on the *Almagest*, she also produced her own (lost) commentaries on Diophantus' *Mathematica*, the *Astronomical Canon* of Ptolemy and the *Conics* of Apollonius. It has been suggested that the first six books of Diophantus' work owe their survival in part to her commentary, which ended after book six.⁴

While she would surely be glad to be known by her scholarly and mathematical works, we can gain a more vivid picture of Hypatia by studying her impact on her students, and above all Synesius. Synesius' letters to Hypatia suggest at times that we are glimpsing the relationship between teacher and mentor in action. Like the mathematical traces, they offer a route toward Hypatia *before* her death. Because of their status as our earliest and most intimate evidence for Hypatia's life as a teacher and mentor, we begin the volume with three essays that look specifically at the Synesius-Hypatia epistles. First, Alex Petkas argues that the correspondence between Synesius and Hypatia reveals her investment in contemporary debates about the content of *paideia*, especially an intra-Christian discussion about the role of Classical texts and values. Following on from this social-historical reading come two literary examinations of the Synesius-Hypatia correspondence, which problematize their status as historical sources. Helmut Seng looks at the role Hypatia plays in the correspondence less as an actual historical individual, and more as a symbol of philosophy. The cor-

³ Cited in Alan Cameron, "Isidore of Miletus and Hypatia of Alexandria: On the Editing of Mathematical Texts," *GRBS* 31 (1990): 106.

⁴ Thomas Heath, *Diophantus of Alexandria: A Study in the History of Greek Algebra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 5–6, 18. Michael A. B. Deakin, "Hypatia and her Mathematics," *The American Mathematical Monthly* 101.3 (1994): 234–243 discusses what we know of her other lost commentaries.

respondence breaks down in-step with the breakdown in Synesius' own hope in finding consolation from philosophy itself. Synesius thus uses Hypatia for his own self-formation and in addressing his rising despair after the deaths of his sons. Henriette Harich-Schwarzbauer goes one step further, stepping back to look at the epistolary corpus as a whole and its arrangement by Synesius as an intentional story that develops through the placement of individual letters. As such, it is not a reliable window onto any reality beyond that of the author Synesius' literary intentions. Thus, both Seng and Harich-Schwarzbauer argue that even the evidence which brings us nearest in time and place to Hypatia must be read as through a distorting mirror, or even perhaps more as fiction than fact.

After Synesius, our evidence lies almost exclusively in late ancient historians. Walter Beers takes up the challenge of reading Hypatia's role in our longest testimony, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Socrates Scholasticus. He argues that the story Socrates tells is not really about Hypatia at all, but about Cyril of Alexandria, the man behind her death. And if there is any woman of primary interest to the story, it is the Empress Pulcheria rather than the philosopher Hypatia. Mareile Haase likewise looks to the use of Hypatia by historians, especially (like Beers) to Socrates' *Hist. eccl.* Drawing on the concept of "substitutive image act," she investigates the motifs that literary accounts of Hypatia's murder share with depictions of the destruction of the Alexandrian cult statue of Serapis. Haase concludes that Socrates uses iconoclasm as a metaphor to create a graphic mental image capable of counteracting the authorities' silence about Hypatia's violent death. The final two essays in this section examine different aspects of Hypatia's identity: her religion and her philosophy. David Frankfurter's essay delves into what we can know about the religious life of late-ancient followers of traditional religion, among whom we must number Hypatia, by all accounts. He concludes that in the fourth and fifth centuries there was a privatization of traditional religion, where sacrifices at home took the place of proscribed sacrifices in temples. Such domestication changed what it meant to "do" paganism and allowed a certain merging of traditional religious practices with Christianity. Sebastian Gertz's contribution gathers what we can guess about Hypatia's life as a Neoplatonic philosopher at this time, especially as it relates to her evident focus on mathematics. Gertz suggests that Hypatia's work as a philosopher should be seen in the context of the earlier Neoplatonism of Plotinus and Porphyry, rather than the next phase in the long and creative development of Neoplatonism. Most likely she would have seen her mathematical projects as necessary preliminary work in a course of Platonic clarification and ascent.

The line between ancient and modern receptions is labile. Already, the letters of Synesius could be fruitfully looked at as a reception of the Hypatia-story in a particular time and place. This is even truer for the historians who wrote in the following centuries, examined primarily in the essays of Part II. Yet Hypatia continued to be important long after late antiquity. Her voice echoes

through the ages, albeit only through the words of others, ancient and modern. We begin Part III by looking at two early receptions of Hypatia. The first is a suggestive argument by Joshua Fincher that echoes of Hypatia can be heard in the fifth-century epic poetry of Nonnus of Panopolis' *Dionysiaca*. The academic women in this poem share important details that could evoke links in the minds of its readers to the most famous recent female philosopher from the same region. Victoria Leonard's essay continues the interest in ancient reception, while also pushing us forward into more recent moments of reception. Leonard looks at the memorable scene, recorded only in Damascius' *Philosophical History*, of Hypatia's display of her menstrual blood to ward off an unwanted suitor. By looking at Damascius' narration of this scene, Leonard argues that the patterns of misogyny which it begins are continued in the use and abuse of Hypatia into the modern era. Edward Watts' essay also pauses over the gendered modern reception of Hypatia's story, especially in her rich eighteenth-century reception in England and France. There he discovers a tussle over Hypatia's legacy. Was she of interest as a pawn in a political game more centrally about Cyril (as we have seen argued in Beers' essay in this volume), or as a model of an educated intellectual woman? While male writers of the eighteenth century tended to focus on the former, female writers from the same period were more interested in the later, which leads Watts to suggest that the main reason that Hypatia's death overshadowed her life for so long is that almost all of our textual descriptions of Hypatia are written by men. The final contribution, by Cédric Scheidegger Laemmle, turns to the cinematic rendition of Hypatia's life in Alejandro Amenábar's *Agora*, and finds there a subtle tug-of-war over how readers (and viewers) take Hypatia's story and remake it to suit their own desires, much like the fictitious slave Davus' flash-back during the scene of Hypatia's death, which constructs a new narrative at odds with Hypatia's self-conception throughout the film.

All of these readers, both ancient and modern, provide us with different angles from which to view our elusive subject, proving her perennial interest and seeming inexhaustability. We hope that this volume contributes to the continuing conversation over Hypatia's life and legacy in yet another phase of her rich reception.

In the process of producing this volume, we have contracted many debts of gratitude. First of all, for Christian Wildberg, who inspired us with the idea for the conference and volume in the first place. Also, to Alan Cameron, who was able to attend the conference and provided valuable feedback on many papers, but who unfortunately did not live to see the outcome of the conference in book-form. Then, to all of the financial sponsors at Princeton University who underwrote the conference from which this volume descends: the Seeger Center for Hellenic Studies, the Committee for the Study of Late Antiquity, the Classics Department, the Council of the Humanities, the Program in Gender and Sexuality Studies, the Center for the Study of Religion, and Classical Philosophy. The

range of sponsors points to how many fields the study of Hypatia necessarily touches. Likewise too, we would like to thank all of the participants and attendees at the original conference who helped create the rich conversation that produced this volume. In the production of the volume we owe especial thanks to Carolyn Alsen, who tirelessly and carefully helped with editing and formatting. Finally, we dedicate this book to the memory of our common mentor, Robert Germany, who was truly a “father, brother, teacher and benefactor” to both of us, and whose conversation we miss daily.

Hypatia and the Desert: A Late Antique Defense of Classicism

ALEX PETKAS

Introduction

Hypatia, as far as we can tell, spent much of her career in the public eye. This is partly because she taught philosophy, a subject generally associated with the leading citizens in late antique society. But it is also because she did not limit her intellectual practice to teaching: She maintained an active patronage network, was a confidante to city councillors, and advised at least one imperial governor in Alexandria. Indeed, it was not so much her purely academic pursuits that led to her death, as the fact that she commanded real political influence, and used it.¹

How did Hypatia's calling as a public philosopher influence her teachings? Many studies have carefully assessed the doctrinal content of her philosophical and mathematical curriculum.² This is an important task, and a challenging one, since we must extract clues from the very limited number of direct sources on Hypatia, as well as comparative evidence of other philosophers, including her student Synesius.

In this essay, however, I will take up a far less examined aspect of Hypatia's teaching, and propose that her role in the history of classicism has been underestimated. I will argue primarily from the writings of her student Synesius of Cyrene. By "classicism" I mean a discourse based around emulation of a set of canonical ancient texts and compositions, which aimed, in its highest registers, to reproduce the Attic Greek literary language.³ This classicism was underpinned,

¹ Edward Watts' account of her death, in *Hypatia: The Life and Legend of an Ancient Philosopher* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 121–134, makes this particularly clear.

² Including Gertz's in this volume. See also Watts, *Hypatia*, 37–50; Michael A. B. Deakin, *Hypatia of Alexandria: Mathematician and Martyr* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2007), 77–106; Maria Dzielska, *Hypatia of Alexandria* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 27–65.

³ The cultural politics of this system are somewhat better studied in the earlier empire: Simon Swain, *Hellenism and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 17–42. See the introduction to James Porter, ed., *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006) in which Porter discusses the difficulty of defining what is classical. Despite the absence of a clear Latin or Greek terminological equivalent, we can find a notion of the classical and classicism at work in antiquity, "existing not as a unified phe-

in the late antique East, by traditional patterns of Greek education, a diverse set of practices which fell under the heading of rhetoric.⁴ The Greek word *paideia* is frequently used in modern scholarly discussions to denote the shared literate culture of east Roman elites, for whom mastery of a classical canon and a code of decorum thought to be found therein was necessary for many types of public persuasion.⁵ Although Synesius does use the word in a very classicizing sense, *paideia* was also a generic term for “education” or the “culture” inherited from one’s upbringing. By the fourth century AD, a time of great debate about the sources of prestige and authority, the word *paideia* had been used by many Christian authors over the centuries to refer to alternative forms of education, such as even monastic and proto-monastic life.⁶

It is likely that Hypatia shared Synesius’ interest in classical *paideia*, given her public-facing career. She would have frequent need of rhetoric in her advisory activity to the governor Orestes and the civic council, as well as in maintaining her patronage network, which included many former students.⁷

In Hypatia’s day, participation at a high level of civic life of Alexandria also meant engaging with Christianity. Scholars have frequently observed that Hypatia’s school was distinctive for the number of students she had from prominent Christian families.⁸ But her involvement in the public culture of Christianity runs deeper than we have hitherto appreciated. In what follows, I will carefully read a few select passages of works Synesius sent to Hypatia, and argue that it makes the most sense to see both their opponents and primary audience as Christians. Hypatia thus emerges as a conscientious participant in civic debate

nomenon ...”, but “as a set of attempts to retrieve, reproduce, and so too to produce a hegemonic cultural signature” based on a canon that we could today recognize as classical (Porter, *Classical Pasts*, 29). Every artist’s classicism will be an idiosyncratic negotiation between personal taste and the canon they sense or select.

⁴ Donald Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) is a standard introduction. See also Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

⁵ Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1992) is fundamental. A recent volume by Lieve Van Hoof and Peter Van Nuffelen, eds., *Literature and Society in the Fourth Century AD: Performing Paideia, Constructing the Present, Presenting the Self* (Leiden: Brill, 2015) aims to bridge the artificial scholarly gap between earlier imperial and late antique rhetorical culture.

⁶ Cf. *PGL* s.v. παιδεία. The more Christian senses were, however, generally secondary extensions of the more traditional semantics of the term. I advocate using “classicism” or “classical *paideia*” instead not so much in order to criticize existing work on late antique *paideia*, as to bring it into tighter theoretical dialogue with studies of classicist literary culture in earlier and later periods.

⁷ The public or political aspects of her career were noted by Socrates and Damascius, and are also borne out by many letters of Synesius, e.g. 81. See also Watts, *Hypatia*, on her philosophical school as a civically minded project (see especially p. 79–92).

⁸ Synesius is the most famous, and concrete information about others is derived from his letter collection. Watts, *Hypatia*, 63–78; Dzielska, *Hypatia of Alexandria*, 27–46.

about the status of classical literary culture in a Christian dominated Alexandria. In order to provide more detailed picture of the kinds of political issues this debate related to, I present a brief account of the Origenist controversy, a contemporary disturbance which brought Alexandria and the nearby desert ascetic communities into conflict.

Hypatia the Publicist

Towards the end of 404 AD, Synesius sent Hypatia a letter (154 in modern editions) from his native Libya, with three treatises attached.⁹ At the end of the long letter, he makes it clear that he wants her to share one of the treatises, entitled *Dio*, among Alexandrian learned circles. *Dio* is a complex polemical work, and Synesius spends most of the prefatory letter explaining who its targets are, in order to make sure it is interpreted correctly. Epistles of this kind were expected to be shared.¹⁰ Letter 154 thus merits our careful attention, for in it Synesius outlines what could be described as Hypatia's rhetorical mandate with respect to the debate that the *Dio* provokes.

Why was *Dio* worth Hypatia's (and our) consideration? It can be described, in short, as a literary-philosophical manifesto. The treatise takes its name from Synesius' favorite early imperial Greek author, Dio of Prusa, nicknamed "Chrysostom." Synesius presents Dio's *bios* or career in a positive light, as a paradigm according to which he has modeled his own life. The treatise moves on to defend the importance of classical *paideia* to anything worthy of the title of the philosophical life. This included both the (neo-)Platonism common in Hypatia's day, which was particularly interested in theology and salvation, and also other forms of life claiming to be "philosophy," such as Christian asceticism.¹¹ Classical *paideia*, Syn-

⁹ For another approach to this letter and its significance, see also Harich-Schwarzbauer's essay in this volume.

¹⁰ Syn. Ep. 101 and 105 are well-known examples making this common expectation explicit. Cf. Pauline Allen, "Christian Correspondences: The secrets of Letter-writers and letter-bearers" in *The Art of Veiled Speech: Self-Censorship from Aristophanes to Hobbes*, eds. Han Baltussen and Peter Davis (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 209–232; Scott Bradbury, *Selected Letters of Libanius* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 19–20; Michael Trapp, *Greek and Latin Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 17.

¹¹ On Synesius as a theological and religious figure, Samuel Vollenweider, *Neuplatonische und christliche Theologie bei Synesios von Kyrene* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985) and also Donald Russell and Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, *On Prophecy, Dreams, and Human Imagination: Synesius, De Insomniis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014). Jay Bregman, *Synesius of Cyrene, Philosopher-Bishop* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) is useful on Neoplatonic doctrine in Synesius, though for his religiosity see Alan Cameron and Jacqueline Long, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 19–39. For monasticism as "philosophy," Anne-Marie Malingrey "Philosophia: Étude d'un group de mots dans la littérature grecque des Présocratiques au IV^e siècle après J.-C." (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1961).

esius insists, is essential not just as a preparatory exercise but as a lifelong aid to keeping up a contemplative discipline. In articulating his vision, Synesius draws deeply on Plato – not just for the doctrines of the *Republic* and *Phaedo* but also some of the *loci* and literary discussions of the *Phaedrus* and *Theaetetus*.¹² He also displays profound classical *paideia* while arguing for it. Letter 154 characterizes the *Dio*, using terms drawn from sophistic culture, as “no less a display of wide learning than a praise of it” (πολυμαθείας οὐχ ἥττον ἐπίδειξις ἢ ἐγκώμιον). The text is filled with references to the classical tradition he is defending, including Homer, Thucydides, and Aristophanes. Synesius also engages with the second sophistic authors Philostratus and Aristides as peers (§ 1–3). The language is high Attic, and ornate even by classical standards. In the treatise he also devotes substantial space to a lampoon of professional teachers, as well as a criticism of “barbarian” ascetics, who are clearly some sort of Christian monks.

Being a manifesto of an already well-established literary author, *Dio* takes up many points Synesius had broached in earlier writings, including arguments and *topoi* he probably learned at Hypatia’s school. In one of his first letters (137), to his fellow student Herculian, he includes a cryptic reference to the mythic shape-shifting god Proteus.¹³ The obscurity and specificity of his comment suggest, in context, that it was a teaching familiar to his addressee from Hypatia’s school, which he expected Herculian to recognize immediately. He returns to the theme more fully in the *Dio* (5.7–6.3). There Synesius makes clear that for him, Proteus was a positive paradigm for a philosopher who knows profound mysteries but can also adjust his self-presentation to disarm and charm the Everyman, who might not be ready to hear hard doctrines. This Proteus allegory thus serves an argument that the philosopher should take rhetoric seriously.

It may also be a window on to how Hypatia conceived of her own public career: she had to control the audience and reputation of her teachings, which posed much more risk to her, as a pagan woman, than to her male Christian students.¹⁴ Synesius elaborates the Proteus principle with another allegory especially suggestive of Hypatia’s situation: if Ixion had not been given a cloud-decoy, he never would have given up chasing Hera (5.7).

¹² Many references can be found in Kurt Treu, *Synesios von Kyrene: ein Kommentar zu seinem “Dion.”* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag 1958) e. g. on § 12 of the text, as well as in the notes to the CUF (Budé) edition of Lamoureux and Aujoulat. Michiel Op de Coul, “Aspects of Paideia in Synesius’ *Dion*,” in *Synesios von Kyrene. Politik – Literatur – Philosophie*, eds. H. Seng, and L. M. Hoffmann, *Byzantios* 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 110–124 is a good starting point for study of the *Dio*. The text runs between 45 and 60 pages in modern editions.

¹³ “I forgot the wise art of Proteus, which was none other than to spend time with people, not as a divinity but as a fellow citizen” (τῆς σοφῆς τοῦ Πρωτέως ἐπελαθόμεν τέχνης (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη τις ἦν ἢ συνεῖναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐ θείως, ἀλλὰ πολιτικῶς). Perhaps not coincidentally, it was on the shores of Egypt that Menelaus met Proteus, on his way home from Troy (*Odyssey* 4.435–570).

¹⁴ The allegory draws both on a passage in Plato’s *Euthydemus* (288b7–c2) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Demosthenes* § 8. Cf also Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 1.4; *Lib. Or.* 18.176.

Index

Page numbers in *italics* indicate illustrations. Titles of works will generally be found under the name of the author.

The “Ancient Authors and Works” section gives an overview of works and authors referenced, while the “Subjects” section contains a more detailed topic-by-topic index.

Ancient Authors and Works

- Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 173n20
- Acta Marci* 266n47, 283
- Alexander Romance* 63
- “Alexandrian World Chronicle” 105, 110
- Ammianus Marcellinus 108, 121–122, 267n53, 271, 283n131
- Apollonius
- *Conics*, Hypatia’s (lost) commentary on 4, 133n2, 224
 - Palladius on 21n57
 - Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 10n14, 267n51
- Apophthegmata Patrum* 26n76, 109n96, 110, 114n113
- Apuleius of Madaura
- *Apology* 125–126
 - *de Deo Socratis* 149
- Aristophanes 10, 26
- *Clouds* 12n21, 14
- Aristotle 133, 142, 144–147, 161
- *De philosophia* 32
 - *On Interpretation* 146
 - *On the Soul* 144
- Athanasius of Alexandria 16n38, 97n36, 257
- *Apologia ad Constantium* 261n26
 - *Historia Arianorum Epistula* 262, 264
- Augustine of Hippo 142
- *Civitas Dei* 107, 139n29
- Augustus Caesar 167, 262
- *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 167n66
- Breve directorum* 85
- Callimachus
- *Aetia* 18
 - *Pinakes* 165, 167
- Cassiodorus
- *De orthographia* 278–279
 - *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* (with Epiphanius) 91n18, 93, 94, 111, 248–249, 250, 255–256, 259n16, 260, 262, 278–279
- Cassius Dio 269
- Cicero, *rep.* 230n78
- Clement of Alexandria
- *Paedagogue* 162n40
 - *Protrepticus* 156n18
 - *Stromateis* 107n85
- Codex Theodosianus* 15n31, 80, 83n74, 129, 139n26, 141n37
- Cyril of Alexandria
- *Contra Iulianum* 107n86, 117
 - *Festal Letters* 281
 - *Sixth Miracle of the Three Youths* (attrib.) 131n45
- Damascius, *Philosophical History/Life of Isidore* 174–178, 246. *See also* Subject index.
- Demosthenes 22n62
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Demosthenes* 10n14
 - *On the False Embassy* 259, 267

- Dio of Prusa (Dio Chrysostom)
 – *Euboicus/Kynegos* 12, 39
 Diodorus Siculus 107n84, 265
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Demosthenes* 10n14
- Epiphanius of Salamis 19
 – *Panarion* 261n28, 283n131
- Epiphanius/Cassiodorus, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* 91n18, 93, 94, 111, 248–249, 250, 255–256, 259n16, 260, 262, 278–279
- Eunapius of Sardis, *Vitae Sophistarum* 97n37, 108n91, 120, 136n15, 174n14, 279–280
- Euripides 111n101
 – *Bacchae* 155
 – *Ino* 45
- Eunapius of Sardis, *Vitae Sophistarum* 97n37, 108n91, 120, 136n15, 174n14, 279–280
- Eusebius of Caesarea
 – *Commentary on Isaiah* 31n14
 – *Demonstratio evangelica* 31n14
 – *Ecclesiastical Theology* 31n14
 – *Historia ecclesiastica* 31n14, 88, 266n48, 267, 277–278
 – *Praeparatio evangelica* 112n106
- Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 52, 267
- Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* 174n20
- Hesychius of Miletus 3, 91n18, 112, 199, 248, 269
 – *Onomatologus (Dictionary of Learned Men)* 246
- Hesiodus Epicus, *Theogonia* 147n56
- Hierocles of Alexandria 140–141, 143, 150
 – *Golden Verses*, commentary on 140
 – *on Providence* 140
- Hephaestio Thebanus, *Apotelesmatica* 44n66
Historia Acephala 267n53, 283n131
Historia Augusta 276
Historia Monachorum 21n57, 25
- Homer 10, 11, 58, 60, 206–207
 – *Iliad* 103–104, 155, 206
 – *Odyssey* 10n13, 41, 162, 280
- Iamblichus 136, 138, 140, 141, 166n62
 – *de Anima* 138n25
- Jerome
 – *ad Eustochium* 13
 – *De Viris Illustribus*, on Sophronius 89
 – *Epistolae* 21n58, 22n61–62
 John Cassian, *Collationes* 13
 John Chrysostom 21, 69, 73
 – *In transfigurationem* 31n14
 John Malalas, *Chronographia/Chronicle* 82n60, 117, 181n46, 250
 John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 173–174n20
 John of Nikiu (Yuhannā al-Mudabbir), *Chronicle* 151–152, 156, 160–163, 174–175, 251–253. *See also* Subject index.
- John Philoponus, *de aeternitate* 145n49
- Justinian, *Novels* 257
- Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 156n18
 letters of Synesius 3–4, 29–65. *See also* Subject index.
 – to Euoipius (brother of Synesius) 18n43, 41, 56, 244–245
 – to Herculian 10, 30–35, 42n59, 245
 – to Hesychius 222–223
 – on hydroscope 43–44
 – to Hypatia 51–53, 239–244
 – letter 154, 56–59, 64 (*See also* Dio (Synesius) and late antique defense of classicism)
 – to Olympius 41–43, 244
 – to Proclus 44–45, 46
 – to Pylaemenes 223
- Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 167n68
- Lucan, *Bellum civile* 103
- Lucian
 – *Dialogues of the Hetaerae* 276
 – *Icaromenippus* 230n78
 – *Piscator* 276
 – *True Stories* 63

- Martial, *Liber Spectaculorum* 113
 Methodius of Constantinople, *Encomium in Sanctam Agatham* 272n84
 Menander Rhetor 45n74
- Nonnus of Panopolis
 – *Dionysiaca* 2, 5, 151–169
 – *Paraphrase* 162
- Olympiodorus 147–149
 – *in Platonis Alciadem commentarii* 148–149
 – *in Platonis Gorgiam commentaria* 149n60
 – *Prolegomena* 147n57
 Optatus of Milevis, *Contra Parmenianum Donatistam* 276–277n104
 Origen
 – *Contra Celsum* 23n67
 – *On First Principles* 21n56
 – *scholia in Lucam* 31n14
- Philo of Alexandria
 – *Flaccus* 266n48, 267, 277n110
 – *Legatio* 277
 Philostorgius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 91n18, 112, 203, 246, 248, 269, 283n131
 Philostratus 10
 – *Life of Apollonius* 10n14, 267n51
 – *Vitae Sophistarum* 13n24, 14nn27–28, 18n41, 18n46
 Photius, *Bibliotheca* 135, 143n42, 175, 180n40, 196, 199, 246
 Plato
 – *Alcibiades* 148–149
 – *Cratylus* 146n51
 – *Euthydemus* 10n14
 – *Phaedo* 10, 25
 – *Phaedrus* 2, 10, 16–17, 59, 61
 – *Republic* 10, 135n9, 136, 147
 – *Sophist* 116
 – *Symposium* 2, 16n35, 34n25
 – *Theaetetus* 10
 – *Timaeus* 127
 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 173n9
 Plotinus
 – *Enneads* 138n25, 142n38
- Plutarch
 – *Apophthegmata Laconica* 277n106
 – *Isis and Osiris* 107n86
 – *Life of Pyrrhus* 276n102
 Porphyry
 – *de Abstinentia* 126n26
 – *Letter to Anebo* 112n106
 – *Letter to Marcellus* 56n24
 – *Vita Plotini* 142n40
 P.Oxy. VI 903, 268–269
 Proclus
 – *The Elements of Theology* 177n26
 – *in Platonis Cratylum commentaria* 146n51
 – *in Platonis Timaeum commentarii* 143n45
 Procopius of Gaza, *Commentary on Isaiah* 31n14
 Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* 156n18
 Pseudo-Clementine, *Recognitions* 108
 Pseudo-Demetrius, *Epistolary types* 33n22, 45n74
 Ptolemy
 – *Almagest* 3, 44n66
 – *Astronomical Canon*, Hypatia's (lost) commentary on 4, 133n2, 165, 248
 – *Handy Tables* 37n39
- Sayings of the Desert Fathers* 109–110
 Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* 230n78
 Socrates Scholasticus (Socrates of Constantinople), *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2, 4, 67–86. *See also* Subject index; textual commentary on Socrates Scholasticus' account of Hypatia's death
 Soranus, *Gynaecology* 172n6
 Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica* 23, 82, 97n37, 102, 248, 259n16, 283n131
Supplementa quaestionum ad Marinum 31n14
 Synesius of Cyrene. *See also* Subject index.
 – *Cynegetics (Hunting with Dogs)* 12, 39–40
 – *De dono/Ad Paeonium (On the Gift/To Paeonius)* 11, 28, 29n2, 35, 36, 55, 57, 138nn23–24, 164n53, 245–246

- *De Insomniis (On Dreams)* 11, 19n49, 28, 55, 138–140, 141nn35–36
- *De Providentia* 17, 31n14
- *De regno (On Kingship)* 18n43, 37n36, 55
- *Dion: Or, On Living by his Example* 55
- *The Egyptian Tales* 37–38, 55
- *Hymns* 12, 20n54, 55, 62
- *Oration on Kingship* 37
- *In Praise of Baldness* 55
- Themistius, *Orationes* 17n39, 31n14
- Theodoret of Cyrrhus
 - *Historia ecclesiastica* 90n15, 97n37, 100n51, 102, 106, 109, 248, 266n48, 267n51, 278
- Varro, *De gente populi Romani* 107
- Vergil, *Aeneid* 103, 104n67
- Zacharias of Mytilene
 - *Ammonius* 146
 - *Historia ecclesiastica* 267n50

Subjects

- Abre los ojos* (film) 234
Abundantius (*comes Aegypti*) 73–74
Abydos, purge of Bes-oracle cult in 121–122
Actium, Battle of 167–168
Adamantius (Alexandrian Jew) 79n52
Aelia Pulcheria (Pulcheria Augusta) 4, 68. *See also* Socrates Scholasticus
Afghanistan War (2001–) 226
St. Agatha, encomium of 272–273
Agora (Alejandro Amenábar film) 5, 209–237
– cosmic vistas and earthly warfare in 227–235, 229
– Davus (fictional slave in love with Hypatia) in 5, 190, 216–220, 222n48, 229n71, 235–237
– death of Hypatia in 219, 220, 233, 235–237
– erotics of 235–237
– financial success, lack of 215
– gender in 216n29, 235–237
– genre, style, and narrative of 216–223
– historical accuracy and anachronism in 223–227, 226, 228
– hypertrophy of reception of Hypatia, engagement with 209–215, 221–222, 234–235
– Library of Alexandria conflated with Serapeum in 217
– menstrual blood scene in 189–190, 217–218
– proto-Copernican theories attributed to Hypatia in 195, 219–223, 221
– science versus history in 219–223, 233–234
Alexander, Church of, Alexandria 76, 77
Alexander, Synesius's letter of recommendation to Hypatia for 43
Alexandria. *See also* Library of Alexandria; Serapeum, Alexandria, destruction of
– in *Agora* (film) 217–218, 224–225
– Alexander, Church of 76, 77
– anti-pagan riots in 67, 78–79, 83–84, 217n33, 218, 220. *See also* death of Hypatia
– Athens and 135–136n7, 142–143
– Caesareum 78–79, 92, 93, 95, 110, 186, 191, 219n38, 249, 250, 261–266
– Constantinople, rivalry with 68–71
– Forum 93, 110
– ivory-carving industry in 106
– Jewish-Christian strife in 67, 74–77, 78, 79, 80, 83–84, 200, 217n33, 218–219, 220, 223–224, 252, 282
– Kinaron 92, 95, 249, 253
– Mouseion 17, 18n41
– Neoplatonism in 142–149
– Novatians in 72, 74
– *parabalani* 79–81, 86, 196, 218–219, 225–226, 226, 235, 258
– philosophy in 134
– Serapis, destruction of cult statue of 89–90, 97–110, 115, 227, 228, 279–280
– shrines in 126n28
– stonings and urban unrest in 277–278
– Thesmophorion 268
allegory and allegorical exegesis 10, 16–17, 55, 153–154, 156, 168–169, 211, 220–222
Amenábar, Alejandro. *See Agora*, and *other specific films*
Ammonius (grammarian/teacher) 97n37, 143, 145–147
Ammonius (monk), assaulting Orestes 77, 79, 86, 91–93, 258n12
Ammonius (monk), in Origenist controversy 19–20, 23, 24n69, 28
Abba Amoun 27
Andronicus (governor) 48
animation of statues 100–101, 119, 127
Anoub (monk) 114–115
Anthemius (praetorian prefect of the east) 82–83

- Anthropomorphite controversy 22n65,
 74
 Antioch riots (387, 579) 102, 131
 Antiochus (court eunuch) 82, 83
 Antoninus 120, 136
 Abba Antony 27
apatheia 23–24, 26, 162
 Aphrodisias, portrait gallery at 102–103
 Aphrodite (deity) 16, 154, 156–169
 Apis (deity) 107, 112
 Arcadius (emperor) 21, 35n28, 81, 82,
 248
 Arians and Arianism 69, 174n10, 197,
 201, 246
 Aristarchus 17–18, 233
 Aristides 10
 Arsenios 26n76
 Arsinoe III (queen of Egypt) 268
 Artemis (deity) 160
 al-Asaad, Khaled 87
 Asclepiodotus, letter of Synesius to
 45–46
 Asclepius (deity) 103, 127, 132
 Asmus, Johann Rudolf 176
 astrolabes 28, 138, 142, 164, 165, 185, 251
 Athanasius (in letter from Synesius to
 Hypatia) 47n82
 Athanassiadi, Polymnia, *Damascius*.
 The Philosophical History 175n18, 176,
 177, 246
 Athena (deity) 129
 Athenodorus son of Sandon 105
 Athens
 – Alexandria and 135–136n7, 142–143
 – House of Proclus 121, 127–130, 131
 – Hypatia and 136
 – Synesius on 36, 56, 135–136n7
 Atticus of Constantinople 78, 143n45
 Aurelianus (praetorian prefect of the
 east) 83
 Autricum-Chartres 131
 Awartani, Jehad 88

 Bagenal, Fran, 213, 213–214
 Bamiyan Buddhas, Afghanistan 88,
 263n33
 Barry, William D. 276–277
 Batstone, William 234

 Beekes, Robert 272
 Beers, Walter F. 4, 5, 67, 248, 323
 Belenkiy, Ari 281n120
 Beretta, Gemma 258n12
 Bernard, Alain 133, 136, 137
 Beroe (daughter of Aphrodite/personi-
 fication of Beirut) 154, 156–169
 Besa of Atripe 100n52, 281
 Bes-oracle cult, purge of 121–122
 Bidez, Joseph, *Philostorgios, Kirchen-*
 geschichte 246
 Bodel, John 128
 Bowersock, Glen 80
 Bowes, Kim 126n28, 130
 Brakke, David 183n50
 Brancacci, Aldo 12n17
 Bredekamp, Horst 116, 263n34
 Brown, Peter 19n49, 81, 84, 90n14
 Brucker, J. 206n52
 Burgess, Richard W. 88n7
 Butheric (*magister militum per Illyricum*)
 78

 Caesareum, Alexandria 78–79, 92, 93,
 95, 110, 186, 191, 219n38, 249, 250,
 261–266
 Caesarion (son of Julius Caesar and Cleo-
 patra VII) 262
 Cameron, Alan 82, 83, 125n23, 136, 165,
 178, 209–210, 211n7, 235, 271n73
 Cameron, Julia Margaret, *Hypatia* (1867)
 187, 188, 195
 Canfora, Luciano 96n31, 270n70
 Canopus, martyr cult at 108n91
 Caracalla (emperor) 269
 Carile, Antonio 271n73
 Cartledge, Paul 184n59, 275n96
 Celestine I (bishop of Rome) 72–73
 Chalcedon, Council of (451) 68–71
 Chaldean Oracles 138n27, 141–142
 Chartres-Autricum 131
 Chitty, Susan 186n66
 Christianity. *See also specific Christians*
 and Christian topics, e.g. Origenist con-
 troversy
 – allegory and allegorical exegesis in 16
 – anti-pagan riots 67, 78–79, 83–84,
 130–131, 217n33, 218, 220

- crypto-devotion and rise of 130–132
- eighteenth-century reception of Hypatia and 196–198, 202–203, 204
- Gesios of Atripe on 122
- of grey robes and white robes in Synesius's Letter 154, 13–14
- Jewish-Christian strife in Alexandria 67, 74–77, 78, 79, 80, 83–84, 200, 217n33, 218–219, 220, 223–224, 252, 282
- Neoplatonism in Alexandria and 142–143, 145–149
- 'pagan' and 'Christian', nonexclusivity of 130, 132
- public culture and need to engage with 8–9
- religious festivals and violence 282–284
- stoning, in Old and New Testaments 280
- Synesius, as Christian 13
- Chuvin, Pierre 179n35
- claquers 75–76
- Clark, Elizabeth A. 20, 21, 182n49
- Clark, Gillian 178
- classicism, defense of. *See* Dio (Synesius) and late antique defense of classicism
- Claudian 54
- Claudius Claudianus 51n5
- Cleopatra* (film) 216
- Cleopatra VII (pharaoh) 79, 261, 262
- Cohen, Jeremy 83n75
- Colbert, Claudette 216
- Constantinople
 - Alexandria, rivalry with 68–71
 - Hagia Sophia 82
 - stone-throwing in 278, 283
 - Synesius's embassy to 35–38, 39n45, 49
- Constantius (emperor) 121
- Continuation des Mémoires de Littérature et d'Histoire* 202, 205
- Cosgrove, Denis 231
- Cosmos* (TV documentary series) 231–233
- creation *ex nihilo* 143
- Cronus/Kronos (deity) 124, 147, 148
- crypto-devotion 121, 130–132
- Cynics
 - 'grey robes' in letter 154 of Synesius 12
 - Hypatia interpreted as Cynic 144, 171n3, 178
- Cyril of Alexandria 4, 5, 28, 67. *See also* under Socrates Scholasticus
 - in *Agora* (film) 218–219
 - Caesareum as locus of Hypatia's death and 265–266
 - Easter date in 415, announcement of 281
 - eighteenth-century reception of Hypatia and 198, 200–204, 206–207
 - image destruction, death of Hypatia as, and 95, 96–97
 - as lector 257
 - Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* and 153
 - in original texts 247, 248, 250–253
 - planning of Hypatia's death by 256
 - spurious letter from Hypatia to 196, 203
- Cyrus of Panopolis 152n6
- Dacier, Anne 206–207
- daemons/*daimones* 148–149
- Damascus, *Philosophical History/Life of Isidore* 174–178, 246. *See also* menstrual blood scene in Damascus
 - Alexandria, philosophical training in 143
 - on death of Hypatia 111, 256, 258n13, 270, 284
 - eighteenth-century reception of Hypatia and 199, 201, 203, 204
 - female dedicatee of work 179n36
 - image destruction, death of Hypatia as 91n18, 111n100
 - on intellectual accomplishments of Hypatia 134–135
 - John of Nikiu compared 96
 - menstrual blood scene not used in 174
 - music, as Hypatia's cure for love 161n37, 175, 176–177, 218n35
 - Neoplatonism and 134–135, 137n21, 143n43, 144, 145–146, 149n64
 - philosophical exemplars, Isidore versus Hypatia as 179–182, 199, 203, 248
 - on public aspects of Hypatia's career 8n6

- religious culture of intellectual Hellenes in works of 120
- as source of information about Hypatia 67
- text of 247–248
- Damasus (bishop of Rome) 278
- damnatio memoriae* 52
- Danae (Alexandrian) 268
- Deakin, Michael A. B., *Hypatia of Alexandria* 43n66, 44n70, 192n84, 270
- death of Hypatia 1–2, 4. *See also* image
- destruction, death of Hypatia as; textual commentary on Socrates Scholasticus' account of Hypatia's death
- age at 181
- in *Agora* (film) 219, 220, 233, 235–237
- dating of 281
- different views of 90–91
- gender stereotypes, persistence of 190–191
- ὄστροκα, means of death by 270, 271–280
- *parabalani* and 79–81, 86, 196, 218–219, 225–226, 226, 235, 258
- Peter the lector/Peter the magistrate (murderer of Hypatia) 94–96, 203, 206, 242, 249, 250, 256–258
- Sagan in *Cosmos* narrating 232
- Socrates Scholasticus, on civil strife in Alexandria leading up to 67, 68, 74–79, 83
- Socrates Scholasticus, significance for 67–68, 85–86, 193–195
- as stoning 93, 114–115, 275–280
- Synesius' *Dio* and 28
- Decian persecution 71
- Demetrius (of Bes-oracle cult) 121–122, 126
- Demetrius Phalereus Rhetor, *On Style* 29n3, 37n38
- Demosthenes 22n62
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Demosthenes* 10n14
- *On the False Embassy* 259, 267
- Deriades 156
- Desmolets, Pierre-Nicholas 202
- Diderot, Denis 206n52, 207
- Didymus the Blind 16
- Dijkstra, Jitse H. 88n7
- Dio* (Synesius) and late antique defense of classicism 3, 7–28
- accompanying letter compared to text 38–41
- *barbaroi* in 24–26
- Christianity, need to engage with 8–9
- content and purpose of *Dio* 9–11
- *De Insomniis/De dono* and 11, 28
- death of Hypatia and 28
- defining classicism 7–8
- Evagrian doctrines and 23–24
- mystery expressions in 32
- opponents (grey robes/white robes) and audience for 11–18, 24–28
- Origenist controversy and 9, 18–24, 27
- *paideia* and 3, 8, 10, 15, 18, 24
- public culture, Hypatia's involvement in 7–9, 10–11, 17–18, 27–28
- seeking publication by Hypatia for 9, 17–18
- Dio of Prusa (Dio Chrysostom)
- Philostratus on 13n24
- Synesius's *Dio* and 9, 26
- Dionysiac contexts 111
- Dionysius of Miletus 18n41
- Dionysus (deity) 155–156, 161
- Diophantus, Hypatia's commentary on 4, 133n2, 248
- Dioscorus (bishop of Alexandria) 70
- Dioscorus (bishop of Hermopolis) 20
- Dioscorus (nephew of Synesius) 41
- διφρος as lecturer's chair or litter, interpretation of 92–93, 255–284
- disciplina arcani* 32
- Dometianus/*scholasticus*, letters of Synesius to 59–61
- Donatists 69, 277n104
- Douglas, Mary 266n46
- Dzielska, Maria 44n70, 178, 259–260
- Earthviewer* 229
- Eco, Umberto, *Baudolino* (2000) 53, 61, 63–65
- eighteenth-century reception of Hypatia 5, 193–207
- anticlericalism and 199–200, 275

- Christian politics and 196–198, 202–203, 204
- Cyril of Alexandria and 198, 200–204, 206–207
- *Encyclopédie*, Éclecticisme article 206nn52–53, 207
- gender norms, refutation of 199–203, 204–205
- Gibbon 93, 117, 182, 206, 207, 217n33, 232n88, 270, 273–275
- historical reimaginings of Hypatia generally and 193–196
- knowledge of Hypatia 196
- M. G. and Mademoiselle B. in France 202–205, 207
- menstrual blood scene and 201
- reversion to focus on death, in later eighteenth century 205–207
- Voltaire 206–207
- Whiston-Sacheverell conflict and Toland's *Tetradymus* (1720) 2, 196–205
- Elizabeth (queen of England) 200
- Elsner, Jaś 125
- Encyclopédie*, Éclecticisme article 206nn52–53, 207
- Enlightenment symbol, Hypatia as 210, 275
- Ephesus, First Council of (431) 68–71, 73n27
- Ephesus, Second Council of (449) 70
- Epiphanius archidiaconus 70n14, 85
- Errington, R. Malcolm 88n7
- Euclid 222–223
- Eudokia Palaeologus (empress) 195
- Eudoxia Augusta 82
- euhemeristic theories 106–107
- Euoptius (brother of Synesius) 18n43, 41, 56, 222–223, 244–245
- Eurymedon (king of Gigantes) 280
- Eusebius of Nicomedia and Eusebians 197
- Evagrius of Pontus 21n56, 23–24, 27
- Évrard, Étienne 137n19
- El Fayum
 - mummy portraits 225
 - Theadelphia/Fayum wooden Serapis 103n64
- Fincher, Joshua 2, 5, 151, 323
- Firuz Shah Tughluq 109
- Flacilla Augusta 82
- Flood, Finbarr Barry 109
- Forum, Alexandria 93, 110
- Fowler, Don P. 54
- Foxhall, Lin, *Studying Gender in Classical Antiquity* 171
- Frankfurter, David 4, 100n52, 119, 323
- Freedburg, David 114, 125
- Friedrich Barbarossa (emperor) 63
- Fritz, Wilhelm 51n4
- Gamaliel (patriarch of the Jews) 83
- García, Nacho 232
- Garzya, Antonio 43n65
- Gascou, Jean 261n28
- Gaspard, Jules Maurice 215n22
- Gelasius of Caesarea 89n10
- Gély, Véronique 210
- gender. *See also* menstrual blood scene in Damascius; Nonnus of Panopolis; sex/sexuality
 - in *Agora* (film) 216n29, 235–237
 - as aspect of classical studies 171–172
 - critiques of Dionysus and Hypatia compared 155–156
 - Damascius on Isidore versus Hypatia as philosophical exemplars and 179–182
 - eighteenth-century reception of Hypatia and 199–203, 204–205
 - *Hypatia* (feminist journal) 1, 190, 207
 - *Hypatia Sans* (font) and, 212, 212–213, 214
 - Jerome on 180n43
 - literary endings, masculine versus feminine 54–55
 - male role-model, Hypatia as 2
 - narrative conventions of, difficulty escaping 190–191
 - Socrates Scholasticus, gender and status dominating account of Hypatia by 182–185
 - stripping of Hypatia 267–269, 282
 - sympathetic versus hostile accounts of Hypatia and 151–152, 168–169
 - Synesius's use of clichés of 35

- weakness and victim status attributed to Hypatia and 172
- wisdom, as female quality 182n49
- George of Cappadocia 108, 248, 283
- Gertz, Sebastian 4, 16n38, 133, 323
- Gesios of Atripe (Flavius Aelius Gesios) 122–124, 127, 131
- Gibbon, Edward 93, 117, 182, 206, 207, 217n33, 232n88, 270, 273–275
- Gladiator* (film) 216
- Golden Verses* 140
- Goldhill, Simon 211n10
- Google Earth* 229
- Graces 16
- Greek Magical Papyri 120
- Gregory of Nazianzus 283

- Haas, Christopher 77n43, 79, 81n59, 265–268
- Haase, Mareile 4, 87, 248, 255, 323
- Hades (deity) 103
- Hagia Sophia, Constantinople 82
- Hahn, Johannes 88n7
- Hansen, Günther C. 72n22, 74n29
- Harich-Schwarzbauer, Henriette, *Hypatia* 4, 42n62, 43n65, 44n70, 51, 111n102, 158n14, 183n50, 246, 248n13, 259, 267n55, 269, 323–324
- Harmanşah, Ömür 116
- Harmonia (deity), in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* 16, 154, 156–169
- Harpocrates (deity) 119
- Harries, Jill 71n15
- Helena (mother of Constantine) 183
- Helios (deity) 164
- Helladius (grammarian) 97n37
- Hephaestio Thebanus, *Apotelesmatica* 44n66
- Hera (deity) 10
- Herculian, Synesius's letters to 10, 30–35, 42n59, 245
- Hermes Trismegistus 27
- Hermes/Mercury (deity) 126, 158
- Herodian 276
- Heron 44n66
- Hesychius (firstborn son of Synesius) 43
- Hesychius (recipient of letter from Synesius) 222–223
- Hierax, Orestes' arrest and torture of 75–77, 86, 252
- Hippius, Zinaida Nikolatevna 189
- Histoire Critique de l'Éclectisme, ou des Nouveaux Platoniciens* (1766) 206n53
- Hoche, Richard 275n96
- Hoffmeister, Johannes 49n89
- Holum, Kenneth 83
- Honorius (consul) 73, 92, 250, 279
- Hose, Martin 34n25, 51n2
- House of Proclus, Athens 121, 127–130, 131
- Hubbard, Ben 87n3
- Hubbart, Elbert 214–215
- Hunter, Charles R. 43n66, 44n70
- Hydaspes (deity) 156
- hydromancy 44n70
- hydroscope 43–44, 164
- Hypatia* (feminist journal) 1, 190, 207
- Hypatia: Behind the Symbol* (conference 2015) 2
- Hypatia of Alexandria 1–6
 - age at death 181
 - ancient and modern reception of 4–5, 61–64, 209–214 (*See also* *Agora* (film); eighteenth-century reception of Hypatia)
 - contemporary female scholars comparable to 151n2
 - death of 1–2, 4 (*See also* death of Hypatia; image destruction, death of Hypatia as; textual commentary on Socrates Scholasticus' account of Hypatia's death)
 - as male role-model 2
 - menstrual blood episode 5 (*See also* menstrual blood scene in Damascus)
 - Neoplatonism and 4, 133–150 (*See also* Neoplatonism)
 - Nonnus and 2, 5, 151–169 (*See also* Nonnus of Panopolis)
 - *paideia* and 3 (*See also* *paideia*)
 - public culture, involvement in 7–9, 10–11, 17–18, 27–28
 - quotations attributed to 214–215
 - religious life of 4, 119–132 (*See also* religious life of intellectual Hellenes in late antiquity)

- rhetorical skill of 11
- scarcity of sources of information about 1, 3, 209–212
- Socrates Scholasticus and 2, 4, 67–86 (See also Socrates Scholasticus)
- sorcery attributed to 28, 120, 142, 151, 156, 162, 185, 195, 219, 251, 280
- Synesius and 3–4 (See also Synesius of Cyrene)
- timeliness of studying 1–2
- Hypatia Sans* (font), 212, 212–213, 214
- image destruction, death of Hypatia as 87–117
 - alternative interpretations compared 90–91, 92–93
 - animation of statues 100–101
 - dismemberment 111–113
 - euhemeristic theories, corpse veneration accusations, and descriptions of cult sites as tombs 106–110, 114
 - fire, destruction by/denial of burial 113–114
 - headless torso and death of traditional religion 103–104
 - iconography of Serapis, Rufinus’s re-reading of 104–106
 - idolatry, death of Hypatia tied to crusade against 94, 97, 99
 - in John of Nikiu 88, 89, 90n16, 94–97, 115, 117
 - modern instances of image destruction 87–88, 111, 116
 - Orpheus, Pentheus, and Osiris myths 111–113
 - Plato on power of images and 116–117
 - public event, destruction/death as 110–111
 - in Rufinus 88–89, 90, 97–110
 - Serapis, destruction of cult statue of 89–90, 97–110, 115
 - in Socrates Scholasticus (Socrates of Constantinople) 88–94, 115–117
 - stoning 93, 114–115
 - substitutability of statue and human/body and image 88, 89, 100–103, 110–115
 - substitutive image act, literary construction of Hypatia’s death as 115–117
 - wooden object and anthropomorphic form 100–103
- imageless prayer 20
- images in late antiquity, power of 125–127. See also religious life in late antiquity
- imagination (*phantasia*), Neoplatonic views on 23, 139n29
- Innocent I (bishop of Rome) 72
- Iraq War 227, 229
- Irene (daughter of Spyridon) 183
- Isidore (envoy of Theophilus) 19, 20
- Isidore of Alexandria 134–135, 143, 175, 179–181, 199, 203, 246, 248
- Isidore of Pelusium 174n20
- ‘Islamic State,’ destruction of images by 87–88, 111, 116, 263
- Ixion (king of the Lapiths) 10
- Jaccottet, Anne-Françoise 191n81
- James, Liz 184
- James I and VI (king of England and Scotland) 200
- Jauss, Hans Robert 49n89
- Jensen, Anne 183n53
- Jerome
 - on gender 180n43
 - Origenist controversy and 19, 21, 22
 - Vergil taught by 104n67
- Jews
 - Alexandria, Jewish-Christian strife in 67, 74–77, 78, 79, 80, 83–84, 200, 217n33, 218–219, 220, 223–224, 252, 282
 - Pulcheria’s rise to power and 83–84
- John (bishop of Jerusalem) 19, 23
- John of Ephesus 131
- John of Nikiu (Yuhannā al-Mudabbir), *Chronicle*
 - on Caesareum 262
 - chapter summaries in 96
 - concept of history in 95–96
 - on Cyril of Alexandria 95, 96–97, 251–253
 - Damascius’ account of Hypatia compared 185
 - on destruction of Serapeum 98n41

- δῖφρος as lecturer's chair in 260
- hostile account of Hypatia 151, 152, 156, 160, 161–162, 174–175, 185
- image destruction, death of Hypatia as 88, 89, 90n16, 94–97, 115, 117
- 'mob' attack, lack of evidence for 258n13
- Socrates Scholasticus and 78, 94–96
- 'sorcery' of Hypatia, special interest in 28, 120, 142, 151, 156, 162, 185, 195, 251, 280
- Synesius' *Dio* and 28
- text of 251–253
- on Theophilus 109, 257
- Toland not familiar with 200n28
- Johnson, William 16n37
- Jones, Arnold H. M. 272
- Julian (emperor) 27n77, 62, 63, 258n9
- Julius Caesar 262

- Karivieri, Arja 127
- Kelly, Megyn 192n83
- Kepler, Johannes 219n39, 234
- Kilo (tutor of Caracalla) 269
- Kinaron, Alexandria 92, 95, 249, 253
- King, Helen 184
- Kingsley, Charles, *Hypatia* (1853) 186–189, 187, 195, 235
- Kinzig, Wolfram 117
- Kom el-Dikka 92, 106, 260, 277
- Krause, Jens Uwe 283–284
- Kristensen, Troels Myrup 90
- Kronos/Cronus (deity) 124, 147, 148

- La Motte, Antoine Houdar de 206–207
- Lacombrade, Christian 211n7, 260n21
- lararia* 128, 131
- LaValle Norman, Dawn 1, 239, 324
- Leclerq, Henri 257
- lectorship of Peter (murderer of Hypatia) 256–258
- Legman, Gershon 178n29
- Lent, occurrence of Hypatia's death during 281–284
- Leonard, Victoria 5, 171, 324
- Leone, Anna 134
- letters of Synesius 3–4, 29–65
 - in *Agora* (film) 222–223
 - Alexander, letter of recommendation to Hypatia for 43
 - to Asclepiodotus 45–46
 - Constantinople, embassy to 35–38, 39n45, 49
 - despairing letters on loss of sons 43–49
 - to Dometianus/*scholasticus* 59–61
 - Eco's *Baudolino* (2000) and 53, 61, 63–65
 - end of philosophical friendship with Hypatia in 56–61
 - 'epistolary I' in 51, 53, 54, 56–60, 64
 - to Hypatia 51–53, 239–244
 - Hypatia as main point of reference in 29–30, 41–43, 47, 56–67
 - letter 154, 56–59, 64 (*See also Dio* (Synesius) and late antique defense of classicism)
 - as literary corpus 51–55, 61, 64
 - Mauthner's *Hypatia* (1892) and 53, 61–62, 64
 - networking aims of 41–43
 - Nicaeus and Philolaus, letter to Hypatia seeking assistance for 47–49
 - number of 51n4
 - Platonic usage in 60–61, 64
 - relationship with Hypatia in 48–49, 55–61
 - sacrifice, using language of 260n69
 - sexless nature of relationship to Hypatia in 34n25, 48–49
 - Toland, as source for 199
- Levick, Barbara 171–172n3
- Lewis, Thomas
 - *The History of Hypatia* (1721) 201–202
 - *The Scourge* (periodical) 201
- Libanius 102, 126
- Library of Alexandria
 - conflated with Serapeum in *Agora* (film) 217
 - in *Cosmos* (TV documentary series) 232
 - destruction of, in *Agora* (film) 233
 - house of Harmonia in Nonnus' *Dionysiac* invoking 164–165
- Liddell, Henry G. 272
- Life of Antony* 25

- Long, Jacqueline 178
 Luchner, Katharine 29n4, 52n9
 luminous body, Neoplatonic concept of
 140–141
 Lupus, Christian 196
- Macarius (associate of Jerome) 21n56
 MacMullen, Ramsay 130, 275n9
 Magna Mater 119
 Malitz, J. 62n43
 Mankiewicz, David 216
 Marcella, Porphyry's letter to 55–56
 Marcellinus Comes 278
 Marcian (husband of Pulcheria) 69, 70
 Marcus of Ephesus 14n27
 Marianelli, Dario 229n71
 St. Mark, death of 266n47, 283
 Martin, Annick 109, 261n28
 martyrs
 – Canopus, martyr cult at 108n91
 – Hypatia viewed as martyr 269–271, 282
- Matthews, Shelly 280
 Mauthner, Fritz, *Hypatia* (1892) 53, 61–62, 64
 McClymond, Kathryn 129
 McGuckin, John 282
 McKenzie, Judith 105, 263, 265
 McLaughlin, Gráinne 171n3
 Melania the Elder 13n25, 21n56
 Menouthis, domestic shrine in 125n23
 menstrual blood scene in Damascius
 5, 171–192
 – account of Hypatia in *Philosophical History/Life of Isidore* 174–178
 – in *Agora* (film) 189–190, 217–218
 – challenging stereotypical perception of 192
 – eighteenth-century reception of Hypatia and 201
 – ‘impurity of birth’ in 177
 – modern reception of 178–179, 186–190, 187, 188
 – narrative conventions, difficulty escaping 190–191
 – Neoplatonic scale of virtues and 134n3
 – philosophical exemplars, Isidore versus Hypatia as 179–182, 248
 – shocking and revolting, anecdote intended to be 176–178, 191–192
 – text of 247
 – Trump's Megyn Kelly remark compared 191–192n83
 – visibility of menstruation in antiquity and 172–174
- Mercury/Hermes (deity) 126, 158
 Middle Platonism 140, 141, 143n45, 149
 Miguélez-Cavero, Laura 152n6, 155n14
 Mitchell, Charles William, *Hypatia* (1885) 188, 189, 235
 Mithras (deity) 119
 Molè Ventura, Concetta 88–89n9
 Molinaro, Ursula 195
 Mommsen, Theodor 62n43, 80n54
 Monaxius (praetorian prefect of the east) 80, 81, 83
 Moran, Maureen 189n72
 Mouseion, Alexandria 17, 18n41
 Müller, Karl, *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum* 246
 Musaeus 162n40
 Muses 28
 music, as Hypatia's cure for love 161n37, 175, 176–177, 218n35
 mystery expressions, Synesius's use of 30–32
- Neoplatonism 4, 133–150
 – Alexandrian 142–149
 – Christianity and 142–143, 145–149
 – classical *paideia* and 9, 16
 – identity of Hypatia as Platonist 136–142
 – on luminous body 140–141
 – in Mauthner's *Hypatia* (1892) 62
 – Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* and 166–167
 – Osiris myth 112
 – philosophical activity of Hypatia beyond exact sciences 133–136
 – philosophical training of Hypatia in 135–136
 – scale of virtues in 134
 – theurgy and 138–139, 141–142
 – white robes in Synesius's Letter 154 and 14n29
 – world-soul in 111n102

- Nestorius and Nestorians 69–71, 72, 73n27, 85, 201, 251
- Newton, Isaac 196–197
- Nicaeus and Philolaus, Synesius' letter to Hypatia seeking assistance for 47–49
- Nicephorus Callistus 199
- Nicephorus Gregoras 195, 199
- 9/11 225, 232
- Nippel, Wilfred 275n96
- Nirenberg, David 282
- Nitria (monastic community) 19–21, 77, 78
- Nonnus of Panopolis, *Dionysiaca* 2, 5, 151–169
- Battle of Actium, Beroe as hero of 167–168
 - Beroe, Aphrodite, and Harmonia in Book 41, 154, 156–169
 - birth and youth of Beroe, gender expectations and reversals of 158–163
 - dating and composition 152–153
 - Dionysus in 155–156, 161
 - house of Harmonia, invoking Library of Alexandria 164–165
 - ideological aims, ambiguity of 154
 - intelligence and cultural power of female operatives in 155, 156–157, 162–163
 - personification, use of 157–158, 160
 - prophetic tablets, Aphrodite's consultation of 157, 158, 163–168
 - resonances of female characters with story of Hypatia 153, 161–163
 - sympathetic/hostile gendered accounts of Hypatia and 151–152, 168–169
- Novatians 69, 71–73, 74, 86, 194
- Oinante (Alexandrian) 268
- Olympius, letter of Synesius to 41–43, 244
- O'Meara, Dominic J. 134n3
- Op de Coul, Michiel 12n17
- Orestes (governor of Alexandria) 7, 8, 28, 67. *See also under* Socrates Scholasticus
- in *Agora* (film) 217–219, 220–222, 224, 229n71, 235
 - Ammonius (monk) assaulting 77, 79, 86, 91–93, 258n12
 - menstrual blood scene and 185, 190
 - Toland and 200
- Origenist controversy 9, 18–24, 27, 74
- Orpheus, myth of 111, 113
- Osiris myth 112–113
- ὄστρακα used to kill Hypatia, means of death by 270, 271–280
- The Others* (film) 234
- Overback, Ella 'Jimmy' 189
- Paeonius 28, 29n2, 55, 245
- 'pagan,' as term 119n2. *See also* religious life of intellectual Hellenes in late antiquity
- paideia* 3, 8, 10, 15, 18, 24, 122, 160, 162
- Palladius, *Lausiaca History* 21nn56–57, 23, 24n69, 25
- Palmyra 87, 111, 263
- Pambo 13n25
- Pammachius (senator) 21n56
- Panopolis, shrines in 126n28
- Pappus 44, 193
- parabalani* 79–81, 86, 196, 218–219, 225–226, 226, 235, 258
- Paul, Joanna 189, 236
- Paula (associate of Jerome) 21n56
- Pegasius 27n77
- Peitho (deity) 160
- Penella, Robert J. 184n58
- Pentheus, myth of 111
- personification, Nonnus' use of 157–158, 160
- Peter the lector/Peter the magistrate (murderer of Hypatia) 94–96, 203, 206, 242, 249, 250, 256–258
- Petersen, Wolfgang 216
- Petkas, Alex 1, 3, 7, 239, 324
- Philolaus and Nicaeus, Synesius' letter to Hypatia seeking assistance for 47–49
- philosophy. *See also* Cynics; Neoplatonism; Platonism; *specific philosophers*
- Damascius on Isidore versus Hypatia as philosophical exemplars 179–182, 199, 203, 248
 - Middle Platonism 140, 141, 143n45, 149
 - Ptolemist, Hypatia as 136, 142
 - Stoics and Stoicism 23, 105

- Phinney, Thomas 212
pinax/pinakes 165–166
 Pizzone, Aglae 19n49, 22n61, 34
 planisphaerium designed by Synesius
 36–37
 Plato
 – on *apatheia* 23
 – *Dio* (Synesius) drawing on 10
 – on power of images 116–117
 – Theophilus compared by Jerome to
 22n62
 – on Xenocrates 14n27
 Platonic love 34
 Platonism. *See also* Neoplatonism
 – Beroe and 161
 – evidence for Hypatia's scholarly
 engagement with 133
 – Hypatia teaching/lecturing on
 144–145, 161
 – identity of Hypatia as Platonist
 136–142, 178
 – letters of Synesius, Platonic usage in
 60–61, 64
 – Middle Platonism 140, 141, 143n45,
 149
 Plotinus 4, 58, 137, 138, 140–142, 149,
 161, 166, 178, 250
 – Porphyry, *Vita Plotini* 142n40
 Plutarch of Athens 136
 Polemo 18n41
 Polybius 268
 Pomeroy, Sarah B. 184
 Pompey 103
 Porphyry 4, 24, 55–56, 138n29, 140, 142,
 143, 149, 162, 166n62
 Porter, James 7–8n3
 Poseidon (deity) 161
 Praechter, Karl 142–143
 Priam's trunk, motif of 103–104, 113
 Proclus
 – dream of Athena 129
 – House of Proclus, Athens 121,
 127–130, 131
 – letter of Synesius to 44–45, 46
 – as Platonist 146, 148
 Proterius (bishop of Alexandria) 248,
 267n50, 283
 Proteus (deity) 10
 Pseudo-Aristeas 164n51
 Pseudo-Chrysostom 31
 Pseudo(?)–Chrysostomos 260n24
 Ptah (deity) 112
 Ptolemist, Hypatia as 136, 142
 Ptolemy
 – *Astronomical Canon*, Hypatia's (lost)
 commentary on 4, 133n2, 165, 248
 – Hypatia trained in tradition of 193
 Ptolemy IV Philopator (pharaoh) 268
 public culture, Hypatia's involvement in
 7–9, 10–11, 17–18, 27–28
 public event, destruction/death of
 images/Hypatia as 110–111
 Pulcheria Augusta (Aelia Pulcheria)
 4, 68. *See also* Socrates Scholasticus
 Pylaemenes 223
 Pyrrhus (king of Epirus) 276n102
 Pythagoras 140

 Raïos, Dimitris K. 43n66, 44n70
 Ras el-Soda, temple of 126n28
 Rasooli, Mehdi "Amo" 88
 Rathbone, Dominic 268, 271
 Read, Sara 173n7
 Rebillard, Éric 272n84
 reception of Hypatia, ancient and mod-
 ern 4–5, 61–64, 209–215, 234–235
 reception studies, as discipline 211–212,
 234
Regression (film) 234
 religion. *See also* Christianity; Jews;
 sacrifice
 – violence and religious festivals
 282–284
 religious life of intellectual Hellenes
 in late antiquity 4, 119–132. *See also*
specific deities
 – anti-pagan riots 67, 78–79, 83–84,
 130–131, 217n33, 218, 220
 – Bes-oracle cult, purge of 121–122
 – Chaldean Oracles and 141–142
 – 'Christian' and 'pagan,' nonexclusivity
 of 130, 142–143
 – crypto-devotion 121, 130–132
 – foundation deposits 129–130
 – Gesios of Atripe, temple images
 rescued by 122–124, 127, 131

- in House of Proclus, Athens 121, 127–130, 131
- images, power of 125–127
- *lararia* 128, 131
- martyr, view of Hypatia as 269–271
- mystery expressions, Synesius's use of 30–32
- 'pagan,' as term, versus 'Hellene' 119n2
- sacrifices, purpose of 129
- sorcery attributed to Hypatia and 28, 120, 142, 151, 156, 162, 185, 195, 219, 251, 280
- theurgy 120, 138–139, 141–142
- traditional Egyptian religion, relationship to 119–121
- Renne, E. P. 173n9
- Richlin, Amy 173
- Rist, John 140–141
- Ronchey, Silvia 269, 271
- Roques, Denis 30, 42n61
- Rufinus of Aquileia (Rufinus of Concordia), *Historia ecclesiastica*
 - dating of 88–89
 - on dismemberment 111–113
 - euhemeristic theories, corpse veneration accusations, and descriptions of cult sites as tombs 106–110, 114
 - fire, destruction by/denial of burial 113–114
 - Frigidus episode 99
 - headless torso and death of traditional religion in 103–104
 - iconography of Serapis, re-reading of 104–106
 - image destruction, death of Hypatia as 88–89, 90, 97–110
 - Origenist controversy and 21, 22, 23
 - public event, destruction/death as 110–111
 - *remedium* or spiritual cure, history conceived as 98–99
 - Serapis, on destruction of cult statue of 89–90, 97–110
 - Socrates Scholasticus, intertextuality with 88–89
 - sources for 89, 97n37, 109
- Ruggini, Lellia Cracco 171
- Rusticula (Novatian bishop of Rome) 72
- Sacheverell, Henry 198, 200–202
- sacrifice
 - death of Hypatia, sacrificial aspects of 269–271
 - purposes of 129
 - Synesius using language of 260n69
- Sagan, Carl 231–233
- Salzman, Michele 115–116
- Sartre, Maurice 190n80
- Scheidegger Laemmle, Cédric 5, 209, 324
- Schmid, D. J. A. 196n13
- Schmitt, Tassilo 22n60, 39n45
- scholasticus*/Dometianus, letters of Synesius to 59–61
- Scott, Ridley 216
- Scott, Robert 272
- Seeck, Otto 29, 42n61, 80n54
- Seng, Helmut 3, 29, 324
- Serapeum, Alexandria, destruction of
 - *Agora* (film) and 217–218, 219, 220, 227, 228
 - in Mauthner's *Hypatia* (1892) 62
 - Rufinus on 89, 97–98
 - Synesius's *Dio* and 20, 27
 - Theophilus and 97
- Serapis (deity)
 - Apis, as ossified form of 107, 112
 - destruction of cult statue of 89–90, 97–110, 115, 227, 228, 279–280
 - Osiris myth and 112
 - Theadelphia/Fayum wooden Serapis 103n64
- seventeenth century, emergence of Hypatia as Enlightenment symbol in 210
- sex/sexuality. *See also* gender
 - *Agora* (film), erotics of 235–237
 - masculine desire, Hypatia/intellectual women as objects of 61–65, 161, 173–176, 178–179, 181, 190, 192, 200, 235–237
 - Origen/Origenists accused of denying goodness of sexuality and procreation 22
 - stripping of Hypatia 267–269, 282
 - virginity/sexual abstinence, Hypatia's choice of 63, 160–161, 175, 178–179, 184, 190

- Shanzer, Danuta 178
- Shenoute of Atripe 122–124, 127, 131
- Shiell, William D. 256n6
- Shorrock, Robert 152n6, 154
- Simplicius Philosophicus, in *Aristotelis
Categorias commentarius* 143, 144n47
- Socrates, Athenian Philosopher 12n21,
14, 16n36
- Socrates Scholasticus (Socrates of Con-
stantinople)
- See also textual commentary on Socrates
Scholasticus' account of Hypatia's
death
- Ammonius (monk), tortured to death
for assaulting Orestes 77, 79, 86, 91–93
 - civil strife in spring of 415, and death
of Hypatia 67, 68, 74–79, 83–84
 - Constantinople and Alexandria, rivalry
between 68–71
 - critique of Cyril by 115–116
 - dating of 88–89, 153
 - on dismemberment 111–113
 - 'disorder' theory of history in 73
 - on early career of Cyril 68, 71–79,
84–85, 117, 193
 - eighteenth-century reception of Hypa-
tia and 196, 199, 203
 - euhemeristic theories, corpse veneration
accusations, and descriptions of
cult sites as tombs 106–110, 114
 - female characters besides Hypatia in
183–184
 - fire, destruction by/denial of burial by
113–114
 - gender and status dominating account
of 182–185
 - Hierax, Orestes' arrest and torture of
75–77, 86
 - image destruction, death of Hypatia as
88–94, 115–117
 - John of Nikiu and 78, 94–96
 - Latin translation of (Cas-
siodorus/Epiphanius, *Historia eccle-
siastica tripartita*) 91n18, 93, 94, 111,
248–249, 250, 255–256, 259n16, 260,
262, 278–279
 - on Novatians 69, 71–73, 74, 86, 194
 - on Origenist controversy 20, 23
 - *parabalani* and 79–81, 86, 196, 258
 - partnership of Pulcheria and Cyril
68–71, 84–85, 86
 - Platonist, identification of Hypatia as
137
 - political contest between Orestes
and Cyril 67, 76–79, 84–85, 86, 93,
249–250
 - on public aspects of Hypatia's career
8n6
 - public event, destruction/death as
110–111
 - relationship of Hypatia and Orestes in
78, 92, 182
 - rise of Pulcheria to power and 81–85,
86
 - Rufinus, intertextuality with 89
 - significance of Hypatia's death for
67–68, 85–86, 193–195
 - as source of information about Hypatia
67–68
 - sources for 89
 - stoning, death of Hypatia by 93,
114–115, 275–280
 - sympathetic account of Hypatia 151,
152, 156, 157, 160, 162, 165, 168,
174–175, 181, 259
 - text of account of Hypatia 248–250
- Sophronius 89, 98, 109
- sorcery attributed to Hypatia 28, 120,
142, 151, 156, 162, 185, 195, 219, 251,
280
- Sorlin, Pierre 224n55
- Sosipatra 181n45
- Speusippus 14
- Stahl, Roger 229–230n73
- Stefaniw, Blossom 27n78
- Stenschke, Christoph 280
- Stewart, Peter 102n60, 125
- Stilicho, execution of 54n18
- Stoics and Stoicism 23, 105
- stoning
- death of Hypatia by 93, 114–115,
275–280
 - in Greek myth 279–280
 - in Old and New Testaments 280
- Strabo 265
- stripping of Hypatia 267–269, 282

- substitutive image act, literary construction of Hypatia's death as 115–117.
 See also image destruction, death of Hypatia as
- Suda 3, 17n40
- Damascus' *Philosophical History* and 175
 - eighteenth-century reception of Hypatia and 196, 203
 - sympathetic representation of Hypatia in 133n2, 151–152, 156, 160–162, 165, 168
 - text sourced from 246–248
 - Toland, as source for 199
- Synesius of Cyrene 3–4. See also *Dio* (Synesius) and late antique defense of classicism; letters of Synesius
- in *Agora* (film) 221–223, 224n53, 234
 - astrolabes and 138, 164
 - on Athens 36, 56, 135–136n7
 - *Catastases* 55
 - as Christian 13
 - Constantinople, embassy to 35–38, 39n45, 49
 - death of 53, 54
 - death of sons of 4, 44–49
 - eighteenth-century reception of Hypatia and 196
 - historical evidence of 52
 - Hypatia in works of, besides the letters 55–56
 - marriage of 21–22
 - as metropolitan of Ptolemais 19, 44, 62
 - planisphaerium designed by, ekphrasis on 36–37
 - Platonism of Hypatia and 137–141
 - representation of Hypatia by 172n4
 - as student of Hypatia 2, 3, 193
 - Theophilus and 22, 28
- Syrianus 143
- Tall Brothers 20–21, 23, 74
- Tanaseanu-Döbler, Ilinca 59n33
- tax system in late antique empire 14–15
- Taylor, Liz 216
- “Teaching as Hypatia” project, 213, 213–214
- Tennyson, Alfred, Lord 186–187
- Terrasson, John 206–207
- textual commentary on Socrates Scholasticus' account of Hypatia's death 255–284
- Caesareum as locus of Hypatia's death 261–266
 - δῖφος as lecturer's chair or litter, interpretation of 92–93, 255–284
 - Lent, occurrence of Hypatia's death during 281–284
 - maltreatment of Hypatia's body 266–267
 - martyr, view of Hypatia as 269–271, 282
 - ‘mob’ attack, lack of evidence for 258
 - ὄστρακα used to kill Hypatia, means of death by 270, 271–280
 - Peter the lector/Peter the magistrate (murderer of Hypatia) 256–258
 - planned rather than spontaneous lynching of Hypatia 255–256
 - punishment of assassins 284
 - as ritualistic execution of outcast or criminal 265, 266–267
 - sacrificial aspects of 269–271
 - stripping of Hypatia 267–269, 282
 - sympathetic account of Hypatia's treatment 259
- Theadelphia/Fayum wooden Serapis 103n64
- Themistius, *Orationes* 17n39, 31n14
- Theodora (dedicatee of Damascus' *Philosophical History*) 179n36
- Theodoret of Cyrhus
- as lector 258n9
- Theodosian Code 15n31, 80, 83n74, 129, 139n26, 141n37
- Theodosius (consul) 73, 92, 250, 279
- Theodosius I (emperor) 97
- Theodosius II (emperor) 68, 70, 81–82, 83n68, 84, 99, 117, 204, 248
- Theon (father of Hypatia)
- in *Agora* (film) 216n29, 218
 - commentary of Book III of Ptolemy's *Almagest* 3, 37n39
 - Damascus on 175
 - Mouseion, Alexandria, membership in 17

- Philostorgius on 248
- as teacher of Neoplatonic tradition to Hypatia 136
- Theophanes 82–83n68, 82n60, 196
- Theophilus (bishop of Alexandria)
 - in *Agora* (film) 218
 - Cyril (nephew) compared to 86, 97, 185, 253
 - Cyril (nephew) succeeding 69, 73–74, 218, 252
 - Eunapius of Sardis on 279–280
 - John Chrysostom and 21, 69, 73
 - as lector 257
 - Origenist controversy and 19–23, 25n73, 27, 74
 - paschal letters of 21–22
 - Serapis, role in destruction of cult image of 105, 109–110
 - Synesius and 22, 28
- Theopompus (Novatian bishop of Alexandria) 72, 74
- theoria* 25–26
- Theotecnus (in letter from Synesius to Hypatia) 47n82
- Theotokos* controversy 73n27
- Thesmophorion, Alexandria 268
- Thessalonica, massacre at (390) 77–78
- theurgical animation practices 100–101, 119, 127
- theurgy 120, 138–139, 141–142, 166n62
- Thompson, Dorothy 268, 271
- Thucydides 10, 184n59
- Tillemont, M. Lenain de, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique des six Premiers Siecles* (1709) 196
- Timothy (archdeacon in Alexandria) 73–74
- Tinnefeld, F. 49n89
- Toland, John 2, 197–205
 - *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696) 197–198
 - *Tetradymus* (1720) 198–202
- Treitschke, Heinrich von 62n43
- Treu, Kurt 15n33
- Trigilio, J. 190n79
- Trinitarian controversies 73
- Troy* (film) 216
- Trump, Donald 191–192n83
- Ulpia Marciana 82
- Uniting with the Solar Disk (*hnm itr*; Egyptian ritual) 101
- Urbano, Arthur 174n14
- Valens (emperor) 15n30
- Valentinian (emperor) 15n30
- Valois, Henri de 274
- Van de Walle, E. 173n9
- Van Uytfanghe, Marc 99
- variatio* 53–54
- Varner, Eric 102
- Verius Sedatus 131
- virginity/sexual abstinence, Hypatia's choice of 63, 160–161, 175, 178–179, 184, 190
- Voltaire, *Dictionnaire Philosophique* 206–207
- Wallraff, Martin 260n21
- Watts, Edward 2, 5, 90n16, 94, 97, 115, 151, 176–177n24, 179, 180, 183, 193, 272n83, 282, 324
- Weisz, Rachel 189, 215, 216
- Wessel, Susan 74
- Whiston, William 196–198, 201
- Wildberg, Christian 128–129
- Wipszycka, Ewa 257
- wisdom, as female quality 182n49
- world-soul 111n102
- Xenocrates 14
- Xenophanes of Colophon 108
- Yazdgerd I of Persia 82n60
- Yuhannā al-Mudabbir. *See* John of Nikiu
- Zeus (deity) 103, 147, 148, 155n11, 160
- Zintzen, Clemens, *Damascii vitae isidori reliquia* 246
- Zoroaster 27