# City of Demons

*Violence, Ritual, and*
*Christian Power in Late Antiquity*

———

Dayna S. Kalleres

In honor of beloved Virgil—

"O degli altri poeti onore e lume . . ."

—Dante, *Inferno*

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Dayna S. Kalleres

*I dedicate this book to my three loves . . .*
*To Michael, who has always been there to banish my demons.*
*To Griffin and Thea, who are far too successful in summoning them back.*

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that the wonderful people we befriended during our travels have been able to remain safe.

Drawing upon remaining funds from the Hellman fellowship, I had the opportunity to travel briefly to a very rainy Milan in the spring of 2011. My brother, Greg Kalleres, who is a playwright, joined me for the trip; despite the weather, Greg willingly spent his days walking with me in the streets of the oldest sections of the city. In the evenings, while drying in warm restaurants and eating delicious food, we turned enthusiastically to the task of reimagining details of the basilica crisis in the various places we visited. My brother has always had a talent for capturing and expressing the humor in almost any situation. Our few days getting lost and wet in Milan offered him ideal material for our evening conversation over a bottle of wine. Thank you, Greg, for transforming one of my more successful research trips into one of the funniest as well.

Before drawing this to a close I would be remiss if I did not mention in greater detail a few people who have been especially important to the development and publication of this book. Susanna Elm has supported this project since its inception—from the tremendously rich comments she made on my dissertation chapters to the equally rich comments she has offered on chapters, papers, and articles since. I thank her for the support and encouragement she has readily offered over the years since we met during her visit at Princeton. Catherine Chin's shrewd intellect and cunning academic imagination have inspired gratitude as well as jaw-dropping awe in a number of people, and I include myself among the jaw-dropping crowd. I owe Catherine a great deal for the discussions we have had pertaining to historiographical and hermeneutical problems in late antiquity—many of which have directly informed the larger theoretical arguments I am making in this book. To that end, I must also thank Catherine for the opportunity to participate in the Late Ancient Knowing workshop that she put together with Moulie Vidas at the University of California at Davis. David Frankfurter's incredible scholarship has inspired the direction of my own since I was in graduate school. He has kindly read any chapter, article, or manuscript I have thrown his way and then somehow managed to return each piece quickly and with detailed and insightful comments. I will always be indebted to him for the intellectual support that he has offered over the years, and I have come to depend upon his enthusiasm for any and all things demonological; just as importantly (and, at times, more importantly), I owe David thanks for his tremendous sense of humor and friendship.

I must also mention my gratitude for Peter Brown's scholarship; this includes his contribution to the construction as well as critique of the world of late antiquity. Others have praised his work far more intelligently and elegantly than I ever could, and my own debt to Brown's corpus will become clear in the introduction. I will only offer here that I am grateful to Peter Brown's work for creating the possibility for this study.

Finally, to the three most important people in my life, I offer my sincerest thanks and deepest apology. Thank you, Michael. Thank you, Griffin. Thank you, Thea. You each surrendered a sizable period of your lives so that mommy could finish her book and in many ways you lost a wife, a best friend, and a mommy in the process. Now that the book is done, you three are the only people I want to spend time with.

# Antioch

N

**Imperial Palace**

Eastern Gate

Wall of Tiberius

To Beroea (Aleppo, Syria)

Wall of Seleucus I

Wall of Seleucus I

Forum of Valens

Nymphaeum

To Alexandretta

Bridge Gate

Wall of Tiberius

Wall of Theodosius II

Jewish Community

Daphne Gate

To Seleucia

To Daphne
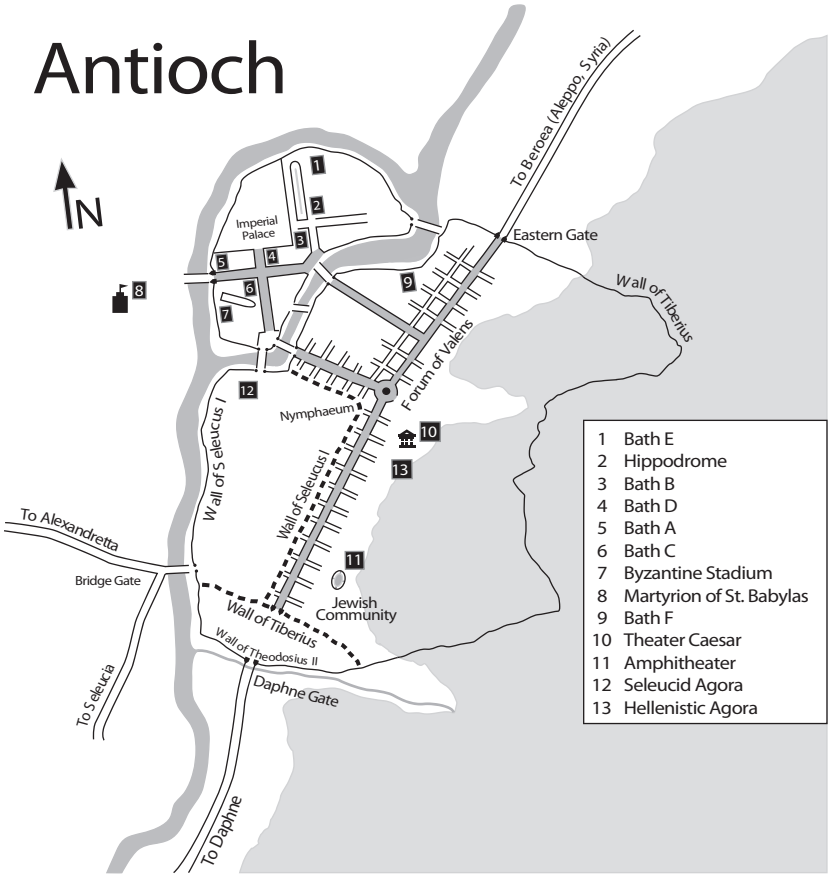
1 Bath E
2 Hippodrome
3 Bath B
4 Bath D
5 Bath A
6 Bath C
7 Byzantine Stadium
8 Martyrion of St. Babylas
9 Bath F
10 Theater Caesar
11 Amphitheater
12 Seleucid Agora
13 Hellenistic Agora

# Jerusalem

N

Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Anastasis

Baptistery

**1**

**2**

CARDO MAXIMUS

Golgotha Forum

DECUMANUS

(COLONNADED STREET)

Temple

Mount

**3**

CAMP OF THE

TENTH LEGION

Caiaphas's House

'Upper Church' on Sion

Mt. Sion
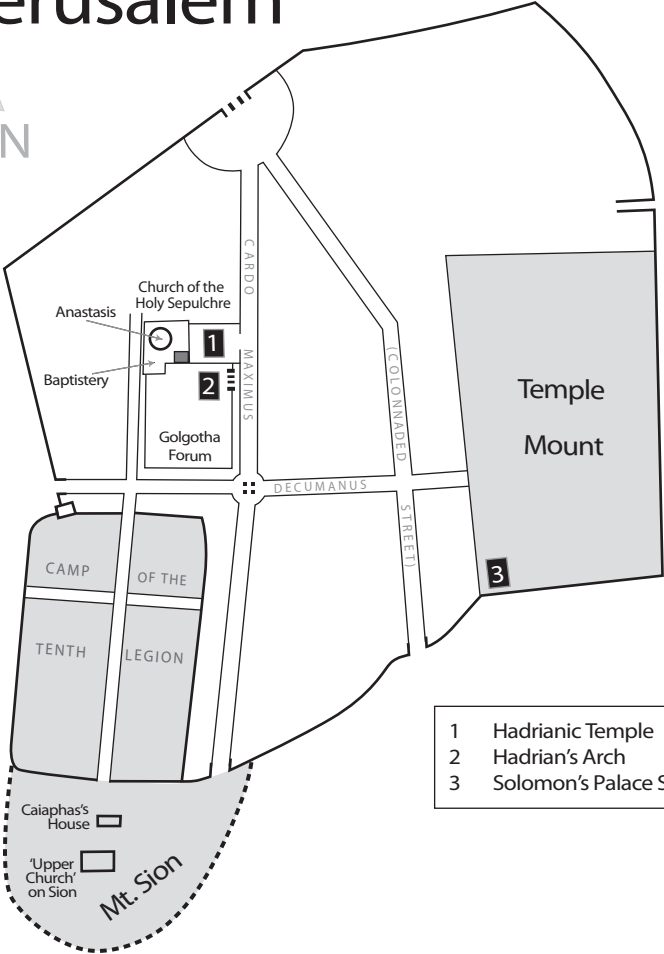
| 1 | Hadrianic Temple |
| 2 | Hadrian's Arch |
| 3 | Solomon's Palace Site |

# Milan

N

1 Theatrum
2 Basilica Portiana (San Lorenzo)
3 Arena
4 Circus
5 Basilica Naboris
6 Basilica Ambrosiana
7 Forum
8 Basilica Major
9 Basilica Vetus
10 Basilica Apostolorum
11 Thermae Herculeae

CORSO DI PORTA ROMANA

Porta Romana

Porta Comacina

To Basilica Virginum

CARDO

DECIMANUS

MAXIMUS

Porta Vercellina

To Mausoleum

Porta Ticinensis

11

10

9

8

7

1

4

5

6

2

3

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## Introduction

# The City in Late Antiquity

## *Where Have All the Demons Gone?*

*If you grab someone who's demon-possessed and exhibiting manic behavior and take them into that holy tomb where the martyr's remains lie, without a doubt you'll see them jumping back and fleeing. For they instantly leap right out of the front doors as if about to set foot on hot coals, and they don't dare to look directly at the coffin itself.[1]*

Such is the tremendous exorcistic power of the remains of the holy martyr Julian, a power derived from the horrific nature of his martyrdom, according to John Chrysostom in his *In sanctum Julianum martyrem*. While John has a good-sized audience for his homily on the first day of the two-day festival at Antioch, he knows numbers will plummet the next. Many in his audience will happily join certain festivities that will be taking place in Daphne. John is aware of his competition:

> Choruses of men take over the suburb [Daphne] tomorrow. Often the sight of such choruses compels the person who wants to be sober into copying the same indecent behavior against their will. . . . [The devil] is present, summoned by the earthly songs, by the shameless words, by the demonic pageantry.[2]

Within the frivolity of the dancing and singing, he recognizes demons laying their ambush for any who should pass by. Demonic possession is insidious and subtle: John describes what amounts to a behavioral conversion of the spectator in Daphne. A good Christian who watches and listens too long will through his own senses become enslaved to the activities on display. Those watching, regardless of whether they wish to remain "sober" in terms of their morality and senses of perception, will fall into a debauched and licentious state. John speaks in a manner that brings the mechanics of demonic penetration and corruption into close parallel with Hellenistic philosophical language in common usage at that time. In this case he adopts and adapts a predominantly materialistic understanding of Stoic theories of cognition and perception.[3]

John twists and reframes the details of what would have seemed to most to be an innocuous outdoor festival so that he may reveal the figure of the devil in the midst of it. The devil acts as a kind of quickening agent as he and his demons work to augment and aggravate a production of malevolent sense data in and around the male chorus. Sounds, smells, tastes, and textures pour forth from the chorus to engulf the Christian audience all too easily. Regardless of their prior sobriety, John's Christians are compelled to turn their behavior toward a mode of depravity, ensuring their own condemnation.

How can John possibly stop such an ambush? In what way can John and his loyal Christians slow the tide of the malevolent behavior overtaking Christian onlookers? To prevent congregants from attending this festival, John plots a dramatic intervention:

> Tomorrow let's occupy the gates [of Antioch] ahead of time, let's keep a watch to the streets, let's pull them down from their vehicles [as they travel to Daphne], women pulling women, men pulling men. Let's bring them back here [to the martyr's tomb].[4]

Whether or not this action took place, what John proposes has the potential to develop into a violent confrontation. Into the midst of this invited chaos, the priest suggests bringing the relics from Julian's martyrium. Julian's relics are powerful, exorcistic objects that cause both the demon-possessed and the demoniac to flee instantaneously and to act erratically. John knows this behavior well. But so do those attending the festival. In fact, they may have understood or believed that even greater power than John advertises actually exists in Julian's corporeal remains.

John's proposed confrontation against Christians who wish to attend the Daphne festival is an example of diabolization.[5] In other words, he uses discourse and ritual to construct the undeniable reality of a spiritual war in which stronger Christians must engage in direct battle against demons who are using the male chorus to lure and corrupt weaker members of his congregation.

Diabolization differs in subtle but essential ways from Jonathan Z. Smith's conceptualization of the term "demonic."[6] As a locative category, the demonic functions in religious discourse to mark alterity, to emphasize otherness or monstrosity; as such it is often deployed in an effort to measure and maintain a deliberate distance. However, John does not discuss demons primarily to force a distance between his listeners and the Daphne festival. Rather, he depicts frightening images of the demons' powers to corrupt and invade the human body in order to galvanize Christians to act; he offers a plan to move closer to the demons' location and engage with them directly in spiritual warfare. Moreover, he provides a reliable antidemonic weapon—the relics of a known saint.

By emphatically diabolizing Daphne in this sermon, John creates a situation for a spiritual warfare event. He does indeed intend the combustive moment of ritual confrontation—flashes of relics and shouts of exorcistic speech—to announce a

divide that certainly opposes Christians and the male chorus; however, such a confrontation will not separate or distance the two groups from each other. Instead John describes a boundary that comes into existence through the performance of ritual (exorcistic, apotropaic) contact and proximity. Whether or not such an event occurred is not the point. John's vivid and emotive description of the encounter—the mere possibility of a clash—projects an image of the ritual attack into the minds of his listeners that will bind the two groups together in spiritual combat.

*City of Demons* presents three richly detailed case studies of urban church leaders who are demonologists and active and innovative exorcists in the midst of dangerous, potentially violent religious conflicts dominating their cities. John Chrysostom of Antioch, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Ambrose of Milan have individually been described as exemplary church figures, who Christianize their fourth-century cities in ways that contribute to progress rather than to decline. To that end, these three are often portrayed in scholarship following the conventional profile of the bishop: an educated, elite, civilized, and rational hero in a late antique historiographic narrative of the city's late classical rise from its Gibbonian decline into superstition, irrational thinking, and magic. In contrast, in order to complicate current readings of ecclesiastical urban authority this book attends closely to these three leaders' demonological discourses and related ritual descriptions (e.g., exorcistic, baptismal, apotropaic, divinatory) as they construct the identities of baptized Christian soldiers engaged in "spiritual warfare" in their respective cities; likewise it features the leaders' manipulations of exorcistic authority in moments of urban crisis. *City of Demons* argues that each leader's actions result in the material transformation (i.e., Christianization) of his respective urban environment.

To recover this cultural history, we must provisionally accept a principle that structures the urban reality and the Christianizing processes of the post-Constantinian period: demons are an experiential part of the late antique city, materially impacting the lives not only of Christians, but of all who live there.[7] The demonological plane of urban experience blends effortlessly through ritual practice into the political, economic, social, and religious dimensions that comprise the chaotic and dynamic temperament of the late antique city.

Furthermore, this book contends that scholars have largely neglected or misinterpreted demons and the church's active ritual stance against them. Since Edward Gibbon, the idea of material belief in and ritual engagement with demons—most especially in the city—has elicited a range of negative reactions from the modern interpreter. Some identify demonology as a sign of urban decay and civilization's loss of rationality; others reduce the language of demons to metaphorical imagery; still others ignore the mention of demons altogether. In the study of ancient magic, a much different paradigm exists. In an interpretive revolution that took place three to four decades ago, those who studied magical practice purposely adopted the category of "ritual power" to address the uneasy relationship between the

categories of magic and religion in the study of the ancient world.[8] Consequently, a prevailing focus on ritual agency, instrumentality, and performance dominates and directs this field of study. The questions revolving around the issue of personal belief in the reality of demons do not enter into the interpretation.

However, the hard-learned lessons in the study of ancient magical texts have not yet been incorporated into the study of ecclesiastical power or the late antique city. Many scholars presume a reductive, anachronistic manner of reading supra-human or supernatural agency within the late antique environment; as a result they dismiss or downplay the manner in which such forces or powers materially impact the social, political, religious, and even economic dimensions of daily life. All too often, scholars neglect to consider how a shared perception of human-supernatural ritual interaction contributes materially to the processes of urban Christianization.

To that end, this book follows a trend that has been emerging in the study of the late antique world more widely and in the study of demonology more specifically. Susan Ashbrook Harvey's *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* in 2006, followed in 2009 by Patricia Cox Miller's *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity,* has firmly established a material trend within late antique scholarship in which the embodied and perceiving "Self" is a central object of analysis in the interpretation of the late antique world.[9] A similar directional turn has impacted the study of ancient and late antique demonologies more specifically: most prominently, David Brakke's *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* in 2006, as well Gregory A. Smith's 2008 article "How Thin Is a Demon?" in the *Journal of Early Christian Studies,* for example.[10] As we endeavor to recover how belief in and perceived experience of human-demon interactions helps to shape the processes of Christianization of the late antique city, the material turn as well as the category of embodiment will guide many of our methodological and theoretical choices—the first of which, diabolization, provides a very effective means of bringing us much closer to understanding the tangibility of demons and the supernatural more generally.

## DIABOLIZATION, ENCHANTMENT, ANIMISM: ENLIVENING THE LATE ANTIQUE CITY

In Birgit Meyer's ethnographic study of Pentecostalism and syncretism in Ghana, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana,* Meyer explains that diabolization is a Christian practice in both discourse and ritual.[11] First, through sermons, hymns, confession, and prayer, baptized Christian clergy and laity generate a demonological discourse that identifies all non-Christian, non-orthodox practices as the devil's and therefore dangerous. The church then

supports an aggressive ritual battle against all demonic threats in the urban sphere. This ritual activity increases the sense of the demonic and diabolic in the city, which in turn justifies increased spiritual warfare to combat the devil.

In the cases of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Milan, we will see that diabolization is often a central mechanism and strategy in the processes of Christianization within a religiously competitive and complex environment. This is especially the case during the early post-Constantinian era, when Christianity is fighting for a foothold in the public sphere, often through the construction of church buildings.

In order to fully grasp diabolization as a powerful strategy of urban Christianization, we have to recover the difference separating modernity and the late antique period: late antiquity is rooted in an enchanted worldview, and people possess a tangible sense of an animated environment. "Enchanted worldview" here refers to a pervasive belief in the supernatural forces and powers that enables people to ritually manipulate their environment in order to curse, attack, protect, empower, or engage in divination. The term "animated" connotes the specific kinds of forces and powers that populate this environment. In the case of Christianizing the late antique city, these entities are increasingly divided between the divine and the demonic, reorganizing what has been a much more pluralistic and polytheistic atmosphere. *City of Demons* argues that an enchanted perspective and an animated atmosphere shape a person's perception of reality in the late antique city and their behavior as political, socioeconomic, and cultural agents.

This perspective of the late antique world is difficult, if not impossible, for many modern scholars to grasp. Several scholars who have investigated the late antique city have radically secularized and disenchanted the urban sphere. While there are studies of the city that speak to the subject of urban demonology, more often than not these interpretations reduce demons to a metaphorical expression or rhetorical strategy, transforming them into nothing more than an innocuous form of language. In our own effort to avoid reductive reading, in this study of ecclesiastical authority and power in the post-Constantinian city we will attend to the category of ritual practice. By focusing closely upon the ritual activity that John, Cyril, and Ambrose describe, we will place demons and demon/human interaction in the foreground of our discussion of ecclesiastical authority and power in the post-Constantinian city. This study proposes that the increased production of church buildings provides the catalyst for an unprecedented amplification and innovation in sacramental and ecclesiastical rituals. Constantine's construction projects lay the groundwork for a fanaticism for building—a "lithomania" that pervades the empire.[12] Through the construction of grand new basilicas, martyria, and other Christian monuments within and just beyond the city walls, the rituals of baptism, exorcism, the Eucharist, and even the sign of the cross, for example, have a much wider reach into the urban sphere. The Lateran in Rome, the Great Church in Antioch, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the Apostoleion in

Constantinople—as sites of ritual experimentation and amplification—force irrevocable shifts, both large and small, in society.[13]

This period then offers a tremendous opportunity for the reconceptualization of the place and purpose of sacramental rituals as well as a greater emphasis upon the power inherent in those rituals. And as we will see in our three case studies, sacramental ritual and ecclesiastical rituals in general take on a decidedly diabolizing edge as Christian baptismal identity is carved out of the concept of the once demonic, now exorcised, body. Through diabolization, these rituals construct a new individual and congregational Christian identity in the midst of a demonically dangerous city. A material and threatening demonology lies at the root of Christian consciousness beginning in the fourth century. Through the antidemonic power of the sacraments, clergy pass on to the baptized laity—the soldiers of Christ—this same power against demons and the diabolic.

While we propose a cultural history of urban demonologies and spiritual warfare, the actual interpretation of the evidence in the manner we propose is hardly a straightforward task. As with any history, various questions regarding historiography emerge. For example, in what ways have scholars unintentionally reduced or neglected any evidence of urban demonology and the supernatural? In what follows, then, we will examine a few of the central scholarly perspectives that have participated in determining a modern view of demons in the late antique city and established the fundamental principles in the interpretation of the supernatural more generally: Edward Gibbon, Peter Brown, and a growing body of scholarship pertaining to episcopal/ecclesiastical authority in the post-Constantinan city.

## GIBBON AND THE AGE OF DECADENCE

Throughout the nineteenth century and for most of the twentieth, Edward Gibbon's concept of an economic, social, and political decline strongly influenced the presiding historiographical narrative of the fall of the Roman Empire: a cultural decline in the second century followed by an economic crisis in the third century culminated inevitably in the eventual and complete ruin of the empire by the fifth. Gibbon's depiction of post-Constantinian Christianity's effect on the minds and rationality of the collective Roman population is worth quoting in full:

> The fame of the apostles and martyrs was gradually eclipsed by these recent and popular Anachorets; the Christian world fell prostrate before their shrines; and the miracles ascribed to their relics exceeded, at least in number and duration, the spiritual exploits of their lives. But the golden legend of their lives was embellished by the artful credulity of their interested brethren; and a believing age was easily persuaded, that the slightest caprice of an Egyptian or a Syrian monk had been sufficient to interrupt the eternal laws of the universe. The favorites of Heaven were accustomed to cure inveterate diseases with a touch, a word, or a distant message; and to expel the

most obstinate demons from the souls or bodies which they possessed. They familiarly accosted, or imperiously commanded, lions and serpents of the desert; infused vegetation into a sapless trunk; suspended iron on the surface of the water; passed the Nile on the back of a crocodile, and refreshed themselves in a fiery furnace. These extravagant tales, which display the fiction without the genius, of poetry, have seriously affected the reason, the faith, and the morals, of the Christians. Their credulity debased and vitiated the faculties of the mind; they corrupted the evidence of history; and superstition gradually extinguished the hostile light of philosophy and science. Every mode of religious worship which had been practiced by the saints, every mysterious doctrine which they believed, was fortified by the sanction of divine revelation, and all the manly virtues were oppressed by the servile and pusillanimous reign of the monks. If it be possible to measure the interval between the philosophic writings of Cicero and the sacred legend of Theodoret, between the character of Cato and that of Simeon, we may appreciate the memorable revolution which was accomplished in the Roman empire within a period of five hundred years.[14]

While Gibbon's invective is harsh, unrelentingly so at times, he does not indict earliest Christianity (first–second centuries); instead he focuses heavily upon later Christianity (third–fourth centuries). To that end, he draws important distinctions regarding the population's mental disintegration that later church historians and classicists would maintain: Christian monks in this later period introduce superstitions and magical thinking that ensure a world overrun by a fear of the supernatural. Gibbon captures the problem quite well in his description of a Jerusalem overrun by hermits in the fifth to sixth centuries:

> [Monks'] visions . . . have afforded ample materials for supernatural history. It was their firm persuasion, that the air, which they breathed, was peopled with invisible enemies; with innumerable demons, who watched every occasion, and assumed every form, to terrify, and above all to tempt, their unguarded virtue. The imagination, and even the senses, were deceived by the illusions of distempered fanaticism; and the hermit, whose midnight prayer was oppressed by involuntary slumber, might easily confound the phantoms of horror or delight, which had occupied his sleeping and his waking dreams.[15]

Gibbon describes a corrupt, ritualistic, and even fantastical brand of Christianity that in his opinion had emerged in monastic communities in cities such as Jerusalem.[16] For Gibbon, Christianity especially after Constantine had been overrun by a monastic fanaticism that (as the first quote above puts it) "debased and vitiated the faculties of the mind: [it] corrupted the evidence of history; and superstition gradually extinguished the hostile light of philosophy and science."

Gibbon's narrative of decline—and Christianity's participation in that decline—determined the dominant interpretations of the city after his time.[17] For Gibbon and his followers, the third century's bruising fall into socioeconomic hardship followed by municipal and imperial political chaos facilitates the city's demise.

Cities are then exposed to an incursion of aggressive charismatic religions in addition to Christianity. The Roman civic sphere weakens, and the complete defunding of public urban cult or *religio* is soon to follow. Whatever remains of an urban-engineered civilization—through the civic and political (*polis*) institutions of state cults, municipal government, and Greco-Roman culture—descends into superstition, irrationality, and the magical thinking of a rapacious Christianity and presumably other religions (e.g., Manichaeism, Judaism, mystery religions).[18] In the fourth century—alongside increasing barbarian invasions—a sudden rise of magical practice overtakes the cities. Anti-magic persecutions of Constantius II and Valentinian I soon follow in the major cities of the empire.

Later scholars' portrayals of an irrevocable urban collapse in the late Roman period are consistent: Christianity spreads superstitious beliefs in demons and magical practice widely, and this overtakes and erases any remnant of Greek culture and rationality.[19] An impenetrable dark age has already fallen heavily on the shoulders of those who populate the late Roman city by the fourth and fifth centuries.

After two hundred years of scholarship, certain "truisms" have thus become an indelible part of the historical record: after the third-century crisis and moving into the post-Constantinian era, the Roman Empire falls quickly. Borders weaken, and city walls crumble. The exoticism and depravity of Eastern religions and beliefs spreads unchecked. What little remains of Greco-Roman culture is crushed easily under the tyranny of the church and the invasion of barbarians; the new populations that emerge without the guidance of Greek philosophy and the civilizing effects of state cult are morally and intellectually bereft as well as ethically compromised. Magical thinking, superstition, excessive ritualistic behavior, and the irrational fear of demons plague entire cities, towns, and villages.[20] In fact, Gibbon's narrative of decline and its related fatalistic outlook of civic decadence has left its mark on most, if not all, of the histories of the later Roman Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[21]

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, Anglo-American scholars began to speak of the historical period of "late antiquity," a *longue durée* that stretched from varying points in the later Roman Empire (second to early fourth century) into the later Byzantine and medieval eras. Scholars such as Peter Brown, Glen Bowersock, and Oleg Grabar used this periodization to counter the Gibbonian rational view of civilization's end as a result of the concomitant fall of the Roman Empire and the cities comprising that empire. Scholars of late antiquity developed an analytic category of "continuity and transformation" to encounter and critique the presiding categories of "decline and fall" that earlier interpreters had deployed to produce a historiographic narrative from the third century on.[22]

The late antique perspective has been largely successful in shifting perceptions of the post-Constantinian period. For his part, Peter Brown has provided a powerful means of discussing the prickly concept of urban demonology in his article

"Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages." He also takes direct and unerring aim at Gibbon's narrative of the fall:

> The topic [of sorcery in late antiquity] has been harnessed to the problem of the "decadence" of the ancient world. The occult sciences have been studied as marking the nadir of the downward curve of Greek scientific rationalism; the rigmaroles of Gnostic demons, as a nadir in the decline of traditional Graeco-Roman religion; and the widespread opinion of historians, that a "terror of magic" was endemic in the fourth century A.D., is held to illustrate a nadir in the morale and culture of the Roman governing classes. It is assumed, therefore, that the "decadence" of the Later Roman Empire is illustrated by a sharp increase in sorcery beliefs. The reasons usually given are of studious generality: the general misery and insecurity of the period; the confusion and decay of traditional religions; and more specifically for the fourth century A.D., the rise to power in the Roman state of a class of *"semi-Christians,"* *whose new faith in Christ was overshadowed by a superstitious fear of demons.*[23]

Peter Brown's "Sorcery, Demons and the Rise of Christianity" is quite well known—a proverbial gateway essay for late antique enthusiasts. As such, it is hardly necessary to summarize the essay itself. Instead, we will consider some rather significant hermeneutical interventions within it.

In the fourth century, Brown notes, Constantine's Christianizing rule creates the right conditions wherein accusations of magic—a ritual practice involving demons—gain political traction: "The incidence of these accusations synchronizes with changes within the structure of the governing class: thus they reach a peak at a time of maximum uncertainty and conflict in the 'new' society of the mid-fourth century."[24] Brown recognizes a parallel increase in sorcery accusations under Augustus in the first century. Both centuries experience a tumultuous reshuffling of imperial and governmental institutions, which affects social hierarchies. In his study of sorcery accusations, Brown narrowly defines or categorizes magical practice that involves demons and thus the phenomena of demons in general as a form of accusatory rhetoric—though admittedly a very powerful form of rhetoric. In doing so, he deflects attention from the belittling characterizations of weak-minded Christians that we find in scholarship from Gibbon to A. A. Barb. Both scholars, and many in between, effectively implanted within the modern imagination a handful of evocatively vivid descriptions of that rising ruling class of "'semi-Christians'" who were "overrun by a superstitious fear of demons." Numerous scholars have contributed to the fortified naturalization of Gibbon's narrative of decline: Christianity's superstitious, irrational and magical thinking that took root deeply and increasingly in the urban population ensured the demise of the Late Roman city. Brown overshadows this unflattering portrait of the urban Christian elite. By focusing on demons as a feature within a rhetorical discourse, he projects a powerful and persuasive image of the new rising class of Christians, a classically educated urban elite who were incredibly savvy in navigating the traditional

rhetorical tactics of political competition. In the end, he manages to locate a rational, intelligible site for demons and demonic magic in the urban sphere—in the realm of a particular kind of rhetorical discourse rather than in ritual action.

When we consider his 1971 article "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," we see that Brown provides a viable means for reading human-demon ritual practice or material interaction, especially the experience of demonic possession and exorcism, in the late antique world. In this article Brown portrays the holy man as perfectly suited to the rational role of "charismatic ombudsman."[25] The holy man is a figure who displays demonic mastery predominantly in a non-urban environment; thus, the holy man is the opposite in many ways from a person who holds ecclesiastical authority in an urban environment or someone whose authority is rooted in his position in the municipal, regional, or imperial government hierarchy. The holy man stands firmly outside the urban arena and therefore beyond the bounds (and bonds) of the kind of ecclesiastic episcopacy that maintains the civilized status of the city: it is Simeon the Elder in the Syrian desert and not John Chrysostom in Antioch or Ambrose in Milan whom Brown sees as the key figure in the battle with demons in individualized spiritual combat and in expelling demons from inside the demon-possessed.

Through these two articles, Peter Brown has enabled us to see demons, the demonic, and demonology in the late antique world in a new context. He has directed our gaze in precise ways in different parts of that world, and he has done so without shadowing our sight with the concomitant lenses of irrationality, superstition, and social decay that have conventionally accompanied discussion of demons in the late Roman Empire. In "Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity," Brown locates the demonic *within the city* by containing it as a rhetorical feature within the practice of sorcery accusation. Consequently, then, his focus is on the accusation as an evolving technique within the rhetoric of secular, political power and how that power is well suited to the Christianizing sociopolitical hierarchies of the city: in other words, demons as discourse are an important, if not integral, factor in the city's shifting political infrastructure. In this manner, Brown has endeavored to free the late antique or late Roman city from its earlier unilateral reputation as a decadent and decayed sphere of magical thinking and superstitious paranoia. In "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man," Brown situates demons in a much different way: demonic possession, the violent ritual display of exorcism, curses, as well as personalized spiritual warfare—in other words the actual belief in and ritual engagement with demons and the supernatural more generally—all occur *outside the city*. In the Egyptian desert, in the Syrian wilderness, far removed from any ecclesiastical institution, the non-urban holy man openly and violently displays ritual power over demons.

While Peter Brown provides the means to discuss demons in the late antique world, however, he does so at a certain cost. An unspoken, perhaps unrealized,

juxtaposition of these two articles over the years has led to the formation of two very different trajectories in the subsequent study of late antique Christian demonology. Scholars have quite productively presumed or imagined the holy man's ritual interactions with demons for the most part outside the city walls in deserts, forests, and desolate mountains. The collective study of the holy man's engagement with demons outside the civilizing effects of the city has produced a sense of the non-urban environment as enchanted and full of animistic forces. By contrast, scholars who study the city and especially those who consider episcopal/ecclesiastical authority within the city view demons reductively: demons are a language of alterity or an othering rhetoric. By viewing demons in this manner, scholars preserve a disenchanted and secularized interpretation of both the city and the church in late antiquity.

The incongruity in these two trajectories is the inevitable result of the late antique scholar's desire to loosen the late Roman city as well as ecclesiastical institutions within the city from Gibbon's portrayal of decline. Peter Brown's brilliant article "Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity" began the process of urban rehabilitation. He locates a legitimate, rational, and even politically sophisticated space for the existence of the demonic in the late antique city. His article represents only the first step, however. By defining demons as a form of discourse, Brown situates demons in a manner legible to the late antique world, certainly, but he also repackages demons in a manner that aligns with modern standards of rational perception—a construct or category that fits naturally within the disenchanted, secular, and desacralized city. In light of late antiquity's enchanted and animated worldview, though, we have to reconsider and adjust our understanding of the places, spaces, and categories where demons are legible, rational, and familiar phenomena to someone who lives in a late antique city. *City of Demons* will endeavor to take this second step. Before moving forward, then, we must acquire a better sense of the extent to which the disenchanted, secular perspective continues to direct scholarly interpretations of the late antique city and episcopal/ecclesiastical leadership within that city.

## THE LATE ANTIQUE CITY

Scholarship has returned to the late antique city with renewed vigor since the late 1990s.[26] Growing interest in urban archaeology, the concept of urban transformation, and the material processes of Christianization have inspired a publishing deluge over the past three decades.[27] Our own interest leads us to the figure of the bishop and the role he has played in this collection of scholarship.[28] The urban bishop often appears as a civilized and rational figure—or at the very least a capable administrator. He often appears as an important cultural touchstone, incorporating the best of Stoic moral philosophy and rhetorical skill in his interaction with

other municipal and imperial elites. He stands as a figure of continuity with ancient Roman civil, municipal, and senatorial authority; and thus he becomes the means of rationalizing and civilizing the city. In other words, scholarship presents the bishop in this post-Constantinian city as a figure of secular and sociopolitical authority—far removed from the religious and ritual aspects of his identity. The figure of the bishop has become a powerful means of rescuing the city from its earlier depictions as a site of moral, intellectual, and cultural decadence.

In the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Late Antiquity,* Clifford Ando succinctly captures this problem: "The rise of the bishop and the influence of episcopal courts . . . now often are framed as problems in the history of civic offices or civil law; they thereby are reduced to mere analogs of the classical institutions they ultimately replaced."[29] As a result, religion and ritual have to a great extent fallen out of the equation in interpreting both the bishop and the city. Claudia Rapp offers a similar assessment from a slightly different angle. In her 2005 monograph, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity,* she argues quite persuasively that the secularized, urban bishop is the unfortunate casualty of a deeply embedded and ideologically flawed historiographical narrative that has misdirected our understanding of ecclesiastical and episcopal power and authority.[30] She shrewdly observes and deconstructs the interpretive problems inherent in earlier scholars' all-too-simple chronological division of the church into pre-and post-Constantinian periods—i.e., from an egalitarian, spirit-filled, charismatic Christian community beginning in the apostolic period, to a secularized, desacralized episcopal figure embroiled in managing the late antique city:

> [This highlights] the reign of Constantine as a radical turning point when the idealized, charismatic age of early Christianity came to an end and the church became tainted through its exposure to the empire, a decline that is thought to be accompanied, as if in a seesaw, by the rise of the bishops.[31]

Rapp categorically rejects this chronological division, and instead claims correctly that it falsely casts the two eras into opposing portraits of ecclesiastical authority—religious charismatic power versus secular institutional authority. Rapp notes how Max Weber's category of charisma informs this dichotomy. Though she does not elaborate, Weber's definition of charisma warrants further consideration. In Weber's words: "[The charismatic person] is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities."[32] He directly opposes charismatic power to institutional authority, a dichotomy he maps onto two ideal types: "the prophet" as charismatic, who stands in opposition to "the priest," whose identity rests upon his institutional authority and other secular traits such as teaching and moral and ethical counsel. One can easily see how Weber's paired dichotomies align closely with the chronological division that Rapp criticizes.

All too often the narrative portraying urban episcopal power has played out on the flattened, horizontal terrain of strictly human, social interaction; the city appears as a disenchanted space bereft of most spiritual beings—demons, angels, or indeed any supernatural entity that might suggest the city's descent once again into superstitious and irrational thinking. Scholars describe bishops and priests as keeping their eyes trained steadily ahead on the business of social interaction: preaching, moral instruction, socioeconomic endeavors, the political roles of municipal government, and colonizing certain aspects of the court system. However, if we listen to Peter Brown, we must shift our gaze to fully capture all the processes of Christianization in late antiquity:

> Let us first look up to the heavens. . . . Belief in an everlasting universe, at once inhabited and governed by intertwined hierarchies of divine beings and their ethereal ministers, was an article of faith for most late classical persons. . . . It is this collective representation of the divine world that we must install in the back of our minds when we read the late antique evidence. If we do not do so, this evidence will appear to us as crisp and as clear-cut, but as unreal, as a lunar landscape from which the subtle shades imparted by an atmosphere have been drained. Of all the collective representations that had to move, through the slow redrawing of the map of the divine world at the behest of Christian theologians and preachers, the ancient representation of the *mundus* was the one that shifted with the slowness of a glacier.[33]

This is not to suggest that scholars have failed to consider the supernatural in their construction of the late antique urban environment. Studies do describe church leaders' engagement with both the demonic and the divine; however, such interactions take place within the safe confines of their churches. These interpretations contain the supernatural in the sacramental rituals of baptism and the Eucharist, for instance, that take place inside the church, and therefore they cut the rituals off and separate their meaning and efficacy from the rest of the city.[34] More often than not scholars approach sacramental and other ecclesiastical practices from the perspective of symbolic ritual: in other words, rituals communicate new socioreligious boundaries in the language of demonic versus divine.

Late antique interventions into earlier interpretations of the city have produced tremendous benefits: the city has almost fully rebounded as an object of study freed from its earlier Gibbonian captivity as tangible proof of decline and decay. Nonetheless, the irrationality, superstition, overwrought religiosity, and magical thinking that Gibbon, A. H. Jones, or even A. A. Barb have emphasized in their depictions of the decayed and dying city have lingered in the collective imagination of recent scholars. As scholars have recovered the survival and growth of a number of late antique cities, certain interpreters have presumed a narrowly modern set of criteria when describing city and civic success—a disenchanted, desacralized, and secularized urban environment. In studies examining a bishop's

contribution to urban vitality, depictions of that episcopal figure's economic, political, sociocultural, and—to a lesser extent—religious and liturgical spheres of action and interaction dominate.

These interpretations of the late antique city are far from wrong. In fact, *City of Demons* would not be possible without this collection of scholarship. Rather, the collective interpretation as it currently stands is incomplete. The purpose here is not to argue against or disagree with recent urban studies of the late antique world. Instead this book seeks to recover what has been overlooked—the enchanted and animistic dimensions of the late antique city—and asks, How does a consideration of these dimensions broaden and deepen our understanding of urban episcopal and ecclesiastical power? How does a consideration of the church's diabolization practices affect our current understanding of Christianization in the late antique city?

When approaching our task, we must overcome our identity as Western modern subjects—products of a post-Cartesian, post-Enlightenment world and worldview. Ironically, we have entered an era of cultural theory that recognizes the enchanted and animistic parts of Western (post)modernity;[35] nonetheless as scholars—and as embodied human beings—it takes a good deal of cautious self-reflection to divest ourselves of our modern perspective before embarking on the task of assuming the perspective of others. There is a residual discomfort in examining the city as an animistic, enchanted space. How might we come to consistently view a city as an environment where the population's daily ritual interaction with supernatural forces—including demons—is a normal, rational activity? Before we can turn to our project, we must turn to ourselves as our final interpretive obstacle. A brief look at the categories of enchantment, disenchantment, and animism in the construction of the *idea* of Western modernity will hopefully help us to keep a strong hold over our own perspective and worldview throughout this study.

## *ENTZAUBERUNG*/DISENCHANTMENT/ANIMISM

Max Weber first introduced *Entzauberung* in his 1917 lecture entitled "Science as a Vocation."[36] Situated in Weber's thought as a causal principle of civilization's progress, *Entzauberung* literally translates to "removing the magic." This has been an important component within a larger discussion involving Western modernity's growth and hegemony. Weber locates *Entzauberung* in science's revelation that "there are no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather that one can, in principle, master all things by calculation. This means that the world is disenchanted. One no longer has recourse to magical means in order to master or implore the spirits."[37] Earlier in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* Weber's *Entzauberung* gains a decisively Christian valence in its appearance in the Calvinist subject who relentlessly strips himself of all magical modes (i.e., Catholic

ritualism) in his efforts toward attaining salvation. As such, Weber portrays this *Berufsmensch* born in an ascetic Protestant milieu as the first iteration of a person evolving toward a rational individual capable of advancing capitalist progress. Following the Weberian formulation, subsequent thinkers have identified several events that have been "emphatic disenchantment[s]."[38] Cumulatively, these events have given birth to the modern, Western conceptualizations of the body, the subject, and personhood. They have also supported an assumed superiority of the West. Thus *City of Demons,* especially in the consideration of demonic possession and exorcism, will attend to the disparities between the late antique body and the modern with particular care.

In this approach (including the work of some scholars prior to Weber), *Entzauberung* and disenchantment also indicate a radical cosmological shift marking the beginning of a population's rise out of primitivity and on the evolving path of progress; that is, the possibility of a superior Western civilization can only find stable root following the expulsion of spirits, forces, energies, powers, demons, and angels that previously spanned the immense space between a human being and his/her god. *Entzauberung,* then, emerges as one of many theories to identify decisive historical points that chart a progressive move from enchantment to disenchantment in the Western world. Those following Weber's account have explored the role played by the radical asceticism within Calvinism. Others have argued that this push toward modernity finds a more precise origin in Protestant antisacramental discourse.[39] Still others have probed the chronological expanse of the Enlightenment, during which several thinkers perform irreversible inoculations against pandemic magical thinking.[40]

René Descartes, for example, following the skeptical traditions of the sixteenth century, departs from the Aristotelian view of "the natural world governed by sympathies and correspondences to deploy a mechanistic view of nature."[41] Mechanical operations without consciousness now commandeer space long occupied by spirits, demons, and other such forces. Likewise, Descartes's ontological discrimination between mind (*res cogitans*) and body (*res extensa*) effects a simple, but powerful, incision that severs the supernatural world from the natural and thus frees an already emergent modern man from what has been consistently viewed as crippling bouts of superstitious thinking. Like an interlinked chain of causal events, Descartes reflects mechanistic philosophical attitudes that also find sociopolitical expression in works such as Hobbes's *Leviathan*—a treatise that situates demons and witchcraft as mere metaphor at best, delusions at worst. Hobbes decries those of an earlier age—Greeks and Jews especially—who believed the devil and demons to be not "phantasms, that is, idols of the brain, but things real, and independent on the fancy."[42] In both philosophers, this position coheres with contemporary works of social liberalism that were likewise ridding the world and man's mind of such ill-intended beings and allowing space for the conceptual

seeds of social contract theory to germinate and evolve into an actual practice of collective self-government.

With such tidal shifts in the seventeenth century, it is with little surprise that the eighteenth century witnesses a replacement of the theological perspective by the scientific in the task of comprehending cosmological mysteries. The world of physical scientists, especially within astronomical theory, secularizes nature so that it transforms into what Randall Styers has called "a deterministic system governed by universal laws"; in this view "all forms of demonic and occult causation were effectively expelled from the world."[43] As Michael Buckley once remarked, Cartesian natural philosophy effectively "banished the gods from the world"; later eighteenth-century adjustments to Newtonian mechanical physics, particularly those elements that relate to the view of divinity, banish God himself from the realm of experiential life altogether—ushering in an age of atheism.[44] In any event, in accord with this authoritative linear chronology of Western progress, several scholars have since pronounced that by the dawn of the nineteenth century the world has finally been *disenchanted,* with fundamental irrevocability. As such, Western civilization, native home to an esteemed vanguard of modernity, has long illustrated material advance over the rest of the non-Western, enchanted world.

So much of our own identity as modern, Western, and therefore "civilized" human beings rests upon our reflexive rejection of the supernatural, the cosmological, the divine, and the demonic as irrational—superstitious survivals of our own mental infancy. The disenchanted over and above the enchanted defines the essence of our progressed modern civilization. Whether "modernity" is rooted in actual and empirical moments, movements, and developments in the past few centuries, or finds anchor instead in a powerful discourse that constructs and persuades us of the reality of modernity, is a matter of heated debate in an array of critical disciplines. While we do not have space to enter into the debate here, it is in any event a discussion that is marginal to this study. What is important to bear in mind, however, is the discipline involved in consistently inhabiting or embodying a worldview so foreign to our own as we interpret the late antique material. In *City of Demons* late antique conceptualizations of the supernatural, the cosmos, the divine, and the demonic guide our interpretation of ecclesiastical power in the late antique cities of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Milan.

When examining the construction (or fabrication) of the modern Western subject, we must also consider the construction and consequent denigration of animism. The two-volume tome *Primitive Culture* by Sir Edward Tylor contributes substantially to this project.[45] Tylor is strongly attracted to social Darwinism in his ethnographic study of humankind. In his totalizing survey of human culture, a definitive structure informs his anthropology; as Margaret T. Hodgen has observed, Tylor envisions a "spatial arrangement of [human] forms . . . converted

into an historical, developmental or evolutionary series."[46] The distance between modern Western man and his "savage" ancestor or neighbor can be measured in the birth and progress of science, but also in the birth and progress of religion. In view of both trajectories, Tylor posits a view of modern man associated with higher (Protestantized) religion, not only with a logical, scientific worldview. In addition, and perhaps more significant than his portrait of modern man, Tylor establishes an image of the primitive and then savage ancestor (or contemporary neighbor in colonialist territories) as the lowest and most degraded human being, and then saddles that figure with animistic beliefs.

In two volumes, Tylor manages to describe each end of human history rather thickly. In his characterization of the civilized and advanced human being, he describes belief in an advanced religion, located in England, which expresses modest piety in private devotion; religious affiliation of this kind has shed its earlier crude elements such as one finds in the excessive ritual practice of the kind of Catholicism still practiced in little villages in Germany. Tylor's evolved religion is a secular, remote phenomenon that informs his idea of the superior capability of the Western European subject in order to clear space for the economic, political, and juridical projects of social liberalism. It hardly surprises that Tylor's view reflects his own religious beliefs as well as the worldview of his English peers.

Animism, by contrast, is the principal mark of the lower and unevolved human being. Tylor provides a simple definition for animism: it is a belief in spirits that is cultivated by a misinterpretation of dreams, phantasms, shadows, and the like. Animism begins as a view of man's soul as spirit; this expands quickly into a perception of a world pervaded by spirits, many of which are hostile. Belief in spirits is the prevailing principle that guides the primitive's philosophy and his understanding of the world; it generates rampant ritualism in society; it shades ambiguously into the realm of magic. Animistic thinking, in all its aspects, serves as a marker of the degenerate, primitive other. Tylor locates the expression of base animism in three places: (1) buried deep within the beginnings of a very long Western history; (2) alive and well in contemporary non-Western geographies of the colonialist imagination; and finally, to Tylor's dismay, (3) surviving in an otherwise civilized Europe and America—for instance, the inexplicable fascination with spiritualism that had taken hold of many of his peers.

Revolving tightly around Tylor's animism are the dichotomies of enchantment/disenchantment and irrational/rational—all of these are homologous to the primary division between primitive and civilized human beings. Tylor most effectively crafts this dichotomy between the primitive savage and the civilized modern in his ethnography of spiritual or demonic possession and expulsion. In his discussion of animism, he introduces the "savage theory of daemoniacal possession and obsession" as the "most genuine and rational in its proper place in [the beginning of] man's intellectual history".[47]

Tylor's first, graphic description of demonic possession lingers vividly in the background as one reads fifteen pages of additional examples. It is worth quoting in full:

> The possessed man, tossed and shaken in fever, pained and wrenched as though some live creature were tearing or twisting him within, pining as though it were devouring his vitals day by day, rationally finds a personal spiritual cause for his sufferings. . . . Especially when the mysterious unseen power throws him helpless on the ground, jerks and writhes him in convulsions, makes him leap upon the bystanders with a giant's strength and a wild beast's ferocity, impels him, with distorted face and frantic gesture, and voice not his own nor seemingly even human, to pour forth wild incoherent ravings, or with thought and eloquence beyond his sober faculties to command, to counsel, to foretell—such a one seems to those who watch him, and even to himself, to have become the mere instrument of a spirit which has seized him or entered into him, a possessing demon in whose personality the patient believes so implicitly that he often imagines a personal name for it, which it can declare when it speaks in its own voice and character through his organs of speech; at last, quitting the medium's spent and jaded body, the intruding spirit departs as it came.[48]

This model of "daemoniacal possession and obsession" helped to shape the Darwinian principles of anthropological interpretation at that time and for a long period thereafter, but Tylor's views have never been limited to anthropological circles. Rather, as many recent scholars of religion and anthropology have argued, the theorization of animism is part of a much larger discourse of modernity in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and thus has helped provide the foundation for belief in the moral, intellectual, and religious superiority of the hegemonic West.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard long ago observed that early armchair anthropologists such as Tylor were limited in their study to an unorganized collection of what captured the curiosity of those who had the opportunity to observe other populations; merchants, missionaries, and travelers recorded their impressions of the so-called primitive and savage peoples beyond Western Europe's civilizing borders. Before ethnographic practice was commonplace in anthropology, those who actually met and studied these individuals only took time to record the "curious, crude, and sensational."[49] They were drawn to what they regarded as the "superstitions, the occult and mysterious . . . the mystical."[50] Descriptions of demon possession were an archival favorite for both anthropologists and laity; the missionary set in Africa and southeast Asia was frequently responsible for the production of these records.

Possession passages enlivened the anthropologist's as well as the untrained observer's sense of a primitive and savage people overwhelmed and literally brought to their knees by animistic beliefs. Such people—at the bottom of the social evolutionary scale—could hardly possess rationality or intellectual ability; instead they

were overrun by an emotional temperament. Discussion of these materials moved beyond the limited arena of anthropological or socioscientific academia, spilling over into public lecture halls and salons of the cultural elite. Recently scholars of religion and anthropology have examined how an early modern discourse involving primitive man's belief in magic, demonic possession, and an animated environment significantly shaped the larger discourse of modernity and Western hegemony.[51] Social Darwinism (and animism's place within it) and Western modernity's constructed superiority over the so-called primitive or savage character of the other have fueled ideologically based self-definition from the early modern period. The West's benevolent offer of various forms of conversion (e.g., colonization, baptism, education) for the "primitive, irrational, and magical-thinking" non-Western population introduced an ethical, even divine, justification for Europe's interventions throughout the non-Western world for quite some time.

The project of modernity—and the place of animism and enchantment within it—was and is vast and pervasive. Is it any wonder that we ourselves might wish to closely consider our own perceptions of the late antique world before attempting to retrieve the worldview of those who actually lived in late antiquity?

*City of Demons* is divided into three parts; each part contains a case study of an individual late antique city—Antioch, Jerusalem, and Milan, in that order. Part One and Part Two each contain three chapters, and thus these two parts are parallel in structure to each other. The first chapter in each part explores the animistic and enchanted aspects of the city itself (Antioch, chapter 1, and Jerusalem, chapter 4); the second chapters in Part One and Part Two follow the ecclesiastical leaders' strategies of diabolization (John Chrysostom, chapter 2, and Cyril of Jerusalem, chapter 5). These chapters also present the church leaders' ways of reforming demon-possessed/oppressed baptizands into baptized and exorcizing soldiers of Christ. In chapters 2 and 5, we draw upon the leaders' baptismal lectures for most of our information.[52] The *Catecheses ad illuminandos* of both John Chrysostom and Cyril of Jerusalem describe the semi-isolated state of the Lenten catechumenate. This lasts several weeks and consists of intense scriptural and creedal instruction as well as ritual preparation for the final baptismal rituals during Easter weekend.[53] Daily exorcisms are an important part of this process.[54] In fact, *City of Demons* examines the daily exorcisms as part of the overriding diabolization project underway in these city's churches.

The third and final chapter for each part (chapters 3 and 6) selects and explores a particular crisis that is perceived as a threat by the Nicene communities in Antioch and Jerusalem, respectively. In each case, we closely examine—and ultimately compare—the ways in which John and Cyril employ ritual strategies of diabolization (particularly the ritual of exorcism) as a means of resituating the apparent crisis in the framework of spiritual warfare. In a sense, then, this third chapter of

both Parts One and Two functions as a test of the evidence presented in the first two chapters of each part. How are Antioch and Jerusalem considered enchanted animistic environments? In what ways do John and Cyril—and their respective clergy and congregations—innovate ritually to diabolize their urban environments? How do they develop spiritual warfare discourse and practice that speak directly to contours of their own city's enchanted environment and animistic atmosphere?

Part Three, covering Ambrose and Milan, consists of only one chapter. In this, the final chapter of the book, we consider a series of well-known events that stretch from an ill-fated imperial request in 386 for the use of basilicas to a reburial of the bones of the Nicene martyrs Protasius and Gervasius. As a measure of control in this chapter, we will maintain a tight, narrow focus on the role that ritual—specifically sacramental ritual—plays in transforming an ecclesiastical conflict into spiritual warfare. The chapter also presents the conclusion for the book as a whole. In fact, many of the observations made in reference to the basilica crisis and relic discovery in Milan serve a second function of pulling together the overarching themes of the book.

In Antioch, in the early fall of 386 CE and 387 CE a depletion of congregants during the Jewish High Holidays fuels John Chrysostom's strong diabolizing rhetoric against Judaizers and, indeed, all Jewish ritual and Jews themselves. In fact, John's diabolizing rhetoric ties Antioch's Jews to the Christ killers of the crucifixion; from that day forth, according to John, a Jew, condemned and damned, can only be a hollow, soulless vessel—the perfect vehicle for a demon determined to lure weak Christians into Judaizing practice, rituals, and festivals.

In Jerusalem, Cyril draws upon local and literary apocalyptic eschatological traditions depicting the Holy City. Baptism empowers Christians to see through to the true Jerusalem of the crucifixion and the cross despite the devil's visual distractions, such as Constantine's basilica emphasizing the resurrection and the tomb. As the bishop fights to reclaim Jerusalem's true holiness, Cyril notes a growing diabolism encroaching in the city: outside Acacian influences demonically possess the Jerusalemite church's weaker members, and later Cyril glimpses images of the antichrist in Julian's plans to rebuild the Jewish temple.

In Milan in the spring of 386 CE, Ambrose finds himself immersed in a battle against the Arian imperial family over church possession. Under his instruction, baptized soldiers of Christ assume a role as exorcistic protectors; they fight to cleanse the dangerously porous Milanese churches from the demonic/Arian plague. Later that summer Ambrose "miraculously" discovers relics, the supposed bones of Protasius and Gervasius; these naturally become essential exorcistic tools in the ongoing Nicene/Arian battle to lay claim to churches as well as to the city itself.

To be clear, I intend this book not as a rejection of the late antique hermeneutical approach but as a critical intervention. To that end, I frame this study as

a hermeneutical addition to or enhancement of our current scholarship in a number of areas: insights into the city in the post-Constantinian era, into the urban church, and into ecclesiastical power and authority. My desire is to add to the conversation about the late antique church and city a reconsidered scholarship that investigates religion in a manner inclusive of the enchanted worldview and related animisms that characterize the late antique period itself.

In tackling this problem our study thus directly addresses neglected mechanisms and overlooked dimensions of urban transition and transformation (i.e., Christianization) in the post-Constantinian period. It does so from a radically different standpoint—a perspective that in fact may be uncomfortable to some—by accepting and portraying the late antique culture of suprahuman presence and power. More to the point, this study of the post-Constantinian urban church specifically acknowledges the shared, embodied knowledge of demons that existed at that time.

In taking such a direct, unequivocal approach to the supernatural and charismatic, we take on the question of urban and religious violence from an entirely different point of view. What happens when church leadership diabolizes its surrounding animistic environment? What occurs when Christians are baptized into and trained for a new holy, charismatic identity as soldiers of Christ and initiated into the larger material reality of spiritual warfare that is believed to hold the city captive? Does Christian agency extend only to the figurative and imaginative? Or do Christian soldiers, acting as charismatic exorcists, bring the battle directly to a physical encounter with the demons possessing Jews, Greeks, and other Christians?

This introduction intentionally ends with a series of questions. This study aims primarily to open up and expand our capacity to ask and to interrogate. Most importantly, the book will, I hope, inspire others to search freely and widely into the different supernatural and demonic populations found throughout the beliefs of the late antique world, and to consider how human ritual interaction with such populations impacts the social, political, cultural, and economic dimensions of day-to-day life. Consequently, then, *City of Demons,* as a cultural history of demons in late antiquity, is fundamentally and necessarily a historiographic form rooted in experimental inquiry. Its methodology relies as much upon the conjuring magic of the imagination as the anchoring capacity of material and textual evidence. Perhaps, with a bit of luck, the mixture of scholarly interpretation and imagination will inspire others to travel a similar path, in order to chart the enchanted and animated world of late antique demonologies.

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# John Chrysostom and Antioch

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# A City of Religious Pluralism and Spiritual Ambiguity

A fever could be a frightening, life-threatening ordeal in late antiquity. Luckily, Antioch offered the sick an overwhelming array of cures.[1] A person, particularly of means, would first visit any number of physicians (Gk. *iatroi;* L. *medici*) available in a city as large as Antioch.[2] He or she might then seek the services of a divinatory expert (Gk. *mantis*) to inquire after his or her future recovery,[3] or travel beyond the city gates to one of the holy men in the caves of Mount Silpius for a wondrous cure.[4] A person might also pray at one of the many martyr shrines outside the city, or healing might be obtained from incubation near one of the caves called called Matrona found in association with many of the very ancient synagogues in Daphne.[5] Rumors circulated that incantations were offered by rabbis within the synagogues also, or itinerant healers might sell a healing incantation for a price.[6] There were also old drunken women selling their healing amulets. Nurses in homes all over the city were well versed in folk remedies; an old woman healer (Gk. *graus;* L. *anus*) might come into the home offering incantations with a powerful mixture of Christian and non-Christian divine names.[7]

Antioch's citizens engaged in tightly entwined healing and ritual practices, drawing upon a wide variety of powers that gave them comfort. Whether they were Greek, Jewish, or Christian, religious identity was superfluous in most aspects of day-to-day existence. John Chrysostom, however, did not rest easily with the spiritual ambiguity and dangers such ritual pursuits invited into the larger Christian community. Should someone fall victim to a fever, he was quite clear: Christian prayer and ecclesiastical ritual were the only options. All other ritual cures were demonic deceptions. In this he was absolute. Even if the fever attacked a small child and certain amulets were known to offer a cure, it would be better that

a mother allow her child's body to die than accept amulets touched by the devil. Using amulets would doom the child's soul to eternal damnation.[8]

This chapter and the next two approach John Chrysostom's efforts to peel Christians away from their ritual lives outside the church—in order to have a hope of saving these souls. Chapter 1 offers a tour of Antioch and Daphne that attends closely to the enchanted worldview and the animistic environments as well as John Chrysostom's related ritual practice. Inhabitants practice a wide range of rituals, and he insists that participation in non-Christian practices produces dangerous spiritual entanglements; in some cases demonic possession may result. While John utilizes the demonization of non-Christian activity, he is far more dependent upon diabolization. In his sermons, and perhaps even more so through his regulation of sacramental practice, Chrysostom transforms the spiritual ambiguity or abundance of Antioch into an active and predatory anti-Nicene evil.[9]

Chapter 2 then pieces together several different demonological narratives that exist in his corpus of sermons. John also puts together powerful Nicene images in balance against his depictions of demonic predation. In his baptismal sermons as well as elsewhere he also projects persuasive images of sacramental and ecclesiastical ritual. He promotes these practices as effective weapons of spiritual warfare against a growing diabolic power.

Chapter 3 finally introduces our demonic case study or demonic crisis in John Chrysostom's Antioch and Daphne. As discussed in the introduction, John's harsh views against Jews and Judaizers during the High Holidays and Pesach provide material for our consideration of his strategies and tactics of diabolization.

Before traveling straight on to Antioch, however, we must first pause to consider a few details regarding interpretive language and concepts. This kind of study calls for the development of individualized tools to facilitate our examination of the strategies of diabolization in the late antique city. This pertains to Antioch, of course, but also to Jerusalem and Milan.

## A CULTURAL OF SUPRAHUMAN PRESENCE AND RITUAL IN THE LATE ANTIQUE CITY

Antioch's religiously and culturally complex urban environment creates a form of ritualized identity all but inscrutable to our modern, post-Reformation eyes. Isabella Sandwell has recently recaptured a vital sense of how integral ritual practice was to religious identity in Antioch at the time. Significantly, she denies the actuality—and, in fact, desirability—of discrete religious identity in Roman imperial society; instead, "practices were shared by people whatever their religious allegiances."[10] Drawing from Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* and his concept of embodied ritual dispositions, Sandwell builds an argument for Greco-Roman society's fluid play between religious difference and religious allegiance; she claims that a

finely tuned sense of ritual action allows Antiochenes to feel "right" in the conflict-ing microenvironments of their social world: "[Antiochenes] would have ingrained in them unspoken dispositions and habits relating to tactful and appropriate ways of dealing with this sensitive situation."[11] She invokes the concept of instinctive ritual play to build her discussion of Antioch's religious pluralism. In this way, Antioch's religiously pluralistic society diffused tensions. Once we reach the fourth century, Christian leaders, Chrysostom included, begin developing and imposing ideological rules and clear-cut categories in the construction of religious identity. The priest attempts to enforce strict, rule-bound structures upon those accus-tomed to a fluid approach to religious allegiance/difference. He meets with conflict and inevitable failures, as Sandwell has observed.

Sandwell's use of Bourdieu is smart and insightful, and her argument is extremely persuasive. However, her predominant methodology, i.e., sociology, foreshortens our view into the late antique urban environment to a modern (disenchanted) understanding of Antioch in the 380s. Likewise, I propose that her primary evi-dence—i.e., Chrysostom's preaching, as she defines it, "an explicit, linguistic, ideo-logical, rule-based medium"—eclipses our view into the full and possible range of the elements that inform religious identity in this period, and, moreover, into the construction of that identity in the midst of religious conflict, change, and vio-lence.[12] Sandwell focuses upon the discursive aspects of John's preaching relation-ship with his various audiences. This is perfectly in keeping with the standards of scholarly trends in late antique scholarship; when interpreting issues of religious violence, many have adopted a perspective that attends closely—perhaps exclu-sively—to the visible realm and the horizontal plane of social interaction.

This study relies wholeheartedly upon the sturdy foundations of Sandwell's Bourdieusian reading. Still, one cannot help but wonder when reading an inter-pretation that cleaves closely to the visible ground of social interaction, Is it pos-sible that something *imagined* could be missed? Perhaps we should consider the vague, ostensibly empty, but hardly depopulated, late antique spaces between the abandoned temples and the itinerant ritual agents who invoke those temples' once-venerated deities. What kinds of suprahuman populations loiter in these charged locations after the cult has been minimized or dies out? If we do not con-sider the imagined suprahuman, supernatural forces that people's rituals invoke, bind, expel, and exorcise as they move in their environment, we are missing subtle expressions of anger that could easily escalate into violence. We also miss the cos-mological shifts that the rituals produce—changes in the heavens that link to and participate in religious transformations on the ground.

It is important, then, to note the directions *City of Demons* will take. This chap-ter, and indeed the book as a whole, will ascend from the horizontal and move beyond the visible to pierce through to the enchanted and animistic world of late antiquity. Consequently, in this and the next chapters, ritual practice draws our

focus more deliberately and directly than perhaps we see in the work of Sandwell and others who have studied these cities. We examine people's ritual encounters with locally perceived cosmological and spiritual powers. In this way, we consider the development of the people's animistic "dispositions and habits," their *habitus,* their embodied knowledge of how to act ritually in a wide variety of situations in Antioch and Daphne. We also attend to the generative quality of ritual. Beyond the ability to inculcate or engender a worldview, ritual practice creates and manufactures a vivid sense of the supernatural. Ritual sustains demonic and other animistic powers; such ritual action also conjures invisible orders that stretch up from the earthly and sublunar realms into the heavenly.

Sandwell's model lucidly accounts for the religious identity of the Greek, Jew, and Christian—a process of construction not beginning until the fourth century. *City of Demons* supplements her consideration by asking how Antioch's ritual practices complement or complicate the processes of religious identity construction. Demons engendered and sustained by ritual practice fill and overlap "the betwixt and between" of these religious identities. In other words, while the demons of ritual practice may clarify religious differences, they may just as easily cultivate an ambiguity blurring the lines delineating Greek, Jewish, and Christian difference.[13]

Antioch has been portrayed as a city of enduring religious pluralism, ambiguity, and, finally, tolerance. Undoubtedly there is truth in all such characterizations. That said, in using a term such as "religious pluralism," scholars favor the sociological at the expense of the cosmological and the spiritual—not to mention the enchanted and animistic. Such an interpretive perspective only scratches the surface of the interplay of religious identities in Antioch, leaving untouched the animistic forces thought to direct the diverse collection of ritual practices. Of course this view ignores the animated forces fueling and fueled by these novel and incipient movements toward religious difference and identity. To understand how the enchanted environment and animistic forces inform religions and parse their differences in an urban environment, to grasp a sense of the rituals that draw the supernatural into one's experience of religious identity, we must adjust our view.

It is time that we venture past the Cartesian divide and temporarily leave aside the familiar disenchanted categories of modern western interpretation.

The city's late antique inhabitants arrange themselves according to socioeconomic status, gender, ethnicity—as well as religious affiliation(s): despite these and other expressions of difference, however, the people as a whole participate in a loosely shared understanding of Antioch's supernatural powers.[14] In seeking protection, wealth, power, healing, erotic love, and a host of other issues, inhabitants develop a sophisticated ritual agility. Instinctively they know how to leverage generations of ritual knowledge and demons connected to those rituals. For so many it is almost impossible to surrender the embodied ritual and animistic knowledge—even for a golden-mouthed priest.

Their ritual sense and animistic sensibility—drawing again here on Bourdieu's idea of disposition or *habitus*—is a materially embedded and thus embodied form of knowledge. In their very manner of ritually moving through the city day to day, inhabitants continue to feed Antioch's enduring religious pluralism. Building upon this chapter, chapter 2 will examine the dimensional depth of the clash and conflict between the inhabitants and John Chrysostom regarding the singular issue of religious identity.

In contrast to the inhabitants of Antioch's day-to-day life that this chapter reviews, we will uncover in chapter 2 a John Chrysostom who sets himself apart from others through asceticism. Through his earlier ascetic practice he constructs a differently ordered animistic environment and enchanted worldview around himself. Before his ordination, his antidemonic struggles in mind and body carve out a clear, dualistic understanding of the divine opposing the demonic. As a practicing monk within the city, he produces a sense of the demonic that is much more extreme than that of the congregants whom he will eventually lead.[15] Upon becoming a priest, he attempts to inculcate his congregations in this spiritual warfare: diabolizing images in his sermons regulate a severely agonistic worldview. So too he involves his baptized in the heat of this battle. Through the preparation and initiation of ecclesiastical ritual practice and the sacraments, they transform into soldiers of Christ. For John the title is certainly not metaphorical.

David Brakke has shown quite clearly that Stoic theories of cognition and perception play a central role in the ascetic, antidemonic battles and spiritual-warfare worldview of Evagrian and Egyptian monasticism.[16] The embodied character of the soul/mind in both Stoic models of knowing offers a philosophical and psychological (and especially physiological) foundation to delineate clearly how the demon's body and the monk's body touch and battle in spiritual warfare. Gregory A. Smith correctly argues that when our Christian sources describe the material nature of the demon's body, they do not intend a metaphorical or psychological meaning. Though demons may be invisible, and though they may possess subtle bodies, they do indeed possess bodies in the late antique worldview. Thus there exists a material continuity between the demonic body and the soul.[17] I have discussed elsewhere the complexity of the spiritual-warfare ideology within the ascetic and ritual writings of Gregory of Nazianzus, for instance, once again involving Stoic theories of cognition and perception.[18] There as here I argue that the material (pneumatic) quality of the connectivity between human and demon informs late antique theorizations of demonic possession and the efficacy of exorcism.

One of the goals of *City of Demons* is to demonstrate the degree to which John Chrysostom's demonology is very much of his time, corresponding, for example, to that of Antony, Origen, Evagrius, and Gregory of Nazianzus not only in complexity and philosophical sophistication, but also in conceptualization of materiality and embodiment. What has separated John's demonology from that of other

church fathers so far has been the difference in context and genre. While Antony's letters and Evagrius's treatises are addressed to other monks, and therefore they present their demonology in a fairly straightforward manner, John's demonology comes to us through the thick and contorted lens of a preacher's rhetoric molded to an elite audience trained (and expecting) to hear an orator's speech.

Consequently, scholars have understandably focused on the pastoral relations between priest and audience, and many have argued that John spoke to audiences who were generally unlikely to follow his ethical and antidemonic admonishments pertaining to their non-Christian behavior in Antioch. More to the point, though, it is impossible to recover audience reaction. In our approach to Chrysostom, we take the somewhat contrasting view that one thing is clear in John's demonology: after several years spent in rigorous asceticism within an urban environment, John engages actively with the crowded, culturally rich city not only as its Nicene priest but crucially as one of its exorcists. When John therefore assumes ecclesiastical duties, he does not abandon the harsh, dualistic worldview he cultivated during those years alone wrapped in ascetic practice and spiritual warfare. Instead he brings it with him and to his congregants in his sermons, but most especially in ritual. In his sermons he projects his demonology through carefully constructed images. These images also convey a precise understanding of ritual efficacy—both demonic and divine ritual and power in Antioch.

As we move forward through *City of Demons,* we will see how well the model proposed here for John Chrysostom, including its ancillary elements, also works to explain Cyril's charismatic hold over Jerusalem and its Christians and finally Ambrose's control of Milan and his own embattled congregation. Now, however, a tour of Antioch follows.

## INITIAL IMPRESSIONS OF AN ANIMATED AND ANIMATE CITY

In many respects our tour resembles those provided in other studies: a survey of the city's buildings, statuary, shrines, monuments, and spaces.[19] Here, however, close attention is paid to the wide variety of rituals animating Antioch's urban environment. In fact, the rituals are allowed to paint the picture of the city and its supernatural populations (divinities, deities, and demons). In using the word "animating" here, I intend two meanings. The first meaning is familiar from our discussion in the introduction: in the late antique world people believe that they engage with supernatural/cosmological entities, forces, and powers in a material manner through ritual practice and speech. For them, in their time, these supernatural powers are not bodiless, immaterial absolutes or metaphorical symbols; instead they are material, enlivening, and part of local topographies, communities, and histories. The second intended meaning is somewhat more complex: it refers

to the manner in which rituals literally move individuals and groups in and around the spaces and places of the city. Through that movement they give life or animating power(s) to a space and the objects or monuments in that space. It is a multidimensional definition of the phrase *animating power* that directs the mode of cultural and historical interpretation in this and the following chapters.

Despite its neglect in scholarship—that is, until recently—Antioch stands as the gravitational center of the eastern Mediterranean world in antiquity from the time of its founding by Seleucus I in the early third century BCE.[20] This is certainly evident in the fourth century CE as Antioch draws a number of emperors, and their courts and armies, to its territory and becomes caught up in the border tension between the Roman and Persian empires. More importantly perhaps, during the Roman imperial period all eastern roads run through Antioch. It is linked with Alexandretta to the northwest, Laodicea to the southwest, and Beroea to the northeast. Some thirty kilometers southwest of Antioch is Seleucia, a port city offering Antioch vital access to the rest of the empire. As Libanius proudly claims, multiple races and ethnicities have chosen this city as their own.[21] These populations feed Antioch's trade and marketplaces. Merchants traveling through from as far away as China bring riches to the main Roman street, which stretches along the spine of Mount Silpius.

The roads bring another kind of traveler to Antioch as well. Itinerant *goētes, magoi,* divinatory experts (Gk. *manteis*), theurgic practitioners, and *Chaldaei* from the farthest reaches of both the Roman and the Persian empires continually move through the city, introducing new forms of ritual practices and bringing promises of cosmological power.[22] Diverse charismatic figures circulate around the many religious monuments that crowd Antioch's topography: ancient Greek, Roman, Syrian, and Persian temples, synagogues, churches of opposing theological factions, martyr tombs, and Jewish incubatory caves in Daphne, as well as the caves of Christian holy men in the foothills of Mount Silpius.

We should imagine a city pulsating with spiritual powers. People who live in Antioch intuitively understand the city's diverse array of invisible forces capable of inflicting harm or offering healing—as well as much else in between. In other words, through the straightforward activity of urban living—and thus the ordeal of day-to-day survival—inhabitants naturally gain improvisational ritual knowledge of their loosely shared, localized understanding of invisible forces.

## ENDURING TEMPLES AND LINGERING DIVINITIES

Over the centuries, temples, shrines, and religious statuary cluster thickly along the streets of Antioch, projecting a complicated mixture of Greco-Roman, Egyptian, Persian, and Syrian divinity. As Sarolta A. Takács has astutely observed, "As one of the most important economic centers and one of the largest cities in the Roman Empire, Antioch was home to many gods."[23] This is certainly the case in

the Hellenistic period through the early imperial period. It will be several centuries after Constantine before most of the city's multilayered polytheism is finally removed. By the end of the fourth century, very little has been done to erase paganism from the architectural face of Antioch or Daphne, and this raises an important question. As long as temples and other religious structures continue to stand and are a part of people's sensory environment in and beyond the city, are the divine powers that these monuments once actively represented ever really absent from the collective experience or memory of the city's inhabitants? Can we definitively say that the deities associated with the remaining structures fail to leave a trace in the ritual practices of Antioch's inhabitants and, therefore, do not affect their cosmological understanding or religious experiences?

While Antioch may have offered a warm and inviting home to many gods over the centuries, we need to ask what kind of residency the city and its buildings and spaces provide to what forms of deity by the late fourth and fifth centuries. How can the religious topography shape a people's sense of their animistic environment? To settle this question we must answer a few others first. What religious structures still stand in Antioch by the late fourth and fifth centuries? What is the condition of those structures? What rituals and festivals still occur in and beyond the city at that time? What kinds of opportunities are there for ritual innovation? Or, more to the point, what new forms of ritual engagement with invisible, suprahuman powers begin to emerge, even as older, more traditional forms of cult start to decline?[24]

Very little polytheistic architecture is destroyed in the fourth century.[25] In late 362 the statue of Apollo in Daphne burns down in a fire.[26] The temple of Nemesis in Daphne's Olympic stadium is destroyed in 387.[27] Libanius derides the monks who have been terrifying the surrounding countryside and tearing down several temples and shrines, but he also notes that they have left untouched the temples of Zeus, Tyche/Calliope, Dionysus, and Athena in the city itself.[28] Sandwell observes that anti-pagan vandalism undoubtedly occurs during Gallus's residence as well as just after the emperor Julian's departure; however, Sandwell adds, our sources' silence suggests that the damage is negligible.[29] These few instances of destruction hardly make a difference in Antioch's impressive collection of Greco-Roman religious architecture. Actually, a variety of factors assures the preservation of many temples. Economic crises of the third century and the growing centralization and bureaucratization of imperial power produce a curial class in the fourth century less engaged in civic euergetism.

Throughout the fourth century the number of abandoned temples increases. However, rather than destroying derelict structures, civic authorities repurpose them. In 355 the temple of the Muses becomes the residence and headquarters of the first Comes Orientalis, Felicianus.[30] In 359, the temple of Tyche is stripped and transformed into a classroom.[31] In 386, the temple of Dionysus, on the side of Mount Silpius, is used by the governor Tisamenus as a tribunal.[32] In *Pro templis,*

Libanius himself makes a plea in which he suggests that abandoned temples be repurposed as houses for tax collectors.[33]

Finally, we will be remiss if we overlook Julian's contribution to temple preservation. While his efforts to restore the temple of Apollo in Daphne meet with unmitigated disaster, it is not altogether destroyed. A fire that strikes the temple precinct consumes the statue but leaves the temple walls standing. This outcome raises the interesting question of what kind of smaller divinatory practices associated with the god Apollo may have emerged after the wreckage. However, Julian has better luck with the temple of Artemis in Antioch. He orders the temple's refurbishment; his predecessor Constantius II had ordered the complete removal of its decoration.

The ancient temples of Zeus, Artemis, Dionysus, and Calliope continue to stand as formidable monuments and immovable objects in Antioch's religious landscape for quite some time. They direct the flow of the population as it moves through the streets. The buildings continue to have an impact on the ritual imagination of Antioch's inhabitants. Libanius captures the enticing power such buildings possess in his description of Antioch's temple of the Nymphs, which "attracts every eye with its gleaming marble, its coloured pillars, its glistening paintings and its wealth of springs amidst the colonnades."[34] Divine statuary also has a decisive effect. As people pass by the statue of Tyche or the Mouseion, they are reminded of the city's long history of divine patronage. Antioch is full of monuments to divinities, which capture the attention of inhabitants of the city and fill their imaginations. Laura Nasrallah has noted insightfully how religious discourse emerges in the "lived experience and practices in the spaces of the world."[35] In "our interactions with the images and architecture which surround us, by our movements through cities and other spaces," as Nasrallah well observes, our ideas of religious piety, justice, true divinity, and correct ritual practice take shape.[36]

This is the case in Antioch, as we will see. As the people move around and through the city's imposing religious remains, these structures—regardless of their state of decay—still continue to imprint their ritual and religious lives. Depending on the "particularities of [their] bodies . . . [some] can walk with confidence while others walk in fear, in danger" surrounded by such monumentality.[37] In the late fourth century, Christians who have long walked in fear and Greeks who have walked even longer with confidence and entitlement in the public environs of Antioch are in the process of experiencing a radical shift and exchange of positions that only a few generations earlier would have been inconceivable. Still, this is not a period signaling the death of polytheism. Far from it, in fact. Polytheistic practice and thought tied to actual monuments continue in forms that evolve with the changing political, social, and religious conditions of Antioch.

While the priesthoods, festivals, and sacrifices that once enlivened Antioch's temples of Zeus, Dionysus, and Athena, and Daphne's temples of Apollo and Nemesis, have disappeared, not all of the temples have as yet fallen silent. Libanius and

John Chrysostom describe a city in which a number of festivals have continued to "[function] as temporal markers and also [have] shaped the daily and yearly routines . . . [and thus] forged comprehension of the self within the community and helped link the community as a whole to its shared past, present, and future."[38] Kalends, the popular New Year's festival, is celebrated across the empire.[39] It takes place in Antioch for three days, leaving John to face a congregation that is, as Jaclyn Maxwell has vividly remarked, "at risk of being completely overwhelmed by the tyranny of ancient custom."[40] In the early morning hours, people drink unmixed wine from libation bowls; at night they participate in bawdy choruses, invade the craftsmen's quarters, knock at people's doors, and engage in jesting. People decorate their workshops and compete for the best display of lighted lamps; marketplaces crop up everywhere, since gift exchange is an important part of the festival. According to Libanius, people come from great distances to exchange gifts. During this brief respite from normal life an atmosphere of generosity and liberality spreads throughout the social hierarchy. On New Year's Day master and servant play dice together; speech rights are given equally to all. Schoolboys do not need to fear their teachers; slaves are given freedom; servants can enjoy their leisure as well. The courts are closed; and even prisoners find a measure of respite. People view the festival as an auspicious time to read omens so that they may discern future prospects for the upcoming year. On the third and final day of the festival, chariot races are held and enthusiastically attended by the city's inhabitants.[41]

Given Antioch's love of the hippodrome, Kalends is not the only festival to include horse races. In fact, several cultic festivals, which persist well into the fourth century and even longer, feature these events. The hippodrome is a site of creative cosmological and animistic production. Ammianus Marcellinus (*Res Gestae*) describes charioteers who mix together various poisons (L. *veneficii*) in the hopes of improving their chances in the races; some charioteers' ambitious intentions were likely to have had more gruesome ends, however, including the mandating of their beheading.[42] More intriguing, for our purposes, is a handful of curse tablets invoking deities and demonic beings that are among those discovered in the Princeton excavations in 1934–35. While dating to a later period in Antioch's history (the period of the circus factions in the fifth–sixth century), the tablets warrant consideration in light of the long history of both magic and the hippodrome in Antioch. One spell draws our particular attention; it includes an invocation to Hecate and other underworld forces and asks that the infernal deities demolish and overturn the blue faction. This text holds a fascination for us, because Diocletian builds an underground shrine to Hecate among other improvements at Daphne at the beginning of the fourth century. Devotees to the goddess of magic and witchcraft as well as the moon can reach the subterranean space by descending 365 steps; in fact, the remarkable descent seems to function to create an intentional, ritualized gesture toward the underworld and thus the practices of mystical

if not magical practice.[43] Should we assume a link between the hippodrome curse text(s) naming Hecate with the Hecate shrine at Daphne? While an answer to this question will most likely forever elude us, it is worth asking nevertheless.

Descriptions of the Antiochene Kalends provide a wealth of detail. By contrast, we have very little information about most of the other festivals that take place in the city and Daphne. Therefore it is difficult, if not impossible, to know what kind of grip these events have on citizens. In fact, only a few passages regarding the Olympic games and the Maiumas festival stand out in the meager collection of testimony for the rest of Antioch's festivals. The Olympic games take place every four years in Antioch, and we know that they occur in 386. The games, which begin in the time of Claudius, draw crowds and competitors from around the Roman Empire. Festivities last for forty-five days during July and August. Commodus builds a complex of buildings in Antioch to prepare for the Olympic games; he also has a grand temple built to Olympian Zeus, patron of the games. Commodus also orders extensive changes to Daphne, where he orders that competitors receive their laurel crowns; his improvements include a covered running track (*xystos*) near the refurbished Daphne temple of Athena. He builds a stadium at Daphne as well.[44] Much later, Diocletian uses the occasion of the Olympic games to strengthen his dynasty and religious revival. He turns to Daphne and rebuilds the stadium, in which he constructs temples to Olympian Zeus as well as Nemesis; the latter is destroyed in 387. Malalas also informs us that during this refurbishment, Diocletian rebuilds the temple of Apollo in Daphne.[45]

These construction projects renew interest in Daphne as a religious site. In addition to serving as a locus for the Olympics, Daphne is the location of a popular, old Syrian cult festival known as the Maiumas, which occurs every three years in May.[46] It lasts thirty days and is dedicated to Aphrodite, Dionysus, and Artemis. The Maiumas features a salacious nocturnal stage show, and the festival's popularity brings Christian and non-Christian moralists together in protest against its lewd content; as a result the festival is banned several times in the late fourth century as well as in the fifth.[47] As already noted in the introduction, John Chrysostom expresses extreme displeasure at how easily a lewd performance in Daphne entices Christians away from the celebration at the martyr Julian's cult site. It is debatable whether or not John is referring to the Maiumas, but at the very least he describes young male mimes who dance salaciously, and the spectacle seems to have ecstatic elements quite close to those of the Maiumas.

Soon after Kalends is the festival of Poseidon, which, like the Olympic games and other festivals, also features horse races.[48] The festival of Artemis takes place in May near her temple on the eastern side of town and involves a very popular boxing competition.[49] The festival of Calliope follows in early summer. Both theatrical shows and horse races take place during this popular festival: in fact, horse races may have continued in the festival until the late fourth century.[50]

The festival of Adonis occurs on July 17–18.[51] In late summer and early autumn, at the beginning of the wine harvest, a festival celebrates the god Dionysus.[52] In addition, in the early fall the Jewish High Holidays are celebrated in Antioch. John Chrysostom's *Adversus Judaeos* homilies depict how the festivals and fasts draw participants from beyond the Jewish and Greek populations. Synagogue culture attracts Christians who are interested not only in Jewish ritual observance but also in exegetical practice. This is all quite vexing for John Chrysostom, as we will see in chapter 3.

There is no question that the civic cults and organized festivals are in an irreversible decline in John's time. That said, vivid and abrupt flashes of a marginalized polytheism can still burst through to the center of city life, bringing an experience of an enchanted atmosphere that can unexpectedly tear bodies away from their everyday routines. More surprising still, perhaps, is who authorized these polytheistic reprieves. In the immediate aftermath of Julian's polytheism, the post-Julianic years do not see much in the way of reversal; for example, Valens does little to change the resurgence of Greek cult. Instead, in his effort to bedevil and anger Nicene Christians, if we are to believe Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Valens allows Dionysus to enjoy his ecstatic rites in the public sphere. The god holds court in the open, visible spaces of the city as "bacchantes were running through the middle of the forum."[53] Does the decline of a temple cult and so then the potential destruction or abandonment of that cult's religious monuments mean that the associated divinity no longer offers any ritual power to people?

As long as something of their temples, shrines, and religious statuary remains, we follow the view that the respective divinities continue to project their presence and potency into the inhabitants' daily religious consciousness and ritual experiences. Antioch's religious structures firmly anchor a shared memory of a robust, animated polytheism into the late fourth and early fifth centuries. In their day-to-day encounters with declining temples, aging divine statuary, and other religious monuments, Antioch's various populations maintain some kind of charismatic relationship with these monuments. New and evolving conceptualizations of the animistic powers tied to these structures begin to emerge. Concurrently, divergent forms of ritual expression also emerge. Our problem is methodological: How and where might we find traces of such ritual expression?

It is not difficult to imagine the emergence of Christian ritual practice at these sites. Christians most certainly are instructed to make the sign of the cross and participate in other apotropaic gestures as they pass these demonic haunts.[54] We may also imagine monks performing exorcisms outside of these structures— perhaps the same "black-robed tribe who ate more than anyone" and terrorized the surrounding countryside according to Libanius.[55] However, Peter Brown questions the quick leap to identifying Libanius's monks as actual monks. He argues persuasively that the so-called monks may rather have been among the lower economic registers of the Christian community who were determined to secure their

Christian piety through collective acts of anti-pagan violence. Moreover, Brown claims episcopal hands are never far from complicity in these actions:

> Throughout the empire, bishops and laymen alike remained determined that if Christianity were to triumph through their authority, they alone should have the monopoly of the use of force.[56]

In his discussion of the topography of religion in late antiquity, Jonathan Z. Smith invites us to imagine other rituals emerging in the shadows of Antioch's ancient temples or at the feet of a divinity's statue. Smith describes a fundamental shift from religion practiced in a specific place—temple cult and domestic religion—to "religions of anywhere."[57] Especially as the public, political, unifying aspect of civic cult begin to decline in the third and fourth centuries, religious rituals are no longer tethered exclusively to cultic tradition, temple precincts, and priestly hierarchies. Rituals of sacrifice, divination, incubation, oneiromancy, divinization, initiation, and healing (*remedia*), for example, fall into vague, shifting spaces between decaying temples and cluttered domiciles. Itinerant wonderworkers, priests, magicians, soothsayers, and, we should add, Antioch's lay citizenry become important manufacturers of late antique religion as Smith has defined it elsewhere: that is, "manifold techniques, both communal and individual, by which men and women . . . sought to gain access to, or avoidance of, culturally imagined divine power by culturally patterned means."[58] These men and women have the potential to become ritual power brokers in an unsettling era of cosmological disorder and uncertainty but also advantageous supernatural abundance. It seems that the possibilities are endless. This is especially so in Antioch, where the architectural surroundings preserve the cultural memory of the city's spiritual entities. This state continues for quite some time, overwhelming—or subversively undermining—any possibility for a comfortably settled ecclesiastical and Christian topography.

Approaching the endurance of polytheism in this manner, let us turn to a collection of temples where public cultic activity has visibly, appreciably, diminished; we will consider briefly how the monuments—in this case, all dedicated to a single god—continue to shape the ritual imaginations and practices and the enchanted worldviews of different communities in Antioch. Can these religious monuments be anchoring in historical time and place what Smith has defined as the shift from locative religion to "religions of anywhere"? In their day-to-day habits and routines, people come to possess an embodied awareness of their religious architectural surroundings. The accumulated sensations (sights, smells, sounds, touches, tastes, and, we should add, emotions as well) weave easily into shared memories of the robust ritual existence in Antioch, a past life of festivals, celebrations, and sacrifices in honor of the gods and goddesses.

Even though a few temples have been repurposed for secular use, and a few more completely abandoned, the majority remain standing; temple cult activity

will continue in many of these structures into the late 380s. In the simple activity of existing and walking around the city, people (regardless of their religious designation as Greek, Christian, or Jew) naturally develop a raw, sensory connection to their city's polytheism well into the later fourth and early fifth centuries. Throughout their existence, temples and their divine powers are part of the urban topography: the buildings bear a religious presence that spreads through and beyond the city. Gods, goddesses, and lesser powers live in statuary and temple decoration; they live within mythologies that the theater performs and countless mosaics feature in domestic and public spaces.

Zeus, Apollo, Calliope, and the like may have received eviction notices that force them ostensibly from their ancient homes, but they never abandon Antioch. They ignite the ritual imaginations of those who pass by their abandoned or destroyed temples, or hear their stories in the theater, or walk over their mosaics; a sense of residual *dynameis* continues. In new forms of divination, healing, and protective spells, ritual agents continue to perform mythological content that sustains a kind of polytheism in Antioch. In the process of cultivating such rituals, the supernatural and animistic orders are transformed, reordered, and remade.[59] In fact, all inhabitants in Antioch participate in innovative and imaginative approaches to ritual practice. In a broader sense, as long as the religious structure exists in some form people can imprint its religious meaning and content upon smaller, movable ritual practices in the city.

So then the closure, destruction, conversion, or abandonment of a temple is not tantamount to the end of its deity (and its various *dynameis*); rather, the invisible powers endure in the innovative and expanding practice of smaller rituals.[60] In other words, deities continue to exist as well as transform in Smith's "religions of anywhere."

In what follows, we will consider a single dream. The dream primarily revolves around acts of religious sacrilege and abhorrent sacrifice: in the dream the body of a sacrificed boy had been placed in a temple of Zeus somewhere in Antioch. Describing his dream repeatedly to different friends, Libanius proclaims, "Such news seemed to indicate spells, incantations, and attacks from sorcerers (*pharmaka de kai magganeumata kai polemon apo goētōn andrōn*)."[61] Dreams in late antiquity are a primary means of divine-human communication; Libanius and his closest companions know to turn immediately to the task of determining what the gods may have been trying to communicate through the obscure imagery of his dream. Consequently, sometime later, when someone eventually stumbles across a strange little chameleon in his lecture room, Libanius and his interlocutors set it within the framework of an oneiric discourse. They identify it as clear evidence of an evil sorcery that Libanius's dream has foretold. At last, Libanius has some insight into the horrible and inexplicable illnesses he has been experiencing for quite some time.

## DIVINATION AND THE SITUATIONAL
### EVOLUTION OF RITUAL PRACTICE

In late antiquity, dream divination is one of several practices that offer a measure of religious agency and an opportunity for spiritual innovation to individuals and groups, including Libanius in Antioch. In what follows we will explore how local religious monuments and statuary—whatever their state of repair—shape an individual's or a group's supernatural worldview and thus their religious/ritual agency within that worldview. A well-known text, Libanius's famous discussion of his discovery of a dead chameleon in his lecture hall in the late 380s, provides interesting insights into the practices (individual and community) of dream divination. While scholars have focused on the chameleon for what it reveals regarding contemporary beliefs about magical practice, Libanius's dream retains our focus as we ask the following questions. How do the religious monuments and statuary in Antioch at that time inform his and his community's understanding of divinatory communication? Likewise, how do these monuments together with his dream shape the shared view of his illness?

Soon after the New Year's festival of Kalends in 386 Libanius begins to suffer from a debilitating migraine. The doctors are at a loss to explain the cause or find a cure. A mantic is the only one able to offer any beneficial advice: he advises that Libanius not open his veins. Ultimately, a dead chameleon is discovered in the hall where Libanius lectures, and the orator knows immediately that this is the cause of his suffering: a competitor has used the chameleon to place a curse on him. A disturbing dream precedes the reptile's discovery and frames its identification as a magical object. Libanius himself describes the dream:

> I saw two boys who had been sacrificed, and the dead body of one was placed behind a door in the temple of Zeus. After I protested against such a sacrilege, I was told that this would be the position until evening, but that when evening came he would be buried. Such news seemed to indicate *spells, incantations, and attacks from sorcerers*. And so it turned out in actual fact, when those fears had overtaken me and except for death I desired nothing (*phoboi te ekeinoi kai plēn teleutēs oudenos epithymia*). This has been the only topic of conversation with each fresh visitor and of my prayers to heaven.[62]

Directly after the dream, Libanius experiences more pain, which an inexplicable onset of gout increases. Weeks later, at the point when Libanius is about to give up hope, he discovers a dead chameleon in his classroom. The dream that generated Libanius's suspicion that he is the victim of "spells, incantations, and attacks from sorcerers" is validated. The convenient discovery of a mutilated and bound chameleon justifies those suspicions; in his description Libanius attends closely to every aspect of the tiny, desiccated body as he reconstructs a profile of his enemy and the intent of the curse. Libanius notes that the chameleon's head is tucked

between its hind legs, one of which is missing and the other laid across its mouth as if caught frozen in the act of silencing itself or others. He appreciates his "incredible stroke of good fortune that what had been deeply buried deep should lie above the ground."[63] Clearly a competing rhetor is attempting to sabotage him.

Sarah Iles Johnston has observed that in antiquity the "dream world was . . . a private world, a world shut off to anyone other than the sleeper and the gods."[64] People believe dreams to be a fertile space for human-divine communication. Many dreams are invited and desired, while others are unwanted, even invasive, yet in no way less compelling. In the case of physical or mental illness, people often turn to dreams as a means of seeking divine help. Incubation, which is a very familiar form of cultic healing, lies at the center of the cult of the god Asclepius, which had quickly spread throughout the ancient Mediterranean after its beginning in Epidaurus in the fourth century BCE; the god still has significant presence into late antiquity—though Antioch does not have an Asclepius cult of its own.

Aelius Aristides is one of Asclepius's most famous clients, if only because he leaves behind a sacred diary detailing his two-year stay at Pergamum.[65] While we have no evidence of an Asclepian cult in Antioch, Daphne, as we have seen, has the Matrona caves, a Jewish holy site that purportedly provides incubatory cures.[66] These kinds of sites often have religious/medical specialists on hand to help in translating the received divine messages into therapeutic prescriptions.

The incubation cults continue to be popular well into the fifth and sixth centuries. There are other options for those incapable or unwilling to travel to cult sites; one can find relief through a more intimate, personalized kind of ritual practice. *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (henceforth *PGM*) offers numerous texts depicting divination through dreams: some are requested; some, sent in a more hostile manner. Several examples of ritual texts invite the gods into dreams. The range of gods and cosmological personalities is wide and varied. Spells invoke Apollo, Osiris, and the archangel Michael, together with Besas (who has to be cautioned against using treachery), "the Bear," Sabaoth, Raphael, and Gabriel.[67] The spells also range in form from long and complex to brief, even abrupt. Many make the intriguing request for the true form of a god or one of its many forms. A significant number of the spells contain space for tailored, individualized requests for information. In other words, these spells are not all open-ended formulae. The text of the request for information suggests instead that individuals are driven to these ritual measures out of a precise need. The ritual practitioner can complete the act within the privacy of his or her own home at a time of his or her own convenience. While many of these spells do require preparations involving sacrificial practice, again it is on a small scale.

The following examples help place Libanius's own experience in its proper context. Both texts (*PGM* 5.370–446) feature Hermes. The texts describe an elaborate ritual involving the creation of a small figure of the god. He is molded out of a mixture composed of leaves picked from a laurel tree, virgin earth, wormwood

seeds, and wheat meal, among other elements. An unpolluted boy must carry the separate ingredients before they are pounded together and shaped into an image of Hermes. Someone else then recites a lengthy spell. After several lines of aretalogy, that person finally reaches his main request:

> In your own form both graciously appear and graciously render the task for me, a pious man, and render your form gracious to me, NN, that I may comprehend you by your skills of prophecy, by your own wondrous deeds. I ask you, lord, be gracious to me and without deceit appear and prophesy to me.[68]

After this, the spell is inscribed on a piece of papyrus and affixed on an image or a statue of the god Hermes; then the person who is performing the ritual goes to sleep with the god resting near his head.

A second spell, *PGM* 12.144–52, presents a very similar text, though the ritual preparations are less elaborate. In this case the spell is written on a linen strip in myrrh ink and then wrapped on an olive branch and placed beneath the left side of the head before sleeping on a rush mat on the ground. The instructions call for quail blood to be used as ink also. Finally, we may note a more aggressive tone with Hermes:

> Come to me here quickly, you who have the power. I call upon you, the one appointed god of gods over the spirits, to show this to me in dreams. I conjure [you] by your father, Osiris, and Isis, your mother, to show me one of your forms, and reveal concerning the things I want.[69]

While the idea of controlling one's dreams or having the ritual ability to open up one's dream life to divine communication is compelling, it has its darker side. People can bind demons to the task of sending dreams to their enemies; such dreams, of a less than salubrious nature, are known as *oneiropompeia*. As Johnston has noted, these dreams inspire fear in many regarding the unprotected nature of the dreamscape. *PGM* provides some rather disturbing examples of this type.[70] Neither of these types fits in Libanius's case, however. He does not mention ritual preparation. Nor does he express fear that someone intending harm has sent the dream. In light of his unhesitating acceptance of—even insistence upon—the dream's prognosticating power, a third possibility seems the most probable: the god(s) sent the dream freely.

Greco-Roman literature from the *Iliad* to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the *Aeneid* contains examples of this type of communication with divinity.[71] In an incubatory state, a dreaming person can come into contact with one divinity or more than one. When a person wakes from the dream world, he may be left with confusing, if not inscrutable, fragments of some kind of divine message. A careful examination of the divination text is necessary.

People believe that demonic invasion can endanger this mode of human-divine communication: demons can corrupt the message or send their own as counterfeit. While incubation cult sites have religious experts ready to interpret messages,

Libanius wakes up in his home. Thus it is important to note that he shares his dream quickly and widely with his trusted community. We can imagine friends and family well rehearsed in the art of transforming a dream into an object for interpretation, scrutinizing it for clues to Libanius's condition. They place his dream precisely into the aetiology of his illness and the context of a discussion regarding dream divination: the dream is a puzzle to decode, and the first question to answer is, What kind of dream is it? The dream is not *enhupnia* or *phantasmata*—in other words, garbled nonsense. And someone else has not sent it—that is, it is not an aggressive act of *oneiropompeia.* While Libanius has not invited the dream, the divine message is not unwelcome: the god in question is Zeus. Libanius's good fortune is due—no doubt—to his good standing as a tireless defender of *Hellēnismos* in Antioch.

The dream indicates—if nothing else—Zeus's relevance in the lives of Libanius and his trusted circle; this god is still an active, communicating divinity in the orator's life as late as 386. This is not surprising, given Zeus's firm and protective grip on Antioch from the city's beginning; his temples and statues still have an impressive architectural hold on the landscape in Libanius's time. Along with Apollo, Zeus still has great honor in the city as one of the patron deities of the Seleucids. According to Malalas, a temple of Zeus Bottiaios is the first temple built by Seleucus in Antioch when he founds the city. In the early imperial period Commodus builds a temple to Zeus Olympius in Antioch in honor of the Olympic games; Diocletian builds a temple to Zeus Olympius in Daphne. Zeus Kasios is worshipped at a temple at Seleucia and on Mount Kasios from the Hellenistic period; the temple there is described as "dark with clouds."[72] Zeus on Mount Kasios is visited by three Roman emperors: Trajan, Hadrian, and Julian. According to Libanius, Julian partakes in a more personalized, even intimate, contact with the god, befitting an age touched by theurgy. In his description of Julian's visit to worship Zeus on Mount Kasios, Libanius explains that Julian "saw the god and after seeing him . . . received advice."[73] He continues that Zeus, "[as] one of the immortals descended from heaven, took [Julian] by the hair, spoke to him, and after listening to [Zeus's] answer [Julian] departed."[74] In his descriptions of Julian's intimate counsel with Zeus, Libanius describes a shift in the religious imagination surrounding the god, which had begun long before in the reign of Maximinus Daia. In his *Historia ecclesiastica,* Eusebius of Caesarea describes a statue in honor of Zeus Philius erected in Antioch by an apparent city official named Theotecnus. One can, with a little patience, read through the Eusebian anti-pagan language to catch a glimpse and confirm that Neoplatonic theurgy was involved in the statue worship:

> [Theotecnus] ended by erecting a statue of Zeus the Befriender [*Philiou:* i.e., Jupiter Philius] with certain juggleries and sorceries (*magganeiais tisin kai goēteiais*), and having devised (*epinoēsas*) unhallowed rites (*teletas te anagnous*) for it and ill-omened initiations (*myēseis akallierētous*) and abominable purifications (*exagistous*

*katharmous*), he exhibited his wonderworking by what oracles he pleased, even in the Emperor's presence. And moreover this fellow, in order to flatter and please him who was ruling, stirred up the demon against the Christians (*epegeirei kata Christianōn ton daimona*), and said that the god, forsooth, had given orders that the Christians should be driven away beyond the borders of the city and country round about, since they were his enemies.[75]

According to Libanius, this statue is also a favored visitation site of Julian—a particularly interesting point, given the emperor's theurgic interests as well as his disappointments at other temple sites in Antioch. We may indeed have a situation in which Julian himself does a great deal to advance the personalized, intimate human-divine communication with the divinity of Zeus during his time in the city—a ritualization process not lost on Libanius, it would seem.

Perhaps when Libanius describes his dream of the defiled Zeus temple he provides a glimpse of an unexpected instance in which his conscious grasp of Antioch's religious topography overlaps with his own personal and deeply religious subconscious. When he and his friends begin to discuss the dream, Libanius participates in transforming its meaning. He also reconfigures or reconfirms the identity of Zeus, who stands once more as a powerful, divine, communicating power in Antioch. This discursive process does not serve to weaken the force and authority of Zeus tied to certain temples and statuary in and around the city. It does the opposite. In their collective conversations (about dreams, omens, curses, and so forth), Libanius and his companions, all absolute devotees of *Hellēnismos,* look to the abandoned temples, the aging statuary and shrines, and they see something else. These religious structures provide an anchor for modified, deeply personalized, and intensified modes of ritual communication between the divine and human beings. Libanius's dream is perhaps for Libanius and his companions, as it is for us, a rare opportunity. For Libanius and his friends, the dream offers proof of continuing communication with the gods of old, and in a manner of translative ease, relatively speaking. For us it offers a rare opportunity to catch a glimpse of a transformative process, one in which a random, nonsensical dream gestates into a precious moment of admonitory divine-human contact.

On the face of it, a dream of a sacrificed boy in a temple of Zeus is quite a stretch from Libanius's final self-diagnosis as a victim of *goēteia*. This alone could justify dismissing the dream altogether as the fanciful musings of a feverish orator. And yet, viewed from a different angle, it is the only way to read Libanius's dream. The young corpse (an untimely death, associated with magic) is an especially vile sacrilege in a god's temple; such a blasphemous transgression in a divine, ritual space would alert Libanius to the possibility of an object of *goēteia* in locations in his own surroundings that were in a sense "sacred" to him. More important to note, perhaps, is the fact that Libanius does not come to these conclusions alone. From almost the moment he awakes, his dream transforms into a discursive object,

which he shares with his intimate circle. Libanius and his community know well the temples and statues in Antioch dedicated to Zeus; more to the point, they also experience the architecture and its geography as the Antiochenes spend their lives (secular and/or religious) walking around or through and, of course, pausing with ritual intent within or near these structures. Libanius and his companions are able to read the meanings of the Zeus cult easily. There are numerous possibilities. In this case the presence of the Zeus temple in Libanius's dream indicates the god's protective patronage.

These religious monuments help to maintain Libanius's and his friends' sense of *Hellēnismos* in Antioch. Libanius's dream and the question of its divinatory function spark discussion among friends and family; they also affect their actions. In their many conversations, Libanius rehearses the details of the dream; he and his community's perception of their environment mold to those details. His companions begin to search for signs that someone is practicing ritual sacrilege against Libanius. Libanius claims fearfully that some of his friends have divined his death. Other companions insist that he arrest those whom they suspect of performing secret curses. Inevitably, their shifting perceptions enable not just Libanius but his friends and family to catch the hidden truth of *goēteia* in the twisted body of a dead chameleon in the corner of a classroom. Libanius's dream of temple defilement sparks a discourse that produces a tightly knit community that searches out a supernatural and nefarious cause behind his illness. This community finally finds a cure: they collectively discover something foul and dead lying in his classroom, polluting the great orator in his own "temple." With the curse exposed, Libanius's community is now motivated to oversee his return to health.

While the thriving cults to Zeus, which existed a century before, or for that matter a generation earlier, are gone, the divinity and animistic forces associated with his temples and statuary still loom large in the daily lives of many within Antioch. These animate forces and powers inform people's decisions, actions, and movements on a daily basis, as we see in the case of Libanius's dream. The mode and manner of communication between human and divine is now more intimate and individuated, but, intriguingly, it still traffics in images of temples, statues, shrines, and traditional rituals of the king of the gods. Language and imagery rescued from a declining civic cult can still create a strong sense of community in Antioch.

In what follows we continue this line of exploration. What kinds of supernatural and demonic forces are maintained or evolve into something new as people in Antioch engage in a wide array of ritual practices?

## SPIRITS OF THE MARKETPLACE

All of the major highways and roads linking the western reaches of the Roman Empire with realms beyond Persia run through Antioch. As a result, Antioch is

home to one of the richest collections of marketplaces in late antiquity. On the main Roman street, shops that nestle in between the columns of the street's colonnade eventually multiply to encroach on the wide avenue.[76] This is only one of many locations of commerce throughout the city. Scholars have shown that Antioch's marketplaces contribute significantly to the city's sociocultural, economic, and political vitality. As highly charged, volatile environments, the markets function as a natural catalyst for attempts to secure powerful spiritual aid through various ritual means on a daily basis. Consequently, these spaces enrich the complexity and abundance of the city's animistic atmosphere.

Libanius and John Chrysostom describe a highly diverse collection of merchants and craftsmen in Antioch: bakers, greengrocers, silversmiths, goldsmiths, tavern keepers, barbers, stonemasons, perfumers, metalworkers, cobblers, weavers, and sellers of cheese, vinegar, figs, and wood. The markets are large, varied, and economically fickle throughout the fourth century. Guilds, which were formed to protect the interests of merchants and craftsmen, only fuel the already fierce competition. Archaeological evidence has uncovered the ruthless nature of this competition. Excavations by Princeton University in 1934–35 uncovered a number of curse tablets in Antioch and Daphne dated to the third–fourth century.[77] A large number relate to the marketplace. Most importantly for our purposes, the presence of curse tablets in Antioch's marketplaces attests to local belief in anyone's ability to compel demons and other supernatural entities to inflict harm upon other human beings.

As John G. Gager has shown, curse tablets are ubiquitous throughout the ancient Mediterranean world; they provide an accessible ritual means of seeking justice and revenge.[78] The curse tablet generally consists of a sheet of lead on which are inscribed magic formulae and symbols. Certain rituals are performed over the tablet—including incantation utterances as well as sacrificial practices. After this, the tablet is often buried in a body of water or placed in the grave of someone who died young. Two of the discovered tablets were found in a well or cistern off the courtyard of the House of the Calendar situated at the base of Mount Staurin, on the northeast side of the city. Both tablets are directed against a greengrocer named Babylas. The inscriptions on the tablets invoke Iao and Seth as well as other demons to bind Babylas, "to lay him low, to sink him like lead, to destroy his animals and his house in general." Florent Heintz, who discusses these and other curse texts, has explained that to find his prey expeditiously, the demon was provided with precise detail.[79] In addition to providing the demon with the exact location in the vegetable stall, the curse tablet lists three different names for Babylas's mother, presumably to aid the demon in his hunt. The inscribed invocation features the names of multiple deities to ensure demonic compliance. In light of the marketplace's competitive atmosphere, Heintz suggests that rival greengrocers commissioned the tablets. Silke Trzcionka reaches a similar conclusion, contending that "financial sabotage was the intention of both tablets."[80]

While it seems clear that Babylas has multiple and motivated enemies, he is hardly helpless. Antioch's marketplaces offer far more to the consumer than the products of bakers, blacksmiths, and cobblers. As Heintz has surmised, such artifacts and descriptions attest to the presence of magic workshops in Antioch throughout late antiquity. Magic workers would surely be advertising an ability both to stymie their clients' competition and to protect their businesses' interests. All forms of magic—protective, performance-enhancing, and aggressive—are predicated on a widespread belief in a magician's ability to engage or ward off supernatural entities by calling on other, more powerful forces. Heintz speaks specifically to the marketing and selling of such ritual manipulations as common strategies in "enhancing the economic position and social status of the magician's client."[81] We can imagine magic workers feeding well off the competition produced in Antioch's many markets and possibly being drawn to Antioch for this reason. A Syrian silver phylactery discovered in Antioch and dated to the fourth or fifth century may also testify to the activities of magicians in the city. The object consists of a sheet of metal originally rolled up and placed inside a cylindrical case. It was probably worn as a pendant.[82] The Greek inscription starts with an invocation to thirty-six magical entities who are hailed as "holy, mighty and powerful names of great Necessity" and asked them all to "preserve and protect from all witchcraft and sorcery, from curse tablets, from those who died an untimely death, from those who died violently and from every evil thing, the body, the soul and every limb of the body of Thomas, whom Maxima bore, from this day forth through his entire time to come."[83] We might imagine Babylas seeking to purchase such an object from a magician, especially if he has heard rumors that his own business has been targeted.

Because of the city's proximity to Persia, someone like Babylas, and indeed others whose livelihood depends on the marketplace, faces another, very different kind of problem. As Roman-Persian tensions intensify in the fourth century, imperial eyes turn their attention to Antioch. In 337, Constantius II arrives, and he remains until 354. He oversees a substantial buildup of the military, a trend that continues long after his death. The military expansion, together with a growing imperial bureaucracy, affects—and often radically destabilizes—the city's socioeconomic dynamics. The sudden population growth puts a strain on the city's resources, as several food shortages in the 380s eventually demonstrate.[84] While the growth of the military and the ruling bureaucracy can offer financial advantages, more often than not it produces the opposite, as J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz has observed:

> Ordinary shopkeepers and craftsmen had to submit to numerous abuses. The tavern-keepers suffered from the officials of the three high dignitaries who had their headquarters in Antioch, and from other persons of power such as *agentes in rebus.* All exploited their rank to obtain goods, particularly drinks, without paying for them. Even local or semi-local officials, the *curator* and *defensor,* abused their very limited

power to the [financial] loss of the shopkeepers. The garrison . . . joined in the exploitation. These soldiers carried off everything there was in the shops, and if there was no meat, nor anything else that appealed to them, they took money. This suggests that the soldiers were exploiting an obligation on the part of the shops to supply the soldier's rations.[85]

Abuses perpetrated by soldiers and the imperial entourage destabilize a fragile economic market. Vulnerable tradesmen, who may already be suffering from competitors' magical attacks, now have to protect themselves from high officials' and soldiers' intimidation and exploitation. Magicians, who sell protective spells and curses, will have been among the few to benefit in such difficult times. The archaeological evidence, though not overwhelming, certainly indicates that this business endures through and beyond the fourth century. In light of the tradesmen's acute vulnerability to the abuses Liebeschuetz describes, we may easily envisage a steady stream of magicians' clients who request both spells of protection and curses for revenge.

Let us step a bit beyond Liebeschuetz's comments and discuss certain dangers during this tumultuous time that take us beyond the realm of the strictly economic. As soldiers multiply in and around the city, magicians gain new clients, or maintain magical production, for an entirely different reason: for bodily protection. The danger of sexual assault against women is quite real at this time—as it is at any time in the (late) ancient world. Soldiers are used to exploiting their privileges over shopkeepers, innkeepers, and craftsmen. How, then, might we imagine the young women in their households? Are their daughters forced to live in close proximity to undisciplined soldiers accustomed to laying claim to "free" goods? A young woman and her family from a low, unprotected position in society are relatively helpless to secure sufficient protection or seek justice in the aftermath of an assault.

More than one of Antioch's martyr cults highlight the cruel social fact of rape; more intriguingly still, such cults tie the threat of sexual abuse to Roman soldiers. In the martyria outside the city are the celebrated tombs of Domnina and her virgin daughters, Berenike and Prosdoke, who during the Diocletian persecution chose to drown themselves rather than suffer probable rape by passing Roman soldiers.[86] Antioch is also home to the popular cult of Pelagia, a young virgin who jumped from a roof to escape a similar fate: an annual festival had evolved to honor her bravery as well.[87] Cult sites such as these can provide a place of solicitous prayer as well as tearful solace for young women exposed to sexual dangers. The locations may also be places of mental and emotional refuge after the fact of an assault; it is not difficult to imagine these sites developing forms of supernatural power of both protection and revenge tailored for the vulnerable and possibly abused female.

While we may never know how the martyr cults may have offered help to women, we do know that magicians offer amuletic protection of some kind. A

silver amulet found in a grave near Beirut provides valuable insight into the kind of protection a young woman in Antioch may have sought.[88] A thin band engraved with 121 short lines of text was rolled up and placed in a bronze cylinder and worn around the neck as a protective amulet. The third- or fourth-century amulet adjures an unnamed power, quite possibly a corpse demon (*nekydaimōn*), to protect its owner, Alexandra, from a variety of evils, which included "from every demon and from every compulsion of demons, and from demons and sorceries and binding-spells." The spell assures the help of a demonic power by invoking a large collection of angelic powers; it identifies their names and their areas of influence. Angels are named who "sit" (*ho kathēmenos*) over the first through the seventh heavens, the sea, rivers, and, mountains, as well as roads, cities, and streets. Finally, after completing the long list of angelic powers, the spell issues the direct request for help:

> [P]rotect Alexandra whom Zoê bore from daimones and sorceries and dizziness and from all passion and from all frenzy. I adjure you by the Living God in Zoar of the nomadic Zabadeans, the one who thunders and lightnings . . . that (?) all male and frightening daimones and all bindings-spells (flee) from Alexandra whom Zoê bore, to beneath the founts and the Abyss of Mareôth, lest you harm or defile her, or use magic drugs on her, either by a kiss, or from an embrace, or a greeting; either with food or drink; either in bed or intercourse; either by the evil eye or a piece of clothing; as she prays (?), either on the street or abroad; or while river-bathing or at bath. Holy and might and powerful names, protect Alexandra from every daimon, male and female, and from every disturbance of daimones of the night and of the day. Deliver Alexandra whom Zoê bore, now; now; quickly, quickly. One God and his Christ, help Alexandra.[89]

While this was found in Beirut, it is likely that amulets of a similar nature would have been used in Antioch.[90] The spell projects a palpable sense of a constant fear of victimization and an anxious, yet pragmatic, belief that there are innumerable dangers that can harm those who are ritually unprotected in a city. This invites the question, How many people would have risked walking in Antioch without some form of apotropaic protection? The ritual text from Beirut and hundreds of others like it offer the impression that demons have overrun the environment and are ready for any compulsory call to bind (to) anyone in an erotic spell or a curse. But demons also have to respond promptly to a person's ritual of expulsion or exorcism, if properly performed. Demons have to play by the rules; they have no voluntary power of movement—in general.[91] While the human body is always in danger of suffering victimization in some kind of demonic attack, a person has the ability to defend him/herself and fight back through his/her own ritual manipulations.

Another area of demonic production to consider is the "demimonde" of prostitution—especially in Antioch in light of the theater's popularity.[92] The magician in his workshop, the aging prostitute turned procuress, the old woman healer/magic

worker—each may be in the business of crafting *agōgē* spells for the socially elite *hetaira,* the common *pornē* in the backstreet brothel, or the occasional wife who wishes to reclaim her husband from an aggressive prostitute or slave. As Christopher Faraone has convincingly argued, the *hetaira* cultivates an aggressive masculinity in order to sustain socioeconomic autonomy.[93] Her use of erotic magic is completely natural—a tool of the trade in a cutthroat world. Her ability to manufacture spells on her own would be a sign of how much she excels at all aspects of her craft. Though Faraone deals with a much earlier period, he proposes that we can find magic-wielding prostitutes in late antiquity, resting his claim primarily on the evidence of John Chrysostom. This presents an intriguing possibility: that *hetairai* and the socially lower *pornai* contribute to the production of an animated environment. To a certain extent, whether or not this is actually the case is irrelevant; people believe that a prostitute has to possess a certain degree of magical knowledge. Incantations, love potions, necromantic practices, and the like are all a part of her trade, tools that help her to maintain the affection of her client, even to do away with his wife in extreme cases. Moreover, literature as well as texts included in *PGM* portray erotic magic and the *agōgē* spell itself as an especially feared and frightening form of magic that blurs the divide between a demon and a human being. Greco-Roman and late antique Christian literature contain examples that graphically display the dehumanizing effects of the *agōgē* spells: those targeted become screaming, frantic, crazed, and raving victims.[94]

What all these practices communicate to us is that people in late antiquity cannot afford to close their eyes to an invisible reality of demons and other suprahuman entities. In fact, their practices—their fears, concerns, jealousies, and hatreds—help to create and regenerate the material realities (ritual practices, objects, and buildings) of demons and other forces or powers. The archaeological and literary record offers a picture of Antioch's citizens engaged in rituals of binding and loosening, expelling, and casting away demons and other kinds of cosmological beings in an effort to live day to day in what can be an unforgiving urban environment.

To that end, the concept of the "magic workshops" provides a handy, hypothetical location(s)—an anchor within Antioch's topography—to consider the production and dissemination of demonic and general animistic knowledge. Spells for horse races, erotic spells, protection against erotic spells, incantations for healing, divination spells, and curse texts are among the many kinds of ritual products recovered in excavations and recorded in the literary record. In much of the recovered material, as well as in comparable evidence from places nearby, we find wide-ranging references to demonic powers as the central mechanism of ritual agency. Those who make and sell these ritual texts (whether they are magicians or other kinds of ritual experts), as well as those who purchase them, are engaged in the production and regulation of demonic and supernatural knowledge. They also contribute to the commodification of that knowledge. A supply-and-demand

principle guides the local cultivation of Antioch's spiritual worldview. People with a particular need for protection, love, revenge, and truth, for example, seek out the available magician or other ritual expert (e.g., Greek priest, Christian monk, or rabbi) to whom deities, demons, demigods, and powerful names offer the most power. Which spells are efficacious? What are the costs? Who are the most reliable practitioners of magic? Such questions drive the production of animistic and demonic knowledge in the city of Antioch.

In chapter 2 we turn to consider how well attuned John Chrysostom is to this situation. We will explore the manner in which he uses demons to combat people's inveterate and inherent ritual sense of various supernatural powers in the city. John does not deny the efficacy of non-Christian ritual practices or reject the reality of the supernatural powers populating populations. Instead, he does the opposite. He begs his congregants to seek refuge within the protective walls of the church. He understands the pressing weight of the supernatural populations' threat; in fact, he amplifies it. He speaks repeatedly and graphically of the dangers in non-Christian rituals and enhances those dangers until the only effective apotropaic and protective rituals left are sacramental and ecclesiastical. He claims that the charismatic power that a non-Christian ritual practitioner displays—and whispers into the ears of John's own congregants—comes from the devil himself. And then John turns around and offers to perform an exorcism to expel the pollution the congregant has contracted. In other words, Chrysostom attempts to diabolize the rituals and related spiritual orders in Antioch; being the golden-mouthed priest of Antioch, John transforms the practice of diabolization into a rhetorical art as well as an impressive ritual practice.

However, a particular kind of Antioch is easily able to withstand and survive John's demonology and diabolization. And in fact, the depth of ritual life in the city is such that even this far into the Christian period Antiochene bodies are invested with profoundly complex, multilayered ritual knowledge and a living, evolving knowledge of the surrounding invisible forces empowering those rituals. People have tremendous power to create through ritual practice a wide range of animistic powers subversive or indifferent to the processes of Christianization. To that end, Antioch harbors the potential for tremendous religious and ritual transformation and rejuvenation outside the realm of Christianity for quite some time.

# The Devil Is in the Ritual

In late-fourth-century Antioch Christians still participate in Greek festivals that celebrate the cosmological powers of Tyche, Dionysus, Apollo, Zeus, Calliope, and many others. In a striking contrast, they may also visit the theater, where they can bear witness to a performance depicting the same deities' immoral escapades. During the High Holidays, Christians dance with Jews as they all celebrate the Jewish god—a divine being freed from a theologically complicated relationship with a son. Jewish amulets heal Christians' illnesses; Christians' diseases find cures in incubation temples; nurses place strange mud markings upon Christian babies' foreheads to protect them from a predatory illness or evil.[1] Christians move unreflectively in and out of such non-Christian rituals, to John Chrysostom's dismay; he agonizes as his congregants experience the power inherent in the diverse array of cosmological entities who inhabit Antioch. John despises the stories of healings that the laity and even a few among the clergy share—testimonies that encourage them all to continue to reach out to non-Christian rituals in moments of sickness, injury, injustice, or simply anxiety and fear.

John wishes to convince Christians that demons reside in all forms of Antioch's non-Christian ritual activity. Along those lines, he also insists that they establish a distinct, prohibitive—if not agonistic—ritual Christian identity specific to the socioreligious context of the city.[2] However, the congregants' lifelong exposure to and experience within Antioch's wider non-Christian ritual environments render them especially resistant to his efforts.

Consequently he fails more often than he succeeds: many in his community ignore his insistent claims and warnings. In light of his congregants' recalcitrance—or simply their lifelong comfort and familiarity with non-Christian ritual—

this is hardly surprising. How then can he hope to shift his congregants' experience of their world? How might he radically transform their accustomed and customary sense of deity in parts of Antioch so that they might instead experience the opposite: seeing, hearing, touching, and inevitably attacking the demonic?

This chapter considers his approach to these formidable challenges.[3] The time John has to convert his congregation's behavior, let alone transform their thinking and experience of their environment, is limited; he has to work efficiently but also subtly, given the frustrating constraints of pastoral communication. In his sermons, John crafts several short, striking narratives portraying the demonic corruption contracted when a Christian participates in different rituals throughout the city. We argue that he intends these to persuade his congregants to loosen themselves from their ritual attachments outside the church. While he constructs highly disturbing demonological images, which carry a complex epistemology of ritual practice, he designs these images to work at the ideological level.[4] Long after his sermons are over and his audience has left the church, he hopes his portraits of demon-plagued Christians will continue to fester in listeners' imaginations, compelling them inevitably to shed the outer skin of their own urban and ritual identity.

In his seminal 1978 article "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity," Jonathan Z. Smith refers to the demonic as a "relational or labeling term" to mark the marginal, ambiguous, and protean in the wider environment.[5] A number of recent scholars—though not all—have very helpfully turned to Smith's work on "the demonic" to trace how Christian leaders use such language to demarcate a clear, distinct Christian identity separate from other religious identities. Those who have recently turned to the question of demonology in John Chrysostom's work have also often referenced Smith's insights.[6] In describing John Chrysostom's demonology, however, we will refrain from using the term "demonic" in the manner that Smith describes. John and many in his congregation have very different, if not oppositional, worldviews regarding animistic power and its relation to ritual practice. Consequently, he does not have the luxury of speaking to his listeners from some shared Archimedean point of common morality and notion of identity where they can agree upon what is blasphemous, impious, or impure and then collectively agree to stand apart from it. Rather, John has a quite complex understanding of the "Self," a formulation that pivots primarily around the issue of baptismal conversion. Those who have been baptized have been elevated—as much as is possible in this life—into the spiritual order (*ta pneumatika*) and have gained control over their own perception and reason; they have an ability to move through the world accordingly. By contrast, those who have not been baptized are still part of the sensory order around them (*epi tōn aisthētōn*), able to discern and maintain stable boundaries between their mind/soul and the surrounding sensory materiality.[7] John Chrysostom's ideas of religious identity—

or, more to the point, personhood and subjectivity—demand a much more profound demonology to carve that divide between the sensory and the pneumatic into Antioch and into the mindset of the more devoted in his congregation, particularly those who seek baptism. As we will investigate in this and the following chapter, John informs the baptized in antidemonic and exorcistic tactics of managing the more recalcitrant—and the demonically tainted—members of his congregation. Beyond that he instructs the baptized, the newly enlisted soldiers of Christ (*hoi neoi tou Christou stratiōtai*), in how to engage in spiritual warfare against demons in the wider environment of Antioch.[8]

As this chapter demonstrates, John faces a problem of ingrained habits and customs (*synthēmata*) in several members of his congregation. In John's view, many of his congregants are the victims of verbal formulae and behavioral patterns that have accumulated over generations in Antioch; the body engaged in these words and actions in a manner that falls below the level of individual conscious thought or intention. Somehow the priest has to convince his listeners to recognize this part of themselves (both word and deed) as impious, blasphemous, and polluting, and then voluntarily reject that part. It is his duty as their priest to make all members recognize the reality behind the delusion: to see the insidiously demonic behind what appears to be the familiar, normal, and even mundane ritual practices in their everyday lives. He also encourages communal management. The baptized and the more advanced are given greater responsibility over the weaker in the congregation.[9] Reliance on straightforward demonization, as Smith describes it, will have been an insufficient rhetorical tactic for John's task. In his sermons, he assiduously constructs a collection of images depicting his community's ritual life in Antioch and Daphne; Chrysostom's pictures follow the contours of his congregants' experiential reality quite closely, differing in one essential respect: they offer a chilling view into an invisible, spiritual world that parasitically clings to the experience of human beings. In image after image, John describes demons clustering around a wide array of ritual actions and ritual settings throughout and beyond Antioch and Daphne. And while John mentions the random angel who will intervene when invoked, it happens infrequently.[10]

John pulls all of these ritual images together into a larger demonological framework of the sensory (demonic/unbaptized) versus the pneumatic (divine/baptized). In expressing the differences in the dualities he assembles, John draws upon imagery created within predominantly Stoic theorizations of cognition and sensory perception.[11] His images repeatedly portray demons corrupting and perverting sensory matter as well as thoughts (*dialogismoi*); it is through such corrupted, perceptible material that demons contaminate a Christian's mind (*nous*), rational faculty (*dianoia*), and/or soul (*psychē*). In conjunction with this, John's attempts to dislodge his congregants from their ritual habits and customs mirror Stoic and Epicurean strategies of reversing a habit.[12] It is not the case that Stoic writing has directly shaped

John's demonology, however; more probably his perspective derives from an ascetic background already soaked through with Stoicizing (and thus moral and ethical) aspects.[13] More to the point, when constructing a demonology relevant for his immediate audience, John draws on a philosophical *koinē* that his audience largely comprehends. Particularly the educated among his audience are familiar with the Stoic models of subjectivity and personhood. These express the fragility of an embodied human being's abilities to perceive, to think, and to latch onto a stable sense of true knowledge (*epistēmē*) in a fluctuating sensory world.

John develops diabolizing imagery that communicates an undeniable and immediate sense (and sensation) of Nicene superiority to his audience; he understands this superiority to reside within a complex epistemology of ecclesiastical and sacramental action. Thus, he designs ritual narratives to convey his view of theological truth: Nicene sacramental rituals enable the baptized to attain a sudden, clear perspective and to grasp fleeting cognitive knowledge in the thick haze that Antioch's sensory environment produces. Congregants who unreflectively participate in rituals outside the church create a dangerous situation not only for themselves, but also for the community as a whole. As members of the Nicene community, stronger, baptized congregants have obligations toward the spiritual livelihood of other, less advanced members of the community.

And yet, as embodied creatures of habit and custom, and in their sensorily indulgent behavior in the larger urban environment, many Christians allow their minds to decay. John expresses this problem in demonological terms: congregants have left themselves vulnerable to demonic invasion, and those demons lead them into further degradation in non-Nicene behavior and thought at the individual level; if not taken care of, this can also spread throughout the communal level as well. John understands demonic infection as contamination and as a contagion: he describes it in different places, but prominently in the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies, as a disease. Most intriguingly, John defines the means of spreading demonic contamination widely and quickly: non-Christian ritual. In the case of the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies, of course, John condemns Judaizing rituals in this manner.[14]

Despite what may seem a hopeless portrait, John offers quite the opposite in Antioch. He is equally optimistic in his view of the urban, baptized, sacramental life. Prebaptismal exorcisms, baptism, and the Eucharist cleanse the mind of demonic corruption and fortify it against new demonic assault. But as we will see in John's baptismal instructions, Nicene sacramental rituals do much more than simply return the faculties of rational thought and judgment to Christians; they empower Christians through the rituals of baptism. Through baptismal training Christians learn the antidemonic rituals of spiritual warfare. In baptism the Holy Spirit grants them exorcistic authority against the devil. In their postbaptismal life they are now "soldiers of Christ" and obligated to enroll in spiritual warfare against the demons in their environment.

Two questions begin this chapter. How does John understand the processes by which the prebaptismal rituals and sacramental rites create such powerful and powerfully antidemonic Christians? What exactly does John intend these Christians to do once they gain such power?

Before searching for the answers in John's sermons, a brief survey of the basic principles of perception and cognition in Stoicism is in order.

### SENSORY PERCEPTION AND COGNITION IN STOICISM

The Stoics hold a materialist concept of the soul as well as a materialist understanding of the mechanics of sense perception and cognition.[15] In their writings, the soul/mind overlap and in some cases conflate with the faculties of reasoning or commanding, which stretch out to the senses through an extension of breath (*aisthēsis*): e.g., that of sight stretching out toward the eyes; that of hearing stretching out to the ears.[16] This arrangement enables the commanding faculty to receive external information from sensory experiences; consequently, these sensory experiences may involve an extension of the breath beyond to the sensory object (e.g., vision) or the external sensory material reaching the sensory faculty (e.g., hearing). Stoics describe several separate components in the act of sense perception. The impression (*phantasia*) is "an affection engendered in the soul" by an impressor (*phantastikon*) from without—that is, the sensory material from the original sensory object.[17]

The main issue within Stoic cognitive theory pertains to the commanding faculty's ability to assent to an impression; this ability involves judging the impression's validity, and then, if the impression is valid, the commanding faculty incorporates the impression within the mind to build scientific, true knowledge (*epistēmē*). Not all impressions are reliable. Proper versus improper assent to impressions indicates the difference between a wise (virtuous) man and a fool. Certain impressions have an ability to reveal their objects truly; these are called cognitive (*katalepton*): "that which arises from what is and is stamped and impressed exactly in accordance with what is."[18] The wise or virtuous man possesses *epistēmē* through the accumulation of cognitive impressions (*katalēpseis*), which are "secure and firm and unchangeable by reason."[19] By contrast, ignorant men incorrectly assent to faulty impressions, which engender false opinions (*doxa*); this can lead to impulses to act in an improper manner. So too the ignorant as well as the melancholy or mad are susceptible to assenting to figments (*phantasmata*)—"that to which we are attracted in the empty attraction of imagination (*phantastikon*)."[20]

Passions (*pathē*) hold an important position within the Stoics' mechanical understanding of sensory perception and cognitive thought. Theorists disagree as to the various passions' relations to the soul (i.e., the commanding faculty). Still,

they generally agree that it is the mind's assent to impressions that can lead to the arousal of the passions. Stoics divide passions into four good elements and four bad. Each element motivates impulses to action, either moderate or immoderate. Repeated assent to false impressions can lead to a hardening of the tenor that connects to negative passions; in this way, the process of assent can create the effect of hardwiring bad emotions such as greed, sexual perversion, and so forth. While the foolish man repeatedly assents to impressions that exacerbate negative passions, the wise man trains his mind not to assent to such impressions. In this way, the wise man can theoretically control the emotional reactions that lead to improper action. At the bottom line, a human being, or more precisely the commanding faculty, is responsible for the body's passions and the passions' impulses to rash, potentially immoral action.

We need hardly mention that Stoics are working within a very different cosmology than Christians. The Stoic World Soul is good, rational, and virtuous; it filters down to imbue every element in the world, including the individual soul—that is, the commanding faculty, which has innately within it the potential for rational, intelligent judgment. There is no place for external evil agency. Therefore ignorance, unbridled passion, and improper action are all due to mistakes in judgment: false assents to false impressions. Imagine, however, the mechanics and materiality of sensory perception incorporated into a Christian cosmology, one in which the devil has the single task of harming human beings—i.e., spiritual warfare.

Stoic theories of cognition, in barest outline, inform John Chrysostom's understanding of the demonic corruption of the mind/soul. John portrays demons as contaminating a person's process of sensory perception if that person is engaged in non-Christian (even non-Nicene) ritual practice. Related to this, of course, John also depicts the cleansing and fortifying power of Nicene ecclesiastical ritual and Nicene sacramental rites. What role do demons play in such a scenario? In John Chrysostom's descriptions, demons are the force behind impressions that bombard the commanding faculties of Antioch's Christians. This is their mode of unceasing temptation. At stake is the mind's capacity to judge correctly and reject such impressions. The question of assent in this case then measures the distance between a true Christian (in his/her ability to resist) and a non-Christian (in his/her helpless capitulation).

Finally, the materiality of Stoic theory facilitates John's understanding of the mechanics of demonic corruption/affliction as well as antidemonic ritual. His graphic images blur the line between demons and the Stoic notion of dispensing impressors that lead to impressions—either demons are the impressors or they are somehow attached to the impressors; it is difficult to say, as the text is ambiguous. Several of his passages portray demons as somehow materially embedded within the impressions themselves. Do demons infect the mind with corrupted matter? Or do demons inhabit the mind itself? Or do they accomplish both? Whatever the

answer, John discovers in Stoic ideas a means whereby demons physically touch and possess the mind/soul. Thus, in all of his descriptions of the debilitating effects of non-Christian ritual and the rehabilitating efficacy of Christian ritual, he cultivates an ambiguous yet sophisticated interweaving of Stoic and demonological explanatory systems.

## CHRISTIANS UNDER SIEGE

In his baptismal instructions, John projects a bleak picture for the unbaptized Christians who live in Antioch. Demons target the mind or understanding faculty (*dianoia*),[21] conscience (*hēgemonikon*), or soul (*psychē*) relentlessly. Should a baptizand venture into the marketplace, the devil will attempt to inject "examinations of one's reasoning" (*tōn logismōn zētēseis*), which are antithetical to the Nicene church, directly into the candidate's mind.[22] Proselytizing Arians and Sabellians—all are carriers of the corrupting material.[23] In so large a city, however, theological thought is not the only danger. The devil traffics in thoughtless discourse (*hē dialexis anoētos*),[24] the idle word (*ho argos logos*), ill-timed silly talk (*ho phlyaros akairos*), and worldly discourse or arguing (*hē biōtikē dialexis*).[25] These can take place in numerous microenvironments throughout the city. John also warns against sounds at the theater, the hippodrome, and circus shows. All these places cultivate communication that conceals the traps of the wretched one (*hē tou ponērou pagis*);[26] omens and oath taking that communicate non-Christian cosmologies offer their own dangers. All in all, the devil inundates the city with his artifices (*hē mēchanē tou ponērou diabolou*)[27] and diabolical deceits (*tais apatais tais diabolikais*).[28] By the simple act of listening in the wrong place and during the wrong time, a person risks the possibility that demons will try to incite the passions, and this will lead to immoral behavior. Luxuriousness (*aselgeia*) and drunkenness move a person far from Christ. "Thoughts"—of an endless variety—are the devil's wretched enticements (*ta ponēra deleasmata tou diabolou*).[29] Through these he attempts to trip up (*hyposkelizein*) humanity.[30]

Outside of the church, demons permeate the environment and wait. They traffic in corrupting thoughts, sounds, smells, and sights, thus depositing their demonic imprint almost effortlessly into the minds of unguarded Christians. Demons use every opportunity to darken our reason when Christians are not in church. In a passage in *Homiliae in Matthaeum* 11, John Chrysostom describes in material terms the soul's revolving transformation as it moves back and forth between demonic city and divine church:

> Wipe out the letters (*ta grammata*) or rather the impressions (*ta charagmata*) that the devil has imprinted (*enetypōse*) in your soul, and bring me a heart freed from worldly disturbances that without dread I can write upon (*eggrapsai*). . . . When I receive your tablets, I am not able to recognize anything. For I do not find the letters that we

inscribe on you every day; rather these that are his [letters], unintelligible and mis-shapen (*asēma kai diestrammena*). Then when we have blotted them out and have written our own through the Spirit, you departing . . . give him again the power to substitute his own characters in you.[31]

John's images suggest to his listeners the ontological consequence of the demonic violence inflicted on their minds and souls every time they leave the church build-ing. The mind/soul is penetrated, injured, raped, mutilated, and scarred by demons; it transforms into a festering wound, a diseased and leprous entity.[32] In an especially disturbing passage, John Chrysostom intertwines psychological images of the material degradation of an embodied soul (*psychē*) or a faculty of reasoning (*logismon*) with sexualized images of penetration and defilement. In *Hom. Matt.* 42, John describes a tribunal where his concept of a disembodied "Self" is sitting in judgment over the central aspect of him/herself: the faculty of reasoning (*logismon*) or soul (*psychē*). The two (*logismon* and *psychē*) conflate and blur quickly in the passage; both are described as demonically compromised. The Self forces the *logismon/psychē,* which John genders female, to account for the "wretched" thoughts she has allowed inside. These thoughts fester and even reproduce copies of themselves. She counters with excuses; it is the devil, she pleads: "He comes to me, he plots against me, he tempts me."[33] Likewise she defends herself, blaming her own embodiment: "I am entangled with a body, I am clothed with flesh, I dwell in the world (*sōmati sympeplegmai, sarka endedymai, kosmon oikō*), I abide on earth."[34] John depicts the soul/conscience as a vulnerable female body, incapable of judging for herself, but also dangerously endowed with reproductive capabilities. He also describes the soul as a virgin daughter who requires Christians' protec-tion. Rather than keep the devil from her, though, Christians have been all too careless with her purity:

> We force [the soul] to act as a prostitute and defile herself (*molynesthai*), by leading into her innumerable wicked thoughts (*ennoias ponēras*). And whether it is our love of greed, or of luxury or of shining bodies or of anger . . . we throw open the doors, and draw in [such thoughts] and invite [them] and allow them to mix with her [our soul] without fear of reprisal . . . And what could be more barbaric than this, to over-look our soul that is more worthy than all, and allow her to be maltreated by such debauchers, , and so long in their company, even until they are sated? . . . [W]hen sleep overtakes us, only then do [the thoughts] leave her; or rather not even then, for our dreams and apparitions (*phantasia*) furnish her with the same images (*eidōla*). So then, when day has come, the soul stored with such fantasies often falls away to the actual performance of those fancies (*hē toiauta phantazomenē psychē kai eis to ergon tōn phantasiōn ekeinōn pollakis exepese*).[35]

These passages reveal important aspects of John's demonology and indicate how tightly he weaves it into his material conception of personhood and subject-

hood.[36] By identifying thought as one of the primary vehicles of demonic corruption, John describes a model of Self trapped in a perpetual state of cognitive and moral ambiguity. What are one's own thoughts? What are those of the devil? In the second passage, he heightens that anxiety by suggesting a person's accidental, but also almost inevitable, complicity in his/her own downfall.

By feminizing the soul/reasoning faculty (*psychē*/*logismon*), John characterizes these two entities as embodied, naturally weak, vulnerable, and suggestible. John also implies an uncontrollable fertility inherent within this doubled entity. Not only is "she" (i.e., *psychē*/*logismon*) a guileless object, she is also easily seduced by the devil, who seeds her eagerly with his wretched thoughts (*ennoias ponēras*); *psychē*/*logismon* also readily reproduces the devil's fantasies through her body's own immoral actions—actions that will become ingrained habits. But John does not only offer frighteningly suggestive descriptions of devils and demons sexually assaulting a guileless female soul. In a chilling manner, Chrysostom also presents the reasoning faculty within the Christian Self as the most harmful caretaker of the soul imaginable. Rather than jealously protecting the soul's innocence, the caretaker demonstrates a despicable latitude and prostitutes the soul/mind. In this collection of images, then, John amplifies the demonic threat dramatically: a Christian's inattention to the processes of sensory perception and assessment is tantamount to participating in the demonic seduction, rape, and impregnation of the soul.

The church alone can provide the necessary moral defenses against such attacks; the church can direct a Christian to the sacred places and through its sanctifying activities provide sanctuary for the soul/mind from demonic violence. Only the church performs rituals that forge a definitive, implacable boundary between a Christian's mind and demons seeking to ravage the *psychē*/*logismon* again and again with impure thoughts. Baptism, the Eucharist, and other Nicene rituals work to fortify rational thought and free will; sacramental and ecclesiastical rituals powerfully establish true Christian *epistēmē* in the mind of a Christian—in fact, these rituals are the only sure means of doing so. John thus situates sacramental rituals as a kind of ecclesiastical prophylactic: baptism and the Eucharist allow a Christian to return to the world of unmonitored social intercourse in the streets of Antioch—provided, of course, that that Christian always returns to the church to receive the Eucharist or undergo some other cleansing exorcistic ritual.[37] Ultimately, as we will see, John describes baptism as a means of guarding the soul and/or the mind when it is engulfed in a demonic whirlwind. In other words, baptism provides antidemonic protection in a defensive sense. But baptism and the Eucharist provide sufficient power for an offensive attack against demons as well. Under their title "soldiers of Christ," according to John, baptized Christians can and should take the antidemonic power made available to them through baptism and the Eucharist and use it to attack the demons in and around Antioch and drive the devil from their city.

But congregants resist the church's guidance. They make their own ritual and behavioral choices. According to John, it is Christians whose minds are already demonically compromised who participate in the Maiumas, Kalends, and the Jewish Feast of Trumpets; they engage in healing rituals in incubation shrines and invite itinerant healers and dream interpreters into their homes; they consult auguries about their future and purchase curse tablets against their enemies. In these ritual events, staged and orchestrated by the devil, demons' influence over a Christian's mind deepens to the point that the person loses his or her identity and sense of Self altogether.

John needs to compel people to the baptismal bath. At least they have to withdraw from their ritual lives outside the church. Consequently, John creates vivid, arresting images of everyday ritual life in Antioch: celebrating weddings, making business oaths, healing a sick child, participating in the Jewish High Holidays, attending the theater. All of these events and activities are readily familiar to his audience. As John paints these daily moments in words, the vivid details of the images draw his audience closer; so close, in fact, that he can reveal suddenly the alarming differences in his view of their life outside the church. He sheds light on what his congregants fail or refuse to see: devils and demons write the wedding songs; they make actresses' bodies more alluring and chorus boys' voices more seductive; demons give fevers to mothers' little boys and then empower the healing amulets offered by rabbis and old drunken hags; demons stand behind the omens and prognostications in the Kalends' nighttime festivities.

Should John manage to overwhelm his listeners with the full reality of their ritual life, he will by no means leave them in despair. In his baptismal instructions as elsewhere, he indeed peels back the surface layer of life to expose a raging demonic infection that courses through the city's veins. He also, however, explains in depth what baptism has to offer to Christians while they still remain on earth, walking through the plague-filled streets of Antioch. The baptismal seal is an indomitable weapon; it possesses "the strength of a wonderful amulet and a potent incantation."[38] "Call upon that name [Jesus] and every disease will flee, every attack of Satan will cease".[39] Likewise, the baptismal formulae (*apotaxis* and *syntaxis*) are intended for a kind of oral warfare against both man and demon in the public spheres of the city, as he expresses to the newly baptized:

> Never go out without this word. This will be a staff for you, this your armor, this an unbreakable tower; and with this word impress the sign of the cross on your forehead. For not only any man, but neither the devil himself will be able to pervert/damage you in any way, when seeing you everywhere appearing with these weapons.[40]

In what follows, we will first survey John's narratives of the diabolized rituals pervading Antioch. Then we will turn to John's baptismal instructions and his discus-

sion of the exorcistic process toward baptism, through which a person might extract himself or herself from a chronic state of demonic ritual corruption to assume a position of strength, even divine aggression, in this demon-soaked city.

## Wedding Processions

In *Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios* 12, John warns of the dangers of a wedding. The virginal bride who has been "schooled in modesty from earliest childhood" and raised in secluded isolation is suddenly thrust into the public by the custom (*synētheia*) of postwedding festivities.[41] The devil himself has created the nighttime frivolities for the specific purpose of capturing the well-hidden and protected bride, putting her on display, and processing her through the marketplace. There she is exposed to the most foul language and song: "Dancing, and cymbals, and flutes, and shameful words (*rhēmata kai aismata aischra*) and songs, and drunkenness, and reveling, and all the devil's great heap (*polys ho tou diabolou phorytos*) of garbage is then introduced."[42] As she has become a kind of "stage spectacle," an object of lust for all to see, the unsullied virgin is now also vulnerable to their pollution:

> [The bride] find[s] herself put forward in the midst of wanton and rude men, and unchaste, and effeminate [men] . . . runaway slaves and convicts: thousands of them and of desperate characters go on with impunity uttering whatever they please, all base and full of indecency. In fact there is a sort of diabolic rivalry among transgressors to surpass one another in reproaches and foul words.[43]

The bride and fellow Antiochenes participates in the festivities without a second thought, indifferent to or unaware of any danger. This is because, in John's words, "the devil has embedded the thing in customs (*en synētheiai to pragma katekleisen ho diabolos*)."[44] John must reveal to them the devil's ritual manipulations if they are ever to wake from the deadening effects of what they harmlessly refer to as custom or tradition. To that end, John provides historical background: the devil is aware that the ritual of marriage was expressly created to preserve the bride's cleanliness. Marriage is intended to obstruct the flood of *porneia* from entering the nubile virgin's body. The devil, eager to find a way around this obstacle, ingeniously devised the customs of night revelry, which put her body on display "like a stage spectacle" and thus created an opportunity to penetrate her with his demonic impurity (*porneia*).

As John explains, custom (*synētheia*) or law (*nomos*) is the devil's favored tool to deflect Christians from thinking about their actions. People unreflectively allow their bodies to relax into what they assume to be ageless and trustworthy patterns of behavior, when in reality it is quite something else. Through the installation of ancient custom—in this case, the night festival—the devil has established an efficient choreography for defilement that moves Antiochene brides steadily from the

ritual of marriage to its consummation in the wedding bed. For a few hours in between, a public procession exposes the bride's body: she is lit up with torches and conducted on a circuitous route from her father's house through the market-place to her husband's. Her open ears are soon full of "disorderly songs, with their foul words, with their devilish harmony," her body vulnerable to the salacious caress of every lustful eye.[45] John describes the crowd's filthy words and songs pen-etrating the bride's mind and soul, evoking images of sexual assault; similarly, as their collective male gaze violently ravages the bride's body, men appear to defile her virginity repeatedly long before she reaches the intimacy of her wedding bed.

### Kalends

In *Homilia in Kalendas,* John exposes the dangers lurking within the joyous, diverting festivities of the New Year: "diabolical nighttime festivities in the forum . . . the jests, the abuse, and the nocturnal dances (*diaboliakai pannuxides tēmeron, kai ta skōmmata, kai ai loidoriai choreiai*)" catalyze the basest instincts in a human being because it is actually "demons [who are] leading a procession in the market-place (*alla daimonōn pompeusantōn epi tēs agoras*)."[46] Demons are also responsible for the frenzied decorating competition that takes place in the artisan and resident quarters; John laments that if people will only devote the same time and energy decorating (*kallōpizein*) the intellect (*dianoia*) and soul, they will attract very dif-ferent, more beneficial spiritual company. He describes the angels, archangels, and master of angels who will cluster near them, crowding out any possibility of demons gaining an unfortunate proximity.[47]

Of particular interest, John targets a handful of activities in one of his more coherent and thorough discussions of the devil's strategy of intellectual enerva-tion. During the New Year's festivities, people visit taverns to consult omens and auguries. In addition to these forms of divination, they also engage in the observa-tion of days and the celebration of the new moon. All are "diabolical nighttime festivities" with "demons [who are] leading a procession in the marketplace."[48] Moreover, they are devices created by the devil himself. The devil realizes, accord-ing to John, that such activities offer a great way to intentionally derail people's efforts to make good of their day: living under the "cycles of the moons, [and] planets" relieves people of responsibility as well as accountability in their daily actions; this is yet another example of the devil's efforts "to extinguish the progress (*prothymian*) of the soul."[49] "For that wretched demon (*ho ponēros daimōn*) schemes these things, wishing to draw our souls into impiety (*asebeian*), and lazi-ness (*rhathymian*)."[50] Furthermore, Christians embroiled in such activities slowly forget the larger, wider, all-encompassing "city above," "the polity" to which they now actually belong—where they might "mingle with angels where light does not give way to darkness, nor day fulfilled to night, but [where it] is always day, always light."[51]

If someone has any memory of true citizenship, John insists that he or she "must flee from the methods of the devil (*tou diabolou tas methodeias*), and cast out this influence of thought (*tautēn ekbalein tēs dianoias tēn psēphon*), and observe not the days."[52] In other words, people will have to refrain from participating in the Kalends festival altogether if they are to have any hope of retaining control over their thought and rationality.

## Theater

In *Homiliae in Ioannem* 60, John offers a vivid description of the dangers the spectacles of the theater pose to a male audience:

> [You have] seen those women on the stage, and [the male audience], after taking infinite attacks from them, will seem no better than a tossing sea, when an impression (*typos*) of [the women's] faces, the gestures, the speeches, the walk, and all the rest stand before their eyes and besiege their soul.[53]

Blake Leyerle has perceptively noted how Stoic theories of vision and cognition guide John Chrysostom's depiction of a male audience's gendered disintegration. The male spectator is materially affected/tainted by a stage performer's image as he watches her lascivious spectacle: Christian men "[pollute] their own eyes' sight, and together with their own eyesight, their soul."[54] Female sexual images of an almost aggressive masculinity emanate from the stage performer's body and impress themselves on the soul or rational faculty of the male viewer. This lustful image, lodged in the man's soul, stokes the flames of desire (*epithymia*), and he is completely helpless in a complicit unraveling of his own gender's only apparent solidity. Chaotic irrational passion takes hold. The male spectator accepts enslavement to the lascivious object of his gaze. In this single optic event, an unnatural hierarchy emerges: an authoritative, sexualized female image rises in the mind of the male spectator to assume the position of masculine domination that the spectator/victim relinquishes as his will and gendered identity melt away. At all costs a man who encounters such a gendered monstrosity should, at the very least, look the other way. Otherwise, his debilitation will reach deep within domestic territory and rip apart the delicate fabric of familial hierarchies and power relations. After looking upon her and listening to her, a man will return home with his soul enslaved, emasculated, and fetally wrapped around the embedded image of an actress that he can never have in real life. In John's words, his soul is "fluttered and perturbed," actually tied and bound to the desire (*epithymia*) to see her again: "They depart, set on fire, and enter into their own houses, captives."[55] He asks rather pessimistically: "How will you look upon your wife?"[56]

Leyerle has already carefully explained the manner in which John Chrysostom commingles concepts of sexual subversion, ancient optics, and the gendered dynamics of the gaze in a depiction of a Christian's moral lapse and the resulting

ontological changes that occur due to his corruption. We would draw attention only to how John also inserts the devil into these descriptions. In a particularly illuminating passage in *Hom. Matt.* 7, John identifies the amphitheater as the devil's and characterizes a water show featuring naked female swimmers as the "fountain of the devil" and "the devil's net."[57] Most importantly, John speaks openly and mechanistically about the devil's manipulation of the salacious images emanating from female bodies and how those images cultivate a corrosive, even deadly, *epithymia* in the male Christian mind. The passage displays some important parallels with John's discussion in *Hom. Matt.* 11 (discussed above) of the demonic assault on a female soul. There, too, John envisages the devil's thoughts (sexually) penetrating and thus transforming a vulnerable and unprotected soul. Even before the promised event of naked female swimmers, the devil titillates the Christian in his dreams:

> For in the first place, through a whole night the devil preoccupies their souls with the expectation of [the spectacle of the theater]; then after showing them what they are anticipating, he binds them at once and makes them captives (*edēsen euthys kai aichmalotous epoiēse*). For do not think that because you have not been mixed with a prostitute (*emigēs tēi pornēi*), you are clean from sin; for by desiring it preemptively (*prothymiai*), you have committed it. For if you are possessed by desire (*hypo epithymias katexē*), you have kindled the flame greater (*meizona tēn phloga anēpsas*).[58]

John fashions the devil as the ultimate magician, casting erotic spells into men's souls while they sleep. By invading men's dreams the devil and demons tether them to their own generated desire: in a sense the inserted demonic image acts as binding spell that can self-perpetuate without end. This conceptualization of a material corruption, which one suffers here in the theater, appears in other passages as well. In *Hom. Matt.* 37, John intensifies the gendered subversion of the stage:

> A young man wears his hair long behind, changing his clothes so that he changes his nature into that of a woman to take on the appearance of a tender young woman, striving both in aspect and in gesture. . . . [T]he women, . . . their heads uncovered, stand boldly, speaking with a whole people, so complete is their practice in shamelessness; and thus they pour forth all impurity into the souls of their hearers.[59]

In this mix of "satanic cries" and "devilish gestures," John adds, it is "the devil [who] is pouring out for you so much of the strong wine of whoredom, mingling so many cups of unchastity."[60] Following this visual display, John issues an intriguing warning:

> The sorcerers (*goētes*) too. Where are they? Is it not from [the theater] that in order to excite the people who are idling without object and make the dancing men have the benefit of much and loud applause, and fortify *pornai* against those who live in moderation (*sōphronousais*), they proceed so far in sorcery (*magganeias*) as not even to shrink from disturbing the bones of the dead.[61]

What John is describing is akin to erotic magic, though the sorcery in this case is adapted to a commercial purpose rather than personal lust. Erotic magic finds root in the principles of the binding spell (*katadesmos*): that is, the invocation of demonic and supernatural entities for the purpose of binding an individual's lust to another person, and even augmenting it. Thus John suggests here that those who attend the theater may not be demon possessed when they are watching the spectacle; rather, through a form of magical means, demons bind unsuspecting, vulnerable male spectators to a morally corrosive image. Moreover, in mentioning *goētes* who practice necromantic magic or *magganeias*—in other words, a practice that involves "disturbing the bones of the dead"—John is describing the most heinous forms of magic, punishable by death.

### The Dangers of Daphne

According to John, the devil took Daphne long ago:

> The enemy of our salvation, who always perverts the figures of God, occupied the site beforehand with a crowd of dissolute youths and the abodes of the demons [i.e., temples], and then bestowed on it a certain shameful myth, by means of which he dedicated the graceful suburb to the demon.[62]

The devil has methodically subverted Daphne, transforming it from a place of beauty and tranquility into a land and landscape that perpetuates a form of debauched immorality. He has cleverly seduced "young libertines" to come to the suburb and then "wishing to intensify this evil invented the myth and installed the demon [Apollo] so that this history would be greater fuel for their licentiousness and impiety."[63] The myth of which John speaks of course involves Apollo's pursuit of Daphne, and the demon who has been given authority over the suburb is Apollo himself.

John also celebrates the brief chapter in Daphne's history in which the martyr Babylas came to reside next to Apollo's temple and miraculously silenced the demon. More importantly still, the mere sight of the martyr had had a sobering effect on the suburb as a whole. Consequently, Christians wisely placed the shrine of Babylas near the entrance of the suburb so that just when people came into Daphne they would be "chastened and [become] more pious by the sight" of the martyr's shrine.[64] By naming the faculty of sight as the means of a person's moral transformation and degradation, John deliberately and meticulously constructs the reverse process of the demonic unraveling that takes hold of a spectator in the theater:

> When a depraved and licentious person becomes moderate in his behavior, it is as miraculous as recovery from complete insanity. . . . For while youth, recklessness, irrationality, and wine may overcome one's thinking more extensively than a flame, the dew of the blessed one, coming down through the eyes and into the soul of those

who see him, [puts] the flame to sleep, [stops] the fire, and [establishes] an over-whelming godly fear in the mind.[65]

Elsewhere, John describes "an imperceptible breeze" that surrounds the martyr's shrine, then and now.[66] It penetrates the souls of those drawn to the shrine. This breeze then cleanses the demonically contorted soul in a particular manner: "Ordering it [the soul] decorously in all respects and removing every earthly weight, [it] renews and lightens the heavy-laden and downcast soul."[67] Though few traveling to Daphne come to see the saint, Babylas is adept at "lay[ing] a trap" so that they are "caught in a net" of spiritual healing.[68]

This all comes to an end in Daphne, however, with the removal of Babylas's body to the cemetery outside of Antioch at the time of Julian's visit in 362 and its eventual relocation in the Meletian church in Antioch in 380. After 362, according to John, the famous martyr abandoned the suburb to the devil. And any who travel now to the suburb of Daphne do so at a considerable risk to their souls' eternal salvation. In *De sancto hieromartyre Babyla,* written in 377 or 379, John lays heavy emphasis on the diabolization of Daphne's landscape.

During the first day of celebrations for the martyr cult of Julian, being held somewhere outside of Antioch, John denounces a festival in Daphne that will take place the next day. He warns his audience of the alluring bodies of the young male mimes who will happily crowd the streets of Daphne. His description of the festival lays out his understanding of how the devil manipulates men's bodies and voices to seduce any who see them. Even those listening to John at that moment are not safe:

> Choruses of men take over the suburb [Daphne] tomorrow. *Often the sight of such choruses compels the person who wants to be sober into copying the same indecent behavior against their will. . . .* [The devil] is present, summoned by the earthly songs, by the shameless words, by the *demonic pageantry.*[69]

John portrays male dancers' "demonic pageantry" in a manner that echoes his diabolization of other performing bodies (e.g., the women on lascivious display in the theater). Both Daphne's male chorus and Antioch's notorious actresses pose a sensory threat to audiences; in each case, demon driven bodies emit an endless stream of lewd images and sounds that penetrate a spectator's faculties of vision and hearing and corrode the soul. There is, however, an important, but subtle, difference here that invites further comment. Rather than reducing the spectator to a possessed and passive being enslaved to desire, as we see in his descriptions of the theater, John describes the conversion of the spectator at Daphne into an active participant. Those watching will eventually assume the same debauched and licentious character that is on view in the male chorus: "Often the sight of such choruses seduces even the person who wants to be sober into copying the same inde-

cent behavior against their will." John intends this description to leave his audience wondering what other diabolic festivals take place in Daphne that may endanger Christians. Should they even set foot on the suburb's devil-soaked soil now that Babylas rests so far from it?

### Jewish High Holidays and the Synagogue

In the early autumn of 386 and 387, the fasts, festivals, and celebrations of the Jewish High Holidays are draining his congregation of its numbers. During this time, John paints the Jewish rituals as demonic creations that easily lure weaker Christians away from the safety of his congregation. In *Adv. Jud.* 2, John criticizes Christian husbands who neglect the spiritual care of their wives during this time in particular and have not tried to revive them from their "frivolous indifference."[70] These women have become easy prey, chasing the bait offered by any authoritative voice. The devil easily intervenes to sever these female bodies from their male counterparts, as John notes:

> When the devil calls the wives to the Feast of Trumpets, you do not restrain them as they readily listen to him. You allow them to be seized in accusations of impiety (*asebeia*); you allow them to be carried off into licentiousness (*akolasia*).[71]

At the Feast of Trumpets, according to John, Christian wives are surrounded by "prostitiutes and effeminates and every chorus of dancers."[72] Most importantly, they are surrounded by demons: "Did you fail to hear the reasoning in my last discourse that demonstrated to us clearly that demons inhabit the very souls of Jews and the places in which they come together?"[73] Women, then, are precariously open to the demonic contagion that is available at the Jewish festivals and that John configures in sexual, moral, and theological terms. The demons of transgression that reside in the Jewish "Christ killers" also dance with wayward Christian wives at the festivals, and John expresses his deep and understandable concern: "Are you not afraid that your wife will come back from there after a demon has taken her?"[74]

Thus John is equally resolute that Christians not come anywhere near the synagogue. He characterizes the building repeatedly as a visible public monument that exudes a demonic presence. The diabolized structure draws to it all abandoned by God and embraced by the devil:

> There where a prostitute has established herself, that place is a brothel. Not only is the synagogue a brothel and a theater, it also is a destination of robbers and a lodging for wild animals. For Jeremiah said: "Your house has become for me the den of a hyena." He does not simply say "of a wild beast," but "of a unclean animal." But again he says, "I have abandoned my house, I have cast off my inheritance." But when God abandons a people, what hope of salvation remains? When God leaves a place, that place becomes one that demons inhabit.[75]

Finally, John has had personal experience supporting his claims regarding syn-
agogue malevolence. In *Adv. Jud.* 1.3.4, he interrupts his flow of thought to intro-
duce an encounter he had had a few days earlier. Chrysostom had seen two people
struggling in front of a synagogue in Antioch. Both are Christian, though, as we
will discover, each is of a very different Christian caliber: the woman is baptized;
the man, a much weaker Christian, most certainly is not. John relates how the
woman had called desperately for help while the man appeared to be dragging her
into the synagogue against her will. After John rescues the woman, he eventually
discovers that the man is trying to force the woman into the synagogue to swear a
business oath, because people have informed him that oaths sworn at the syna-
gogue are far more to be feared than those sworn anywhere else. John seems to
associate her baptismal identity with her ethical and moral characterization.
Despite these strong qualities, however, John still depicts the isolated female as no
match for the man who has brought her there. John describes him as a perversely
inclined and demonically driven Christian male. Seduced by the devil, the man
has attempted to overpower the woman and drag her into the synagogue against
her will. John describes the man as completely out of control and acting irration-
ally. The female "believer" is helpless, begging for rescue but incapable of liberat-
ing herself from the more powerful, demonically contaminated male. She begs
John to stop the "lawless violence (*tēn anomon bian*)."[76] He reacts in an equally
violent manner: "I was on fire with indignation. I became angry. I rose up. I refused
to let her be dragged into that transgression (*tēn paranomian*). I snatched her from
the hands of her abductor."[77] In John's carefully constructed image, the fact of reli-
gious violation and ritual transgression is mixed with the suggestion of sexual vio-
lation. John's rousing rhetoric must have left his audience shuddering, if only
momentarily, at the thought of what this modest woman's fate would have been if
he had not passed by. When the man finally comes to his senses and is asked why
he has dragged the woman to the synagogue, he explains that he has heard that the
synagogue is a more powerful place to make oaths. In other words, John names the
devil as the puppet master behind the man's irrational thinking and behavior and
concludes that "the uninitiated/unaccomplished of the Christians (*atelesterous
Xristianous*)" are all too easily frightened, like little children.[78] John manipulates
both of these narratives to disclose the deadly, frightening power that Jewish ritu-
als hold over simpleminded and, I would propose, unbaptized Christians. Inevita-
bly such rituals manage to lure all of the weaker, unbaptized Christians into the
"shrines of men who have been rejected, dishonored, and condemned"—and thus
into a "place that demons inhabit."[79]

He designs both narratives to prompt listeners to ask the question, What will
simpleminded Christians carry with them once they leave the "dwelling places of
demons" and return inevitably to the church? In his depiction of the Christian wife
drawn to the Feast of Trumpets, John incites his listeners to imagine a wide range

of pollution possibilities. Scholars have observed that literary depictions of a woman's sexual pollution do not express excessive concern for the fate of the woman herself. Rather, she functions metaphorically as the external pollution's means of entry into the *oikos,* and by extension the *politeia.*[80] As we might suspect, then, although John expresses concern for these wives, he is more concerned that they can carry a demon (or demonic contagion) into the Christian household/community. As he extrapolates in a rhetorical address to the women themselves (quoted more fully below), "Please explain to me, then, how do you have the boldness, after dancing with demons, to come back to the gathering of the apostles?"[81] John is trying to protect the community's integrity. Obedient congregants should not have to face a Jewish contagion smuggled illicitly into their homes in the bodies of religiously promiscuous wives. Whatever passes into an individual Judaizing body can easily slip further into an unaware Christian community. Such is the nature of demonic possession, expanding quickly from an initial and contained manifestation in a single Judaizer to a plague of immorality and malevolence overtaking an entire community. Thus John is resolute in his insistence that such individuals be kept out of the church.

It would be shortsighted to suggest that John's concern is limited to maintaining the purity of the community. More importantly, in both narratives he is intent on safeguarding the ritual purity of the sacraments of the church. In *Adv. Jud.* 2, the devil lures wives to the synagogue and sites of Jewish celebration, where they mingle with people through Jewish (diabolizing) ritual practices. John portrays the scene in a lewd manner. He vividly suggests the potential for a kind of sexualized/demonic assault. In such locations, through heedless Judaizing, the wife can easily contract a demonic pollution. John's direct address to the wife is of particular interest:

> How do you have the boldness, after dancing with demons, to come back to the community of the apostles? After you have gone out and joined together those who shed the blood of Christ, how do you come back and share with us in his sacred banquet, and partake of his precious blood? Do you not shiver? Are you not afraid when you commit such outrages? Have you so little respect for this very banquet?[82]

The similarities to 2 Corinthians 10 are clear: do not share a table with demons and expect to return to the church and be able to take part in the Eucharist. John frames the Feast of Trumpets as the devil's best ritual setting and scenario for a Christian to pick up a demonic infection and eventually carry it to Christ's table. During these events those who "shed the blood of Christ" and are now infested with demons might mix with Christian bodies and pass on their demonic contagion to the Christian community. At that point, how easily might this demonic contagion spread to the souls of the baptized and then corrupt the eucharistic blood? John implicitly conveys his fear of demonic transference in his explicit

instructions regarding the Judaizer's ecclesiastical privileges after attending the feast. An unbaptized Judaizer must be kept outside the church doors. But if that person is "a believer and already initiated," she must be "driven from the holy table."[83]

In both narratives (the baptized woman and the wayward wife), John exposes what he sees as the diabolic intent and demonic ontology of Jewish ritual. He portrays oath taking and the Feast of Trumpets as traps luring weak-minded Christians (i.e., women), who are then contaminated and sent out to spread their demonic contagion to other Christians in an attempt to infect one of the most sacred Christian rituals. Thus John introduces these events not to delegitimate or negate the power inherent in Jewish ritual. Rather, he suggests that Jewish rituals are extremely powerful—and threatening because of that power. Demons have overtaken Jewish rituals and transformed them into a dark, perverse power through which they seduce and demonically corrupt Christians. In this way, demons attempt to do nothing less than infect and pollute the very core of sacramental Christian practice.

## *REMEDIA*

Disease, poverty, famine, natural disasters, imperial rule, and war conspire against the health and longevity of everyone, regardless of socioeconomic status. Constantine passes a law that recognizes these hardships in an interesting way. Marking a divide between illicit magic and healing *remedia, Codex Theodosianus* 9.16.3 (319 CE) condemns "the science (*scientia*) of those men who are equipped with magical arts (*magicis accincti artibus*)."[84] Individuals discovered to have harmed anyone are punished severely. But then the law starkly deviates, authorizing non-Christian *remedia* intended for the healing of human bodies. The law also shelters ritual actions protecting against natural disasters. At the beginning of the fourth century, then, imperial law essentially legalizes ritual *remedia.* As the fourth century progresses, however, Christian rituals increasingly gain a firm footing in public spaces. Ecclesiastical rituals spill from the church to the street in stational liturgies; martyr cults move from distant cemeteries to crowd the city center. And *remedia* soon come under increasing suspicion.[85]

As noted in chapter 1, John diabolizes a handful of such ritual practices. In John's view, many of the small and mobile activities, such as incantational prayers, incubational practices, and amulets manufactured by healers, pose a threat to ecclesiastical authority. Practices often take place in private, enclosed spaces; in many cases itinerant healers perform these rituals in a Christian domestic sphere— an environment not yet colonized by ecclesiastical authority. Furthermore, this realm of ritual practice pertains primarily to to those who tend to the sick—in other words, women. John complains of congregants who go to drunken old

women (*graōdeis mythous*) who make and sell amulets (*ta periapata*) and incantations (*epōidai*) to heal the sick or protect children;[86] he also chides those who wrap river names around their wrists for apotropaic protection (*heterai potamōn onamata periaptousi*) or sprinkle ashes, soot, and salt to protect against the evil eye, which they foolishly believe can easily take a child (*ophthalmos hērpase to paidion*).[87] He dismisses all of these as the "devices of Satan" (*tauta ta satanika; ē satanikē ennoia; methodeia diabolikē*).[88] Such rituals amount to idolatry and endanger salvation. He is quite clear both here in *Hom. Col.* 8 as well as in *Catechesis ad illuminandos* 12 that none of these "devices" are needed; people should trust only in Christ's cross and rely solely on the sign of the cross for healing:

> Do you not realize what an incredible result the Cross has achieved? Is it not something that can be trusted for the body's health? It has elevated the entire world. And are you unable to take courage in it?[89]

To open the private, unregulated ritual spaces of the home to an itinerant healer is one of the most dangerous things one can do. John claims that one risks nothing less than Christian salvation in extending such a foolish invitation. To make his point he presents a particularly familiar ritual figure, an elderly female healer, whom he describes in derogatory terms as a "drunken old hag." By referring to her in this manner, John deliberately sets her in alignment with female magic workers in Greco-Roman literary accounts. Ridicule is certainly an effective and rhetorically favored means of undermining her authority.

John is disconcerted by what can happen when people untrained and uninitiated in ecclesiastical orders administer Christian ritual healing. This "drunken old hag" claims to have authority based on her own Christian status. She uses only God's name in her prayers. But according to John, her ambivalent ritual status and charismatic authority leaves her open to other forces. Thus he declares, predictably:

> It is for this reason that I especially hate and turn away from her, because she insolently misuses the name of God. . . . For even the demons invoked the name of God, but still they were demons.[90]

John's warnings are stern: a desperate mother's acceptance of the healing rituals that a so-called fellow Christian offers can spark a grave cosmological crisis in a Christian household: "The Cross is certainly dishonored; these charms (*grammata*) preferred before it. Christ is cast out."[91] More frightening still, Christianity's future rests on inevitable moments of female weakness. When a mother or a nurse seeks this kind of healing for a sick child, "Christ is cast out, and a drunken old woman is brought in. Our mystery has been trodden upon as the devil dances."[92] The implicit message regarding Christological ritual speech and ritual action is clear: any speech or action involving or indicating Christ will ward off the devil—

e.g., Creed, baptismal formulae, statement of joining with Christ (*syntagē*), sign of the cross. These ritual acts comprise very powerful, cosmogonic elements in language and gesture. Yet the rituals take place in a sensory environment in which demons hold sway; thus Christological speech and action require an ecclesiastical agent, someone divinely initiated and prepared to participate. Demons cluster around the edges of the spoken name of God and any ritual speech involved in transforming a human being from an unbaptized to baptized status; demons wait avidly for the unbaptized and the unordained or simply those unprepared in some measure who invoke these formulae improperly.

John also addresses the topic of *remedia* in his *Adversus Judaeos* homilies. In the case of fever, sickness, and disease, congregants go to the synagogue—a place of notable holy power—to seek amuletic healing. His reaction to the Jewish healers who manufacture amulets is similar to his attack on female healers who enter the home. Demons are involved in the practices of ritual healing; in fact they often cause the illness in order to seduce the sick into using magical cures. To accept such healing endangers the soteriological "healing" Christ has established in the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection. But John's descriptions of drunken old hags differs from his attack against Jewish healers in one essential respect. Aside from a brief mention in *Adv. Jud.* 8 of Jews who are "sorcerers and dealers in witchcraft" and mendaciously offer amulets, incantations, charms, and spells to the suffering, human ritualists quickly fade from the images he creates.[93] Instead, John encourages his listeners to imagine demons bleeding darkly through a translucent Jewish skin:

> I wish [demons] would not kill men's bodies, that [demons] would not plot against men. But they will. The demons cast men from Paradise and deprived them of honor from above. Will [demons] cure their bodies? That is ridiculous, mere stories. The demons know how to plot and do harm, not to cure. Will you cure your body and destroy your soul?[94]

John never declares that Jews are complicit in the demons' efforts to seduce Christians with Jewish healing magic. Nor does John identify which rituals are involved. He speaks in intentionally vague terms regarding the actual practices and ritual objects; understandably, this has induced several scholars to suspect the historicity of such Jewish *remedia*. Despite the vague nature of John's descriptions, he is clear on a few key points that are consistent with his demonology elsewhere. Demonic agency and duplicitous purpose stand behind the promise of some kinds of Jewish (i.e., non-Christian) ritual healing. Likewise, in John's view the rituals themselves may actually work, which makes them all the more appealing. Jewish/demonic rituals may cool fevers, heal wounds, and cure disease, but at what cost to the soul? John expresses the diabolic danger that hides deep within an apparent gift of ritual healing:

Even if the Jews seem to bring comfort to your fever with their incantations (*epōidais*), they are not relieving it. They are endangering your conscience (*syneidos*) with another, more dangerous fever. Every day you will feel the sting of remorse; every day your reasoning (*logismos*) will flog you. And what will your conscience (*syneidos*) say? "You sinned against God, you transgressed his Law, you violated your covenant with Christ. For an insignificant ailment you betrayed your faith. . . . With what kind of conscience (*syneidos*) will you actually enter the church? With what kind of eyes will you look at the priest? With what hands will you touch the sacred banquet? With what ears will you listen to the reading of the scriptures there?[95]

In this passage John positions Jewish ritual healing as diametrically opposed to Christian ritual. He does so in a manner that not only contrasts Jewish and Christian rituals, but also draws into focus the unsustainable paradox in the embodied identity of the person who attempts to engage in both. John portrays a conscience that labors to maintain a grip on a quickly fragmenting Christian identity that struggles against interior treacherous forces urging such transgressive ritual action. This passage also reminds us of the conscience's struggle with the soul in *Hom. Matt.* 42, discussed above. Here, rather than battling dangerous thoughts, the constituent aspects of the Self struggle over the prospect of engaging in dangerous ritual behavior. After partaking in Jewish ritual, according to John, a person is in danger of transforming into a foreign, unknown entity. What ears, what eyes, what hands are now partaking of the Eucharist? Is this body still comprised of the assembled parts of a baptized Christian? Or is this a soul destroyed, transformed into a demonic vessel that moves into the intimate parts of the church and pollutes the holiest of Christian rituals? Synagogues are dwelling places of demons. Jews themselves are dwelling places of demons. How many Jewish rituals can a Christian engage in before transforming the church itself into a dwelling place of demons?

## EXORCISM AND BAPTISM: TURNING THE TABLES IN A DIABOLIC CITY

In his baptismal instructions John Chrysostom declares that an unbaptized Christian is filled with demons. His or her mind is "a deserted inn without a door," "a refuge for wild beasts, a dwelling place for demons."[96] John places the blame squarely on the city of Antioch. The unbaptized soul (*psychē*) and mind, or more properly reasoning faculty (*dianoia*), is a flawed, deformed entity. It has been subjected to Antioch's diabolic materiality in the city's theaters, hippodrome, baths, synagogues, marketplaces, pagan shrines, temples, statues, and heretical churches. Slowly, steadily, the soul/mind transforms into a "wrinkled," "spotted," "ugly," and "deformed" monstrosity.[97] Therefore John insists that baptizands separate themselves as much as possible from this spiritually deforming environment during their ritual preparation before baptism.[98]

While John Chrysostom's descriptions are fragmentary, they nonetheless provide valuable and intriguing insight into his theorization of the devil's means of corrupting souls and minds, means that tie in directly to the social and topographical contexts of Antioch and Daphne; according to John, the media of demonic corruption and/or divine cleansing revolve notably around the practices of speech and language. Moreover, John ties speech practices directly to the recovery of the soul/mind. For the remainder of this chapter, we will explore how John Chrysostom constructs his ritual process of baptism. Particular focus will fall upon his quite powerful ontological and cosmological theorization of language and the transformative power of sacramental and scriptural words that he sets specifically in the urban sphere. As we laid out in the first half of this chapter, John portrays a demonological pathology specifically tied to the city of Antioch. In his baptismal instructions, then, he proposes verbal tactics (as well as behavioral dispositions) of spiritual warfare: a baptized Christian vies with bodiless powers through "bold speech" (*parrhēsia*).[99]

As a pre-Cartesian church father living in the enchanted world of late antiquity, John does not "psychologize" or reduce the demonic to a mere rhetorical tool in order to impress on his congregants the importance of moral probity. Rather, if a baptizand speaks with the devil's language, according to John, he or she damages and deforms his or her soul. Here I again have in mind the crucial observations of Gregory A. Smith. In the recent, theoretically sophisticated scholarship on demonology and asceticism/monasticism, Smith recognizes a tendency, even now, to neglect or sideline the physical character of the demon in favor of an overriding interest in the discursive "topos" of demon.[100] The tendency to overlook the palpable materiality of the demonic is part and parcel of a literary-critical as well as a psychoanalytical approach to the interpretation of demonology and asceticism in general.[101] For this reason specifically (i.e., scholars' post-Cartesian neglect of—or discomfort with—the issue of demonic materiality), I have chosen the intertwined perspectives of cultural history and anthropology to preside in our interpretation. This allows a focus on the efficacy of ritual practice and the body (and the embodied) in an enchanted worldview.

After catechumens have passed through the initial rite of entry into the catechumenate, priests and exorcists turn to the task of repairing and reshaping the deformity (*amorphia*) of the candidates' cognitive and perceptual faculties.[102] Men and women with deformed souls cannot be baptized. As John explains, daily exorcisms are a crucial tool in this process, and the power inherent in "the words of the exorcists" is absolute:[103] "even if the demon is fierce and cruel, after these terrifying words and the invocation of the common Master of everything, he has to withdraw with all speed."[104] John understands baptism itself as the final rite in a contingent, lengthy ritual process through which the soul/mind moves progressively from a deformed (*amorphia*), compromised, and unstable condition to a cleansed, firm,

and fortified state. Finally, the baptismal seal closes the soul off from any and all demonic corruption; in John's words, the sight of the cross stamped upon the baptized through the chrism "would make all demons tremble."[105] John offers a visually compelling depiction of the ritual process that conveys the multidimensional nature of baptismal transformation. We gain insight reading John's idea of transformation from a sociological perspective, of course. However our view is severely limited until we consider the ritual from an ontological and cosmological perspective also. The baptized have been transformed into "[t]he newly sealed, the chosen soldiers of Christ." They are the "new creation" that Paul describes in 2 Corinthians 5:17. John explains the transformation in cognitive terms:

> The grace (*charis*) of God has entered these souls and remolded them (*meteplase*), reformed them (*meterrhythmēse*), and made them different from what they were (*allas ant' allōn autas eirgasato*). It did not change their substance, but made over their will (*tēn ousian metabalousa alla tēn proairesin metaskeuasasa*), no longer allowing the tribunal of the mind's eyes to entertain an erroneous notion (*tōn ophalmōn tēn dianoias to kritērion ouk aphieisa*), but by dissipating the mist (*lēmēn*) that was blinding their eyes, God's grace made them see the ugly deformity of evil and virtue's shining beauty as they are.[106]

After being transformed, a baptized Christian can begin to discern subtle differences in the surrounding mists of sensory ambiguity. Sacramental rituals empower the baptized to illuminate or repair the demonically damaged mind as well as protect that mind from further demonic attacks. The ideal medium of attack against the demonic enemy is a well-known form of public ritualized speech outfitted to this purpose—a Christianized version of *parrhēsia:* that is, speaking boldly and freely to the demonic enemy.

John uses vivid figurative language to communicate the ontological and cosmological aspects of the transformation. In his first instruction (*Catech. illum.* 1.5–16), he depicts baptizands standing in the sensory order (*epi tōn aisthētōn*) like a new bride in her father's house.[107] The bride's paternal ancestry was originally pure, but since the fall of Adam and Eve, unclean demons have freely invaded and deformed (*amorphia*) the bride's soul; after this, she relentlessly engages in idolatry that results in drunkenness, licentiousness, and other wayward behavior. Eventually, Christ transforms the bride's soul, opening up a path of baptism. Through the ritual process of baptism, an individual works to loosen the bonds that anchor a person's soul or mind to the corrupted sensory order in order to join the house of the bridegroom in the spiritual order (*ta pneumatika*).[108] Once a person is successfully baptized, he or she will no longer be a member of a demonically deformed humanity but a Christian soldier. As one of the spiritual order, she or he will now be able to walk through the streets of Antioch invulnerable to the traps of the sensory environment.

Elsewhere John describes this transformation of the soul/mind using the language of contracts and agreements, and couches the transition from Satan to Christ in legal terms. At the beginning of humanity God established a formal arrangement between Satan and man known as "the contract of our heritage (*cheirographon patrōn*)."[109] Adam authors the contract with his fall. The subsequent generations of men have compounded the interest with their own failings: "In this contract (*to cheirographon*) are written a curse, and sin, and death, and the condemnation of the law."[110] In *Hom. Col.* 6, John contends that Christ's crucifixion has broken the contract. By taking the decree authorizing man's enslavement to Satan and "nailing it to the Cross" (Col. 2:14), Jesus has erased humanity's debt.[111] He has destroyed death and subjugated the devil. The cosmology shifts in that moment. In *De coemeterio et de cruce,* John once again clarifies that Christ's and Satan's first battle has announced a new hierarchical order to the entire cosmos:

> Just as a noble king who has vanquished a terrible enemy hangs up that enemy's and his troops' breastplates, shields, and weapons on a lofty trophy stand, so too Christ, who, after defeating the devil, has hung up all [the devil's] weapons . . . high on the Cross as on a victory monument so that all the powers above in heaven and men below on earth and the wicked demons who have been conquered may see them.[112]

The crucifixion has not utterly destroyed Satan's contract with humanity; nor is that Christ's intention. Instead, the event of the crucifixion has effected a renegotiation of the contract. For those who choose to remain in their current agreement with Satan, the binding articles will increase with each new sin.[113] Those who wish to move into a more salutary contractual relationship with Christ can enter the Lenten catechumenate to prepare for this arrangement. Thus, John also understands the crucifixion to presage the baptizand's own victory over Satan during baptism and later in his/her own battles as a soldier of Christ.[114] The spoken baptismal formulae and the invocation of the Creed on Easter Day produce the substance of a new contract with Christ within the baptizand: "This became the signature, this the agreement, this the contract (*touto cheirographon egeneto, touto synthēkē, touto grammateion*)."[115]

John's view of the cosmos leads him to insist that each human being has a contract with either Christ or Satan. In his cosmology, a person cannot act as a "free agent." Furthermore, after baptism, it is still quite possible to resurrect the older contract if one is not careful about taking care of the new one with Christ. Those who neglect their new duties may nullify their alliance with Christ and reestablish their enslavement to Satan. To maintain one's contractual arrangement with Christ, one has to live up to one's obligations as a soldier of Christ and an enemy of Satan and his demons.[116] Furthermore, John's language is particularly important. Spiritual warfare is central to his notion of Christian ritual identity. He speaks of

the newly baptized Christian soldier, endowed with *aretē* and possessing an ability to "fight with bodiless powers" (*tais asōmatois hamillasthai dynamesi*).[117]

What exactly defines "spiritual warfare" is the topic of chapter 3.

<div align="center">EXORCISM</div>

In *Catech. illum.* 2, John offers his most direct description of prebaptismal exorcisms:

> It is necessary that you understand why, after the instruction daily, we send you to the words of the exorcists (*epi tas tōn exorkizontōn hymas phōnas parapempomen*). For this rite does not happen without plan or purpose, but you will receive dwelling within you the heavenly King; this is why, after you received our warning, those [exorcists] who are assigned to this, as if they were making a certain house ready for a coming royal visit, thus cleansed your intellectual faculty using these fearful words, forcing every wretched artifice to flee, and making your intellectual faculty worthy for the kingly presence.[118]

Prebaptismal exorcisms are necessary because the unbaptized mind has been utterly corrupted by unclean demons (*tois akathartois daimosin*),[119] and the soul is deformed (*amorphia*). The mind's dejected state is inevitable after years of idle or dangerous conversation (e.g., making oaths or engaging in magical rituals such as *defixiones* or *katadesmoi*) in the theater or in the hippodrome. These social behaviors and ritual actions afford the devil the perfect opportunity to "trip up" humanity repeatedly by inflaming the passions that lead to behavioral drunkenness (*methē*) and licentiousness (*akolasia*). Daily life in a demon-filled city has "darkened [the] reason," produced a "loss of understanding," and induced "a straying of reason from its natural ways."[120] Consequently, the unbaptized, being "subject to the tyranny of the devil, like captives . . . [are] led to this place and that."[121]

In *Hom. Matt.* 11 John sheds light on the ontological wear and tear that an unbaptized person endures living in a demonically compromised city. After several days immersed in urban living, Christians will finally enter the church again. At that point the priest has to erase the "unintelligible and misshapen" (*asēma kai diestrammena*) letters and impressions (*ta charagmata*) that "the devil has engraved (*enetypōse*)" on their souls.[122] He rewrites a salvific inscription through the Spirit. Likewise in *De incomprehensibili natura Dei* 2.8 John speaks of producing "a mind swept and clean and free to hear God's word," but only after clearing out the demonic dross his congregants' minds have collected during time spent in Antioch's public spaces.[123] However, as soon as his congregants venture out into the city again, they will forget the lessons of his sermon. The characters John has impressed on their minds will dull and blur as the devil engraves deeply on their minds thousands of his images and words. In many ways, it is a losing battle.

However, the drudgery of a Christian's psychic or cognitive upkeep can be altogether avoided if that person is baptized. Then, the Creed will stand "exactly planted in our intellectual faculty," thus actively obstructing the devil's inscriptions and letters.[124]

Prebaptismal exorcisms are an essential part of the preparation for permanent engraving. John insists that as the mind approaches baptism it has to be made quite different. He informs candidates that on that day they must display the entire change or transformation of their mind that has occurred since they began the baptismal training. On that day "it is necessary that the mind be exactly fixed in pious faith [i.e., the Creed], and the tongue through its agreement shout forth the resolution of the understanding faculty" (*dei gar kai tēn dianoian estērichthai bebaiōs en tēi eusebei pistei kai tēn glōttan dia tēs homologias kēryttein to pepēgos tēs dianoias*).[125] In other words, the mind must be rehabilitated in both a demonological and a Stoic sense. It must be evacuated of unclean demons and become capable of rational thought.

It takes several weeks of daily exorcisms to transform a mind crippled by unclean demons into a mind cleansed, fortified, stable, and capable of cognitive clarity. John places a great deal of emphasis on the ritual of exorcism in one's progress toward baptism. In his ascription of power to the "words of the exorcists," he reflects the contemporary belief in the power of ritual speech as well as in a world filled with spiritual beings affected by such words. That is, despite modern suggestions to the contrary, John declares clearly a compulsory, *ex opere operato* efficacy inherent in the ritual speech of the exorcisms:

> After he [a demon] hears that terror-inducing formula, even if he is a dangerous beast, he is not capable of slinking away or lurking in his den, but he makes off and runs away even against his will.[126]

Though his form of expression could be metaphorical, here John's language is unequivocal: he depicts a compulsive, physical force inherent in ritual speech. In *Incompr. nat. Dei* 3, although his language is vague, John again has in mind the same verbal efficacy when he briefly describes the method of helping the demon-possessed. In the midst of this passage John draws his listeners' attention to a "large crowd" of demoniacs, for whom the congregation would then pray collectively.[127] But this passage also displays certain differences. John does not describe an act of formal exorcism, let alone a series of exorcisms; instead, he mentions a communal prayer: in other words, the ritualized performance of words—perhaps a well-known scriptural passage—that acts to expel the demonic from those suffering some kind of demonic possession. This passage in *De incomprehensibili natura Dei* provides insight into the degree to which exorcistic practice finds new and variant shapes in late antique ecclesiastical Christianity. It is an era of exorcistic improvisation—a period in which congregants have an increasing number of exorcistic

options outside of the church. For example, as noted in chapter 1 of this study, John describes parents who take their sons who have been "manipulated by demons" and trek up Mount Silpius to visit all of the holy men in search of a cure.[128]

In an important way, then, prebaptismal exorcisms stand distinctively apart from general exorcistic and apotropaic practice occurring in the church at that time and in the city. These rituals are performed daily throughout the weeks of baptismal preparation. They are embedded within a day of instruction and other forms of ritual practice. According to John they directly follow catechetical instruction. Furthermore, they prepare the baptizands for the more powerful ritual of baptism. Consequently, we are dealing with a ritual process that changes a person fundamentally.

There are several very important dimensions of this transformation to consider here. First of all: yes, the transformation is sociological, but understanding the late antique animistic worldview demands a more complicated, rigorous approach than that available in traditional sociological models of conversion. In his reading of the baptismal and sacramental lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem and Ambrose of Milan, Thomas Finn describes a conversion movement from evil to divinity through a repeated exorcistic event that announces to the catechumen his new identity:

> The rite [of exorcism] is an ordeal that seeks to evoke in the baptizands a sense of the power of evil and to elicit confession of sins (we are not told in what form). The daily repetition of exorcism seeks to force the evil spirit to give way to the Holy Spirit. The intended effect is the baptizands' gradual withdrawal from the power of their culture and their past—*a therapeutic rite.*[129]

Finn has loosely appropriated Victor Turner's emphasis on rites of passage to consider the Lenten catechumenate and/or baptismal training, with mixed results. His interpretation favors an ideological and hence symbolic interpretation of the ritual process rather than a reading of instrumental or ontological ritual action. In his view, weeks of repeating the same performative act inevitably accomplish no more than mid-twentieth-century psychological relief: exorcism is a "therapeutic rite."

Finn offers the term "encapsulation" to serve for Turner's *communitas* and to denote "a procedure developed to teach something new, especially a new set of values and way of life."[130] On its own, Finn's model provides a pragmatic account of processes of edification and ideology production within baptismal training. However, its aim is insular. That is, Finn's model fails to account for the baptized community's interaction with the rest of the city or, for that matter, to propose a mode of Christian baptism that transforms a person into a ritual (and ritualizing) agent participating in urban transformation. Indeed, it does not account for baptismal ritual (both prebaptismal exorcisms and baptism) as an instrumental

or transformative agent in any fundamental respect related to the larger urban environment.

Here, then, we will add to the sociological in a manner that addresses these oversights. Let us attend closely to the ontology of ritual practice that undergirds John's discussions of prebaptismal exorcisms, baptism, and the Eucharist. What kind of language might we develop as modern scholars to discuss a baptizand's cognitively understood and sensorily perceived change from demonic contagion to holiness?

Let us be clear in what we intend by the vague phrase "ontology of ritual practice." Our definition is specific, as it offers a critical intervention into the current considerations of ritual efficacy/instrumentality in late antiquity.[131] If we understand ritual agency/instrumentality/efficacy in the full and responsive, interactive animistic atmosphere of the late antique world, we may imaginatively reconstruct the real, material transformations (bodily, social, the perceived cosmological) that people of the time perceive or understand to have taken place in ritual practice. In the case of John Chrysostom we are somewhat fortunate. Though John's descriptions are brief and scattered throughout the baptismal homilies as well as other homilies, he consistently conveys the same principles of ritual ontology, ritual agency, transformation, and so forth. In brief, he articulates an ontological transformation—that is, an intellectual or cognitive progression of the souls/minds—in material terms. After several weeks of daily exorcisms, John insists, the mind is no longer an inn open and free to all demons. Rather, after repeatedly experiencing "the words of the exorcists," a mind transforms from the demonic to the divine, from the sensual order (*epi tōn aisthētōn*) to the spiritual order (*ta pneumatika*).[132] The baptizand—more specifically his or her mind (*dianoia*)—recuperates. No longer wrinkled, stained, deformed, and ugly—the soul/mind of the baptizand becomes a fortified, cleansed faculty of rational judgment.[133] That person now possesses a mind capable of assuming agency within an initiation process; the mind participates actively in a final transition from the sensory realm of unstable and fluctuating *doxa* to the firm and permanent spiritual realm of *epistēmē*.

Turning our attention to the ontology of ritual practice (more specifically, the transformative power of ritual words and, related to this, the ontology/materiality of language) allows a different set of questions to move to the foreground. How does John understand (and also construct) daily exorcisms to reshape the souls/minds of baptizands physically? Exactly what kind of language does he use? Likewise, how precisely does John imagine a baptized Christian's actions (e.g., making an oath) will alter—even endanger—the ontological improvements that a person's mind or soul has achieved through sacramental ritual? In what ways does John attach moral and ethical value to the physiology of sacramental and ritual agency? Does John develop an ontology (or materiality) of morality or sin, which he ties in some way to the efficacy of the sacraments? Are there parallels for John's language elsewhere in late antiquity, beyond those I have already covered in Stoicism (e.g.,

perhaps pollution and purity discourses in Judaism, Greco-Roman religions, or the *PGM,* for example)?

To grasp the ritual agency imparted to the baptizand through the repeated exorcisms and, finally, through baptism itself (and hence to consider the fact of transformation—bodily, social, urban, and potentially violent), I return once more to Bourdieu's notion of *habitus.* In the ritual actions, gestures, and the word of the scriptures spoken, read, and sung over and over again, the bodies of baptizands come to sense intuitively the demonic in the hippodrome, the theater, heretical and Jewish religious assemblies, and so many other locations in Antioch. In these several weeks of daily exorcisms, baptizands come to apprehend physically—in ritual gestures and verbal formulae as well as through daily ethical instruction— the contours of their own demonic body as it slowly transitions to a holy vessel. Just as importantly, they can also come to realize a demonic city that brings each of them so close to damnation.

We can begin to imagine this process of radical transformation by turning to the work of R. L. Stirrat, a cultural anthropologist whose discussion of a Christian exorcism cult in the middle of Buddhist Sri Lanka is extremely illuminating. Stirrat recognizes a process whereby a person new to the cult transitions from being a passive victim introduced to a demonological worldview to viewing himself or herself as an active participant in the creation of that worldview. He describes a collaborative relationship between exorcists and the exorcised:

> Regular attenders at shrines such as Kudagama were and are fascinated by the demonic. At Kudagama, demons have a very real existence, as real an existence as people or animals or objects. The nature of the demonic is a continual topic of conversation at the shrine. Newcomers . . . who arrive knowing little or nothing about the demons quickly learn their names and habits. Furthermore, during the fits and trances of the possessed, more knowledge is generated. The world of demons is continually being reshaped and reformed in its details. New demons are discovered; new aspects of their being are made plain. Yet at an overall level certain contours of the cosmos remain constant, in particular the essentially dualistic framework of the Catholic tradition which is made manifest in the continual cosmic battle between the forces of good and evil.[134]

Baptizands in Antioch will have shared the experience of prebaptismal exorcisms in a similar way. While exorcisms indoctrinate an individual baptizand into the knowledge and correct performance of the Christian ritual formulae, we must also recognize that as baptizands come together they take possession of that knowledge. Most especially, baptizands will have experienced exorcism and demonic contagion through John's framework of Stoic cognitive theory. They will have come to experience, and then convey, a view of Antioch as demonically corrupt and corrupting via its images, words, songs, rituals, and so forth. As baptizands and eventually baptized Christians, they will have contributed their own

personal experiences with demonic struggle and exorcistic battle in Antioch in a continuing production and proliferation of that knowledge.

Third—and closely related to the second dimension—baptismal transformation is cosmological. Though the original publications were forty years ago, Stanley Tambiah's treatment of Sinhalese exorcism rites and magical speech are extremely helpful here. In configuring the exorcism formulae as performative utterances, Tambiah has argued that they "enact and incarnate cosmological conceptions."[135] Speech-act theory figures prominently in his reading. The linguistic theorists John Searle and John Austin approach words not simply as vehicles of communication but as agents of action.[136] An illocutionary or performative utterance does not merely say something or describe an action; it actually accomplishes that action in the appropriate circumstances.[137] Tambiah applies these principles in his description of exorcism as a powerful and authority-granting practice. In Tambiah's view, ritual speech gains its generative or transformative power because the speech act is grounded in a much larger amalgam of ritual speech, action, objects, practitioners, and cosmological structures: therefore, the speaking agent speaks a reality.

In "A Performative Approach to Ritual," Tambiah offers a strong critical intervention, focusing his efforts on the ways in which rituals do not simply represent or symbolize cosmological structures but in their performance serve to produce a cosmological reality and reveal the means of accessing the powers rooted in that reality.[138]

John's exorcisms announce an uncompromising Nicene reality, and in their repeated performance create that reality for the baptizands and the Nicene church over and over again. In Antioch exorcists perform daily exorcisms over baptizands for several weeks. These and other related rituals steadily rehabilitate baptizands' view of their world, so that newly created soldiers of Christ can perceive their true Christian cosmos clearly. Through daily rituals in the several weeks before the day of their baptism—and their assumption of powerful speech (*parrhēsia*)—they grow reacquainted with the supernatural forces and cosmogonic events that connect a person to the Trinity.

In his sermons, John does not provide actual exorcism formulae, although he does offer a few clues. The exorcist's words recall (*anamimnēskousi*) to the candidates the "Lord Master," the punishment (*kolasis*), the vengeance (*timōria*), and Gehenna (*Geenē*).[139] John associates these words theologically and liturgically with two cosmogonic events in Christianity: Christ's crucifixion and the second coming. Both may very well have become standard formulae within baptismal exorcism formulae by the fifth century, if not much earlier.[140] While the details are sparse, John provides a brief glimpse of a ritual process, repeatedly announcing a Christian cosmogony, cosmological order, and authorities—episodes in sacred history in which Christ defeats demonic powers. Tambiah would claim that this repeated ritual process enacts or creates a cosmological order within which the candidate comes to recognize his/her own place as well as that of his/her exorcists.

## BAPTIZED AND BATTLE READY

John describes the baptizand's spoken words as actualizing an instant, permanent change. As already mentioned, John describes the baptismal formulae in legal terms: "This became the signature, this the agreement, this the contract (*touto cheirographon egeneto, touto synthēkē, touto grammateion*)."[141] *Apotaxis* and *syntaxis* comprise a "written agreement (*grammateia*) between the contracting parties."[142] Just as the crucifixion drew the attention of all cosmological beings and natural powers, the baptizand's performance of the baptismal formulae—the Renunciation of Satan (*apotagē*) and the Attachment to Christ (*syntagē*)—attracts a similarly large audience:[143]

> The words are few, but the power (*dynamis*) of them is great. For the angels who are standing near by and the invisible powers, taking great joy in your conversion, receive your words and take them up to the common master of everything and they are inscribed into the heavenly books (*en tais bibliois tais ouraniois autai eggraphontai*).[144]

Here, however, instead of acting only as witnesses, angels become active participants in the final stages of a person's baptismal transformation. *Apotaxis* and *syntaxis* are the basic ritual elements, which enable a person to forge new contractual relations with Christ. In speaking the words of union with Christ, a person, no longer bound to demonic power, stands in cosmological alignment with divinity alone. Just as the entire cosmological population bore witness to the crucifixion, once again they witness a significant moment when the baptizand finally transforms into an active ritual agent in his/her own baptism by uttering the ritual formulae. Intriguingly, however, it is at this exact point, when the baptizand speaks, that the angels also shift from passive observers to active beings, according to John; they grab the words comprising the two formulae as soon as they are released from the baptizand's lips and lift them up to heaven where the ephemeral mixture of air and sound is transformed into eternal inscriptions in heavenly books. In a mysterious manner the baptized Christian soldier has been materially and spiritually tethered—as his/her own breath is inscribed into heavenly books—into the divine realm: "you who are the new soldiers of Christ (*hoi neoi tou Christou stratiōtai*), who have this day been *inscribed* on the citizen lists of heaven (*hoi eis ton ouranon sēmeron politographēthentes*)."[145]

This cosmological shift is matched by an ontological or cognitive transformation: "You must keep this [truth] firmly fixed inside your rational faculty" (*dei gar kai touto pepēgenai en tēi dianoiai tēi hymeterai*)."[146] Through the baptismal ritual, the Creedal formulae come to stand firmly rooted in the baptizand's intellectual faculty (*dianoia*). John draws on Stoic epistemology here. Candidates spend thirty days learning the Nicene Creed and Creedal apologetics. During baptism, they

speak the words aloud, thus fusing them within their rational faculties. Paul uses similar language in Philippians 1:12–29. In the context of religious competition, Paul encourages his community to strive "to stand firm" in the correct theological beliefs. In spite of Paul's opponents hounding them, the Philippians cannot relinquish this knowledge if they wish to maintain their salvation,.

Troels Engberg-Pedersen has commented on the Stoic undercurrent in Paul's discussion of theological debate. Paul's notion of "standing firm" reflects the concept of *katalēpsis*, "which is a key term in the Stoic theory of knowledge indicating a complete grasp of the truth which cannot be dislodged by reasoning."[147] John echoes Paul's epistemological view in his description of the consequent effect of embodying the Creed through baptism. In speaking the Creed aloud in baptismal ritual, one comes to embody the verbal elements firmly in the manner of a *katalēpsis.* It transforms the mind, fortifying and stabilizing it and ultimately rescuing it in light of its vulnerable exposure in a sensory world. A Christian emerges from baptism a different person, who is ontologically and cosmologically rooted to the heavenly realm and divine truth. As long as the baptized attend to these embodied inscriptions, their rootedness will not change.

Most intriguing, perhaps, is the direct manner in which John characterizes the dual state of "standing firm in heaven" and on earth. The baptismal seal and the baptismal formulae have been imprinted into the mind and hold apotropaic power. As John explains, the ritual act of speaking the baptismal formulae continues to provide apotropaic protection: speaking the two formulae aloud immediately causes demons to flee. Moreover, John ascribes tremendous power to the ritual act of signing the cross and the seal of baptism: "the strength of a wonderful amulet and a potent incantation."[148] Elsewhere John describes the effect the seal has on the devil long after baptism. When the devil sees that a person's baptism/ seal is shining, "he will not dare to stand close by, because he is terrified by [the seal's] brightness. Its light blinds him."[149]

John especially encourages Christians to take advantage of the devil's sacramental phobia and protect the seal's brilliant luster. The primary means of doing this involves the practice of speaking. John asks that the baptized Christian soldiers, in a sense, strip themselves down in their oral performance, almost to their sacramental core: "Let no simple or purposeless word spring forth";[150] "Let there be from us no worldly, thoughtless, and empty conversation";[151] "Keep your tongue only engaged in hymns and praise, in reading of the divine word, and in spiritual conversation, whatever is good for edification, that it may give grace to the hearers."[152] Likewise, the ritual words of baptism function as a protective formula:

> I beg you . . . to hold tightly to this word as a staff and just as without sandals and cloak none of you would choose to go down to the marketplace, so without this word never enter the marketplace (*outō chōris tou rhēmatos toutou mēdepote eis tēn agoran*

*embalēs*); but when you are about to pass over the threshold of the gateway (*to pro-thyra tou pylōnos*), say this word first: "I leave your ranks, Satan, and your pomp, and your service, and I join the ranks of Christ." And never go forth without this phrase (*chōris tēs phōnēs*).[153]

With a baptized Christian's mind sealed and rooted in the constancy of the Christian word, the tongue becomes a weapon of the Spirit, able to "curb their shameless tongues"[154]—that is, the tongues of heretics, Greeks, and Jews as well as the demons directing their words. In becoming a "soldier of Christ," a baptized Christian enters into a larger arena of combat, which is not confined to human populations but instead is inclusive of demonic foes:

> Up to now you have been in an open arena; there all of your contests were forgiven. But from today on, the arena stands open, the contest is ready to begin. Not only is the race of men, but also the host of angels is watching [your] combats.[155]

We speak here of baptism; however, John stretches the image liberally to speak of confrontational battles with the devil as soon as the baptized person leaves the church, using words as weapons (*parrhēsia*). But where, exactly? Before the baptisms, John is exceedingly careful regarding the company his baptizands keep. They have made a contract with Christ to stay the course until baptism. This is an especially delicate period in which baptizands need extra security and protection. He instructs them to carry in their mind at all times the contract and to be sober and watchful so that the enemy of salvation cannot find an opening. It takes very little for the devil to burrow into the mind. Upon entering baptismal training, John insists that baptizands refrain from wandering around in Antioch and mixing with unbaptized, non-Nicene crowds. He is quite clear regarding the dangers involved. As they transition from the discursive and shifting sensory (*aisthēsis*) realm (of the unbaptized) to the epistemic permanency of the pneumatic (*pneuma*) realm (of the baptized), they have to be careful. They must avoid the dangerous social venues where an Arian or Sabellian may be lying in wait to "disturb and confuse" (*tarattō, epitholoō*) a Nicene Christian by introducing "examinations through his own reason into the dogma of the church (*tas ek tōn oikeiōn logismōn zētēseis epeispherōn tois tēs ekklēsias dogmasi*)." The passage is worth quoting in full:

> Let no one hereafter disturb your mind by bringing examinations through his own reason into the dogma of the church as he tries to confuse the teachings that are straight and healthy. But flee the companionship of such people as you would flee poisonous drugs, which could destroy you. For these people are much more dangerous. The poisons do not only do harm to the body; these people inflict indignities upon the very salvation of the soul. This is why it is fitting from the very beginning to flee such conversations.[156]

Now at the end of the baptismal training, baptized Christian soldiers possess the fortified and sealed minds that allow them to reenter the public sphere: with God's grace enveloping their *dianoia* and fortifying their judgment (*to kritērion*), they have moved from a state of "no confidence" in terms of speech practices to an ability to engage in *parrhēsia*. John's message to his congregants, then, is straightforward: speak loudly, speak often, and expel the demons from the streets and bodies of Antioch.

In chapter 1 Antioch was shown to be many different things: unorganized, possessing and possessed by ambiguous forces, comprised of different religions, home to a wide variety of peoples, and so forth. While living and preaching in a city that can easily slip into an animistic chaos, John Chrysostom presents a powerful unifying principle that undergirds the city's spiritual environment: first, Antioch is pulsing with suprahuman forces from the sacred groves of the Daphne Gate to the foothills of Mount Silpius; and, second, all of these spiritual powers are arrayed against the unbaptized, unsealed, and therefore unprotected minds in Antioch. By contrast, the baptized carry within them sufficient protection. In addition to the apotropaic power of their baptismal seal, they retain the power inherent in the spoken words of the baptismal formulae; they also possess the material memory of the Creed—these divine words are inscribed in their minds and thus cast forth a blazing defensive light that forces all demons to flee.

In his baptismal instructions John Chrysostom envisages a rebalancing of the spiritual order and human minds within that order: a slow, exorcistic conversion of Antioch and the inhabitants within it. Within his theorization of baptismal conversion, most especially in his discussions that revolve around prebaptismal exorcisms and the antidemonic aspects of baptism and the Eucharist, we can see a microcosm of the city's transformation. The prebaptismal exorcisms in particular serve to indoctrinate the baptizand with a sense of his or her deformed cognitive state prior to entering baptismal preparation. The cleansing/healing/expulsion process of exorcisms, day after day, injects a baptizand with an exorcist's zeal to heal others in a similar plight. John insists they take their baptismal formulae to the marketplace as a weapon against any human or demon. The baptized Christian should use the ritual phrases to take the fight directly to the devil in the streets of Antioch.

Quite deliberately, then, John does not construct a religious identity for an individualized, introspective, peaceful disposition or one aimed inward toward the community only. Instead, John Chrysostom speaks of a spiritual warfare that is directed outward—of fighting bodiless powers (*tais asōmatois hamillasthai dynamesi*). He directs baptismally sealed and, thus, apotropaically protected Christian soldiers into Antioch to engage in bold speech battles (*parrhēsia*) with those they encounter—both man and devil.

# 3

# The Spectacle of Exorcism

In the fall of 386 John is facing a crisis. Numbers have dropped precipitously with the advent of the Jewish High Holidays.[1] Rather than listen to his sermons, a number of Christians—Judaizers—are rushing off to participate in the Feast of Trumpets and in Sukkot.[2] John's reaction still registers as a notorious blight in Christian literature. Over the course of the Jewish New Year in 386 and 387, as well as the Pesach (Passover) in between, he delivers the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies.[3] These eight homilies are infamous for their unrelenting invective against Jewish places of worship, rituals, and Jews themselves.[4] They are also notable for containing some of John Chrysostom's most distrubing demonological imagery:

> Where a prostitute has established herself, the place is a brothel. But the synagogue is not only a brothel and theater, but a nest of thieves, and a lodging of wild animals. For Jeremiah said: "Your house has become for me a place of a hyena." He does not simply say "of a wild beast," but "of an unclean wild beast." And again, "I have left my house, I have left behind my inheritance." But when God has abandoned a people, what hope of salvation remains? When God has abandoned a place, that place becomes a dwelling place of demons.[5]

> For prostitutes, and effeminates, and the entire dancing chorus from the theater used to run together [to the Festival of Trumpets]. And why do I speak about the fornications that happen [there]? . . . Did you not hear in the earlier discourse the reason that showed you clearly that demons inhabit the same souls of the Jews and the places in which they come together?[6]

The *Adversus Judaeos* homilies provide a rare opportunity to study John Chrysostom's demonology as it evolves over a sustained period of time; the passages we

consider here disclose the priest's careful delineation of a Jewish diabolism that is ravaging Antioch. He takes a great deal of time and deliberation in his diabolization of the Jews in Antioch. He is especially careful to present the reasons behind Jews' fall to the demons: their deviltry feeds upon heteropraxy (e.g., the rituals of Yom Kippur) and/or particular ritualized moments in time (e.g., the High Holidays in autumn and Pesach in spring).[7]

John verbally conjures a danger that has a palpable reality to it, as this Judaizing demonology closely rides the waves of the tension that issues forth from the need to separate and differentiate socioreligious identities: Jew, Judaizer, and baptized Christian. In some places John decrees a wide spectrum that marks the phenomenal distance between the irredeemable and completely diabolized to those not only impenetrable to demons through the sacramental power of baptism but now in antagonistic relation to demons.

Consequently, the homilies offer a good place to pick up the threads of our earlier discussion in chapter 2. What are John Chrysostom's views regarding the baptized Christian's purpose in Antioch? The sacrament of baptism and the reception of the seal provide antidemonic power and endow the new soldier of Christ with an authority over demons. Is such a person—suddenly in possession of unequivocal antidemonic power—intent in engaging only in individualized spiritual warfare? Or does such a baptized person turn to a much larger battleground and fight against the demonic in the city of Antioch—perhaps in the midst of a congregational crisis? In the final chapter of part I, we will consider how John Chrysostom instructs baptized Christians—stronger Christians—in the practice of congregational spiritual warfare. We find much of this instruction in Chrysostom's *Adversus Judaeos* homilies. In this case of spiritual warfare, the soul(s) of the Judaizer(s) stands as the embattled territory. Demons are the enemy; they come to the battle bearing many weapons of war: the demon-filled Jew; the demon-filled synagogue, and the demon-soaked rituals of Judaism. While the enemy is fierce, the Christian soldier also comes to the battleground equipped with the tools of war: his or her baptismal formulae, the sign of the cross, and many other forms of Christian ritual language. In these homilies John also instructs his baptized Christians in another essential weapon: the power inherent in Pauline language.

As John suggests at the end of *Catecheses ad illuminandos* 12, Christians are to use the baptismal formulae actively in battle against both human and demonic enemies. As this chapter outlines, John ensures a strong, instructional continuity between the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies and the *Catecheses ad illuminandos* lectures: the baptized Christian has and should use divine power to battle demontainted humans. Likewise, John describes the form of battle as verbal and exorcistic. In his homilies John narrowly circumscribes the enemy: demonized/diabolized, decontextualized Jews who emerge only during the High Holidays in autumn and Pesach in spring.

Before moving forward, it is important to note that the Jewish enemies we encounter here in John's works—soulless, demon-filled, bestial, Christ killers—are rhetorical creations. They appear periodically and are closely linked to Chrysostom's ritual representation in the High Holidays in autumn and Pesach in spring. These are not actual, historical Jews who are born, live, and die in Antioch in the fourth century. His Jews are ephemeral figures: they arrive at the beginning of a season of actual Jewish spectacle in Antioch and disappear once the celebrations have ended. By constructing these figures in vivid verbal descriptions, he also then promotes the power within ecclesiastical and sacramental rituals as a protective and offensive countermeasure. By amplifying their diabolic threat, John creates justification to produce an extremely powerful exorcistic image of clergy and baptized laity. Sacramental speech, Pauline excerpts, the sign of the cross—all transform into weaponry that Christian soldiers must use to rescue fallen brethren.

John instructs his stronger, baptized Christians in how to engage in close, intimate, violent, exorcistic encounters with Judaizers, and even ritual battle with Jews themselves. John's Jews are also targets of Christian ritual assault. It is all too easy to overlook Chrysostom's instructions to Christian soldiers to initiate exorcistic "spectacles" (my language) in public. In the encounters John models or mandates, he intends a strong Christian/baptized Christian to perform and thus create the difference between a diabolic Judaism and a divine Christianity. John describes an intertwining of spiritual and cosmological boundaries in the process.

John crafts a much more complex notion of religious boundaries than we see in the rhetorical practice of demonization. John does not use demons only to draw an impenetrable divide between Judaism and Christianity. Nor does he merely portray a demonic scourge in the synagogue in order to distance Christians from Jews, their rituals, and their places of worship. Though he certainly accomplishes a strict ideological divide through the rhetoric of demonization, Chrysostom also instructs stronger Christians to move directly toward and into enemy territory: he describes a form of ritual intervention requiring proximity, if not physical contact, with a diabolizing Jewish plague. To that end John founds the boundary upon the principle of exorcistic practice in action, and this injects a chilling paradox into his notion of religious boundaries as well as his construction of religious (Christian) identity.

In John's mind, boundaries, in a sense, are created to be broken—for the stronger/baptized soldier of Christ, the Judaizer, and the diabolic Jew, at any rate. Boundaries are created suddenly and—if John has his way—often, in a heated flash of ritual encounters: Christians exorcise Jews and Judaizers of their demonic contagion, or simply carry a vivid image of the act in mind as they move through the city day by day. John intends this moment of dramatic, violent demonic (Judaizing) expulsion to take place in public; Christian soldiers should verbally assault their enemy in front of witnesses. Such a spectacle serves to announce a series of

interlocking dichotomies: Christian vs. Jew (or Judaizer); divine vs. demonic; strong exorcist vs. weak, defeated victim of demonic possession. On the other hand, however, a diabolic Judaism is also named in the exorcistic encounter—the performance names and actualizes the Jewish threat. Each exorcistic encounter intensifies that threat. John is sure that that demonic disease will linger: through weaker Christian souls (and their penchant for Jewish rituals and places) the border will always be porous, ambiguous, and invasive; Judaizing demons can (and do) slip dangerously close to the heart of the ecclesiastical community. As long as Jewish festivals grab hold of public space and the public themselves, weaker, simpler Christians will fall under the Jewish demonic influence. So too, then, so long as Jewish festivals exist, the demand for strong exorcistic clergy and laity will exist. Through spectacles of exorcistic confrontation, Christians, in a manner of speaking, can fight over control of public spaces in the city.

Past readings of the homilies have downplayed John's demonology, if they have not altogether ignored it. Interpreters have reduced and flattened John's demons. They have treated demons as the metaphorical representation of immoral thoughts or unethical behavior. Recently scholars have turned to the demons directly in John's texts, and they have brought important attention to the discursive power of demons as a distancing or othering device used to define religious boundaries and borders as well as to distance or delegitimate certain religious discourses—an approach that is useful and accurate, but, as we will see, somewhat incomplete. The work of Isabella Sandwell and that of Christine Shepardson represent two of the more impressive as well as theoretically intriguing efforts to date.[8]

As Sandwell notes, religious identity in Christianity shifts as we move from the clearly defined outlines of a persecuted minority to an amorphous blending of populations in the post-Constantinian period of legalization. Late antique leaders such as John Chrysostom are faced with a situation "where many practices were shared by people whatever their religious allegiance."[9] In the identitarian ambiguities fueled by peace, Christian leaders fight to form clear religious identities; here Sandwell invokes Daniel Boyarin's comments regarding the imperative to "eradicate the fuzziness of borders, semantic and social," between Jew and Christian—as well as Greek, in the case of Antioch—thus contrasting these different identities as essential religious categories oppositionally posed.[10]

Drawing on modern theorists of identity construction such as Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Fredrik Barth, Sandwell argues that John's notion of Christian identity is relational, built on the marking-out of differences from others.[11] She contends that John Chrysostom aggressively promotes a dichotomous relation between Christian and Greek as well as Christian and Jew in order that "no space for ambiguity between the two [could exist,] because religious identity has to be displayed visibly in every action at all times."[12] In her view, the urgency in John's constructions is related to the probable likelihood that, despite the priest's incessant rule

making and boundary marking, we have a "situation where individuals continue to interact across those boundaries."[13]

Demons offer a rhetorical medium suited to John's task. Thus Sandwell notes connections between the rhetoric of the demonic Other in John's *Catecheses ad illuminandos* and that in such sermons as the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies. The pomps of Satan that each baptizand renounces include Greek rituals such as amulet wearing, attendance at the theater and baths, and so forth. The devil's pomps also can be found, and thus should be avoided, at the synagogue: the very bastion of demons. The particularly strong language John uses to demonize the synagogue is an indication, then, of the fact that his congregants are not listening. Instead they easily slide back into familiar ritual practices that allow them to blend in comfortably at non-Christian religious events.

Christine Shepardson builds on Sandwell's study of Antioch as "a context of rich religious complexity."[14] Her own focus involves the manner in which John's spatial rhetoric, especially his demonizing language, transforms *space* into a religiously marked *place.* She brings into full light the degree to which religious competition (among Jews, Greeks, and diverse Christian communities) is founded upon a contestation over the construction of places in the city. Shepardson draws shrewdly from modern theorists of geography who consider the cultural construction of place as a "complex entity within and shaped by forces from well beyond their own notional boundaries."[15] Such perspectives allow her to draw much-needed attention to the intracongregational debates regarding which locations are holy or sacred in Antioch. Like Sandwell, Shepardson focuses on the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies and on John's demonizing rhetoric that counters congregants' perspective that the synagogue is a holy place due to the sacred scriptures housed within. John takes issue with such a positive take on the supernatural (perhaps divine?) potency of the synagogue. By contrast, he conjures vivid imagery of the synagogue as a dangerous demonic (rather than divine) location and sets it in diametric opposition to the church. As John constructs Jewish places as locations of the demonic Other, he can then differentiate and distance those places in Antioch that are authentically Christian. Thus, Shepardson argues, John promotes a Christianization of the city "not only in beliefs and behavior, but in the very geographical landscape that its citizens inhabited."[16]

To articulate further the effect of John's demonizing rhetoric, Shepardson notes the strategy of differentiation in imagining a geography that fuses with an "imagined community."[17] Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan's terms *topophilia* and *topophobia* are especially illuminating in Shepardson's discussion of the synagogue.[18] While congregants' avid participation in Jewish religious practice expresses a "topophilia for 'Jewish' spaces," John figures the synagogue not only as an improper but also as a highly dangerous location for a Christian.[19] He unleashes a barrage of images that project the malevolencies that occur in the synagogue—criminal, sexual, and

demonic. These malignities mark the synagogue unequivocally as a place to fear and thus avoid. He concretizes this view further by drawing a parallel between the synagogue and the theater; he emphasizes that both places are replete with a polluting diabolism. The synagogue is a place of demons, which likewise attracts those from the theater who are "demon-possessed." In direct comparison, the church appears as a religious structure uncompromised in its sacrality. Moreover, the church has a responsibility to maintain its sanctity, and thus John demands that those weaker, compromised Christians, whom the synagogue and Jewish rituals have defiled, must not enter the holy church.

Shepardson notes that many have looked at the topography of Antioch; many others, by contrast, have considered the theological conflicts that plague the city. She, however, is the first to do both. She astutely considers the transformation of what was, in a sense, raw, impressionable space into a loose, uneasy collection of culturally, politically, but most importantly socioreligiously constructed places. Antioch's environment of fierce religious contestation marked buildings and other structures—of all shapes, sizes, and histories—in a distinctively material manner and thus always with a provisional status. Her study of Antiochene topography injects a much-needed dynamism and a sense of contingency that few, if any, have pursued when they have viewed the city through the interpretive lens of spatial politics. Shepardson presents a powerful new model for understanding what is at stake for ecclesiastical leaders and to what lengths they will go to defend theological belief.

Sandwell and Shepardson lay the foundation for further investigation into the construction of and contestation over physical places in Antioch; likewise they pose important challenges to previous perspectives on the construction of religious identity. Finally, they both attend to the degree to which John Chrysostom battles his own congregation over many of these issues: they each have observed that his demonizing rhetoric is a primary weapon in what is in all likelihood a losing battle.

We applaud these efforts and the critical interventions they have brought to the interpretation of the homilies. That said, our approach to the homilies moves in a somewhat different direction. My own interpretation of Antiochene topography and ecclesiastical leadership finds root in John's promotion of raw antidemonic ritual (sacramental) power in the face of a demon-flooded city and population. In this chapter and the following, *City of Demons* places the materiality of ritual practice at the center of this study and considers seriously, but also speculatively, embodied knowledge of demons gained through these rituals. As we move through Chrysostom's *Adversus Judaeos* homilies as well as many other of his sermons, we search for certain ritual practices: for example, the antidemonic potency in baptism, the Eucharist, and other ecclesiastical rituals, as well as the exorcistic power disseminated through several other forms of Chris-

tian ritual speech (select Pauline passages seem to be a particular favorite for John).

In John's meticulous explanations of the demons' entry into the synagogue, Jews, and their rituals, as well as their means of infecting Judaizing Christians, he complicates (though does not invalidate) demons' "demonizing"—or distancing—effect. Rather than exposing and highlighting the demons in Judaism in order to frighten Christians into maintaining a healthy distance, John gives shape to a demonology intended to compel the stronger Christians (and shame the hesitant) in the congregation into participating in an immediate, forceful, even violent ritual engagement with the enemy.[20] Instead of Christians seeking distance from Jews and Judaism, John insists that stronger Christians move as close as possible to the enemy. Stronger Christians must seek out, capture, exorcise, and then drag demonically contaminated Judaizers back to the church. There, safe in the sanctifying bosom of the church, John and his clergy can fight the demonic more thoroughly. John also asks Christians to perform dramatic exorcistic acts with both Judaizers and Jews in the streets of Antioch. Therefore I propose that while John views Judaizers as the main goal of the hunt, he also targets Jews—or more accurately, the demons within them—who are actively seducing Christians.

By turning to focus on demons as well as Jews in the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies, this reading deviates a good deal from that of previous scholars. Before moving forward to the homilies, let us clarify the parameters of our adopted perspective: our study here will revolve especially around the interpretive notion of demons as a distancing device. John constructs seductive, Judaizing demons that traffic a boundary between an unsullied Christianity and a morally debased, ritually broken, rejected Judaism. This is a boundary of incalculable depth. It is a bottomless chasm that separates the two. The boundary also fortifies a sense of an ethical, moral, and ontological disparity between an exemplary Christianity and an irredeemable Judaism, and likewise between pious, unimpeachable, baptized Christians and bestial, dehumanized Jews.

To that end, demons are most certainly distancing devices—though in a limited sense: that is, John does construct demons in the manner that Shepardson and Sandwell have argued. They mark the synagogue, Jewish rituals, and Jews themselves as forbidden, marginal, and off-limits, especially during the High Holidays. However, while John does indeed insist on a physical distance and religious/ideological otherness, he simultaneously reminds listeners of the horrifying consequences should Christian soldiers fail. Through Jewish spectacles and other rituals, demons possess, penetrate, and invade a person and thus erase an individual's sense of identity. In this way, demons bring that distance, otherness, and erasure to the core of a Christian Self.

Thus we must be mindful of an important fear in late antiquity: a demon's ability to penetrate and materially contaminate the human mind/body in variously

imagined ways. Before we allow ourselves to reduce all demons to textual meta-phor, this chapter reminds the reader of what John tells his Christians: demons have infected, invaded, and penetrated the places and rituals of the Jews. Most importantly of all, perhaps, they have possessed the Jews themselves. Anyone who goes to Jewish places and engages in Jewish ritual will come into contact with the same corrupting, corrosive materiality of Judaizing demons and will contract the same Judaizing diabolism.

In light of this material understanding of John's demonology, I would correct readings of certain passages in the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies. John is not asking his stronger Christians to stay away from Jews, the synagogue, and Jewish rituals. Quite the opposite, in fact, is the case. Rather, he inundates the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies with demons in a very controlled, strategic manner. He clusters demons together in the synagogue at precise moments in the calendar year; he infuses only certain Jewish rituals and festivals with demons; he fills Jewish souls with demons and wraps their nation's fall in a tight exegetical explanation. And importantly, rather than asking stronger Christians to stay away and maintain distance, he provides this detailed demonology to serve as a map telling those Christians exactly where to go and what to do once they arrive. John demands that his stronger and hopefully strongest—that is, baptized—Christians engage in direct physical and verbal attack against the demonic Judaizing plague. Stronger, exorcising Christians have to be willing to go out into the streets of Antioch and tackle the demons directly in whatever guise they may appear; for example, they have to go to synagogues and drag the demon-possessed, weaker Christians back to the church for healing. Christians must continually seek proximity to diabolized Jews and Judaizers so that they can participate in public ritual confrontation; they should perform an impromptu exorcism of sorts that dramatically marks and verbally displays an irrevocable boundary in Antioch between a divine Christianity and a demonic and diabolic Judaism. Only the closest of ritual contacts, preferably in public and with an avid audience in attendance, will succeed in marking this boundary.

John spends a good deal of time within the homilies preparing stronger Christians for confrontational, potentially violent encounters with Judaism's demonically tainted and possessed victims. He rehearses would-be exorcists in ritual speech techniques and instructs them regarding the places and techniques of encounter. He also introduces them to his view of the deep history and theology of Jewish/demon entanglement—a history that Jews themselves are ignorant of because generations of demonic contamination has muddied their minds. Most importantly, John attempts to ready Christians (as avenging exorcists) for a performance that should strive for the status of a public spectacle. As Christian soldiers ritually harangue and route demons from the souls of Judaizers, if possible they are to do so in Antioch's public, visible spaces. John wishes his exorcistic spectacles to convey, if not promote, important religious, cosmological, and even onto-

logical differences to the spectators. As we will consider in his *Adversus Judaeos* homilies, John trains his listeners in the exorcistic tactics as a form of strategic "spectacle." The Christian's acts of assault and cleansing of a demonically plagued Judaizer or Jew should take place in public precisely because such exorcistic encounters, as impromptu ritual/religious performances, display for the public and delineate within Antioch an essential hierarchical divide between a divine, salvific Christianity and a demonic, damning Judaism.

## RETHEORIZING DEMONIZATION

Many who have treated the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies have acknowledged demonology's central role in John's construction of religious identity: How does John use the category demon to delineate religious space? In fact, moving from "demons" as material entities in the environment to the vaguer qualifying term "demonic," many have drawn upon Jonathan Z. Smith's characterization of that category as a "measure of distance, a taxon, a label applied to distinguish 'us' from 'them.'"[21] John constructs a demonic worldview to establish "a complex system of boundaries and limits" to separate his Christian community from the surrounding world.[22]

Thanks to studies such as these, which demonstrate John Chrysostom's profound dependence on the demonic, we are continuing to uncover the extent to which rhetorical strategies of demonization figure in late antique Christianity. While these studies are of tremendous importance with respect to the theoretically savvy readings in recent late antique scholarship, they present the word *daimōn* as a discursive object. Such interpretations view *daimōn* as an evidentiary token of the powerful ability of rhetoric to create Christian worldviews. As we have seen, scholars generally view *daimōn* as an ideologically charged, discursive category that measures the distance between the Self and Other; it establishes a complex network of boundaries, borders, and divisions delineating individual and group religious identity. In other words, these studies thoroughly explore the boundary-hatched landscape that the text creates, and the demon's place in that landscape. Still, they rarely then make any connection with the actual world of living ritual practice and thus material interaction with other religious bodies. Finally, a demonization reading often fails to contextualize such a reading within the larger late antique world that everyone in it believes is teeming with material *demons.*

Here we attend more closely to the development of ritual practice and the construction of ritual agency in an animated environment, and this leads us to a different set of observations within Smith's article. To be more precise, we are primarily interested in expanding on Smith's comments regarding the placement of "demonic" in his larger project of locative versus utopian mapping in the ancient world and the manner in which such mappings intrinsically tie ritual practice to cosmological construction.

In a locative cosmology, which features a horizontal map of center and periphery, man is in place at the center and the demonic is on the margins or the outskirts. If the demonic trespasses into the center, it is cast out through ritual: rituals of exorcism, expulsion, and boundary protection, for example. The utopian cosmology, by contrast, rests on a vertical map of "this world" and the "beyond." While the demonic is fully at home in this worldview, man is out of place. In this scenario, rituals are aimed at the human in order to move him into the next world: rituals of deification, initiation in the afterlife, and so forth. This cosmology involves an apocalyptic worldview.

However, neither of these maps satisfies in our case. Smith offers a third map that has tantalizing possibilities for explaining the purpose of the power John claims for the "soldier of Christ" after baptism. Moreover, Smith's third map specifically attends to the issue of demonic possession and addresses the power and violence of ritual confrontation; his description of this third map, therefore, is worth quoting in full:

> There is yet a further Late Antique map which returns to the horizontal but which abandoned the cosmological for the anthropological. Here the boundary, which protects man against external, hostile powers, becomes the religious association, the social group. The threat is no longer perceived as chaos or exile—but other men, possessed by demons or sorcerers. Rather than place or transcendence of place, the new center and chief means of access to the divine center will be a highly mobile holy man whose chief skill is that of negotiation rather than the older skill of relocation or the utopian power of salvation.[23]

Smith refers here to the holy man and mentions Peter Brown's roughly contemporaneous article "The Rise of the Holy Man," particularly in its treatment of this religious figure in his terrain outside the urban sphere. Smith's third and final map fits our scene in Antioch quite well, though we should not restrict ourselves to the socioreligious type of holy man or the nonurban geographical terrain when considering possible kinds of displays of exorcistic power.

That is, the highly mobile holy man does not have to be confined to the nonurban, nor does he have to be the lone exemplar in holiness. And yet, as I argue in the introduction to this study, this is exactly what we have made of him, and we have done and continue to do so when imagining the locations and figures anchoring the spectacular and public expression of antidemonic power—particularly in the fields of patristic studies and early Christian history. Still directing our gaze over both the holy man and the urban landscape is a residual belief that the city is a rational, disenchanted space, a hermetically sealed vessel for ferrying classical civilization's values safely through to Western modernity. Thus it has been difficult, if not impossible, for moderns to imagine charismatic, antidemonic ritual agents as part of a regular congregational community in a city. But as I argued in chapter

2, John develops a model of baptized Christian identity that belies this modern rational view of the city and the church's place in it. John (rather hopefully) configures Christian soldiers as highly mobile, aggressive holy men and women. This is not a role for every baptized individual, and certainly not for any of the unbaptized and uncommitted congregants. That said, John encourages—and in cases of extreme heteropractic threat (such as Jewish High Holidays), implores—stronger Christians to seek out demonically plagued brothers and sisters to exorcise them. In his vivid, perhaps bombastic, display of a baptized Christian's antidemonic power over the weak, Judaizing Christian or the Jew, John lays the groundwork for boundary—a religious and ritual divide that he hopes will explode into view in a moment of sudden, suprising ritual attack and captivate the accidental or haphazard spectator as well.

## A MOST DIABOLIC JEWISHNESS

The late fourth century is an era, and urban Christianity an area, of ritual experimentation and competition. This is especially the case regarding ritual formulations of exorcism and conceptualizations of demonic possession or affliction. While there is a great deal of variation in practice and belief—perhaps more than consciously realized to date in early Christian scholarship—one principle held true for all cases. Exorcism is predicated first and foremost on the identification of someone or something as demonically possessed or demonically corrupted. With these initial comments set to the side, we may now turn to the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies. Throughout, John builds a complex aetiology of a demonic possession of the entire Jewish people. John queries, "Is it not strange that those who worship the one crucified join in celebration with those who crucified [him, i.e., Christ]?"[24] In this passage, John does not treat deicide as a past event, or an act confined to text; instead, it is a present and future reality: "[The Jews] who roar 'Crucify him, crucify him,' [say] 'Let his blood be upon us and upon our children.'"[25]

By ahistoricizing and decontextualizing Christ's crucifixion, John loosens local Jewish populations from their fixed identity in this late antique city. These are not individuated Jews constituted from their own actions in fourth-century Antioch. Rather, they are an inextricable part of a corporate, atemporal, homicidal body. Jews had murdered Christ in the first century, and they now exist in intimate proximity to Christians in Antioch in the 380s. John uses demonic possession to stretch Jewish homicidal proclivity into the present day. He turns to the language and theology of Romans 1:18–32 to craft this demonology, in particular verse 24, in which God abandons (*paradidōmi*) mankind. As John explains in the *Adversus Judaeos* text, as a result of the Jews' complicity in the crucifixion "they were abandoned (*prodedomenous*) by God."[26] He explains further, "God's rejection is utterly complete."[27] In Romans, Paul addresses those who, despite having known God,

choose to worship the creature over the creator. God's punishment is swift and irrevocable: "Therefore God gave them up (*paredōken*) in the lusts of their hearts to impurity, to the degrading (*atimazesthai*) of their bodies among themselves."[28]

These exorcistic encounters, if modeled on John's own, are to take place in public, as we have already mentioned. Peter Brown describes the *aspect théâtral* of the holy man/exorcist, which links the possessed and the exorcist in a ritual dialogue that has "a stylized, articulated quality of an operetta." The exorcist and the exorcized compel spectators to watch a performance:

> a dialogue [between the possessed and the exorcist] is worked out as a controlled explosion and interchange of violence. The demon in the possessed abuses, and even attacks the holy man: and the holy man shows his power, by being able to bring into the open and ride out so much pent-up rebellion and anger. It is a dramatic articulation of the idea of the power of the holy man.[29]

Peter Brown's still brilliant analysis of the holy man fits John's construction of the stronger and baptized Christians in the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies; John asks such members in his community to become masters over the demonic, and thus to learn how to diagnose and expel the demons wherever persons controlled by demons threaten to contaminate the lives of Antioch's citizenry. The performative aspect of the exorcistic encounter is of primary importance: the exorcistic performance pivots on the themes of violence and authority according to Brown. John understands the effectiveness of abusing, taunting, and interrogating a person in order to force the demons into the open. Still, there is a fundamental difference between John's circumstance and Brown's explanation. Brown describes a situation where both the possessed and the exorcist believe the former to have been possessed, and they each voluntarily enter into the duet or dialogue (for the most part). In the case of John Chrysostom, this priest demands of his baptized Christians an especially difficult task: they have to approach others in the community and cajole—perhaps force—them to partake in a kind of exorcistic ritual experience, one that will involuntarily mark them as demonically contaminated with the Judaizing disease.

From a different angle, though—that is, from the perspective of performative ritual—we may gain a wider view. John asks his stronger Christians to move out into Antioch in groups, seek out Judaizers, and isolate them. Then through a relentless, public interrogation, which involves questions intended to shake the authenticity of the Judaizers' Christianity, these stronger Christians, as exorcists and in firm control of the ritualizing situation, are in effect to perform a demonic possession on them—discursively (and performatively) at least. Let us reconsider the situation: shell-shocked Christians with a weaker conscience make the mistake of trespassing into Judaizing; they will be completely thrown off guard when one of their baptized brothers or sisters approaches to accuse them. John warns that

some will fly off into a rage; others may cower and shake in silence. Very few will regain their equilibrium in time to stand and answer calmly. In other words, John's Christian soldiers/exorcists act as the primary ritual agents (and agitators); as such, they are in control in instigating the Judaizers' reaction and then in defining and directing the meaning of that reaction. If the so-called weaker Christians (or Judaizers) react—perhaps in anger (and justifiably so)—the exorcising Christians hold the upper hand: he/she can easily translate it within the wide spectrum of demonic reactions. Judaizers, in a reaction of violence, irrationality, simmering anger, even silence, will only helplessly prove the truth of their demonic possession to any spectators. How can they not appear possessed, especially with a helpful interrogating Christian/exorcist guiding and defining the event?

First, of course, in their public setting and theatrical tone these events will establish the power of the stronger Christians as the holy men and women of the congregation. According to the homilies, moreover, stronger Christians will not have to wait until an actual exorcistic encounter to establish authority. The devil has stolen many of John's congregation and is now holding them hidden in Judaism.[30] Those struck down with the Judaizing disease will hardly seek help and ask for exorcism; Christians are obligated to hunt for them. They should search in groups of two or three at a time, women rescuing women, men rescuing men, children rescuing children, slaves rescuing slaves.[31] If a Christian spots a Judaizer, he must denounce him (*kataggellein*).[32] Another technique involves spreading out "nets of instruction" *(diktya tēs didaskalias)* so that they will be able to compel those whom Judaizing has made mentally and spiritually incapacitated to bend to the laws of the church.[33] John also advises shouting out phrases from the Pauline epistles. What this essentially means is that the Christian on the hunt continually utters Christian language—and thus compels the Judaizer to come forth. In observing silence or engaging in frivolous speech, a Christian is only helping the devil; the Judaizer can remain hidden from his congregation indefinitely, captured by the devil himself, who now holds the Christian victim tightly within Judaism.[34] By contrast, John insists that performative utterances of Pauline excerpts will have an intriguing compulsory effect on the Judaizers:

> For many savage and roused animals, when they lie hidden under thickets and hear the voice of the hunter, spring up out of fear. And often, driven out forcefully by the violence of the [hunters'] call, they fall into their nets. And so your brothers lie hidden in a thicket of Judaism. If they hear the voice of Paul, I well know that they will fall easily into the nets of salvation, and they will escape every error of the Jews.[35]

John demonstrates to the would-be exorcists what words to use, how to perform ritually, and, finally, where to hunt. Searches for Judaizers should cover the city, but, as John's dramatic narratives relate, a Christian on the hunt will always find Judaizers at Jewish festivals and in the synagogue. After Christians find a

Judaizer, John commands that they must first "bind [him/her] tight with your words of exhortation (*episphiggontes autous tōi logōi tēs paraineseōs*)."[36] Such exhortations act apotropaically or exorcistically and force Judaizers to come out of hiding. John uses similar language in the *Catech. illum.* when he discusses the antidemonic power inherent in "the words of the exorcists."[37] After identifying the Judaizer and, in a sense, holding him/her with language, the exorcism, as John defines it, begins in earnest. The homilies suggest that John elsewhere provided ritual formulae, scriptural phrases, and serial questions for Christians. He also attempts to prepare Christians for their encounters by crafting scenes of highly choreographed verbal assaults set "in the field," so to speak—that is, near or in the synagogue: e.g., his interaction with the Christian man in front of the synagogue and his direct address to the Christian wife drawn to the festivals with the Jews (see chapter 2). He provides these scenes to serve as scripts for Christians when they encounter their own Judaizers in the public sphere. In approaching such passages as indoctrinating texts, we can recover certain facts regarding John's construction of exorcistic encounters between stronger Christians and Judaizers.

We can perhaps appreciate at this point the localized and situational nature of exorcism. Exorcism is hardly a one-size-fits-all ritual. John's view of exorcising Judaizers departs significantly from the holy man's exorcistic rituals in the desert. John's exorcism of Judaizers finds anchor in his understanding of the Jews' demonization and dehumanization. When they killed Christ, God gave them up (*paradidōmi*); their souls were flooded with the demons of lust, sex, desire, and all forms of excess; rationality, self-control, and moderation no longer pertained. The same held true for the mind of the Judaizer—in abandoning the church for the synagogue, we see the Judaizer also move from control, rationality, and temperance to lack of control, irrationality, and intemperance. The Judaizing disease consists ontologically of a demonic corruption, which ravages the mind's ability to engage in self-control and reason exegetically (and thus discern the difference theologically between Judaism and Christianity). The only means of regaining the health of the mind (*dianoia*) and establishing thinking once again, especially for navigating through the differences between Jews and Christians, is through a preferably public exorcistic encounter. In light of the cognitive complexity of the disease, how can the blunt, compulsive force of an exorcism heal a Judaizer? Once again, John does not advocate the holy man's exorcisms; rather, he understands a delicate ritual choreography that involves strategically aimed and precise forms of speech to cleanse the minds or souls of the Judaizers. In the application of Christian (ritual and therapeutic) language, one must be careful not to use any "sophistic, rhetorical, and circuitous arguments."[38] This is the devil's language, not Christ's. Instead, John offers a series of questions, which will easily entrap and then help to heal those suffering from the sickness of Judaism.[39] John describes Christian psychagogic techniques as delicate tools used in a much more meticulous form of

exorcism—he designs the antidemonic verbal assault to rout the diverse and deeply rooted demonic contaminants of Judaizing:

> For not all sins need exhortation and counsel (*paraineseōs, symboulēs*). But there are some sins that, by their nature, require correction by an excision quick and sharp (*tomēi syntomōi kai oxytatēi*). The wounds we can tolerate respond to more gentle cures; those that have become rotten and are incurable and feed off what remains of the body require a cauterizing fire with the point of steel (*aichmēs sidērou deitai phlogos*). Thus it is with sins; some require lengthy exhortation; others need an abrupt rebuke.[40]

In *Adv. Jud.* 8, John provides a substantial list of questions intended to conjure to the surface, and past a heavy demon-induced haze, any shred of self-realization remaining in a Judaizing Christian:

> I will ask each one who is sick [with Judaism], "Are you a Christian?" Why then do you so admire [the rituals] of the Jews? Does not a Persian understand [the rituals] of the Persians? Does not a barbarian admire [the rituals] of the barbarians? Does not one who inhabits the land of the Romans follows our customs of citizenship (*politeia*)? Tell me, if someone living among us should be captured thinking about rituals of these [others], is he not directly punished without argument and examination, even if he has ten thousand ways of defending himself? . . . How then after you have converted to a such a transgressive form of life (*politeia*), will you be worthy to be saved?[41]

This set of questions underlines an aspect of Brown's analysis that has great bearing on John's view of exorcism. Brown specifically describes exorcisms as "controlled explosions and interchange of violence." In John's view as well, the exorcist holds all power as the person who asks the questions; he moves with his bound Judaizer through a well-rehearsed choreography of questions, formulae, and exhortation that he knows intimately; with well-placed questions and Pauline accusations he can control a Judaizer's verbal responses and emotional reactions, running the gamut from stunned silence to explosive rage. In the homilies John constructs a model of exorcistic agency that is exceedingly powerful. Thus it is important to note what John prepares his exorcists to expect out in the field. He warns that the verbal methods may have to be more extreme: a Christian may have to use force, strike, insult, or argue with the person. He mentions elsewhere that a diseased brother may retaliate with like force: "Even if he hates you, if he insults you, if he hits you, if he threatens to be your enemy, if he menaces you in any other way," you must continue.[42]

The issue of violence is especially interesting in John's suggestion that stronger Christians should enter the homes of their weaker brethren even if the weaker Christians do not know them. As long as these Judaizers are rumored to be suffering terribly from the Judaizing disease, an exorcizing Christian can and in fact

should enter that home to perform an exorcism. What is particularly intriguing is how quickly John's instructions shift from unbridled goodwill to deliberate deception. Eventually this seems to trigger his discussion of the expectation of violence; in fact, this text leads one to ask if John is warning the exorcizing Christian of the Judaizer's inevitable violence, or if he is setting up a situation to ignite the so-called Judaizer's inner demonic anger.

To return to the text, in *Adv. Jud.* 8.5.2–3 John instructs congregants on the methods of attaining access to the sick man's home: "If you do not know him, if you have no connection with him, get busy and find some friend or relative of his, someone to whom he pays particular attention. Take this man with you and go into his home."[43] There is no dishonor in this rescue, nor is there shame in starting with a different topic of conversation "so that he does not suspect the real purpose of your visit is to set him straight."[44] John suggests that the Christian entering the stranger's house should first ease him into a convivial and unsuspecting mood by talking about something other than the active subject of Judaizing. Then the Christian soldier should turn abruptly to the subject of Judaizing. In this way, the Christian may more easily dislodge false beliefs from the suffering person's mind, barraging him with questions that attack the validity of the Jewish religion.[45] Here, especially, John warns that the Christian should anticipate (or perhaps we should read "precipitate") a violent reaction.[46]

John thus constructs a complex, nuanced model of exorcistic encounter with Judaizers for the stronger (i.e., baptized) Christians in his congregation. This model pinpoints three variables or factors that when pulled together and interwoven into a unifying demonology pull apart Christianity and Judaism (and destroys all the interstitial, ritual tissue connecting the two through ambiguous Judaizing practices) and then properly defines a Christianity triumphant over a demonized and dead Judaism in Antioch. These three factors are the following: (1) the Christian exorcist's unparalleled ritual agency (and/or comprehensive control over all aspects of exorcism), (2) outbursts of violence during exorcism, and (3) exorcism as spectacle.

## SILENCING THE DEMONS' JEWS

In the fall of 387, John begins his rally against the Jewish High Holidays early. In *Hom.* 4 and 5, delivered ten days before the fasts, John explains that the previous year he had not realized the same necessity for vigilance: "But today the Jews, who are more numerous than any wolves, are bent on surrounding my sheep."[47] This year John's congregation has decreased significantly, at that moment of the year in Antioch in which Jews blow trumpets to announce the rituals, festivals, and fasts that God has forbidden outside the land of Jerusalem. For Antioch's Jews, however, the destruction of the Jewish temple—of Jerusalem itself—is irrelevant. In fact,

according to John, his city's Jews blithely ignore God's involvement in these events and thus his purpose—that is, to render these rituals forbidden outside of Jerusalem and beyond a certain era. Stubbornly deaf to God and his law, Antioch's rabbis continue to announce to everyone who will listen that they will be celebrating all ritual aspects of the High Holidays—prayer, worship, fasting, and dancing; the entire population of the city is welcome, and indeed encouraged, to join in.

On the eve of the Jewish High Holidays, with the weight of Judaizing already pressing heavily on his congregation, John reminds his listeners of the previous year's blasphemous excess. He recalls the damage suffered by the souls of weaker Christians, stretched dangerously thin between the church and the synagogue; moving back and forth between Eucharistic nourishment and the Jewish fasts, religious identity is pulled taut into a frangible ontology. John proclaims to his audience that the salvation of the vulnerable in his congregation is again at stake. But during a time of such entrancing Jewish spectacle, it is a futile exercise to try to persuade Christians to look and listen in a different direction. A rhetorical strategy alone, John believes, is insufficient to rescue weaker Christians whose senses are keenly eager, if not habituated, to engage in Judaizing during this time of the year. At this point, the way John would have us imagine it, early fall has all of Antioch ritually salivating for Jewish festivals, dances, and fasts, which are offered almost orgiastically. How can John possibly hope to cut off sensory communication between his Christians and the Jewish community—especially when Jewish mouths seem to emit more than words, and Jewish words convey something much more insidious than communicative language?

In *Adv. Jud.* 5 John announces an aggressive, offensive plan of action. He intends to battle with Jews directly; in his words, he will "spar" with them.[48] Though he provides only a few enigmatic clues regarding his plan to fight with the enemy, we can discern a few tantalizingly evocative hints within *Adv. Jud.* 5: John shares his plan "to silence" (*epistomizein*) the Jews and their shameless arguments.[49] He intends also "to stitch their mouths shut" (*aporrhapsai ta stomata*).[50] These two phrases may not seem to provide much information to the modern eye. Nonetheless, when put in the proper ritual field of late antiquity—particularly the context of religio-magical ritual texts, the words "to silence" and "to stitch their mouths shut" unfold. Quickly, they reveal a rich worldview of verbal/spiritual combat, simultaneously fought at the human and suprahuman (divine/demonic) levels.[51] In fact, this language provides a link between *Adversus Judaeos* and *Catecheses ad illuminandos* within the theme of spiritual warfare.

While we might understand these phrases in the context of oral debate, in light of what is at stake for John the rhetorical interpretation is unfulfilling. It leaves too much up to chance with regard to how John perceives the danger and diabolism of the Jewish opposition, as I discuss further below. Instead I argue that there is another, more compelling way to read these phrases, that is, in the literal manner:

the ability of Christians to silence Jews through the sheer power and authority of their speech. And, as discussed in chapter 2, we understand that language can possess compulsory force; John describes a similar theorization in the efficacy of language here. Perhaps an even more persuasive argument presents itself from the material evidence in and around Antioch and Syria. Archaeologists have uncovered ritual texts and objects that substantiate a widespread belief in the power of binding rituals (*katadesmoi*) to prevent people from speaking publicly—in oratorical performance, court cases, and the theater, for example. It is believed that a person can silence another person through the media of ritual texts, objects, and gestures, thus physically preventing their ability to speak. Moreover, literature attests amply to this practice. A famous and equally convenient example is found in Libanius's *Oratio* 1. Already discussed in chapter 1, Libanius attributes migraines, gout, and various illnesses (which do, in fact, prevent him from working) to "spells, incantations, and the hostility of sorcerers."[52] In addition to this example, Libanius mentions several times that he has been accused of engaging in similar binding spells and magical acts to sabotage his competitors' rhetorical and oratorical gifts.

In the growing popularity of the High Holidays and Passover, John recognizes the tightening grip that Judaizing has on his city. He also sees an increasing need to silence instantaneously and irreversibly the Jews who not only have the major festivals of autumn and spring but, between the seasons, deliver exegeses, perform rituals, and provide a place and objects of apparent holiness to stoke the embers of anticipation for the two major festivals: all of the perverse Judaizing noise and spectacle that emerge seductively from the synagogue to beguile and captivate the city's ears. John and his congregations are quite familiar with the power of *katadesmoi* texts; magicians sell these to seal shut one's enemies' lips, hold their tongues, steal their voices, or capture their thoughts. Though the methods of silencing are diverse, and frequently perverse, the effect is often the same. It is an easily available and highly adaptable ritual form that is appealing to anyone needing certain voices silenced.

In the remainder of this chapter, then, we situate a consideration of John's terms—"to silence" (*epistomizein*) Jews and "to stitch up the mouths" (*aporrapsai ta stomata*) of Jews—in a broad and loosely comparative framework with this subgroup of binding spells.[53] In stating our analytical frame up front, we wish to draw attention to certain methodological points. To clarify, this is not a reductive comparison of John's "silencing" spectacles with magical "binding" rituals for silencing victims. Frankly, the evidence in John's corpus is insufficient to allow this kind of reading. Neither is this a bare-bones mechanistic or functional juxtaposition in order to conduct a form-critical analysis of the ritual structure.

Instead, we loosely juxtapose John's description of silencing rituals with examples of silencing curses (*defixiones*); what is essential in this comparison is that these two forms of ritual language emerge from the same animistic worldview.

Therefore, John's silencing techniques and the curse spells both find a place and also take shape within the same general framework of ritual instrumental and verbal power. Through these acts of silencing demons, John attempts to Christianize (and diabolize) that worldview.

In his instructions for silencing exorcisms, John Chrysostom articulates intractable differences between himself and stronger Christians on one side and a steeply sliding diabolic scale of (redeemable) Judaizers to (soulless) Jews on the other. By describing Jews and regular binding spells in the same context, John links ritual speech to performance and spectacle: ritual silencing represents an aggressive competitive spectacle of power and authority over and against other religious spectacles/performances in the public sphere. John describes stronger Christians dramatically silencing and stitching the mouths of Judaizers and Jews at the height of the High Holidays.

To understand what John means by silencing techniques or spectacles, we need to compare what John does not intend, by taking a tour through binding rituals in late antiquity. Additionally, it is also essential to delineate how distinctive a target the demonic Jew and Judaizer are in John's silencing rituals, which involves an analysis of John's construction of Jewish diabolism in his *Adversus Judaeos* homilies.

In the performative act of silencing a Jew or Judaizer, John and his Christians undoubtedly are creating power and authority for themselves. Such an observation is so commonsensical to religious scholars today as to be practically worthless. Nonetheless, it yields more useful questions. What is the perceived nature of the power that John and his Christians accumulate? What kinds of authority do they possess? Charismatic? Socioreligious? Political? How can John and members of his congregation sustain this power and authority? How does this power and authority reflect on their ritual agency? And, related to this, how does the performative display relate to their religious identity?[54]

This crucial distinction organizes John's understanding of how Nicene Christianity's antidemonic battle maps onto his modeling of ritual encounters with Jews versus non-Jews in Antioch. John describes Jews as a people entwined historically with demons; they have been—and still are—influenced by them and helped by them, and have sacrificed to them. But, most significantly, they have never been possessed by them. Indeed, John describes a long-term, if not originary, relationship between demons and the Jewish people in its entirety: that is, demons relate to Jews at the level of corporate *ethnē,* not individual *anthropos.* When they killed Christ, Jews, an already mendacious people, only entered more deeply into a relationship with demons that they had established long before. God then gave demons permission to inhabit or intertwine with the entire Jewish people permanently (*paradidōmi*). However, this is not the same as possession. Demons have, in a sense, been given sovereignty over the Jewish nation (*ethnē*); they have not become

identical with its members. Each Jew is now only an indistinguishable part of a nation reborn in the aftermath of that homicidal act and reconstituted from the subsequent cosmogonic fallout; in the process, the Jew was demonically fused or blended into a larger, amorphous shape of Jewish culpability. From that day to this, every man, woman, and child has lost whatever was left of his or her individuality. There is no longer an individuated, discrete soul to save in the Jew; a soul or mind emblematic of the possibility of a rational, free-thinking, controlled Self was lost with the crucifixion, when God abandoned the project of protecting and fortifying what little remained of the Jewish soul. In John's estimation Jews had continuously made improper choices even before Christ's death, leading them down a path of habituated familiarity with a demonic taste for ritual practices—such as sacrificial practices—that they have been incapable of abandoning. But until Christ's death God still tried to help reform their ability to choose to stop their ritual practices; however, at that point, in light of their obstinancy, he abandoned the Jews.

## BINDING

John G. Gager has shown that the use of *defixiones* (curse texts) is widespread in lawsuits from classical Athens through the late imperial Roman period.[55] A large body of material attests to the shape and form of this practice against judicial or oratorical opponents.[56] These texts as well as relevant literature indicate that a defendant purchases or commissions a *defixio* from a professional *magos,* who inscribes the names of the client and the victim on a lead tablet. Often these inscriptions include invocations to deities, *demons,* and corpse *demons* for the purpose of binding the mind and tongue of the victim in order to render him/her speechless in court.

The reasons behind the use of such texts are clear. A person feels threatened by the words that another publicly pronounces against him. The danger is such that the defendant seeks supernatural recourse to silence the opponent, and the sheer number of *defixiones* that we have provides strong evidence of the pervasive belief in the power of words to change the course of events in the realm of public oratory. Words, in a ritualized context, can stop other words. The popularity of the practice induces many orators to blame the magical arts for their own failures in public speech. Cicero describes a lawyer who, having forgotten his speech, resorts to blaming spells and curses for his lapse.[57] More relevant to our purpose, Libanius claims to have been the victim of such magical practice, as discussed in chapter 1. Plagued by migraines, he loses his interest in the written and oral word; he complains, "Whenever I ventured upon [making a speech], I was carried off course, like a boat in a contrary wind, so that, while they kept expecting a discourse, I would fall silent."

Eventually, Libanius and his students discover a dead chameleon in his classroom, "with its head tucked in between its legs, one of its front legs missing, and

the other closing its mouth to silence it."[58] These cases demonstrate that the ancients consider the environment of public oratory to be vulnerable to human interference through supernatural means. Thus people use ritual texts and oral formulae to sabotage public speech.

John Chrysostom, in sync with the rest of the population, recognizes that the realms of magic and public oratory overlap. Accordingly, his focus on the cleansing of the mind and the tongue not only draws extensively on the Stoic view of the therapeutic effect of certain speech practices on the state of the soul; his injunction to employ Christian formulae to "curb" and "stitch shut" the mouths of Jews also draws meaning from the cultural understanding of the relationship between public oratory and magical practice. Many *defixiones* specifically target the mind and the tongue. For example, one text dated to 300 BCE mentions several opponents; the client requests that the tongue, soul, and speech of each be bound.[59] At one point, the text also asks for the binding of the evidence that one opponent has. In a separate *defixio* found in Cyprus, dated to the late second to mid-third century CE, the text petitions the demons under the earth to silence someone by the name of Ariston who apparently spoke in anger against the person who commissioned the *defixio*.[60] This spell employs familiar ritual words to forge an arrangement with demonic powers to silence the verbal opponent: *horkizein, exorkizein*.[61] In effect, the *defixio* forges an oath between the ritual practitioner and certain invoked demonic powers in the name of other great gods (usually of the underworld) in order that those *demons* can take away the anger and power of Ariston and make him speechless (*aphōnon*) and breathless. The spell invokes the "king of deaf/voiceless demons" to "bind (*katadēsate*) and put to sleep (*katakoimisate*) the tongue of my opponent Ariston."[62] Elsewhere the spell requests that the demons "take away the voice" (*paralabete tas phōnas*) of and silence (*phimōsousin*) Ariston.[63] A second *defixio* beseeches the same subterranean *demons* to take away the voice of the opponent, rendering him speechless, wordless, and without language (*alaloi, aphōnoi, aglōssoi*).[64] Through these means, people seek to rob their enemies of the power to hurt them verbally.

While power in both the silencing curses (*defixiones*) and John Chrysostom's silencing rituals reside in the words themselves, these silencing rituals differ in their perceived anthropology. A *defixio* isolates and condemns another person's linguistic power. It may be simple witness testimony that is to be silenced—or a more formidable oratorical skill. A tongue—or more to the point a voice—and an education (rhetorical/oratorical) to guide that tongue/voice commands great cultural value and symbolic weight in late antiquity in general. This wealth of protective and assaultive magic and curse texts, which regulates the relevant practice of public oratory, attests to the cultural importance of these skill sets in late antiquity.

By contrast, John wishes to use an antidemonic, holy power in verbal combat against the demons in Judaizers as well as against the demons who have taken over

the Jews' souls. According to John, Christian arguments curb the tongue and silence the mouth of the Jew who tries to entrap the weaker in the congregation, as psychagogy cleanses the mind of the Judaizer. The act of the verbal confrontation itself serves to dramatically identify the Jew as the mouthpiece of a demon and his words as the demon's tricks. A strong Christian's words will nullify the power that the Jewish words have to entwine, seduce, and alter the entire religious and ritual behavior of weaker Christians.

In addition to the anthropological differences, cosmology (or the human-*daimōn* relation) also contrasts in the two ritual practices. In the case of the *defixiones,* a ritual agent forges arrangements with neutral demonic power(s) for the purpose of silencing a free-speaking, self-empowered human speaker. By contrast, John once again views a Christian's opponent as somehow actually under the control of a demon, who guides his speech and hearing, and consequently his entire behavior, and thus requires expulsion. Chrysostom silences an opponent through exorcistic encounter with a *daimōn* or, in the case of the Jews, by silencing or binding the demon within.

In constructing the diabolism of Jews, John hews closely and faithfully to the language in Romans. Like Paul with the Gentiles, John is unforgiving with the Jews. God has given them up (*paradidōmi*); there will be no second chances. Thus, in John's view Christian exorcism is a useless ritual weapon against actual Jews. At the most basic level, for an exorcism to work the possessed has to have an individuated soul, a chance for psychic reformation. While the Jew may not be actually possessed, John views the diabolic or demonized Jew as more dangerous than a person who is demon-possessed. Such a diabolic or demonized person has an ability—a singular purpose—to spread demonic contagion, not just suffer it, and to that extent, John argues, it is imperative to stop that person (if indeed he/she even qualifies as a person). More importantly, it is imperative that Christians stop the Jews' method of contaminating others with the Judaizing, demonic disease.

John plans to "spar" and do battle with Jews. He will silence them and curb their mouths. But he hardly intends to do this alone. At the same time as he trains Christians to exorcise Judaizers, he is training them for a different form of encounter against Jews. Before going into battle, Christian soldiers first have to know their enemy. In *Hom.* 4 and 5, John recounts a bleak ritual history of Jews before Christ and describes how an almost congenital religious failing has passed through history and come to express itself with an almost singular intensity in present-day Antioch.

John constructs the bestial qualities of Jews easily using biblical texts, referring to Isaiah, who identifies them as dogs, and Jeremiah, who describes them as mad stallions.[65] It is not as though the Jews suddenly take on these characteristics: rather, they "pursued [the] lustful habits of these animals," which are manifested prominently in a crazed desire for sacrifice.[66] Indeed, according to John, God rec-

ognizes in his chosen people a lust for sacrifice that makes them look worse than the Gentiles. While pagans at least display "firmness in their error" in idolatry—a strange form of honor and integrity among heathens—Jews express none of this.[67] Instead, sudden waves of rapacious yearning for "worshipping idols and serving demons" systematically erode their faithful adherence to God, and they move back and forth erratically between allegiance to and rejection of God's strict prescriptions against idolatry.[68] Jews' general desire for sacrifice is an egregious violation of their relationship with God. God was torn, watching them descend into a kind of ritual depravity:

> For when [God] saw them maddened in their desire for sacrifices, he also saw if they did not seize [upon this desire], they were prepared to go on their own over to the idols. . . . For after the celebration which they completed for the wretched demons, [God] allowed the sacrifices.[69]

John makes it clear that, although God had been lenient, he acted in the capacity of a doctor treating a sick and potentially recoverable patient. He had offered a kind of medicine: sacrifice was strictly controlled through being allowed only in Jerusalem. In a sense God had created a sanitized or sterilized space and time to allow Jews to drive the desire for sacrifice safely out of their collective system. Finally, however, God allowed the destruction of the Jewish temple of Jerusalem to bring the practice to an end.[70] The destruction of Jerusalem in its entirety would ensure that Jews would not and could not lawfully seek sacrifice again. By that point, after hundreds of years of ritual recuperation in the Jewish temple cult in Jerusalem under God's care, Jews should have been (for the most part) capable of understanding their proper ritual relation with God. It is not one that consists of sacrifice, but rather one in which love and faith are primary. If ever they feel themselves weakening, the law will soothe their emerging desire for a return to sacrifice.

John applies a similar philosophy to fasting and Passover.[71] There is a time and place for the rituals tied to the memorialization of these sacred events. And while the time of the year is important regarding the ritual practice, and the duration of the ritual even more so, the place in which Passover is celebrated trumps all else. Passover can be celebrated only in Jerusalem. To prove the salutary effects of God's law, John points to the Jews during exile. He makes it quite clear in his reading of Psalm 136 that the Jews in Babylon did not celebrate Passover during any of their long years of exile: "Neither [did they] offer sacrifices, nor fast, nor [keep] the feasts."[72] They resisted all such ritual practice, despite the continual prodding of their hosts: "For their barbarian captors were urging them by force and demand to play their musical instruments, 'Sing to us a hymn of the Lord.'"[73] Despite temptation, despite their torture, the Jews were able to resist performing any rituals for the Babylonians' amusement because God had wisely put laws in place. In his medicalization of Jewish ritual practice, we might understand John's description of

God's law as acting as a kind of inoculating booster (if we may slip into an anachronistic metaphor). Whenever Jews feel an inevitable outbreak of sacrificial fever (an incurable and chronic condition), they can find relief and strength in a prescript from the law enabling them to continue on in faith in God alone. And this, John seems to imply with his example of the exilic Jews, has worked with most of the Jews throughout history.[74]

Unfathomably, however, they seem incapable of completely letting go of the now-forbidden rituals. Though Antioch's Jews live in an improper time and place for the performance of most of their ritual practices—a historical truth appreciated by all but this particular Jewish population, it seems—the city's Jews blatantly ignore the law of God. The community in Antioch seems immune to or unaware of the law's salutary effects. To underline the audacity of his city's Jewish population, John applauds the strength of the Jews forced into Babylonian exile. They were deprived of the comforting familiarity of Passover and other religious rituals; in fact, they chose ritual self-deprivation rather than practice what the law prohibited—namely, Jewish rituals in a foreign land.[75] Their noble, selfless choice casts a shameful shadow across the ritual indulgences of the Jews in Antioch. John uses the comparison to reveal further a shocking lineage of Antioch's neighbors. He traces an almost direct line from the "mad mares compelled by a lustful desire for sacrifice" in the pre-exilic period, to those culpable in Christ's crucifixion (a sacrifice of another kind), to the Jews dancing in Antioch's synagogue, fasting, and blowing the trumpets, seeking new forms of sacrifice.[76] The only Jews missing from the Antiochene Jews' history seem to be those who were exiled to Babylon. This genealogy, etched in sacrificial blood and demons, explains the Antiochene Jews' relentless drive to seduce and defile weaker Christians.

But John is quick to point out that there is something that distinguishes the Jews of today from their ancestors. In the past, God sheltered the Jewish obsession with sacrifice in a Jewish temple and in His holy city of Jerusalem. Today, however, the Jews have neither a temple nor a holy city protected by God's hand—and yet they continue to engage in ritual veneration:

> At the very first I said, if there ever was a time when the violation of God's law was allowed, soon thereafter this became a transgression—a justification for ten thousand punishments. There was a time when Jews sounded their trumpets, that they had their sacrifices, but now [God] did not allow [these practices] to them.[77]

God had allowed the Jews to blow the trumpets over holocausts and feast offerings a long time ago. The purpose of the trumpets at that time, according to John, was to help Jews get over the need for sacrifice in the safe environment of the temple. With God's destruction of the temple and Jerusalem, the time for sacrifice was over, and the purpose of the trumpets directing them to the locations was at an end. By John's logic, not only is the blowing of trumpets announcing such rituals

no longer needed, but the sound of trumpets is a ritual herald that deceives and misleads everyone around. Moreover, it is a direct affront to God. After all, such an action can only be announcing to Jews that the rituals of Jewish sacrifice and feast offering are taking place with God's approval, which according to the law is not the case.

John and the stronger Christians have to stop members of the congregation from joining the Jewish festivals, which are condemned by God. John had seen the power of diabolic Jews the previous year. It had been quite easy for them to Judaize the congregation. This year, therefore, he begins his campaign early. He has ten days to protect and divert weaker Christians. If he and his soldiers of Christ can silence the Jews and stitch up their mouths before they even have a chance to communicate to Christians about the festivals, or to provide theological or soteriological justification for attendance, it may be possible to save a few Christians from falling prey to the call of the devil's trumpets.

In his *Adversus Judaeos* homilies, John mandates that stronger, baptized Christians seize weaker Christians and cleanse them of the demonic Judaizing disease. The ritualizing spectacle performs the boundary between Christianity and Judaism; it inscribes a divide between divinity and diabolism; it clearly projects an ontological disparity between the spirit-filled exorcist and the demon-possessed Judaizer. And all of this takes place in the streets of Antioch, in its forums, in its open basilicas, in front of its synagogues—and in the homes of Judaizers, but, as in this last case, always with witnesses.

What is essential in all of these cases is the spectacle. The spectacle of exorcistic performance announces a power dynamic of the exorcist over and above the abused Judaizer. It follows the shape of the ritual exorcism, the victim of demonic possession falling into the standard position of someone victimized, confused, in pain, and potentially exploding into violent spasms, which Peter Brown describes following anthropological models, and which John Chrysostom repeatedly warns against in the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies. John describes these demonically possessed Judaizers screaming, hitting, biting, and abusing the exorcist—a most violent case of Judaizing possession. John's homilies are a fascinating test case for exorcisms forced on an unwilling population. The pathology of demon possession and exorcism in this age of experimentation and ritual exploration and competition is very similar to socioreligious outrage and marks the beginnings of or acts as a catalyst to religious violence.

A final point before we depart from John's congregations, Antioch, and the later fourth century for an earlier period of the post-Constantinian age in Jerusalem during the early, tumultuous years of Cyril's episcopacy. It is important to keep in mind exactly when John intends his stronger Christians to enter the fray and engage with Judaizers in the streets of Antioch. He does not imagine this event as taking place every day of the year, or even any day of the year. Instead, he is

specific. The homilies themselves have been occasioned by the sudden drop in the number of his congregants because of the festivals at the synagogue during Passover and the High Holidays. Scholars have long recognized this. But it is also on these days specifically that John asks his Christians to venture out into the streets to encounter Judaizers—and quite possibly Jews. This is not accidental; nor is it convenient. On these holiest days of the year for Jews, on the days that Jews are in the streets of Antioch projecting piety, John asks his strongest Christians to engage in a performative ritual play that will potentially project the opposite. He asks Christian exorcists/soldiers of Christ—defenders of the Lord, once cut down by Christ killers long ago—to confront the children of Christ killers in strategic, exorcistic encounters.

What does John expect will occur? Does he expect Christians to expose Jews' demonic nature for all of Antioch to see? I propose that, at the very least, John is striving to accomplish a visible juxtaposition of spectacles: a degraded version of Jewish High Holidays with diabolic Jews and Judaizers on the one hand, and in contrast a superior image of Christian strength or power vanquishing that Judaizing demonism/diabolism—most likely in the person of a Judaizer as demonically possessed—in one of the most recognizable ritual scripts: exorcism.

What do people see? How do these performances affect outsiders' views of Judaism? How do these performances affect congregants' views about their own community? Do they attempt to duplicate a similar ritual attitude in their own dealings with outsiders? Whether or not an actual "spectacle" of Christian exorcistic strength over and against Jewish diabolism in fact takes place is beyond our ability to know. However, reading from an animistic perspective as I have done here suggests that John projects the image of such spectacle into the minds of his listeners and divides the streets of Antioch even more clearly between Christian (divine) and Jewish (demonic).

# Cyril and Jerusalem

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# Jerusalem to Aelia, Aelia to Jerusalem

## *Monumental Transformations*

Aelia Capitolina's bishop, Macarius, writes to Constantine in 325, seeking permission to begin an excavation: he wishes to unearth the site of Christ's crucifixion and tomb.[1] Constantine grants the request without hesitation. We have Eusebius of Caesarea to thank for the preservation of this exchange in his *Vita Constantini.*[2] To modern readers, this seems a reasonable and understandable petition. The episcopal leader of the once-holy city of Jerusalem faces the potential of a new age of Christian peace and possibility. He wishes to uncover the material remains of Christ's passion while imperial winds are favorable. After receiving Constantine's approval, Macarius's excavation quickly uncovers the tomb. Those at the dig confirm the site's authenticity, and celebrations follow.[3] Soon after, Constantine reveals his own plans to construct a large basilica complex that will encircle, protect, and venerate the primary events of Christ's passion; architects of Constantine's basilica stretch the traditional Roman building type beyond its normal shape so that it can enclose and highlight the final locations of Christ's existence on earth. For Constantine, it seems, the most important among those locations is the site of the resurrection—Christ's tomb. It is situated at the far center of the wall opposite the entrance into the basilica's inner courtyard. Workers layer the site of the tomb, known later as the Anastasis, in the gold, silver, marble, and gems that Constantine has earned through his repeated victories in battle. By contrast, Golgotha stands in a corner across the courtyard, unadorned and alone—almost forgotten.[4]

This chapter offers a tour of this city in the mid-fourth century; it also considers the processes of Christianization during the fourth century—i.e., the transformation of a small Roman garrison town to one of the empire's more important sites of Christian pilgrimage.[5] However, much more is involved than a survey of an urban

environment that will transform into a Christian city by the century's end. Just beneath the surface of Aelia Capitolina are the remains of an altogether different urban environment: the Holy City of Jerusalem. Certain questions will guide our discussion in this and the following chapters. In what ways do local, religiously diverse understandings of the Holy City of Jerusalem shape Cyril's perception of the immediate urban environment? In what ways might we imagine locally shared and contested views of the Holy City as informing Cyril's reactions to Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulchre?

Eusebius's narrative provides details of Constantine's discovery of the tomb and reconstruction of the city. However, Eusebius narrows our view of Aelia's transformation to the activity and ideas of just a few people, one of whom—Constantine—never steps upon the city's soil. What of those who actually live in or visit the city? How do they see Aelia Capitolina before Macarius's request is granted? How might they assess the suitability of Constantine's buildings in the reawakening of Jerusalem? Do local Christians appreciate Constantine's manner of honoring the discovery of the tomb? Or disagree with it? Finally, what types of interpretive tools and kinds of evidence will enable us to discover the answers to these and many other questions?

We have to wait a few years, until 333 CE, to encounter a visitor's impression of Constantine's Holy City. The Bordeaux Pilgrim's description is laboriously thorough, if somewhat dry.[6] As a result it has slipped quietly through generations of scholars' interpretations, with few noticing that the author buried in his descriptions his somewhat critical assessment of the Christianizing efforts in Aelia.[7] Later in this chapter, a close reading through the text will yield a sense of the Pilgrim's disapproval, especially in the case of Constantine's basilica. His note of dissent is subtle and easily missed; still, it does invite us to consider who else may have disapproved of Constantine's lavish manner of adorning the city of Christ's crucifixion.

A full generation has to pass before history preserves the impressions of someone who lives in the city, quite probably witnesses its transformations, and, moreover, declares a definitive opinion regarding Jerusalem's post-Constantinian appearance once the emperor's basilica is finished. In 349/50 Cyril begins to preach as the newly appointed bishop of Jerusalem.[8] He presents an altogether different if not conflicting approach to defining and apprehending the true Holy City of Jerusalem. Rather than emphasizing the importance of the resurrection and the tomb presented through Constantine's new, lavish structure—the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—Cyril privileges the eternal event of the crucifixion that took place in Jerusalem; likewise, he promotes the sign of the cross. The young bishop neglects the new imperial construction in present-day Aelia, and instead emphasizes the importance of the ritual process (baptismal rituals) through which a person is able to experience the true Holy City of Jerusalem—an urban environment that perennially experiences Christ's passion and death. Cyril describes ancient,

yet timeless, cosmogonic moments that continue to exist in the Holy City just beyond a person's perceptual grasp, behind the diabolizing illusions of the present-day city of Aelia Capitolina.

Cyril's Christological choices—crucifixion over the resurrection—certainly differ from those of Constantine.[9] However, more is involved in the measure of difference between the two men. In his baptismal preparation, Cyril moves quickly from mere difference of opinion to construct an active stance against the emperor's promotion of the resurrection. Cyril oversaw baptismal training  that endows a person with ritual agency and power to see the true Holy City of Jerusalem hidden behind Aelia's demonic illusions.

Cyril desires to bring the local Christian population into experiential coherence with the true Holy City: a Jerusalem rooted in the living imagery of Jesus's crucifixion and the salvific cross as well as other biblical moments. Through the ritual process, from the daily exorcisms to the final anointing with oil and the Eucharist, a baptizand progresses from a state of demonic blindness to experiencing an indwelling of the Holy Spirit that illuminates the senses. A baptizand begins training trapped by his sensory limitations and capable of perceiving only the sensory world. After baptism, a Christian soldier is capable of experiencing an eternally existing Holy City of Jerusalem; such a person can see past Constantine's basilica, spectacles of Greek divination, or Manichaean gatherings and pierce through to the cosmogonic moment of Christ's crucifixion in Jerusalem.

By the end of the century, according to the pilgrim Egeria's account of Good Friday, we encounter a Jerusalem transformed and immersed in the cult of the cross. How might Cyril's conceptualization of the Holy City and his baptismal training have contributed to this shift?

The bishop's chair is placed on Golgotha behind the cross, where he now stands, and he takes his seat. A table is placed before him with a cloth on it, the deacons stand round, and there is brought to him a gold and silver box containing the holy Wood of the Cross. It is opened, and the Wood of the Cross and the Title are taken out and placed on the table . . . all the people go past one by one. And as all the people pass by one by one, all bowing themselves, they touch the Cross and the [T]itle, first with their foreheads and then with their eyes; then they kiss the Cross and pass through, but none lays his hand upon it to touch it. And when the sixth hour has come, they go before the Cross, whether it be in rain or in heat, the place being open to the air, as it were, a court of great size and of some beauty between the Cross and the Anastasis; here all the people assemble in such great numbers that there is no thoroughfare. The chair is placed for the bishop before the Cross, and from the sixth to the ninth hour nothing else is done, but the reading of lessons, which are read thus: first from the psalms wherever the Passion is spoken of, then from the Apostles, either from the epistles of the Apostles or from their Acts, wherever they have spoken of the Lord's Passion; then the passages from the Gospels, where He suffered, are read.

Then the readings from the prophets where they foretold that the Lord should suffer, then from the Gospels where He mentions His Passion. Thus from the sixth to the ninth hours the lessons are read and the hymns said, that it may be shown to all the people that whatsoever the prophets foretold of the Lord's Passion is proved from the Gospels and from the writings of the Apostles to have been fulfilled. And so through all those three hours the people are taught that nothing was [other] than can be conceived, that done which had not been foretold, and that nothing was foretold which was not wholly fulfilled. Prayers also suitable to the day are interspersed a throughout. The emotion shown and the mourning by all the people at every lesson and prayer [are] wonderful; for there is none, either great or small, who, on that day during those three hours, does not lament more than can be conceived, that the Lord had suffered those things for us.[10]

How can Cyril, an inexperienced priest without the material resources of imperial power, bring about such changes? While Constantine has money, bricks, and gems, Cyril has only the ecclesiastical tools of his trade: ritual speech and activity. However, he also lives in an age that has a highly developed visual sense of language: in many ways ritual innovation in word and deed can prove much more powerful than the most expensively jewel-bedecked religious monument.[11] Cyril recognizes in his baptismal training the ritual means of converting Christians to his visual understanding of his environment: that is, the diabolizing illusions of Aelia opposed to the divine illumination of the crucifixion within the true Holy City of Jerusalem; through their baptism Cyril drafts Christ's soldiers into a spiritual warfare in order to recover the true Holy City. As we shall discuss in this and chapters 5 and 6, Cyril's cult of the cross owes at least a degree of its success to the bishop's ability to speak in a language and through categories of visual and sensory apprehension and revelation known to members of his congregation.

This chapter is occupied with describing the Holy City of Jerusalem's appearance through history. Thus, we trace the structures, spaces, and places in the urban sphere that maintain special meaning through the centuries of foreign conquest and rebellion. We explore tensions that emerge in the disparity between the idealization of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the reality of a city perennially vulnerable to the surrounding geopolitical situation and consider how this informs Cyril's own view of Aelia versus Jerusalem.

This chapter also explores how people—not only fourth-century Jerusalemites, but those loyal to the city throughout history—have actively visualized, and imagined, the Holy City of Jerusalem. How one sees, or visually apprehends, the Holy City and what that image conveys has always been inextricably rooted in the biblical history of Jerusalem as an embattled holy city. Jerusalem's narrative is straightforward, almost predictable, in light of its repetition: first, the Holy City suffers multiple invasions by a much more powerful foreign ruler; next, that foreign authority destroys key religious monuments that have defined the holy character

of the city; and finally the new authority orders or threatens to order the construction of ideological/religious topography representing its conquering power.

Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Vespasian, and Hadrian, for example, all leave material marks of the remains of the buildings they destroy as well as ones they build.[12] Each of these rulers contributes to an irrefutable sense of the violence that plagues Jerusalem's relationship with conquering/colonizing foreign powers. As we will discuss in this chapter, the confluence of archaeological, historical, and most especially literary material helps to generate our portrait of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

Modes of perceiving, sensing, and inevitably reacting to the experience of losing the Holy City develop in reaction to the harsh reality of a destroyed or drastically altered Jerusalem: ritual practices emerge alongside literary genres to provide a means of surviving and enduring that loss. This chapter argues that such memorializing practices—long a tradition in Jerusalem—shape Cyril's own visual understanding of the Holy City, a mode of experiencing the true city that he attempts to pass along to his baptizands. In this chapter, then, let us set Cyril to the side and look toward his congregants and other local populations as we imagine how they all engage in ancient, local strategies for seeing Jerusalem.

In order to see Aelia/Jerusalem though the eyes of fourth-century Jerusalemites, this chapter is loosely comprised of two parts. The first issue pertains to the memorialized history of the Holy City's foreign rulers—violent invasions followed all too often by the total, unforgiving destruction of religious buildings and monuments and, in many cases, followed once again by the ruler's construction of new, foreign religious monuments.[13] We will consider the repetition of this pattern: How does the pattern shape the local inhabitants' expectations? Do people develop a sense of their own individualized visual and sensory relationship with their fallen city? How might a conquered and colonized population somehow retain an image or sense of their Holy City after it has been destroyed and replaced? What does the local populace see and experience when they encounter the remains and ruins of their dead city? Do they read a warning? A threat? Or do they see a venerable memorial to the holiness that once existed and might yet return?

Secondly, we will consider the rich apocalyptic literature that arises in direct reaction to foreign conquest and destruction.[14] In texts such as 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), 2 Baruch, and Revelation, for example, we have various examples of certain individuals endowed with a divine sight to see through to a Jerusalem and in some cases a Jewish temple that has endured. This chapter posits that apocalypticism in general and apocalyptic texts dealing with Jerusalem and the Jewish temple specifically help to shape the visual expectations within certain local religious groups in Jerusalem.

Various traces of the Holy City of Jerusalem—despite its repeated experiences of imperial persecution and violence—always exist quietly in the shadows, in the

cracks and the crevices of Aelia's vulnerable foundations. This chapter surveys historical and literary pieces representing the violence, destruction, and persecution in Jerusalem, and then suggests how Jerusalemites use such pieces to animate or reanimate the Holy City of Jerusalem.

Starting in the sixth century BCE and then repeating through history, inimical foreign authorities attack Jerusalem and destroy her most sacred religious monuments and buildings. Strategic building construction often follows, foreign powers planting their own religion into Jerusalem's brutalized soil. This is a consistent theme throughout history; an implacable principle of violence has situated Jerusalem in an antagonistic relationship with external foreign powers. This situation exists in our period of interest, until finally in the early second century Hadrian destroys Jerusalem altogether.

In what follows we will examine how Jerusalemites develop a pattern of scriptural/textual and ritual practice as a mode of resistance under foreign rule. We will briefly consider the periods after the fall of the temple (70 CE), after the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–35 CE), and into the fourth century under both Constantine and Julian. Local populations collect particular strands from Jerusalem's sacred history and maneuver the assembled material to resuscitate their Holy City.

In the fourth century, for example, imperial power has an endless supply of brick, marble, and jewels to define the topographical image of Jerusalem, and the manpower to destroy it. By contrast, Jerusalemite Christians, like many before them, have only texts, language, and rituals through which to animate their sense of the Holy City. As we will see, though, texts, language, and ritual offer a powerful combination. Through these three, different people have turned to the task of generating the Holy City of Jerusalem and then have held it at arm's length, a Jerusalem only perceptible to those who have been ritually initiated into a heightened, illuminated, and spiritual mode of perception. A sense of the Holy City's enchanted nature emerges in the ritual process that alters a person's sense of the temporal and spatial and moves a person from limited sensory perception to unlimited spiritual illumination. This chapter examines these processes closely in the apocalyptic texts of 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch. In the next chapter, we will consider the manner in which Cyril draws upon these earlier texts in developing his own Holy City of Jerusalem.

## THE FALL OF THE TWO TEMPLES

The emperor Hadrian demonstrates a keen awareness of how cultural memory interacts with—and can be manipulated by—space to create a strong sense of place. In the tradition of Vespasian and Titus, he continues a "policy of deliberate destruction."[15] In other words, he continues to demolish what remains of Jerusalem and strategically leaves in place the Holy City's surviving rubble and ruins

after the Bar Kokhba revolt.[16] As Peter Walker explains, nothing of religious significance is left for Jews or Christians to hold on to:

> Palestine was deprived of the symbol of Jerusalem. For 200 years, the 'Holy Land' was without its crowning religious jewel, the mystique of Jerusalem; for 200 years paganism had been seeking to abolish the religious attraction, which Jews had felt towards the 'holy city' of Jerusalem. As yet, therefore, Christians had neither the occasion nor the desire to appropriate that mystique and to make Jerusalem a 'holy city' of their own. Caesarea now came to the fore in its stead. . . . The age-long function of Palestine as a religious center was at its lowest ebb.[17]

Eventually, when Hadrian finally rests from the task of overseeing the careful and precise reconstruction over and around what is left of the Jewish city after the demolition of 70 CE and the recently renewed destruction of 135, he carefully drafts a deliberately small Roman *colonia*. In doing so, he draws attention to the shadowy outlines of what had been the religiously consequential, proud, holy city of the Jews, which has not truly existed for over sixty years. Jews have not been living in Jerusalem in any great numbers since 70. Hadrian bans Jews from living in the city altogether, allowing their return only once a year, on the ninth day of the Hebrew month of Av, to mourn; there is scattered literary evidence of this expulsion of Jews from Jerusalem. (We will return to this topic in greater detail below.) Hadrian also shrinks the city to half the size it was before the destruction of the Jewish temple. Nahman Avigad's excavations indicate the impressive city of Jerusalem is reduced to, and renamed as, the insignificant provincial town of Aelia Capitolina.[18] The typical city grid, with the Cardo (north-south) and the Decumanus (east-west) crossroads, can still be traced in the streets of the present-day city. And, according to Günter Stemberger, the Cardo carries the flow of people between the Damascus and the Zion gates; the Decumanus extends into the city from the Jaffa Gate.[19] Scholars have traditionally presumed that the Roman army camp of the Legio X Fretensis is located at the city's highest point, south of the Decumanus, dominating the now-shrunken civic space from the city's southwest corner.[20] Here, near Mount Sion, the army's permanent presence since 70 constantly reminds residents and interlopers in Aelia of Rome's ability to stop any who contest its rule. Hadrian further amplifies Rome's presence by recalibrating the city's civic anchor: due north of the army camp, on the next highest hill, is the location where Hadrian erects a forum and his temple to Aphrodite.[21] Dio Cassius also describes public baths, a theater, a temple to the Capitoline gods, and a sanctuary to the Nymphs as part of this building project.[22] The much later *Chronicon Paschale* describes a large ceremonial gate with twelve entrances to a public esplanade, two public baths, and a theater.[23]

"[Hadrian] displaced the Old City with a new, Gentile one, set further to the west. This alternative site of Roman power was dedicated to its begetters, the

emperor himself and Jupiter Capitolinus: Colonia Aelia Capitolina."[24] The temple of Aphrodite flanks the western side of the Cardo Maximus, which cuts through the new, shrunken Roman town. The cult site to the goddess of love sits to the north of a market forum, perched above this new, busy section of Aelia.[25] Aphrodite's temple is the centerpiece of Hadrian's forum and a cornerstone of his project of urban transformation—a strategic means of erasing, if not offensively deriding, what little remains of the ancient city of Jerusalem. Some scholars have argued that Hadrian's Capitoline temple also stands in the southern portion of the forum, making this the new civic center of Aelia and helping to draw attention away from the Temple Mount.[26]

The Aphrodite temple, together with other Hadrianic monuments, effectively alters the city's sacred landscape; it also redirects and redefines the religious focus of the city. On the level of architectural and topographical aesthetics, the Aphrodite temple functions to pull inhabitants' eyes away from the Temple Mount, which—despite its devastated state, or even because of it—continues to demand attention. Moreover, through its cult and priesthood the forum temple also introduces a new mode of history in Aelia by ritually organizing the lives of the Hadrianic city's new and reshuffled inhabitants. The Aphrodite temple—together with the Jupiter temple, religious statues, and other sacred monuments in the newly formed Aelia—function to overwhelm any lingering memory of Jerusalem's particularist history that ties terrestrial roots to biblical prophecy and Jewish eschatology. Hadrian intends these religious monuments and cultic activity to draw together its citizens in a polytheistic cultic rhythm set within a larger, universal historiography of the Roman Empire. A steady pulse of polytheistic festivals, processions, and celebrations conveys a totalizing narrative of Roman strength, victory, and religious beneficence.[27]

Sacred buildings, whether in Jerusalem or Aelia Capitolina, are never simply sacred buildings. They are religious monuments situated in strategic interactive relation with other monumental buildings—the entire urban landscape—as well as with the people who inhabit, visit, or worship in the city. As long as the cult in the Aphrodite temple is active and in full sight of the Temple Mount, it relays a message of Hadrianic imperial victory and, more importantly, the final and definitive defeat of cultic Judaism in Jerusalem. Two centuries later, after the cult in the Aphrodite temple has ended, the temple again projects a significant message—though the content of that message will be quite different. Before discussing this shift, however, let us first visit the religious monuments that present an interesting challenge, as well as opportunity, to any conquering force in Jerusalem.

Before its destruction, the Herodian temple was one of the largest, grandest, most sacred monuments in the eastern regions of the empire. In the second century, long after the temple's destruction, the Temple Mount itself still encompasses some thirty-nine acres. It is an elevated space prominently visible, and it had hov-

ered impressively over ancient Jerusalem; in the radically shrunken space of Aelia it dominates the landscape to a much greater degree and occupies more than one-fifth of the inhabited territory. The Temple Mount still manages to demand attention from all inhabitants, wherever they stand.[28] No matter what Hadrian builds or destroys on its surface, nothing will take attention away from the simple fact of the Temple Mount itself and the inescapable history or histories it continually forces on the inhabitants of the current Aelia.

Much of that history has been neatly, vividly, preserved in Josephus's *Bellum Judaicum:*

> While the holy house was on fire, everything was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain; . . . children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests were all slain in the same manner . . . as well those that made supplication for their lives as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain, and because this hill was high, and the winds at the temple were very great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine anything either greater or more terrible than this noise, for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions who were marching all together, and a sad clamor of the seditious who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy and under a great consternation, and made sad moans at the calamity they were under; the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill. And, besides, many of those who were worn away by the famine, and with their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house they exerted their utmost strength, and broke out into groans and outcries again. . . . One would have thought that the hill itself on which the temple stood was seething hot, so full of fire on every part of it that the blood was greater in quantity than the fire, and those that were slain more in number that those that slew them, for the ground did nowhere appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay on it.[29]

Josephus's description permanently inscribes the tragedy of the temple's destruction in 70 in the *Bellum Judaicum* and so too in the cultural memory of any who read and share knowledge of Josephus's text. The Jewish historian solidifies and confirms in future minds a boldly vivid and provocatively emotive understanding of one of the pivotal events in the history of early imperial Roman conquest and control. The violence of the temple's destruction is indeed shocking. Yet the children's screams, flowing blood, sizzling flesh, and crushed bones, as well as the aching, burning misery of a people's severed connection to their God, are essentially ephemeral, transitory experiences; the survival of those memories is contingent upon capricious interests of history makers as well as the practices of oral history and collective memory as cultivated in different communities. In fact, most who record the temple's fall neglect this level of detail and strip the event

down to dehumanizing facts.[30] Thus we find an important contrast in Josephus's description. Through his depiction of physical suffering and fatal violence Josephus constructs a graphic and empathetic memorial that preserves the devastating end of Judaism's cultic religion. In fact, his narrative gains the impregnable stability of a physical monument in its own right. Even more so—unlike a physical building or statue, his testament is invulnerable to Roman authority's power to destroy and potentially erase all memory of the religious structures of a rebellious people.

Before entering and encountering the city and seeing the Temple Mount, most spectators no doubt have some grasp—however vague—of the terrifying devastation that had occurred upon its surface. After 135, Hadrian turns to this raw space as a focal point and a stage for projecting an image of Rome's—and Hadrian's—impregnable and unrivaled power. In consideration of Josephus's depiction of the violence that took place, it is intriguing to consider what kinds of images inspire the emperor's views regarding the fallen city and inform his decision not to rebuild Jerusalem but found the city of Aelia Capitolina instead. While this is impossible to determine definitively, Annabel Wharton is certainly correct that Hadrian's "aversion to reconstruction was manifestly political"; it is not impossible that Josephus's passage may have influenced the emperor's decision to leave a rather sizable amount of temple ruins in place as a physical and visual counterpart to the Jewish historian's text.[31] While most of the temple has been razed to the ground, recent excavations indicate that even as late as the Byzantine period "parts of the Temple to a considerable height must have remained standing."[32] Hadrian also reportedly incorporates stones from the temple into the theater he builds.[33] In any age in which precious resources are hard to come by, the reuse of past building materials is certainly not unusual. Nonetheless, Hadrian's choice to use Judaism's most sacred building materials for a morally tainted structure such as a theater hardly seems an innocuous choice; rather it is an act bearing a clear message of anti-Jewish disdain. For the most part, though, a great deal of the temple's and Temple Mount's ruins are left in place.

Hadrian's decision to leave the rubble conveys a powerful image. The abandoned, scarred surface of the Temple Mount speaks of a city carrying the burdens of a violent religio-political history. It is an undeniable sign of Rome's defeat of not only Jews but also Judaism. Hadrian intends its surface to declare loudly from the eastern edges of Aelia that the Romans have won and that the Jewish temple—the monument unifying Jews throughout the empire—will never rise again. The emperor's alterations project an insistent declaration of Roman power: in this case, an expression of power over a Jewish population that has already been defeated and crippled.

Intriguingly, Hadrian's dramatic display of crushing conquest and defeat focuses on a population that is supposedly no longer allowed to live in the city. Some have argued that Hadrian intends the display for the populations brought in

to replace the Jews: Syrians and Arabians. The Temple Mount—memorial to a colonized population's ruthless punishment—will then serve as an effective reminder to Aelia's newly transplanted inhabitants of their own subjugated position. Jews will also see the devastating reminder of their ancestors' defeat on the one day they are allowed to return to Jerusalem: their annual day of mourning, Tisha B'Av.[34]

There is an important question that we must settle before continuing on to finish our portrait of Aelia/Jerusalem. What is the state of Aelia's Jewish population from the Hadrianic era to that of Constantine? What audience does Hadrian intend for the lessons he has carved so violently into Aelia's topography, especially when we consider the Temple Mount? The exclusion order that Hadrian reportedly places on Jews exiles them from Aelia and a large swath of what has been Judaea. For a long time scholars have been satisfied with the ancient testimony that indicates the firm standing of the ban: for instance, Tertullian and Justin Martyr mention the Hadrianic ban against Jewish entry. Scholars have used their testimony to put together a reconstruction of the original edict: "It is forbidden for all circumcised persons to enter or stay within the territory of Aelia Capitolina; any person contravening this prohibition shall be put to death."[35]

Recently, though, scholars have suggested that the appearance of the law's inviolability depends more upon Eusebian insistence than actual practice. While the bishop of Caesarea claims that Hadrian strictly forbids Jews from "gazing on the soil inherited from their fathers," what actually occurs regarding Jewish presence in Aelia and Palestine during Hadrian's reign may be beside the point.[36] After Hadrian's death, enforcement of the law may have grown lax; once we reach the third century, economic and military crises trump concerns regarding who resides in Aelia Capitolina. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that Antoninus Pius may have allowed resettlement beginning as early as 138.[37]

Certain scholars have proposed that a small group of rabbis possibly takes up residence in Aelia in the third century. In her exhaustive textual and archaeological study, Joan Taylor mentions the rabbis Hanina, Jonathan, and Joshua ben Levi, who visit Aelia's Rabbi Meir and settle there briefly with a group of pupils.[38] Taylor argues that this demonstrates an extreme relaxation of the practice of the law during this period.[39] It also invites speculation. What are the rabbis teaching? What texts interest them? How do they perceive and discuss the fall of Jerusalem? Who listens to them? When it comes to considering the fact of Jewish inhabitance in the next century, debate continues. Traditionally, a number of scholars have insisted that Constantine actually reinstates Hadrian's anti-Jewish edict. This is a time period of imperial and ecclesiastical plans for Christianizing the city and returning Jerusalem to its divine status—this time as a Christian holy city. Jewish inhabitants present too vivid a reminder of the Jews' precedence in and predominance over Jerusalem's holy status.

While at first glance this seems plausible, the evidence for Constantine's harsh action depends upon one source dating to the tenth century. In addition to the paper-thin nature of this evidence, in the fourth century Cyril admonishes his baptizands to stay away from their normal habit of attending the synagogue—a declaration that not only points to the pervasive spread of Jewish activity (and therefore population) but also to Jewish/Christian mixing. It is therefore very likely that there is a Jewish presence in Aelia throughout the fourth century; and, indeed, this is the view of Jan Willem Drijvers, Oded Irshai, and increasingly other scholars.[40] Drijvers observes that the Bordeaux Pilgrim refers to seven synagogues on Mount Sion; out of the seven one remains standing in the fourth century.[41] He also points to Cyril's evidence as suggesting that Jews and Gentiles may have mixed in Jerusalem Christian communities during the fourth century. He goes further, though, and makes the bold proposal that in fact Jews are not forbidden from the Temple Mount until the end of the fourth century; in his view it is only after that point deep in the Theodosian era that the Jewish presence is reduced to the right of return once a year. This introduces important questions regarding Jewish-Christian interaction, such as how Jewish ritual and exegetical practices intermix with analogous practices in Macarius's, and later Cyril's, church. Similarly, to what extent do Jewish and Christian communities share, discuss, or debate conceptualizations of Jerusalem as a Holy City?

A Jewish presence in Aelia introduces interesting possibilities. Scholars have considered how Hadrian manipulates the debris on top of the Temple Mount to project Roman invincibility as well as the Jews' and Judaism's defeat. After 70 and then again after 135, however, the Temple Mount arises as a new, undefined space. It is available to everyone or to no one. The Temple Mount offers a tabula rasa of sorts to the multitude to create, to interpret, and to enact religious, political, and social meanings. These meanings can overlap, shift, and compete back and forth almost mercurially among different religious populations. From those mourning the Second Temple, which had once stood atop the now-empty Mount, to those rejoicing in its debris-covered surface, to those in need of its eternal emptiness as a sign of Christ's ability to prophesy the temple's destruction, to those in anxious fear of the temple's eschatological return—for all of these, the Temple Mount is generously, obligingly polyvocal, as might be expected in a religiously pluralistic city under a foreign colonialist control.

The Temple Mount projects a powerful message to anyone who lays eyes upon the site. The ruins which rest on top of it cast images of war, devastation, and loss over the entire city. It is relatively easy to discern Hadrian's message in the rubble strewn across the surface: the Temple Mount bears perennial witness to Rome's justifiable act of imperial domination over a rebellious—and now utterly defeated and devastated—Jewish population; Jerusalem and Jews will never return to their former state. That Hadrian may intend this meaning is hardly surprising. That

said, there are other ways to read the ruins atop the Temple Mount than what Roman imperial ideology dictates.

Judaism's covenantal theology presents an altogether different manner of reading the site. Throughout biblical history, as Yahweh's directions move the chosen people, the Israelites, forward, he imparts upon them a supplemental covenantal agreement (e.g., Abrahamic in Genesis 12–17; Mosaic in Exodus 19–24; Davidic in 2 Samuel 7, also Jeremiah 33; priestly in Exodus 29:44–46). God promises divine protection as well as expansion in land and people through generations and strength in war, for example, in exchange for a commitment to fulfill their own promises. While Jews suffer through foreign rule, violence, destructive oppression, and even near-annihilation (e.g., the Assyrian capture of Israel; Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonian exile; Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the Seleucids; and, finally, the Romans), the catalyst for each fall is the same: Jews have violated some aspect of the covenant. Their arrogance, pride, idolatry, or simple neglect have brought about foreign invasion and devastation. So too, then, an opportunity for atonement is always available, followed inevitably by a reinstatement of the covenantal relationship. By renewing and rededicating itself to the principles of the covenant, a forsaken Jewish population repeatedly has the opportunity to regain God's favor—whatever that entails. The Holy City of Jerusalem can then rise again, fully restored.

This line of thought presents tantalizing possibilities for imagining Jewish identities carved out in distinctive resistance to or rejection of the Hadrianic city and awaiting the return of the Holy City of Jerusalem. Can anti-Roman behavior/thought—as opposed to obedience and assimilation—lead to divine reward? Can unrelieved fidelity to the idea of the Holy City of Jerusalem and Judaism evoke divine blessing? If such is the case, how might such a discourse shape local Christian views of the return of the Holy City of Jerusalem?

## SEEING HIDDEN JERUSALEM: APOCALYPTIC VISIONARIES

In the aftermath of Jerusalem's and the temple's destruction, the Holy City continues to exist unharmed and even to thrive in apocalyptic eschatological literature.[42] Despite the apparent material devastation that Rome's armies bring down upon a suffering populace in Jerusalem, these texts speak of a holy but hidden city that continues to exist untouched by Rome. The true Jerusalem is a city of timeless divine endurance; it is a city of eschatological inevitability; it is also a city visible and accessible to a very few. Only those capable of divine visionary experience can see through the illusion of the ruins and rubble to apprehend the reality of the true Jerusalem.[43] So too only those individuals able to communicate with angelic mediators can develop the ritual means of releasing the hidden and holy city to the surface of their perceptual reality.[44] While there are many apocalyptic visionary

texts from this period, we will explore two. The apocalyptic works of 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch share many commonalities pertaining to the relationship between the ritual development of visionary experience (with the aid of angelic mediators) and a personalized revelation of the Holy City of Jerusalem.[45] Likewise, these two texts inscribe a harsh division between the visionary who is capable of seeing the true Jerusalem and can gain hope in that experience, and the rest of humanity who are incapable of seeing (or thinking) beyond the destruction and devastation.[46] Only "ritual virtuosos" can catch a glimpse of the true Holy City of Jerusalem—and in that ability they find a measure of freedom from the political realities of the city's actual devastation.

4 Ezra (2 Esdras) is written in the reign of Domitian and may thus reflect, according to Adela Yarbo Collins, the violent persecutions of that reign as well as difficulties that befall Jewish Christian communities in the wake of the destruction of the temple.[47] The text of 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) eventually makes it to the Latin West in now-lost Greek translations. Though a reflection of the destruction of the temple in 70 CE, the text depicts the protagonist, Ezra, as he struggles in the wake of the earlier destruction of the temple in 586 BCE. While 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) seems not to have enjoyed an afterlife in Jewish literature, it is absorbed into Christian circles surprisingly early. The text divides into seven sections or seven visions pertaining in some manner to the earthly dilemma of Jerusalem's destruction; thus, the text is not concerned with heavenly tours or descents into hell, but is situated firmly on earthly terrain and concerned with in/visible realities on earth in the present and future. The first three sections include dialogues in which Ezra calls to the angel Uriel and laments to him that he does not understand the vision. In each interchange Ezra begins from a point of utter despair, but after hearing Uriel's explanation of the eschatological meaning behind the vision Ezra's disposition changes and brightens. This repetition, a performative establishment of their relationship, establishes Ezra's heightened ritual status as his relationship with the angel (and thus the supernatural) deepens—a status heightened through specific ritual practices. In the final two visionary episodes Ezra reaches a particular enlightened level that enables him to take on his role as the new Moses and assume the task of writing new scripture.

Structurally similar to 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), 2 Baruch is written around the same time and is also set in the period of the First Temple's destruction. Likewise, 2 Baruch also finds a firm place within the growing genre of early Christian apocalypticism. As already mentioned, both texts emphasize the important relationship between ritual practice and visionary experience. Both texts take care to identify who will be granted access to the true, divine vision of Jerusalem; each insists that only those demonstrating pious loyalty to Jerusalem and displaying unyielding belief in what God has promised the city are worthy to see Jerusalem as it truly is. Even so, these exceptional individuals, whose limits have already been tested by

the threat or reality of foreign invasion, must also engage in preparatory ascetic ritual practice before they can receive apocalyptic visions.

4 Ezra (2nd Esdras) demonstrates the central importance of completely sur-rendering oneself to the mysterious plan and judgment of the Most High, espe-cially when facing only devastation and misery. To that end, the text repeatedly portrays Ezra as exactly following whatever instructions Uriel offers. Only com-plete obedience will enable Ezra to receive a vision that reveals the reason for Jeru-salem's misery. In the conversations between Ezra and Uriel, the angel explains to Ezra that he must pray, weep, and fast for seven-day intervals for each of his visions. While Ezra never questions any of the angel's commands that lead to the first three visions, he stubbornly refuses to accept each vision's meaning and thus God's harsh judgment involving Jerusalem's earlier destruction and the judgment that only a very few among Israel's people will be deemed worthy for salvation.[48]

Rather than soothe Ezra's increasing dismay, Uriel intensifies the preparatory rituals required to trigger a fourth vision; the angel asks Ezra to travel to a field of flowers that has been untouched by any kind of manmade structure. Once there Ezra must only eat flowers for the duration. Ezra's complete obedience to Uriel's new and unusual set of instructions produces a powerful and transformative vision. Ezra suddenly sees a mother weeping for her son who died on his wedding night.[49] Her grief has left her so distraught that she has abandoned Jerusalem and refused to return. Frustrated with her selfish mourning in light of Zion's destruc-tion, Ezra briefly forgets his own sense of hopelessness and turns to berate the woman harshly for her failure to recognize the overriding importance of Jerusa-lem. The brief interaction between Ezra and the mother inaugurates a concordant shift in Ezra's own intractable lament for Jerusalem. Due to his willingness to speak the truth to the woman and criticize her selfish misery, Ezra is granted an incredible vision: in the middle of the field of flowers, the woman transforms sud-denly into a rebuilt, gorgeous city. The terrified Ezra is then greeted by Uriel, who explains the visionary experience as God's gift. Ezra's ritual piety, his continual prayer for the "people of Sion" and for Jerusalem, has persuaded the Most High to reveal to him the future Holy City of Jerusalem, "the brilliance of her glory, and the loveliness of her beauty."[50] After this visual experience, Uriel invites Ezra to return to Jerusalem and experience the destroyed and demolished city in a way no one else can:

> Therefore do not be afraid and do not let your heart be terrified; but go in and see *the splendor and vastness of the building, as far as it is possible* for your eyes to see it, and afterward you will hear as much as your ears can hear. For you are more blessed than many, and you have been called before the Most High, as but few have been.[51]

Now that Ezra's view toward the misfortune of Jerusalem and her people has changed and his understanding coheres with that of God's judgment, he is able to

perceive things differently. Ezra no longer needs to engage in ritual preparations and prayer. He is no longer confused by the visions he has. Due to his complete alignment with the Most High, visionary experience is now an embedded, natural part of his being. Through dreams or visions, he can easily see and interpret what God eventually intends to restore on earth.

In contrast to Ezra, most human beings are unenlightened and are consequently unable to see beyond the ruins of the destroyed city and Temple Mount: a heavy, blinding materiality darkens their vision, and they are cut off from full visual apprehension. Instead, their vision is confined to the present moment and constrained by a linear progression of time. In striking contrast, Ezra's sight has been released from linear time by his fierce, unrelenting belief in an eternal, divine Jerusalem and by his own practiced and tested ritual faith. He sees in full glory the holy Jerusalem that was, is, and will be. As he looks on "the splendor and vastness of the building, as far as it is possible," Ezra realizes that what appears caught in present time does not matter in the least. It is transient, passing, and a flicker of a moment.

Vigilant ritual and visionary practice have enabled Ezra to increase his understanding of God's judgment and the purpose of suffering. Through these means, Ezra has earned the faculty of apocalyptic sight, his now-natural ability to see a Jerusalem released from linear time. Ezra can now visually comprehend what lies behind the diaphanous veil of today's ruin: the underlying, overlying, and surrounding solidity and permanence of Jerusalem's eternal glory.

Another important passage in this regard is 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) 14:21–26, in which Ezra requests from God that he receive the Holy Spirit in order to be able to reinscribe the lost holy scriptures.[52] What inspires Ezra's request is the fact that "the world lies in darkness, and its inhabitants are without light." God grants the request, and the following day Ezra receives the command, "Ezra, open your mouth and drink what I give you to drink." After following the command, Ezra exclaims: "[Immediately] my heart poured forth understanding, and wisdom increased in my breast, for my spirit retained its memory; and my mouth was opened and was no longer closed."[53]

2 Baruch also broaches the issue of ritual practice and apocalyptic sight as well as the dangers of illusory aspects of Jerusalem.[54] We encounter the protagonist's vision of an unharmed, glorious, and inevitably eschatological Jewish temple in contrast with the earthly reality—a Jerusalem bloodied and bruised by the violent waves of history. As in the case of Ezra, it is Baruch's unyielding piety in thought and ritual action that enables his full, honest, spiritual sight. The text opens in a very familiar manner, with the Lord explaining to Baruch that the temple of Jerusalem will be destroyed because of people's sins. Baruch's strong, insistent lament regarding their fate receives an intriguing response. The Lord explains that the Jerusalem before Baruch was not the city he had shown first to Adam, then to Abraham, and finally to Moses: "It is not the building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be

revealed, with me, that was already prepared from the moment that I decided to create Paradise. . . . Behold, now it [the temple] is preserved with me—as also Paradise."[55] The text opens and extends the conversation to highlight a sacred, eschatological history, speaking of the beginning of time and then abruptly shifting to the present day, as well as including a momentary leap forward into the imminent future; thus the text presents a doubled temporality. There exists the true, divine sense of time, which remains hidden, protected, untainted and, in a sense, unchanging: in this timeline, the true Jerusalem/temple has been preserved and set aside since the time of Adam. All who truly deserve it can perceive it very briefly. Then there is an essentially duplicitous sense of time that is visible, touched by pain, destruction, corruption, and decay. Very few are aware of the first timeline—only those God considers worthy to experience the enduring holiness of the true Jerusalem and its temple. Everyone experiences the second, and thus a sense of change through the past, present and future. Occasionally the two experiences of time intersect.

Baruch departs from the city, to fast and mourn. The Lord then proceeds to show Baruch and the reader what might be described as a multidimensional perception of the Holy City and its temple. By the following morning, attacking armies have surrounded Jerusalem and are ready to plunder the city; on the cusp of irrevocable catastrophe Baruch's body is transported suddenly into an ecstatic visual experience of events:

> And lo! Suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and bore me aloft over the wall of Jerusalem. And I saw, and behold, there were standing four angels at the four corners of the city, each one of them with a burning torch in his hands. And another angel came down from heaven and said to them, "Hold your torches, and do not light them before I say it to you. Because I was sent first to speak a word to the earth and then to deposit in it what the Lord, the Most High, has commanded me." And I saw that he descended in the Holy of Holies and that he took from there the veil, the holy ephod, the mercy-seat, the two tables, the holy raiment of the priests, the altar of incense, the forty-eight precious stones, with which the priests were clothed, and all the holy vessels of the tabernacle. And he said to the earth with a loud voice:
> Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God,
> and receive the things which I commit to you,
> and guard them until the last times,
> so that you may restore them when you are ordered,
> so that strangers may not get possession of them.
> For the time has arrived when Jerusalem will also be
> delivered for a time, until the moment that it will be said
> that it will be restored forever.
> And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up.[56]

Ezra and Baruch are two texts that come together in ways that are incredibly helpful as we turn below to discuss fourth-century Christians in their creation of a

Holy City of Jerusalem. They will provide even more insight when we turn to Cyril in the next two chapters and consider his construction of baptizands as apocalyptic prophets whom he ties to Jerusalem in a form of visual *sympatheia* through daily exorcisms and baptism. For now, let us speculatively consider what 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch throw into the collective cultural atmosphere of the local Jerusalemite population.

First and foremost, these texts strongly emphasize that what appears to the naked, unritualized eye is an illusion, an intentional deception. Furthermore, the destruction that fell on Jerusalem and its sacred monuments can only be false. It is incumbent on people to strive to become aware of the much larger, redemptive, enlightening conceptual framework that exists and encompasses the former. Thus both texts describe two notions of time and temporality: the first is flattened and confines a normal person's experiential, perceptual state to the present moment; time for that person progresses continually and myopically in a strictly linear direction from the past to the future. A person in his or her natural state is incapable of experiencing any other aspect of time than the present: an unaided human being can neither perceive a momentary image from an enduring event in the biblical past nor capture a precocious glimpse into the eschatological shape of the future. According to the second perception of temporality, however, this natural timeline adheres unimaginatively to the present. One's experience of the surrounding world is therefore severely limited: such an individual is perceptually deadened to the other, enchanted, sense of time and place. The best example of these temporal dangers is provided in 2 Baruch.

Baruch experiences the earth in its fully enlivened state. It is specifically his allegiance to Jerusalem and his status as a visionary that renders him capable of seeing what is invisible to everyone else: angels and an animate earth. By comparison, others are visually restrained and capable of perceiving only illusions wrapped around the image of a fallen Jerusalem. The Babylonians see what they think are priceless spoils of war; in reality the holy vessels are vaporous. The true precious objects of the tabernacle are hidden safely underground until such time as earth and heaven mutually decide that it is safe for them to be returned to the surface. The Babylonians, Jerusalem's enemy, see reality in a way that gives insight into their own true character. They are capable of visually apprehending only the deceptive image of the treasure (the vessels of the temple); thus what they can see ironically reflects what they are in their essence: lacking in real substance, illusory, and unsalvageable. By contrast, Baruch's ability to see through the illusion of a destroyed temple and beyond to the enduring actuality of an untouched temple demonstrates the substance of his core as one of God's most important visionaries.

In this example from 2 Baruch we encounter the two different dimensions of experiential reality. In the first and more straightforward dimension a person is

attached to, and confined within, the present moment as that moment continues to extend linearly in temporal progression. The second offers a much more open-ended possibility, which demands more explanation: that a person can experience perceptual reality untethered from the unilinear progression of time. A person is then capable of inhabiting and perceiving all temporal dimensions—past, present, future—simultaneously, or of moving in a continual circularity. We will use the term *mundane* or *disenchanted* to describe the first, limited mode of perception of the present within a linear, unidimensional experience of time—as we move from minute to minute, day to day, year to year. The second and more robust perception of reality and experience of time we will call *supramundane* or *enchanted*. To unpack this a bit further before moving on: a person experiencing mundane/disenchanted temporality perceives only the present moment (remembers the past, imagines the future) in a linear or sequential progression of time. That person also has only an individualized experience of reality and time. In other words, such an individual cannot experience time before their birth or after their death. By contrast, in the supramundane/enchanted model an Ezra or a Baruch experiences time multidimensionally: through ritual and angelic aid such a person develops the ability to perceive through the present into the past and the future.

This conceptualization of supramundane/enchanted reality is especially intriguing, and complex, when one considers supramundane/enchanted perception in conjunction with biblical exegesis. We move beyond merely perceiving an enduring past to perceiving, even participating in, a layering and interweaving of living biblical moments. We see an example of this understanding when we look at how Cyril trains his baptizands. In *Catecheses ad illuminandos* 13.9–12, he guides baptizands in the collection and performance of "testimonies to the Passion of Christ": Christ is put in bonds, dragged to the high priest and questioned; his face is "smitten by lawless hands"; others spit upon his face; his back is scourged. Interwoven into this graphic and emotionally raw presentation of Christ's arrest and crucifixion Cyril presents vivid testimony from other doomed prophets whose own deaths support the crucifixion. Isaiah speaks out against Christ's tormenters—"Woe unto their soul" (Isa. 3:9, KJV)—before the prophet is cut asunder; Jeremiah is "cast into the mire of the cistern" (Jer. 38:6). Both prophets mix and blur with Christ, so that all three appear to bring salvation and redemption to people through their own suffering and death. Cyril also lends his voice to Christ: "I gave My back to scourges and My cheeks to smitings; and My face I turned not away from the shame of spittings."[57]

All ends with the crucifixion: Jesus's death, like those of Isaiah and Jeremiah, brings a reversal and salvation to the people. Cyril urges his baptizands, "Look with awe then at the Lord who was judged." The present imperative form here is not an accident. His baptizands should be able to see Jesus before them. Through the collection of testimonies, through Cyril's performance of the testimonies, bap-

tizands transform into living witnesses of living events—apocalyptic visionaries able to release and reveal these events.

We see the same in 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch. In both texts, the goal of *apokalypsis* is tied to the intense preparation of ritual and the preservation of piety in the face of adversity: both Ezra and Baruch earn the ability to see through to deeper dimensional threads of time. In both apocalyptic texts the seer becomes part of the visual scene that he apprehends; in this manner he is transformed. In 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) Ezra becomes engrossed in a form of ritual asceticism that leads to his radical transformation. Similarly, in the act of seeing he merges with what he sees: the spectator becomes part of the spectacle. Ezra's ability to interact deeply with his environment increases, exemplified in the scene in which he yells at a mother/Jerusalem, which we discuss above. He becomes an actor and an agent, not only a distanced observer. He contributes fundamentally to cosmological change. Similarly, he does not merely see the temple but is allowed to descend among the ruins: "Go in and see the splendor and vastness of the buildings, as far as it is possible for your eyes to see it."[58] The seer transcends the distance between himself and the object of his sight—in this case the destroyed temple and Jerusalem—and in this way he becomes a participant in what he sees.

In light of Cyril's view of Constantine's architectural interference in Aelia, one can easily imagine the benefits of being an apocalyptic seer/visionary. The power of spiritual perception, which both Ezra and Baruch gain, is an incredible asset in apprehending the true Holy City of Jerusalem. The emperor and many others have the financial means to alter the physical appearance of the city in almost any manner they choose; by contrast Cyril does not have anything. In the beginning of his episcopacy, in fact, he and his church are utterly impoverished. How might he affect the appearance of his surrounding environment at all, especially if an outside foreign power such as Constantine has already done so in such a dramatic manner? Cyril has to turn to a different set of tools. Ezra and Baruch demonstrate the tremendous power inherent in apocalyptic sight—a mode of potency Cyril adopts and adapts to his baptismal ritual program. In their ability to see beyond the boundaries of the mundane or disenchanted sense of linear time, "apocalyptic seers" shake free from their visual field sacred monuments such as the Holy Sepulchre and apprehend the deeper reality. They see beyond present destruction or neglect, for instance, to the forces of divine protection that inhabit a larger, invisible world. The possibilities are endless—as they need to be when facing the emperor's handiwork.

## CONSTANTINIAN CONSTRUCTION IN AELIA CAPITOLINA

During the Council of Nicaea in 325, Macarius seeks permission from Constantine to begin a most unusual excavation in Aelia Capitolina. He wishes to tear down the

temple of Aphrodite in search of Christ's tomb. Martin Biddle has suggested that Macarius first draws Constantine's attention to the Palestinian backwater as an initial maneuver in Aelia's campaign for ecclesiastical recognition.[59] Aelia Capitolina's request affords the emperor a unique opportunity that eventually leads to the idea of a "Holy Land plan."[60] Before discussing Constantine's plan, however, I want to take a closer look at this triumphant imperial ruler, who has only just attained that status with the defeat of Licinius at Chrysopolis in 324.

Scholars have long maintained that Constantine views Christianity as a religion of victory, in terms of both military power and imperial prowess. From 306 to 324 Constantine enjoys eighteen years of undefeated military campaigns. Indeed, after the battle of the Milvian Bridge Constantine adopts *Invictus* as part of his official title. In fact, Constantine's religion is very traditional with regard to the military.[61] As much as possible he seems to subsume his Christianity into a Roman theology of victory. That is to say, he understands his Christian identity as involving an iron grip over his army as the "chief instrument of his political will," which is matched by the will of his God on the battlefield.[62] He proves the strength of this alliance yet again on September 18, 324, at the battle of Chrysopolis, where he defeats Licinius and brings a decisive end to the persecution of Christians.

The same year he founds his victory city, Constantinople, which is officially dedicated in 330. The new capital offers a lavish display of Constantine's military, political, and imperial power. In the center of the city, the Hippodrome features statuary and ancient artwork from throughout the empire; likewise, various relics are translated to the Church of the Holy Apostles and its attached mausoleum, both built by Constantine. Constantinople becomes a beautiful showcase for the emperor as *Invictus;* he deliberately founds and constructs the city as a *nikopolis* for a new Christian age.[63]

Constantine then turns to Aelia to cultivate his image of imperial Christian triumph. As we consider Constantine's plan for Aelia, some questions arise. To what degree does he impose his ideas of military theology and imperial triumph on Aelia? And to what degree does the so-called Holy Land (as well as those who live in it) determine his plan? Annabel Wharton proposes an intriguing notion; she suggests that Constantine automatically turns to the forum, following a pattern he has established in Rome, in which he lays claim to a city center by attaching his name to the major monuments that his predecessors have built.[64] Thus in Jerusalem Constantine naturally goes to the temple of Aphrodite, which is located at the city center in Hadrian's forum across from the Temple Mount. The entire north corner of the forum is appropriated for a monumental statement on the part of the emperor, referred to in the earliest sources, Wharton notes, as the Basilica of Constantine. Perhaps, Wharton comments skeptically, it is during the preparatory stages of construction that a tomb is fortuitously unearthed, and a narrative of discovery rapidly unleashed.[65]

The inhabitants of Byzantium and Aelia assuredly draw parallels between their situations: fresh from his victory over Licinius, Constantine turns to the task of remaking both cities. Sarah Bassett makes the important distinction that while religious *concerns* influence Constantine's "manipulation of [the] site and plan to create" Constantinople, religious *allegiance* does not. Bassett claims that "a truth far more compelling, that of unrivaled imperial rule," dominates the topographical plans for the city.[66] Undoubtedly a percentage of those living in Aelia feel increasing concern as they watch Constantine's ultimate intentions unfold and his plans for construction materialize, and, moreover, materialize in a very different way than they themselves would have planned in their own Holy City.

As Aelia evolves through its murky transformation from Roman colony to larger urban sphere, some devout Christians probably express concerns. Many would look toward the new imperial capital to the north with fear and ask whether Constantine was establishing a new "Holy Land," another *nikopolis,* on top of Aelia. Constantine brings Greco-Roman treasure to the Hippodrome and relics into the churches to adorn his imperial victory city and honor all the battles he has won. The emperor recently finished Constantinople in this way, projecting powerful images of Christ and himself united in victory over paganism and anti-Christian persecution. What might he bring to his basilica on Golgotha, then, to make a similar statement regarding his power and authority? How might people in Aelia react as Constantine's militant triumphal theologies are transferred from Constantinople to their city? Can we imagine Christians reacting negatively to Constantine's building projects? Might some view such projects as blasphemous innovations marring the Holy Land? And if some do view the Constantine basilica in this manner, what tools do they have to express that view?

Before attempting to answer these questions, let's take a closer look at Aelia through Constantine's eyes. Like the emperors before him, Constantine employs traditional methods of imperial euergetism. The spectacle of monuments— especially in the focus on urban infrastructure (baths, temples, hippodromes, aqueducts) as well as imperial cult—is tremendously powerful. By concentrating on ecclesiastical construction, as Richard Krautheimer noted long ago, Constantine is working out a new calculus of imperial benefaction and propaganda.[67]

He takes easily to the role of demiurge of a new age in which he controls the architectural patterning of Christian imperium.[68] In the frenzy of church construction, the basilica rises from a common public building type in Roman architecture to the rank of a powerful visible monument advancing Constantine's scheme of empire and Christianity. The basilica has a long history in imperial propaganda; it offers benefits to the public on a grand scale. In so doing, it promotes the emperor's greatness and authority. Under Constantine's guidance, according to Krautheimer, this type of building becomes a powerful symbol "expressive of the grandeur of the imperial founder and of the triumph of the

religion he had taken under his protection."[69] The building projects carried out by Constantine throughout the empire are a potent medium of imperial encomium in brick, mortar, and gold; precious jewels spectacularly laud the emperor and his patronage of Christianity.[70] And we ought to consider what this must look like to local populations. Christianity is a religion that has not yet found expression in grand monumentality. Under Constantine's patronage, it emerges to seize commanding territory in cities throughout the empire: the Lateran in Rome, the Great Church in Antioch, Hagia Sophia and the Eirene Church, in addition to the Church of the Holy Apostles, in Constantinople, for example. In readjusting the conventional modes of patronage available to him, Constantine imperializes as well as publicizes ecclesiastical Christianity.

Indeed, the basilica that emerges after the fall of the temple of Aphrodite is an edifice of lavish imperial patronage. Its rise heralds a radical transformation of sacred space in the city that will reverberate throughout the empire and is consonant with Constantine's churches in Rome, Constantinople, and other cities. Yet, as Wharton has pointed out, "at the same time that it confirmed the presence of Rome and Constantine's imperial authority," it was a "complex . . . planned to serve as the principal congregational and administrative center of the Christian community of Jerusalem."[71] Capacious cisterns and baptismal baths indicate that it is intended to serve large baptismal communities, and thus the central Jerusalemite community, and to provide episcopal administration, as we see in the Lateran in Rome, for example. But the church is also distinct from Constantinian monuments elsewhere. Constantine's basilica—the Holy Sepulchre or Martyrium—comes to be a site of localized divinity; more precisely, it becomes a church of pilgrimage. Thus the Martyrium anchors the three other churches built by Constantine that fan out into the so-called periphery of Jerusalem, and that also broadcast prominent scriptural moments. These include the church at the Oak of Mamre, the rumored site where Abraham met the angels, and also two cave churches, the Bethlehem Church of the Nativity and the Mount of Olives church.

The Holy Sepulchre is constructed on a basilica plan contorted into a rather idiosyncratic shape in order to encompass the holy sites of Christ's passion. I will not venture into the tangled debates regarding the discovery of Christ's tomb; it suffices here to say that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is a place of worship, a fully functioning cathedral church with baptismal font. Since the Holy Sepulchre sits atop the site of what had once been a prominent Hadrianic temple, its very construction comes to embody the demonic/divine, pagan/Christian opposition that Constantine wishes to emphasize as his imperial triumph. The significance of the basilica's location and its associations should not be overlooked. As Yoram Tsafrir has noted, the construction of a church directly on top of temple ruins is practically unheard of in this early period of Christian imperium:

Worshippers were aware of the demonic powers or the curse of the impure site where the shrine of the demon had once stood. In most cases Christians refrained from building churches directly on top of a pagan shrine . . . unless a solemn purification ceremony was carried out. Only at a later date, at the end of the fifth or early sixth century, did Christians acquire enough self-confidence to build on top of temple ruins.[72]

As already discussed above, Eusebius captures the significance of this project in his description of the temple's demolition and the discovery of Christ's tomb. Eusebius gives the impression that Constantine is actually in Jerusalem at the time—that he is hierophantically guided in his oversight of every step of this project until the resurrection can be recovered in a sudden flash of light after three centuries:

> Possessed therefore by the divine Spirit [Constantine] did not negligently allow that place which has been described to remain smothered by all sorts of filthy rubbish through the machination of enemies consigned to oblivion and ignorance, nor did he yield to the malice of the guilty; but calling upon God to be his collaborator, he ordered [the temple] to be cleared, thinking that the very space that enemies sullied should especially benefit from the great work being done through him by the All-good. At a word of command those contrivances of fraud were demolished from top to bottom, and the houses of error were dismantled and destroyed along with their idols and demons. His efforts, however, did not stop there, but the Emperor gave further orders that all the rubble of stones and timbers from the demolitions should be taken and dumped a long way from the site. . . . Under divine inspiration once more the Emperor gave instructions that the site should be excavated to a great depth and the pavement should be carried away with the rubble a long distance outside, because it was stained with demonic bloodshed. . . . At last against all expectation the revered and all-hallowed Testimony of the Savior's resurrection was itself revealed, and the cave, the holy of holies, took on the appearance of a representation of the Savior's return to life. Thus after its descent into darkness it came forth again to the light.[73]

In Eusebius's portrayal of this imagined event, Aphrodite's temple transforms into a demon-infested and blood-soaked monstrosity; it metamorphoses into an animate entity. After so many infernal, sacrificial rituals in the temple, according to the Caesarean bishop, all contaminated rubble—anything touched by sacrificed blood—has to be completely expelled from the city. "Divine inspiration" directs Constantine regarding all aspects involving demonic contamination, providing rules and even dimensions for cleansing the site. How deep do they have to dig before workers reach beneath the level of dirt soaked with demonic blood? How far beyond the temple and into the forum do they have to break up the pavement before they finally stand on clean ground?

In his careful attention to every detail of the construction, Constantine works to fuse his identity with that of Christ in the basilica. The theological keystone of

the entire complex is the glory of the resurrection. The focus of Constantine's building plan is inescapably the tomb; as Eusebius tells us, the Anastasis rises majestically above Christ's tomb to visually dominate the courtyard of the church complex.[74] Thus, by making certain architectural choices the emperor is situated as the demiurge of the new Christian empire, working harmoniously with the demiurge of the entire universe. Eusebius helps confirm this image in the *Vita Constantini* by weaving Constantine and Christ together seamlessly in images of rescue, power, and victory. The stunning monument provides iconographic insurance for the fusion of Constantine's imperial triumphs with the glory of Christ's resurrection.

Within the actual site of the basilica complex, pilgrims are guided visually and physically to the tomb itself, or more properly to the ornate building engulfing the site of the resurrection.[75] The Holy Sepulchre has been physically altered, cut away from the living rock surrounding it. A series of twelve columns encircles it, further distancing it from its natural landscape. These are topped by twelve bowls. Importantly, a similar stylistic detail exists in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, linking Constantine's inevitable resting place with the one Christ graced with his divine presence for just a few days before his resurrection—a bold iconographic and theological statement by a bold new Christian emperor. By the time of Cyril's lectures, a rotunda encases the whole of the tomb, which would have certainly drawn greater attention to the Anastasis in the courtyard. Constantine is quite determined to spare no expense with the decoration of the tomb; this rich description testifies to the centrality of the resurrection in the emperor's view:

> This then [the tomb] was the first thing, like a head of the whole, which the Emperor's munificence decorated with superb columns and full ornamentation, brightening the solemn cave with all kinds of artwork. He then went on to a very large space wide open to the fresh air, which was decorated with a pavement of light-colored stone on the ground, and enclosed on three sides by long surrounding colonnades. On the side opposite the cave, which looked toward the rising sun, was connected the royal temple, an extraordinary structure raised to an immense height and very extensive in length and breadth. Its interior was covered with slabs of varied marble, and the external aspect of the walls, gleaming with hewn stone fitted closely together at each joint, produced a supreme object of beauty by no means inferior to marble. Right up at the top the material which encased the outside of the roofs was lead, a sure protection against stormy rain; while the interior of the structure was fitted with carved coffers and like a vast sea spread out by a series of joints binding to each other through the whole royal house, and being beautified throughout with brilliant gold made the whole shrine glitter with beams of light. Round each of the sides extended twin ranges of double colonnades, in upper and lower stories, their tops also decorated with gold. Those at the front of the house rested upon huge pillars, while those inside the front were raised under blocks plentifully decorated all round their surfaces. Three doors well placed to face the sunrise received the crowds flowing in.

Facing these as the chief point of the whole was the hemisphere attached to the highest part of the royal house, ringed with twelve columns to match the number of the Apostles of the Saviour, their tops decorated with great bowls made of silver, which the Emperor himself had presented to his God as a superb offering.

This then was the shrine which the Emperor raised as manifest testimony of the Savior's resurrection, embellishing the whole with rich imperial decoration. He adorned it with untold beauties in innumerable dedications of gold and silver and precious stones set in various materials. In view of their size, number and variety, to describe in detail the skilled craftsmanship which went into their manufacture would be beyond the scope of this present work.[76]

The Anastasis as well as the adjoining courtyard and basilica are famous in their time for their stunning ornamentation. Ornamentation is often perceived as a mark of the sacred; and the sparkling and variegated colors draw and hold the spectator's gaze.[77] Such a gift from nobility or royalty frequently elicits equally dazzling praise.

In preserved imperial letters we can see how Constantine is striving to fuse his identity with the remnants of Jesus's physical presence on earth, as well as to inject much-needed wealth into the city. He mandates a large-scale construction project that will occupy the clergy, the provincial government, and craftsmen for several years. Eusebius preserves a letter that Constantine sends to Macarius detailing his plans for the church's construction, in which he orders Macarius's collaboration with the provincial governor, Dracillianus.[78] While Dracillianus provides the funding, the bishop is charged with overseeing the building of a basilica that will be "not only superior to those in all other places, but the other arrangements also may be such that the excellences of every city are surpassed by this foundation."[79] Constantine requests that Macarius compile lists regarding materials and supplies, which he is then to dispatch as quickly as possible to the necessary magistrates. The emperor covers every detail from expenditures for marble to the required number of laborers and craftsmen. With the aid of his clerical staff, Macarius has to decide what type of marble to use for the columns and whether or not to coffer the ceiling of the basilica, as well as what type of lacunary panels should be installed. Most importantly, Macarius is to report every choice to the emperor immediately.

The result is that the basilica in toto heralds an architectural transformation in religious monuments that will come to encompass the entire empire. While the tomb holds pride of place in the architectural layout, in startling contrast Golgotha is situated in a corner of the courtyard and is starkly unadorned. How long the site of the crucifixion remains this way is difficult to say. We do not know of any specific change to the importance of the crucifixion until we hear from Cyril of Jerusalem a generation later, who mentions images of Jerusalem, its churches, and tokens of the "true cross" that have spread throughout the Mediterranean world.

This most certainly encourages the steady stream of pilgrims who travel to the emerging Christian city throughout the fourth century: people grow increasingly more eager to experience the Holy Land and the power of the cross.[80] Also, Egeria's pilgrimage in the 380s and her description of the Easter festivities offer us decided confirmation of the later importance of Golgotha.

However, the 320s are a world apart from the 380s; in the earlier period the imperial family pours a large amount of resources into changing the image of the city. Soon after Constantine's construction begins, in fact, another member of the imperial household also begins to invest in Christianizing Aelia. In the autumn of 326 CE Constantine's mother, Helena, begins her "imperial progress" to the Holy Land. Her presence deepens the perception of Constantinian benefaction in Aelia and Palestine. Only a short time after the discovery of Christ's tomb and during the early stages of the Holy Sepulchre's construction, Helena arrives, bringing with her a large imperial retinue. Palestine, which was condemned to insignificance by Hadrian, is reinvigorated during these months. As Kenneth Holum has observed, the several cities throughout the East that Helena visits surely receive her with an *adventus* ceremony; Helena no doubt responds in turn by offering cash gifts to the citizenry and donatives to the troops, as well as listening to petitions and manumitting slaves.[81] Holum has discussed the significance of these ritualized interactions; each serves to strengthen as well as Christianize civic/imperial relations. The choreographed performances also announce throughout the Eastern cities the strong imperial interest in the welfare and promotion of the Holy Land. When Helena's journey finally brings her to Aelia, she emulates her son's ecclesiastical patronage. She dedicates a church in Bethlehem in the reputed cave of the nativity and on the Mount of Olives at the site of Christ's ascension.

In 335, the dedication of Constantine's basilica, the Martyrium, marks the first Encaenia festival, which opens with liturgical rites inaugurating and consecrating the church space.[82] As the Encaenia evolves into a week-long annual event, it comes to include processions, exorcisms, and anointings as well as large feasts and other festivities. Debate continues regarding the actual dates for the festival; for the most part, people have considered the festival's potential symbolic meaning when trying to discern a specific answer. The Encaenia honors the building built for Christ, of course, but it also showcases the power and authority of its imperial patron, Constantine. The *Chronicon Paschale* gives September 17 as the inauguration day for the basilica, but Michael A. Fraser makes a compelling argument for September 13, particularly in light of our own view of Constantine's intention to fuse the basilica with his imperial glory.[83] The dates of September 13–18 coincide with the anniversary of Constantine's defeat of Licinius (324) as well as with the dedication of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline hill in Rome, which Constantine has built to honor the god for the victory over Licinius.[84] The dates are also associated with the "Saving Sign" which led to the erection

of the basilica in Jerusalem and its dedication to the Christian God.[85] Finally, the dates in September are auspicious for the Encaenia because they afford Constantine (and the Jerusalemite church) an opportunity to be distracted from the festivals associated with the Jewish temple (the dedication of Solomon's temple, Yom Kippur, and the Feast of the Tabernacles).

Through the efforts of Constantine and Helena, Aelia Capitolina continues to give way to a Christianized Jerusalem. The Holy City is emerging from the ground beneath Greek temples. Newly constructed churches are filled with clergy who take tremendous pride in Christ's city, with pilgrims who want to see through the Roman crust to the Holy City underneath, and with its own Christian inhabitants, who are seeking baptism in the place of Christ's death and rebirth. With so much transformation in such a relatively short time, what kind of Jerusalem is emerging? Constantine and Constantinian imperial ideology are effective, or certainly expedient, in marking the land as it emerges from underneath a splintering Hadrianic surface. While many welcome and celebrate Constantine's Holy City of Jerusalem, it is probable that more than a few do not. What dissenting voices can we hear critiquing Constantine's directions for the Holy City of Jerusalem? What do we know about the Christians, and other groups, who are residing in Aelia when Constantine begins construction on the Roman forum? How do they react to his plans for the city? These questions need to be asked, because, I propose, the community's reaction to Constantine's plans will inevitably inform Cyril's more radical diabolization of religious space in Jerusalem.

## THE BORDEAUX PILGRIM: EDITING MONUMENTALITY

In recent years scholars have taken a close look at the Bordeaux Pilgrim to uncover more of what Oded Irshai has characterized as the "unique religious and cultural transformation that is the Christianization of Jerusalem and of the Holy Land."[86] Attention to this text written in 333 CE has disclosed how pilgrimage and travel discourse begin to shape and enliven the sacred monuments and landscape only eight years after the miraculous discovery of Christ's tomb. Thus scholars have pointed to the anonymous Pilgrim as evidence that we must acknowledge a much earlier date for the beginning of diverse Christianizing processes in Aelia. We will develop this supposition further and propose that this text demonstrates Christians in dialogue, if not conflict, with imperial and ecclesiastical directions for Aelia's transformation. The text represents an early voice of dissent against Constantine's choices in his efforts to Christianize the Holy Land, and yet scholars have overlooked the Pilgrim's criticisms. Thus it is important to consider the particular character of the anonymous Pilgrim's view of Jerusalem. First, as both Andrew S. Jacobs and Oded Irshai have correctly shown, the Pilgrim is writing from a strong

anti-Judaizing perspective.[87] Second, as Glenn Bowman has discussed, his is an apocalyptic, eschatological view steeped in biblical imagery and thus, I would add, apprehensive about any nonbiblical additions to the Holy Land.[88] Thus the text also serves as a subtle *Kaiserkritik:* the anonymous Pilgrim rejects the Constantinian plan for Jerusalem, disapproving of the manner in which the imperial churches—and especially the Holy Sepulchre—dominate the landscape.

The Pilgrim's early efforts have beckoned some scholars to a different kind of interpretation as of late: those attuned to the linguistic turn in late antiquity, who have recognized the deeply theological and ideological nature of the text. I will review some of this recent scholarship, especially Irshai's important work, which has greatly influenced my own. Following Jacobs's lead, Irshai notes the Pilgrim's strong anti-Judaizing presentation of the Temple Mount in particular.[89] While I treat Jacobs's and Irshai's work at length, I draw out those elements in the Pilgrim's experience and in their interpretation of his text that advance my overriding point regarding the animating efficacy of the Pilgrim's ritualizing relation to Jerusalem: the Pilgrim perceives the monuments in Jerusalem and expresses that perception in words that enliven the sacrality and a specific divine history of chosen buildings and spaces in Jerusalem. Ultimately these stand in collective representation of the Pilgrim's view of the Holy Land in contrast to other views of Jerusalem, including Constantine's own. Here especially we see how the Pilgrim's anti-Judaizing mixes with his antidemonizing rhetoric to mark explicitly and strategically where, when, and how his version of Christ expresses power in Jerusalem. In this way the Pilgrim manages to relocate holy power in Jerusalem, ultimately bringing the Temple Mount and areas surrounding it into direct tension with the Holy Sepulchre. Close attendance to the words of the anonymous Pilgrim reveals the shape of his battle for possession of the Holy City: it is a struggle between imperial and local, building (money) and body (perception and practice). In other words, the Bordeaux Pilgrim illuminates the the transformative power inherent in the body: that is, how an individual person's acts of seeing, hearing, touching, reading, and, most especially, writing about an urban environment can dramatically affect how others perceive the same environment.

In her treatment of the Holy Land, Blake Leyerle recognizes the Pilgrim's deliberate shift: "the uniqueness of the landscape described by the anonymous pilgrim, pointing out the lack of any mention of humans or fauna and flora or descriptive elements of the sites—all in the service of the predetermined focus on the theological veneration and interaction with the past enshrined in the architecture."[90] Bowman also addresses the Bordeaux Pilgrim's efforts to carve the Holy Land out of the surrounding landscape; thus he foreshadows Egeria's ability to create a discursive environment where "scripture begins to dissolve into site."[91] Most importantly, Bowman focuses on the Pilgrim's eschatological tendencies in his construction of Jerusalem's appearance. And here Bowman's comments regarding the

Pilgrim's desires for those seeking baptism are especially telling, as Bowman remarks that "the text, rather than seeking to direct pilgrims to the holy places of the Roman Empire, works to lead catechumens to gateways which open onto a kingdom not of this world."[92] The Pilgrim's eschatology predates the much more straightforward end-of-days imagery in Cyril's baptismal lectures.

Jacobs and Irshai have properly situated the Bordeaux Pilgrim in the genre of *Adversus Judaeos* literature. Thus their work is extremely important in establishing a very early date for the development of anti-Judaizing trends in Christianizing rhetoric in Jerusalem. This is of particular importance when one considers actual violence against Jews at a later date, especially in the aftermath of Julian's failed attempt to build the temple in 363. Jacobs treats the Bordeaux Pilgrim in a much broader study of Christian literature, which positions "the Jew as the colonial sub-altern in the various formulations of imperial Christian identity in the Holy Land in late antiquity."[93] He well configures the Jews as the "dominated object of fear, mistrust, envy, . . . a constant shadowy presence necessarily attached to the Christian Self in the discourse of Holy Land geography."[94] For the anonymous Pilgrim, the Jew is Solomon always playing second to a victorious, supercessionist Christ on the Temple Mount. As shameful as Solomon appears next to the triumphant Christ, he is in a sense a necessary historiographic pedestal for Christ, so that Christianity might attain the heights of a divine and deserved inheritance of the Holy Land.

Advancing the interpretive insights of Jacobs's approach, Irshai locates the Bordeaux Pilgrim's account firmly in the "local Jerusalemite *Adversus Judaeos* atmosphere."[95] In tracing the Pilgrim's close treatment of Jewish sites, Irshai sharply and convincingly argues that it has undeniable supercessionist overtones in creating a mental map that appropriates Jewish biblical history for a Christian Holy Land in the present and future, and in the process completely discounts the two-hundred-year Hadrianic period altogether. According to Irshai, "The inherent message of the final product is an image of the predestined plan to create a Christian Jerusalem."[96] He finds the Bordeaux Pilgrim's text an inherently polemical enterprise, because it "necessitates the dispossession of the holy city's space from the hands of its previous occupiers, the Jews, in the course of which the Aelia Capitolina phase is nearly entirely obliterated from memory."[97] Irshai uses the term "appropriationist hermeneutic," or "mechanism of appropriation and dispossession of space and meaning," to describe the Pilgrim's strategy of Christianizing the Temple Mount.[98]

In this architectural rubble, which is actually Herodian, the Bordeaux Pilgrim traces the deeds of Solomon, over which the superior acts of Christ cast a chilling shadow. The Pilgrim describes a vault near the Temple Mount base as a location where "Solomon used to torture demons."[99] The Pilgrim explains that next to the vault there was a "corner of a very lofty tower, which was where the Lord climbed and said to the Tempter, 'You shall not tempt the Lord your God, but you will only

serve him.'"[100] Besides referring to familiar biblical passages (Matt. 4:7, 10; Luke 4:12, 8), this, of course, is a reference to the Testament of Solomon tradition in which Solomon has the power over demons to build the tower, a power that parallels Christ's exorcist powers. Irshai elaborates the comparison: Solomon is second to Christ as earth is second to heaven, defeating demons is second to defeating the devil, and so forth. Solomon is below, while Christ hovers above; Solomon is silent, while Christ speaks; Solomon fights demons, while Christ takes on the devil himself. As Irshai phrases it, "In this model, Christ relegates the type, namely, Solomon, to a mere shadow."[101] This is not to repudiate or deny the power of Solomon, however, but to absorb it into Christ's genealogy, a biblical and antidemonic inheritance. Irshai draws the reader's attention to several instances in which the Bordeaux Pilgrim deliberately incorporates aspects of sacred biblical literature and Holy Land topography into a linear historiography that can only serve to foreshadow the inevitability of Christ's appearance and his lingering tangibility in that land. As I discuss below, the Pilgrim's text firmly locates Christ's power on and near the Temple Mount. Here is the location where Christ speaks: the only place in the text, in fact, where the Pilgrim has Christ speak, and it is to the devil himself. This is particularly noteworthy when one considers the resurrection's eventual literal rise in Constantinian glory with the Anastasis. But rather than showcase the triumphal moments of Christ's resurrection in Jerusalem, the Bordeaux Pilgrim places him firmly near the Temple Mount, laying claim to his biblical inheritance and Solomonic genealogy.

Once the Pilgrim leaves the Temple Mount, he manufactures a tightly controlled tour of the Holy City, which moves rapidly from Mount Sion to Golgotha to the Mount of Olives. Let us not forget, too, what the Bordeaux Pilgrim deliberately, but unsuccessfully, omits. Once again, I follow Irshai's lead, who notes the "the silences, the omissions" in the text and "a mechanism of a deliberately, not to say deceptively, selective presentation."[102] Irshai refers to the Pilgrim's preference for past Solomonic glory over the grim reality of the Herodian rubble that actually covers the Temple Mount. In fact, the Pilgrim juxtaposes two of the city's dominant religious monuments—the Temple Mount and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; he augments the tension between them by contrasting how they are historically perceived: the Temple Mount with its ancient genealogy and biblical history versus the Holy Sepulchre with its air of invention and fraudulent, aberrant intervention. We should pay attention not only to what the Pilgrim wrote but also to how much he wrote about the Temple Mount in comparison to the Holy Sepulchre: he was incredibly effusive on this topic, in contrast to his otherwise terse descriptions:

And in the sanctuary itself, where the temple stood, which Solomon built, there is marble in front of the altar, which has on it the blood of Zacharias—you would think

it had only been shed today. All around you can see the marks of the hobnails of the soldiers who killed him, as plainly as if they had been pressed into wax. Two statues of Hadrian stand there, and not far from them, a pierced stone which the Jews come and anoint each year. They mourn and rend their garments, and then depart.[103]

The Temple Mount is a desolate, foreboding, and barren space. Imperial statuary and the remains of demolished Jewish buildings stand alone, testifying day after day to the power and domination of the Roman Empire. Despite the physical reality of the space, the Pilgrim chooses to fill the site with life and activity of a particular kind—he revives a pivotal moment in the pre-exilic period. By the simple phrase "in the sanctuary itself" he invites those reading his text to see the First Temple whole once more and then to bear witness to the execution of Zacharias, who was stoned to death by order of King Joash for publicly rebuking the king and his people for their growing corruption.

The Pilgrim's muted references to the Constantinian churches stand in stark contrast to his depiction of the Temple Mount. He mentions four churches: the Holy Sepulchre, the Eleona church on the Mount of Olives, the church of Bethlehem, and finally the church at Mamre, also known as Terebinth. To grasp their strangeness in this text, we need to return to the topic of the text's date. The Pilgrim's visit to Jerusalem takes place less than a decade after Constantine orders the temple of Aphrodite razed and the construction of his grand basilica honoring Christ has begun shifting the economic, socioreligious, and cultural balance of the city. The date of the Pilgrim's account is two years shy of a festival honoring the great church, which will draw bishops from surrounding areas and launch the Encaenia. Jerusalem has been utterly overturned by Constantinian construction. It is no doubt impossible at the time of the Pilgrim's visit to find anyone whose life is not affected by the building project. The city is awash with others like himself, as well as those seeking work or food. Stories of tragedies and miracles associated with the building and the site it occupies surely are in constant circulation.

It is difficult to omit a religious site like the Holy Sepulchre from a travelogue with an ideological message, especially for someone wishing to advance Christianization soon after the end of Christian persecution in the Holy Land. And yet it seems that the Pilgrim does what he can to downplay the construction of the emperor's church: "By order of emperor Constantine there has now been built there a 'basilica'"[104] This is no ordinary building, and yet the Pilgrim offers nothing but the most ordinary comments. He has nothing complimentary to say about the building, although he comments on the "cisterns of remarkable beauty" that stand nearby and mentions a bath for baptizing children. That the Pilgrim compliments the beauty of the cisterns near the Holy Sepulchre, rather than the basilica itself, seems deliberate. Indeed, he mentions the "exceptionally beautiful basilica" several miles away in Terebinth, near Hebron, where Abraham spoke and ate with angels

under a tree.[105] The Pilgrim seems to intentionally deny Constantine's Holy Sepulchre the benefit of any compliment whatsoever. Thus what he does offer is telling.

The Pilgrim indicates that all the Constantinian basilicas, including the Holy Sepulchre, have been "built by command of Constantine."[106] This rhetorical gesture functions to erase the imperial edifice from the Pilgrim's biblicized landscape rather than to memorialize it. The rhetorical refrain appears identically four times, for each of the four churches that Constantine built, including the Holy Sepulchre, firmly establishing these buildings as part of the present timeline, cutting the Constantinian monument off from the timeless sacrality of the biblical landscape itself. In his clipped style, the Pilgrim attempts to demolish Constantine's Holy Land plan, removing it from his own historiographic vision of Jerusalem and the surrounding environment. With a few brief words, placed precisely in the recent past, the Pilgrim excises these gaudy monstrosities from an ancient and yet eternal landscape, and the land heals itself as the threads of the Pilgrim's narrative span the rift left by the imperial aberration and are easily woven into the reader's imagination.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim places the Temple Mount in an animated temporality that moves perpetually from one temporal current to another with each image. By contrast, he chokes the time and drains the animation from the unfinished Constantinian structure, trapping it in a foreshortened moment. The imperial basilica sits incomplete in his text, overshadowed by the beautiful cisterns nearby. As we will see, Cyril engages in the same temporal strategies in his descriptions of the Holy Sepulchre, Temple Mount, and Jewish temple. Cyril, however, incorporates demonology to strike a clear divide between the visibility of Aelia Capitolina, trapped in the present, and the seemingly invisible Holy City of Jerusalem, enduring through all ages.


Jerusalem has been the object of foreign imperial interest at many points throughout its long history. The majority of those leaders came with the goal of altering—in many cases, destroying—the entire physical topography of the city. The monumental changes Jerusalem has experienced have rarely, if ever, been carried out with the permission of the city's inhabitants. Nebuchadnezzar, Titus, and Hadrian, for example, conquer the city with extreme displays of violence. Although Jerusalem possesses religious meaning and value that exist entirely apart from its role in history, a central core of its identity as the Holy City of Jerusalem in fact attains its shape within the almost predictable cycle of violence and destruction at the hands of foreign opposition.

This leaves us with many questions. How do Constantine's churches and other buildings affect the everyday lives of local Christians, Jews, and Greeks? Are all Christians appreciative of Constantine's exorbitant displays of imperial patronage? Or, in light of the city's violent past, do some read the new emperor's involvement

in the city's appearance in a very different manner? How do his new buildings reorganize or reorder the manner in which different religious groups in Aelia interact with and understand one another? What tools do people of the time possess or develop to reclaim the city in their own terms?

We face the challenge of answering these and many other questions. Fortunately, Cyril's catechetical lectures provide tremendous insight. His writings express a certain level of disdain when he describes Constantine's basilica and how it has altered the material appearance of the land. In fact, in his many descriptions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the site of the resurrection and the crucifixion, Cyril suggests that the emperor's basilica hinders a person's perception of the Holy City of Jerusalem. Embedded deeply in the local and locally shared tradition of apocalyptic sight, however, the young bishop develops a baptismal ritual program that serves to endow baptizands with the power of spiritual perception. By receiving baptism in Jerusalem, one can lay claim to the Holy City, and so too to ultimate salvation.

# Cyril of Jerusalem

## *The Devil in the Word, the Demons in the Image*

In the spring of 350, baptismal candidates gather regularly in Constantine's basilica in Jerusalem—an imposing and spectacular monument that glorifies Christ's resurrection. As these men and women prepare in the church for baptism during the weeks of Lent, they are enveloped by the riches of an imperial patronage that fuses Christ's victory inextricably with that of Constantine.[1] In these surroundings, they listen to the words of their bishop, Cyril.[2] Slowly and steadily, very different images begin to form in their minds. The gleam of precious metals, jewels, and marble starts to fade as Cyril guides the baptizands' eye to apprehend vivid flashes of the torture and humiliation Jesus suffered before his crucifixion on the cross; he weaves vivid imagery from the book of Isaiah into elements of the Passion:

> They tied up Jesus and brought Him into the hall of the high priest. Will you know and see that this has been written also? Isaiah says: "Woe to their souls, because they have taken evil counsel against themselves, saying: 'Let us bind the just one, because he is a difficult individual for us'" [Isa.50:6]. . . . But the high priest angrily questions [Jesus] and after hearing the truth, the wicked servant of wicked men slaps [Jesus] in the face; and that face, which had shone as the sun, suffered through the strike by lawless hands. Others arrive to spit in the face of [Christ,] who used spittle to heal the man who had been blind since birth. . . . Pilate scoured Him and delivered Him to be crucified; "and my cheeks to blows; and my face I did not shield from the shame of spittings" [Isa.50:6]. . . . Surrounding Him, the soldiers mock Him. Their Lord becomes their plaything, and their Master is mocked.[3]

Cyril is ordained bishop of Jerusalem in 349 or 350.[4] At the beginning of his episcopacy, he has very little in the way of conventionally understood forms of power

and authority to shape the city's image. He lacks the imperial treasury of Constantine and Helena, who have commissioned impressive building projects in and just beyond the city. Unlike Jerome, Cyril cannot turn to the patronage of wealthy Roman matrons to implement his ideas regarding Jerusalem's image. Even if he had the funds, the young bishop does not enjoy sufficient ecclesiastical autonomy to cross the bishop of Caesarea, Acacius, without serious consequences; moreover, he will be forced to leave his see for exile three times on Acacius's order, returning just months before Julian orders the construction of the Jerusalem temple.[5]

Despite his difficulties throughout the earlier part of his episcopate, by the 380s Cyril not only maintains episcopal power, he manages to reshape the image of Jerusalem fundamentally, as discussed in chapter 4. In Egeria's description of the cult of the cross, Golgotha is the liturgical epicenter of Jerusalem, and a good deal of the city's liturgical practices revolves around Christ's crucifixion and the cult of the cross. The cornerstone of the liturgical reformation of Jerusalem is "a gold and silver box containing the holy Wood of the Cross."[6] During the Easter weekend, the bishop is positioned behind this most holy of relics in its presentation to worshippers as they pass by it one by one, and so the bishop's location helps to indicate the integral centrality of the holy cross and the crucifixion to Jerusalem's liturgical practice. According to Egeria, "[worshippers] stood down, touched the holy Wood first with their forehead and then with their eyes, and then [they kissed] it."[7]

In Egeria's exorbitant description, the Anastasis stands in meager comparison to the cult of the cross. By the century's end, pilgrims are able to trace a liturgical path of Christ's pain and torture across Jerusalem, from the "navel of the earth" in the Holy Sepulchre to the monks dying every day on the Mount of Olives. Thanks to Egeria we know that a sizable urban transformation has by now taken place; the city has shifted from Constantinian spectacle to a very different theologized, ritualized environment. Still, the various processes underlying this shift from the 350s to the 380s have been elusive and difficult to recover. We can turn assuredly to Jan Willem Drijvers, who in his important monograph *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* has presented a thorough case for Cyril's role in Jerusalem's transformation.[8] In fact, Drijvers should be commended for the wide array of textual (patristic and liturgical especially) and material evidence he arranges with persuasive clarity in support of Cyril's involvement in the rise of the cult of the cross. This chapter builds upon Drijvers's arguments as we turn to consider more narrowly how Cyril's theorization of baptismal transformation and identity construction specific to Jerusalem contributes to the cult's growth.

Of fundamental interest, then, is the bishop's manner of transforming his congregants from their unbaptized, demonic condition into divinely cleansed and baptized Christians in the Holy City. A tripartite baptismal transformation—material, ontological, and cosmological—comprises a person's shift from a demonized state of stunted perception in Aelia Capitolina to spiritual perception

in the true, enduring Holy City of Jerusalem. As Cyril understands it, the unbaptized condition limits a person to the ability to see, touch, and hear only within the immediate sensory environment—such a person can easily perceive Constantine's basilica, for example. By contrast, baptism endows a person with spiritual powers of perception: the new soldier of Christ can peer through to a deeper, hidden holiness—through such means a person can apprehend Christ's crucifixion and passion. In this chapter, therefore, a tight focus falls upon Cyril's discussions of the baptismal process and how it advances a shift from a kind of demonic anesthesia to divinely enhanced apprehension; we will trace and untangle Cyril's manner of interweaving three ingredients in his creation of baptized perception: biblical exegesis and performance, interplay of sensation and perception in the Jerusalemite environment, and baptismal rituals. To that end, we will discover ways in which Cyril's model of baptism—his cultivation of baptismal rituals rooted within Jerusalem's holiness—anticipates pilgrimage practices that overtake and transform the city in the later fourth and the fifth century.[9]

While Cyril understands baptism to equip a person with spiritual perception, he also declares that baptism in Jerusalem endows the baptized with certain responsibilities and obligations. Cyril trains baptizands to take on the obligation of apocalyptic sight. Once a person receives baptism, he or she, as a newly initiated Christian soldier, is capable of and obligated to help disclose what has been long hidden, or even rendered invisible: the baptized must reveal Jerusalem's holiness in the present-day city of Aelia Capitolina. Additionally, by means of rigorous ritual training and daily exorcisms, baptized Christians daily increase their ability to discern the signs (*sēmeia*) in Jerusalem's skies that indicate the Eschaton.

In addition to exploring Cyril's ritual development of baptizands' powers of spiritual perception, we will trace exactly how he intends Christian soldiers—invested with apocalyptic sight—to release originary biblical events. Cyril focuses predominantly on enabling their perception or sensory experience of Christ's suffering in the crucifixion. In chapter 6 we will pick up and develop these themes further. Cyril proposes a baptized identity modeled in some ways after an apocalyptic prophet: Christian soldiers' ability to discern the eschatological and reveal the invisible provides the backbone of their power against the devil and demons in Jerusalem. Before we can approach the question of spiritual warfare in Jerusalem, we need to understand how the unbaptized can free themselves from demonic corruption.

## POWERS OF PERCEPTION REGAINED: BAPTISMAL TRAINING AND REVEALING A HIDDEN HOLY CITY

Through Cyril's Lenten catechumenate, baptizands generate the "true sight" of Golgotha, the center of the earth.[10] Cyril trains baptizands to develop what we will describe as an atemporal mode of vision, or apocalyptic sight. They come to

develop a relationship with Jerusalem, Golgotha, the tomb, and Mount Sion in which they can encounter a Jesus who is perennially living, dying, and reborn. The only event that can end the experience of this cycle will be the final return—the second coming. This special sight enables the baptizands' participation in Christianity's metanarrative. No longer individuals trapped in the present time of the fourth century, they now mingle with biblical prophets and Jesus's disciples. To Cyril's mind, those who have not had the benefit of baptism are by contrast still trapped in a world of temporal progression. Such people are barraged by diverting spectacles and capable only of chasing futilely after inscrutable shadows of a higher truth.

In his time with baptizands, Cyril endeavors to transform initiates into witnesses to and participants in essential events: "The Lord was crucified; . . . you see this place (*topos*) of Golgotha! You answer by crying out, as though agreeing!" He selects vivid biblical descriptions to puncture, even shatter, the present architectural surroundings and reveal a more relevant biblical world, a vivid environment that baptizands will inevitably experience. To bypass present-day visual and sensory obstacles, he insists that the baptizands participate in the process of their own transformation: "Let your hand not only be stretched out to receive, but also let it be ready to do work."[11] His style of instruction is primarily interrogative. Through a barrage of questions, he cultivates in his catechumens a distrust of their passive relationship with the gospel account. Just as they should not be complacent in their immediate surroundings, neither should they feel secure in their knowledge of the biblical narrative. Only through an intimate relationship with scripture can baptizands hope to manipulate their vision in order to see Jesus:

> You have heard that His [Jesus's] side was pierced through by a spear. Are you not obliged to see if this is also written? You have heard that He was crucified in a garden. Are you not obliged to see if this is written also? You have heard that He was sold for thirty pieces of silver. Aren't you obligated to learn which prophet said this? You have heard that vinegar was given to drink. Learn also where this was written. You have heard that his body had been set aside in a rock and a stone was set upon it. Are you not obligated also to take this testimony from a prophet? You have heard that he was buried with thieves. Are you not obliged to see and confirm if the things regarding his burial have been inscribed?[12]

Throughout the two lectures, Cyril interrupts the flow of his exegesis to question the listeners intensely regarding the deeper details of events, especially since the present manifestation of these sites has so radically strayed from what Cyril feels is essential. Through this strategy, as Peter Walker has pointed out, Cyril encourages baptizands to become deeply acquainted with the biblical text. But while Walker suggests that Cyril wishes baptizands to develop a deeper acquaintance with the text in regard to its discursive relation to the surrounding land—for example,

matching the Bible's description of Christ's tomb with its actual location—we suggest something much deeper and thus directly consequential to the baptizands' transformation into a baptized Christian soldier. Moving beyond matching a biblical passage to the precise location, Cyril intertwines the threads of anthropology, cosmology, and ontology as he describes the transformation of both the baptized person and the surrounding environment; the evocative power in biblical language illumines a Christian's perception as it clears the demonic mists that conceal a biblical event.

Herein lies a central conceit in Cyril's enchanted worldview and his animistic understanding of Jerusalem. If one can ritually engage the correct biblical texts at the proper time and place within the Holy City and under the right bodily conditions, space and time fracture just enough to allow a sensory glimpse into biblical realities. For his own part, Cyril focuses on teaching baptizands how to retrieve sensory experience of the Passion—most especially the time leading up to and including the crucifixion. Thus Cyril claims strongly that developing a paraphrastic relation with the Bible is insufficient. Cyril encourages baptizands to find and presumably memorize the actual words that comprise the descriptions of the locations. In this way only may a baptizand move beyond imagining a biblical moment to actually experiencing it. In his instructions, Cyril encourages the baptizands' endeavors by blurring their temporal relationship with biblical events; notice, for example, the present and future tenses in this passage:

> But we search to know clearly where He was buried. Is then [Jesus's] tomb constructed by hand? Does [Jesus's tomb] emerge above the earth like the tombs of kings? And what has been set down upon the tomb? Tell me, O Prophets, the truth of the tomb, where Jesus is laid, and where we will search for him.[13]

Cyril places much attention on the tomb's construction and manner of display; he asks, for example: "Does [Jesus's tomb] emerge above the earth like the tombs of kings?" Here he refers to Constantine, who ordered construction of not only the surrounding enclosure of twelve pillars in the Sepulchre shrine but also his Holy Apostles church. Baptizands look into and see the sepulcher as it appeared the day Jesus was entombed: "And they say, 'Look into the solid rock which you have cut [Isa. 51:1].' Look in and behold."[14] For Cyril, it is the Bible, and not Constantine or Eusebius, that has the authority to direct and determine a Christian's visual apprehension of this holy place: "You have it in the Gospels [Mark 15:46; Matt. 27:60; Luke 23:53]. 'In a tomb cut in stone, which was cut out of rock.' And what happens next? What kind of door does the tomb have?"[15] With Cyril at the helm of the catechumenate, of course, it is very much his Bible inculcating the initiates' eyes.

Cyril is not attempting to recapture the historical exactitude of these events in matching text to location. Rather, as Walker has importantly noted, the desire to restore the original appearance of a site, returning the tomb to its "natural state,"

for example, accords with a modern, not a late antique, mind-set.[16] Just as Cyril instructs his baptizands to "look with awe" (*thaumazein*) upon the locations of biblical events in Jerusalem, he also encourages the development of his version of spiritual perception.[17] Much more is involved than using specific biblical passages merely to stir the historical imagination in Jerusalem. Instead, scriptural excerpts help baptizands fully enliven that described moment and bring it completely to the surface of their own experience. Through the reading or speaking of a relevant passage, baptizands train their eyes to remove the physical crust of the present day and apprehend originary events: Read, speak, and see through to the Passion. For Cyril, then, the descriptive words in the Bible are essential; they participate in vivifying originary biblical events.

In his use of the Bible, Cyril develops a powerful conceptualization of language—the enlivening power of words—and this undergirds his discussion of the baptized Christian's powers of perception. He is hardly alone in holding a view in favor of the visualizing power of language. In fact, in many ways Cyril's theories are firmly embedded within a general cultural understanding of the relationship between verbal power and vision. Specifically, in this era of an increasingly visible Christianity several Christian leaders dedicate themselves to answering the same question, How does one make the holy visible? Georgia Frank, Patricia Cox Miller, and others have written about this late antique phenomenon at great length. That said, at that time interest in the verbal/visual relationship was certainly not limited to Christians; for example, Frank notes a larger late antique movement launched in the Second Sophistic "to render the unseen visible."[18] It was an era in which word and image were never very far apart. As the meaning of *graphē* (both "writing" and "painting") indicates, the divide between language and visibility was slight. The evocation of sight through sound was a familiar experience to many late antique men and women, whose minds easily conjured the colors, shapes, textures, sounds, and actions described in a vividly detailed passage.

Cyril's own theorization of language both conforms with and departs from late antique culture's wider understanding of language and vision. What is clear, though, is that his congregants would have been familiar with visually evoking the spoken word as well. Before returning to Jerusalem's bishop and his baptizands, let us take a brief look at the verbal and visual in the wider world of late antiquity.

Dramatic, enlivening description of this kind is achieved through two rhetorical devices—*ekphrasis* and *enargeia*. These devices are fine-tuned by authors to appeal to the imaginal powers of the reader or listener, enticing him or her to visualize the event, person, object, or place depicted.

Late antique rhetorical handbooks note the power of ekphrasis in particular to stimulate an audience's visual imagination. Because of its evocative quality, the ekphrastic technique is used to enhance several late antique compositional types, although it is frequently connected to narrative in ancient rhetorical theory.[19] In its

characterization of protagonist, action, time, and setting through abundant visual as well as other sensual detail, ekphrasis brings a narrative composition to life, animating the chronological progression of a story. This graphic and dramatic device transforms a reader or listener into a spectator of live action in progress.

The ekphrastic technique has also been traditionally valued for its ability to "reach beyond the listener's intellect to their emotions," as Liz James and Ruth Webb have observed.[20] Thus ekphrasis has proven to be an indispensable rhetorical device in genres like panegyric and encomium, as well as in law courts. It is no surprise, then, that as Christianity moves into the public, and hence visible, sphere of society in the fourth century, and a desire to "see" holiness comes to dominate religious practice, rhetorical forms such as ekphrasis become the favored weapons in ideological battles over the conceptualization of holy space.[21] While Constantine, Eusebius, and others lead the movement to celebrate Christianity in its imperial manifestation, and thus its future, theirs are not the only Christian voices heard. In this radically new environment, other Christians also devise rhetorical strategies to attenuate the border between what is physically present and the more important core events, ideas, and people of biblical times. In the letter written to Marcella by Jerome in the name of Paula and Eustochium, for instance, "Paula" describes her experience at the tomb, and this illustrates the effectiveness of such efforts:

> Whenever we enter [the tomb of the Lord] we see the Savior lying in the shroud, and lingering a little we see again the angel sitting at his feet and the handkerchief wound up at his head. We know of the glory of this tomb, long before it was hewn from the rock by Joseph, from the prophecy of Isaiah, where he says, "And his rest shall be in honor." Thus the place of the Lord's burial shall be revered by all.[22]

Georgia Frank also describes how Paula falls before the cross at Golgotha, "as if she could see Christ on the cross," according to Jerome.[23] Also addressing the passages in Jerome, Cynthia Hahn appraises the manner whereby Paula's vision or visualization develops slowly and selectively as it "moves to different aspects of story and its meaning—the piteous body of Christ, the angel messengers, the 'relic' testimony of the shroud," and explains that Paula experiences a manner of "visualization that could be readily encouraged by pictoral imagery and a structuring of the site."[24] Most certainly by the time of the attributed visit to Jerusalem, liturgical practice maintains a pilgrim's focus tightly upon Christ's crucifixion and the powerful nature of the cross.

This practice of seeing through the present illusion to originary happenings is tied to the rhetoric developing within Christian literature.[25] Hagiography, sermons, and poetry, steeped in scriptural allusion, generate a visual discursivity through which people attempt to "reframe physical perception."[26] Christians profess an ability to apprehend sacred reality, thus reanimating and sanctifying the

dead polluted, and thus polluting, material. It is Jerome who first argues that without spectators looking at human remains a relic is nothing but a thing of dust.[27] Moreover, it is the language surrounding an object that guides one to abandon notions of pollution and instead to rush to experience the saint's *praesentia* in the martyr's shrine within the urban center.[28] In their narrative elaborations of a saint's suffering, for example, authors focus on bodily pain and destruction. They engage the imagination of listeners, transforming them into witnesses of the original torture and death. Basil of Caesarea's homily *In sanctos quadraginta martyres* provides an especially gruesome example:

> The body that has been exposed to cold first becomes all livid as the blood freezes. Then it shakes and seethes, as the teeth chatter, the muscles are convulsed, and the whole mass is involuntarily contracted. A sharp pain and an unspeakable agony reaches into the marrows and causes a freezing sensation that is impossible to bear. Then the extremities of the body are mutilated, as they are burned [by the frost] as if by fire. For the heat is driven from the extremities of the body and flees to the interior; it leaves the parts that it has abandoned dead, and tortures those into which it is compressed, as little by little death comes on by freezing.[29]

Undeniably, such an account profoundly implicates the audience's imagination. Ekphrastic passages such as this, however, offer more than a gripping portrayal, as Patricia Miller has argued. Such graphic descriptions within a narrative stir readers' emotions and render them much more susceptible to persuasion and, hence, inculcation. Through this technique an author not only infuses the object with an irresistibly evocative content; he or she also situates the listener in a new experiential and devotional relationship with that object. By powerfully enticing listeners to experience the horrible and vivid reality of these remains, therefore, authors can show them the manner in which they should approach such objects: as worthy of veneration.[30]

As Frank has shown in her consideration of pilgrimage literature, instruction in "visual piety" is frequently rooted in a distinctive scriptural exegesis.[31] When greeted with unfathomable diversity and even inconsistencies in the faces of monks and ascetics in the Egyptian desert, authors refuse to lose heart in their search for facial holiness. Rather, they use their Bible to look closer: "Their lingering gaze scoured the cracks and crevices of the present for a means to enter and thereby bear witness to that past."[32] Piercing through the sun-beaten wrinkles of an Egyptian hermit, a pilgrim/author can release Isaiah or Abraham to the surface. In the cultivation of this scriptural gaze, authors identify the sacrality in human flesh, organizing hundreds of faces around a manageable number of biblical types and tropes. In this manner authors instruct readers how to visualize desert piety.

The twin formulation of language and sight endow the eyes of an audience, as well as the one choosing the words that direct those *listening* eyes, with a

tremendous degree of creative power. As Frank has remarked, in late antiquity the power of vision is generative. A pilgrim's visual perception completes the sacrality of a location or object. Thus rhetorical tools do not just offer the audience mental images for their passive consumption; rather, listeners are encouraged to supply more.[33] This visual language, which instructs an audience in how to apprehend a relic or location, also enlists them to look more deeply on their own. Asterius of Amaseia's *Ekphrasis on Saint Euphemia* speaks to this final point. In his detailed description of a painting of Euphemia, Asterius discusses the emotional tenor of the colors used by the painter to portray her death. He concludes with an intriguing request: "Now it is time for you, if you wish, to complete the painting so that you can decide with accuracy whether I have fallen short of it in my interpretation."[34] In such rhetorical visualizations and appeals, the author and reader/listener work together to reimagine the object described—a collaboration that is fast becoming second nature to many in this culture of discursive visibility.

To understand Cyril's own sense of the vivifying power of language, first a word on the Word. The bishop's development of an idiosyncratic notion of verbal illumination informs a complex, fascinating sacramental and biblical anthropology specific—once again—to Jerusalem: the Holy Spirit writing the true image of Jerusalem through the eyes of baptized Christians. We see this in his particular development of the larger late antique aesthetic of "word engenders image," which is tied to the problem of Jerusalem's image and rooted in local ritual traditions and literary culture.[35]

The challenge of verbally accessing Jerusalem's biblical reality involves more than Cyril's understanding of the Holy Spirit's power. We must also have a firm grasp of his view of demons and demonology; here too his thought develops along linguistic lines. In fact Cyril distinguishes two types of visual language, which are opposed to each other. The first is the Holy Spirit's word—the Holy Spirit being the author of the Bible, and the inspiration and author of prophecy (written/seeing). This language (all biblical) generates the permanent, living, enduring images of holiness in Jerusalem. For example, the Passion, especially the crucifixion as described, endures unchanged on Golgotha. The second type is the devil's language: it is unstable and impermanent, and the images emanating from this language are ephemeral and transient. In creating an apocalyptic seer through baptismal training, Cyril is creating someone who can discern the difference in language and image and make the proper choice. In doing so, apocalyptic seers—prophets for a crucified Christ—set an example for others.

In unpacking Cyril's view of language we must also consider the bishop's understanding of time. As he helps baptizands grasp Jerusalem's biblical reality or the originary moment, the shackles of linear historical progression fall away. In Cyril's view event does not follow event, nor does year follow year. The model of chronological history is an illusion and allows only a partial glimpse—not to mention a

misleading one—of a greater truth. Pamela Jackson has documented Cyril's practice of gathering many "proofs," "testimonies," and "witnesses" of scripture—all of which speak to a single, chosen, temporal moment and place, such as the baptizand's immediate proximity to Golgotha (as the site experiencing the crucifixion) and/or the tomb (as the site experiencing the resurrection).[36] Cyril intends the written texts to aid the baptizand's ability to dissolve the temporal distinctions of past, present, and future. Here, Jesus on the cross merges with Adam at the gates of Paradise; the tree of life fuses with the wood of the cross; Moses changes a river into blood as Christ emits water and blood from his side; Old Testament prophets speak in earshot of the apostles, Jesus, and Cyril himself; and baptizands transform into disciples. Rather than simple exegetical correspondences, these are actual living events torn through time to stand in and yet dissolve the limitations of the present moment.[37]

A large part of the baptismal training pertains to Cyril's wish to position his baptizands in a more intimate relation with Jesus. To do so, he exegetically conjures a human Jesus with whom Jerusalem Christians can have immediate and intimate contact. Upon establishing this connection, Cyril privileges that moment on Golgotha during which the vulnerability of Jesus's humanity touches the omnipotence of his divinity—at that instant baptizands bear witness to and experience true, unmediated heavenly power.

Cyril gives his catechetical instruction within the Holy Sepulchre complex. In *Catecheses ad illuminandos* 13 and 14, however, he uses words that transport baptizands beyond the walls of the Constantinian church. His vivid descriptions carry them to stand before Golgotha and the tomb in a much larger, untouched biblical landscape. His narrative guides their endeavors to visualize and to animate every element and aspect of the crucifixion. Cyril's words move them swiftly from high atop Mount Sion in the ruins of Caiaphas's house to the depths of the tomb. The bishop's exegesis conjures the sensory details of Jesus's final days of torture and interrogation, death, and rebirth. Pervading both lectures is a sense of the immediacy of these events. Although not directly visible to recently enrolled baptizands, all elements of Jesus's death and rebirth are impatient to burst forth and displace present appearances. Should anyone doubt the actuality and (albeit elusive) materiality of these essential moments that involve the cross and the crucifixion, Cyril conveys the sense that the individuals, objects, and elements of the environment—all that made up the event of the crucifixion—have been in an animate state, waiting and listening. Either now or in the future they will aggressively come into a dynamic state and violently rebuke the gainsayer:

> Do not deny [the reality of] the Crucified. For if you should deny him, there exist many who refute you. Judas, the traitor, will be the first to refute you. . . . Gethsemane bears witness to where the betrayal occurred. . . . The moon in the night bears

witness; the day bears witness and the sun suffers eclipse. For [the sun] did not bear to see the transgression of the ones who conspired [against Jesus]. . . . If you deny [the reality of] the Cross, the eternal fire waits for you. . . . The house of Caiaphas denies you by proving through its present state of destruction the power of the person who was judged there then. And Caiaphas himself on the day of judgment will resist you. Also the servant who gave Jesus a slap in the face will deny, and those who bound and dragged him away. Both Herod and Pilate will resist you, when they say: "Why do you deny the one who was slandered by the Jews, and who we knew never sinned?" . . . The praetorium of Pilate has been destroyed by the power of the one who has been crucified. The holy Golgotha itself rises high up and even at this point in time shows how through Christ the rocks were torn apart against the door of his tomb.[38]

Cyril is exquisitely adept in mixing and arranging biblical excerpts using ekphrasis. He crafts verbal images that strongly revivify the last moments of Jesus's life on earth for baptizands; more intriguingly still, he redeploys aspects of those events to threaten his baptizands on occasion, as we see in the passage above. Relying on his ekphrastic skills alone, Cyril easily inspires the baptizands' imaginations to respond. However, by using the Bible as source text—and a divinely empowered one at that—and by drawing upon the holiness of Jerusalem, Cyril goes much further than producing visually evocative descriptions of events far in the past. He seeks rather to erase the bulwark of history that holds his baptizands at so far a distance from the physical experience of biblical events such as Christ's crucifixion. In his complex theorization of the evocative power of language—spiritual language more specifically—Cyril seeks a transformation of his baptizands wherein they do much more than gain an imaginative hold over biblical events: they actually become part of those moments. However, this is a rare and rarefied experience. Before baptizands can hope to attain access to this kind of perception, they have to escape the hold that the present moment has over them. This involves nothing less than escaping the demons determined to hold them fast in the confusing swirl of illusions and delusions that most of the population of that time believes to be reality.

## THE DEMONICALLY BLINDED CITY

The obstacles to Cyril's spiritual sight are many. First and foremost, demons trap a person's perception in the present moment. Therefore baptizands will not be truly free from the limiting effects of temporality and capable of perceiving through to timeless biblical moments until they have been baptized and have received the Eucharist. To complicate matters, the devil has been alerted by the initiation ceremony to the existence of those training for baptism, and he is on the hunt. Cyril warns that the devil waits carefully, selecting and stalking his prey. He counsels his

baptizands to "take care that [the dragon does] not bite [them] and inject his poison of unbelief."[39] A baptizand must be on his/her guard and "flee every diabolical force and be not persuaded by the apostate dragon," who lurks in the surrounding landscape.[40] Cyril insists that baptizands be distrustful of everyone, including himself if he strays from creedal teaching: "Do not attend to the lips of the one speaking guile but to the spirit of disbelief (*apistia*) and deceit who works in him."[41] In his list of places and activities that baptizands must avoid, Cyril draws a vivid picture of the city's religious pluralism:

> [Do not attend] the fabulous divinations of the Greeks (*tais mythōdesi tōn Hellēnōn manteiais*). Poison, incantation, and the transgressive things of necromancy (*pharmakeian . . . epaoidian . . . ta nekyomanteiōn paranomōtata*)—*do not allow [Greek magic] within the range of your hearing* (*mēde mechris akoēs paradechou*). Stand apart from every type of intemperance, being neither a glutton nor one who loves pleasure, and, above all else, refrain from every avarice and lending out interest. Do not join in with groups attending the heathen spectacles (*theōpiōn ethikois*); never use binding spells in sickness. Turn away completely from visiting taverns. You should not go out to join the Samaritans or Judaism. . . . Stand back from observing any of the Sabbaths and turn away from speaking of indifferent meats as common or unclean. . . . But hate especially all of the assemblies of the heretics.[42]

From one angle this reads as a formulaic text found in most baptismal and catechetical texts: a list detailing what someone must surrender of their former life to gain the spiritual benefits of a baptized Christian existence. Christians must give up divinatory practice, other forms of magic, and attending other Christian (heretical) congregations; they must abandon the theater, hippodrome, gambling, and so forth. All of this was standard fare as a list of the devil's pomps. Cyril, however, also includes limits on sensory experience: certain activities should not come within range of a baptizand's sight, touch, smell, and the other senses. Cyril maps the dangerous areas of the city and indicates where baptizands can travel; they should sever themselves sensorily from the areas where the devil exists: Greek spectacles, especially of magic (e.g., poisons, incantations, and necromancy), taverns, the synagogue, and Samaritan and Manichaean locations of worship. Cyril singles out hearing—a sense tied to language—in particular: "do not allow [Greek magic] within the range of your hearing (*mēde mechris akoēs paradechou*)."

In an effort to control and regulate baptizands' movements, Cyril takes special time to describe the devil's involvement in the wider religious life in Jerusalem, which includes Greeks, Samaritans, Manichaeans, Jews, and heretics. Cyril portrays an unbaptized Christian population all too vulnerable to the devil's tricks in the urban sphere; as Cyril insinuates, demons are quite adept at moving through Jerusalem in company with the non-Christian human bodies of Greeks, Jews, and heretics, using those bodies to attract the unwary and foolish. Greeks use "their

smooth tongue" especially to seduce men, leading them astray "for honey drops from the lips of a harlot"; Jews infect a person's perceptions "by divine scripture which they twist by false interpretations"; and heretics are perhaps the most dangerous of all the devil's foot soldiers, for they take control of the sense of hearing with false doctrine: "By smooth words and flattery [they] deceive [the] hearts of [the] simple, disguising with the honey of Christ's name the poisoned shafts of impious doctrine."[43] In his instructions to baptismal candidates, Cyril paints entire territories beyond the Holy Sepulchre as places that present the ritual temptations of the devil: the fabulous mysteries of Greek divination, miraculous Greek and Jewish healing formulae for the sick, fascinating religious imports such as Manichaeanism. Still, he truly fears only those groups that perform a twisting of holy language: that is, Jews and heretics.

This state of pluralistic demonic dangers has persisted for centuries, from the time of Christ's death. According to Cyril, within weeks of Jesus's death demons had taken hold of humankind to spread falsehoods about Christ's message. In *Catech. illum.* 6.13ff., Cyril explains at great length how the devil has worked through arch-heretics over the course of Christian history. In Cyril's heresiology the devil has managed to pervert tongues and twist mouths for centuries. This has led, and still leads, to the downfall of multitudes. Cyril describes the heretic Simon Magus as "the first dragon of wickedness," who was finally defeated; but "when one head had been cut off, the stem of wickedness proved to be many-headed."[44] Cyril draws from a tradition of heretical genealogies; for example, he introduces Simon Magus not simply as chief heretic or even a demonized chief heretic, but as the originator of a kind of demonism that emerges within weeks of Jesus's death. The diabolic sickness is capable of infiltrating and corrupting the rational faculties of weaker Nicene Christians as well as heretics. As a result, all too many of them are incapable of seeing and perceiving Christian truth. In Cyril's account, the devil captured Simon first. After that, the devil trafficked through the compromised minds and mouths of Cerinthus, Menander, Carpocrates, Ebionites, and Marcionites. Cyril then adds Basilides and Valentinus to the list of the heretically contagious.[45]

In addition, Cyril expounds on the devil's mixture of verbal/auditory/visual interactions with humankind. In *Catech. illum.* 4.1 he explains that even today "the devil disguises himself as an angel of light [2 Cor. 11:14]"; in this disguise, he is able to "surround in a blinding mist and the poisonous atmosphere of skepticism those who are leading an angelic life."[46] Cyril gives the impression that since Christ's crucifixion there has been more demonic delusion and darkness than light. He does not sound the note of the triumphalism and optimism we might expect to hear from the bishop of a basilica within view of the Anastasis. Rather than speaking of the glories of the resurrection, Cyril dwells on the deception injected into the world by the devil since Christ's crucifixion: "Many wolves go around in the clothing of sheep; while they gain a sheep's covering for themselves, they do not

take away their claws and fangs. Dressed in the gentle wool, but seducing the innocent by their appearance (*schēma*), they pour forth the deadly poison of impiety from their fangs."[47] Thus it is imperative that his baptizands perceive their surroundings clearly. He therefore provides a graphic and frightening portrayal of the demonic possession of the soul:

> For when the unclean devil came into the soul of a man . . . like a wolf, he arrived greedy for blood, ready for meat and sheep. [Jesus's] arrival (*parousia*) is fierce. Sensation is utterly darkened. The mind is dark (*skotōdēs ēi dianoia*). Both the attack and the seizure of another's possession happens without justice. [The demon] violently uses another's body and another's organ. [The demon] throws down a person who stands up; . . . he perverts the tongue (*paratrepei tēn glōssan*), he twists the lips (*strebloi cheile*); there is foam instead of words; a person is darkened (*skotoutai*); the eye is open, but through it, the soul does not see.[48]

## EXORCISM: CLEANSING THE SOUL

The words of the Nicene Creed, or *Pistis* (literally, "trust" or "belief") as Cyril refers to it, have material resonance. They have an exegetical connection to the Bible in proofs and testimony. In baptismal training, however, the Creed is first and foremost a verbal object, a collection of the Holy Spirit's words; a good number of those words in fact indicate the final moments of Jesus Christ's time on earth in Jerusalem, his death on Golgotha, his resurrection from the tomb, and his ascension on the Mount of Olives. A baptizand learns the Creed during training, in the usual manner of biblical exegesis. However, Cyril also understands the Creed—the words themselves—to become an embodied part of the baptizand's person through the process of baptismal training. With the Nicene Creed, the baptizand takes one step closer to becoming the incarnated key—the apocalyptic seer—in Jerusalem. Baptism itself completes the process: the Holy Spirit fills the baptizand with an illuminating light, allowing that person to see the Passion, the crucifixion, and signs of the Eschaton.

Wonderful sights await baptized Christians, provided they survive baptismal training. Before baptism, many obstacles stand in their way. Cyril doubts the ability of baptizands' souls to grasp any element of the Creed in their prebaptismal state. Their souls, minds, and faculties of perception, particularly their visual faculties, have been utterly corrupted by the filth spewed forth by demonic images and other sensory material in the city. Thus Cyril proposes a daily exorcistic regimen, which specifically targets the corroding material for removal. In an incredibly detailed, and for our purposes fortuitous, passage, Cyril describes the removal of demonic sediments through exorcistic therapy:

> Receive the exorcisms with all seriousness. Whether you have been breathed upon or exorcised, the ritual (*pragma*) is your salvation. Think about the glistening gold,

mixed together with many materials: copper, and tin, and iron, and lead; We seek to have only the gold; the gold is unable to be cleansed of the accretions without fire. In the same way the soul is unable to be cleansed without exorcisms; but [exorcisms] are divine, since they are gathered together from scriptures. Your face is covered in order that your mind (*dianoia*) has leisurely time to think, and so that a roving eye should not make your heart rove as well. But the covered eye does not stop the ears from receiving salvation. For just as there is a way that goldsmiths, through delicate tools, direct a spirit into the fire, [and] bubble up the gold hidden inside the crucible, by devising a way of rousing the sought-for flame, in the same way the exorcists strike fear by means of the divine Spirit and thus renew through fire the soul in the body's crucible; our enemy the devil flees [and] . . . the soul, purified of its offenses, has salvation.[49]

This is an incredibly rich passage, and several details warrant closer examination. The central image, which draws heavily from the practices of a goldsmith, seems to convey Cyril's understanding of embodied, sensory existence. Cyril is describing here the demonic sediments—in terms of copper, tin, iron, and lead—that a mind/soul acquires over time. Moreover, Cyril understands these sediments to have accumulated through the faculty of vision and to a lesser extent through that of hearing (words generating images). Thus thick layers of demonic impurities prevent direct, unmediated visual interaction with the true, holy Jerusalem. Cyril envisages a layer of demonic sensory perception in the soul, cutting the soul off and contorting its direct interaction with the enduring images of Christ's Passion.

Especially fascinating here and elsewhere are the faint traces within Cyril's overarching demonology of deep, experimental play with Stoic theories of visual perception, also known as haptic theories of vision: the ancients' model of the tactile nature of sight. In Stoic theory, vision works on the principle of physical contact: either through extramission, in which the eye emits atoms that return with visual information about the surrounding environment, or through intromission, in which objects in the world emit atoms that the haptic nerve catches and transmits to the eye, leaving an impression.[50]

In this age of incipient pilgrimage and relic veneration, Christians understand the act of seeing a relic as, in a sense, *grasping* divinity in the created world and being altered by it. In recognizing the growing materialism of late antiquity, Patricia Cox Miller has written a good deal about Christians' ideas regarding the tangibility of ritualized sight derived from these ancient haptic theories of vision. While Miller and others have noted the positive aspects in the incorporation of haptic theory into the visual engagement with holiness, we must understand that haptic theory also explains the ill effects of demonic sight.

Even more intriguing, in light of our interest in the ability of apocalyptic seers to reveal or change Jerusalem's image, is the concept of "visceral seeing," through which Patricia Cox Miller approaches the metamorphosing function of Christian

vision. In relic veneration, for instance, seeing transforms the static object or non-descript location into a "kinetic presence" that involves "a connective and embodied viewing" that creates or recreates the body of the viewer.[51] Scholars have situated this experimentation with visuality toward the end of the fourth century, by which time pilgrimage and relic veneration had a firm grip on the religious sensibilities of the Mediterranean world. I propose, however, that in his works' efforts to encourage baptizands to see through to the true Jerusalem, Cyril provides strong evidence for an earlier date for this experimentation.

In his description of exorcism, Cyril is clearly working within Stoic materialism and theories of vision but describing something somewhat different and with altogether more frightening consequences. While straightforward haptic theory proposes that atoms leave only an impression of the object seen, Cyril's description of exorcism suggests a material residue is left and hardens so that it becomes stuck to the soul. Copper, tin, iron, and lead damage the soul and tarnish and hide its golden exterior; they create a crust that severs the soul from true, unadulterated sensory contact with its surroundings. What does a person do once he/she has been contaminated and is coated with the demonic viscosity left by the simple act of perceiving (or taking in) the malevolent images and deceptive words?

Cyril's description of exorcism's role is precise, given his Christological and historical ideas about seeing Jerusalem. What is important to him are the ritual steps necessary to scrape the demonic accretions off the surface of the soul and enable an unimpeded view of originary events and future signs in the Holy City. The language he uses in *Protocatechesis* 9 is quite specific. He directs the "covering of the eyes"; he demands the closure of one sense (eyes) for the opening of another (ears). Although up to this point we have been preoccupied with the sense of sight, Cyril specifically names the auditory faculty as the means of cleansing the vision: "Exorcisms gathered from divine scriptures are divine."[52] In other words, Cyril describes here not only the task of removing demonic accretions from the soul's surface—in a sense a reversal of the damage sustained in the demonically manipulated mechanics of haptic vision—but also the simultaneous process of fostering recollection. And here we encounter a theologized anthropology that is easily missed. In his characterization of a buried memory regained in exorcism, Cyril suggests that the primordial experience of the Passion in holy Jerusalem (specifically the crucifixion) exists in everyone. Words culled from scripture—perhaps quotations from the Passion scenes—will expel the copper, tin, iron, and lead and enable the golden memory of the crucifixion to rise to the surface.

Cyril alludes to a particular event in Jerusalem's very vivid sacred history, a period that also exists as an embodied part of every human being. As a cosmogonic event, the gravity of the crucifixion is deeply imprinted in humanity's soul, along with images of the Passion; this ontological constant has existed in every human being from the day of Christ's death and will continue to do so until the

day of his return. However, the day-to-day debris of living—that is, the haphazard clutter of images, thoughts, and sounds, as well as the dross born of family traditions, theological battles, ethnic and cultural particularities, and religious differences—covers over those images until they are lost in the soul's deepest recesses. Cyril puts great stock in the ritual efficacy of prebaptismal exorcisms as a means of uncovering these core images. More to the point, we can also see that Cyril understands exorcism, the Creed, and baptism as the means of tying Christians—and the image of Jerusalem—irrevocably to the Holy City itself. In effect, then, what Cyril proposes is a creedal baptism that provides Christians with a supremely intimate relationship with the Holy City; and Jerusalemite baptism outpaces all others in providing Christians with an authentic recovery of their own ontological piece of the Passion.

Consequently, Cyril's ritual regime is closely linked to the ekphrastic descriptions found throughout his baptismal instructions. He guides the baptizand through a kind of visual calisthenics intended to help him or her to see through to the crucifixion. Through Cyril's instructions and ritual regimen, the baptizand eventually develops the ability to transform his or her own sight in order to visualize an originary (biblical) memory. More importantly, perhaps, once that person is baptized and becomes an apocalyptic seer, he may then go out into Jerusalem itself and establish that desired "connective and embodied viewing" with the surroundings, transforming—or more properly reverting—Jerusalem to its true image.[53]

The road to this truth is long, and the person's soul has been compromised for a lifetime. The layers of false images that have lain on the surface of Jerusalem for centuries work in tandem with personal demonic blindness. The two create an almost impenetrable barrier that prevents an individual Christian from perceiving—and indeed experiencing—the authentic realities of his/her surrounding environment. As a result an unbaptized person is restricted to a visual and auditory perception that is stranded in an experience of the present only. Timeless Christian realities—such as Christ's Passion—are imperceptible and unattainable to a mind and soul damaged in this way. Prebaptismal exorcisms enable the soul to receive the Creed, baptismal seal, and Eucharist—all are essential to regaining what Cyril describes as spiritual perception. Only these rituals will enable a person's unimpeded perceptual experience of the Holy City of Jerusalem. Exorcisms are vital to peel away the layers of illusory visual experience and recapture that perennial reality. The process involves ritually scraping accretions away to reach the raw perceptual material of the image of the event that is embedded deeply in the baptizand's soul, in tandem with a rigorous scriptural retraining of the eyes and ears to stretch out and grasp Jerusalem properly. The Creed—a biblical/theological formula situating Christ's Passion correctly in Christianity's soteriology—meets that event and can also now rest implanted in the soul. And that person's eyesight can begin to take notice of the demons in the air.

Such progress encourages endurance. Baptizands endure the rigor of the exorcistic procedure. The sexes have to be separated. While waiting, men should read a "profitable book"[54] or pray or talk about something useful. Virgins, as compared to men, should sing hymns or read silently. Cyril speaks regarding the disposition of the exorcised, and the benefits to be gained, during the actual procedure: "Allow our mind to be sharpened to the point of reverence; allow your soul to be forged like metal; allow the stubbornness of unfaith (*apistia*) to be hammered on the anvil until the accretions fall off, until the pure iron remains."[55] The soul finds renewed strength, directing it to the eyes, which will soon be able to cut through to originary events, and the cross itself will be within sight.

## BUILDING *PISTIS* INTERNALLY

We anchor our consideration of the baptismal process in Cyril's Creed, which has been published by Alexis James Doval:

> We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, of all things visible and invisible (*Catech. illum.* 9.4). And in one Lord, Jesus Christ (*Catech. illum.* 7.4), the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten God of the Father before all worlds, by whom all things were made (*Catech. illum.* 11.21), Who was crucified and buried and descended into Hell (*Catech. illum.* 4.10–11; 13.38–39; 14.3, 11, 17, 18), Who rose on the third day, and ascended into Heaven, and sat on the right hand of the Father (*Catech. illum.* 14.24), and is to come in glory to judge the living and the dead; of Whose kingdom there will be no end (*Catech. illum.* 15.2). And in one Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who spoke through the prophets (*Catech. illum.* 17.3), and in one Baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, and in one Holy Catholic Church, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in eternal life (*Catech. illum.* 18.22).[56]

Some scholars have criticized Cyril's Creed for its simplicity. In fact, R. P. C. Hanson has characterized Cyril's formulation somewhat derisively as "curiously devoid of interesting features."[57] For our purposes, it is not the content of the Creed as much as the Creed as a verbal object that is of interest. How does Cyril objectify the Creed as *pistis,* over and against *apistia? Pistis* as a material object is comprised of words only. Yet the words, once they have become an embodied part of a baptized Christian, can function as a key, unlocking, for the eyes of that Christian, the visual truth of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

As mentioned above, Cyril defines *pistis* narrowly. In his instructions he suggests that the words of the Creed have a materiality; he is very specific regarding the need for secrecy and discretion, ascribing a special nature to the words given to his baptizands' care; he also stresses the importance of memorization. One should also never casually omit words. The words of the Creed not only convey an important discursive message; they are an object in their own right, worthy of veneration:

they serve as a verbal cipher that tightly and precisely brings together historical moments with cosmological consequences. In light of its importance, Cyril's instruction is worth quoting in full:

> In learning and professing the Creed, possess and guard (*ktēsai kai tērēson*) only that which is given over to you by the church, and which all the scriptures confirmed, . . . that which I wish you to memorize word for word, and to repeat to each other with all zeal, not writing it on paper, but engraving it by memory on the heart. Only be careful, in rehearsing it, that no catechumen chance to overhear what has been delivered to you. Possess this as a provision in the entire length of your life beyond this; receive no other; though we ourselves should change and stand against what we teach now; even though an enemy angel, transformed into an angel of light, should try to lead you astray. For even if we or an angel from heaven should preach a gospel to you other than that which you have now received, let him be anathema.
>
> For the present just listen and memorize the Creed (*mnēmoneuson tēs pisteōs*) as I recite it to you, and you will receive by and by the entire construction from the scriptures for each article (*apo tōn theiōn graphōn peri ekastou tōn egkeimenōn*). For not according to men's satisfaction have the articles of faith been composed, but the most important points collected from the scriptures make up one total and complete teaching of the Creed. . . . Thus be careful, brothers, and hold tightly to the teachings which are now given to you, and "write them on the tablet of your heart" (*apograpsasthe autas eis to tēs kardias umōn*).With piety guard them so that the enemy may not plunder those who have grown indifferent or some heretic may not pervert (*paratrepsēi*) the words entrusted to you. . . . Keep this Creed which is delivered to you without stain (*aspilon*) until the epiphany of our Lord Jesus Christ.[58]

Cyril insists that once a person memorizes the Creed, once the words of the Creed along with its proofs, witnesses, and testimonies are fused into the baptizand's mind, in an exact and proper order, that person's own body becomes a creedal vessel, in a very real, material, visible manner. A person is the outer casing, an exterior protection surrounding a deeply embedded and embodied creedal truth. Cyril describes the necessity of carefully assembling all elements of what is contained inside in order to protect the interiority of the baptizand from contamination:

> Let me think about the catechizing as though it is a building. If we will join the structure [of catechizing] together in a manner conforming with how a house is bound together, so that you discover nothing frivolous, and the house should not become rotten, nothing of our earlier trouble shall help. But stone must follow upon stone in a regular manner, and corner fall upon corner; all excess within the construction must be pulled away; and thus the completed structure rises up. Therefore I will bring to you, in a manner of speaking, stones of knowledge; you must hear the doctrines of the living God; you must hear the doctrines of the judgment; you must hear the doctrines of Christ; you must hear the doctrines of the resurrection. And many things have to be said in a regular pattern that are currently being joined together in a scattered fashion, but they will be brought together in a regular order.

But unless you join everything together into one structure, keeping in your mind the first and the second, the builder builds, but you will have a rotten building.[59]

An improper fit between the creedal foundation and its proofs, explains Cyril, will compromise the apologetic value of *pistis:*

If you have firmly established yourself (*hestēkas*) in the Creed (*pistis*), you are blessed; if you have fallen into unbelief (*apistia*), cast away your unbelief from this day on and be fully confident. . . . For [the Holy Spirit] is ready to seal (*sphragisai*) your soul, and shall give you that seal heavenly and divine at which demons tremble (*sphragida hēn tremousi daimones*)*,* just as it is written: and when you believed, you were sealed with the Holy Spirit of the Promise. But the Holy Spirit tests (*dokimazei*) the soul; it does not cast pearls before swine. If you pretend, men will now be baptizing you, but the Spirit will not baptize you; but if you approach with *pistis,* men will minister to you visibly, but the Holy Spirit will bestow on you what is not visible. For you are coming to a great test (*exetasin*), to a great battle in the space of a single hour; if you are judged worthy of the grace, your soul will be illuminated, and you will receive a power (*dynamin)* you did not possess before. You will receive arms that are terrifying to demons (*opla phrikōdē tois daimosin*); *and if you do not throw your arms away, but hold the seal upon your soul, the demon will not approach; he will cower away in fear; for by the Spirit of God demons are cast out* (*en pneumati theou ekballetai ta daimonia*).[60]

## BAPTISM AND THE INDWELLING
## POWER OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

Once a person has regained the original condition of the soul that was present before demonic accretion, Cyril speaks of enhancing sight in that person. It is not enough to see clearly with the "eyes of the flesh"; one has to see beyond and to pierce through to originary events. Such power (*dynamis*) comes with the indwelling Holy Spirit and involves the rite of baptism itself. Georgia Frank has already elegantly described Cyril's declaration of the empowering effects of the Eucharist. Through this ritual, one can pierce through the obfuscating world of sensory experience to the divine realities beyond the material world. In her analysis of Cyril's mystagogic sermons, Frank focuses attention on Cyril's understanding of the careful and precise material transformation of various parts of the baptized body (forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, ears, breast, hands, feet). As Frank explains, the "piecemeal anointing [in the Eucharist] was significant for Cyril, for with each touch a different spiritual sense was awakened."[61] In Cyril's words: "Then upon the ears; to receive ears quick to hear the divine mysteries, the ears of which Isaiah said: 'The Lord gave me also an ear to hear' [cf. Isa. 50:4]. Then upon the nostrils, that, scenting the divine oil, you may say: 'We are the incense offered by Christ to God' [2 Cor.]."[62] And so on.

Cyril describes a similar enlivening of perception when he explains the spiritual effects of baptism. But now it pertains to the sense of sight alone:

> [The Holy Spirit's] coming is gentle, the perception of him fragrant, his yoke light; rays of light and knowledge shine forth before his coming. He comes with the heart of a true guardian; he comes to save, to cure to admonish, to strengthen, to console, to enlighten the mind first of the man who receives him, then through him the minds of others also. As a man previously in darkness and suddenly seeing the sun gets the faculty of sight and sees clearly what he did not see before, so the man deemed worthy of the Holy Spirit is enlightened in the soul and sees beyond human sight what he did not know. Though his body is upon the earth, his soul beholds the heavens as in a mirror. He sees, like Isaiah [Isa. 6.1], "The Lord seated on high and lofty throne"; he sees, like Ezekiel, "him who is above the cherubim"; he sees, like Daniel, "thousands upon thousands and myriads upon myriads"; and little man sees the beginning and the end of the world, the times in between, the successions of kings; in short, things he had not learned, for the true enlightener is at hand. The man is confined within walls; yet his power of knowledge ranges far and wide, and he perceives even the actions of others.[63]

This enhanced visual perception is not for personal edification or piety, however. Rather, Cyril pulls the spiritual charism of baptized vision into a more comprehensive demonology, which includes a wider view of spiritual warfare. In *Catecheses ad illuminados* 17, he provides a substantive explanation regarding the power passed to the baptizand in the rite itself: "[The Holy Ghost] is present in readiness to seal your soul, and he shall give you that seal at which evil spirits tremble, a heavenly and sacred seal."[64]

In its apotropaic power alone, the baptismal seal protects a person from regaining the demonic accretions that have deadened his spiritual sight. However, as Cyril makes clear in *Catech. illum.* 3, this new power (*dynamis*) is not only protective. A Christian now has the ability and even the duty to battle the devil: "For you go down into the water bearing your sins, but by the invocation of grace, by placing a seal upon your soul, it no longer happens that you are consumed by the fear of the dragon. . . . He gives you the authority to battle with the enemy powers."[65] This is an authority (*exousia*) that is fortified by the fact that the Holy Spirit is now indwelling—a great, incalculable power, the purpose of which we will discuss in chapter 6. The baptized are charged with the task of seeing through demonic images to the true Jerusalem. Accomplishing such a task will take much more than the rituals performed on them. Visual retraining is also necessary—a retraining that will fuse them scripturally to the Holy City.

Let us return to the Holy Sepulchre, if only briefly. While this church certainly plays a large role as a ritual setting in their baptismal training, Cyril's instructions draw baptizands' attention as well as their physical presence repeatedly beyond its walls. As Cyril describes the abilities endowed by the Holy Spirit, a man may be

confined within walls, but he has a "power of knowledge [that] ranges far and wide."[66] Cyril is preparing the baptizands to receive the Holy Spirit in order that, once they have received baptism, each one then "sees beyond human sight what he did not know. Though the [baptized Christian's] body is on earth, his soul is able to see through to the heavens as if looking in a mirror." In other words, they will gain visionary power through the Holy Spirit in the same manner as the prophets of old.[67] Cyril directs his baptizands to see the true Jerusalem through the words of "divine scripture, which possesses divine power."[68] Cyril ascribes to scriptural words the power to exorcise the demonic from the mind and recapture primordial experiences of the Holy Land; baptizands must learn how to see the true Jerusalem obscured by Constantinian monumentality or the remnants of Hadrianic victory. Instead they must learn the scriptural words, phrases, and narratives revealed through the scriptural language that indicates the living realities lying just beneath the illusory surface covering Jerusalem at present.

In the end, then, Cyril's baptized Christians are engaged in a mode of seeing that is intended not for personal piety but for their role as apocalyptic seers engaged in spiritual warfare. Thus Cyril has much in common with the authors of 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch, and even with the Bordeaux Pilgrim. Lurking beneath the apparent reality of chaos, destruction, and ambiguity in the demonically tainted Aelia are a true image and history of Jerusalem that demands the eyes and souls of those religiously trained to release them. While Cyril intends his baptismal training to restore the true, apocalyptic (revealing/unveiling) vision of Jerusalem and sensory truth to baptizands, there is much more to his program than simply restoring sight. In the rehabilitation of the sensory faculties through the rituals of exorcism, creedal transformation, and baptism, Cyril transforms the physiological shape of baptizands' minds and bodies for Jerusalem. Likewise, in the intense visual instruction in Jerusalem, he teaches them how to take the Bible to the land and engage in a practical education of finding the places in the landscape of Jerusalem. What we see here is something much more involved than general baptismal training. Is all of this simply to outfit Jerusalemite baptizands for a blissful, peaceful life as Christians following baptism? It would be impossible for baptized Christians to return to anything approximating their life before Cyril's baptismal training. And in light of the rigor of his interrogation in the *Protocatachesis* Cyril may not have admitted just anyone to his baptismal training.

In his training, Cyril develops a mode of apocalyptic sight in exemplary baptizands; this mode of vision is intended for spiritual warfare. A baptized person's eyes, according to Cyril, can see not only into the divine realities of Jerusalem but into the demonic ones as well. And as baptizands' eyes open to the images of Christ and the apostles surrounding Him, their behavior should alter in accordance with

this unfolding reality—in prayer, vigils, and biblical readings. Even the simple but striking act of witnessing produces certain behavioral modifications. Likewise, as their eyes open up to the daily practice of discerning demons within the spectacles of Greeks, Jews, and Manichaeans in Aelia's confusing landscape, their bodies will react to and against the diabolic elements within their view. We contend that this is certainly Cyril's intention in light of the fierce diabolization in his baptismal training. As the senses are cleansed and readjusted to apprehend the actual reality of Jerusalem, the body will follow in its actions against that environment. Baptism endows them with the power to battle demons.

How exactly (and indeed whether) this power would manifest is impossible to say. Perhaps it would be expressed in something as simple as the sign of the cross, or in a more elaborate antidemonic ritual to neutralize demonic illusions—but the actions of the baptized would be visibly altered.

Finally, then, we must pause to consider not only what baptized Christians are being trained to see in Jerusalem but also how they are being seen in the city. As they move around Jerusalem, seeing deeper realities of the city, they mingle with other Jerusalemites and pilgrims. One wonders how much of their visual training and related behaviors spreads to influence the visual practices of others. How long is it before others look at the theater, baths, and synagogue and see demons that they have to fight for the glory of Christ?

# Apocalyptic Prophets
# and the Cross

*Revealing Jerusalem's Demons from
the Crucifixion to the End of Days*

Newly sealed Christians greet Jerusalem as entirely different beings. The letters of the Creed engraved in their hearts, with the Holy Spirit itself illuminating each letter, they walk through Jerusalem's streets capable of seeing much more than what is visible to the unbaptized. The Holy Spirit has transformed their senses to enable the baptized to see the true Jerusalem; they pierce through the distracting and false images to apprehend the crucifixion. What are they to do after seeing these new visual realities? What kind of guidance does Cyril provide? How does this new sensory ability change their existence day to day? What purpose does their ability to see in a spiritually heightened manner serve? How does Cyril intend their power to affect the church or the city as a whole?

In chapter 5 we explored how baptized Christians are trained and ritually molded to apprehend originary events—chief among them Christ's crucifixion. This chapter argues that the enhanced vision serves a second purpose. Cyril is preparing the baptized to assume a particular role related to his belief in the coming end of days—for simplicity's sake, we term this role "apocalyptic prophet," though Cyril does not use this language. He instructs baptizands in his brand of apocalyptic eschatology, explaining what events, images, and individuals indicate the final end of days. His eschatology pinpoints a core group of loyal Christians as insiders (Jerusalem's true soldiers of Christ/*pistoi*) who will protect the cross, set in direct opposition to a group of outsiders (the demonically tainted/*apistoi*) who do not believe in the centrality of the cross.[1] The fact that these opposed groups have now reached the height of their conflict signals that the end of days is imminent, if not already under way. Cyril is not engaging in figurative divisions but marking divisions between insiders and outsiders that speak to the actual conflicts and

tensions within contemporary Jerusalem; that is, this language serves to protect Cyril's true Jerusalem by naming any competing forces or imperial powers who may try to define the city. In fact, Cyril identifies two threats to his version of Jerusalem that we will consider: (1) the role Bishop Acacius of Caesarea played in Cyril's exiles, and (2) Julian's short-lived plans to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem. Consequently, one of the main foci of this chapter pertains to considering Cyril's dualizing rhetoric (demarcating insider versus outsider) within his overarching eschatology. In redefining and deepening the hostility in contemporary conflicts and tensions (i.e., Acacius and Julian) in this manner, Cyril pushes his baptizands and baptized Christians to the edge of interreligious violence.

Scholars have long recognized that *Catechesis ad illuminandos* 15 contains a high degree of eschatological content. For example, the well-known chapters 11–17 describe the coming of an antichrist—a man of "wonders"—who will beguile the Jews into following him once he rises from their temple. Oded Irshai has recently argued that these chapters describe Julian and represent an interpolation that was inserted in the text some time after the earthquake in Jerusalem in 362 that had put a stop to any work on rebuilding the temple.[2] While Irshai's arguments are persuasive, we will propose a slightly different relationship between this text and the rest of a lecture steeped in a rich apocalyptic eschatology; furthermore, there is evidence of this worldview in other lectures as well.

As we trace the depths of Cyril's apocalyptic eschatology in *Catech. illum.* 15 and other lectures, we will consider the following: (1) Cyril's strategies for inculcating baptizands into his apocalyptic eschatology (What role do they play as apocalyptic prophets?); (2) how this worldview organizes his community (insiders) in their antagonistic relationship with the opposition (outsiders) both ecclesiastical (Acacius) and imperial (Julian); (3) the issue of interreligious violence. In order to stretch into each of these three areas, we turn to recent theoretical conceptualizations of apocalypticism, millennialism, eschatology, and violence. This branch of scholarship has arisen in response to recent examples of violent millennialist movements that have engaged in often fatal encounters with government forces— a prominent example here is the bloody clash that took place in Waco, Texas in 1992 between the Branch Davidians and the U.S. government forces of the ATF and the FBI.[3] Before considering the primary evidence, we will therefore turn to a brief discussion of this theoretical material.

## APOCALYPTIC ESCHATOLOGY: TOWARD A NEW THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Catherine Wessinger is part of a larger group of religious-studies scholars invested in understanding the relationship between millennialism and violence in the contemporary world.[4] To that end her particular interest involves discerning the

factors that determine a millennialist or eschatological community's transformation from an isolated, withdrawn, and thus incidentally nonviolent community into its opposite, a community engaged in direct violence with its perceived enemy.[5] In general she argues that millennial movements emerge in social and religious communities that have already been indoctrinated within an eschatological way of viewing the world. She defines two separate states within an overarching eschatology to describe the shift from passive (peaceful) to active (violent) millennialism: "progressive millenarianism" and "catastrophic millenarianism."[6] Wessinger defines these terms as two overarching and interweaving patterns of thought about the Eschaton and salvation that work together shaping a community.

In both types (progressive and catastrophic), apocalyptic eschatology is an underlying worldview or weltanschauung that shapes a community's day-to-day reality. In other words, an end-of-the-world narrative defines the contours and content of a community's linear history and thus that group's grasp of reality and understanding of their place in their world. Through a rich mixture of discourse and a ritual activity that occupies the community over a long period of time, the symbols comprising this worldview become deeply embedded in a community's religious consciousness.

A linear, sacred history frames and defines the parameters of a community's day-to-day life; it defines their relationship with the divine as well as their relations with other communities. Into this progress divine forces predictably and regularly intrude for regular ritual celebration and reconfirmation of the validity and authenticity of their eschatological outlook. In the case of Cyril's Jerusalemite community, their eschatological worldview provides the impression of a relentlessly steady, temporal progress to an inevitable end-time period that would be punctuated by the sign (*sēmeion*) of the cross as well as other indicators of an imminent Eschaton.

As Wessinger explains, such an eschatological worldview can exist in a community's background, enabling a passive rather than an active relationship with this understanding of their history. Progressive millennialism connotes this state: the overarching eschatology recedes to the background to provide only the loosest guide for the community as it moves forward in its linear historical trajectory toward the inevitable end of days. In this way, progressive millennialism designates periods of hopefulness and optimism, when the group itself enjoys harmonious relations with larger social and political orders.

On the other hand, the second state—catastrophic millennialism—forefronts an oppressive, pessimistic view of humanity and society in which spiritual warfare overtakes the community, pushing them to or just over the brink into violent encounter—a clash signaling the beginning of the end of days. The eschatological worldview or symbolic order features dualistic distinctions such as good versus evil, divine versus demonic. Of particular significance, catastrophic millennialism

retains a dualistic order that carries within it the structural potential for radical transformative agency. In Wessinger's words:

> Catastrophic millennialism and progressive millennialism are not mutually exclusive. If a group experiences some prosperity, some success at building their millennial kingdom, the expectations of catastrophe may wane and progressive expectations come to the fore. But if the group experiences conflict with "cultural opponents," if it experiences persecution, then the group may be pushed to exaggerated expectations of catastrophe and a radical dualism that tends toward paranoia.[7]

Wessinger emphasizes that radical dualizing is the main aspect of catastrophic millennialism. Dualistic thinking in its most extreme forms leads to a dehumanizing and demonizing of those who become identified as the "other." Should a movement begin to express strong millennial consciousness in an eschatologically inclined community, then, that group would move to adhere to strict boundary marking as it emphasizes the overwhelming corruption and imminent destruction of the world, for instance. More than that, Wessinger explains that such a community moves headlong toward potential violence: "This radical dualism expects and often produces conflict. It identifies particular groups and individuals as enemies. It is the embattled worldview of people engaging in warfare."[8] Catastrophic millennialism as a dramatic dualistic eschatology eventually extends to laying claim to tangible enemies. In Christian terms, simply put, by portraying and acting within a scripted/scriptural worldview in which one casts Satan, the antichrist, and their followers as one's mortal enemies, a potential "antichrist" will eventually come within one's purview to fill the role of the demonic enemy.

## THE END OF DAYS, THE ANTICHRIST, AND JERUSALEM

Cyril constructs both the progressive and catastrophic forms of millennialism in various degrees throughout his catechetical lectures, though most prominently in *Catech. illum.* 13 and 15. In an effort to inculcate baptizands in *Catech. illum.* 13, Cyril crafts an optimistic and hopeful eschatology that wraps tightly around his faith (*pistos*) in a Christ crucified. He identifies New Testament passages testifying both to the dominating significance of Christ's crucifixion within the Passion and to the redemptive power inherent in that moment and in Christ's cross. Jerusalem's bishop commands his baptizands to "preach Christ crucified" throughout the city and insists that they reject anyone who denies the salvific power of the crucifixion.[9] In support of his claims regarding the power of Christ's crucifixion, Cyril ends *Catech. illum.* 13 with a description of the multiple powers available in Christ's cross—the sign of the crucified Christ. The cross is capable of enslaving the Persians, healing diseases, sending demons away, and nullifying the powers of *phar-*

*makeia* and charms.[10] Finally, Cyril of Jerusalem proclaims that the sign (*sēmeion*) of the cross culminates in a much anticipated cosmological sign: the symbol of Christ's crucifixion and death will return to indicate His return:

> But what is the sign (*sēmeion*) of his coming (*parousia*)? An opposite power (*dynamis*) may not dare to imitate it [the sign]. [The prophets] say that the sign of the Son of Man will appear in the heavenly sky. The true sign, Christ's own, is the cross. A sign of a luminous cross comes before the king, revealing the one who was crucified earlier, in order that the Jews who had abused and plotted against [Christ], seeing [the cross], should beat their breasts tribe by tribe. "This is the one who was beaten; this is the one whose face those [Jews] spat upon; this is the one whom [the Jews] secured tightly with bindings [Matt. 24:30]." . . .The sign of the cross is a thing of fear to enemies [of Christ], and a thing of joy for friends who have believed (*pisteō*) in him or who have heralded him or who have suffered on his behalf.[11]

While *Catech. illum.* 13 speaks of future possibilities, elsewhere Cyril uses similarly hopeful and optimistic terms to describe a cosmological sign that has already taken place. In a letter addressed to Constantius II during the same year as the sign (*sēmeion*), Cyril writes, "a huge cross made of light appeared in the sky above holy Golgotha extending as far as the holy Mount of Olives."[12] This took place on May 7, 351, just a few days before Pentecost.[13] He declares that the cross is a favorable sign for the emperor in light of recent troubles with the usurper Magnentius. Cyril's eschatological maneuvering is hardly surprising in the mid-fourth century—a point in time when, as Oded Irshai shrewdly observes, "Christians [were entering] what one might define as the 'Hot Time Zone' of intensified Apocalyptic expectation," eager to find apocalyptic meaning in every historical event or natural disaster, "especially when accompanied by supernatural portents and prodigies."[14] The appearance of the cross proves a useful portent at the beginning of Cyril's vulnerable episcopacy to affirm Jerusalem's relationship with the imperial court.[15] However, we would be shortsighted to reduce Cyril's meaning to political strategy. Instead, Cyril moves quickly beyond secular concerns in his optimistic portrait of the sign's unifying power:

> [The sign] prompted the whole populace at once to run together into the holy church, overcome both with fear and joy at the divine vision. Young and old, men and women of every age, even young girls confined to their rooms at home, natives and foreigners, Christians and pagans visiting from abroad, all together as if with a single voice raised a hymn of praise to God's Only-begotten Son, the wonderworker. They had the evidence of their own senses that the holy faith of Christians is based not on the persuasive arguments of philosophy but on the revelation of the Spirit and power; it is proclaimed not by mere human beings but attested from heaven by God himself.[16]

We can see parallels in Cyril's letter to his community in *Catech. illum.* 13. The sign of the cross functions as a form of undeniable divine testimony. It testifies to the

truth that is Christ crucified, as well as to "God's Only-begotten Son, the wonder-worker. It testifies, finally, to the superlative power of the Spirit over any words uttered by "mere human beings."[17] *Epistula ad Constantius II* and *Catech. illum.* 13 both declare and optimistically promote the sign of the cross in its integral role as a cosmological portent (together with prophetic scripture) for Christianity in Jerusalem.

*Catech. illum.* 15 initially presents the same confident and optimistic tone: "We declare not only one coming of Christ, but also a second one, much more glorious than the first. The first bears a demonstration of his endurance; the second bears the crown of the Kingdom of God."[18] However, as Cyril continues to proffer details regarding Christ's return, especially his relaying of the scriptural signs, a growing fear begins to shadow the earlier optimism of *Catech. illum.*13. Throughout the lecture Cyril wraps the second coming in imagery from Daniel 7:9–14, especially verse 13: "one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven."[19] Daniel 7:13 also forms the backbone of eschatological theory and imagery in Matthew 24, the other biblical text that Cyril uses to establish his eschatological outlook in this catechetical lecture.[20] So then Cyril moves quickly from the hopeful, yet vague, description in *Catech. illum.* 13 of some future apocalyptic expectation of Christ's return to a fear of God's vengeful judgment in *Catech. illum.* 15. In the latter text, Cyril expresses terrifying urgency and desperation that such judgment is imminent. Enhancing the terror are Cyril's subtle suggestions that he and his community are witnessing the beginning of the end:

> "*And there shall be famines and pestilences and earthquakes in various places* [Matt. 24.7]." These things have already happened. And again, "*And terrors from heaven, and great storms* [Luke 21.11]." The savior says, "And many are scandalized, and others will betray each other, and others still will hate each other [Matt. 24:10]."[21]

Cyril augments the terror by offering frightening biblical imagery that testifies to the end of days; he leaves very little to the imagination in speaking of God's final judgment and punishment. In addition to the descriptions of blood, pain, and agony that he uses to characterize those who will not meet with God's favor, at this point in the text he introduces deep divisions that demarcate and separate the righteous from the unrighteous, the saved from the punished, the insiders from the outsiders. Cyril follows this immediately with strict orders to his audience, comprised of those preparing for baptism or already baptized. All who are listening must take up a vigilant watch over their immediate environment; they must maintain a constant search for imminent signs of the end.[22] Cyril proposes a practice that functions to burn his eschatological worldview into their own perception of the environment. His chilling testimonies from Matthew 24—the signs of the end of days—should sweep through and eventually overtake their imaginations as they scrutinize their surroundings repeatedly day by day. Cyril intends his

baptizands' perceptual relationship with their environment to change as they continue to progress in their watch. Jerusalem's surroundings—an area that initially seems simple and straightforward—will with time begin to bend to follow the contours of his apocalyptic eschatology. To that end, Cyril devotes several chapters to provide a thorough list of apocalyptic guideposts for the baptized and those preparing for baptism:

> For it is not a history of things that have happened, but a prophecy of things that are to come and will certainly happen. We are not prophets (for we are unworthy), but we bring out before [everyone] what has been written, and we speak about the signs. See what sort of things have already happened, what sort of things still remain.[23]

Cyril names five signs of the end of days; he draws them all from the well-known Matthean passage, and as he progresses in his explanation his outlook continues to darken. The first warning (echoing Matt. 24:4–5) serves to advance Cyril's strategy of deepening the divide between insiders (righteous) and outsiders (unrighteous); he draws upon Jesus's warning: "Look out so that no one should mislead you. For many will come in my name, declaring, 'I am Christ,' and they will lead many astray."[24] Cyril provides a deeper context for this warning; naming Simon Magus and Menander as "ungodly heresiarchs," he offers a model of others who had sought to trick Christians in the past.[25] The devil's efforts to trick and confuse true Christians about the right path began soon after the resurrection and have continued throughout the centuries; Cyril insists that baptizands should expect other false Christs to arrive in their own age. Whether or not this time was the time of the Eschaton, deceit-driven opponents are certain to arrive.

The second sign (Matt. 24:7) relates to the occurrence of wars; Cyril claims that the current battles between the Romans and the Persians fulfill the prophecy.[26] The third sign (Matt. 24:7) pertains to the many natural disasters that will occur; Cyril also points to many calamities that have already come to pass.[27] The fourth sign involves the many who, consumed with hate, will betray each other (Matt. 24:10), and once again Cyril seizes upon this opportunity to gesture toward the dividing lines between true and false Christians, righteous and unrighteous, insiders and outsiders. Beyond establishing such divisions, Cyril declares that the simple fact of conflict and contestation indicates the beginning of the end. In the increasing visibility of ecclesiastical hostilities Cyril can easily claim a potentially violent sign of the end of days: "If you should hear that there have been bishops against bishops, clergy against clergy, people against people until blood is drawn, do not be disturbed. For it has been prophesied. Do not carefully attend to the things that are happening, but that they have been written."[28] The fifth sign (Matt. 24:14) pertains to the universal reach of the Christian message; throughout his lectures Cyril mentions the great number of populations who have converted to Christianity. In *Catech. illum.* 16.22, for example, Cyril claims that all of Palestine and the Roman

Empire have been filled with Christians; there are large Christian populations among the Indians, Goths, Samaritans, Moors, Libyans, and Ethiopians as well. Of these five signs, Cyril places heavy emphasis on the appearance of false messiahs and prophets who will flood Jerusalem seeking to seduce the elect. This, together with the fourth sign—an upsurge in polarizing ecclesiastical hostility—reveals Cyril's dedication to imposing deep divisions among the population. As we know, this is a key factor in catastrophic millennialism.

In *Catech. illum.* 15, Cyril utterly abandons the all-embracing, optimistic imagery of *Catech. illum.* 13 and instead turns to describe the period of tribulation (*thlipsis*).[29] If this time is at hand—the era of pain and torment before Christ's return—then the baptized must learn to recognize Satan himself and the antichrist in Jerusalem. Once again, in the ongoing search for (and possible identification of) these two enemies, baptizands perform and make real the divide that Cyril describes: as baptizands continue to look for any who might seek to mislead them, they engage in a practice that cleaves their surrounding population in two, each baptizand marking differentiations and differences that organize and substantiate the divine versus demonic, righteous versus unrighteous, honest versus deceitful. Their repetitious act of judging produces a series of dualities that organize populations both local and translocal—all of which map onto a primary division of Self versus Other. With this in mind, it is significant that Cyril admonishes the baptized to keep watch for deceitful enemies of Christ who are flooding Jerusalem and his congregation right now; many people will claim to be Christ or to know the true Christ.[30] These men and women will fervently proselytize strangers as well as friends and family. People must labor to select trustworthy companions from among those who stand in exact agreement with the true Creed. Cyril counsels that the slightest divergence from the doctrine that he teaches could prove fatal; Satan can take advantage of the smallest creedal infraction. Using his "signs and lying wonders," the devil can transform a momentary lapse into incendiary heresy.[31] Heretical manifestations, once reserved for the easily identifiable terrain of distant ecclesiastical squabbles or even the outer streets of Jerusalem, have moved closer to home; a neighbor, a close friend, or a fellow congregant can be the perfect vessel for the injection of deleterious poison into the belly of the Jerusalemite church:

> While earlier the heretics were apparent, now the church is filled with hidden heretics. And so people are standing apart from the truth and are itching in their hearing. Is this speech persuasive? Everyone listens to it happily. Does the speech lead any turning around? All are turning away. Many have moved away from orthodox words. Rather, they choose the evil instead of preferring the good. The apostasy is here, and the enemy will be expected. Already to a certain degree [the enemy] has begun sending forth his vanguard, so that he could arrive ready for the chase [after his prey]. Look to your soul, and guard your soul. The church now charges you before the

living God; before this happens, the church informs you concerning the plans of the antichrist. If this will happen to you during your lifetime, we do not know. But it is good to be informed of these things beforehand.[32]

Eschatological urgency forces Cyril to counsel in this manner. Heretics are waiting for the proper moment to infect the entire community; they might even now be hidden among the congregants within the church and their community. The problem, of course, is that the enemy now knows how to disguise himself or herself. We can imagine the force of Cyril's words, compelling listeners to look nervously at those standing next to them as Cyril asks, "Do not lips frequently kiss, and the face smiles, and the eyes reveal their joy, while the heart is plotting guile, and the man is getting ready to let out evil words?"[33] As Cyril explains, if a congregant naively trusts such a person and chooses to bring the person into the fold, the congregant's actions could undermine the Christian *pistis* that the entire Jerusalemite community has labored assiduously to build. With Christ's return likely to happen any time, the community must forge a tight protective net around itself to defend against such threats. Until Christ's return they must maintain and enforce a clear boundary to protect insiders from predatory outsiders; when Christ finally does arrive, he will come to judge everyone, rewarding the righteous and punishing the unrighteous.

In drawing a strict boundary between insiders and outsiders, Cyril encourages a self-policing environment that is similar to John Chrysostom's efforts in his *Adversus Judaeos* homilies. Like Chrysostom, in constructing frightening portraits of the harbingers of the Eschaton that echo 1 John's warnings of false messiahs, false Christs, and the antichrist, Cyril surrounds his baptizands with harrowing images that establish the need to defend congregational borders. Yet this imagery could easily also slip into the promotion of active violence against anyone he identifies as the enemy. As discussed above, Catherine Wessinger argues that radical dualization is one of the primary attributes of catastrophic millennialism. By organizing populations into a dichotomous organization that does not define merely difference or distance but rather conflict and contestation, Cyril situates his baptizands in a frangible relation with the outside world. A small, even negligible, catalyst is all that Cyril's baptizands require to move from a tentative détente to active violence.

What might explain the sudden intensification of Cyril's eschatological outlook in *Catech. illum.* 15? How might his escalation from progressive millennialism in *Catech. illum.* 13 to catastrophic millennialism in *Catech. illum.* 15 affect the day-to-day social dynamics of the community? How can we account for Cyril's introduction of such a sharp apocalyptic eschatology into the intimacy of the baptizand community—especially an eschatology that could inevitably produce a hostile, defensive view toward outsiders? In his other lectures, Cyril declares his firm belief

that Jerusalem will be the location of Christ's return; he describes the city's eminence and presents its role in the Eschaton as a duty of the Jerusalemite see. Only here in *Catech. illum.* 15, however, does Cyril actually write of the age immediately preceding Christ's return. Here he succumbs to a fear-driven urgency; he writes of a darkened era that will rip through and potentially destroy the Holy City before Christ returns to bring salvation to its elect. Moreover, he warns that if his audience is not careful there will be a period of time in which the antichrist will arrive and infect the Jerusalemite community.

The eschatological difference between *Catech. illum.* 15 and the rest of the catechetical lectures (especially the entirety of *Catech. illum.* 13) is palpable. In this lecture, imminent feelings of persecution have emboldened Cyril to issue urgent warnings that expose a dualistic structure of insiders versus outsiders; he also warns of a conflict with powerful and demonic enemies that may already be under way. Apocalyptic eschatology weighs much more heavily in *Catech. illum.* 15 also: as the bright, optimistic images of the end of days that he has earlier portrayed darken significantly, he dwells far less on the joy of Christ's return. He fixates instead on the terror and anxiety associated with the preceding age of judgment and punishment. Moreover, a thick, suffocating pessimism enters Cyril's imagery to help carve a sharp and unrelenting divide between Self and Other. What, if anything, might account for the shift?

Robert D. Baird uses the term "ultimate concern" in his definition of religion: religion as *ultimate concern* defines the goal, drive, or principle that is more important than all else in the universe to a particular person or group.[34] In speaking of the violent drive behind millennial groups, Wessinger borrows the phrase. Catastrophic millennial groups can continue their stubbornly vague prognostications of tribulation and end time as long as the community and its leaders do not encounter conflict with cultural opponents, what Wessinger describes as "repeated disconfirmation."[35] In other words, in a situation where a group feels despair about meeting the ultimate goal, continued persecution or obstacles will not lead to the group's abandoning the ultimate concern. Rather, such persecution or obstacles embolden the "millennial group's dualism and perception of being locked in a conflict with powerful and demonic enemies."[36] Wessinger explains:

> If the group members are pushed to the point of despair about the success of their goal they will not abandon their ultimate concern but instead they will be motivated to take desperate actions to preserve it. A catastrophic millennial group that feels it is persecuted may bring the date for the end closer. Such groups make adjustments in their theologies and actions in response to events. Factors internal to the group, such as having an already endangered ultimate concern, possessing a radical dualistic worldview and hiding criminal secrets, can make members of a catastrophic millennial group extremely sensitive, so that even minimal cultural opposition will be viewed as persecution.[37]

Wessinger's use of the concept of ultimate concern offers a persuasive means of understanding the drastic change in Cyril's apocalyptic eschatology in *Catech. illum.* 15. What remains is to uncover the catalyst for such a shift. What within Cyril's life could have the requisite gravity to account for the darkening shift in his eschatological outlook? What helps to explain Cyril's sudden, ultimately protective, dualistic expressions: e.g., insider versus outsider, spiritual versus demonic (or demondriven), righteous versus unrighteous? In what follows we will consider the potential likelihood that Cyril's repeated exiles might explain the changes in *Catech. illum.* 15.

## A BISHOP OF MANY EXILES

Cyril comes to the episcopal see under the patronage of Acacius probably in 350, indeed perhaps as late as the early months of 351, according to Jan Willem Drijvers.[38] This is not the place to discuss in detail the controversies surrounding Cyril's election as bishop; it must suffice to say that any good relations that may have existed between Acacius and Cyril in the earliest period of Cyril's episcopacy disintegrate very quickly as the latter's ambitions for Jerusalem become clear. Acacius soon begins looking for a way to retake control of the see. The Caesarean does not have to look for long.

In 354 or 355 Jerusalem and the surrounding area are suffering horribly from famine, which induces the poor to beg Cyril for relief. According to textual evidence, in order to purchase food for those suffering from the famine the naive bishop sells a robe given by Constantine to Macarius; the emperor's gift to the church is later recognized when it is worn by a stage performer. This provides the pretext for Acacius and his episcopal entourage to depose Aelia's young bishop, probably around 357.[39] For two years Cyril refuses to appear before a synod of Palestinian bishops tasked with determining his guilt or innocence in the matter of inappropriately selling church property. Eventually he is deposed in absentia, and Eutychius of Eleutheropolis takes over his episcopal role.

While living under the protection of Silvanus in Tarsus in the aftermath, Cyril appeals to Constantius II for a hearing under a secular judge for the injustices he has suffered. In September 359 he is finally heard during a meeting in Seleucia. The synod, which is to discuss doctrinal matters as well as irregularities in the cases of other deposed bishops, proves to be a surprisingly ideal arrangement for Cyril. In his association with Silvanus, Cyril finds himself part of a new network of likeminded homoiousians now located outside of Palestine. When the Acacian party is deposed and excommunicated temporarily, Cyril is reinstalled without opposition or further delay and manages to enjoy a very brief respite as Jerusalem's bishop—until further complications arise.[40]

Acacius travels directly to Constantius II to relay the story of Cyril's alleged role in selling church property. That, of course, is all that is required: an order for exile

is issued by the emperor himself. Before Cyril has a chance to settle in at home, he is deposed once again by the Council of Constantinople in 360.[41] This exile does not last long, however. Constantius's death brings Julian to the throne for a reign that will wreak havoc on the entire church. Initially, it proves a favorable omen for our troubled bishop. Despite spending more of the previous decade outside Jerusalem than in it, Cyril returns in 361 to find a loyal community. According to Drijvers, "Cyril was popular with the people of Jerusalem since Irenaeus seems to have given over his see to Cyril without the slightest resistance"; they provide a "sound powerbase" in Cyril's bishopric as he then turns to the task of building Jerusalem's position.[42]

Intriguing possibilities emerge if we consider that *Catech. illum.* 15 may have been delivered after Cyril's return in either 359 or 361. Whether we are dealing with two or four years in exile, Cyril has had time to grow in his wariness of the episcopal authority in Caesarea and the amount of influence Acacius has managed to establish over the Jerusalem community. Which clergy (priests, exorcists, and deacons) now serve as Acacian proxies in Cyril's ecclesiastical organization? Can Cyril be sure that all within his community are in sync with his view of Christian identity in the Holy City of Jerusalem? Although Drijvers leans toward the proposal that all the lectures date from the same year, he does not rule out the possibility they are delivered year to year and thus bear the mark of modification and updating. In fact, the lectures are recorded in shorthand as they are delivered, according to manuscript notes; the manuscript instructions indicate that Cyril relies on an *ex tempore* presentation style. Some have suggested that the lectures may not have been published until the late fourth century and therefore that the catechetical lectures, are not a fixed, closed text until that point. This reading of the textual construction of Cyril's lectures opens up a number of possibilities as we begin to examine the development of Jerusalem-based apocalyptic eschatology in his worldview. Thus both possibilities are plausible: either *Catech. illum.* 15 bears optimistic eschatological content (a form of progressive millenniallism) when it is delivered originally with the rest of the lectures in 350 and then upon his return from exile(s) Cyril redacts it (i.e., intensifying the eschatology from progressive to catastrophic), or *Catech. illum.* 15, as an entirely new composition after his exile, wholly reflects Cyril's caution regarding the welfare of his community, so long under Acacian control.

In what follows, we will consider the latter possibility: that Cyril delivers *Catech. illum.* 15 soon after he returns from either his first exile in 359 or his second exile in 361. Thus Cyril's concern that another episcopal power has inserted himself (or themselves) deeply into his Jerusalemite community during his absence initiates the shift to catastrophic millennialism in his thinking. In response, Cyril devises a means of regaining control over his community through a series of steps that he discusses in this catechesis. First and foremost, and what we have already

discussed, he creates radical dualizing imagery to provide baptizands and baptized with a means of imposing a clarifying order upon the congregation, the wider local population of Jerusalem, and the even more expansive translocal population of the empire; he arranges people strictly in terms of the following coordinating dichotomies: the righteous versus the unrighteous, the orthodox versus the heterodox, the divine versus the demonic, the insider versus the outsider, and the self versus the other. Naming the dualisms is an essential first step. However, Cyril moves quickly beyond this to underscore the dire nature of their situation: not only is the end of days imminent, perhaps already underway but a harrowing diabolism attached to that period is certainly now falling upon them. Cyril allows the prophetic voice from 2 Thessalonians 2:3–10 to speak directly to his audience:

> Then if any man will say you, Lo, here is the Christ, or, Lo, there; believe it not. Hatred of the brethren makes room next for the Antichrist; for the devil prepares beforehand the divisions among the people, that he who is to come may be acceptable to them. But God forbid that any of Christ's servants here, or elsewhere, should run over to the enemy! Writing concerning this matter, the Apostle Paul gave a manifest sign, saying, For that day shall not come, except there comes first the apostasy, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself against all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sits in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Do you not remember that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now you know that which restrains, to the end that he may be revealed in his own season. For the mystery of iniquity does already work, only there is one that restrains now, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall the lawless one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming, even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceit of unrighteousness for them that are perishing.[43]

Though Cyril does not declare unequivocally that they have entered into the final days, 2 Thessalonians 2–10 frames their predicament in such a manner that baptizands now totter on a precipice between ecclesiastical strife indicative of normal linear time, although heightened and dangerous, and the eschatological era of tribulation (*thlipsis*).[44]

Tribulationist eschatology is an effective means of building invisible but impenetrable walls around a religious community; it separates congregants from the outside world while insulating a leader's own link to his followers. It is also an effective means of diverting attention from one's shortcomings—a point we will return to below. Logic suggests that the more elaborate and frightening the antichrist (or antichrists) in the rhetoric, the more threatening the external competition in actuality. The tribulationist rallying cry to split the world into the simplistic structure of right and wrong, divine and demonic, and insiders and outsiders only grows

louder and more insistent as the threat of ecclesiastical (or in Cyril's case episcopal) competition intensifies. The potential danger of tribulation helps to underscore the importance for the baptized, as apocalyptic seers, to go beyond an initial acknowledgement of dividing dualisms; they must further engage in the practice of spiritual discernment—testing the spiritual nature of individuals whom they may suspect within the congregation. Their mission to discern deceitful, wretched spirits is imperative. Cyril implicitly gestures toward 1 John 4—a text that instructs listeners to test other members of the community:

> Beloved, do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits (*dokimazete ta pneumata*) to see whether they are from God; for many false prophets (*pseudoprophētai*) have gone out into the world. By this you know the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is from God, and every spirit that does not confess Jesus is not from God. And this is the spirit of the antichrist, of which you have heard that it is coming; and now it is already in the world.[45]

Cyril's repeated references to deceitful and errant spirits hidden within the community suggest a dependence upon this passage. In *Catech. illum.* 4, similarly, Cyril warns of the coming of Satan, intent on deceit by appearing as an angel of light; he also frets about the coming of the antichrist, who wishes to lead astray those within the community searching for Christ. Consequently, Cyril directs his audience to see Christ with the eyes of their mind and hear Christ's living words from scripture: "Be careful that no one deceives you" (Mark 13:5; Matt. 24:4); he repeats this command of Christ three times before adding the accompanying scriptural words: "F*or there will be many in My name, saying, 'I am Christ,' and will mislead many.*"[46] As he makes quite clear, these are not simply words recorded in the gospels, but prophecy. In the end of *Catech. illum.* 4, Cyril directs his baptizands to determine which parts of this prophecy have already occurred: in other words, how many deceivers have managed to enter the congregation in Jerusalem, claiming to be members and in the process transforming the spirit of Jerusalem's church? In Christ's command that listeners protect themselves against deceit, we may presume Cyril's direction to listeners that they must test the spirits of those whom they encounter. A person's true intentions and motivations—the spirit of the mind—are invisible; in Cyril's admonishing words: "Do not lips frequently kiss, and the face smiles, and the eyes reveal their joy, while the heart is plotting guile, and the man is getting ready to let out evil words?"[47] Therefore, those in allegiance with Satan and the antichrist are able to deceive true Christians all too often. It is incumbent upon those preparing to assume the enveloping power of the Holy Spirit to fight back by uncovering or revealing those amid their numbers who attempt to hide a deceptive spirit.

Cyril redoubles the urgency of their situation in his description of what he suspects is happening at this time: that many have departed from the true path as the

time of the apostasy draws closer. In other words, large groups of individuals have already strayed from the true message of Christ: "Before, the heretics were apparent; but now the church is filled with hidden heretics."[48] This state of affairs increases the need for the baptizands to protect themselves, and to do so they need to know the true intentions of those surrounding them—in other words, those listening to Cyril need to learn how to discern the interior spirits (i.e., theological allegiance) of others. In light of this situation, Cyril insists that baptizands must determine the extent to which Satan's and the antichrist's scourge of deceit has infiltrated the community.

The text of 1 John provides the basic foundation and principles for testing spirits, and Cyril certainly has this text in mind. That said, Cyril draws upon a wide spectrum of similar early Christian literature to provide further guidance in developing his eschatological imagery, radical dualizing language, and mandate for testing spirits. For example, the *Didache* warns against wandering false prophets who seek to deceive a Christian community. To avoid this danger, a community must limit a prophet's visit to two days; if he requests three, he is assuredly a false prophet who does not "speak in the spirit" but, instead, desires to establish a subversive foothold in the community.[49] Intriguingly, the theme of testing is present in the *Didache* also—for those prophets "who speak in the Spirit" are to be neither tried nor judged. The author of the *Shepherd of Hermas* reflects the same dualistic structure in terms of a prophet's indwelling spirit—though there are far more details constructing the cleavage between the two.[50] There, too, the text discusses the necessity that Christians practice the testing of spirits. The false prophet, filled with the devil's earthly spirit, lies under a beguiling veneer of Christian truth. Discerning a prophet's cosmic patronage is not possible with reference to the message alone. A prophet's true character is detectable in his behavior. The divine prophet is humble, quiet, meek (*praus esti kai hēsychios kai tapeinophrōn*); he speaks only when the Holy Spirit moves him. By contrast, the false prophet speaks in opposite terms "because of a spirit foolish and empty" (*peri tou pneumatos tou epigeiou kai kenou*). Though his words are empty for the most part, a false prophet does manage a modicum of veracity: "For the devil fills him with his own spirit (*ho gar diabolos plēroi auton tōi autou pneumati*), so that he might be able to shatter those who are just." The one who is "possessed by an earthly spirit" (*eigeion esti to pneuma*) can gain command only over those who are doubtful in their faith. Such a false prophet (*ton prophētēn . . . ton pseudoprophētēn*) has absolutely no power to convince or sway someone firm in his faith—someone who is, therefore, in alliance with the Holy Spirit. In this view, only prophets speak Christ's truth; the rest are the devil's henchmen, and exceedingly vulnerable when matched in debate with a true prophet. In fact, false prophets' encounters with the prophets of the Holy Spirit frequently prove disastrous for the former:

When, therefore, [the Devil's spirit] comes into an assembly of righteous men who have a Spirit of Divinity, and they offer up prayer, that man is made empty, and the earthly spirit flees from him through fear, and that man is made dumb, and is entirely crushed, being unable to speak. For if you pack closely a storehouse with wine or oil, and put an empty jar in the midst of the vessels of wine or oil, you will find that jar empty as when you placed it, if you should wish to clear the storehouse. So also the empty prophets, when they come to the spirits of the righteous, are found [on leaving] to be such as they were when they came.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* is thus similar to Cyril's dogmatic presentation of the utter incompatibility between Spirit-endowed Christians and the demonic adherents of heresy, as well as any who follow the antichrist, and the need to stave off the influence of the antichrist by testing. In *Catech. illum.* 15, Cyril is inculcating baptizands in the basics of an important skill that they are able to perfect after baptism endows them with the Holy Spirit: the baptized Christian should be able to discern the spiritual nature of a person and act accordingly. Should a diabolic opponent come among Cyril's community and attempt to deceive, as an apocalyptic seer the baptized Christian will be able to see through to and reveal that person's true spiritual nature.

Cyril's insistence that people identify Satan's and the antichrist's heretics serves to strengthen the boundaries of the community; however, there is more that lurks within Cyril's feverish insistence that baptizands test the spirits of those around them in an effort to prepare for the antichrist's arrival. Abraham Malherbe has argued that when a leader's hold over his community is fragile, tirades detailing the antichrist's imminent arrival effectively deflect attention from that fragility.[51] Thus warnings of false prophets and false Christs such as we see in 1 John indicate a leader's fear of the competition. Following Malherbe's logic, Cyril's emphatic apocalyptic eschatology in *Catech. illum.* 15 points directly to his own concerns involving rival bishops and episcopal appointees. Both Cyril and the author of 1 John are fighting for authoritative control over their respective communities rather than seeking freedom from political or religious oppression. Moreover, Malherbe observes that by suddenly directing the audience's attention to heaven and hell or, in these cases, the Eschaton, a leader such as Cyril easily situates religious and political competition within a larger cosmological framework that promotes the greater spiritual struggle for eternal salvation; so too that leader distracts from any political competition by foregrounding a catastrophic millennialism that promotes the need to test spirits. A figure like Cyril thus uses fear of the antichrist to divert attention from his ecclesiastical insecurity. If we cast our minds back to the time of Cyril's return to his community, it is not too difficult to imagine his rising concern in the face of a community he no longer recognizes. Does he, for example, sense a congregation riven by theological conflict thanks to Acacius's influence?

While responses to many such questions will forever reside beyond our grasp, reading *Catech. illum.* 15 in light of Catherine Wessinger's concept of "catastrophic millennialism" offers speculative answers that tease the edges of plausibility. However, in light of the interpolations in Cyril's text, there are other possible targets—that is, potential antichrist identities—that we will now consider.

### THE AFTERMATH: JULIAN AND THE TEMPLE

As discussed above, in *Catech. illum.* 15 Cyril declares categorical, inflexible divisions between the righteous and the unrighteous, which the final days of trial will delineate. Moreover, there will be much to judge. Sin has inundated the world with theft and corruption, contaminating the earth.[52] Every deed of man has been recorded; and just as there will be unending reward, there will also be unending punishment. Implicit in Cyril's message is that divisions between the righteous and unrighteous will become clear early on in the Holy City. In Jerusalem, above all the places on earth, judgments must be settled before Christ's glorious return. Most importantly, then, it is imperative that baptized Christians in Jerusalem who possess spiritual power discern in whom evil or divinity resides.

Jerusalemite Christians can also expect an era of the antichrist to precede Christ's return. The enemy of Christ will have a very specific goal in mind: that he is able to deceive those preparing for baptism. A baptized Christian must be on his or her guard, cautious in every interaction. Already they all are in the age of fractious plots and deceit. As mentioned above, they have entered the age when "Satan transform[s] himself into an angel of light" to deceive the most devout.[53] The antichrist's time of arrival is unknown, and in fact it may have already occurred. In Cyril's opinion, current events are exhibiting unsettling signs.[54] Accordingly, the candidates must wait with a watchful eye.

Cyril's apocalyptic eschatology redefines his baptizands as a tightly knit group destined to stand against an inevitable antagonist. Cyril, however, is also precise when describing where one should expect to encounter Christ's enemies, as we have discussed above; hostile outsiders—demon-influenced imposters—will insinuate themselves within the Jerusalemite community. Perhaps this is already the case. Therefore the baptized members of Cyril's congregation (and those preparing for baptism) must be ready. If the present age proves to be the appointed time for the antichrist's reign of terror, they have to be on their guard, forever vigilant, searching for signs of the antichrist: the arrival of false messiahs and false Christs; a rise in heresy; a sudden upsurge in war, earthquakes, and earth-shattering storms. As baptized Christian soldiers—endowed with the Holy Spirit—they are the natural elect to discern these signs as something more than the natural flow of history; they should be able to recognize an anomalous current conveying a greater mes-

sage. Cyril is determined that the strongest and most courageous of the baptizands and baptized be prepared.

In this manner Cyril's congregation will create a solid and sealed community of insiders who stand in united stance against a darkened, demonic world of outsiders. As baptizands and the baptized engage in strategies of discernment, practicing mutual suspicion, a much darker world—and with much more at stake—slowly reveals itself. *Catech. illum.* 15 features Cyril's conceptualization of that part of the end of days known as the period of tribulation (*thlipsis*), as described in Matthew 24. He warns of a stint of terror, pain, and unimaginable suffering, all serving to usher in the arrival of Satan's own, the antichrist (1 Thess. 2 and 1 John). Wessinger would identify this abrupt shift in *Catech. illum.* 15 as the beginning of catastrophic millennialism.

The question finally arises, Could Cyril's congregation—a community affixed to a state of catastrophic millennialism—engage in physical violence? How easily might Cyril's community—conceivably ritually shaped and inculcated in such a worldview—succumb to violence? What set of circumstances might serve to ignite his Christians' aggression—especially in the context of interreligious conflict? Wessinger would respond that violence or violent action of some kind is a plausible reaction on the part of Cyril's congregation, especially if provoked. In what follows, we turn to a period of extreme and sudden conflict for Cyril's community: Julian's introduction of a plan to rebuild the temple of the Jews. We will review certain pieces of evidence to determine if Cyril's extreme tribulationist eschatology at the time may have led to interreligious violence in Jerusalem.

### VIOLENCE IN JERUSALEM: IN THE HEAT OF SPIRITUAL WARFARE?

Oded Irshai has suggested that chapters 11–17 of *Catech. illum.* 15 are a wholesale interpolation that speaks directly to Julian's failed attempt to rebuild the temple.[55] Most disturbingly, these chapters place an antichrist directly in the Jewish temple. To be clear, this is not the ambiguous, somewhat blurred antichrist we are accustomed to see in New Testament literature. Cyril describes the antichrist in explicit terms that remind the audience of Julian's interest in Neoplatonic theurgy—or the more pejorative way of referring to his religio-ritual practice, i.e., *magika:*

> In the beginning, as though someone learned and cultured, he pretended to be both moderate and kind. By deceiving the Jews as the Christ they have been waiting for through signs and the false wonders of deceptive magic; [the enemy] will be subsequently marked by all the wicked deeds, desolate and transgressive; after conquering all of the unjust and transgressive who are before him, he bears a murderous, relentless, unmerciful, mottled thought against everyone, but most especially us Christians.[56]

We agree with Irshai's overall argument: that chapters 11–17 reflect with unmistakable detail events related to Julian's failed plans to rebuild the temple as well as character traits tied to the emperor himself. Nevertheless, our reading moves in a slightly different direction than Irshai's interolation theory. We propose that Cyril redacts only certain portions of the fifteenth catechesis, specifically those passages that dwell upon the character and purpose of the antichrist. Therefore, Cyril is only sharpening the lines of an already existing pessimism; in this way, he sharpens the divide between insiders and outsiders in their inculcation not only of Christian identity but also religious positionality in relation to the various kinds of non-Christians in Jerusalem.

Let us first take a closer look at chapters 11–17 in the context of the lecture as a whole. Irshai views chapters 11–17 as a discrete unit that comprises a wholesale interpolation into *Catech. illum.* 15—which as far as we can determine was composed at the same time as the rest of the catecheses, in Irshai's view. The majority of these chapters paint a portrait of the antichrist in Julianic hues. Oded Irshai captures the purpose and effect of Cyril's condemning characterization quite well.[57]

There is no doubt that Cyril molds the antichrist in chapters 11–17 after the wayward emperor. However, while Irshai is correct in this matter, we would also point out that we encounter the antichrist much earlier in chapters 4 and 9 and also later in chapter 21. Therefore the antichrist passages, which provide an essential foundation to tribulationist theology and cosmology in the Christian church, extend beyond the chapters relating specifically to Julian. Furthermore, while the word *tribulation* is mentioned in chapter 16—one of the chapters Oded Irshai mentions—this event is the fifth in the series of Matthean end-of-days signs that spans almost the entire length of the lecture.[58] Rather than wholesale interpolation, then, I propose that Cyril intensifies and personalizes tribulationist/antichristic passages that already stand within the text. Cyril's additions serve to increase the Julianic character of the antichrist as well as tie the antichrist's actions to the specific efforts of Julian to build the temple.

Finally, then, when are these changes added? Irshai is surely correct that Cyril adds chapters 11–17 a year or more after the event. In Irshai's words, "Cyril's Antichrist is a Roman king who usurped the throne. He is a *Homo Magicus,* a person initiated into magic practices, thus echoing Julian's active participation in magical practices, which was part of the *cultus deorum* in his brand of the Neoplatonic cult."[59] Irshai suggests that this section, as a *vaticinium ex eventu,* is inserted into the lecture a year after the events surrounding the temple, adding that "Cyril's eschatological proof shifted the polemics with Judaism from the past to the future, from history to eschatology, and gave the Christians of Jerusalem a new and deeper sense to their mission."[60]

In fact, upon hearing and fearing Julian's plan Cyril undoubtedly touches upon the topic in some manner. In his position as Jerusalem's and the Holy Sepulchre's

bishop he is obligated to respond. Furthermore, if we accept that Cyril has already been preaching in the more extreme tribulationist worldview of *Catech. illum.* 15 since his return from exile, the pessimist worldview has been a part of the community's literature and baptismal cycle for quite some time. It is not beyond the pale that such a worldview would easily induce Cyril to speak of Julian in especially harsh terms. In light of this reading, then, *Catech. illum.*15 may represent a steady intensification of a pessimistic eschatology—one in which tribulationist cosmology and theology progressively move from a discussion of imminent future probability (after Cyril's return from exile) to present eschatological reality (in response to Julian's plans).

Wessinger's model suggests that violence on the part of Cyril and his community would be a more probable outcome than tolerance during these tense few months in Jerusalem. It would take very little to push Cyril over the precipice and into a headlong fall into some kind of aggressive action. In fact, we do have a rather large, unavoidable sign catapulting all the actors in Jerusalem onto a much larger cosmological stage: an earthquake in May 363 that puts a decisive stop to all of Julian's plans for rebuilding the Jerusalem temple.

In the autumn of 362, Julian decides to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem. In the early months of 363, preparations are begun under the supervision of Alypius of Antioch, who formerly served as vice-prefect for Britain.[61] The project comes to an abrupt end because of earthquakes that hit the entire region, after which construction is never resumed. The existing record of events presents a far more dramatic account, however. Ammianus Marcellinus describes "terrifying balls of flame [that] kept bursting forth near the foundations of the temple, and made the place inaccessible to the workmen, some of whom were burned to death."[62] Christian authors are even more creative, particularly in their anti-Judaizing portrayal of events. Gregory of Nazianzus is especially abrasive in his characterization of Christian-hating Jews who had immediately followed Julian's orders, their women selling their own jewelry to further construction. Gregory describes the torrential storms and trembling earth that terrorize Jewish workers who seek refuge in the churches in Jerusalem, while "the doors remained closed as though some kind of invisible power had barred their opening."[63] Ephrem the Syrian explains that the Christians had prayed to God to stop the temple project, and God complies by sending earthquakes, storms, and thunderbolts; a fire breaks out at the temple foundations; many Jews are burned; and the clothes of many more are branded with the sign of a cross, which also appears in the sky above the city.[64]

But what of Cyril's own reaction to these events? As we have already discussed, *Catech. illum.* 15.11–17 stands as evidence that he does manage some form of reaction. Cyril casts Julian in the role of the antichrist, a role the apostate emperor is well suited to play. The redacted chapters blend well with the lecture as a whole and with other places where Cyril develops a construction of the antichrist in close

reference to the New Testament. Up to this moment in time, according to Cyril, Satan has maneuvered more subtly, though ineffectually, through Simon Magus, Marcion, Valentinus, Mani, and their heretical descendants. At this point, however, Satan has realized that his own punishment will no longer be delayed; consequently, he will "no longer fight war through his ministers in the traditional way, but in person."[65] The antichrist will be Satan's chosen means of destroying Christ's elect. The antichrist will deploy every deceit and illusion that can possibly sway and corrupt Jews; inevitably he will take aim at Christians themselves.

> At first, posing as a learned and prudent man, he will pretend to be moderate and benevolent; he will take in the Jews as their hoped-for Messiah by deceitful signs and wonders of his magical craft. Afterwards he will be so marked by the variety of his cruel and lawless crimes as to surpass all the workers against all men, but especially against us Christians.[66]

In these few passages Cyril describes with fastidious detail the antichrist's stint in Jerusalem. He will call himself Christ to seduce the Jews. He will trick people into believing he can raise the dead, heal the lame, and give sight to the blind.[67] His magical illusions will delude the Jews into accepting him as their messiah. Satan's last dragon will make his appearance in Jerusalem. Drawing again on the mention of the temple of God in 2 Thessalonians 2:4, which he mentions in *Catech. illum.* 15.9, Cyril describes how the antichrist will exploit and defile Judaism with his arrival:

> [He will give] the suspicious impression that [the enemy] is the one born from the Davidic line who will rebuild the Solomonic temple. But then the antichrist arrives when in the temple of the Jews, not stone on top of a stone should remain according to the declaration of the savior. For when the decay of time or demolition with a view to rebuilding, or other causes, have overthrown all the stones of both the outer circuit and the inner shrine of the cherubim, the antichrist will appear amid all signs and lying wonders.[68]

Surprisingly, to date only a few scholars besides Irshai have recognized that these passages are a later interpolation reflecting the crisis in 363. And only Irshai has considered the purpose or function of casting both Julian and Jews in an apocalyptic framework; more importantly, he is also the only scholar who has drawn attention to the strong anti-Judaizing tone of the passages.

What purpose does Cyril's antichrist serve, especially one allied tightly with Jerusalem's Jewish community? How does his Christian Jerusalemite audience react to what he unveils for them in chapters 11–17? To answer these questions, we first have to understand what exactly he is attempting to convey with his sharp and vivid images of an antichrist who is enthralling Jews on the Temple Mount in 363. Does he project frightful images of the antichrist to generate some kind of near-

miss catharsis in the aftermath of Julian's disaster, as Irshai seems to suggest as one possibility? Can we then imagine a communal sigh of relief for a Jewish temple that has once again failed to rise on the long-barren Temple Mount?[69] More to the point, can we imagine Jerusalemite Christians content with mere condemnation of the enemy (i.e., Jews) when they have been living so near the moment of Christ's return for perhaps the past two years? Perhaps they allow the recent past to arrange their imminent eschatological future as one of Christ's return, another possibility also suggested by Irshai? Or is something else happening in these passages? These passages portray Julian in an extravagantly mythologized guise and position him in an awkwardly stretched cosmogony. Is Cyril expending such discursive labor to craft an emperor as the antichrist par excellence simply to subordinate the events of the recent past to possibilities of an unwritten future? What exactly happened in that past? Can this also be a project involving the rewriting of that past as well?

A Syriac manuscript known as Harvard Syriac 99, discovered in the 1970s, contains a letter ascribed to Cyril.[70] The letter is dated with a particular date—May 19, 363—and the author claims to be a witness offering an account of Julian's failed Jerusalem temple project. From the moment of its discovery this text has sparked complicated debates regarding authorship, manuscript tradition, and so forth; as a result it has remained on the sidelines in scholarship dealing with the Temple Mount, Cyril's episcopacy, Julian's project in Jerusalem, and related topics. While scholars correctly deny genuine Cyrillian authorship, still the question of Cyril's or the Cyrillian community's influence remains and grows. The question of local oral tradition has arisen to guide recent discussion regarding whether or not any traces of such influence may in fact date back to Cyril's period as bishop and witness to Julian's project.

Before we delve into the debate about the date of the letter, it is worth quoting portions of the letter that are relevant to our discussion:

(6) At the outset, when they wanted to lay the foundations of the Temple on the Sunday previous to the earthquake, there were strong winds and storms, with the result that they were unable to lay the Temple's foundations that day. It was on that very night that the great earthquake occurred, and we were all in the Church of the Confessors, engaged in prayer. After this we left to go to the Mount of Olives, which is situated to the east of Jerusalem, where our Lord was raised to His glorious Father. We went out into the middle of the city, reciting a psalm, and we passed the graves of the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, and we besought the Lord of the prophets that, through the prayers of His prophets and apostles, His truth might be seen by His worshippers in the face of the audacity of the Jews, who had crucified Him. (7) Now they (sc. the Jews), wanting to imitate us, were running to the place where their synagogue usually gathered, and they found the synagogue doors closed. . . . And the entire populace, Jew and Christian alike, cried out with one voice, saying, "There is but one God, one Christ, who is victorious"; and the entire people rushed off and tore

down the idols and (pagan) altars that were in the city, glorifying and praising Christ, and confessing that He is the Son of the Living God. And they drove out the demons of the city, and the Jews, and the whole city received the sign of baptism, Jews as well as many pagans, all together, so that we thought that there was not a single person left in the city who had not received the sign or mark of the living Cross in heaven. And it instilled great fear in all. (8) And the entire people thought that, after these signs which our Saviour gave us in His Gospel, the fearful (second) coming of the day of resurrection had arrived. With trembling of great joy we received something of the sign of Christ's crucifixion, and whosoever did not believe in his mind found his clothes openly reprove[d] him, having the mark of the cross stained on them.[71]

Sebastian Brock, who edited and translated the letter, has argued that, although the manuscript seems to have been written in 1899, its contents are a forgery dating from the early sixth century. Nonetheless, he contends that the letter is related in some way to Jerusalem and Cyril, in light of its similarities to the apocalyptic tenor of Cyril's *Catech. illum.* 15.15.[72] Philip Wainright disagreed with Brock's conclusions and offered a counterview in an article published in 1986; he concluded that the letter should be included as part of Cyril's corpus and should be seen as "an important source that sheds new light on this strange episode."[73] Despite Wainwright's arguments, however, until quite recently the letter has languished, primarily because of these prickly problems of date and authorship—that is, until Drijvers's study of Cyril. Drjivers has insisted—correctly in my view—on bringing the letter into the wider socioreligious conversation regarding Jerusalem in the later fourth century, and even into the discussion of what we may be able to glean about the events in 363: "Although it is not very likely that the letter as we have it goes back to an original by Cyril, parts of it may well have a Jerusalem origin and bring us close to Cyril."[74] Drijvers adds: "It is . . . hard to imagine that Cyril, especially in view of the connection he developed between Jerusalem and the cross, as well as the threatening effect a restored Temple would have had on the Jerusalem Christian community and his own episcopal see, was not somehow influential to the authorship of the text."[75] Stopping short of asserting that this is a true Cyrillian text, he proposes instead that it was written by someone who was closely acquainted with Cyril's episcopacy. If we accept Drijvers's assessment, we have an important witness to Cyril's involvement in the events of that time. This letter stands as illuminating testimony, especially when read in relation to the apocalyptic warnings Cyril provides to baptizands regarding the arrival of the antichrist.

What specifically, then, might we glean from this curious letter—if anything at all? For our own purposes, it is worth remembering our warning at the outset—we are engaged in a speculative and imaginative exercise within historical inquiry. To that end, we will also restrain our answer to the mere suggestion of its historical veracity rather than attempt to use it to provide strong supportive evidence for the details of our argument. The end goal here is to spark further consideration

and contemplation rather than to produce a conclusive answer. So, then, if we adhere only to the large question of Christian violence, what does the letter portray? Leaving aside the supernatural mark of the sign of the cross, the letter shows a rather frightening scene of physical conflict that takes place in the wake of the confusion—but the kind of violence that the author(s) of the letter ascribes to all of those in Jerusalem—aimed against pagan statuary, not against each other. People of all religious backgrounds unite out of fear, convert miraculously, and partake in a common rampage of violence against the pagan statuary. Is it possible that this account actually represents the slightest shadow of past actuality?

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# Ambrose and Milan

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# Ambrose and Nicene Demoniacs

## *Charismatic Christianity Inside and Outside Milan*

On June 17, 386, members of Ambrose's congregation declare that they wish the newest extramural church, the Ambrosiana, to have relics. The church that has just been consecrated by Ambrose is one of a small group that the bishop had built—all are outside the city walls, and all have relics. Soon after his congregation's request, the bishop experiences "a rush of presentiment."[1] He then goes to the martyrium of Saints Nabor and Felix in the Hortus Philippi, just outside of Milan.[2] While a "rush of presentiment" brings the bishop Ambrose and his retinue to their knees before the grating of the martyrium, something else confirms the sacrality of that particular spot. As Ambrose relates, "When certain persons were led forward in order that I might lay my hands on them [in blessing], the holy martyrs started driving away [the evil spirit]; consequently, before I had uttered a word one woman was seized and thrown forward at the holy burial place."[3]

Ambrose meets this sudden display of demonic possession with a decisive response. He orders his clergy to begin to dig. Within minutes, the large and bloody bones of Protasius and Gervasius are unearthed. The relics immediately demonstrate their power.[4] Not only is a blind butcher healed, but over the next two days several spontaneous outbursts of demonic possession and exorcism also occur. Each features the possessing demon loudly proclaiming not only the holy power of the martyrs but the ultimate and unalterable power inherent in the Nicene Creed. Inevitably, Ambrose orders the antidemonic, anti-Arian relics to be reinterred under the altar in his own church, the Ambrosiana. Ambrose assures his audience that the bones of Protasius and Gervasius will continue to protect the Ambrosiana as well as the city of Milan from what Ambrose defines as the intertwined threat of Arian invasion and demonic contamination.

Modern scholars have been understandably drawn to this event. It presents an intriguing contrast to Ambrose's identity as Milan's erudite and accomplished bishop who has masterfully navigated through the storm introduced to Milan by the imperial family just a few months earlier in the spring of 386. When Valens and Justina insist that they take possession of at least one church, the Portiana, for their use, Ambrose handles their challenge with an impressive dexterity in rhetorical performance and theological argument. This is Ambrose of Milan, after all: poster bishop for the resurrection of the Christianized late classical city. He presents the perfect model of Roman ideals in ecclesiastical cloth; using nothing more than a bishop's theologically edged *parrhēsia,* he is capable of bringing the emperor Theodosius to kneel in a pose of redemptive supplication. How might scholars reconcile the contrast in Ambrose's charismatic performance during the discovery of the relics with his overall image as episcopal sophisticate? How might they resolve the paradox that arises between these two contrasting Ambrosian figures?

In this, the final chapter of *City of Demons,* we propose that the apparent irreconcilable disparity that scholars have sensed when considering Ambrose as both the accomplished episcopal leader and the charismatic prophet and exorcist is in fact a figment of the modern interpreter's imagination. Catherine Chin has observed that "the complex series of events in Milan in this period has often been analyzed as an early statement of what would later become the relation between church and state."[5] In other words, scholars have followed a rather straightforward path of sociopolitical interpretation in their reading of the basilica crisis as well as the discovery of Protasius and Gervasius. Ascribing political motivations to Ambrose, a number have implied that he consciously decides to take on the role of charismatic prophet, and as with all of his episcopal endeavors he performs masterfully. In other words, Ambrose has been portrayed as somehow capable of standing apart from but quite aware of the enchanted worldview that has engulfed those accompanying him. Thus he possesses an uncanny ability to manipulate events to the advantage of the Nicene church in Milan.

A modern, secularizing, and disenchanting lens has limited our access to the environment and the world where the events took place in late June, 386 CE. Consequently, earlier readings are incomplete and leave much unexplored. To supplement and thus balance our understanding, we should contextualize the discovery of Protasius and Gervasius within the enchanted environment and animistic atmosphere that pervades Milan in the late fourth century. As it stands, scholars have focused intently—but to a varying degree anachronistically and thus myopically—on the evidence. Their readings fail to take into account aspects integral to the full late antique perspective; moreover, in some cases, modern interpretations can foster additional misreading.

For example, the events in Milan during what is called the crisis over the basilicas in the spring of 386 CE are familiar to many.[6] It is most assuredly the case that

the spring debacle pertains to a conflict regarding the physical and legal posses-sion of ecclesiastical buildings; however, as we will argue in this chapter, this mod-ern description of the problem also misdirects our attention from other, perhaps more profound, dimensions of the struggle between the Nicene and Arian fac-tions. In fact, Catherine Chin has offered an illuminating as well as intriguing interpretation in which she deliberately eschews the conventional political reading of the events of that spring; instead, as she attends to the ideological and theologi-cal aspects in the evidence, Chin frames the 386 crisis as "an episode in the politics of extra-bodily embodiment."[7] Driven partially by the need to protect Nicene interests in Milan, in her reading Ambrose comes to identify himself ontologically with his basilicas—the boundaries between himself and church space melting away in the defense of orthodoxy in Milan.

We follow a similar path in this chapter by proposing that Ambrose actively engages in reconceptualizing Nicene ritual identity in Milan. In fact, the battle over church possession serves as a catalyst. The danger of losing a church—and thus sacramental ritual space—drives Ambrose to reimagine or reconfigure the ontological relationship between a Christian body (as baptized, sacramental body), a church (as sacramental ritual setting), and Milan (as a larger, ambiguous space for a wide variety of ritual practices). Sacramental and liturgical rituals are Ambrose's tools for reconfiguring the boundaries among the three. We pursue this line of inquiry through an enchanted, animistic reading.

By locating the relics underneath the altar, Ambrose ties their exorcistic effect directly to the central location of sacramental power within the Ambrosiana. He thus links the act and effect of demonic expulsion—to be precise, the power to expel demonic theological heresy—with the salvific effect of the Eucharist. In this chapter, we will contextualize these ritual decisions in Milan's wider Nicene-versus-Arian conflict—a conflict that ultimately had begun a generation earlier with the arrival of the Arian bishop Auxentius in 355 CE. By doing so, we will quickly come to realize the greater significance of those few days in June. The reburial of Protasius and Gervasius is a small—though fundamental—part of a larger effort to redefine Christian (Nicene) identity in Milan. Through sacramental and liturgical ritual practice, Ambrose and members of his congregation develop a very powerful ritual-ized notion of Nicene Christian identity, one that functions primarily to maintain Milan's Nicene identity and protect the city from all heretical attacks.

This final chapter serves two purposes: first, it provides an analysis of Ambrose and Milan that can stand in comparative relation with the book's other two sec-tions (John/Antioch and Cyril/Jerusalem); second, this chapter functions as a con-clusion for the book as a whole. In other words, we will draw concluding observa-tions for the book as a whole based upon this, our final analysis of urban ecclesiastical authority and Christianization of a late antique city. We will follow the same narrative pattern/structure we have established in parts One and Two:

urban ecclesiastical and episcopal leaders gain power and authority in and over their city through diabolizing others' forms of ritual and rhetoric, the public and performative practices that ultimately organize and coordinate the city's wider enchanted and social environments into a series of coordinating dualities: divine against the demonic, the Nicene party against those who are enemies of Nicene Christianity. With our first two case studies, we devote three chapters to Antioch and Jerusalem, respectively. The first chapter of each part presents the city in its entirety from an enchanted and animistic perspective; the second chapter considers the local church leader (John or Cyril) and his strategy of exorcistic encounters that define religious, theological, even political, opposition as demon-possessed or demon-corrupted. The third chapter of each part introduces a religious conflict specific to the city and considers the dimension of violence that an enchanted, animistic perspective reveals.

As we turn to Ambrose and Milan in this final chapter, we are faced with the challenge of condensing our interpretation from three chapters to one. We will maintain a tight focus by closely examining the issues of ritual agency and efficacy—more precisely, sacramental ritual agency and efficacy in the wider context of Milan's Nicene-versus-Arian conflict. This chapter traces the manner in which Ambrose and the members of his congregation promote the diabolizing efficacy of sacramental ritual. They use baptism, the Eucharist, and exorcistic practices to forge a productive, generative relationship among three different materialities: city (Milan), place (e.g., church), and body (Nicene baptized body). In other words, Ambrose and his community move toward a model of Nicene Milanese identity that promotes an ontological overlap or union among these three. This model of Nicene Milanese identity renders Arian Milanese identity an impossibility at best, a sacramental abomination at worst.

As we proceed in this study, a realization quickly emerges: We should not isolate the events of June 386 in any way. Rather, during those tense few days Ambrose and his congregation are continuing to develop notions of ritual power and efficacy that we must understand within a much longer history of theological and ecclesiastical conflict in Milan. In 355 a sudden upset during a synod in Milan had led to the abrupt, physical removal of the Nicene bishop, Dionysius; in his place, Constantius II places Auxentius, an Arian and Eastern foreigner, who holds the episcopal throne until Ambrose's own rise to episcopal power in 374. Christians on both sides draw lasting battle lines at that time. Some divisions are theological; some are doctrinal; still others are ideological. There are also deep divisions that slash across the physical topography and geography of Milan. The result is a network of interlinking dualisms that rips apart the city as thoroughly as it divides Milan's populations: orthodoxy versus heterodoxy, orthopraxy versus heteropraxy, public versus private, visible versus invisible, open versus hidden, within the city walls versus outside the city walls, and divine versus demonic. All these lines of

conflict that divide Milan will endure, and inevitably they provide a foundation for Ambrose's own views of theological conflict and spiritual warfare.

With that in mind, let us now turn to the city of Milan itself.

## THE CITY OF MILAN

Milan has long been favored by the Roman Empire, and the city's fortunes have risen with the empire's expansion.[8] As imperial powers have become increasingly anxious regarding the growing hostilities beyond their own territories, cities along the empire's northeastern frontier have gained importance. Trier and Sirmium in northern Gaul and cities in the Rhineland and Illyrium, for example, have grown steadily from the first to the fourth century.[9] In the northern reaches of Italy, Milan takes center stage. As administrative and military personnel move to Milan and the surrounding areas beyond the Po, they bring a social and economic strength to the region that significantly increases Milan's wealth; army veterans, as well as a new group of civil servants, elite, and members of the imperial court increase the landholding population, which in turn supports the city. Milan is also favored geographically. It sits at the crossroads of east-west and north-south interests, from the Balkans to Gaul and Africa and from Rome to the Alpines.[10] Five major roads radiate out from the city, guaranteeing its importance in political and military affairs. As in Antioch, trade routes run through the heart of Milan, ensuring its economic prosperity as well as demographic diversity.

While favored in its position as a frontier city, Milan's proximity to Rome, the heart of imperial power, also contributes to its escalating importance. In the first century BCE, Rome declares Milan a *municipium* (free city); in the age of the Antonines it is again declared a free city.[11] By the end of the second century, Milan has become one of the most important cities in the western empire. It is one of the nine great cities that receives special notice of the nomination of Marcus Aurelius as emperor in 235. While it suffers certain setbacks during the third century, especially during the reign of Valerian (270–75), in 293 it becomes the official seat of the Augustus of the West, Maximian Hercules (293–305), and its fortunes begin to improve once again.[12] After Constantine's death in the fourth century it becomes the official seat of the Augustii in the West. Milan retains that privileged status until 404, when that honor is transferred to Ravenna. While Maximian is in residence, he is the patron of many improvements to the city, the most important of which is a new circuit of walls with a circumference of two and a half miles, built around the city to protect it against barbarian invasions.[13] These walls demarcate the city clearly and help to project an image of a wealthy, fortified, and imperially favored city. Once we move into the later fourth century, Milan's walls once again signal the city's shape, its wealth, and its strength, though in a different way. The walls now emphasize a divide and difference, in location if nothing else, between

the older churches within Milan (e.g., the Vetus and Nova basilicas) and other evolving ecclesiastical spaces related to Ambrose's own churches (e.g., the Ambrosiana and the Apostoleon) that rise quickly just beyond the city walls. We will discuss below other ways that Milan's walls manage the differences as well as the similarities in these two sets of churches.

In the fourth century Milan reaps the social and cultural benefits of being a city that offers a home to the imperial court. Constantius II lives in Milan the longest, from 352 to 357, and, in Neil McLynn's view, gives "the Milanese their most prolonged access to the imperial power in a generation—a whole cycle of ceremonies had helped establish his patronage: victory celebrations, imperial anniversaries and consular accessions all involved him in dealings with the populace."[14] Such public activities help to organize and unify Milanese churches under the Arian bishop loyal to the emperor. In light of Constantius's long residency, Milan also bears witness to the beginnings of Constantius's end: from there, in 355, Constantius announces Julian as Caesar. Two years later Constantius departs the comforts of Milan for a brief visit to Rome before departing for military campaigns against the Sarmatians, Suevi, and Quadi, across the Danube, and he never returns to Milan. The tradition of imperial residency continues during the reign of Valentinian I, who stays in Milan from November 364 to November 365 before moving on to Trier with his court, and again beginning in 379, when Gratian arrives in the city with his court in August. Valens and Justina come to the city soon after.[15]

Ausonius, leading rhetorician and poet who holds influence over Gratian as he assembles his court, passes through the city in 379 en route from Rome to Bordeaux. He describes Milan as a city that displays centuries of almost unbroken good fortune:

> At Milan everything is marvelous. It has an abundance of everything: countless beautiful homes, men of great eloquence, a lighthearted populace, a site enlarged by a double wall, a circus and a covered theater which are the delight of the citizens, temples, a royal palace, a splendid mint, famous baths dedicated to Hercules with their porticoes filled with marble statues, and walls surrounded by a moat. All of these objects rival one another in beauty and grandeur, and they do not suffer in comparison with those of Rome.[16]

A great deal of archaeological evidence corroborates Ausonius's descriptions of Milan's beauty, and especially his emphasis on a sophistication still rooted in the city's Greco-Roman heritage. Inscriptions found throughout Milan attest to the importance of horse races and the Augustan-era theater.[17] A stone from a theater near the Church of St. Victor featuring a portrait of the actor Pilades still sits in the Ambrosian Library; he lifts his mask and receives applause from *cives Mediolanenses*.[18] There is also an amphitheater that offers space to gladiatorial events.[19] In addition, archaeological evidence demonstrates Milan's robust religious pluralism.

In the city's archaeological museum there are thirty marble statues of pagan dei-ties. One-third of the extant votive inscriptions are dedicated to Jupiter; other dei-ties include the Matronae, Mercury, Minerva, and Celtic deities of northern Italy.[20] Angelo Paredi has described the priestly offices attested in inscriptions as well as the public patronage of a variety of religious cults.[21] One inscription, for example, describes a Publius Acilius Pisonianus, who reconstructed a Mithraeum and Mithraic grotto; it has been destroyed by the time of Ambrose. The archaeological evidence offers us a sense of a robust religious pluralism somewhat ironically enjoyed in the city where Constantine and Licinius bring an end to Christian per-secution in 313 CE.

While we might be tempted to name Milan a city of churches, we do so at the great cost of overlooking or erasing Milan's rich polytheist and Greco-Roman cul-ture. The city's polytheist culture continually presses upon and rises between the churches in ways we should endeavor to bring to the forefront as we imagine Milan in the late fourth century.

## MILANESE CHURCHES

As in other large cities of the Mediterranean, churches begin to make their mark on Milan's religious landscape early in the fourth century. We should not presume that Milanese churches are straightforward religious structures that provide con-ventional ritual settings for Christians' sacramental practice. Neither, for that mat-ter, should we assume some kind of standardization in ecclesiastical architecture or sacramental ritual practice in Milan at such an early date.

In any environment—either in Milan or elsewhere—we would be remiss in pre-suming ritual or architectural conformity or standardization in ecclesiastical buildings at such an early (if indeed any) date. Likewise, contingencies in the local—and in Milan's case translocal (imperial)—situation influence a church's construction, its initial and later use, and evolving ritual practice. Similarly, eccle-siastical architecture (the strategic memories and meanings these spatial locations inspire) and related ritual practice (that which the church and memories engen-der) are all responding to, reacting against, or in dialogue with structures in the surrounding environment. Thus we should not imagine Milanese churches stand-ing detached from and untouched by the city's surrounding topography. Rather, church buildings and other ecclesiastical structures are fully immersed in the con-tentious religious pluralism that takes hold within some, though not all, late antique cities.

As we move forward to survey what scholars have recorded regarding Milan's churches, we should bear in mind what many have not considered in their descrip-tions of these buildings or the city itself: the idea or prize that is Milan serves as a battleground for theological, political, and religious conflict. That conflict hardly

fuels and galvanizes transformative processes affecting the ecclesiastical structures, as well as the meaning (memory) and ritual practices associated with those structures. Fundamental to our understanding of Ambrose's actions in and just outside of Milan, including his approach to Protasius and Gervasius, is our consideration of the churches and their ecclesiastical and sacramental ritual as organic material, and thus acutely responsive to the often-tumultuous context of Milan.

To this end, Harry Maier deserves renewed recognition for his reading of the Milanese scene in the mid-fourth century.[22] From the time of the ordination of the Arian bishop Auxentius in 355, according to Maier, the possession, confiscation, construction, and ritual manipulation of ecclesiastical space quickly becomes the dedicated occupation of both theological factions until the end of the fourth century. In fact, he insists correctly that we must not consider Milan's theological conflicts and theological tensions as in any way detached from the aggressive conflict and competition involving ecclesiastical space that indeed yields new forms of both ecclesiastical space and sacramental ritual. Maier draws attention to what might be described as the underbelly of Christian sacramental practice. Domestic dwellings, cemeteries, caves, and other wild outdoor locations offer sanctuary to the ecclesiastically dispossessed from 355 on. Many among the Nicene clergy and laity exiled from their churches hover predatorily on the edges and in the shadows of Milan's imagined religious topography.

Sacramental shifts, however, do not only pertain to a change in location. Many, though certainly not all, have viewed the basilica crisis in relatively straightforward terms: i.e., as a battle over the possession of a religious structure(s) and the socioreligious and political power related to the act of laying claim to such a building. By reducing the crisis in this manner, one very quickly loses sight of the church itself as a dynamic ritual space—a place of ritual activity, creation, and even innovation as well as a location of Christian ritual construction. By considering an ecclesiastical structure/location in this manner—that is, as a field of sacramental possibility—we can recognize how Ambrose and his community reconceptualize Nicene Christian identity in Milan as well as the radical consequences of that reconceptualization; we grasp the processes whereby Ambrose and other Nicene Christians situate, to borrow Catherine Chin's phrase again, a concept of "extra-bodily embodiment" at the core of Nicene Christian identity in Milan. In other words, in the animated and enchanted environment of Milan, especially in the spiritually fraught atmosphere of Milan during the basilica crisis, Nicene Christians move toward a model of ritualized Christian identity that encompasses a mutually protective relationship between the baptized human body, the sacramental church, and the cleansed city. This is a mode of Nicene Christian identity tailored for spiritual warfare. As we move through our discussion of Milan's churches, we should keep this model of religious and ritual identity in the forefront of our minds.

The Basilica Nova, later rededicated and renamed in honor of Saint Tecla, once stood in the urban center of Milan.[23] Remnants of the church were discovered below the piazza west of the Gothic Duomo. Archaeological remains suggest a very impressive church in terms of both size (80 by 45 meters) and decoration. According to Richard Krautheimer, in Ambrose's time the church is large enough to hold three thousand congregants and is therefore on a par with Constantine's Lateran Church in Rome. The Basilica Nova's size and location also suggest that its construction "demand[ed] the sacrifice of considerable property," thus dramatically altering the sacred balance of the city center.[24] The church stood adjacent to an octagonal baptistery, which some have suggested is added by Ambrose; at the very least the bishop lays claim to the baptismal space with an inscription.[25] Krautheimer proposes that Constans, a strong advocate for Athanasius and the Nicene party, commissions the church in 345–50. Its hasty completion by 353 would make the church available for those in attendance at the fateful synod of 355, during which Arians take hold of Milan. However, McLynn disagrees, and argues instead that the church is not occupied until Auxentius takes power in 355.[26]

The now-vanished Basilica Vetus or Basilica Minor was built at an earlier date, although, as Krautheimer notes, it could not have antedated the Edict of Milan in 313.[27] Literary evidence indicates a location close to the Basilica Nova; specifically, one of Ambrose's letters suggests that in his time it stands in proximity to the bishop's palace.[28] Despite wider excavations within the Gothic Duomo area, however, the location is still a mystery. While some have suggested that the Vetus is the cathedral church before the construction of the new basilica, McLynn limits the importance of the Basilica Vetus to its baptismal function; he theorizes that it is used in connection with Holy Week liturgy only.[29]

Ambrose of Milan names the Portiana as the basilica requested by the imperial court in 386.[30] The Portiana has been identified with the present-day San Lorenzo, a church that has been studied exhaustively by archaeologists and art historians.[31] There are many aspects of the San Lorenzo that support its identification with the Portiana. The basilica's plan—a tetraconch church, surrounded by four towers, and flanked by three octagonal buildings—is certainly impressive and indicates an equally impressive patron. Scholars have suggested a wide range of names, including possible imperial figures, for this role, including Constans, Constantius II, Valentinian I, or Gratian.[32] Supporting the theory of imperial patronage, one of three octagonal buildings may have been intended as an imperial mausoleum.[33] Furthermore, materials used in the basilica's construction include portions of an amphitheater that may have been demolished to clear space for the church. As Marcia Colish has argued, since the amphitheater is a public building—and indeed one of the largest amphitheaters—it is the property of the imperial fisc; therefore its destruction can take place only by imperial command. The San Lorenzo's southwest location just

outside Porta Ticinensis Gate puts it in the general vicinity of a proposed but not proven location of the imperial palace.

While this evidence supports the S. Lorenzo's identification with a palace church, it does not necessarily extend to a confirmation that it is the Portiana. For his part, McLynn advises caution: "The specific identification of the Portian Basilica with San Lorenzo, although attractive, must remain hypothetical."[34] Nevertheless, he encourages circumspect identification of the two, if only to recognize in the San Lorenzo some of the relevant physical features that play a role in the basilica conflict. To that end, Colish, who accepts the Portiana/San Lorenzo identification without question, argues persuasively that the San Lorenzo's baptistery reveals the primary motivation for the basilica conflict.[35] The imperial court—more to the point, an Arian imperial court—arrives in Milan with its own clergy. During Lenten season, Easter celebrations and baptism would be an overriding concern. The San Lorenzo, to the best of our knowledge—and if it is indeed already built by that time—would be the only church with a baptistery outside the Basilica Vetus's baptistery and the baptistery adjacent to the Basilica Nova. Colish's contention that the basilica conflict was rooted primarily in issues of sacramental practice rather than questions regarding imperial versus episcopal property is compelling, and it is a suggestion that we will consider later in the chapter.

Our evidence of ecclesiastical architecture sets the stage nicely for a discussion of the various groups and individuals who are in conflict over various religious, theological, and sociopolitical issues that extend from 355 CE to the late 380s. In order to have a firm grasp of the manner in which Ambrose understands the Milan of his time, its churches, and its Nicene population—and the potential symbiosis among those three elements—we must step back to consider a violent event in Milan's history: the exile of Bishop Dionysius in 355 CE.

## THE NICENE COMMUNITY, 355–74:
### A CHARISMATIC AWAKENING

In 355 Constantius II has been residing in Milan for three years and has a visibly congenial relationship with the bishop, Dionysius.[36] The two are seen together, united in many official processions both religious and civic. However, Constantius also has within his court in Milan two Arian priests, Valens and Ursacius, who are conducting a campaign against Athanasius and other Nicene bishops and using Milan as a headquarters of sorts.[37] A synod is called in Milan in that year to determine the orthodoxy of Athanasius.[38] The synod, which may have been held in the vast Basilica Nova (if completed in time) or in the strikingly large Portiana, certainly takes place in a location intended to impress its participants. During the proceedings, the Nicenes quickly fall out of favor, and a number of leading Nicenes are excommunicated. Dionysius, the Nicene bishop of Milan, is deposed and exiled.

Dionysius's exile is the first of a series of public, violent events that serve to restructure Milan into the divided environment that we have already mentioned: Arian versus Nicene, church versus non-church, inside city walls versus outside city walls, public versus private, heteropraxy versus orthopraxy, demonic versus divine. These moments collect into a shared memory that determines Nicene distance and difference from Arian opposition. This memory of Arian violence and danger informs Ambrose's sacramental view of Milan and his notion of true Nicene Christian identity in that city.

Dionysius's forced exile from the church is a humiliating and dramatic spectacle. Soldiers enter the church sanctuary and physically remove the bishop in a rough manner during the official proceedings of the synod. Constantius II's relationship with Dionysius quickly fades as the emperor maneuvers a speedy ordination for the Arian Auxentius from Cappadocia. It is not long, as Maier has pointed out, before "an impregnable Arian beachhead [has been established] in Milan under the episcopate of Auxentius."[39] The sudden reversal in what has been a Nicene city extends far beyond Dionysius's exile. The sequence of events involves a sweep of the Nicenes from the city; those who hold ecclesiastical positions at other churches within the city and who are viewed as closely tied to Dionysius and/or the Nicene party are also exiled. While the majority of congregants certainly blend into Milanese congregations under Auxentius as McLynn has persuasively suggested, Ursacius and Valens are on hand to help the new bishop identify the more troublesome Nicene priests, deacons, readers, and exorcists. In light of the violent and intentionally humiliating manner in which Constantius handles Dionysius's exile, it is hard to imagine that Auxentius, upon his arrival, fails to extend similar treatment to other Nicene leaders while thus making room for Arian replacements. Unfortunately, details are few and far between, and we are forced to speculate regarding the degree of violence employed.

In the wake of the sudden episcopal switch of 355, the period to follow certainly experiences a degree of the tumult born in Dionysius's removal. Especially as we consider the subsequent and undoubtedly chaotic reshuffling of clergy and resettling of congregations, Auxentius, a foreigner to Milan, likely finds it difficult to legitimize his position.

A Nicene city suddenly and inexplicably robbed of its bishop will at the very least be suspicious of this new episcopal leader from Cappadocia, despite the fact that it is the emperor who has placed him in that position—or, perhaps, precisely because the emperor has insisted on Auxentius's right to the bishop's throne. A display of strong, unyielding force in the removal of other Nicene clergy—perhaps deliberately performed in a manner to recall to mind Dionysius's humiliating departure—would strengthen the imagined divide between Arian and Nicene factions and help to market a new power relation of Arian leadership over and above a crippled Nicene community.

Over the next two years, Constantius continues his stay in the Milanese palace and begins a new, quite visible, relationship with an Arian episcopacy, overlaying memories of the affable ties the emperor and Dionysus had had with new images of Constantius and Auxentius together in public processions and other festivals. In this age of pageantry in Milan, the public procession is a powerful means of defining political reality. McLynn has observed that the Basilica Nova plays an important role in the establishment of Auxentius's position and power among the Milanese. The church, which in the "quality of its construction, and its lavish decoration [is] set . . . apart from anything else known in northern Italy at this time," would give Auxentius "considerable advantage when confronting strangers. . . . [B]esides impressing upon the audience the solidity of the bishop's position, it would have given the challenger an opportunity to see for himself the hold that walls and ceilings exercised upon the people of Milan."[40] In other words, we see in Auxentius's use of the Basilica Nova the first clear example in Milan of the exploitation of an ecclesiastical setting in theological conflicts. During this period, Christians dedicated to Nicene Christianity are driven from the churches and forced to meet in secret and, at times, beyond the city walls. Hilary of Poitiers attempts to turn this period of exile into a positive development for the true Christian community in this time of persecution, describing their new "secret meetings in forests and mountains."[41]

Auxentius's hold over the churches remains strong throughout the twenty years of Arian reign. The city, as McLynn argues, converts to an Arian city for the most part. Earlier arguments that there must be a Nicene "resistance," which stands strictly apart from the church for twenty years and meets Ambrose with great enthusiasm upon Auxentius's death, are not supported by the evidence McLynn adds to the discussion.[42] More likely than not, most fall in with Auxentius's congregation and become part of the Basilica Nova community. Theological battles that rip apart and divide the ecclesiastical level of the Christian body hardly touch the concerns of the lay community in Milan. For the most part McLynn's appraisal is persuasive. Nonetheless, there must be a few former Nicene clergy and perhaps a handful of the more pious among the Nicene laity who react strongly—especially those who are more deeply attuned to the theological divide, its meaning for sacramental practice, and the related conceptualizations of ritual embodiment of the holy. Such individuals, as suggested above, would hold themselves apart from this new Arian community in a situation of self-imposed exile. But where? Do they meet in the city? In houses, perhaps? Or do they form secretive ritual communities of their own somewhere beyond the protective walls of a now-Arian Milan? If we might pause to imagine these renegade groups and how they maintain their integrity, what comes to mind? We do know of a handful of Nicenes who feel compelled to visit Milan and speak to the Nicene plight. Martin of Tours, Hilary of Poitiers, and Filastrius, who eventually becomes the bishop of Brescia, arrive in Milan at

different times in an effort to disrupt the ecclesiastical power of the Arian party; each fails in his efforts and provokes Auxentius to react aggressively, sometimes violently. In what follows, as we review what little we know of these interactions, we will attend to the manner in which each encounter between one of these Nicene protagonists and Auxentius contributes to an overall understanding of the violent opposition between the Nicene and Arian parties.

According to Sulpicius Severus, Martin of Tours settles in Milan with the intention of establishing a monastic cell within the city, and begins to engage in a Nicene campaign. This is not to be, however: "There too Auxentius, the chief instigator and leader of the Arians, persecuted him relentlessly; he inflicted many injuries on Martin and expelled him from the city."[43] Maier has suggested, correctly in our view, that Martin's campaign would have taken place not only in the public eye, but also in the aristocratic households of the Milanese.[44] We propose that one of Martin's main strategies involves exorcism and healing, similar to a strategy he employs in Tours. Sulpicius provides ample discussion of these events. For now, though, let us consider only one exorcism. Sulpicius describes how Martin hesitates to perform an exorcism on a slave belonging to a man called Taetradus, who is of proconsular rank. Sulpicius claims "that [Martin] was unable to enter a house that belonged to a pagan, an adherent of a false religion."[45] Of course, once Taetradus promises to become a Christian, Martin walks in and exorcises the boy with ease. Making concessions for the heavy literary as well as ideological manhandling of this passage—that is, Martin's exorcisms function to display the conversion of non-Christians to Christianity—it does not necessarily follow that Martin does not intentionally participate in the fundamental creation of this image in his own exorcism practice. Furthermore, if Martin does engage in exorcistic discernment or discrimination in Tours, then why not in Milan?

To answer these questions, let us consider how Martin enters Milan. He refrains from arriving alone and taking up a quiet position within a household or removing himself altogether from the public eye in order that he may ensure his continuing, uninterrupted availability to the Nicene community. Rather, he establishes a monastic cell within Milan, in close proximity to Auxentius's basilica, and thus draws attention to a pious Nicene voice and identity. He performs a form of Christianity that challenges Auxentius in Milan's center; moreover, he augments the power of his Nicene community through his own reputation as a charismatic healer. In response, according to Sulpicius, Auxentius publicly beats Martin and chases him from the city. If we are to believe Sulpicius, the underlying motivations are intriguing to consider. Sulpicius compliments the placement of the monastic cell as an intentional, perhaps even shrewd, decision on Martin's part. It would seem that Martin is executing an ecclesiastical strategy that shares parallels with recent practices within the conservative Anglican church in America today: in a situation of internal dissension, Martin is church planting. He anchors a

conflicting, perhaps contentious, but certainly "true" and charismatically superior version of Christianity in the midst of churches captured and corrupted by a false brand of the religion. In fact, we may recognize a house-call exorcism that Martin apparently performs in Milan—if he follows the model he has established in Tours—a spectacular performance of Nicene propaganda: for example, an exiting demon testifying to the indomitable power of the Nicene Creed. We may imagine then how Martin's antidemonic activity helps to shape the exorcistic power in the bones of Protasius and Gervasius. In any event, Martin's violent expulsion from the city once again demonstrates clearly for all within Milan an aggressive divide between the Nicene and Arian factions. While this situation ends in Auxentius's favor, establishing his ecclesiastical and civic authority, it also inscribes a corroborating homology: the Arian party as institutional, somewhat tyrannical authority set against the Nicene party associated with charismatic, healing power, and monastic piety.

Hilary of Poitiers arrives in the city soon after Valentinian comes to power in 364, and he spends some time preaching against Auxentius to the Nicene community. Soon after his arrival, he attempts to dethrone Auxentius in 364 by charging the bishop with heresy. In response to the charges, Valentinian orders an inquest in the marketplace or court by the quaestor and the magister accompanied by ten bishops. Auxentius is cleared of the charges and, in fact, receives an official endorsement from Valentinian. Hilary, on the other hand, is forced to leave the city by the emperor's command.

After his expulsion from Milan, Hilary writes *Libra contra Arianos vel Auxentium Mediolanensem,* which describes the events that have taken place. Scholars have noted the manner in which Hilary uses a demonizing lens to set boundaries between Nicenes and Arians; in fact, Hilary describes Auxentius's episcopacy as the rule of the antichrist intent on tricking the faithful into entering Arian churches:[46]

> One thing I warn: Beware the Antichrist. For it is wrong that love for walls has seized you, wrong that you adore the Church of God in its ceilings and buildings, wrong that you repeat the name of peace inside you. Is there any doubt that it is in these places that the Antichrist will sit?[47]

Hilary proclaims that Auxentius contaminates the physical structure of the church—its walls, its houses, and its buildings—making the church the place of the antichrist, the angel of Satan, who labors intensely to destroy the faith. Hilary, for his part, prefers the forests, lakes, and caves—in other words, the natural spaces untouched by man are safer. In nature, Hilary explains, one can still hear the spirit of God prophesying; there one can feel a greater presence of divinity untainted by Auxentius/the antichrist/the angel of Satan. Hilary may be doing much more than describing the divide between Arian and Nicene camps. Hilary asks Nicene Christians to step

outside the city and worship God correctly in their *secreta coenabula*—in other words, the area in the cemetery reserved for worship of the dead.[48] Neil McLynn has theorized that, in an effort to bring focus to a Nicene resistance movement, Hilary is taking advantage of martyrial worship already under way:

> By tending their graves and celebrating their memory they could demonstrate that they, unlike the time-serving bishop, were more concerned to honor Milanese citizens than to keep favor with the palace, and were also able to express their resentment against a regime that had been so drastically mistaken in its doctrinal choices. The cult therefore helped sustain the identity, and advertise the opposition status, of the Nicene Christians.[49]

In effect, Hilary is drawing a clear dividing line that separates ecclesiastical buildings as locations of Arian contagion (antichrist/apocalyptic/eschatology) from all other locations—but especially those untrammeled spaces beyond Milan, and in fact beyond all urban construction. The antichrist has thoroughly infected the physical churches of Milan, but his sphere of corruption does not extend beyond the city walls. Instead, in land beyond the city walls, a person might still receive the prophecy of the spirit of God. In his efforts to differentiate between Arian and Nicene Christianity, Hilary does much more than mark the differences between Arian and Nicene ecclesiastical space and sacramental ritual. He constructs an idea of Nicene orthopraxy and orthodoxy that is rooted to the natural environment. Beyond the city walls that surround a manmade civilization, the true spirit of God continues to offer prophecies in a way that is in tune with—or organic to—the natural environment. He also establishes Nicene orthopraxy in a location associated with charismatic forms of religious power rather than institutional ecclesiastical authority. By contrast, Hilary describes the Basilica Nova and other churches within Milan as corrupted ecclesiastical vessels—the urban church is a location of Arian contagion (antichrist/apocalyptic/eschatology). The antichrist has taken possession of the city's churches in a manner similar to a demon that takes possession of a body. These urban structures are unsafe places for Nicene Christians.

Nearing the end of Auxentius's life, another Nicene, named Filastrius, again attempts to raise some kind of oppositional momentum against Auxentius.[50] We know very little about Filastrius other than he is a zealous defender of orthodoxy who has frequently fought against heresy elsewhere.[51] Fairly quickly upon his arrival to Milan, he earns Auxentius's hatred; he is severely beaten and eventually chased out of the city.[52] Fortunately, Filastrius eventually recovers and later becomes bishop of Brescia. Though Filastrius's encounter in Milan is brief, his situation offers confirmation of a pattern of violence in Auxentius's relations with Nicene outsiders and upstarts; this invites us to consider to what extent Nicenes purposely are antagonizing and baiting the bishop in an effort to disclose again and again his lack of emotional control as the city's leader.[53]

### AMBROSE AND THE NICENE CONGREGATION, 374–86

Harry Maier has proposed a provocative view of the Arian threat that Ambrose faces once he becomes bishop; in attending to the landscape of theological conflict in Milan from 374 to 386, Maier argues for what might be described as an anti-Nicene guerrilla community that begins in Milan only a few short months after Ambrose takes the episcopal throne.[54] After twenty years of public dominance under Auxentius, Arians are cast out of their public spaces and forced into private dwellings and hidden places. An influx of refugees from the barbarian invasions in Illyricum fuels the rapid growth of what amounts to a dissident Arian movement; we should recognize that these private communities swell not only with the addition of Arian laity, but also with ordained priests who are eager to expand their ecclesiastical leadership in Milan. The first to arrive is Julian Valens, probably in 375. This former bishop of Poetovio in Noricum is compelled to flee probably after the invasions of the Quadi and Sarmatians into Illyricum.[55] He begins gathering a community of Illyricum refugees and Arian militia in Milan, which hardly thrills the city's bishop. Ambrose's primary concern pivots around Julian's "illegal ordinations."[56] Through these, Ambrose claims, Julian intends to build a clerical community that will corrupt the Nicene community.[57] In other words, such ordinations will enable Julian to launch a campaign of baptisms and the performance of the Arian Eucharist, spreading a sacramental pestilence throughout the city. Ambrose also worries about Ursinus, a pretender to the Roman episcopate, who has recently arrived in Milan and then allied himself with Julian Valens. In *Epistle extra collectionem* 5 (Maurist edition 11), Ambrose expresses his concerns in greater detail:

> [Ursinus] was in union and combination with the Arians, when, in company with Valens, he tried to throw into confusion the Church at Milan, holding secret assemblies, sometimes before the doors of the synagogue, sometimes in the homes of Arians, and getting his friends to join them. Then, since he himself could not openly enter their assemblies, teaching and informing them how the peace of the church might be disturbed, he drew fresh courage from their madness when he was able to earn the favor of their supporters and allies.[58]

Maier has drawn much-needed attention to the *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, in which Ambrose goes to great lengths to portray the Arian community as a grave threat unrecognized by his community.[59] In *Exp. Luc.* 7.31, for example, Ambrose condemns the Arians as "little foxes" who are deprived of their own house and now wait to ambush those who reside in the house of faith.[60] In *Exp. Luc.* 7.44–54, Ambrose portrays Arians as wolves determined to lead faithful (Christian) sheep from their shelter. In *Exp. Luc.* 7.95, he insists that "the assemblies [of the heretics and schismatics] are not of God but of an unclean spirit (*immundus spiritus*)."[61] Likewise, in *Exp. Luc.* 6.68, Ambrose insists that "[a] heret-

ical teacher disfigures (*deformet*) the dwelling he is in,"[62] forcing anyone who is faithful to flee such a place.

As Maier has already observed, Ambrose follows Hilary of Poitiers's earlier examples in constructing the Arian danger; we should emphasize, however, that Ambrose goes to greater lengths in constructing a spiritual and cosmological divide between the two theological factions. In *Exp. Luc.* 10, Ambrose draws upon 1 John 4 and 2 Thessalonians 2:7–8 in characterizing the Arians as "false prophets [seeking] to lead catechumens and the baptized from the church."[63] Ambrose also alludes to New Testament passages that speak directly about an antichrist (2 John and 2 Thessalonians) who is eager to divide the Arian and Nicene communities.

In light of these passages, Maier envisions an "opposition . . . between an Arian community, devising its strategy and meeting for worship in private, and a bishop jealously guarding the city's basilicas."[64] He emphasizes that we should understand an underground Arian movement in private dwellings, which cultivates "a heterodox topography, which would have been difficult, at times impossible, to identify."[65] This is certainly the case. In fact, Ambrose uses the elusive nature of the apparent dissident movement to construct rather frightening images of the Arian threat. In *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* Arians wait calmly hidden in the shadows, enjoying their tactical advantage. By contrast, unprotected Nicene Christians gather in public, open, and visible ecclesiastical structures; Nicene Christians are exposed and vulnerable to attack.

Ambrose is now the official bishop, in a position of public, visible, and perceptible power, while Hilary, by contrast, stood outside the city after his violent expulsion by an enemy who once held the position that Ambrose now seeks to protect. Despite their different positions in relation to Milan and ecclesiastical authority, Ambrose emulates Hilary's earlier example and frames himself and his congregation as a community that is woefully vulnerable to an Arian threat; this is not only a theological or human threat, but a supernatural power with malevolent intent. He strongly implies the demonically contaminating nature of their meetings: attendance at an Arian gathering can spiritually corrupt an individual. Similarly, Ambrose's insistence that a heretical (i.e., Arian) teacher disfigures his environment conveys the same message: a heretical teacher can disfigure (*deformet*) the mind, the spirit, the soul of anyone in his company. In effect, Ambrose ascribes an animistic taint to Arian identity, and the spiritual impurity that clings to an Arian can, one assumes, spread. If a disguised heretic or schismatic, who carries an unclean spirit (*immundi spiritus*), should enter Ambrose's church, what will happen? In fact, how can one know if a church under Ambrose's control is safe? How can the Nicene community protect their churches against such inimical forces?

Ambrose continues and attempts to complete what Hilary, Martin, and Filastrius had begun much earlier: the complete exposure of the spiritual warfare that currently pervades Milan. Nicene Christianity must struggle day to day against the

evil forces protecting and fortifying the Arian heresy. One should not be deceived by any of the Arian clergy, displaced by the Gothic invasions as early as 357, who claim only to be seeking refuge in Milan and nothing more. According to Ambrose, not only did they quickly form a dissident movement that is lurking expectantly in the shadows of Milan's great churches, but they have brought much more with them than a heretical theology; smuggled in their words, their teaching, their rituals is a malevolent spirit (*immundi spiritus*) eager to disfigure (*deformet*) the unsuspecting.

With the arrival of the imperial court of Valens and his mother, Justina, at the imperial palaces, the division deepens. The manner of deepening the divide pivots on both sides around sacramental practice. The court invites its own bishop to the city, a second Auxentius, who will organize a campaign for Milan in the form of a sacramental program that is intent on rebaptizing Nicenes. Inevitably this leads to the famous basilica crisis in 386, in which Valens and Justina request that Ambrose relinquish a church (or churches) for their use. In fact, this has been traditionally read as a conflict or competition over churches. We propose that much more is involved, however. Ambrose and members of his congregation understand Valens's and Justina's request for a basilica as a dangerous spiritual attack—one that leaves only two means of counterattack. The first is simply to refuse to surrender the basilica; the second involves strengthening the basilicas through sacramental (antidemonic) ritual practice. In what follows we will consider the basilica crisis from this perspective of spiritual warfare.

### HOLY WEEK OF 386

This study does not provide sufficient space to review the entire series of events in the basilica crisis in the spring of 386. Entering into the very complicated debate regarding the chronology of events and their exact locations would only distract us from our actual purpose. To that end, we follow Neil McLynn's careful chronology of both the primary and the secondary evidence as sufficient background for our discussion.[66]

In January 386, Valentinian II issues an edict authorizing public worship by the Arians. Marcia Colish has argued persuasively that this involves an Arian desire for a baptistery during the Easter season. Thus the conflict is not simply one of church possession, but a battle involving sacramental ritual practice, orthopraxy during the holiest time of the year—Easter. We must take into consideration the consequential meaning.[67] The previous year, Valentinian had requested use of the Portiana, which Ambrose famously refused. Presumably, the edict is a preemptive step on Valentinian's part in anticipation of renewed protestations by Ambrose. The request of 386 outlines severe consequences for disobedience. To deny the right to public worship is "tantamount" to sedition under civil law, "a capital

crime."[68] At the beginning of Holy Week in 386, Valentinian also requests use of the Basilica Vetus; Ambrose refuses again, protesting that "a temple of God cannot be handed over by a priest."[69] This time, however, the emperor will not be opposed. He dispatches the praetorian prefect Eusignius to deliver the request in person. The congregation, already stirred up by news of Valentinian's appeal for use of the Basilica Vetus, meets Eusignius with an overwhelming acclamation in support of their bishop.

From that moment on, the conflict takes on a momentum that comes to engulf a much larger portion of the city's territory and its populations. Upon hearing that imperial hangings now possessively drape the outside of the Portiana, several of Ambrose's congregation run over to lay claim to the church by entering and occupying its interior.[70] The imperial court once again requests the Portiana, and Ambrose refuses, claiming the building's divine status. While many of his community stage a "sit-in" in the Portiana, he spends the day in the Basilica Vetus. During this period, Ambrose receives word that members of his congregation—possibly on their way to the Portiana—have waylaid an Arian cleric they passed in the streets. Ambrose rushes to the scene to intervene and quell the Nicene crowd's untethered rage.

The following morning, a Wednesday, Ambrose wakes to hear that imperial troops are now surrounding the Portiana, and a new crowd of Nicene bodies begins filling the interior of the Basilica Nova, claiming possession over that sacramental space as well. Tensions are running exceedingly high in a city where imperial and ecclesiastical authority already compete; each side fears what may transpire next. News soon spreads that the imperial hangings have been torn down. Whether this is an act of deliberate rebellion or merely children playing, McLynn has observed that this falls under the rubric of seditious acts and can be met with severe punishment. Aware of the gravity of the event, Ambrose and many of his community spend the night within the Basilica Vetus. It is possible that this is the night Ambrose conducts his community in singing his hymns.[71] The following morning the imperial court retreats miraculously and mysteriously, decamping from Milan altogether. Easter week continues on without any changes.

In one of his more important sermons during the basilica crisis, Ambrose declares what is at risk in surrendering the churches to the Arians. The church as a whole—as an ecclesiastical property—is not the only issue. Ambrose also mentions a very specific aspect of the church that he cannot risk abandoning to the Arians:

> You observe how many trials are now suddenly launched against me. Goths, weapons, federate troops, the merchants, fines, and saints punished. Do you realize what is being ordered to be done when the instruction is given: "surrender the basilica"? It was the equivalent of: speak some word against God and die; and not just "speak against God" but "take action against God." The instructions are "surrender the altar of God."[72]

This passage invites us to consider several key issues. What exactly does Ambrose understand to be the "altar of God"? What is inherently precious about this location, rendering its surrender impossible? Why is its surrender equivalent to speaking against God? Why is such a speech a hostile action against divinity?

In *De mysteriis* and *De sacramentis,* Ambrose presents the altar as the location where a Christian is exposed to what David Frankfurter has called the "broader supernatural pantheon."[73] It is an opening directly to heaven itself. Angels stand by watching as Christians approach to touch their lips to the flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.[74] Ambrose describes the altar itself as "the form of the body of Christ."[75] The importance of this location in the ecclesiastical space overall should not be underestimated.

With that in mind, let us take a closer look at the paradoxical nature of the altar in Ambrose's view. It is a place of irrepressible supernatural power, but also—simultaneously—a location of acute vulnerability. Divine *praesentia* in the Eucharist depends utterly on a potent, but delicate, act. A priest has to speak the words of the sacraments (*verba sacramenta*), and Ambrose is quick to clarify that these cannot be just any words:

> By what words, then, is the consecration, and by whose expressions? By those of the Lord Jesus Christ. For all the rest that were said in the preceding were said by the priest: [there is] praise to God; prayer is offered; there is a petition for the people, for kings, for the rest. When it comes to performing a venerable sacrament, then the priest uses not his own expressions, but he uses the expressions of Christ. Thus the expressions of Christ perform this sacrament.[76]

Ambrose is consistent in *De mysteriis* and *De sacramentis* in his explanation of the efficacy of ritual speech.[77] The Eucharist is performed through the spoken words of Christ (*sermo Christi*). The words of Christ are eternal and heavenly (*de sacramento, coelestis sermo*). When verbalized, they effect (*operatur*) the transformation of the bread and wine. Ambrose concludes that the transformative power of the Eucharist as well as baptism is rooted in a priest's invocation (*invocantem*) of "the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, one operation, one consecration."[78] While Ambrose's language is straightforward, an intuitive sense of this kind of potency has been lost in the debates regarding the efficacy of ritual speech that span several of the centuries between the fourth and the twenty-first. Therefore, to secure a comprehensive view of Ambrose's understanding of the power inherent in sacramental formulae, we need to retrieve a pre-Reformation sense of ritual.

In his book *To Take Place,* Jonathan Z. Smith ponders the significance of four words: "Hoc est corpus meum."[79] This liturgical phrase involves the efficacy of language and the conjunctive nature of word and thing. On the word *est* rests the shift from a world in which liturgical speech embodies divinity in action, transforming bread into the body of Christ, to a world that views the relation between the bread

and Christ's body as symbolic or figurative. We see correlative shifts in religion and history from late antique/medieval (enchanted) times to the modern (disenchanted) period. Of course, it is not quite that simple, as the important Eucharistic debates in the Protestant Reformation indicate. With the shift in language, the enchanted (vertical) world of late antiquity deflates and falls into our more familiar, flattened (horizontal) social environment of symbolic expression. As Thomas Greene explains, the pre-Reformation period upholds a conjunctive notion of language (the word as dynamically tied to its referent, and, therefore, the word as an action that is capable of effecting material change in contrast). Beginning with the antiritualistic, antimagic tenor of the Protestant Reformation's polemic against Catholicism, this conception slowly shifts to a disjunctive notion of language (the word as signifier severed from signified, and capable only of communicating meaning).[80] And as Smith describes the primary issue that is our concern in the ill-fated shift from the enchanted (conjunctive) to disenchanted (disjunctive) worldview after the Reformation, "[R]itual is not '*real*'; rather, it is a matter of '*signification.*'"[81]

More importantly for our purposes, Smith continues: "The Protestant insistence on the emptiness of ritual has had a number of additional consequences that persist. Perhaps the most significant affects the mode of the academic presentation of rituals."[82] Regardless of the period, scholars have tended to view sacramental and liturgical ritual as a mode of symbolic expression. In their view, ritual speech—and this includes Eucharistic, baptismal, and exorcistic formulae—does not actually *do* anything, and, hence, scholars treat it descriptively or sociologically. However, such an approach mistakes the late antique world almost in its entirety. Late antiquity is an age of ritual. Words are robust, embodied, functional objects. When uttered properly, words act as signs linked to their signified and thus hold great power. Plato's theory of verbal (and thus also ritual) efficacy described in the *Cratylus* had taken root long before the troubles in Milan;[83] however, the Eucharistic and baptismal debates of the fourth and fifth centuries—not to mention the wider realm of competing forms of verbal power—breathe new life into old theoretical terrain.

When interpreting Ambrose's description of the sacraments, denying ritual words/action their efficacy, especially involving sacramental potency, is tantamount to pulling a veil over half the meaning of his text. In uttering these divine words—as well as the Nicene Trinitarian formula—Christians of the time invite divinity to the altar, and it readily appears, along with an entire train of the angelic host to witness the event. In light of the power of these words, the delicate act of invocation and reception of divinity calls for only those physiologically and spiritually prepared to experience it fully. Ambrose explains in detail the suitability of those who have been recently baptized. They have been scrutinized and exorcised over several weeks. They have already been exposed to the Trinity's *praesentia* in their baptism.[84] The effect of their baptism is profound: their bodies have been cleansed; they have moved from a state of iniquity to sanctification; they are rich

in insignia; they have joined the sacerdotal race.[85] Most importantly, in the weeks of rigorous ritual preparations before baptism, they have been stripped of any demonic elements that have invaded their person. Rather than offering space for demonic habitation, they are now endowed with and embody the Holy Spirit. Because of their transformed spiritual state, they can now experience the *praesentia* as well as the *potential* at the altar in a way few can. Ambrose insists that they can perceive the full reality of the supernatural presence. He distinguishes sharply between sight through the eyes of the body and discernment by the spirit of the mind. Human perception is temporal; corporeal eyes can see only corporeal things. By contrast, the eyes of the heart, which have been opened through the Holy Spirit in baptism, can see eternal things. Stripped clean of the darkening forces of demons, they, and they alone, can now see the light of the sacraments.

With the possibility of great power in ritual comes the discussion of potential dangers as well as vulnerabilities. In introducing Smith's arguments regarding pre-Reformation sacramental efficacy into the conversation, we must recognize Ambrose's understanding regarding not only the divine powers that attend the proper invocation of sacramental formulae but also the divine spirits embodied within ritual agents. We must also consider Ambrose's view regarding the kind of spiritual powers that may answer an invocation improperly performed. Likewise, what does Ambrose think might happen should a demonically possessed or tainted person participate in such rituals? The general scholarly view regarding sacramental ritual practice in late antiquity proposes that the spiritual disposition of ritual agents is irrelevant. It is certainly the case that this is the position in a number of patristic texts: the words themselves hold power regardless of the priests and baptized Christians involved. Thus scholars have presumed that, overall ecclesiastically, the spiritual disposition of the ritual agents involved does not come into question until we reach the demonizing antiritual propaganda of the Protestant Reformation—in other words, until we reach a major rift within the Christian church.

However, we must keep in mind two issues that make Reformation debates regarding sacramental efficacy relevant to late antique Milan. First and foremost, as we have discussed throughout this book, people in late antiquity adhere, regardless of religious beliefs and practices, to a view of a very full cosmos comprising not only benevolent but malevolent spiritual entities, as well as all the cosmological ambiguities in between. We have also discussed repeatedly the notion of a powerful verbal formula where the holiness of the agent affects the ritual. Furthermore, the idea that it is only the words of the formula that matter and not the theological identity of the speaker seems somewhat confused and vague when we have texts that describe the formula of Nicene baptism and the Nicene Creed inscribed, written, tattooed, or branded on the soul/mind of the baptizand; for example, a life as an Arian would not prepare one for the Nicene Eucharistic

formula. Such texts raise a variety of questions. What happens, then, when some-one who has been inscribed by the wrong creedal formula approaches a church's altar in order to participate in the Eucharist? What kind of otherworldly entities may they invite to the altar setting if they speak the wrong words or the Arian creedal formula rather than the Nicene words? Particularly in the thirty years of heated Nicene/Arian conflict, we may imagine the Nicenes' fear, once small and vulnerable but growing steadily into a belief that has by now become quite strong and aggressive in its insistence, that a wrong word or a stray heretical formula can bring the devil into the Basilica Nova—again. One has to maintain a pious current of Nicene speech in the church to maintain its protective piety.

There is precedent in Latin Christianity for these concerns regarding sacramen-tal potency and the purity of the person involved. Much earlier, in the mid-third century, Cyprian of Carthage relates several frightening anecdotes about what will happen to impure Christians should they attempt to partake of the Eucharist before being properly reconciled with the church after the Decian persecution. The holy bread, which has been sanctified with the powerful words of God and transformed into the living body of Christ, creates a torturous experience in the bodies of the lapsed:

> [An] older girl, already growing up, slipped in secretly among those assisting [our] sacrifice. It was not food that she took as much as a sword against herself, and what she swallowed might have been some deadly poison entering her breast. After the first spasms, struggling for breath, she began to choke and, a victim now not of the persecution but of her own crime, she collapsed in tremors and convulsions. The guilt which she had tried to hide did not remain long unpunished or concealed. If she had deceived man, she was made to feel the avenging hand of God.[86]

The lapsed, should they attempt to partake of the Eucharist, may invite demonic possession, spontaneously lose their hearing, vomit, or violently convulse like the young woman described above. Anxiously, Cyprian asks, "How are there every day those who, refusing to do penance or to confess their guilt on their souls, become possessed by unclean spirits (*immundis spiritibus adimplentur*); how many are driven out of their senses in a frenzy of fury and madness?"[87] In the case of demonic possession, Cyprian draws a careful, horrifying portrait of a very young female child who has been forced to take bread soaked with wine that has touched immo-lated meat. Her lapse is not of her own choosing, or of her parents'—but that of a heartless wet nurse. Nonetheless, the demons bursting inside her are just as intent on torturing her:

> The mother recovered her child. But the girl could not reveal or tell the wicked thing that had been done. . . . Thus, when the mother brought her in with her while we were offering the Sacrifice, it was through ignorance that this mischance occurred. But the infant, in the midst of the faithful, resenting the prayer and the offering we

were making, began to cry convulsively, struggling and tossing in a veritable brain-storm, and for all its tender age and simplicity of soul, was confessing, as if under torture, in every way it could, its consciousness of the misdeed. Moreover, when the sacred rites were completed and the deacon began ministering to those present, when its turn came to receive, it turned its little head away as if sensing the divine presence, it closed its mouth, held its lips tight, and refused to drink from the chalice. The deacon persisted and, in spite of its opposition, poured in some of the conse-crated chalice. There followed choking and vomiting. The Eucharist could not remain in a body or a mouth that was defiled; the drink which had been sanctified by Our Lord's blood returned from the polluted stomach. So great is the power of the Lord, so sacred His majesty; under His light the hidden corners of darkness were laid bare, even secret crimes did not escape the priest of God.[88]

While Cyprian's approach to diabolizing those who are not in communion the-ologically with the church differs from that of Ambrose, the outcome is the same: sacramental practice ontologically marks the differences in theological belief. Those who are Nicene/not lapsed partake in sacraments without incident and, indeed, benefit by inviting Christ's divine presence. Those who are not-Nicene/lapsed are diabolized. As we have seen, Cyprian provides a startlingly graphic description of diabolization. The blunt and vivid demonology in Latin Christian-ity may seem somewhat surprising; however, we propose this is to be expected in light of the intensity of the Decian persecutions in Carthage. In an enchanted envi-ronment—which, of course, includes both the Eastern and the Western halves of the ancient and late ancient Mediterranean world—schismatic tensions involving ritual practice will necessarily draw deep, disturbing, diabolizing lines across com-munities. This is even more the case in instances of disagreement involving prac-tices concerning the sacraments, as well as in rituals that cut to the theological, cosmological, and ontological core of the Christian religion. Cyprian, for his part, is a particularly gifted writer not only when it comes to the topic of the Eucharist, but also in the case of demons. Ambrose is also a brilliant rhetorician, and he ech-oes Cyprian in many places when speaking of the Eucharist, especially regarding the divine indwelling. The question of whether or to what degree he matches his Latin predecessor in drawing diabolizing lines in Milan during the basilica crisis remains.

Scholars have spent several generations debating the chronology of these events, and Neil McLynn, in my view—and indeed in that of several scholars—solves several of the remaining puzzles of historiography. Moreover, McLynn situ-ates Ambrose's speeches within a chronological sequence that allows modern readers to fully appreciate their savvy and Ambrose's power to maneuver events to his advantage. What scholars have left relatively untouched in their discussion is the role of ritual practice. For Ambrose, how does sacramental ritual enhance and tap into the animistic environment and weave a narrative of spiritual warfare

tightly around Milan, its churches, and beyond the walls of the city to inscribe a clear divide between Nicene and Arian powers? In other words, what scholars often leave untouched is the simple fact that this all occurred during Easter week, the holiest week of the year, a time during which the Trinitarian presence dwells in baptisteries and the Holy Spirit comes down to dwell in the bodies/souls/minds of baptizands within those baptisteries. Christians who go through this process are forever transformed. The question in Ambrose's mind is, To what end?

While the relics of Protasius and Gervasius as well as other relics could ensure the purity of sacramental rituals outside the city walls, Theodosian law prevented similar measures inside Milan. In what remains, let us explore an obvious question: What, if anything, does Ambrose do to protect churches inside Milan from Arian/demonic contamination? Several scholars have exhaustively discussed the Nicenes' efforts to fortify their physical possession of the churches. As we have already noted, however, we are describing the need for protection against a very different—though not unrelated—threat. What exactly is at stake for Ambrose if Arians—or more specifically Arian clergy (i.e., Auxentius)—take control of the Portiana, Basilica Nova, or Basilica Vetus? We find a probable answer in Ambrose's *Contra Auxentius* 37 when he asks why Auxentius could possibly have considered rebaptism.[89]

The issue of rebaptism already had a long history in Christianity. Most famously, Cyprian of Carthage and Stephen of Rome had debated the topic when Novatian heretics were returning to the church in the third century. Stephen contended that they did not need to be rebaptized, and argued that the laying on of hands would suffice. Cyprian of Carthage supported rebaptizing Novatianists who returned to the church; he claimed the Novatian baptismal ritual was inefficacious. While the topic of demonic possession did not enter into his discussion regarding Novatianists and rebaptizing, demons are at the center of his discussion of lapsed Christians and the Eucharist, as we have seen above. As Cyprian's writings make clear, debates regarding sacramental efficacy and demonic contamination play a role in theological and ecclesiastical conflicts very much earlier than those involving anti-Catholic propagandists in the sixteenth century.

It is difficult to say what Ambrose's precise views are regarding rebaptism. He does not dwell on the topic. Perhaps in introducing it, he intends to reference the crisis after the Decian persecutions. That said, we have already touched on Ambrose's complex understanding of the power in sacramental formulae; he views the ability of ritual speech to interact with and affect spiritual orders as absolute. And as we have discussed, Ambrose perceives the Milanese air as pulsating with a variety of spiritual entities, many of them demonic. While the Nicene church offers space to the Trinity in baptism and in the Eucharist, Ambrose is quite clear that very different kinds of spiritual beings are dwelling among Arians.

Most likely, Ambrose does not view Arian rebaptism as ineffective—quite the opposite, in fact. Instead, he is likely deeply concerned about the unintended and

dangerous spiritual consequences of rebaptism. Arians situate a heretical Trinitarian formula at the base of all their sacramental practices. Rather than invoking the Holy Spirit, Arians are invoking other—far less desirable—spiritual entities to inhabit the baptizand who already has a baptismal seal. In light of these potential dangers, what, if anything, can Ambrose do to protect his churches from infernal inhabitants? Let us examine Ambrose's discussions of the rituals of baptism and closely consider his descriptions of these rituals and their ability not only to transform baptizands, but to cleanse, protect, and fortify ecclesiastical space.

In his first sermon in *De sacramentis,* Ambrose clarifies the antidemonic preparations that must take place in the baptistery: "For, when the priest first enters, he performs the exorcism according to the creation of water"; following this, the priest engages in "an invocation and prayer that the font may be sanctified and that the presence of the eternal Trinity may be at hand."[90] Before the baptizands' entrance into the baptistery on the day of baptism, then, the proper spiritual entities are in place: "Christ descended into the water, and the Holy Spirit descended as a dove; God the Father also spoke from heaven: You have the presence of the Trinity."[91] In *Sacr.* 2.5.14 he emphasizes that their presence is actualized by the priest's invocation:

> A priest comes; he says a prayer at the font; he invokes the name of the Father, the presence of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; he uses heavenly words. The words are heavenly, because they are Christ's, that we baptize "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." If, then, at the words of men, at the invocation of a holy man, the Trinity was present, how much more is the Trinity present there where eternal words operate?[92]

When baptizands arrive in the baptistery, then, the space has been cleansed of any and all demonic elements. It is now an environment suffused with divinity. However, the priest is not the only ritual agent to cleanse and fortify the baptistery. When the baptizands enter into this space, they engage in their own ritual action, which ensures the expulsion of any lingering demonic elements. Before addressing the specifics of that ritual action, we must understand what kind of bodies have entered into the baptistery. As Ambrose explains in *Explanatio symboli ad initiandos,* in the weeks leading up to baptism these individuals are cleansed repeatedly by scrutinies and tested by exorcisms. Thus the bodies that enter on the day of baptism itself are already demon-free and thus ready for their final initiation into Nicene Christianity. At the moment of baptism, however, they transform from being the passive objects or vessels upon which or through which ritual activity occurs to active ritual agents in their own right. That is to say, bodies that have been repeatedly exorcised in preparation for baptism now turn to expel the devil themselves as they speak the formula of renunciation. As Ambrose declares explicitly in *Sacr.* 1.5, a person enters the baptistery, turns to the east, and renounces the

devil. While we can understand this as an insular ritual act, affecting their own persons alone, we need to keep our eyes on the ecclesiastical space in which this formula is uttered. Thus baptizands achieve exorcistic efficacy not only to their own advantage, but over the surrounding ecclesiastical space. Then, after renouncing the devil, they complete the baptismal ritual and receive the baptismal seal.

Like the Eucharist—as well as the martyr shrine—baptism affords an opportunity for Frankfurter's "broader supernatural pantheon" to press upon mundane reality. As an exorcistic and invocational ritual, baptism offers an opportunity to reinstate proper spiritual order in a church that may have been compromised—at least those churches that possess baptisteries have a chance to find spiritual readjustment in such rituals.

In considering the protection and fortification of churches within Milan, I would also consider the primary purpose of baptism during that particular Easter season: it creates Nicene Christian bodies, these bodies that have been rigorously cleansed of any aspect of the demonic—in a sense scrubbed clean ritually. In baptism itself they are endowed and sealed with the Holy Spirit. Thus these bodies inherently possess the means of keeping demonic containments at a distance. They embody apotropaic efficacy. Their presence in church functions to maintain a proper spiritual balance in ecclesiastical space.

Against this backdrop, a suggestion made by McLynn, which alters the traditional timeline, offers curious possibilities. McLynn claims that after this Holy Week a new conflict arises. Valentinian II's court returns to Milan, and this time requests Ambrose's attendance at the consistory for a debate with Auxentius on the issue of faith. In what might be described as his customary fashion at this point, Ambrose refuses and instead retreats to either the Basilica Nova or the Basilica Vetus. Soldiers soon follow to surround the basilica. McLynn argues that this is not a true siege, and tensions are not as high as earlier. As Ambrose makes clear in the *Contra Auxentium,* which is delivered at this time according to McLynn, doors are left unlocked and even ajar. Instead, Ambrose tries to cultivate a "siege mentality," and this may have been the moment when Ambrose directs his congregation in antiphonal singing.[93] If this is the case, it would have been an intriguing situation for the recently exorcised, now-baptized Christians, who have just partaken of the Eucharist. What kind of Christic presence do they embody when they engage in antiphonal singing? Do the baptized Christians understand their actions to be protecting the church from the diabolized forces outside it, as Ambrose and the community had long identified those forces?

Despite Ambrose's attempt to transform this siege into a larger confrontation, according to McLynn the bishop's efforts are in vain.[94] It is some weeks later, perhaps, before Ambrose is next seen in a noteworthy event, consecrating his Ambrosiana, an event that serves as the preamble to the next spectacle in this theological battle: the discovery of the relics of Protasius and Gervasius. Rather than setting

the events in June apart from the Holy Week crisis in the spring, let us instead consider the relic discovery as perfectly in tune with the charismatic, animistic, enchanted tonality that has been developing in Milan since the moment spiritual warfare overtook the Nicene/Arian conflict in 355. In almost all respects, June 17 in no way differs from any other day. The difference here, which Ambrose himself wishes to make clear, is that the charismatic event happens just outside the city in an area consciously at odds with or in a state of otherness in relation to Milan—the cemetery—and leads to one of his churches, and inevitably to one of his altars protecting the city from outside its walls. In other words, all the locations of that day's events stand in distinct contrast to the internal city of Milan.

As for Ambrose and his congregation, we will now consider how they develop a diabolizing view of liturgical and sacramental practices that does much more than define and draw in close the Arian enemy within the city—Ambrose is also protecting the city from beyond its walls through an exorcistic ring formed by his churches. When comparing how Ambrose views sacramental and exorcistic practices within churches inside Milan and those just beyond the city's walls, we can begin to grasp his powerful model of Nicene Milanese identity—one that reconceptualizes the relationship between Christian body (alive or relic), church, and city. First, then, let us take a brief tour of Ambrose's churches.

## AMBROSE AND HIS CHURCHES
### BEYOND MILAN'S WALLS

The Basilica Apostolorum (San Nazaro), whose foundation is laid in 382, stands on the southeast side of the city, outside the gate to Rome, the Porta Romana. One of the more intriguing aspects of the Apostolorum's construction is the effort made to connect it closely with Constantine's Apostoleion in Constantinople.[95] First, it is built on a cross plan like its sister church in the Eastern capital; it is the first of its kind in the West. Second, the Apostolorum contains relics of the apostles Andrew, Thomas, and John the Evangelist, which are placed in a silver casket whose place of origin (long in doubt) appears to have been Constantinople. The relics, given to Ambrose by Theodosius, are intended to tie the church tightly to Constantine's Apostoleion, which has had its own apostolic relics—of Luke, Andrew, and Timothy—since the early 350s. The relics are deposited in the Apostolorum on May 6, 386, under the high altar in the center bay; the significance of this date will be discussed in the next section. In 395 the local martyr Nazarius is interred under a second altar. And as if this were not enough, the Apostolorum stands on the most important road to Rome, a grand, monumental street lined with columns: this is a street designated for the imperial *adventus*.

And we may add an additional church. A medieval text describes San Dionigi as one of Ambrose's churches. The basilica, which is also outside the late antique

walls of the city, is allegedly constructed in 374–75, and at that time Basil of Caesarea sends the remains of Dionysius, who died in Cappadocia after being exiled in 355 CE, back to Milan for burial. As Maier is quick to point out, if the San Dionigi is indeed one of Ambrose's churches, it falls well within the parameters of his notion of an anti-Arian church.[96]

The third church, the Ambrosiana, is consecrated in the late spring of 386. It is located on the western side of the city "at the site of one of the Christian community's most celebrated cemeteries."[97] As we will see, Ambrose designs the church as an ecclesiastical, sacramental structure taking advantage of an animated environment in flux—the cemetery after all is a place of ritual power both nefarious and the most holy. By planting a church in the midst of or close to that space, Ambrose effectively siphons off its power. It is intended to become a mausoleum church eventually, and Ambrose is to be interred under the altar; thus the holy place will project a continual Nicene presence protecting the church and also then Milan. As we have already discussed, the relics of Protasius and Gervasius—Nicene relics—are also laid to rest under the altar. In many of his writings, Ambrose repeatedly characterizes these relics as Nicene "protectors" in the face of Arian threats.

Ambrose spends several years encircling the walls of the city with what might be described as Nicene battlements. Just beyond the walls of the city, Ambrose's churches stand tall—each church armed with the protective, holy power of the martyrs' relics, each church equipped with the ritual power to defend the city against any enemy foolish enough to attempt to invade and corrupt Milan. The discovery of Protasius and Gervasius and their subsequent *translatio* to the Ambrosiana provides us with an unusual opportunity. In his discussion of the relics' translation to the Ambrosiana, Peter Brown (*Cult of the Saints*) has provided great insight: Ambrose certainly intends to forge a link between the charismatic power within a martyr shrine and the sacramental and liturgical ritual practice at the church. Following Brown's lead, we will push further to examine closely the manner in which Ambrose and the crowd construct this kind of power for the Ambrosiana. Ambrose and the crowd participate in a delicate balance of give and take in their display of ritual power. Moreover, it is imperative that we bear in mind that their improvised ritual collaboration takes place very soon after an extremely volatile conflict. The crisis over the basilicas brings a new, violent physical reality to spiritual warfare, and this dualized manner of seeing the world will continue on in Ambrose's congregation far past June 17.

In what follows, we strive to attain a clearer image of the kind of ritual power—a diabolizing ritual power—that Ambrose locates in the church the day he deposits the relics below the altar. To that end, we closely examine the discovery and eventual translation of Protasius and Gervasius from a point of view that is appropriate to the late fourth century: an enchanted and animistic viewpoint.

For the most part, in the late fourth century a person's daily activities with respect to the spiritual world remain invisible and silent. By contrast, a martyr or saint's shrine is a confined location where the chaos and turmoil of the spiritual realm can punch through the relative tranquility elsewhere. Here, in the spectacles of demonic possession and exorcism, a person encounters, with a frightening and inescapable immediacy, the "broader supernatural pantheon."[98] As David Frankfurter and Peter Brown have both made clear, the experience is fundamentally transformative in a variety of ways. First of all, demoniacs "served as authenticating spectacles of shrines."[99] They validate or confirm the *praesentia* and *potentia* of the holy ones. As Peter Brown explains, when encountering the torturous screams of the demon-possessed at saints' shrines, onlookers "witnessed more clearly and with greater precision the manner in which God through his lords the saints could stretch forth into their midst the right hand of his healing power."[100] In the further words of Gregory of Tours: "In this way [demoniacs] bring home the presence of the saints of God to human minds, that there should be no doubt that the saints are present at their tombs."[101] Such experiences, Augustine tells us, are simultaneously "miraculous and terrifying."[102] Indeed, the more disruptive the spectacle of demon possession, the more imposing the saint and his or her shrine. As we can see in Saint Paula's reaction to Holy Land tombs attributed to some important Old and New Testament figures, as described in one of Jerome's letters, such phenomena can have a carnivalesque air that utterly overwhelms the spectator:

> She shuddered at the sight of so many marvelous happenings. For there she was met by the noise of demons roaring in various torments, and, before the tombs of the saints, she saw men howling like wolves, barking like dogs, roaring like lions, hissing like snakes, bellowing like bulls; some twisted their heads to touch the earth by arching their bodies backwards; women hung upside down in mid-air yet their skirts did not fall down over their heads."[103]

Several accounts of martyr shrines depict similarly chaotic and frightening scenes. Paulinus of Nola notes a sharp rise in the number of demoniacs surrounding Saint Felix of Nola's tomb on the anniversary of his death; furthermore the animalistic behavior of those demonically possessed intensifies: "the devils ignite and blaze more fiercely than usual. Their howls are more tearful."[104] In turn, Felix intensifies their punishment: "[the demoniacs] are raised aloft and made to hover higher than usual; they are belabored in the empty spaces of the lower air, held fast with bonds invisible as they suffer this extended sojourn in the deserted heavens."[105] One demoniac hangs upside down next to the tomb—but, just as in Jerome's account of what he says Paula experienced, his robe stays up, covering his genitals.[106] Gregory of Tours describes a demoniac named Paulus who enters the small church next to Saint Martin's tomb. Paulus suddenly climbs the rafters above the altar; after screaming that his body is on fire, he flings himself down toward

the ground. Amazingly he is unhurt.[107] Spectacles such as these serve to showcase the exorcising tortures that the possessing demons suffer in the presence of the saints. Desiderius, a demoniac who travels to Saint Martin's shrine, spends a night in a nearby cell screaming and "raving madly." In the morning he "began to shout that the blessed Martin was burning him." Soon thereafter he vomits "unfamiliar pus and blood"—a clear sign that the demon has been expelled. Desiderius departs a sane and rational man.[108] These extreme performances easily ignite spectators' imagination; people can almost see the invisible saints abusing the demons who cling tightly—and ultimately in vain—to their victims' bodies. As Victricius of Rouen describes the phenomenon: "A torturer bends over the unclean spirit, but is not seen. There are no chains here now, yet the being who suffers is bound. God's anger has other hooks to tear the flesh and other racks to stretch invisible limbs."[109]

In the presence of a holy martyr or saint, the revelation of demonic possession can be abrupt and alarming. As Peregrine Horden has noted, it is the approach to the shrine that often exposes an otherwise-unrealized demonic possession.[110] Stories abound: "A man visiting St. Artemios's shrine in Constantinople for a testicular condition turns out also to have an 'evil spirit' which leads him to hang suspended before the icon of Artemios as though his hand were tied by chains, hovering one cubit above the floor, and yelling loudly, so that all . . . were astonished by the sight and were cowed by fear."[111] Gregory of Tours relates the story of a man who builds a church for Saint Julian in Rheims; as the man is traveling through a field with the relics for the new church, he passes a plowman who "began to be horribly tormented and to speak as if he had lost his mind." It is clear immediately that this plowman suffers from demonic possession.[112] Similar examples of spontaneous possessions appear in ethnographies of modern exorcism cults. In the course of his work on the Catholic site of Kudagama in Sri Lanka, R. L. Stirrat met a woman by the name of Mary who had suffered from arthritis for years. Hearing of the curative powers of the Catholic holy site Kudagama, she travels with her husband to seek relief. After receiving a blessing from Father Jayamanne she "collapsed, writhing on the floor of the Mission House, screaming and sobbing." The priest diagnoses what he surmises to be a clear-cut case of demonic possession. This leads to an extreme shift in Mary's self-perception. She begins to identify many other ailments in accordance with the priest's original discernment of demonic possession; she also regularly visits Kudagama for the next decade.[113]

In his important discussion of demonic possession, David Frankfurter has encouraged recognition of the power and agency that the demoniac possesses in these spectacles.[114] A person's performance of demonic possession and expulsion often occurs unaided by exorcists; the violent physicality of these events offers very convincing evidence of the holiness of a saint's shrine. Indeed, as Brown had observed much earlier, demoniacs are rarely at a loss for words in these situations. From the mouths of deceitful demons emerge truthful confessions, which often

serve to confirm the holiness of a saint. Let's recall our demon-possessed plowman near Rheims. Not only does his behavior alert those around him to his possessed state; he also begins shouting in a manner that is alarming and bewildering to his fellow field-workers: "Behold, the most blessed Julian is approaching! Behold his power! Behold his glory!" Praise soon devolves to screams of agony as the demon begs, "Saint, why do you torment me so? Glorious martyr, why do you inflame me? Why are you approaching a region that is not indebted to you?"[115]

Demoniacs, then, in their behavioral and verbal performances, exert a great deal of power and control in the construction of holy topography. Frankfurter has noted that the performance of demonic possession and expulsion, as a mode of religious knowledge production, is anchored deeply within complexities of a local context. In his words, "Spirit possession [is] explicitly linked to historical uncertainty or . . . to larger conflicts about the locus of the holy in Christian landscape."[116] In recognizing demoniacs as agents, we must also appreciate their relationship with an audience and exorcists in the "performative shaping" of demonic possession and expulsion. Each agent contributes to a delicately improvised choreography that never strays far from the situational aspects of their immediate environment. I would take this further and argue that their collaborative performance can accomplish much more than the validation of contested holiness in a specific location. The engrossing give-and-take performance of demonic possession and exorcism can be precisely and subtly maneuvered to speak directly to socioreligious, theological, and political conflicts as well—for example, the Nicene-versus-Arian conflict in Milan in 386.

By way of example, let us offer the story of Nicole Obry, a girl of only sixteen, who begins exhibiting signs of possession soon after she is married in sixteenth-century France. Nicole's parents take her to the Dominican father Pierre de la Motte, whose "probative exorcisms" confirm her possessed state. If the story had ended here, we would have another run-of-the-mill possession during what the historian Sarah Ferber has called a "possession boom" in the Catholic Church.[117] However, a relationship forms between Obry and La Motte during these initial rituals that elevates the potential meaning and function of demonic possession to a new level. From November 1565 to August 1566 the two travel together, performing repeated exorcisms of Obry in very public venues. In the process, as Ferber has noted, they construct a complex schema of demonic possession that offers "a new and potentially powerful propaganda weapon in a time of the intense hostility between French Catholics and the Calvinist Huguenots."[118] Moving from the church in Vervins through various holy shrines to the final destination of the bishop's church in Laon, the two perfect the performance of demonic possession and exorcism in behavioral and verbal aspects to promote the Catholic Church. The demons confess repeatedly that their possession is due to the sins of Huguenots; likewise, their public exorcism serves to convert Huguenots from their stubborn

blindness. The demons are conveniently explicit regarding Huguenot stupidity as well as the importance of the Catholic Church's Eucharist. Needless to say, these public displays draw huge crowds; and the clergy takes advantage of them to promote the curative properties inherent in the Catholic Eucharist as well as to warn of the spiritual dangers of Huguenot beliefs.

By the time the spectacle takes the stage at the bishop's church in Laon, a great controversy regarding the validity of the possessions is also beginning. This controversy further exacerbates the divide between the Catholic Church and the Huguenots. Unsurprisingly, many Huguenots claim Obry is a fraud. Others try to exorcise her with their own exorcisms. Rising tensions lead to her arrest and imprisonment for a period of time; at one point her life is even threatened by Huguenots. La Motte suffers similar hardships. During all of this, the possession/exorcism performances still cleave to party lines. Consequently, in the case of Nicole Obry, we not only have a case of demonic possession and exorcism that serves to demonstrate the holiness of a particular site or individual. We also have an example of how, in the deft hands of a politically embroiled priest and a charismatically sensitive young woman, a demoniac's performances can have a polemical edge, deepening the divide between Christian groups in rather theologically sophisticated ways.

## MAKING MILANESE MARTYRS
### AND NICENE DEMONIACS

Soon after the mysterious bones are unearthed that day outside of Milan in 386, a frenzy takes hold of the crowd. Bodies writhe in pain, and their possessing demons testify to invisible tortures that the martyrs Protasius and Gervasius are inflicting on them. As people watch demoniacs reveal themselves, several more begin to shout in agony of the torment they too are enduring. The experience is too much to bear, causing the demon in each of the possessed to "speak unwillingly under duress and torment."[119] In addition to confirming the power of Protasius and Gervasius, the demons have this to say: "No one can be saved unless he believes in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, . . . [and] he is dead and buried who denies the Holy Spirit and does not believe in the omnipotence of the Trinity." Indeed, the martyrs inflict such tortures that the demons declare an unexpected curse on those surrounding them in the crowd: "Let the person who denies the divinity of the Holy Spirit be tortured as he [each demon] was by the martyrs."

Who are these demon-possessed individuals who are conveniently confessing the orthodoxy of Nicene theology and cursing its disbelievers—that is, Arians—who are condemning them to demonic torture? Unlike the accounts of the demon possession/exorcisms at St. Felix in Nola or St. Artemius outside of Constantinople, where identities remain unclear, we actually have a good idea who these

individuals are and, more importantly, the shape of their experiences during the months, indeed years, before the event. During the crisis that spring, Ambrose had found ample support in a surprisingly zealous congregation. Nicenes had risen up spontaneously, according to Ambrose, into an acclamation denying Eusignius's request for the Portiana. A number of them, independently of Ambrose, had run to the Portiana to occupy it. In their fervor they had come quite close to killing an Arian priest. Ambrose had had to intervene immediately to save the poor cleric's life. Finally, many had stayed close to Ambrose as he occupied the churches not once but twice. The same supportive congregants would have been among those calling for a search for martyrs to adorn the Ambrosiana. We may safely assume that many of these congregants are accompanying Ambrose as he walks as if in a trance to the Nabor and Felix shrine. In other words, Ambrose discovers the bones while surrounded by battle-worn Nicenes—members of his own congregation who have already spent months fighting desperately against an anti-Nicene menace. This is a group of people indoctrinated in the performance of dramatic, zealous, and spontaneous action in an effort to defeat the Arian enemy.

While Ambrose's description of demonic possessions and exorcisms is brief, it is likely an understatement to say that the performances are quite dramatic. For two days, demons scream as they endure the martyrs' unrelenting tortures. The absorbing scene of demonic possession and exorcism induces increasing numbers to realize and express their own possessed state. And yet through all of this, Arians stubbornly resist the seduction of spectacle. Indeed, those audience members protest vehemently: "These are not martyrs, nor can they torment the devil nor free anyone. . . . The torments of the devils are not real; they are feigned and empty mockery."[120] Arian protestation and denial could have caused a breakdown in the performance of demonic possession. Instead, Ambrose deftly leverages the skepticism of the Arians to advance a more expansive truth: "I have heard of many things being imagined, but no one could ever feign this and pretend that he was a devil. What is it which we see so disturbs [Arians] on whom a hand is laid? Where is there room for deceit? Where is there a trace of pretense?"[121]

Rather than respond to the Arians' protestations of deception, Ambrose turns the tables in a way that is devastating to their cause. Why can Arians not perceive the spiritual reality exposed in this spectacle? Why can they not see beyond the veil to the *praesentia* of martyrs, and more importantly the *potentia* of the martyrs over the demons? Why are they blind to the kind of torture Victricius of Rouen describes? What, in other words, is wrong spiritually/ontologically with, and sensorily broken within, the Arian Christians? The discovery of the relics of Protasius and Gervasius discloses an incontrovertible difference between the two warring factions. While Ambrose and his fellow Nicenes shudder at the exposure of demons and devils in the wake of the relic discovery, Arians see only men and

women screaming and contorting their bodies in a ridiculous display. While Nicenes cheer at the *potentia* of Protasius and Gervasius, Arians see only bloody bones. What accounts for this Arian blindness? The Arians, according to pro-Nicene sources, provide their own answer, claiming the entire spectacle is a hoax and that those claiming demonic possession are only pretending. Somewhat ironically, this view has determined the major direction of modern interpretation. However, if we take a moment to consider Ambrose's words to his sister, we discover a much different answer. He suggests that the Arians' condition is rooted in a theological deviation that has had grave ontological consequences. What one sees and how one performs in front of the relics indicates one's theological identity. To "see" the Nicene reliquary power and react in kind is to demonstrate one's Nicene credentials; to fail to notice or, worse yet, cry foul is to reveal one's Arianism and one's own form of demonic taint (spiritual blindness, spiritual dumbness). Both the demoniacs and the naysaying Arians are demonically possessed during those two days; it is simply the case that they suffer from different expressions of demonic possession. In effect, the events that unfold from the discovery of Nicene relics force Arians to stand in front of Nicene sacramental power—and display their tainted state. By contrast, Nicene bodies—"Nicene" and therefore presumably exorcised, baptized, having partaken of the Eucharist—contain a remnant of divine presence. They are not only protected from demonic corruption, but they also have the ability to discern the spiritual reality before their eyes.

Not only do such circumstances indicate the spiritual deficiency of those who hold Arian beliefs, but Ambrose also suggests that Arians are more susceptible to demonic danger than Nicenes, who can discern spiritual realities more clearly. And Arians in particular are not safe standing before these relics. After all, demons recently expelled from bodies still linger at the site; they are now searching for Arian bodies to inhabit (an interpretation based on Matt. 12:43–45). As demons look about, their recently uttered confessions and curses echo in the mouths of new demoniacs directing them to the Arian bodies that they should now inhabit. While Ambrose only implies this danger, Paulinus develops it fully in his account of Arians in Valens's court who reject the authenticity of the relics:

> But God, who usually increases grace for His Church, did not long suffer His saints to be insulted. Thus, one of the number, suddenly possessed by an unclean spirit, began to cry out that those were tortured as he himself was tortured who denied the martyrs or who did not believe the unity of the Trinity as Ambrose was teaching. But they, confused by this statement, although they ought to have been converted and to have done penance worthy of such confession, killed the man by immersing him in a pond, thus adding murder to heresy; for a fitting urgency led them to this end. Indeed, the holy bishop Ambrose, having become a man of greater humility, preserved the grace given him by the Lord and increased daily in faith and in love before God and man.[122]

After the discovery of Protasius and Gervasius, performances of demon posses-sion and exorcism take on a definitive shape in the "memories and anxieties of the local sphere."[123] Ambrose and the Milanese demoniacs assume a collaborative role as producers of socioreligious and theological knowledge that is local and polemi-cally edged. Their performance defines the unidentified bones as holy relics of revered Nicenes that exorcise demons only from those willing to cling to Nicene faith; likewise, the demoniacs' confessions of Nicene truth construct a new form of demonic possession that threatens only Arians.

Ambrose places the martyrs inside the Ambrosiana and refers to them as guards and protectors. But in light of the theological shape of their exorcistic ability—as defined by the phenomena of demonic possessions—we should see in his actions much more than the utilization of local religious practice and belief in advancing his ecclesiastical agenda. Rather, the reburial of the relics in the Ambro-siana should be read as a much more ritually sophisticated move than simply locating charismatic power in his Nicene church. Thus we must attend to the exact location in the church Ambrose indicates. The relics are not to reside in a side chapel within the Ambrosiana, but at its liturgical center. This raises several impor-tant questions. What, if anything, does Ambrose intend by bringing exorcising anti-Arian "protectors," "guardians," "Christian soldiers," to the liturgical center of his church? What exactly are these bones protecting or defending? More impor-tantly, what is the threat? While the reburial of the relics in the Ambrosiana has received much attention, the significance of their precise location has not. But this is an important aspect to consider. By placing the bones in this location, Ambrose is engaging in a very unusual sacramental practice. This surely has important con-sequences for his understanding of the ritualized relationship between baptized Christian bodies and Nicene churches throughout the city. No matter what hap-pens there will always be a powerful, exorcistic Nicene body at the sacramental center of the Ambrosiana; Protasius and Gervasius will maintain the spiritual purity of the Ambrosiana against any threat of Arian infection. Priests will always be able to perform the Eucharist in this church, bringing about the presence of the Trinity, and thus the church itself will serve as a protective bulwark for the city of Milan. Ambrose's sacramental innovation brings a sense of closure to a conflict that had begun in Milan thirty years earlier—a crisis that has revolved around the question, Which theological faction has the physical possession of Milan's churches? Ambrose develops the sacramental means whereby the boundaries ostensibly separating a Nicene Christian body, a church, and a city may begin to blur and even disappear, and thus he creates a way of protecting all three simulta-neously and through reciprocal ritual action. That is, a baptized Christian's utter-ance of the statement of renunciation banishes the devil from the church alto-gether; likewise the Eucharist performed at the church's altar brings the cleansing and protective power of the Trinity to Christians within the church as well as

the church itself; and that power radiates out from the churches to protect the entire city.

## SOME FINAL REMARKS

*City of Demons* comparatively investigates urban ecclesiastical demonology. Thus, this book represents an initial attempt to recover the animistic and enchanted dimensions of embodied existence in the post-Constantinian city and is part of a larger hermeneutical project to overcome certain obstacles in the interpretation of late antiquity. While the mere mention of animism still raises the fearful spector of E. B. Tylor for some, others are working to sever ties between animism and the determinative power of social Darwinism.

For example, Robin Horton refurbishes animism considerably in his analysis of African spirit-possession cults.[124] More recently the anthropologists Tim Ingold and Nurit Bird-David note where this concept facilitates our understanding of embodied experience and epistemologies in local situations.[125] Robert Orsi also approaches this issue in his consideration of the discomfort Catholics feel living in Western modernity: How can they express the charismatic aspects of their religion in a supposedly disenchanted, secular existence?[126] In what remains, we will discuss how these questions and Orsi's response shape our interpretive approach throughout *City of Demons* and beyond.

As Orsi correctly insists, Catholic experiences of the supernatural (such as the visitation of Lourdes) possess a "radical presence" or "realness." This differentiated sensibility renders the immediate experience vigorously consequential in the decoding of culture, social issues, and history as well.[127] Such experiences have the power to alter one's situation radically. Our modern methods and modes of historiography and epistemology, however, reductively label such events and moments as childlike fears, anxiety, delusions, even hallucinations. Modern modes of critical knowledge have robbed "presence," as Orsi frames the concept, of its power—most crucially its power to transform. Seeking a solution, Orsi looks for a historiographical style that reflects a radical empiricism of visible and invisible events. He seeks to recapture the "radical presence" or "realness"—i.e., that sudden disruptive burst of animistic phenomena into our normative disenchanted existence—that modern historical study has exiled to the fringes of rational society.

Orsi suggests the phrase "abundant event" to narrow his search for any examples of overlooked or neglected moments of supernatural experience.[128] In his conceptualization of an abundant historiography, Orsi has provided a means of resolving many of the interpretive dilemmas we face in our own project. We have chosen three of Orsi's clusters of interpretive principles to undergird our own approach; they enable *City of Demons* to largely overcome what Orsi derides as "the safe categories of modernist historiography."[129] Thus we are able to capture a deeper

sense of the culture of suprahuman presence and power within Antioch, Jerusalem, and Milan through our own historiographic method; moreover, the heavily animated moments of spiritual warfare in each of these locations draw special attention. In what remains, we will discuss the guidance Orsi's three principles offer in *City of Demons* and beyond.

First Orsi's "abundant event" (i.e., similar but not limited to our spiritual-warfare event) offers a "focusing lens for the intricacies of relationships in a particular area at a particular time."[130] In other words, a moment of radical presence (of the demonic versus the divine, for instance) abruptly captures and then deeply enhances all details of present social relationships; we can then attend to how such an animated ritual exposes the contingent elements that hold together social webs. These moments also expose the differences, weaknesses, and vulnerabilities that pull relationships apart.

Second, Orsi explains that place and time bleed into each other fluidly under the sway of an abundant event; in his words, "the ordinary levels and domains of experience are dissolved into each other."[131] *City of Demons* considers how an animated event (of spiritual warfare or some other kind of ritual act) affects moments of linear time. How do the past, the present, and the future overlap and fold into one another? What influence does such a flexibility in place and time hold over the relationships involved? We explored this point in depth when we considered Cyril of Jerusalem and his apocalyptic worldview.

Finally, an abundant event may unlock the mind and unleash the power of an expanded imagination. According to Orsi, "people are more accessible to each other (for good and for ill) in devotional culture, the boundaries of their bodies, minds, and souls less secure."[132] For our purposes this is perhaps Orsi's most important point as we continue to consider how such moments in late antiquity draw into question a central conceit of modernity: the indivisibility and separateness of the self. Analogously, a spiritual-warfare event—and indeed any ritual event directly involving animated forces—forcefully interrogates the integrity of the late antique body. All lingering sense of a self-contained, stable identity explodes in the face of a demonic-divine encounter. This pertains especially in the cases of John's Antioch and Ambrose's Milan.

We are hard pressed to find scholarship that investigates religion in a manner inclusive of late antiquity's enchanted worldview and related animisms. As interpreters native to the twenty-first century, despite an emerging awareness of the enchanted elements of our own world, we are still largely comfortable in interpreting and discussing what are for the most part secular, disenchanted lives. We are familiar and at ease with the stable agency of our individuated, autonomous selves. In general, we do not spend our days dreading an influx or invasion of the surrounding environment through our porous materiality into our own subjective core. So, then, examining and writing about the perceived reality and embodied

knowledge of devils and demons in the late antique city is hardly an intuitive practice. By considering Christians' embodied experience of demons in the late antique city and the sense of ritual agency and power that Christians develop in such experiences, *City of Demons* functions first and foremost as an initial foray into a more involved exploration into the deeper complexities of late antiquity's experiential reality. Consequently, our historiographical style reflects ongoing interpretive challenges: a style that depends heavily upon vivid description and speculation as much as it requires an intermingling of both the material and textual evidence.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *ABull* | *The Art Bulletin* |
| ACW | Ancient Christian Writers |
| *AHR* | *American Historical Review* |
| *AIPHOS* | *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* |
| *AJA* | *American Journal of Archaeology* |
| *AJS* | *American Journal of Sociology* |
| ANF | Ante-Nicene Fathers |
| *ANRW* | *Aufstieg and Niedergang der römischen Welt* |
| *AnTard* | *Antiquité Tardive* |
| *AQ* | *Anthropological Quarterly* |
| *ARelG* | *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* |
| ASH | Ancient Society and History |
| *ASR* | *American Sociological Review* |
| *Aug* | *Augustinianum* |
| AZK | Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte |
| BAH | Bibliothèque archéologique et historique |
| *BAR* | *Biblical Archaeology Review* |
| BEFAR | *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* |
| BHAW | Blackwell History of the Ancient World |
| *BMCR* | *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* |
| *BSOAS* | *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* |
| BWANT | Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament |
| *ByzA* | *Byzantina Australiensia* |

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| *CA* | *Classical Antiquity* |
| CCSL | Corpus Christianorum Series Latina |
| *CH* | *Church History* |
| *CP* | *Classical Philology* |
| *CQ* | *Classical Quarterly* |
| *CR* | *Classical Review* |
| CSCO | Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium |
| CSECELT | Cambridge Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Thought |
| CSEL | Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum |
| CSMLT | Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought |
| CSSCA | Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology |
| *CAnth* | *Current Anthropology* |
| *DACL* | *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* |
| *Di* | *Dialog* |
| *DOP* | *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* |
| ECF | Early Church Fathers |
| *ETL* | *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* |
| FC | Fathers of the Church |
| GCS | Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte |
| *GRBS* | *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* |
| *HTR* | *Harvard Theological Review* |
| HTS | Harvard Theological Studies |
| *ICS* | *Illinois Classical Studies* |
| *IEJ* | *Israel Exploration Journal* |
| *JAAR* | *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* |
| *JAC* | *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* |
| JACSup | Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Supplements |
| *JANER* | *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* |
| *JCR* | *Journal of Contemporary Religion* |
| *JECH* | *Journal of Early Christian History* |
| *JECS* | *Journal of Early Christian Studies* |
| *JEH* | *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* |
| *JHG* | *Journal of Historical Geography* |
| *JHSex* | *Journal of the History of Sexuality* |
| *JHS* | *Journal of Hellenic Studies* |
| *JIH* | *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* |
| *JLAntiq* | *Journal of Late Antiquity* |
| *JMEMS* | *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* |

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|---|---|
| *JNES* | *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* |
| JPICL | The Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature |
| *JQR* | *Jewish Quarterly Review* |
| *JR* | *Journal of Religion* |
| *JRA* | *Journal of Roman Archaeology* |
| JRASup | Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplements |
| *JRS* | *Journal of Roman Studies* |
| JRSMono | Journal of Roman Studies Monographs |
| *JSAH* | *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* |
| *JSJ* | *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods* |
| *JSNT* | *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* |
| *JSNTSup* | *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* |
| *JSP* | *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* |
| JSPSup | Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplements |
| *JTS* | *Journal of Theological Studies* |
| LCC | Library of Christian Classics |
| LCL | Loeb Classical Library |
| LNSAS | Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society |
| NovTSup | *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* |
| NPNF[1] | Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series 1 |
| NPNF[2] | Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series 2 |
| NRSV | New Revised Standard Version (Bible) |
| *NTS* | *New Testament Studies* |
| OCA | Orientalia Christiana Analecta |
| OCM | Oxford Classical Monographs |
| OECS | Oxford Early Christian Studies |
| OECT | Oxford Early Christian Texts |
| PG | Patrologia Graeca (= *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca,* ed. J.-P. Migne, 1857–86) |
| PL | Patrologia Latina (= *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina,* ed. J.-P. Migne, 1844–64) |
| PMS | Patristic Monograph Series |
| PTS | Patristische Texte und Studien |
| *RAC* | *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* |
| *REAug* | *Revue des études augustiniennes* |
| *REByz* | *Revue des études byzantines* |
| RGRW | Religions in the Graeco-Roman World |
| *RHR* | *Revue de l'histoire des religions* |

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| RIA | Religion in the Americas |
| *RIASA* | *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* |
| *RivAC* | *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* |
| RRP | Religion der römischen Provinzen |
| *RSLR* | *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* |
| RTSR | Reflection and Theory in the Study of Religion |
| SBFCMa | Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Maior |
| SBL | Society of Biblical Literature |
| SBLSP | Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers |
| SBLTT | Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations |
| SBS | Stuttgarter Bibelstudien |
| SC | Sources chrétiennes |
| SCA | Studies in Christian Antiquity |
| ScrHier | Scripta Hierosolymitana |
| SGKA | Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums |
| SHR | Studies in the History of Religions (supplements to *Numen*) |
| SJLA | Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity |
| SNTSMS | Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series |
| *SO* | *Symbolae Osloenses* |
| *SHM* | *Social History of Medicine* |
| *Spec* | *Speculum* |
| SRC | Studies in Religion and Culture |
| StPatr | Studia Patristica |
| StPB | Studia Post-biblica |
| SubByzLOI | Subsidia byzantina: Lucis ope iterata |
| SubsHag | Subsidia Hagiographica (Société des Bollandistes) |
| *SVF* | *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta,* ed. Hans Friedrich August von Arnim, 1903–24) |
| T&S | Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature |
| *TAPA* | *Transactions of the American Philological Association* [published earlier as *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*] |
| TCH | The Transformation of the Classical Heritage |
| TRW | The Transformation of the Roman World |
| *TS* | *Theological Studies* |
| TSAJ | *Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum* |
| TSMEMJ | Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism |
| TTH | Translated Texts for Historians |
| TU | Texte and Untersuchungen |
| *VC* | *Vigiliae Christianae* |

| VCSup | Vigiliae Christianae Supplements |
| WUNT | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament |
| *ZAC* | *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity* |
| *ZPE* | *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* |

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# NOTES

## INTRODUCTION

Throughout this book I use the terms *demon* and *demons* instead of the transliteration of the original Greek or Latin into *daimon* and *daimones.* I have made this choice for the sake of consistency. I have also made this choice due to the fact that we are primarily working within a Christian demonological and thus dualistic context. In the non-Christian context, a *daimon*'s place on the moral scale depends to a great degree on its relationship with a ritual practitioner: for example, a person may invoke the aid of a (benevolent) *daimon* for protection, or a person may attempt to exorcize a (malevolent) *daimon* from another person. In short, there is a greater range of possible meanings for the term *daimon* and related terms (e.g., *pneuma*) in the Greco-Roman world of ritual practice and belief. However, this book considers ecclesiastical leaders' use of *daimones* (and related supernatural entities) to Christianize and diabolize an urban setting. In this context, *daimones* and so forth are consistently "demonized" or marginalized as a monstrous other. It is almost impossible to find a solution that perfectly satisfies from a semantic point of view. The words *demon/demons* are hardly perfect; nonetheless we will use these terms consistently to try to capture Christian authors' intended meaning.

1. John Chrysostom, *In sanctum Julianum martyrem* 2 (PG 50.665–76) (hereafter *Jul.*); (English translation) Wendy Mayer, trans., "A Homily on Julian the Martyr," in *"Let Us Die That We May Live": Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine, and Syria, c. 350–c. 450 AD,* trans. Johan Leemans, Wendy Mayer, Pauline Allen, and Boudewijn Dehandschutter (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 126–40, quote at 132–33.

2. John Chrysostom, *Jul.* 4 (PG 50.667); (English translation) Mayer, "A Homily on Julian," 138. "Pageantry," as Mayer explains (159 n. 36) refers to partaking in baptism—a sacramental act that, I argue, John viewed as endowing Christians with antidemonic/apotropaic ritual power. In this case, he describes sacramental, charismatic identity intensified by the exorcistic power of martyr relics.

3.  Christians are hardly the first and certainly not the only religious or cultural group in late antiquity to conceptualize a demonology based in Stoic foundations; see Keimpe Algra, "Stoics on Souls and Demons: Reconstructing Stoic Demonology," in *Body and Soul in Ancient Philosophy,* ed. Dorothea Frede and Burkhard Reis (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 359–87; also available in *Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity,* ed. Nienke Vos and Willemien Otten, VCSup 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 71–96.

4.  John Chrysostom, *Jul.* 5; Mayer, "A Homily on Julian," 138.

5.  I take the term "diabolization" in its Christian context directly from the work of Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1999). See also Birgit Meyer, "Beyond Syncretism: Translation and Diabolization in the Appropriation of Protestantism in Africa," in *Syncretism/Anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis,* ed. Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 45–68; and Birgit Meyer, "Modernity and Enchantment: The Image of the Devil in Popular African Christianity," in *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity,* ed. Peter van der Veer (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 199–230.

6.  I have in mind here Jonathan Z. Smith's important article "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity," *ANRW* 2.16.1 (1978): 425–39, esp. 429, in which he refers to the demonic as a "relational or labeling term." For straightforward examples of Jonathan Z. Smith's theorization of the demonic in the study of early Christian exorcistic practice, see Elizabeth A. Leeper, "From Alexandria to Rome: The Valentinian Connection to the Incorporation of Exorcism as a Prebaptismal Rite," *VC* 44.1 (1990): 6–24; also Elizabeth A. Leeper, "The Role of Exorcism in Early Christianity," StPatr 26 (1993): 59–62. Smith's "demonic" category figures prominently in Eric Sorensen's *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity,* WUNT 2.157 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 12; Sorensen uses the "demonic" category in what is ultimately a genealogical approach to the study of early Christian exorcism. He (1–17) also emphasizes the value inherent in a cultural anthropological approach, which emphasizes the culturally and historically contingent and local context of exorcistic beliefs and practices, as well as notions of demonology and possession and the manner in which these categories structure communal knowledge and potential behavioral patterns in the actual performance of an exorcism. See also, for example, Erika Bourguignon, *Possession,* Chandler & Sharp Series in Cross-Cultural Themes (San Francisco: Chandler & Sharp, 1976), 79. A popular trajectory within this approach is the consideration of local (and/or historical) categories of illness and health as well as purity and pollution, which also serve as inculcating and socializing structures in an exorcistic event. Such an approach has held special appeal for scholars who have considered the relation between healing miracles and exorcisms in the New Testament and early Christian material: for example, John J. Pilch, *Healing in the New Testament: Insights from Medical and Mediterranean Anthropology* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2000). Sorensen himself shrewdly cleaves to scholarship in which methodology (anthropology) dominates and the object of study (in this case, the New Testament) is a secondary interest. A number of these works are reactionary, so much so that at times the integrity of the scholarship is transparently compromised by a confessional undercurrent and a vested interest in an Historical Jesus agenda. Thus, for instance, it is hardly surprising that regarding the relationship of Jesus's exorcisms to categories of magic and

miracle, Sorensen altogether neglects the scholarship of Howard Clark Kee, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times,* SNTSMS 55 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

7. I have chosen to focus on issues of diabolization and thus ritual practices in urban Christianization in the first few generations just after the Constantinian era for a strategic purpose: to determine the impact of the "Constantinian revolution" on material urban Christianity, particularly as regards the continuation, if not intensification, of charismatic ecclesiology. Regarding the Constantinian revolution and an enduring charismatic ecclesiology, see Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition,* TCH 37 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 6–16.

8. The bibliography is quite large; what I offer below is a small collection of key volumes of collected essays that represent a number of cross-disciplinary conferences that have taken place on the topic of ancient Mediterranean magic. See Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kippenburg, eds., *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium,* SHR 75 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, eds., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power,* RGRW 129 (1995; repr., Leiden: Brill, 2001); Paul Mirecki and Marvin Meyer, eds., *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World,* RGRW 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), esp. the contribution by David Frankfurter, "Dynamics of Ritual Expertise in Antiquity and Beyond: Towards a New Taxonomy of 'Magicians,'" 159–78; David R. Jordan, Hugo Montgomery, and Einar Thomassen, eds., *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4–8 May 1997,* Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4 (Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1999); and Leda Ciraolo and Jonathan Seidel, eds., *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World,* Ancient Magic and Divination 2 (Leiden: Brill/Styx, 2002).

9. Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination,* TCH 42/JPICL (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Patricia Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity,* Divinations: Rereading Late Antique Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), esp. 3–17.

10. David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Gregory A. Smith, "How Thin Is a Demon?" *JECS* 16.4 (2008): 479–512.

11. See n. 6 above.

12. For the term "lithomania," see Palladius, *De vita s. Joannis Chrysostomi* 6. See also Peter Brown, "Art and Society in Late Antiquity," in Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, in association with Princeton University Press, 1980), 17–27, esp. 20.

13. For a general overview of Constantinian church building, see Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture,* rev. by Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Ćurčić, 4th ed., Pelican History of Art (New York: Penguin, 1986), 39–93; also Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics,* Una's Lectures 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

14. Chap. 37; see, e.g., Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ed. David Womersley, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 1996), 2:427–28. In light of the importance of Gibbon to later historiography—both late antique scholarship and the

recent return to decline/fall interpretation—Gibbon and his historiographical legacy have become the object of study in and of themselves: for example, G. W. Bowersock, John Clive, and Stephen R. Graubard, eds., "Edward Gibbon and the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," special issue, *Daedalus* 105.3 (summer 1976), which was also published separately with the same editors and title (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977); see esp. the contributions of Peter Brown, Owen Chadwick, Peter Burke, and Arnaldo Momigliano. See also G. W. Bowersock, *From Gibbon to Auden: Essays on the Classical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), which includes "Gibbon's Historical Imagination," 3–19, reprinted from *The American Scholar* 57.1 (1988): 33–47.

15.  Chap. 37; Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall,* 2:425.

16.  For a discussion of Gibbon's version of monastic Christianity in its intellectual context as well as Christianity in relation to Constantinian changes see, for example, J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion,* vol. 3, *The First Decline and Fall,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), especially 489–500. See also Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon,* CSECELT 34 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

17.  Gibbon's narrative of decline provides a foundation for a subsequent positivist historical approach to the study of the city in ancient and late Roman studies: for example, M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon 1926); A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940); compare the much earlier and foundational Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique: Étude sur le culte, le droit, les institutions de la Grèce et de Rome,* 26th ed. (repr., Paris: Hachette, 1920), which focuses on religious cult in the city; translated as Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome,* trans. Willard Small (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1874). See also Arnaldo Momigliano, "The Ancient City of Fustel de Coulanges," in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (1977; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 325–43; originally published as "La città antica di Fustel de Coulanges," *Rivista storica italiana* 82 (1970): 81–90.

18.  For example, Rostovtzeff in particular has argued that outside religious influence weakens civic integrity. He includes among these outside influences the different forms of Christianity as well as Manichaeanism, Judaism, and other Orientalizing forms of corrupting religiosity; his work in Dura-Europos certainly shaped his views.

19.  Most notably, e.g., A. A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century,* ed. Arnaldo Momigliano, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 100–125.

20.  For a prominent example of misplaced bias against magical thinking and superstition, see Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts." Also see Ramsay MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order: Treason, Unrest, and Alienation in the Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), who describes the excessive practice of magic and sorcery as an indication of the empire's decline; cf. H. J. Magoulias, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.: Sorcery, Relics, and Icons," *Byzantion* 37 (1967): 228–69. For the concept of the death of rationality (intellectualism, science, philosophy) and the rise of irrationality, see Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion: Studies Based on a Course of Lectures Delivered in April 1912 at Columbia University,* 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), who argues for

the decline of Greek philosophy from the third century BCE through to mystery religions, and, in a chapter entitled "The Failure of Nerve," describes Christianity as the final fall—in other words, a drop from the heights of Greek rationality and humanism to the irrationality of religious belief. Also see André-Jean Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste,* vol. 1, *L' astrologie et les sciences occultes* (Paris: Gabalda, 1944), and his *Les moines d'Orient,* vol. 1, *Culture ou sainteté: Introduction au monachisme oriental* (Paris: Cerf, 1961), quoting Gilbert Murray's "failure of nerve" in his description of the decay of religions (21). See also E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational,* Sather Classical Lectures 25 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951); and E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety: Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine,* Wiles Lectures, Queens University, Belfast (1963) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

21. For a quite well-known, sweeping statement that generalizes this historical epoch from the early imperial to the late Roman Empire, see Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety,* 2–7, who characterizes the late Roman world as suffocating in an "age of anxiety"—a pervasive feeling generated by the population's shared fears over barbarian invasion and concern for the state of one's eternal soul. The following few titles suggest how widespread the decline/fall perspective has been: e.g., J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian, 395 to 565,* 2nd ed., 2 vols. (1958; repr., Mineola, NY: Dover, 2011), which was originally published in 1923 (London: Macmillan); Ernest Stein, *De l'état romain à l'état byzantin (284–476),* vol. 1 of *Histoire du Bas-Empire,* French ed. Jean-Rémy Palanque (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959); Ernest Stein, *De la disparition de l'empire de Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565),* vol. 2 of *Histoire du Bas-Empire,* French ed. Jean-Rémy Palanque (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949); A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire (284–602): A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey,* 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964); Alexander Demandt, *Die Spätantike: Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian, 284–565 n. Chr.,* Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 3:6 (1989; repr., Munich: Beck, 2007).

22. A recent spate of publications has revisited Gibbon's use of decline and fall—constituting what James J. O'Donnell has described (in his *BMCR* 2005.07.69 review of Peter Heather and Bryan Ward-Perkins) as a "Counter-Reformation in late antique studies" (http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2005/2005–07–69.html): Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and Michael Whitby, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History,* vol. 14, *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425–600,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Stephen Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284–641: The Transformation of the Ancient World,* 2nd ed., BHAW (Oxford, UK, and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007).

23. Peter Brown, "Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages," in *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations,* ed. Mary Douglas, Association of Social Anthropologists Monographs 9 (New York: Tavistock, 1970), 17–45, quote at 19; italics mine. Compare the quite different approach and language in Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," 105–6, who is dedicated to a Gibbonian attitude. Also see especially Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *JRS* 61 (1971): 80–101; also Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity,* The Carl Newell Jackson Lectures

(1976) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978); and Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150–750* (1971; repr., New York: Norton, 1989), 55, 100–104. Brown discusses demons usually in connection with the holy man's ability to protect the average Christian. In the early 2000s, and especially in reference to the thirty-year anniversary of Brown's "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," a number of articles, published symposia, and special volumes in journals were published: e.g., J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, "The Birth of Late Antiquity," *AnTard* 12 (2004): 253–61; Carole Straw and Richard Lim, eds., *The Past before Us: The Challenge of Historiographies of Late Antiquity* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); and Polymnia Athanassiadi, "Antiquité tardive: Construction et déconstruction d'un modèle historiographique," *AnTard* 14 (2006): 311–24. Of particular interest is "SO Debate: The World of Late Antiquity Revisited," special issue, *SO* 72.1 (1997): following Peter Brown's summarizing assessment of his own work in the context of late antique scholarship, a number of scholars participate in a loosely collaborative discourse debating the accomplishments of the late antique perspective as well as the potential advantages of recovering and reforming the decline/fall analytical lens, and speculating as to the possibility of its use in light of the overriding late antique historiographic perspective. The other scholars are G. W. Bowersock, Averil Cameron, Elizabeth A. Clark, Albrecht Dihle, Garth Fowden, Peter Heather, Philip Rousseau, Aline Rousselle, Hjalmar Torp, and Ian Wood.

24. Brown, "Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity," 20.

25. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man," 91. Brown returns to the phrase "charismatic ombudsman" in his *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (1982; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 182, where he certainly offers a much more generous view of an enchanted world in his discussion of the shifting manifestation of the holy. Locating manifestations of the holy/divine in the urban area—which Brown covers elegantly—is not what is at issue. The problem still remains when speaking of powerful ritual agents who actively fight against the unholy/demonic in the urban public sphere. Others have followed Brown's lead in deploying the holy man to criticize Gibbon's decline perspective; for example, the anthropologist R. L. Stirrat owes his model of a holy man to Peter Brown's work: "Sacred Models," *Man,* n.s. 19.2 (1984): 199–215, esp. 211–14; R. L. Stirrat, *Power and Religiosity in a Post-colonial Setting: Sinhala Catholics in Contemporary Sri Lanka,* CSSCA 87 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Also see Robert Bonfil, *History and Folklore in a Medieval Jewish Chronicle: The Family Chronicle of Ahima'az ben Paltiel,* Studies in Jewish History and Culture 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 35–36, who attends more to Peter Brown's "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," *Representations* 2 (1983): 1–25, esp. 9, which projects a saint as a model of morality to emulate rather than as a "charismatic ombudsman." Within the study of late antique Christianity, it is almost too difficult to list the number of scholars influenced by Brown who have also examined the holy ascetic; one scholar in particular who has examined the Egyptian holy man from a standpoint of ritual power is David Frankfurter: for one of many examples, see David Frankfurter, "Syncretism and the Holy Man in Late Antique Egypt," *JECS* 11.3 (2003): 339–85.

26. The bibliography of late antique cities, stretching over the past four decades, has become quite vast; I can offer only a few examples: John Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century,* OCM (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine, and Turkish City* (1979; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Christopher Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity:*

*Topography and Social Conflict,* ASH (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Helmut Koester, ed., *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture,* HTS 41 (1995; repr., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), which includes contributions from Christine Thomas, L. Michael White, and Steven Friesen; also Charlotte Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions, Including Texts from the Excavations at Aphrodisias Conducted by Kenant T. Erim,* JRSMono 5 (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1989). Very recently, we can see how the material turn has impacted urban studies in Anna Leone, *The End of the Pagan City: Religion, Economy, and Urbanism in Late Antique North Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), who uses material remains (along with textual evidence) to analyze the processes of religious change and religious endurance in various urban environments in late antique North Africa. A subfield has also arisen in the past few decades that provides a smaller stage for revisiting the categories of decline and fall; in this discussion, the question of the late antique/late Roman city is central; see, e.g., Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Nancy Gauthier, and Neil Christie, eds., *Towns and Their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* TRW 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2000); J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), who in particular interrogates the view of decline predicated on a particular reading of the archaeological record that suggests the shrinking of city walls, decay of theaters, and replacement of the grid system of streets with a labyrinthine network of souks; also J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, "The End of the Ancient City," in *The City in Late Antiquity,* ed. John Rich (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 1–49; also John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, eds., *City and Country in the Ancient World,* LNSAS 2 (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), which deals with the Greek to early Roman period.

27. In the recent wave of city scholarship in late antiquity, there has been a deliberate effort to conjoin the fields of archaeology, social sciences, and cultural studies and therefore emphasize material culture in what is so often a field dominated by textual witnesses. Many of the collected essays mentioned in note 26 focus directly on the dilemma at hand: how to analyze the urban sphere in a post-Gibbon era aware of the ideological pitfalls of the decline/fall narrative. A number of these collaborative publications include a summary of this discussion as well as a delineation of the subsequent methodologies adopted and developed: a deliberately late antique approach involves the incorporation of both literary (textual) and material (archaeological) data into an analysis sensitive to the inherent biases of the literary material as well as interpreters' own embedded presumptions as post-Cartesian moderns. Many of these studies struggle to strike a balance between the two analytic formulae of "decline/fall" and "continuity/transformation." See, for example, Luke Lavan, ed., *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism,* JRASup 42 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001); Neil Christie and S. T. Loseby, eds., *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, UK, and Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press, 1996); Gian Pietro Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins, eds., *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* TRW 4 (Leiden: Brill 1999); John Rich, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity,* LNSAS 3 (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City;* Bryan Ward-Perkins, "The Cities," in *The Cambridge Ancient History,* vol. 13, *The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425*, ed. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 337–410, esp. 371–410;

Jean-Michel Spieser, *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium,* Variorum Collected Studies 706 (Farnham, Surrey, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001).

28.  A comment by James O'Donnell, in a review of Linda Jones Hall, *Roman Berytus: Beirut in Late Antiquity,* in *BMCR* 2.45 (2005) (http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2005/2005-02-45.html), touches closely upon this point: "The *telos* of the story of any late antique city is the movement to domination by Christian bishops, who might stay around for twenty years." Also see Ray Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (1985; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea,* TCH 20 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); William E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul,* CSMLT, 4th ser. 22 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

29.  Clifford Ando, "Decline, Fall, and Transformation," *JLAnt* 1.1 (2008): 31–60, quote at 49.

30.  Rapp, *Holy Bishops,* 6–16, makes a compelling argument regarding the secularizing tendencies in the interpretation of late antique urban episcopal authority. The bibliography in *Holy Bishops* is invaluable and directed me to many of the references that appear in the following notes.

31.  Rapp, *Holy Bishops,* 13.

32.  Max Weber, *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers,* ed. S. N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 48.

33.  Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 122–23.

34.  This anachronistic insistence leads to a reductive sense of ritual action, which also produces a symbolic view of ritual action. See Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 145; Hugh Riley, *Christian Initiation: A Comparative Study of the Interpretation of the Baptismal Liturgy in the Mystagogical Writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan,* SCA 17 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1974), 195, who attempts to explain away what he concedes to be the "faded echo of pagan purification rites" (195) in Christian baptism; and Thomas M. Finn, *From Death to Rebirth: Ritual and Conversion in Antiquity* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1997), 34–35, who offers a sociological reading of fourth-century baptism and exorcism's role in that conversion process. One can discern the faint outlines of Arnold Van Gennep's and Victor Turner's discussions of ritual process in Finn's psychological consideration of this protracted process of ritual conversion.

35.  For example: Simon During, *Modern Enchantments: The Cultural Power of Secular Magic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Joshua Landy and Michael Saler, eds., *The Re-enchantment of the World: Secular Magic in a Rational Age* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Michael Saler, *As If: Modern Enchantment and the Literary Prehistory of Virtual Reality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

36.  Max Weber, "Science as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* ed. and trans. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 129–56.

37.  Ibid., 139.

38.  Randall Styers, *Making Magic: Religion, Magic, and Science in the Modern World,* RTSR (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 13. For a discussion of the development of

*Entzauberung* in Weber's thought as well as its impact in the study of early modern anti-witchcraft texts, see Michael D. Bailey, "The Disenchantment of Magic: Spells, Charms, and Superstition in Early European Witchcraft Literature," *AHR* 111.2 (2006): 383–404, esp. 383–84; also Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* trans. Talcott Parsons (1930; repr., London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 61 (originally publ. in German in 1905).

39. For example, the important work by Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1971); for a critical review of Thomas's reductive treatment of magical decline, see Hildred Geertz, "An Anthropology of Religion and Magic, I," *JIH* 6.1 (1975): 71–89. For background regarding antisacramental rhetoric, see Carlos M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 54–104, 197–233. A persuasive challenge to this perception of the Reformation's impact is found in Bailey, "The Disenchantment of Magic," who argues against conventional views of disenchantment, locating a desire to reform sacramental practice in a much earlier period. Of equal interest and relevance is the discussion of antisacramental rhetoric and disenchantment discourse by Robert W. Scribner, "The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the 'Disenchantment of the World,'" *JIH* 23.3 (1993): 475–94.

40. For a discussion of scientific developments as an agent generating the parallel development of Western modernity, see Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,* 2nd ed., Foundations of the Unity of Science 2.2 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970), who situates the beginning of this development in ancient Greece and traces the progress in a steady trajectory to the more substantial advances in seventeenth-century Europe. Also see Richard S. Westfall, *Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England,* Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 67 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958).

41. See Styers, *Making Magic,* 44, for a discussion of this shift (Francis Bacon and Montaigne preceding Descartes's thought). Margaret J. Osler, *Divine Will and the Mechanical Philosophy: Gassendi and Descartes on Contingency and Necessity in the Created World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 215–19, discusses in depth the anti-Aristotelian aspects of Cartesian thought.

42. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* 4.45, in Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, with Selected Variants from the Latin Edition of 1668*, ed. with introd. and notes by Edwin Curley (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1994), 438, is a very early example of a biblical interpreter who insists upon reading demons in general from a metaphorical standpoint; he bases his reading upon his view of God's total immanence in the natural world—there is no room for inferior spiritual life of any kind. Studies of modern subjectivity frequently reference Descartes as providing the necessary cosmological adjustment (in his mind/body split) for the advance of Protestant conceptualization of introspection; see, for example, Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).

43. Styers, *Making Magic,* 46ff.

44. Michael J. Buckley, *At the Origins of Modern Atheism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 97. This linear narrative of the increasing secularization of modernity has since come under severe critique as part of more general reappraisals of history making and historiography. Examples of provocative critique include Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997);

Roy Porter, "The Scientific Revolution: A Spoke in the Wheel?" in *Revolution in History,* ed. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 290–316, esp. 300–304; and Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern,* trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

45. Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches Into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom,* 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1871).

46. Ibid., 2:124–25. The quote from Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 389–90, also 427 n. 1, appears in Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 20.

47. Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* 2:113, also 2:108.

48. Ibid., 2:113.

49. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 8.

50. Ibid.

51. For example, Styers, *Making Magic;* also many of the articles in Birgit Meyer and Peter Pels, eds., *Magic and Modernity: Interfaces of Revelation and Concealment* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003). Also more generally involving the relation between the study of religion and the construction of Western modernity are David Chidester, *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa,* SRC (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996); and Russell T. McCutcheon, *Manufacturing Religion: The Discourse on Sui Generis Religion and the Politics of Nostalgia* (1997; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

52. Throughout this book, all translations of John Chrysostom's, Cyril of Jerusalem's, and Ambrose of Milan's baptismal and sacramental writings are my own, using the following Greek and Latin editions, as well as consulting the following published English translations: For John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos:* (Greek text) (*Catech. illum.* 1–8) John Chrysostom, *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites,* ed. and trans. with intro. and notes by Antoine Wenger, SC 50 (Paris: Cerf, 1957) (hereafter SC 50); (*Catech. illum.* 3, 9–11) *Varia graeca sacra,* ed. and trans. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, SubByzLOI 6 (St. Petersburg: Kiršbaum, 1909), 154–83 (hereafter PK); (*Catech. illum.* 9 and 12) PG 49:221–40; (English translation consulted) John Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions,* trans. and annot. Paul W. Harkins, ACW 31 (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1963) (hereafter ACW 31). For Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 1–18: (Greek text) *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia,* ed. Wilhelm Karl Reischl and Joseph Rupp, 2 vols. (1848–60; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1967) (hereafter R&R); *Catéchèses mystagogiques,* ed. Auguste Piédagnel, SC 126 (Paris: Cerf, 1966); (consulted with reference to English translations, unless another translation is noted) *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem,* trans. Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson, 2 vols., FC 61, 64 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1969–70) (hereafter FC 61 or FC 64). While Ambrose of Milan does not have a set of catecheses, his *De sacramentis* and *De mysteriis* provide comparable information regarding baptismal and sacramental content: (Latin text) Ambrose, *Des sacraments, Des mystères, Explication du symbole,* ed., French trans., and notes by Bernard Botte, SC 25 bis, 2nd ed. (1961; repr., Paris: Cerf, 1980), 156–93 (hereafter SC 25); (English translation consulted) Ambrose, *Theological and Dogmatic Works,* trans. Roy J. Deferrari, FC 44 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1963), 219–328 (*Sacr.*), 5–28 (*Myst.*)

(hereafter FC 44); (English translation of *Sacr.* 1–5) Edward Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: The Origins of the R.C.I.A.,* 2nd ed. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1994), 100–149; (English translation of *Sacr.* 6) Ambrose, *The Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos: A Work of St. Ambrose,* ed. and trans. R. Hugh Connolly, T&S 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952); (English translation of *Myst.*) Boniface Ramsey, *Ambrose,* ECF (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 146–60.

53. For the Lenten catechumenate in the fourth century, see P. de Puniet, "Caté-chuménat," *DACL* 2.2 (1924–53): 2579–2621; William Telfer, ed., *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa,* LCC 4 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955), 31–34; Michel Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate: The First Six Centuries,* trans. Edward J. Haasl (New York: Sadlier, 1979); Edward Yarnold, "Initiation: The Fourth and Fifth Centuries," in *The Study of Liturgy,* ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnold, and Paul Bradshaw, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 129–43; Alexis James Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses,* Patristic Monograph Series 17 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001); and William Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995), 39–78, who, although he focuses only on Augustine's materials, provides a very good summary/foundation regarding the catechumenate's development and place in late antiquity that helps to contextualize the practice in our three churches. Finally, Finn, *From Death to Rebirth,* passim, offers simple and short background material on the catechumenate, enough to support his sociological inquiry into the catechumenate as a tool of conversion.

54. The bibliography for exorcism and demonology in the New Testament and early Christianity is quite large and extensive, and space allows only a few examples: Franz Joseph Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie,* SGKA 3:1/2 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1909); Klaus Thraede, "Exorzismus," *RAC* 7.5 (1969): 44–117; and studies by Otto Böcher, who has published a number of works that discuss demonology and exorcism in the New Testament and early Christian period, including *Christus exorcista: Dämonismus und Taufe im Neuen Testament,* BWANT 5.16/96 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972); *Dämonenfurcht und Dämonenabwehr: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe,* BWANT 5.10/90 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970); and *Das Neue Testament und die dämonischen Mächte,* SBS 58 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1972). The bibliography is far too extensive to include here; for a few key examples, see the bibliography in Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism.* Noteworthy again for her theoretical approach, appropriating Jonathan Z. Smith's category of demonization, is Elizabeth A. Leeper; see especially "From Alexandria to Rome" and "The Role of Exorcism." See also Todd Klutz, *The Exorcism Stories in Luke–Acts: A Sociostylistic Reading,* SNTSMS 129 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). For a thorough but ideological/confessional viewpoint, see Graham H. Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism Among Early Christians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007). Examples of scholarship covering exorcism practice outside of the church in the ancient world include Roy Kotansky, "Greek Exorcistic Amulets," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power,* ed. Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, RGRW 129 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 243–77; Naomi Janowitz, *Magic in the Roman World: Pagans, Jews, and Christians,* Religion in the First Christian Centuries (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 38–40. I have also turned to scholarship covering possession and exorcism in

different time periods: for example, Clark, *Thinking with Demons;* Sarah Ferber, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern France* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004); René Holvast, *Spiritual Mapping in the United States and Argentina, 1989–2005: A Geography of Fear,* RIA 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); and Brian Levack, *The Devil Within: Possession and Exorcism in the Christian West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013). Charles Stewart's *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991) has been extremely influential in the study of demonology as part of the study of religion and magic in Greco-Roman antiquity.

CHAPTER 1. A CITY OF RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND
SPIRITUAL AMBIGUITY

1.  Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity,* The Haskell Lectures on History of Religions, n.s. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 114–15, adapts the tested anthropological model of "medical pluralism" to illuminate the classical-to-late-antique situation, in which a broad spectrum of therapeutic systems (rational medicine, forms of religious healing, magical ritual) coexist, with none attaining final authority. He also appropriates the anthropological term "hierarchy of resort" to describe a sick person's practice of turning to whatever therapy is immediately available and then exhausting all possibilities in order of availability and accessibility; in other words, no particular form of care rises to ascendancy above any other. Refer on this point also to Lesley Alexandra Sharp, *The Possessed and the Dispossessed: Spirits, Identity, and Power in a Madagascar Migrant Town,* Comparative Studies of Health Systems and Medical Care 37 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 203, 269–70 (for "medical pluralism"), 245 (for "hierarchy of resort"). Regarding the broad spectrum of therapeutic systems, see Vivian Nutton, "Murders and Miracles: Lay Attitudes towards Medicine in Classical Antiquity," in *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society,* ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 40ff.; and G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason, and Experience,* Studies in the Origin and Development of Science (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 38–39, who lists several types of healers in competition with persons (such as Galen) who were practicing medicine (Gk. *iatroi;* L. *medici*): root cutters/herb cutters (Gk. *rhizitomoi;* L. *herbarii*), druggists (Gk. *pharmakopōlai*), midwives (Gk. *maiai;* L. *obstetrices*), gymnastic trainers (L. *iatraliptae*), diviners, exorcists, and priests in private and public shrines. Old women (L. *aniles*), magicians (Gk. *magoi/goētai*), astrologers (L. *mathematici*), and dream interpreters (Gk. *oneirokritai*) can be added to this list. Cf. Rebecca Flemming, *Medicine and the Making of Roman Women: Gender, Nature, and Authority from Celsus to Galen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 33–79. Finally, see Gary B. Ferngren, *Medicine and Religion: A Historical Introduction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 72.

2.  Gary B. Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care in Early Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 37ff., describes the tendency of physicians to congregate in cities, thus providing urban inhabitants greater access to their services. He convincingly argues that at this time physicians (Gk. *iatroi;* L. *medici*) play a greater role in the lives of urban inhabitants than previously acknowledged in Brown's model of "medical pluralism" or that of the "hierarchy of resort." See also Gary B. Ferngren and Darrel W. Amundsen,

"Medicine and Christianity in the Roman Empire: Compatibilities and Tensions," in *ANRW* 2.37.3, *Wissenschaften (Medizin und Biologie),* ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), 2957–80, esp. 2967–68, which offers a more incisive contextualization of the different medical types within the Roman world; also Anne Elizabeth Merideth, "Illness and Healing in the Early Christian East" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1999).

3.  Regarding soothsayers, see Ammianus Marcellinus 19.112.119, 29.1.1–5; Libanius, *Oratio* 1.171 (F.I.I.163). Soothsaying or divination is hardly a practice exclusive to Greek ritual. For example, whether at Matrona or in a nearby synagogue, ritual experts will surely have been available to handle the divinatory aspects of dream interpretation: John Chrysostom, *Adversus Judaeos* 1.6.2, 1.8.1 (PG 48:852–53, 855–56); see also n. 5 below. Divination is an extremely popular and important practice in the late antique world. Therefore, a brief survey of recent relevant scholarship is in order: Ciraolo and Seidel, eds., *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World,* esp. the articles by Peter T. Struck (119–31) and Anitra Bingham Kolenkow (133–44); also Sarah Iles Johnston and Peter T. Struck, eds., *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination,* RGRW 155 (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Sarah Iles Johnston's "Introduction" is essential reading for understanding "divination" as an ideologically shifting object of analysis in the history of religion, in particular in ancient religions (1–28). Also significant in this volume are the articles by William E. Klingshirn (52–128) and David Frankfurter (233–54). For a general overview of divination practice in antiquity, see Sarah Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination* (Malden, MA, and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 1–30, 109–82; also Valerie Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 88–91. David Potter has introduced a central question in the study of divination, namely, the relationship between power and politics: David Potter, *Prophets and Emperors: Human and Divine Authority from Augustus to Theodosius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); also David Potter, *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire: A Historical Commentary on the Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle* (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). On the relation between imperial power's claims to complete and sole control over divinatory practice and the expanded category (in imperial legislation) of *ars magica/malefica* to include a larger range of divination practice, see Marie Theres Fögen, *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager: Studien zum kaiserlichen Wissensmonopol in der Spätantike* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993), 160–62.

4.  John Chrysostom, *In illud: Vidua eligatur* 11 (PG 51:331) (hereafter *Hom. 1 Tim. 5:9*). All quotations from the writings of John Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Ambrose of Milan are my own translations, unless otherwise noted. Libanius figures somewhat prominently in this chapter, and the citations and quotations of Libanius's orations and letters are based upon my consultation of the Greek text in Richard Foerster and Eberhard Richsteig, eds., *Libanii Opera,* 12 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–27; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1963) (hereafter F) as well as the variety of translations available. In references to Libanius's letters I follow Foerster's numbering in volumes X (*Epistulae* 1–839) and XI (*Epistulae* 840–1544); when possible I include a reference to an English translations now available: e.g., Libanius, *Selected Orations,* ed. and trans. A. F. Norman, 2 vols., LCL 451–52 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969–77), esp. vol. 1 (hereafter Norman, LCL 451 or Norman, LCL 452); Libanius, *Autobiography and Selected Letters,* ed. and trans. A. F. Norman, 2 vols., LCL 478–79 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992) (hereafter Norman, LCL 478 or Norman LCL 479); Libanius, *Selected Letters of Libanius from the Age of Constantius and*

*Julian,* trans. Scott Bradbury, TTH 41 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004) (hereafter Bradbury, TTH 41). Finally, all quotations from the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (*PGM*) are from the English translation in Hans D. Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells,* vol. 1, *Texts,* 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). The Greek text and a German translation are available in Karl Preisendanz, ed. and trans., *Papyri Graecae Magicae,* Die griechischen Zauberpapyri 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1928).

5. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.6.2–3 (PG 48:852), 1.8.1 (PG 48:855). For a discussion of Matrona incubation in the wider context of synagogue-related magical practice, see Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 320–22; also Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 384, who places the Matrona in the context of the synagogue's general reputation in late antiquity as a locus of holiness and therefore healing. The Daphne synagogue, Levine argues, will have drawn itself into competitive parallel with the Asclepian cult: during a night's sleep, a person receives a healing visit from the God of Israel.

6. For amulets in synagogues, see John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.7.5–11; 8.4–7 (PG 48:854–55, 935–38, esp. 936); John also describes Jewish sorcerers who take healing potions to the homes of sick Christians: *Adv. Jud.* 8.7 (PG 48:937). This passage had traditionally been dismissed until the discoveries of Babylonian magic bowls and magical texts such as the *Sepher Ha-Razim;* see Mordecai Margalioth, ed., *Sepher Ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Achronot, 1966) (Hebrew); (English translation) Michael A. Morgan, trans., *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of The Mysteries,* SBLTT 25 / Pseudepigrapha Series 11 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, eds. and trans., *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity,* 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1987); Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, eds. and trans., *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1993). Since that point, the synagogue has been treated as being in a direct competitive relationship with other religious institutions (e.g., the temple, the church, and the martyr shrine) as a place of "numinous power": Robert L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late 4th Century,* TCH 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 83–88 (on Jewish magic), 83–84 (on John Chrysostom's views on Jewish magic specifically). Also see Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue.* Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic,* 143, 314–22, supports the "outsider evidence" of Chrysostom's statement about synagogue magic with "insider support." Bohak (315) introduces nineteen metal lamellae discovered in a late antique synagogue at Horvat Ma'on (near the modern Kibbuz Nirim) in an apse quite close to an ark of the Torah. They were rolled or folded, with some of the original fabric in which they were wrapped still remaining.

7. For nurses and folk remedies, see John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistulam ad Colossenses*) 8 (PG 62:358) (hereafter *Hom. Col.*). This passage describes a number of nurses' cures: e.g., tying the names of rivers around wrists was a popular apotropaic protection; also mud markings on a child's forehead. Also see John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos* 12.60 (PG 49:240) (hereafter *Catech. illum.*). Gk. *graus* / L. *anus* forms a well-known cultural type in late antiquity; whether or not there were actually real, old, drunken women is another question. John Chrysostom is doing more than simply working on an active imagination that will

forget in the morning. He is creating and feeding an imagination that lives and exists through and in cultural memes. John is building upon earlier literary figures of the drunken old women who provide frightening magical advice, such as those in Lucian's *Dialogi meretricii.* In fact, *Dial. meretr.* 4 is replete with several examples of drunken old women and prostitutes practicing magic. Names include Melitta and Bacchis of *Dial. meretr.* 4; also Theocritus's Simaetha and Horace's Canidia. Such famous L. *sagae/meretrices* of Roman elegists do much more to provide us with a sociocultural sense of prostitutes' relationship with magical practice in general, and erotic spells and old women in particular. Of course, Lucian is engaging in a literary pursuit and one that is very much tongue-in-cheek.

8. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* 8 (PG 62:357–59); this passage names the *apotropaia* discussed in note 7 above but places them in relation to a child suffering from a grave fever and in the context of Christian sacramental identity. The passage from John Chrysostom, like others by Athanasius, Augustine, and Gregory of Nazianzus, contributes to the Christianization of *remedia;* e.g., Augustine, *Sermo* 306e; (English translation) Augustine, *Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century,* ed. John E. Rotelle, trans. Edmund Hill, Part 3, vol. 9, *Sermons (306–340A) on the Saints* (Brooklyn, NY: New City Press, 1994), 11, 277–78. For discussion of the Augustinian passage, see David Frankfurter, "Beyond Magic and Superstition," in *Late Ancient Christianity,* ed. Virginia Burrus, A People's History of Christianity 2 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 255–84, esp. 277–78. For developing sacramental functionality and theological meaning of such *apotropaia,* see Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 19.5; (English translation) Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons,* trans. Mary Magdeleine Mueller, FC 31 (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1971), 1:101 (more recently, FC volumes have been published by the Catholic University of America Press).

9. See the introduction for the distinction between demonization and diabolization.

10. Isabella Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity: Greeks, Jews, and Christians in Antioch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 5.

11. Ibid. For a brief definition of *habitus,* see Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* CSSCA 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 76–79, 86–88; also Bourdieu's *Logic of Practice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 52–65, also 66–79. Sandwell argues that Antiochenes of the time develop religious "dispositions and habits" through the act of living in, engaging with, and experiencing the religious and ritual pluralism of Antioch; the practices of religious allegiance and religious difference have become a part of the Antiochenes' embodied knowledge, which they then deploy strategically. That is, "they would have acted out religious allegiance and religious difference as something that mattered at some times but not at others and that could be put aside when needed" (19). In other words, Sandwell argues that in the beginning of the Roman imperial period recognition of religious difference, especially in cities, leads to "a natural and habitual sense of how to deal with issues of religious difference and religious allegiance" (18).

12. When describing "religious conflict, change, and violence," I am directing my discourse toward animistic and ritual exchanges, narrowly construed, in relation to the sociological, which is always the dominant epistemological mode of understanding human interaction. In other words, I ask only that we consider, in a focused sense, how ritual engagement may specifically create a sense of violent conflict—and how the imagined cosmological realms involved would react—and how, then, this may relay ideas of actual change in religious identity that do not register to the modern reader, who interprets strictly in the

sociological, anthropological, or historical method without considering this dimension. Moreover, I imagine this realm working "in tandem" with the "actual" sociological—always pushing it or following it in ritual action. Finally, by considering the animistic and the ritual together, I hope that it may open up possibilities when considering archaeological remains with respect to their purpose and use, especially of smaller ritual objects such as amuletic objects. Here I have in mind Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic,* 320–22, a creative and imaginative approach to magic practice, amuletic practice, and questions that have long befuddled scholars regarding the synagogue.

13. For "the betwixt and between," and an informative discussion regarding ritual activity more generally, see Frankfurter, "Beyond Magic and Superstition," 255–312.

14. Polymnia Athanassiadi, "Philosophers and Oracles: Shifts of Authority in Late Paganism," *Byzantion* 62 (1992): 45–62, has demonstrated that changes occur within the civic authority among Christians, pagans, and other religious groups in the shifting socioreligious frontier of late antiquity; see also Athanassiadi's comparison between Iamblichus and Eusebius in her article "Dreams, Theurgy and Freelance Divination: The Testimony of Iamblichus," *JRS* 83 (1993): 115–30. Not all are contented with this religious and ritual competition, however; John Chrysostom continually attempts to dissuade congregations from engaging in divinatory practices: e.g., *In Kalendas* (hereafter *Kal.*) 2 (PG 48:954) (following the observance of days); *Hom. 1 Tim.* 10.3 (PG 62:552): "omens, observations, origins, symbols, amulets, divinations, incantations, magic" (*klēdonismous, paratēseis, geneseis, symbola, periammata, manteias, epōidas, mageias*).

15. Martin Illert, *Johannes Chrysostomus und das antiochenisch-syrische Mönchtum: Studien zu Theologie, Rhetorik und Kirchenpolitik im antiochenischen Schrifttum des Johannes Chrysostomus* (Ph.D., diss. Kiel, 1998; Zurich: Pano, 2000), contends that the uniquely Syrian asceticism that marks John Chrysostom's character is urban-centered, and his ascetic training did not involve withdrawal from the city. I am indebted to one of the anonymous readers at the University of California Press for pointing out Illert's work. Thus, John's brand of asceticism is quite distinct from Evagrian and Egyptian asceticism in terms of location. This marks an important departure from and revision of earlier depictions of John Chrysostom's monastic development. Illert's thesis is well argued and gaining support; see especially the conclusions of Wendy Mayer, "What Does It Mean to Say That John Chrysostom Was a Monk?" StPatr 41 (2006): 451–55.

16. David Brakke, "The Making of Monastic Demonology: Three Ascetic Teachers on Withdrawal and Resistance," *CH* 70.1 (2001): 19–48; David Brakke, "Ethiopian Demons: Male Sexuality, the Black-Skinned Other, and the Monastic Self," in "Sexuality in Late Antiquity," special issue, *JHSex* 10.3/4 (2001): 501–35; David Brakke, "The Lady Appears: Materializations of 'Woman' in Early Monastic Literature," *JMEMS* 33.3 (2003): 387–402. The latter two articles form the basis for chapters in Brakke's book *Demons and the Making of the Monk.* As Brakke states (251 n. 5), he follows a psychoanalytic approach in his analysis of monastic demonology; in doing so, he draws upon the defense in Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999). Also see Richard Valantasis, "Daemons and the Perfecting of the Monk's Body: Monastic Anthropology, Daemonology, and Asceticism," *Semeia* 58 (1992): 47–79.

17. Smith, "How Thin Is a Demon?" 492.

18. Dayna S. Kalleres, "Demons and Divine Illumination: A Consideration of Eight Prayers by Gregory of Nazianzus," *VC* 61.2 (2007): 157–88.

19. While somewhat outdated, Paul Petit, André J. Festugière, and Glanville Downey are all still essential reading when putting together a picture of late antique Antioch: e.g., Paul Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVe siècle après J.-C.,* BAH 62 (Paris: Geuthner, 1955); also André J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne: Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie, BEFAR* 194 (Paris: de Boccard, 1959); Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria: From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961). The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have brought additional shifts in interpretive tides as scholars' eyes have settled increasingly upon Libanius and John Chrysostom and the city that both inhabited. For English translations of some of Libanius's work, see n. 4 above. Roughly concurrent with Norman are some of J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz's publications that revolve around the bishop's role in urban development and decline: e.g., J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration* (1972; repr., Oxford: Clarendon, 2003); Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City.* Liebeschuetz's scholarship still holds substantial weight as I write this book; unfortunately, his most recent publication, *Ambrose and John Chrysostom: Clerics between Desert and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), did not appear until my thought process was well advanced. Other important works include Christine Kondoleon, ed., *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2000), a collection of essays by experts in the field who cover a wide variety of topics that pertain to the city: religion in general, the Jewish populations, Christianity, jewelry, houses, mosaics, furnishings, and so forth. With studies such as these in recent years, the city of Antioch has reemerged and moved into the academic spotlight.

20. It is fair to say that in the past decade or so Antioch has in a very material sense exploded onto the academic scene. The trend continues with works such as Isabella Sandwell and Janet Huskinson, eds., *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch: Papers from a Colloquium, London, 15th December 2001* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004), a volume of essays that focus on different aspects of the late Roman period in Antioch; the essays collectively represent an important effort toward correcting earlier Antiochene studies, especially by including archaeological material. The renewed interest in Antioch is also represented by another conference in Lyon: Bernadette Cabouret, Pierre-Louis Gatier, and Catherine Saliou, eds., *Antioch de Syrie: Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique [colloque de Lyon, octobre 2001],* Topoi Orient-Occident Supplement 5 (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée–Jean Pouilloux, 2004). Much of this scholarship reflects the view of Antioch as a bellwether of urban life in the farthest Eastern reaches of the later Roman Empire, near an ever-fluctuating Persian border: e.g., esp. Isabella Sandwell's recent work, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity.* See also the following abbreviated sample of insightful, theoretically attuned work: Christine Shepardson, "Controlling Contested Places: John Chrysostom's *Adversus Iudaeos* Homilies and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy," *JECS* 15.4 (2007): 483–516; Christine Shephardson, *Controlling Contested Places: Late Antique Antioch and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy,* JPICL (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014); Christine Shepardson, "Rewriting Julian's Legacy: John Chrysostom's *On Babylas* and Libanius' *Oration* 24," *JLAnt* 2.1 (2009): 99–115; Christine Shepardson, "Burying Babylas: Meletius and the Christianization of Antioch," StPatr 37 (2010): 347–52. Also see the

embodied, gendered reading in Chris De Wet, "Claiming Corporeal Capital: John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Maccabean Martyrs," *JECH* 2.1 (2012): 3–21; finally, the much-anticipated project from Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *The Churches of Syrian Antioch (300–638 CE),* Late Antique History and Religion 5 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), which provides an important, innovative, and corrective material rereading of many of the churches.

21. Libanius, *Or.* 11.166–73 (F.I.II.492–95); see also Glanville Downey, trans., "Libanius' Oration in Praise of Antioch (Oration XI)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 103.5 (1959), 652–86, esp. 670ff.

22. For the category of magician (*magos*) in the Roman context—Republic to late imperial—see Fritz Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World,* Revealing Antiquity 10 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 61–88; David Frankfurter, "Priest to Magician: Evolving Modes of Religious Authority," in his *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), chap. 5 (198–237); David Frankfurter, "Ritual Expertise in Roman Egypt and the Problem of the Category 'Magician,'" in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium,* ed. Peter Schäfer and Hans G. Kipperberg, SHR 75 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 115–35, esp. 126–29, which addresses a changing situation in the later empire and has argued for wider flexibility when considering the overlap between the role of the *magos* and Egyptian priests, for instance, especially in the third century, when economic crisis besets the temples and thus breaks down boundaries between the two ritual identities. I would suggest a similar scenario in Antioch; while temple decline is a certainly a factor, the constant population flow through Antioch also hastens the boundaries in ambiguities in ritual power: magicians, priests, old women selling amulets, divinatory experts, astrologers, doctors, rabbis, other unnamed wise men, old women, and monks—all will have offered their skills in making textual amulets and spells. In the end, it is a competitive, charismatic market fed continuously by trade routes and energized by urban demand.

23. Sarolta A. Takács, "Pagan Cults at Antioch," in Kondoleon, *Antioch,* 197–216, quote at 199. On all pagan cults, see Liebeschuetz, *Antioch,* 228–31; Bernadette Cabouret, "Sous les portiques d'Antioche," *Syria* 76 (1999): 127–50; Emmanuel Soler, *Le sacré et le salut à Antioche au IVe siècle après J.-C.: Pratiques festives et comportements religieux dans le processus de christianisation de la cité,* BAH 176 (Ph.D. diss., Rouen, 1999; Beirut: Institut français du Proche-Orient, 2006).

24. The problem in answering such questions, of course, involves the dearth of recovered archaeological evidence and material culture. A joint Princeton-French excavation uncovered a great deal but primarily concentrated on Daphne and the mosaics: Richard Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes,* vol. 2, *The Excavations 1933–1936,* Publications of the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and Its Vicinity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938); Richard Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes,* vol. 3, *The Excavations 1937–1939,* Publications of the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and Its Vicinity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941). Many of the original locations for buildings—including churches, the hippodrome, etc.—have been lost. The city has grown up a good deal, making new excavations a near-impossibility, although it is hoped that recent surveys will yield promising information: e.g., several of the articles in Sandwell and Huskinson, *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch,* which focuses on material culture and archaeological surveys for the surrounding hill towns and limestone massif, providing information regarding settlement patterns. See also Mayer and Allen, *The Churches of Syrian Antioch.*

25.  Catherine Saliou, "Statues d'Antioche de Syrie dans la *Chronographie* de Malalas," in *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas II (Actes du colloque "Malalas et l'histoire," Aix-en-Provence, 21–22 octobre 2005)*, ed. Sandrine Agusta-Boularot, Joëlle Beaucamp, Anne-Marie Bernardi, and Emmanuèle Caire, Monographies 24 (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2006), 69–95.

26.  In two sermons dealing with the martyr Babylas (*De sancto hieromartyre Babyla* 72 [hereafter *Bab.*], *De Babyla contra Julianum et gentiles* 68 [hereafter *Bab. Jul.*]), John Chrysostom states repeatedly that the statue of Apollo has been burned to the ground: John Chrysostom, *Discours sur Babylas,* ed. and trans. Margaret A. Schatkin, Bernard Grillet, and Jean-Noël Guinot, SC 362 (Paris: Cerf, 1990) (hereafter SC 362), 186–88; 180.

27.  Libanius, *Or.* 29.7–8 (F.II.387).

28.  For the temple of Dionysus, see Libanius, *Or.* 45.26 (F.III.371), Julian, *Epistula* 176. For the deities of Antioch, see Libanius, *Or.* 15.79 (F.II.152). Also see Bernard Schouler, *La tradition hellénique chez Libanios,* 2 vols. (Ph.D., diss., Université de Paris IV, 1977; Lille: Atelier national reproduction des thèses, Université Lille III / Paris: Belles Lettres, 1984).

29.  Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 41, 60, n. 51. This fits with imperial action—or inaction, as the case may be: Constantine imposes certain restrictions on sacrifice but nothing dealing with the actual temple structures (a policy followed by Constantius), in spite of promoting Christianization. The period of Julianic polytheistic indulgence is followed by Valens's clemency for polytheistic cults. I depend heavily here upon Isabella Sandwell's *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* in which she has assembled a good deal of primarily literary evidence to piece together a vivid picture of the city's civic religion. I am especially in her debt for her quite thorough reading of civil and religious life in Antioch. Sandwell notes (42), and I agree, that though we have evidence only for the destruction of the Apollo temple in Daphne and the temple of Nemesis in 387, it is probable that many smaller shrines are destroyed during Gallus's stay in the city as well as after Julian's death.

30.  Malalas, *Chronographia* 13.4 (319); (English translation) John Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation,* trans. by Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott, with Brian Croke et al., *ByzA* 4 (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies; [Sydney:] Department of Modern Greek, University of Sydney, 1986). See also Glanville Downey, *Ancient Antioch* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 148; Liebeschuetz, *Antioch,* 110–11; Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 36–37.

31.  Libanius, *Epistula* F.X.1406 (Greek text and English translation in Norman, LCL 479:189 [no.110]); *Ep.* F.X.88 (Greek text and English translation in Norman, LCL 478:508–13 [no. 45]). See also Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 42–43. For interesting observations regarding differing reactions to imperial building plans, see Benjamin Garstad, "The Tyche Sacrifices in John Malalas: Virgin Sacrifice and Fourth-Century Polemical History," *ICS* 30 (2005): 83–135.

32.  Libanius, *Or.* 45.26 (F.III.371).

33.  Libanius, *Or.* 30.42 (F.III.110).

34.  Libanius, *Or.* 11.202 (F.II.506); see also Downey, "Libanius' Oration."

35.  Laura Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church amid the Spaces of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1.

36.  Ibid, 2.

37.  Ibid.

38.  Takács, "Pagan Cults at Antioch," 198.

39.  John Chrysostom, *Kal.* (PG 48.953–62). In general on the topic of the Kalends festival, see Michel Meslin, *La fête des kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain: Étude d'un rituel de nouvel an,* Collection Latomus 115 (Brussels: Latomus, 1970); also related to urban festivals, see Maud W. Gleason, "Festive Satire: Julian's *Misopogon* and the New Year at Antioch," *JRS* 76 (1986): 106–19.

40.  Jaclyn Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication in Late Antiquity: John Chrysostom and His Congregation in Antioch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 154.

41.  Liebescheutz, *Antioch,* 146.

42.  Ammianus Marcellinus 26.3.3; 28.1.57. Also *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.3 (346 CE and again in 380 CE) (hereafter *Cod. Theod.*); (Latin text and French translation) Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Les lois religieuses des empereurs romains de Constantin à Théodose II (312–438),* vol. 1, *Le code Théodosien, livre XVI,* trans. Jean Rougé, intro. and notes Roland Delmaire, with François Richard, SC 497 (Paris: Cerf, 2005); (English translation) Clyde Pharr, trans., with Theresa Sherrer Davidson and Mary Brown Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions,* Corpus of Roman Law 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952).

43.  Downey, *History of Antioch in Syria,* 327; Malalas, *Chron.* 307.16–20. Soler, "Le sacré et la salut," 86, theorizes that Iamblichus must have taught in Daphne at some point, and ties the Hecate shrine as well as the temple of Apollo and the Nymphaeum to Neoplatonic theurgic activity.

44.  Downey, *History of Antioch in Syria,* 233; Malalas, *Chron.* 283.4–9.

45.  Malalas, *Chron.* 12.38; Libanius, *Or.* 11.236 (F.II.519), who mentions the Daphne stadium; also Downey, *History of Antioch in Syria,* 105.

46.  The following discuss the Maiumas festival: Malalas, *Chron.* 285.12–21; Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.14; Libanius, *Or.* 41.16 (F.III.302), *Or.* 50.11 (F.III.476).

47.  Both Greek (Libanius included) and Christian moralists disapprove of the Maiumas. For the imperial ban for the Maiumas, see *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.3 (346 CE and again in 380 CE). The ban is repealed in 396 and once again reinforced in 399 (*Cod. Theod.* 15.6.1–2). For Libanius's disapproval, see Jules Misson, *Recherches sur le paganisme de Libanios,* Université catholique, Louvain: Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conference d'histoire et de philologie 43 (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, 1914), 146; Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 42 n. 60.

48.  For horse racing in Antioch, see Liebeschuetz, *Antioch,* 147. See Libanius, *Or.* 11.135. On horse races for Calliope, see Libanius, *Ep.* F.X.811 (Greek text and English translation in Norman, LCL 479.188–91 [no. 100]); on magic in horse races on behalf of charioteers, see Libanius, *Or.* 35.13–14 (F.III.216); on charioteers in magic trials, see Libanius, *Or.* 1.162 (FI.I.159; also Norman, LCL 478:228–31); also Ammianus Marcellinus 28.1.27ff., cf. 26.3.3. Compare similar practices in Gaza: see Jerome, *Vita sancti Hilarionis eremitae* 20 (PL 23:38–39) (hereafter *Vit. Hil.*).

49.  Libanius, *Or.* 5.1–44 (F.I.I.305–18); also Liebeschuetz, *Antioch,* 230.

50.  Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 42. Blake Leyerle, *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage* (Berkeley: University of

California Press, 2001), 15 n.10, describes a festival of Calliope involving theatrical shows. Julian attempts to enliven full cultic activity for Calliope's temple during his time in Antioch by conducting sacrifices in the theater during the festival; of course, this stops after his departure: Libanius, *Ep.* 100 (F.X.811).

51. Ammianus Marcellinus 19.1.11, 32.9.14.

52. Libanius, *Ep.* F.X.661; (English translation) Bradbury, TTH 41, no. 153; *Ep.* F.X.1480; *Ep.* F.X.1288; see also Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 41–43, and Liebeschuetz, *Antioch,* 228–31.

53. For the sudden resurgence of the Dionysus cult under the emperor Valens, see Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. eccl.* 4.21 (PG 14.1184); (Greek text and French translation) Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Histoire ecclésiastique,* vol. 1, ed. Léon Parmentier and Günther C. Hansen, annot. Jean Bouffartigue, trans. Pierre Canivet, 2 vols., SC 501, 530 (Paris: Cerf, 2006–9).

54. John's own instructions in *Catech. illum.* 12.60 (PG 49:240).

55. Libanius, *Or.* 30.8–9ff. (F.III.91–92). Compare John Chrysostom, *Epistulae ad Olympiadem* 14.2 (PG 52:613), who has a chilling experience with monks he encounters in Cappadocia's Caesarea.

56. Peter Brown, "Christianization and Religious Conflict," in Cameron and Garnsey, *The Late Empire,* 636–64, quote at 647.

57. Jonathan Z. Smith, "Here, There, and Anywhere," in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World,* ed. Scott B. Noegel, Joel Thomas Walker, and Brannon M. Wheeler (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 21–36.

58. Smith, "Here, There, and Anywhere," 21–22, builds his definition of religion by drawing upon the formulation provided by the project "Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World," for which he contributed the lead article. He also draws upon Melford Spiro's definition of religion: "an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings." Melford E. Spiro, "Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion,* ed. Michael Banton, Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth Monographs 3 (London: Tavistock, 1966), 96.

59. My thinking here is also informed by David Frankfurter's retheorization of syncretism and Christianization: e.g., Frankfurter, "Syncretism and the Holy Man."

60. Brown, *Authority and the Sacred,* 8ff.

61. Libanius, *Or.* 1.245; (Greek text and English translation) Norman, LCL 478: 300–301.

62. Libanius, *Or.* 1.245–46; (Greek text and English translation) Norman, LCL 478:300–301. Italics mine.

63. Libanius, *Or.* 1.250; (Greek text and English translation) Norman, LCL 478:302–3.

64. Sarah Iles Johnston, "Sending Dreams, Restraining Dreams: Oneiropompeia in Theory and Practice," in *Sub imagine somni: Nighttime Phenomena in Greco-Roman Culture,* ed. Emma Scioli and Christine Walde, Testi e Studi di Cultura Classica 46 (Pisa: ETS, 2010), 63–80.

65. Ido Israelowich, *Society, Medicine and Religion in the Sacred Tales of Aelius Aristides* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

66. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.6.2, 1.8.1. See also nn. 3 and 5 above.

67. Regarding a request for a dream oracle from Besas, see *PGM* 7:222.49, 7:250–54, 7:359–69, 8:64–110; regarding a request for a dream oracle from the Bear, see *PGM* 7:664–85, 686–702.

68. *PGM* 5:416–21 (Preisendanz 1.195; Betz 108–9).

69. *PGM* 12:147–50 (Preisendanz 2.68; Betz 159).

70. For one example, see *PGM* 7:478–90.

71. For example, Homer, *Iliad* 2.1–75 (Zeus to Agamemnon); Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.684–703 (Telethusa/Isis), 2.585–680 (Juno; Somnus); Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.833–63.

72. Libanius, *Or.*18.172 (F.II.310–11; Norman, LCL 451).

73. Libanius, *Or.*18.172 (F.II.310–11; Norman, LCL 451).

74. Libanius, *Or.*18.172 (F.II.310–11; Norman, LCL 451).

75. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica* 9.3. For the Greek text and English translation, see the second volume of the Loeb Classical Library edition: Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History, Books 6–10*, trans. J. E. L. Oulton, LCL 265 (1932; repr., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 334–37.

76. For general information regarding the marketplace in Antioch, see Liebeschuetz, *Antioch,* 52–60.

77. A collection of thirteen curse tablets was discovered in Antioch and the surrounding area during the 1934–35 season. The Antioch-on-the-Orontes excavation was conducted by a consortium of institutions that included the Musées Nationaux de France (the Louvre), the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Worcester Art Museum, and Princeton University, joined later by the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard and by Dumbarton Oaks. For a basic discussion of the excavations, see Kondoleon, *Antioch,* 5–8. After the excavations had concluded, the curse tablets were moved to the Princeton Art Museum, where they have remained in storage practically undisturbed. In 1998, Florent Heintz together with Alexander Hollman launched a project of publishing the tablets. Thus far Hollman has published two tablets: the first, "A Curse Tablet from the Circus at Antioch," *ZPE* 145 (2003): 67–82; the second, "A Curse Tablet From Antioch against Babylas the Greengrocer," *ZPE* 177 (2011): 157–65. David R. Jordan includes both of these curse tablets in his catalogues, the first in "A Survey of Greek *Defixiones* Not Included in the Special Corpora," *GRBS* 26.2 (1985): 151–97, at 193; and the second in "New Greek Curse Tablets (1985–2000)," *GRBS* 41 (2000): 5–46, no. 110.

78. John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992): see especially his excellent introduction (3–41) to the world of curse tablets in late antiquity; also important is Christopher A. Faraone, "The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion,* ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3–32, who persuasively situates these binding rituals as part of the normal, conflictual landscape of the ancient Greek world. The people partaking in these practices were integrated within the developing sociopolitical environment. By contrast, see H. S. Versnel, "Beyond Cursing: The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers," also in Faraone and Obbink, *Magika Hiera,* 60–106, who delineates a collection of ritual texts separate from the curse texts—judicial prayers. These texts, according to Versnel (60), are "an irrevocable punishment or . . . a conditional and temporary means of pressure, . . . a form of judicial torment by which the guilty is eventually brought to confess and restitute or compensate for what was owed." While the collection of agonistic magic found in archaeological excavations is quite large,

only a small amount has been published. In the past three decades scholarly attention has grown, and so too has the body of published texts; important examples of this endeavor are David R. Jordan's articles (see the previous note).

79. Florent Heintz, "Magic Tablets and the Games at Antioch," in Kondoleon, *Antioch,* 163–68, esp. 164–65.

80. See the fuller discussion in Silke Trzcionka, *Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth-Century Syria* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 59.

81. Heintz, "Magic Tablets," 164–65. To return to the problematic category of the *magos* discussed above in note 22: Helpful in imagining *magos/goēs* (emic categories) instead of narrow and false formulations of "magician"/"sorcerer" (etic categories) is Frankfurter, "Ritual Expertise," 115–36. For an interesting discussion on the dilemma we have with these categories in religious studies, see Russell T. McCutcheon, ed., *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion: A Reader,* Controversies in the Study of Religion (London: Cassell, 1999), 1–22.

82. Kondoleon, *Antioch,* 52. See also Florent Heintz, "A Greek Silver Phylactery in the MacDaniel Collection," *ZPE* 112 (1996): 295–300.

83. Heintz, "A Greek Silver Phylactery," 297.

84. For discussion regarding food shortages in Antioch throughout the fourth century, see Liebeschuetz, *Antioch,* 97; for the emperor Julian's intervention into food shortages in 362, see Liebeschuetz, *Antioch,* 128–32.

85. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch,* 58–59; see also *Cod. Theod.* 7.5.1 (399 CE).

86. John Chrysostom, *De sanctis Bernice et Prosdoce* (PG 50:629–40); the English translation here is from John Chrysostom, *The Cult of the Saints: Select Homilies and Letters,* trans. Wendy Mayer with Bronwen Neil, Popular Patristics (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2006), 155–76.

87. John Chrysostom, *De sancta Pelagia virgine et martyre* (PG 50:579–84); the English translation here is from Wendy Mayer, trans., "A Homily on Pelagia, Virgin and Martyr," in Leemans, Mayer, Allen, and Dehandschutter, *"Let Us Die That We May Live,"* 148–56.

88. The Beirut amulet is no. 52, "The Great Angelic Hierarchy," in Roy Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae, 1: Published Texts of Known Provenance,* Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia 22, pt. 1 (Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1994), 270–300. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding,* 232–34, also discusses the amulet (no. 125).

89. For both Greek text and English translation, see Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets,* 279–81 (no. 52). The ellipsis in the quote above is my own. See n. 88 above for more information regarding this text. We have adhered to Kotansky's transliteration: "daimon/daimones".

90. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets,* 271, notes that the Jewish angelology in the Beirut amulet is very similar to a number of other magic texts and suggests, for example, *PGM* 35:1–42 and *PGM* 22b:1–26.

91. For Jewish and Christian liturgical exorcisms in the Great Paris manuscript (*PGM* 4:3007–86), see Kotansky, "Greek Exorcistic Amulets," 265ff. Ritual practitioners can access these powers through *horkismoi,* formulae that forge a contract with the possessing demon, bidding it to remain away from its former host for any ritual purpose (exorcism, erotic spell, curse, etc.). The demons, according to Kotansky (265), "by the inherently magic power of the words contained in this subtle like-by-like formulation are to recognize their own limitative

status and to observe boundaries; their home is the abyss, and that is where they belong." The most expedient means of guaranteeing the demons' departure is to feature within the spell certain epithets that describe God as all-powerful: creator, regulator of the natural order, boundary maker, destroyer of the delinquent, object of praise for the angelic hierarchies, and, most importantly, the overseer of fiery Gehenna, before which even the mighty mountains tremble in fear. When a demon possesses or pesters a human being, he trespasses beyond his natural home: "It is as if the surly daemons had signed an unwritten clause in some unseen cosmological contract, the public reading of which—through the performance of the exorcism—has bound them to their legal obligation." Kotansky, "Greek Exorcistic Amulets," 265. See also Wilfred Lawrence Knox, "Jewish Liturgical Exorcism," *HTR* 31.3 (1938): 191–203.

92. "Demimonde" is a word choice in Matthew Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2001), e.g., 9, 81–84, 98, 103. Also relevant here is David Frankfurter's 2002 review of Dickie's *Magic and Magicians, BMCR* 2002.02.26 (http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2002/2002–02–26.html).

93. Christopher A. Faorone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 153–60.

94. For example, the young women in Jerome, *Vit. Hil.* 21 (PL 23:38); see a similarly magically compromised female in Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Historia religiosa* 13.10–12, found in vol. 1 of *Histoire des moines de Syrie (Histoire Philothée),* ed. and trans. Pierre Canivet and Alice Leroy-Molinghen, 2 vols., SC 234, 257 (Paris: Cerf, 1977–79).

## CHAPTER 2. THE DEVIL IS IN THE RITUAL

1. For "amulets" (*periapta*), see John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* 8.5 (PG 62:358). An English translation is available in John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and Philemon,* orig. series ed. Philip Schaff, Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 1st ser. 13 (hereafter NPNF[1] 13) (1886; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 298. See also Augustine, *Serm.* 306e; (English translation) Rotelle, *Works of Saint Augustine,* 3:11, 277ff. For incubation temples, see John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.6.2–3 (PG 48:852; FC 68:22–23), 1.8.1 (PG 48:855; FC 68:31–32). For mud markings, see John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* 8 (PG 62:358); see also *Catech. illum.* 12.60 (PG 49:240).

2. See Frankfurter, "Beyond Magic and Superstition," in Burrus, *Late Ancient Christianity,* esp. 255–57, which is very helpful throughout on this point regarding the rhetoric of corrosive ritual as a means of defining orthopraxy versus heteropraxy.

3. All translations of John Chrysostom's texts are mine, unless otherwise noted. All translations of the catechetical lectures are mine, although for the convenience of the reader I also cite the published translation of Paul Harkins (see below). For John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.,* I consulted the following Greek editions: (*Catech. illum.* 1–8) John Chrysostom, *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites,* ed. and trans. with intro. and notes by Antoine Wenger, SC 50 (Paris: Cerf, 1957) (hereafter SC 50); (*Catech. illum.* 3, 9–11) *Varia graeca sacra,* ed. and trans. Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, SubByzLOI 6 (St. Petersburg: Kiršbaum, 1909), 154–83 (hereafter PK); (*Catech. illum.* 9 and 12) PG 49:221–40. An English translation is available in John Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions,* trans.

and annot. Paul W. Harkins, ACW 31 (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1963) (hereafter ACW 31).

4.  I intend "ideology" here in the Althusserian sense: Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays* (1971; repr., New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 127–88. The many and varied images that John Chrysostom repeatedly projects in the congregants' imaginations are intended to act as a set of customs or rules, defining their worldview as well as establishing implicit moral and ethical limits and boundaries. I am very grateful to Andrew Jacobs for suggesting Althusser after reading an earlier version of this chapter.

5.  Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers," 429.

6.  We can see the strong influence of Smith's analysis in any recent study of early Christian demonology and exorcism. Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism,* 118–221, reads exorcism and demonology in patristic Christianity from Smith's perspective. Also advantageously relying on Smith is Leeper, "The Role of Exorcism." For early scholarship still indispensible in the field, see Thraede, "Exorzismus," and Dölger, *Der Exorzismus;* see also Böcher, *Christus exorcista;* also still quite important is Böcher, *Dämonenfurcht und Dämonenabwehr.* For the related background in demonology more generally, see Valerie Flint, "The Demonisation of Magic and Sorcery in Late Antiquity: Christian Redefinitions of Pagan Religions," in *Ancient Greece and Rome,* ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark, vol. 2 of *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe* (London: The Athlone Press; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 277–348, who provides a consideration of early imperial to late antique demonology that is more descriptive than theoretical; also Flint, *The Rise of Magic,* 227–338, esp. 315–38, in regard to demons in late antiquity and Christianization of the spiritual world. As a general reference also see Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Towards the Death of Satan: The Growth and Decline of Christian Demonology* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1968); and Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft: The Development of Christian Beliefs in Evil Spirits,* rev. ed. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974). Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 143–44, relies heavily on the category of "demonization"; Shepardson, "Controlling Contested Places," 483–516, ties the demonic to geography. In a less theoretically sophisticated manner, Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews,* also follows this pattern. He traces Chrysostom's patterned insults within the tradition of rhetoric: drunkenness and invective, for example (119–21). According to Wilken, John eventually settles upon the theological problems of the Jews themselves and their continuing existence despite Christianity's rise; see his description of Jews as Christ killers, and thus bodies vacated of souls and abandoned to demons. Wilken also mentions the parallels to Chrysostom found in *Constitutiones apostolicae* 2.2.1.

7.  John Chrysostom presents much of this material in his first baptismal lecture, a programmatic format dictating the difference between the sensory order (*epi tōn aisthētōn*) and the spiritual order (*ta pneumatika*) that he follows throughout *Catech. illum.* 1.5–16. For the Greek in *Catech. illum.*1–8, see SC 50:111–17. My translations of the catecheses here and through chap. 3 are slightly modified from Harkins, *Baptismal Instructions* (i.e., ACW 31).

8.  For the language "the new soldiers of Christ," see John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 4.6 (SC 50:185; ACW 31:68).

9.  In this manner, John follows Paul's thinking quite closely, especially the image of Christ's body in 1 Cor. 12:12–27.

10. See Ellen Muehlberger, *Angels in Late Antique Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 176–214.

11. Of course, once we get to this point in late antiquity it is impossible to speak of unadulterated Stoic theories of cognition and perception; all Hellenistic philosophies have converged, and John Chrysostom, for his part, most certainly relies heavily on a Platonizing cosmology in his dualization of the sensory and the pneumatic. I owe thanks to Catherine Chin for reminding me of this very important point. That said, in John Chrysostom's description of the sensory order and in his understanding of the convergence of the demonic and the bodily he expresses a very strong materialistic view of the processes of perception and cognition, and thus a more Stoicizing interpretation.

12. I will discuss this at length in the next chapter. John relies a great deal on the practice of psychagogy—leading the soul/mind to a new belief or knowledge through the process of speech tactics in groups and one on one. It was used quite often, especially in Epicurean circles. See Clarence E. Glad, *Paul and Philodemus: Adaptability in Epicurean and Early Christian Psychagogy,* NovTSup 81 (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

13. As a comparative reference to John's thinking in terms of the Stoic framework, Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk,* 3–77, provides a comprehensive survey and in-depth analysis of various Egyptian asceticisms and demonologies and their incorporation of Stoic views of cognition and perception. For an extremely useful comparative overview of Stoic demonology, see Algra, "Stoics on Souls and Demons," 359–88.

14. In *Adv. Jud.* 1.4.1–5, John indulges in an elaborate mixing of the images of disease, demonic possession, and ritual healing that firmly associates the Judaizing disease with John's depiction of Jewish souls and synagogues full of demons.

15. For the relevant Stoic texts, including translations, I have relied upon A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers: Translations of the Principal Sources, with Philosophical Commentary,* vol. 1 of *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) (hereafter L&S). The Greek is found in vol. 2: A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers: Greek and Latin Texts with Notes and Bibliography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). The Greek can also be found in Hans von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta,* 4 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903–24) (hereafter *SVF*).

16. Diogenes Laertius, *Philosophoi bioi* 7.52 (*SVF* 2.71; L&S 236).

17. Aetius 4.12.1 (*SVF* 2.54; L&S 239); this point relates to Aetius's discussion in the same passage of the category of "figment" (*phantasma*). On the difference between an "impression" (*phantasia*) determining truth and "figment" (*phantasma*), see Diog. Laert. 49–51 (*SVF* 2.71; L&S 236). On the topic of imagination in Lucretius, see *De rerum natura* 4.722–822 (L&S 74–76).

18. Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* 7.247–52 (*SVF* 2.65, part; L&S 243) (hereafter *Math.*).

19. Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 7.247–52 (*SVF* 2.65, part; L&S 243); also cf. Stobaeus 2.73.16–2.74.3 (*SVF* 3.112; L&S 256).

20. See note 17 above.

21. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 2.12 (SC 50:140; ACW 31:47).

22. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.24 (SC 50:120; ACW 31:32).

23. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.22 (SC 50:119; ACW 31:32).

24. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 4.24 (SC 50:194; ACW 31:75).

25. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.46 (SC 50:132; ACW 31:41).

26. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.46 (SC 50:132; ACW 31:41).

27. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 5.28 (SC 50:214; ACW 31:92).

28. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.22 (SC 50:119; ACW 31:31).

29. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.46 (SC 50:132; ACW 31:40).

30. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.22, 40 (SC 50:119, 129; ACW 31:31, 39).

31. John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Matthaeum* 11.9 (PG 57:200–201) (hereafter *Hom. Matt.*). My translation is slightly modified from the English text in John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew,* orig. series ed. Philip Schaff, Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 1st ser. 10 (hereafter NPNF¹ 10) (1886; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 74. See also John Chrysostom, *De incomprehensibili natura Dei* 2.8 (PG 48:710ff.) (hereafter *Incompr. nat. Dei*); (English translation) John Chrysostom, *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God,* trans. Paul W. Harkins, FC 72 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1984) (hereafter FC 72), 74; also *Incompr. nat. Dei* 2.8 (PG 48:710ff.; FC 72:74): "a mind which is swept clean and is free to hear God's words."

32. For John Chrysostom's reference to Anomoeans' mental disease as a "festering ulcer in their souls": *Incompr. nat. Dei* 2.52 (PG 48:718; FC 72:92); also a "mind swollen with . . . festering wounds": *Incompr. nat. Dei* 2.51 (PG 48:718; FC 72:92); "swelling and inflammation of your soul": *Incompr. nat. Dei* 1.45 (PG 48:708ff.; FC 72:69); perversion: *Hom. Matt.* 20.4 (PG 57:292; NPNF¹ 10:144); "spot": *Catech. illum.* 6.23 (SC 50:226; ACW 31:102); "covered with soot," "filled with spider webs": *Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios* 13.6 (PG 61:110; an English translation is available in John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians,* orig. series ed. Philip Schaff, Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 1st ser. 12 [hereafter NPNF¹ 12] [1886; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994], 74; [hereafter *Hom. 1 Cor.*]; mire: *Catech. illum.*1.3 (SC 50:110; ACW 31:23); stain, wrinkle: *Catech. illum.* 6.22 (SC 50:226; ACW 31:102), *Catech. illum.* 8.25 (SC 50:260; ACW 31:130); mutilation: *Hom. Matt.* 20.4 (PG 57:292; NPNF¹ 10:145); outward putrefaction or leprosy: *Hom. Matt.* 25.2 (PG 57:329; NPNF¹ 10:173); defiled sexually: *Hom. Matt.* 42 as a whole (PG 57:451–56ff.; NPNF¹ 10:268–72).

33. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 42.3 (PG 57:453; NPNF¹ 10:271).

34. My translation is modified from the published English translation (NPNF¹ 10:271) of *Hom. Matt.* 42.3 (PG 57:453).

35. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 42.3 (PG 57:455–56; NPNF¹ 10:271). Translation from NPNF¹ with my consultation of PG's Greek text.

36. Regarding the materiality of the soul (and the reasoning faculty) but also the demons: As mentioned in chap. 1, Gregory A. Smith, "How Thin Is a Demon?" has noted (479–512, esp. 481) that in the increasingly sophisticated readings of demons in late antiquity, we have gained a great deal of information about the human soul/mind/person and its materiality and thus capacity to interact with the sensory environment. However, as he correctly observes, we often lose sight of the perceived physical reality and materiality of the demon itself that is also part of that sensory environment. I most certainly agree with Smith's astute observation, and in this study of demonic possession and exorcism I take his comments quite seriously; while John does craft a distinct concept of a human interiority (soul/mind in a material relationship with the surrounding sensory world), he carves out

that interiority and its vulnerable relation to the environment using a material theorization of the demonic.

37.  See esp. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 2.12–15 (SC 50:139–42ff.; ACW 31:47–49). Similarly, in *Catech. illum.* 11.27, after the anointing of baptism the devil is forced to look away because the chrism, a mixture of olive oil and unguent, is brighter than the sun; for the Greek, see Papadopoulos-Kerameus 3.25 (PK 172; ACW 31:169).

38.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 11.25 (PK 172; ACW 31:168). The passage as a whole divides speech practice into blessed/divine versus diabolic; each kind is efficacious. Diabolic speech-practices mark certain activities that can also indicate diabolic areas in the city: places to which one travels in order to engage in laughter, portents, oracles, incantations, omens, and abusive language, such as places where horse racing and spectacles of indecency take place.

39.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 11.25 (PK 3; ACW 31:168).

40.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 12.60 (PG 49:240; ACW 31:191). Regarding the protective (antidemonic) power inherent in the baptismal seal and the sign of the cross, see also Gregory of Nazianzus (PG 36:364) and Didymus the Blind (PG 39:717); I owe discovery of these references to the delightfully comprehensive notes in Harkins (ACW 31:338 n. 81). See also Franz Joseph Dölger, *Sphragis: Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung . . . des Altertums,* SGKA, vol. 5, no. 3/4 (1911; repr., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967), 175–79.

41.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 12.11 (PG 61:103–4; NPNF¹ 12:69–70).

42.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 12.11 (PG 61:103; NPNF¹ 12:70).

43.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 12.11 (PG 61:103; NPNF¹ 12:69). This translation is my own with consultation of NPNF¹ 12:69.

44.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 12.11 (PG 61:103; NPNF¹ 12:70).

45.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 12.11 (PG 61:103; NPNF¹ 12:70).

46.  John Chrysostom, *Kal.* 1.1 (PG 48:951–52); (English translation) Seumas Macdonald, trans., "John Chrysostom, *In Kalendas*—On the Kalends of January" (2010), available online at http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/chrysostom_in_kalendas.htm; with slight emendations of my own.

47.  John Chrysostom, *Kal.* 1 (PG 48:951–52).

48.  John Chrysostom, *Kal.* 1.1 (PG 48:951–52).

49.  John Chrysostom, *Kal.* 3 (PG 48:951–52).

50.  John Chrysostom, *Kal.* 2 (PG 48:951–52).

51.  John Chrysostom, *Kal.* 2 (PG 48:951–52).

52.  John Chrysostom, *Kal.* 3 (PG 48:951–52).

53.  John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Joannem* 60.5 (PG 59:333; NPNF¹ 14:220); also *Hom. Matt.* 68.4 (PG 58:615; NPNF¹ 10:418): "They depart, set on fire, and enter into their own houses, captives." Translation from NPNF¹ with my consultation of the PG Greek text.

54.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 7.7 (PG 57:80–81; NPNF¹ 10:46–47). Leyerle, *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives,* has shown that John's construction of the deadly female spectacle is informed by contemporary theories of vision—an image impresses itself on the soul of the viewer. Hence a male spectator is materially affected/tainted by a stage performer's image. This impression dwells in the man's soul, disheveling his ordered emotions, raising *epithymia,* and eventually driving him back to the theater. See, for example, John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Acta apostolorum* 42.4 (PG 60:301). An English translation is available in

John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans,* orig. series ed. Philip Schaff, Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 1st ser. 11 (hereafter NPNF[1] 11) (1886; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 262. See also John Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* 18.4 (PG 59:120). Regarding the stain one incurs by looking upon a woman, see *Homiliae in epistulam ad Romanos* 12.9 (PG 60:506–7; NPNF[1] 11:426); regarding pools of naked women polluting the eyesight, see *Hom. Matt.* 7.7 (PG 57:80–81; NPNF[1] 10:46–47). Compare John Chrysostom, *Contra ludos et theatra* 2 (PG 56:266); (English translation) Mark Vermes, trans., "Chrysostom against the Games and the Theatres" (2012), available online at https://archive.org/details /ChrysostomAgainstTheGamesAndTheTheatres. See also Blake Leyerle, "John Chrysostom on the Gaze," *JECS* 1.2 (1993): 159–74, where she considers John Chrysostom's construction of an unnatural visual relation between female spectacle and male spectator.

55.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 68.4 (PG 58:645; NPNF[1] 10:419).

56.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 6.10 (PG 57:71; NPNF[1] 10:42); Leyerle, *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives,* 69.

57.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 7.7 (PG 57:79; NPNF[1] 10:48). In the wider passage John vividly juxtaposes sacramental identity against theater-specular identity: Christians' surrender of the "fountain of blood, that awful cup," for the "fountain of the devil," "a sea of lasciviousness."

58.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 7.7 (PG 57:79–80; NPNF[1] 10:48–49). Translation from NPNF[1] with my consultation of the PG Greek text.

59.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 37.8 (PG 57:426; NPNF[1] 10:249). Translation from NPNF[1] with my consultation of the PG Greek text.

60.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 37.8 (PG 57:426; NPNF[1] 10:249).

61.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 37.8 (PG 57:426; NPNF[1] 10:249). Translation from NPNF[1] with my consultation of the PG Greek text.

62.  John Chrysostom, *Bab.* 68 (SC 362:182). My translations here and in all quotations from this sermon modify the English text in John Chrysostom, *Apologist,* trans. Margaret A. Schatkin and Paul W. Harkins, FC 73 (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1985), 114 (hereafter FC 73), quote at 114.

63.  John Chrysostom, *Bab.* 69 (SC 362:182; FC 73:115).

64.  John Chrysostom, *Bab.* 68 (SC 362:180; FC 73:114).

65.  John Chrysostom, *Bab.* 72 (SC 362:188; FC 73:117).

66.  John Chrysostom, *Bab.* 70 (SC 362:186; FC 73:114).

67.  John Chrysostom, *Bab.* 70 (SC 362:186; FC 73:114).

68.  John Chrysostom, *Bab.* 70 (SC 362:184–86; FC 73:114).

69.  John Chrysostom, *Jul.* 4 (PG 50:673–74); (English translation) Mayer, "A Homily on Julian the Martyr," in Leemans, Mayer, Allen, and Dehandschutter, *"Let Us Die That We May Live,"* 138. Italics mine.

70.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.4 (PG 48:860). The text is available in PG 48:843–942; an English translation is available in John Chrysostom, *Discourses against Judaizing Christians,* translated by Paul W. Harkins, FC 68 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1979) (hereafter FC 68), quote at FC 44.

71.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.4ff. (PG 48:860–61; FC 68:44).

72.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.4ff. (PG 48:860–61; FC 68:44).

73.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.5. (PG 48:861; FC 68:44).

74.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.5ff. (PG 48:861; FC 68:44).

75.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.3.1 (PG 48:847; FC 68:10).

76.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.3.4 (PG 48:847; FC 68:12).

77.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.3.4 (PG 48:847: FC 68:11–12).

78.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.3.7 (PG 48:848; FC 68:14).

79.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.3.7 (PG 48:848; FC 68:14).

80.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.5. (PG 48:860; FC 68:44). Also, regarding the classic text on the gendered symbolism invested in female physiology and sexuality in antiquity, see Anne Carson, "Putting Her in Her Place: Woman, Dirt, and Desire," in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World,* ed. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), esp. 158–60.

81.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.5. (PG 48:861; FC 68:44).

82.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.5 ff. (PG 48:861; FC 68:44).

83.  John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.6 ff. (PG 48:861; FC 68:45).

84.  *Cod. Theod.* 9.16; (English translation) Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels;* (Latin text and French translation) Theodor Mommsen, Paul M. Meyer, and Paul Krueger, eds., with Olivier Huck, François Richard, and Laurent Guichard, *Les lois religieuses des empereurs romains de Constantin à Théodose II (312–438),* vol. 2, *Code Théodosien I–XV,* trans. Jean Rougé and Roland Delmaire, intro. and notes Roland Delmaire, SC 531 (Paris: Cerf, 2009). The Latin of 9.16 reads: "scientia punienda et severissimis merito legibus vindicanda, qui magicis accincti artibus aut contra hominum moliti salutem aut pudicos ad libidinem deflexisse animos detegentur. Nullis vero criminationibus implicanda sunt remedia humanis quaesita corporibus aut in agrestibus locis, ne maturis vindemiis metuerentur imbres aut ruentis grandinis lapidatione quaterentur, innocenter adhibita suffragia, quibus non cuiusque salus aut existimatio laederetur, sed quorum proficerent actus, ne divina munera et labores hominum sternerentur."

85.  A still formidable guide to the development of stational liturgies in late antique cities is John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy,* OCA 228 (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1987). On the spread of martyr cults from the cemeteries into the center of the late antique city, see Gillian Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society,* Key Themes in Ancient History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); also Leemans, Mayer, Allen, and Dehandschutter, *"Let Us Die That We May Live,"* 3–22; and Mayer and Neil, *The Cult of the Saints,* 23. Liturgical practices and ecclesiastical regulations arising with martyr cults promoted a Christianization of the temporal and geographical dimensions of the late antique world; classic studies of the transformation/Christianization include R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312–460* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982). For a more recent as well as a theoretically nuanced approach to this problem, see David Frankfurter, ed., *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt,* RGRW 134 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), esp. the introduction: David Frankfurter, "Approaches to Coptic Pilgrimage," 3–50.

86.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* 8.5 (PG 62:358; NPNF[1] 13:298). Translation from NPNF[1] with my consultation of the PG Greek text.

87. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* 8.5 (PG 62:358; NPNF¹ 13:29); see also above, chap. 1 of this study.

88. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* 8.5 (PG 62:358; NPNF¹ 13:298).

89. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 12.57 (PG 49:240; ACW 31:190); he vehemently expresses the same point in *Hom. Col.* 8.5 (PG 62:358; NPNF¹ 13:298).

90. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 12.59 (PG 49:240; ACW 31:191).

91. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* 8.5 (PG 62:358; NPNF¹ 13:298). Translation from NPNF¹ with my consultation of the PG Greek text.

92. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* 8.5 (PG 62:358; NPNF¹ 13:298). Translation from NPNF¹ with my consultation of the PG Greek text.

93. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 8.6.6 (PG 48:936; FC 68:22).

94. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.7.5 (PG 48:854; FC 68:29). A debate has long revolved around the question of whether or not we can take *Adv. Jud.* 1.4.1–5, 1.7.1–8.1, and 8.6.6–11 as evidence that the rabbis in Antioch offered amuletic and incantational healing. Also fascinating is how this debate has closely reflected contemporary theoretical and methodological discourses in related fields of scholarship; recently Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic,* 320–22, makes the case in support of a widely variegated ritual practice with the synagogue as a centralizing location. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews,* 83–84, attending to recent discoveries in material culture and the interest in magic, places the church and synagogue in competition over the marketing of "numinous power" in the city. For earlier accounts, see Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire, AD 135–425,* trans. H. McKeating, Littman Library of Jewish Civilization (Oxford: Published for the Littman Library by Oxford University Press, 1986), 339–68, who declares that Judaism participated in and contributed to magic avidly, and that through this means a "degraded Judaism" maintained status as a formidable rival to Christianity in the first few centuries.

95. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 8.6.11 (PG 48:937; FC 68:229).

96. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 10.16 (PK 2:14; ACW 31:155).

97. The language "wrinkled, spotted" derives from Eph. 5:25–27. John develops the language of the soul's corruption in *Catech. illum.* 1.16–18 (SC 50:116–18): for example, "ugly," "deformed": *Catech. illum.* 1.3, 5, 10 (SC 50:110, 111, 113; ACW 31:24). Also "thoroughly and shamefully sordid": *Catech. illum.* 1.3 (SC 50:110; ACW 31:24).

98. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.46 (SC 50:132; ACW 31:41). John demands that baptizands practice an "abstinence from evil" during the baptismal process; this is tantamount to a request for their social withdrawal (i.e., avoiding "the wicked snares of the devil"); likewise, in *Catech. illum.* 1.46 John requests baptizands to engage in a diverse and diverting collection of linguistic practices that should envelop their lives entirely: "Let us spend the whole day long in prayers and confessions, in reading and compunction." These activities demarcate a wide swath of territory between their collectively practiced (baptismal) lives and the rest of Antioch.

99. John develops a Christianized notion of *parrhēsia* that he links to sacramental baptismal identity (the protective effects of the *sphragis* and the potent efficacy of divinity dwelling within); thus, *parrhēsia* also means newfound confidence in postbaptismal speech that possessed antidemonic force. For example, John describes catechumens' inability to speak with confidence prior to baptism ("*mēdemian parrhēsian,*" *Catech. illum.* 1.17 [SC

50.117; ACW 31:30]), and their gaining *parrhēsia* through baptism. Essential reading in the Christianization of *parrhēsia* in late antiquity is still Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 35–70, 122–57. Brown's work also provides important background for understanding how Chrysostom develops his sacramental or ritual notion of powerful and persuasive speech— a kind of speech available to the baptized only, those engaged in spiritual warfare. The "magical" or mystical aspects of oratorical persuasion, rhetoric's ability to soothe the passions or rally them, for instance, was always part of the equation in language theory. As early as Plato's *Cratylus* people pursued questions regarding the function and origins of language: Do words have an inherent connection to the things they signify (natural), or is language composed of arbitrary signs (conventional)? For a thorough reading on the blending of the two types of language, see Pedro Laín Entralgo, *The Therapy of the Word in Classical Antiquity,* trans. L. J. Rather and John M. Sharp (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970).

100.  Smith, "How Thin Is a Demon?" 479–83.

101.  I do not intend to deny the importance of such interpretations, but rather hopefully to enhance the results by adding a different perspective; exemplary in the psychoanalytic approach, for example, is Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk.* See also Virginia Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic: Gender, Authority, and the Priscillianist Controversy,* TCH 24 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 58–74, who provides an incisive reading of the demonological aspects in Priscillian's *Apology* mainly against accusations of Manichaeanism; Burrus thus demonstrates the manner in which the author also created an image of his own orthodoxy set against Manichaean heresy/demonology in the text.

102.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.5 (SC 50:111; ACW 31:24).

103.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 2.12 (SC 50:140; ACW 31:47–48); also 10.14ff. (PK 2:14). In *Catech. illum.* 6.23 (SC 50:226; ACW 31:102) John describes the need to keep the baptismal robe clean, and the consequences should someone fail in complying with the necessary upkeep. Similarly, throughout *Catech. illum.* 9, John gives instructions to catechumens to clean up their habit of oath taking/making. They have ten days to remove this habit from their speech. John's language suggests that if they fail they may be prevented from being baptized; however, he stops short of this cruelty in the end. Compare Robin M. Jensen, *Baptismal Imagery in Early Christianity: Ritual, Visual, and Theological Dimensions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 2, who mentions baptizands' potential "insincerity of purpose" during the baptismal preparation; baptizands were judged during a host of their baptismal ritual preparations—e.g., scrutinies, fasting, refraining from bathing, giving alms, and keeping vigil—all ritual performances that were assessed by the ecclesiastical staff.

104.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 2.12 (SC 50:140; ACW 31:48), 4.5 (SC 50:185; ACW 31:68).

105.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 2.12 (SC 50:140; ACW 31:47), 4.5 (SC 50:185; ACW 31:68).

106.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 4.14 (SC 50:148; ACW 31:71–72): John discussed Paul's "new creation" (2 Cor. 5:17) in terms of Stoic cognitive theory: "The newly sealed, the chosen soldiers of Christ" were inscribed in the citizen lists in heaven, and due to their baptized state the devil would recognize the difference as well (*Catech. illum.* 4.5–6; SC

50:185–86; ACW 31:68). The passage continues, "[T]he devil will depart in confusion and will not dare to look [him or her] in the face. He cannot endure the brilliance that flashes forth from their faces, but his eyes are so blinded by the rays of light that their eyes send forth that he turns his back and flees."

107.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.7 (SC 50:112; ACW 31:25). Also more generally *Catech. illum.* 1.14–16 (SC 50:116–17; ACW 31:28–29).

108.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.14–16 (SC 50:116–17; ACW 31:28–29). Chrysostom describes the dominance of the intellectual or the spiritual (*pneuma*) dimension over the sensory. John later characterizes the power inherent in sacramental action to lift one up to the intellectual/spiritual and to illuminate the mind: for example, *Catech. illum.* 4.20 (SC 50:193; ACW 31:74).

109.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 3.21 (SC 50:163; ACW 31:63).

110.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 3.21 (SC 50:163; ACW 31:63). For the description of Adam's fall from the devil's deceit, see *Catech. illum.* 2.3–8 (SC 50:134–38; ACW 31:44–46).

111.  John Chrysostom, *Hom. Col.* 6 (esp. PG 62:342–44; NPNF¹ 13:286); the phrase "to erase humanity's death," which is taken from Col. 2:14, is repeated throughout this homily.

112.  John Chrysostom, *De coemeterio et de cruce* (PG 49:398). There is no published English translation.

113.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 6.23 (SC 50:226–27; ACW 31:102).

114.  The cosmological ramifications of this single event of the crucifixion are a recurrent theme in John Chrysostom's homiletic discourse: e.g., *Hom. Col.* 6 (PG 62:342–44; NPNF¹ 13:284–88). Training for an ongoing battle with the devil—i.e., spiritual warfare—begins the moment one enters preparation for baptism (exorcisms, prayer, vigils, bible reading, psalmody, almsgiving, and so forth). In *Catech. illum.* 3.8–10 (SC 50:155; ACW 31:58–59) John delineates a shift that occurs in spiritual warfare on the day of baptism and continues in this manner every day thereafter: "Up to now you have been in training, in the *palaistra* and the *gymnasion*; there all your failures were forgiven. But from today on, the arena stands open, the contest is ready to begin. Not only is the race of men, but also the people of angels are watching [your] combats."

115.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 3.20–21 (SC 50:163–65; ACW 31:62–63); compare *Catech. illum.* 4.31 (SC 50:198; ACW 31:78).

116.  John Chrysostom describes a strict regime mainly involving the control of language (e.g., on ridding oneself of the habit of swearing), and he contextualizes this pursuit within the larger framework of spiritual warfare: so, for example, in *Catech. illum.* 4.23 (SC 50:194; ACW 31:74–75). There is a debate about whether John means swearing oaths in the name of a deity, whether Christian or not, and/or whether he means taking God's name in vain.

117.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.30 (SC 50:124; ACW 31:35). This pivotal passage expresses John's diabology within his sacramental theology. Here he provides more detail regarding the new Christian—a lifelong (verbal/oral) battle against the demonic for the baptized. See also the much longer passage in *Catech. illum.* 3.11 (SC 50:157–59; ACW 31:59).

118.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 2.12 (SC 50:139–40; ACW 31:47–48).

119.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.7 (SC 50:112; ACW 31:25).

120.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 5.4 (SC 50:203; ACW 31:81–82).

121.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 4.3 (SC 50:183–84; ACW 31:67).

122. John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 11.9 (PG 57:200; NPNF¹ 10:74); *Incompr. nat. Dei* 2.8 (PG 48:710ff.; FC 72:74). Regarding the language of engraving in association with sacramental practice, see Dayna S. Kalleres, "Demons and Divine Illumination"; see also the excellent article by Susanna Elm, "Inscriptions and Conversions: Gregory of Nazianzus on Baptism (Or. 38–40)," in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing,* ed. Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, Studies in Comparative History (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 1–35. Both articles contextualize the demonology/cosmology of sacramental ritual alongside Neoplatonic theurgy, and thus earlier than theurgic developments in Dionysus the Areopagite; cf. Gregory Shaw, "Neoplatonic Theurgy and Dionysius the Areopagite," *JECS* 7.4 (1999): 573–99. For sealing and inscription language in Christian baptism, see Joseph Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology: Its Origins and Early Development,* Graecitas christianorum primaeva 1 (Nijmegen: Dekker and Van de Vegt, 1962), 182–226, 245–53, 280–88.

123. John Chrysostom, *Incompr. nat. Dei* 2.8 (PG 48:710ff.; FC 72:74).

124. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.22 (SC 50:119; ACW 31:31). John relies on similar imagery repeatedly in this chapter to convey moving from the sensory to the pneumatic dimension, and from rational ambiguity to clarity; see *Catech. illum.*1.9–23.

125. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.19 (SC 50:119; ACW 31:30).

126. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 10.16 (PK 2:14; ACW 31:155).

127. John Chrysostom, *Incompr. nat. Dei* 3.42, 4.3–7 (PG 48:712–13, 730–33). See the discussion of this passage in Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication,* 54–55.

128. John Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Tim. 5:9* (*In illud: Vidua eligatur*) 11 (PG 51:331).

129. The italics are my own. Finn, *From Death to Rebirth,* 205–8, draws upon Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960), and Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure, Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures (1966)* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969).

130. Finn, *From Death to Rebirth,* 205–8, appropriates the term "encapsulation" to describe the conversion process, which he defines as a "procedure to teach something new, especially a new set of values and way of life." Finn describes three elements of this process: physical, social, and ideological conversion. In this way, Finn reduces the demons of exorcism and baptism entirely to the sociological and psychological.

131. Informing my thinking here is Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); also her *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 81–83. In her deconstruction of ritual, she offers the alternative of ritualization, informed by Pierre Bourdieu's notion of practice and *habitus,* to resolve the instrumental/symbolic fissure. Critics have argued that Bell's own view of ritualization is reductive. See Philip Smith, "Review of *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* by Catherine Bell," *AJS* 98.1 (1992): 420–22; he has criticized Bell and argues that in the difficulty of her conceptualization of ritualization she has actually maintained the dichotomies she claims to overcome. See also the comments of Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 248.

132. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.5, also 2.12 (SC 50:111, 139–40; ACW 31:24, 47).

133. For examples of John's use of these adjectives, see n. 97.

134. Stirrat, *Power and Religiosity,* 87.

135. Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, "A Performative Approach to Ritual," in his *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 123–66, quote at 130.

136. John R. Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); John Austin, *How to Do Things with Words,* William James Lectures (1955) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962). Austin divides speech utterances into three categories: (1) locutionary (reference; true or false); (2) illocutionary (certain conventional force; a performative act that does something that is not subject to the true/false test); (3) perlocutionary (what we achieve by saying something; the utterances of convincing, persuading, misleading, and so on).

137. Marriage vows are a famous example of an illocutionary utterance. To say the words "I do take this woman to be my lawfully wedded wife" does not describe what should be done; it actually accomplishes it, completing the action of forming a conjugal relationship: Austin, *How to Do Things with Words,* 6; also Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, "Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: A Point of View," in *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and Non-Western Societies,* ed. Robin Horton and Ruth H. Finnegan (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 78. Relevant here too are Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words," in his *Culture, Thought, and Social Action,* 17–59; and, once again, Tambiah, "A Performative Approach to Ritual," 123–68, 130. His ethnographic account of exorcism in Sinhali culture is rich in description; the eleven major sequences span a twelve-hour ritual. Tambiah touches on many issues in this ritual process that are relevant to the prebaptismal exorcisms of the catechetical orations. A Sinhali exorcism ritual indicates the following: (1) the audience's own level of demonic contamination; (2) the demon's cosmological location and its direct relation to human illness; (3) certain systems ascribed to the demons through ritual objects—for example, offers of food, fire display, and erratic dancing are all attractive to the demonic; (4) a concern for the temporal stages of the rite—for example, texts that invoke the demons' presence, portray them as actually manifest, or banish them; (5) the objectification of the demon and the illness; and (6) a characterization of the human power in the person of the ritual exorcist.

138. In, "A Performative Approach to Ritual" and "The Magical Power of Words," Tambiah discusses the importance of who is speaking as much as what is being spoken (and enacted through performative speech). In his stance against symbolic, expressive reading of ritual, Tambiah has appropriated Austin's observation that the performance of illocutionary utterances depends on the wider circumstances of setting. The outcome of an illocutionary utterance is not judged in accordance with the same logic found in locutionary speech acts, i.e., with objective notions of truth/falsehood employed in the scientific mode. Instead, a large number of variables—the surrounding circumstances as well as the illocutionary utterance itself—determine whether the outcome of such an utterance is *felicitous* or *infelicitous.* Tambiah has employed Austin's observations to remove the "magical" act or ritual operation from direct comparison with locutionary utterances, thereby creating a space in which the semantics of a magical act are judged by a different set of criteria than logic or causality. The felicity or success of a magical act rests on a number of interwoven elements. Ritual speech and ritual action are tightly joined together through analogical associations, comparisons, and transferral of meaning (a complex of metaphor, simile, and metonymy) to create a ritual logic. The force of the utterance (i. e., the reality of its content enacted through

performance) exists in the imperative voice of the person speaking—commanding, order-ing, and persuading. Moreover, the felicity of a ritual operation depends on preconditions that must be met: the ritual practitioner's level of expertise as well as ritual preparations, the time and place of the act, and so on. Compare to Thomas M. Greene's discussion in "Lan-guage, Signs and Magic," in Schäfer and Kipperberg, *Envisioning Magic,* 255–73.

139.  Extremely helpful here in understanding how Gehenna is a reality for the bapti-zand through the ritual performance of the term is David Frankfurter, "Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells," in Meyer and Mirecki, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power,* 457–76; Frankfurter describes how the recitation of a mythic episode of great cosmological significance lends the power of past events to a ritual setting by aligning the mythic plot with the unfolding action of the ritual through a narra-tive vignette. Compare Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality,* trans. Willard R. Trask, World Perspectives 31 (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 21–38. In elucidating Eliade's articulation of the efficacy of *historiolae,* Frankfurter explains that the power of the formulae resides not in the words themselves but in the content of the myth: "That is, narrative that describes 'creative' miracle intrinsically contains the power of that creative miracle, and thus the reci-tation of such narrative for magical purposes draws those powers into present circum-stances" (464). In a manner similar to the narrative *historiolae* contained in many magical texts, we can imagine that the crucifixion epithets John references are drawing power into the daily exorcisms by invoking the power from those events into the present and repeated ritual moment of daily exorcism, with the demons being routed daily from the minds of the baptizands. We can also then imagine that the demonic realm re-experiences daily its prior defeat in direct connection to the baptismal candidate's progressing cosmological status and position.

140.  For several examples of these formulae, see F. C. Conybeare and A. J. MacLean, eds. and trans., *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905), 388–93. In Christian liturgical exorcisms of the early church *anachōrein* was often employed as well. This formulation can be traced to the third-century-CE text. The Testament of Solomon; the word's frequent appearance in the Christian liturgical context suggests a relationship between Solomonic exorcistic practices and Christian baptismal exorcisms: see Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amu-lets,* #35, #167–80, esp. #176. For other examples of exorcistic formulae, see Armand Delatte, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions,* vol. 1 of *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia,* Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège 36 (Liége: Vail-lant-Carmanne; Paris: Champion, 1927), #232, #15–25.

141.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 3.20 (SC 50:163; ACW 31:63).

142.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 2.17–18, 3.20 (SC 50:143; ACW 31:49–50).

143.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 2.20 (SC 50:143–44; ACW 31:50).

144.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 2.20 (SC 50:145; ACW 31:50).

145.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 4.6 (SC 50:185; ACW 31:68). Italics mine.

146.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.23 (SC 50:120; ACW 31:32).

147.  Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "Stoicism in Philippians," in *Paul in His Hellenistic Con-text,* ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 262 n. 11 (conference publication).

148.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 11.25 (PK 3; ACW 31:168).

149.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 4.22 (SC 50:194; ACW 31:74).

150.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 4.23 (SC 50:194; ACW 31:75).

151.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 4.24 (SC 50:194; ACW 31:75).

152.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 4.25 (SC 50:195; ACW 31:75).

153.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 12.60 (PG 49:240; ACW 31:191).

154.  John Chrysostom refers to Jesus's power to stop people's mouths but within the context of Christians' ability to do so: *Hom. Matt.* 62.1 (PG 58:596; NPNF¹ 10:381); also *Hom. Matt.* 42.1 (PG 57:451; NPNF¹ 10:264).

155.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 3.8 (SC 49:155; ACW 31:58). John Chrysostom encourages baptizands to practice spiritual warfare before receiving the seal (*sphragida*) so that each will be a "ready soldier" (*emparaskeuos ēis stratiōtēs*): *Catech. illum.* 12.61 (PG 49:240; ACW 31:191).

156.  John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 1.24 (SC 50:120; ACW 31:32).

## CHAPTER 3. THE SPECTACLE OF EXORCISM

1.  Wayne A. Meeks and Robert L. Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era,* Sources for Biblical Study 13 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 25–52, 83–126. For a larger conversation regarding the issue of Judaizers within the church, see Simon, *Verus Israel,* 305–38, specific to John Chrysostom 321–28.

2.  John Chrysostom mentions the Feast of the Trumpets on five separate occasions: *Adv. Jud.* 1.1.5, 4.7.4–5.

3.  For the Greek, see PG 48:843–942. I refer deliberately to the sermons as *Adversus Judaeos* in order to bring attention back to one of the primary targets of the text: Jews. See the similar comments of John G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 118–19. In the post–World War II era of accountability in Christian scholarship, and with increased interest in the interpretation of *Adversus Judaeos* literature in particular, scholars grew increasingly more uncomfortable with the unequivocal diabolizing and dehumanizing of Jews found in a great deal of Christian literature. For a historiography of this turn in Christian scholarship, see Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* TSAJ 95 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). In his English translation of the sermons, Paul Harkins (FC 68) intentionally used the title *Discourses against Judaizing Christians* as part of a noticeable trend in early Christian scholarship to remove the anti-Jewish stain from patristic writers such as John Chrysostom. At the same time, debate regarding how to interpret the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies—in light of this problem—has steadily increased: for relevant literature in regard to this debate, see Marcel Simon, "La polémique anti-juive de S. Jean Chrysostome et le mouvement judaïsant d'Antioche," *AIPHOS* 4 (1936): 403–21; Adolf M. Ritter, "Erwägungen zum Antisemitismus in der Alten Kirche: Johannes Chrysostomos, 'Acht Reden gegen die Juden,'" in *Bleibendes im Wandel der Kirchengeschichte: Kirchenhistorische Studien,* ed. Bernd Moeller and Gerhard Ruhbach (Tübingen: Mohr, 1973), 71–91; Adolf M. Ritter, "John Chrysostom and the Jews: A Reconsideration," in *Ancient Christianity in the Caucasus,* ed. Tamila Mgaloblishvili, Caucasus World series (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 1998), 141–54, 231–32; Pieter W. van der Horst, "Jews and Christians in Antioch at the End of the Fourth Century," in *Christian-Jewish Relations through the*

*Centuries,* ed. Stanley E. Porter and Brook W. R. Pearson, JSNTSup 192 / Roehampton Institute, London, Papers 6 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 228–38.

4. All translations of John Chrysostom's texts are mine, unless otherwise noted. For references to the Greek editions that I have used, see above the Introduction, n. 52.

5. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.3.1; PG 48:847.

6. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.4–5; PG 48:861. One of the more exciting recent developments in John Chrysostom studies has been the discovery of a large portion of the second homily in the *Adversus Judaeos* series, which answers a long-standing question regarding the rather abrupt ending to the text; see Wendy Pradels, Rudolf Brändle, and Martin Heimgartner, "Das bisher vermisste Textstück in Johannes Chrysostomus, Adversus Judaeos, Oratio 2," *ZAC* 5 (2001): 23–49; and Wendy Pradels, "Lesbos Cod. Gr. 27: The Tale of a Discovery," *ZAC* 6.1 (2002): 81–89. On the dating of the sermons, see Wendy Pradels, Rudolf Brändle, and Martin Heimgartner, "The Sequence and Dating of the Series of John Chrysostom's Eight Discourses *Adversus Judaeos*," *ZAC* 6.1 (2002): 90–116.

7. By referring to diabolization rather than demonization—focusing upon ritual engagement rather than rhetorical distancing—this study hopefully provides a different path into the current scholarly conversations on violence in late antique religion. See, e. g., Brent D. Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Michael Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire,* TCH 39 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). My viewpoint aligns closely with that of Thomas Sizgorich in his *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam,* Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). In the chapter "'The Devil Spoke from Scripture': Boundary Maintenance and Communal Integrity in Late Antiquity," Sizgorich claims that John encourages aggressive and confrontational interrogation among congregational members to fortify the community's borders; in this way, Sizgorich posits, John is attempting to stave off an external Judaizing threat. Sizgorich's reading is especially compelling because of his recognition of actual material violence in the creation of religious boundaries; consequently, the priest pushes for a mode of confrontation with not only Judaizers but Jews. Sizgorich's work is exceedingly important in that it properly removes John Chrysostom's *Adversus Judaeos* texts from the narrow designation of ritual and ethical reproof against Judaizers and places it under the rubric of violence in fourth-early fifth-century Christianization, a discourse led prominently by Sizgorich's mentor, Harold Drake; see, e.g., H. A. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006) (conference publication).

8. Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 89, turns to the broader theoretical world with respect to the discursive/rhetorical efficacy (i.e., identity-construction capacity) of the accusatory or vituperative labels of "magic" and "demons": "By characterizing Greek religion as magical and demonic . . . Chrysostom was trying to distance it as far as possible from being a legitimate religious choice." Significantly and finally, Sandwell makes a shrewd interpretive move by incorporating the work of James B. Rives, "Magic in Roman Law: The Reconstruction of a Crime," *ClAnt* 22.2 (2003): 313–39, and C. R. Phillips III, "Nullum Crimen sine Lege: Socioreligious Sanctions on Magic," in Faraone and Obbink, *Magika Hiera,* 260–76, into her reading of the patristic material, for example. Similarly and just as savvy

from the standpoint of outside theoretical borrowings, see Shephardson, "Controlling Contested Places," 483–516. In her book *Controlling Contested Places,* Shepardson presents the long-awaited and thoroughly satisfying culmination of her earlier observations. See also Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity,* Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 2.

9.  Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 5.

10.  Sandwell (*Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 5) is quoting Boyarin, *Border Lines,* 2.

11.  Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto Press, 1993); Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference,* The Little, Brown Series in Anthropology (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), esp. the introduction, 7–38.

12.  Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity,* 5–6.

13.  Ibid., 9.

14.  Shepardson, "Controlling Contested Places," 488.

15.  Ibid., 487.

16.  Ibid.

17.  Shepardson, "Controlling Contested Places," 498; Shepardson is drawing here on Gillian Rose, "Imagining Poplar in the 1920s: Contested Concepts of Community," *JHG* 16.4 (1990): 425–37; also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). See also Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin, and Gill Valentine, "Editors' Introduction," in *Key Thinkers on Space and Place,* ed. Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin, and Gill Valentine (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2004), 6; and Gill Valentine, "Imagined Geographies: Geographical Knowledges of Self and Other in Everyday Life," in *Human Geography Today,* ed. Doreen Massey, John Allen, and Philip Sarre (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 1999), 47–61. Finally, for a general and delightfully accessible introduction to contemporary theorization of geography and space, see Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction,* Short Introductions to Geography (Oxford, UK, and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004).

18.  Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974).

19.  Shepardson, *Controlling Contested Spaces,* 101.

20.  Once again I promote the theorization of Thomas Sizgorich here, and his choice to disrupt the habit of reading violence metaphorically and instead promote the consideration of such language from the standpoint of physical and material violence; see note 7 above. In his book he models an aggressively confrontational interaction of members in John's community against the Judaizing threat, though in his opposition the notion of the demonic is much more peripheral. As mentioned in the introduction, I consider my own reading of the *Adversus Judaeos* as contributing to these conversations also.

21.  Ibid.

22.  Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers," 429. Here we can see the semantic and hermeneutical problems that arise in choosing between the transliteration "daimon" and the modern (and Christianized) "demon." While the Greek employs a variety of terms to indicate something approximate to what we now translate as "demon" (e.g., *pneuma*), *daimōn* in texts other than elite Christian literature can refer to a morally neutral spiritual entity. In any event, when using terms such as "demon" or "demonic" in the interpretation

of Christian literature, we run the risk of utterly ignoring the enchanted and animistic environment of late antiquity and reducing Christian writers' discussions of *demons* to the construction of a moral or ethical worldview. We miss entirely a much more vital battle to take control and reform an animated world through both their preaching and their ritual practice.

23. Ibid., 438–39.

24. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.5.1 (PG 48:850; FC 68:18); Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *John Chrysostom,* ECF (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 148–67, esp. 158.

25. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.5.1 (PG 48:850; FC 68:18), quoting Matt. 27:25; John's rhetoric derives from the well-known rhetorical type known as *psogos,* the oratorical opposite of the *encomium.* Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews,* 116, describes this category of sophistic invective as "the use of half-truths, innuendo, guilt by association, abusive and incendiary language, lascivious comparisons, and in all, excess and exaggeration." Libanius includes many examples in his handbook on rhetoric; the Greek text is available in Libanius, *Progymnasmata: Argumenta orationum Demosthenicarum,* vol. 8 (1915) of Förster and Richsteig, eds., *Libanii opera,* passim; see also his denigration of monks, *Or.* 30.8 (F.III.91–92); and see n. 57 in chap. 1 of this study. Cf. also Gregory of Nazianzus's characterization of Julian in *Oratio* 17.

26. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 6.2.10 (PG 48:907; FC 68:154): "You did slay Christ, you did lift violent hands against the Master, you did spill his precious blood. This is why you have no chance for atonement, excuse, or defense." After their act of deicide Jews are in a situation of theological condemnation similar to that of all of humankind in Rom. 1:24, and as such they are in a sense cursed to act transgressively or against the law (*tēn anomon bian*); see John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.3.4 (PG 48:850; FC 68:19). John combines images of animal lust (*Adv. Jud.* 1.4.1–2; PG 48:848–89; FC 68:14) and demonic taint (*Adv. Jud.* 1.3.1, 1.7.5; PG 48:847; FC 68:10–11) to construct the depraved, inhuman state of Jewish animality that has rejected the covenant and Christ. Regarding Paul's view of God's act of abandonment (*paradidōmi*), see Stanley Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 91–100.

27. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.7.4 (PG 4.853–54; FC 68:28). For the imagery of God rejecting Judaism, the Jewish people and the synagogue, see John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.3.1, 7; 1.6.4; for Jews' own rejection of God's gifts (including Christ), leading to God's rejection of the Jewish people, see John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.2.1–4; for Jews' rejection of God culminating in their transformation into dogs, see John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.6.3.

28. List of humankind's degradations: Rom. 1:25–32.

29. Brown, "Rise and Function of the Holy Man," 88.

30. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.1.5 (PG 48:857–58; FC 68:37). Christians must lure the sick back to the church, whereupon John will have the opportunity to apply more radical forms of treatment; see also John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 8.4.3 (PG 48:932–33; FC 68:218). Indeed, he insists that each man is duty-bound to return with a Judaizer. Also John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.6–9 (PG 48:858; FC 68:44–46).

31. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.8.7 (PG 48:856; FC 68:33). John's instructions reflect considerations we see in the psychagogical methods in Stoicism and Epicureanism in the early imperial period, which involve matching one's speech to the character of the patient. Gender and age are also considerations in matching hunter to the hunted.

32. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.8.3–4 (PG 48:856; FC 68:32–33).

33. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.1.4 (PG 48:857; FC 68:36). John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.1.4 (PG 48:857; FC 68:36). For the similar use of the phrase "nets of salvation," (*ta tēs sōtērias diktya*), see *Adv. Jud.* 2.1.4 (PG 48:858; FC 68:36). See also *Adv. Jud.* 1.6.3 (PG 48:852; FC 68:23), where Chrysostom implores Christians to span out and use "nets" (*ta diktua*) to capture those who are suffering (*nosountas*) from the disease of Judaizing.

34. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.8.4 (PG 48:856; FC 68:33): "The devil stole [the Christian] and now holds him in Judaism."

35. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.1.5 (PG 48:857–58; FC 68:37).

36. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.1.4 (PG 48:857; FC 68:36).

37. John Chrysostom, *Catech. illum.* 10.1.14 (PK 2; FC 68:154).

38. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 3.1.4 (PG 48:875; FC 68:78).

39. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.6 (PG 48:861–62; FC 68:45).

40. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 2.3.8 (PG 48:861–62; FC 68:45).

41. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.4.5 (PG 48:875; FC 68:78).

42. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.7.11 (PG 48:882; FC 68:95).

43. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 8.5.2–3 (PG 48:934; FC 68:221).

44. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 8.5.3 (PG 48:934; FC 68:221).

45. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 8.5.2–4 (PG 48:934–35; FC 68:221–22).

46. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.7.11 (PG 48:882; FC 68:95).

47. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.1.2 (PG 48:876; FC 68:72).

48. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 5.1.5 (PG 48:883; FC 68:98–99).

49. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 5.1.5 (PG 48:883; FC 68:98–99); the verb *stomizein* appears in other contexts. In *Catech. illum.* 1.24, John speaks of a newly baptized Christian's ability to silence the mouths of Arians and Sabellians. Although before baptism Christians should stay away from such people for fear of what damage the "examinations" might do to the catechumens' minds, after the baptized have been fortified with Christian scripture and, more importantly, have received the antidemonic power of the baptismal seal, their ability to silence the heretical demonic enemy is assured. For "examinations," see n. 23 and n. 156 in chap. 2 of this study.

50. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 5.1.5, 6 (PG 48:883–84; FC 68:98–99): "This is the way you, too, can silence and gag the Jews."

51. Libanius's autobiographical passages mention "spells, incantations, and other forms of magic": Libanius, *Or.* 1.243–50 (F.I.188–90).

52. Libanius, *Or.* 1.245; (Greek text and English Translation) Norman, LCL 478.300–301.

53. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 5.1.5, 6 (PG 48:883–84; FC 68:98–99).

54. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 5.1.6 (PG 48:883–84; FC 68:99).

55. Gager, *Curse Tablets,* 116–50. For the Greek text of the *defixiones,* see Auguste Audollent, ed., *Defixionum Tabellae* (1904; repr., Frankfurt: Minerva, 1967), nos. 22–38 (hereafter *DT*).

56. Gager (*Curse Tablets*) discusses the importance of a collection of over two hundred *defixiones* discovered at the bottom of a well in Cyprus, which date from the second or third century CE. See also Jordan, "A Survey of Greek *Defixiones.*" *GRBS* 26.2 (2011): 151–97. On Cyprus's reputation in antiquity as a center of magical activity and learning, see Gager, *Curse Tablets,* 132 n. 44.

57. Cicero, *Brutus* 217; cf. Gager, *Curse Tablets,* 120.

58. Libanius, *Or.* 1.246.

59. Gager, *Curse Tablets,* nos. 39, 40, 44.

60. Gager, *Curse Tablets,* no. 44; *DT* no. 49.

61. For a few examples, see *DT* nos. 22.9, 24, 30, 44; 23.9; *PGM* 4.1227–64.

62. Gager, *Curse Tablets,* no. 45; also *DT* no. 25.

63. Gager, *Curse Tablets,* no. 45; the spell invokes the "king of deaf/voiceless *daimones*" to "bind (*katadēsate*) and put to sleep (*katakoimisate*) the tongue of my opponent Ariston."

64. Gager, *Curse Tablets,* no. 47.

65. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.6.3 (PG 48:879–80; FC 68:79–81). John's mixing of sexual and bestial imagery in his construction is tied directly into his portrayal of Jews as hopelessly addicted to sacrificial practice. For an important recognition of this imagery in the construction of Jews, see Susanna Drake, *Slandering the Jew: Sexuality and Difference in Early Christian Texts,* Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 92, 78–98.

66. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 1.6.8 (PG 48:853; FC 68:25). John quotes here from Jeremiah 5:8: "They are become as amorous stallions, every one neighed after his neighbor's wife."

67. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.3.7 (PG 48:875; FC 68:79).

68. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.3.7 (PG 48:875; FC 68:79).

69. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.6.5 (PG 48:880; FC 68:89–90).

70. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 5.6.7 (PG 48:893; FC 68:120).

71. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 3.3.6 (PG 48:865; FC 68:57); *Adv. Jud.* 3 in its entirety covers this point.

72. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.5.2 (PG 48:878; FC 68:85).

73. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.5.1 (PG 48:878; FC 68:84–85).

74. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 5.9.1 (PG 48:897; FC 68:129).

75. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.5.1 (PG 48:878; FC 68:84–85).

76. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.4.5 (PG 48:877; FC 68:83).

77. John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 5.7.4 (PG 48:881; FC 68:92); also John Chrysostom, *Adv. Jud.* 4.6.5–9, (PG 48:880–81; FC 68:89–91), which opens one's perspective on the state of Antiochene Jews who were themselves suffering from the disease of their ritual practice. John makes a sly and sophisticated argument here that surprises in its subtle justification for the termination of Judaism altogether. Most intriguingly, perhaps, his argument rests on the fact that Antiochene Jews engage in public religious spectacle illegally from the perspective of Jewish law itself. In John's argument, Judaism is a religion that revolves around the High Holidays in the autumn and Passover in the spring—both public festivals. According to John, Antiochene Jews make the claim that such rituals can take place in any synagogue community, and thus Judaism is a universal (or global) religion from the standpoint of ritual practice. John, however, argues the opposite view, and he, of course, argues God's view for his Christians. What the Antiochene Jews do not realize, then, is that Judaism is only a localized religion and, furthermore, that as a religion rooted in the rituals of Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, and Passover, it is limited to one locality: the Second Temple and Jerusalem. But because God has destroyed both, John concludes, Judaism has in effect

been dead for over three hundred years. Antiochene Jews are illegitimately religious ritual actors.

## CHAPTER 4. JERUSALEM TO AELIA, AELIA TO JERUSALEM

1. For a political reading of Marcarius's proposed excavation, see Ze'ev Rubin, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Conflict Between the Sees of Caesarea and Jerusalem," in *The Jerusalem Cathedra,* ed. Lee I. Levine, Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography, and Ethnography of the Land of Israel 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute; Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1982), 82–85, who also claims that Constantine's letter to Macarius implicitly refers to the discovery of the cross.

2. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini* 3.25–40 (hereafter *Vit. Const.*). Text in *Eusebius: Werke.* Vol. 1, *Über Das Leben Des Kaisers Konstantin,* edited by Friedhelm Winkelmann, 3 vols. GCS 1 (1991. Revised Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011) [hereafter GSC 1.1]; the English translation is from Eusebius, *Life of Constantine,* trans. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall, Clarendon Ancient History Series (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999) (hereafter Cameron and Hall, *Life of Constantine*). All translations of Cyril of Jerusalem's texts are mine in chapters 4, 5, and 6, unless otherwise noted. With other ancient authors in this chapter, most of the quotations are based on published translations; I indicate in the notes when I have altered the translation after consulting the original language.

3. The authenticity of the site of Christ's tomb and Golgotha is a subject of great debate. This is hardly surprising given how much is theologically, confessionally, and professionally at stake in the answer. See Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1999), 56–57, who claims that it could be the same tomb, but that there is no archaeological evidence to support it; this tomb amidst others outside Jerusalem in the early first century would have been emptied as the city expands in the second century. Joan E. Taylor, "Golgotha: A Reconsideration of the Evidence for the Sites of Jesus' Crucifixion and Burial," *NTS* 44.2 (1998): 180–203, has argued that the crucifixion actually took place further south than Christian tradition has suggested; likewise, that the phrase "Golgotha" in biblical accounts more accurately indicates a large vicinity as opposed to a specific location. Regarding the site of the crucifixion, see Melito of Sardis, *Peri Pascha* 94, cf. 71. For a political reading of Marcarius's proposed excavation, see Ze'ev Rubin, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre," 82–85, who has claimed that Constantine's letter to Macarius implicitly refers to the discovery of the cross.

4. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad illuminandos* 14.5–9, cf. 13.35 (hereafter *Catech. illum.*). Not only is Golgotha marginalized physically in the Holy Sepulchre's courtyard design, Eusebius, in his descriptions of the church (*Vit. Const.* 3.29–40), completely overlooks the spot. In fact, more than one scholar has been at a loss to explain Eusebius's complete neglect of Golgotha: Rubin, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre," 85, refers to it as "baffling"; Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage,* 12, uses the word "puzzling." See the relevant comments of Peter W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century,* OECS (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), esp. 253, who asks, "How could Eusebius possibly have missed such an important and singular phenomenon?"

5. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?* 313–22, contends that the title "Holy City of Jerusalem" comes to assume a rather complicated and charged meaning during the early Constantinian and post-Constantinian era. Cyril understands the Christian Jerusalem as the

"legitimate inheritor of the best of biblical Jerusalem" (313). By contrast, Eusebius, most likely in a protective effort for Caesarea, claims Christianity requires neither a location nor an object: the religion is personal, moral, and rational, and any idea of a "Holy City" in Christianity refers to an immaterial, heavenly future city, not to the present-day physical location of Jerusalem (*Demonstratio evangelica* 1.6.73; hereafter *Dem. ev.*). For Jerusalem's holy status and its various meanings, see Lorenzo Perrone, "'The Mystery of Judaea' (Jerome, *Ep.* 46): The Holy City of Jerusalem between History and Symbol in Early Christian Thought," in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam,* ed. Lee I. Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999), 221–39, esp. 221–30.

6.  *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 587.2–588.2 (hereafter *Itin. Burd.*); the Latin text is found in vol. 1 of Paul Geyer and O. Cuntz, eds., *Itineraria et alia geographica,* 2 vols., CCSL 175–76 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965) (hereafter CCSL 175), 1:1–20, quote at 1:13–14; English translations in this chapter are from John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land,* rev. ed. (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House; Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1981), 153–63.

7.  The following scholars have begun to recognize deeper meaning in the Bourdeaux Pilgrim: Jás Elsner, "The *Itinerarium Burdigalense:* Politics and Salvation in the Geography of Constantine's Empire," *JRS* 90 (2000): 181–95; Blake Leyerle, "Landscape as Cartography in Early Christian Pilgrimage Narratives," *JAAR* 64.1 (1996): 119–43; Glenn Bowman, "'Mapping History's Redemption': Eschatology and Topography in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense,*" in Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality,* 163–87; Andrew S. Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews: The Holy Land and Christian Empire in Late Antiquity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 139–99; and Oded Irshai, "The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century: The Case of the Bordeaux Pilgrim," *JQR* 99.4 (2009): 465–86.

8.  For general scholarship covering Cyril of Jerusalem's life and career: without a doubt, Jan Willem Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City,* VCSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), stands above the rest. Alexis James Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses,* North American Patristic Society, PMS 17 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), provides an important study of Cyril's mystagogical lectures, arguing for their Cyrillian authenticity. Finally, other helpful biographical works include Edward Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* ECF (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

9.  I began to develop this idea in Dayna S. Kalleres, "Cultivating True Sight at the Center of the World: Cyril of Jerusalem and the Lenten Catechumenate," *CH* 74.3 (2005): 431–59.

10.  *Itinerarium Egeriae* 37 (hereafter Egeria, *Itin.*); (text and French translation) Egeria, *Journal de voyage: Itinéraire,* ed. and trans. Pierre Maraval, SC 296 (Paris: Cerf, 1982), 26; (English translation) Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels,* 137–38.

11.  Two scholars in particular have done work that covers this development and is pivotal to my own arguments: Patricia Cox Miller, "'The Little Blue Flower Is Red': Relics and the Poetizing of the Body," *JECS* 8.2 (2000): 213–36; Georgia Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity,* TCH 30 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

12.  For relevant literature regarding foreign invaders: (Nebuchadnezzar) 2 Kings 24–25; Lamentations 4:10, 5:11–12; (Antiochus IV Epiphanes) Daniel 7–11, esp. 11.31; 1 Maccabees 54; (Vespasian, Titus, and the destruction of the Second Temple) Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 562–66 (hereafter *Bell. Jud.*); also Matthew 24:2–44, Mark 13, Luke 21.6–24. For Hadrian

and the Bar Kokhba revolt: Dio Cassius 69.12–14; Justin, *Apologia i* 31.5–6; Eusebius, *Historia eccesiastica* 4.6.1–4, *Dem. ev.* 6.13; Epiphanius, *De mensuribus et ponderibus* 14–15 (PG 43:261; hereafter *De mens. et pond.*); and Talmudic references in *Gittin* 57a–58a and *Lamentations Rabbah* 2.24.

13. This pattern of violence extends as far as the fourth century and the interpretation of foreign invasion into Jerusalem. For example, Maximinus Daia ignores his uncle Galerius's edict of toleration of 311 CE and orders the intensification of pagan practices and persecution of Christians in the Palestinian region, predominantly in Caesarea, where he is located but stretching to Aelia; see Eusebius, *De martyribus Palaestinae* 8.11. For Maximinus's zealous paganism in general, see T. Oliver Nicholson, "The 'Pagan Churches' of Maximinus Daia and Julian the Apostate," *JEH* 45.1 (1994): 1–10. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 49, composes a fantastic death description for Maximinus that features failed self-poisoning, self-gorging on dirt, visions/delusions of seeing God, and then pleading for Christ's forgiveness; compare Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 9.10.14.

14. On the genre of apocalyptic eschatological literature developed in intimate relation with the memorialization of the violent assaults upon Jerusalem, starting with the Maccabean Wars, see John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature,* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 199–200, who specifically mentions 4 Ezra (2 Esdras). In the present study, our selection of texts narrows to a small number that focus directly upon the development of future or apocalyptic sight in reaction to Jerusalem's (and the Jewish temple's) destruction, primarily 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch. Here I rely on the following editions and English translations: (the Latin edition used as a reference for 4 Ezra [2 Esdras]) Robert L. Bensly, ed., *The Fourth Book of Ezra: The Latin Version Edited from the MSS.,* Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature 3.2 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1895); (2 Baruch) Pierre Bogaert, trans., *Apocalypse de Baruch: Introduction, traduction du syriaque et commentaire,* SC 144–45, 2 vols. (Paris: Cerf, 1969). All of the translations of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch in this chapter are from James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* vol. 1, *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 517–60, 615–52.

15. Annabel Jane Wharton, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem, and Ravenna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 93.

16. For effects of the Bar Kokhba revolt, see Dio Cassius 69.12.1–14.3; also Giovanni Battista Bazzana, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt and Hadrian's Religious Policy," in *Hadrian and the Christians,* ed. Marco Rizzi, Millennium Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium CE 30 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 85–109. After the Bar Kokhba revolt Hadrian undertakes extensive leveling and alterations in 135 CE; what exactly this entails is a matter of archaeological debate. For a comprehensive bibliography, see Yaron Z. Eliav, "The Urban Layout of Aelia Capitolina: A New View from the Perspective of the Temple Mount," in *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome,* ed. Peter Schäfer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 241–78. Archaeological evidence also suggests much of this campaign of deliberate destruction had already occurred after 70 CE, with the Romans destroying city fortifications, public buildings, and large residential quarters. Excavations on part of the the southwest area of the Temple Mount reveal great piles of gigantic ashlars (squared stones), which covered the public courtyards and streets serving those who came to worship in the temple during the Herodian period (37–34 BCE).

Thousands of additional ashlars that once were a part of the upper Temple Mount retaining wall seem to have been deliberately ripped away and thrown downward outside the temple enclosure; see Hillel Geva, "Searching for Roman Jerusalem," *BAR* 23.6 (1997), who proposes that this was punishment for the Jewish prisoners of war, with the ultimate humiliation being forced to destroy their own temple. See also Benjamin Mazar, "The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount—Second Preliminary Report, 1969–70 Seasons," in *Eretz Israel* 10 (1971), 1–33. Nicole Belayche, *Iudaea-Palaestina: The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine (Second to Fourth Century),* RRP 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 19, provides a map of a reconstructed territory of Aelia.

17.  Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?* 14.

18.  See Nahman Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1983). For a general discussion of Hadrian's Aelia Capitolina, see Geva, "Searching for Roman Jerusalem," 34–45, 72–73.

19.  Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem,* notes that recent excavations on the Cardo Maximus and the Decumanus suggest a much smaller area of inhabited space before 324. See the comments in Günter Stemberger, *Jews and Christians in the Holy Land: Palestine in the Fourth Century* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 53. The famous Byzantine Madaba map features a clear image of the Cardo Maximus, running north to south through the city; it also gives an impression of the shrunken size. For this map, see Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century: Catalogue of the Exhibition* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), 584. The Decumanus and Cardo gesture toward Roman topography while also tending to the practicality of urban living and facilitation of trade. For an indispensible reading of Hadrian's architectural makeover, see Stemberger, *Jews and Christians,* 2–53.

20.  Stemberger, ibid., 52, observes that there is little to no archaeological evidence to support this conclusion aside from a small room ravaged by fire that stands as the sole permanent structure attesting to Legio X Fretensis; the room is located southwest of the temple. Meir Ben-Dov, *The Dig at the Temple Mount* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1982), 198ff., esp. 192 (in Hebrew), has suggested the room was reserved for a guard to keep Jews away from the forbidden space of the Temple; for this reference I am in debt to Stemberger's quite thorough footnotes. Ben-Dov, *The Dig at the Temple Mount,* 251ff., has also proposed a temporary tent camp, which could easily be moved; see also Hillel Geva, "The Camp of the Tenth Legion in Jerusalem: An Archaeological Restoration," *IEJ* 34.4 (1984): 239–54.

21.  Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 83.

22.  Dio Cassius 69.12.2.

23.  *Chronicon Paschale* 119 (PG 92:613).

24.  Wharton, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City,* 86; see also Shimon Gibson and Joan E. Taylor, *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: The Archaeology and Early History of Traditional Golgotha,* Palestine Exploration Fund Monograph, Series Maior 1 (London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1994), 68–69.

25.  There is some debate as to whether the temple on this site is a temple to Aphrodite; Jerome, *Ep.* 58.3, for instance, says that a temple to Jupiter Capitolina stood on top of the site of the resurrection, while a statue to Aphrodite stood at the Rock of the Cross. Scholars have also discussed whether the temple of Aphrodite might have been located on the nearby hill

where presumably the Tenth Roman legion was stationed (see n. 20 above). Archaeological work, though limited, confirms a monumental public structure on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, which could have been a temple, though it need not have been; there simply is not enough evidence either way; see Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ,* 56; Virgilio C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Aspetti archeologici dalle origini al periodo crociato,* 3 vols., SBFCMa 29 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1981–82), 1:33–37, 221; Gibson and Taylor, *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,* 65–71; Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?* 243–46.

26.  Gibson and Taylor, *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,* 70, mention a second forum closer to the Temple Mount.

27.  For a discussion of groups in the Palestinian area, especially after Hadrian, see, for example, Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 B.C.–A.D. 337* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 348–49; and Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 48–56. Hadrian's changes to the city both topographically and in terms of population impart a drastic change to the standing balance of ethnic and religious demographics. For example, the Jewish-Gentile Christian community supposedly disappears mysteriously, only to return slowly; see Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?* 8–9, also 12–13, who has provocatively suggested that very shortly after Hadrian's actions, a Jerusalemite church populated by the native Jewish-Gentile population begins to campaign against the new Aelia church comprised of Gentile colonists (Syrian and Arabic populations). From this model of return Walker draws convincing conclusions that are significant for our own arguments: for example, that the Jerusalem church portrays itself as the guardian of Jerusalemite traditions in comparison to the Aelia neophytes. Similarly, the Jerusalem church retains the locations of famous gospel sites and can claim apostolic succession (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.6.4), which demonstrates an ecclesiastical authenticity that easily trumps any comparative offering of the Aelia church. Moreover, if this were the case, the Jerusalemite Christian community may have conceivably cultivated or at least been drawn to the apocalyptic eschatological genre; we might then posit that this literature helps form the genetic core of the community, extrapolating possibilities for Cyril's stewardship of his congregation.

28.  Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 10–11. The powerful effect of the Temple Mount's emptiness is not lost on Christians in the fourth century—a sign of God's passing favor as he moves to render his blessings to Christians. See Wharton, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City,* 98–100; Annabel Jane Wharton, "Erasure: Eliminating the Space of Late Ancient Judaism," in *From Dura to Sepphoris: Studies in Jewish Art and Society in Late Antiquity,* ed. Lee I. Levine and Zeev Weiss, JRASup 40 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2000), 195–214. Perhaps one of the more intriguing aspects of the Byzantine Madaba map (see n. 19) is the fact of the Temple Mount's absence: see Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews,* 139–99, who provides a brief summary of the scholarly debate regarding the meaning of the Temple Mount's absence.

29.  Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* 6.5.1; the English translation here is from *The New Complete Works of Josephus,* trans. William Whiston, commentary by Paul L. Maier, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1999), 897.

30.  We have very few Roman sources that mention the Jewish siege and the destruction of the temple. See Tacitus, *Historiae* 5.8–10, for the temple from Antiochus to Titus's siege; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.11–13, esp. 5.13, referring to prodigies and supernatural portents related to the

temple's destruction, in addition to Judaism's association with *superstitio.* Compare Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica* 2.30, regarding debates over the benefits and detriments of destroying the Jewish temple. Related to this see T. D. Barnes, "The Fragments of Tacitus' *Histories,*" *CP* 72.3 (1977): 224–31, who evaluates Tacitus as the source behind Sulpicius Severus. See Dio Cassius, 66.4.1–66.7.2 for extensive coverage of Titus's siege of the Jerusalem temple and also a description of the Roman soldiers who desert Titus and join the Jewish side and Judaism, perhaps motivated by a belief in Jerusalem's invincibility. Also see Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii,* 6.29. Eusebius describes the Temple Mount's conversion to a "Roman farm" with "bulls plowing there, the sacred site sown with seed (*Dem. ev.* 8.3, cf. 4.13). Though Wilken, *The Land Called Holy,* 83, reports Eusebius's information (*Hist. eccl.* 3.26) without the slightest concern about ideological biases, more recently other scholars have noted that the Caesarean bishop is probably exaggerating for ideological purposes. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 3–4, helpfully breaks down the evidence for what we can know.

31.  See Wharton, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City,* 98–100, on the symbolic and theological importance of erasure as well as construction in Jerusalem; quote at 99.

32.  Stemberger, *Jews and Christians,* 51, citing Ben-Dov, *The Dig at the Temple Mount,* 186–91. Stemberger also notes that a large portion of the original city fortifications had been allowed to remain standing. The ruins of the temple were still significant enough to serve as a protective fortress for the Byzantines during the Islamic conquests in 613; it is probable that even more of the ruins had been standing four centuries earlier. In the fourth century the Bordeaux Pilgrim adds that the remnants of the Spring of Siloam, the Praetorium of Pontius Pilate, and the Pools of Bethesda are also still visible nearby.

33.  Wilken, *The Land Called Holy,* 289 n. 5.

34.  That the day of mourning, 9 Av, marks the temple's destruction is mentioned in *Itin. Burd.* 592.

35.  The reconstructed text is from Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab Conquests, 536 B.C. to A.D. 640: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1977), 50, drawing upon the commentary of Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* 13), Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 16, *1 Apol.* 77), and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 4.6.3). See also Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?* 8 n. 12, quoting the same reconstructed text from Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine Rule: A Political History of Palestine from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest* (New York: Schocken Books; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1984), 50–51. Scholars generally assume that this attitude is relaxed during the Severan period; see, for example, Avi-Yonah, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine Rule,* 80. Avi-Yonah argues that the edict quickly loses its effectiveness and falls into disuse in the travails of the third century; for example, in addition to a regular practice of rabbbinic visitation to Aelia, Rabbi Meir takes up residency there (see n. 39 below). See also Shmuel Safrai, "The Holy Congregation in Jerusalem," in *Studies in History,* ed. David Asheri and Israel Shatzman, ScrHier 23 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1972), 62–78. Rendel Harris, "Hadrian's Decree of Expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem," *HTR* 19.2 (1926): 199–206, provides a helpful summary of the texts alluding to this law. Millar, *The Roman Near East,* 348–49, concedes we cannot know how well Hadrian's edicts of exclusion are upheld; still, effectively a Gentile population replaces a Jewish one: Belayche, *Iudaea-Palaestina,* 19. Amos Kloner and Boaz Zissu, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period,* Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 8 (Leuven: Peeters,

2007), argue that excavations in the necropolis around the city after the Second Temple period suggest no new burial chambers between revolts but some evidence of continued use; after the Bar Kokhba revolt, all use of the necropolis ceases.

36.  For "gazing on the soil inherited from their fathers," see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.6.3.

37.  See the discussion in Stemberger, *Jews and Christians,* 40–43.

38.  Taylor, *Christians and Holy Places,* 48–56, esp. 49, who has provided (62–78) a collection of the rabbinic material attesting to a Jewish presence in Aelia: (for Rabbis Hanina, Jonathan, and Joshua ben Levi visiting Aelia) *Genesis Rabbah* 32.19, 81.4; (for Rabbi Meir's brief stay in Aelia with a group of students) *Gen. Rab.* 32.19, 81.4; (regarding the "holy community which is in Jerusalem") Beizah 14b and 21a; cf. E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian,* SJLA 2, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1981). See also Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine: A Political History from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976), 79–81; Safrai, "The Holy Congregation of Jerusalem," 183–93; Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?* 8; Yoram Tsafrir, "Byzantine Jerusalem: the Configuration of a Christian City," in Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality,* 133–49. For a discussion of the rise in the early third century of rabbinic study communities in a specifically urban context within Palestine, see Hayim Lapin, *Rabbis as Romans: The Rabbinic Movement in Palestine, 100–400 CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 68–70.

39.  Taylor, *Christians and Holy Places,* 49–51; Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 10, speculates that as a result of the relaxation of the law in the Severan period Jews come to visit Aelia "more openly and freely." Once we move outside of Aelia into other portions of Palestine, our ancient sources attest more definitively to a larger Jewish presence; for example, Epiphanius, *Panarion (Adversus haereses)* 30.4.1–12.8, describes the cities of Tiberias and Diocaesarea to the north of Judah as inhabited almost entirely by Jews—by contrast, he claims that other populations (Hellene, Samaritan, Christian) are not present at all. Eusebius, *De martyribus Palaestinae* 8.1, lends support to some of Epiphanius's demographics in his description of an entirely Jewish community bearing witness to the martyrdom of 97 Egyptian Christians who labored in the Diocaesarean mines.

40.  For the argument, see Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 9–10. Also, we must consider the recognition of anti-Jewish rhetoric in Cyril of Jerusalem: Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews,* 139–49; Irshai, "The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem."

41.  Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 9; *Itin. Burd.* 592; cf. Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.* 14 (PG 43:261), who makes similar observations.

42.  For 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, and Revelation, for example, see Martha Himmelfarb, *The Apocalypse: A Brief History* (Oxford, UK, and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 75–95. For Revelation, see also Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Book of Revelation," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism,* vol. 1, *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity,* ed. John J. Collins (New York: Continuum, 1998), 384–414; Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Uses of Apocalyptic Eschatology," in *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall,* ed. Matthias Henze and Gabriele Boccaccini, with the collaboration of Jason M. Zurawski (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 253–70.

43.  It is important to note the differences in visionary experiences which are developing in Jewish and early Christian literature at this time. For our part, we are interested in apocalyptic visionaries revealing earthly realities: for example, disclosing future eschatological realities. This stands apart from apocalyptic visionaries who experience tours of hell and

heaven. For this difference and how it reflects upon the genre, see Daniel Merkur, "The Visionary Practice of Jewish Apocalypticists," in *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society,* vol. 14, *Essays in Honor of Paul Parin,* ed. L. Bryce Boyer and Simon A. Grolnik (Hillsdale: Analytic Press, 1989), 119–48. Regarding scholarly reluctance to treat visionary religious experience in the genre of Jewish apocalypse, see Michael E. Stone, *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), 94, and his response, 95–97. For an interesting diachronic consideration of the history of apocalyptic visionaries, with Jerusalem at its center, see Maria Leppäkari, *Apocalyptic Representations of Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 77–127.

44.  See Benjamin E. Reynolds, "The Otherworldly Mediators in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch:* A Comparison with Angelic Mediators in Ascent Apocalypses and in Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah," in Henze and Boccaccini, *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch,* 175–94, who discerns a particular type of angelic aid in 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch, set apart once again from guides in visionary tours of heaven and hell. In the cases of 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), Uriel answers questions that help guide and shape the experience; more importantly, perhaps, Uriel's answers and instructions to Ezra provide a ritual agenda enabling the visionary experience.

45.  4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch lend themselves easily to comparative work for the reasons mentioned in the previous note; these two texts are also useful in unpacking the visionary experience Cyril theorizes in Jerusalem. For example, see John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination,* 194–232. See also the collection of essays edited by Henze and Boccaccini, *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch;* several essays within this book provide helpful context for fourth-century Aelia/Jerusalem, establishing the ground for comparison: Matthias Henze, "*4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch:* The *Status Quaestionis,*" 3–30; Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Uses of Apocalyptic Eschatology," 253–70; Reynolds, "The Otherworldly Mediators," 175–94; and Lester L. Grabbe, "*4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* in Social and Historical Perspective," 221–36. On 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch as well as Revelation within a larger survey of Jewish and early Christian literature dealing with the Temple and Jerusalem, see Michael E. Stone, "Reactions to Destructions of the Second Temple: Theology, Perception and Conversion," *JSJ* 12.2 (1981): 195–204.

46.  Both 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch are invested in drawing a strict line between insiders and outsiders—a measure of protection or defense in the face of violent persecution. To that end, both texts explore questions of theodicy in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish Temple; see Tom W. Willett, *Eschatology in the Theodicies of 2 Baruch and 2 Ezra,* Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement 4 (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989). For Cyril, the motivation changes from theodicy to authority: who has the right to claim or dictate the true image of Jerusalem and Jesus Christ's importance to that image.

47.  Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Uses of Apocalyptic Eschatology," passim. For basic information regarding 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), see Himmelfarb, *The Apocalypse,* 56; for greater depth, see Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra,* ed. Frank Moore Cross, Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

48.  4 Ezra (2 Esdras) 9.14–16; (English translation) Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:545: "I said before, and I say now, and will say it again: 'There are more who perish than those who will be saved, as a wave is greater than a drop of water.'"

49.  4 Ezra (2 Esdras) 9.38–10.28; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:545–46.

50.  4 Ezra (2 Esdras) 1.49–51, quotes at 10.50; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:547–48. Right after this point, Uriel offers additional information regarding the future city of Jerusalem (4 Ezra [2Esdras] 10.53–54; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:548): "Therefore I told you to go into the field where there was no foundation of any building, for no work of man's building could endure in a place where the city of the Most High was to be revealed." This holds particular interest for us in light of Cyril's much later view that Constantine's basilica—a manmade structure—only obscures a Christian's view of the true Holy City of Jerusalem.

51.  4 Ezra (2 Esdras) 10.55–57; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:548. Italics mine.

52.  4 Ezra (2 Esdras) 14.20–21; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:554. Compare 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) 12.37–39 (Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:550), where Uriel first commands Ezra to write down all the visions that he has received. Compare also 2 Baruch 6.3–9; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1.622–23, which describes the strong spirit that lifts Baruch in the air so that he can attain his vision of the temple.

53.  4 Ezra (2 Esdras) 14.20–21, 38, 40–41; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:554–55.

54.  For 2 Baruch, see Himmelfarb, *The Apocalypse,* 44, 55–56, 58, 68. The two works of 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) and 2 Baruch have often been treated in comparison; for a review of the scholarship, see Michael E. Stone and Matthias Henze, *4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: Translations, Introductions, and Notes* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 1–18, 83–94.

55.  See 2 Baruch 4.3; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:622.

56.  The programmatic text is 2 Baruch 6.3–10; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:622–23; and the remaining examples draw upon the first, developing the notion of divine or sacred time: 2 Baruch 17.2, 18.1, 21.24, 23.4, 48.42, 47.44, 56.5, 57.1, 59.2–3, 84.1. Compare the temple of Hebrews 8:2.

57.  Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.13.

58.  4 Ezra (2 Esdras) 10.55–56; Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 1:548.

59.  Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ,* 65; Peter Walker, "Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the 4th Century," in *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land,* ed. Anthony O'Mahony, Göran Gunner, and Kevork Hintlian (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995), 24–25; E. D. Hunt, "Constantine and Jerusalem," *JEH* 48.3 (1997): 410–12. For an excellent discussion of Caesarean-Jerusalem tensions at this time, see O'Mahony, Gunner, and Hintlian, *The Christian Heritage,* 275–81. Cf. Charles Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem,* trans. J.-P. B. Ross and Claude Ross, Schweich Lectures of the British Academy (1972) (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1974), 12–13; Rubin, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre," 79–105; also Ze'ev Rubin, "The Cult of the Holy Places and Christian Politics in Byzantine Jerusalem," in Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality,* 151–62.

60.  Edward J. Yarnold, "Who Planned the Churches at the Christian Holy Places in the Holy Land?" StPatr 18 (1985): 105–9.

61.  Paul Stephenson, *Constantine: Roman Emperor, Christian Victor* (New York: Overlook Press, 2010), chap. 5.

62. Ibid., 9.

63. For *Invictus* and *nikopolis* language, see Stephenson, *Constantine,* 190, 192.

64. Wharton, *Reconfiguring the Post-Classical City,* 88, describes an imperial building plan in which "Constantine thus reasserted the Roman, not the Jewish, constitution of the city, while simultaneously inscribing on it his own identity." Constantine turns to the Hadrianic forum in reasserting a Roman/Constantinian mark on the city, including the Propylaeum's eastern entrance into the precinct from the Cardo Maximus, an open court or atrium that precedes the large, five-aisled Basilica Constantine. We can easily imagine a negative reaction on the part of native Jerusalemites. Contrast with Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ,* 65. For an early, significant survey of Constantinian construction, see Hugues Vincent and Félix-Marie Abel, *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire,* vol. 2, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris: Gabalda, 1914); Walker, "Jerusalem and the Holy Land," 24–25; Hunt, "Constantine and Jerusalem," 410–12.

65. See Wharton, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City,* 91.

66. Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 18.

67. Richard Krautheimer, "The Constantinian Basilica," *DOP* 21 (1967): 115–40. For similar remarks, see also Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture,* 39–63; and Rudolf Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus: Die Verchristlichung der imperialen Repräsentation unter Konstantin dem Grossen als Spiegel seiner Kirchenpolitik und seines Selbstverständnisses als christlicher Kaiser,* AZK 58 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 86–92. For a consideration of Constantine's architecture in Jerusalem in light of archeological research and restoration activity, see Heribert Busse and Georg Kretschmar, *Jerusalemer Heiligtumstraditionen in altkirchlicher und frühislamischer Zeit,* Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästinavereins (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 30–62, 77–81.

68. Richard Krautheimer, "The Constantinian Basilica," 117–20.

69. Ibid., 139.

70. For a thorough discussion of these building projects as well as an extensive bibliography, see Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus.*

71. Wharton, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City,* 88; in the process Constantine is remodeling "the new Jerusalem of the Romans" (ibid.).

72. Tsafrir, "Byzantine Jerusalem," 136. See also Helen Saradi-Mendelovici, "Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries," *DOP* 44 (1990): 47–61.

73. Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.22; Cameron and Hall, *Life of Constantine,* 133.

74. Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.22, describes the Martyrium as the new Jerusalem predicted by Ezekiel, implying that Constantine was Solomon resurrected. See Wilken, *The Land Called Holy,* 93–100. Similarly, Egeria (*Itin.* 48.1) later asserts that Constantine dedicated the Martyrium on the same day that Solomon had dedicated the temple centuries earlier. Here is a suitable place to remind ourselves of the religious plurality of both Aelia and Syria Palaestina in general. We might consider how aspects of the Holy Sepulchre's construction not only serve to promote a particular version of Christ, but also how church leaders co-opt its architectural iconography and ritual practice (e.g., the Anastasis) to target and demonize and diabolize specific forms of religious competition, such as Judaism, Greek cult, and other Christianities. To that end, consider Jan Willem Drijvers,"Transformation of a City:

The Christianization of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century," in *Cults, Creeds, and Identities in the Greek City after the Classical Age,* ed. Richard Alston, Onno M. van Nijf, and Christina G. Williamson, Groningen–Royal Holloway Studies on the Greek City after the Classical Age 3 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 309–29.

75.  On the alterations to the tomb and the Anastasis's construction, see Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ,* 65–69. Cf. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?* 235–81, regarding the relationship between the tomb's construction and Eusebius's resurrection theology.

76.  Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.34–40; Cameron and Hall, *Life of Constantine,* 136–38.

77.  Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Pierre Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient: Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris: Cerf, 1985), 199–202. On the Martyrium in particular, see the descriptions of Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.33–40, and Egeria, *Itin.* 25.9. For an excellent and comprehensive short study of the architectural spectacle of holiness in the fourth and fifth centuries see Cynthia Hahn, "Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines," *Spec* 72.4 (1997): 1079–1106.

78.  Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.30–32. Cameron and Hall (*Life of Constantine*) suggest a date between 326 and 327 CE for the excavation; Constantine's letter to Macarius in which he orders the bishop to collaborate with the provincial governor, Dracillianus, would have followed soon after: Cameron and Hall, *Life of Constantine,* 134–35.

79.  Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.31; Cameron and Hall, *Life of Constantine,* 135.

80.  Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.,* see esp. 10.19; Cyril takes the fact of pilgrimage commerce, selling pieces of the cross, to speak of animating the entire world with Jerusalem at its center: "The holy wood of the Cross bears witness, seen among us to this day, and from this place now almost filling the whole world, by means of those who in faith take portions from it. The palm tree on the ravine bears witness to having supplied the palm branches to the children who then hailed Him. Gethsemane bears witness, still to the thoughtful almost showing Judas. Golgotha, the holy hill standing above us here, bears witness to our sight: the Holy Sepulchre bears witness, and the stone which lies there to this day. The sun now shining is His witness, which then at the time of His saving Passion was eclipsed."

81.  Kenneth G. Holum, "Hadrian and St. Helena: Imperial Travel and the Origins of Christian Holy Land Pilgrimage," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage,* ed. Robert G. Ousterhout, Illinois Byzantine Studies 1 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 66–81.

82.  Michael A. Fraser, "Constantine and the Encaenia," StPatr 29 (1997), 25–28, offers a clear and concise presentation of the primary and secondary material available regarding both the inauguration day for the basilica and the Encaenia festival.

83.  On using the *Chronicon Paschale,* see Michele Renee Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), in conjunction with the commentary by Henri Stern, *Le calendrier du 354: Étude sur son texte et ses illustrations,* BAH 55 (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1953). For Fraser's discussion: Fraser, "Constantine and the Encaenia," 25–28.

84.  The Ludi Triumphales, September 18–22, which celebrate Constantine's victory over Licinius, are preserved in the Calendar of 354 CE. For a sense of the Ludi Triumphales in the context of other festivals and a brief introduction to festival and cult practices, see Salzman, *On Roman Time,* 121, 146–56. For the relationship of the Ludi Triumphales to the Ludi Romani, see Stern, *Le calendrier de 354,* 8–9, 80–82.

85. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.22: on the sign (*sēmeion*) of Christ as an eschatological symbol.

86. Irshai, "The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem," 465–86, quote at 467.

87. The following discussion relies heavily on the work of Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews,* 139–99, and Irshai, "The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem," 465–86.

88. Bowman, "'Mapping History's Redemption,'" 171–83.

89. Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews,* 9. This groundbreaking study applies the idea of the Other in identity discourse to the idea of the "Jew."

90. Leyerle, "Landscape as Cartography," 119–43.

91. Bowman, "'Mapping History's Redemption,'" esp. 173.

92. Ibid., 174.

93. Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews,* 9.

94. Ibid.

95. Irshai, "The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem," 474.

96. Ibid., 470.

97. Ibid., 474.

98. Ibid., 476, 470.

99. *Itin. Burd.* 594 (CCSL 175:13–14); Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels,* 156.

100. *Itin. Burd.* 590 (CCSL 175:11); Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels,* 153.

101. *Itin. Burd.* 594 (CCSL 175:13–14); Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels,* 156.

102. Irshai, "The Christian Appropriation of Jerusalem," 471.

103. *Itin. Burd.* 591 (CCSL 175:12); Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels,* 153.

104. *Itin. Burd.* 594 (CCSL 175:13); Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels,* 156.

105. *Itin. Burd.* 594 (CCSL 175:13–14); Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels,* 156.

106. *Itin. Burd.* 594 (CCSL 175:14); Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels,* 156.

## CHAPTER 5. THE DEVIL IN THE WORD,
### THE DEMONS IN THE IMAGE

1. Cyril is building upon the basics of a liturgical program left over from the early Constantinian period rather than starting new entirely, but his manner of manipulating and changing the program is radical and surely reflects his episcopal desire to distance his congregation from Jews, Samaritans, Greeks, and other Christian groups. See Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 55; also on liturgical practice in Jerusalem, including Cyril's own influence, 33–55. See also Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 173. Finally, indispensable here is Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship,* 83, who pushes an important shift in liturgical studies that has resulted in increased attention to context as much as text; in so doing he counters many long-held assumptions regarding liturgical practices in general and Jerusalem's stational liturgy in particular; for example, he lodges an important critique against Gregory Dix, *The Shape of Liturgy,* 2nd ed. (London: Continuum, 2005), who proposes that the fourth century introduces a change in the concept of time—moving from earlier eschatological designs.

2. In this chapter, all the translations of Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catecheses ad illuminandos,* including his *Protocatechesis,* are my own. For the Greek text I have consulted a standard edition that is still quite valuable: Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera* (cited as R&R; for bibliographical information see the introduction of this study,

n. 53). Although I do not quote from it, an English translation is also available for most passages: Stephenson and McCauley, *The Works of St. Cyril,* 2 vols. (cited as FC 61 or FC 64; for bibliographical information see the introduction of this study, n. 53). Quotations of other ancient authors' texts are taken from published translations; the information is provided in the notes.

3. The present quote is a composite of Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.12, 13, 17 (R&R 2:66, 68–70; FC 64:13–14, 15–16).

4. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 35, also dates Cyril's baptismal instructions to 350/351. For the debate regarding the dating of the baptismal instructions, see Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 56–57; Pamela Jackson, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Use of Scripture in Catechesis," *Theological Studies* 52.3 (1991): 431–50; Victor Saxer, "Cyrill von Jerusalem und die Heilige Schrift: Was er von ihr lehrt und wie er sie gebraucht," in *Stimuli: Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum: Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann,* ed. Georg Schöllgen and Clemens Scholten, JACSup 23 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 344–56.

5. Regarding Acacius of Caesarea's influence in procuring the Aelia episcopacy for Cyril, see Socrates of Constantinople, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.38; Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.20, 4.20; Jerome, *Chronicon sub ann. Constantius* 12. In the history of Cyril's three exiles, one can read a fundamental tension that developed between Acacius/Eusebius and Cyril/Macarius, as well as between Caesarea as the large metropolitan of the Syria Palestina region and Aelia/Jerusalem as a small backwater town: Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 38–45; also Socrates of Constantinople, *Hist. eccl.* 2.42.6; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 4.25.1.

6. Egeria, *Itin.* 37; English translation taken from Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels,* 121.

7. Egeria, *Itin.* 37. See also chap. 4 of this study.

8. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* passim; also Jan Willem Drijvers, "Promoting Jerusalem: Cyril and the True Cross," in *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium, and the Christian Orient,* ed. Jan Willem Drijvers and John W. Watt, RGRW 137 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 79–95.

9. Of course Cyril's model of baptismal transformation is hardly the sole model for pilgrimage in the Holy Land; rendering invisible divinity visible long preceded Cyril in Greco-Roman pilgrimage practice. See Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford, eds., *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); see also Béatrice Caseau's eloquent and important survey "Sacred Landscapes," in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World,* ed. G. W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 21–59; and Pierre Maraval, "The Earliest Phase of Christian Pilgrimage in the Near East (before the 7th Century)," *DOP* 56 (2002): 63–74. Pilgrimage, especially the link between pilgrimage practice and perceiving holiness, has become one of the more fertile areas of late antique scholarship in the past decade, and an exhaustive bibliography is infeasible. Two key titles in the field, which aid in illuminating Cyril's views as well, are Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt,* and Susanna Elm, "Perceptions of Jerusalem Pilgrimage as Reflected in Two Early Sources on Female Pilgrimage (3rd and 4th Centuries A.D.)," StPatr 20 (1989): 219–23. In the past ten years or so an important shift has occurred in the study of pilgrimage, involving interest in materialization and in strategies of aestheticization and embodiment: for example, Georgia Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity,* TCH 30 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). In this shift, scholars

have pursued the interconnections between biblical discourse and sensory experience through the medium of the pilgrimage body; see Patricia Cox Miller, "Desert Asceticism and 'The Body from Nowhere,'" *JECS* 2.2 (1994): 137–53; so too Miller's *The Corporeal Imagination.*

10. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.8 (R&R 2:62; FC 64:10).

11. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.28 (R&R 2:62; FC 64:22).

12. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.8 (R&R 2:60–62; FC 64:10).

13. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.8 (R&R 2:62; FC 64:10).

14. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.35 (R&R 2:96; FC 64:28).

15. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.35 (R&R 2:96; FC 64:28).

16. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?* 272.

17. *Thaumazein:* Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.15 (R&R 2:72; FC 64:15).

18. Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes,* 18; cf. Georgia Frank, "'Taste and See': The Eucharist and the Eyes of Faith in the Fourth Century," *CH* 70.4 (2001): 619–43; also Miller, "'The Little Blue Flower.'"

19. In fact, the Byzantine rhetor Doxopatres categorizes *ekphrasis* as an elaborate narrative; see Christianus Walz, ed., *Rhetores Graeci,* 9 vol. in 10 with suppl. (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1832–36), 2:509. Regarding the close ties between narrative and *ekphrasis* in the description of art, see Liz James and Ruth Webb, "'To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places': Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium," *Art History* 14.1 (1991): 1–17, esp. 6–9.

20. James and Webb, "'To Understand Ultimate Things,'" 7.

21. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy,* 90–92, declares that after the discovery of Christ's tomb "sight becomes a component of Christian faith." Cf. Asterius of Amasea, *Homilia* 9.2, in Asterius of Amasea, *Homilies 1–14,* ed. C. Datema (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 116–17: Christians become "spectators of history."

22. Jerome, *Ep.* 46.5 (PL 22:426); English translation is from Miller, "'The Little Blue Flower,'" 218.

23. Jerome, *Ep.* 108.9; see Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes,* 106. Cynthia Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?" *Numen* 57 (2010): 284–316, esp. 302, also touches upon this passage.

24. Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?" 302.

25. On Christian rhetoric in general, see Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse,* Sather Classical Lectures 55 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), esp. 47–88, 189–221.

26. Frank, "'Taste and See,'" 621.

27. Jerome, *Adversus Vigilantium* 5; Patricia Cox Miller, "'Differential Networks': Relics and Other Fragments in Late Antiquity," 1997 NAPS Presidential Address, *JECS* 6.1 (1998): 113–38, observes that "those material bits came alive in the literary and artistic appeals that were made to the sensuous imaginations of the participants in this form of Christian ritual" (129). See also Miller, "'The Little Blue Flower,'" 216; cf. Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes,* 176. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity,* 94, notes that Augustine echoes Jerome's remarks.

28. A helpful discussion of the development of *martyria,* as well as the advancing sacred topography, is found in Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity,* 1.

29. Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia* 19.5 (PG 31:516); (English translation) Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination,* 47.

30.  Miller, "'The Little Blue Flower,'" 215, 217.

31.  Helpful here is Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes,* 160–70, who discusses in great depth the connection between biblical types and the physiognomic scrutiny of ascetics.

32.  Ibid., 174.

33.  The first-century author Longinus, *De sublimitate* 15.1–2, describes the visual relationship forged between poet and listener through language: "the design of the poetical image is enthrallment"—through language, the poet "almost compels his audience to behold" the image described. Hence the writing finds completion in the reader or listener's visual imagination. See Miller, "'Differential Networks.'" On the corresponding creative visualization practices in the pilgrimage literature, see Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes,* 19.

34.  Asterius of Amasea, *Ekphrasis on Saint Euphemia* 4, in François Halkin, ed., *Euphémie de Chalcédoine: Légendes byzantines,* SubsHag 41 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), 5; Miller, "'The Little Blue Flower,'" 221.

35.  Miller, "'The Little Blue Flower,'" 222.

36.  Pamela Jackson addresses this vocabulary and its relation to Cyril's pedagogy and preaching in "Cyril of Jerusalem's Use of Scripture," 431–50; see also Pamela Jackson, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Treatment of Scriptural Texts concerning the Holy Spirit," *Traditio* 46 (1991): 1–31.

37.  These living events are listed in Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.17–21.

38.  Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.38–39 (R&R 2:98–102; FC 64:29–30).

39.  Cyril of Jerusalem, *Protocatachesis* 16 (R&R 1:22; FC 61:82) (hereafter *Proto.*).

40.  Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 4.37 (R&R 1:130; FC 61:137).

41.  Cyril of Jerusalem, *Proto.* 16 (R&R 1:22; FC 61:83). Cyril deliberately constructs this entire section using the linked New Testament themes of spiritual discernment, apocalypticism, and spiritual warfare, relying on Ephesians 6, 1 John, and 2 Thessalonians. Cyril lays the groundwork here for an apocalyptic framework that reemerges again in his fifteenth catechetical lecture when he turns to the same New Testament passages to discuss the revelation of the antichrist. For example, *Proto.* 16 offers evidence that supports the cohesive and consistent apocalyptic eschatology throughout *Catech. illum.* 15. We will discuss this in greater detail in the next chapter. Cyril establishes in the *Protocatechesis* an apocalyptic framework for the whole series, through which he then reveals the antidemonic and spiritual-warfare themes in greater depth in later lectures, especially in *Catech. illum.* 15. Cyril's artistry in weaving 1 John 4:1ff. into the *Protocatechesis* (and later again in *Catech. illum.* 15) becomes clear through simple comparison. Cyril molds his words—"attend not then to the lips of the speaker of guile, but to the spirit of belief and deceit who works in him"—to echo the much longer, substantive passage in 1 John 4:1–3 (NRSV): "Beloved, do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see whether they are from God; for many false prophets have gone out into the world. By this you know the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is from God, and every spirit that does not confess Jesus is not from God. And this is the spirit of the antichrist, of which you have heard that it is coming; and now it is already in the world."

42.  Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 4.37 (R&R 1:130–31; FC 61:137–38). Italics mine.

43.  Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 4.2. (R&R 1:90; FC 61:120).

44.  Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 6.15 (R&R 1:76; FC 61:158). See Simon Magus in Acts 8.9. Cyril effectively conveys his heresiology through the hydra metaphor to create a

frightening and exhausting quagmire of theologized malevolence: Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 104.

45. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 6.17 (R&R 1:78; FC 61:158).

46. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 4.1 (R&R 1:119; FC 61:89).

47. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 4.1 (R&R 1:119; FC 61:89). Cyril continues: "We have need therefore of divine grace and a sober mind, and eyes that see clearly, . . . for by mistaking the wolf for a sheep, we become his prey, or, supposing the wretched devil to be a good angel, we will be devoured." *Catech. illum.* 4.1 (R&R 1.119; FC 61.89).

48. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 16.15 (R&R 2:224; FC 64:85). The language here is very close to that describing insanity and madness in ancient Greek texts, particularly in the manner in which those texts overlap with demonic possession; see Ruth Padel, *In and Out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). In fact, many of the images that Padel describes come close to those described by the church fathers, who incorporate notions of Stoic cognitive theory, demonic possession, and personal exorcistic practice into ascetic thought.

49. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Proto.* 9 (R&R 1:12; FC 61:77).

50. On haptic vision, see A. A. Long, "Thinking and Sense-Perception in Empedocles," *CQ,* n.s. 16.2 (1966): 256–76; Denis O'Brien, "The Effect of a Simile: Empedocles' Theories of Seeing and Breathing," *JHS* 90 (1970): 140–79; Denis O'Brien, "Plato and Empedocles on Evil," in *Traditions of Platonism: Essays in Honour of John Dillon,* ed. John J. Cleary (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 3–27; also Rudolph E. Siegel, *Galen on Sense Perception: His Doctrines, Observations, and Experiments on Vision, Hearing, Smell, Taste, Touch, and Pain, and Their Historical Sources* (Basel: Karger, 1970); Gérard Simon, *Le regard, l'être et l'apparence dans l'optique de l'antiquité* (Paris: Seuil, 1988). See also Plato, *Timaeus* 45b–d; Aristotle, De *sensu et sensibilibus* 2.437b10–438a5.

51. Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination,* 86, also 88.

52. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Proto.* 9 (R&R 1:12; FC 61:77).

53. Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination,* 105.

54. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Proto.* 14 (R&R 1:18–20; FC 61:77).

55. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Proto.* 15 (R&R 1:20; FC 64:81).

56. Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 38–44, who also reminds us that Cyril's Creed is fundamentally Nicene.

57. R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy, 318–381* (Edinburgh and London: T&T Clark, 1988), 402.

58. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 5.12 (R&R 1:148–50; FC 61:146).

59. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 5.13 (R&R 1:150–52; FC 64:147).

60. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Proto.* 11 (R&R 1:14–16; FC 64:79). Emphasis mine.

61. Frank, "'Taste and See,'" 625.

62. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses mystagogicae* 3.4; this English translation is from FC 64:170–71. For the Greek text, see Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques,* ed. Auguste Piédagnel, trans. Pierre Paris, SC 126 (Paris: Cerf, 1966), 126.

63. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 16.16 (R&R 2:316–18; FC 64:85–86).

64. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 17.35 (R&R 2:294; FC 64:118). Compare *Catech. illum.* 1.3, where Cyril again describes the power of the wonderful seal of salvation before

which demons tremble; see also *Proto.* 11 (R&R 1:14–16; FC 64:79) in note 60 above. Also see *Catech. illum.* 3.12; 4.1, 14.

65. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 3.12 (R&R 1:78; FC 61:115–16). Cyril quite deliberately characterizes the purpose of baptism and the relationship between Christ and the baptized in the language of spiritual warfare. Cyril confers many titles upon Jesus, including calling him the one who "presides over the combatants, and crowns the victors" (*Catech. illum.* 17.13 [R&R 2:266–68; FC 64:105]). When describing baptism, particularly in reference to Acts 2:2, Cyril describes an almost violent assault upon the body that empowers the baptized to engage in subsequent battle for the kingdom of God: "For suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, signifying the presence of him who was to grant power to men to seize with violence the kingdom of God." *Catech. illum.* 17.14 (R&R 2:268; FC 64:105).

66. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 16.16 (R&R 2:226; FC 64:86).

67. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 16.16 (R&R 2:226; FC 64:86).

68. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Proto.* 9 (R&R 1:13; FC 6:77).

## CHAPTER 6. APOCALYPTIC PROPHETS AND THE CROSS

In this chapter, all the translations of Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catecheses ad illuminandos,* including his *Protocatechesis,* are my own. For the Greek text I have consulted a standard edition that is still quite valuable: Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera* (cited as R&R; see the introduction of this study, n. 53). Although I do not quote from it, an English translation is also available for most passages: Stephenson and McCauley, *The Works of St. Cyril,* 2 vols. (cited as FC 61 or FC 64; see the introduction of this study, n. 53). Quotations of other ancient authors' texts are taken from published translations; the information is provided in the notes.

1. For *pistoi/apistoi,* see chap. 5.

2. Oded Irshai, "Cyril of Jerusalem: The Apparition of the Cross and the Jews," in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews,* ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa, TSMEMJ 10 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 85–104.

3. In scholarship, *millennialism* no longer refers to the biblical one-thousand-year period of Christ's reign on earth; current scholarly interpreters of *millennialism* or *millenarianism* refer instead to a perfect period on earth or in God's kingdom when collective salvation is secured and human limitations have been overcome. Millennialism in this definition depends upon the view that salvation is imminent. In fact, the imminent nature of expectation influences the religious pattern strongly: the sense of the imminence expresses a strong power over people, drawing them in to the new organization, compelling them to change their lives. For this definition see Catherine Wessinger, "Introduction: The Interacting Dynamics of Millennial Beliefs, Persecution, and Violence," in *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence: Historical Cases,* ed. Catherine Wessinger, Religion and Politics (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 3–39, esp. 7; see also Catherine Wessinger, *How the Millennium Comes Violently: From Jonestown to Heaven's Gate* (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 2000); also Catherine Wessinger, "Millennialism with and without the Mayhem: Catastrophic and Progressive Expectations," in *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements,* ed. Thomas Robbins and Susan J. Palmer (New York: Routledge, 1997), 47–59. There are of

course important studies of apocalyptic eschatology in early Christianity; a seminal work in this regard in the field of early Christianity is John G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity,* Prentice Hall Studies in Religion (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1975); compare the approach of David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1983). For an interesting comparison in the arena of prophecy, see Johannes Panagopoulos, ed., *Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament and Today,* NovTSup 45 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), and especially in that volume, Johannes Panagopoulos, "Die urchristliche Prophetie: Ihr Charakter und ihre Funktion," 1–32, and Édouard Cothenet, "Les prophètes chrétiens comme exégètes charismatiques de l'Écriture," 77–107. On Pauline eschatology in 1 Cor., see Gerhard Dautzenberg, *Urchristliche Prophetie: Ihre Erforschung, ihre Voraussetzungen im Judentum und ihre Struktur im ersten Korintherbrief,* BWANT 6.4/104 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1975).

4. See Wessinger, "Introduction: The Interacting Dynamics"; Wessinger, *How the Millennium Comes Violently;* Wessinger, "Millennialism with and without the Mayhem"; and Catherine Wessinger, "How the Millennium Comes Violently: A Comparison of Jonestown, Aum Shinrikyo, Branch Davidians, and the Montana Freedmen," *Di* 36.4 (1997): 277–88. See also Michael Barkun, "Millenarians and Violence: The Case of the Christian Identity Movement," in Robbins and Palmer, *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem,* 247–60; Dick Anthony and Thomas Robbins, "Religious Totalism, Exemplary Dualism, and the Waco Tragedy," in *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem,* 261–84; and Richard A. Landes, ed., *Encyclopedia of Millennialism and Millennial Movements,* Routledge Encyclopedias of Religion and Society (London and New York: Routledge, 2000). Also see Mark Juergensmeyer, Margo Kitts, and Michael Jerryson, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 251–53; and Dick Anthony and Thomas Robbins, "Religious Totalism, Violence and Exemplary Dualism: Beyond the Extrinsic Model," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 7.3 (1995): 10–50.

5. Wessinger draws upon earlier seminal studies of apocalyptic eschatology that focus on the construction of a worldview from the perspective of symbolic anthropology but do not take into consideration violent encounters: e.g., Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969); and Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia,* 2nd ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1968). Cf. the millennial taxonomy presented by Yonina Talmon in "Millenarian Movements," *European Journal of Sociology* 7.2 (1966): 159–200, which reflects that dynamic agency we describe. Catherine Wessinger and other millennialists draw heavily upon Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966). Finally, for Berger's own approach to the interpretation of ancient Israelite millenialism, see Peter L. Berger, "Charisma and Religious Innovation: The Social Location of Israelite Prophecy," *ASR* 28.6 (1963): 940–50.

6. Wessinger, *How the Millenium Comes Violently,* 9; also Wessinger, "How the Millennium Comes Violently." The essential work regarding both progressive and catastrophic millennialism is Wessinger, *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence;* see also Wessinger, "Millennialism with and without the Mayhem."

7. Wessinger, *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence,* 8; Wessinger, "Millennialism with and without the Mayhem," 51.

8. Wessinger, *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence,* 17.

9. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.8 (R&R 2:62; FC 64:10); quoting 1 Cor. 1:23.

10. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 13.40–41 (R&R 2:104; FC 64:41).

11. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.22 (R&R2:184; FC 64:68).

12. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Epistula ad Constantius II* 4 (hereafter *Ep. Const.*); (English translation) Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 68.

13. Concerning the earthquake on May 7, 351, just a few days before Pentecost, see Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 119, 138, 139, 141.

14. Oded Irshai, "Dating the Eschaton: Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Calculations in Late Antiquity," in *Apocalyptic Time,* ed. Albert I. Baumgarten, SHR 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 113–53, quote at 141.

15. Ibid., 141–43.

16. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Ep. Const.* 4 (R&R 2:436–68; FC 64:232–33).

17. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Ep. Const.* 4 (R&R 2:436; FC 64:233).

18. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.1 (R&R 2:152; FC 64:53). Daniel forms the backbone of *Catech. illum.* 15 in its entirety: see Dan. 7:13, 16, 17, 21, 24, 27. In *Catech. illum.* 15, Cyril draws particular attention to the eschatological phrase "the coming of the Son of Man" in Dan. 7:1, 4, 10, 16, 20, 22, and 24. Cf. Matt. 10:23 and 24:30.

19. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.12 (R&R 2:170; FC 64:61).

20. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.3–7, 9–10, 16–17, 20–22, 25.

21. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.6–7 (R&R 2:160–62; FC 64:57–58).

22. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.3, 4, 6 (R&R 2:158–60; FC 64:56–57).

23. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.5 (R&R 2:260; FC 64:57).

24. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.5 (R&R 2:260; FC 64:57).

25. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.4–5 (R&R 2:160; FC 64:57–58).

26. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.4–5 (R&R 2:160; FC 64:57–58).

27. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.6 (R&R 2:160; FC 64:57).

28. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.7 (R&R 2:162; FC 64:57–58).

29. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.16 (R&R 2:174; FC 64:63), drawing directly upon Matthew 24.21: "But, let those of us who are fearful provide for our own safety; and those who are of a good courage, stand fast: '*[F]or then shall be great tribulation, such as has not been from the beginning of the world until now, no, nor ever shall be.*' But thanks be to God, who has confined the greatness of that tribulation to a few days." After this, Cyril introduces details in regard to the age of the antichrist.

30. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.4–5, 9 (R&R 2:160, 164; FC 64:57–58, 59).

31. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.9, 14 (R&R 2:164–66; FC 64:59).

32. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.9 (R&R 2:164; FC 64:59).

33. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.7 (R&R 2:162; FC 64:57–58).

34. Robert D. Baird, *Category Formation and the History of Religions,* 2nd ed., Religion and Reason 1 (1971; rept., Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 18.

35. Wessinger touches upon this in "Introduction: The Interacting Dynamics," 5.

36. Wessinger, *How the Millennium Comes Violently,* 18.

37. Ibid., 271.

38. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 56–57. The manner in which Cyril came to episcopal power is shrouded in bias and debate stretching from the fourth century to the twenty-first. For the earliest accounts, see Socrates of Constantinople, *Hist. eccl.* 2.38; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*

2.20, 4.20; Jerome, *Chron.* 12 (PL 27.502–3). It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine Cyril's position upon his succession. Socrates and Sozomen report that Acacius of Caesarea and Patrophilus of Scythopolis had conspired to usurp Maximus's throne by placing Cyril in power.

39. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 39–47.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., 41.

42. Ibid., 42 n. 50.

43. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.9 (R&R 2:164; FC 64:58–59).

44. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.16 (R&R 2:174; FC 64:63). Cyril expresses gratitude that the "severe tribulation" God intends will last a few days only—compared to the antichrist, who will last three and a half years. Cyril's choice of *thlipsis* moves deliberately away from the word apostasy (*apostasia*) from 2 Thess. 2. *Apostasia* can refer to a revolt, a rejection that involves—in fact forefronts—free will, a voluntary move to react against a ruling power. By contrast, *thlipsis* means a period of pressure, oppression, affliction—it can also indicate persecution—like the period that will precede the second coming of Christ. In light of Jerusalem's past and recent ties to persecution and its problematic, tense relations with both ruling ecclesiastical and imperial power, this word choice is interesting in and of itself. *Thlipsis* ties Cyril's apocalyptic language and message more tightly to *The Shepherd of Hermas* (2.2, 2.3, 3.2, 3.6, and the fourth vision in its entirety)—a text we will discuss below.

45. 1 John 4:1–3. The translation given here is that of the NRSV.

46. Mark 13:6, Matt. 24:5; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.5 (R&R 2:158–60; FC 64:56–57).

47. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.7 (R&R 2:162; FC 64:57–58).

48. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.9 (R&R 2:164; FC 64:59).

49. *Didache* 11.7, 8; (Greek text and English translation) Aaron Milavec, ed. and trans., *The Didache: Text, Translation, Analysis, and Commentary* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 22–23.

50. *Shepherd of Hermas,* Book 2, Mandate 11. The Greek text appears in Bart D. Ehrman, ed. and trans., *The Apostolic Fathers,* 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library 24–25 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), esp. 2:245–47ff. All translated quotations are from Frederick Crombie, trans., "The Pastor of Hermas," in *Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria,* ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, Ante-Nicene Fathers 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1867), with modifications.

51. Abraham J. Malherbe, "God's New Family in Thessalonika," in *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks,* ed. L. Michael White and O. Larry Yarbrough (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1995), 116–25.

52. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.3 (R&R 2:52–54; FC 64:55).

53. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.4 (R&R 2:158; FC 64:56).

54. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.5 (R&R 2:160; FC 64:57).

55. Oded Irshai, "The Jerusalem Bishopric and the Jews in the Fourth Century: History and Eschatology," in Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality,* 204–20.

56. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.12 (R&R 2:168–70; FC 64:61).

57. Irshai, "The Jerusalem Bishopric and the Jews," 213–14.

58. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.4–16 (R&R 2:158–76; FC 64:56–64).

59. Irshai, "The Jerusalem Bishopric and the Jews," 214; also Jan Willem Drijvers, "Cyril of Jerusalem and the Rebuilding of the Jewish Temple (A.D. 363)," in *Ultima Aetas: Time, Tense, and Transience in the Ancient World: Studies in Honour of Jan den Boeft,* ed. Caroline Kroon and Daan den Hengst (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2000), 123–35.

60. Irshai, "The Jerusalem Bishopric and the Jews," 214.

61. David Levenson, "Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Temple: An Inventory of Ancient and Medieval Sources," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins, Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday,* ed. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, Resources in Religion 5 (Lanham, MD: University Press of america, 1990), 261–79, esp. 266.

62. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 23.1.2.

63. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 5.3–4.

64. Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns against Julian* 4.18–23; (English translation) Judith M. Lieu, trans., with intro. and notes by Samuel N. C. Lieu, "Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns Against Julian," in Samuel N. C. Lieu. ed., *The Emperor Julian: Panegyric and Polemic,* 2nd ed., TTH 2 (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 1989). For an indispensible collection of all the bibliography on the topic, see Levenson, "Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Temple."

65. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.14 (R&R 2:172; FC 64:62).

66. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.12 (R&R 2:168–70; FC 64:61).

67. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.14 (R&R 2:172; FC 64:62).

68. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. illum.* 15.15 (R&R 2:172–74; FC 64:62–63).

69. Cyril's description of Julian as the antichrist indicates his relief at least: *Catech. illum.* 15.11–17 (R&R 2:168–78; FC 64:60–65).

70. For text and translation of the manuscript Harvard Syriac 99 (MS Syriac 99, Houghton Library, Harvard University), see Sebastian P. Brock, "A Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the Rebuilding of the Temple," *BSOAS* 40.2 (1977): 267–86; reprinted in Sebastian Brock, *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity,* Collected Studies 199 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984). The translation is also reprinted in Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 191–93, who also discusses the manuscript (137). See also Levenson, "Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Temple," 261–79, including his invaluable bibliography. Reactions to the letter's authenticity have been expressed in heated rhetoric; Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 137–38, includes Michael Adler's early point of view: "[H]ad so noteworthy an event happened in his own see, surely he would have been the first to record it." By contrast, see the more favorable readings in Irshai, "Cyril of Jerusalem," passim, and Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 137, both of whom contend that while the author was not Cyril it was someone familiar with Cyrillian episcopal tradition. Both scholars' arguments are strong and convincing and important contributions to the field of Cyrillian studies. The letter's relevance here relates to its anti-Judaizing aspects, which Irshai correctly addresses. It helps to support the strong sociological influence of the violent, dualizing outlook of Cyril's apocalyptic eschatology, not necessarily immediately, but in the longer term—and, more importantly, in later writers' continuance of Cyril's anti-Judaizing vein.

71. Brock, "A Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem," 275; Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 192.

72. Brock, "A Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem"; for a discussion of the manuscript, see also Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 137. A second ms. was discovered in the British Library (MS Add. 14609) that contains paragraphs 2–6 and has been dated securely to the sixth century.

73. Philip Wainwright, "The Authenticity of the Recently Discovered Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem," *VC* 40 (1986): 286–93, esp. 292–93, quote at 293; he calls it a "genuine addition to the Cyrilline corpus" (292–93).

74. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 137–38. I must thank Jan Willem Drijvers for his analysis of the debate and for inclusion of the letter, which first brought the manuscript to my attention.

75. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 148–49; see also Drijvers, "Cyril of Jerusalem and the Rebuilding of the Temple," 123–35.

## CHAPTER 7. AMBROSE AND NICENE DEMONIACS

1. Ambrose, *Ep.* 77.1 (Maurist edition 22); (Latin text) Michaela Zelzer, ed., *Sancti Ambrosii Opera,* part 10: *Epistulae et acta,* vol. 3: *Epistularum liber decimus, Epistulae extra collectionem, Gesta Concilii Aquileiensis,* CSEL 82.3 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1982), 126–40 (hereafter CSEL 82.3), quote at 127. Unless otherwise indicated, all of the English translations of Ambrose's letters in this chapter are taken from J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz with Carol Hill, *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches,* TTH 43 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 205–12 (hereafter TTH 43), quote at 204. By contrast, English translations for all of Ambrose's other works in this chapter (e.g., *De sacramentiis, De mysteriis*) are my own. Still seminal in Ambrose scholarship, especially focusing on ecclesiastical /imperial politics, is Hans von Campenhausen, *Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker,* AZK 12 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1929).

2. Ambrose, *Ep.* 77.2 (CSEL 82.3:127; TTH 43:204).

3. Ambrose, *Ep.* 77.2 (CSEL 82.3:127; TTH 43:204).

4. Other texts covering the discovery and miracles include Ambrose, *Hymn.* 11, in *Hymnes,* ed. *Jacques Fontaine and Jean-Louis Charlet et al., Patrimoines–Christianisme* (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 487ff.; also Paulinus of Milan, *Vita sancti Ambrosii* 14; and Augustine, *Confessionum libri xiii* 9.7.15–16, in which he describes Ambrose's discovery; cf. the language in Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 22.8. For the discovery of Protasius and Gervasius, see Ernst Dassmann, "Ambrosius und die Märtyrer," *JAC* 18 (1975): 49–68, esp. 49, 51–60; Jean Doignon, "Perspectives ambrosiennes: *SS.* Gervais et *Protais,* génies de Milan," *REAug* 2.3/4 (1956): 313–34, esp. 313; Pierre Paul Courcelle, *Recherches sur Les Confessions de Saint Augustin,* 2nd ed. (Paris: de Boccard, 1968), 139–50; Vincenza Zangara, "L'*inventio* dei corpi dei martiri Gervasio e Protasio: Testimonianze di Agostino su un fenomeno di religiosità popolare," *Aug* 21.1 (1981): 119–33.

5. Catherine M. Chin, "The Bishop's Two Bodies: Ambrose and the Basilicas of Milan," *CH* 79.3 (2010): 531–55, quote at 548 n. 78. In general, a number of scholars have approached the spring crisis—and, more especially, the relic discovery—as a prime exemplum of the shifting political dynamics within church/state relations. This approach has had the strange, even unintentional, effect of catapulting the bishop into modernity as an enlightened, rational, and disenchanted Ambrose who quite deliberately chooses to "perform" the

role of charismatic prophet for an unruly crowd of superstitious, magical-thinking, and easily persuaded Christians. For example, Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt,* Band 5 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1913), 5:207, argues that Ambrose stages the Protasius/Gervasius event to support or advance the Nicene cause in Milan—in other words, resolving any tension assumed in a conflict between Ambrose's institutional/episcopal (Weber's priest) and charismatic (Weber's prophet) actions. Compare a similar view ascribed to Augustine, emphasizing his scepticism; see Courcelle, *Recherches,* 150. Similarly, von Campenhausen, *Ambrosius von Mailand,* 189–222, esp. 216, takes both the discovery and the following events in stride as part of his larger sociopolitical reading of church/state relations. By contrast, note the tone of rejection in Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* 3:169; cf. Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyres,* 2nd ed., SubsHag 20 (Brussels: Société des bollandistes, 1933), 93. We find a somewhat more complicated reading in Neil B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital,* TCH 22 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 212, who compliments Ambrose's ability to manufacture a "significant element of bluff" in his *inventio,* in order to take the martyrs to the Ambrosiana as quickly as possible. Significantly, McLynn notes the charismatic significance of the martyr cult as "a channeling of powerful energies too intractable for the bishop to have controlled at will, and too pervasive for him to have thought to try" (215). In this he follows Brown, *The Cult of the Saints,* 37. See also the much more recent Filippo Carlà, "Milan, Ravenna, Rome: Some Reflections on the Cult of the Saints and on Civic Politics in Late Antique Italy," *RSLR* 46.2 (2010), 197–272, esp. 198–211, who focuses on the political importance of the event, but does so within a cultural studies framework and thus attends to the importance of creating a cultural memory that binds the Nicene community together.

6. By contrast, Marcia L. Colish, "'Why the Portiana?': Reflections on the Milanese Basilica Crisis of 386," *JECS* 10.3 (2002): 361–72, esp. 367, has argued convincingly that baptisteries and baptismal activity and not basilica possession outright is at the center of the crisis of 386. She notes the relative scarcity of baptisteries in a city with two different Christian communities: one baptistery stands near the Basilica Nova, and another adjacent to the Basilica Vetus; the only other one is at the Portiana, and this baptistery has the double advantage of standing away from the episcopal cluster of buildings at the city center and yet not being outside the city walls.

7. Chin, "The Bishop's Two Bodies," 548.

8. For scholarship on Roman Milan, see Angelo Paredi, *Saint Ambrose: His Life and Times,* trans. M. Joseph Costelloe (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), 97–115; Attilio de Marchi, *Le antiche epigrafi di Milano,* Pubblicazioni dell'Atene e Roma: Società per la diffusione e l'incoraggiamento degli studi classici (Sezione di Milano) (Milan: G. B. Paravia, 1917), 183ff.; also Aristide Calderini, *La "Forma urbis mediolani" nell'anno bimillenario di Augusto,* Istituto di studi romani, sezione lombarda (Milan: Istituto di studi romani, 1937).

9. Increasing hostilities on the Northern borders near the Danube and Rhone borders ensure Milan's growing importance in imperial and military affairs and practically guarantee its eventual status as an imperial city and frequent home of the imperial court; see John Moorhead, *Ambrose: Church and Society in the Late Roman World,* The Medieval World (London and New York: Addison-Wesley Longman, 1999).

10. Craig A. Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2001), 35; also Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 69; and Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 71–72, who eloquently captures Milan's fortunes in late antiquity.

11. Paredi, *Saint Ambrose,* 98. The cultural growth of the city is immediate—for example, because the city quickly becomes known for the quality of its schools, Virgil decamps from Mantua to finish his studies in Milan.

12. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 69. With the establishment of the imperial court in Milan, the size increases tremendously, eventually reaching an estimated 130,000–150,000 citizens. Inscriptions attest to a thriving trade both internationally and nationally. Likewise, inscriptions testify to a thriving construction of buildings, such as mention of the corporation hired to build them. A new problem of crowding also explains the *centonarii,* a kind of late antique fire department, and the *fabri;* see Paredi, *Saint Ambrose,* 100. For Milan in the later fourth century during Augustine's sojourn, see Marta Sordi, "Milano al tempo di Agostino," in *Agostino a Milano: Il battesimo: "Agostino nelle terre di Ambrogio," 22–24 aprile 1987,* ed. Marta Sordi, Augustiniana (Palermo) 3 (Palermo: Edizioni Augustinus, 1988), 13–23. Though, as Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 70, admits, Milan never manages to attain glory as a *caput mundi* as did Rome and Constantinople, nevertheless it holds its own among other imperial cities. For Ravenna, see Paredi, *Saint Ambrose,* 98.

13. Paredi, *Saint Ambrose,* 99. Maximian's decision to build the walls is prompted by various invasions throughout the third and fourth centuries; during Valerian's reign (270–275) bands of Marcomanni manage to destroy the surrounding lands and parts of the city; see Paredi, *Saint Ambrose,* 99.

14. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 20–21. Ammianus describes the *adventus* to Milan after victory over the Lentienses (15.4.13). Michele Salzman (*On Roman Time,*137–40) presents a cycle of imperial festivities in the codex calendar of 354. For a discussion of the festivities in relation to imperial propaganda, see Gleason, "Festive Satire," 108–13.

15. Rather than viewing Justina as a war refugee escaping the dangers in Sirmium, McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 122, persuasively offers that a political motivation served as a catalyst for her removal to Milan—that Ambrose's earlier humiliation of her in Sirmium inspired her decision to start an anti-Ambrose campaign. For a description of Justina's actions, see Paulinus of Milan, *Vit. Ambr.* 12: "offering gifts and honours to excite the people against the holy man." The Latin text and the English translation used here are from Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Sancti Ambrosii,* ed. and trans. Mary Simplicia Kaniecka, Patristic Studies 16 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1928), 49.

16. Ausonius, *Mediolanum,* Epigram 7; for the English translation here, see Paredi, *Saint Ambrose,* 99. The Latin text is now more readily available in Decimus Magnus Ausonius, *Ordo urbium nobilium,* trans. Lucia Di Salvo, Studi latini 37 (Naples: Loffredo, 2000), 103; for text and translation also see Hugh G. Evelyn-White, trans., *Ausonius,* 2 vols., LCL 96, 115 (London: Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919–21), 1:272–73.

17. Paredi, *Saint Ambrose,* 100.

18. Ibid.

19. Regarding the amphitheater, see Paulinus of Milan, *Vit. Ambr.* 34; for an epitaph to Urbicus, a gladiator, who lived on the Via Arena, see de Marchi, *Le antiche epigrafi,* 83. Regarding the amphitheater in general, still relevant is Alberto de Capitani d'Arzago, *Il*

*Circo romano di Milano: Relazione della ricerca e caratteristiche dell'edificio,* Ricerche della Commissione per la Forma Urbis Mediolani 1 (Milan: Ceschina, 1939); also Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan's Method of Mystagogical Preaching,* 41. Ambrose may have referred to the amphitheater: Ambrose, *Enarrationes in XII Psalmos Davidicos* 39.4 (CSEL 64:215); also *Expositio Psalmi CXVIII,* sect. 16.45 (CSEL 62:376).

20.  De Marchi, *Le antiche epigrafi,* 316.

21.  Paredi, *Saint Ambrose,* 99–104.

22.  H. O. Maier, "Private Space as the Social Context of Arianism in Ambrose's Milan," *JTS* 45.1 (1994): 72–93.

23.  For scholarship pertaining to the Basilica Nova (now the S. Tecla church), see Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 76–77. This church and the adjacent octagonal baptistery were excavated during seasons in 1943 and later in 1961–62: e.g., Alberto de Capitani d'Arzago, *La chiesa maggiore di Milano: Santa Tecla,* Istituto di studi romani, sezione lombarda/Ricerche della Commissione per la Forma Urbis Mediolani 6 (Milan: Cheschina, 1952); Mario Mirabella Roberti, "La cattedrale antica di Milano e il suo battistero," *Arte Lombarda* 8 (1963): 77–98; see also Mario Mirabella Roberti, "Topografia e architetture anteriori al Duomo," in *Il Duomo di Milano: Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Milano, Museo della Scienza e della Tecnica, 8–12 septembre 1968*, ed. Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, 2 vols., Monografie di "Arte Lombarda," Monumenti 3 (Milan: La Rete, 1969), 1:31ff., in which he proposes a date before 350 for the construction of the Basilica Nova.

24.  Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 76–77; noting the quality of construction as well as the chosen location for the church, Krautheimer suggests that no expense was spared. On this point see the laudatory comments made by Athanasius, *Apologia ad Constantium* 7 (PG 25:604ff.).

25.  Regarding the octagonal baptistery, Colish, "Why the Portiana?" 369, notes a preference for the octagonal shape in baptisteries; octagonal was the shape conventionally used for mausoleums as well. For the Milanese baptisteries in general, see Enrico Cattaneo, "Appunti sui battisteri antichi di Milano," *Istituto Lombardo Accademia di Scienze e Lettere: Rendiconti della Classe di Lettere* 103 (1969): 849–64. A debate still continues regarding the construction of the baptistery adjacent to the Basilica Nova; see, e.g., Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 148 n. 33. Krautheimer proposes that the high quality of the masonry suggests that the baptistery may have attracted the patronage of someone with higher financial flexibility that Ambrose. For the English translation of this inscription, see Everett Ferguson, Michael P. McHugh, and Frederick W. Norris, eds., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity,* Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 846 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 136; the inscription reads: "Eight-niched soars this church destined for sacred rites, eight corners has its font, which befits its gift. Meet it was thus to build this fair baptismal hall about this sacred eight: here is our race reborn." For a discussion of this inscription, see Othmar Perler, "L'inscription du baptistère de Sainte-Thècle à Milan et le De Sacramentis de Saint Ambroise," *RivAC* 27 (1951): 147–66.

26.  Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 77; McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 24.

27.  Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 77. For general scholarship regarding the Basilica Vetus or Basilica Minor, see Andrew Lenox-Conyngham, "The Topography of the Basilica Conflict of A.D. 385/6 in Milan," *Historia* 31.3 (1982): 353–63, esp. 356–58; Gérard *Nauroy, "Le fouet et le miel:* Le combat d'Ambroise en 386 contre l'arianisme milanais," *Recherches augustiniennes et patristiques* 23 (1988): 3–86.

28. In Ambrose, *Ep.* 76.11 (Maur. 20), Ambrose describes emerging from the bishop's house and seeing soldiers besieging the basilica. Nauroy,"*Le fouet et le miel,*" esp. 45–46, notes the physical proximity between the *basilica nova* and the *basilica vetus.*

29. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 191 n. 116.

30. Ambrose, Ep. 76.1 (Maur. 20). See Lenox-Conyngham, "The Topography of the Basilica Conflict," 157, who sorts through the scholarly debate regarding Ambrose's identification of the Portiana.

31. For scholarship regarding the San Lorenzo and its identification with the Portiana Basilica, see Aristide Calderini, Gino Chierici, and Carlo Cecchelli, *La basilica di S. Lorenzo Maggiore in Milano* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1951), are among the first to make the archeological identification of the church with the Portiana. Of seminal importance is Dale Kinney, "The Evidence for the Dating of S. Lorenzo in Milan," *JSAH* 31.2 (1972): 92–107, who strengthens the case for the Portiana/San Lorenzo identification, arguing that its extramural location suggests it was constructed in a time period of relative calm in imperial/ecclesiastical relations (i.e., during Auxentius's episcopacy). Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 76–77, 86–92, agrees with the palace church identification, as does Suzanne Lewis, "San Lorenzo Revisited: A Theodosian Palace Church at Milan," *JSAH* 32.3 (1973): 197–222. See also W. Eugene Kleinbauer, "Toward a Dating of San Lorenzo in Milan: Masonry and Building Methods of Milanese Roman and Early Christian Architecture," *Arte Lombarda* 13.2 (1968): 1–22, who also argues for a pre-Ambrosian date for construction. By contrast, McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 179, cautions against confirming the identification between the Portiana and the S. Lorenzo.

32. Colish, "Why the Portiana?" 369; McLynn, Ambrose of Milan, 178; Dale Kinney, "'Capella Reginae': S. Aquilino in Milan," *Marsyas* 15 (1970–71): 13–35, esp. 34–35.

33. The mausoleum is now known as the Sant'Aquilino; theories range widely regarding who was intended for burial in the mausoleum: e.g., Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 90–91, suggests it was Gratian; Mark J. Johnson, "On the Burial Places of the Valentinian Dynasty," *Historia* 40.4 (1991): 501–6, has also proposed that the mausoleum was intended for Gratian and additionally suggests that the burial of Valentinian II in the mausoleum is likely, but not definite. Kinney, "'Capella Regina,'" 34–45, and Colish, "Why the Portiana?" 369, both argue that Valentinian I was interred in the chapel.

34. See McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 176–79, who makes a strong case for the circumstantial nature of the evidence marshaled in support of this identification.

35. Colish, "Why the Portiana?" passim.

36. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 19–20.

37. Edward D. Hunt, "Did Constantius II Have 'Court Bishops'?" StPatr 19 (1989): 86–90.

38. For a deeper discussion of the synod in Milan in the larger context of theological and ecclesiastical problems, including the question of Athanasius's condemnation, see McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 14 n. 49, who in addition to providing an incisive socioreligious and political analysis of the synod in his own right also mentions Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God;* and Hanns Christof Brennecke, *Hilarius von Poitiers und die Bischofsopposition gegen Konstantius II: Untersuchungen zur dritten Phase des Arianischen Streites (337–361),* PTS 26 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), 147–84; see also Gunther Gottlieb, "Les

évêques et les empereurs dans les affaires ecclésiastiques du 4e siècle," *Museum Helveticum* 33 (1976): 38–50.

39.  Maier, "Private Space," 86.

40.  McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 28–29.

41.  Ibid.; see also Hilary of Poitiers, *Liber contra Arianos vel Auxentium Mediolanensem* 3 (PL 10:611).

42.  McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 15, who argues further that this false assumption finds root in another misapprehension—that ordinary Christians were deeply and emotionally involved in theological and doctrinal controversies. For his part, he has forcefully criticized this view in his "Christian Controversy and Violence in the Fourth Century," *Kodai* 3 (1992): 15–44.

43.  Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini* 6. For the Latin text, see Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de Saint Martin,* ed. Jacques Fontaine, 2 vols., SC 133, 135 (Paris: Cerf, 1967); see vol. 1. For the English translation, see Carolinne White, trans., *Early Christian Lives,* Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 141.

44.  Maier, "Private Space," 77.

45.  Sulpicius Severus, *Vit. Mart.* 17 (Fontaine, *Sulpice Sévère,* x; White, *Early Christian Lives,* 150–51).

46.  For the antidemonic and antichristic elements of Hilary's *Contra Auxentium,* see Daniel H. Williams, "The Anti-Arian Campaigns of Hilary of Poitiers and the 'Liber Contra Auxentium,'" *CH* 61.1 (1992): 7–22, esp. 18; see also Maier, "Private Spaces," 76–77; and McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 28–30.

47.  Hilary of Poitiers, *Contra Auxentium* 12 (PL 10:616); this English translation is found in McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 28.

48.  Hilary of Poitiers, *Contra Auxentium* 12 (PL 10:616); for an English translation, see McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 28.

49.  McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 30.

50.  At this point, an ecclesiastic named Damasus is attempting the same, though from a very different position as bishop of Rome; in 371, according to McLynn, ninety bishops gather to discuss the problems that Auxentius poses to Damasus's plans to establish his leadership of a united and orthodox western church (*Ambrose of Milan,* 40). However, Valentian's continuing support for Auxentius makes it impossible for Damasus and his bishops to do much more than publish and circulate a synodal letter (*Confidimus quidem*).

51.  For Filastrius in Milan, see McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 42–43.

52.  Gaudentius, *Tractate* 21.6–7 (PL 37:999), claims that Filastrius is "repugnant to Auxentius (*Ariano repugnans Auxentio*) and continue[s] to fight with the vigor of faith even when he had been beaten by scourges and was bearing the marks of the Lord on his body." Translation my own.

53.  McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 42–43.

54.  Maier, "Private Space," passim.

55.  Ibid., 80.

56.  Ibid., 73.

57.  Ambrose, *Ep.* 5.3 (Maur. 11) (CSEL 82.3:33; TTH 43:229).

58.  Ambrose *Ep.* 5.3 (Maur. 11) (CSEL 82.3:33; TTH 43:239).

59.  Maier, "Private Space," 83.

60. Ambrose, *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* 7.31 (PL 15:1708–9). All translations of this text are my own.

61. For a wicked spirit among heretical assemblies, see Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 7.95 (PL 15:1723–24); see also *Exp. Luc.* 7.44–54 (PL 15:1710–13), esp. 48–49 (PL 15:1711).

62. *Exp. Luc.* 6.68 (PL 15:1685–86).

63. Ambrose, *Exp. Luc.* 10.18–21, 28 (PL 15:1809, 1811).

64. Maier, "Private Space," 73–74.

65. Ibid., 79.

66. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 170–219.

67. Colish, "Why the Portiana?" 370.

68. Ambrose, *Ep.* 76.16 (Maur. 20.16) (CSEL 82.3:127; TTH 43:167).

69. Ambrose, *Ep.* 76.16 (Maur. 20.16) (CSEL 82.3:127; TTH 43:167).

70. See especially the discussion in Nauroy, "Le fouet et le miel," esp. 77–79.

71. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 201, proposes that Ambrose uses the hymns to extend the illusion of the siege through a second night by creating an increased sense of desperate participation in a unifying liturgy against a formidable opposition; for the hymns, see Fontaine, *Hymnes.*

72. Ambrose, *Ep.* 76.16 (Maur. 20.16) (CSEL 82.3:127; TTH 43:167).

73. David Frankfurter, "Where the Spirits Dwell: Possession, Christianization, and Saints' Shrines in Late Antiquity," *HTR* 103.1 (2010): 27–46, quote at 46.

74. Ibid.

75. Ambrose, *De sacramentis* 4.2.5; (Latin text) Botte, *Des sacraments, Des mystères* (SC 25.104). All English translations of *De sacramentis* and *De mysteriis* in this chapter are my own. An English translation can also be found in Ambrose, *Theological and Dogmatic Works,* trans. Roy J. Deferrari, FC 44 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1963), 219–328 (*Sacr.*), 5–28 (*Myst.*) (hereafter FC 44), quote at 298.

76. Ambrose, *Sacr.* 4.2.7 (SC 25:104; FC 44:299).

77. Ambrose, *Myst.* 50–55, esp. 52 (SC 25:185–88; FC 44:304–5); *Sacr.* 4.5.21–23 (SC 25:115; FC 44:23–26).

78. Ambrose, *Sacr.* 1.4.18 (SC 25:70; FC 44:202); also *Sacr.* 2.5.14, 6.1.2.

79. Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual,* Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 97–121, 100.

80. Greene, "Language, Signs, and Magic," 255–73.

81. Smith, *To Take Place,* 100.

82. Ibid., 102.

83. Plato, *Cratylus* 393e3; 435d1–3. For a general overview of the conception of verbal power within and beyond antiquity, still seminal is Entralgo, *The Therapy of the Word;* also important is Jacqueline de Romilly, *Magic and Rhetoric in Ancient Greece,* Carl Newell Jackson Lectures (1974) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975); finally, John O. Ward, "Magic and Rhetoric from Antiquity to the Renaissance: Some Ruminations," *Rhetorica* 6.1 (1988): 57–118. Specific to Plato's *Cratylus* is Rachel Barney, *Names and Nature in Plato's Cratylus,* Studies in Philosophy (New York and London: Routledge, 2001).

84. I am using the term *praesentia* as Peter Brown defines it in *The Cult of the Saints,* chap. 5, esp. 88: "the physical presence of the holy, whether in the midst of a particular community or in the possession of particular individuals."

85.  Ambrose, *Sacr.* 3.1.7–2.15 (SC 25:95–100; FC 44:292–94). Within a wide spectrum of late antique sacramental theology, being washed in baptism carries within it, of course, several meanings. Ambrose's own delineation feeds directly into his understanding of verbal power and the eventual power of the baptized Christian in relation to perception specific to what can be seen both in the visible and invisible dimensions of Milan. In *Sacr.* 3, Ambrose describes baptism followed by the "the effecting of perception." First, baptism washes a person free of both personal sin and the endemic error tied to Adam's first tangle with the serpent: the rite of feet-washing symbolizes the need to wash the venom poured upon Adam's feet in the primordial phase of sacred history. Secondly, baptism, which initiates the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, opens the muddied, blinded, or blocked senses: a person moves from sensory (limited) perception into a state of spiritual perception. Ambrose divides the spiritual senses into seven distinct forms or valences—what he characterizes as "virtues": wisdom, understanding, counsel, strength, knowledge, godliness, holy fear (cf. Isaiah 11:2). Through the baptismal washing, a person ascends from a muddied, blind state of incarnate, corporeal perception to the eyes of the heart and spiritual sight—tantamount to an ability to perceive invisible, cosmological realities fused to the visible and tangible materiality of Milan. Ambrose also discusses the topic in *Myst.* 8.43 (SC 25:180; FC 44:20–21), where he revels: "The people, rich in these insignia, hasten the altar of Christ"; and in *Myst.* 8.44 he indicates that the sacraments of the church (superior in age and efficacy to the rituals of the synagogue) can relieve a person's blindness, extending their visual perception from the visible dimension to the invisible.

86.  Cyprian of Carthage, *De lapsis* 26; (Latin text) Cyprian, *De lapsis and De ecclesiae catholicae unitate: Text and Translation,* ed. and trans. Maurice Bévenot, OECT (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971) (hereafter Cyprian, OECT). The English translation used here is from Cyprian, *The Lapsed; The Unity of the Catholic Church,* trans. and annot. Maurice Bévenot, ACW 25 (repr., Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1978) (hereafter ACW 25), quote at 33–34.

87.  Cyprian of Carthage, *Laps.* 25 (Cyprian, OECT; ACW 25:34).

88.  Cyprian of Carthage, *Laps.* 25 (Cyprian, OECT; ACW 25:33).

89.  Ambrose, *Contra Aux.* 37. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 206, discusses the sermon at length, and in n. 160 touches specifically on the topic of Auxentius's participation in rebaptizing Christians.

90.  Ambrose, *Sacr.* 5.4.18 (SC 25:129; FC 44:308).

91.  Ambrose, *Sacr.* 5.4.18 (SC 25:129; FC 44:308).

92.  Ambrose, *Sacr.* 2.5.14 (SC 25:81; FC 44:297).

93.  "Siege mentality" is Neil McLynn's language (*Ambrose of Milan,* 69, 200).

94.  McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan,* 200.

95.  Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 80. For dating the Apostolorum, see Suzanne Lewis, "The Latin Iconography of the Single-Naved Cruciform Basilica Apostolorum in Milan," *ABull* 51.3 (1969): 205–19, esp. 207; also Suzanne Lewis, "Function and Symbolic Form in the Basilica Apostolorum at Milan," *JSAH* 28.2 (1969): 83–98.

96.  Maier, "Private Space," 93; see also Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals,* 77.

97.  Maier, "Private Space," 93 n. 83. For scholarship regarding the Ambrosiana, see Mario Mirabella Roberti, "Contributi della ricerca archeologica all'architettura ambrosiana Milanese," in *Ambrosius episcopus: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi ambrosiani nel XVI centenario della elevazione di sant'Ambrogio alla cattedra episcopale, Milano,*

*2–7 dicembre 1974,* ed. Giuseppe Lazzati, 2 vols., Studia Patristica Mediolanensia 6–7 (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1976), 1:335ff. Regarding the burials below the altar, see Ambrose, *Ep.* 1.21.1ff.

98. Frankfurter, "Where the Spirits Dwell," 46. I owe many thanks to this article for much of the following discussion.

99. Ibid., 40.

100. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints,* 109; quoting from Gregory of Tours, *Liber de passione et virtutibus sancti Juliani martyris* 30 (hereafter *Virt. Jul.*).

101. Gregory of Tours, *Virt. Jul.* 30. The English translation here is from Brown, *Cult of the Saints,* 109.

102. Augustine, *Ep.* 78.3: "ubi mirabiliter et terribiliter daemones confitentur." For a discussion of this text: Brown, *The Cult of the Saints,* 107.

103. Jerome, *Ep.* 108.13 (to Eustochium). The English translation used here is from Brown, *The Cult of the Saints,* 106.

104. Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen* 23.61; (Latin text) Andrea Ruggiero, ed. and trans., *Paolino di Nola: I Carmi,* 2 vols., Strenae Nolanae: collana di studi e testi 6, 7 (repr., Naples: Libreria Editrice Redenzione, 1996), 2.95–96; (English text) P. G. Walsh, trans., *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola,* ACW 40 (New York: Newman Press, 1975), 211.

105. Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen* 23.61 (Ruggiero, *Paolino di Nola: I Carmi,* 2.95–96; Walsh, *Poems,* 211).

106. Paulinus of Nola, *Carmen* 23.82 (Ruggiero, *Paolino di Nola: I Carmi,* 2.98–100; Walsh, *Poems,* 211). I am indebted to David Frankfurter, who mentions this passage in his article "Where the Spirits Dwell," 40, thus drawing my attention to the intriguing demonology that Paulinus of Nola constructs in relation to the cult of St. Felix.

107. Gregory of Tours, *Libri de virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi* 1.38 (*hereafter Virt. Mart.*); (Latin text) PL 71:938; (English translation) Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 227.

108. Gregory of Tours, *Virt. Mart.* 2.20; (PL 71:950); the translation is from Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles,* 238.

109. Victricius of Rouen, *Liber de laude sanctorum* 11 (PL 20:453–54); the English translation used here is from Brown, *The Cult of the Saints,* 107.

110. Peregrine Horden, "Responses to Possession and Insanity in the Earlier Byzantine World," *SHM* 6.2 (1993): 177–94, esp. 178. David Frankfurter also makes this point: "Where the Spirits Dwell," 39.

111. *Miracles of Saint Artemios* 6; for both text and translation, see Virgil S. Crisafulli and John W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh Century Byzantium,* trans. Virgil S. Crisafulli, intro. John W. Nesbitt, commentary Virgil S. Crisafulli and John W. Nesbitt, Greek text and suppl. essay John F. Haldon, Medieval Mediterranean 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 88–89. David Frankfurter in his discussion of this passage mentions the helpful analysis in Hani Fakhouri, "The Zar Cult in an Egyptian Village," *AQ* 41.2 (1968): 49–56 ("Where the Spirits Dwell," 40 n. 39).

112. Gregory of Tours, *Virt. Jul.* 32; English translation from Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles,* 185.

113. Stirrat, *Power and Religiosity,* 81.

114. Frankfurter, "Where the Spirits Dwell," passim.

115.  Gregory of Tours, *Virt. Jul.* 32; (English translation) Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles,* 185.

116.  Frankfurter, "Where the Spirits Dwell," 36.

117.  Ferber, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism,* 117.

118.  Ibid.

119.  Ambrose, *Ep.* 77.22 (CSEL 82.3:127; TTH 43:204). All quotes in this paragraph are from *Ep.* 77.22.

120.  Ambrose, *Ep.* 77.22 (CSEL 82.3:127; TTH 43:204).

121.  Ambrose, *Ep.* 77.22 (CSEL 82.3:127; TTH 43:204).

122.  Paulinus of Milan, *Vit. Ambr.* 16; for text and translation, see Kaniecka, *Vita Sancti Ambrosii,* 55.

123.  Language from Frankfurter, "Where the Spirits Dwell," 39.

124.  Robin Horton, "Neo-Tylorianism: Sound Sense or Sinister Prejudice?" in *Patterns of Thought in Africa and the West: Essays on Magic, Religion, and Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 53–62; for a brief and incisive review of Horton's work, see Caroline Rooney, *African Literature, Animism and Politics,* Routledge Research in Postcolonial Literatures (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

125.  Tim Ingold, "Rethinking the Animate, Re-animating Thought," *Ethnos* 71.1 (2006): 9–20; also Nurit Bird-David, "'Animism' Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology," in "Culture—A Second Chance?" ed. Richard G. Fox, special issue, *CAnth* 40.S1 (1999): S67–S91, esp. S67–S79. I owe thanks to Glenn Peers, who introduced this anthropological field to me when he delivered his excellent paper "Object Things" at the University of Southern California in 2009, demonstrating the advantages of viewing relic veneration in early Byzantium from the perspective of animism.

126.  Robert A. Orsi, "Abundant History: Marian Apparitions as Alternative Modernity," *Historically Speaking* 9.7 (2008): 12–16. I have Catherine Chin to thank for bringing this article to my notice some time ago.

127.  Orsi, "Abundant History"; he notes (15) an important difference between his critique of modern Western historiography and the critiques of Gananath Obeyesekere, *Medusa's Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), and Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality,* Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). While Obeyesekere and Tambiah maintain the binary of modernity and premodernity in their critique and in so doing, according to Orsi's criticism, reify the original dichotomy, he puts presence and modernity into a helix relationship, each swirling around the other. Orsi does, however, generally align his critique of modern historiography with that of Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference,* Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), who has lodged his own critique against modern historiographical and epistemological regimes. Chakrabarty takes particular aim at the modern insistence "that the human is ontologically singular, that the gods and spirits are in the end 'social facts'" (16).

128.  Orsi, "Abundant History," 14; such "abundant events" are ultimately quite separate and deserve their own historiography—as a discourse not of modernity's dissent but of their own autonomy, reflecting their own experiences and practices.

129.  Ibid.

130.  Orsi, "Abundant History," 15.

131.  Ibid.

132.  Ibid. The body is an entirely differently conceived entity in the pre-Cartesian world-view. By this, I do not refer only to a very different theorization of the Platonic mind/body duality, one that takes into account a Stoicized reading and thus a blending of the two; I also refer to the blending of the body (or mind/body as personhood) with the surrounding environment—all of which partakes in the same materiality (Gk. *hylē*). Indispensable reading here is Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), chap. 1.

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John Chrysostom. *De incomprehensibili natura Dei, Hom. 7–12 (Incompr. nat. Dei).* Text in *Sur l'égalité du Père et du Fils.* Edited with a French translation and notes by Anne-Marie Malingrey. Paris: Cerf, 1994.

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*LCL 315*

Ammianus Marcellinus. *Res gestae* 22 (*Res ges.*). Text in *History, 20–26.* Edited with an English translation by John C. Rolfe. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

*LCL 451*

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*LCL 452*

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*LCL 478*

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*LCL 479*

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# TRANSLATIONS OF ANCIENT SOURCES

## ACW/ANCIENT CHRISTIAN WRITERS

### ACW 25

Cyprian of Carthage. *Epistula* (*De lapsis*). *The Lapsed; The Unity of the Catholic Church.* Translated by Maurice Bévenot. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1978.

### ACW 31

John Chrysostom. *Catecheses ad illuminandos* (*Catech. illlum.*). *Baptismal Instructions.* Translated by Paul Harkins. New York: Newman Press, 1963.

## FC/FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

### FC 61

Cyril of Jerusalem. *Protocatechesis* (*Proto.*); *Catecheses ad illuminandos* 1–12 (*Catech. illum.*). *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem.* Translated by Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1969–70.

### FC 64

*Catecheses ad illuminandos* 13–18 (*Catech. illum.*); *Mystagogical Catechesis (Myst.*); *Epistula ad Constantium* (*Ep. ad Const.*). *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem.* Translated by Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1969–70.

### FC 68

*Adversus Judaeos* (*Adv. Jud.*). *Discourses against Judaizing Christians.* Translated by Paul W. Harkins. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1979.

*FC 73*

John Chrysostom. *De Babyla contra Julianum et gentiles* (*Bab. Jul.*). *John Chrysostom: Apologist.* Translated by Margaret Schatkin and Paul Harkins. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983.


TRANSLATED TEXTS FOR HISTORIANS

*TTH 34*

A. F. Norman, trans. *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.

*TTH 41*

Scott Bradbury, trans. *Selected Letters of Libanius from the Age of Constantius and Julian.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004.

*TTH 43*

J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz with Carol Hill, trans. *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005.

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*Adv. Jud.* : *Adversus Judaeos,* John Chrysostom. Text available in Migne, PG 48.843–942. English translation in *Discourses against Judaizing Christians,* translated by Paul W. Harkins (FC 68)

*Bab.* : *De sancto hieromartyre Babyla,* John Chrysostom. Text and French translation in *Discours sur Babylas,* edited by Margaret A. Schatkin, Bernard Grillet, and Jean-Noël Guinot (SC 362). English translation in "*Let Us Die that We May Live*": *Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine, and Syria (c. AD 350– AD 450),* translated by Johan Leemans, Wendy Mayer, Pauline Allen, and Boudewijn Dehandschutter

*Bab. Jul.* : *De Babyla contra Julianum et gentiles,* John Chrysostom. Text and French translation in *Discours sur Babylas,* edited by Margaret A. Schatkin, Bernard Grillet, and Jean-Noël Guinot (SC 362). English translation in *Apologist,* translated by Margaret Schatkin and Paul Harkins (FC 73)

*Catech. illum.* : *Catecheses ad illuminandos,* Cyril of Jerusalem. Text in *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia,* edited by Wilhelm Karl Reischl and Joseph Rupp (R&R). English translation available in *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem,* translated by Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson (FC 51, 54)

*Catech. illum.* : *Catecheses ad illuminandos,* John Chrysostom. Text and French translation in *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites,* translated into French and edited by Antoine Wenger (SC 50). English translation of *Catech. illum.* 8 in *John Chrysostom,* edited by Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen. English translation of all the homilies in *Baptismal Instructions,* translated by Paul W. Harkins (ACW 31). *Catech. illum.* 3 and 9–11 are available in Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. and trans., *Varia graeca sacra* (PK)

*Catech. myst.* : *Catecheses mystagogicae (Mystagogical Catecheses),* Cyril of Jerusalem. Text in *Catéchèses mystagogiques,* edited by Auguste Piédagnel, with a French translation by

Pierre Paris (SC 126). English translation available in *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem,* translated by Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson (FC 61, 64)

*Chron. : Chronographia,* John Malalas. English translation available in *The Chronicle of John Malalas,* translated by Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott et al.

*Civ. : De civitate Dei,* Augustine of Hippo. Text in *De civitate Dei,* edited by Bernard Dombart and Alphons Kalb (CCSL 47–48)

*Cod. Theod. : Codex Theodosianus.* Text in Jean Rougé, trans., *Les lois religieuses des empereurs romains de Constantin à Théodose II,* vol. 1, *Le code Théodosien, livres 16* (SC 497). Text published earlier in Theodor Mommsen and Paul M. Meyer, eds., *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes.* English translation available in Clyde Pharr, trans., *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions*

*Conf. : Confessiones,* Augustine of Hippo. Text in *Confessions,* vol. 1, edited with commentary by James J. O'Donnell. Translation available in *Confessions,* translated by Henry Chadwick; also in *Confessions,* translated by Gary Wills

*Contra Arian. : Liber contra Arianos vel Auxentium Mediolanensem,* Hilary of Poitiers. Text available in Migne, PL 10:609–18.

*Eccl. hist. : Ecclesiastica historia,* Eusebius of Caesarea. Text and English translation available in *Eusebius: Ecclesiastical History, Books 6–10*, edited and translated by J. E. L. Oulton (LCL 153 for books 1–5, LCL 265 for books 6–10).

*Ep. : Epistulae,* Ambrose of Milan. Text in *Sancti Ambrosii Opera,* edited by Michaela Zelzer (CSEL 82.3). English translation of letters relevant to this study available in *Political Letters and Speeches,* translated by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz with Carol Hill (TTH 43)

*Ep. : Epistulae,* Libanius. Text in *Libanius: Opera,* edited by Richard Foerster and Eberhard Richsteig (vols. 10–11) (F). Translations of Libanius's writing are available in an increasing number of publications. The following are some of the translations that were used in this study: *Selected Orations,* edited and translated by A. F. Norman (LCL 451, 452); *Autobiography and Selected Letters,* edited and translated by A. F. Norman (LCL 478, 479); *Antioch as a Center for Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius,* edited and translated by A. F. Norman (TTH 34); *Selected Letters of Libanius From the Age of Constantius and Julian,* edited and translated by S. Bradbury (TTH 41). A collection of two hundred letters is available in *The School of Libanius in Antioch,* translated by Raffaela Cribiore

*Ep. ad Const. : Epistula ad Constantium,* Cyril of Jerusalem. Text in *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia,* edited by Wilhelm Karl Reischl and Joseph Rupp (vol. 2). English translation available in *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem,* translated by Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson (FC 64)

*Hist. eccl. : Historia ecclesiastica,* Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Text and French translation in *Histoire ecclésiastique,* edited by Léon Parmentier and Günther C. Hansen and translated by Pierre Canivet (SC 501, 530)

*Hist. relig. : Historia religiosa,* Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Text and French translation in *Histoire des moines de Syrie,* vol. 1 (I–XIII), edited by Pierre Canivet and Alice Leroy-Molinghen (SC 234). English translation available in *A History of the Monks of Syria,* by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, translated by Richard Price

*Hom. Act. : Homiliae in Acta apostolorum,* John Chrysostom. Text in PG 60:13–384. English translation available in NPNF[1] 11.1–330.

*Hom. Col. : Homiliae in epistulam Colossenses,* John Chrysostom. Text in PG 62.599–662. English translation available in NPNF¹ 13.475–518.

*Hom. 1 Cor. : Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios,* John Chrysostom. Text in PG 61:9–382. English translation available in NPNF¹ 12.1–269.

*Hom. Matt. : Homiliae in Matthaeum,* John Chrysostom. Text in PG 57:13–472. English translation available in NPNF¹ 10.

*Hom. Rom. : Homiliae in epistulam ad Romanos,* John Chrysostom. Text in PG 60:391–682. English translation available in NPNF¹ 11.335–564.

*Incompr. nat. Dei : De incomprehensibili natura Dei,* John Chrysostom. Text and French translation of *hom.* 1–5 in *Sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu,* edited by Anne-Marie Malingrey and translated by Robert Flaceliere (SC 28 bis.) English translation in *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God,* translated by Paul Harkins (FC 72). Text and French translation of *hom.* 7–12 in *Sur l'égalité du Père et du Fils,* edited and translated by Anne-Marie Malingrey (SC 396). English translation in *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God,* translated by Paul Harkins (FC 72)

*Itin. : Itinerarium Egeriae,* Egeria. Text and French translation in Egeria, *Journal de voyage: Itinéraire,* edited and translated by Pierre Maraval (SC 296). English translation available in *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land,* translated by John Wilkinson

*Itin. Burd. : Itinerarium Burdigalense,* The Bourdeaux Pilgrim. Text in *Itineraria et alia geographica,* edited by Paul Geyer and O. Cuntz (CCSL 175–76). English translation available in *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land,* translated by John Wilkinson

*Jul. : In sanctum Julianum martyrem,* John Chrysostom. Text in PG 50.665–76. English translation available in Johan Leemans, Wendy Mayer, Pauline Allen, and Boudewijn Dehandschutter, *"Let Us Die That We May Live."*

*Kal. : Homilia in Kalendas,* John Chrysostom. Text in PG 48.953–62. English translation available online as Macdonald, "On the Kalends of January"

*Laps. : De lapsis,* Cyprian of Carthage. Text in PG 4:463–494. Text and translation in *De lapsis and De Ecclesiae catholicae unitate: Text and Translation,* edited and translated by Maurice Bévenot; also a translation in *The Lapsed; The Unity of the Catholic Church,* translated and annotated by Maurice Bévenot (ACW 25)

*Myst. : De mysteriis,* Ambrose of Milan. Text in *Des sacraments, Des mystères, Explication du symbole,* edited and translated by Bernard Botte (SC 25). English translation available in *Theological and Dogmatic Works,* translated by Roy J. Deferrari, 219–328 (FC 44)

*Or. : Orationes,* Libanius. Text available in *Opera,* edited by Richard Foerster and Eberhard Richsteig (vols. 1–9). Text and English translation in *Autobiography and Selected Letters,* edited and translated by A. F. Norman (LCL 478–79). Text and English translation in *Selected Orations,* edited and translated by A. F. Norman (LCL 451–52)

*PGM : Papyri Graecae Magicae.* Text in Karl Preisendanz, ed. and trans., *Papyri Graecae Magicae.* English translation available in Hans D. Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells,* vol. 1, *Texts,* 2nd ed.

*Proto. : Protocatechesis,* Cyril of Jerusalem. Text in *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia,* edited by Wilhelm Karl Reischl and Joseph Rupp (vol. 1). English translation available in *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem,* translated by Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson (FC 61)

*Res ges. : Res gestae,* Ammianus Marcellinus. Text and English translation: *History, 20–26,* edited and translated by John C. Rolfe (LCL 315)

*Sacr. : De sacramentis,* Ambrose of Milan. Text in *Des sacraments, Des mystères, Explication du symbole,* edited and translated by Bernard Botte (SC 25). English translation available in *Theological and Dogmatic Works,* translated by Roy J. Deferrari, 219–328 (FC 44)

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*Virt. Jul. : Liber de passione et virtutibus Sancti Juliani martryris,* Gregory of Tours. Translation available in *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul,* translated by Raymond Van Dam

*Virt. Mart. : Libri de virtutibus Sancti Martini episcopi,* Gregory of Tours. Translation available in *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul,* translated by Raymond Van Dam

*Vit. Ambr. : Vita Sancti Ambrosii,* Paulinus of Milan. Text and translation in *Vita Sancti Ambrosii,* edited and translated by Mary Simplicia Kaniecka, Patristic Studies 16. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1928.

*Vit. Const. : Vita Constantini,* Eusebius of Caesarea. Text available in *Eusebius: Werke,* vol. 1, *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin,* edited by Friedhelm Winkelmann. English translation available in Eusebius, *Life of Constantine,* translated by Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall

*Vit. Mart. : Vita Sancti Martini,* Sulpicius Severus. Text in *Vie de Saint Martin,* translated into French and edited by Jacques Fontaine (SC 133–35). English translation available in Caroline White, ed. and trans., *Early Christian Lives*

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