

THE EARLY MODERN INVENTION OF LATE ANTIQUE ROME

In *The Early Modern Invention of Late Antique Rome*, Nicola Denzey Lewis challenges the common understanding of late antique Christianity as dominated by the Cult of the Saints. Popularized by historian Peter Brown, the Cult of the Saints presupposes that a "corporeal turn" in the fourth century CE initiated a new sense of the body (even the corpse or bone) as holy. Denzey Lewis argues that although present elsewhere in the late Roman Empire, no such "corporeal turn" happened in Rome until the early modern period. The prevailing assumption that it did was fostered by the apologetic concerns of early modern Catholic scholars, as well as contemporary attitudes toward death, antiquity, and the survival of the Church against secularism. Denzey Lewis delves deeply into the world of Roman late antique Christianity, exploring how and why it differed from the set of practices and beliefs we have come to think flourished in this crucial age of Christianization.

Nicola Denzey Lewis holds the Margo L. Goldsmith Chair in Women's Studies in Religion at Claremont Graduate University. She is the recipient of research fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Academy of Religion, and the International Catacomb Society. Denzey Lewis serves on the editorial boards of *Gnosis* and the *Journal of Early Christian Studies*. A social historian of imperial and late antique Rome and the processes that enabled the Christianization of the Roman Empire, Denzey Lewis has published extensively. This is her fifth book and her second specifically on late antique Rome, after her highly acclaimed examination of ancient Roman women's lives, *The Bone Gatherers* (2007).





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For Denise, with gratitude for forty-five years of delightful friendship



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Acknowledgments

Writing a book is always a paradoxical expression of a desire to be caught in the most fascinating conversations with learned friends and the solitary pursuit of reading and thinking. Let me begin by acknowledging the role of my learned friends for fascinating conversations. In Rome, I have many people to thank: Greg Snyder for gamely exploring cemeteries, catacombs, private and access-prohibited fields (his idea), and for thinking with me on the Palazzo Altemps chapel; the amazing Chiara Messineo for exerting pressure at just the right places; Sarah Madole Lewis and Linda Nolan for catacombs, cats, and company; Michele Salzman at the American Academy in Rome and in Claremont, California; and Sander Evers at the Loyola Rome Center. A conference on "Pagans and Christians in the Fourth Century" at the Hungarian Academy in 2012 put me in splendid dialogue with Marianne Sághy, Dennis Trout, Gitte Lønstrup Dal Santo and Matthew Dal Santo, Jonas Bjørnebye, and Leonard Rutgers. I would also like to formally thank the Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archaeology (especially Raffaella Giuliani and Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai for arranging a visit to his excavations of the Via Ardeatina funerary basilica) and Alberto Marcocci at the Catacombs of Vigna Randanini. Special thanks to Alex Dwiar, who was not in Rome but ought to have been and whose hard work and special pleading got me valuable time at the Memoria Apostolorum. Although I can be tough in this book on catacomb guides, it must be said that many of the young Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology (PIAC) student guides I have had over the years have been truly wonderful and inspiring and in no way reflect some of the intransigent attitudes toward Christian antiquity in Rome that characterized the PIAC of the



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Abbreviations

I have used standard abbreviations for authors and titles of ancient works cited in the body of the text: e.g., Eusebius, HE = Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica. Below are abbreviations for book series and journals cited more than once in this book.

Book Series

AA. SS.	Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur. Anvers,
	1643-
$A\mathcal{N}F$	Ante-Nicene Fathers. Editors A. Roberts, J. Donaldson,
	and A. Cleveland Coxe. Buffalo, NY: Christian
	Literature Publishing Co., 1886
BAC	Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux
	Historiques et Scientifiques
CBCR	Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. Editor
	R. Krautheimer. 4 vols. Vatican City, 1937-1980
$CI\mathcal{J}$	Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum I: Europe. Editor
	J. B. Frey. Vatican City, 1936
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.2-4:
	Tituli Sepulcrales. Editors E. Bormann, G. Henzen
	and Chr. Huelsen. Berlin, 1882-1894
$Cod.\ Theod.$	Codex Theodosianus
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Academie des
	Inscriptions et Belles Lettres
CSEL	Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie. Editors
	F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, and J. Marrou. Paris, 1907-

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List of Abbreviations			
GCS	Die grieschischen Christlichen Schriftsteller		
ICL	Inscriptiones Christianae Latinae. Editor Ernst Diehl. Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1925		
ICUR	Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores. Editor G. B. de Rossi. Nova series, editor A. Silvagni. Romae: Ex Officina Libraria Pontificia, 1857–		
JIWE 2	Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe. Editor David Noy. Vol. 2: The City of Rome. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995		
LCL	Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA, and London		
LP	Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire. Editor Louis Duchesne. Vol. 1. Paris, 1886		
LTUR	Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. Editor Eva Margareta Steinby. Rome: Quasar, 1993–1999		
LTUS	Suburbium = Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. Suburbium, 1–8, editors V. Fiocchi Nicolai, M. G. Granino Cecere, and Z. Mari, Rome, 2001–2008		
MGH SRM	Monumenta Germaniae historica Scriptores rerum merovingicarum (Berlin, Hannover, and Leipzig)		
NPNF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd series (reprinted Grand Rapids)		
PL	Patrologia Latina (Paris)		
SC	Sources Chrétiennes		
Journals			
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischer Welt		
$A\mathcal{J}A$	American Journal of Archaeology		
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History		
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers		
HTR	Harvard Theological Review		
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual		
$\mathcal{J}AAR$	Journal of the American Academy of Religion		
$\mathcal{J}AC$	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum		
J	J J		



List of Abbreviations		xvii
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies	
$\mathcal{J}EH$	Journal of Ecclesiastical History	
$\mathcal{J}LA$	Journal of Late Antiquity	
$\mathcal{J}RS$	Journal of Roman Studies	
$\mathcal{J}TS$	Journal of Theological Studies	
LASBF	Liber Annuus. Studium Biblicom Franciscanum,	
	Jerusalem	
MAAR	Memoires of the American Academy in Rome	
MDAI	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts	
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité	
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome	
RAC	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana	
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte	