

#### Food, Virtue, and the Shaping of Early Christianity

In this book, Dana Robinson examines the role that food played in the Christianization of daily life in the fourth century CE. Early Christians used the food culture of the Hellenized Mediterranean world to create and debate compelling models of Christian virtue, and to project Christian ideology onto common domestic practices. Combining theoretical approaches from cognitive linguistics and space/place theory, Robinson shows how metaphors for piety, such as health, fruit, and sacrifice, relied on food-related domains of common knowledge (medicine, agriculture, votive ritual), which in turn generated sophisticated and accessible models of lay discipline and moral formation. She also demonstrates that Christian places and landscapes of piety were socially constructed through meals and food production networks that extended far beyond the Eucharist. Food culture, thus, provided a network of metaphorical concepts and spatial practices that allowed the lay faithful to participate in important debates over Christian living and community formation.

Dana Robinson earned her PhD in Early Christian Studies at The Catholic University of America.





# Food, Virtue, and the Shaping of Early Christianity

**DANA ROBINSON** 





## **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108479479
DOI: 10.1017/9781108785693

© Cambridge University Press 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data NAMES: Robinson, Dana, 1977– author.

TITLE: Food, virtue, and the shaping of early Christianity / Dana Robinson.
OTHER TITLES: Food and lay piety in late antiquity.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Revision of author's thesis (doctoral)–Catholic University of America, 2016, titled Food and lay piety in late antiquity. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2019056092 (print) | LCCN 2019056093 (ebook) |
ISBN 9781108479479 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108743150 (paperback) |
ISBN 9781108785693 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Church history–Primitive and early church, ca. 30–600. | Dinners and dining–Religious aspects–Christianity–History–To 1500. | Food–Religious aspects–Christianity–History–To 1500. | Naceticism–History–Early church, ca. 30–600. | John Chrysostom, Saint, –407. | Shenute, Saint, approximately 348–466. | Paulinus, of Nola, Saint, approximately 353–431.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC BR166 .R59 2021 (print) | LCC BR166 (ebook) | DDC 270.2–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019056092 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019056093

ISBN 978-1-108-47947-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Philip Rousseau, who rightly maintains that good food, good company, and good scholarship go hand-in-hand.





## Contents

List of Figures Acknowledgments		page viii ix
I	Introduction	I
2	The Medicine of Moderation: John Chrysostom and the True Fast	22
3	From Dinner Theater to Domestic Church in Late Antique Antioch	69
4	Shenoute's Botanical Virtues: Fruit, Labor, and Ascetic Production	107
5	The Places of God: Festivals, Food Service, and Christian Community	144
6	Meals, Mouths, and Martyrs: Paulinus of Nola and Sacrific Spaces	ial 179
7	Conclusion	222
Bibliography Index		226 243



## **Figures**

5.1 Overview of the excavated areas of the White Monastery,	
Sohag, Egypt	page 173
5.2 Closeup of White Monastery Area 4, showing zones	176
6.1 Plan of the shrine of St. Felix, Cimitile/Nola	208

viii



### Acknowledgments

My debts of gratitude, like this book project, go back at least as far as my graduate student years at The Catholic University of America. The inter-disciplinary program in Early Christian Studies allowed me to learn from excellent scholars in the departments of History, Greek and Latin (Classics), Theology and Religious Studies, and Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures. Some of this breadth of training is, I hope, reflected well in this project.

I thank especially Sarah Ferrario and William Klingshirn for their endlessly patient hours of mentorship. Janet Timbie provided a rigorous first year of Coptic even though I was the only student, and I spent many more happy hours reading Shenoute with her in the basement library. As director of the Center for the Study of Early Christianity, Philip Rousseau was my primary mentor and guide from the start. He placed great value on collaborative and cross-disciplinary scholarship, and put this into practice with a multi-year series of seminars (with meals!) by visiting and resident faculty and graduate students, which remain a highlight of my graduate experience. Wendy Mayer attended my very first work-in-progress seminar (on John Chrysostom and the archive of Theophanes) and gave generous feedback and encouragement, especially welcome at that early stage. My dissertation committee (Philip Rousseau, Janet Timbie, and Kim Bowes) were strong supporters of the project all along. They made the defense a genuinely positive experience and made great suggestions for the book that they believed would surely follow.

The book version was written during my years as a postdoctoral teaching fellow for the Honors Program at Creighton University (2016–2019). Jeffrey Hause, the Honors Director, in addition to being



X

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-47947-9 — Food, Virtue, and the Shaping of Early Christianity Dana Robinson Frontmatter More Information

#### Acknowledgments

ready to nerd out about medieval languages and philosophy at the drop of a hat, was always careful to protect my research time as a junior faculty member. I could not have asked for a better teaching and research balance, or for a better group of students on whom to test out my ideas about food, religion, and Greco-Roman antiquity. Erin Averett answered my many questions about archaeology and image permissions, and generously gave me the opportunity for my first public talk, in the Omaha-Lincoln AIA lecture series. I also thank Dean Bridget Keegan and the College of Arts and Sciences for funding, and Pamela Runestad and Matthew Reznicek for organizing, monthly Saturday writing days for junior faculty. The positive peer pressure (and free lunch!) definitely helped push this project to its successful conclusion.

My experience with anonymous reviewers has, thus far, defied the negative "Reviewer 2" stereotype. The readers for the Press (as well as the readers for the earlier article version of Chapter 5 which appeared in *JECS*) gave extremely generous and constructive feedback. I am so grateful for the time and thoughtfulness that this level of feedback requires. It has made the book significantly better. I had the pleasure of presenting a very early version of Chapter 6 in an organized panel at NAPS, called "Meals, Mouths, and Materiality," with John Penniman and Todd Berzon. The cross-fertilization among our papers and the insightful response from Rebecca Krawiec expanded my conception of the possibilities inherent in the project.

Finally, all my love and gratitude to my family and friends who have put up with my complaining, anxiety, and distraction for many years and over long distances. Emily Alianello Kotarek has been listening to me worry and think out loud about writing and life since our college roommate days, and always brings me back to reality. Allison Ralph and Jenny Barry are my trusty conference buddies and role models for collegiality.

One of my proudest identities is being one of the "Robinson girls" – my six sisters and my cousin Lori are pretty much my favorite people in the world. I especially thank Jena and Alicia for the near-daily text conversation on food, fashion, work, and life – my go-to whenever motivation was needed, whether to work more or to relax more. Alicia, Amy, and Morgan all contributed copyediting for the first manuscript and are probably responsible for the "welcome low number of typos" noted by the reviewers. I thank my parents, Peter Robinson and Colleen Powers, for taking our education seriously enough to home-school us when this was not yet a popular path. Good food and moral formation definitely



#### Acknowledgments

xi

went together at the family dinner table, along with a good dose of silliness (see above, seven girls).

And of course, all my love (definitely more than 8 percent of it) to Brooks Lampe, for being the best partner in academia and life that a person could hope for. And for not being the kind of English professor who cares if you end sentences with a preposition. Here's to many more years of the adventure together.

