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# Visible Ghosts and Invisible Demons

## The Place of Jews in Early Christian *Terra Sancta*

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In 351 C.E., Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, dashed off an eager letter to the young Emperor Constantius to report a dazzling miracle that had lit up Jerusalem's Easter skies:

A gigantic and luminous cross was seen in the sky above holy [*hagios*] Golgotha, extending as far as the holy Mount of Olives. . . . Immediately the whole population, overcome with joy mingled with fear of the heavenly vision, hastened to the Holy Church: young and old, people of both sexes and every age, even to the maidens closeted in their homes, local and foreign Christians, as well as visiting pagans.<sup>1</sup>

Cyril's description of both the city and its inhabitants is noteworthy. As in his more famous *Catecheses*, Cyril has configured Jerusalem as contiguous pockets of "holy" sites. The "luminous cross" stretches appropriately from the Mount of Olives, where Jesus' passion began, to Golgotha, where it ended. Furthermore, Jerusalem's "whole population" numbers the old, young, men, women, locals, foreigners, Christians, and pagans.

A later homily composed in Cyril's name evidently found this diverse catalogue of inhabitants wanting. A Coptic "Homily on the Virgin"<sup>2</sup> has

1. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Epistula ad Constantium* 4; text in J. Rupp (ed.), *Cyrilli Hierosolymum Archiepiscopi Opera* (2 vols.; Munich: Stahl, 1860) 2.434–41, here 2.436. Translation by Leo P. McCauley, *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem* (2 vols.; Fathers of the Church 61 and 64 [hereafter FC]; Washington: Catholic University of American Press, 1968–70); here FC 64 232–33. On the date of the letter, see P. W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990) 410.

2. Three versions of this homily are extant: two in the Pierpont Morgan collection (MS 583 and 597; see Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan*

incorporated this miraculous moment from the authentic Cyril's career, fleshing in some demographic detail with more appropriate "native" populations:

You heard about the honor of the cross and its appearance for the conversion of Gentiles to the true knowledge of Christ; how Castor, prince of the Jews, believed with his whole family and became a chosen Christian. I also baptized a host of Samaritans, among them Isaac the Joppite whom I converted in this way.<sup>3</sup>

For the pseudonymous homilist of the seventh or eighth century, Jews and Samaritans naturally supplement the sacred landscape of Jerusalem as "natives" who would be swayed by the power of Jesus manifest at Easter.

This disjunction between our two "Cyrils" demonstrates how the perception of the Christian holy land in antiquity could be altered or transformed, irrespective of demographic "reality." We shall see that material and literary evidence leave little doubt that Jews populated areas of the Palestinian provinces in Late Antiquity. When we interrogate the texts that delineate Christian *terra sancta*, however, we shall find many authors reticent to acknowledge this presence (as in this letter of Cyril's). This reticence is further coupled with a sense that Jews hover on the fringes of Christian reality, an ethnic and theological danger to the holy land. Sifting through physical and literary remains of the post-Constantinian holy land, I shall analyze this tension between Jews' material visibility and conceptual "presence" as a way of studying how late ancient Christians configured their religious, historical, and spatial subjectivity.

### **"Bound in a Certain Region": Establishing Jewish Visibility**

Possibly when Cyril wrote his letter to Constantius, Hadrian's ban on Jews in Aelia Capitolina remained in force and not a single Jew was to be found in or near the holy city.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere Cyril is quite loquacious on the subject of Jews, as well as Samaritans, making the cryptic remark in his catechetical lectures that, "while the Jews are within the bounds of a certain region, the Christians reach to the ends of the earth."<sup>5</sup> Since Jews at that time probably extended as far into the diaspora as Christians, Cyril may be referring here to the "bounded" habitation of Jews in the Palestinian provinces of his day.<sup>6</sup>

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*Library* [Leuven: Peeters, 1993] 2.325–28, 2.205–7, respectively) and a third in the British Museum collection (see E. A. Wallis Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [London: British Museum, 1915] 49–73, 626–51). Pierpont Morgan MS 583 is cited here, in my own translation.

3. Cyril, "Homily on the Virgin," MS 583, folio 140 recto.

4. For reconstructions of Hadrian's ban, see Walker, *Holy City*, 8 and note.

5. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses* 10.16 (Rupp 1.282).

6. On the troublesome omnipresence of Jews in the diaspora in this period, see Fergus Millar, "The Jews of the Graeco-Roman Diaspora between Paganism and Christianity, A.D.

Specific population numbers for Jews in late ancient Palestine remain elusive,<sup>7</sup> but more certain is their demographic restriction to certain regions: Galilee, the Golan, the cities of Lydda/Diospolis and Jamnia/Yavneh west of Jerusalem, and the southern district known as the "Darom."<sup>8</sup> Scholars also tend to emphasize "the segregation and ethnic seclusion that characterized Roman-Byzantine Palestine in general,"<sup>9</sup> envisioning mixing only in dense urban centers. Given the relatively close distances in Palestine in this period, however, it is possible that even a village made up entirely of Jews would never be too far from the habitations, and thus the "visibility," of Christians, Gentiles, or Samaritans.<sup>10</sup>

It is also generally agreed that, despite an increase in the overall Byzantine Period population of Palestine, the Jewish population dropped markedly.<sup>11</sup> Even Michael Avi-Yonah's notably optimistic study of Roman-Byzantine Jews concedes that "a sharp decline had occurred in the number of Jews in Palestine, both absolutely and in proportion to the rest of the inhabitants. This fact was to have important political consequences."<sup>12</sup> One would also imagine consequences on the cultural construction of the Christian sacred landscape: surely such factors as highly-concentrated regions of Jewish habitation and dwindling numbers of Jews would influence how Christians conceived of their holy land? As we shall see when examining the relevant literature, however, "real" numbers have little impact on the cultural imaginary.

To focus more sharply on the question of Jewish "visibility" in the holy land, we should consider the specific matter of Jews in or near sites that were designated as *loca sancta* by Christians. Excavations of key centers of Christian worship reveal a late ancient physical presence that many would not

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312–438," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (ed. Judith Lieu, John North, and Tessa Rajak; London: Routledge, 1992) 97–123.

7. For various estimates, see M. Broshi, "The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine Period," *BASOR* 236 (1979) 1–10; Y. Tsafrir, "Introduction," in *Tabula Imperii Romani—Iudaea, Palaestina: Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods—Maps and Gazetteer* (ed. Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994) 18; M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine* (New York: Schocken, 1976) 19.

8. *Ibid.*, 17; Tsafrir, *Tabula Imperii Romani*, 18–19; Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993) 48–56.

9. Zvi U. Ma'oz, "Comments on Jewish and Christian Communities in Byzantine Palestine," *PEQ* 117 (1985) 59–68, here 65. See also Tsafrir, *Tabula Imperii Romani*, 18–19; Dennis Groh, "Jews and Christians in Late Roman Palestine: Towards a New Chronology," *BA* 51 (1988) 80–96. E. W. Saunders ("Christian Synagogues and Jewish Christianity in Galilee," *explor* 3 [1977] 70–77) argues for stricter segregation, even in urban centers; Eric M. Meyers ("Early Judaism and Christianity in the Light of Archaeology," *BA* 51 [1988] 69–79) proposes a broader "religious pluralism."

10. See the comments of Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 84.

11. Safrai, *Economy*, 436–58, esp. p. 442; Tsafrir, *Tabula Imperii Romani*, 19.

12. Avi-Yonah, *Jews of Palestine*, 241; see also pp. 25–29.

hesitate to label “Jewish.” Mamre, for example, presents both archaeological and literary signs of a sustained intermingling of Jews and Samaritans, as well as “pagans” and eventually Christians. The cultural and economic mixing at Mamre’s popular fair testifies to the atmosphere of “religious pluralism” suggested by Eric Meyers.<sup>13</sup> As rabbis denounce the contamination by “idolaters” and Constantine attempts to exclude non-Christians in order to “restore” an ancient Christian shrine, we have the sense that Jews, Christians, and “pagans” at Mamre remained through this period “visibly” in each other’s sights.<sup>14</sup>

Two other sites that might suggest high Jewish “visibility,” however, have undergone a subtle academic shading that has relegated them to a nebulous field of religious and cultural uncertainty. Both are villages that claim to be “hometowns” of Jesus: Nazareth, where he grew up, and Capernaum, which acted as the base of his Galilean ministry in the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>15</sup> I present them here as indicative of the difficulties modern scholars find (and manufacture) in reconciling their preconceptions about the place of Jews in the rise of the Christian holy land and reasons why a more careful treatment of material visibility and cultural presence is in order.

Since the late 1960s, the village of Nazareth has been held up as the classic site of “Jewish-Christianity,” a Palestinian phenomenon hypothesized by Italian scholars Bellarmino Bagatti and Emmanuele Testa.<sup>16</sup> Jewish-Christians are central to their particular reconstruction of the Christian holy land, insofar as they supposedly preserved many *loca sancta* from the death of Jesus until the advent of Constantine. The archaeological report of Nazareth’s Franciscan excavator, Bagatti himself, is thus geared toward demonstrating the very early date of the Mary-shrine there, protected by these Jewish-Christians.<sup>17</sup> This historiographic framework has its difficulties on many fronts, one complication being the near erasure of Jews in ancient Nazareth. By labeling a structure found beneath the Byzantine basilica a “Jewish-Christian synagogue,” Bagatti can practically dismiss with very little discussion a *Jewish* synagogue uncovered elsewhere.<sup>18</sup> In addition, finds that might otherwise be labeled “Jewish” (such as burial remains) are transformed into

13. See above, n. 9; on the Mamre fair as a religious mixing, see Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 86–95; on the fair as economic mixing, see Safrai, *Economy*, 243–62.

14. Rabbinic injunctions: Safrai, *Economy*, 253–54; Constantine’s “restoration”: Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 92–94. Archaeological reports in E. Mader, *Mambre: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in heiligen Bezirk, Ramat el-Halil in Süd-Palästina, 1926–1928* (2 vols.; Friburg in Breisgau: Erich Wewel, 1957) esp. 1.95–103.

15. See, for example, Mark 1:9 and 2:1.

16. For a summary of their argument, see B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Circumcision* (trans. E. Hoade; Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Minor 2; Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1971) 3–60; Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 1–47.

17. B. Bagatti, *Gli Scavi di Nazaret, Volume I: Dalle Origini al Secolo XII* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior 17/1; Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1967).

18. *Ibid.*, 111 and 226.

evidence of this continued Jewish-Christian presence dating back to the crucifixion.<sup>19</sup>

The entire “Bagatti-Testa hypothesis” and its attendant conclusions have been incisively critiqued by Joan Taylor. Taylor reexamines the significance of Nazareth’s material remains without assuming the presence of “Jewish-Christians” and finds no evidence for Christians before the fourth century—the date of the earliest Christian structure in the grove of the Annunciation—after Constantine began his Christian building projects. She goes so far as to assert that “the town was clearly Jewish until the seventh century.”<sup>20</sup> While perhaps her supposition of Jewish *control* over the Christian pilgrimage site may be exaggerated (and her explanation that Jews in Nazareth tolerated Christian building and pilgrimage “for the sake of the appreciative ‘tourist dollar’”<sup>21</sup> may be subject to unfortunate interpretation), Taylor’s rereading of the evidence stands as a useful corrective to Bagatti’s predetermined archaeological “findings.”

Capernaum also stands as an excellent case study in the deleterious muddling of historiographic “common senses.” The remains of a monumental Jewish synagogue and an impressive church dedicated to Peter have been uncovered there “on opposite sides of the street.”<sup>22</sup> Dating of the church has proceeded without much ado, with the monumental octagonal structure assigned to the fifth century; a less securely-dated fourth-century “house-church” marked by international graffiti has been uncovered beneath it.<sup>23</sup> The synagogue, on the other hand, has been the object of rancorous debate. In the 1970s two Franciscan archaeologists challenged the dating of the synagogue to the second or third century C.E. and proposed a date in “the last decade of the fourth to the mid-fifth century C.E.”<sup>24</sup> Opponents reiterated their architectural, stylistic, and historical arguments against this late date: architecturally, this synagogue was of the “Galilean” type, traditionally assigned to the second and third centuries;<sup>25</sup> stylistically, the façade seemed more Roman than the “interiorized” Byzantine structures of a later date;<sup>26</sup> and historically,

19. *Ibid.*, 230–38, esp. p. 236.

20. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 221–67, here 228.

21. *Ibid.*, 228–29. Taylor clearly seeks to empower late ancient Jews, but such easy explanations as “commercial gain” (p. 228) may mask more complex cultural and political issues involved in the appropriation of Jewish space by pilgrims.

22. Meyers, “Early Judaism and Christianity,” 76.

23. For a detailed summary of the archaeological reports see Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 268–74.

24. S. Loffreda, “The Late Chronology of the Synagogue of Capernaum,” *IEJ* 23 (1973) 37–43, here 37.

25. On the tripartite chronological division of synagogue types, see M. Avi-Yonah, “Synagogue Architecture in the Late Classical Period,” in *Jewish Art: An Illustrated History* (ed. Cecil Roth; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961) 157–90.

26. G. Foerster, “Notes on Recent Excavations at Capernaum,” *IEJ* 21 (1971) 207–11, esp. p. 207. Foerster relies on art historian Richard Krautheimer, whose own opinions on Byzantine “stylistics” have been critiqued: see Annabel Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical*

the contemporaneous construction of a monumental synagogue and church seemed unlikely, if not fanciful. As Avi-Yonah dryly commented: "Such a state of affairs might be conceivable in our own ecumenical age, but it seems almost impossible to imagine that it would have been allowed by the Byzantine authorities."<sup>27</sup>

Over the past decades two of these supports have been undermined: the chronological division of synagogue types has been superseded by a regional categorization,<sup>28</sup> while the notion of historically fixed artistic "styles," such as Roman exteriority versus Byzantine interiority, has likewise been deflated.<sup>29</sup> This leaves as the principal argument for early dating of the synagogue the historiographic presuppositions of "how things were" in ancient Capernaum. Despite Avi-Yonah's concern with overly "archaeologizing" history ("we should avoid staring, as if hypnotized, at the five-meter squares of a locus and basing all of our arguments on the finds in such a small area"),<sup>30</sup> there is a certain circularity involved in dismissing archaeological evidence because a situation *seems* historically "impossible." Joan Taylor's response has been to reverse Avi-Yonah's presumed power structures in early Byzantine Capernaum:

The contemporaneity of two buildings is only a problem if we insist that the Christian authorities exercised an effective absolute rule over Capernaum. There is no real evidence to show that they did. The situation may well have been quite the reverse; *only this would account for the archaeological evidence.* The Jewish authorities of Capernaum permitted the construction of a small Christian pilgrimage site.<sup>31</sup>

Taylor's reassignment of political agency would certainly allow for Jews to build whatever they pleased in Capernaum, but unfortunately the evidence for such sustained autonomy into the Byzantine Period is lacking. Taylor moves quickly from still-contested moments of Jewish emancipation in the fourth century, such as the "Gallus revolt" and Julian the Apostate's brief, abortive promise of Jewish resettlement in Jerusalem,<sup>32</sup> to Jewish autonomy

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City: *Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 70–72 and 96–97.

27. M. Avi-Yonah, "Some Comments on the Capernaum Excavations," in *Ancient Synagogues Revealed* (ed. Lee Levine; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981) 60–62, here 62.

28. Rachel Hachlili, "Synagogues in the Land of Israel: The Art and Architecture of Late Antique Synagogues," in *Sacred Realm: The Emergence of the Synagogue in the Ancient World* (ed. Steven Fine; Oxford: Oxford University Press / New York: Yeshiva University Museum, 1996) 99–102 and notes (p. 180); Steven Fine and Eric Meyers, "Synagogues," *OEANE* 5.118–23.

29. See above, n. 26.

30. Avi-Yonah, "Some Comments," 61.

31. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 293, emphasis mine. Ironically, Taylor is playing Avi-Yonah's optimistic vision of Byzantine Jewry (see Avi-Yonah, *Jews of Palestine*, 237–40, cited by Taylor, p. 292) against his archaeological pessimism.

32. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 292–93, again relying on Avi-Yonah.

and freedom from Byzantine (essentially Christian) authority into the fifth century. This ignores, to name but one stumbling block, Theodosius's declaration of Christianity as the official imperial religion in 391, as well as subsequent legislation against Jews in the East. In extending her argument against Bagatti's Jewish-Christians, Taylor has ended up transposing one set of overdetermined historiographic assumptions for another. Yet if we cannot explain the tension between "visibility" and "presence" in terms of simple power structures—minority subjugation = invisibility/absence or the reverse—we should then reevaluate the complexity of these issues in the construction of the Christian holy land. Having established at least a bare Jewish "visibility" at key sites of Christian *sanctitas*, I shall now attempt to outline how and when such visibility translated into a conceptual "presence."

### *"They Mourn and Rend Their Garments": Constructing Jewish Presence*

Recently Blake Leyerle has explored the cultural construction of a Christian landscape with the understanding that "we make our own geography in much the same way that we make our own history."<sup>33</sup> Her astute study outlines a cognitive shift whereby naked routes and cartographic edges become filled in by pilgrims with a "real interest in local flora, fauna, and peoples."<sup>34</sup> I would like to build on Leyerle's work by particularizing this inclusion of "peoples" in the evolving Christian holy land. Specifically, through reading the literary productions of post-Constantinian Christians I want to ask how Jews were incorporated into this sacred space as Jews. It will become clear that the presence or nonpresence of Jews in the Christian holy land has little to do with "real" Jewish visibility and shifts instead within a framework of biblical succession and proximal anxiety typified by two fourth-century Palestinian bishops.

Eusebius of Caesarea exemplifies what I call a more relaxed "successionist" conception of Jews. Early in his career Eusebius attempted to align biblical place-names with contemporary topography in his *Onomastikon*.<sup>35</sup> This tract was fourth in a series that had so far included a Greek translation of Hebrew names, a register of ancient Judea by tribe, and a plan of Jerusalem and the Temple.<sup>36</sup> As Dennis Groh points out, the *Onomastikon* also fits conceptually into Eusebius's larger historiographic project:

33. Blake Leyerle, "Landscape as Cartography in Early Christian Pilgrim Narratives," *JAAR* 64 (1996) 119–43, here 120. As will be clear, I am greatly indebted to the theoretical and historical ground that Leyerle has broken in this piece.

34. *Ibid.*, 138.

35. On the date of the *Onomastikon*, see T. D. Barnes, "The Composition of Eusebius' *Onomastikon*," *JTS* n.s. 26 (1975) 412–14.

36. Eusebius *Onomastikon* 2.5–12 (text edited by E. Klostermann; GCS 11.3; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904). References are to page and line numbers in the critical edition.

In the *Onomasticon* Eusebius is doing spatially (and alphabetically) what he has already done chronologically in the *Chronicon* and what he will go on to do narratively in the *History*—namely, bring biblical, Roman, and Christian realities together in such a way that Christianity in his own day can be seen to be the successor of the biblical realities in the Roman world.<sup>37</sup>

This judicious reading of Eusebius's world-view consigns such contemporary Jews as are listed in the *Onomastikon*<sup>38</sup> to the disappearing “biblical reality” now supplanted by the Christian present. Later, in his *Ecclesiastical History* Eusebius will depict Jews in this same ghostly half-light, slowly vanishing from Christian reality. The list of bishops of Jerusalem given in Book Four demonstrates this evanescent Jewish presence:

Up to Hadrian's siege of the Jews there had been a series of fifteen bishops there. All are said to have been Hebrews in origin. . . . For at that time their church consisted of Hebrew believers who had continued from apostolic times down to the later siege in which the Jews, after revolting a second time from the Romans, were overwhelmed in a full-scale war. As that meant the end of the bishops of the circumcision, *this is the right moment* to list their names from the first.<sup>39</sup>

Because the history of these Jews has ended, it is now appropriate to make them historically “visible” to the reader: this historicizing makes the Jews both present yet “safe” by framing them in an irrevocable past-tense. We can imagine Eusebius performing a similar task topographically in the *Onomastikon*, crowding Jews into a space that, through biblical place-names, in fact encrypts them into a scriptural past, making way for a triumphant Christian present. In this way, Jews achieve a measure of “visible absence” in the Eusebian holy land as vague, fleeting ghosts.

Next to Eusebius's translucent phantoms we can juxtapose the demonic, yet invisible “presences” found in the alarmist *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup> While absent from Cyril's “miraculous” holy land, as we saw above, Jews nonetheless linger unseen at the door of the catechetical lecture hall, waiting to lead Cyril's vulnerable catechumens into apostasy. From the first lecture Cyril sets a tone of holy warfare for his would-be “Christian soldiers”: “You are taking up arms against heresies, against Jews, against the Samaritans, against the Gentiles. Your enemies are many: take plenty of ammunition.”<sup>41</sup>

37. Dennis Groh, “The *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and the Rise of Christian Palestine,” *Studia Patristica* 18 (1983) 23–31, here 29.

38. ‘Jewish towns’ (*kōmai tōn Ioudaiōn*) described by Eusebius are: Accaron (22.9), Anab/Anea (26.9), Dabeira (78.6), Engaddi (86.18), Esthemo (86.22), Eremmon (88.17), Zeib/Zif/Carmelis (92.21), Thalcha (98.26), Jettan (108.9), Nineveh of Arabia (136.2), and Naaratha (136.25).

39. Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.5.2–5 (GCS 2.1). Translation by G. A. Williamson, *Eusebius: The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (London: Penguin, 1989) 107, emphasis mine.

40. Probably delivered while Cyril was still a priest: Walker, *Holy City*, 410.

41. Cyril *Procatechesis* 10 (Rupp 1.14; FC 61 78).

Jews are often lumped into this horde of “enemies,” but they also merit special attention as the paradigmatic unbelievers, “ever ready to object and slow to believe.”<sup>42</sup> When his charges roam unattended between lectures, Cyril imagines these devious Jews will attack and sully their incomplete formation. His thus frames his advice for “if the Jews ever trouble you,” and he announces curtly that his Trinitarian exposition, for example, is being given “because of the Jews.”<sup>43</sup> Inscripting this invisible demonic presence spatially, Cyril indicates to his “hearers” the empty space occupied just moments before by these villains: “Because of these words of Jesus, ‘There will not be left here one stone upon another’ (Matt 24:2) the Temple of the Jews just opposite us is fallen.”<sup>44</sup> The proximate desolation of the Temple Mount stands in all its naked glory as a reminder of a shattered and angry presence, waiting in shadows to burst in: “For if he [the Antichrist] is to come as Christ to the Jews and wants their worship . . . he will manifest the great zeal for the Temple; he will create the impression that he is the descendent of David who is to restore the Temple of Solomon.”<sup>45</sup> Jews for Cyril are “present” by their menacing invisibility;<sup>46</sup> they linger on the edges of Christian reality “bound” away in their particular regions of Palestine, committing acts so shameful that Cyril will not even speak of them.<sup>47</sup> Between these two poles of Christian inculturation—Eusebian “succession,” in which visibility is domesticated into a historicized absence, and Cyrilian “alarm,” in which invisibility betokens a threatening presence—literary productions of the Christian holy land by travelers and others will seek to encode Palestinian Jews into sacred Christian geography.

The earliest extant pilgrimage text comes from an early-fourth-century traveler from Bordeaux. As Leyerle points out, “His account lacks any real interest in the native terrain, flora, fauna, or people,”<sup>48</sup> focusing instead on the ardor of travel and the difficult yet attainable goal of pilgrimage. What people we do encounter in the Bordeaux pilgrim's holy land resonate with the scripturally-encrypted ghosts of Eusebius's *Onomastikon*: just as Eusebius reconfigured a contemporary space into a historical land of biblical tribes and villages, so too the Bordeaux pilgrim arrives through his spatial journey to a distinctly historicized reality. Most of the “Jews” he encounters are entombed or legendary figures from the Old Testament: at Neapolis, for instance, the

42. Cyril, *Catecheses* 13.7 (Rupp 2.58; FC 64 8–9).

43. Cyril, *Catecheses* 4.12, 10.8 (Rupp 1.102, 270; FC 61 125, 200).

44. Cyril, *Catecheses* 10.11 (Rupp 1.277; FC 61 203).

45. Cyril, *Catecheses* 15.15 (Rupp 2.172–73; FC 64 62). Cyril ironically anticipates the threatened resettlement by Julian in 363; perhaps Jews were vocal enough about their desire, or Christians about their fear, for Julian to exploit.

46. On the simultaneously reassuring and menacing “erasure” left as visible *spolia* in Christian Jerusalem, see Wharton, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City*, 94–104.

47. Cyril, *Catecheses* 12.17 (Rupp 2.24; FC 61 238), specifically the shameful “doings concerning those who are nowadays called ‘patriarchs’ among them.”

48. Leyerle, “Landscape as Cartography,” 123–24.

landscape is peopled by the conjured ghosts of Abraham sacrificing, Joseph being buried, Jacob bestowing land, and Dinah being abducted.<sup>49</sup>

This temporal distortion is most evident as the pilgrim moves across the Temple Mount, where we get the nearest glimpse of nonbiblical Jews. The complex folding of time and space necessitates a long citation:

In Jerusalem beside the Temple are two large pools, one to the right and the other to the left, built by Solomon, and inside the city are the twin pools with five porches called Bethsaida. . . . There is also a vault there where Solomon used to torture demons, and the corner of a very lofty tower, which was where the Lord climbed and said to the Tempter, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but him only shalt thou serve." . . . Below the pinnacle of this tower are very many chambers where Solomon had his palace. . . . 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. There too is the house of Hezekiah, king of Judah.<sup>50</sup>

Mostly, the Temple grounds are linked to their most ancient proprietor, Solomon; but as the empty space signifying the invisible presence of the Jews grows nearer, time loops in on itself. Suddenly, we are spectators at Jesus' temptation, and the murder of John the Baptist's father by Herod's soldiers (an apocryphal tale derived from confusion between John's father and an Old Testament Zechariah; the site and manner of murder here are more appropriate to the apocryphal account).<sup>51</sup> Mention of Hadrian's statues brings us one step away from the biblical era, evoking the final desolation and exile of the Jews. At the heart of the empty Temple Mount we "see" the invisible phantoms themselves, exiled Jews mourning in true Old Testament style. It is significant that the pilgrim himself does not witness this strange

49. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 587.2–588.2 (text edited by P. Geyer and O. Cuntz; CCSL 175; Turnhout: Brepols, 1965) 13–14. Numbering follows the edition of P. Wesseling (see CCSL 175, *monitum*). Translated by John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Ariel, 1981) 153–63; here 154–55. See now the valuable overview and suggestions of Laurie Douglass, "A New Look at the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996) 313–33, including discussion of the Bordeaux pilgrim's class and gender.

50. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 589.7–591.7 (CCSL 175 14–16; Wilkinson, *Egeria*, 155–57).

51. The Old Testament Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, was stoned to death in the court (2 Chr 24:20–22), not stabbed on the altar. Confusion derives from Luke 11:50–51, which contrasts Abel and Zechariah (the first and last murder victims in the Hebrew Bible) while elsewhere discussing Zechariah, the Baptist's father. Matt 23:5 clumsily introduces a third Zechariah, the minor prophet. The story of the murder of the Baptist's father by Herod's soldiers was circulated from the second century C.E. on in the *Protevangelium of James* 23.1–3 (in J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1993] 66).

rite, but having heard tell of it, imaginatively evokes a ghostly presence in a way that highlights the Jews' material absence from Christian space. Once the Jews "depart," the biblical ambience is restored by mention of Hezekiah. Like Jacob Marley before a repentant Ebenezer Scrooge, the phantom Jews have receded into their biblical penumbra, relegated to their safe, historical invisibility.

A more engaging tone energizes the text of the pilgrim possibly named Egeria who later in the fourth century made a sweeping tour of the Christian East and recorded her journey for "sisters" back home in the West. Even her animated prose, however, constructs an ethnographic landscape not dissimilar from the Bordeaux pilgrim's.<sup>52</sup> Although this account now has live, active bodies inserted into it, we must attend to *who* these live bodies are and how they are presented. They are mostly the Christian monks and clergy who inhabit *loca sancta* and act as guides and escorts for Egeria's group. At Sinai, where the fragmentary diary begins *in medias res*, Egeria is received "hospitably" by local monks, some of whom escort her group up the mountain; upon reaching the summit, they are greeted by "a healthy old man, a monk from his boyhood and an 'ascetic' (*ascitis*) as they call it here—in fact, just the man for the place (*qualis dignus est esse in eo loco*)."<sup>53</sup> Apart from these monastic caretakers, Egeria's landscape is as bare and ghostly as the Bordeaux pilgrim's: "All there is on the actual summit of the central mountain is the church and the cave of holy Moses. No one lives there."<sup>54</sup> Moses, like Solomon on the Temple mount, is an invisible "presence," a shadow who has been succeeded by the ascetic monk who is now "just the man for the place."

Throughout Egeria's diary, contemporary Christians stand over and next to the ghosts of sainted biblical heroes: where "holy Melchizedek met Abraham" Egeria meets "an oldish man with an excellent knowledge of the Bible . . . in charge of the place from the time when he was a monk"; where "holy John baptized," there now live "a great many brothers, holy monks from different parts, who come here to wash"; inquiring after the cell of a lone monk in the Jordan Valley, Egeria is told that "the holy prophet Elijah the Tishbite stayed here in the reign of King Ahab."<sup>55</sup> In all of these holy sites, Old Testament figures hover like benign shades, resonant alter egos who provide a justification and identity for the monks who now move in their footsteps. Any contemporary Jews remain invisible,<sup>56</sup> while Jewish "presence" is encoded by phantom figures inscribed onto holy land through scriptural correlation.

52. See Leyerle, "Landscape as Cartography," 126–28.

53. *Itinerarium Egeriae* 3.1–4 (CCSL 175 39–40; Wilkinson, *Egeria*, 93–94).

54. *Itinerarium Egeriae* 3.5–6 (CCSL 175 40; Wilkinson, *Egeria*, 94).

55. *Itinerarium Egeriae* 14.2, 15.1–4, 16.3–4 (CCSL 175 55–57; Wilkinson, *Egeria*, 110–12).

56. The surviving portions of Egeria's diary contain no references to nonbiblical Jews. In the summaries of her reports contained in the twelfth-century work by Italian monk Peter the Deacon, *Book on the Holy Places*, mention is made of the synagogues in Capernaum

Jerome, the multilingual scholar from the West who founded a monastery in Bethlehem near the end of the fourth century, could also at times write in the style of a visiting pilgrim. In his *Epistle* 108, written in 404 to Eustochium on the death of her mother and Jerome's longtime companion Paula, Jerome narrates Paula's first tour of the holy land.<sup>57</sup> Like the journeys of Egeria and the Bordeaux pilgrim, Paula's tour is structured by the Bible as Jerome names "only such places as are mentioned in the sacred books (*sacris voluminibus*)."<sup>58</sup> These sites are also populated by scriptural ghosts: at New Testament locales Paula uses her own imagination, as at Bethlehem where "she could behold with the eyes of faith . . . the star shining overhead, the virgin mother, the attentive foster-father, the shepherds coming by night";<sup>59</sup> in contrast, Old Testament figures are generally made manifest by their venerated tombs.<sup>60</sup> Paula passes through a densely populated land that has the power to make the past appear in the present; like Egeria, Paula moves through a country of shadows and ghosts that welcome her and graciously cede place to her.<sup>61</sup>

While able to bask in this comfortable position of Eusebian "succession," Jerome can also withdraw into the "alarmism" characteristic of Cyril. For Jerome, too, less friendly Jews can hover at the edge of Christian existence, not cozy in their pleasant historicity but menacingly evil and demonic. His interaction with Palestinian Jews employed to teach him Hebrew for his biblical translation project was at first portrayed as a safe journey into the biblical past. In the preface to his translation of the book of Job, accomplished around 392, Jerome describes how he learned Hebrew: "I remember that, for the sake of understanding this book, I paid over quite a few coins to have a certain Lyddan as my teacher (*praeceptorem*), one who among the Hebrews was thought to be held in first rank (*primus*)."<sup>62</sup> Naturally one of these "ghostly" Jewish presences would be much more in touch with the biblical past than the contemporary Christian and therefore eminently qualified to act as *praeceptor* in unmasking the ancient language of scripture. This casual contact with local Jews causes Jerome trouble some years later when embroiled in an international controversy. Jerome's nemesis Rufinus, once his schoolmate,

latches onto this "master from the Jews" to question Jerome's loyalty to Christianity. Rufinus's jibe is based on a "misunderstanding" of the name of Jerome's teacher, Baraninas or Bar Haninah: "Now we did not receive *Barabbas* as he did, as a teacher (*magistrum*) from the synagogue. . . . Pardon me that I have preferred to listen on as unskilled and unlearned rather than to be called the disciple of *Barabbas*!"<sup>63</sup> Prudently Jerome then withdraws from the casual position that solidified this faded Jewish phantom into a religiously and culturally threatening reality. To some friends he writes reassuringly:

What trouble and expense it cost me to have Baraninas as my teacher (*praeceptorem*) under cover of night. He so feared the Jews that he showed himself to me as a second Nicodemus (cf. John 3.1–2). . . . If it is expedient to hate any men and to loath any race, I have a remarkable dislike for the circumcised.<sup>64</sup>

His Jewish teacher is transformed from "the first of his rank" among his fellow Lyddans to a covert instructor, "a second Nicodemus" smuggled out "under cover of night" for fear of the Jews. When a nonchalant rhetoric of succession causes the scriptural echo of Jews to materialize into a too-present presence, it is necessary to invoke the more alarmist language of Cyril and cast Jews as a lingering, marginal threat.

The cultural interplay of Jewish visibility and presence is more subtly narrated in a curious anecdote in the massive heresiological tract *Panarion* (or "Medicine Chest against Heresies"), composed by Epiphanius of Salamis near the end of the fourth century. While decrying the Jewish-Christian heresy of the Ebionites, Epiphanius is reminded by a reference to a Hebrew translation of the Gospels about an encounter with a certain "Count Joseph of Tiberias." This Joseph had once been a "man of rank" in service to the Jewish patriarch in Palestine.<sup>65</sup> When this patriarch had himself secretly baptized on his deathbed, Joseph began protracted years of confused exploration of the Christian faith.<sup>66</sup> His long spiritual struggle (during which he discovered the Hebrew translations of the New Testament prompting this digression) is punctuated by the heinous deeds of the secretly-converted patriarch's successor. This young ne'er-do-well not only engages in "seductions of

and Nazareth but only as sites where Jesus performed miracles (*De locis sanctis Petri Diaconi* 15–16 [CCSL 175 275–76]). See Wilkinson, *Egeria*, 179–210, for those parts of Peter's book believed to come from Egeria's diary.

57. Jerome, *Ep.* 108 (text edited by I. Hilberg; CSEL 55; repr. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996) 306–51.

58. Jerome, *Ep.* 108.8 (CSEL 55 313).

59. Jerome, *Ep.* 108.10 (CSEL 55 316).

60. Paula visits the tombs of Rachel (*Ep.* 108.10), Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam (or Caleb) at Hebron (*Ep.* 108.11), Joshua (*Ep.* 108.13), Elijah, Obadiah, and John the Baptist (*Ep.* 108.13), and Micah (*Ep.* 108.14) (CSEL 55 316, 319, 322, 323, 324).

61. Earlier, Jerome had also promised his friend Marcella that she would 'see' (*videre*) a host of biblical characters if she visited from Rome: *Ep.* 46.13 (CSEL 54 343–44). See the comments of Leyerle, "Landscape as Cartography," 130–31.

62. Jerome, *Praefatio in translatione libri Job* (PL 28 1140a).

63. Rufinus *Apologia contra Hieronymum* 2.15 (text edited by M. Simonetti; CCSL 20; Turnhout: Brepols, 1961) 95. See also 2.38 (CCSL 20 112–13), where Rufinus sardonically portrays the Church as a faithless woman calling upon "Barabbas from the synagogue" when Peter and Paul no longer satisfy her.

64. Jerome, *Ep.* 84.3 (CSEL 55 123).

65. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.4.2 (text edited by Karl Holl; GCS 25.1; [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915] 338. Translated by Frank Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Book I (Sects 1–46)* (Nag Hammadi Studies 35; Leiden: Brill, 1987) 122. For an excellent discussion of the Joseph of Tiberias story, see Stephen Goranson, *The Joseph of Tiberias Episode in Epiphanius: Studies in Jewish and Christian Relations* (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1990); and T. C. G. Thornton, "The Stories of Joseph of Tiberias," *Vigiliae Christianae* 44 (1990) 54–63.

66. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.4.5–7 (GCS 25.1 339–40; Williams, *Panarion*, 122–23).

women and unholy sexual unions,” but even attempts to seduce a Christian maiden through magic.<sup>67</sup> At this moment the Jew stands as a real and monstrous threat to Christians of the holy land, acting unseen through sorcery on the fringes of Christian sanctity (exemplified by a virgin). Later, Joseph converts and requests a special commission from Constantine to construct churches in towns “where no one had ever been able to found churches.”<sup>68</sup> Joseph engages the Jewish menace at the precise Constantinian moment of building the Christian holy land. He goes first to Tiberias, his hometown, where the Jews provide resistance: “The ingenious Jews, who are ready for everything, did not spare their continual sorcery. Those natural-born Jews wasted their time on magic and jugglery to put a spell on the [lime-pit] fire, but did not entirely succeed.”<sup>69</sup> Of course, Joseph’s Christian faith triumphs over Jewish chicanery, and several small churches are built in Galilee under his supervision.<sup>70</sup>

Epiphanius does not, however, permit these Palestinian Jews to linger as a threat on the borders of Christian reality in his own day: he makes several rhetorical moves to historicize their demonic activity, transforming them into harmless ghosts. First, Epiphanius reiterates that he heard this tale long ago; he cannot remember the names of the patriarchs, for instance, “because of the time.”<sup>71</sup> Next, he emphasizes that Joseph’s construction of these churches was itself long before Epiphanius met him and heard his story.<sup>72</sup> In this way, the villainous Jews are already situated in the pluperfect past. Finally, Epiphanius makes it clear that Jews are no longer the “enemy” within the borders of the holy land, but that this role has been assumed by various heretics, most notably the Arians:

Joseph was not only privileged to become a faithful Christian, but a despiser of Arians as well. In that city, Scythopolis, he was the only orthodox Christian—they were all Arian. Had it not been that he was a count, and the rank of count protected him from Arian persecution, he could not even have undertaken to live in that town. . . . There was another, younger man in town too, an orthodox believer of Jewish parentage. He did not even dare [to associate] with me in public.<sup>73</sup>

The hounding Jews of Tiberias stand merely as phantoms behind the harassing Arians of Scythopolis. Epiphanius even hammers his point home with a supplementary Orthodox victim, once a Jew but now an “orthodox believer”

67. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.7.3 (GCS 25.1 342; Williams, *Panarion*, 124).

68. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.11.7 (GCS 25.1 347; Williams, *Panarion*, 128).

69. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.12.4 (GCS 25.1 347–48; Williams, *Panarion*, 128).

70. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.12.9 (GCS 25.1 348; Williams, *Panarion*, 129). Taylor (*Christians and the Holy Places*, 288–90) suggests that the earlier “house-church” in Capernaum might in fact be the structure built by Joseph.

71. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.4.3 (GCS 25.1 338–39; Williams, *Panarion*, 122).

72. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.5.1–2 (GCS 25.1 339–40; Williams, *Panarion*, 123).

73. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.5.5–7 (GCS 25.1 340; Williams, *Panarion*, 123).

fearful of Arian recrimination, to mark the defunct “visible absence” of Jewish antagonism.

Epiphanius allows the Jewish threat several paces closer to his own time and place than earlier authors of the Christian holy land; after all, these sorcerous patriarchs are practically within living memory, and the anecdote itself is embedded in a tract on still-operating Jewish-Christian heretics. This willingness to allow the danger so much closer suggests a new sensibility on Epiphanius’s part, although still inchoate. Epiphanius’s narrative about the former Jew who has become an orthodox Christian represents the first step in actively transforming the cultural existence of contemporary Jews into the experience of Christian identity. Leaping ahead more than a century to our final pilgrimage text, we can witness this cultural colonization being fully realized.

### *“The Most Beautiful Jewesses in the Country”: Christian Culture and the Other*

In the last third of the sixth century, an anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza traveled to the Byzantine holy land. As much as anything, his account reads like later mediaeval and early modern European travelogues made on voyages to the East; we find the same attitude of comfortable colonizing curiosity on the part of the knowledgeable touristic subject.<sup>74</sup> There are far fewer attempts to narrate the Palestinian present as an echo of the scriptural past and even fewer precautions against the lingering malefaction of dangerously displaced marginal populations. Instead the Jews of Palestine are permitted to move and act in a sort of cultural display case, remotely connected with the events that have made the land holy but living their contemporary lives for the edification and entertainment of our author. One of the first regions the Piacenza pilgrim visits is Galilee, whose Jewish population is now both visible and present:

We traveled on to the city of Nazareth, where many miracles take place. In the synagogue there is kept the book in which the Lord wrote his ABCD, and in this synagogue there is the bench on which he sat with the other children. Christians can lift the bench and move it about, but the Jews are completely unable to move it, and cannot drag it outside. The house of Saint Mary is now a basilica, and her clothes are the cause of frequent miracles. The Jewesses (*mulierum Hebraeis*) of that city are better looking than any other Jewesses in the whole country. They declare that this is Saint Mary’s gift to them, for they also say that she was a relation of theirs. Though there is no love lost between Jews and Christians, these women are full of kindness (*caritate plenae*).<sup>75</sup>

74. See the remarks of Leyerle, “Landscape as Cartography,” 132–37.

75. *Antonini Placenti Itinerarium* 5 (CCSL 175 130–31). Translated by John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Philips, 1977) 79–89, here 79–80.

This richly textured description positions the pilgrim as spectator in direct visual and oral contact with the Jews, something impossible for the cheerful scriptural ghosts of Egeria or the looming demons of Cyril or Jerome. While vague scriptural references establish the site's sanctity (although restriction to canon seems unimportant, since much weight is given to the apocryphal "ABC-book" of little Jesus),<sup>76</sup> there is more interest in the present remains of Jesus' hometown. The pilgrims enter a Jewish synagogue, rearrange the furniture, and leaf through the books; moreover, they allow this space to be coded as "still Jewish," challenging the "locals" to move the furniture back. They talk to (and even "chat up") the "pretty girls" of the village. While a level of ethnographic interest coheres with the Piacenza pilgrim's general attention "to the native peoples,"<sup>77</sup> this pleasant interaction with the Jewish population and the acknowledgment that they still move and act within the confines of the Christian holy land is striking when contrasted with the earlier silence of pilgrimage texts, as well as the actual demographic "shrinkage" of Jews in the Early Byzantine Period. Even more striking is the presentation of a Jewish response: the Jewish women are flirtatious and the men willing to humor the Christian pilgrims in their inability to move Jesus' bench. Taylor sees evidence of Jewish autonomy in this and believes that they in fact operated the pilgrimage site.<sup>78</sup> For the pilgrim, however, these Jews are not so much proprietors as part of the "exhibit" itself. It is difficult to imagine Jews having much choice under the thumb of Christian Byzantine rule than to smile and go along with waves of intrusive tourists.

Similarly the Jews paying homage at the shrine of the patriarchs are portrayed as congenially "sharing" their sacred space. We recall how Egeria juxtaposed the cadavers and shades of Old Testament figures with the lively, "fitting" bodies of Christian monks who had taken their place; at Mamre, Christians and Jews occupy opposite sides of the same basilica, a mere screen (*cancellus*) dividing their prayerful encounter. But while the Christians (like our author) come from far and wide, the Jews are specifically "the people of this area," coming from "all over that land (*omni terra illa*)" to put on a show with lights and incense for Christian spectators.<sup>79</sup> As in Nazareth, the customs of the Jews are as much on display as are the bodies of their dead ancestors or the miraculous artifacts of their "cousins" Mary and Jesus. Not only has their history been incorporated into the Christian holy land, their present experience has been culturally appropriated as well.

76. Jesus' learning to read is most famously portrayed in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* 6.2–7.1 (in Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 77). Leyerle generously describes the pilgrim's knowledge of scripture as "modest" ("Landscape as Cartography," 134).

77. Leyerle, "Landscape as Cartography," 135. The pilgrim comments on the lewd Tyrians (2), the hostile Samaritans (8; to be discussed below), the hospitable monks (10, 12), and the serene border patrols (40) (CCSL 175 129, 133, 134–36, 149–50).

78. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 228–29.

79. *Antonini Placenti Itinerarium* 30 (CCSL 175 144).

The Piacenza pilgrim also juxtaposes the "good" cooperative natives with the "bad," spiteful ones, the latter role now filled by Samaritans encountered "on the way down" from Scythopolis to Sebaste; significantly they are not part of the pilgrimage exhibit as are the Jews of *loca sancta* but are instead a harrowing roadside danger:

There were several Samaritan cities and villages on our way down through the plains, and wherever we passed along the streets they burned away out footprints with straw, whether we were Christians or Jews, they have such a horror of both. This is what they tell Christians, "Don't touch what you want to buy till you have paid the money. If you do touch anything without buying it there will soon be trouble." Outside each village there is a guard to give this warning.<sup>80</sup>

The threat once lingering in the "bound" populations of the Jews is now relocated to the strange and inhospitable customs of the Samaritans. The Jews now are explicitly part of the civilized sphere of the Christians, lumped with them as objects of Samaritan hatred. Even this danger, however, can be ameliorated by the advice of a cosmopolitan traveler: the Samaritans are discussed in the context of wayside provisioning and can be appeased by appropriate negotiation tactics.

By this later date, Christians have such firmly established mechanisms of power and display that Jews may be perceived as materially "visible" and culturally "present." No longer blurred into the scriptural past or dissolved into threatening shadows, the Jew in the holy land is now an appropriate aspect of Christian spatial and historical identity. It is worth noting that the delimitation of Christian reality within the most particular of sacred spaces still requires the negative "other," a new cultural "edge" to the Christian experience of *sanctitas*, which is provided by the cranky Samaritans.

My survey of material and literary remains has been necessarily short, but my intention has not been to wring *realia* and text dry of historical interest. Rather, by dislocating bare physical visibility from the construction of cultural "presence," I have tried to suggest that as Christians became more comfortable within their sacred spaces (and more aligned with the political reassurance of the Byzantine *imperium*) they found more creative ways to ameliorate the dangers posed by the distressing "other." By the sixth century this is accomplished by incorporating the "local" experience of Jews into the universality of sacred Christian time and space. Otherness still marks the limits of Christian experience—inscribed in the roadside Samaritans—but "real" Jews can at last emerge from the murky realms of scriptural obscurity and proximal peril.

80. *Antonini Placenti Itinerarium* 8 (CCSL 175 133; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem*, 81).