Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft

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cases, and thus been given a broad insight into the history of early modern dissimulation as such.

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DAYNA S. KALLERES. *City of Demons: Violence, Ritual, and Christian Power in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 374.

City of Demons attempts "a cultural history of urban demonologies" in the post-Constantinian city (6) to show that the demonization of religious opponents performed by ecclesiastical leaders, in both the discursive and ritual spheres, was a powerful strategy for urban Christianization in Late Antiquity. The author bases her argument on the assumption that urban rituals of engagement with demons were different from those performed outside the city, e.g. in the Egyptian and Syrian deserts. Hence, through diabolizing others' forms of ritual and rhetoric, bishops gained authority and control in and over the Late Antique city. While Late Antique scholarship, largely influenced by Peter Brown, has concentrated on the fight against demons by ascetics in a non-urban environment, beyond the control of ecclesiastical institutions, the phenomenon of spiritual warfare against the demonic in the city has been neglected in historiography due to scholars' inclination to imagine the Late Antique city as a "disenchanted and secularized" space (11). Amid the huge amount of scholarship on demonology in Late Antiquity, this book aims to fill a neglected area in the study of the late ancient, "enchanted, animistic" city (12).

Despite what might be inferred from the title, *City of Demons* is not a comprehensive study of the phenomenon of demonization of religious opponents by urban church hierarchies in the vast period of Late Antiquity. It is in fact limited to the analysis of three nearly contemporary case studies: John Chrysostom and Antioch, Cyril and Jerusalem, and Ambrose and Milan—although few parallels are drawn between them. In each case, three aspects are studied: the animistic and enchanted facets of the city itself; the ecclesiastical leaders' strategies of diabolization and their strategy of exorcistic encounters, focusing on the ritual of baptism; and the analysis of a particular case of crisis which Nicene communities perceived as a menace.

Part one, the longest in the book, focuses on the case of Antioch and John Chrysostom, its bishop in the 380s. Chapter 1 (25–50) reconstructs the religious atmosphere in a city of spiritual ambiguity, "pulsating with spiritual

powers and invisible forces" (31). Through the writings of Libanius and Chrysostom, the "enchanted" atmosphere of Antioch's traditional festivals is recreated, despite the scant quantity of information about this, which leads the author to contribute imaginatively to many of the ritual scenes she describes. Chapter 2 (51–86) analyzes the way in which John Chrysostom uses demons to fight the inclination of congregants to participate in non-Christian ceremonies and festivals, peopled with demonic threats that only those seeking protection inside the churches can avoid. In his homilies, Chrysostom diabolizes non-Christian rituals carried out in Antioch, and teaches the baptized how to fight them. The rite of baptism, preceded by several weeks of training and exorcisms, transforms catechumens into "stronger Christians" (the soldiers of Christ), and enables them to go out into the city to undertake spiritual warfare against the "weaker Christians" (the unbaptized), easily attacked and possessed by demons. Chapter 3 (87–112) considers a particular case of crisis, the Judaizers who participate in the Jewish High Holidays and attend the synagogue. Stronger Christians are encouraged (in the *Adversus Judaeos* homilies) to seek out Judaizers, isolate them, and engage in public, performative exorcistic encounters, using words (the ritual exorcist formulae) as weapons.

Part Two deals with Cyril, appointed bishop of Jerusalem in 350/51, and his efforts to reshape the spiritual landscape of the Holy City. Chapter 4 (115–148) describes the monumental transformation of Jerusalem into Aelia Capitolina, and vice-versa. Starting in the sixth century BC, the chapter takes us on a tour of Jerusalem to the mid-fourth century AD and the modes of perceiving and sensing the city by the Jerusalemites of the time. It explores how the images of apocalyptic literature inspired their desire to animate, or reanimate, the Holy City after its various violent destructions. Chapter 5 (149–171) explores Cyril's baptismal program through his catechetical lectures, which served to provide the baptized with the power of spiritual perception around the promotion of the cult of the cross. As in the case of Chrysostom, Cyril transforms his congregants from a demoniac condition into divinely cleansed and baptized Christians in a tripartite baptismal transformation, material, ontological, and cosmological (150), that changes them into "apocalyptic seers." So the baptized obtain a true spiritual perception of the Holy City, and acquire the mission of going out to transform or revert Jerusalem to its true image (165). Chapter 6 (172–195) presents the baptized walking the streets of the Holy City, able to see what is invisible to the unbaptized, the True Jerusalem, turned into protectors of the cross and potentially violent against its opponents.

The Third Part concludes the book with a single chapter, Chapter 7,

"Ambrose and Nicene Demoniacs" (199–237), devoted to Ambrose of Milan and the basilica crisis of 386. After describing the Christian history of Milan from Constantine onward, the chapter focuses on the discovery of Protasius's and Gervasius's relics and their role in the crisis of the basilicas. It stresses the meaning of their placement under the church altar as evidence of Ambrose's active engagement in re-conceptualizing the ritual identity of Milan. In this way, the basilica crisis is interpreted as a manifestation of Ambrose's fear of losing sacramental ritual space rather than as a mere problem of physical and legal possession of ecclesiastical buildings (201).

City of Demons is a profoundly learned work that aims to address the widely studied issue of urban ecclesiastical leadership with a fresh approach; the critical apparatus and the number and consistency of references are impressive. It may be that it adds little to what scholars of Late Antiquity have already said on the topic, and it is often insistent and repetitive in concepts and language. Nevertheless, *City of Demons* is a book that can be read with pleasure.

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JAN MACHIELSEN. *Martin Delrio: Demonology and Scholarship in the Counter-Reformation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 450.

One cannot say of Martin Delrio, as was said of his fellow Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, that he was a man who knew everything. But it was said, and acknowledged all over Europe, that he was a man of quite extraordinary learning. Machielsen's biography concentrates on illustrating and elucidating this aspect of a remarkable character who lived in remarkable times and was thoroughly informed by them, although Machielsen's account of him spreads well beyond the confines of pen, book, and lamplight.

Delrio (1551–1608) was born in Antwerp of well-to-do parents, and spent his formative years and much of his young adulthood in the thick of the religious and social upheavals of the Counter-Reformation in general and Dutch Wars in particular, some of whose losses and tragedies neither he nor his family escaped. He had an extensive university education, attending Leuven, Paris, Douai, and Salamanca before, having had a short secular career as a magistrate, he applied to enter the Society of Jesus. Thereafter, he was employed by the Society as a lecturer in both Netherlander and Spanish universities. His pen and increasingly considerable erudition then divided their time in textual scholarship, his editions of Seneca's tragedies in particular