To may agent Voyage Voyage dry who can't add the importance of aggregation in life
To my aunt, Kerry Kennedy, who embodied the importance of pursuing one's passion in life and
To my wife, Leigh, for her help in seeing this journey through

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work would not have been possible without the financial and moral support of the Graduate Department of Religion at Vanderbilt University. The travel grant for presenting research at international conferences from the Graduate School allowed for primary research as well as an opportunity for critical feedback. The Center of Ethics at Vanderbilt University provided a fellowship that greatly aided the writing of this dissertation in the fall of 2007.

I am especially indebted to my dissertation committee, including J. Patout Burns, Barbara Tsakirgis, and Bronwen Wickkiser for their important support, feedback, and professional guidance. William Babcock, Annemarie Carr, and Ljubica Popovich were invaluable influences to the following work. Much of what is written in the following pages grew from conversations and classes taken with these professors. I would like to especially thank the chair of my dissertation committee, advisor and mentor Robin M. Jensen. She has been a gracious instructor, editor, and guide since I arrived in Nashville. She taught me the importance and benefit of examining the era of Late Antiquity through the lens of art and imagery. My sincere hope is to follow in the footsteps her creativity has pioneered. It has been my greatest privilege and pleasure to study under her guidance. I would also like to thank Patout Burns, Dale Johnson and James Hudnut-Beumler, in addition to Dr. Jensen, for their tutelage in the practice, craft, and importance of pedagogy. Through their example, I have learned how to translate the enthusiasm for one's research into effective teaching.

Finally, this endeavor could not have been possible without the support of my family, particularly my mother and sister, and especially my wife, Leigh. She was unfaltering in her encouragement and support, even when I wavered. And to my aunt Kerry Kennedy.

Many of the following pages were written on her laptop computer. Her love of writing and the arts will never be forgotten.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
DEDICA	TION	iii
ACKNO	WLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF	ABBREVIATIONS	ix
Chapter		
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Issues of Terminology: Superstition, Deisidaimonia, and Religio	
	Issues of Terminology: Miracle, Medicine, and Magic	
	Review of Secondary Literature	
	Outline	28
II.	THE ROLE OF HEALING AND MIRACLES IN PAGAN SOURCES	33
	Superstition and Magic as Terms of Slander	
	The Role of Magic in Antiquity	
	Celsus on Magic and Miracles	
	2. The Practice of Magic in Late Antiquity and the Greek Magical I	
	(PGM)	
	3. Apollonius of Tyana	
	4. Apuleius of Madauros	
	The Cult of Asclepius in Antiquity	
	1. Aelius Aristides' Sacred Tales	
	2. Julian the Apostate: Pagan Appropriation, Christian Appropriation	on74
III.	THE ROLE OF HEALING AND MIRACLES IN THE CHURCH FATHERS	88
	Christian Impressions of Asclepius	90
	1. New Testament Evidence/Acts 28:1-9	90
	2. Second and Third Century Evidence	
	Apocryphal Texts	
	Greek Patristic Texts: Justin and Clement of Alexandria	
	Greek Patristic Texts: Origen and Athanasius	
	3. Latin Authors: Tertullian and Arnobius	
	Ambrose and Augustine on Christ the Physician	
	Ambrose and Augustine on Miracles	129
	Conclusion	140

IV.	THE HEALINGS OF CHRIST IN CATACOMB ART	142
	Patristic Attitudes towards Healings and Imagery	143
	Catacomb Scenes of Christ Healing	
	1. The Healing of the Paralytic	148
	2. The Woman with the Issue of Blood	
	The Visual Appearance of Asclepius	154
	The Visual Appearance of Christ	
	The Anatomy Lesson	
V.	THE RAISING OF THE DEAD AND OTHER MIRACLES IN CATACOMB ART	170
	Patristic Citations of Competing Deities	171
	Hercules, Orpheus and Asclepius in the Catacombs	
	The Raising of Lazarus	
	Moses in the Catacombs	
	Other Catacomb Images of Miracles	
	The Significance of the Catacomb Paintings	
VI.	THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST IN RELIEF SCULPTURE	198
	The Chronology of Christian Relief Sculpture	199
	The Healing of the Paralytic	
	The Healing of the Blind Man	
	The Woman with the Issue of Blood	
	Scenes of Christ Raising the Dead	210
	The Wedding at Cana and the Division of the Loaves	
	The Centrality of the Gospel of John	
	Jesus and Asclepius in Relief Sculpture	
	Conclusion	
VII.	THE STAFF OF JESUS	232
	The Appearance of the Staff	233
	The Heritage and Terminology of the Staff	
	Jesus the Magician: The Arguments of Morton Smith, Thomas Mathews	
	Paul Corby Finney	
	Theurgy and Philosophy	
	1. Jesus the Philosopher	
	The Staff of Moses	
	1. The Brazen Serpent	
	The Staff of Peter	
	Conclusion	
VIII.	THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRIST THE MIRACLE WORKER	273

	Epilogue: The Role of Healing and Miracles into the Early Medieval Era Assessment of Previous Analysis	
BIBLIOGF	RAPHY	282
APPENDI	X A	302

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACW Ancient Christian Writers

ANF Ante Nicene Fathers

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt

BAR Biblical Archaeology Review

CCL Corpus christianorum latinorum

CH Church History

CSEL Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum

DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers

FC Fathers of the Church Series

HTR Harvard Theological Review

JAC Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum

IBL Journal of Biblical Literature

JECS Journal of Early Christian Studies

JEH Journal of Ecclesiastical History

JJA Journal of Jewish Art

JRS Journal of Roman Studies

JTS Journal of Theological Studies

LCL Loeb Classical Library

LIMC Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae

NPNF Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers

PG Patrologia Graeca

PL Patrologia Latina

RAC Rivista di archaeologia cristiana

SC Sources chrétiennes

SBLSP Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers

VChr Vigiliae Christianae