Approaching conversion:
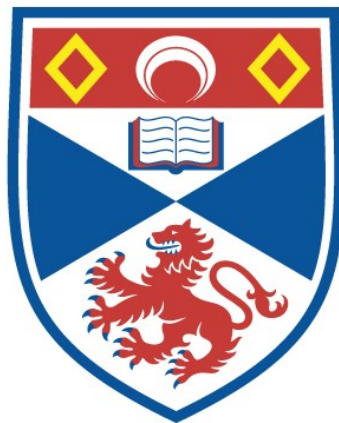# Cyril of Jerusalem's catechetical programme and baptismal rite

Spencer W. Bentley

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

2019

Abstract

The *Catechism* and *Mystagogy* of Cyril of Jerusalem have long been mined for their references to early Christian liturgies, various holy sites in Jerusalem, and hints that may settle a lingering question of authorship. This thesis is aimed at bringing the academic focus on Cyril's catechetical programme clearly back to the original purpose of these texts, the conversion of catechumens in Jerusalem in the midst of the fourth century. Fundamental to this study is an approach to conversion as a process, marked by several phases ultimately climaxing in baptism.

In chapter one, concepts of conversion, ancient and modern, are explored to highlight various significant discontinuities, and some compelling overlap, between contemporary studies of conversion to Christianity in Late Antiquity and Cyril's own understanding of the conversions he was working to provoke. In chapter two, Cyril's understanding of why conversion was required will be explored through an examination of his anthropology from creation, through the fall, and up to the time a catechumen arrived at catechism. In chapter three Cyril's *Catechism* is engaged with an eye to understanding how it was crafted and delivered to provide a foundation for Christian belief and a framework for Christian behaviour, as well as preparation for baptism. In chapter four attention will shift to Cyril's *Mystagogy*, as the season of catechism draws to a close and the catechumens proceed to baptism. Here the various component in the baptismal ritual will be examined for their role in advancing and ultimately completing the conversion process. Finally, the conclusion will highlight several implications this thesis holds for further study, as well as significant ecclesiological considerations.

DECLARATIONS

1. Candidate's declarations:

I, **Spencer W. Bentley**, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately **80,000** words in length, has been written by me, and that it is the record of work carried out by me, or principally by myself in collaboration with others as acknowledged, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in **September 2013** and as a candidate for the degree of **PhD in Patristics** in **June 2014**; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between **2013** and **2017**.

I, Spencer W. Bentley, received assistance in the writing of this thesis in respect of grammar, spelling, and syntax, which was provided by my wife, Lauren E. Bentley.

Date _____ signature of candidate _____

2. Supervisor's declaration:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of **PhD in Patristics** in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date _____ signature of supervisor _____

3. Permission for publication

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. I have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the publication of this thesis:

PRINTED COPY
Embargo on all or part of print copy for a period of 5 years, on the following ground:
- Publication would preclude future publication

Supporting statement for printed embargo request:

It is intended that the thesis will be published in an academic monograph series, and so an embargo of five years is requested to allow such publication to go ahead.

ELECTRONIC COPY
Embargo on all or part of electronic copy for a period of 5 years on the following ground:
- Publication would preclude future publication

Supporting statement for electronic embargo request:

See above.

Date _____ signature of candidate _____

Date _____ signature of supervisor _____

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor Mark Elliot for all his support over the last several years. I am very thankful that Mark so energetically jumped in to take me and this project on. This was an especially brave decision given that Mark had formerly taught me when I was an undergraduate. Mark's wisdom, council, and encouragement undergird this thesis.

Thanks are also owed to my parents, Michael and Lesley, for providing much of the financial means which made these years in St Andrews both possible and pleasant. This thesis is a testament to their great investment in me, and their belief in the importance of education.

Most importantly, none of this would have come about were it not for my wife Lauren. Lauren's ever present encouragement, optimism, and love have softened the hardships of this PhD, while her energy and work ethic have inspired me through slow seasons. Truly, I cannot conceive of having completed this task without Lauren's unwavering support.

Finally, thanks are owed to two other individuals. Though I've met neither and one is long dead, both have proved steadfast companions through this journey. First, a hearty thanks to Ludovico Einaudi, whose music provided the soundtrack to nearly every word written here. And second, to Cyril, not only for providing such fascinating source material, but, more importantly, for being my catechiser. Mine has not been a 40-day catechism, but a four year one, and I hope I have proved an attentive candidate.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Forty days and ten minutes, roughly sixteen hundred and sixty years ago. Everything you are about to read is concerned with this brief moment in time. This is a thesis about conversion in the latter half of the fourth century in Jerusalem. About the forty days of Lent leading up to a ten-minute ritual on Easter where a man or woman was buried in water and washed in oil and united with God. This is a thesis about process. About how and why men and women sixteen hundred and sixty years ago became Christians. This is a thesis about Jerusalem. About a city reduced to rubble and ash in 135 A.D resurrected as the ophthalmos of the Christian world in the 4th century. This is a thesis about Cyril. About a bishop working to prepare and equip men and women for baptism and the life in Christ that followed. This is a thesis about catechism[1]. About instruction in the doctrines and disciplines that comprise 'true religion',[2] and how that instruction ushered converts through the process of becoming Christian. This is a thesis about baptism. About the ten-minute ritual of water and oil and the Spirit of God in which men and women were born again and ushered into a new community and a new life.

This thesis aims to explore and answer 4 simple questions: What constitutes conversion in Jerusalem circa 350AD? Why was that conversion required? How was that conversion effected? And when and by what means was that conversion completed? Cumulatively, the ultimate goal of answering these questions is to build a sufficiently and accurately nuanced account of what conversion to Christianity looked like in Jerusalem around the middle of the Fourth Century under the guidance and leadership of one of Christianity's earliest and most significant catechisers, Cyril of Jerusalem.

Chapter by chapter we will focus on the means and process by which Jerusalem's inhabitants converted to Christianity, and the ways in which Jerusalem's bishop, Cyril, organized, and directed this process. Our introduction will lay out the groundwork for our study, providing necessary history and context for Cyril, his work, the place of Jerusalem and her inhabitants, and previous scholarship on the subject. Beginning in chapter 1 we will ask what constitutes conversion. We will turn to the question of conversion and examine both the contemporary scholarship on ancient conversions as well as the importance of Cyril's own

---

[1] Throughout the thesis, the term 'catechism' refers, in the broadest sense to the education of the catechumen and baptismal candidate throughout the formal program of catechesis, that is the formal period of instruction. Cyril's individual instructions will be referred to as lectures or orations. However, for the sake of clarity in the footnotes and parity with other authors, the lectures will be referred to as *Catecheses (Catech.)*.

[2] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 4.2

first-hand account of that process as expressed in his *Catechism* and *Mystagogy*. In chapter 2 we will ask why that conversion was required? We will step into the mind of Cyril as we explore his understanding of man and the need man has for conversion, through an investigation into his teaching on man's created and fallen nature. In chapter 3 we will explore how that conversion was progressively effected. We will journey through the forty days of Lent examining how and why Cyril framed and constructed his catechetical programme of instruction as he did, and how he used both the season and his instruction to establish belief, and foster behaviours in keeping with those expected of a Christian. We will also observe how the purpose of the *Catechism* was not just preparation for baptism, but preparation for the fight and race and battle that followed as Cyril's converts would fight and labour and strive towards salvation, and how the *Catechism* was not merely the means by which Cyril confirmed the belief or faith of a candidate, it was also Cyril's primary tool in the evangelization of non-Christians. Finally, in chapter 4 we will ask when and how this conversion was ultimately completed. We will, with Cyril's baptisands, reach the climax of conversion and enter the baptistery in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on Easter morning, observing as the ritual of Baptism is undertaken and these men and women were initiated not only into a new community, but fully converted, entering into a new life in Christ. Additionally, we will see how Cyril's baptism drew together the teachings of the *Catechism*, presenting them in a physical and tangible ritual experience that baptisands might powerfully experience.

Cyril: Life & Career

The fourth century was a tumultuous and exciting time for the Church, but despite nearly spanning the century Cyril was by no means a 'mover or shaker' in ecclesial politics of the period. Indeed, more often than not he was the victim of these theological and political developments.[3] Through it all, however, there can be seen a keen "practical and pastoral wisdom"[4] most ably demonstrated in Cyril's lasting legacy, his Catechetical and Mystagogical instructions. But before we proceed to the history of these texts it is worth briefly introducing the man whose work inspires our present study.

---

[3] A recent reassessment of Cyril's career by Peter Van Nuffelen, suggests that the exiles Cyril endured must be viewed in a different historical light than previously considered, and that proving the reality of these exiles may be more difficult than previously assumed. See Peter Van Nuffelen, "The Career of Cyril of Jerusalem (*C*.348–87): A Reassessment," *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. 58 (2007): 134-146.

[4] Alexis Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 23.

Apart from Cyril's own work, our picture of who Cyril was and the contours of his life emerge thanks to the records of early church historians. Jerome mentions Cyril briefly in *On Illustrious Men* and again in the *Chronicle*,[5] while Epiphanius makes note of Cyril in *Panarion*.[6] Following Cyril's passing in the 380's more detailed accounts began to emerge thanks to the record keeping of Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret in their respective and respected *Church Histories*.[7] Later writings from Alexander Monachos,[8] and Theophanes[9] also recall Cyril, but their records emerge as amalgams of the work of earlier church historians.

Little is known about Cyril's early life. Born around 315 likely to Christian parents, Cyril appears to have grown up in or around Jerusalem.[10] He had one sister whose son, Gelasius, Cyril would later appoint as Bishop of Caesarea. As we will see in chapter 1, the first half of the fourth century was a transformative period for Jerusalem. Following the council of Nicaea in 325 a mass of building projects was undertaken in the city and around the holy land. Christian pilgrims were beginning to filter through Jerusalem's streets and the tenor of the city was beginning to change as the commerce of the markets and the taverns shifted to accommodate both these new visitors and the swell of converts to the freshly unfettered Christian faith.[11] Cyril will have seen this transformation unfold before and around him as he matured and began his vocation in the church.[12] Cyril was likely ordained as a deacon by Marcarius of Jerusalem[13] sometime shortly before Marcarius's death in 335, and then advanced to the priesthood by Marcarius's successor, Maximus, around 342.[14] Following Maximus's death, around 350, Cyril was appointed Bishop of Jerusalem under a cloud of

---

[5] Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus, 112; Chronicon a.348.*

[6] Epiphanius, *Panarion,* 73.23.7, 27.8.

[7] Rufinus, *HE* 10.24, 38; 11.21; Socrates., *HE* 2.38, 40, 42, 45; 3.20; 4.1; 5.3, 8, 15; Sozomen., *HE* 3.14; 4.5, 20, 25; 7.7, 14; Theodoret., *HE* 2.26-27; 3.14;5.8-9.

[8] Alexander Monachos, *De Inventione S. Crucis*, c.600.

[9] Theophanes, *Cartography* AM 5847, 5858, 5876 (Mango/Scott, 69-70, 86, 104)

[10] Jerome, *De Vir. Ill.* 112; Jan Willem Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 31; Peter Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 32-33.

[11] The Edict of Milan (313) granted religious toleration to Christianity along with a slew of advantageous decrees regarding Church properties and rights.

[12] See *Catech*.12.20;13.32;14.5,9. Particularly Cyril indicates that he recalled how the site of Christ's tomb looked before its renovation and refurbishments conducted during the building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

[13] Bishop of Jerusalem from 312 to his death in 335.

[14] These dates are rough, though informed estimates. See Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue*, 13. The nature of the appointment has also raised some questions as 342 also saw the Synod of Serdica censure Maximus due to his pro-Athanasian stance. As a result, Cyril's ordination may have been seen as invalid, potently explaining Cyril later renunciation of this ordination in favour of a later one. See William Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa* (London: SCM Press, 1955), 23-24.

controversy.[15] The exact nature of Cyril's elevation to Bishop is, at this point, difficult to determine with confidence. Maximus, the then bishop of Jerusalem, had been a staunch supporter of Athanasius while Acacius of Caesarea, Caesarea being the metropolitan that oversaw Jerusalem, was pro-Arian. Maximus, seeking to maintain the pro-Athanasian position of Jerusalem appointed Heraclius, who appears to have been next in line for the post. However, as both Telfer and Doval note, it is unlikely that the appointment of Heraclius over Cyril was an indictment by Maximus against Cyril's theology, and rather a result of Cyril's comparative youth at the time.[16] Acacius, looking to counter Maximus appointment of Heraclius, and as Bishop of the metropolitan which oversaw Jerusalem, appointed Cyril in Heraclius's stead. Whatever the exact order of operations up until Cyril's appointment, it is clear that in the end Cyril was made bishop in place of Heraclius whom Maximus had appointed unilaterally. This, however, may have not been an unwelcome outcome for Maximus or Jerusalem, as the earliest indication we have of Cyril's position on the matter indicates that he was himself a supporter of the Athanasian position over and against the Arian one.[17]

Following his appointment as Bishop of Jerusalem Cyril appears to have enjoyed a brief period without notable controversy. It was around this time, at the outset of his elevation to Bishop, that Cyril delivered his first programme of Catechetical instruction. These eighteen Lenten lectures were delivered to those catechumens wishing to be baptised at Easter. These lectures appear to have been well received as they were quickly copied and disseminated.[18] Additionally, these lectures comprise the earliest surviving complete programme of Christian Catechism.[19] There is indication in the *Catechism* that these pre-baptismal instructions were to be followed by further post-baptismal lectures, but the record of these later lectures cannot confidently be dated before the 380's, some thirty years later.[20]

---

[15] Jerome (*Chronicle* a.348) records that Maximus, the bishop of Jerusalem who preceded Cyril had, on his death bed, appointed Heraclius to be his successor, but that upon the death of Maximus, Acacius of Caesarea along with a cohort of other Arian bishops appointed Cyril as Bishop. Cyril then, according to Jerome, removed Heraclius as bishop and demoted him to presbyter. Alternatively, Socrates (*HE*.2.38.2) suggests that Maximus was deposed as bishop by Acacius of Caesarea, and that Cyril was appointed in his place.

[16] Cyril was only 35. See Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 23 and Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue*, 20-21.

[17] For a clear discussion of Cyril's Anti-Arian position as demonstrated in the Catechism, despite not out rightly referencing either Arius or Athanasius, see R.C. Gregg, "Cyril of Jerusalem and the Arians," In *Arianism: Historical and Theological Reassessments*, ed. R. C. Gregg (Mass.: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1985), 85-109.

[18] See Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 36-38.

[19] See Everett Ferguson, "Catechesis, Catechumenate," In *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity,* ed. Everett Ferguson (New York & London: Garland, 1990), 185-6.

[20] While these lectures inform the bulk of this thesis we won't delve any further into them here as they will be treated rather more comprehensively in due course.

Alas, in 357 the specter of ecclesial politics again reared its head and Cyril was ousted from his position as Bishop of Jerusalem. The dispute that gave rise to this deposition ostensibly had to do with Cyril selling church property,[21] but this charge was likely a guise for an emerging dispute between Cyril and his former patron Acacius of Caesarea, who by now may have realized that despite his efforts to sway the young Bishop, Cyril was decidedly anti-Arian. Whether the falling out was over metropolitan rights in the region or over Cyril's apparent support of the Athanasian position is not clear.[22] Whatever the reason the outcome was Cyril's removal as Bishop and a shift in allegiances as he aligned himself with Basil of Ancyra and the camp of the Homousians.[23]

This dispute with Acacius resulted in Cyril's first deposition and exile. Cyril accepted the exile at the urging of the emperor and, from 357-359, he stayed and taught in Tarsus with Bishop Silvanus.[24] In 359 Cyril appealed his exile to the Council of Seleucia which, conveniently, Acacius and his cohorts left early following a heated doctrinal dispute, resulting in a favorable set of bishops being left to hear Cyril's case and reinstate him as Bishop of Jerusalem.[25] That was not, however, the end of the issue, and Acacius renewed his assault on Cyril the following year. In 360 he took his case against Cyril to Emperor Constantius at the Synod of Constantinople. Cyril was again deposed and sent into exile.[26] Upon Constantius's death in 361, the new Emperor, Julian, cancelled all banishments, and Cyril returned to Jerusalem where we would remain largely unperturbed until 366 when the decrees of Constantius were reinstated by Valens following Julian's premature demise.[27] Cyril remained in exile until Valens death in 378 after which he returned to Jerusalem as Bishop and remained there until his own death in 387.[28]

---

[21] Accounts by Theodoret, (*HE* 2.27.2.), Sozomen (*HE* 4.25), and Socrates (*HE* 2.40) indicate that Constantius had become enraged and demanded the removal of Cyril for having sold a cloth that had been gifted to Maximus (Cyril's predecessor) by Constantius's father Constantine. In Theodoret's account the cloth was sold to be used as a robe by a theater troop so that funds might be raised to purchase food for the poor during a time of famine in the city.

[22] The argument in favour of the dispute resulting from a question of the Church of Jerusalem's position in relation to that of Caesarea is based on Socrates (*HE* 2.40) reference to Cyril refusing a summons to Caesarea in 357 to answer for his apparent misappropriation of church property.

[23] For a clear and detailed account of the various potential issues at play here see, Peter Van Nuffelen, "The Career of Cyril of Jerusalem (*C*.348–87): A Reassessment," *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. 58 (2007): 134-146. Additionally, Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 14-17, lays out a nuanced summary of the various church historians' stances towards Cyril's appointment, concluding that when seen in light of Cyril's Catechism, which is profoundly orthodox in its teachings, the dispute likely had more to do with "matters of church order than doctrine."

[24] Theodoret*, HE* 2.22.

[25] Sozomen, *HE* 4.22; Socrates, *HE* 2.40.

[26] Theodoret, *HE* 2.23; Sozomen, *HE* 4.25; Socrates, *HE* 2.42.

[27] Sozomen, *HE 6.12*

[28] By the end of Cyril's life, the controversy which had shrouded his initial appointment as bishop was settled both by the victory of the Athanasian position and by the validation of Cyril's own faithful

By the end of Cyril's life, the Roman world and Jerusalem were markedly different places than they had been when Cyril was born. Churches had replaced pagan temples, and bishops, once martyred by the state now wielded tremendous influence in the political arena. Likewise, the Church had transformed over this period, from persecuted and marginal to nearly hegemonic. Church councils, once a byline in the politics of the empire, were now powerful agents of civil as well as ecclesial change.

The Catechism

Despite Cyril's long career, there are only four surviving works that may reasonably be attributed to him.[29] The least contentious and most expansive of these is his Catechetical Orations.[30] These 18 lectures, and their introductory *Procatechesis*,[31] were delivered in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in either 350 or 351,[32] shortly after Cyril's appointment as Bishop of Jerusalem. The text of these orations, transcribed by one in attendance,[33] was circulated sufficiently so that Jerome, in the year 392-3, could write of Cyril that "Certain *Catecheses* of his, composed while he was a young man, are extant."[34] The accuracy of these

---

commitment to the anti-Arian cause. In 381 at the Council of Constantinople Cyril sat as a proponent of Nicaean orthodoxy and was declared by the council to be the rightful bishop of Jerusalem (Theodoret *HE 5.9*). A further indication of the favour Cyril enjoyed at the end of his life and ministry can be observed by the mid 5th Century, when Cyril's death received an annual commemoration in Jerusalem. For Cyril's death see Pierre Nautin, "La date du "De Viris Illustribus' de Jérome, de la mort de Cyrille de Jérusalem, et de celle de Grégoire de Nazianze," *RHE* 56, (1961): 35.; and for the commemoration of his passing in the 5th Century see, Athanase Renoux, "Un Manuscript du lectionnaire Arménien de Jérusalem (cod. Jérus. Arm. 121)." *Mus* 74 (1961).

[29] Other, non-Greek texts exist that purport to be by Cyril, but their classification as authentic has never received scholarly acceptance. For a list of these texts see: Mauritius Geerard, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Vol 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), 2:293-96.

[30] Early translations into Armenia, Georgian, and Coptic also exist and were likely used as catechetical tools in their respective communities. See Roderic L. Mullen, *The New Testament text of Cyril of Jerusalem* (Atlanta: The Society of Biblical literature, 1997), 9.

[31] The *Procatechesis* does not feature in two early manuscripts: Paris, Bib. Nat. Coislinianus 227 and Vienna 55. Despite these omissions it appears in all others and is widely accepted by scholars to both date from the same time as the *Catechism*, and to have been delivered by Cyril. See F.L. Cross, ed., *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments: the Procatechesis and the Five Mystagogical Catecheses,* (London: SPCK, 1951).

[32] For a dating of 350 see Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 36-38, for dating the catechism based on internal references Cyril makes to other datable happenings around the Roman world. For 351 see Alexis Doval, "The Date of Cyril of Jerusalem's Catecheses," *JTS* 48, (1997): 129-132; Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 56-59. Additionally, Drijvers suggests that, as the orations were delivered annually, the copy may have been revised over the years while circulating privately, and only been published more broadly later in Cyril's life (See p:53).

[33] The earliest manuscripts make note that they were transcribed during the orations (Munich Manuscript gr.394). Additionally, the oral history of the lectures is apparent in many of the asides Cyril makes to those in attendance regarding their vocalisations in response to his delivery, or in an off-hand comment about a sermon given the previous day. See *Catech.* 7.1; 11.1; 14.10, 24; 16.4 for just a few such examples.

[34] Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus,* CXII. Translation in Mullen, *The New Testament text of Cyril of Jerusalem,* 10. This is the earliest reference attributing the Catechism to Cyril.

records is verified by the strong manuscript tradition surrounding the *Catechism*.[35] Three manuscripts, which all contain the *Catechism* in its entirety, and collectively contain all the remaining works credibly attributed to Cyril, including the *Procatechesis*, the *Mystagogy*, the *Sermon on the Paralytic* and the *Epistle to Constantius*, provide the foundation for our knowledge of Cyril's work today.[36]

The Mystagogy

Cyril's pre-baptismal lectures were followed by 5 post-baptismal orations known as the *Mystagogic Catecheses*.[37] Until late in the 16th Century Cyril's authorship of the *Mystagogy* was not seriously questioned.[38] Shortly thereafter, André Rivet argued against the inclusion of the *Mystagogy* in studies of early Christian liturgy, noting both the brevity of the *Mystagogy* in comparison to the *Catechism*, along with several stylistic differences.[39] This concern with the authorship of the *Mystagogy* was taken up again at the beginning of the 20th Century and has proved a popular focus of studies on Cyril into the present day.[40] The debate has pivoted around four key issues. 1) A lack of attribution to Cyril in some of the earliest manuscripts. 2) A note in the Munich manuscript attributing the *Mystagogy* to John II of Jerusalem (Cyril's successor as bishop of Jerusalem). 3) Stylistic differences between the *Catechism* and the *Mystagogy*. 4) A liturgy that appears more in keeping with the end of the 4th century than the middle of it.

---

[35] Mullen, *The New Testament text of Cyril of Jerusalem,* 9-16.

[36] The primary three Pre 16th Century manuscripts are: Munich gr.394 (which dates to the 10th Century), Vatican Ottobonianus gr.86, and Naples Bib. Nat. gr.8. Later manuscripts dating from the 16th Century include: Oxford Bodleianus Roe 25; Paris, Bib. Nat. Coilinianus 227; Vienna 55 and 59; Venice Marcianus gr.II.35; and Patmos gr.669 (though only fragmentary). The most frequently cited manuscript, along with Critical Edition can be found in *Patrologia Graeca* 33.

[37] Hereafter we will simply refer to them as the Mystagogy.

[38] Josias Simmler first noted the apparent attribution of the *Mystagogy* to John of Jerusalem in the Munich manuscript in 1574. See Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 2.

[39] See S. Salaville, "les 'Catéheses Mystagogiques' de Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem," *Échos d'Orient,* 17 (1915): 351-357.

[40] See W.J. Swaans, "A propos des 'Catéchèse mystagogiques' attribuées à S. Cyrille de Jérusalem," *Le Muséon,* 55 (1942): 10-42; A. Piédagnel, *Cyrille de Jérusalem. Catéchèse Mystagogiques,* (Paris: SC 126, 1966):18-40; Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson. *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem.* 2 Vols., The Fathers of the Church 61 and 64, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1969-70): vol. 2, 143-51; Francis M. Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon. A Guide to the Literature and its Background,* (London: SCM Press, 1983):128-30; Johannes Quasten, *Patrology. Vol. 3: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon,* 2nd ed., (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1984): 136-66; G. Röwekamp, *Cyrill von Jerusalem, Mystagogicae Cateches/ Mystagogische Katechesen,* Fontes Christiani 7, (Freiburg, 1992): 8-15; Edward S.J. Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* (London/New York: Routledge, 2000):24-32; Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 2001; Drijvers, *Bishop and City,* 58-62; Juliette Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem, Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt,* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007).

Despite these concerns, scholarly consensus has, recently, shifted in favour of Cyril's authorship of the Mystagogy.[41] Arguments in support of Cyril's authorship suggest that the *Mystagogy* was not taken down as the *Catechism* was, but instead represents Cyril's own teaching notes, from which the lectures were delivered, and were not initially intended for distribution.[42] This would be supported by the practice of the *disciplina arcana*, which sought to maintain the secrecy of the mysteries of the Church, something Cyril was a strong proponent of.[43] This suggestion also makes sense of the stylistic differences and brevity of the *Mystagogy* when compared with the *Catechism*, as Cyril would have elaborated on his notes as he taught, a practice apparent in his delivery of the *Catechism*. Furthermore, this could explain the lack of attribution, as the notes were likely not intended for publication.[44] Regarding the potential misattribution to John II of Jerusalem, it is suggested that John continued the practice of Cyril's catechetical instruction and used Cyril's notes for his own delivery, thus leading some to believe the *Mystagogy* was originally his.[45] Despite these issues of authorship, it was not until relatively recently that the question received a comprehensive dedicated treatment.

Alexis Doval's excellent and comprehensive study, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogy, The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses* (2001), sought to remedy this omission. Engaging both the external and internal evidence for and against Cyril's authorship, Doval concludes that the *Mystagogy* can confidently be attributed to Cyril.[46] Like Yarnold, Doval argues for a later dating of the *Mystagogy* to the final years of Cyril's life, and that the attribution to John II is an understandable error given John's use of Cyril's catechetical programme. Doval's strongest arguments, however, pertain to the internal content of the *Mystagogy* when compared with the Catechetical orations. Noting numerous continuities and similarities of content, style, theology, and ritual, between the *Catechism* and the *Mystagogy*, in addition to a stylometric analysis of both texts, Doval argues that not only is John's authorship highly improbable, but that Cyril's authorship is most consistent with the internal evidence available within the work itself, as well as the external historical evidence and manuscript tradition. Doval's work is, however, not without its critics. Most vocal has been Juliette Day, who, in addition to reiterating the more traditional arguments against Cyril's

---

[41] See Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 2000; Quasten, *Greek Patristic Literature*, 366; Cross, *Lectures on the Christian Sacraments,* xxxvi-xxxix; Röwekamp, "Cyrill von Jerusalem*,"* 14; Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* particualry 243; Drijvers *Bishop and City*, 60-62. Against: Piédagnel, *Cyrille de Jérusalem,* 40; Swaans, "A propos des 'Catéchèse mystagogiques' attribuées à S. Cyrille de Jérusalem," 3-10; Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem,* 12-23, 138-140.

[42] Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 32.

[43] *Procatch*.12.

[44] Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 61

[45] Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 32; Röwekamp, *Cyrill von Jerusalem,* 14.

[46] Particularly see Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 243.

authorship, has added further critique based on the liturgical tradition demonstrated in the *Mystagogy*. Day suggests that when placed in relation to various contemporaneous baptismal rites, the *Mystagogy* demonstrates a more advanced liturgical ritual and formula that should push its dating to early in the 6th Century.[47] In the end, however, Day's argument has three key issues. First her account of the differences between the *Catechism* and the *Mystagogy* do not account for the significant emphasis Cyril placed on the *diciplina arcana* in the *Catechism*, and his subsequent reticence to divulge or elaborate on the particulars of baptism before the event occurred. Second, Day provides no suitable alternative author. She suggests it was likely John, Cyril's successor, but gives no positive indication of this apart from an appeal to later dating. Finally, and related to the previous two points, she does not sufficiently engage with the issue of the *Mystagogy*'s abbreviated form. If the *Mystagogy*, as we have it, was Cyril's abbreviated 'lecture notes' on a secret and sacred ritual it follows that they would not have been published or disseminated immediately, and instead would have only found their way into more public spheres later in the fourth or early fifth century as the secrecy around the ritual dissipated.

Ultimately though the question of the authorship of the *Mystagogy* remains open. While the balance of probability has, of late, swung in favour of Cyril, we are yet some way from a definitive answer. Yarnold concludes quite rightly on the matter that, "indisputable proof of this authorship, however, is still not furnished, and it is doubtful whether that will be possible."[48] Granting this, it is necessary for any present study on Cyril, this work included, to proceed with a clear statement on where it stands in relation to Cyril's authorship of the Mystagogy.

This present study builds, in part, on the work of Doval, Yarnold, and Drijvers, and begins under the informed assumption that Cyril was the author of the *Mystagogic Catecheses*. Indeed, a number of the findings in chapter 4, on the Mystagogy, highlight the strong continuity from *Catechism* to *Mystagogy*, and the way in which the *Mystagogy* serves as the coherent climax of the Baptismal programme begun in the *Catechism*.

---

[47] Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem,* 12-23, 138-140. Day argues that 1) the manuscript evidence is insufficient to ascribe the *Mystagogy* to either Cyril or John. 2) That when examined against accounts of the Jerusalem baptismal rite in the 380's the Syllabus and number of lectures in the *Mystagogy* points to a date after Cyril's death but still early in the 6th century. 3) That theologically there remains insufficient evidence to attribute to either Cyril of John. And 4) that the sacramental theology of the *Mystagogy* "cannot be convincingly ascribed to Cyril's evolving thought process."(p. 22).

[48] Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 61.

Epistle to Constantius & Sermon on the Paralytic

Other works that can confidently be attributed to Cyril but are of less significance to our study, include a letter written to Emperor Constantius in 351, and a sermon on the paralytic in John 5. The sermon was probably delivered before Cyril was bishop, as in it he makes reference to how his extended discourse may be encroaching on the time allocated for "*patrikēs didaskalias" (our father's teaching)*, likely a reference to his bishop. The sermon focuses on the response of the Paralytic in John 5:2-15, particularly how after being healed in body and soul he renounced his Judaism and followed Christ. The sermon would seem to indicate that Cyril was aware of non-Christians, and possibly Jews in particular, who were in attendance, a subject we will examine further later in our introduction.

Cyril's *Letter to Constantius* can accurately be dated to May of 351,[49] and Cyril's authorship has never been seriously questioned.[50] Written early in Cyril's episcopacy, the letter recounts the appearance of a luminous cross in the sky over Jerusalem, which inspired many to come to Christ. Cyril writes that the cross was no doubt, a sign of divine favour for Constantius, with the apparent subtext reading that Cyril remained loyal to the emperor who was at the time fighting off the usurper Magnentius.[51]

History of Scholarship

While some of the work on Cyril has been noted above, it is worth us taking a moment to situate this present work within the broader field and history of scholarship on Cyril. The list of works that follows is far from comprehensive and many more works than are included presently will be engaged throughout our study. These are, however, the works that have largely shaped, changed, and informed study on Cyril and his *Catechism*.

The first modern critical study of Cyril was published in Latin in 1720 by Anton Augustine Touttée.[52] This seminal early study of Cyril was published alongside a new edition and Latin translation of Cyril's *Catechism*. The work is divided into three dissertations or chapters, 1) *De vita et rebus gestis S.Cyrilli Hierosolymitani;* 2) *De scriptis S. Cyrilli, ac*

---

[49] For a summary of the various suggested dates of authorship, with the most likely being May 351, see: H. Chantraine, "Die Kreuzesvision von 351 – Fakten und Problem," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86/7, (1993-94):430-441.

[50] A number of early histories, most notably Sozomen, *HE* 4.5.3 name Cyril as the Author.

[51] For a more detailed examination of the letter and its implications see Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, chapter 6.

[52] Touttée, A.A., P. Maran, *S. Cyrille archiepiscopi Hierosolymitani opera quae exstant omnia, et ejus nomine circumferuntur,* Paris, 1720. Later republished in both *Patrologia Graeca* volume 33, 1857, as well as in W.K Reischl and J. Rupp's *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia* (Munich 1848-60), Vol. 1, xiii-cxxi.

potissimum Catechesibus; 3) *De variis Cyrillianae doctrinae capitibus.[53]* In 1894 Cyril received his first treatment in English in Vol 7 of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (second series) thanks to an introduction by E.H. Gifford.[54] A further introduction and partial translation of Cyril's work into English was released by William Telfer in 1955.[55] Shortly thereafter Anthony A. Stephenson and Leo P. McCauley built on the foundation laid by Telfer, publishing a complete translation of works attributed to Cyril including the *Catechism,* Mystagogy, several missives, and the sermon on the Paralytic of John 5.[56] Additionally, McCauley and Stephenson included a helpful general introduction to Cyril's life, his context, and his theology. While their work remains the most comprehensive translation and treatment of Cyril's writings it is somewhat coloured by their confessional leanings and, occasionally, clouded by an impulse to see in Cyril the kernels of modern Catholic catechetical and baptismal practices.[57]

In 1990 Peter Walker published a compelling and somewhat different take on Cyril's work. Instead of focusing on Cyril's *Catechism* or his liturgy, Walker was interested in Cyril's treatment of space, particularly the city of Jerusalem and its holy sites. His work, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford 1990), sought to contrast Cyril against his western neighbour, Eusebius of Caesarea, in their approaches to and appropriation of holy spaces for theological, political, and personal advantage.

Edward Yarnold's 2000 publication, *Cyril of Jerusalem,*[58] serves as yet another good, if somewhat limited, introduction to Cyril. While the majority of the work is a new and excellent translation of parts of the Catechism and *Mystagogy,* the first five chapters do a good job of introducing new readers to Cyril and some aspects of his work, particularly his liturgy and use of scripture. Unfortunately, the only partial translation of Cyril's Catechism

---

[53] Chapters on Cyril's Life (1), His writing, particularly the *Catechism* (2), and his Doctrines or Theology (3).
[54] E.H Gifford, "Introduction," *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 7. (Second Series), New York, 1894, i-lviii.
[55] Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 19-63. Four years after the publication of NPNF, in 1959, Cyril again received a general introduction thanks to Antoine Paulin's *Saint Cyriille de Jérusalem catéchéte,* which was published in "Lex Orandi. Collection du Centre de Pastorale liturgique."
[56] Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson. *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem.* 2 Vols., The Fathers of the Church 61 and 64, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1969-70. As this work remains, to date, the only comprehensive translation of Cyril's work, as well as that standardly used by other scholars (See Drijvers, *Bishop and City,* xii-xiii.) translations of Cyril appearing in this thesis are taken from McCauley and Stephenson unless otherwise noted. Occasional suggested corrections to these translations have been made, and are indicated accordingly.
[57] This is particularly apparent in their engagement with questions around baptism mostly relating to the timing and location of the imparting of the Holy Spirit. This will be engaged in chapter 4 when we examine these same questions.
[58] Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 2000.

and Mystagogy, and the limited scope of the early chapters renders the book as little more than a helpful intro to Cyril and his Catechism. Yarnold here does little to advance the study of Cyril, and instead relies on summaries of his earlier papers and the work of others. Still, this remains a helpful companion to anyone looking further into Cyril.

Aware that the question of the authorship of the *Mystagogy* remained unsettled and largely untreated, in 2001 Alexis J. Doval sought to remedy this with his comprehensive thesis on the subject, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogy. The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses*.[59] As noted above in our summary of this debate, Doval's work was well received and has informed many studies' use of the *Mystagogy* since. Juliette Day, who had previously argued against the *Mystagogy* being attributed to Cyril, and against whom Doval had taken aim in his work, responded in 2007 with, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem*.[60] In addition to providing a nuanced study of Eastern Baptismal rites in the fourth century, Day sought also to disprove Cyril's authorship by means of a liturgical analysis of the *Mystagogy* in relation to other liturgical accounts from the period.[61] Despite focusing on the same broad question of authorship, there is minimal interaction between them. Taken together they do little to resolve the quandary, as each relies on its own methods, and come, appropriately, to alternate conclusions, both supported by their methodology. While Doval's methodology and conclusions retain more widespread support, and are in my view more definitive, Day's contributions leave open the door to further response from Doval or others wishing to further the discussion. In its own way, the final chapter of this thesis will contribute in this direction, suggesting that in the *Mystagogy*'s account of baptism we find the fulfillment and tangible outworking of many of the teachings and metaphors Cyril raises in the *Catechism*.

Finally, the most significant recent work on Cyril is Jan Willem Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Bishop and City*,[62] which sets out to place Cyril within his historical context, and serves as a helpful companion to our present study. While the work does touch on some of Cyril's thought and theology, it is, primarily, a work of historical contextualization. Unable to provide a complete or even satisfactory biography due to sparse extant historical sources on Cyril, Drijvers addresses key instances or issues from Cyril's life and episcopacy. His work serves as an excellent handbook for anyone wishing to locate Cyril within the political and theological developments of the fourth century. Further chapters cover the life of Cyril (such

---

[59] Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 2001.
[60] Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem,* 2007.
[61] See also Day's response and review of Doval: Juliette Day, review of *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses*, by Alexis James Doval, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 58(1), (2007):285-288.
[62] Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, (2004).

as it can be known), the ecclesial conflicts and politics between Jerusalem and Caesarea, the day-to-day activities Cyril might have dealt with as bishop, a brief examination of works attributed to Cyril, and the religious climate and environment in Palestine in the fourth century.

Building on the work of those who have been mentioned above, our present study is designed to examine Cyril's catechetical programme through the lens and context of conversion, filling a notable, and I believe not insignificant gap in scholarship on Cyril and his work. The aim of this project is to provide a nuanced, dense, and careful account of the means by which conversion and catechism were accomplished in Jerusalem in the second half of the fourth century. Where previous studies on the Catechism and on Cyril have focused at various points on his life, his city, his liturgy, and questions of authorship, this study is invested in relating to Cyril and his catechetical programme as a programme of conversion.

Cyril's Jerusalem

In working to frame our understanding of conversion in Jerusalem, our interest presently is Jerusalem at the time of the Catechism.[63] And, as we will see, Jerusalem was itself undergoing a conversion over the course of the fourth century. The Church of the Holy Sepluchre may have sat at the geographic heart of Jerusalem, but this by no means ensured it sat at the heart of the city's inhabitants. So it is that we must first understand the context in which the church was situated and in which the catechumen worked, worshiped, and lived, if we are to properly locate and understand Cyril's teaching on conversion, catechism, and baptism. For it is this context of a church amid a city alight with temptations and distractions that Cyril vied for the eternal bodies and souls of Jerusalem's inhabitants.

Incorporating both contextual clues provided by Cyril, Eusebius and other eyewitnesses from late antiquity, and the work of modern historians, archeologists, and sociologists, this section will work to establish an informed picture of the context in which Cyril's catechumens lived and were being converted. Beginning with Jerusalem's changing place in the psyche of the 4th century Roman world as well as the history and legacy of the

---

[63] Our focus remains firmly rooted in the historical Jerusalem, not the heavenly Jerusalem or its significance in early Christianity. For more on the latter see Christoph Markschies, Himmlisches und irdisches Jerusalem im antiken Christentum, in: *La Cité de Dieu/Die Stadt Gottes. 3. Symposium Strasbourg, Tübingen, Uppsala 19-23*. September 1998, hg. v. M. Hengel, S. Mittmann u. A. M. Schwemer, WUNT I/129, Tübingen 2000, S. 303-350.

Church in which the Catechism was delivered, we will proceed to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Anastasis wherein Cyril delivered his *Catechism* and *Mystagogy*.

The Concept of Jerusalem in Roman and Christian Thought

By the year 300 it is estimated that roughly ten percent of the Roman population was Christian.[64] Christianity had undergone two and a half centuries of intermittent persecution and repression. It was a force in ascendancy, but by no dominant. Yet, only fifty years later over half the Roman population, 33 million people, could be identified as Christian.[65] Christians, so shortly before a footnote in the political maneuverings of the empire, were beginning to enjoy a place of prominence and influence. Despite these gains, Christianity was still far from hegemonic.

Constantine's conversion is often framed as the moment Christianity came to imperial power. Notwithstanding the obvious problems posed in assessing the validity of this conversion,[66] this belief that with Constantine went the Empire is overly simplistic. Certainly Constantine's policies mark the beginning of a transition, as Christianity comes out from under the yoke of persecution and begins its political ascendancy. Christians began to experience freedom and protection,[67] as opposed to the subjection and persecution of previous centuries; though even this freedom and protection was inconsistent at best. This shift, while no doubt significant, is a far cry from saying that the "persecuted Church had come to power",[68] as some do. Imperial laws until later in the fourth century retained a secular flair that afforded religious freedoms and, while at times favoured Christian practice, certainly never enforced adherence to Christianity.

The fourth century was also a period intense theological debate and turmoil. Where a century before Christians primarily found themselves defending their beliefs and lives against pagans, and occasionally lions,[69] increasingly there was a need to defend their beliefs against

---

[64] Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 4-7.

[65] Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 4.

[66] See chapter 1 on what constitutes conversion.

[67] Two brief examples will suffice at present. While the edict of Milan in 313 provided religious freedom, it would not be till Constantine consolidated power in 324 that this freedom would be enjoyed in the east. In addition, Julian's reign in the 60's saw an aggressive advancing of pagan belief and ritual. That his time was cut short by a Persian spear was by no means inevitable and his work to reverse the gains Christianity had made in the preceding decades was not wholly unsuccessful given his truncated reign.

[68] Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?,* 16.

[69] Tertullian makes note of this is *Apologeticum* 40.2, in his famous line of satire where he ridicules the crowds for their chant of "Christians to the lion!" by noting the difficulty one lion might have consuming all Christians. The practice of *Damnatio ad bestias* is well documented in the Roman

each other. Both the internal debates and the wider social ascendancy of Christianity would come to bear in a unique way on the once Jewish, now Roman city of Aelia Capitolina, or Jerusalem.

With the support of Constantine, and his mother, Helena, the Roman Empire and the city of Jerusalem slowly began to bend towards Christianity. With this new Imperial favour, Christian interest in Jerusalem was kindled, and many eyes, not least those of Constantine himself, looked east with interest and expectation.[70] The Jerusalem of reality was, however, a pale shadow of what it had once been at the time of Christ. The city pivotal to the Biblical narrative had been greatly reduced in stature and significance for over two centuries. So it was that following Constantine's defeat of Licinius in 324 and his consolidation of the eastern and western Roman Empire,[71] an aggressive campaign of church construction could be undertaken in the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina.

In *Holy City Holy Places*, a work examining attitudes to Jerusalem in the fourth century, P.W.L Walker suggests that Constantine's ascent to the throne precipitated this intense interest along with certain sense of triumphalism among Christians towards Jerusalem.

> If Christians experienced an understandable sense of triumph at having a Christian emperor on the throne, what better place to express that triumph than in Jerusalem, the former city both of the Jews and recently of pagans, both of whom were now defeated by this seemingly superior religion? What better place to celebrate the paradoxical victory of the Crucified One than in the Jerusalem that rejected him?[72]

While the notion that either Jews or pagans were "defeated" during Constantine's reign is suspect, there is no doubt that with Constantine's shift towards Christianity, interest in Jerusalem did increase dramatically. Whether it was as Walker suggests, or a personal point of curiosity to Constantine and his mother, a response to the disarray and decay this biblically

---

World, see Catherine E. Welch, *The Roman Amphitheater, from its Origins to the Colosseum*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997):15-16, 22-29.

[70] For more on the conflict between Rome and Jerusalem see Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilisations*, (Penguin: London, 2007); Werner Eck, Walter Geerts, and Silvio Panciera, *Rom Herausfordern: Bar Kochba Im Kampf Gegen Das Imperium Romanum. Das Bild Des Bar Kochba-Aufstandes Im Spiegel Der Neuen Epigraphischen Überlieferung*, (Roma: Unione Internazionale degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'Arte in Roma, 2007); and Werner Eck, *Rom und Judaea. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina,* (Tubingen 2007). The latter specifically for the Bar Kochva revolt, as Eck introduces new epigraphic evidence for the understanding of that period.

[71] Eusebius notes the effect Constantine's consolidation of the empire had on the East in relation to restoration of Church property. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 2.29.3-40. For English translation see Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall, *Eusebius. Life of Constantine. Introduction Translation and Commentary*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999). Additionally, Licinius had opposed the religious freedoms proposed by Constantine and carried out intermittent persecution against Christians in the East throughout his reign. The community of Christians in Jerusalem had faced persecution at late as the beginning of the fourth century but only one martyr from the period is recorded, Valens, a deacon in the church. See Eusebius, *Mart. Palest.* 11.4.

[72] Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?,* 15.

significant city had fallen into, or some other more eschatological hope is uncertain. Whatever the motives, following Constantine becoming Emperor a renaissance of interest, investment, architecture, and religion began in Jerusalem. While Walker may be overly dramatic in his summary of this elevated interest, I believe he does point in the right direction: "Palestine thus changed considerably and dramatically in a very short space of time. It was no longer a backwater, but a historic and inspiration source; no longer marginal but central, the object of endless attention."[73] Jerusalem was now on the Gentile map in a way it had never been before.

Physical Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher

Less conceptually, what of the actual physical city of Jerusalem and its place on the Mediterranean map? The city had been ruined and rebuilt in 70 and 135. Its defining feature, the Second Temple, had been absent for over two centuries and its Jewish population decimated and relocated. Its wealth and significance had moved west to Caesarea.

The Jerusalem of Cyril's day was built above the ruins of the city in which Jesus had walked, taught, and been crucified. In the year 70, after several years of revolt, the Temple, which dominated the city's skyline and served as the nucleus of urban life, was demolished along with much of the city.[74] Despite this destruction, revolts would continue from 98 into the 130s. In 135, Hadrian, weary with the ongoing struggle, reduced Jerusalem to rubble and ash. The city's inhabitants were scattered and Jews were prohibited from entry into the newly established city of Aelia Capitolina, built above the razed remains of Jerusalem. No longer a site of religious focus, the site of Jerusalem, now Aelia Capitolina, was a Roman garrison town, playing host to the 10th Legion, with a decidedly pagan population with cults to Tyché, Serapis, Diocsuri and Victoria, Dea Roma, Jupiter, Dionysus, and Mars.[75] Incidentally, it has been noted that prior to 300 a sizable portion of the population of Aelia was likely made up of retired servicemen from the 10th legion, along with their families, who would, having been discharged from service, have taken up the option of living and working in and around Jerusalem.[76]

---

[73] Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?,* 16-17.

[74] This revolt was extensively chronicled by the Jewish historian Josephus. Unfortunately, no similar account of the later Bar Kokhba revolt exists. Despite this, all indications point to this later revolt being even wider in scope and more aggressively put down.

[75] See B., Lifshitz, "Jérusalem sous la domination romaine. Histoire de la ville depuis la conquête de Pompée jusqu'à Constantin (63 a.c.-326 p.C.)," ANRW II.8 (1997):486-87; and Nicole Belayche, *Iudaea-Palaestina. The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine (Second to Fourth Century),* Religion der Römischen Provinzen 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001):108-71.

[76] This is indicated by all 16 inscriptions unearthed in digs that can be dated from before the Constantinian retrofit of the city, which are all in Latin. See Benjamin Isaac, *The Limits of Empire. The*

Archeologists, excavating Jerusalem in the 19th and 20th Century have noted just how comprehensive this destruction and rebuilding was. Hadrian did not merely destroy Jerusalem, he had it buried. In an attempt to level the ground for the new city, which was to be built along traditional Roman lines, some areas were filled with up to eight metres of soil and rubble.[77] The new city was shifted west in relation to the Jerusalem buried beneath it. With the temple mount now on the easternmost side of the city, the heart of the city shifted towards the new Roman forum located at the intersection of the city's two main streets, and the temple to Aphrodite[78] beside it.

Jerusalem at the beginning of the fourth century was still a small town, recently abandoned by the 10th Legion, and as yet of little significance to Christians. It was not until Helena and Constantine took an interest in Jerusalem and began a refurbishment of the city and the construction of the grand Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 326 that Jerusalem began again to capture the attention of the outside world.[79] It was in this environment of transition from pagan provincial backwater to the most important site of Christian pilgrimage in the Roman world,[80] that Cyril would direct and instruct his catechumens in their own transition of conversion to Christianity. The Jerusalem of Cyril's day was still a city undergoing its own conversion.

Under the direction of Constantine and energies of his mother, Helena,[81] Aelia Capitolina saw its largest building campaign since being founded on the ruins of Jerusalem in 135. New churches were built throughout Palestine at sites associated with significant biblical events. South of Jerusalem, at the site where three lords met Abraham,[82] at the oak of Mambre a church was constructed. Likewise, churches were constructed at the purported site of the Nativity in Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives. Interestingly, despite the significance of the Temple Mount in both the New and Old Testament, the site was left barren during the

---

Roman Army in the East. Revised Edition, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992):323-325. Isaac makes the case that this is an indication of the dominant Roman and Latin presence in the city after A.D. 135.

[77] Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem, Excavating 3000 Years of History*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967):187. Also see plate 71 for an impressive photograph of the excavation.

[78] The temple is recorded as being in honour of Aphrodite or Venus, depending on the source. Eusebius writes that a sanctuary to Venus had been constructed particularly to prevent Christians from worshiping at the site. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini,* 3.26 .

[79] For more maps of ancient Jerusalem in its various iterations see Joseph Patriarch, "On The Lost Circus of Aelia Capitolina, "*Scripta Classica Israelica* 21, (2002):173-188.

[80] For more on Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the period see P. Maraval, *Egérie. Journal de Voyage*, Sources Chrétiennes 296, (Paris, 1982). and E.D Hunt, *The Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire A.D. 312-460*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

[81] The historicity of Helena's role in the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the finding of the true cross will be touched on shortly.

[82] Genesis 18.

Constantinian rebranding of Aelia Capitolina as a site of Christian importance and pilgrimage. As a cleared and elevated location, it would have made a striking location for a new church, and sent a clear message about this new Jerusalem's Christian as opposed to Jewish character.

Instead, the main church in Aelia Capitolina was constructed next to the Roman heart of the city, the forum. The location had played host to a pagan temple, which was destroyed to make way for this new church. It is, perhaps, a telling indication of the battle that mattered to Christians in the fourth century. It was over pagan religion that Christianity was triumphing, not Judaism. In the same vein, Constantine kept Aelia Capitolina as the city's name instead of returning it to Jerusalem. This was a Roman city, built along Roman lines, and at its heart was not a pagan temple, but a Christian church. Constantine, like a surgeon, was removing the pagan heart of Aelia Capitolina and replacing it with a Christian one. The same roads brought the same citizens from the same baths and markets, but now it was to a Christian church instead of a pagan temple.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in which Cyril's *Catechism* was delivered, played a significant role in Cyril's instruction. Here was the accepted site of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection. As we will see in our chapter on Baptism, the importance of the baptismal candidate imitating Christ's death, burial, and resurrection was fundamental and essential to the baptismal ritual. For Cyril to be able to point to the rock on which Christ was crucified and pieces of the cross to which he was nailed, as well as the tomb in which he was buried and raised was no small thing. Cyril would use these physical and visible reminders as witnesses to the truth of what he was teaching as well as temporally transcendent markers that connected those gathered for catechism and baptism with the time and activity of Christ.[83] Additionally, Cyril would use the structure and grounds of the church as a deeply meaningful pedagogical tool to demonstrate the transformation of those gathered for catechism from catechumen to Christian.[84]

It was within this church, atop and surrounded by visible reminders of Christ's life, death, and resurrection, that Cyril would instruct those candidates gathered for the *Catechism*. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, completed in 335, was designed to integrate the two main features of the site on which it was situated, the rock of Golgotha, where Christ had been crucified and the tomb where he had been buried and from which he had been raised. The

---

[83] See relevant section in chapter 2, beginning p.111.
[84] Later we touch on Cyril's use of the Basilica and the Anastasias for the *Catechism* and the *Mystagogy* respectively, and note the likely pedagogical function this transition from one teaching location to the other served.

church was configured and constructed with the tomb as its focal point. A pilgrim or congregant entering the basilica from Aelia's main street, the *cardo maximus*, would pass through an impressive propylaea, or colonnaded entrance way, into a colonnaded courtyard leading up to the three entrance doors to the basilica itself. Eusibius recounts the basilica as a vast and splendid building supported by massive columns, filled with smooth marble and sculpted wood overlaid with copious amounts of gold causing "the entire building to glitter as it were with rays of light."[85] As one walked down the long central nave of the church they approached a massive dome at the far end, under which stood "twelve columns (according to the number of the apostles of our Savior), having their capitals embellished with silver bowls of great size, which the emperor himself presented as a splendid offering to his God."[86] It was from this location under the dome and buttressed by the apostolic columns that Cyril would deliver his pre-baptismal instructions. Passing through the western end of the basilica a pilgrim or catechumen would encounter a second courtyard, "open to the pure air of heaven"[87], enclosed to the north, south, and west by colonnaded porticos. In the south-east corner, butting up against the western wall of the basilica, was the rock of Calvary rising out of the polished stone that paved the courtyard. Ahead, and prominently featured at the eastern end of the courtyard was the tomb itself. Later the tomb would be enclosed in the magnificent Anastasis, a vast rotunda topped by an impressive dome, but at the basilica's construction in 335 the tomb was covered by a far smaller *aediculum*, "beautified with rare columns, profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind."[88] This leads us to the other significant structure within the complex of the basilica, the Anastasis over the site of Christ's resurrection.

Information is scant on the dating and construction of the Anastasis. Eusebius gives it no mention and records the tomb being open to the air, surrounded by decorative pillars. It is Cyril himself who provides the first indication that there was a more formal structure covering the tomb when he requests that the catechumens attend lectures there, following their baptism. "After Easter's holy day of salvation, you will come every day, starting Monday, immediately after the assembly into the holy place of the resurrection, where, God willing, you will hear other lectures."[89] Given the inconvenience of lectures being conducted within the confines of the tomb itself, it is more reasonable to conclude that there was a

---

[85] Eusebius, *Vit. Const.*, 3.26.
[86] *ibid.*
[87] Eusebius, *Vit. Const.*, 3.35.
[88] Eusebius, *Vit. Const.*, 3.34. For a depiction of the *aediculum* see Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ*, 174; and John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, 3rd edition, (Jerusalem/Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1999):68-69.
[89] *Catech*. 18.33.

structure over or around the tomb in which lectures might be held.[90] Still, apart from this circumspect reference to holding an assembly in the holy place of the resurrection, Cyril does not mention the rotunda. Indeed, in lecture 14 when instructing on the resurrection Cyril indicates that the tomb has seen some modification and decoration, but fails to even hint at the colossal rotunda that would come to cover the sepulcher, instead referring simply to various "embellishments" the site received from Constantine.[91] The reference to these embellishments fits more naturally with the pillars and decorations Eusebius records as surrounding the tomb than with a rotunda covering the whole.

There are several possible explanations for the varying reports, and difficult dating of the construction of the rotunda that covered the tomb. First, it may be that construction on the monumental rotunda had begun at the time of Eusebius' visit and it was to the early construction he referred. In this case construction can be assumed to have progressed slowly and intermittently until the building's completion sometime late in the 4th century. This might explain Cyril's mentioning the gathering following Easter as occurring in "the holy place of the resurrection"[92], but his failure to mention the clearly spectacular edifice that is depicted so centrally in the Madaba Mosaic, and described by the pilgrim Egeria around 385,[93] suggests the Anastasis was not yet complete around 350. A second possibility is that the tomb of the resurrection was intentionally left open to the air as the focal point of the church complex during the time of Eusebius, and over the century various additions, modifications, or renovations were made which came to cover and aggrandize the tomb. Then, sometime after c350 when Cyril first delivered the catechetical lectures, a new project to enclose the tomb in a rotunda was undertaken and completed sometime before 385. Whatever the case, it seems reasonable to conclude that the magnificent Anastasis rotunda, as depicted by the Madaba Mosaic, was not present when Cyril first instructed his catechumens c350, but was constructed sometime during his tenures as bishop and certainly finished before his death in 386.[94]

---

[90] This is supported much later by the account of the Rotunda by Egeria who, in her pilgrimage journal writes often about the gathering of people around the tomb and the rails that demarked the tomb itself from the surrounding structure. References to these rails and the Anastasis more broadly are common throughout the entire latter half of her extant journal.

[91] *Catech*. 14.9.

[92] *Catech*. 18.33.

[93] Egeria's journal mentions the Anastasis as a regular feature of worship in Jerusalem. Although she never describes the architecture of the structure it is clear from her references that the Anastasis was a self-contained structure encompassing the tomb of Jesus, and sizeable enough to hold many worshipers within its beautified walls.

[94] The later dating of the *Mystagogy* to the 380's by Alex Doval and others (see p.8) means that it would have been delivered in the completed rotunda.

Holy City, Sin City, or a City in Transition?

Over the course of the Catechism Cyril gives us occasional glances out of the windows of the church onto the streets and alleys of Jerusalem. The glimpses, while fleeting, are significant as it is from these streets and alleys the catechumens are drawn, and into them they return when the lectures conclude. The sanctity of the church did not extend to the walls of the city, and the catechumens were, upon leaving the courtyard of the church beset by philosophies, theologies, pleasures and entertainments that Cyril warned could lead them astray. It was this milieu that made up the pool from which potential converts would be drawn, the society that would challenge the convictions of the catechumen, and the world in which the baptised Christians would have to hold their convictions and care for their neighbours. In this section we will examine the general social scene in Jerusalem, as well as the three demographics that feature most prominently in Cyril's Catechism: Pagans, Heretics, and Jews.

Towards the end of lecture 4, Cyril paints a colourful picture of the temptations and challenges facing the catechumens as they navigate Jerusalem's diverse religious scene. While a reflection of this nature need not apply uniquely to Jerusalem, and would prove fitting for any Roman town or city, it serves as clear indication of the environment and the social scene in which Cyril was teaching and his catechumens were learning. What is clear is that for Cyril the battle for the soul and mind of his attendees was a matter of real and pressing concern.

> Attend not to the fabulous divinations of the Greeks. As for sorcery, incantation, and the wicked practices of necromancy, do not admit them within your hearing. Stand aloof from every form of intemperance, being neither a glutton nor a lover of pleasure, and, above all from covetousness and usury. Venture not among the assemblies of the heathen spectacles; never use amulets in times of sickness; put aside also the defilement of frequenting taverns. Fall not into the sect of the Samaritans or into Judaism; for henceforth Jesus Christ has redeemed you. Stand aloof from all observation of Sabbaths and speak not of any of the indifferent meats as common or unclean. But abhor especially all the assemblies of the wicked heretics; and in every way make your own soul safe, by fasting, prayers, alms, and the reading of the divine oracles…[95]

It would seem that a dangerous and diverse world existed outside the confines of the Basilica. Cyril's message of vigilance indicates his concern that temptations lurked around every corner. Even twenty-five years after Constantine consolidated East and West, and established the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at the heart of the Jerusalem, the city remained a turbid conflation of pagan philosophies and ceremonies, violent and licentious games, folk healings, Jewish ritual, heretical gatherings, and a host of hedonistic pleasures. But might Cyril have

---

[95] *Catech*. 4.37.

been exaggerating the situation as he instructed the catechumens as a means of encouraging careful piety? Was the holy city of Jerusalem really so debauched?

At the beginning of the century, Jerusalem was a prominently pagan city 'given over to foreign idolaters to inhabit',[96] according to Eusebius. By the end of the century, "both Jerome and Gregory of Nyssa could depict it as the 'sin city' of their day. It was, they claimed, a 'crowded city with the whole variety of people you normally find in such centers – prostitutes, actors, and clowns'. It was full of 'evil, adultery, stealing and idolatry'; indeed in no other city were people 'so ready to kill each other.'"[97] Jerome would also write to Paulinus of Nola, discouraging his friend from even making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem given the cities rampant temptations and dangers. "What is praiseworthy is not to have been at Jerusalem but to have lived a good life while there."[98]

It would seem then, given Cyril's own warnings of the dangers within the holy city, that the Jerusalem of 350 stood in strong continuity with depictions of idolatry and temptation that bookended the century. Collectively these descriptions of Jerusalem in the fourth century serve as a warning against assuming any sort of Christian hegemony in the city at the time of the catechism. Cyril's concern for his catechumens was not overwrought. Jerusalem may have been home to many holy sites, but the holiness of its features seems not to have translated into the holiness of its inhabitants.

Cyril opens his course of catechism with just such a call to arms against such unholy temptations. He sees the religious landscape as a battlefield well arrayed with enemies who would seek out and destroy those whom he instructs.

> Be faithful in your attendance of the catechizing. Even though we protract our discourse, do not let your mind yield to distraction. You are taking up arms against the enemy. You are taking up arms against heresies, against the Jews, against the Samaritans, against the Gentiles. Your enemies are many, take plenty of ammunition; you have targets in plenty. You must learn how to shoot down the Greek and do battle with heretic, Jew, and Samaritan.[99]

Cyril is not merely concerned that the Greeks, the Jews, or heretics may draw his hearers away; he gives this concern as one of the primary reasons for the catechism. Early in lecture 4, before laying out the fundamental doctrines for belief, he says that it is out of concern that his catechumens will be led astray that these teachings are necessary.[100]

---

[96] Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.* 7.1.65
[97] Walker, *Holy City Holy Places?*, 18-19, quoting Jerome *Ep.* 58.4. and Greg. Nys. *Ep. 2.*
[98] Jerome, Letter 58.2
[99] *Procatech.*10.
[100] This theme will prove significant and receive further attention in our chapter on the *Catechism*.

> The Greeks, indeed, by their smooth tongue lead men astray, for honey drops from the lips of a harlot. Those of the Circumcision deceive their disciples by the divine Scripture, which they twist by false interpretations, though they study them from childhood to old age in ignorance. The children of heretics "by smooth words and flattery deceive the hearts of the simple," disguising with the honey of Christ's name the poisoned shafts of their impious doctrines.[101]

That this concern is given as preface for the teaching of the doctrines of faith in Lecture 4 is notable. Again, this may be a compelling rhetorical device on Cyril's part, but even if this is the case it is indicative of the way in which Cyril wanted his catechumen to view the environment and society outwith the walls of the Basilica. The city and her inhabitants were to be approached with great caution. It is to this religious landscape that we will now turn. Who were these pagans, these heretics, and these Jews who so threatened Cyril's catechumens. Was this a hypothetical opposition, or had Cyril truly observed Christians drawn away from the Church by Greek philosophy, Jewish theology, and heretical alternatives?

Pagans in Jerusalem

In *Cyril of Jerusalem, Bishop and City*, Drijvers writes "that Jerusalem did not differ much from other cities in the Roman Empire in this period in that a considerable part of its population still adhered to the various polytheistic cults."[102] While there was certainly a pagan contingent in Jerusalem around 350, that it made up a "considerable" portion of the population is hard to establish on the basis of Cyril's own instructions.[103] While the Catechism includes a number of instructions on how to engage with pagans and warnings against eating food offered to idols, they do not receive nearly as much attention as Jews, Samaritans, Manicheans, and other heretics. Stemberger suggests the reason for this is that following the Constantinian programme of church building "Jerusalem had become the Christian city *par excellence*, and apparently the pagan peril was not felt so acutely there as elsewhere."[104] So which is it? Were pagans a considerable force to be reckoned with as Drijvers suggests and Cyril seems to indicate, or had the Christians already won the battle for Jerusalem as Stemberger argues? Here, a closer examination of Cyril's teaching may prove illuminating.

---

[101] *Catech*. 4.2.
[102] Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 29.
[103] For more on the state of paganism in the region in the first, second, and third centuries, before Cyril, see Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places. The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993): ch.3; see also, Belayche, *Iudaea-Palaestina,* 2001.
[104] Stemberger, *Jews and Christian in the Holy Land*, 193.

In lecture 4 Cyril reminds his hearers not to partake "of the things offered to idols."[105] But his discourse on the matter is not lengthy. It appears worth mentioning, but not labouring. Furthermore, when teaching in lecture 12 on how to respond to Jews and Greeks who deride the virgin birth, Cyril provides a sort of script his catechumens may rely on. The Greek is countered quickly by pointing out their seemingly more ridiculous mythology in which Athena is born out of a brain, and Dionysus emerges from Zeus's thigh. Interestingly, while the Greek will have to be content with their fables being more ridiculous than a virgin bearing a son, the Jews receive a far more nuanced counter argument. Beginning with Sarah, the wife of Abraham who bore a child even though she was barren, to Moses who had his hand turned leprous and back and his staff turned into a serpent, to Eve being formed from a rib, and ultimately man being made from the dust and clay of the ground, Cyril concludes that the Jewish scriptures are full of instances where God makes one thing out of another, and that a Virgin bearing a son is starkly less surprising than that man was made at all.[106] It would seem that Cyril's concern is weighted towards the Jewish opponent as opposed to the Greek one. Taken together with his warning against food offered to idols, Cyril seems to indicate that the catechumens ought to be aware of the danger, but that it was not a close or pressing concern, and was not a major source of tension or temptation for the catechumens in the way other religious alternatives or social temptations might be.

This picture is enhanced by a letter, recounted by Jerome, sent from the Synod of Jerusalem to Theophilus of Alexandria in 400. The letter indicates that the religious situation in Jerusalem at the close of the fourth century was far from settled in favour of Christians. In the letter the diverse social and religious context of Jerusalem is apparent in the anxieties and frustrations expressed by the Synod.

> *However, if only by means of the intercession of the saints we were not disturbed by the Jewish snakes, the unbelievable stupidity of the Samaritans and the quite openly godless deeds of the pagans, whose very numerous crowds completely close their ears to the truth of the sermons and, since they surround the flock of Christ like lions, cause us not little worry and trouble![107]*

It is telling that the synod mentions the pagans not in relation to any apologetic effort on their part, but for the example of their deeds. While Jews and Samaritans may argue against

---

[105] *Catech*. 4.27.

[106] *Catech*. 12.28-30. Another way to read these dialogues, however, would be to see them as a way for Cyril to provide further instruction and a particular Christian interpretation of narratives shared by both Christian and Jewish scriptures. In either case, the argument stands that Cyril's interest seems to rest more on the Jewish interlocutor than on the pagan one. This practice of calling out potential debate opponents as a means of instructing the catechumens is further addressed beginning on p.119. in chapter 3 on the *Catechism*.

[107] While Jerome was living and writing in Bethlehem the letter is not his own, but a recording of the synodical letter sent by council of Jerusalem to Theophilus regarding the synods proceedings. Jerome, *ep. 93* (CSEL 55,155)

the Christian cause, the pagans seem to be problematic in as much as their actions are godless, potentially licentious and debauched, and probably tempting. An inference which could be drawn from this which would correspond well with Cyril's own warnings, is that whatever their number, the primary danger associated with pagans was not so much that they might convert catechumens, but that they might tempt them into sin.

Additionally, there is little indication in Cyril or his contemporaries that pagan temples or shrines were being destroyed in Jerusalem (with the exception of the Temple of Venus, which was razed for the excavation of the site of Golgotha), or that pagans faced any persecution. On the contrary it appears that, as in other Roman cities of the time, adherents to the polytheistic cults of the Roman world still comprised a large portion of the total population.[108]

While they were not Cyril's primary concern, there is no doubt that proponents of Greco-Roman cult religions were present in Jerusalem in the fourth century, and Pagan converts may well have made up a large portion of the catechumens gathered for instruction.[109]Along with its new churches, the city played host to many pagan temples catering to the still sizable portion of the Roman Empire which held to the old religion. These pagan influences appear to have held some appeal to Christians and still, even in the fourth century, exerted a certain allure to Cyril's catechumens.[110] However, while notable and to be avoided, Paganism was not nearly as significant a problem for Cyril as the heretics, and particularly Manicheans, who he believed sought to poach naïve catechumens from the Church's ranks.

Manicheans and Heretics in Jerusalem

Theologically closer to the Church than the external threat posed by pagans, was that of divergent Christian teaching. Traveling teachers of a variety of theologies deemed heretical would have been regular features in Jerusalem. Christian orthodoxy was no closer to being settled in 350 than it is today, and heresy was a common label, tossed around with ease. Of the many heresies on offer in the fourth century, Cyril was most concerned about the potential

---

[108] Drijvers, *Bishop and* City, 29; Hunt, *The Holy Land,* 147; Walker, *Holy City Holy Places?,* 315.

[109] *Catech.* 2.10. See also A. Paulin, *Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem Catéchète,* (Paris: Lex Orandi, vol. 29, 1959): 54-56, who argued that most of Cyril's audience was made up of converting Pagans. We will revisit Cyril's call to those pagan converts present in chapter 3.

[110] For more on the attraction of pagan cult in the 4ᵗʰ century see Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529,* vol.1., Religion in the Graeco-Roman World 115/1, (Leiden: Brill, 1993-1994): 176. Drijvers, *Bishop and City,*116-119. Basil of Caesarea also notes the allure of pagan cults for Christians in *Epist. 188, 199, 210, 211, 217.* See Also, the 'Rescript of Diocletian, *Collatio Mosaicarum* xv.3, ed. and trans. Hyamson (1913) 131-3; translated in Iain Gardner and Samuel N.C. Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire,* Cambridge, 2004: 116-18.

impact and draw Gnosticism, and Manichaeism in particular, had on his catechumens.[111] "Heed not their fair speaking or their mock humility; for they are serpents, a "brood of vipers.""[112] Cyril's basic instruction for interacting with heretics is that his catechumens give them a wide birth and not even engage with them in debate.

In lecture 6 Cyril goes on at great length,[113] recounting the history of Mani and laying bare for the catechumens the apparent depth of Mani's heresy.[114] No other heresy receives such comprehensive treatment. Not only is Manichaeism the first robustly countered belief in the Catechism, but Cyril's concern over Greek or Jewish theologies never engender quite such a detailed history, systematic rebuttal, or impassioned mocking.

An appropriate conclusion to draw from Cyril's focus on Mani, is that Manichaeism was at least present in Jerusalem, and at most, seen by some as a viable alternative to Christian belief and practice.[115] The potential relationship between Christians and Manicheans in Jerusalem appears to have been real enough that Cyril concludes his extended discourse on Mani and his followers.

> "May the Lord save you from such error, and may a hatred of the serpent be granted you that, as they lie in wait for your heel, you may crush their head. Be mindful of my words. What agreement can there be between your affairs and theirs? What fellowship has light with darkness, or the majesty of the church with abomination of the Manichaeans?"[116]

It is as if Cyril anticipates Manicheans crouching in wait outside the church ready to poison and steal away the unwary and unprepared. Furthermore, his warning is not merely related to debates, but even extends to association.

Cyril's anxiety over the threat posed seems reasonably founded given what is known of the general state and practice of Manichaeism in the fourth century East. Despite edicts against them,[117] the movement survived and in many places thrived. While their presence was

---

[111] *Catech*. 6.12-32.

[112] *Catech*. 6.20. See Also Johannes Van Oort, "Another Case of Human Semen Eucharist Among the Manichaeans? *Notes on the 'Ceremony of the Fig' in Cyril of Jerusalem's* Catechesis *VI*," in Vigiliae Christianae, vol. 70, Issue 4 (1996): 430-440.

[113] Nearly half of lecture 6, from paragraph 20 to 36, is devoted to the history and error of Mani.

[114] Cyril appears to have relied largely on *Act Archelai,* a text predating the *Catechism* by some 10-20 years, which included a biography of Mani. A Latin translation of the, likely, Greek original survives and is credited to Hegemonius. See Samuel N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*., (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992) 128ff; Samuel N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East,* Religion in the Graeco-Roman World 118, (Leiden: Brill, 1994):132-152.

[115] As it was in Augustine's North Africa c.380s.

[116] *Catech*. 6.35.

[117] See Diocletian's edict against the Manicheans of 302 A.D.

noted across the Empire, it was particularly strong in the east throughout the fourth century.[118] Marc the Deacon's *Vita Porphyrii* recounts a notable episode which occurred right around the beginning of the fifth century in which Porphyry debates a Manichaean woman, Julia, who had been drawing new Christians in Gaza away from the Church into Manichaeism.[119] While some distance from Jerusalem and half a century after the *Catechesis* was first delivered, the story is a helpful reminder of the religious diversity and competing philosophies in fourth century Palestine. Cyril's apparent anxiety that Manichaeism, or some equally potent threat, may lead his catechumens astray appears well grounded given the religious competition of the period.

It appears, however, that the Manichean practice of picking off Christian neophytes did not go un-countered in Jerusalem, but that Christianity was also gaining converts from the Manicheans. Quoting from Joel 3:4 in his instruction on Christ's coming again, Cyril says, "'The sun will be turned to darkness, and the moon to blood.' Let the converts from the Manicheans be instructed and no longer make these luminaries their gods, nor impiously think that this sun which is darkened is Christ."[120] Apparently, Cyril was aware of at least some former Manicheans, now counted catechumens, who were being brought to Christian belief and baptism.

In addition to an awareness of threats from the outside, Cyril shows a keen sensitivity to the potential for confusion and damage caused by divisions within the Church. While instructing on the second coming of Christ, Cyril encourages his catechumens not to despair at the conflict within the Church, but rather to see it as a fulfillment of prophecy. "The Savior says: 'And then many will fall away, and will betray one another, and will hate one another.'[121] If you should hear of bishops in conflict with bishops, clergy against clergy, and flock against flock even unto blood, do not be troubled. It has been prophesied."[122] It is a remarkable insight into the strength and diversity of sentiments within the Church during this period, as well as how the lay Christian might have viewed them. Cyril is not speaking here of heretics, but simply of the wider Church.

---

[118] Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire,* 193-194; Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia,* 53-61; Drijvers, *Bishop and City,* 123-125.

[119] There is a discussion in the scholarship about the precise dating and historical setting of the *Vita Porphyrii, however the narrative referenced here appears consistent with other texts on the Manichean* threat, Cyril's included, from the same period.

[120] *Catech.* 15.3 Cyril here also appears to be opposing and contradicting Manichean exegesis while providing alternative Christian readings of these passages.

[121] Quoting Mark 13.

[122] *Catech.* 15.7.

Cyril goes on to say that even if he should be killed in these conflicts, the catechumens must not fall away on account of his being lost. Cyril's approach is surprisingly pragmatic, "If treason was found among the Apostles, do you wonder if hatred of the brethren is found even among bishops?"[123] This division is not found only between the rulers of the Church but also within congregations. Cyril continues with an insight into the animosity lay Christians may hold for one another, "Will anyone present boast that he has a sincere friendship for his neighbor? Is it not true that often the lips kiss, the countenance smiles, the eyes are cheerful, while the malicious heart is plotting guile with smooth words?"[124]

The picture then is one of struggle and conflict not merely outside the Church, but also within. In the context of lecture 15, these are all presented not just as a call for vigilance, but as an encouragement and reminder that Christ is coming again.

> While formerly heretics were manifest, the Church is now filled with secret heretics. Men have fallen away from the truth and have itching ears. Is the discourse charming? All listen to it gladly. Does it aim at amendments? All turn aside. Many have forsaken sound doctrine; they choose the evil rather than prefer the good. The apostasy is at hand, therefore, and the Enemy's coming is to be looked for; already to some extent he has begun to send his precursors; now he has only to swoop upon his prey. So stand to your defense, and guard your soul.[125]

Cyril appears to have had in mind several notable heresies to which his catechumens might be drawn. Certainly, Arianism was a growing concern over the course of the 4th century, and Cyril was not immune from the ecclesial politics and theological hostilities that played out during this period as a result of Arian thought. However, Cyril's own relationship to Arianism has been a source of some controversy and confusion.[126] In the catechism he makes no explicit mention of Arianism. This may have been the result of pragmatism on Cyril's part, as Drijvers suggest.[127] For Cyril's appointment to bishop had been made by Acacius, an Arian himself, and Cyril may well have been hoping to avoid a dispute in the wake of his consecration. Despite the explicit omission of the term "Arian" and the name "Arius," Cyril's lectures are rife with implicit warnings

---

[123] *ibid.*

[124] *ibid.*

[125] *Catech.* 15.9.

[126] Arianism, or the Arian controversy, and the affects it had on Cyril and his theological position certainly provide compelling fodder for historians and historians of Church doctrine, however, these discussions are not particularly relevant here. As I note, Cyril's political position on these questions may be complicated, but the content of his *Catechism* certainly affords less room for controversy. Again, these are fascinating avenues for investigation, but do not bear on our own investigation into conversion. However, for more on these discussions see, Drijvers, *Bishop and City,* 181-186; Richard Flower, *Emperors and Bishops in Late Roman Invective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013; and Mattias Gassman, "Eschatology and Politics in Cyril of Jerusalem's *Epistle to Constantius" in* Vigiliae Christianae, Vol. 70 (2016): 119-133.

[127] Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 103.

against Arian beliefs.[128] At other points in the catechism Cyril will more overtly call out the heresies of Docetism, countering the claim that the crucifixion was an illusion,[129] as well the Cataphrygians, or Montanism,[130] and Marcellus, who taught that Christ's rule would end in the eschaton.[131]

Jews in Jerusalem

Throughout the *Catechism* Cyril warns of dangers posed by those who would lead Christians astray. It would seem that these fears were grounded in Cyril's own experiences and observations. Potentially he had seen or heard pagans mocking the virgin birth, or known a catechumen drawn in to Manichaeism. At the very least he will have been aware of the presence of pagans and Manicheans in Jerusalem, and that his catechumens interacted with them sufficiently that warning and instruction was required so that these Christians might remain strong and sure in the face of temptation and deception. These assumptions, regarding the interactions between Christians and pagans and heretics in Jerusalem around 350, are safe given what is known of the city and its inhabitants. But what can we make of Cyril's warnings against the Jews (and occasionally Samaritans),[132] given that they had been forbidden entry to Aelia Capitolina by Hadrian?[133] Who were these Jews against whom Cyril warns so fervently? Were they mere spectres, or was there in fact a community of Jews in Jerusalem in the fourth century?

In 135 tensions between Jews in Palestine and the Roman authority reached a historic peak. While notable revolts and suppressions had occurred in 70 and 115-17, the Bar Cochba revolt of 135 had a vastly more traumatic impact on the Jewish population of Palestine. It is estimated that roughly half a million Jews were killed and many others sent into slavery.

---

[128] See *Catech*. 11.18, where Cyril cautions against those who believe that the father is at one time father and at another time son (also a warning against Sabellianism) and Cat. 10.5 where he warns against those who suggest Christ gained the rank of Lord through advancement as opposed to possessing it by nature. See also Drijvers excellent appendix on Cyril's relationship to Arianism over the course of his time as bishop as well as his numerous exiles at the hands of Arian bishops. (Drijvers, *Bishop and City,* 181-186).

[129] *Catech*. 13.4, 37.

[130] *Catech*. 16.8

[131] *Catech*. 15.27-31. Marcellus argued that Christ's rule would end as the Son and Spirit were emanations of the Father for the purpose of redemption, and thus would be unnecessary into eternity one redemption had been accomplished, and would, at such a time, be reabsorbed back into the father.

[132] Although mentioned, the Samaritans receive no meaningful attention from Cyril, which is curious given the well attested presence of several Samaritan communities in environs near to Jerusalem. See *Procatech*. 10; Cat 4.37; 6.33; 18.1-2, 11-13. See Stemberger, *Jews and Christian in the Holy Land*, ch.,8.

[133] Frustratingly, historians contemporaneous to Cyril provide little help here. Socrates includes only scant mention of Jews and almost no detail until his final book, Book 7. See Natalie B. Dohrmann and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *Jews, Christians, and the Roman Empire: The Poetics of Power in Late Antiquity*, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

Following the revolt, which particularly devastated the Jews of Judea, the remaining Jewish population gravitated to the north around Galilee.[134] In an edict from the emperor Hadrian, Jews were prohibited from entering Aelia Capitolina and its surrounding administrative territories, Herodion, Gophna, and Oreine.[135] Without a Jewish population, Aelia, now a garrison town, would remain primarily pagan until the fourth century.

While the interdiction against Jewish entry into Jerusalem would go un-retracted for centuries, it seems that over the succeeding two centuries Jews did return, though likely only in small numbers. It is also likely that following Constantine's defeat of Licinius in 324, and the extending of the edict of Milan in the east, that at least a few Jews returned to the city. This conjecture would appear well founded as in 330 and 334 Constantine reaffirmed the Jewish expulsion from Jerusalem, though likely not from the surrounding country side in this case,[136] an action only necessary if Jews did indeed inhabit the city. However, Constantine's reaffirmation of the Law appears to have removed the interdiction against inhabitation in the territories of Jerusalem and limited the restriction to the city itself.[137]

As for Jewish worship in Jerusalem, during his visit to the city in 333 the Bordeaux Pilgrim writes that one of seven former synagogues remains in the city, the rest having been destroyed. He does not, however, mention if the synagogue was in operation.[138] Stemberger writes that while the quiet return of Jews to Jerusalem is supported by numerous rabbinic texts, the open construction or use of a synagogue was unlikely.[139]

Further supporting the notion that there were few Jews inhabiting Jerusalem in the 330's, the Bordeaux Pilgrim also writes that on one day a year Jews were allowed to enter the city so that they might lament the destruction of the temple on the temple mount.[140] Whether this indicates a relaxing of the law forbidding Jews entry to Jerusalem or a caveat to it is uncertain. Either way, it is again an indication of how insignificant the Jewish presence in the

---

[134] Stemberger, *Jews and Christian in the Holy Land*, 19.

[135] Stemberger, *Jews and Christian in the Holy Land*, 18. For the likely limits of Jerusalem's boundaries see Belayche, *Iudaea-Palaestina,* 19; Lifshitz, "Jérusalem sous la domination romaine," 484; and Drijver, *Bishop and City*, 204.

[136] Edict to re-remove Jews found in Eus. *HE 4.6.3* and Eutychius, *Annales* 1.446 (p.3, 1012)

[137] Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 9.

[138] The synagogue referred to by the Bordeaux Pilgrim may have functioned through the middle of the third Century, but was likely replaced sometime before by the upper church of the Apostles was built, to which Cyril refers to in *Catechism* 16.4. See Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places,* 210-211; and Yoram Tsafrir, "Byzantine Jerusalem: The Configuration of a Christian City," in *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, Edited by Lee I. Levine (New York: Continuum International, 1999):139

[139] Stemberger, *Jews and Christian in the Holy Land*, 41.

[140] "there is a perforated stone, to which the Jews come every year and anoint it, bewail themselves with groans, rend their garments, and so depart." The Bordeaux Pilgrim*, Itinerary,7a.*

city appeared at the time. What is not clear is whether Jews were merely prohibited from inhabiting the city or more broadly from entering the city apart from the day of mourning. Certainly, the latter would have been far harder to enforce. The question is a significant one for us, as when we turn back to Cyril's teaching and see that the danger posed by Jews is a common refrain. Why would Cyril have devoted time to a people who had no presence in Jerusalem?

Several possibilities are immediately apparent. First, that there were indeed Jews in Jerusalem and that Christians found themselves in at least occasional dialogue with them. Second, that Cyril's catechumens traveled outside the city regularly, and in their travels came into sufficient contact with Jews that instruction was required. Third, that the challenge posed by the Jews was a simple spectre hanging over the Church in Jerusalem, but of some interest to catechumens. Fourth, that teaching against Jews was a general trope of the era as Christians looked to validate their own theology against the older Jewish teaching.

Stemberger argues that, "The sermons with which Cyril of Jerusalem prepared his catechumens for baptism around 350 make it clear that the attraction of Jewish customs must still have been very strong."[141] In support of this position he notes that Cyril warns against observing the Sabbath and food laws in lecture 4, and instructs the catechumens on how best to respond to Jewish objections to Christian doctrines. He does, however, also note that at times the warnings appear "repeated mechanically for tradition's sake."[142] What to make of this discrepancy?

The majority of Cyril's engagement with Jewish competition occurs in lecture 12. Here Cyril is teaching how Old Testament prophecies, particularly the virgin birth, had been fulfilled by the coming of the Christ. For the most part his dialogue partner is the Jewish opposition to Christian interpretations, and it is against these Jewish arguments that he is working. Additionally, Cyril's warnings against mingling with the Jews or deserting to their cause, and the apparent draw of Sabbath observance, suggest both a somewhat pressing concern over competition posed by Jewish teaching and practice as well as the presence of Jews with whom the Catechumens might become entangled.[143] Cyril's warnings against the apparent threat posed by Jewish proselytism fits with what is known of other cities in the

---

[141] Stemberger, *Jews and Christian in the Holy Land*, 78.
[142] *ibid.*
[143] *Catech*. 4.37. "Don't desert to the Jews and Judaism, for Jesus Christ has redeemed you forever. Avoid all Sabbath observance or describing harmless food as common or unclean." For Additional notes on the allure of Jewish ritual see Drijvers, *Bishop and City*,121-122.

Levant during this period, where it was not uncommon for Christians to convert to Judaism.[144] The threat appears to have felt real to Cyril. Throughout the catechism anti-Jewish rhetoric remains a recurring feature, and Cyril rarely goes a lecture without giving some warning against Jewish thought or practice.[145] Drijvers suggests an interesting reason for this. Putting aside for a moment the question of Jewish presence in the city, Cyril may have been combating the Jewish history of the city, reflecting "Cyril's wish for emancipation from the past",[146] a past that was inexorably linked to the Jewish people. Making this argument more convincing is Cyril's *Letter to Constantius* regarding a citing of a luminous cross in the sky over Jerusalem, which Cyril suggests is an indication of Divine favour to Constantius.[147] The undercurrent to the text, however, is rather pointedly the place and prominence of Jerusalem as a Christian city, indeed, as the Christian city of the Empire. [148] Cyril, both here in his letter to Constantius and throughout his Catechism, is persistently working to cast Jerusalem in a new Christian light, over its more historic Jewish connection.

Interestingly, Jews may also have made up some of those present for the catechism. Cyril, in lecture 3, appears to call out any Jews present who may be worried that the sins of their ancestors in crucifying Christ might preclude them from the salvation Christ won on that same cross, and comforts that even this sin of crucifying Christ can be forgiven.[149] Additionally, it has been suggested that there may have been a particular Jewish Christian community in Jerusalem that Cyril was engaging when he exegeted and explicated old testament passages in a Christian light.[150] The suggestion is a tempting one, but beyond

---

[144] For instances see Robert L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews. Rhetoric and Reality in the Late* 4th *Century*, (London: Wipf and Stock, 1983). See also Marcel Simon, V*erus Israel. Étude sur les relations entre chrétiens et juifs dans l'Empire romain (135-425)*, 2nd ed., (Paris, 1964): ch.,11. See also N. R. M. De Lang, *Origen and the Jews: Origen and the Jews: Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-Century Palestine*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1977): 76-89. Of particular note here is De Lang's suggestion that Origen is dealing primarily with Jewish stereotypes in his orations, not actual Jews, a suggestion we will return to in relation to Cyril's own interaction with the Jewish community shortly.

[145] See particularly, though not exclusively, *Catech*. 4.2, 12; 7.2-3; 8.1; 10.12, 15; 12.2, 8, 17; 13.7, 11, 15-16, 20-22; 14.1, 15; 17.24; 18.25.

[146] Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 102.

[147] The later, dating from 351, was Cyril's first missive to the Emperor written as Bishop of Jerusalem. It clearly works to establish both Cyril's loyalty to Constantius as well as the importance of Jerusalem as the preeminent Christian city in the east. The occasion for the letter was a "display of divine energy", "a huge cross made of light," which appeared "for several hours" on May 7th 351, over the city of Jerusalem. See Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem,*68-71.

[148] Epist. ad Const. 7; trans. Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem,* 68-70. Jerusalem is mentioned no fewer than 6 other times in the brief letter, always in reference to its character as a Christian city.

[149] Drijvers suggests that this is indicated by Cyril's encouragement in Cat. 3.15 when he comforts, "What sin is greater than crucifying Christ? But baptism can even expiate this." Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 114, 81ff.

[150] See Stroumsa, G.G. Stroumsa, "Vetus Israel. Les juifs dans la littérature hierosolymitaine d'époque byzantine," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 205, no.1 (1988): 115-131.

inference from the catechism, and the awareness that such communities existed in surrounding cities, there is little to indicate that this was indeed the case in Jerusalem.

A final point worth drawing out here is the tone of Cyril's teaching on Judaism, which never reaches the same fevered pitch as when directed against heresies. While Cyril in lecture 12 lays out points of Jewish opposition to the incarnation, never does the tenor rise with the fervor or intensity that accompanied the rebuttal to Manichaeism in lecture 6. Typically, Cyril's tone toward Jews tends towards a sort of sharp bitterness or animosity, as opposed to the seemingly full blown rage he reserves for Mani and his followers. Towards the end of the lecture 12 Cyril notes that his explanations seem to be dragging on, "I realize I am speaking at length and that my hearers are wearied."[151] Curiously, the lecture is shorter than lecture 6, which dealt at length with the Manicheans. Why might Cyril note that lecture 12 seems to be wearying his hearers, while the longer lecture 6 receives no such comment? I suggest it is because the nature of religious proselytism in Jerusalem was such that Christians were not being drawn into Jewish belief or practice with quite the regularity they were into Manichaeism. While Cyril's hearers might leave the church and encounter Manicheans on their walk home, the threat posed by Jews was less practical and more conceptual. With Judaism Cyril was required to differentiate between interpretations of important shared scriptural texts. Here he could emphasize both the superiority of the Christian position, particularly in relation to the fulfillment of Old Testament prophesy, but these explanations also afforded an opportunity to expound the Christian scriptures and doctrines in a compelling pedagogical fashion.[152]

Given the already small Jewish population in southern Palestine, the official, though potentially not rigorously enforced, decree against entry of Jews into Jerusalem, and Cyril's greater concern with heresies than with Judaism, it seems that Cyril's catechumens did not regularly interact with Jews. Whether the occasional interaction would have been inside or outside the city is unclear. In either case it was certainly not as great a concern to Cyril as the threat posed by either Manichaeism, or the pagan temptations of the city.

---

[151] *Catech*. 12.22.

[152] For more on Cyril's use of Jewish opposition as a means of enhancing his teaching of Christian doctrines and scriptures see p.104.

Summary

This Introduction has sought to provide the background, context, and history sufficient for us to proceed with our own investigation into the process and meaning of Conversion in Jerusalem under Cyril's direction. The fourth century was a time of great transition, and our present study is a focused examination of that transition which was writ large across the Empire as it came to bear on the individuals within Jerusalem. The Empire was moving towards Christianity. Christianity itself was changing as it found its new footing in a more pliant social and political landscape. Jerusalem was undergoing a transformation as it became a site of Christian attention and pilgrimage. The mound of Gologtha had undergone a transformation from the home of pagan temple to the site of one of the most important churches in Christendom. The process of conversion was changing, in no small part as a response to some of the larger transformations occurring across the Roman world. And within that all there were individuals who were coming to the church, putting themselves forward for Catechism and baptism, receiving instruction and training, and through that process, becoming Christian. It is to the last of these that we will give our attention. Within the seismic changes occurring across the Mediterranean world it is to the seemingly small transformation of a man or woman in Jerusalem around the middle of the fourth century that we will now turn.

CHAPTER 1. CONCEPTS OF CONVERSION

What is conversion and what constitutes an individual as a convert to Christianity? These two questions are the simple focus of this chapter. As we proceed with this examination we will find little in the way of scholarly consensus on either, and much in the way of anachronism, as modern scholars read present understandings of conversion back into the early Church. Our focus is not, however, a universal or timeless understanding of conversion but rather sound answers to our simple questions within the framework of fourth century Jerusalem. It is important for us to be clear on this as we set out. We are not asking what conversion is today (though the conclusions in this chapter may shed a challenging light on our own understanding of this question), we are asking a historical question of what constituted conversion, and when might an individual be considered a convert, during Cyril's tenure as Bishop of Jerusalem nearly seventeen hundred years ago.

Cyril's Catechism was open for men, women, slaves, and free to attend. Some had been around the Church for years and were familiar with its teachings; others were young fresh faces, new to the disciplines and doctrines of Christianity. None of them, as we will see, were considered by Cyril to yet be 'Christian'. Before delving into how Cyril conducted catechumens through the process of conversion we need to define and clarify just what conversion was and what it entailed in Late Antiquity. As we will see in this chapter this is particularly important as modern scholarship on the subject has often proved overly anachronistic in its approach to ancient Christian conversions. Helpfully, Cyril provides a first-hand account from one intimately involved in the conversion process, of what it looked like to become Christian in Jerusalem in the fourth century.

In working towards a definition of conversion we will begin with modern scholarship's approach to the question of what constituted a Christian in the early Church, as well as why people converted. Here we will find that the latter question has proved a far more interesting conversation for scholars than the former, and that as a result deficiencies have emerged in our answers to both. In section two we will outline Cyril's own approach to what makes one a Christian, and suggest a few possibilities of what it might mean for modern scholarship if we were to take seriously the voice of this bishop, imbued with ecclesial authority, and his account of what it was to become and be a Christian in the fourth century.

Part One: Conversion and Modern Scholarship

The process of becoming a Christian is often framed in the language of conversion. As we will see in this present section, questions of conversion have become a hallmark of

much modern patristic scholarship. These modern questions about ancient conversions tend to focus on the movement toward Christianity. They ask why someone would want to convert to Christianity,[153] and what factors were involved in that conversion. However, as we will see presently, these studies often fall into a trap of not sufficiently defining just what conversion was in Late Antiquity, and more damagingly, failing to ask when conversion might be qualified as completed. Thus, the weight of focus in present scholarship on ancient conversions tips towards the beginning of the conversion process asking how it began, and often fails to sufficiently account for how it was completed. The danger here is one of anachronism. By emphasising the early steps in conversion, the personal and individual elements in conversion, we may make sense of conversion in our present context, but we miss that in the fourth century conversion was not just a matter of an individual's self-declaration of belief, but ultimately an initiation into Christ and the Church; and that this initiation was established, guarded, and conducted by that same Church. Cyril's *Catechism* and *Mystagogy* serve to underline this point. Whatever the early steps a convert took towards the Church, and whatever their motivations, they were always perambulatory, as the climax of conversion came in the final moments of the process in the mystery of Baptism.[154] This may seem a semantic difference, but as our examination of the *Catechism* will reveal, it reflects a significantly different emphasis in both the purpose and process of conversion than is present in much modern scholarship.

Modern questions about conversion to Christianity work to establish how and why and when one's religious alignment changed. Cyril's emphasis on becoming a Christian, instead, focused on the change one must undergo to be identified as a Christian. Not merely invested in changing people's religious alignment, Cyril was working to change their identifying markers, namely their behaviour and their beliefs. However, before we examine Cyril's understanding of what a Christian is, how one became Christian, and note Cyril's observations on what drew people to Christianity and his catechism, we must begin with modern scholarship's approach to these ancient converts.

Patristic scholarship has tended to be less interested in qualifying what markers classified ancient people as Christian than it has been in ascertaining why they would convert to Christianity in the first place. These inquiries into the reasons for conversion tend to hinge

---

[153] Ramsey MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, (1984); and Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, (1996), serve as influential and indicative examples of this. Both represent extended examinations, from different perspectives, of conversion where the question of 'why' supersedes the question of 'what'.

[154] See following section on Cyril's definition and understanding of conversion, as well as chapter 4 on the *Mystagogy* and baptism ritual.

on a definition of conversion as the instance or process of internal spiritual or mental realignment from some former belief system towards Christianity. Notably, as we will observe later, Cyril carefully guards the title 'Christian' for those baptised into Christ, and conversion as the process culminating in that baptism.[155] Why this disjunction? As we will observe presently, modern studies of conversion in Late Antiquity are often predicated on the desire to explain the growth and success of Christianity as a whole in its first five centuries. This focus on Christianity as a whole has occasionally come at the cost of a sufficiently thorough account of what qualified an individual of Late Antiquity as Christian.

In this section we will engage with four patristic scholars who, as representative of wider schools of thought, have asked how and why people converted to Christianity in late antiquity. Their understandings and approaches to why men and women became Christian and at what point they may be classified Christian will reveal both compelling continuities with Cyril's own understanding and observations, as well as some differences. Our main dialogue partners will be A.D Nock,[156] whose work set the stage for much of the twentieth century's scholarship on conversion; Alan Kreider,[157] whose short work on conversion and Christendom bookends the other end of the century and represents a more holistic approach to conversion; Rodney Stark,[158] who compellingly viewed conversion and early Christian growth through the eyes of a modern sociologist; and Ramsey MacMullen,[159] whose work on conversion and Christianization has undoubtedly been some of the most influential in the field. While each of these scholars comes at the study with their own interests and emphases, taken together in dialogue with Cyril I believe we can arrive at a more nuanced picture of just what a Christian was in late antiquity.

---

[155] For the title "Christian" See *Mystagogic Catechesis* 3.5, where it is in the chrism that the name "Christian" is fully granted. McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 2, 172, ff.13; And Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013):474, share this view. For more on this see chapter 4.

[156] A.D. Nock, *Conversion, The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*, (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1998) (first published by Clarendon press, 1933). Susan Elm notes quite rightly that "Nock's classic definition… is still the paradigmatic understanding of "conversion." Susan Elm, "Inscriptions and Conversions, Gregory of Nazianzus on Baptism," in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Seeing and Believing,* ed. Kenneth Mills & Anthony Grafton (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003):7.

[157] Alan Kreider, *The Change of Conversion and the Origin of Christendom*, (Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2006). Despite its limited size, Krieder's work is one of the most incisive treatments on the changing process and nature of conversion over Christianity's first four centuries.

[158] Rodney Stark's work on Christian conversion in the early Church has been both praised and derided by historians of Early Christianity. Whichever position one holds, there can be no doubt that his work on early Christian growth has become required reading for anyone wishing to engage with Christian conversion in late antiquity.

[159] Ramsey MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, (1984).

Nock: The Traditional

A. D. Nock's scholarship on conversion is a seminal starting point for all inquiry on this subject.[160] His work set the tone for further twentieth century explorations of conversion in late antiquity and is still cited today.[161] More than just a convenient chronological entry point for our own study, starting with Nock also allows us to note what a different process it was to become Christian than to become a follower of some other pagan religion or deity in late antiquity. Nock distinguishes between conversion and adhesion, suggesting Christianity required the former while pagan gods only required the latter.[162] In *Conversion*, Nock notes that for pagans, accepting a new god required no "definite crossing of religious frontiers, in which an old spiritual home was left for a new once and for all, but to men's having one foot on each side of a fence which was cultural and not creedal."[163] Pagans were able to adopt "new worships as useful supplements and not as substitutes, and they did not involve the taking of a new way of life in place of the old."[164] Nock calls this "adhesion," and places it in opposition to conversion, which he defines as "the reorientation of the soul of an individual, his deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved, that the old was wrong and the new is right."[165] Immediately we should notice that Nock's conversion is a personal mental decision, largely without public or external validation or examination. A pagan might adhere to a new form of worship and a new deity, but to become Christian a conversion was required. Though, as noted, Nock's approach has been criticized in part for its use to explain Christianity's growth as opposed to the actual process of conversion.[166]

---

[160] While Nock is our entry point for this study, his work owed much to William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, (New York: Longmans, 1902).

[161] See John North, "The Development of Religious Pluralism," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, ed. Judith Lieu, John North, and Tessa Rajak, (London: Routledge, 1992): 175; Rodney Stark, *Cities of God: The Real Story of How Christianity Became an Urban Movement and Conquered Rome*, (San Francisco: Harper, 2006): 3. While Still influential, Nock's work has also faced criticism, particularly from Peter Brown who argued that Nock's framework for conversion, wherein the old is rejected for the new, was more the result of Nock's engagement with Max Weber, David Hume, and Williams James than with relevant Christian sources from late antiquity. See Peter Brown, "Conversion and Christianization in Late Antiquity: The Case of Augustine," in *The Past Before Us: The Challenge of New Historiographies in Late Antiquity,* ed. Richard Lim and Carole Straw (Berkley: Brepols, 2005).

[162] Nock's delineation between 'Conversion' and 'Adhesion' as correspondent to Christian vs. pagan initiation has received reasonable criticism. In particular, see Birgitte Bøgh, "Beyond Nock: from adhesion to conversion in the mystery cults," *History Of Religions* 54, no. 3 (2015): 260-287. See also, Birgitte Bøgh, (edt.), *Conversion and Initiation in Antiquity, Shifting Identities – Creating Change*, (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2014): 9-14.

[163] Nock, *Conversion,* 6.

[164] Nock, *Conversion*, 6-7.

[165] Nock, *Conversion*, 7.

[166] Roger Beck, "Religious Rivalries in the Early Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity," in *The Religious Market of the Roman Empire: Rodney Stark and Christianity's Pagan Competition*, ed. Leif E. Vaage, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006): 241, writes that the distinction between

What we see in Nock's approach is that conversion was a mental activity conducted intentionally, likely with an awareness of the radical change required, and that there was some sort of spiritual element tied up in the reorienting of one's soul. Beyond this, Nock has little to say about what conversion was, and his interest and focus quickly shift to asking how that reorientation of the soul came about. For our own purposes it is noteworthy that in Nock's approach becoming a Christian is dependent on individuals mentally and spiritually realigning themselves towards Christianity. A Christian then, was one who had made this conscious and great personal change.

Nock saw numerous reasons for conversion to Christianity in late antiquity, all of which pertained to Christianity's mental appeal to potential converts.[167] An individual became acquainted with the Church through any number of avenues. Maybe it was watching a martyr die in an arena,[168] or perhaps they heard some Christian teachings from an acquaintance,[169] or maybe they had seen a demon cast out of a man and were impressed by this power.[170] Alongside these reasons Nock suggests that, "the small man in antiquity suffered from a marked feeling of inferiority and from a pathetic desire for self-assertion, of which the epitaphs supply abundant illustrations. By adhesion to a society like the Church he acquired a sense of importance".[171] Putting aside Nock's psychiatric assessment of these converts, he does appear to have noted that there were advantages for one's self perception and identity when part of the society of the Church. Here we can see in Nock a hint of the relational conformity that would, some fifty years later, be picked up on and developed by Rodney Stark in his Sociological approach to ancient conversions, which we will observe shortly.

However one came to be associated with Christianity, those who converted found something in their early interactions with or observation of Christians that "arose men's interest".[172] Nock notes that, as there appears to have been no public preaching of the Christian message in the first several centuries of the Church, interactions with Christians must have started and progressed along casual lines.[173] Here again we can see in Nock an

---

conversion and adhesion in Nock's work was "just another a priori strategy, empirically bogus and methodologically lazy, for explaining Christianity's triumph."

[167] Recall our earlier note on Peter Brown's observation that Nock's approach here is a result of his *Sitz im Leben*, as he responds to Hume, Weber and James. Peter Brown, "Conversion and Christianization in Late Antiquity: The Case of Augustine," (2005).

[168] Nock, Conversion, 193-201.

[169] *Ibid*, 201-204.

[170] *Ibid*, 221-224.

[171] *Ibid*, 212.

[172] *Ibid*, 266.

[173] *Ibid*, 212.

awareness of the impact interaction with Christians could have on pagans. Whether it was watching a martyr perish or talking with a Christian in the market, something led pagans to pursue more deeply the philosophy behind these Christian actions and interactions.

Nock argues that after this initial interest and subsequent reflection, people converted because they became convinced by the teaching of the Church and then actively chose to reject their old modes of worship and belief in favour of these new ones. He suggests, rather simply, that Christianity was just better than its competitors; that it was by the strength of the doctrines persuasively presented that men and women came to Christianity.[174]

MacMullen: The Sceptic

Like Nock, Ramsey MacMullen places the burden of conversion on the shoulders of the individual. In his definitive work on the subject of conversion and the growth of the Church, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*,[175] MacMullen begins by laying the foundation for just what constitutes conversion in his view. "Let me declare Christian conversion, then, to have been the change of belief by which a person accepted the realty and supreme power of God and determined to obey Him."[176] Again we see the personal self-declaratory nature of conversion. Writing later about what Christianity presented to non-Christians, MacMullen clarifies where conversion happens: "For plainly the process of conversion that interests me took place in people's minds on the basis of what they knew, or thought they knew."[177] MacMullen's conversion is a conversion of thought and belief occurring in the minds of men and women on the basis of information they have heard and believed or of things seen and believed.

MacMullen suggested several delineations between different classes of converts. The first demographic of converts shifted belief and allegiance to Christianity because they had

---

[174] According to Nock, Christianity in late antiquity, "shows constantly a greater grasp on actual life, a wider vision of things and men as they are. Its teachings commend themselves as fitting the needs of the age better…" Nock, *Conversion*, 253.

[175] MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, (1984). While his most cited treatment on the subject, it is far from his only entry on the subject of Christian conversion in the Roman world. See also: Ramsey MacMullen, "Two types of conversion to early Christianity" *Vigiliae Christianae* 37, no. 2 (1983): 174-192; Ramsey MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200-400*, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009).; Ramsey MacMullen, "Christianity shaped through its mission," In *Origins of Christendom in the West*, ed. Alan Kreider (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2001); Ramsey MacMullen, *Changes in the Roman Empire: Essays in the Ordinary*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Ramsey MacMullen, "'What difference did Christianity make," *Historia* 35, no. 3 (1986): 322-343; Ramsey MacMullen, "The meaning of AD 312: the difficulty of converting the Empire," In *Major papers of the 17th Int'l Byzantine Congress*, ed. Aristide D. Caratzas (New York: New Rochelle, 1986); Ramsey MacMullen, "Conversion: a historian view," *The Second Century* 5, no. 2 (1985): 67-81.

[176] MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 5.

[177] MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 20.

seen, or more likely heard reports of,[178] surprising acts of power such as exorcisms or healing which they could only attribute to a "divine *virtus*"[179]. Alternatively, people may have seen or heard of a martyr and, in Tertullian's words, be "profoundly troubled, to the point of inquiring what may lie behind it all."[180] From these reports gullible and uneducated men and women concluded that the God reportedly attached to these powerful acts must be a great God, and so they aligned themselves with him and his followers. These types of conversions could happen *en masse* as was demonstrated by reports of crowds acclaiming "the One True God and ruler of all things", [181] following reports of wonderful acts. People heard or saw something, declared belief, and were thus converted.

MacMullen argues that the second and, though better documented, vastly less sizable demographic was that of the educated elite who converted through a process of mental reasoning and internal dialogue. Unlike Nock, who suggest Christianity spoke clearly to the challenges and problems of late antiquity in ways pagan thought could not, MacMullen reasons that the elite adopted Christian teaching and doctrines as they were not really that different from pagan ones.[182] Using Cyprian as an example, MacMullen suggests that those elite who became Christian did so through extensive internal and intellectual reflection on Christian teachings, concluding in the end to adopt the beliefs of this new religion.[183]

MacMullen's third reason for conversion relates to what took effect in the fourth century. "Things changed after A.D. 312. Thereupon, people simply not of a very religious temperament were drawn to the church, at least to its periphery, and constituted a numerous though not very stable group."[184] MacMullen's argument for this final type of conversion is built on the church's new influence, authority, and wealth as a result of its new and favoured position in the Empire. Noting that the rates of conversion radically increased in the fourth

---

[178] MacMullen appears consistently reluctant to suggest these events may actually have occurred and been seen, instead preferring to note the reports of these works that people will have heard.
[179] MacMullen, "Two types of conversion to early Christianity," 37.
[180] Turtullian, *Apol.* 50.15, as quoted in MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 30.
[181] MacMullen, "Two types of conversion to early Christianity," 37.
[182] MacMullen argues that both Christians and non-Christians embraced a multiplicity of supernatural beings, with a supreme God at the top and lower powers, angels, and *daimones* below. Where they differed was in the names they gave them. MacMullen uses this argument to support his thesis that Christianity was not that different than the prevailing models of belief and thus, adopting Christian belief required little more than a shift in names. "There was thus no basis for conflict between the two structures of belief so long as the nature of 'god' remained undefined." MacMullen, "Two types of conversion to early Christianity," 31.
[183] MacMullen, "Two types of conversion to early Christianity," 36.
[184] MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 58. For MacMullen, the shift in Constantine towards Christianity marks the single greatest movement in the development of the early Church.

century MacMullen posits, "people were joining the church partly to get rich. Or at least less poor".[185]

But what did MacMullen make of this "process of conversion"? Notice in the following introduction to an essay on conversion in the early Church what aspect of the process drives MacMullen's arguments:

> What pagans saw in Christianity (in the sense of being drawn to it) depended greatly on what they saw of it. Self-evidently, their first allegiance could be inspired only by those parts and aspects of the faith that were openly displayed. So there is one topic to explore: exactly what was displayed, undeniably and demonstrably? And displayed at the moment of conversion, so as to account for it – not when the process was well begun.[186]

The key to understanding MacMullen's approach to conversion comes here in his reliance on a "moment of conversion." It is the instant of conversion that MacMullen is looking for; a sort of "ah-ha!" moment in which one comes to believe. But it is not the particularities of that instance that drive him; it is what precedes that movement in which an individual comes to belief. He indicates that there may indeed be a process that follows this, but his emphasis rests heavily on that single moment of change and what provoked it. Exactly what those predicating circumstance might have been, we will look at shortly; for now we may summarise that MacMullen classifies an individual as a Christian convert prior to 312AD, at the moment he or she comes to believe in and align himself or herself with the Christian God.

A notable addition to this understanding of conversion applied to the post-Constantinian world where MacMullen contends many aligned themselves with the Church for economic and political reasons with little change of belief.[187] MacMullen concludes that given the Church's increased wealth, power, and influence in the fourth century, many would have pretended at conversion to gain social and financial advantages.[188] The substantive change here is of motivation. For MacMullen, the legitimacy or illegitimacy of belief in conversion is not as important as the declaration of belief and alignment. Before the year 312 converts may have legitimately believed. After 312 they may have merely pretended to. In either case it is the internal mental decision and alignment that renders one a convert.

---

[185] MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 114-115. We'll return to this observation in the following section, as Cyril appears well aware of the less than pious reasons many sought to convert to Christianity. See *Catech*. 3.7.

[186] MacMullen, "Two types of conversion to early Christianity," 174.

[187] MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 114-119.

[188] This is a striking and rather indicting observation. Interestingly, it is also one shared by Cyril, as we will see in the following portion of the chapter.

Much like Nock, MacMullen embraced an intellectual conversion, dependent on presented doctrines and reports of impressive feats. MacMullen's reasons for conversion vary depending on the class of the convert. The uneducated converted because of reports of wonderful acts of power; the elite converted following due consideration and the appeal of monotheism; and after 312 many converted for economic or political reasons. Notably absent in MacMullen's reasons for conversion is the effect Christians had on their neighbours.[189] Given the significant role Christian behaviour and relationships with outsiders play in Stark, Kreider, Nock, and Cyril, as we will see in the following section, this omission by MacMullen appears a curious oversight, and one worthy of brief examination.

MacMullen excludes Christian behavior as a possible or compelling witness to potential converts "because the curiosity of contemporaries could not penetrate beyond Christians' own exclusiveness *except through conversion*."[190] Moreover, even if one were to observe the behavior of Christians, MacMullen is convinced it would have little impact, noting that, "everything else makes me think that converts, in their moral nature, temperament, motivation, and every other characteristic, differed not a whit from the neighbors they left behind them."[191] MacMullen supports this claim by drawing a line between Christians and Christianity.

> As strictly as possible we should try to limit ourselves to things that were specifically and expressly said to non-believers. We should not use what was written for eastern pagans by Lucian or Galen or what was spoken to an audience in Rome from Fronto and Crescens: they are looking at Christians (at behavior, that is), not at Christianity (that is, at belief).[192]

As conversion is, for MacMullen a change in belief, or at least the appearance of a change in belief, it is appropriate that the Christianity he is interested in is one of words and thoughts, not behaviour or conduct. But by excluding Christian behaviour, and allowing only expressed belief in his equation, MacMullen's findings prove disappointingly self-fulfilling. MacMullen appears deeply unwilling to allow for a difference in the behaviour of Christians as a result of their Christian belief. So desperate is he to avoid an engagement with the conduct of Christians that he has to frame his study in such a way that he can justify excluding even pagan witness to Christian disciplines. While we will return to this when we look to Cyril, it is worth mentioning presently that this delineation between Christians and Christianity

---

[189] In fact, MacMullen argues that Christians were such cumbersome neighbours, as a result of their intolerance towards heretical or pagan practices, that they in no small part earned the hostility they faced during the persecutions. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 91-93.

[190] MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 105.

[191] MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 114.

[192] This distinction proves suspiciously convenient for MacMullen as it essentially enables him to disregard every primary text from the period that would render his argument flaccid. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 178

(behaviour and belief) runs counter to Cyril's understanding of and teaching on conversion. Given Cyril's placement of conduct as a constituent component of the Christian life, it is unlikely he would accept the divorce of the Christian from Christianity. For Cyril, Christians were those baptised into Christ and living out a demonstrably Christian moral identity, while Christianity was the collection of pious doctrines and virtuous actions instructed in the Bible.[193]

Stark: The Sociologist

Where Nock and MacMullen emphasized the intellectual aspects of conversion, Rodney Stark brought the eyes and training of a sociologist of religion to bear on the study of conversion in late antiquity. Utilizing modern paradigms and understandings of how conversions progress, and reading those back into the early Church, Stark's conclusions were both compelling and contested.[194] He asserted that following the decimation of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and the transition from majority Jewish adherents to majority Gentile adherents, Christianity became a cult religion in that it was seen less as a heretical Jewish offshoot and rather as a novel and original movement. Using the example of two modern cult religions, the Unification Church and Mormonism, both of whose conversion processes Stark had studied in detail, Stark argued for a similar conversion experience in the early Christian church. In both cases, Stark argued, conversion itself was an act of social deviance, in that it went against prevailing social practices and norms.[195] Additionally, Stark advanced a 'network theory of conversion' which suggested that it was interpersonal attachments that stood at the cross road of conversion, not doctrinal appeal or convincing preaching.[196] *The Rise of*

---

[193] *Catech.* 4.2 "True religion consists of these two elements: pious doctrines and virtuous actions." We will return to this in Part 2.

[194] Wayne Meeks blurb appearing on the hard cover dustjacket of Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, has proved accurate: "Rodney Stark's new book will challenge, provoke, and irritate." For more comprehensive responses see *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, vol. 6 no. 2 (1998): 161-267, which devoted 3 essays in rebuttal to Stark, by Todd E. Klutz, Keith Hopkins, and Elizabeth A. Castelli, and concluded by Stark himself, responding to his detractors. See also Jan N. Bremmer, *The Rise of Christianity Through the Eyes of Gibbon, Harnack and Rodney Stark*, (Groningen: Barkhuis, 2010). who is particularly critical of Stark's estimates on Christian growth, while sympathetic to Stark's network theory of conversion, which is what interests us here. See also William R. Garret's review of a series of Stark's essays, wherein he praises Stark for both his interdisciplinary approach and the perspicuity of his results, William R. Garret, "Sociology and New Testament studies: a critical evaluation of Rodney Stark's contribution," *Journal for The Scientific Study of Religion* 29, no. 3 (September 1990): 377-384. See also Birger A. Pearson, *The Emergence of the Christian Religion: Essays on Early Christianity*, (Harrisburg PA: Trinity Press International, 1997): 212–13, 224; & Birger A. Pearson, "On Rodney Stark's Foray into Early Christian History," *Religion* 29, no. 2 (1999): 171-176. Pearson views the book as a welcome and favourable contribution to patristic scholarship and early Christian studies though remains cautions, particularly about chapter 6 on the Christianization of urban environments.

[195] Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 17.

[196] Stark was not the first to argue for the Network theory of Conversion, though his work has proved the most extensive application of it to the Early Church. See Harold Remus, "Voluntary Association and Networks: Aelius Aristides at the Asclepieion in Pergamum," in *Voluntary Associations in the*

Christianity, essentially serves as an extended unpacking and application of this 'network theory of conversion' to the growth of Christianity in its first four centuries.

In his studies Stark observed that people tended not to convert because of persuasive doctrines, but instead out of a desire for conformity with those they knew and respected. In all the cases of conversion Stark noted, the potential convert began as the friend of a member of the religion whom they had met outside of the religions' regular activities. These potential converts would, at some point, come along to a service or meeting and begin to form friendships with other members of the religion.[197] Eventually, people would join a new movement when their "interpersonal attachments to members overbalanced their attachments to nonmembers. In effect, conversion is not about seeking or embracing an ideology; it is about bringing one's religious behavior into alignment with that of one's friends and family members."[198] Stark noted that there were certainly other factors at play, but that "Conversion to new, deviant religious groups occurs when, other things being equal, people have or develop stronger attachments to members of the group than they have to nonmembers"[199]. Stark devotes much of *The Rise of Christianity* to noting how various social, economic, political, and even medical factors,[200] serve to undergird his main contention that "attachments lie at the heart of conversion and therefore that conversion tends to proceed along social networks formed by interpersonal attachments."[201]

Where MacMullen did not see relationships and behaviour as significant factors in conversion, Stark takes the impact of social interactions and social networks and pushes it to an extreme. For Stark, the reason people convert has everything to do with their social network and the interactions therein.

> People conform when they believe they have more to lose by being detected in deviance than they stand to gain from the deviant act. Some people deviate while others conform because people differ in their stakes in conformity. That is, some people simply have far less to lose than do others. A major stake in conformity lies in our attachments to other people. Most of us conform in order to retain the good opinion of our friends and family. But some people lack attachments. Their rates of

---

Graeco-Roman World, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson, (London/New York: Routledge, 1996). 146-175.

[197] Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 16.

[198] *ibid.,* 16-17.

[199] *ibid.,* 18.

[200] *ibid.,* ch. 7 serves as a particularly interesting examination of the role epidemics, fires, earthquakes, and general urban chaos had on those who survived the disasters. Stark suggests that survivors were often likely to have been cared for by a Christian or known someone else who was, as Christians were known not to leave the site of urban disasters or to flee the outbreak of epidemics, and that as a result those cared for proved ready potential converts.

[201] Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 18.

deviance are much higher than are those of people with an abundance of attachments.[202]

Stark's view on why people convert is based on his observation of individuals desiring to establish or maintain their place in a social network. When an individual's desire for attachment to a given community outweighs his or her desire for attachment to other social networks, the individual will bring his or her beliefs and behaviours into line with those of the community to which he or she is most attached. Accordingly, those who lack attachment to the community are unlikely to conform to the beliefs and behaviours of the community. Framed another way, believing followed belonging.

Notably less significant in Stark's view, and in striking contrast to MacMullen and Nock, was the impact of doctrinal appeal and mass preaching on potential converts.

> [The] claim that mass conversions to Christianity took place as crowds spontaneously responded to evangelists assumes that doctrinal appeal lies at the heart of the conversion process – that people hear the message, find it attractive, and embrace the faith. But modern social science relegates doctrinal appeal to a very secondary role, claiming that most people do not really become very attached to the doctrines of their new faith until after their conversion.[203]

Stark is clearly taking aim at historians approaching early Christian conversion as a primarily mental exercise. Not only does he reject the persuasive presentation of doctrines as a reason for conversion, he dismisses MacMullen's claim that the positive response to an evangelical message is the same as conversion. Stark's conclusion that conversion is intimately and primarily linked to ones' social network has some impressive corroboration in Cyril's own observations about the early stages of conversion. As we will see shortly, Cyril looked most favourably on the baptismal candidate who had come to Catechism with relational gains in mind and was surprisingly dismissive of those with primarily intellectual interest.[204] Compellingly, Cyril seems to have noticed that these relational and social attachments effectively bore fruit in ways doctrinal curiosity did not. Indeed it is one of the contentions of this thesis that more than merely noticing this trend, Cyril designed his evangelistic strategy with this in mind - but more on that in chapter 3. While Stark and Cyril do share much in common respecting the impact of social networks on conversion, their similarities diverge somewhat when addressing just what it was to be a Christian.

---

[202] *ibid.,* 17.

[203] *ibid.,* 14. Interestingly, Unification Church (Moonies) converts who were interviewed early in their engagement with a new cult sited their new friendship group as their reason for attendance. Yet, when interviewed later, after adopting the cults doctrinal views, they explained their early interest in the cult as a result of "the irresistible appeal of the Divine Principles… suggesting only the blind could reject such obvious and powerful truths." Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 119.

[204] *Procatech*. 2.

Where Cyril taught that one became a Christian only through baptism, the climax of conversion, Stark is less interested in when conversion could be called 'complete' than he is in how it begins. This is, perhaps, understandable, given the almost subconscious way conversion progresses in Stark's model. There is little need for active reflection or mental ascent in a conversion hinging on social conformity. Converts come to believe because their social network believes; they come to conform behaviorally because they do not want to appear deviant in the network to which they are attached. At some later point in their conversion, Stark finds that converts do earnestly and personally believe in the doctrines of their adopted religion, but they appear unable to accurately recount how that belief came about. They will attribute it to the clarity and un-deniability of the teaching and doctrines, and forget that in early interviews they thought little of the teaching but enjoyed the company of the believers.[205] Retrospectively, a convert will say their conversion was the result of a search for faith, when in reality it had begun as a search for friends. Stark approaches conversion less as a process one is actively involved in than a sort of stream in which one is caught up and carried along.

Stark reasons that the growth of the Church in late antiquity was not the primarily the result of miracles or imperial edict or even the powerful testimony of martyrs. Instead he attributes the Church's growth and success to "the united and motivated efforts of the growing number of Christian believers, who invited their friends, relatives, and neighbors to share the "good news."[206] People converted to Christianity because they liked and became attached to Christians, and, subsequently conformed their beliefs and behaviours to those of their new social network. Becoming Christian was less a willful reorientation based on propositional claims than a gradual, and potentially subconscious, conforming of one's own beliefs and behaviours to that of a group. This conformity happened when the attachments to the group outweigh the attachments outwith.

Kreider: The Process

Standing slightly apart from our preceding scholars, Alan Kreider serves as a compelling representative of a more recent scholarly approach to questions of conversion in the Roman world, which seeks to embrace the nuance of the 'process' over and against the particular 'moment' of conversion.[207] Kreider takes a more holistic approach to the questions

---

[205] *ibid.,* 19.
[206] *ibid.,* 208.
[207] Kreider contributed to and edited the book, Alan Kreider, ed., *The Origins of Christendom in the West*, (Edinburgh/New York: T&T Clark, 2001), which brought together some of the best names in the field, including Ramsay MacMullen, Wolfgang Wischmeyer, Everett Ferguson, Paul Bradshaw, David Wright, Kate Cooper, and Rowan Williams. Part one: 'Aspects of Conversion', two: 'Change and

of conversion, drawing together much of the scholarship already mentioned. In his short and incisive work on conversion and Christendom Kreider writes, "conversion involved changes in belief, belonging, and behavior – in the context of an experience of God that, for all the reticence of early Christian witnesses, for some people must have been very powerful."[208] Kreider is happy to accept the conclusions of Nock, MacMullen, and Stark in as much as they contribute to understanding the various parts of the process of conversion. His own contribution has been to draw these component parts together, frame them within a multi-step programme, and to encourage the discussion in the direction of process. For Kreider, conversion was not simply a matter for the mind or, more nebulously, the soul, nor merely an influential change in social networks, it was a far broader undertaking affecting an individual from the inside out. What they believed, who they interacted with, and how they interacted. Furthermore, Kreider is emphatic that conversion is not an instantaneous instance of change. Conversion is a process.

Kreider notes that this process incorporated four distinct steps.[209] Step one, evangelization, was characterized by the early informal contact between potential converts and Christians, and was concluded when the potential believer enrolled for catechetical instruction.[210] Step two, catechism, involved the candidate leaving his "values and solidarities," and committing "to the journey of conversion. As catechumens, the candidates were no longer conventional pagans, nor were they yet members of the Christian community."[211] During this period candidates would gather for regular instruction where "The teaching seems to have concentrated on a reshaping of the converts' *behavior*."[212] Step three, enlightenment, saw the instruction of the catechumen progress from behavior to belief. "In this stage the catechists were concerned to impart to their candidates orthodox teaching; the candidates also received exorcisms and other spiritual preparations culminating in the

---

Continuity in the Christianization of Europe', and three: 'Liturgy and Christian Formation in the Advent of Christendom', prove particularly helpful. For the 'process' of conversion see also Susan Elm, "Inscriptions and Conversions, Gregory of Nazianzus on Baptism," in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Seeing and Believing,* ed. Kenneth Mills & Anthony Grafton (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003): 7-14. See Also in the same volume Neil McLynn, "Seeing and Believing: Aspects of Conversion from Antoninus Puis to Louis the Pious," *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Seeing and Believing,* ed. Kenneth Mills & Anthony Grafton (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003).

[208] Alan Kreider, *The Change of Conversion,* XV.

[209] See chapter 3 of Kreider, *The Change of Conversion,* 21-33; See also Kreider, ed., *The Origins of Christendom in the West*, 3-46.

[210] *ibid*., 21-22. This process aligns neatly with Stark's understanding of the impact of social networks on a potential convert.

[211] *ibid.,* 22. This step in the process will become the focus of chapter 3, on Cyril's *Catechism*, where Cyril leads catechumens from those early interactions with the Christian community towards incorporation into that community through baptism. In particular, the focus on behaviour will form the second part of the chapter.

[212] *ibid.,* 22. Cyril's method of leading catechumens toward belief and understanding of the Church's doctrines is the focus of part one of chapter 3.

baptismal rites".[213] Finally, step four, Mystagogy, saw the recently baptised receive instruction on the meaning of baptism and participation in the Eucharist.[214]

Together, Kreider sees these four steps as comprising the *what* of conversion. Conversion was a process beginning with a non-Christians' initial contact with believers and, should the process be successful, ending with initiation into the community and the mysteries through baptism. Through this process the convert underwent a "change not just of belief but also of belonging and behavior."[215] Not only does Stark's assessment of the early impact of social networks fit comfortably in Kreider's paradigm, the multi-step process aligns well with Cyril's own observations and catechetical teachings.[216] Kreider is clear that for one to be a Christian he or she must be converted - a conversion that incorporated catechism, baptism, and the subsequent participation in the Eucharist. It was only at the end of this process that one could be considered a Christian.

Like Stark, Kreider suggests that people did not become interested in Christianity through doctrinal or theological instruction, and certainly not through proselytization, which "did not exist"[217]; but instead, men and women became Christian because "Christians… were intriguingly attractive."[218] Kreider notes that, Christian worship and teaching shaped "the consciousness of individual Christians and the character of their communities so that their lives – and their interactions with outsiders – would be attractive and question posing."[219] Like Nock, Kreider asserts that non-Christians would have had some experience of Christians that caused them to pause and question the belief further. Where for Nock this pause may have been caused by the behavior of a martyr, Kreider expands this behavioural aspect to encompass the whole Christian community. Christians behaved towards one another and outsiders in a way different enough from the prevailing society that it caused non-Christians to question further and inquire more deeply about this faith.[220] Kreider also highlights the impact of friendship on conversion, noting that many of the noted conversions of late antiquity owe their impetus to the convert's engagement with a close friend who was a

---

[213] *ibid.,* 22.
[214] This will be the focus of chapter 4, on Cyril's *Mystagogy* and baptism.
[215] Kreider, *The Change of Conversion*, XV.
[216] *ibid.,* 43-47.
[217] Kreider, *The Change of Conversion*, 13, citing Tertullian and Caecilius neither of whom refer to any sort of preached public witness. An exception here is made for the rare occasions Christian's suffered execution in the amphitheaters.
[218] An attractiveness noticeable in behaviour, not, primarily, in doctrine. Again we see a notable counter to MacMullens claim that we must discount behaviour and rely solely on what Christian's said. Kreider, *The Change of Conversion*, 13.
[219] *ibid.,* 13.
[220] Clearly this assessment runs counter to MacMullen who, as we noted earlier, is at pains to avoid any inclusion of Christian behaviour in his own assessments. See MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 178.

Christian, as in the case of Cyprian and Caecelianus.[221] This reflection fits closely with Cyril's own in the Catechesis regarding the strong pull of relationship that brought men and women to Catechism.

These early social and personal engagements with Christians constituted the first step in the four-step process of converting to Christianity. As a potential convert journeyed along this path they underwent a "process of examination, instruction, and ritual" that "rehabituated the candidates for conversion, re-reflexing them into the lifestyle of an alternative community."[222] Conversion was not merely up to the individual. They were interacting with a community that was working to reshape the behaviour and belief of the potential convert, and then testing to see if this reshaping had in fact occurred. Converts truly *under*went conversion; which is to say there were outside forces working on them, not merely internal private forces at play.

Like MacMullen, Kreider notes that there is a change in this process in the post-Constantinian era. But where MacMullen sees a change in motivation, Kreider sees a change in pace. With the Church no longer hidden amongst the shadows, numbers grew and the shape of catechism changed. With Christianity now safely in the light, non-Christians could attend church sermons and the reading of scripture, though they were still required to depart before prayers and the Eucharist. Should one wish to participate further, catechism and baptism were required. As the number of candidates for baptism swelled, catechism and the examination of candidates became less intensive. While there had been no hard rule for the duration one had to remain a catechumen in the pre-Constantinian era,[223] it was not uncommon for it to last over two years.[224] In the fourth century, forty days was much more common.[225] As catechisms became shorter, "less could be taught; there could be less supervising of the candidates' progress, less encouraging and modeling by the sponsors."[226] As a result, Kreider believes that it was possible for converts to be "less disciplined, [and] indeed, less catechized – than they had been a century earlier."[227] However, apart from this change in time scale, what conversion was, and why and how it happened, remained largely

---

[221] Kreider, *The Change of Conversion*, 7. For conversion account see Cyrprian's letter, *Ad Donatum*, as well as Pontius's *Vita Cypriani*.
[222] Kreider, *The Change of Conversion*, 21.
[223] See chapter 3, beginning p.87.
[224] the Council of Elvira suggests a 2-year period of catechumency. For more on the canons of the Council of Elvira see Michel Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate*, trans. Edward J. Haasl (New York: Sadlier, 1979), 69. See also our background to Cyril *Catechism* in chapter 3.
[225] For more on the 40 day catechumency see Maxwell Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation, Their Evolution and Interpretation*, (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), particularly chapter 5.
[226] Kreider, *The Change of Conversion*, 41.
[227] Kreider, *The Change of Conversion*, 40.

unchanged. Conversion was still a process during which one changed beliefs, behaviours, and belonging. One was converted, and the process concluded, when he had been fully initiated having passed through baptism and shared in the Eucharist.

In Kreider we find a sympathetic companion for Cyril. His account of what it was to become and be a Christian bears close resemblance to Cyril's. Moreover, Kreider incorporates the intellectual elements of Nock and MacMullen, draws in the social factors of Stark, and goes a step further by including baptism and Mystagogy, a move in keeping with Cyril's own understanding and framing of the Lenten instruction.

Part Two: Cyril on Conversion

Following our examination of the various modern schools of thought on conversion, we must now turn our attention back to the fourth century and examine how Jerusalem's chief catechizer approached these questions. If we are to avoid the charge of anachronism we must frame the conversions we are examining within the context of their place and time. In this section we are introducing Cyril's own concept of conversion so that in chapters 2, 3, and 4 we might examine in detail why conversion was needed, how conversion progressed over the course of catechism, and how conversion was completed in baptism. Presently, our primary aim is to ascertain when, according to Cyril, a convert was converted, and broadly what that conversion required. To frame it in the language of MacMullen, did Cyril have a "moment of conversion"? [228] Alternatively, if conversion were a process, as indicated by Kreider,[229] how did Cyril see it progressing? Additionally, given the focus in modern scholarship on the reasons people converted we will also note some of the reasons Cyril presents for why those gathered for his teaching might have come to be there. Many of the questions raised and points examined presently will play out and be returned to in greater depth in subsequent chapters. Our goal here is to frame these later discussions in light of Cyril's own approach to and understanding of the goal of catechism and baptism, the conversion of men and women into Christians.

Somewhat surprisingly, Cyril's understanding of conversion is not a subject that has been seriously engaged by scholars examining his work. Drijvers appears to approach the catechumens as those already converted who were being catechized in preparation for baptism, but never attempts a definition of what conversion meant for Cyril or those he was

---

[228] MacMullen, "Two types of conversion to early Christianity," 174.
[229] For more on the development of the concept of conversion as a process see: Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, eds., *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Seeing and Believing*, (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003), particularly the introduction by Mills and Grafton.

instructing. He assumes a sort of Nock-ian position that conversion was the mental ascent to new beliefs and the commitment to be catechized in advance of baptism. In doing so he divorces conversion from baptism, approaching conversion as an individual's decision to believe and baptism as the sacramental means of initiation.[230] Similarly, Alexis Doval has few references to conversion, and those present are ill-defined and indicate a rendering of conversion similar to that offered by Nock and MacMullen.[231] In the same vein, McCauley & Stephenson make no attempt at a definition in their work, nor do they engage with the role of catechism or baptism in conversion. In some respects, these omissions can be understood given the varying foci of the works. But the cumulative result of failing to define conversion in Cyril's own terms opens up the danger of misinterpreting the significance Cyril himself placed on catechism and baptism, as well as failing to understand a key reason he approached the construction of the *Catechism* and the execution of the baptism as he did.

In some ways, the failure to examine conversion as a concept in Cyril's work is further understandable given that Cyril himself never attempts a definition. As we will see in this section Cyril has much to say about how it is one becomes a Christian, but a clear definition of conversion is not forthcoming. So it is that in asking Cyril about conversion we must be willing to dig a little deeper and cast our net a little wider so that we might come to understand what Cyril understood conversion to be and mean. But given our own understanding of conversion as being the transformation from one thing or state, or way of being, to another, we may ask of Cyril, when that transformation was complete, when one was a Christian.

In asking what conversion entailed in Cyril's Jerusalem, we might begin with a host of characteristics, many of which have been noted by the scholars previously examined. That it involved interaction with Christians, hearing of Christian teaching, practicing of Christian disciplines, coming to believe in Christian doctrines, undergoing Catechism, and passing through the waters of Baptism. But ultimately conversion is a change or transformation with a distinct end. When converting currency, you might go to the bank, hand over your dollars,

---

[230] References to converts or conversion are scarce in Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, but one telling indication of Drijvers approach comes as he observes that part of Cyril's work in the *Catechism* is to solidify in converts' minds the exclusivity of Christianity in that it did not allow for adherence to any other cults or religions. "However, many of the newly converted may not have found it easy to adjust to their new lifestyle and may have slid back from time to time… It may even be that some new converts considered Christianity to be one of a number of cults into which one could be initiated, and did not see baptism as an irreversible rite of passage." Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 116. See also p.123, which approaches the conversion of the catechumens as a prior act completed in advance of catechism, "the newly converted could easily be mistaken and enter a Marcionite house of worship," Thus Cyril's need to prohibit such attendance in *Catechism* 4.37 & 18.26.

[231] Doval, somewhat offhandedly suggests, that "Entrance into the catechumenate… required a genuine conversion and commitment to the faith." Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 30.

have the teller determine the exchange rate, and then be handed back the appropriate number of pounds. We might examine the steps involved in the conversion, but to speak of it as a conversion at all we must acknowledge the desired end, the moment at which your currency has been converted. Certainly, the conversion has several essential and constituent steps, but ultimately it is not a conversion unless the dollars in your hand have become pounds in your hand. Indeed, the purpose of the various steps of the conversion is to complete the process, to bring about the transformation of the starting thing into something different. So it is with the conversion of men and women to Christianity in Cyril's Jerusalem. Their conversion was from not being Christian into being Christian. With this in mind, we must begin our examination of Cyril's understanding of conversion at the end of the process. What was it, ultimately, that signified that a man or woman was converted? At what point did someone who had formerly not been a Christian, become a Christian? When was a convert converted?

Becoming Christian: Baptism as Conversion

In his Catechism, Cyril was clearly invested in the changing of catechumens' beliefs, behaviours, and social networks. Nearly every word in his instruction can be framed as instruction in doctrine, discipline, or community. But in addition to those tangible and quantifiable elements of conversion, becoming Christian was also, and even primarily, about a fundamental change in one's relationship to God effected through baptism.[232] This change was not something that man could effect on his own, it required the action of God by means of his Spirit. While a challenging transformation to quantify from a historian's perspective, Cyril taught that it was this action on God's part, consented to by the catechumen and conducted in baptism, that more than anything brought one from not being, into being a Christian.[233] While these theological components of conversion may not be the most natural ground for historians, they do bear our earnest consideration. Cyril taught that becoming Christian was at least about a change in belief and behavior, but that far more significantly it was a receiving of spiritual gifts, promises, and identity from God himself, and the incorporation of the individual into both the spiritual body of Christ and the Church. Significantly, as we will see presently, this spiritual endowment and incorporation happened

---

[232] "In every way make your own soul safe, by fasting, prayers, alms, and the reading of the divine oracles. That living in temperance and in the observance of pious doctrine for the rest of your time in the flesh, you may enjoy the one salvation of the laver of baptism, and so, enrolled in the heavenly hosts by God the Father, you may be deemed worthy of the heavenly crowns, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen." *Catech*. 4.37

[233] From the outset in the *Procatechesis* Cyril instructs that becoming Christian was something catechumens accepted and submit to, not something they did or worked for themselves. "Then, may the gates of Paradise be opened to every man of you and every woman. Then, may you enjoy the fragrant, Christ-bearing waters. Then, may you receive Christ's name and the power of things divine." *Procatech*. 15.

not at the moment of first belief, or the shifting of social allegiances, or in response to stirring preaching, or the witnessing of a martyr's death, but rather in the waters of baptism.

It is important to our study, given the various views of modern scholarship on conversion, that we understand Cyril's instruction that one did not receive or enjoy essential components of Christian identity until baptism.[234] "Great is the prize set before you in Baptism: ransom for captives, remission of sins, death of sin, a new, spiritual birth, a shining garment, a holy seal inviolable, a Heaven-bound chariot, delights of Paradise, a passport to the Kingdom, the grace of the adoption of sons."[235] In baptism man died[236] and was raised again imperishable,[237] he was clothed in a new and pure garment,[238] his former sins were purged,[239] he was purified,[240] and he was equipped for the future to wrestle with the enemy and his forces,[241] he received the gift of the Holy Spirit,[242] his adoption as a son by the Father was enacted,[243] he became an heir of eternal life,[244] he received the divine nature becoming himself an image of Christ,[245] he was called a Christian,[246] and gained eventual access to heaven.[247] Following baptism he was able to share in the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, as well as to know the mysteries of communion and baptism themselves. Baptism was the pivotal and defining moment in the life of a Christian where the promises of God, identity in Christ, and incorporation in Christ's Church were imparted.

Beyond lacking this identity and these promises, Cyril highlights that it is not until baptism that one will "receive Christ's name and the power of things divine."[248] From the very beginning of the course of catechism it is apparent that Cyril does not view his catechumens as yet bearing the name of Christ; they are not yet 'Christians'.[249] This issue of nomenclature raises an important question for us as historians of late antiquity. Do we assess Christians of late antiquity by a different standard then they assessed themselves? Can we call those Christian who did not see themselves as such or were not seen as such by the Church?

---

[234] We will return in greater depth to this subject in chapter 4.
[235] *Procatech.* 16
[236] *Mystagogy* 2.5
[237] *Catech.* 4.32
[238] *Procatech.*16, 17.15, *Mystagogy* 2.2
[239] *Mystagogy* 2.4
[240] *Catech.* 3.4
[241] *Catech.* 3.13
[242] *Catech.* 3.15, *Mystagogy* 2.6
[243] *Procatech.* 6, *Catech.* 3.14, 3.15, *Mystagogy* 2.6
[244] *Catech.* 4.32
[245] *Mystagogy* 3.1, 3.3
[246] *Mystagogy* 3.1, 3.5
[247] *Procatech.* 16
[248] *Procatech.* 15
[249] *Procatech.* 15. For more on the name "Christian" see chapter 3 and 4, pgs. 136, 143.

Might we be imposing on them a definition of what it is to be a Christian that Cyril and his congregation would not have recognized? While we might examine the motivations for conversion, or the instances that led to it, while attributing varying degrees of importance to these features, in so doing we must be cautious not to define men and women as Christian who did not see themselves as such. And Cyril is clear on the matter. One could not be a Christian without being baptised, for it was in baptism that one's very identity and eternal trajectory changed.

Recall Nock and MacMullen's perspectives, where one could be classified a convert to Christianity and a Christian when he or she had made the first steps of alignment, belief, and obedience. Cyril's teaching seems to contradict this assessment, as he teaches that a Christian was one who, in addition to transforming his belief and behaviour, had been baptised. Here, Cyril and our modern scholars differ both on when one becomes a Christian in name, and what makes one a Christian in reality. In Cyril's approach to conversion one did not elect to be a Christian; the title 'Christian' was granted to those who had been catechized, tested, and baptised into Christ and the Church. Furthermore, becoming Christian was not simply a social or intellectual change, but rather it was an ontological one, as we will see in the next chapter. The Holy Spirit acted on the individual in the baptismal rite, changing their identity, purging their sins, uniting them with Christ, and adopting them as children of God. Fundamentally, it was these changes, which occurred only in baptism, that made one a Christian. This presents some difficulties for the approach taken by Nock and MacMullen, especially if men and women who comprise the focus of their studies were operating with the same understanding as Cyril, that to be a Christian one must be baptised. Our own belief in the reality of these spiritual alterations need not factor into our assessment so long as we acknowledge that these features were understood by Cyril and his catechumens to be constituent components of a Christian, and that these components were not present in the unbaptised.

Notably, Cyril's own account of what makes one a Christian does not discount Nock's conclusion that becoming a Christian required a reorientation of the soul, or MacMullen's that this change was one of belief, and alignment. However, where Nock and MacMullen view this change as occurring primarily in the realm of intellect, Cyril required the dual transformation of both belief and behavior, followed by a spiritual transformation in baptism.[250] Cyril's understanding of what a Christian was, incorporates both MacMullen and

---

[250] For more on the holistic nature of the conversion as expressed in the *Catechism* see chapter 3. See also, Anders-Christian Jacobsen, "Identity Formation through Catechetical Teaching in Early

Nock's assertions, and then goes further to require that conversion be actualized through sacred ritual. Without baptism, a convert was not converted. Without baptism, a catechumen could not become a Christian. Yes, there were other constituent parts in the process of that conversion, but at the end of Lent conversion was not effected, was not completed, until a catechumen had been baptised. However, while baptism was the great effector of conversion, it was not the only step in the process, as before being baptised, a convert required catechism.

Conversion and the Catechism

Early in the catechism Cyril confronts his catechumens with an extended metaphor for their present state of transition and the necessity of preparation for their impending baptism. One did not simply walk into the waters of baptism, and thus become Christian. As catechumens prepared for the union of their souls to God, Cyril suggests it is as if they are preparing for a wedding. Indeed, the very ritual of the catechumen's entry into the church echoes this. Crowned with "mystic blossoms" forming "heavenly garlands," they process into the church carrying the "tapers of brides",[251] noting the wafting "scents of paradise" as the "fragrance of the Holy Spirit" blows about them,[252] It is a lovely image, and was no doubt an encouraging picture for those in attendance. Having submitted their names for baptism the catechumens were ceremoniously ushered into the church for the first of many lectures set to prepare them for their union with God.

However, the lectures' encouraging beginning is coupled with a warning. The catechumens were candidates, and in this process effort and discipline were required. "Yes, God is generous and kind; nevertheless He requires in every man a resolve that is true.... It is the sincerity of your resolution that makes you "called." It is of no use your body being here if your thoughts and heart are elsewhere."[253] More than just their presence at catechism was

---

Christianity," in *Conversion and Initiation in Antiquity, Shifting Identities – Creating Change,* ed. Birgitte Bøgh (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Edition, 2014), 203-225.

[251] Lit candles or tapers would have been carried by brides in advance of their marriage ceremony. Here baptism serves as the ceremony to which the catechumens are marching and the union would be, as McCauley and Stephenson note, "consummated in the Eucharist." McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1, 69, ff.2. See also Pamela Jackson, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Use of Scripture in Catechesis," *Theological Studies* 52 (1991): 437-8, for more on Cyril's use of this wedding imagery in the Procatechesis.

[252] *Procatech*. 1

[253] *ibid*. "Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Θεὸς δαψιλής ἐστιν εἰς εὐεργεσίαν· περιμένει δὲ ἑκάστου τὴν γνησίαν προαίρεσιν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐπήγαγεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος λέγων, τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν· ἡ πρόθεσις γνησία οὖσα, κλητόν σε ποιεῖ· κἂν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὧδε ἔχῃς, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν μὴ ἔχῃς, οὐδὲν ὠφελῇ." Cyril here quotes from Romans 8.28. Note Cyril's connection between calling and resolution. It may be tempting to interpret this rhetorical call to diligence and commitment in a Pelagian light. Certainly Cyril's successor, John of Jerusalem was tarred with this brush after failing to condemn Pelagius at the Jerusalem synod of July 28, 415. See John Ferguson, *Pelagius*, (Cambridge: Heffer, 1956), 82-89. Cyril is here, however, not creating a schema for a works based salvation, but rather more simply encouraging his catechumens to remain attentive and take seriously the instruction they are receiving.

required. Catechumens were not simply to wait for baptism, but to attend to and adhere to Cyril's instructions. Whatever situation they had come from, whatever former sins mired them, they were now enrolled to have their souls wedded to God in baptism, and a sincerity of resolution was required to reach that end.

What can this wedding metaphor tell us about Cyril's approach to conversion? Only minutes into the first lecture, we may pause with the candidates present and consider how this introduction bears on their own understanding of the process they are enrolled in. As we have seen, much of the scholarship on conversion in late antiquity has focused on a moment of change. A moment in which a man or woman goes from not-being to being a Christian. What we see then in the *Pro-Catecheses* is that were we to look for Cyril's 'moment of change' it would be baptism. While McMullen and Nock may look to some earlier experience these candidates had, and term that moment when they chose to come to catechism as the moment of conversion,[254] the teaching these catechumens receive in the first minutes of instruction suggests that they are yet in a place of becoming. The bride is not married as she processes into the church. Her wedding may be underway, but she is not yet married.

The catechism then served as a sort of pre-marriage counseling or marriage preparation course.

> "You have entered for a race: run the course; you will not get the like chance again. If it were your wedding day that was fixed, would you not, ignoring everything else, be wholly engaged in preparations for the marriage feast? Then on the eve of consecrating your soul to your heavenly Spouse, will you not put by the things of the body to win those of the spirit?"[255]

The modern picture of a marriage preparation course is a helpful one here. Those to be united to Christ received instruction and counsel, were exhorted to particular behaviours while others are forbidden. Furthermore, this period of preparation was one of testing where the sincerity of the one to be baptised might be explored and the significance of the baptismal vows made clear. Again, like a marriage preparation course, the pre-baptismal programme served as a helpful and practical introduction to the rigors and challenges of post-baptismal Christian life. It was a time where an individual might inquire and question to ensure that they understood the significance, seriousness, and expectations of this impending lifelong union.

As we will see in the following chapters Cyril's call is to a willful cooperation with grace, not a meriting of it. Notably, in the following paragraph, *Procatch*. 2, Cyril returns tangentially to the questions of calling in relation to Matthew 22.14, which we will examine shortly.

[254] See Section on Nock beginning p.41, and on MacMullen beginning p.42.

[255] *Procatch*. 6, "μέλλων δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν καθοσιοῦν τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ νυμφίῳ, οὐκ ἀργήσεις σωματικῶν, ἵνα ἄρῃς πνευματικά;"

Just as one must prepare for a wedding, the catechism was to prepare the candidates for baptism and the life that followed. Catechumens were instructed in belief and behaviour and told to take seriously the union ahead of them. Not unlike an engagement, "it is the sincerity of your resolution that makes you called."[256] The couple is called engaged because of their resolution to marry. And so it is that catechumency is a period of ensuring, informing, and testing resolve. Relating to our question of conversion it is appropriate that in either case, an engagement or catechumency, the moment of significance - the ultimate moment of transition - has yet to come. The catechumen is no more a Christian than an engaged couple is married.

Given the significance of baptism in Cyril's understanding of conversion,[257] how could it be any other way? Those gathered before him are not yet baptised, they have never taken part in the Eucharist,[258] their adoption as sons and daughters of God and their union with Christ has yet to take place. "If a man does not receive baptism he does not attain salvation."[259] This is the point of the catechism; that men and women would be prepared, in belief and behaviour, to receive this union, this adoption, the forgiveness of sins, the inheritance of the Kingdom of God, and ultimately salvation into eternity. Again, as modern scholars, we need not believe in these things themselves to accept that they were integral to the beliefs of Cyril and those being catechized. We may acknowledge that both catechumen and catechizer would have understood these elements as essential to becoming Christian.

In examining Cyril it increasingly becomes apparent the baptism was not merely an expression of one's faith, rather, it was the first act of penitential faith, as we will continue to see over the following chapters. But, if baptism is the climax of conversion and the point at which one becomes a Christian, and catechism is the preparation for that actualization, where and how did this process begin? This question is not only important for the wider work of this thesis, it also highlights some notable and even surprising points of continuity with modern scholarships' study of early Christian conversions.

---

[256] *Procatech*. 1.

[257] We will revisit the significance and role of baptism again in chapter 4 for a full examination of Cyril's understanding and execution of the baptismal rite.

[258] See *Mystagogy* 4 on the Eucharist, and chapter 4 of this thesis.

[259] *Catech*. 3.10, Cyril provides a caveat for martyrs who he deems as having been baptised in blood. He suggests that in Christ's crucifixion, as recorded in John 19.34, when his body is pierced the water which pours out is for the baptism of those able to receive baptism in times of peace, but that the blood that poured with it was for the baptism of those martyred during times of persecution. Cyril justifies this claim by referencing Mark 10.23 where Christ himself links his crucifixion to baptism: "Can you drink the cup of which I drink or be baptised with the baptism with which I am baptised?"

Pursuing Conversion: Why people came to Catechism

In Cyril's introduction to the catechism he gives two possible explanations for why his hearers may have come to be in attendance at the church. He suggests some present may have come out of simple curiosity in the teachings or practices of the church,[260] while others have come looking for relational advantages, be they courtship, friendship, or employment related.[261]

The first would appear to be the ideal situation hoped for by many modern churches with seeker-friendly services: a non-Christian walking the streets wonders what the Christians believe and so enters the church. Thus it is particularly remarkable to the modern reader that Cyril implores these inquisitive seekers to leave. "Let no one enter saying: "I say, let us see what the believers are doing; I'm going in to have a look and find out what's going on." Do you expect to see without being seen? Do you imagine that while you are investigating "what's going on," God is not investigating your heart?"[262] Cyril continues, exegeting Matthew 22:1-14,[263] to warn those who have come to catechism without due consideration and care. He encourages those who have come with "soul befouled with the mire of sin and with your purpose sullied", [264] to reconsider their attendance and to return again another time when their purpose and conduct are pure. Though these people may pass through the whole course of catechism and even into the water of baptism, they "will get no welcome from the Spirit."[265]

---

[260] *Procatech*. 2. Notably, Cyril's awareness of the role of intellectual curiosity finds some common ground with Nock and MacMullen, as seen earlier in the chapter.

[261] The parallel here with Rodney Stark's work on network theories of conversion in the early Church is striking. See Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, (1997). Both appear to agree that social factors are of vital importance in the conversion process. Where they differ would be on just how long those factors are the driving force in conformity and attendance.

[262] *Procatech*. 2.

[263] Special attention is paid by Cyril to verses 11-14: "But when the king came in to look at the guests, he saw there a man who had no wedding garment. And he said to him, 'Friend, how did you get in here without a wedding garment?' And he was speechless. Then the king said to the attendants, 'Bind him hand and foot and cast him into the outer darkness. In that place there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.' For many are called, but few are chosen." (ESV) Cyril may here also have been thinking of the theme of calling referenced only seconds before in *Procatech*. 1. The sincerity of one's resolution may make them called, but here we are reminded that calling does not necessarily result in being chosen. Framed within the context of the *Catechism*, the calling may have brought catechumens to attendance but baptism remains the confirmation and sealing of that calling.

[264] *Procatech*. 4 having a right motive, resolve, or purpose (προαίρεσιν here in *Procatech*.4) is a recurring and important theme for Cyril, mentioned 6 times in the Procatechesis, see *Procatech*. 1,4,5,6,8,9; and 14 times in the *Catech*. 1.6; 2.5,17; 3.16, 4.1,21,37; 6.28; 7.16; 8.4; 13.29; and 15.30.

[265] *Procatech*. 4. Cyril's indication here that the Spirit is received in the water of baptism would appear to run counter to the claim in the *Mystagogy* (3.5) that the Spirit is imparted in the chrism, following the baptism. A focus of chapter 4 will be the way Cyril uses baptism and water as a metonymy in the *Catechism* to refer to the entirety of the rather complicated and multi-step process of the baptismal rite as it is explained in the Mystagogy.

Given these strong warnings, it would seem reasonable to surmise that Cyril expected his catechumens to have arrived with pure purpose and souls. Curiously, however the only other reason given in the *Procatechesis* for why someone will have come to catechism is that they came with an interest in gaining some form of relational advantage; "perhaps you are courting, and a girl is your reason – or, conversely, a boy. Many a time, too, a slave has wished to please his master, or a friend his friend."[266] But where the inquisitive seeker was asked to leave and only return when their motives and conduct improved, here Cyril says,

> I allow the bait, and I welcome you in the trust that, however unsatisfactory the motive that has brought you, your good hope will soon save you.[267] Maybe you did not know where you were going, or what sort of net it was in which you were to be caught. You are a fish caught in the net of the Church. Let yourself be taken alive: don't try to escape. It is Jesus who is playing you on His line, not to kill you, but, by killing you, to make you alive. For you must die and rise again.[268]

This is a striking statement and one that conforms beautifully with Rodney Stark's assessment of why people converted to Christianity. More than doctrines, more than disciplines, converts became attached to the community of Christian believers. They became caught in the social net of the Church. Brought by the desire for greater connectivity, greater conformity, greater intimacy with a friend, or romantic partner, or employer who was already a Christian, these catechumens had arrived in the Church, in part, as a result of their social networks.

So why does Cyril take such markedly different approaches to the one who has entered out of personal curiosity, and the other who has arrived at the behest of, or out of interest in, a friend or master? To the first, Cyril encourages departure. This hypothetical hearer who appears to have no relational attachment to the Christian community, and has seemingly wandered in off the street, curious of what these Christians believe, is asked to reconsider his attendance and leave. Taken at face value, it is an understandable request. The course of catechism is a rigorous one, and the expectations for holiness are high. Cyril highlights the significance and holiness of the undertaking and asks that this hearer depart and

---

[266] *Procatech*.5.

[267] "δέχομαι τὸ δέλεαρ τοῦ ἀγκίστρου, καὶ καταδέχομαί σε, κακῇ προαιρέσει μὲν ἐλθόντα, ἐλπίδι δὲ ἀγαθῇ σωθησόμενον." Interestingly, here we can see that while good motive or purpose is required to attain baptism, Cyril acknowledges that at this early point in advance of the *Catechism*, those present may not yet have developed that good intention. Instead, here it is "ἐλπίδι δὲ ἀγαθῇ" that will soon save. Since we have already seen in *Procatech*.1 that Cyril has been circling around Romans 8:28 in the Procatecheses, we might fairly see here an allusion to Romans 8:24, "For in this hope we were saved." (ESV) "τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν." Notably, the preceding verse, 8:23, has Paul reminding the Romans that he and they 'groan inwardly as we wait eagerly for adoption as sons...' (ESV) Which is precisely the position Cyril casts his catechumens in, awaiting their baptism and adoption as sons of God. While their motives may not be what Cyril expects them to be for baptism, presently it is sufficient that the hope of Romans 8:20-21 "that the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to corruption and obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God." (ESV) will sustain them until such a time as their good motive or purpose and sincerity of resolve render them able to receive that baptism and the Spirit.

[268] *Procatech*.5.

return when they have put off "lewdness and impurity" and "put on the bright robe of chastity."[269]

What surprises, then, is Cyril's welcome to those who have arrived at the church with relational gains in mind; the young man interested in courting a woman, or the woman interested in some man. Alternatively, Cyril suggests a slave may have come to gain the favour of his or her master. Where the person who has come out of curiosity in the belief of Christians is warned of danger, those who have come to gain for themselves advantages in relationships are welcomed in spite of how "unsatisfactory the motive that has brought you"[270]. But what if the relational motivation was more nefarious, or simply utilitarian, as MacMullen suggests was the case for many after the edict of Milan and the advantageous position Christianity increasingly held in the empire?[271]

Interestingly, Cyril does give us an indication that MacMullen may be on to something when he suggested that people sought membership in the Church for less than genuine reasons. As already noted Cyril approaches his potential converts in the *Protocatechesis* on the assumption that there are no pure motives present. But what if one continued in their false motives and sought baptism for the reasons MacMullen suggests that many after Constantine sought conversion? To these individuals Cyril provides clear warning.

> But perhaps there is some hypocrite among you, who seeks the favor of men and makes a pretense of piety [καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐλαβὲς ὑποκρινόμενος], but does not believe from the heart [μὴ ἀπὸ καρδίας δὲ πιστεύων], who with the hypocrisy of Simon Magus approaches not to share in the grace, but out of meddlesome curiosity concerning what is given. Let him listen to John: "For even now the axe is laid at the root of the trees. Every tree, therefore, that is not bringing forth good fruit is to be cut down. And thrown into the fire." The Judge is inexorable, so cast aside your hypocrisy.[272]

That there is any warning at all regarding this false piety is indication that the practice was not unheard of. However, this hypothetical catechumen pretending at piety is not yet a Christian, as Cyril reminds all present that their "fate is still in the balance, to be accepted or not. Instead of copying the carefree, cultivate fear."[273] Throughout the catechism, Cyril warns that he will be "watching the earnestness of each man and the piety of each woman",[274] and

---

[269] *Procatech*.4. The theme of clothing, particularly the putting off of old robes and the putting on of new pure ones will be a major focus in both chapter 3, when we examine the disciplines Cyril instructs in the *Catechism*, and chapter 4, when we examine the actual removal of the baptisands robe in advance of Baptism and their receiving of a spotless white robe after the chrism.

[270] *Procatech*. 5.

[271] MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 58.

[272] *Catech*. 3.7, Quoting Matthew 3:10.

[273] *Procatech*. 13.

[274] *Procatech*. 15. As we have seen, the catechumen's resolve may make them called (*Procatech*.1), but whether they will be accepted into baptism and the Church has yet to be seen. Additionally, Cyril

that, "God, who knows your hearts and discerns who is genuine and who is only acting a part, is able both to keep the sincere safe and to make a believer of the hypocrite."[275] Even if we assume that this falsely pious catechumen endured catechism and was baptised so as to gain for themselves non-religious advantages, it would still not be until after catechism and baptism, that he or she would be classified a 'Christian'.

What can we make of Cyril's explanations for why people may have considered becoming Christian, or at least coming to catechism? First, it would seem from Cyril's introduction that interest in the teachings of the Church was not uncommon. Cyril, however, challenges this as an appropriate motivation for conversion. Where Nock saw persuasive doctrines as the driving and successful force in the apologetic mission of the Church,[276] Cyril clearly values and leverages the relational attachments outsiders formed with Christians. As we observed earlier, these relational gains fit neatly with Rodney Stark and Alan Kreider's suggestions that conversions were predicated on relationships and social networks. But what of this attendee called out for his curiosity? Cyril gives no indication what it was that sparked this interest; instead he simply encourages departure for this interested party. Curiously, in both cases Cyril views the motivations as deficient, so why dismiss one and accept the other? Simply, it would seem Cyril does not appear to want catechumens who are relationally unattached to the Christian community.[277]

The question of just why Cyril would make this distinction will be a significant one for us when we unpack Cyril's evangelistic method in Chapter 3. For now though, we may note that there appear to have been those present at the catechism out of intellectual curiosity, and that they were not considered by Cyril to be ideal candidates, along with others who were caught in the social net of the Church, whom Cyril viewed as ripe for conversion.

Summary

For Cyril, the beginning of the conversion process occurred in a relational context and the climax of conversion came in the form of baptism, with all its sundry benefits. So what can we glean from the *Catechism* on how conversion progressed? At its core, the catechism is instruction in "true religion", which "consists of these two elements: pious

---

appears confident that through the course of catechism, even the hypocrite present may come to real belief.
[275] *Procatech*. 17.
[276] Nock, *Conversion*, 193-224.
[277] *Procatech*.5. We will return to this theme shortly.

doctrine and virtuous actions."[278] The period of catechism was set so that catechumens might learn the true doctrines of the Church to defend themselves against Greeks, Jews, and heretics who might seek to lead them astray,[279] and also that they may form habits of behaviour conducive to their new lives as Christians. Catechism was the time to put off the old self and put on new pure robes indicative of pure conduct.[280] From an evangelistic point of view, the *Catechism* was the period where Cyril sought to transform those fish caught in the net of the Church into strong and connected parts of the net itself. As we have seen, essential to understanding Cyril's view of catechism is that those present for the programme of instruction were not yet Christians. The *Catechism* was not for the converted, it was for those converting and was itself a fundamental component in that conversion process. Moreover, what we observe in the *Catechism* is Cyril directing and guiding the process of conversion for his Catechumens, working so that their conversion might be both earnest and lasting. We will note this again in a later chapter when we examine the evangelistic function the *Catechism* played, not merely affirming or confirming belief in those present but introducing and fostering those who were only just coming to a place of belief in Jesus and obedience to his commands and his Church. Framed in this light, conversion for Cyril was a process beginning with an individual's developing relationships with Christians in Jerusalem, followed by a period of catechism which brought the individual into behavioural and doctrinal conformity with Christian belief and practice, which culminated in baptism, union with Christ, the receiving of the Holy Spirit, participation in the Eucharist, and receiving the name and title, "Christian."

This chapter has sought to assert that conversion under the direction of Cyril was a process incomplete without baptism. As such, baptism served not just as the climax of catechism, but as the definitive moment of conversion, before which one was not, and after which one was, a converted Christian. This nomenclature is important. Without clarifying just what is meant by conversion, there is a danger that we will see Cyril's *Catechism*, and indeed baptism, in a less pressing and significant light than Cyril saw or intended it. As we will see in the following chapters, Cyril was not merely working for the instruction, education, and ritual integration of men and women into the Church. He was working to prepare men and women, their behaviour, belief, body, mind, and spirit for a transformation undergone in baptism that would render them converts and Christians, and prepare them for a life and

---

[278] *Catech.* 4.2 "Ὁ γὰρ τῆς θεοσεβείας τρόπος ἐκ δύο τούτων συνέστηκε, δογμάτων εὐσεβῶν, καὶ πράξεων ἀγαθῶν." Not surprisingly, 'Pious Doctrines' and 'Virtuous Actions' appear as section headings in chapter 3, on the Catechism.

[279] See relevant sections in the our Introduction on Jerusalem's inhabitants, and chapter 3 on Cyril's Evangelistic Method.

[280] See chapter 3 section on Virtuous Actions, and chapter 4 on the role of robes in the baptismal ceremony.

eternity in the Divine presence. But before we come to just how Cyril prepared his catechumens for baptism, we must first look into why Cyril understood conversion by baptism to be necessary at all.

CHAPTER 2. CYRIL'S ANTHROPOLOGICAL BACKGROUND TO CONVERSION

Before coming to the *Catechism*, baptism, and the conversion they completed, we must first understand how Cyril approaches the question of what man is and why man came to need that conversion in the first place. Man may need to be redeemed, but to understand the nature of that redemption, to understand what is accomplished through baptism, we must first follow Cyril back, and understand from what he believes man is being saved. As we come to grips with Cyril's anthropology, what man was, is, and is meant to be, Cyril's approach to the *Catechism* and baptism, as well as his execution of those rites, will begin to fall into place. Presently we must ask of Cyril why men and women need catechism and baptism. If we are to understand the *Catechism* and baptism as the solution to a problem, we must begin here by understanding the wrong in man they are working to right.

Despite the significance of anthropology to Cyril's *Catechism*, there has been no systematic treatment of the subject.[281] This chapter aims to fill this hole by organizing Cyril's anthropology into a chronological account of man and his nature from creation through to new creation. In so doing we will also be framing the instance of baptism so that in the following sections we might examine why it is that Cyril approaches the ritual as he does. While we have been clear on Cyril's insistence that man needs baptism for salvation, we have not explored how Cyril approaches the situation that gave rise to such a need. Presently we will examine Cyril's anthropology with an eye for the narrative progression of man from creation to fall, and from fall to new creation, with baptism rooted firmly in the middle. For it is in baptism that the life, death, and resurrection of Christ are participated in, and thus redemption won.

Comprised of two parts, this chapter will follow the path of man's body and soul in Cyril's Catechetical and Mystagogical lectures. In navigating and plotting the course of Cyril's anthropology this chapter will chronologically follow man from his creation, through the Fall.[282] Following a brief introduction on the significance of understanding Cyril's anthropology as a predicate to appreciating both the practical, ritual, and theological underpinnings of Cyril's baptism, this chapter will proceed to cover Cyril's anthropology of man as created and then fallen. From here the avenue to salvation lies through baptism and as

---

[281] A chapter in M.C. Steenberg, *Of God and Man: Theology As Anthropology From Irenaeus To Athanasius,* (Edinburgh/New York: T&T Clark, 2008), covers several interesting features of Cyril's anthropology, but remains a cursory summary and introduction.

[282] Portions of this present chapter are comprised of, or modified from, portions of my master's thesis on Cyril's anthropology, *Man in Catechesis: The Anthropology of Cyril of Jerusalem*, University of St Andrews, 2012.

such we will examine the intersection of ritual and theology in the baptismal rite. Particular attention will be paid to how it is that the symbols of baptism serve to effect real ontological change in the body and soul of the baptisands.

An Anthropological Jigsaw

Unfortunately, there is no single lecture in the *Catechism* to which me might turn in order to grasp Cyril's anthropological framework. Indeed, it is only in sifting through his whole corpus that a discernible anthropology begins to emerge. While it emerges scattered, fragmented and un-systematized, I believe that when pieced together it is both well developed and cohesive. As this anthropological jigsaw falls into place four images of man are discernible that together encompass the whole breadth of human existence. They are, man as created, man as fallen, man as sanctified, and man as eternal.[283]

The significance of these categories is far from simply noetic. As it is the 'from what' and 'to what' questions of baptism which inform so much of Cyril's practical and doctrinal teaching, these categories form a framework for understanding baptism's central role in man's anthropological progression.[284] Within the four anthropological emphases, baptism stands as the narrow and exclusive door between man as fallen and man as sanctified, changing man's pre-eschatological state from one to the other. Thus, man has two avenues by which he may enter eternity, fallen or sanctified, with baptism functioning as the door to the latter. And while all men will, regardless of baptism, arrive at man as eternal, baptism will have a striking impact on the nature of that eternity.

Over this scene of catechumens passing from death into life hangs a significant question: how is it that men came to be on the side of the door characterized by sin and death and separation from God? The seismic shift which occurs in baptism amplifies the need to understand not only from what and to what man is being changed and baptised, but how he came to need this baptism which alone ushers him into sanctification. The combined emphasis of baptism being necessary for sanctification and something men enter into of their own volition raises questions about man's underlying volitional and creaturely state. How

---

[283] While we will be breaking the narrative of mans' journey from creation to new creation into these four categories, it is necessary to clarify that Cyril does not explicitly frame his anthropology in this way. The Fourfold delineation emerges explicitly after Cyril, but its nascent components can be discerned within his *Catechism*. The Fourfold state of man I will be expounding here is hardly a new concept. Augustine addresses man along similar lines in *Enchiridion*, ch. 118, and somewhat closer to St Andrews, the Scottish Puritan Thomas Boston engages more extensively in his famous 18th Century study, *Human Nature in its Fourfold State*, 1720.

[284] Steenberg notes that the catechesis by its very nature is anthropological, and that "the human, personal subject, the one to whom the catechesis is addressed... becomes the lens through which the confessional tenets of the faith are refracted and given clarity." Steenberg, *Of God and Man,* 133.

was man created that he was able to choose both sin and sanctification? It is with these questions in mind that the first anthropological image, man as created, comes into focus.

Part One: Man as Created

This section will outline three elements of Cyril's understanding of man's created nature. First, how Man was created with a sinless body and sinless soul. Second, how the enfleshment of the soul in the body enabled man to exercise his will, and how this will came to be perverted. Third, how God was man's Father and man God's son by virtue of their creator-creation relationship.

Body and Soul: One Man in Two Parts

In introducing Cyril's anthropology, it is important to first establish his clear belief in a bipartite humanity. Man is both body and soul.[285] This twofold nature is fundamental for Cyril's understanding and teaching on almost every aspect of Christian living, doctrine, and baptism in the *Catechesis* and *Mystagogy*.[286] From the interaction between soul and body in relation to sin, the cleansing of soul and body in baptism, the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the soul, and the impact of communion on body and soul, the prevalence of this basic bipartite anthropology is unavoidable. The narrative of man's creation, however, begins with just the soul.

In terms of the soul's creation, Cyril conforms to the general belief of the time that the soul was immortal, and that it entered into the world and body from a prior state.[287] However, Cyril confronts any present with Pythagorean or Origenist leanings who believed that the soul entered the body as punishment for pre-corporal sin and remained there, as if imprisoned, until those sins were purified and paid for. "Learn this also, that the soul, before it came into this world, had committed no sin, but having come in sinless we now sin of our free-will."[288] Cyril corroborates and clarifies in the final lecture of the *Catechism* when he states that no soul was made to sin by nature, but that sin is the result of choice.

> The soul is immortal [Ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή], and all souls are alike both of men and women; for only their bodily members are differentiated. There is not a class of souls sinning by nature, and a class of souls acting justly by nature. Both act from choice, the substance of souls is of one kind and alike in all.[289]

---

[285] *Catech*. 3.4, *Catech*. 4.4
[286] Steenberg, *Man and God*, 138.
[287] Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 109 .
[288] *Catech*. 4.19
[289] *Catech*. 4.20

All men and women possess an immortal soul[290] out of which they will and desire and come to act. This soul existed before it came into the world and was encased in a body, and it will endure after death and into eternity. All mankind, regardless of whether he practices righteousness or sin, possesses a soul that will endure into eternity. Cyril's emphasis on the freedom man has to conduct himself occurs as part of his ongoing argument for man's culpability in sin. When facing judgement, man cannot say to God, 'you made me thus and thus I sinned.' Cyril's insistence on the significance of man's choices and the corresponding consequences is unrelenting. Man's behavior is not determined by his soul's created nature, but by the exercising of his own will. In turn, this exercising of the will was not possible for the soul on its own as it had no vessel through which it might act. It is upon the soul's entering into a body that Cyril's interest in man begins in earnest, for it is in this collaborative state that man's volition can be exercised.

The union of soul and body is one of the key features of Cyril's understanding of man as created. Man's body is a vessel in which the soul resides and through which the soul is able to enact its will. Just as the soul is created by God so too does Cyril attribute the body's creation to God.[291] Having provided man with both a soul and body, man was able to conduct himself in accordance with his own will.

As for the body's creation and nature, Cyril was at pains to show that the body was created good. Given the discrepancy between a sinless soul and sinful humanity, many philosophers and early Christians were led to the Gnostic and Manichean conclusion that the body was itself bad and the source of evil.[292] Cyril is obviously aware of this danger and goes to some length not only to rebuff this belief, but demonstrate the innate dignity of the body as created by God.

> It is God who even now creates the babes in the womb, as it is written in Job: "did you not pour me out as milk, and thicken me like cheese. With Skin and Flesh you clothed me, with bones and sinews knit me together."[293] There is nothing corrupt in man's frame unless he defiles it with adulteries and wantonness. He who formed Adam formed Eve also; and both male and female were fashioned by the Divine hands. None of the members of the body as

---

[290] Here Cyril is likely confronting any Epicurean sympathizers present who denied the immortality of the soul and favoured instead the materialistic atomism of Democritus. See W.R. Jenkinson, "The Image and the Likeness of God in Man in the Eighteen Lectures on the Credo of Cyril of Jerusalem (C. 315-387)," *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses: commentarii de re theological et canonica,* vol. 40, (1964): 55.

[291] *Catech*.18.13

[292] See Jenkinson, "The Image and the Likeness of God in Man," 56, 57. See also Steenberg, *Man And God*, 141.

[293] Job 10:10,11

fashioned from the beginning is corrupt. Let all heretics be silent who slander their bodies, or rather Him who formed them.[294]

In lecture 4 Cyril delivers two compelling examples which lucidly demonstrate his assertion that the body itself does not sin, rather it is the soul acting through the body whereby man sins. Calling to mind the image of a corpse Cyril describes how even if a sword is placed in the dead body's hand, no murder will take place. Likewise, should erotic images be passed before the eyes of dead youth, he will have no impure desires. Drawing this analogy back to creation it is safe to conclude that Cyril understood man in his created state as possessing a sinless soul enmeshed in a sinless frame. Alas, this combination of two sinless aspects was no guarantee that sinlessness would persist. Indeed, it was in this combination of body with soul that man's will was given the freedom to manifest itself in action.

Free Will and Sin

Much of what can be gleaned from Cyril's understanding of man's created nature comes about as a result of Cyril's teaching on sin. Cyril is keen to demonstrate that the responsibility for sin rests with man and is not a result of poor or deficient creation. Man alone is responsible and thus culpable for his sins.[295] As Cyril argues this point, his clearest statement about how body and soul combine to allow for volition emerges. Cyril's brief coverage of the doctrine of the soul in lecture 4 begins with man's bipartite nature and moves into the implications this has for man's volition and culpability in sin.

> After the knowledge of this august and glorious and all-holy faith, next know yourself for what you are, that you are a man, twofold in nature, composed of soul and body and that, as was said a short time ago, the same God is the creator of the soul and the body. Know also that this soul of yours is free, self-determining, the fairest work of God, made according to the image of its Creator, immortal because of God who makes it immortal, a living being, rational, imperishable, because of Him who has conferred these gifts; having power to do as it will. For it is not according to your nativity that you sin, nor is it according to fortune that your fornicate, nor, as some foolishly say, do the conjunctions of the stars compel you to cleave to wantonness.[296]

It was man's two-fold nature that gave meaning to the soul's self-governing. Having been created body and soul, with the freedom of self-governance, man sinned not as a result of his

---

[294] *Catech*. 12.26

[295] Cyril's argument here runs very close to Tertullian's in *Adversus Marcionem* II. 6; CSEL 47, p. 341. "It is proper that he who is the image and likeness of God should be formed with a free will, and a mastery of himself, so that this very thing, namely freedom of will and self command, might be reckoned as the image and the likeness of God in him." *ibid,* p. 346.

[296] *Catech*. 9.18.

creation, but by acting in the body in accordance with the soul's desire.[297] That the soul was made in the image of the Creator, with a power for self-determination, is deeply significant to the narrative of man's journey from creation to new creation. It will, however, be put aside for the time being, and taken up shortly when *image* and *likeness* are examined in detail.

Having touched already on Cyril's emphasis on man's freedom to exercise his will, as well as his culpability in sin, it is necessary to probe the question of how the combination of a sinless soul with a good body resulted in sin in the first place. If sin did not originate with God, and was not inherent in man's creation, from where did it come?

In lecture 9 Cyril challenges his listeners by declaring that their problem is not one of generation or composition, but of misusing that which God gave them.

> Then enter into yourself, and gain knowledge of the Creator from your own nature. What is there to blame in the constitution of your body? Be master of yourself and no evil proceeds from your members. From the beginning Adam was unclothed in paradise with Eve; but it was not because of his member that he deserved to be cast out. Therefore, the members are not the cause of sin, but they who abuse their members…"[298]

Adam misused the body he had been given, which was itself fully capable of doing good and remaining in the garden. In lecture 2 it is noted that beyond merely misusing his members, Adam failed to follow the instruction of his creator and pursue good works, "the Creator, being good, created unto good works, the creature of its own free will turned aside to wickedness."[299] The problem seems then to lie in man's willingness to succumb to his desires and passions rather than to master them.

This raises an old question. If man was created good how did he come to desire wickedness if not for some deficiency in his creation? Cyril is clear, though hardly explanatory, from the outset of the *Catechism* as to how man came to possess these desires, and that he is "not the sole author of evil"[300]. Here the devil is introduced as the root cause of wickedness.

The devil "puts lust into them that listen to him: from him come adultery, fornication, and every kind of evil. Through him our forefather Adam was cast out for disobedience..."[301]

---

[297] Cyril here confronts not only the implication that God could be held responsible for man's sin, but also, and not insignificantly, many present who would have believed astrologers who argued that it was a certain alignment in the stars that determined man's behaviour.

[298] *Catech.* 9.15.

[299] *Catech.* 2.1.

[300] *Catech.* 2.3.

[301] *Catech.* 2.4.

While accounting for the problem of evil in man's heart and his fall from the garden, this argument, left here, would seem to render man un-responsible for his sin. As a consistent subtext of Cyril's instruction has been that responsibility for sin cannot be foisted back onto the creator, but rests firmly on man's own shoulders, the devil's role in instigating evil would seem problematic. Cyril, however, does not appear overly concerned with this. His focus in lecture 2 shifts from the problem of sin and the reality of condemnation, to the hope of salvation made possible by Christ who "Himself delivers us from sin."[302] It is not until lecture 4 that Cyril returns to the question of culpability and the role of the devil in sin.

In the final paragraph on the doctrine of the soul in lecture 4, Cyril returns to the soul's freedom and ultimate responsibility for sin. The focus is not on the devil, but the passage does clarify the role he played in the fall and in man's ongoing sin. Man may be susceptible to the suggestions of the devil but the actions he takes are his own. Man's "Soul is immortal, and all souls are alike… There is not a class of souls sinning by nature and a class of souls acting justly by nature. But both act from choice."[303] Cyril further emphasize that the soul's self-governed nature renders man the fair recipient of judgment for his actions.

> For, if you committed fornication by necessity, then why did God prepare Gehenna? If you acted justly by nature not by choice, why did God prepare ineffable crown? The Sheep is meek, but it has never been crowned for its meekness; for its meekness comes not from choice but from nature."[304]

So it is that the soul accepts the suggestion of the devil and acts out its desires through the body, thereby sinning. It is following this exact framework that man first sinned in Genesis 3 and was cast out of the garden.

Before fully turning our attention to the fall one final element of man's created nature requires some attention. What does Cyril mean when he calls God man's "Father" at creation? This is a particularly important question for us to address presently in advance of our discussion on the adoption Cyril promises in baptism.

Sonship at Creation

It was in man's sinless state at creation that God was first declared the Father of men. "For God with ineffable loving-kindness deigned to be called Father of men, --He in heaven, they upon earth, He the Maker of eternity, they living in time, --He who holds the earth "in

---

[302] *Catech*. 2.5.

[303] *Catech*. 4.21. Cyril here is likely addressing the Valentinians who suggested that there were three types of men - the material, the spiritual, and the psycic - and then further distinguished between these men those with souls that were by nature evil, and those that were by nature good. See Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* I,7,5.

[304] *Catech*. 4.21.

the hollow of His hand,"[305] they upon the earth "like grasshoppers."[306] This theme of fatherhood will be taken up more thoroughly when we come to it again in the Mystagogy. It is notable now, however, that Cyril's understanding of man as created involves God being man's Father. Cyril suggests, in lecture 7, that man was in some way God's son before "forsaking his heavenly Father,"[307] and declaring that things other than God were his makers. In choosing other fathers than God man lost the right to call on God as Father. This paternal relationship resurfaces with more pressing force when Cyril later states that Christ is Son by nature and man merely by adoption.[308] The question is then raised, did man at one point in his created state possess sonship by nature?

To understand Cyril's use of fatherhood and sonship I suggest three uses of the relational terms. There are three kinds of fatherhood, fatherhood-by-creation, fatherhood-by-authority, and fatherhood-by-nature, and correspondingly three sonships, sonship-by-creation, sonship-by-submission, and sonship-by-nature. Man, being made by God, possessed sonship by virtue of his creation. Thus God was man's father in as much he had created man. Likewise in his creation, man possessed sonship-by-submission, submitting to the role of a son. As God was man's authority he was father in the fashion of headship. In the fall man chose to emancipate himself from the role of son and sought adoption under other heads. Man lost in the fall his sonship-by-submission and God ceased to be his father-by-authority. It is in this manner that Cyril can call the devil the "father of the wicked"[309]. The devil's fatherhood was not one of creation, but one of authority. Likewise, men became sons of the devil as they submit to the devil's leading.[310] In this shift of allegiances, man lost the right to call on God as Father-by-authority as he refused to reside under God's headship. From creation through fall man had sonship-by-creation; prior to his fall, he possessed, in relation to God, sonship-by-submission, but it was Christ alone who possessed sonship by nature, which will prove key to understanding the significance and efficacy of baptism as a means of uniting man to Christ.

We arrive now at a moment of transition in Cyril's anthropology. Man as created, a son of God, with a good body and a sinless soul, was free to will and act as he chose. He

---

[305] Cf. Isaiah 40.12

[306] *Catech*. 7.12. Cf.Isaiah 40.22

[307] *Catech*. 7.12.

[308] See Gregg, "Cyril of Jerusalem and the Arians," 89-91. Reflecting on Cat.10.4,5 and 11.1,3,15 Gregg demonstrates effectively that Christ's sonship, in Cyril's view, was in no ways a result of his obedience, fidelity, or performance, but that Cyril understood Christ to be Son by virtue of his begotten-ness. See also Steenberg, *Man and God,* 145-149, who provides a concise overview of where Cyril's view of Christ as 'Son of God' fits into the post-Nicene debates on the subject.

[309] *Catech*. 2.4

[310] This is taken up again when we address the renunciation of Satan and his authority occurring during the baptismal ritual as discussed in the first Mystagogy.

chose not to pursue the goodness for which he was made, but to follow the suggestion of the devil, and was cast out of paradise for his disobedience. However, the consequence of sin was not limited to a geographical relocation. In lecture 14 Cyril speaks of man having been made after the image and likeness of God, "but he obscured the likeness by his disobedience."[311] More than simply being evicted from Eden, man's "likeness" was altered at the fall.

Part Two: Man as Fallen

One sin proceeded all others and ushered man into this state of fallenness from which he would need to be baptised if he were to be sanctified and inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. Having established Cyril's emphasis on man's own capacity and culpability for sin, we can turn to Cyril's understanding of the fall and the effect it had on and in man.

The fall itself was the exercising of the will to choose actions other than those for which God created man. Cyril indicates that man chose for himself masters other than God his maker, and acted according to the suggestions of the devil. As was seen earlier, the devil may suggest, but it is man who chooses to follow or reject these suggestions. Likewise, man may accept or reject the leading of God. This is evident in Cyril's early remarks to his catechumens whom Cyril commends for having followed the leading and suggestion of the Holy Spirit and come to prepare for baptism and sanctification. Adam's sin then was not only the accepting of the devil's suggestion, but necessarily also the rejection of God's own instruction. Adam was freely able to act in accordance with his own will, and in willing to follow the suggestion of the devil, not his maker, he was cast "out of Paradise, for because of sin he was unworthy to live there"[312]. As Adam was cast out of the Garden because of sin so too did he become an enemy of God through sin. It is in this state of fallenness and enmity that all humanity finds itself prior to baptism. It is this state and way of life that Cyril is exhorting his catechumens to put behind them in preparation for baptism and the Christian life.

Four emphases can be discerned in Cyril's teachings on the fall. The first relates to the image and likeness of God in which man was made, the latter having been lost and the former retained. The second aspect centers on the impact of sin on man's body and soul. Third, the ongoing significance, importance and impact of human volition. Fourth and finally, that God, from the moment of man's fall, longed for men to return to him and be transformed through baptism.

---

[311] *Catech.* 14.10
[312] *Catech.* 12.33

Image and Likeness

In lecture 14 Cyril is teaching on the words "and rose again from the dead on the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sat on the right hand of the Father."[313] Cyril notes point after point in which the Old Testament foretells aspects of the life of Christ. These operate for Cyril as proofs of both the historical witness of the gospels and the divine nature of the Son.[314] As Cyril teaches on how even the season of the Son's resurrection was foretold he slips in an interesting observation on the transition from man as created to man as fallen and the distinct impact this had on two aspects of man's creation, his image and likeness as they related to God.

> Then God said, let us make man in our image [εἰκόνα] and likeness [ὁμοίωσιν];[315] he recived the image [εἰκόνα], but he obscured [ἠμαύρωσεν] the likeness [ὁμοιότητα] by his disobedience [παρακοὴν]. Man's loss of grace and his restoration took place in the same season. At the season created man, by his disobedience, was cast out of Paradise, then, he who believed, by his obedience, was brought in.[316]

This is a significant anthropological declaration from Cyril that receives no further explanation in its immediate context. Not only does Cyril distinguish between *εἰκόνα* and *ὁμοίωσιν*, but he indicates that, "a difference must exist between the two if it was possible for Adam to keep the one and not the other."[317] However, Cyril's use of εἰκόνα and ὁμοιότητα are certainly not exclusive to this passage, and through a brief examination of their other relevant occurrences what it means that man retained the image and lost the likeness of God becomes somewhat clearer.[318]

In lecture 10 Cyril, while teaching on the divinity of the Son, makes clear that this image and likeness was not solely in resemblance of the Father, but of the Son also. Cyril notes that God said let us make man, "οὐ κατ' εἰκόνα ἐμὴν, ἀλλὰ, κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν"[319] (not in *My* image, but in *Our* image). In lecture 4 this same 'εἰκόνα' in which man was made is attached to man's soul,

---

[313] Title to *Catech*. 14.

[314] See section beginning p.97 in our next chapter on Cyril's methodology.

[315] Cf. Gen.1.26

[316] *Catech*. 14.10. Cyril's reference to seasons here is to the calendar, not an indication that man was cast out and brought in at the same time. Cyril is alluding to the old belief that the Fall occurred at the same time of the year that Easter was currently being celebrated.

[317] Jenkinson, "The Image and the Likeness of God in Man," 51.

[318] Jenkinson, "The Image and the Likeness of God in Man," 48-71, proved particularly helpful for working through these concepts. While I disagree with Jenkinson on several points, particularly pertaining to the nature of the likeness that man loses in the fall and regains in baptism, his work is a fantastic starting point for anyone wishing to delve further into this aspects of man's ontology in Cyril.

[319] *Catech*. 10.6

> Know also that this soul [ψυχῆς] of yours is free, self-determining, the fairest work of God, made according to the image [εἰκόνα] of its Creator, immortal [ἀθάνατον] because of God who makes it immortal, a living being, rational [λογικὸν], imperishable [ἄφθαρτον], because of Him who has conferred these gifts; having power to do as it will.[320]

Having tied the εἰκόνα of God, Father and Son, to man's soul, Cyril describes just what it is to be made in God's image: It is to possess a soul that, like its maker, is immortal, living, rational, and imperishable. This soul, this image, is essential for man, and even after the fall the soul, God's image, remains the inalienable essence of man.

This is seen again in lecture 12 where Cyril reiterates that man is made in the image of God, this time clarifying that it is man alone who holds this honour.

> All created things were good, but none of them was the image [εἰκὼν] of God save man alone. The sun was fashioned by a mere command, but man by God's hands. "Let us make man in our image [εἰκόνα] and likeness [ὁμοίωσιν]." A wooden image of an earthly king is honored; how much more a rational [λογικὴ] image [εἰκὼν] of God.[321]

Man then stands alone in all of creation as the sole bearer of the image of God. And as lecture 14.10 makes clear he retains this image, and subsequently honour, despite his fall.[322] The features of immortality, life, reason, and imperishability, enmeshed in man's soul, remain unaltered by circumstance or sin. These features represent the whole narrative of human existence. Immortal [ἀθάνατον] speaks to both the soul's pre-corporeal existence and persistence after death. That the soul is a living being [ζῷον], covers the present embodied existence and life of the soul. Imperishable [ἄφθαρτον], suggests the undying or un-decaying nature of the soul as it will endure into eternity. And throughout all these facets of its being, the soul remains possessed of reason [λογικὸν]. These characteristics are retained from man's state as created into his state as fallen. The same cannot be said of man's likeness to God which is obscured in the fall.

While Cyril's use of εἰκόνα in this situation can be pinned down, his use of likeness, ὁμοίωμα, is less concrete. While the term is used 23 times in the *Catechesis* and 7 times in the *Mystagogy*, the highest concentration occurs in the first paragraph of lecture 9 in the *Catechesis*. The passage describes Ezekiel seeing the likeness of the glory of the Lord and not the Lord Himself, as were he to see the latter, he would certainly lose his life.

---

[320] *Catech*. 4.18
[321] *Catech*. 12.5
[322] A.A. Stephenson seems confused on this point when he suggests that "redemption is conceived as the restoration in man of the divine image... and it was precisely by disobedience that man lost the divine image-by-grace". McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1, 51. As noted above, I believe this is precisely not what Cyril was teaching.

He saw "the likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of the glory of the Lord";[323] not the Lord Himself, but "the likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of His glory" merely, not the glory itself as it really is. Yet, on beholding the likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of the glory, and not the glory itself, he fell to the earth in fear.[324]

Cyril's point is to describe how one does not see God directly, but sees him in "his works, which are divine"[325]. Ezekiel saw the likeness of God's glory, in His activity. Cyril continues, suggesting that one can additionally see God through his creatures whose greatness and beauty proportionally reflect the one who made them.[326] Cyril here is arguing that this 'Likeness' [ὁμοίωμα] is seen in human actions that reflect the Divine nature of God. For Cyril, likeness functions as a sort of mirror.[327] As one sees an object through a mirror, he sees the reflection of the object, but not the object itself. What is seen in the mirror is the likeness of the object, not the object in reality. Not incidentally Cyril notes that Ezekiel does not see the likeness of God himself, but the likeness of his glory, a sort of double mediation as the likeness of God is reflected through his glory. Thus, for man to possess the likeness of God is for him to, in some way, mirror or reflect God, in this case with respect to his actions. If Cyril's use of image connotes man's nature or soul, likeness appears here to refer to man's virtue, or the fashion of his living. Using the example of the mirror we can go a step further to explain what Cyril saw as having changed in the fall and how man came to obscure the likeness of God.

It has already been noted that in the fall man turned away from God by acting on the suggestion of the devil according to his own will. In doing so, the image (εἰκόνα) of God, which Cyril ties to the immortal soul, carried on after the fall while the likeness (ὁμοιότητα) was obscured (ἠμαύρωσεν)[328]. Just as a mirror, when it is turned away from its original point of reference, will show a reflection of something other than it did initially, man, in turning away from God, no longer reflected the likeness of God. 'Likeness' then is not a fixed state, but is used by Cyril to indicate resemblance of aspect to some other object.[329] In relating this to the likeness [ὁμοιότητα] which man, "through his disobedience [παρακοὴν] he obscured [ἠμαύρωσεν]"[330], the likeness which is obscured is a reflection of the conduct or action of God. Man in the fall came to resemble in his conduct and character things other than God and

---

[323] Ezekiel 1.28

[324] *Catech*. 9.1

[325] *Catech*. 9.2

[326] *Catech*. 9.2

[327] Jenkinson argues for a translation of ὁμοίωμα in Cyril that conveys the sense of resemblance, likeness, similitude, or imitation. Jenkinson, "The Image and the Likeness of God in Man," 53, 56.

[328] *Catech*. 14.10

[329] McCauley and Stephenson share a similar approach to likeness serving a sort of mirror function when they suggest that this likeness "may be only a picture or a reflection in the water." McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1, 55.

[330] *Catech*. 14.10

in so turning, lost access to the one in whom and by whom and for whom he was supposed to live and act. In so doing he obscured his likeness to the one he was created to reflect.[331] Additionally, this theme of likeness will be picked up in the following chapter when we examine what Cyril means when he says: "The Lord took on Him from us our likeness, that He might save man's nature: He took our likeness, that He might give greater grace to that which lacked; that sinful humanity might become partaker of God."[332] Until then, however, we can put likeness aside and turn to the next aspect in Cyril's understanding of man as fallen, the impact of the fall on man's body and soul.

The Body and Soul in Sin

The second emphasis discernible in Cyril's understanding of man as fallen is the deep and abiding impact sin has on man's body and soul. When sin is willed by the soul and acted out through the body, both body and soul are impacted by the transgression. Sin does not simply engender an external change in man but deeply wounds him.

In lecture 18, the final lecture before the initiates receive baptism, Cyril returns to a common refrain of warning those present against the misuse of their bodies. It is in the context of the resurrection of the flesh that Cyril implores his hearers to guard their bodies from defilement, and cautions them over the lasting effect of sin on both body and soul. All will be resurrected, but the state of their resurrected body will be intimately linked to the conduct of their present life.[333]

> Therefore, brethren, let us be careful of our bodies, and not abuse them as though they were not our own. Let us not say, like the heretics, that the vesture of the body does not belong to us, but let us be concerned for it as our very own. For we must render an account to God of everything we have done through the body... Moreover, the stains of sin remain in the body. For just as when a wound has pierced the body, and though some healing is applied the scar remains, so

---

[331] Jenkinson suggests an alternate reading where the 'likeness' man lost in the fall was the possession of the Holy Spirit, granted Adam in creation but withdrawn in his exile from Eden. Jenkinson concludes then that this likeness is restored in Pentecost for the disciples and in baptism for contemporary followers of Christ. Jenkinson argument is based on a reading of genesis where God's 'breathing on' man is the initial act of imparting the Holy Spirit, an act mirrored in Pentecost. It is a compelling picture, but requires reading a good deal more into Cyril's instruction on the nature of man at creation than is provided in the catechism or Mystagogy. Furthermore, Cyril makes no reference in either the pre- or post-baptismal instruction to the Holy Spirit being restored to man. On the contrary, as we will see in our following section, Cyril argues that the giving of the Holy Spirit advances man beyond what he possessed in creation such that the state of the baptisand is even more desirable than that of Adam in Eden. In the end Jenkinson does concede that his reading of Cyril's use of 'likeness' would put Cyril at odds with all of his contemporaries (Clement, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa in particular) and leave him in only limited agreement with Irenaeus. Jenkinson, "The Image and the Likeness of God in Man," 57-63, 69.

[332] *Catech*. 12.15

[333] For Cyril's use of clothing as an indication of conduct and purity see chapter 3 beginning p.115.

> also sin wounds both soul and body, traces of the scar remaining in both, only to be removed by the reception of baptism.[334]

Here Cyril speaks of the body as a garment worn by the soul through which man acts. And, countering gnostic claims that the body is disposable, Cyril puts notable emphasis on the continuity of the flesh into eternal life. This body that endures through death to the resurrection and into eternity carries with it the afflictions of sins committed in this life. Man's body is his own and he bears with it the consequences of his sins. The stain of sin is not purged by time or a change in behavior. Cyril indicates that the appearance of healing is not in fact sufficient to restore body and soul. Sin is permanent and its impact, without baptism, is eternal. However, the message is not simply one of warning but also one of comfort and hope.

The dire consequence of being raised still marred by sin is a reality only for those who have not been cleansed through baptism. The impact of sin coupled with the hope of healing is paralleled in lecture 10 when Cyril says that, "Because the body was palsied through the sin of the soul, He first healed the soul, that He might then extend the healing to the body also."[335] For those about to be baptised, the message is indeed a deeply comforting one. Those present who had been instructed over the preceding period of Lent, were about to enter the Passover and receive the baptism which completely healed the scars and washed away the stains of sin which marred body and soul.[336]

These passages also serve as a reminder that the body is not the cause of sin, rather it is the vessel through which the soul enacts man's will. This theme stands in continuity with Cyril's earlier instruction in lecture 4 where the doctrine of the soul and body are expounded.

> The body of itself does not sin, but the soul through the body. The body is the soul's instrument, its cloak and garment. If then it is given up to fornication by the soul, it becomes unclean; but if it dwells with a holy soul, it becomes a temple of the Holy Spirit.[337]

The body manifests the will of the soul. Should the soul give the body over to sexual desires the body will be defiled. Should the soul be holy, the body becomes a temple of the Holy Spirit. In either case man will wholly come to embody that to which his soul is directed. As the soul sins through the body it defiles the man forever, and as the soul directs the body toward God the man becomes a tabernacle wherein God may dwell.

As all men have sinned and been stained, scarred, and defiled, baptism alone stands as the door into the sanctified state in which man may become that holy temple. However,

---

[334] *Catech.* 18.20.
[335] *Catech.* 10.13.
[336] *Mystagogy* 2.6
[337] *Catech.* 4.23.

preceding the door of baptism is man's own will or volition. Man must choose to put off his old self and come to the place of baptism. This leads to the third aspect of Man's fallen nature, the ongoing significance of human volition.

The Ongoing Significance of Volition

The significance Cyril attributes to man's will or volition in creation is an ongoing refrain throughout the *Catechesis*. It was because man exercised his will to act on the suggestions of the devil that he fell. However, despite having fallen and been cast out for his sin, man retained the ability to freely act out his will. Having obscured the likeness of God through his Fall, man retained God's image in his soul and thus continued, "having the power to do as it wills."[338] In this case the freedom which is of significance to Cyril is the freedom of fallen man to come to the point of accepting baptism and entering into union with God.

Right from the beginning of Cyril's teaching in the *Catechesis* fallen man's ability to act out his will for good or ill is apparent. Only seconds into his introductory lecture Cyril sets up his framework for the interaction between man's volition and God's action:

> If any man here is a slave of sin, let faith fit him for the new birth of adoption that will set him free. Exchanging the ignoble bondage of his sins for the blessed bondage of the Lord, let him be counted worthy to inherit the kingdom of heaven.[339]

Man put himself in willing submission to sin, so now he must remove himself from its service in preparation for the renewed freedom that will be afforded him and new service required of him in baptism.[340] In so much of the *Catechesis*, all of which occurs before baptism, Cyril is exhorting his listeners to put off their old way of living and put on the new self, acting with piety, purity, and holiness. The decision to act in a pure fashion rests very much in man as does the capacity to act accordingly. While Cyril places great emphasis on the freedom of human volition, he by no means suggests that pious living will result in sanctification. Baptism alone leads to sanctification. Nor will holy living forgive one of their former sins. Again, that is something only possible through baptism. Still, Cyril is habitually encouraging his baptismal candidates to choose sinless living. How then, prior to baptism, can one both be a slave to sin and put off the sin he is slave to?

It seems that Cyril approaches slavery as elective; that one has put himself under bondage to sin. Just as the fall itself was willed and enacted by man, so to does man approach baptism by will and action. Formerly men willed and acted as slaves to sin, now they must

---

[338] *Catech*. 4.18
[339] *Catech*. 1.2
[340] See coverage on the renunciation of Satan in *Mystagogy* 1.2, beginning p.124.

will and act as slaves to the Lord. In the appendix of lecture 4 Cyril places this power squarely in the hands and hearts of his hearers. Man's body was well made to serve his soul, and should his soul choose sin his body will ably serve to that end. Likewise, should the soul choose piety the body is well equipped to follow. To this end, the entire Lenten period of instruction prior to baptism served as preparation and practice for the baptised Christian life as will be shown in the following chapter. Cyril is telling these candidates for baptism to act and behave prior to their cleansing in baptism just as they will be required to after. It is with work and effort that this will be accomplished, but the encouragement is there that the body is equipped for and capable of such work should the soul desire it, and that the community of the Church and Spirit of God, into which they are entering, will sustain and nourish them in this labour.

Summary: God's Mercy and a Door to Salvation

Just as man entered his fallen state by an act of volition, so too is he free to put those former desires in subjection to those requisite for the new life and to join with Christ, through baptism. However, none of this is to suggest that man merits or deserves union with Christ or that by his will and action alone he can win baptism. Cyril is unambiguous that baptism is a grace extended by God to any undeserving man or woman willing to receive it and to prepare for it. No action of man's can reverse the effects of sin or the fall. No effort or exertion of will, no matter how pious or pure, can earn him salvation. There need be no door from man as fallen to man as sanctified. Baptism is a grace man can never claim as a right. While man in his fallen state is free to turn from sin and act with purity and piety, the sin that rendered him fallen in the first place is such an affront to God that Cyril calls man God's enemy, deserving only death. "For we were enemies of God through sin, and God had appointed the sinner to die. There must needs therefore have happened one of two things; either that God, in His truth, should destroy all men, or that in His loving-kindness [φιλανθρωπία] He should cancel the sentence."[341]

Early in the *Catechism* Cyril anticipates the fear of condemnation merited by man's sin, and voices the understandable next question in the mouths of his listeners.

> "Well, then," you will say to me, "are we betrayed and lost?" Is there no salvation henceforth? We have fallen. Is it impossible to rise again? We were

---

[341] *Catech*. 13.33. Doval observes in relation to this passage the deep significance this theme has in the catechism and its continued importance in the Mystagogy. He notes that the reference to God's [φιλανθρωπία] Occurs no fewer than 19 times in just the second Catechism (on the forgiveness of sin). Alexis Doval, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Theology of Salvation," *Studia Patristica,* vol. XXXVII, (1999): 458.

> blinded. Can we never recover our sight? We have become lame. Can we never walk aright? In a word, we are dead; is there no resurrection?[342]

Cyril, however, does not linger on the deserved sentence of death. Instead, he moves swiftly on to remind those present of God's great love towards man.

> Listen to the story of Adam. Adam, the first creature of God, was disobedient. Could He not have condemned him to death at once? But see what the Lord in His great loving-kindness [φιλανθρωπία] does. Though he casts him out of Paradise – for he was not worthy, because of his sin, to live there – He settles him over against Paradise, that seeing whence and from what bliss he had fallen, he might be saved thereafter through repentance.[343]

It is this repentance which brings us now to the threshold of Baptism. For in the very moment of Man's fall and exile, God was working already to encourage man towards salvation. Man in his fall obscured the likeness of God. Both his body and soul were wholly and eternally implicated in sin and both suffered its stain. Furthermore, he was rendered an enemy of God through sin and deserved death. But in God's loving kindness man retained the image of his maker enabling him to enter into the grace of baptism and pass through that door and emerge united with Christ, adopted as a child, forgiven and cleansed of sin, granted the presence and seal of the Spirit, and awarded the name 'Christian'.

It was in this condition, of fallen man, that Cyril would first encounter, guide, and instruct those wishing to receive baptism and the restoration God had prepared for them. For our purposes, it is important we understand how Cyril understood the condition of those he was instructing in the *Catechism*. Given the nature of man's fall and the solution afforded by God through baptism it is apparent that Cyril understood baptism to be the means by which one was not only restored, but advanced to become a Christian. As we have seen, not all who came to catechism were aware of their need, nor of their present condition. Cyril's work, as bishop and catechizer, was to instruct, prepare, warn, and encourage those who had arrived at the church, regardless of their initial motives, so that they might be equipped for baptism and the life of a Christian that followed. It is to the programme of catechism, and the way this instruction was delivered, that we turn now. Here we will examine how Cyril crafted a careful programme of instruction that would provide the necessary tools and knowledge for those gathered to approach the baptismal waters at the end of Lent with a sincerity of heart, a knowledge of God, and a purity of action that would serve them throughout the whole of their Christian lives.

---

[342] *Catech.* 2.5.
[343] *Catech.* 2.7.

CHAPTER 3. CATECHISM: CONVERTING THE CATECHUMEN

In chapter 1 we concluded by noting that with the rise of Christianity in the late third and early fourth century the threshold, motivations, and reasons for conversion were beginning to change. Additionally, we noted the challenges of defining just what constitutes conversion, as well as how we approach the process of conversion and when we understand it to have been completed. By the time Cyril began his catechetical instructions in 351, it was easier than ever for men and women to consider joining the Christian community. As the Church's numbers grew, its distinctiveness diminished, and the religion was no longer feared and reviled to the extent it had been in the first, second, and third century. Additionally, following the Edict of Milan in 313,[344] there were increasingly social, economic, and political advantages to becoming Christian. In this chapter we will be looking at how Cyril, mindful of Christianity's developing place in society and well aware of the changing reasons men and women were converting, utilized a programme of catechism that both addressed these circumstances and motivations and worked to properly prepare those desiring baptism and a life united to Christ.

As was noted in chapter 1, on one hand Cyril welcomed the ease with which a potential convert might consider coming through the door of the church, on the other he required that whatever early motivation brought one to the church, much more was required in belief and in practice for one to pass though the waters of baptism. Instead of lamenting, as Origen did,[345] the declining sincerity of potential converts and longing for the days of old when martyrdom potentially awaited those who considered conversion, Cyril was willing not only to work with the changes of his time but to take full advantage of them. Able to work within the setting he found himself and his church, Cyril crafted a catechism that would capitalize on catechumen's motivations, and then work to deliver them to a place of sincerity, earnest belief, and discipline over the course of Lent.

---

[344] The period following the Edict of Milan is often referred to as 'the Peace of Constantine,' or 'Peace of the Church' signaled the beginning of the religious toleration of Christianity. Not only could churches worship publically without fear of state reprisal, but the edict also afforded economic advantages through the return of property ceased during persecutions as well a degree of financial remuneration for lost properties.

[345] For this age old of cry of 'it was better in the old days' see Origen, *Homily on Jeremiah*, 4,3., Translated by John Clark Smith, *The Fathers of the Church, Origen, Homilies on Jeremiah, Homily on 1 Kings 28*, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1998), 34. "But when noble martyrdom arose, when we came to the gathering after conducting the martyrs to their graves and the entire church, unafflicted, was present, and the catechumens were taught by the martyrdoms and by the deaths of those who confessed the truth *unto death,* neither *frightened n*or troubled by the *living God,* then there were faithful. Then also we knew those who had seen strange and marvelous signs, then the faithful were few but truly faithful, who traveled *a way narrow and hard which leads to life.* But now, when we have become many, since there cannot be many elect—for Jesus did not speak falsely when he said, *Many are called but few are chosen*—out of the mass of those who profess religion, there are very few who attain the selection of God and blessedness."

There are many excellent works that summarise the lectures of the *Catechism*, examine the various theological and doctrinal motifs Cyril engages, and do a fine job framing the work within the history of pre-baptismal instructions.[346] We will not attempt to recreate those works here. Instead, we will continue to study the *Catechism* through the lens of conversion and draw out several salient features that have been understudied or overlooked previously. In turn, we will look at 1) see how Cyril introduced the catechesis and worked to establish the significance of right motivations in his candidates for baptism; 2) at the physical structure and syllabus Cyril employed and how he used the Jerusalem Creed as the basis for his doctrinal instructions; 3) at the use of the Creed as a tool for the memorisation of right doctrine and potentially examination; 4) at the need for evangelism in the *Catechism* and the ways in which Cyril sought to establish right belief in his candidates; 5) at the way in which Cyril instructed those gathered in virtuous action and right behaviour; and finally 6) at how Cyril used the season of Lent as a time during which candidates could practice the fashion of Christian living expected of them after baptism when that behaviour carried with it eternal consequences. However, before we examine those features and tools employed by Cyril to bring about a change in the minds and lives of his catechumens, it is worth briefly providing some context to both Cyril's particular *Catechism* and the religious climate in which it was prepared and delivered.

Catechism before Cyril

From the time of the New Testament the process for initiating and joining new Christians to the Church was a developing art. While the method, duration, and liturgy of that initiation retained a certain fluidity, baptism remained the constant and ultimate sign of completion. However, charting the course of the development of catechism from the New Testament forward is not our focus here; for that Dujarier's and Johnson's definitive and comprehensive works on the subject should be consulted.[347] Instead, of particular interest to us, is the changing shape of catechism over the course of the fourth century. A brief summary here will enable us to probe just what it was that Cyril inherited, and how he employed and developed the catechetical programme to suit the needs of Jerusalem and his catechumens.

---

[346] See background to scholarship on Cyril in our Introduction.
[347] See Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate*, (1979); Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation,* (1999), see in particular the first 5 chapters. Focusing in on the liturgical developments of the fourth century as they pertain to initiation rites see, Edward S.J. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation.* 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994).

Before Constantine, catechism could be divided into three fairly consistent stages: evangelization, entering the catechumenate, and final baptismal instruction.[348] The first, evangelization, encompassed much of what scholars like MacMullen and Nock have termed conversion.[349] It began with the early interactions with Christians, the hearing of the gospel, the witnessing of powerful works or martyrdoms, and belief. The second stage, entering the catechumenate, began with the active decision to join the Church by putting one's name forward for entrance to the community. As a catechumen, one would receive instruction in Christian faith and practice. During this season a catechumen was examined by the Church for right behaviour as well as right belief. The period of catechumency could last anywhere from several years to far less time if the catechumen exhibited the traits, behaviours, and beliefs required.[350] The final stage in the process was a focused period of pre-baptismal instruction. A catechumen would put their name forward for baptism, typically with a sponsor, who was already a baptised member of the Church who could serve as a witness to their good conduct and genuine belief. The catechumen would then receive a final focused period of instruction, an examination of their beliefs and understanding of Church teachings, and should they be deemed sufficiently prepared they would be baptised.

Following Constantine's victory and rise to Emperor, the situation the Church found herself in began to change. Progressively, the reasons to become Christian were multiplying.[351] Certainly belief remained significant, but increasingly social and economic factors were making Christianity look more and more appealing. With the risk of persecution seemingly removed, or at least diminished, the advantages to being Christian began to extend beyond the spiritual to the physical, practical, and political. The resulting deluge of new converts appears to have caught the Church somewhat unprepared, and in 325 the Church responded to the developing crisis, particularly as it bore on the clergy, with its second canon at the Council of Nicaea.[352] The problem seems to have been twofold. On one hand, the period of catechism appears to have been truncated to the point where appropriate preparation

---

[348] Here we rely primarily on Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate*, (1979).

[349] Nock, Conversion, 201-204; MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 114-119. For more on MacMullen and Nock and these early interactions with Christians and whether they can reasonably be framed as 'conversions' see Part 1 of chapter 1.

[350] Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition* 17; and Clement of Alexandria, ANF 2, 368,
both indicate that the catechumenate may have lasted up to three years, baring particular circumstances where baptism could occur more expediently. However, Johnson has suggested that, at least in the case of Clement, reference to three years "is most likely a metaphor used to underscore the necessity of Christian maturity and virtue rather than as an indication of literal period of time." Maxwell, *The Rites of Christian Initiation*, 52-53.

[351] Some of these reasons were detailed in chapter 1, and Cyril himself indicates a number of reasons, outwith genuine belief, that people are coming to be baptised. *Procatch*. 5.

[352] See Canon 2, Council of Nicaea, *NPNF*. For an excellent and concise introduction to the Council of Nicaea and this issue in particular, see Lewis Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

and education were not occurring, and on the other those baptised were being too speedily ushered into the role of presbyters and even bishop. The canon goes on to request both longer preparation for the catechumen and a further time of trial after baptism for those pursuing leadership in the Church.

Following Nicaea, however, another problem emerged. As many of the social and political advantages the Church was enjoying did not require members to be baptised, but simply enrolled as a catechumen, many were pushing baptism off until much later in life.[353] As a result, the period of catechumency and the significance of the catechumenate became increasingly nebulous and ill-defined.[354]

As a result, the Church began to attempt to codify and clarify just what constituted one a Christian, and to provide a focused period of time in which preparations could be made for baptism. Where those wishing to become Christian in the first, second or third century required little encouragement to pursue baptism, now the Church had to, in some ways, incentivize baptism and mark clearly the delineation between catechumen and baptised Christian. The gradual result of these efforts was the establishment of Lent as a season of preparation and renewal in advance of Easter.[355] Thus, in addition to celebrating the resurrection, the Church could also celebrate the forgiven, reborn, newly baptised Christians who now shared in the risen life of Christ. Furthermore, the Lenten season could serve as a time of focused and intensive education and preparation for the catechumens desiring baptism where the doctrines and disciplines of the Church could be clearly enumerated and instructed.[356]

It is here that we encounter Cyril, the newly minted bishop of Jerusalem, welcoming what appears to be a fairly diverse and potentially poorly motivated, behaviorally suspect, and doctrinally illiterate group of catechumens to the season of Lent and the 40-day preparation for baptism. Cyril himself seems to acknowledge the changed landscape of catechism in the

---

[353] Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzus are all clear regarding the dangers of delaying ones' baptism. See Ambrose, *Ex. Psalm. 118* 20..48-9 (PL 15.1499), and *Exp. In Luc.* 4.76; Augustine, *Sermon 47.17* (PL 38.306-7); Chrysostom, *Hom. On John* 18.1 (59.115); Basil, *De Baptismo* 1.2.13 (1545d-48b), Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 40.11.

[354] For instance, we know that Augustine was enrolled by his mother as a catechumen as an infant. *Confessions*, I.II.

[355] See Thomas Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2nd ed. (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1991), particularly 63, 165-167; and Maxwell Johnson, "From Three Weeks to Forty Days: Baptismal Preparation and the Origins of Lent," Studia Liturgica 20, (1990): 194-196.

[356] For the development of the use of Lent as a season for the focused training and instruction of baptismal candidates see: Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 168-174; Antoine Chavasse, "La Préparation de la Pâque, à Rome, avant le Ve siècle, jeûne et organisation liturgique," In *Memorial J. Chaine*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté Catholique de Théologie de Lyon 5, (Lyons: Facultés Catholiques, 1950), 61-80; and Johnson, "From Three Weeks to Forty Days,"185-200.

post-Constantinian era, as well as the low threshold for entry to the Lenten instruction. He even appears to blame the church for this circumstance, suggesting that "in the role of porter, [we] have left the door ajar", [357] and that many have entered with less than ideal motives. He then sets out, by means of his catechetical lectures, to correct those motives and raise that bar before the candidates receive baptism and become Christian. In this developing Christian climate, Cyril's instruction stands out as the earliest extant and complete programme of catechism, potentially indicating that they were, in the form we have them, "a new genre emerging in the fourth century due to the growing number of Christians."[358]

Part One: Pious Doctrines
Cyril's Pre-Baptismal Programme

Cyril's programme of catechism indicates that by the middle of the fourth century the stages of pre-baptismal instruction were still broadly the same as they had been at the beginning of the century, moving from evangelization to catechumency to a focused pre-baptismal instruction. However, the role, duration, and significance of these various steps appears to have changed somewhat.

Precatechumency

The first period remained that of introduction to the Church, or precatechumency, in which an individual was evangelized in the broadest terms. Whether this evangelism was of the kind suggested by Stark where social groups changed and the draw of conformity to a Christian community proved overwhelming,[359] or that of MacMullen where doctrines, miracles (or the reports thereof), the fear of condemnation, or the desire for professional advancement brought people to the church,[360] or some combination of the two,[361] this period of precatechumency was simply the time from first contact with Christianity to enrolment as a catechumen. Cyril gives little indication in the *Catechism* of exactly what occurred in this period. He notes early in the *Procatechesis* that there are various reasons those present have come to be enrolled for baptism; he suggests both social factors and personal interest,[362] but omits any notion that it was compelling doctrines that will have brought them thus far. Whatever the case, the *Catechism* provides only limited help in understanding this period.

Catechumency

---

[357] *Procatch*. 4.
[358] Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 54.
[359] Stark, *The Rise of Christianity*, 17.
[360] MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 114-119.
[361] Kreider, *The Change of Conversion*, 21-33.
[362] *Procatch*. 5.

Somewhat confusingly, 'catechumency' was the period that preceded the receiving of Cyril's *Catechism*, but also in a vague way, persisted into the instruction of the *Catechism* itself. At various points in the *Catechism* Cyril alters between noting that those present "used to be called a catechumen,"[363] and then reminds them that they are still "passing from the ranks of the catechumens."[364] Whatever the particulars of the nomenclature around 'catechumen'[365], catechumency as a period under Cyril's direction may be broadly understood as the time between an initial welcome to the Church and the entrance to the season of pre-baptismal instruction. Beginning this time of catechumency, individuals were accepted into the order of catechumens by the Church. While Cyril provides no information on the entrance into this period, in other cases catechumens were sponsored by a baptised member of the Church community who would bear responsibility for the catechumen's early steps towards the faith.[366] These catechumens might be marked with the sign of the cross and sprinkled with salt as a symbolic indication of their entering into this new period, as Augustine recounts in his *Confessions*.[367] Furthermore, there may have been a laying on of hands by baptised members of the Church as well as an initial exorcism.[368] In Jerusalem, this period of catechumency may have been marked by attendance at church for teaching and worship. Catechumens were, however, excluded from practices such as the Eucharist, the Lord's Prayer, and knowledge of the Creed. Cyril is clear that catechumens were not privy to the mysteries of the Church or even the Creed and must be protected against learning these secrets.[369] Catechumency then, appears to have been a time when catechumens would become further integrated into the society of the Church while growing in familiarity with the scriptures as they were taught through preaching. In the same vein, this time served an apologetic function as catechumens were persuaded of their need for repentance, forgiveness, and salvation in Christ.[370]

Under Cyril the minimum duration of time one had to remain a catechumen before entering their name for baptism is unclear. Cyril gives only cursory clues as to how long one might remain a catechumen. At the beginning of his catechetical lectures Cyril seems to

---

[363] *Procatch*. 6 "Κατηχούμενος ἐλέγου"

[364] *Catech*. 11.29

[365] The word, Κατηχούμενος, apart from its use as a formal title, means "ones who hear instruction."

[366] Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites*, 1994, 2.

[367] Augustine, *Confessions*, I.11.17

[368] Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites*, 9.

[369] *Procatch*.12. Embracing a familiar practice in the early Church, the *diciplina arcani,* Cyril required that the teachings not be shared with those catechumens not presently enrolled in the course for baptism, and warns strongly against sharing any of the teachings with outsiders.

[370] Cyril's one extant sermon demonstrates this purpose. The content and arguments are clearly aimed at persuading those present of their need for forgiveness and the opportunity available in Christ. See Cyril's 'Sermon on the Paralytic' in McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 2, 207-224.

indicate that some may have just recently become catechumens[371] and are still unsure of the basic teaching of the Church and the lifestyle required of them, while others have been around the Church their whole lives and will find the teachings to be reminders of that which they have already learned.[372] Nowhere does Cyril indicate that the period had any particular framework, outwith the limitations placed on what one could partake in (ie. Could not be involved in the Eucharist, Lord's Prayer, or know the Creed). While we cannot know, from Cyril's own teaching, how long the period of catechumency was, or indeed if it had a set duration, what we can gather from Cyril's apparent ambivalence on the matter is that his interest was less in a mandatory minimum then it was in what he could accomplish over the final stage of the pre-baptismal process 'Enlightenment,' or the receiving of the catechetical orations.

Enlightenment (The Catechetical Orations)

The period of enlightenment[373] began with enrolment for baptism at the beginning of Lent, concluded 40 days later when the candidates were ushered into those baptismal waters on Easter Sunday, and was characterized throughout by enlightenment or instruction in the doctrines and disciplines of the Church. The season began with the Protocatechesis, an introductory and explanatory lecture, and then was signposted by the 18 Catechetical orations or lectures delivered by Cyril over the 40 days of Lent. In addition to attending the catechetical lectures, candidates were also expected to attend regular church services and submit to daily exorcisms or confessions.[374] This period was characterized by focused teaching on the doctrines of the Church and the disciplines expected of a Christian. The period of enlightenment also marked the time in which catechumens would first receive the Creed.[375] The Creed, as we will see in this chapter, was integral to the catechetical programme as it provided the syllabus for instruction, and the basis of the lectures structure. Additionally, the way in which Cyril approached the Creed and organized his *Catechism* around it, can provide telling clues for how he understood the needs of his baptismal candidates as well as the challenges he faced in the post-Constantinian Church. In this chapter we will be examining Cyril's *Catechism* and this period of enlightenment, with an eye for the ways in which it can enhance our understanding of the conversion process in Jerusalem, and for

---

[371] *Catech*. 2.7
[372] *Catech*. 4.3
[373] In the opening line of the *Procatechesis*, Cyril greets those gathered as, "my dear candidates for enlightenment [ὦ Φωτιζομενοι]," *Procatech*.1.
[374] *Procatech*.9,13,14,15; as well as *Catech*.1.5 and later *Catech*.16.19. See also Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites*, 9.
[375] *Catech*. 4 was given over to presenting for memorisation the Creed to the candidates. We'll return to the nature and purpose of this *traditio symboli* shortly.

indications of how Cyril understood his role not just as catechizer but as one instrumental to the conversion process in Jerusalem.

In our final chapter we will turn to the climax both of conversion and of the *Catechism* when we look at Cyril's Baptism and the 5 Mystagogical lectures, delivered over the 5 days that followed that Easter ritual.

The Procatechesis: Introducing Catechism

While the Creed provides both the heart and skeleton of the *Catechism*, it is not where Cyril begins his discourse. It is not until lecture 5 that Cyril presents the Creed and begins in earnest its instruction. While the Creed is central to the *Catechism* it does not provide Cyril with the introduction he appears to have desired. Before he could dive into the Creed and the doctrines of the Church, Cyril provided several introductory and welcoming lectures in which he framed what was to follow.[376] Recalling what we have seen of the candidates present, that in some cases they were still quite new to the Church, it follows that some degree of basic introduction was required before they could dive into the doctrines of the Church. Beginning with the *Procatechesis* Cyril welcomed his new baptismal candidates and set the programme of moral and doctrinal instruction before them. In these pre-creedal lectures, Cyril provides us with a fascinating insight into how he intended to organize and execute the catechism.

The aim of Cyril's creedal exposition from lecture 4-18 was to provide sufficient and persuasive reason and explanation for the Church's teachings so that the candidate might believe what was required to enter baptism and begin the life as a Christian on sound footing. As Cyril explains in lecture 4, this is a "course suited to children, milk for sucklings."[377] There were "those present who [were] of more mature understanding and "had their faculties trained to discern good and evil,"[378] but of them patience was requested. Cyril was by no means opposed to theological understanding and teaching that went beyond the simplicity of the Creed, but in the *Catechism* his theological concern was for simple instruction in the basics of Christian belief.[379] Likewise, our interest here is not so much in the finer points of the various doctrines represented in the *Catechism* as it is the broader presentation of Christian belief and how that instruction bore on the process of conversion the catechumens

---

[376] The *Procatechesis* and lectures 1-3 all serve as introductory ground laying exercises in advance of the doctrinal summary in lecture 4 and the delivery of the Creed in lecture 5.

[377] *Catech*. 4.3.

[378] *Catech*. 4.3

[379] Several times throughout the Catechism Cyril notes that even the taxing length of some of the lectures does not afford him the opportunity to go as far with the subjects as he would like: *Catech*. 4.20; 13.22; 17.20,30; 18.30.

were undergoing. Here the structure of the programme of catechism is itself significant, as is Cyril's introduction and explanation of what will follow over the course of Lent. Presently we will examine how Cyril framed and introduced his Lenten Catecheses to the catechumens, and why Cyril may have organized and crafted the course of catechism as he did.

Broadly speaking the *Catechism* can be divided into two parts, pre-creedal instruction and creedal exposition. The pre-creedal instruction begins with the Procatechesis, and extends through to the delivery of the Creed in lecture 5. The creedal exposition comprises the remaining 13 lectures of the *Catechism* and is composed of point by point explanations of the Creed's clauses.

In our overview of the course's organization and Cyril's approach to the instruction it is helpful to take some time with the *Procatechesis* as it is here that Cyril most clearly explains to those converting how and why he has organized the programme of teaching to come. Furthermore, we are given numerous insights into the quality of the baptismal candidates gathered for the *Catechism*; particularly that many of them were not only new to the Church, but deeply unfamiliar with what was required of them both in behaviour and in belief.

This pre-pre-baptismal instruction welcomes the catechumens to this period of transition during which they will prepare to pass into the mysteries of the Church and the new life of the baptised. Those present have come into the church, presented and registered their names for instruction and consideration for baptism,[380] and processed into this preambulatory session. Cyril's welcome is full of promise and poetry:

> Already you have arrived at the outer court of the palace: may the King lead you in! Now the blossom has appeared on the trees; God grant the fruit be duly harvested! Now you have enlisted; you have been called to the Colors. You have walked in procession with the tapers of brides in your hands and the desire of heavenly citizenship in your hearts…[381]

However, the welcome is tempered from the outset with a warning. Cyril is adamant that the conduct of the faithful matters, especially in this season of preparation. He demands that if a catechumen be unprepared and befouled by impiety that they delay their attendance until such a time as they have cleaner conduct. Cyril likens the pre-baptismal season to a race that

---

[380] *Procatech.* 1,4,13.

[381] *Procatech.* 1. Cyril's comparison to being "being called to the Colors" was a reference to enlisting in the Roman army. Additionally, as McCauley & Stephenson point out, enlisting in the Roman army was accompanied by the taking of an oath or, *sacramentum*, and pledging oneself to the Emperor, a practice not dissimilar to what would happen during the baptismal ceremony when baptisands renounced Satan and pledged themselves to Christ. McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1, 70 ff. 4.

cannot be run again, or the preparation for a wedding feast that demands all of one's care and attention.[382] In this way Cyril's introduction serves both to excite and to temper the expectations of the catechumens. On one hand he inspires them with the promises of mystical understanding and the union of their soul to God, but then immediately warns them against complacency and encourages them to work hard in preparation for their baptism.

While the whole of the *Procatechesis* follows this model of holding forth promise and warning in alternating measure, paragraph six evinces it particularly well.

> What honor Jesus bestows! You used to be called a catechumen, when the truth was being dinned into you from without: hearing about the Christian hope without understanding it; hearing about the Mysteries without having a spiritual perception of them; hearing the scriptures but not sounding their depths. No longer in your ears now but in your heart is that ringing; for the indwelling Spirit hence-forth makes your soul the house of God. When you hear the texts from Scripture concerning the Mysteries, then you will have a spiritual perception of things once beyond your ken. But take care that you do not, while rejoicing in the name of "faithful,"[383] have the resolve of the faithless. You have entered for a race; run the course; you will not get the like chance again. If it were your wedding day that was fixed, would you not, ignoring everything else, be wholly engaged in preparations for the marriage feast? Then on the eve of consecrating your soul to your heavenly Spouse, will you not put by the things of the body to win those of the spirit?[384]

Here Cyril sets out to establish that this catechism, this teaching, is different than what those present will have heard before. Where formerly these men and women might have heard from the scriptures, or heard mentioned the Mysteries, or even just heard about the Christian hope, the teaching they are about to begin is meant to penetrate mind and soul. Having submitted themselves for baptism, candidates are told that they have begun a journey towards a spiritual perception of that which was formerly obfuscated by mystery, secrecy, and the lack of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The revealing of the Mysteries of the Church, the sounding of scriptures' depths, the understanding of Christian hope, all of these appear to be the candidates' expected and hoped for outcomes of the instruction. In this passage Cyril is presenting what may come to pass for those present, the promise of spiritual understanding

---

[382] *Procatech.* 6.

[383] Usage of the name Πιστός for these candidates occurs in *Procatech. 6,12,13,17; Catech. 1.1, 4; 3.15; 5.1; 10.16; 11.9; 18.26.* Both in the *Procatechesis* and in the first lecture of the formal instruction Cyril calls these baptismal candidates "Πιστός," Believers. McCauley and Stephenson argue that the term is merely proleptic and is applied to the candidates as a courtesy (McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol.1, 80, ff37). However, Cyril uses the term regularly and is fairly clear from his first lecture that the use of this name begins during the period of pre-baptismal instruction: "Λαμβάνεις ὄνομα καινὸν, ὃ πρότερον οὐκ εἶχες. Πρὸ τούτου Κατηχούμενος ἦς, νῦν δὲ κληθήσῃ Πιστός." (*Catech.*1.4) There is little ambiguity here that the name Πιστός can be appropriately applied νῦν. Still, despite this early clarity, Cyril appears to see the Lenten period as one of general transition culminating in baptism. He notes in lecture 11 when reminding his listeners not to share the teaching with outsiders that they are still "passing from the ranks of the catechumens".[383]

[384] *Procatech.* 6.

and one's soul becoming a dwelling place for the Divine. It is a heady and exhilarating proposition, and Cyril was no doubt aware of this. Again we see him build excitement as he holds forth the promise of what might be, and then carefully temper, or at least qualify, the promise by warning that there is work to be done between this present moment and the hoped for climax to come. This programme, he cautions, requires resolve, discipline, preparation, and the single-minded focus.

Cyril's practice of promise and warning is significant. On one hand he works to inspire, entice, and encourage those before him; to show them what might be and to whet their appetite for more. One the other hand Cyril is working not merely to excite an emotional response but to change the spiritual and physical condition, habits, and behaviours of these potential converts. Cyril needs to translate that emotional expectation and exhilaration into the physical practice of disciplined and faithful behaviours. This work would be ongoing throughout the catechism, and we can observe Cyril here in the *Procatechesis* setting the stage for what is to come. Cyril will instruct the doctrines of the church, he will unveil the Mysteries and work through the scriptures, but to truly appropriate this teaching, those present will need to be disciplined, diligent, and faithful in their preparations for the consecration of their soul to the heavenly Spouse at baptism.[385]

At the close of the *Procatechesis*, Cyril revisits several of the metaphors raised throughout, particularly that of the pre-baptismal instruction as a race, and his own role as teacher and builder. When this and the former selections are read in tandem a fuller picture emerges of just how Cyril conceived of his own role as teacher throughout this programme of preparation. The imagery Cyril employs here is deeply significant for our own task as we attempt to understand both what Cyril is working to accomplish with the *Catechism* and how he wanted these baptismal candidates to understand the season before them.

> "These, then, are the instructions, these the battle orders, that I (so far as a man may) give to you. To make our house "hay, straw" and chaff is to risk its total loss by fire; no, make the work of "gold, silver, and precious stones." For it is mine to speak, yours to translate my words into action, and God's to perfect the work. Let us prepare our hearts, straining every nerve and sinew of soul and mind. The race is for our souls: we have set our hearts on an eternal prize. God, who knows your hearts and discerns who is genuine and who is only acting a part, is able both to keep the sincere safe and to make a believer of the hypocrite.

---

[385] In the following section we will focus more on the nature of these expectations for piety and obedience when we examine the moral identity expected of the faithful, but for now it is sufficient that we observe Cyril's practical preparations for the following lectures. From the outset it is clear that the course the catechumens are enrolled in both requires and expects a high degree of piety and should a catechumen be unprepared for this Cyril would rather they departed until such a time as they felt capable of conducting themselves in the necessary fashion.

Yes, even of the unbeliever God can make a believer if only he gives his heart."[386]

Cyril first presents what is to follow over the course of Lent as battle orders. This is the return to a theme introduced in the opening lines of his welcome where he likens the catechumens present to soldiers who "have enlisted… [and] have been called to the colors."[387] And just like new recruits, before facing combat, they must be trained to defend against the attacks of the enemy. Cyril here casts himself as the general responsible for their preparation. Significantly Cyril then moves from a metaphor for the individual to one for the community. Here we see him casting the Christian community as a house at risk of "loss by fire". The emphasis here is on the behaviour of the community, and Cyril warns that should they not heed his instruction and translate his orders into action the whole house will be at risk of conflagration. Finally, Cyril returns to the familiar metaphor of a race.[388] In addition to the required action of the individuals within the community, Cyril here emphasizes the importance of right intentions and sincerity of heart for the race ahead, and he comforts that God himself will guard and guide the earnest seeker. From the outset of the *Catechism* it is apparent that Cyril hoped to inspire the candidates with the goal before them, challenge them with an awareness of the struggle it would be to get there, and comfort them that they were not pursuing this alone but that should their desire be earnest God would aid them in their fight. His recurring emphasis, both here in the *Procatecheseis*, and throughout the *Catechism*, on the resolve or good intention of the candidates is significant for us, as are his warnings should their desire ultimately be false. Aware as he was that the candidates could memorise, recite, and declare earnest belief in the teachings that were to come, and yet not truly believe, Cyril could only caution those present that their hearts and minds were known by God who was the ultimate judge of their resolve, and attempt to foster true belief as much as he was able. Everyone had a job to do. Cyril's was to instruct both doctrines and disciplines and encourage belief; the candidates were to not only listen, but to hear and "translate [Cyril's] words into action." Finally, it was God who perfected this imperfect work and made it sufficient. This collaborative work would set those present on the course that leads to "an eternal prize."[389]

It is in service of this preparation for the ensuing trials that Cyril organizes and frames his instructions. Just like the planting of and caring for a tree, or the right construction of a building, Cyril's catechetical instructions are planned, well sequenced, and systematic. In the

---

[386] *Procatech*. 17. Notably, Cyril here reminds both those present that he was aware that not all in attendance were earnest in belief or sincere in intention. Curiously, this lack of belief did not solicit the same suggestion of ejection as an unwillingness to observe the disciplines of a catechumen. A subject we will return to shortly.

[387] *Procatech*. 1, 11.

[388] Hebrews 12:1.

[389] *Procatech*. 17.

midst of the *Procatechesis* Cyril provides his listeners with an indication of the structure and formula for the lectures that follow, as well as a hint of his pedagogical approach.

> Let this also be included in your battle orders: study what you are told and guard it forever. Do not confuse the pre-baptismal instructions with the ordinary sermons. Excellent and reliable as those are, still if we neglect their lessons today, we can learn them tomorrow. But the systematic instruction about the laver of regeneration – if that be neglected today, when shall the loss be made good? Imagine it is the season for planting trees: unless we dig, and dig deep, when can the tree be planted aright that has once been planted amiss? Or let me compare the catechizing to a building. Unless we methodically bind the joint and the whole structure together, we shall have leaks and dry rot, and all our previous exertions will be wasted. No: stone must be laid upon stone in regular sequence, and corner follow corner, jutting edges must be planed away: and so the perfect structure rises."[390]

Cyril here shares just how essential the *Catechism* is for the life of the Christian. These teachings he is about to share are the roots of the tree, the foundation of the building. Should this programme of instruction be ignored the edifice of faith may waver and crumble. As Cyril extends his metaphor, it becomes apparent how mindful he is of the order and sequence of the building project.

> "I bring you as it were the stones of knowledge; you must be instructed in the doctrine of the living God, of the judgment, of Christ, of the Resurrection. Many things have to be said in order, which are now being touched upon at random but will then be brought together into a harmonious system."[391]

This harmonious system of instruction is, as we will observe, the framework provided by the Creed. What we see in the *Procatechesis*, as Cyril outlines that which is to follow in the *Catechism*, is just how carefully crafted this programme of catechism was and how seriously Cyril took his task. Whether Cyril lacked intellectual depth or theological rigour may be debatable,[392] but that he had a keen mind and aggressive strategy for the task of catechism appears apparent from the outset of his catechetical programme. Regarding this design for catechism Cyril concludes, "Unless you achieve this unity of design, holding the beginning and the sequel in your mind together, the builder may do his best, but your house will be a ruin."[393]

The course of catechism that candidates for baptism were enrolled in was not a haphazard or perfunctory rite. The *Procatechesis* indicates a carefully crafted programme of instruction in doctrines and disciplines that incorporated those present into the community of Christ and worked to establish a foundation that would keep them secure in the face of

---

[390] *Procatech*. 11.
[391] *Procatech*. 11.
[392] Walker suggests Cyril tended towards the practical over the theological and that "his was not an especially scholarly mind, not especially learned in history, apologetics or philosophy". Walker, *Holy City Holy Places*?, 31.
[393] *Procatech*. 11.

religious and cultural temptations of the day. Additionally, this period of focused catechetical instruction in advance of Easter would serve as an opportunity for candidates to practice the fashion of living that would be required of them following their baptism.[394] Cyril sets out his task in the *Catechism* as to fertilize the field of faith with biblical instruction, to foster belief and faith where it may not yet be present, to establish the candidates on a robust doctrinal foundation built on the Creed, and to clarify the contours of conduct for the outworking of a Christian life. Given the significance of the Creed to both the format and the content of the *Catechism* we will now turn our attention to consider the role the Creed played in Cyril's *Catechism*, and catechism more broadly in the fourth century.

Creedal Construction for Doctrinal Instruction

An important note here, which we must make right away, is that we are not examining the Creed for its biblical or theological merit, nor are we particularly interested in the theological nuance of how Cyril's creedal expositions relate to the historical development of the Creed. This is not an investigation into Cyril's theology. Presently, we will be looking at the relationship between the structure of the Creed and the format of Cyril's catechetical programme: we will not be examining the doctrines of the Creed or, for that matter, the theological content of the successive catechetical lectures they correspond to. These theological reflections and teachings, while worthy of study, are not the focus of our present investigation. Our interest remains in the ongoing quantifiable process of conversion as its it was experienced by the catechumens, and how Cyril crafted and instructed the *Catechism* to advance the process of conversion towards its climax at baptism.

In some respects, whether or not a catechumen accepted or believed what Cyril was instructing on the doctrines of the Creed is of limited importance to our study, not least as their beliefs remain unquantifiable. What we are interested in is the structures Cyril put in place to attempt to both convince and foster genuine belief in those present. Cyril was well aware that in his role and capacity as bishop he could not enforce or truly test what the catechumens believed. He could teach the Creed and have them memorise it, but that was no guarantee that they were earnest in conviction or faith, but then that doesn't appear to have bothered him.[395] His role was to provide sound instruction on the Creed, appropriate warnings

---

[394] This theme of the period of catechism serving as a time for practicing the Christian life will be taken up in the final part of this chapter.

[395] Reflecting on his own inability to truly verify belief, Cyril can simply caution those present who continued to seek baptism with improper or false motivation, "If you persist in an evil purpose, the preacher is guiltless, but you must not expect to receive the grace. Though the water will not refuse to receive you, you will get no welcome from the Spirit." *Procatech*.4. Cyril leaves true judgment with God. He recognizes that in his capacity as a bishop he can guard the door to baptism only so well, and

about the significance of baptism, and practical teaching on what disciplines and behaviours were expected or prohibited by the Church. The last of these, behaviour, was examinable and verifiable, and Cyril seems content to accept this as the best litmus for belief available to him or the Church. Ultimately, faith was a matter between the individual baptismal candidate and God.

The Jerusalem Creed & Catechetical Framework

While the reader is likely familiar with both the Nicene Creed of 325 and the Constantinopolitan Creed of 381, the Creed Cyril uses is rather less well known. Established by drawing together creedal statements and lecture titles from the catechism, the assembled declaration of belief has come to be known as the Jerusalem Creed. It is important to begin by noting that the title 'Jerusalem Creed' is itself a textual anachronism. No explicit mention is made of a 'Jerusalem Creed' in the fourth century and no early manuscript clearly containing its phrasing exists. Instead, this creed, as it is understood today, has been organized and compiled from references made in Cyril's catechisms. Despite lecture 5 of the *Catechism* being devoted to the handing over of the Creed,[396] the text of the Creed itself is not included in our records of the lecture. However, throughout the programme of pre-baptismal instruction Cyril makes numerous references to the Creed. Furthermore, Cyril explicitly frames lectures 6 to 18 on the Creed. From the indications in these early lectures, as well as the titles and content of the remaining lectures, McCauley and Stephenson have reasonably reconstructed what is now widely accepted to be the Creed used by Cyril in Jerusalem *circa* 351, or the Jerusalem Creed.[397] While much of the research into the Jerusalem Creed is a result of interest in the Constantinopolitan Creed of 381, apart from McCauley and Stephenson there has not been a great deal of work done on the Jerusalem Creed in its own right.[398] Our own interest in the Jerusalem Creed extends as far as a demonstration of how it provides a framework for Cyril's formulation of the *Catechism*.

---

that should one persist without heeding his warning they may well be incorporated into the Christian community, but that social incorporation was no guarantee of spiritual restoration or salvation.

[396] See section: Redditio Symboli.

[397] See McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem*, vol. 1, 60-65. A similar argument for the Jerusalem Creed was made much by F.J.A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, (Cambridge/London, 1876), though Hort's interest is primarily in determining the antecedents to the Creed of Constantinople.

[398] Drijvers is happy to build on the work of McCauley and Stephenson in reconstructing the Creed, and to apply Hort's argument for Cyril's involvement (and questionable influence) on the construction of the Creed of Constantinople. Drijvers *Bishop and City,* 44-49. For more on the debate surrounding the impact of the Jerusalem Creed on the authors of the Constantinopolitan Creed, see: J.N.D. Kelly, *Rufinus. A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, (London: Paulist Press, 1972), 124-150, where Kelly contests the connection to the Creed of Constantinople and reminds his reader the Jerusalem Creed is an artificial construction. He does not debate that it is fairly, if artificially, constructed from Cyril's Catechetical lectures, simply that it should not be brought to bear on the development of the Creed of Constantinople. See also, J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds,* 3rd revised edition, (London: Longman, 1972), 311-31.

However, some questions remain regarding how much credit Cyril can be given for developing the syllabus of his *Catechism*. While several of the earliest forays into parsing out the development of the lectionary and catechetical programme credit Cyril with having organized and constructed his own catechetical syllabus,[399] it has been suggested more recently that Cyril may have simply inherited the syllabus employed in his *Catechism*. Regarding the formulation of the *Catechism*, and Cyril's organization of the lectures, around and in relation to, the Creed, Alexis Doval has summarised well the ways in which Cyril's programme may have grown out of earlier Lenten practices particularly as recorded by the Armenian Church.[400] Although the *Armenian Lectionary* was not formulated until the ninth or tenth century, it is probable that it is a fair representation of early third and fourth century liturgical practices, particularly for the orderly reading of scripture.[401] Additionally, the *Armenian Ritual*, particularly its Canon of Baptism, may date from early in the third century before the extension of the baptismal programme from three weeks to 40 days.[402] When taken together with these two documents, Cyril's *Catechism* can be seen within the developing framework of fourth century baptismal instructions. This is an important observation on which to pause, as Cyril was certainly the beneficiary of practices which predated him, and was by no means the sole innovator or progenitor of his own pre-baptismal catechetical instruction. The question of just how much of the catechetical syllabus we have in Cyril's *Catechism* was inherited verses developed by Cyril is ongoing, and more study in this field would be welcome. Doval, for his part, does a fair job given the limited space afforded to the subject within his own project, drawing the various lectionaries and creeds together with the *Catechism* and noting where they align and differ while suggesting several areas Cyril may be seen as innovative.[403] Our focus is slightly more narrowed than Doval's,[404] and to achieve our ends we do not need to summarise the discussion in its entirety, merely to observe that it is ongoing. Regardless of who owes what to whom, our interest is primarily in the relocation of

---

[399] Most significantly, the eighth century preacher, John Awjnec'i and the fifteenth century Armenian biography of Cyril, both credit Cyril with the development of his own catechetical syllabus. See Mário Ferreira Lages, "The Hierosolymitain Origin of the Catechetical Rites in the Armenian Liturgy," Didaskalia 1, (1971), 233-250. For the 15th Century life of Cyril, the text can be found in Armenian codex 224, folios 267-69, at the Mechitarist Library in Vienna. See also Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 45, for further assessment of these texts; and Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, New Edition, (London: Bloombury, 2015), ch. 7.

[400] See Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 37-46.

[401] See F.C. Conybeare, ed., *Rituale Armenorum. Being the Administration of the Sacraments and Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany Edited from the Oldest MSS*, trans. A.J. Maclean (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905).; See also Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 36-37.

[402] Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, 311.

[403] Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue*, in particular see Doval's excellent table on pgs., 40-41.

[404] Doval is attempting to give space for the development of Cyril's creedal structure over the course of his episcopacy so that he can argue that Egeria, the late forth century pilgrim to Jerusalem, and her account of the Lenten liturgical programme, which differs slightly, might still be attributed to Cyril.

one particular clause of the Creed for the purpose of better introducing the programme of catechism to those converting, and Cyril's apparent cautiousness around one of the more contentious theological questions of his day.[405]

Returning to the Jerusalem Creed, it is immediately apparent just how much it owes to Nicaea. There is one notable departure, however, which bears brief comment. The text of the Creed as compiled and translated by McCauley and Stephenson is as follows.[406]

I	We Believe in One God the Father almighty maker of Heaven and earth of all things visible and invisible
II	And in one Lord Jesus Christ the Only-begotten Son of God begotten true God of the Father before all ages through whom all things were made
III	who came in the flesh (?) (and) was made man… (?)
IV	and was crucified (?) and was buried (?)
V	who rose on the third day
VI	and ascended into Heaven and sat down on the right of the Father
VII	and is to come in glory to judge the living and the dead of whose reign there will be no end
VIII	And in one Holy Spirit and Paraclete who spoke in the prophets
IX	and in one baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins
X	and one holy Catholic Church
XI	and the resurrection of the flesh
XII	and the life everlasting.

Clearly the Creed presented in the *Catechism* shares much in common with both that of Nicaea before and Constantinople after. However, the Jerusalem Creed, sitting as it does in the middle of the fourth century, does not appear to have been either an exercise in theological creativity, nor a bold entry into the theological politics of the day. Instead, it seems rather to place its emphasis on simplicity, comprehensibility, and to actively eschew the heated theological debates of the day. This is particularly notable in clause II, on the nature of Christ. significant here is Cyril's curious omission of the Nicaean term, ὁμοούσιον. The question of just why Cyril avoids this particular and highly contested term may, as we've suggested, have some significance for our own study.

---

[405] That Cyril's programme is similar in framework to that suggested in the *Armenian Lectionary* serves to further underscore just how significant the need for evangelism and even basic Christian instruction was in the Eastern Church even in the middle of the third Century. Again, this serves as indication of how low the threshold for entry into the baptismal programme was and how much work Cyril had to do to foster right belief and right behaviours.

[406] McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1, 63-64. See here also for notes on components in question as indicated by: (?).

Nicaea - 325	Jerusalem - c.351	Constantinople - 381
(II) And in one Lord, Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the only-begotten, that is, of the essence of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, of the same being as the Father [ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί], through whom all things came to be, both the things in heaven and on earth,…	**(II)** And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten true God of the Father before all ages Through whom all things were made.	**(II)** And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, eternally begotten of the Father, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, of one being with the Father [ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί]. Through him all things were made.

Notably Cyril does not use either the Nicene language of ὁμοούσιον or the Constantinopolitan language of ὁμούσιον at any point in the *Procatechesis*, *Catechism*, or *Mystagogy*. Telfer has argued that Cyril was so deeply entrenched in Church history that he viewed the development of the homoousios controversy as just a temporary disturbance, and portrays him as a traditionalist, not so much opposed to the theology of Nicaea in particular as opposed to theological development more generally.[407] This approach, however, has received little support and the majority view presently would be that Cyril was well aware of the political and theological issues at stake but was attempting to avoid engaging in them being charged one way or the other.[408] Robert Gregg has persuasively demonstrated that Cyril was attempting to avoid the controversy by avoiding this terminology and that he was in fact a supporter of Nicaean orthodoxy as is apparent throughout his Lenten instruction.[409] Furthermore, having been only recently appointed by Acacius of Caesarea, an Arian sympathizer,[410] Cyril may not want to have offended this senior Bishop who was himself so heatedly engaged in the debate. For our purposes, nowhere in the *Catechism* does Cyril directly mention the name Arius or Arianism, though he does clearly condemn the notions of Arianism in *Catechism,* 10.4; 11.4, 10, and 17. Furthermore, Cyril appears to have desired to keep the catechumens somewhat removed from the politics of the day and the divisions the Church was suffering over these and other issues. Late in the *Catechism*, Cyril requested that they not be bothered or swayed by the ecclesial politics that were shaking the Church, but

---

[407] Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 61-63. Telfer suggests that Cyril's theology throughout his career ran close to Nicaea, and that his lack of outright support for the language of Nicaea certainly does not render him pro-Arian, but rather that he was studiously attempting to avoided the theologically charged language of the council.

[408] See McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1, 35-65, who devote a good deal of attention to both this history of this issue in relation to Cyril as well as Cyril's own potential leanings on the matter, though the analysis is, as theirs often is, clouded by their desire to instruct sound catholic teaching and to see Cyril in light of their own tradition. Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 45. See also Gregg, "Cyril of Jerusalem and the Arians,"85-109. Gregg devotes the primary focus of his attention to lectures 10 and 11 on Christ as Lord and Christ as begotten arguing that Cyril was in thought and theology, if not in language, pro-Nicaean and that again, in theology if not in language, demonstrably anti-Arian.

[409] Gregg, Robert C. "Cyril of Jerusalem and the Arians," 85-109.

[410] See background on Cyril's life and Career beginning p. 4.

instead to focus on the simple truths in which they had been instructed. "If you should hear of bishops in conflict with bishops, clergy against clergy, and flock against flock even unto blood, do not be troubled. It has been prophesied."[411]

This simplicity and uncontroversial composition makes sense given the Creeds' use as a basis for instruction in the basics of Christian faith, particularly during a time of heated theological disputations when it was anyone's guess which party would end up on top. The *Catechism* was not an advanced course in theology, but rather "milk for sucklings."[412] The Creed Cyril employs reflects this. While his lectures would further elaborate these points, it was the simple doctrines of the Church that required memorisation and belief and around which Cyril would build his catechetical programme.

It was the doctrines of the Creed that informed the skeletal structure of the *Catechism*. Each of these doctrines was expounded and demonstrated in turn over the course of instruction. This framework quickly becomes apparent when the lectures are placed alongside their corresponding creedal clauses. This comparison also reveals one notable departure from the creedal progression that merits further comment, namely the relocation of the clause on baptism (IX) to the Second Catechetical lecture.

---

[411] *Catech*. 15.7. See McCauley & Stephenson, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Volume 2,* 1970, 58, fn.33, who suggest the issue Cyril may have had in mind here regards the various parties accusing each other in turn of either Arianism or Sabellianism. Unfortunately, regarding Cyril's reference of prophesy we have no indication if this is of a Biblical or more recent nature.
[412] *Catech*. 4.3.

Cyril's Catechetical Lectures	The Jerusalem Creed
Procatechesis	
1. An Introductory Discourse to the Candidates for Baptism	
2. On Repentance, The Remission of Sin, and the Adversary	(IX) And in one baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins
3. On Baptism	
4. On Doctrines	
5. On Faith	
6. On the Unity of God	(I) We believe in One God
7. On the Father	The Father
8. On the Omnipotence of God	Almighty
9. On God the Creator	Maker of Heaven and Earth of all things visible and invisible.
10. On One Lord, Jesus Christ	(II) And in one Lord Jesus Christ
11. On the Only-begotten Son of God, Born of the Father before all Ages, True God, through whom All Things Were Made	the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten true God of the Father before all ages Through whom all things were made
12. On the Incarnation	(III) Who came in the flesh (?) (and) and was made man… (?)
13. On the Crucifixion and Burial of Christ	(IV) and was crucified (?) and was buried (?)
14. On the Resurrection of Christ, His ascension into Heaven and His sitting at the right hand of the Father	(V) who rose on the third day, (VI) and ascended into Heaven and sat down on the right of the Father
15. On the Words: "And He Is to Come with Glory to Judge the Living and the Dead, of Whose Kingdom There Shall Be Not End"	(VII) and is to come in glory to judge living and dead, of whose reign there will be no end
16. On the Holy Spirit	(VIII) And in one Holy Spirit and Paraclete who spoke in the prophets
17. On the Holy Spirit (continued)	(IX)[*moved to correspond with Lecture 2 and 3*]
18. On the Words: "And in One Holy Catholic Church: And in the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life Everlasting"	(X) and one holy Catholic Church, (XI) the resurrection of the flesh (XII) and life everlasting.

Given the faithful and sequential delivery of the Creed from lecture 6 to 18 it is surprising that clause IX alone is relocated to the pre-creedal portion of the course. Cyril even references this rearrangement in the final lecture of the *Catechism* where he reminds his listeners that "Of baptism and repentance we have spoken in earlier lectures,"[413] before concluding his creedal discourse on the resurrection of the dead, the holy catholic church, and life everlasting. If the Creed serves as the inspiration for the catechism's format, why not follow it exactly?

This relocation serves a notable pedagogical function. Since baptism served as the means by which sin was remitted, adoption enacted, union with Christ actualized, and

---

[413] *Catech*. 18.22

conversion completed; and it was the desire for baptism that has drawn the catechumens to the period of instruction, it is understandable that Cyril would wish to clarify the nature of sin and the need for repentance and baptism early in the programme. Those in attendance may have gathered that catechism and baptism were necessary for full admittance to the community, but failed to grasp their personal need or the theological implications of these rites.[414]

Another possible motive for the relocation of clause IX may have related to the progress and chronology of conversion. Notably, the Creed follows its own divine chronology. In the beginning is God (clause I). Then God makes everything (clause I). And Christ is with God and is begotten God in the beginning (clause II). Then Christ takes on flesh, becomes man (clause III), is killed, is buried (clause IV), and raised from the dead (clause V), then he ascends into heaven (clause VI) with the promise that he will come again (clause VII). Then the Spirit is given (clause VIII) and men and women are baptised and have their sins forgiven (clause IX). And the Church is established for this age (clause X) until the dead rise (clause XI) and enter eternal life at Christ's promised return (clause XIII). The doctrines follow a clear temporal progression. However, this chronology does not reflect the progress of conversion being experienced by those gathered for the Lenten instruction and baptism.

Throughout the *Catechism*, as we have seen, Cyril makes it clear that many present for baptismal instruction have not yet understood or do not yet believe the simple teachings of the Church. For those who had but recently come to the Church, caught in the net of romantic interest, friendship, or social advantage, the instruction needed to reflect their own chronology. They did not necessarily perceive the reason for their attendance as beginning with God or their need for restoration to right relationship with him. Rather they were caught in the net of the Church, drawn in by the promise of community, fellowship, relationship, social advantage, or for the more informed, salvation. The order of the *Catechism* reflects an awareness on Cyril's part that these candidates required instruction that began not with God, but with them, in order that they might be led to God. Thus the first doctrine covered is not the first clause of the Creed on the oneness of God the Father almighty, but instead human sin, its remission, and the opposition of Satan. After establishing the problem in lecture 2, Cyril provides the antidote and solution in lecture 3, divinely ordained and instated baptism. Having outlined man's desperate condition and need for external salvation,[415] Cyril could, after a brief summary of the doctrines of the Church in lecture 4, turn in lecture 5 to the Creed

---

[414] See previous chapter on Cyril teaching regarding Man's fall and need for redemption.
[415] As we covered in chapter 2 on Cyril's teaching on Mans origin, fall, and need for restoration.

and faith, and only then in lecture 6 to the oneness of God and the rest of his creedal exposition.

Both functionally and theologically those gathered for the purpose of baptism needed to know just why it was they had come. They were gathered for baptism, but this baptism required preparation, repentance, and faith. Cyril's awareness of this need is clearly supported by his arrangement of lectures 2 and 3. While clause IX of the Creed reads "and in one baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins," Cyril orders his lectures first on sin and repentance, and then on baptism. Again, the chronology of human experience here differed from the chronology of the Creed. First they must understand their sin, then they can understand baptism. Were this rearrangement of the clauses one of many in the *Catechism* it would be far less striking. But as it stands this is the only part of the Creed Cyril relocates and reorders. Cyril is ever so slightly rearranging the chronology to reflect the needs and purposes of his course of instruction.[416]

The handing over of the Creed to baptismal candidates in lecture 5 also bears some consideration in our present investigation. While the Creed provided the scaffolding for the *Catechism's* syllabus, and the doctrines of belief to be instructed, Cyril also requested that candidates for baptism memorise the Creed in its entirety. This was not an uncommon request of candidates, but what makes Cyril's *Catechism* unique here is that unlike later catechizers he does not appear to have required the candidates to recite the Creed back to him as an examination before baptism. This particularity merits our attention.

Receiving the Creed: traditio symboli

The use of the Creed as a tool for catechism and, later, a prerequisite for baptism would become increasingly common in the Church towards the end of the fourth century. The practice of delivering the Creed over to the catechumens for memorisation, or *traditio symboli*, would become a staple of catechism in the centuries following Cyril.[417] So too would the practice of having the catechumens recite the Creed from memory back to the instructor at

---

[416] As we noted earlier, Cyril's syllabus does share a degree of similarity with the *Armenian Lectionary* and *Ritual.* See above. Whether this was a result of Cyril having inherited a programme that began with sin and baptism before moving on to other doctrines, or having created the programme himself, as several early accounts claim, is largely inconsequential. In either case it is apparent that those candidates advancing from the catechumenate were not sufficiently sure of the reason for their attendance and required instruction in their sin and the solution, baptism, before other doctrines could be expounded.

[417] For both the *traditio symboli* and *redditio symboli* see Rufinus, *Comment. In Symb. Apost.* 3; Augusint, *Confessions, viii.* 2; And for secondary see J.N. Carpenter, 'Creeds and Baptismal Rites in the First Four Centuries,' in *Studies in Early Christianity Volume XI, Conversion, Catechumenate, and Baptism in The Early Church*, ed. Everett Ferguson (New York/London: Garland, 1993), 367-378.

a formal examination in advance of baptism, a ceremony known as the *redditio symboli*. Curiously however, Cyril seems not to employ the Creed to this end, an omission worth reflecting on as it may go some ways to helping us understand how Cyril understood the purpose of the Creed as well as his own role in assessing whether a candidate belief was genuine. While Cyril's *Catechism* includes a clear instance of the *traditio* at the end of lecture 5, there is no indication in the *Catechism* that this practice was to be followed at some later date by a *redditio*. The *Catechism* only records Cyril's call for the catechumens to carefully memorise, practice, and guard the Creed, never for them to deliver it back to him as a pre-baptismal requirement.[418] Cyril was delivering the Creed for memorisation, but not apparently for the purpose of examination. The memorising of the Creed provided the baptismal candidate with clarity on the doctrines of the Church, but it also afforded the means of security and secrecy. This was not a creed for broad public consumption, nor to be shared incautiously. Memorising the Creed, as opposed to transcribing it, allowed the Church to carefully guard its doctrines and preserve the *disciplina arcani*.[419]

Similarly, the *Mystagogy*, contains no reference to a *redditio* either before or at the time of baptism. It does, however, describe the baptismal *interrogatio* during which the baptisand was asked whether they renounced Satan[420], and if they affirmed belief "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit".[421] Some scholars have suggested this interrogation may have served a similar purpose to the creedal recitation.[422]

Despite the lack of a *redditio* in Cyril's *Catechism*, the relationship between creed, catechism, and baptism in the early Church is well documented. J.N.D. Kelly's work on the subject of early creeds is a necessary starting point for examining this

---

[418] *Catech*. 5.12

[419] See Juliette Day, "Adherence to the Disciplina Arcani in the Fourth Century," Studia Patristica 35 (2001): 266-270. The *disciplina arcani* was the practice of guarding the mysteries of the Church (Baptism, the Creed, Eucharist in particular, but also as in the case of Cyril, the Lord's Prayer) by sharing the ritual and reason behind the ritual with only those baptised or soon to be baptised into the Church. We will return to this subject in our final chapter on Baptism and the *Mystagogy* that followed.

[420] *Mystagogy* 1.2,4,5,6,8.

[421] *Mystagogy* 2.4, also referenced in *Mystagogy* 1.9. We will examine in much greater detail the particularities of this practice in the following chapter on Baptism.

[422] See Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 51. Interestingly, while there is no *redditio* indicated in the Catechism, the Pilgrim Egeria does record such a ceremony occurring during her visit to Jerusalem in the early 380's. Though she may indeed have been referring to the *interrogatio* as it is indicated in the Mystagogy. *(Egeria's Travels*, London, SPCK, 1971. The Critical edition of Egeria's pilgrim diary may be found in Latin with French Translations in Pierre Maraval, ed. *Égerie: Journal de voyage*, trans. Manuel C. Díaz, SC 296, (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1982). For a compelling treatment seeking to reconcile the account of Egeria with the Catechesis see Maxwell E. Johnson, "Reconciling Cyril and Egeria on the catechetical process in fourth-century Jerusalem," In *Essays in Early Eastern Initiation*, 18-30, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw (England: Grove Books, 1988).

relationship.[423] Kelly argues that creeds were developed in conjunction with baptismal rites so that those being baptised could affirm and declare their right belief. As the centuries progressed and the Church developed, nuanced, and further articulated its doctrines, often in the face of opposing or competing doctrinal claims, there arose a corresponding need to codify just what beliefs one was required to hold in order to be baptised. Because of this relationship to baptism and catechism, and thereby more broadly conversion, the content of a creed was critically informed by the prevailing culture in which it was developed. Early creeds in a Jewish context could simply reflect that Jesus was Lord, as this was sufficient to differentiate those Jews who followed Christ from those Jews who did not. Later however, and in increasingly pagan and gentile contexts, the need for a more explicit declaration of belief gave rise to more elaborate creeds.[424] Still, these confessions of faith functioned as highly concentrated distillations of the Christian message created for the purpose of catechizing and baptism. Kelly's contention that creeds and catechism were developed in tandem has, however, been compellingly challenged.[425]

That creeds were used in catechism and proved effective means of structuring and informing the instruction of baptismal candidates need not indicate that they were made with this intent. Obviously, the distillation of doctrines into a creed, common and accepted by a large portion of the Church would prove a welcome resource to those seeking to teach Christian doctrines to a new audience, but it needn't follow that creeds were developed to this end. The evidence that creeds were used as catechetical tools simply proves that catechizers taught the faith as outlined in a creed, not that the creed was written for catechizers. This point has been well made by H.J. Carpenter in an article on Creeds and Baptismal Rites in the First Four Centuries.[426] Carpenter notes that in the first three centuries of the Church and "even in the fourth century the essential and effective confession of the baptisand is not the *redditio*, but the answers to the interrogations at the moment of baptism."[427] This distinction between the questions posed to the baptisand as they enter the waters and the formal recitation of the creed is a significant one as Carpenter notes that there is not a single

---

[423] Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1972, serves as a reasonable summary and investigation into the development of 'Creeds' from simple two word declarations in the new testament (κύριος Ἰησοῦς) through to the carefully composed statements of the 4th Century Councils.
[424] Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds,* ch, 1.
[425] See Carpenter, "Creeds and Baptismal Rites," 367-378, and W. Kinzig and M. Vinzent, "Recent research on the origin of the "Creed" (The Trinitarian Origins and Christological Development of Fundamental Christian Confessions of Faith)," *JTS* 50, (1999): 535-559. Additionally, we will continue this challenge presently.
[426] *ibid.*
[427] *ibid.*, 369-70.

recording in baptismal liturgy or practice up until the end of the fourth century that includes the *redditio.*[428]

Indeed, Cyril's *Catechism* serves to bolster Carpenter's point. Cyril teaches the Creed comprehensively, but at no point in the *Catechism* does he require the catechumen to recite the Creed back to him in a formal test setting. The Creed is not itself a prerequisite for baptism, it is, rather the skeleton of doctrinal truth that gives shape to the body of belief. Likewise, in the *Mystagogy*, even with its later dating, Cyril mentions the short baptismal interrogation but gives no indication that the Creed was used at all in the proceedings. Cyril's call for the Creed to be memorised was a result of both the secrecy around it and that the Creed itself served as a guard against heresy and error,[429] and not, it would appear, as a tool for testing catechumens.

Kelly, however, endeavours to overcome this distinction between the *traditio symboli* and the *redditio,* by blurring the line between catechism and baptism.

> It would be false as well as misleading to minimize the connection between them: it was in fact extremely intimate. The catechetical instruction of which the declaratory creeds were convenient summaries was instruction with a view to baptism. The catechumen was all the time looking forward to the great experience which would set the crown upon all his intensive preparatory effort. So closely did the catechetical instruction dovetail into the ceremony of initiation which was to be its climax that the single word, baptism, in an extended sense, could be used to cover them both taken together.[430]

Should baptism be defined this broadly then Kelly is correct that creeds were essential to baptism. But as we have observed both in Cyril, and through Carpenter, there is no hard evidence of a formal *redditio* until late in the fourth century, and even then it is largely tied up with catechism, not with the ritual of baptism. Even if a declaratory creed was essential to catechism and the catechism essential to baptism, the three need not be tied syllogistically. The catechism was concerned with the Creed. The baptism ceremony itself was not.[431]

This is by no means an attempt to drive a wedge between the two practices so much as an acknowledgement of their respective functions, and an attempt at appropriate nomenclature. Catechism had a set end in store, namely delivering the catechumen to the

---

[428] *ibid.*, 370.

[429] *Catech*. 5.12-13

[430] Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds,* 51.

[431] McCauley and Stephenson likewise conclude that the two should not be harmonized. Their conclusion rests on the effect Cyril ascribes to the water of baptism as notably distinct from the process of catechism as a whole. See McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1, 74, ff17. This distinction between various aspects of the baptism ceremony features prominently as a theme in our next chapter.

point of baptism and providing requisite doctrines to believe and disciplines to practice for the life one would enter upon emerging from the baptismal waters. To this end, the Creed served as the basis and programme for the doctrinal component of the Catechetical instruction. Baptism aimed, as we will see in the next chapter, at something far more specific: to transform the catechumen into a Christian. However, before we come to that let us turn our attention to how Cyril sought to foster belief in those preparing for that baptism. As we have seen, Cyril does not appear to have been confident that everyone present was earnest in their resolve, and while he could not truly guarantee or test their belief, he could work to both establish and ferment it through his teachings.

The Catechism as Evangelism

While we have not been examining in detail the doctrinal content of Cyril's catechism, it would be helpful for us to spend a little time with the way in which he justifies his creedal teaching and seeks to strengthen the resolve and belief of those present. In examining some of his method for teaching we will also note just how much basic instruction many of these candidates for baptism appear to have required, and the ways in which Cyril worked to foster right belief in those advancing towards baptism and conversion.

In this section we will examine the evangelistic role the *Catechism* played, demonstrating that Cyril was aware that not all catechumens present will have believed or even been aware of the doctrines of faith, and that he was working not only to assure believers but to establish conviction where it was not already present. Evangelism here refers to the act of instructing the doctrines and beliefs of the Church to an, as yet, unconvinced or not-entirely convinced group of potential converts. As we will see, Cyril, in the *Catechism*, is not simply confirming belief. His is a persuasive didactic intended to both encourage belief in those who are present for social reasons, and to inform those who have only recently come to the Church with the basics of the biblical narrative.

It is important we understand the evangelistic function of the experience of undergoing the *Catechism*, as the structure and format of the teaching appears, at a cursory glance, to simply represent a course in the confirmation of doctrinal beliefs already held. Given the process a convert will move through on their way to baptism,[432] it is not unreasonable to assume this to be the case. Those present would have had interactions with Christians and the Church as pre-catechumens, and then attended services, heard preaching, and worshiped with the congregation as catechumens. To enter both catechumency and

---

[432] See chapter 1 on Conversion.

Cyril's Lenten programme of Catechism, these men and women would have elected to put their names forward for enrolment in these pre-baptismal stages. It would seem fair to assume that in doing so they had a reasonable grasp of the biblical narrative and the beliefs of the institution with which they were aligning themselves.[433] The *Catechism*, however, confronts this assumption on a number of occasions both explicitly, as Cyril asks for the patience of those familiar with the teachings so that he might instruct those new to the Church,[434] and implicitly, as Cyril again and again runs through biblical stories as ways of teaching the doctrines present in the Creed. In so doing Cyril provides, over the course of the *Catechism*, an overview of the whole biblical narrative as well as persuasive and theological reasons for affirming the doctrines present in the Creed. In this section we will first demonstrate Cyril's own awareness that some present were in need of evangelism, and second how he both evangelized and confirmed belief through the use of four distinct teaching devices.

The Need for Evangelism

As was noted in chapter 1, the conversion process was not an instantaneous one. Rather, it was a process beginning with an individual's increasing alignment with and conformity to a community's beliefs, behaviours, and members, and ultimately culminating in baptism. As Cyril introduces the programme of pre-baptismal instruction in the *Procatechesis* he suggests that many of those present will be there because of social ties to the community. "Perhaps you are courting, and a girl is your reason [for attendance] – or, conversely, a boy. Many a time, too, a slave has wished to please his master, or a friend his friend."[435] As we have noted in a previous chapter, Cyril welcomes these social ties as the "bait" that drew many present into the "net of the church"[436]. While this social draw is insufficient justification for baptism, he allows it as sufficient reason to enroll in the pre-baptismal instruction:

> However unsatisfactory the motive that has brought you, your good hope will soon save you. Maybe you did not know where you were going, or what sort of net it was in which you were to be caught. You are a fish caught in the net of the Church. Let yourself be taken alive: don't try to escape. It is Jesus who is playing you on His line, not to kill you, but, by killing you to make you alive. For you must die and rise again… Die, then, to sin, and live to righteousness; from today be alive.[437]

To stretch Cyril's fishing metaphor somewhat, if the catechumen is a fish caught in the social net of the Church, and it is Christ who is pulling them into the boat which is the Church, Cyril as catechizer is the line on which Christ pulls. Cyril's responsibility is to instruct the

---

[433] This is exactly the assumption made by McCauley and Stephenson at the very outset of *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1, 1.
[434] *Catech*. 4.3.
[435] *Procatech*.5.
[436] *Procatech*.5.
[437] *Procatech*. 5.

catechumen in doctrines and disciplines so that once safely landed in the boat, the fish is not cast back, nor does it flop back accidentally into the sea. Aware as he is that some present are a good deal further away from the Church than others, Cyril's Lenten instruction is designed to comprehensively, if briskly, persuade the catechumen through scripture and reason that the doctrines of the Church are sound and superior to the alternatives on offer in Jerusalem,[438] and to prepare them for baptism.

In the process of his instruction Cyril indicates awareness that belief takes time to take hold and that some present may not yet believe. Interestingly, belief is not presented as a criterion for acceptance to the catechism.[439] Proper conduct, not belief, as we will note in section three of this chapter, is the only necessary prerequisite for admittance to the pre-baptismal instructions. Even half way through the catechism, in lecture 10, Cyril allows for the possibility that there will be those present who doubt or do not yet believe in the Christ. "Therefore, if any man did not believe before, let him now believe; but if any man believed before, let him receive a greater increase of faith, believing in our Lord Jesus Christ; and let him realize whose name he bears."[440] Cyril's caveat here provides a perfect example of the dual roles the *Catechism* is playing as both instruction in, and confirmation of, Christian belief.

Throughout the *Catechism* Cyril will reach out to those whose familiarity with the Church is only cursory, asking for the patience of those who have been catechumens longer and enjoy greater understanding of the scriptures and Church doctrines. In lecture 2, while instructing on God's willingness and desire to forgive sin, Cyril asks, "Do you, who have but lately come to the catechesis, wish to see the loving-kindness of God?"[441], before launching into an extended discourse on the many examples of God's loving-kindness throughout the Old and New Testaments. In lecture 4, which serves as a preview of the doctrines to be covered in later lectures, Cyril again turns his attention particularly towards those new to the Church and those who lack understanding.

> Before delivering to you the Creed, I think it well at this time to present a short
> compendium of the necessary doctrines, that the multitude of things to be said,
> and the intervening period of the entire season of holy Lent may not cause
> forgetfulness in the minds of the more simple among you, but that scattering
> seeds of doctrines now in summary fashion, we may not forget the same when

---

[438] In particular, see *Catech.* 4.37 in which Cyril provides a summary of just which groups the catechumens should avoid, particularly the Jews, Greeks, heretics, and Manichaeans.

[439] This reflects Origen's view as well. See Mark Elliot, "Exegetical Genres in the Patristic Era," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible 1: From the Beginnings to 600*, ed., James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[440] *Catech.*10.20.

[441] *Catech.*2.7.

they are more widely tilled later. But let those present who are of more mature understanding and "have their faculties trained to discern good and evil," be patient as they listen to an introductory course suited to children, milk for sucklings. In this way those who need catechetical instruction will profit and those who have knowledge will receive the memory of what they already know.[442]

Taken together, these various passages and references paint a picture of a diverse catechetical audience. Biblical and theological literacy ranged from basic to familiar. Some catechumens were clearly very new to the catechumenate while others had been there for much longer. Some present appeared to be earnest in belief while others were not yet there and required further instruction and persuading.

In addition to these little clues scattered throughout the *Catechism*, there is the structure of the *Catechism* itself that testifies to Cyril's evangelistic efforts. Earlier in this chapter we examined the structure of the *Catechism* as it related to Cyril's exposition of the Creed. We observed how Cyril transplanted clause IX on sin and baptism, advancing it to stand as the subject of his second and third lectures. The translation of this clause from where it should be (immediately following lecture 17 on the Holy Spirit) to lecture 2 and 3 (well before the creedal explication begins in lecture 6) is a telling one. Those present for catechism were there to prepare their bodies, consciences, and minds for baptism and the Christian life that followed. Were they convinced already of their true need for baptism, there would be little reason to modify the course structure and relocate the clause on sin, repentance, and baptism. However, if those present were new to the community, or were there out of a desire to enter or conform to a new social network, the severity and consequence of sin and the subsequent need for repentance and baptism may well have been news to them. Even if they had grasped these teachings prior to baptism it is still telling that Cyril relocates this clause as he does.

One conclusion we might draw from the movement of this clause, as well as his references to recent catechumens earlier noted, is that Cyril was either working under the assumption or with the knowledge that there were those present who were not yet appropriately instructed in or convinced of their sin and need for salvation.[443] One can imagine Cyril crafting his *Catechism* and realizing that in sequentially explaining the Creed he would not arrive at the need for baptism, let alone repentance, until his second to last lecture. This would not have been a problem were his candidates already convinced of their need upon enlisting in the pre-baptismal programme. The *Catechism* then was the vessel in which Cyril could take men and women who had come to the Church with potentially misguided

---

[442] *Catech*.4.3.
[443] See chapter 2 on Cyril's anthropology and man's sin and subsequent need for salvation.

motivations, instruct them in doctrine, foster in them belief, require of them a particular conduct, and deliver them to the point of baptism.

The Means of Evangelism

To accomplish the evangelizing and instructing of these baptismal candidates, Cyril utilized three primary devices: 1) Examples and proofs from scripture. 2) Examples and proofs from nature. 3) Arguments against conflicting or competing religious philosophies. Together these devices provided nearly all the content for every one of the catechetical lectures. Each lecture took a point of doctrine from the Creed for its subject, and each doctrine was explained and justified using these three devices. While various components of Cyril's method can be demonstrated in each of the catechetical lectures and all four can be demonstrated in many of them, for us to do so would prove excessive. An examination of several telling examples will suffice to show in part what can be found in all.

1) Examples and proofs from scripture.

In lecture 4, which serves as an overview and preview to the doctrines covered in lectures 5-18, Cyril tells those assembled that they should not simply take the teaching they receive on Cyril's word alone, but should expect verification and proof from scripture.

> For in regard to the divine and holy, mysteries of the faith, not even a casual statement should be delivered without the Scriptures, and we must not be drawn aside merely by probabilities and artificial arguments. Do not believe even me merely because I tell you these things, unless you receive from the inspired Scriptures the proof of the assertions. For this saving faith of ours depends not on ingenious reasonings but on proof from the inspired Scriptures.[444]

While Cyril does include arguments from nature and reason in his lectures, as we will show shortly, he never uses them in exchange for or to the exclusion of scripture.[445] For Cyril, scripture is the inspired word of God, and is authoritative on all matters from the human condition, to the character of God, to the means of salvation.[446] Scripture was spoken by the

---

[444] *Catech*.4.17.

[445] For a detailed study of which scriptural texts Cyril uses, particularly those from the New Testament, see Mullen, *The New Testament text of Cyril of Jerusalem,* (1997).

[446] See Jackson, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Use of Scripture," 431-450, who excellently summarises Cyril's use of scripture: "[Cyril] is proclaiming carefully organized testimonies from Scripture to the truth of God's saving plan, with the hope that through this proclamation God will draw his listeners into an experiential faith response of deeper assent, knowledge, and conversion of life." (346). See also this relevant section from her PhD thesis, Pamela Jackson, "the Catechesis and Mystagogy of Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose and John Chrysostom," (Ph.D. diss., Yale, 1987), 11-12.

Spirit of God[447] and as such it is the Spirit of God who speaks through scripture still, with the power to inspire those who hear it to repentance, faith and baptism.[448]

In proving doctrines from scripture Cyril utilizes a particularly interesting pedagogical approach. Instead of selecting a scattered selection of passages to endorse a given doctrine, or a single example, he systematically works his way through the biblical text drawing out relevant stories and prophecies. Pamela Jackson has rightly observed that Cyril's approach "depends on a use of Scripture which is narrative rather than systematic",[449] wherein Cyril explains doctrines based on biblical stories instead founding them on a collection of isolated verses systematically composed. Again and again he will begin with Genesis and work his way chronologically forward towards and into the New Testament telling stories from scripture. [450] More than just presenting a series of ideas or doctrines, Cyril's *Catechism* was an education in the narrative of scripture which climaxed in Christ and the catechumen's participation in both that story and Christ by means of baptism.

In lecture 12 Cyril sets out to address the question of the incarnation and in particular the virgin birth. As he marshals scripture to aid him in this task he reminds his listeners not to look for proof in the cleverness of his argument, but in the accuracy of the prophets and in the reliability of the biblical witness.

> Now do not fix your attention on any skill of language on my part, for perhaps you will be deceived; unless you get the testimony of the prophets on each point, do not believe what is said. Unless you learn from the Holy Scriptures regarding the Virgin, the place, the time, the manner, "do not receive the witness of man."[451]

In what follows Cyril will lead his listeners on a tour of biblical stories, stopping to highlight instances and prophesies that demonstrate his initial assertion that the incarnation and virgin birth were both necessary and foretold. Beginning with the creation narrative in Genesis 1, Cyril proceeds to extrapolate from the stories of Cain and Abel, Jacob, Moses, David, Solomon, regarding the need and precedent for the incarnation.[452]

---

[447] See *Catech*.16. 2 where Cyril asserts that, "the Holy Spirit spoke the words of scripture."

[448] In particular, see *Catech*.4.33, "Ταῦτα δὲ διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τε καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης.", where Cyril's use of "θεόπνευστοι" reflects its occurrence in 2 Timothy 3:16. See also *Catech*.4.16, 33-34; 13.8, 10, 13; 16.2, 3, 12; 17.1, 5.

[449] Jackson, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Use of Scripture," 435.

[450] Particularly telling examples of this occur in lecture 2 on sin and repentance; 3 on repentance; 5 on faith; 8 on God's omnipotence; 12 on the incarnation; 16 and 17 on the Holy Spirit; and finally in lecture 18 on the resurrection of the body.

[451] *Catech*.12.5 with the closing quotation from John 5:34.

[452] *Catech*.12.5-9.

From here Cyril leads into the prophets by highlighting relevant prophecies as they relate to the question at hand. Throughout this section, Cyril casts the teaching almost as a debate. He will pose a question or challenge and demand an answer from the prophets. "There are many kings; explain to us which one you mean O Prophet. Give us a sign which other kings do not have… Give us a sign peculiar to the king whose coming you announce."[453] Cyril will pose these questions in relation to the identity of the coming King,[454] the actions of this Messiah[455], the time of his coming,[456] the location of his coming[457] and then respond with the words of the prophets, answering the challenge. From here, Cyril will further clarify the accuracy of the prophets' statements by providing context to the answers, both from history and relevant New Testament scripture. For example, as to the question of the time of the Messiah's coming, Cyril, after already providing two prophesies goes yet further and quotes from Daniel 9.25 that "from the utterance of the word that Jerusalem was to be rebuilt unto Christ the prince, there shall be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks." Thus begins an elaborate equation to demonstrate the accuracy of the prophecy. Beginning with how "sixty-nine weeks of years makes four hundred and eighty-three"[458] Cyril uses the 66th and 186th Olympiads, [459] as reference points to show that the intervening "one hundred and twenty Olympiads make up four hundred and eighty years; the three other years remaining are accounted for in the interval between the first and fourth years." And with that, and the preceding two prophesies for the timing of the Christ's coming "you have proof from Scripture", in this case with a little helpful extrapolation from Cyril. Cyril's demonstration of the accuracy of the prophesy places the miraculous action of a virgin birth within the grounded and verifiable realm of history. The miraculous may be hard to fathom or believe on its own, but by establishing its prophetic antecedents Cyril can claim the belief as reasonable, trustworthy, and true.

Over the course of this one lecture Cyril references or quotes scripture 128 times from 25 books of the Bible.[460] The cumulative weight of this style and method of teaching is

---

[453] *Catech.*12.10.

[454] *ibid.*

[455] *Catech.*12.11.

[456] *Catech.*12.17-19.

[457] *Catech.*12.20.

[458] Cyril here is employing a traditional mathematical method where a week equals 7, and therefore to say 69 weeks of years amounts to 483 is the same as saying 69x7=483, and then interpreting the 483 as indicating years. See John J. Collins*, Daniel*, *Hermeneia: A Critical & Historical Commentary on the Bible*, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress 1993), comments on Daniel 9.

[459] "Darius the Mede built the city in the sixth year of his own reign, in the first year of the sixty-sixth Olympiad." "Now Herod was king in the fourth year of the one hundred and eighty-sixth olympiad."– both *Catech.*12.19.

[460] Book (number of references in *Catech.* 12) - Genesis (8), Exodus (5), Deuteronomy (3), 3 King (3), 4 Kings (1), Job (1), Ps (18), Isaiah (16), Jeremiah (1), Daniel (9), Hosea (4), Amos (1), Micah (4), Habakkuk (3), Zachariah (5), Malachi (2), Matthew (6), Luke (9), John (10), Romans (3), 1 Corinthians (2), 2 Corinthians (1), Galatians (1), Hebrews (2), 2 Timothy (1).

worth briefly reflecting on. As Cyril teaches each doctrine of the Creed, his first concern is to demonstrate the biblical basis and origin of that doctrine. These doctrines are used as lenses through which the biblical story can unfold. Again and again Cyril will take his baptismal candidates back to the beginning of the scriptures to then work their way forwards to the New Testament. Along the way Cyril will pick out different stories and prophesies to demonstrate the origins and proof of each doctrine. All of these stories and the individuals in them serve as witnesses (μάρτυς)[461] whose testimony (μαρτυρίαι)[462] points to the truth Cyril is teaching, that God, through his son, has made the salvation of man possible should men follow that Son and be united to him in baptism.[463] As a consequence of this method, by the end of the catechism, Cyril has not only demonstrated the origins of the Creed's doctrines in scripture, he has many times over taught the whole sweep of the biblical narrative. When teaching on the Holy Spirit, examples of the Spirit's work throughout scripture are chronologically highlighted.[464] Likewise, when teaching on resurrection,[465] or God's loving kindness, or the mercy and grace extended to sinners, [466] or faith,[467] the biblical story is told again and again each time through the given doctrine's lens. The impact of Cyril's habitual return to and run-through of the stories in scripture no doubt served a notable evangelistic function. Catechumens new to the Church and baptismal candidates unfamiliar with not only the doctrines of the Creed but with the Bible they were built on would have received a serious boost to their biblical literacy along with Cyril's compelling arguments for belief.[468]

As an interesting side note, it was likely Cyril's regular return to the biblical narrative that enabled the pilgrim Egeria to comment that Cyril spent the period of Lent "going through the whole Bible, beginning with Genesis"[469]. While Kreider assumes this indicates a change in the catechetical instruction from the middle of the Century,[470] it is also possible, given what has been examined here, that Egeria was simply observing that throughout the entirety of Lent

---

[461] For examples of instances used to refer to witnesses as opposed to those executed for belief, see: *Catech*. 4.12,31;10.17,19; 12.32; 13.38-40; 14.21-23.

[462] See examples in *Catech*. 11.15-16;12.5,17-28; 13.8,9,14,19; 14.3,7,18,27,30; 15.33; 16.29; 17.19.

[463] For a more extended examination of Cyril's use of μάρτυς & μαρτυρίαι, see Jackson, Pamela, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Use of Scripture in Catechesis", *Theological Studies* 52, 1991, pgs., 438-450. Jackson suggests that Cyril's use of μάρτυς & μαρτυρίαι, particularly the way in which he combines the two, is somewhat unique amongst patristic writers.

[464] *Catech*.16 & 17.

[465] *Catech*.18.

[466] *Catech*.2.

[467] *Catech*.5.

[468] For more on Cyril's use of scripture, particularly the way in which he employs his exegesis, see Victor Saxter, "Cyrill Von Jerusalem und die Heilige Schrift. Was er von ihr lehrt und wie er sie gebraucht," In *Stimuli: Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann*, *JBAC*, ed. Georg Schöllgen, Clemens Scholten, (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996): 344-356.

[469] Egeria, *Itinerarium* 46.2-3; John Wilkinson, ed., *Egeria's Travels*, (London: SPCK, 1971), 144.

[470] Kreider, *The Change of Conversion,* 44. Kreider suggests that Egeria's comment is an indication that the format of the Catechism may have changed by the end of Cyril's episcopacy.

Cyril's instruction habitually ran through the biblical narrative from Genesis forward to the New Testament.

2) Examples and proof from nature

In addition to scriptural proofs for the teachings of the Church, Cyril will often provide examples and proof from nature. These arguments from nature take two forms. The first is an example from history or from nature that seeks to demonstrate the reasonableness of a doctrine. The second form these natural arguments takes relies on Jerusalem's historical and physical witness to biblical events.

Two particularly compelling and instructive examples of Cyril's use of arguments from nature occur in lecture 4 and 18 of the Catechism, though other examples can be found throughout the instruction. In lecture 4, while surveying the doctrines covered over the course of the pre-baptismal instruction, Cyril delivers two arguments from nature which lucidly demonstrate his assertion that the body itself does not sin, rather it is the soul acting through the body which causes man to sin. Just as he does with proofs from scripture, Cyril begins his argument by posing a challenge, which he then proceeds to answer.

> Tell me not that the body is the cause of sin; for, if the body is the cause of sin, how is it that a corpse does not sin? Put a sword in the right hand of one just dead and no murder takes place. Let beauties of all kind pass before a young man just dead and no desire of fornication arises. Why? Because the body of itself does not sin, but the soul through the body. The body is the soul's instrument, its cloak and garment.[471]

Here Cyril relies on this natural example to demonstrate his assertion that the body itself is not impure or contemptible, as the Gnostics claim. Instead, the body is, as a virtue of its creation by God, a good vessel through which the soul may, should it desire, work impiety and corruption. Cyril, however, will never completely rely on nature to prove his case. In this instance he will call in some apostolic support to validate his claims.

> If then [the body] is given up to fornication by the soul, it becomes unclean; but if it dwells with a holy soul, it becomes a temple of the Holy Spirit. It is not I who says these things, no it is the Apostle Paul who has said: "Do you not know that your members are the temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you?"[472]

In lecture 18 Cyril employs a series of natural examples of resurrection meant to demonstrate the viability, or at least plausibility, of the resurrection of the body that will occur in advance of the last judgment. Interestingly, Cyril begins the instruction with a lengthy

---

[471] *Catech*.4.23. The concepts raised by Cyril here, regarding the relationship between man's body and soul, will be further explored in our section on Cyril's expectations for ethical behaviour, and how those expectations are rooted in his anthropology. Additionally, the anthropological framework for this passage was examined in our preceding chapter.

[472] *Catech*.4.23, quoting 1 Corinthians 6.19

discourse on resurrection in the natural world, before turning to scriptural precedents only halfway through the lecture. The stakes are high in this, the final, lecture before baptism. Cyril has saved the subject for the very end and it is with this doctrine that he anchors the entire moral and ethical identity of the Christian life. He opens the lecture, boldly declaring that, "The root of all well-doing is the hope of the resurrection. The expectation of the recompense strengthens the soul to undertake good works. Every labourer is ready to endure the toils if he foresees the reward of his toil."[473] Not only is the teaching essential in grounding Cyril's ethical instruction, but it would also appear to be a staple of opposition arguments against Christian claims. In only the second paragraph of the lecture Cyril outlines the challenge posed.

> Greeks as well as Samaritans pose the following difficulties to us. The dead man, they say, is gone; he has moldered away and become food for worms. Even the worms have died; such is the decay and destruction that have overtaken the body. How is it to be raised? The shipwrecked have been devoured by fish, which in turn have themselves been devoured. Bears and lions have crushed and consumed the very bones of men who have fought with wild beasts; vultures and ravens have fed on the flesh of unburied corpse and flown all over the world. How then is the body to be reassembled?[474]

While we'll look more at Cyril's arguments against competing religious challenges in our next section, presently we can note how Cyril counters these claims with arguments from nature.

Cyril will use a series of examples from the natural world all meant to demonstrate that the belief in the resurrection of the dead is at the very least, not unreasonable given occurrences in the natural world. Cyril begins with organic matter. A seed, which will fall as if dead, rot in the ground, and then "rises again a green herb; and that tiny seed is reborn in beauty."[475] A tree and vine, which even when cut down, may yet blossom and bear fruit.[476] Providing an example from the animal world Cyril suggests a toad, which while frozen and lifeless in winter, will resurrect in the spring.[477] However, Cyril is aware that these answers do not completely satisfy the question as these creatures and vegetation "had never completely moldered away", and what is required is "an unequivocal precedent of an animal that after total decay has risen again." [478]

Here Cyril introduces a creature that, to modern readers, resides solely in the realm of fantasy. However to Cyril and his audience, the phoenix was widely accepted as a true

---

[473] *Catech*.18.1.

[474] *Catech*.18.2.

[475] *Catech*.18.6.

[476] *Catech*. 18.6.

[477] *Catech*. 18.7.

[478] *Catech*. 18.8.

legend.[479] According to Cyril, this resurrecting Aves was created because "God knew men's unbelief, and for this reason provided a bird called the phoenix."[480] Recounting a somewhat modified version of a similar story told by Clement regarding the life, death, and rebirth of the phoenix in Egypt,[481] Cyril recounts that "if resurrection from the dead has been granted to this irrational creature who knows not its Maker, will not a resurrection be granted to us, who praise God and keep His commandments?"[482]

Aware that even this example will not satisfy every detractor, as the occurrence of the phoenix in Egypt was apparently rare and remote, Cyril turns his attention to demonstrating the viability of bodily resurrection within the scriptures. Very much in the style we have previously observed, he recounts a series of examples from scripture in which God changes the condition or matter of a person or object from one state to another,[483] before addressing various prophecies and New Testament examples.[484]

Having spent such a good deal of time proving the reasonableness of belief in bodily resurrection of the dead, Cyril can return to his initial point, that the doctrine provides the basis for the good conduct expected of Christians.

> Therefore we shall rise again, all with eternal bodies though not all with like bodies. A just man will receive a heavenly body, to dwell worthily with the angels, whereas the sinner will receive an eternal body, and so never be consumed though it burn eternally in fire.[485]

The point of proof and the reason for his argumentative and persuasive instruction is to confirm in the catechumens a belief that will sustain them through temptation and trials so that they might remain firm in conviction and steadfast in faithfulness after their baptism.

---

[479] By this I mean many believed the Phoenix to be a real creature, though rarely seen. For a fascinating and detailed overview of the history and development of the Phoenix myth in classical and Christian tradition see: R. Van Den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix According to Classical and Early Christian Tradition*, (Leiden: Brill, 1972). For Cyril in particular see pgs., 68, 149, 158, 164, 171, 187, 194-195, 358, 382. Drijvers does not find Cyril's argumentation here very compelling and questions whether any present, particularly those in attendance who were better educated, "would have been convinced by his reasoning." Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 99. Drijvers assumption here seems unfounded. There is no indication in the text Cyril found the argument wanting and, as Van Den Broek points out there is strong precedent for this proof being utilized by many thinkers well before Cyril.
[480] *Catech*. 18.8.
[481] See Clement, *Epistle to the Corinthians,* ch. 25.
[482] *Catech*. 18.8.
[483] *Catech*. 18.12: Moses's and Aaron's staff, Moses's hand, Lot's wife. *Catech*.18.13: Adam's creation from dust.
[484] *Catech*.18.14-18.
[485] *Catech*. 18.19.

3) Examples and Proof in Jerusalem

The other notable witness Cyril will occasionally call upon as he examines the validity of the creedal doctrines is Jerusalem's own geography and topography. Appealing to the visible history of the city itself, Cyril directs his baptismal candidates to gaze around the church in which their teachings are held, to examine the prominent rock in the courtyard, to reflect on the empty tomb nearby, to look up to the Mount of Olives, and to trust the testimony of the physical history that lived around them.[486]

Scattered throughout the *Catechism* there are a handful of references to Jerusalem's physical history. Most notable are references to Golgotha, the tomb of the resurrection, and the cross.[487] Given the unique position of Cyril to call on these witnesses to Christianity's origins, it is perhaps surprising that he does not do so more often. However, when Cyril does utilize his unique surroundings it is to anchor his doctrinal claims in history and to confront any inclination towards doubt with physical evidence.

Throughout his instruction, Cyril calls witnesses to the testimony of Christ crucified, buried, and resurrected. In lecture 4 as Cyril work's his way through ten basic doctrines of the faith he arrives at Jesus' cross, a cross that apparently was well known to the candidates. "He was truly crucified for our sins. And should you wish to deny this, the visible place itself, this blessed Golgotha, refutes you, where, in the name of Him who was here crucified, we are gathered together. Besides, the whole world has now been filled with pieces of the wood of the Cross."[488] Furthermore, Cyril will often point to the surround building for inspiration, drawing his candidates' eyes to the important biblical locations which surround them. "For he who was here crucified is in heaven above. For if, when he had been crucified and buried, He had remained in the tomb, we should perhaps have cause for shame, but He who was crucified here on Golgotha ascended into heaven from the Mount of Olives on the east."[489] Notice the geographic anchor points in "*Here* crucified*"*, "*Here on* Golgotha", "the Mount of Olives *on the east.*" Cyril here uses these physical witnesses to Christ's life, death, and resurrection as bridges between the Jerusalem of his day and the Jerusalem of Jesus.

One further helpful example, which serves as an indication of how Cyril called on these physical remnants from the biblical times as witnesses that testifed to the doctrines being

---

[486] For a more comprehensive examination of Cyril's use of place in the *Catechism* and *Mystagogy* see Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?,* 311-347 for Cyril's attitude towards Jerusalem and her holy sites.
[487] *Catech*. 4.10, 22; 10.19; 13.4; 13.1.
[488] *Catech*. 4.10.
[489] *Catech*. 4.14.

instructed, comes on lecture 4. While previewing future teaching on the crucifixion Cyril uses the wood of the cross itself to validate his claims.

> He was truly crucified for our sins. And should you wish to deny this, the visible place itself, this blessed, Golgotha, refutes you, where, in the name of Him who was here crucified, we are gathered. Besides, the whole world has now been filled with pieces of the word of the Cross.[490]

Again in lecture 13, while elaborating further on the crucifixion, Cyril calls on a physical witness, this time not only in the wood of the cross, but the nearby rock of Golgotha.

> Therefore His passion was real, for He was crucified, and we do not deny it, but rather do I glory in speaking of it. For if I should now deny it, Golgotha here, close to which we are now gathered, refutes me, the wood of the Cross, now distributed piecemeal from Jerusalem over all the World, refutes me.[491]

Cyril's use of these physical witnesses never occurs to the exclusion of scriptural or natural evidence. They are present almost more as rhetorical devices, suggesting that should reason and scripture not be convincing enough, one can at the very least trust their eyes and hands as they see and touch these historical witnesses.

Cyril's use of nature, as well as Jerusalem's topography, served as a bolster, not an alternative, to the scriptural basis for his taught doctrines, and his physical witnesses were always secondary to scriptural proofs.[492] For those baptismal candidates less familiar with the texts of the Christian scripture, these tangible historical witnesses may have proved comforting encouragements that the doctrines taught were justifiable, not only scripturally, but also historically.

Arguments against conflicting or competing religious philosophies

As Cyril instructs the doctrines of the Creed he often frames them by presenting the question or challenge that outsiders might pose to the Christian. Interestingly his avenue of rebuttal, either scripture or nature, depends largely on the hypothetical detractor or challenger he is addressing. Having cast a Jewish detractor or challenger, Cyril's response is always to turn first to the Old Testament for examples and prophesies as he does in lecture 12 on the incarnation.[493] Alternatively, when the heckler has been cast as a Greek, Cyril will begin with arguments from nature, as he does in lecture 18 on the resurrection of the dead.[494]

---

[490] *Catech.* 4.10.

[491] *Catech.* 13.4.

[492] For more on Cyril's use of physical witnesses to biblical events see Jackson, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Use of Scripture," 443.

[493] *Catech.*12.2-3. Cyril sets out the Jewish counter claim to the incarnation before addressing it from the Old Testament and Prophesy.

[494] *Catech.*18.2 Cyril here begins with Greek opposition to the possibility resurrection and addresses these complaints from nature. When he then, later in the lecture, answers a potential Samaritan or Jewish opponent it is from scripture.

In the process of responding to these challenges as he does, Cyril is also addressing the various backgrounds from which his catechumens may have been drawn. If one was from a pagan background, Cyril, in countering the claims of the Greeks, would be allaying the latent concerns that may be holding an individual back from further commitment to the Christian cause. Alternatively, if one had been influenced or enticed by the various heresies on offer in the fourth century, lecture 6 would have provided compelling reason to disregard former ways of thinking in favour of Christian belief. Cyril's engagement with other scriptures or sacred texts is, however, limited. While he devotes a good deal of attention to dismantling Manicheanism in lecture 6, as we'll see presently, generally his presentation of other belief systems resorts to parody and sweeping generalization.[495]

Lecture 6, on the unity of God, served as the beginning of Cyril's creedal elaboration which continued through to the end of the programme of teaching. Beginning by acknowledging the impossibility of comprehending the divine, Cyril argues that one's inability to drink an entire river is no reason to forgo drinking what one needs.[496] In the same fashion Cyril argues that "though I know that I shall fall short of glorifying Him worthily; still I consider it a godly work to try all the same."[497] After a few more caveats on the limitations of the creature to describe the creator, Cyril provides three paragraphs establishing the doctrine asserting the unity of God.[498] Following this brief cataphatic exercise, Cyril turns his attention, efforts, and ire, towards the countering the claims of the Greeks,[499] heretics,[500] and in particular Manichaeism, its history and its founder.[501]

Cyril's argument with Manichaeism is comprehensive, lasting over a third of the lecture. In it he details the personal history of Mani, the history and development of his ideas, as well as the trial of Mani by Bishop Archelaus in Mesopotamia.[502] Should his systematic assassination of Mani's character and thought have proven insufficient deterrent to Cyril's

---

[495] Notably in Catechism 6.10 Cyril accuses pagans in some places of worshiping onions, an allusion to Juvenal, *Satire*, 15.7-10. The Latin text can be found in G.G. Ramsay, ed. and trans., *Juvenal and Perseus*, (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 288-89. See also McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1, 154.

[496] *Catech*.6.5.

[497] *Catech*.6.5.

[498] *Catech*.6.7-9.

[499] *Catech*.6.11.

[500] *Catech*.6.12-19 Cyril addresses the heresy of Simon Magus, Cerinthus, Menander, Carpocrates, the Ebionites, Marcion, Basilides, and Valentinus. He briefly summarises, derides, and dismisses each.

[501] Cat.6.21-34. Twice in the catechism Cyril refers, rather creatively, to Manichaeism as "the garbage bin of all heresies" 6.20; 16.9.

[502] See Drijvers, *Bishop and City,* 107-110.

baptismal candidates, Cyril concluded with vulgar insinuations regarding the Manichean sacraments:

> I dare not describe their baptism before men and women. I do not dare say in what they dip the fig they give to their wretched communicants. I can indicate it only indirectly; let men think of the delusive dreams, and women of the menses. In truth we defile our lips in speaking of such things… But the Manichaean puts his macabre offering in the middle of the "altar," and defiles his lips and his tongue. Who would accept instruction from such lips? Who would, under any circumstances, kiss him on meeting?[503]

Whether there was any truth to these insinuations is largely inconsequential to our analysis of Cyril's evangelistic method. It is sufficient to note that he reserved these stomach-turning details for his final salvo in a campaign to dismiss, decry, and deride a potentially competing avenue of thought. Again, this is not about equipping the catechumens to persuade Manicheans, Cyril is working simply to dissuade those before him of being persuaded by Manicheans.[504]

While Cyril's refutation of Jewish and Greek opponents never take on quite the same tenor of vitriol he harbours for the Manicheans, he remains far from gentle in his assault on these other competing belief systems. Cyril's argument with his hypothetical Jewish and Greek detractors remained rooted in text and history. It was observed in the previous section that Cyril used the Old Testament as a means of combating the challenges posed by Judaism and nature and reason to combat the Greeks. However, he would also turn the tables on his Greek opponent by highlighting the more comedic or licentious aspects of their pantheon's storied actions.

Continuing with lecture 6 on the unity of God, Cyril's rebuttal to Greek polytheism is less designed to provide persuasive counter argument than it is to confirm in his listeners the reasonableness of Christian doctrines.

> Whence arose the polytheistic error of the Greeks? God is incorporeal; whence, then, the charges of adultery against their so-called gods? I say nothing about the changes of Zeus into a swan; I am ashamed to speak of his transformation into a bull, for bellowings are unworthy of a God. The god of the Greeks has been proven an adulterer, let him not be called a god. They tell of deaths among their gods, and expulsions and thunderbolts. Do you see from what majesty to what depths they have descended?[505]

Cyril uses this to transition into the reason for Christ's coming. Given the depravity of man that he might worship something so foolish "it behooved the son to correct the error; it

---

[503] *Catech*.6.24
[504] See Introduction for Manichean context in Jerusalem, beginning p.28.
[505] *Catech*.6.11

behooved Him, through whom all things were made, to offer them all to the Lord of all. The wound had to be healed".[506]

> Let us silence the Greeks from their own fables. For how can you, who speak of stones being cast and changed into men assert that birth from a virgin is impossible? When your legends declare that a daughter was born from the brain, how can you assert that a son could not have been born from a virgin's womb? You tell a false story of the birth of Dionysus from the thigh of your Zeus; how can you set at naught our truth?[507]

In the same vein in lecture 12 on the incarnation, Cyril responds to the Greeks who deride Christians for the impossibility of the virgin birth.

Cyril's rejoinders show him attempting to establish the doctrines of the Creed as at least as credible and even more reasonable than those of the Jews, Greeks, and Manicheans. He is not working to disprove Greek or Pagan religious sentiment or belief, merely to cast it as no more reasonable and potentially somewhat more trivial than what Christianity offers. His explanation is not for the conversion or convincing of the Greek or Pagan. Rather, to silence them, and to calm the anxiety or concern his catechumens may feel when confronted by those seeking to ridicule Christian belief.[508]

A further advantage to Cyril's placing doctrinal challenges in the words of a Jewish, Manichaean, or Pagan interlocutor, is that he creates a safe non-confrontational means of responding to the questions his baptismal candidates may still be wrestling with. By employing these 'others' as those questioning the doctrines of the Church, Cyril allows his audience to have their own potential concerns and questions answered without feeling themselves like targets of his diatribe. Instead of pitting himself against his catechumens, Cyril smartly invites his listeners to join him in countering these hypothetical detractors. In doing so, the catechumens' concerns are addressed and Cyril is able to further establish a sense of 'us' within the Christian community.

Doctrinal and Creedal Conclusion

The catechetical lectures demonstrate an awareness on Cyril's part that the audience with which he was working varied in familiarity with the Church and her teachings. Some had come only recently, drawn by social considerations, while others had been around the Church for many years, and of them patience was requested. Whatever the circumstances surrounding

---

[506] *Catech*.6.11

[507] *Catech*.12.27

[508] Similarly, Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 111, notes, "Cyril's description of the heretical and gnostic sects is very incomplete, far from objective, and extremely negative and derogatory. However, Cyril did not aspire to completeness and objectivity; his goal was to depict Christianity's competitors and opponents as negatively as possible."

an individual's attendance, the *Catechism* was not simply a course confirming that which was already believed, but also a deeply evangelistic effort. Cyril was working to persuade and convince from scripture, nature, and reason that the doctrines of the Church were sound, defensible, and superior to competing belief systems. It was within this framework of instruction and conformation that Cyril played out his teaching on the doctrines of the Church. Framed within our broader examination of conversion, this evangelistic effort throughout the *Catechism* makes sense. The men and women present before Cyril were yet to be baptised and therefore, yet to be converted. As we noted in chapter 1 there were any number of poor reasons people came to be baptised, Cyril's effort in the *Catechism* then was to both confirm right belief, as well as to establish it where it was not yet present. And while Cyril employed a number of evangelistic tools to accomplish this, as we've just seen, his effort was fundamentally rooted in scripture. Thus Antoine Paulin summarised the strength and power of Cyril's instruction in a way Cyril would likely have approved, arguing that the teaching was, "vraiment concrète, imagée, historique, vivante, parce qu'elle était biblique" [509]

Part Two: Virtuous Action

In an era when the distinctiveness of Christianity was diminishing and the threshold for conversion was lowering, Cyril was seeking to establish clear guidelines in practice that were, observable, quantifiable, distinct from the habits of the non-Christian community, and above all faithful to those instructed in scripture. As was noted at the close of our last section, while the beliefs of the Church could be instructed and assent to those beliefs encouraged, it was remarkably hard to quantify the sincerity of that belief. Cyril warned the candidates for baptism that, should they only pretend at belief, their conscience would convict them, and the baptismal waters would do no more for them than a normal bath.[510] While Cyril, the Church, and the waters of baptism might have accepted the unrepentant candidate, God, who knew the content of their heart, would not impart the Holy Spirit on the hypocrite or pretender. In addition to the practical consequence of conduct being a visible sign of sincerity and a manifestation of Cyril's effort to move the requirements for baptism beyond the nebulous realm of belief, there was also a deeply significant soteriological component to the baptismal candidates' behaviour. Throughout the *Catechism* Cyril faithfully holds forth the hope of salvation as the impetus for Christian action, but he also is consistent in his caution that baptism is not a guarantee of that salvation. Once one exits the waters of baptism, having

---

[509] Paulin, *Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem Catéchète,* 209 cf. 39. "Truly concrete, pictorial, historical, and living, because it was biblical."

[510] Cyril makes numerous allusions to man's conscience convicting him and God's awareness of what is in man's heart, even when man's behaviour may fool Cyril or the church. See: *Catech*.3.7; 5.2; 15.25

entered into union with Christ and become a Christian he was started on a race[511] that might lead to eternal salvation. However, it was crossing the finish line, not enrolling oneself in or even starting the race that counted. It is for this reason that Cyril used the season of Lent and the lectures of his *Catechism* to prepare the baptismal candidates for the race that was to come. Under Cyril's guidance Lent in Jerusalem became a season to train and practice, to develop a habit of living and acting, that would carry the candidate through baptism into the Christian life, and hopefully on into eternity.

It is with these considerations that we will conclude our chapter on the *Catechism*. Having engaged the design and function of the catechetical syllabus, the importance of developing a right motivation, as well as the evangelistic function catechism served, we can conclude with an examination of the disciplines and behaviours that were woven throughout the instruction.[512] This is a significant consideration for us as these instructions and expected behaviours would have played a sizable role in the lived practical experience of those undergoing pre-baptismal preparation and the continuing conversion process. Additionally, as Cyril is clear on from the beginning of the programme, becoming a Christian is not just about right belief in pious doctrines, but that those beliefs must be synthesized with virtuous actions.[513] The behaviour of the baptismal candidates was the most obvious and effective outworking of Cyril's instruction, and though Cyril has no lectures solely devoted to this subject it is a recurring theme throughout the entirety of his programme. Thus, before turning our attention to baptism in our final chapter, here we will examine: 1) what Cyril instructed regarding Christian behaviour and discipline; 2) demonstrate why Cyril taught this fashion of living mattered and how it bore on salvation; and 3) explore Cyril's approach to the Lenten season as a practice and training ground for the fashions of living expected of the baptised convert.

---

[511] *Procatech*.6

[512] There has been little work done on Cyril's practical, moral, and behavioral instructions. Christina M. Gschwandtner, "Pious Doctrines and Virtuous Actions: The Relation Between Theology and Practice in Early Catechetical Instruction," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 40, no. 1 (2005): 36-57, has a brief article that raises some interesting questions around the relationship between theory and practice in fourth century catechetical instruction, though the focus is ultimately on drawing lines of comparison between Cyril, Gregory of Nyssa, and Chrysostom's moral strictures and those of John Wesley. For their part, Drijvers, *Bishop and City,* (2004); and Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, (2000), surprisingly devote almost no attention to the practical behavioral elements of the *Catechism*, beyond the occasional reference to Cyril's remarks about the candidates forgoing attendance at pagan ceremonies, heretical assemblies, or Jewish rituals. Likewise, Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogy*, (2001); and Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem*, (2007), are rather more focused on how the *Catechism* does or does not bear on the *Mystagogy*, and their references to Cyril's moral and behavioral teachings, particularly his interdiction against attending the Roman games, occur as passing references supporting their arguments.

[513] *Catech*.4.2. Also see *Catech*.3.8 where Cyril presents Christ as a worthy due in part to his authentic faithfulness to his own instruction: Christ, "was one worthy of credence, since he had first put his teaching into practice; he was not ashamed to speak, for his tongue was not checked by a bad conscience."

A General Call for Piety

Cyril's concern for and instruction in the behaviour and conduct of the candidates is a consistent feature throughout the catechism. This concern manifests itself in two ways. First, it is apparent in Cyril's occasional foray into practical instruction regarding what the Christian ought and ought not to do. Second, and more pervasively, this concern is reflected in Cyril's broader appeal to a somewhat more conceptual 'right conduct'. We will begin with Cyril's practical instructions before turning our attention to his more general exhortations to a holy fashion of living.

In the *Catechism* Cyril relied heavily on a particular metaphor for right conduct, that of clothing oneself in a pure or spotless garment. While this metaphor will be examined in detail shortly it is worth beginning by noting that Cyril spends far more energy on these broad concepts and metaphors for ethical behaviour and pious living than he does on the practical application of these concepts. Still, there are several notable instances where Cyril does engage with the day-to-day practicalities of Christian living. These practical instructions are helpful indicators of the context of the catechism as well as the challenges posed to Christians by prevailing social and cultural norms. While some behavioral instructions, such as abstaining from fornication, are rather more universal, others do put us in mind of the situation Cyril and his candidates found themselves in, in Jerusalem around the middle of the fourth century.

> "Attend not to the fabulous divinations of the Greeks. As for sorcery, incantation, and the wicked practices of necromancy, do not admit them within your hearing. Stand aloof from every form of intemperance, being neither a glutton nor a lover of pleasure, and, above all, from covetousness and usury. Venture not among the assemblies of the heathen spectacles; never use amulets in times of sickness; put aside also the defilement of frequenting taverns. Fall not into the sect of the Samaritans or into Judaism; for henceforth Jesus Christ has redeemed you. Stand aloof from all observation of Sabbaths and speak not of any of the indifferent meats as common or unclean. But abhor especially all the assemblies of the wicked heretics; and in every way make your own soul safe, by fasting, prayers, alms, and the reading of the divine oracles, that living in temperance and in the observance of pious doctrines for the rest of your time in the flesh, you may enjoy the one salvation of the laver of baptism, and so, enrolled in the heavenly hosts by God the Father, you may be deemed worthy of the heavenly crowns, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen."[514]

As is often the case at the end of his lectures, Cyril here concludes with a stirring plea for piety.[515] Having provided an overview of the doctrines of the Church that will be summarily

---

[514] *Catech.*4.37

[515] See *Procatech.*17, *Catech.* 1.6; 2.20; 3.15; 4.37; 6.36; 7.16; 12.34; 14.30; 15.33; 17.37-38. See Also lecture 18 where Cyril concludes his pre-baptismal teaching with a fiery cry for holy living (18.20-31),

discussed in the following lectures, Cyril devotes the conclusion of lecture 4 to this immediately practical exhortation. This final paragraph of the lecture deals with a very tangible aspect of doctrinal piety; if you believe this, where will you go, with whom will you associate, and what will you do. The concern here relates directly to the competing religious and cultish activities in Jerusalem.[516] Given that Cyril has just outlined the doctrines of the Church that distinguish her from Roman cults, Judaism, heretics, and a pleasure-centric society, it is telling that he finishes by practically applying these doctrinal distinctions to the physical movement and activity of the candidates. Baptismal candidates were not merely expected to accept these Christian beliefs and doctrines, but practically to live out the doctrinal distinctiveness of the Church in their daily lives. No longer were they to believe what they formerly believed, instead they were to follow the beliefs of the Church. Correspondingly, no longer were they to go where they formerly went or do what they formerly did, instead they were to attend to the disciplines of fasting, prayer, generosity, the reading scripture, and right belief.

After this early instruction to employ without delay these practical behaviours, Cyril returns to and settles with the more general themes of chastity and fidelity, subjects we will come to shortly. However, towards the end of the *Catechism*, in lecture 15 on Christ's second coming and judgment, Cyril aggressively strips away the metaphors and allegories he so often relies on to convey the importance of right action, and provides another pointed insight into the expected conduct of those who would inherit eternal life.

> Have done with allegory and fulfill what is said.[517] "I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you covered me; sick and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to see me."[518] If these words describe your conduct, you will reign with Him; if not, you will be condemned. Therefore begin now to act thus; persevere in the faith; avoid being shut out like the foolish virgins, who delayed to buy oil.[519]

Later we will engage with the striking consequences Cyril presents here, but for now we may note the practicality of his instruction. These behaviours of caring for the hungry, the thirsty, the stranger, the poor, the sick, the imprisoned, are not delivered as optional extras for the one

---

and then goes on to conclude the entirety of the catechetical season with a passionate exhortation urging great rejoicing and final preparation for the candidate's immanent baptism 18.32-35.

[516] See Introduction beginning p.27 and chapter 3 beginning p.103 for more on the religious competition in Jerusalem in the fourth century.

[517] "οὐ χρεία νῦν ἀλληγορίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐπιτελέσαι τὰ λεγόμενα."

[518] Matt.35:36

[519] *Catech*.15.26 We will revisit this instruction within its broader context shortly when considering Cyril's use of 'clothing' language. Additionally, Cyril here is not referring simply to pre-baptismal sin and entrance to baptism, but more significantly post-baptismal sin and entrance to paradise. The significance of this will be noted at the end of this chapter.

wishing to reign with Christ and be spared condemnation. These are tangible actions Cyril requests his candidates emulate.[520]

Christian Clothing: Dressing for the Occasion

From the outset of the *Catechism* Cyril warns those present that their conduct is of supreme importance should they wish admittance to the waters of baptism and, at the last, life everlasting. To this end, Cyril introduces at the beginning of the *Procatechesis* a familiar metaphor that will permeate all that is to follow: that of one's conduct serving as the clothing of the soul. This imagery is Cyril's most used and most relied on as he instructs those to be baptised on the importance of their conduct.

Cyril introduces the concept of conduct as clothing in the opening minutes of his introductory lecture. For our purposes this is a significant indication of the importance Cyril placed on the conduct of the candidates. Before the doctrines, before the Creed, before any other teaching Cyril presents those assembled with the parable of the wedding feast in Matthew 22.[521] After recounting the story of the wedding guest who, upon observing the particular fashion of clothing the other guests wore, did not at once depart and cloth himself likewise, Cyril suggests that the improper garment of the invitee is representative of ill conduct and behaviour. Cyril casts this attendee as a busybody who came to "investigate" the feast. The comparison to those who are present for the *Catechism* because they are simply interested "in what the believers are doing"[522] is explicit. Cyril is adamant that interest and even belief are not sufficient reason for admittance to the baptismal programme and ultimately baptism itself. One must be willing to conform to the disciplines of the Church, not only its doctrines.

Cyril recounts how this busybody did not match the other guests in his dress, and how "The bridegroom, for all his large-heartedness, was not undiscerning and, while going the rounds of the company and observing his guests individually… he saw a stranger without a wedding garment".[523] Cyril then imagines the Bridegroom's confrontation of the interloper.

> "You saw the glittering clothes of those at table. Should not your eyes have
> been your teachers? Should not a timely exit then have been the prelude to a
> timely return? As it is, your untimely entrance can lead only to your untimely
> ejection." Turning to his attendants, he ordered: "Bind those feet" which
> presumptuously intruded; "bind the hands" which had not the wit to put the

---

[520] Interestingly, there may be a helpful biographical note in Cyril's own life that demonstrates his sincerity on this point, as he was accused of selling church property to raise money to feed those suffering from a famine. See our introduction on Cyril's life, p.6.

[521] Particularly Matt. 22:1-14.

[522] *Procatech*.2.

[523] *Procatech*.3.

bright garment on him; and "cast him into the outer darkness"; for he is not worthy of the bridal torches. [524]

Turning the story back on those present, Cyril then asks that they reflect on their own present position and motivation. "Ponder I bid you, the fate of that intruder, and look to your own safety."[525] Additionally, Cyril's reference of the bridal torches clearly recalls his opening sentences of the *Procatechesis* wherein he welcome those who have just processed into the church carrying with them the "tapers of brides". [526]Should the connection not be explicit enough Cyril, shortly thereafter, returns to the analogy and cautions:

> If the fashion of your soul was avarice, put on another fashion, and then come in. Put off, I say, lewdness and impurity; put on the bright robe of chastity. I give you timely warning before Jesus, the Bridegroom of souls, comes in and sees the fashions. You cannot plead short notice; forty days are yours for repentance; you have opportunity in plenty for undressing, for laundry-work, and for dressing again and returning.[527]

Cyril presents the season of pre-baptismal instruction as the time for washing and changing before baptism, when one's soul is wedded to God. It was likely not incidental that the biblical passage Cyril used to make his point culminated in a feast, just as the baptismal ceremony culminated in the Eucharistic feast. It is an interesting picture. Lent was the time for those assembled to undress, to put off their old selves, the old habits and improprieties, to do the work of cleansing their fashion of living, and then to dress again in the freshly washed habit of conduct so that they might be admitted to baptism, and partake in the Eucharist, a foretaste of the eschatological banquet Matthew 22 pointed towards.[528]

Notably, this washed robe only admits one to baptism, it does not persist after baptism. When Cyril here speaks about the undressing, laundry work, and redressing that the garment referenced is the same. This is not a new robe, but the old robe cleansed. We will take this up again in the next chapter when we look at Cyril's understanding of baptism, but for now we should observe what Cyril's use of the clothing metaphor does, and potentially more significantly, does not, say. At this point it is only the candidate who is doing the washing. In baptism, as we will later see, that washed robe is removed and discarded, and a brand new one, without spot or stain, was granted to them. But this Lenten season was one of working with what you already had. This is important as we approach our final section of this chapter on

---

[524] *Procatech*.3.

[525] *Procatech*.3.

[526] *Procatech*.1.

[527] *Procatech*.4. Also note here the emphasis on repentance and preparation. This was to be a season for removing and cleansing the hold ways of life in preparation for baptism. In our final section here we will examine this instruction in relation to Cyril's teaching that in baptism a new robe is given. Even though a new robe will be granted those who pass through the water, Cyril still instructs a preparatory cleansing and transformation of conduct.

[528] We return to the Eucharist and its role in the conversion process in our next chapter.

Cyril's utilization of the Lenten season as a time to practice the fashion of living that would, after baptism, serve as the basis on which Christians would be judged in the eschaton.

Before we continue it is worth detailing exactly what Cyril understands this clothing to represent through an examination of several other key references to the clothing in the *Catechism*. Cyril, it would appear, was also aware that he needed to clarify just what he meant when he spoke of the garments and clothing of the candidates. In his opening to lecture 1 he conflates his metaphor with the reality he intends it to reflect by quoting from Isaiah 1:16. "Clothed as you are in the rough garments of your offenses and "held fast in the meshes of your own sins,"[529] Listen to the prophet's voice saying: "Wash yourselves clean! Put away the misdeeds of your souls from before my eyes."[530] Continuing his explanation, Cyril elaborates in the following paragraph.

> Be numbered in the holy, spiritual flock of Christ, that you may be set apart on His right hand and inherit the life prepared for you. For the lot of those still clothed in the rough garments of their sins is on His left hand, because they did not attain the grace of God, which is given through Christ, in the regeneration of Baptism.[531]

Baptism is where the rough garment is removed and exchanged for a pure one, and that only by grace. Yet presently the candidates must still strive to wash themselves clean, even aware that this washing cannot win for them baptism or forgiveness. This connects with the pre-baptismal emphasis on personal preparation. This is not about truly cleansing themselves of sin, this is about ridding themselves of sinful action. As we noted in the previous chapter, one may, by virtue of sharing in the divine identity as a result of his creation, willfully decide to cease sinning, that cessation does not render him innocent of former sins nor does it reconcile him to God. Only baptism can restore and advance man though participation in, and union with God's true and natural son, Jesus. Thus, the pre-baptismal emphasis on cleanliness served a proleptic purpose, as it prepared the candidates for the fashion of living required and expected after they were truly washed clean and given a new pure robe in baptism.

In lecture 3 on baptism Cyril will again revisit clothing with a sustained use of the metaphor as he seeks to encourage the catechumens to act and live presently in the same manner that will be required of them after baptism if they are to seek and attain salvation.

---

[529] *Procatech*.5.22
[530] *Catech*.1.1 quoting Isa.1:16
[531] *Catech*.1.2

> "Make ready the vessel of the soul, purifying them by sincere faith, for the receiving of the Holy Spirit. Begin to wash your garments through repentance that, when you are called to the bridal chamber, you may be found clean."[532]
>
> …
>
> "Therefore prepare and equip yourselves, not by putting on the shining white garments, but piety of soul with a good conscience."[533]
>
> …
>
> "Enter in through the narrow and straitened gate; constrain yourself by fasting, do violence to what threatens your destruction. "Strip off the old man with his deeds,"[534] and say in the words of the Canticles: "I have taken off my robe, how am I then to put it on?"[535]

In lecture 4 on the doctrines during his summary of the doctrine of the body Cyril further clarifies the analogy.

> "The body is the soul's instrument, its cloak and garment. If then it is given up to fornication by the soul, it becomes unclean; but if it dwells with a holy soul, it becomes a temple of the Holy Spirit…. Defile not, then, your flesh in fornication; stain not your fairest garment. But if you have stained it, now cleanse it by repentance; for it is the time for purification."[536]

In these early lectures Cyril presents a somewhat convoluted picture where garments can represent everything from one's fleshy body, the actions of that body, or even the will of soul and conscience. Cumulatively the picture points towards volition and the actualization of volition in action. One's garment represents one's will as well as one's activity. A pure will and good conduct will result in a clean garment, while the desire for and action of sin will stain and mar that same vestment. Ultimately the state of one's clothing directly reflects the nature of one's thoughts and conduct. Thus, sullied as they are, Cyril instructs present washing though repentance and right behaviour.

While Cyril will often use this imagery in relation to sexual conduct it is not exclusively used with this connotation.[537] Cyril's seems to use the language of clothing as a catch-all for the conduct of the candidates. He wants those present and desiring baptism to understand the deeply significant role their actions play in their pursuit of salvation. The faith into which they are being baptised is not simply one of internal belief but also of external action.

The significance of one's conduct is made particularly and frighteningly clear in lecture 15 on Christ's second coming and the judgment He will bring with him. Here Cyril again draws the language of clothing to the fore. But more than that he makes it emphatically clear

---

[532] *Catech*.3.2.

[533] *Catech*.3.3.

[534] Colossians 3:9.

[535] *Catech*.3.7, quoting Canticles 3.5.

[536] *Catech*.4.23.

[537] Cyril references Πορνεία directly nearly thirty times, once in the *Procatechesis* and 27 times in the *Catechisms*. See in particular *Catech*.12.34.

that the state of one's garment, that is the fashion of one's living even after baptism, has eternal consequences. While the quotation is lengthy, it both highlights Cyril's use of the clothing metaphor and introduces us to Cyril's primary concern for the programme of catechism, which we will come to shortly. Yes, catechism was about preparing for baptism. And yes, catechism was about entering the Church. But ultimately this period of instruction pointed to something of far greater significance, a hoped for and sought after eternal salvation.

In lecture 15 Cyril rhetorically asks how this salvation might be gained, how Christ, the judge and shepherd would know the sheep from the goats and separate them for either salvation or condemnation.

> Dose he seek from a book which is a sheep and which a goat? Or does he decide from the evident facts? Does not the wool manifest the sheep, and the hairy and rough skin the goat? So with you too, once you have been cleansed of your sins, your deeds will be as pure wool, your robe unstained, and you will say always: "I have taken off my robe, how shall I put it on?"[538] By your vesture you will be recognized as a sheep.[539]

Reminding those present of the terror of judgment Cyril points to the avenue by which man might "escape the fire… [and] enter the kingdom."[540] Simply put they must do what Christ commanded, feed the hungry, satiate the thirsty, welcome the stranger, clothe the unclothed, and visit the sick and those in prison. Cyril does not allegorize these actions, on the contrary he instructs that they not be interpreted, but simply followed.

> …have done with allegory and fulfill what is said… Therefore begin now to act thus; persevere in the faith; avoid being shut out like the foolish virgins, who delayed to buy oil. It is not enough that you have the lamp, you must keep it burning. Let the light of your good deeds shine before men; let not Christ be blasphemed because of you. Put on an incorruptible garment, bright with good works.[541]

Cyril's instruction again has a proleptic air about it. His instruction regards the fashion of living they must follow upon emerging from the baptismal waters, however, he also advises that they should begin to live this way presently. This present encouragement and challenge is important for the baptismal candidates, but the impact of judgment, the consequence for conduct, and the hope of salvation is meaningful only after their baptism and the cleansing of their sins. Cyril here is preparing them for the work that must follow their baptism. In baptism Cyril promises a robe that will be unstained, but the ongoing care of that garment will rest in their hands and hearts. Cyril's warning is

---

[538] Canticle 5.3 Note also that this teaching is anticipatory in that Cyril is looking forward with the catechumens to a hypothetical moment after baptism, when, having received this new robe, they will be able to resist the temptation to re-clothe themselves in their former sins.
[539] *Catech*.15.25.
[540] *Catech*.15.26.
[541] *Catech*.15.26.

clear. Baptism may grant them the lamp, but they must tend to the wick and oil to keep it burning. Their judgment will be based on the evident facts of their conduct after baptism. As we will see in the next chapter there is no hope of salvation apart from baptism, but baptism itself is no guarantee of salvation. Baptism is the start of the journey, not its end. Cyril here is encouraging those who are preparing for the journey that begins as they emerge from the baptismal waters not to delay in practicing the fashion of living that will mark them as bearing pure vestments and at the judgment being found on the right hand of God.

After baptism they will be "cleansed of [their] sins, [their] deeds will be as pure as wool, [their] robe unstained," but they must still do the laundry work on their pre-baptismal robe and "begin now [before baptism] to act thus" so that they are practiced in the fashion of living and might be able to say with confidence in the days to come, "I have taken off my [old pre baptismal] robe, how shall I put it on."[542]

In the *Mystagogy*, Cyril takes up the theme of clothing one final time, and we will give a good deal of attention to the role of clothing in the baptismal ritual in our next chapter, but presently these Mystagogical references prove fitting both as a summary to the clothing metaphor and as a preview of how this metaphor relates to the reality of the baptismal ritual itself. In the second lecture of the *Mystagogy* Cyril is explaining to those baptised the significance of the various actions they performed during the ritual. As part of the ritual the baptisand had their robe removed, entered the waters, and was baptised.[543] Upon emerging from the font he was clothed in a new white robe. Cyril summarised the significance in the fourth mystagogical lecture: "Now that you have put off your old garments and put on those which are spiritually white, you must go clad in white all your days."[544] Here again we can see both Cyril's deep concern for his flock and his pastoral practice, as this command would have likely been much easier to follow given the instruction and time for practice Cyril had provided during in the catechism.

Now let us turn our attention to the reason Cyril gives his candidates so that they might be motivated both to particular virtuous actions (as discussed in section one) as well as

---

[542] *Catech.*15.25, referencing Song of Songs 5:3.

[543] *Mystagogy* 2.2

[544] *Mystagogy* 4.8. Cyril clarifies that he does not mean those baptised can only wear white clothing, but that this is meant to be indicative of their pure spiritual garments that they must now wear unto judgment and salvation. Additionally, while Cyril is very careful before the candidate's baptism about discussing the possibility of post baptismal forgiveness of sin, he does engage this matter in the Mystagogy. Our own discussion of Cyril's approach to and understanding of post-baptismal forgiveness of sin can be found in chapter 4.

the broad requirement of pious conduct and conscience (as reflected in the instruction on right clothing).

Conduct and Salvation: Why It Matters

Cyril appears aware that his expectation and instruction for candidate's right conduct might not, on their own, prove motivating enough reasons for piety. As we have observed, throughout the *Catechism* much is said regarding the importance of the candidate's present and future behaviour, but interestingly, Cyril saves one of his most compelling reasons for holy living till the final lecture before baptism. Cyril presents the hope of the resurrection as the driving and motivating force behind all Christian conduct. Present sufferings and labours could be endured when the hope of resurrection and salvation stood before the Christian.

It was to this end of resurrection that the soon to be baptised were now to strive and suffer. This hope was presented to them as both the end or goal of their labour, but also the foundation and reason for it.

> The root of all well-doing is the hope of the resurrection. The expectation of the recompense strengthens the soul to undertake good works. Every laborer is ready to endure the toils if he foresees the reward of his toils… He who believes that the body is destined for resurrection is careful of his robe and does not defile it by fornication: but he who does not believe in the resurrection gives way to fornication, abusing his body as though it were not part of himself.[545]

Halfway through the lecture Cyril clarifies that all will be raised from the dead, but not all will be raised for salvation. The just will receive an eternal body fit to dwell with the angels, while the sinner will receive an eternal body fit to burn eternally without being consumed.[546] Cyril cautions that while the baptism they are soon to receive will remove both the sins and the stains of sin formerly committed, it is no guarantee of future sinlessness.

> Moreover the stains of sin remain in the body. For just as when a wound has pierced the body, and though some healing is applied the scar remains, so also sin wounds both soul and body, traces of the scars remain in both, only to be removed by the reception of Baptism. God heals the past wounds of soul and body by Baptism; but against future wounds let us all henceforth secure ourselves, and so keep pure the vesture of the body. Let us not by fornication, wantonness or any other sins of short duration lose the salvation of heaven, that we may inherit the eternal kingdom of God, which may He, by His grace, vouchsafe to all of you.[547]

Baptism will save them from what has already been done, but they must henceforth secure themselves against future sin lest they throw into jeopardy the salvation towards which they are journeying. Eternal life will be, from their baptism forward, the prize for which they

---

[545] *Catech*. 18.1.
[546] *Catech*.18.19.
[547] *Catech*.18.20

strive.[548] Cyril's warnings here may appear to present a picture wherein baptism gets the candidates through the door, but after that it would be up to them to stay there. There is a degree of this in Cyril's thinking, but as we will see in the *Mystagogy*, the condition, character, and potential of man to act rightly and reject sin is substantively changed by the process of baptism wherein the Holy Spirit is imparted. This, however, is part of the mystery of baptism which Cyril saves, and only truly reveals, after the candidates have been baptised, made Christian, and entered into union with Christ.

Still, a number of times throughout his instruction Cyril raises the possibility that the baptised Christian might yet lose salvation. At the outset of his teaching[549] and right at its conclusion[550] this warning is repeated. Cyril warns his candidates that as they strive towards the resurrection it is essential that they continue in the path of holiness lest their names be "blotted out"[551] of the Book of Life. The theme of losing the promise of salvation is not a dominant one in the *Catechism*, but it is present, and one Cyril will occasionally employ to motivate his candidates on in good works.

Cyril's approach to resurrection, salvation, and their relationship to proper Christian conduct leads us into the final and key point of our section on conduct in the *Catechism*; that Cyril meant for the season of Lent to serve as a time of practical training and behavioral formation when candidates could prepare for and practice at the behaviours expected of Christians before their Christian life began in earnest after baptism.[552] Given the apparent risk of losing or not achieving salvation in the judgment, it follows that Cyril would work to insure candidates for baptism were practically prepared to fight, race, and strive for the goal and reward that would be resurrection to eternal life in the presence of God. As we observed both in Cyril's use of the clothing metaphor and here in his teaching on judgment, it is the life after

---

[548] Catech.18.28 "Instructed in this holy Catholic Church and conducting ourselves rightly, we shall gain the kingdom of heaven and inherit life everlasting; it is to receive this from the Lord that we endure all things. For it is no trifling goal we strive for, but eternal life… the prize of the Christian contest."

[549] *Procatech*.7 "Fail once, and there is no putting it right." This is in reference to there being only one baptism for remission of sins and no opportunity for rebaptism should you fail the first time.

[550] *Mystagogy* 5.16 "Beware, then, lest, on account of slight and trifling transgressions against you, you debar yourself form God's forgiveness of your most grievous sins." Cyril here presents the possibility of forgiveness of sins after baptism, something he does not mention at all in the Catechism, but ties that post baptismal forgiveness directly to the individual's capacity to forgive those who sin against him. We will revisit this issue in our final chapter.

[551] *Catech*.4.24 "βλέπε μὴ πάλιν ἐξαλειφθῇς"; 14.30 "ἐγγράψειεν ὑμῶν τὰ ὀνόματα πάντων ἐν βίβλῳ ζώντων, καὶ ἐγγράψας μηκέτι ἐξαλείψειεν. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐξαλείφεται τῶν ἀποπιπτόντων." Cyril's use of the term "blotted out" seems to be more in keeping with its usage in Psalm 69:28 than its more positive presentation in Revelation 3:5. Notably, Revelation does not appear in Cyril's list of Canonical books as laid out in *Catech*.4.36.

[552] Quoting Ephesians 4:5.

baptism that will be judged and in preparation for that end candidates should practice now that which will be tested later.

Training Season: Practice for Life

Cyril frames baptism as *the* liminal moment in the present life of man. Before it there is only condemnation. After, the door is open to salvation and eternal life. In baptism former sins are washed away and man is set on a path that, should he persist in faithful obedience, will lead through judgment and into eternity. However, to anachronise, this path is not an escalator. One will not merely be delivered to the set end without effort and action. While the effects of baptism and the Christian life that follow will be the focus of our next chapter, as we conclude this chapter we must consider one final and significant preparatory feature of the catechism. This feature has been alluded to throughout this chapter and should not come as a surprise. Namely, that Cyril intended for the period of Lent and the season of catechetical instruction to provide a safe practice arena, or training ground, for the habits of life and the practice of disciplines that would be required to successfully travel the post-baptismal road to salvation.

If we are to examine this season of preparation with an appreciation for the process of conversion as outlined in chapter 1, and at the outset of this chapter, a striking picture emerges. Caught in the social net of the Church, drawn in by friends, love interests, employers, or the kernels of genuine belief, these baptismal candidates are being taught the doctrines of the faith as well as the disciplines of a Christian and are encouraged to practice these habits and learn these teachings before they are fully integrated into the community. In addition to any practical benefit derived from this Lenten season of preparation for the candidates, there is also a deeply significant and far more obvious theological motivation. While baptism may absolve the candidate of former sins, it does not cover those yet to be committed. Cyril is very serious about the consequences of post-baptismal sin, as we have noted.[553] The possibility of having one's name blotted from the Book of Life as a result of later sins is a real possibility.[554] Likewise, the sins one committed after baptism were recorded and would be accounted for in the judgment.[555] Cyril appears then to be encouraging a fashion of living before baptism that would become important only after baptism. Certainly, mitigating and eliminating sin in one's life before the waters were entered was encouraged, but any sin committed before baptism would be wiped away. The stakes in advance of baptism were rather lower than those that followed after.

---

[553] See footnote 551 for references to ἐξαλείφω in Cat.4.24 and 14.30.

[554] *Catech.*4.24; 14.30.

[555] *Catech.*15.23.

We noted near the beginning of the chapter, while examining the role of the *Procatechesis* in the course of instruction, that catechism must be seen as a carefully crafted programme of instruction. At the time we observed several of the metaphors Cyril relied on in the lecture to convey to the catechumens the importance of their present instruction and thus the need for a properly ordered exposition of the Church's doctrines. These same metaphors also serve us here as we observe how mindful Cyril was of the need for adequate preparation before the advent of the post-baptismal Christian life.

Cyril likens the Lenten season to preparation for a battle. The battle, when it comes will be to the death, and Cyril's goal is to prepare his troops so that though they die in the flesh, they might rise to an immortal victory. Despite this strong rhetoric Cyril does not seem to be referencing martyrdom or violent persecution so much as a more metaphorical battle, framing the Christian life as a fight against sin and the powers of the devil where the Christian must remain strong and faithful until the end. Cyril highlights the uniqueness and importance of this pre-baptismal season, noting that if this teaching is neglected presently, the loss cannot be remedied after baptism.

> Let this also be included in your battle orders: study what you are told and guard
> it forever. Do not confuse the pre-baptismal instructions with the ordinary
> sermons. Excellent and reliable as those are, still if we neglect their lessons today,
> we can learn them tomorrow. But the systematic instruction about the laver of
> regeneration – if that be neglected today, when shall the loss be made good?[556]

There is a real difference in consequence between stumbling on one's way to battle and stumbling in the battle itself. Not only does this pre-baptismal season provide the training and instruction for the post-baptismal fight, but it provides a time where the consequences for failure do not carry with them the same high price of lasting punishment.

Comparing the catechetical instruction to the construction of a house, Cyril again indicates that this is a special season, a season to make fast the edifice of one's faith so that no later damage may render the structure inhospitable.

> Or let me compare the catechizing to a building. Unless we methodically bind the
> joint and the whole structure together, we shall have leaks and dry rot, and all our
> previous exertions will be wasted. No: stone must be laid upon stone in regular
> sequence, and corner follow corner, jutting edges must be planed away: and so
> the perfect structure rises."[557]

---

[556] *Procatech*.11.

[557] *Procatech*.11. Cyril's reference to 1 Corinthians 3:15 is an interesting one, not least as the passage in question refers to the building of the community of Church. Might Cyril here have had in mind a double meaning when he used this reference. On one hand it referred to the organization and structure of the catechetical programme on the other it referred to the catechumens themselves, that they must be

Worse yet, if the proper planning and construction of the house are not undertaken, the catechumen's "risk its total loss by fire."[558]

Finally, Cyril presents the catechism as the preparation for a race.[559] Lent and the *Catechism* were the season to prepare and strive in anticipation of the race ahead.

> For it is mine to speak, yours to translate my words into action, and God's to perfect the work. Let us prepare our hearts, straining every nerve and sinew of soul and mind. The race is for our souls: we have set our hearts on an eternal prize.

Cyril does not want his catechumens to begin the race without sufficient training, as there are eternal consequences should they be disqualified or to unable to finish the race. The *Catechism* is presented as the season to "translate words into actions", to prepare and train and practice for the trial and judgment to come.

Cyril lays out the stakes for the training very clearly early in the *Procatechesis*.

> A man cannot be baptized a second and a third time. Otherwise, he could say: "I failed one: the second time I shall succeed." Fail once, and there is no putting it right. For, "one Lord, on faith, one Baptism." It is only heretics who are rebaptized, and then because the first was no Baptism.[560]

Cyril is clearly concerned that the candidates both understand the consequences for failure in the Christian life, and that they be prepared as well as possible to avoid those failures after baptism. Interestingly, the majority of these allusions to the Christian life being like a race or battle occur in either the *Procatechesis* or early in the *Catechism*, however Cyril does revisit these themes in his final lecture before baptism as he teaches on the judgment to come in the last days. Here he encourages the candidates to strive towards the goal and fight until the end as there is no reward until the race is won and the combat concluded.[561] As we have noted Cyril does not, in the *Catechism*, discuss the possibility of post-baptismal forgiveness of sin. Rather, he is stern in his admonition that the believer take great care of their post-baptismal body and soul lest they stumble and fall and have their names blotted from the Book of Life.

---

prepared and organized so that they could be incorporated into the community and structure of the Church.

[558] *Procatech*.17, referencing 1 Corinthians 3:15.

[559] In addition to the presently quoted reference, Cyril refers to the Christian life as a race in 1.1, 12.34, 17.13, 18.4

[560] *Procatech*.7. There has been some debate over the meaning and originality of the re-baptismal portion of this text. McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1,76, ff24, offer a nuanced look at the history of this debate, resolve the issue in favour Toutée and Telfer, and provide the included translation. We will examine this issue in our next chapter on Baptism.

[561] *Catech*.18.4.

Cyril's concern here is that of the coach in the corner of the boxing ring, or the trainer next to the track at a race. He can do only so much for his charge. In the end it is the competitor not the coach who must fight the fight and run the race. His role is to give the athletes the instruction, the encouragement, and the time they need to prepare for the impending competition. In both the *Procatechesis* and lecture 1 of the *Catechism* you can almost feel Cyril's excitement and anxiety that there are only 40 days yet to prepare these men and women.[562]

Thus, Lent was approached by Cyril as a time where the candidates might practice a fashion of living that, while beneficial in the moment, would be essential after their baptism. The season of catechetical instruction was one that afforded an opportunity for the baptismal candidates to work out these habits and disciplines without the risk of losing their hoped for salvation. Rather than have these men and women begin their life as believers without training or forewarning of what was in store, Cyril provided a clear, if occasionally hard, picture of the Christian life and encouraged present discipline so as to avoid future stumbling.

> He will redeem you too from your afflictions and lead you into the kingdom of heaven. Only take courage, toil and strive zealously, for nothing will be lost. Every prayer you make, every psalm you sing is recorded; every alms, every fast is recorded, every lawful marriage as well as continence for God's sake, is recorded… You have listened gladly to the good; listen patiently now to the opposite. Your every act of covetousness is recorded, and every act of fornication; every false oath is recorded, every blasphemy, sorcery, theft and murder. All these are henceforth recorded, if after Baptism you commit the same faults; for what went before is blotted out [ἐξαλείφεται].[563]

As we observed earlier in this chapter, all of the *Catechism*, both its doctrinal and practical instruction, was working towards this goal of equipping the candidates to persevere unto the final judgment and the reward of eternal life in the presence of God. In just this same fashion, Cyril used the season itself as a time to foster and develop the habits of believers in the lives of the catechumens, so that when the race began in earnest they might run, not grow weary, and be crowned victorious at the last.

Summary: Concluding Catechism, Approaching Baptism

With the Season of Lent nearly over and the programme of pre-baptismal instruction concluded Cyril's candidates stood at the threshold of the door through which was the start of a new beginning: life in Christ as convert to Christianity. Combing the theory of doctrines, and the practice of disciplines, the *Catechism* had instructed those wishing to complete their conversion in all that was required of them in belief and behaviour. Scripture had been

---

[562] *Procatch*.4; *Catech*.1.5.
[563] *Catech*.15.23.

expounded, the narrative arc of the history of God and man had been laid before them. The Creed, summarising right doctrine, had been handed over to them. They had been warned and cautioned regarding the integrity of their belief and the consequences should their desire remain to pursue baptism under false pretences. They had received instruction in the behaviours and practices expected of them as Christians, and been given time to practice that fashion of living. And not inconsequentially, these 40 days of Lent had seen them visit the church daily for either instruction from Cyril in the *Catechism* or for confessions and exorcism with the other candidates. While Cyril does not mention this aspect of the Lenten season, it is interesting to speculate on the friendships that might have been forged over those 40 days. The season of catechism would have served to draw together the community of Christians and candidates around the beliefs, behaviours, and practices of the Church, shoring up and strengthening relationships as well as establishing new ones, all with the common kernel of the Church at the center. However, this common belief, common community, and common practice, was not ultimately what Cyril believed would tie them together or deliver them unto salvation. That power was reserved for baptism, the means by which they would be united to Christ, to each other, and to the Church.

Interestingly, despite this period of focused instruction and preparation, what lay before the baptisands in the ritual itself remained a mystery. They would enter the baptistery with a solid foundation in the doctrines of the Church and in the disciplines of a Christian, but the baptism they would undergo would be experienced without clarifying instruction. It would only be after they were baptised, in the five days following Easter that instruction in what had occurred would be received.[564] It would be in these post-baptismal lectures that Cyril would draw together the various strings of the *Catechism* and show how these components of doctrine and discipline were woven together in the powerful and mysterious ritual that was baptism.

---

[564] *Catech*.18.33 "After Easter's holy day of salvation, you will come every day, starting Monday, immediately after the assembly into the holy place of the Resurrection, where, God willing you will hear other lectures. In these you will be instructed again in the reasons for everything that has been done [before during and after the baptism]."

CHAPTER 4. BAPTISM: COMPLETING CONVERSION

Introduction: Baptism and the Mystagogy

The baptism of Cyril's catechumens is the climax of the *Catechesis* and indeed of the conversion process. In the process of conversion and the transition of men and women from without to within the community of the Church and fellowship with the divine, baptism is the definitive moment allegiances are shifted and trajectories are changed. Within the process of conversion, this moment above all others is the point after which we might call one a convert. The doctrines enumerated, the conduct instructed, the heresies unfolded, the warnings delivered, the encouragements extended, all are presented to prepare the men and women present for this baptism and the Christian life that followed.

In this chapter, we will examine how Cyril theologically frames and practically conducts his baptism to redress the fall and loss of divine likeness, man's allegiance to the devil, and the consequences of sin; as well as how the baptism furthers man's condition through union with Christ, divine adoption, and the imparting of the Holy Spirit. A particularly salient feature here is the way in which Cyril manifests fairly heady theological concepts in the hard reality of the baptismal ritual. In so doing Cyril's baptisands are able to participate in a profoundly tangible and sensuous actualization of this theologically and ontologically complex process. In structuring this chapter, we will follow the order of the baptism itself, just as Cyril does in his post baptismal lectures. In following this chronology we will observe a key feature of the baptism: the way in which it methodically and progressively addresses the problems of the Fall, sin, lost sonship, and lost likeness to God; and in the end how it does not merely restore man to his created state, but advances him to something beyond that which Adam possessed in Eden.

For this investigation to take place we must focus our attentions not on the *Catechism* itself, but on the 5 Mystagogical lectures that followed.[565] In the *Catechism* Cyril's instruction on baptism tends towards the theoretical. Baptism is discussed as the door to salvation and the means by which man is redeemed from his fallen state and advanced beyond his condition at creation. There is little indication in the catechism of just what the ritual entails and much more focus on what it will accomplish. In fact, Cyril begins the *Mystagogy* by confessing his

---

[565] As was noted in our Introduction to the thesis there has been some debate over the authorship of the Mystagogy. See particularly Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* (2001), who argues for Cyril's authorship, and Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem*, (2007), who somewhat less convincingly suggests a later author, potentially John of Jerusalem. We will not revisit the subject here, however, as the focus and remit of our work remains the conversion process, and not on authorship. This is certainly a worthy area for further investigation, but that is not the work we have set out to accomplish with this thesis.

long-standing desire to share with the "true-born and long-desired children of the church,"[566] these "spiritual, and heavenly mysteries."[567] He credits his restraint in not having discoursed on these matters before the baptism to "the principle… that seeing is believing"[568], and that having been through the baptismal rituals and ceremony these new Christians would be a "readier audience."[569] Moreover, Cyril states that the candidates before baptism were simply unable to understand the mystery, but having been enlightened in the waters they "are now capable of understanding the diviner mysteries of divine, life-giving baptism."[570] While both Doval and Day have provided excellent and extended examinations of the *Mystagogy* and Cyril's baptismal ritual, our own investigation is not concerned with the ways in which this liturgy contributes to our understanding of authorship. Instead, we are looking to see the ritual and progress of baptism through the eyes of the baptisands. In so doing, in conjunction with Cyril's explanations of the ritual in the *Mystagogy*, we will form a fuller picture of how conversion was ultimately effected and completed in those being baptised.

Baptism in Effigy

Before proceeding to the *Mystagogy* it is worth us pausing to briefly outline just what, practically, occurred in the baptism. In some ways this places us neatly back in the sandals of Cyril's first listeners. Having waded through the catechism we are thrust into the baptistery and the ritual without explanation of what is to come. Despite instruction and preparation in doctrines and disciplines over the 18 catechetical lectures, the baptisands would have found themselves unprepared for the ritual itself. Cyril had been careful in the *Catechism* not to divulge the details of the baptism.[571] The effect this will have had on the catechumens is obviously difficult to quantify. But as we will see the baptism was a highly sensory experience, filled with deep symbolic and ritual significance. Clearly Cyril wanted the baptisands to progress through the ceremony with a sense of wonder and anticipation, led as they were without prior direction from point to point in their journey toward the Eucharist and full incorporation into the community of the Church and the body of Christ. Indeed Cyril

---

[566] *Mystagogy* 1.1

[567] *ibid.*

[568] *ibid.*

[569] *ibid.*

[570] *Mystagogy* 1.1. As we begin it is worth noting that Cyril was well aware of the awe that would be inspired in the candidates as they entered the mystery without clear understanding of what was in store for them. That being led through the ritual without practical preparation for what would occur would engender in those participating a real and potentially powerful sense of wonder, mystery, and occasion. In this chapter we will draw together these twin features of ritual and the reality, as we examine both what is accomplished and how it is accomplished within the activities of baptism.

[571] Regarding baptism, in the *Catechism* Cyril's focus is on what is accomplished, not how it is accomplished. This is particularly apparent in the third Catechetical lecture where Cyril instructs the catechumens on what baptism is and does and how to prepare their souls for it, but pointedly ignores any description of how the actual ritual will proceed.

would wait until the Monday after Easter, when the new Christians would gather again, now in the Anastasis, to explain what had occurred during the ritual. So let us, like the baptisands, quickly pass through the baptismal ritual before we join Cyril in the Anastasis to hear his explanation as it is recorded in the *Mystagogies*.

After the final catechetical lecture, on the evening before Easter Sunday, those to be baptised gathered in an antechamber near to the baptistery (adjacent to the Anastasias where the tomb of Christ was and where the *Mystagogy* would be delivered). Interestingly they did not enter the area by the normal means of passing from the street into the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and then crossing the open courtyard that connected the church to the Martyrium and the baptistery. Instead, those to be baptised entered through a western door bypassing entirely the church precinct.[572] Upon entering the antechamber the baptisand was asked to renounce Satan and to affirm her commitment to God. As Easter dawned they were led into the baptistery where they removed their clothing and were anointed from head to toe with oil. Following their anointing they were led into the baptismal font where they were three times submerged in the waters. Rising out of the font they were again anointed again with holy oil in a practice known as chrism. After this final anointing they were given a new clean robe to wear and were directed out of the baptistery, across the courtyard with both the rock of Golgotha and the tomb of the resurrection in view, and into the Church of the Holy Sepulcher where they would receive their first communion along with other Christians and those baptised with them. The following day the new Christians would reconvene in the Martyrium where they would begin to have the mysteries they had experienced the day before explained.[573] This *Mystagogy*, alluded to by Cyril at the close of the *Catechism*,[574] comprised five lectures given daily beginning on the Monday following Easter, the day the candidates had become Christians through baptism.

It is here, in the presence of Christ's empty tomb, that we rejoin those recently baptised to learn what was accomplished during those fateful hours towards which Cyril and the catechism had been working since the beginning of Lent.

---

[572] E.C. Ratcliff, "The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition and its Resettlement under the Influence of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century," in *Liturgical Studies,* ed. A.H. Couratin and D.H Tripp, (London: SPCK, 1979): 143.

[573] This summary is a distillation of the practical instruction on the ritual Cyril presents in *Mystagogy* 1-3. For an excellent diagram detailing this progression through a blueprint of the Baptistery, based on the work Coüasnon, see Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue*, 87.

[574] *Catech*.18.33

Pre-Submersion Ritual
Shifting Allegiances: Renunciation and Confession

Lecture 1 of the *Mystagogy* welcomes the new Christians and outlines what is to follow, namely the explanation of "the significance of what was done for you on that evening of your baptism."[575] On the evening before their baptism, in the dark of night before the dawn of Easter morning, those to be baptised had gathered in the antechamber of the baptistery to renounce Satan and confess obedience to God. This first Mystagogical instruction covers the pre-baptismal rituals of renouncing Satan,[576] his works (sin),[577] his pomp (activates such as the theatre, gladiatorial games, and food from pagan temples),[578] and his service (idolatry)[579]; and then turning from having faced the west (the direction of darkness) to face the east (the direction from which light comes and in which Eden was established), and proclaiming and confessing allegiance to and belief in, the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, and one baptism of repentance.[580] As with all the Mystagogical lectures, Cyril here is filling in the reason for the activities of the preceding ritual, why what was done was done and what was said was said. Now that those gathered were no longer candidates but Christians, Cyril was free to explain the mystery of the ritual they had just recently experienced.

Throughout this instruction Cyril also recalls to the baptisands' mind what was said during this portion of the ritual. Below I have collated and included a sort of script of the proceedings as laid out in the first Mystagogical lecture.

Enter Antechamber of the baptistery.[581]
Turn to Face West.[582]
Told to address Satan as personally present saying:[583]

---

[575] *Mystagogy* 1.1. Here McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 2, 153, follow the emendation put forward by Touttée and agreed upon by Piédagnel regarding the translation of "what was done for you," where the text reads "…ἵνα εἰδῆτε τὴν ἔμφασιν τὴν πρὸς ὑμῶν κατ' ἐκείνην γενομένην τοῦ βαπτίσματος τὴν ἑσπέραν."

[576] *Mystagogy* 1.2.

[577] *Mystagogy* 1.5.

[578] *Mystagogy* 1.6-7.

[579] *Mystagogy* 1.8.

[580] *Mystagogy* 1.9.

[581] *Mystagogy* 1.2 Unlike many of his contemporaries Cyril's renunciation does not take place within the baptistery but in an antechamber adjacent.

[582] *Mystagogy* 1.2. Cyril instructs that in facing the West the candidate is looking both in the direction of "visible darkness" or the direction from which night comes, as well as the "Satan, who is himself darkness," and "has his empire in darkness." Thus by making this renunciation whilst facing west the baptismal initiate is speaking directly towards "that gloomy prince of night." *Mystagogy* 1.4 Some of Cyril's contemporaries indicate the baptisands were required to kneel for this renunciation, Chrysostom, *BH* 2.18; *ACW* 11.22, and Theodore, *BH* 2.3., Cyril, however notes only the direction they faced.

[583] *Mystagogy* 1.2 This renunciation and subsequent confession of faith was likely drawn from 1 Thessalonians 1.9-10.

"I renounce you, Satan, you wicked and cruel tyrant; I no longer fear your power."

"For Christ broke that power by sharing flesh and blood with me, planning through their assumption to break, by his death, the power of Death, to save me from subjection to perpetual bondage."[584]

"I renounce you, crafty scoundrel of a serpent; I renounce you, traitor, perpetrator of every crime, who inspired our first parents to revolt."

"I renounce you, Satan, agent and abettor of all wickedness."[585]

"And all your works"[586]

"And all your pomp"[587]

"And all your Service"[588]

Turning to face the East.[589]

"I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, and in one Baptism of repentance [βάπτισμα μετανοίας]."[590]

Significantly, in renouncing Satan, Cyril says the baptisands were annulling any covenants formerly made with him, and in doing so were able to turn freely and walk towards the open doors of the Garden of Eden, from which man had been banished so long before.[591] This symbolism was additionally rich as the baptisands turned toward the east, the site of that ancient garden, and then confessed their faith in the triune God and the baptism they were about to receive. It is easy to skip over the impact of this simple action. The scene Cyril paints is on the grandest possible canvas. He reaches back to the very first man and his expulsion from Eden and the dwelling presence of God, a garden from which these baptisands had been separated by flaming sword and all of human history. And in the midst of this scene there stand the baptisands who by passing through the waters of baptism extinguish that flaming sword and may again enter "God's paradise" now open before them.[592]

In chapter 2 we noted the importance of the shift in allegiance from God to Satan in the fall. How man exchanged submission to God for submission to Satan, placing himself

---

[584] Likely informed by Hebrews 2.14-15. Notice also the emphasis on Christ's death here. For Cyril Baptism is about being united in Christ's death, so that at the last we might, like him, be resurrected. But for the time being, in advance of that judgment day, it is Christ's death that we share in so that we might anticipate and hope for the resurrection to come. Dying with Christ breaks the power of Death. Its victim has been claimed in Christ so that men and women united with Christ might not be subject to its sting.

[585] *Mystagogy* 1.4 See chapter 2 beginning p.68 for Satan as source of and inspiration for sin.

[586] *Mystagogy* 1.5.

[587] *Mystagogy* 1.6.

[588] *Mystagogy* 1.8.

[589] *Mystagogy* 1.8. The theme of light is a prominent one in the Catechism. Most notable, however, is that the candidates for baptism are called by Cyril, Φωτιζόμενοι, or 'Those being enlightened' twice in the *Procatechesis* and twenty-two times in the Catechism. These candidates for baptism are being rotated, as it were, from having faced the darkness to now face the light. Additionally, Cyril promises in baptism a ἔνδυμα φωτεινόν or 'garment of light' as part of the prize won in Baptism (*Procatech*. 16)

[590] *Mystagogy* 1.9. Interestingly Cyril does not seem to employ the Creed as it is laid out in the Catechism, instead opting for this simple declaration of faith. See chapter 3, Section on the *redditio,* for the use of the Creed in the baptismal ceremony.

[591] *Mystagogy* 1.9.

[592] *Mystagogy* 1.9.

under the headship and, with respect to authority, the fatherhood of Satan. Thus it is particularly significant that here we see the practical action of both renouncing Satan and declaring allegiance again to God as part of the baptismal ceremony. In relation to this renunciation of Satan, Cyril explains the reason using the prefiguring example of the exodus narrative where Pharaoh is cast as Satan.[593] Moses/Christ sent by God to liberate His people, in one case from the tyranny of slavery and in the second from the tyranny of sin. In the exodus it is the blood of a lamb that serves as defense against the destroyer, in baptism it is the blood of the Christ the Lamb that serves as sanctuary against demons. And finally Cyril concludes his exegesis of the exodus with the flight to the Red Sea.

> Pharaoh pursued that people of old right into the sea; this outrageous spirit, the impudent author of all evil, followed you, each on, up to the verge of the saving streams. That other tyrant is engulfed and drowned in the Red Sea; this one is destroyed in the saving water.[594]

There is a proleptic air then to the renunciation of Satan. The declaration of renunciation and then confession of belief in the Trinity and baptism prefigure the activity that will occur in the sacred waters. It is as if the candidates are accenting to and affirming the actions, and effects of those actions, that are about to be under taken. The anointing, baptism, and chrism may be actions done to the candidate, but they are done with the permission and sought desire of the same. This initiatory act served as a demonstration of both the repentance and faith required for baptism, a sort of litmus test for those wishing to proceed through the ritual.

Naked Imitation: In the Footstep of Jesus

With their declaration of allegiance shifted from Satan to the Father, Son, and Spirit, the baptisands were prepared for the next step in their journey towards sanctification. Again in *Mystagogy* 2, Cyril would explain the "symbolic meaning"[595] of what occurred, this time as they passed from the antechamber into the baptistry proper.

Immediately upon entering the inner chamber the baptisand removed his clothing as a symbol "of the stripping off of the old man with his deeds."[596] For the attentive catechumen

---

[593] Cyril's connection of the pre-baptismal rite with the exodus is in contrast to other authors of the period who prefer to connect the exodus motif with the immersion. Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 163.

[594] *Mystagogy* 1.3 Cyril here is likely working from 1 cor. 10.1-2 and may also be using Origen's in *Exod., Hom.* 5.5 (GCS, Origen, 6.190). For more on baptism's relation to the Exodus and the Red Sea in early Christian texts and antecedent Jewish baptism see D. Daube's *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 2011, pgs., 106-140

[595] *Mystagogy* 2.1.

[596] *Mystagogy* 2.2 quoting Colossians 3.9. The practice of stripping was common at the time (Chrysostom *ACW* 11.28-9; Theodore of Mopsuestia, *BH* 3.8) though often not discussed as in the case of Ambrose who delicately skirts the issue in both *De Sacramentis* and *De mysteriis*. Everett Ferguson notes that this stripping "naked" may in fact still allow for the wearing of undergarments, though he

this would have been a striking moment. After so many exhortations to remove the old garment, the old self, here they stood naked with their old robe truly removed. Now, finally, they had put off their garment symbolizing the putting off of "the old man which, deluded by its lusts, [who was] sinking towards death."[597] Finally the many strands of a metaphor woven through the *Catechism* had arrived at an actual moment where of a garment being removed.[598]Whatever emotions or inhibitions might have lurked in the back of their minds,[599] the moment presents an enticing picture of personal liberation from former wrongdoing. It is also a significant moment for the contemporary reader of Cyril's *Catechism* looking to understand Cyril's approach to instructing doctrinal and practical theology. Here we see a heady and theological theme, so often raised in the *Catechism*, pay off with surprising power in a simple physical action. This is lived, experienced, participatory theology, where converts are not just learning theology but physically participating in tangible manifestations of it.

In this same vein of participatory theology, here also began a process of imitation that would be carried through the remainder of the baptismal ceremony. Cyril instructs that in their nakedness the baptisands were imitating Christ on the cross, who "by his nakedness", publically threw off the cosmic powers and authorities like a garment.[600] This theme of union through imitation will be essential to the remainder of the baptismal ceremony and the *Mystagogy*. Beginning here on the cross with Christ still living, naked and suffering, the baptisands were being united, step-by-step with their savior, as it would be through this union that their salvation was effected.[601] Apparent here is the deep impact Romans 6:5 had on Cyril's understanding of baptism. Indeed, Cyril would even begin his second Mystagogical lecture with this reading from Romans which would include, "For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like

---

remains undecided on the question (Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church,* 447). In likelihood this stripping was complete. In part due to the imitation of Christ on the cross, in part due to the necessarily limited lighting within the baptistery, and in part due to the likelihood that the segregation of sexes enforced during the *Catechism* was still in play during the baptism.

[597] *Mystagogy* 2.2 quoting Ephesians 4.22.

[598] See chapter 3 beginning p.111.

[599] In the *Didascalia* it is indicated that the sexes were separated for this part of the ceremony. Dom R.H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 146. It is noted by E.C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy,* 2nd edition (London: Liturgical Press, 1970), 13, that the women may have been tended to by a deaconess. Cyril however gives no indication that this was the case in Jerusalem.

[600] Cyril here quotes directly from Colossians 3:9. See also Chrysostom *ACW* 11.28-9; Theodore of Mopsuestia, *BH* 3.8 who similarly tie the stripping to Christ's nakedness on the cross.

[601] Doval has a very helpful article discussing the various theological models of salvation Cyril employs throughout the *Catechism* and *Mystagogy*. Doval notes that Cyril is most comfortable with this Solidarity model for salvation, wherein Christ becomes man so that men might in turn become Christs through solidarity with what Christ accomplished. Doval, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Theology of Salvation," 452-461.

his."(RSV)[602]

A simple analogy may prove helpful here. The ritual of Cyril's baptism might be likened to a zipper. As the baptisand passes along the appointed path in symbolic imitation of Christ, he is, bit by bit, united to the corresponding 'teeth' of Christ's passion and death. As Christ was naked, so too will the baptisand be naked. As Christ was anointed so too will the baptisand be anointed. As Christ went down into the grave so too will the baptisand be buried in the water. As Christ was buried for three days, so too will the baptisand be submerged three times as a corresponding symbol. The end result of this 'zipping up' is the complete union of two formerly separate parts. How that union served a salvific function will be the focus of a later section.

Anointing Oil & Purging Sin

Returning to the now naked baptisand, Cyril incorporates his second tantalizing reference to the Garden of Eden in as many lectures. Here the baptisand is likened to Adam who was naked and unashamed in the garden. Combined with the reference to Eden in the first *Mystagogy* an interesting picture immerges. Where in *Mystagogy* 1 the baptisand turned to face Eden, now, in *Mystagogy* 2, they stand like Adam as he stood in the garden.

Having been stripped of their cloaks, the baptisands were then anointed with exorcised olive oil "from the topmost hairs of [their] head to the soles of [their] feet"[603]. This was the first of two anointings that would occur during the baptismal ceremony.[604] The second, and more significant of the two, occurred after the baptism proper. This initiatory anointing served a threefold function, all of which we will examine presently.

---

[602] Romans 6:3-14 served as the opening reading for *Mystagogy* 2. Curiously and somewhat disappointingly McCauley and Stephenson suggest in their translation that following this reading "No further references are given to this passage." McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 2, 161, when in fact the entirety of the lecture serves as a practical application of this passage. Additionally, Cyril makes explicit reference to the passage in *Mystagogy* 2.7.

[603] *Mystagogy* 2.3. Humorously, an early commentator on the catechism, Grodecq, the dean of Glogau in Bohemia, was so embarrassed by the idea of a full body oiling that he translated (quite wrongly) the passage to indicate the baptisand was anointed from the top of their hair to the bottom of their hair. See McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 2, 162, ff9. Ambrose likened this anointing to the oiling of an athlete before a completion, *De Sacramentis* 1.4.

[604] This pre-baptismal anointing appears to have been a recent addition to the baptismal rite. Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church,* 477-478, observes that this anointing carries few biblical references to the act itself and instead Cyril relies on theological themes, like the grafting of the branch into the good olive tree. Additionally, Ferguson suggests that this pre-washing anointing may have taken some of its cues from bathing rituals at the time, which often included a pre-bath rubbing with oil.

First, the anointing served to "graft" (ἐνεκεντρίζεσθε) the baptisands into "the good olive tree [τῆς καλλιελαίου], Jesus Christ"[605]. Significantly the reference to grafting harkens back to Cyril's first catechetical lecture where he foreshadows this anointing.

> "From now on, you are grafted [ἐγκεντριζόμενος] upon the stock of the spiritual olive, like a slip transplanted from the wild olive into the good olive tree [ἐξ ἀγριελαίου εἰς καλλιέλαιον], from sin to righteousness, from corruption to purity. You are to be made partaker of the holy vine."[606]

The passage has an 'already-not-yet' air to it. Just as an actual branch is initially attached to the host tree, it must also take to the tree and the tree to it. Grafting is not a single action but a process resulting in a unity. Cyril's teaching here reflects this process. Already from the first catechism they are being attached to the good olive tree, but they have yet to be made true partakers of the holy vine. At this point we might again note Cyril's penchant for introducing a theological concept in the *Catechism*, which he cleverly and tangibly actualizes in the baptism ritual. Here we can see not only the fruition of his gardening metaphors within the baptism, but also how these teachings bear on the translation of man, by way of baptism, from his fallen state to that of sanctification.

Cyril's first use of the transplanting or grafting imagery comes early in the *Catechism* and he uses it as an indication of the change man undergoes in his transition from what he has been without Christ to what he will become when united to Christ.

> The paradise into which you are to be planted is not seen by the eye. You are being given a new name you did not possess. Instead of catechumen, you will be called a Believer [Πιστός]. From now on, you are grafted upon the stock of the spiritual olive,[607] like a lip transplanted from the wild olive into the good olive tree, from sin to righteousness, from corruption to purity. You are to be made a partaker of the holy vine. If you abide in the vine, you will grow as a fruitful branch… It rests with God to bestow grace, but with you to accept and cherish it[608]

Cyril hints that man undergoes a planting and transplanting, that he is grafted into a new entity characterized by righteousness and purity, and that he will partake of the holy vine. Cyril's garden imagery continues as he notes that while God will do these things, it is man's own responsibility to accept and maintain them. Cyril also indicates the new name by which

---

[605] *Mystagogy* 2.3 "καὶ κοινωνοὶ ἐγίνεσθε τῆς **καλλιελαίου** Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." Cyril here likely derived this significance from Romans 11:17-24 and also John 15. See also *Mystagogy* 2.7; See also Bryan Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism*, (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2009), 41.
[606] *Catech*.1.4. Again referencing Romans 11:24. See also *Catech*.1.6, where Cyril notes the importance of continuing to water and tend the grafting (regularly attending the church assemblies both during catechism and even more so after baptism) even after it has been well planted.
[607] Psalm 51:10.
[608] *Catech*.1.4 .

the catechumens are to be called. No longer catechumens, they are now Πιστός, Believers.[609] In the final lecture of the *Catechism* Cyril returns to the notion of naming but now it is to say that in the lectures following baptism he will explain how "how like priests you have become partakers of the Name of Christ".[610]

Tangled up in this transition, there is a legitimate question as to when these changes take place. In lecture 1 is Cyril indicating that those present are already planted in the invisible paradise? Have they already received the new name? Are they grafted into the good olive-tree and do they partake of the holy vine, all by proclamation of Cyril at the start of their course of catechism? Given the veiled nature of the statement, I take Cyril's meaning to be that this transition, while begun in the preparation for baptism, is not actualized until the baptism itself. This approach would seem to fit with the unfolding nature of his teaching on these matters and their final clarification in the *Mystagogy*.[611]

Along with the development in Cyril's teaching on naming is the unpacking of his early assertion that man is "made a partaker of the Holy Vine."[612] In lecture 12 as Cyril is teaching on the Word incarnate as man, he clarifies what this participation looks like when he develops the partaking of the holy vine into the less ambiguous claim, "that sinful human nature might be made partaker of God."[613]

The second role this exorcised oil played in the baptismal rite was to disperse every concentration of the cosmic forces arrayed against the baptisand.[614] This follows neatly from the renunciation that just occurred in the antechamber of the baptistery. There Satan and his activities were rejected and the bound of servitude to him was declared broken. Here in the anointing the residual effects of that former servitude were exorcised and broken.[615]

---

[609] See footnote 383 for our examination of Cyril's use of Πιστός. For more information on the progress of names from "catechumens" to "believers" and through to "Christians" see Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church,* 474-475.

[610] *Catech*.18.34.

[611] See Mystagogy 3.5, where it is in the chrism that the name "Christian" is fully granted. McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 2, 172, ff13; and Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church,* 474, who share this view.

[612] *Catech*.1.4.

[613] *Catech*. 12.15 [ἵνα ἡ ἀνθρωπότης ἡ ἁμαρτωλὸς θεοῦ γένηται κοινωνός] What Cyril is teaching here is not an indication of what has already happened, but what will have happened once the catechumen can rightly be called a 'Christian' following the baptismal ceremony.

[614] *Mystagogy* 2.3.

[615] The initiatory anointing serving an exorcising role was again common in the period, with the *Apostolic Traditions*, xxi.10. even indicating it as the exclusive function of this early anointing.

Thirdly, and somewhat similarly, the oil "put to route all the invisible forces of the evil one."[616] With the powers of the enemy over the baptisand broken, his forces routed, the enemy and his legions were put to flight. With Satan and his forces routed the oil could perform one last and long anticipated function; it "burned and purged away the traces of sin"[617]. Where the putting off of the old cloak or old man relates to the external, behavioral, and volitional aspect of sin, this purging is internal and serves to address some of the consequences sin had on man's body and soul. This is not simply the forgiveness of former wrongdoing, but the actual destruction and exorcism of that wrongdoing. Sin is not just forgotten, it is destroyed. Franz Josef Dölger observes that this exorcising function of pre-baptismal anointing may have originated as a reflection of the belief that the unbaptised were morally both sick and possessed and required exorcising before entering the waters of baptism.[618] Cyril's teaching here would agree with Dölger's assessment. With the air of a doctor cleansing a wound, Cyril indicates that this anointing purges the sickness of sin that has so thoroughly infected man's body and soul.

This notion of purging as a substantive alteration to man's make up fits well with Cyril's approach to baptism as a death of the old self and the birth of the new self. The old man, along with all of his sin, is put to death. Then, being born again, he is free not merely from the consequences of the sins of his former life, but from the very sins themselves. The sins prior to baptism do not belong to him, but to the old man who is now dead. In quoting Romans 6:22, "But now set free from sin and become slave to God, you have your fruit unto sanctification, and as your end, life everlasting."[619], at the close of the *Catechism*, I believe it is this sense of purging that Cyril has in mind. Man as sanctified through baptism is free from all his former sin. He is no longer burdened by them, no longer accountable for them, not subject to them any longer. Man is now fee to be a servant of God working goodness, in likeness to his creator and savior, as he awaits the eternal life to come. However, as we will see, the likeness that man lost is more than merely restored in his baptism, it is surpassed as man comes to participate in the divine identity itself.[620]

---

[616] *Mystagogy* 2.3.

[617] *Mystagogy* 2.3.

[618] Franz Josef Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual,* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1909), 137-159.

[619] *Catech*. 18.30.

[620] *Catech*. 12.15, "that sinful human nature might be made partaker of God." [ἵνα ἡ ἀνθρωπότης ἡ ἁμαρτωλὸς θεοῦ γένηται κοινωνός]. See also final section of this chapter beginning p.142 for summary of the restoration of the likeness of God in man.

Entering the Water
Baptism as Burial

With the anointing oil still dripping from head to toe, the baptisand was "conducted to the sacred pool of Divine Baptism."[621] Cyril's introduction of the baptism itself is so simple it sneaks up on the modern reader and catches them by surprise. So expectant are we that the submersion will be the ultimate moment of transformation, that Cyril's almost off-hand introduction of this step can be jarring. Appropriately, this quick turn from the anointing to the baptism should not be ignored. Germane to our ongoing discussion as to whether Cyril approached "baptism" as a metonymy for the entirety of the process of baptism from beginning to end, or as simply the submersion itself, this unadorned or embellished transition to the water would seem to point to the former.[622] Were 'baptism' to refer just to submersion, it is likely Cyril would have given this movement to the water more attention as this would have been the long awaited and prepared for moment. Instead, we see Cyril simply slide into the water, as it were, without making much in the way of ripples. Here we see Cyril approaching the water and submersion as yet another part of a broader baptismal process.

Still, the distinct features of Cyril's teaching on the particularities of baptism bear analysis. Functionally there were two main components to the baptism, a confession and three successive submersions. Upon entering the water each baptisand was asked whether they "believed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."[623] Upon having assented to this confession of faith the baptisand "dipped thrice under the water and thrice rose."[624] And that is it. Cyril provides no further description of the submersions. Various questions have been raised here regarding who it is who ministers this sacrament. Was it a Presbyter, a Deacon,[625] or did the candidates dip themselves?[626] Cyril gives no indication here in the *Mystagogy*. Obviously this wasn't a problem for those to whom he was

---

[621] *Mystagogy* 2.4.

[622] It is for this reason, amongst others, that Lamp concludes that Cyril, when speaking of 'Baptism' is speaking of the entirety of the undertaking, not merely the submersion. G.W.H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit*, 2nd ed., (London: SPCK, 1967), 238, 240.

[623] *Mystagogy* 2.4.

[624] *Mystagogy* 2.4. Early baptismal practice have proved hard to pin down. Architectural studies of various early baptisteries and mosaics of the practice seem to indicate that the water was often only knee (or slightly higher) deep and that the baptisand either bowed forward into the water or had water poured over them. J.G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of* Baptism, (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1962), 25-26; Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites*, 24-27. Anita Stauffer, *On Baptismal Fonts: Ancient and Modern*, (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2010). Cyril's submersion was, however, likely complete as Cyril indicates that during the submersion the baptisand "saw nothing, but coming up found yourselves in the day." *Mystagogy 2.4.*

[625] Or Deaconess in the case of female baptisands.

[626] Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 110-149, argues that the baptisands dipped themselves in the water and were not submerged by another. Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church,* 479, disagrees with Doval, suggesting that the former's reading is an "overinterpretation" of the proceedings.

addressing as they had just been through the waters and would not have required such a reminder, but it has proved a point of contention for some modern scholars.[627] Whatever the case, the baptisand was wholly submerged three times under the waters. Whether this was with the assistance of a minister or not, we cannot know from the insights afforded us in the *Mystagogy*.

The primary emphasis Cyril places on the submersion again relates to imitation of Christ. Each of the submersions reflects one of the days Christ was in the tomb,[628] and each time the baptisand rose from the water represented the arrival of a new day.[629] Thus after three submersions the baptised rose as with Christ on the morning of the third day. Day-by-day, submersion-by-submersion the baptisand is imitating Christ's progress through death so that, with Christ, he might rise in newness of life. It is in this train of thinking that Cyril calls the water both "your grave and your mother"[630], noting that in this sense "your death coincided with your birth."[631] For Cyril, the primary power of baptism comes less from the sacramental quality of the water, and more from the symbolic rite of the imitation of Jesus.

Cyril then pauses, seemingly aware that the power and effect of this imitation of Christ's death may not be sitting comfortably or clearly with his listeners. His explanation of the relationship between Christ's suffering and death, and the way this reality comes to bear on the symbolic imitation the baptisands participated in is worth quoting directly as it is in this confluence of reality and symbol that salvation is wrought.

> The strange, the extraordinary, thing is that we did not really die, nor were really buried or really crucified: nor did we really rise again: this was figurative and symbolic [ἀλλ' ἐν εἰκόνι ἡ μίμησις]; yet our salvation was real. Christ's crucifixion was real, His burial was real, and His resurrection was real; and all these He has freely made ours, that by sharing His sufferings in a symbolic enactment we may really and truly gain salvation. Oh, too generous love! Christ received the nails in His immaculate hands and feet; Christ received felt the pain: and on me without pain or labor, through the fellowship of His pain, He freely bestows salvation.[632]

---

[627] McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 2, 164, ff13.

[628] Cyril doesn't describe the shape of the baptismal font, however Ambrose notes of the font in Milan that it was tomb-shaped, which is likely to say rectangular. Ambrose, *De Sacramentis, 2.20.*

[629] Interestingly this is in marked contrast to Cyril's contemporaries who approached the threefold submersion as relating to the three persons of the Trinity. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites*, 25. See also Ferguson, *Baptism in The Early Church*, 479.

[630] *Mystagogy* 2.4.

[631] *Mystagogy* 2.4.

[632] *Mystagogy* 2.5.

Now we can see why it was important for Cyril to establish in the *Catechism* how Christ sanctified baptism with His own baptism in the Jordan.[633] By being baptised himself, Christ made baptism the means by which men and women might participate in his suffering and death, without themselves having to suffer and die. This is the wonder and purpose of baptism, that by participating symbolically in the life and death of Christ, formerly sinful men and women might gain the reality of salvation.

> For in the case of Christ death was real, His soul being really separated from his Body. His burial, too, was real, for His sacred Body was wrapped in clean linen. In His case it all really happened. But in your case there was only a likeness [ὁμοίωμα] of death and suffering, whereas of salvation there was no likeness [ὁμοίωμα], but the reality [ἀλήθεια].[634]

There were, however, some notable differences between John's baptism of Christ and the Baptism undergone by Cyril's baptisands. Significantly, it was in that difference that some of the asymmetry seen between the likeness and reality we have seen here, would be reconciled. Of particular importance was the role the Holy Spirit would play in drawing together man and God, symbol and reality. One is baptised into the death of Christ in symbol so that he may share in the reality of Christ's resurrection.

Baptism and the Holy Spirit

In a brief paragraph two thirds of the way through the instruction, Cyril provides a cursory explanation of how this present baptism differs from the one John offered in the New Testament. Part of the reason for the brevity of this explanation may well be that the topic was covered in the *Catechism*.[635] However, here Cyril notes two important features that John's baptism lacked. While both baptisms are for the remission of sin, this post-passion-post-Pentecost baptism "procures [πρόξενον][636] for us the gift of the Holy Spirit," as well as the "antitype [ἀντίτυπον] of the passion of Christ."[637] Cyril here picks up on teaching he began in the *Catechism*. There he taught that John's baptism was of water for the remission of sins, while this new baptism would be of water, the Holy Spirit, and fire, for remission of sins and adoption as sons or daughters of God.[638]

Regarding the remission of sin, it is worth following the progress of sin through the

---

[633] *Catech*. 3.11. "Jesus sanctified baptism when He Himself was baptized… Not that He was baptized to receive the remission of sins – for He was without sin – but being sinless, He was nevertheless baptized, that He might impart grace and dignity to those who receive the sacrament."

[634] *Mystagogy* 2.7 We return to the question of resorted likeness to God in the conclusion of this chapter.

[635] *Catech*. 3.7-8.

[636] See section beginning p.136.

[637] Both *Mystagogy* 2.6.

[638] *Catech*. 3.9 .

baptismal ritual. In the Antechamber it is renounced along with its author, Satan.[639] In the inner chamber sin is burned (καῖον) and purged (ἀποκαθαίρειν) by the exorcised oil, while the powers of the one who inspires sin are put to flight.[640] In the waters, the renounced, burnt, dross of sin is washed away, let go, or dismissed (ἀφέσεως).[641] Cyril gives an appealing, imaginable, and rational picture of sin being rejected, incinerated, and then swept or washed away.

Interestingly, within the second *Mystagogy* as Cyril discourses on the act of submersion, he has little to say about the Holy Spirit and nothing to say about fire. In this confusion emerges yet another argument in favour of Cyril's use of the term 'baptism' in the *Catechism* to refer to the entirety of the ritual and not just the submersion. Just before the waters are entered as the baptisand is anointed Cyril notes that one of the properties of the oil is to burn (καῖον) and purge (ἀποκαθαίρω) away sin.[642] Later, in the third *Mystagogy*, this burning fiery baptismal theme will again come into play in the second anointing, the chrism. But in the water itself there is no fire.

So then, the primary purpose of baptismal submersion is the continued reenacting and imitation of Christ's passion so that the baptisand might share in Christ's own death. In this union, the baptisand is carried through death, as it were, within the vessel of Christ, so that the judgment of death effected and executed on Christ might also apply to them. Thus Christ died in reality so that men and women might share his death in symbol, instead of having to suffer their own judgment and death in reality.[643] Despite the apparent focus on sharing in Christ's death,[644] this mimetic undertaking culminates not in that death, but in the resurrection. Man may share in the likeness of Christ's death, but through that imitation receives the reality of Christ's resurrection.[645] The water is man's grave only so that it may also be his mother so that, in turn he might call God "Father".

Baptism and Adoption

This returns us neatly to the theme of fatherhood in Cyril's teaching and the change that happened in man's status as a son of God following the fall. While the key text here

---

[639] *Mystagogy* 1.5.
[640] *Mystagogy* 2.3.
[641] *Mystagogy* 2.6.
[642] *Mystagogy* 2.3. "καῖον" is clearly related to fire, but "ἀποκαθαίρω" can also carry the sense of being purified through smelting, a process requiring fire and great heat.
[643] *Mystagogy* 2.5
[644] Something Walker capitalizes on to make his point that Cyril is more interested in the tomb being the locus of Christs death than the place of the resurrection. Walker *Holy City*, *Holy Places?*, 257-258.
[645] *Mystagogy* 2.7

occurs in *Mystagogy* 3 it is worth unpacking presently. Upon being baptised man may, "call Him father, not as having been by nature begotten of Our Father which is in heaven; but having been transferred from servitude to sonship by the grace of the Father..."[646] This transfer is that of sonship-by-submission, a relation change. Man as sanctified is no longer a son of the devil and the devil is not his father. Man has been transferred and restored to the sonship-by-submission that was forfeited in his Fall, and God again is his Father. In the previous chapter it was noted that man, by participating in Christ, regained the likeness of God. This participation, in turn, has consequences for man's sonship. As man shares in the likeness and identity of Christ, his sonship-by-submission is a sonship of likeness to God. This is in opposition to man's likeness to the devil when his sonship was in submission to that serpent. Cyril does note, however, that this sonship is not a sonship-of-nature, as man was not begotten of God.

Indeed, shortly after declaring that man has been transferred to sonship, Cyril observes that God is Father of man in an improper sense, as man does not possess this sonship-by nature. "But whereas God, as we have said, is in an improper sense the Father of men, of Christ alone he is the Father by nature, not by adoption: and the Father of men in time, but of Christ before all time..."[647] However, despite man not having this nature of one begotten of God, Cyril's understanding of man's advancement does not end with him being just son-by-creation, and son-by-submission, but now also son-by-adoption.

As man is baptised, he is baptised into Christ, who was not created but had from the very beginning sonship-by-nature.[648] In this union of man to Christ through baptism, man comes to participate in the sonship-by-nature of Christ. This nature of sonship cannot be man's apart from Christ. It is exclusively limited to those grafted into the holy vine. In lecture 3, while preparing his candidates for the catechism ahead, Cyril encourages them to ready their souls for this nature of adoption.

> Therefore, prepare the vessel of your soul that you may become a son of God, and joint heir, indeed, of God, and joint heir with Christ. That is, if you are preparing actually to receive; if in faith you are coming forward to be confirmed in faith; if of set purpose you are putting off the old man.[649]

This nature of adoption advances man beyond his former sonship-by-creation and submission. Christ is heir not by creation, but by nature and submission. As joint-heir with Christ, man is

---

[646] *Catech*. 7.7.

[647] *Catech.* 7.10

[648] For further reading on Cyril's understanding of the relationship between the Father and Son see, A.A. Stephenson's introduction to Cyril's theology which engages nicely with this subject. McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 1*,* 34-60.

[649] *Catech.* 3.15.

grafted into that nature and submission so that he attains in Christ that which he had at no point prior to baptism: he is heir with the one who is son-by-nature.

It is interesting to note that Cyril locates the adoption as a son of God as occurring within the vessel of the soul. Man must put off his old self, and prepare his soul to receive the union with Christ that makes him joint-heir and a son of God. This adoption into sonship-by-nature, which occurs at man's deepest point radiates its effect out on man's body and soul. As the soul acts through the body, so too will this union with Christ be carried out by man's soul and then his body. Through baptism man's soul, body, and actions are altered by virtue of the sonship he shares with Christ at his core. By adoption, man is image and likeness and partaker of God. Cyril even provides a poignant sign of this putting off and putting on of the new self when the baptismal recipient later received the chrism.[650]

Post-Baptismal Ritual
Chrism

In the third *Mystagogy* Cyril's focus shifts to the chrism. Cyril's record and interpretation of this concluding anointing has served as a welcome resource to patristic scholars, as his is the most comprehensive depiction of the undertaking in the Church Fathers.[651] The practice is a significant one both for the baptisand in terms of what is accomplished in the anointing as well as the striking symbolism the act will have carried for those attentive to Cyril's teaching in the *Catechism*. The chrism has also proved a point of contention for those looking to ascertain when the Spirit is given within the wider baptismal ceremony. Is chrism the crowning moment of the baptism, or, as McCauley and Stephenson suggest, is it merely "like a dash of an additive in a fuel tank"?[652] It is to these questions, and Cyril's answers that we will now turn.

Having come up out of the water the baptisand was clothed in a new white robe,[653] anointed with oil on the forehead, the ears, the nose, and the breast.[654] While Cyril provides the reason for anointing these particular organs in the *Mystagogy*, he gives no indication as to

---

[650] See discussion beginning p.139.
[651] Ferguson, *Baptism in The Early Church*, 479.
[652] McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. *2,* 184; & Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites, 176*. McCauley and Stephenson do acknowledge that the chrism does more than merely top off what baptism has accomplished but are at pains throughout their translation to show, with impressive flexibility, how Cyril's text can be stretched to supporting their view that submersion is the far more important act.
[653] *Mystagogy* 4.8.
[654] *Mystagogy* 3.4. Cyril provides only this brief outline of the actions undertaken during the ritual. Beyond this simple description of events the remainder of the instruction is on the reason for and effect of the chrism.

whether, at the time, the anointing was accompanied by an explanation or declaration from the baptismal minister. Again, we may assume that his audience did not need a complete recital of the ritual they had just three days before passed through. Unfortunately, this leaves us having to guess at and fill in the blanks. What Cyril does provide is an explanation for what the chrism was, as well as four effects it imparted: anointing with the Holy Spirit, imitation of Christ's baptism in the Jordan, preparation and protection for the fight against Satan, and the imparting of the title and name 'Christian'.[655]

At its most basic the chrism was another instance in the imitations of Christ replete throughout the baptismal ritual. However, the Passion chronology that had been followed so far in the baptism was here abandoned as the baptisands were cast back to the moments when Christ himself emerged from the Jordan, following his own baptism at the hands of John. In that instance the Holy Spirit had descended on Christ, and he was publically declared the Son of God.[656] "Similarly for you," Cyril tells his audience, "after you had ascended from the sacred stream, there was an anointing with chrism, the antitype of that with which Christ was anointed,[657] that is, of the Holy Spirit." Cyril then works to establish, based largely on Psalm 45.7, that the "oil of gladness" with which God anoints God is indeed the Holy Spirit, and that this passage is enacted in the descent of the Holy Spirit onto Christ after his baptism. The chrism also carried with it a link to Jesus' messianic anointing.[658] Not only was man in baptism partaking the life and death and resurrection of Christ, but he was also participating, through chrism, in Jesus' own messianic anointing.[659]

Cyril also explains how the ointment applied in chrism is not merely ointment, But how, like Eucharistic bread after the invocation of the Holy Spirit it is "no longer ordinary bread, but the Body of Christ."[660] So too the holy oil of chrism "is no longer simple or common oil, but becomes the gracious gift of Christ and the Holy Spirit, producing the advent [presence?] of His deity."[661] This invocation of the Holy Spirit made the oil fit to impart the divine nature of Christ, something it was otherwise incapable of doing. However, the passage

---

[655] These four functions of Cyril's chrism are also noted and examined by Baby Varghese, *Les onctions baptismales dans la tradition syrienne*, Corpus Scriptorium Christianorum Orientalium 512, (Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 75-77; and Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 110-149.

[656] Matthew 3:16-17; Mark 1:10-11; Luke 3:22.

[657] McCauley and Stephenson note the strong connection here to Book 1, chapter 6 of Clement of Alexandria's Paedagogus. *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 2, 169, ff12.

[658] *Mystagogy* 3.1 "After you had come up from the pool of the sacred streams there was an anointing [χρίσμα], the antitype of that with which Christ was anointed."

[659] While Cyril doesn't draw out this implication directly, it is not a stretch to see it implicit in his Baptismal rite. For more on this see G. Winkler, "The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing and Its implications," Worship, 52 (1978): 24-45. As well as Edward S.J. Yarnold, "Initiation: Sacrament and Experience," *The Liturgy Reshaped*, ed. K. Stevenson (London: SPCK, 1982), 17-31.

[660] *Mystagogy* 3.3

[661] *ibid.*

in question here has proved divisive as it plays into the question of just when the Holy Spirit is granted within the baptismal ritual.

ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔτι ψιλόν, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις κοινὸν μετ' ἐπικλήσεως, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου παρουσίας τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἐνεργητικὸν γινόμενον. [662]

The debate around this passage is heated, as at stake is the primacy of either baptism or chrism. In which is the divine nature of Christ imparted to the baptisand? Gifford[663] and more recently Brian Spinks[664] argue that this occurs here in the chrism, while McCauley and Stephenson suggest that the chrism merely confirms that which was accomplished in the water.[665] It appears to me that Gifford and Spinks are correct here. Cyril is fairly clear in the second *Mystagogy* as to just what is accomplished in and by the baptismal waters. The priority, as we have seen, is union with Christ's death. Furthermore, Cyril's, brief study of Christ's baptism in the Synoptic gospels clearly seeks to emphasis the Spirits imputation not *in* but *following* the baptismal submersion.[666]

Notably it is also after the baptism, concurrent with the Spirit's resting upon Christ, that God publically announces Christ's sonship. While Cyril is unambiguously clear in the *Catechism* that Christ's sonship is both natural and eternal, the public announcement of that sonship to man does have a temporal and physical location on the banks of the Jordan sometime during the third decade of the first century. Given Cyril's aggressive observance of chronological mimesis in the first and second *Mystagogy*, it follows here that in relation to Christ's baptism he would deploy a similar order of operations. This is made patently clear in the third *Mystagogy* when Cyril simply states that "similarly for you,[667] after you had ascended from the sacred streams, there was an anointing with chrism, the antitype of that with which Christ was anointed, that is, the Holy Spirit." Finally, if we approach this debate

---

[662] *Mystagogy* 3.3. "Beware of supposing that this ointment is mere ointment. Just as after the invocation of the Holy Spirit the Eucharistic bread is no longer ordinary bread, but the Body of Christ, so this holy oil, in conjunction with the invocation, is no longer simple or common oil, but becomes the gracious gift of Christ and the Holy Spirit, producing the advent of His deity."

[663] Edward Hamilton Gifford, "St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Gregory Nazianzen," *NPNF* 7, 1894.

[664] Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals,* 41-42.

[665] In a page long note (and again in a more extended interlude between Mystagogy 3 and 4) in their translation of the Mystagogical lectures, McCauley & Stephenson suggest that of the two theories - C (chrism) and B (baptism) - B is the locus for the imparting of the Holy Spirit. Their argument is worth consideration for those looking to examine this theological and practical question for themselves and their own belief. But those looking to understand what Cyril believed and taught would do better to look elsewhere as the argument relies more on scriptural interpretation than on a careful reading of Cyril's Mystagogy. McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 2, 184; See also, Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites,*160, 174-180.

[666] *Catech*. 3.11

[667] Similar that is, to how Christ after being baptised in the Jordan, came up from the waters and had the Holy Spirit descend on him.

bearing in mind the conclusion we have come to that Cyril saw the whole baptismal ritual from start to finish, not just the submersion, as appropriately summed in "baptism" than the issue of exactly at what moment he thought the Spirit was imparted or adoption obtained takes on rather less significance.[668] Certainly the question is a compelling one, but the answer may be simpler than many commentators seeking to justify their own liturgical positions are willing to admit. One could not pass through only part of the ritual and avoid the others. The zipper is not zipped till it is zipped all the way. So whether it is with tooth 5 or tooth 10 that a certain point was reached, everyone came out the other end of the baptistery, free from sin, born-again, adopted, instilled with the Spirit, and united with Christ.

Putting aside these questions of nomenclature, we are still able to examine the inner workings of the chrism, and the enterprise is not a fruitless one as it is within these workings that baptism is completed and the Christian prepared for the Eucharist. So what does Cyril say is accomplished in the Chrism?

As noted earlier the chrism is comprised of 4 anointing's, the forehead, the ears, the nose, and the breast. Cyril provides both the reason and impact of each of these anointings. The forehead is anointed to rid the baptised of the sign and shame of Cain's transgression inflicted on him in Genesis 4:11-16. The ears are anointed that the baptisands might hear and understand the mysteries, something that proves functionally true as it is only after this anointing that they have the mysteries explained to them in the *Mystagogy*. The nose is anointed that in smelling the divine oil they might be able to say "we are the incense offered by Christ to God, in the case of those who are on the way to salvation."[669] And the breast as a sign of putting on the breastplate of justice so, like Christ in the desert after his baptism, they may be able to "withstand the wiles of the Devil."[670]

A final effect of the Chrism is that, as we noted above, the baptisand might now be called a "Christian." However, the significance of this naming may seem questionable given that Cyril calls the catechumens "Christians" in catechism. Potentially aware of this confusion Cyril revisits the significance of the name several paragraphs later in *Mystagogy* 3. He clarifies that while the baptisands may have been called "Christian" as catechumens they

---

[668] Ferguson, *Baptism in The Early Church*, 480, takes a similar stance on this question noting that Cyril "seems not to have been too concerned with the precise moment but viewed the whole baptismal experience as a unity."

[669] *Mystagogy* 3.4 quoting 2 Corinthians 2.15. Note also that Cyril uses this passage to remind the baptisands that the journey to salvation is just beginning.

[670] *Mystagogy* 3.4 quoting Ephesians 6.14, 11.

were not, strictly speaking entitled to that name, but were called so in anticipation of their imminent new birth:

> Once privileged to receive the holy Chrism, you are called Christians and have a name that bespeaks your new birth. Before admission to Baptism and the grace of the Holy Spirit you were not strictly entitled to this name but were like people on the way towards being Christians.[671]

Now, finally, after all the instruction, preparation, exorcisms, practice, and exhortations, after anointing, submersion, and chrism those who had sought entry to the community of Christ and the restoration to fellowship with God, were Christians. Yet this naming was not the end of the process, rather it enabled the Christian to take part in the climax of the participation with Christ that baptism had been enacting, the eating and drink of Christ himself in the Eucharist. But before that was to happen, the still naked Christian, needed to put some clothes on. However, before we turn to this re-clothing, we must address a significant scholarly debate that has emerged out of Cyril's instruction on the Chrism: When, precisely was the Holy Spirit granted in the ritual of Baptism?

Imparting The Holy Spirit: A Question of Timing

We initially encountered this issue of timing in our earlier examination of *Mystagogy* 2.6 when Cyril says that baptism both washes away sin *and* procures for the baptisand the Holy Spirit. The passage has proved controversial for its use of 'πρόξενον' (procures) and the implications various interpretations of the word have on our understanding of when Cyril thought the Holy Spirit was imparted on the baptisands. This, again, is the passage in question:

> ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδότων ἡμῶν, ὅτι ὡς ἔστιν ἁμαρτημάτων καθαρτήριον καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου δωρεᾶς πρόξενον, οὕτω καὶ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων ἀντίτυπον.[672]

While this passage and Cyril's use of πρόξενον cannot in themselves settle the dispute as to whether the Spirit is granted in the waters or in the chrism it is striking that Cyril chooses his words as carefully here as he does. Cyril could have capitalized on the familiar language of Acts 5:32 "the Holy Spirit, whom God has given [ἔδωκεν]", or Romans 5:5, "the Holy Spirit, who has been given [δοθέντος] to us." Helpfully, Cyril uses the same word three times in the *Catechism*. In 12.13, Cyril asks, "If to hear the voice of God speaking is a cause of death, how will the sight of God not [πρόξενον] death."[673] In 12.14 he rhetorically asks if the catechumens would want Christ, "who came for our salvation to become a πρόξενον of

---

[671] *Mystagogy* 3.5.

[672] *Mystagogy* 2.6 "Now we know full well that baptism not only washes away our sins and ***procures [conveys]*** for us the gift of the holy Spirit, but is also the antitype of the passion of Christ." Emphasis here is my own.

[673] *Catech.* 12.13.

destruction". In 17.7 on the Holy Spirit Cyril is recounting story from Luke 1:67-79 in which Zachariah, having been filled with the Holy Spirit prophesied in song, "how many blessings the Only-begotten would usher in…"["ὅσων τε ἀγαθῶν πρόξενός ἐστιν ὁ μονογενής"][674]. Cyril seems to use πρόξενός as a sort of agent that brings about something else, or prepares the way. Thus in the *Mystagogy* it is not so much that baptism gives the Holy Spirit but that baptism is the agent who brings about the giving of the Holy Spirit, in this case in the Chrism. One cannot receive Chrism without having passed through baptism, so it is that baptism enables man to receive the gift of the Spirit in Chrism as opposed to giving the man the Spirit itself.

Another significant component in this question of just what the Holy Spirit is doing and when he is at work is raised by Cyril's use of the word σφραγίς, or 'seal'. Throughout both the *Catechism* and the *Mystagogy* Cyril speaks of the "seal of salvation… the wondrous seal… this spiritual and saving seal"[675] Both the Spirit and the invocation of grace are said to "seal the soul" in *Catechism* 3.3,4, and later Cyril suggest that one unworthy of the grace will not receive the "seal by water"[676] implying that the seal is granted in the water. In *Catechism* 4 it is those who have repented and by baptism been freed from sin who "received the seal by the Holy Spirit"[677] and it is the Spirit who at "the season of baptism seals the soul." [678] Furthermore, it is at this seal that both evil spirits and Satan will tremble[679] and it is by this seal that evil spirits have been cast out.[680] In the *Mystagogy*, this seal is reckoned to the oil which anoints the forehead,[681] which Ferguson ties to the signing of the cross on the brow that Cyril mentions in the *Catechism*.[682] Cyril links the seal with faith, circumcision, and baptism in *Catechism* 5.6 when he observes that "following upon our faith we, like Abraham receive the Spiritual seal, being circumcised by the Holy Spirit through the washing,[683] not in the foreskin of the body but in the heart."[684] Doval notes in Cyril four uses of σφράγίς.[685] First, Cyril uses it to indicate the sealing by the Spirit that occurs in baptism. Second, sealing both exorcises evil spirits and is a tangible apotropaic sign to those same spirits. Third, sealing serves as a mark of possession, that the bearer of the seal belongs to God.

---

[674] *Catech*.17.7 "ὅσων τε ἀγαθῶν πρόξενός ἐστιν ὁ μονογενής"
[675] *Catech*.1.3.
[676] *Catech*.3.4.
[677] *Catech*.4.32.
[678] *Catech*.4.16 also 16.24 "he seals the soul in baptism."
[679] *Catech*.17.35, 36.
[680] *Catech*.17.36.
[681] *Mystagogy* 4.7.
[682] Ferguson, *Baptism in The Early Church*, 486, referencing *Catech*.13.36.
[683] Through the washing - "δία τοῦ λουτροῦ".
[684] *Catech*. 5.6 quoting Jer. 4:4; Col. 2:11-12.
[685] Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 130-135.

Collated, the impact of Cyril's many references to this sealing action indicate that the Sprit was at work throughout the baptismal ritual; from the pre-baptismal anointing, to the waters, and again in the Chrism. It is important then, given this multi-tasking, that we distinguish between the work the Holy Spirit is doing in Baptism and the moment the Holy Spirit is granted in baptism.

While this question of apportioning effect to the various components of the baptism has been a significant one, as has the debate over the timing of the imparting of the Spirit, it is worth us placing these debates within Cyril's own context and considering whether he is working with the same question we are. It is important we remember that Cyril is not speaking to scholars and theologians centuries and millennia in the future, but to men and women who have just passed through the ritual he is explaining. It is worth remembering this particularly in the midst of scholarly debates seeking to apportion and assign certain divine actions to the various elements of the baptism. Yes, the *Mystagogy* affords us the opportunity to examine these relationships, but we must be cautious not to seek interpretations that justify later liturgical or ecclesial practices or to ask of Cyril questions he is not attempting to answer.

For example, the question of whether the Spirit is given in the water or in the chrism[686], or alternatively of when exactly the adoption occurs, are compelling questions in their own right and do likely have definitive answers within the text. However, these do not appear to be questions Cyril is grappling with or seeking to answer. The Christians he is instructing have just passed through the entirety of the baptismal ritual, and Cyril can afford a little flexibility as he explains the significance of the rites to them. Modern scholars looking to justify the distinction between baptism and confirmation[687] would best be served by looking elsewhere as Cyril clearly approaches the two as part and parcel of a single event. Any attempt to meaningfully separate the anointing from the baptism from the chrism in Cyril's order of baptismal service should be soundly rebuffed as anachronistic. For Cyril they were inseparable.

Here Cyril's baptism might then be likened to a mechanical watch, where many parts function together in service of a single end. While the parts may be individually analyzed and each part must work in the correct order, to separate the parts and suggest that you still have a

---

[686] Or even in the laying on of hands, a practice not mentioned in the *Mystagogy* but raised in passing in *Catechism* 16.26. However, both Ferguson, *Baptism in The Early Church,* 481, Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue,* 143-145, take this reference to the laying on of hands to be referring to the hands of the baptiser on the head of the baptisand during the immersion.
[687] McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. *2,* 160, 174-180.

working watch would be inconceivable. Likewise, to seek the preeminence of any one part over the others would be equally foolish, as without the seemingly lesser obscured components, the watch hands would not function and time would not be told. In the same way, while we can analyze the baptism's components, we must remember the purpose of the whole as we work to differentiate the parts.[688] Returning to the third *Mystagogy*, Cyril provides just such a reminder in his opening paragraph where he begins with a declaration, summarising the current state of the Christians, three days after their baptism. It is a declaration of what happened, holistically, in their baptism, not just in the water, or in chrism.

> Baptized into Christ" and "Clothed with Christ,"[689] you have been shaped to the likeness of the Son of God.[690] For God, in "predestining us to be adopted as his sons,"[691] has "conformed us to the body of the glory" of Christ.[692] As "partakers of Christ,"[693] therefore, you are rightly called "Christs," i.e, "anointed ones": it was of you that God said: "Touch not my Christs."[694] Now you became Christs by receiving the antitype of the Holy Spirit; everything has been wrought in you "likewise" because you are likenesses of Christ.[695]

Jumping quickly from Galatians to Romans to Ephesians, Philippians, Hebrews, and Psalms, Cyril knits together the scriptures to announce the nature of the new birth of the baptisands. See here how it is only when "everything has been wrought" after having received the antitype of the Spirit in chrism, that they became Christ's and indeed became "Christs." The work of baptism is to render men and women "Christian": those who have been shaped into the likeness of the Son of God so that they might share life and life eternal with Him. This work may be completed in the chrism, but it is the work of the whole baptismal ritual from renunciation to final anointing that makes this possible. Just as the work of the watch is complete with the movement of the hands, it is the work of the whole that enables that end.

A New Robe

Following the chrism, the baptisand yet naked, received a new white garment with which to cover themselves. The exact timing of the granting of this new robe is not entirely clear in the *Mystagogy* as Cyril does not address it until lecture 4, and then only in passing.[696] It does appear though that the robe was given after the final anointing. The practice itself is

---

[688] Another option is that the Spirit is at work in different ways at different points in the ritual, though Ferguson does not explore this suggestion. See Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 484.
[689] Galatians 3:27.
[690] Romans 8:29.
[691] Ephesians 1:5.
[692] Philippians 3:21.
[693] Hebrews 3:14.
[694] Psalm 104:15 (Septuagint).
[695] *Mystagogy* 3.1.
[696] *Mystagogy* 4.8.

also difficult to pin down and Cyril appears to be the first to reference it.[697] Whether he originated the practice is unknown. It is, however, a striking symbol and fulfillment of a deeply important and recurring theme in Cyril's teaching.

Here, finally, is the fruition of the 'putting off' and 'putting on' so often spoken of in the *Catechism* and to which we devoted much attention in our previous chapter.[698] Having discarded the old robes in advance of the submersion, the baptisand, in receiving these long-promised pure robes, was able to connect their new birth with their new self. They had been shorn of their sin and their sullied old robes, and now, forgiven, cleansed, reborn, they received a physical sign of their newness in Christ.

> Now that you have put off your old garments and put on those which are spiritually white, you must go clad in white all your days. I do not, of course, mean that your ordinary clothes must always be white, but that you may be clad in those true, spiritual garments which are white and shining. Then you will be able to say with the blessed Isaia: "Let my soul rejoice in the Lord; for he has dressed me in the garments of salvation, and with the robe of gladness he has clothed me.[699]

These new robes granted to the baptisand carried a number of symbolic meanings. John Farrell, in his dissertation *The Garment of Immortality*[700] suggests three such interpretations of the new robe and I am inclined to agree with him. First, the robe signified the restoration of the condition that Adam lost in the Fall. This is a sign of the purity that was abandoned in Eden. Second, the robe indicates the present attitude of the wearer and a sort of promise for future conduct. This is an outward sign of the virtuous behaviour with which the Christian will now act. Third, the robe points forward to the resurrection of the dead and the immortality that follows. This is the shining garment in which the Christian will enter eternity. Further emphasizing their significance, these robes were likely worn throughout the Easter week.[701]

Again, with these robes, we can see how Cyril's crafting of the *Catechism* and his framing of the baptism serve to provide a nexus in which converts might not just understand in theory the theology of conversion, but might see and touch and participate in that process.

---

[697] See Ferguson, *Baptism in The Early Church*, 481.While Cyril's is the earliest reference to this practice of granting the baptisand a new robe it can be found subsequently and with reasonable proximity in: Theodore, *Baptismal Homilies* 3.26; Chrysostom, *ACW* 4.3 & 18; Ambrose, *De mysteriis* 34, & *De Sacramentis, 4.5-6; 5.14.* And the practice would be common place by the end of the fourth century.

[698] See chapter 2 beginning p.111.

[699] *Mystagogy* 4.8 quoting Isaiah 61.10.

[700] John Farrell, *The Garment of Immortality: A concept and Symbol in Christian Baptism*, (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1974), 282-303.

[701] McCauley and Stephenson, *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem,* vol. 2, 184; Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites,* 34.

One can imagine the baptisand putting off their robe and thinking, "Yes, this is it, I am putting off my old garment as the bishop instructed me too." And then upon receiving the chrism and being granted this new shining white robe, reflecting, "Ah so this is the new robe, this is the sign of the new man, this is the spotlessness I must endeavor to maintain." Cyril provides a striking way for his congregants to identify what has been wrought within them with a poignant and relevant external sign or indication of that internal work.

As Cyril concludes his discourse on the chrism he finishes with a final call for ongoing perseverance. As we noted in the *Catechism*, Cyril saw the race as beginning at baptism, with all that lead up to that moment serving as preparation and practice. To that end he calls on those before him, exorcised, washed, adopted, united with Christ, and anointed, to "keep [this holy oil of chrism] in you unsullied, without blame, making progress through good works and becoming well-pleasing to "the trail-blazer of our salvation," Christ Jesus".[702] Having trained his athletes, having equipped his troops, Cyril is ready to send these men and women to fight the good fight and run the good race in pursuit of the salvation promised in their savior. However, before Cyril sets these new Christians loose he has two further lectures, one on the Eucharist and the second on the liturgy followed in Sunday services. On the surface these two final instructional messages may not appear immediately prescient to our study, and they have often been overlooked in studies of the catechetical programme, however a brief examination will reveal their integral place in Cyril's framework for conversion. For Cyril's intent was never just to usher these men and women through the baptismal font and into the Book of Life, but to integrate these Christians into a community of worship and service, that would in turn invite and catch others in its social and devotional net.

The Eucharist
Union Manifest

The Eucharistic component of the *Mystagogy* and its relation to baptism has often been overlooked.[703] For Cyril the Eucharistic event that followed the chrism was an essential part of the baptismal and conversion process. It is in the Eucharist that the components of the baptism are tied together into a unified whole and where the march towards union with Christ reaches its completion. We observed in our previous chapter how Cyril approached catechism

---

[702] *Mystagogy* 3.7.

[703] Ferguson entirely ignores the Eucharistic celebrations part in the Baptismal rite beyond noting that following the chrism "They shared in the Eucharist, which is the subject of *Lectures on the Mysteries* 4 and 5." Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 481. Yarnold, however, rightly approaches the Eucharist as part and parcel of the baptismal celebration. Noting, as we have, that it is only once "they receive the Lord's Body for the first time, [that] they become full member of his body, the Church." Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites*, 40.

almost as a season of pre-marriage counseling, preparing the candidates for the fashion of living and a way of thinking that was required of those who would be wedded to God. Within this framework, where baptism served as the marriage ceremony, uniting the two parties, the Eucharist functions as a sort of consummation, where the body and blood of Christ is joined to the body and blood of the one just recently baptised into him.

Additionally, Cyril ties the Eucharistic ritual to the baptism that has preceded it with a number of references to both the chrism and the new robe received upon emerging from the waters. Quoting from Psalm 23:5, he draws parallels between table, cup, and oil with the bread and the wine of Eucharistic meal and the oil of chrism.[704] Later, Cyril draws on Ecclesiastes 9:7-8 noting the bread eaten with joy and the wine drunk with a merry heart speak to the mystical bread and wine of the Eucharist, while the oil poured over the head harkens to the chrism and the garment which is always to be white reflects that granted the baptisand on their emersion from the baptismal font.

Within the preceding Mystagogies union with Christ has been achieved through imitation of Christ's own baptism, passion, death, and resurrection. Cyril toys with the notions of symbol and reality observing that what man does is a symbol of Christ's reality and through that symbolic participation man can share in the reality of Christ's divine Sonship. Leaving the baptismal ceremony there, at the emergence from the baptismal waters (resurrection) and the chrism (imparting of the Spirit as in Christ's baptism), it would be tempting to conclude the ritual over, Cyril however marches on. Where the baptism up until this point has served as a means of uniting the baptisand to the activities of Christ, the Eucharist united the partaker to the very flesh and blood of the Son of God. Eucharist was union consummate.

Unlike the preceding lectures, *Mystagogy* 4 does not elaborate on the practical celebration of the ritual. Cyril saves his explanation on what is said and what is done for the fifth *Mystagogy* where he walks these new Christians through a service of worship.[705] Here in the fourth *Mystagogy* Cyril's focus is myopic: how in partaking in the bread and wine, these new Christians have partaken in the body and blood of Christ.

---

[704] *Mystagogy* 4.7.
[705] *Mystagogy* 5.19-23 Cyril's primary focus here is in instructing the participant on their role in the ritual. How and when they are to approach to receive the Eucharist and with what reverence they should regard the body and blood.

Cyril begins the lecture by observing that when Christ says "this is my body," and "this is my blood,"[706] that he is explicitly saying just that. If Christ himself said the bread was his body and the wine was his blood, "will anyone still dare to doubt?... who will ever waver and say it is not?".[707] Cyril goes on, for the sake of those who may yet doubt, arguing that if Christ could turn water into wine for guests at a wedding, than how much more willing must he be to furnish on those who follow him "the fruition of His own Body and Blood?"[708] It may be tempting to conclude from this that Cyril is suggesting that if water was truly turned to wine then wine might truly be turned to blood. However, Cyril's emphasis here is not on what the wine (or bread) become physically, but rather on what Christ has said they are and the benefit man might accrue from them. He returns several paragraphs later to address those still struggling with the corporeality of the bread and wine, suggesting that even though it may yet appear to the senses like bread and wine, this is matter to be received in faith. "Let faith be your stay. Instead of judging the matter by taste, let faith give you an unwavering confidence that you have been privileged to receive the Body and Blood of Christ."[709]

Cyril approaches the bread and wine in the Eucharist as τύποι (figures) of the reality of Christ's body and blood so that by partaking in the figure man might receive the reality. Cyril seems to want to affirm both a real presence and a symbolic effect of that presence here.

> With perfect confidence, then, we partake as of the Body and Blood of Christ [Ὥστε μετὰ πάσης πληροφορίας ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνομεν Χριστοῦ]. For in the figure [τύπῳ] of bread His Body is given to you, and in the figure [τύπῳ] of wine His blood, that by partaking [μεταλαβὼν] of the Body and Blood of Christ you may become one body and blood with Him. For when His Body and Blood become the tissue of our members, we become Christ-bearers [χριστοφόροι γινόμεθα] and as the blessed Peter said, "partakers of the divine nature."[710]

For Cyril it is deeply important that the bread and wine are received with confidence as Christ's body and blood, even if they present to the senses the affect of food and drink. Here in the Eucharist man does not only partake in the activities of Christ, as he did in the water or in the chrism, but in Christ himself. It is here in the Eucharist that man becomes, within his own body and blood, not merely a follower of Christ, but a partaker in the divine nature itself. That the baptism concludes with the Eucharist leads us neatly into our own conclusion for this chapter. Cyril's soteriology was so clearly built around man's participation in what Christ accomplished on the Cross, in the grave, and in the resurrection, and the ongoing participation in Christ himself through the Eucharist. This was not merely a restoration of that which was

---

[706] *Mystagogy* 4.1 quoting from 1 Cor. 11.23-25, and Matthew 26.26.
[707] *Mystagogy* 4.1.
[708] *Mystagogy* 4.2.
[709] *Mystagogy* 4.6.
[710] *Mystagogy* 4.3. Cyril quoting here from 2 Peter 1:4, "κοινωνοὶ γινόμεθα φύσεως".

lost in the Fall, but an advancement to something much more wonderful. In chapter 2 we observed how in the fall man retained the image of God, but lost his likeness. Now let us note how Cyril frames the journey of baptism not just as the regaining of lost likeness but of advancement to divine participation.

From Lost Likeness to Divine Participation

Where formerly man obscured the likeness of God by his disobedience, and was cast out of paradise for his transgression, now Christ has taken this obscured likeness upon himself and become man. Cyril indicates that in taking man's likeness, Christ restored in his own human nature that which man had obscured in the Fall. In accomplishing this, Christ, as man, made it possible for man to partake of God. Man's participation which was enabled by Christ is, as we will see presently in the *Mystagogy*, also accomplished through Christ.

In the *Mystagogy* the veil is pulled aside and Cyril shares more candidly with those recently baptised. The grafting, planting, naming, and participating are all explained in more detail. Having formerly heard that man would partake of the Holy Vine and of God himself, now Cyril reveals how it is that man comes to participate in the Divine.

> "Baptized into Christ" and "clothed with Christ,"[711] you have been shaped to the likeness of the Son of God.[712] For God, in "predestining us to be adopted as his sons,"[713] has "conformed us to the body of the Glory"[714] of Christ. As "partakers of Christ."[715] therefore, you are rightly called "Christs," i.e., "anointed ones": it was of you that God said: "touch not my Christs."[716] Now, you became Christs by receiving the antitype[717] of the Holy Spirit; everything has been wrought in you "likewise" because you are likeness of Christ.[718]

This, in conjunction with what follows in the next few sentences presents a much fuller picture of just what was accomplished in man through baptism. "Once privileged to receive the holy chrism, you are called Christians and have a name that bespeaks your new birth."[719] In baptism man comes to share in the nature of Christ. Since Christ, as God himself, took on human likeness, he not only restored the likeness to that of God, but conflated the likeness with his own divine identity. If likeness is the imitation of or similitude to God then there can be no more fitting solution to restoring God's likeness to man than man imitating the Son of

---

[711] Galatians 3:27.
[712] Romans 8:29.
[713] Ephesians 1:5.
[714] Philippians 3:21.
[715] Hebrews 3:14.
[716] Ps. 104:15 (Septuagint).
[717] Note here the language of "type" and "antitype", or sign and reality, as we previously engaged in our examination of the imitation of Christ throughout the baptismal ritual.
[718] *Mystagogy* 3.1 The last clause reading, "καὶ πάντα εἰκονικῶς ἐφ' ὑμῶν γεγένηται, ἐπειδὴ εἰκόνες ἐστὲ".
[719] *Mystagogy* 3.5.

God at the climax of the Christ event, and participating in the body and blood of God's own son in the Eucharist. Thus man, by participating in Christ through baptism and communion, comes to possess not only the likeness of God which was obscured in his fall, but the very nature of Christ, so that Cyril can say to those baptised, "you have been made Christs."[720]

The inclusion of the divine nature is explained in Cyril's recounting of the ritual of chrism conducted during baptism. It is a passage we have already noted for its role in determining when the Spirit is granted, but here we may look at it with an eye for how it demonstrates man's advancement in baptism.

> Beware of supposing that this ointment is mere ointment. Just as after the invocation of the Holy Spirit the Eucharistic bread is no longer ordinary bread, but the Body of Christ, so this holy oil, in conjunction with the invocation, is no longer simple or common oil, but becomes the gracious gift of Christ and the Holy Spirit, producing the advent of His deity.[721]

So it is that receiving the divine nature, man as sanctified enters into new life. Within this sanctified state man continues to receive and participate in Christ's divine nature by means of communion, which Cyril explains in the following lecture, "For thus we come to bear Christ in us, because His Body and Blood are distributed through our members; thus it is that, according to the blessed Peter, we became partakers of the divine nature."[722] With Christ's very body and blood in man, man takes Christ's nature within himself.[723]

Alex Doval's essay on Cyril's theology of salvation goes some way to demonstrating this point as he notes that Cyril's most frequented soteriological model is that of solidarity.[724] It is in Christ's solidarity with man (the incarnation) that man's salvation is initiated.[725] Doval notes the similarity here to Cyril's contemporary Athanasius, drawing a clear line from Cyril's thirteenth catechetical lecture[726] to Athanasius's *On the Incarnation* sections 6 and 7.[727] Doval goes on to observe the significance this solidarity with man has on the cross:

> By incorporating into his death the death of all, he can then share with all the benefits of his resurrection. The image of the fellow traveler is perfect for Cyril's teaching of the new converts he is catechizing; it is a powerful

---

[720] *Mystagogy* 3.1.

[721] *Mystagogy* 3.3.

[722] *Mystagogy* 3.

[723] In reflecting on this partaking of Christ's body and blood, Francis M. Young, and Andrew Teal, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon*, (Michigan: Baker Academic, 2010), 192, helpfully terms this aspect of salvation as "Christification." See also Richard Bauckham, *Jude - 2 Peter,* Word Biblical Commentary vol. 50, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), particularly see 2 Peter 1:4.

[724] Doval, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Theology of Salvation," 452-461.

[725] *Catech*. 12.1. "But if Christ is God, as he indeed is, but took not human nature upon him, we are strangers to salvation." Similarly, see 12.13

[726] Particularly *Catech*.13.33-34

[727] It is uncertain whether Cyril and Athanasius ever actually met, though it is not out of the realm of possibility. See Drijvers, *Bishop and City*, 37.

metaphor for elaborating the many ways in which Christ becomes a part of their lives.[728]

Here I suggest we might push a little further and note that Cyril's work turns the act of solidarity back on man in the baptismal ritual. As man passed through the activities of baptism he was showing solidarity with Christ's own passion, death, and resurrection. Solidarity, of God with man (incarnation), begins the work of salvation, but solidarity, of man with God (Baptism), demonstrates man's acceptance of that first work while also implicating man in the outcome of the incarnate one's journey, namely resurrection and glorification.

This participating in the Divine represents a marked advancement in man's nature. This is not a restoration of something lost in the fall but the gaining of something he has never formerly had, either as a right or privilege. This is the development Cyril refers to when he says in lecture 11, "our generation as men is imperfect, for our growth comes by progression."[729] Man was made in the image and likeness of God, but at no point in his creation did he participate in the Divine nature. In his fall, man obscured the likeness and retained the image of God, and for this fall he merited the enmity of God and death. But God was merciful and gracious, and did not merely restore man to his former state, but advanced him through baptism into a state where, having shared in Christ's death and resurrection,[730] his former sins were purged from him and he was grafted into Christ so that he shared in his very nature. Baptism had seen man share in Christ's passion and resurrection, the reality may have been Christ's but the effect through participation was shared with man. Likewise, in the Eucharist to which the recently baptised quickly ran, man partook not just in the activities of Christ, but in Christ himself, receiving "the fruition or enjoyment of Christ's Body and Blood."[731] Cyril, however, cautions his listeners lest they think this gift of divine likeness and participation is theirs to do with as they please. In the final lecture of the *Mystagogy*, at the end of the baptismal and catechetical process, Cyril reminds those who seek eternity with God: "For One is truly holy, by nature holy; we too are holy, but not by nature, only by participation, and discipline, and prayer." Man shares in this nature, but the nature is not his, it remains Christ's and man may enjoy its benefit only so long as he remains faithful. So it is entirely fitting then that Cyril concludes his fourth *Mystagogy* with these words:

> God grant that, your soul's face unveiled with a clear conscience, you may "reflecting as in a glass the glory of the Lord," go "from glory to glory" in Christ Jesus our Lord, whose is the glory forever and ever. Amen [732]

---

[728] Doval, "Cyril of Jerusalem's Theology of Salvation," 458.

[729] *Catech*. 11.7

[730] Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation,* 134.

[731] *Mystagogy* 4.2 "…τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος δωρησάμενος ὁμολογηθήσεται".

[732] *Mystagogy* 4.9, quoting 2 Corinthians 3:18.

Through baptism, man's end could be greater than his beginning. "His growth is progressive",[733] and thus he could arrive in eternity having been advanced from his state at creation. Drawing together the themes from chapter 2 and 3 we can begin to see the bigger picture of man's progress. This advancement for which man was created was coupled with man's freedom to accept or reject that purpose. Man was made with an eternal soul in the image of his creator. This soul possessed reason, and, through the body, the means of exercising that reason. In freedom man fell, obscuring his likeness to God and subjecting himself to the oppression of sin. As the wounds of sin marred his body and soul he was cast as an enemy of God. Man deserved death. Having been made for advancement, man digressed, and interrupted God's plan for his advancement. Yet God, rich in mercy, made a way for man to be restored, redeemed, and sanctified. The freedom man possessed to exercise his will in the fall equally enabled him to approach and receive this grace of baptism. Through Christ and baptism into him, man was not only restored to that which was lost in the Fall, but advanced to participate in that which Christ alone had by nature, the natural sonship of God and inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Liturgy and the Christian Life

Where the *Catechism* could place a great deal of emphasis on what a candidate should believe, how they should act, and what they must do, baptism stood apart as something not done by the candidates, but done to them. Baptism was the work of God, through the Church, by the Spirit, which made candidates Christians, and converts converted. Formerly doctrines had been instructed, disciplines practiced, and community fostered, but now in baptism the change of conversion had truly occurred. Satan had been renounced. Christ had been confessed. Sin had been purged, burnt, and washed away. The old robe of deeds and stains had been cast off. Christ's passion, death, and resurrection had been participated in. Baptisands had advanced from sonship-by-creation, to sonship-by-obedience, and had been made to share in Christ's sonship-by-nature. Adoption had been effected. The Holy Spirit of God had been imparted to strengthen and sustain those now in Christ. A new robe, pure and spotless had been donned. The body and blood of Christ had been consumed.

With all of that behind them, these new Christians would have woken on that Monday morning after Easter, transformed. But the focus was not on what had happened, but what was yet to come. Baptism was the end of the journey of conversion. It was the end of the process of becoming Christian. But as Cyril had been at pains to express throughout the *Catechism*, baptism was not the end, it was the door to a new beginning. The point of all that

---

[733] *Catechesis* XI.7

instruction, of those pious doctrines and virtuous actions, as well as the purpose of baptism, was to launch the new Christian into the race, the fight, the journey of the Christian life, that it might lead to salvation. It was only through baptism that one could become a Christian. Remaining a Christian was the work at hand. And Cyril did not intend to leave those he had prepared, equipped, and baptised to flounder in this new life on their own.

Cyril's final formal instruction to the recently baptised is focused on the seemingly mundane subject of liturgy. After the lofty rhetoric employed to explain the baptism and the Eucharist, Cyril concludes with a fairly simple explanation of the order of service for a Sunday gathering. "We must now pass on to the next subject, intending today to crown the work of your spiritual edification."[734] After 40 days of Lent, the *Procatechesis*, the 18 Catechetical lectures, the practicing of holy living, the handing over of the Creed, the elaborate, powerful and deeply symbolic ritual of baptism, the partaking in the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and a series of lectures on the significance of all that had happened over Easter, could the crowning work of their spiritual edification really be as simple as a summary of a regular church service?

In the fifth and final *Mystagogy* Cyril outlines a Sunday service and instructs how these newly baptised and converted Christians will now participate in the life and worship of the Church. Cyril teaches the way in which these new Christians will enter the church and have their hands washed as a symbol of purity and blamelessness of their conduct, and collectively the innocence of the community of Christ.[735] They then will greet each other with a kiss, as symbol a of the commingling of their souls and a mutual "pledging of unreserved forgiveness," the "true union of hearts," and a sign of their communal reconciliation.[736] The dialogue then began the service with the celebrant calling for all to "lift up their Hearts," and the congregation replying "We have them lifted up to the Lord."[737] This, Cyril said, was to banish from the minds of all gathered any worldly thought or care, and to recommit oneself to God. This was followed by a call to give thanks that God had reconciled those present to himself, and immediately followed by psalms sung in praise to Him.[738] Preparation for communion was begun by the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the bread and wine that it might be consecrated and changed.[739] Then intercession was made for the peace

---

[734] *Mystagogy* 5.1.
[735] *Mystagogy* 5.2.
[736] *Mystagogy* 5.3.
[737] *Mystagogy* 5.4.
[738] *Mystagogy* 5.5.
[739] *Mystagogy* 5.7.

of the Church, the world, and the emperor, as well as those in sickness or distress and those deceased.[740] Following the invocation, the Lord's prayer was recited by all.

It was here in the *Mystagogy* that Cyril elaborated on and instructed the Lord's prayer, which was said only by those baptised into him. For how else could one call God Father unless they had been adopted through Christ as his child?[741] It was in the context of this prayer that post-baptismal sin was addressed for the first time by Cyril. Yes, there could be ongoing forgiveness of sin, but it was predicated on one's capacity to forgive those in the community who had sinned against him.[742] Thereafter, Communion would be shared, and Cyril instructed what the new Christian should say, how they should approach the table, and how they should take the bread and wine as both the reality and reminder of their ongoing participation in Christ's body and blood.[743] Finally, Cyril would close with one last instruction and one final benediction. "Preserve this traditional teaching untarnished; keep yourselves unsullied by sin. Never cut yourselves off from the fellowship, never through the pollution of sin deprive yourselves of these sacred spiritual mysteries."[744] Finally concluding with the benediction from 1 Thessalonians 5:23, "And may the God of peace sanctify you completely, and may your whole spirit, soul and body be preserved blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose is the glory now and evermore, world without end. Amen."[745]

Summary: The End and the Beginning

With that final benediction from 1Thessalonians 5:23, those who had been gathered around Cyril throughout Lent and had passed through baptism to meet in the empty tomb after Easter were sent back out into Jerusalem to live out their new lives as Christians. They were reminded not to cut themselves off from the fellowship and the communion to which they had been joined, as it would be their good instruction and this fellowship and communion that would sustain them now as converts and Christians. Cyril could not run the race for them. The best Cyril could do was to prepare them to run the race themselves, together with all those who had also been baptised into Christ and the Church. Equipped as they had been, Cyril had performed his role as catechizer and bishop ensuring sufficient instruction in doctrines and disciplines and the reasons for both. He had baptised them into Christ and seen them sealed with the Holy Spirit. He had led them from catechumen to

---

[740] *Mystagogy* 5.8.
[741] *Mystagogy* 5.11-18.
[742] *Mystagogy* 5.16 "beware, then, lest, on account of slight and trifling transgressions against you, you debar yourself from God's forgiveness of your most grievous sins."
[743] *Mystagogy* 5.19.
[744] *Mystagogy* 5.23.
[745] *Mystagogy* 5.23, quoting 1 Thessalonians 5:23.

candidate to baptisand to Christian. He had taken them from Golgotha to the tomb and seen them raised with Christ in newness of life. But the climax of conversion was only the conclusion to the prologue that would be the story of these Christian's lives.

These services and this liturgy, expounded in the final *Mystagogy*, were the course markers along the road to salvation. By them the Christian would remain in the race, running with a cloud of witnesses around them. Collectively they were corrected, encouraged, forgiven, and reminded of the prize for which they strove. Everything that had come before was preparation for this life-long work of being a Christian with other Christians within the Church. They had started the *Catechism* as fish caught in the net of the Church being pulled in by Christ. Having been drawn in by and to Christ, they had been transformed. Now they were part of the net being cast back over Jerusalem. It was in the network of their new community of converted Christians that others would now be caught. And again the net would be pulled in. And again Cyril would deliver his *Catechism* to those caught with misguided and false motivations, fostering and affirming right belief and right behaviour, leading them to the waters of baptism and raising them back to life in Christ, so that the Church could again grow and the net be cast ever wider.

CONCLUSION

It has been the contention of this thesis that for Cyril's *Catechism* and *Mystagogy* to be read and regarded rightly they must be understood within a process of conversion that culminates in baptism. As we've seen throughout, how we understand conversion has deeply shaped how Cyril's work has been understood. If conversion occurs in the realm of individual belief only, then Cyril's *Catechism* may have served as a means of confirmation for those already converted. The *Catechism* then, becomes an interesting avenue to explore liturgical developments or the interaction of Christians with holy sites in the fourth century. If, however, as we have argued, Cyril understood conversion as climaxing in baptism, and we approach his work through this lens, then the *Catechism* was, far more significantly, the means by which Cyril drew the inhabitants of Jerusalem toward baptism, conversion, and Christ. And subsequently the *Catechism* and *Mystagogy* become fascinating and detailed accounts of how conversion occurred in Jerusalem in late antiquity as well as indications of how Cyril, and his church, approached the process of becoming Christian in the dynamic world that was the Roman Empire in the fourth century.

For scholars, it is important that we take seriously the voice, experience, and insights of one of Christianity's earliest catechizers. Cyril stands not only at an important cross road in the history and development of the church, as it stepped out of the shadow of persecution and into the light of imperial favour, but also at a time when the reasons for converting to Christianity were also shifting. Additionally, his understanding of and approach to the process undergone by his catechumens and baptismal candidates should give us pause to consider again the ultimate end or aim of Christian conversion in Late Antiquity. Was conversion merely the instance of mental assent to particular doctrines? Was it the integration of one formerly outside a church into that church's community? Was conversion a process, and if so what marks that process as complete? Here further questions must be raised about the role and purpose of baptism and its relationship to conversion. Could one be converted without being baptised? If not, what is it about baptism that accomplishes conversion? And ultimately, what is it that classifies someone as Christian? As we have examined, Cyril provides a compelling testimony and witness to how these issues were engaged by the Church in Jerusalem in the fourth century.

In the opening chapter of E.P Sanders' edited work on Jewish and Christian self-identification, R.A. Markus compares the appeal of early (pre-Eusebian) Christian

communities to the impact Pentecostalism had on the rapidly growing American cities of the 19th Century. In particular, he notes how easily and organically the Church's distinctiveness was established.

> It is not difficult to appreciate that no very elaborate doctrinal or institutional structures were needed to give such groups a sense of identity strong enough to define themselves with more than adequately sharp contours to their world. Their doctrinal distinctiveness, however defined, was reinforced, sustained, perhaps even eclipsed, by their sociological distinctness as groups set, literally, apart from their world.[746]

However, as was noted early in this thesis, the situation in which the Church found itself following Constantine posed a new set of problems. As the distinctiveness of Christianity seemingly diminished over the fourth century, and the threshold for conversion lowered, the Church found itself increasingly having to clarify what it believed, what it stood for and against, and what was required or expected of those who were becoming Christian. It was within this context that ecclesial councils took on greater significance, as they became the means by which attempts were made to address these issues. Again R.A. Markus provides a succinct summary of the challenged this new circumstances posed for the Church.

> As the lines which marked the Christians off from the world around them were becoming increasingly blurred as Christianity became more 'respectable' and as more and more Christians came to share the culture, the values, tastes and life-styles of their non-Christian contemporaries. As the lines of demarcation melted away, doctrinal norms and recognizable, uniform institutional structures came to take their place in defining Christianity.[747]

What we find in Cyril of Jerusalem's programme of catechism and the ritual of baptism that followed, is in no small part a response to this change in circumstance highlighted by Markus and many others.[748] In a time and place which increasingly saw men and women coming to the church with motivations based on public standing, economic advantage, social gain, or romantic opportunities, Cyril's *Catechism* was an attempt to re-clarify those lines of demarcation between Christianity and the prevailing social and religious climate. In Cyril's *Catechism* we find a re-clarification of what it was to be a Christian, and clear description of how one could become a Christian. Cyril's *Catechism* was an exposition of what true religion looked like: it was *these* pious doctrines coupled with *these* virtuous actions.[749] On top of this, the training in behaviour and the instruction in beliefs over the course of Lent established a clear framework for what it was to live as a Christian. Then, following *Catechism*, the ritual of baptism provided the final and completing step of conversion. It was through baptism that one could call God 'Father' and pray the Lord's prayer. Through baptism that one became

---

[746] R.A. Markus, "The Problem of Self-Definition: From Sect to Church," In *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, Vol. 1, ed. E.P. Sanders, (London: SCM Press, 1980), 3.

[747] *ibid.,* 12.

[748] See chapter 2 for more on the changing nature of, and motivations for, conversion in the fourth century.

[749] *Catech. 4.2.*

united with Christ and the received of the Holy Spirit. It was through baptism that one could quantifiably be called a Christian by the Church. Cyril's *Catechism* and *Mystagogy,* reminds us of the priority of baptism in conversion. Baptism must be seen as that line of demarcation.

It is likely not lost on the reader the striking similarity between the picture painted by R.A. Markus of the post-Constantinian Church, and the Church in the West today. How do we define or demarcate what it is to be a Christian in a climate and society that so often appears indistinguishable from that of the Church? Here Cyril's *Catechism* and *Mystagogy* may prove a helpful guide to a demarcation built on mission, conversion, catechism, and their relationship to baptism. Whatever our approach to these subjects, Cyril provides a striking model of an organized and carefully crafted programme for instruction in belief and behaviour, built on a life lived in union with Christ, established in the mystical waters of baptism. Cyril's catechetical programme provides a number of points worth the consideration of anyone or any church invested in the spiritual health and growth of their community.

First, an approach to mission built around the net of a community of Christians, not a hook and line approach that sees individuals proselyting other individuals where the basis is persuasive doctrinal evangelism. Second, a delicacy and reverence for important aspects of Church life such as the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Eucharist, coupled with a clarity that these features of worship are reserved for those baptised into Christ. Third, a strong affirmation of the importance of baptism as the demarcation for inclusion in the body of Christ. Fourth, a higher expectation for baptismal preparation, with a period of time set aside for the training of those desiring to become Christian. Fifth, a clear process and programme of catechism for those seeking baptism, establishing a foundation of belief built on scripture and reason. Sixth, a baptismal ritual that enacts and fulfills the catechetical teaching, tangibly involving the baptisand in the process of being united to Christ's death and resurrection. Seventh, a reaffirmation of weekly church worship and regular corporate participation in the Eucharist that further entrenches the importance of the social fabric of the Christian community. Eight, an understanding of Christian life that is characterized inwardly by belief in pious doctrines, and outwardly by the practice of virtuous actions.

Cyril's programme of catechism, and the process of conversion it served, should prove a compelling challenge to contemporary ecclesial approaches to both Christian distinctiveness and the Church's understandings of conversion. Churches must be clear on the goal or end of conversion.[750] They must be clear on what makes one a Christian and how that

---

[750] See, for example, Peter Stromberg's excellent work on the cultural anthropology of conversion to modern evangelical Christianity, which is notably devoid of any reference to baptism. Neither he nor

end is achieved. Additionally, it is worth considering whether there are practices in Cyril's catechetical programme that might serve the Church today. What would a higher threshold for conversion, or clearer expectation for those desiring baptism, look like in our churches? What impact would it have on church communities? How might it affect approaches to mission or evangelism if churches took to heart Cyril's picture of the net of the church, a net constructed out of the churches community, in which friends and coworkers and family became entangled in a compassionate network characterised by virtuous actions, and not just engaged in debates over belief or theology? Might I suggest, in conclusion, that Cyril of Jerusalem is providing us ancient wisdom, for age old questions, with thoroughly relevant implications.

---

his interviewees engage with or cite baptism as a component in the conversion process, emphasizing instead individual volition as the primary indication of conversion. Peter G. Stromberg, *Language and Self Transformation, A study of the Christian conversion narrative*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Avigad, Nahman. *Discovering Jerusalem*. Oxford: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1984.

Ayres, Lewis. *Nicaea and its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Beck, Roger. "Religious Rivalries in the Early Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity." in *The Religious Market of the Roman Empire: Rodney Stark and Christianity's Pagan Competition*. edited by Leif E. Vaage, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006).

Belayche, Nicole. *Iudaea-Palaestina. The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine (Second to Fourth Century).* Religion der Römischen Provinzen 1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.

Biddle, Martin. *The Tomb of Christ*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1999.

Bøgh, Birgitte (edt.). *Conversion and Initiation in Antiquity, Shifting Identities – Creating Change*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2014.

_____. "Beyond Nock: from adhesion to conversion in the mystery cults." *History Of Religions* 54, no. 3 (2015): 260-287.

Bremmer, Jan N. *The Rise of Christianity Through the Eyes of Gibbon, Harnack and Rodney Stark*. Groningen: Barkhuis, 2010.

Broshi, M. "La population de l'ancienne Jérusalem." *Revue Biblique* 82 (1975) 5-14.

Brown, Peter. "Conversion and Christianization in Late Antiquity: The Case of Augustine." in *The Past Before Us: The Challenge of New Historiographies in Late Antiquity.* Edited by Richard Lim and Carole Straw, Berkeley: Brepols, 2005.

Cameron, Averil and Stuart G. Hall. *Eusebius. Life of Constantine. Introduction Translation and Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Carpenter, J.N. "Creeds and Baptismal Rites in the First Four Centuries." in *Studies in Early Christianity Volume XI, Conversion, Catechumenate, and Baptism in The Early Church*. Edited by Everett Ferguson. New York/London: Garland, 1993.

Chantraine, H. "Die Kreuzesvision von 351 – Fakten und Problem." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86/7, (1993-94):430-441.

Chavasse, Antoine. "La Préparation de la Pâque, à Rome, avant le Ve siècle, jeûne et organisation liturgique." In *Memorial J. Chaine*. Bibliothèque de la Faculté Catholique de Théologie de Lyon 5. Lyons: Facultés Catholiques, 1950.

Collins, John J. *Daniel, Hermeneia: A Critical & Historical Commentary on the Bible*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1993.

Connolly, Dom R.H. *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909.

Conybeare, F.C. ed. *Rituale Armenorum. Being the Administration of the Sacraments and Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and*

Epiphany Edited from the Oldest MSS. Translated by A.J. Maclean. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.

Cross, F.L., ed., *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments: the Procatechesis and the Five Mystagogical Catecheses.* London: SPCK, 1951.

Davies, J.G. *The Architectural Setting of* Baptism. London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1962.

Day, Juliette. "Adherence to the Disciplina Arcani in the Fourth Century." Studia Patristica 35 (2001): 266-270.

_____. Review of *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses*. by Alexis James Doval, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 58(1), (2007):285-288.

_____. *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem, Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007.

De Lang, N. R. M. Origen and the Jews: Origen and the Jews: Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-Century Palestine. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1977

Dix, Gregory. *The Shape of the Liturgy*. New Edition. London: Bloombury, 2015.

Dohrmann, Natalie B., and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds. *Jews, Christians, and the Roman Empire: The Poetics of Power in Late Antiquity*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Dölger, Franz Josef. *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual.* Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh*, 1909.*

Doval, Alexis. "Cyril of Jerusalem's Theology of Salvation." *Studia Patristica,* 37, (1999): 452-461.

_____. "The Date of Cyril of Jerusalem's Catecheses." *JTS* 48, 1997: 129-132.

_____. *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses.* Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001.

Drake, Harold Allen. *In Praise of Constantine: Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations*. California: University of California Press, 1976.

Drijvers, Jan Willem. *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City.* Boston: Brill, 2004.

Dujarier, Michel. *A History of the Catechumenate*. Translation by Edward J. Haasl. New York: Sadlier, 1979.

Eck, Werner, Walter Geerts, and Silvio Panciera. *Rom Herausfordern: Bar Kochba Im Kampf Gegen Das Imperium Romanum. Das Bild Des Bar Kochba-Aufstandes Im Spiegel Der Neuen Epigraphischen Überlieferung*. Roma: Unione Internazionale degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'Arte in Roma, 2007

Eck, Werner. *Rom und Judaea. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina,* Tubingen 2007.

Elliot, Mark. "Exegetical Genres in the Patristic Era." in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible 1: From the Beginnings to 600*, Edited by James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Elm, Susan. "Inscriptions and Conversions, Gregory of Nazianzus on Baptism." in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Seeing and Believing.* edited by Kenneth Mills & Anthony Grafton. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003.

_____. "Inscriptions and Conversions, Gregory of Nazianzus on Baptism." in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Seeing and Believing.* Edited by Kenneth Mills & Anthony Grafton.1-36. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003.

Farrell, John. *The Garment of Immortality: A concept and Symbol in Christian Baptism.* Washington: Catholic University of America, 1974.

Ferguson, Everett. "Catechesis, Catechumenate." In *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity,* edited by Everett Ferguson, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 846, New York & London: Garland, 1990.

_____. *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.

Ferguson, John. *Pelagius.* Cambridge: Heffer, 1956.

Flower, Richard. *Emperors and Bishops in Late Roman Invective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Gardner, Iain and Samuel N.C. Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Garret, William R. "Sociology and New Testament studies: a critical evaluation of Rodney Stark's contribution." *Journal for The Scientific Study of Religion* 29, no. 3 (September 1990): 377-384.

Gassman, Mattias. "Eschatology and Politics in Cyril of Jerusalem's *Epistle to Constantius."* Vigiliae Christianae, Vol. 70, 2016: 119-133.

Geerard, Mauritius, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum.* vol 2, Turnhout: Brepols, 1974.

Gifford, Edward Hamilton. "St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Gregory Nazianzen." *Library of Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers* 7, 1894.

Goodman, Martin. *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilisations*, Penguin: London, 2007.

Gregg, R.C. "Cyril of Jerusalem and the Arians." In *Arianism: Historical and Theological Reassessments*, edited by R. C. Gregg, Patristic Monograph Series, no. II. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1985.

Gschwandtner, Christina M. "Pious Doctrines and Virtuous Actions: The Relation Between Theology and Practice in Early Catechetical Instruction." *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 40, no. 1 (2005): 36-57.

Hopkins, Keith. "Christian Number and Its Implications." *JECS* 6, no. 2 (1998): 185-226.
Hort, F.J.A. *Two Dissertations.* Cambridge/London, 1876.

Hunt, E.D. *The Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire A.D. 312-460*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

Isaac, Benjamin. *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East*. Revised Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Jackson, Pamela. "Cyril of Jerusalem's Use of Scripture in Catechesis." *Theological Studies* 52 (1991).

_____. "the Catechesis and Mystagogy of Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose and John Chrysostom." Ph.D. diss., Yale, 1987.

Jacobsen, Anders-Christian. "Identity Formation through Catechetical Teaching in Early Christianity." in *Conversion and Initiation in Antiquity, Shifting Identities – Creating Change.* Edited by Birgitte Bøgh. Frankfurt: Peter Lang Edition, 2014, 203-225.

James, William. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. New York: Longmans, 1902.

Jenkinson, W.R. "The Image and the Likeness of God in Man in the Eighteen Lectures on the Credo of Cyril of Jerusalem (C. 315-387)." *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses: commentarii de re theological et canonica,* vol. 40, (1964).

Johnson, Maxwell. "Reconciling Cyril and Egeria on the catechetical process in fourth-century Jerusalem." In *Essays in Early Eastern Initiation*. 18-30. Edited by Paul F. Bradshaw. England: Grove Books, 1988.

_____. "From Three Weeks to Forty Days: Baptismal Preparation and the Origins of Lent." Studia Liturgica 20, (1990).

_____. *The Rites of Christian Initiation, Their Evolution and Interpretation*. Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999.

Kelly, J.N.D. *Early Christian Creeds.* 3rd revised edition. London: Longman, 1972.

_____. *Rufinius. A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*. London: Paulist Press, 1972.

Kenyon, Kathleen M., *Jerusalem, Excavating 3000 Years of History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1967.

Kinzig, W, and Vinzent, M. "Recent research on the origin of the "Creed" (The Trinitarian Origins and Christological Development of Fundamental Christian Confessions of Faith)." *JTS* 50, 1999: 535-559.

Klutz, Todd E., Keith Hopkins, Elizabeth A. Castelli, Rodney Stark, *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, vol. 6 no. 2 (1998): 161-267.

Kreider, Alan, ed. *The Origins of Christendom in the West*. Edinburgh/New York: T&T Clark, 2001.

_____. *The Change of Conversion and the Origin of Christendom*. Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2006.

Lages, Mário Ferreira. "The Hierosolymitain Origin of the Catechetical Rites in the Armenian Liturgy." Didaskalia 1, 1971, 233-250.

Lampe, G.W.H. *The Seal of the Spirit*. 2nd edition, London: SPCK, 1967.

Lieu, Samuel N.C. *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East.* Religion in the Graeco-Roman World 118. Leiden: Brill, 1994, pgs., 132-152.

Lieu, Samuel N.C. *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medeval China*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992.

Lifshitz, B. "Jérusalem sous la domination romaine. Histoire de la ville depuis la conquête de Pompée jusqu'à Constantin (63 a.c.-326 p.C.)." ANRW II.8, 1997.

MacMullen, Ramsey. "What difference did Christianity make." *Historia* 35, no. 3 (1986): 322-343.

_____. "Christianity shaped through its mission." In *Origins of Christendom in the West*, edited by Alan Kreider, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2001.

_____. "Conversion: a historian's view." *The Second Century* 5, no. 2 (1985): 67-81.

_____. "Two types of conversion to early Christianity." *Vigiliae Christianae* 37, no. 2 (1983): 174-192.

_____. "The meaning of AD 312: the difficulty of converting the Empire." In *Major papers of the 17th Int'l Byzantine Congress*. Edited by Aristide D. Caratzas, New York: New Rochelle, 1986.

_____. *Changes in the Roman Empire: Essays in the Ordinary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

_____. *Christianizing the Roman Empire* A.D. 100-400. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1984.

_____. *The Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200-400*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009.

Maraval, Pierre. *Egérie. Journal de Voyage*, Sources Chrétiennes 296, Paris, 1982.

_____. *Égerie: Journal de voyage.* Translated by Manuel C. Díaz, SC 296. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1982.

Markschies, Christoph. Himmlisches und irdisches Jerusalem im antiken Christentum, in: *La Cité de Dieu/Die Stadt Gottes. 3. Symposium Strasbourg, Tübingen, Uppsala 19-23*. September 1998, hg. v. M. Hengel, S. Mittmann u. A. M. Schwemer, WUNT I/129, Tübingen 2000, S. 303-350.

Markus, R.A. "The Problem of Self-Definition: From Sect to Church." In *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*. Vol. 1. Edited by E.P. Sanders. London: SCM Press, 1980.

McCauley, Leo P. and Anthony A. Stephenson. *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem.* 2 Vols., The Fathers of the Church 61 and 64, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press (1969-70).

McLynn, Neil. "Seeing and Believing: Aspects of Conversion from Antoninus Puis to Louis the Pious." *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Seeing and Believing.*

Edited by Kenneth Mills & Anthony Grafton. 224-269. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003.

Mills, Kenneth and Anthony Grafton, eds. *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Seeing and Believing*. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2003.

Mullen, Roderic L., *The New Testament text of Cyril of Jerusalem*. Atlanta: The Society of Biblical literature, 1997.

Nautin, Pierre, "La date du "De Viris Inlustribus' de Jérome, de la mort de Cyrille de Jérusalem, et de celle de Gréfoire de Nazianze." *RHE* 56, (1961).

Nock, A.D. *Conversion, The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*. Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1998.

North, John. "The Development of Religious Pluralism." in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, edited by Judith Lieu, John North, and Tessa Rajak. London: Routledge, 1992.

Patriarch, Joseph. "On The Lost Circus of Aelia Capitolina."*Scripta Classica Israelica* 21, (2002):173-188.

Paulin, A. *Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem Catéchète.* Paris: *Lex Orandi*. vol. 29. 1959, pgs., 54-56.

Pearson, Birger A. "On Rodney Stark's Foray into Early Christian History." *Religion* 29, no. 2 (1999): 171-176.

_____. *The Emergence of the Christian Religion: Essays on Early Christianity*. Harrisburg PA: Trinity Press International, 1997.

Piédagnel, A. *Cyrille de Jérusalem. Catéchèse Mystagogiques.* Paris: SC 126, 1966.

Quasten, Johannes, *Patrology. Vol. 3: The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon,* 2nd ed., Westminster Christian Classics, 1984.

Ramsay, G.G. ed. and trans. *Juvenal and Perseus*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1969.

Ratcliff, E.C. "The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition and its Resettlement under the Influence of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century." in *Liturgical Studies.* Edited by A.H. Couratin and D.H Tripp, (London: SPCK, 1979).

Remus, Harold. "Voluntary Association and Networks: Aelius Aristides at the Asclepieion in Pergamum." In *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*. Edited by John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson, 146-175. London/New York: Routledge, 1996.

Renoux, Athanase, "Un Manuscript du lectionnaire Arménien de Jérusalem (cod. Jérus. Arm. 121)." *Mus* 74 (1961).

Röwekamp, G. *Cyrill von Jerusalem, Mystagogicae Catecheses/ Mystagogische Katechesen,* Fontes Christiani 7, Freiburg, 1992.

Salaville S. "les 'Catéheses Mystagogiques' de Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem." *Échos d'Orient,* 17 (1915): 351-357.

Sanders, E.P., ed. *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*. 3 Vols. London: SCM Press, 1980.

Saxter, Victor. "Cyrill Von Jerusalem und die Heilige Schrift. Was er von ihr lehrt and wie er sie gebraucht." In *Stimuli: Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann*, *JbAC*. Edited by Georg Schöllgen, Clemens Scholten, (Münster: Aschendorff 1996): 344-356.

Simon, Marcel, V*erus Israel. Étude sur les relations entre chrétiens et juifs dans l'Empire romain (135-425)*. 2nd ed., Paris, 1964.

Smith, John Clark. *The Fathers of the Church, Origen, Homilies on Jeremiah, Homily on 1 Kings 28*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1998.

Spinks, Bryan. *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2009.

Stark, Rodney. *Cities of God: The Real Story of How Christianity Became an Urban Movement and Conquered Rome*. San Francisco: Harper, 2006.

_____. *The Rise of Christianity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Stauffer, Anita. *On Baptismal Fonts: Ancient and Modern*. New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2010.

Steenberg, M.C. *Of God and Man: Theology As Anthropology From Irenaeus To Athanasius*. Edinburgh/New York: T&T Clark, 2008.

Stemberger, Gunter. *Jews and Christian in the Holy Land*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2000.

Stewart, Aubrey (trans.). *Itinerary From Bordeaux to Jerusalem: 'The Bordeaux Pilgrim' (333 A. D.)*. Classic Reprint. London: Fb&C, 2016.

Stoumsa, G.G. "Vetus Israel. Les juifs dans la littérature hierosolymitaine d'époque byzantine." *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 205, no.1 (1988): 115-131.

Stromberg, Peter G. *Language and Self Transformation, A study of the Christian conversion narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Swaans,W.J. "A propos des 'Catéchèse mystagogiques' attribuées à S. Cyrille de Jérusalem." *Le Muséon,* 55 (1942): 10-42.

Talley, Thomas. *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*. 2nd ed. Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1991.

Taylor, Joan E. *Christians and the Holy Places. The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Telfer, William *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa*. London: SCM Press, 1955.

Touttée, A.A., P. Maran, *S. Cyrille archiepiscopi Hierosolymitani opera quae exstant omnia, et ejus nomine circumferuntur,* Paris, 1720.

Trombley, Frank R. *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529.* 2 Vols. Religion in the Graeco-Roman World 115/1 and 115/2, Leiden: Brill, 1993-1994.

Tsafrir, Yoram. "Byzantine Jerusalem: The Configuration of a Christian City." in *Jerusalem. Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. Edited by Lee I. Levine. New York: Continuum International, 1999.

Van Den Broek, R. *The Myth of the Phoenix According to Classical and Early Christian Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, 1972.

Van Nuffelen, Peter. "The Career of Cyril Of Jerusalem (*C*.348–87): A Reassessment." *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. 58 (2007): 134-146.

Van Oort, Johannes. "Another Case of Human Semen Eucharist Among the Manichaeans? *Notes on the 'Ceremony of the Fig' in Cyril of Jerusalem's* Catechesis *VI.*" Vigiliae Christianae, vol. 70, Issue 4 (1996).

Varghese, Baby. *Les onctions baptismales dans la tradition syrienne*. Corpus Scriptorium Christianorum Orientalium 512, Louvain: Peeters, 1989.

Walker, Peter. *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Welch, Catherine E., *The Roman Amphitheater, from its Origins to the Colosseum*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Wharton, Annabel Jane. *Refiguring the Post Classical City, Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Whitaker, E.C. *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy.* 2nd edition. London: Liturgical Press, 1970.

Wilken, Robert L. *John Chrysostom and the Jews. Rhetoric and Reality in the Late* 4th *Century*. London: Wipf and Stock, 1983.

_____. *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them*. 2nd ed., New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003.

Wilkinson, John, ed. *Egeria's Travels*. London: SPCK, 1971.

_____. *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*. 3rd edition. Jerusalem/Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1999.

Winkler, G. "The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing and Its implications." Worship, 52 (1978): 24-45.

Yarnold, Edward S.J. "Initiation: Sacrament and Experience." In *The Liturgy Reshaped*. Edited by K. Stevenson. London: SPCK, 1982.

_____. *Cyril of Jerusalem*. London/New York: Routledge, 2000.

_____. *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation.* 2nd ed. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994.

Young, Francis M. *From Nicaea to Chalcedon. A Guide to the Literature and its Background.* London: SCM Press, 1983.

Young, Francis M., and Andrew Teal. *From Nicaea to Chalcedon*. Michigan: Baker Academic, 2010.