

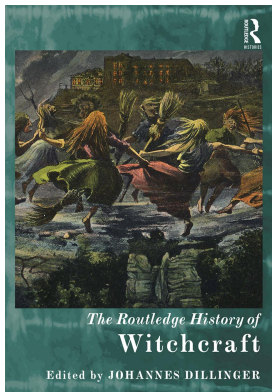
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DEMONS AND WITCHCRAFT IN THE EARLY CHURCH¹

Naomi Janowitz

Introduction

No uniquely Christian theory of daimons existed in the ancient world.² Since “Christianity was a development of pagan monotheism,” pagan articulations of the roles of daimons were taken up and used by Christians as needed.³ Stretching back to the pre-Socratics, a daimon was a jigsaw piece that had to fit in with other pieces to make a complete cosmology (one type of eternal, non-human power among many). In the pre-Christian world, “daimon” was interchangeable with “god” or, more commonly,⁴ with lower-level divine figures that mediated between humans and the higher gods.⁵ Their two-sided nature as trouble-makers and helpful guides made them problematic for humans. Cultic activity kept them in check, meeting most of their needs for recognition and sustenance. Arthur Darby Nock’s comment about deities was true of daimons as well: “paganism had plenty of deities who were to be feared if you did not take the right steps to appease them, but paganism knew the right steps to take.” More specifically, demons, as Augustine outlined, are “affronted at dishonor done to them, placated by gifts, pleased by being honored, delighted by various rituals and angered if any point of ritual is omitted” (CG 8.16). They depended on the smoke and blood from animal sacrifices to remain in the air closest to the earth, their bodies imagined as mixtures of fire and air.⁶

Despite the strategic claims made by ancients and moderns, daimons did not represent an inherent challenge to monotheism (just as angels do not).⁷ As part of the rise of the creator god from Plato on, a sort of “creeping monotheism” demanded new demons. In Fraser’s recent study of Neo-Platonic demon discourse, the inherent growth of a stricter sense of monotheism explains the negative shift towards demons and embodiment in general. The seemingly inevitable push towards monotheism also resulted in the first clear statements about creatio ex nihilo. Where that doctrine emerges, demons are likely to find themselves implicated in discussions of evil.⁸

Demons played small but central roles in daily life, whether in abstract theology or in attempts to negotiate the ups and downs of human existence. These figures jostled with other late antique characters such as good and bad (fallen) angels, archangels, principalities, and rulers of the world. Personality traits could be swapped around among these figures as well as with malevolent and helpful humans. Peter Brown noted a tendency in Christian literature to describe “the somewhat faceless

daemones of pagan beliefs” with specific terms that might have been used for sorcerers in an earlier age.⁹

Like the corpse in a murder mystery, daimons functioned in ancient narratives as trip-wires for plot development. Early Christian authors made good use of these figures to add intrigue to their writing, sometimes a shadowy figure and sometimes a very abstract claim about ontology and cosmology. These characters permit a fine delineation of etiquette about divine/human interactions by focusing attention on distinct flavors of mixed human/divine motivation and agency. Possession by a daimon changes the status of the person, who becomes a sort of amalgam of the daimon/spirit and the human body, and controlling them demanded very specific techniques to suit the job.

According to one line of modern analysis, as the history of early Christianity unfolded in the 2nd–6th centuries, ambivalently good and bad “daimons” are rethought as generally evil “demons.” But Christianization of daimons, like that of the Roman Empire, was never a simple theological conversion from good to bad. Tracing the vicissitudes of daimons/demons demands a broad view. Since “daimon” is not a substantive category but instead a relational one with mobile boundaries, if there is any stability to the mobile boundaries, it was a freelance type of superhuman agency that helped delineate other types of agency by contrast.¹⁰ In general, demons helped demarcate the possibilities of human/divine engagement on an ad hoc basis, possibilities that needed to be clarified so that humans put employ them.

Making any sense of reshuffled daimons/demons leads us to keep several themes in mind as we review specific examples of early Christian demon discourse. First is the increasing alliance of Christians with or over institutions of political control. Daimons changed because Christians did, or perhaps better put, because Christianity itself turned out to be protean. With a Christian emperor leading an army, demons were most likely to be working for other earthly authorities. Second is the now-familiar rise of the Holy Man as a demon-specialist.¹¹ The Holy Man rose to prominence domesticating daimons. The focus on his special power reverses the Gospel image of Jesus disseminating power over demons. Though some Christian authorities claimed divine-right over daimons, they did not always have the earthly power to corner the market on right for demon management. And third, the association of inappropriate ideas about daimons with inadequate theology, or with heresy. Within the context of a larger reclassification of embodied divinity (how the deity manifests in the world), the fluid meaning of daimons was increasingly fixed by association with bad angels. Sloppy ideas about demons were also under attack since they were a means of disqualifying alternate “heretical” theologies (overly vague or too-dualistic sounding monotheism).

Demon discourse, 2nd–6th century

Demons were more than simple pests because they worked for the arch-enemy Satan, a favorite theme from Jewish texts as well. When Paul outlines “salvation (soteria),” he means salvation from the world, not in the world. A demon could thwart his timely arrival in Thessalonika, one small sign of their power. How actively Christ’s followers should try to burn down the world, or whether it was better to leave it to the deity’s forces, was debatable.¹² For Paul, the Eucharist had power against death and demons,

a point that would be debated at length in later formulations of central Christian rites (Eucharist, baptism).¹³ Satan (dragon) controls the Roman Empire, along with other nations, for the author of Revelation (Rev 12:10), while the Gospel of John calls Satan “the prince of the world (John 18:36).”

The Synoptic Gospels present Jesus as a daimon-expelling exorcist. In the Gospel of Mark, daimons recognize Jesus as another extra-ordinary being. Demons clarify for the reader the connection between Jesus and the deity. As Fraser explains, “it is the ritualist’s identification with the High God that legitimates his control over daimonic and infernal agencies” (Fraser 2009, 148).¹⁴ Luke recounts Jesus giving his disciples authority over daimons and then sending them out both proclaim the “kingdom of God” and heal (Luke 9).

While the Gospel portrayal of daimons cast a long shadow, later theological treatises, lives of saints, and stories told for entertainment used daimons as finely articulated character actors who played roles based on easy recognition.¹⁵ For 2nd-century Christian authors, demons continued to persecute Christians individually and as a social group. Martyrdom of Christians by daimon-controlled functionaries of the Roman Empire demonstrated the power of the forces of evil against which the martyr was thought to triumph.¹⁶ The conviction of the martyr was a vivid demonstration of what it meant to be a Christian, and any temptation to deny Christ would align the individual with evil forces in a sort of “demonization” of the human. Christians encountered this evidence sometimes in person but more often as a memorial.¹⁷

For Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (approx. 50–117 C.E.), the lines are sharply drawn for every Christian, who must uncompromisingly line up with Jesus against the powers of evil temporarily holding sway over the world. Satan and his daimons acted through the Roman Empire, evidence of the extent of their tentacles and the size of their power. True Christians must oppose any and all representatives of Rome with a fatal opposition that led inevitably to martyrdom.

Ignatius is Pauline in his stance against the mundane world and the government and emphasizes these points in his letters. Any attempt to make a deal with “the Prince of the world” was a betrayal of the deity, so Christians should avoid anything that looks like collaboration or involving themselves in Roman bureaucracy (*Ep. to Romans* ch. 3). Working within Roman institutions was “corruption” since, for the Christian, “when he is hated by the world, he is beloved of God” (*Ep. to Romans* ch. 3). Ignatius acted out his intense rhetoric about “the dreadful torment of the devil” with his death as a martyr on route to Rome, signifying a different type of victory over demons than simply exorcism. Given the level of demonic domination of the world, special precautions were needed. Baptismal water itself must be exorcised in order to be effective (Ignatius *Ep. to Ephesians* 18).

Christian cultic demon rites warded them off demons instead, though once again following quite closely non-Christian demon discourse that, despite Christian rhetoric, was facing new demons as well. Platonic interpreters re-worked their views about daimons as they re-evaluated traditional religious practices such as sacrifice.¹⁸ Ancient authors could calibrate just how questionable a religious practice was by its connection with now completely suspect daimons. Demon fondness for the smoke animal sacrifices, which once had been thought to control them, became yet one more nail in the coffin of animal sacrifice.

For Justin Martyr (100–160 C.E.), the power of the evil angels was nearly overwhelming. They were led by the mighty Satan in a battle larger and more threatening than any previously known on earth. The evil minions already had control over much of the human world in their daily existence and did not show any signs of easy retreat; even if they were correct, the Christians were the minority and wielded little earthly power. In order for them to win, the world as it was known would have to radically change. The devil and his minions knew what the deity was planning for them, the consequences if they lost, so would fight until the battle ended the human world. The continued existence of the world hinged on the war with demons; if it had not been necessary to give sinners the opportunity to convert, the deity would have long since brought the sorry existence of the world to an end.

Following earlier Jewish critiques, Justin labeled the gods of nations as “demons,” to which he added his own ideas that Jews were also led astray by demons.¹⁹ Justin’s history of demons extended far into the past, including one of the most famous demon examples from the ancient world, Socrates. Incorporating Socrates’ daimon was a way of appending the recent history of Christianity to a long pre-history that included the entire world and not simply the history of the Jews. In the prolonged battle of human history, daimons were a permanent fixture and hidden agents.

Before Christians had their own armies, Christians could fight demons on a case-by-case basis not only via martyrdom, as he did, but also following Ignatius and others, by means of the central Christian rites. Justin offers the formula “in the name of Jesus Christ, crucified under Pontius Pilate” to drive out demons (1Apol 61, 2Apol6, Dial 30, 76, 85).

As the number of Christians grew and persecution died out, demons lost their institutional role as aides de camp to the Romans persecutors. Their roles were limited to personal, not political attacks on individual Christians as demons lost their institutional and military credentials. Now internal Christian theological fault-lines were implicated in demon debates. A “heretic” might be both too impressed with demons, thereby impugning the deity’s goodness, and yet not be willing to die as a martyr. Ironically, even though acknowledging demon power was a traditional stance, it could also earn a theologian censure as a “know it all (gnostic).” These theologians erred in the intensity they attributed to evil power and were marginalized for a New-Testament literalism that no longer made sense in a world where Christians and their deity were gaining very this-worldly power.

With Tertullian (160–220 C.E.), we see a more confident face for Christian demon discourse, reflective of the move by many Christians from the periphery to the center of society. Daimons are on the run, subjected to Christian control as the tables are turned and the daimons themselves act possessed. They are forced to confess the superiority of Christianity (Apol c xxiii). Just like other parts of the natural world (iron, herbs), the demons are forces created by God and thereby limited (De Spec).

Origen (184–253 C.E.) takes the optimistic stance that all daimons will be saved. The deity created two types of rational creatures, humans and angels (First Principles 1:4–8, 2.9–10, 3.2), and fallen angels are the source of the problems of the world. While many readers might wish for a clearer explanation of the enigmatic “fall” of the angels, the point for Origen is that mapping the mysterious fall is matched by much clearer instructions for exactly how Christians reverse the process (contra Celsus I, 31).

A less apocalyptic and more personal reading of daimon-conflict is found in numerous texts about monks, including Athanasius' 4th-century *Life of Saint Anthony*.²⁰ For this desert father, "at the heart of his identity was struggle, resistance, and combat with the forces of evil that surrounded the ancient person." The monk was pitted against an army of daimons to test and forge his character as they "brutally attack Anthony visually, vocally, and physically, leaving him near dead." According to David Brakke, the monk is the successor to the martyr in the battle against the demons.²¹

Following tropes from Paul and the Gospels, the monks and the demons are caught in a duet of competition. In these battles, however, techniques focus on the will of the monk and the will of the demon. Demons often tempt scholars towards psychological interpretations.²² These demons send visions of women and black boys to distract and mislead monks in stories that seem to demand psychoanalytic interpretations.²³ A reverse reading is also possible: the demon stories show how the unconscious is constructed as Christians examine what it is permissible and not permissible to think about.²⁴ A formulaic application of Freudian ideas about the unconscious works, since it is a rediscovery of its own genealogy. Perhaps most interesting is the extent to which these modern classifications do not work; that is, the story of demons is imagined to take place not within the human mind but between the will of the monk and the will of the demon so the product is an understanding of the elite human will and not the unconscious.

A monk engaged with his demon was like an Olympic athlete: the vast majority of people could only watch in awe. This extreme-sport level of struggle was the mark of a superior soul who had undergone the extensive training that set him apart. Top athletes did not have a corner on all competition, and many other people engaged in some way in this struggle depending on their social standing, their finances, and their imaginations. These stories tell us more about the theories used by those engaged in the fight than in what they fought. We do not find surprising revelations about demons. Instead, we are much more likely to find out shocking, disturbing, or simply new ideas about demon-wrangling technique.²⁵

Far from the desert of Egypt, in Turkey the Cappadocian church fathers Gregory of Nazianzus (330–390 C.E.) and Basil (330–379 C.E.) offer a fine-tuned window onto demons, carefully outlined by Morwenna Ludlow. For both these writers, demons are a way of thinking about what Ludlow calls "personal behavior" and not the status of Jesus or the level of evil-infestation in the world. Gregory and Basil's general agreement breaks down on the very fine question of the extent to which demons will be agents of the deity's wrath, yet another version of trying of think through the problem of evil.²⁶

The demons continue to occupy a "liminal" space, so they are still posed between good and evil. Here Ludlow attempts to refine the history of demons drawn by Dale Martin. He contrasts a Greek philosophical view of only-good demons with a popular image of ambivalent demons that the elites ultimately surrender to, even as Christians make the demons into entirely evil fallen angels. But demons are, as Ludlow notes, parasitic, taking on the character of their host, and no single reading of hierarchy or ontology exists.²⁷ Do daimons belong on only one hierarchy (can higher up be bad or must higher up imply better?) and on another of will (can a higher being opt to be evil?). And then, to confuse matters, how do these two scales interact? Such is the dilemma of relational categories. Since, Jeopardy-style, the answer the monks

are working with is free will (and its central place in any theology of good vs. evil, of Christian vs. non-Christian, correct Christian vs. heretic), the question is: What are demons?

Augustine analyzes and rejects some parts of the common demon discourse, making him seem almost modern in his sensibilities.²⁸ Most importantly, the question of which entities have real existences has been redrawn.²⁹ The dividing line between corporeal and incorporeal now puts everything important on the completely non-corporeal side of the equation. Augustine tinkers with the cosmological hierarchy: demons are not higher than humans any more than animals that run faster than humans are. Evil has no substance, so he stresses terms for them such as phantasmata (fantastic illusions). Demons can provide evidence only for some questions and can only operate in limited spheres. Since they have only a certain kind of “flesh,” they can only interact with human “flesh” in like manner. Souls are incorporeal, too, so this is the central coin of the realm. To say that demons do not exist would be to say that souls do not either, a heretical thought. But we only encounter souls in very specific ways, and so too with demons. They cloud the mind, so a particularly clear mind is needed. A demon is not simply a thought, even though thoughts and demons share the same stage, that is, the mind (as does the soul as well).

Demons have profound impacts on the world, which is why, when the humans use their free choice to fill their minds with the deity and not-demons thoughts, the glory of the deity is all the greater. Augustine’s mother does not show up at his bedside every time he is unhappy, and her level of devotion was high. He might imagine that he sees her, but all such channels of communication are easy to distort, both how demons inhabit human and how humans open themselves to other presences. Every piece of evidence must be thoroughly examined since every mind may be suffering from demon-distortion and unable to break free from that cycle.

The power of the devil lurks inside every human due to Original Sin. An act of “scrutiny” is part of the process of being catechized and exorcised, since that is part of the process of removing the devil and his minions out of human beings and filling that space instead by the Holy Spirit. A fine-tuned demon is needed to represent the fine-tuned theology of Original Sin, one that holds up to scrutiny even as exorcism remains one vital part of becoming a child of God.

Demons continue to pose all sorts of questions that permit unfolding Christian answers after Augustine. Illness could be put at the door of demons or humors, or at both. A 6th-century text recounts the incurable demon-possession of emperor Justin II. Sufferers of continuing possession found themselves living in Christian “hospitals” for extended periods of their lives. Demons had moved in for good.³⁰

Contextualizing early Christian demon discourse

In the ancient worldview familiar from Ancient Near Eastern texts and sometimes referred to as “locative,” daimons were out of place in human habitations.³¹ They belonged at the edges of the map and become problematic when they invade the parts of the social world organized by the gods for humans. Intricate techniques were needed to return them to their native “homes,” techniques elaborated with in, for example, Temple cults. Possession by a daimon changes the status of the person, who becomes a sort of amalgam of the daimon/spirit and the human body. When

daimons inhabit a human body, the body becomes a site of uncleanness. The possessed person is not charged with any specific sinful action or state of being. This uncleanness is completely divorced from human intentionality, though some people were thought to be especially susceptible.

With the emergence of the utopian worldview in the last centuries B.C.E., which did not replace so much as supplement the locative view, human were now the invaders into the realm of the daimon.³² As Kyle Fraser outlines, in the extensive debates about daimons carried on by Plutarch and Apuleius, “to the extent that embodiment was perceived as ‘imprisonment,’ the daimones appeared in a rather sinister light.”³³ No final escape was possible from daimons without escaping the world completely. Humans were trapped in the sub-lunar world of bodies, a world that inherently belonged to the daimons. The utopian worldview, in which daimons are in place and human out of place, only makes sense as a critique of the locative and cannot stand on its own. Even when they have taken over the earth, demons were not of the earth, nor can they live on earth happily when the “saved Savior” and his followers return to their original home.

Christian demon discourse unfolded in relation to these two worldviews and their many layered combinations. As the role of Christians in relation to the state changed, daimons lost some of their political roles since Satan no longer ruled the world (though this theology was available for resuscitation any time needed). Whenever an authority figure thought a Christian strayed from the correct path, the language of daimons is ready at hand. Christians are never safe from the personal attacks of daimons, whose tool chest remains just as elaborate as when they were in league with earthly authorities, even if the scale of the battle is smaller. Some texts, such as the Life of Anthony discussed earlier, champion a specific Holy Man, but the breadth of textual evidence and the archeological evidence demonstrate that many others had their hands busy with demons. While we can draw a line from Ignatius to Augustine, that line does not cover all the evidence. A demon-suffering person might have turned to a healer trained in humor-based bodily practices, a local female herbalist who might be a family member, or an amulet-maker thought to be skilled in his trade. Flexibility, human creativity, and above all new techniques were needed for demon combat, and in all these categories the Christians shared ideas with their neighbors.

Notes

- 1 In contrast to the frequent references to daimons, and despite the immense importance of witches in 15–18th-century Europe, references to witches are rare in early Christian literature, and this chapter focuses on daimons. See Kimberly Stratton, *Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology, and Stereotype in the Ancient World* (New York: Columbia University, 2007).
- 2 The transliteration “daimon” is used since it has broader connotations than demon. For a review of the term, see Greg J. Riley, “Demons,” in *Anchor Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992) and Riley, “Demon,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons*, ed. Karel van der Toorn (Leiden: Brill, 1995).
- 3 Kyle Fraser, “The Contested Boundaries of ‘Magic’ and ‘Religion’ in Late Pagan Monotheism,” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 4 (2009): 131–151, 136. See also Michael Frede, “Monotheism and Pagan Philosophy in Later Antiquity,” in *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, ed. Polymnia Athanassiadi and Michael Frede (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) and Heidi Marx-Wolf, “A Strange Consensus: Daemonological Discourse in Origen, Porphyry, and Iamblichus,” in *The Rhetoric of Power in Late Antiquity: Religion and Politics in Byzantium*,

- Europe and the Early Islamic World*, ed. Robert M. Frakes, Elizabeth DePalma Digester and Justin Stephens (London: Taurus, 2010), 219–239 for the close connection to non-Christian thought.
- 4 Empedocles, for example, thought daimons were fallen gods on their way back to being good, sent into a temporary exile until they expiated their sins of bloodshed. So too for Homer daimons were a particular type of god.
 - 5 Plato's most influential statement, the claim that daimons transmit the will of the higher gods to the world below the moon, was not necessarily his most central (Symposium). In the *Timaeus*, a daimon is a soul given to a person, which dwells in the top of the body and pulls the person up (90a2-b1).
 - 6 Arthur Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 104–105; Gregory Smith, "How Thin Is a Demon?" *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16 (2008): 479–512. To avoid over-psychologizing them, a modern analogy might include the well-disguised mice in *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* or perhaps, as a physical analogy, squirrels in the modern cityscape: the source of fantasies about nature for some and the carriers of disease for others, partially tamable but still erratic, the focus of legislation and with some tension between abstract theory and actual encounters. While city officials may have special obligations with regards to legislation, social standing does not determine any specific response to encountering a specific squirrel eyeing one's lunch.
 - 7 This did not stop polemical attacks that incorrect beliefs about daimons impugned claims about monotheisms.
 - 8 David Sedley, *Creationism and its Critics in Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California, 2007); Kyle Fraser, "The Contested Boundaries of 'Magic' and 'Religion' in Late Pagan Monotheism," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 4 (2009), 131–151. The origin of evil becomes a major theological concern since speculation about it can lead to what is often called "dualism," the belief that evil was aboriginal and outside the power of the deity and constituted a real threat.
 - 9 Peter Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 137.
 - 10 The goal here is to build on Smith's very general point that they serve as "classificatory markers which signal what is strong and weak, controlled and exaggerated in a given society at a given moment – see Jonathan Z. Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. Wolfgang Hasse (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), 254–394.
 - 11 Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80–101.
 - 12 Morton Smith, "Salvation in the Gospels, Paul, and the Magical Papyri," *Helios* 13 (1986): 63–74. Should one actively try to become a living sacrifice (Romans 12) or wait to be sacrificed?
 - 13 A few examples of these debates are included below. For an overview see Henry A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).
 - 14 Geert van Oyen, "Demons and Exorcisms in the Gospel of Mark," in *Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity*, ed. Nienke Vos and Willemien Otten (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 99–116; Fraser, "Contested," 148.
 - 15 Theater often served as a source of imagery for outlining social roles – see Ruth Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).
 - 16 Martyrdom is discussed here only in terms of its connection to demons. The general bibliography on this is immense, including the recent work of Candida Moss, *The Myth of Persecution* (New York: HarperCollins, 2013).
 - 17 Elizabeth Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).
 - 18 Fraser, "Contested."
 - 19 The "bad religion" of non-Christians was outlined using traditional Greco-Roman terms such as "superstitio" and "desdemonia" (see James Rives, "Human Sacrifice Among Pagans

- and Christians,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995).” Reed details Justin’s use of demons to argue against both Jews and pagans (Reed 2004).
- 20 Athanasius lived 296–373 C.E. His *Life of Anthony* (251–356 C.E.) was probably written around 360.
- 21 David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 23, 28, 240–241.
- 22 Cam Grey’s careful psychological interpretation of late antique demons is revealing (Cam Grey, “Demoniacs, Dissent, and Disempowerment in the Late Roman West: Some Case Studies from the Hagiographical Literature,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13 (2005): 39–69); however, it is also striking that only demons, and not gods, warrant this analysis (permitting people to utter anti-social comments, for example). The point here is simply that it is not evenly applied to divine beings, except in theories such as Freud’s.
- 23 See Brakke’s careful study: Brakke, *Demons*. Psychoanalytic analysis is also popular in the study of witchcraft trials and recently of evil in general (Daniel Frankfurter, *Evil Incarnate: Rumors of Demonic Conspiracy and Ritual Abuse in History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006)) though in the latter case the evil that needs to be repressed is people who believe in evil.
- 24 Lyndal Roper encourages seeing the repression not simply as the imposition of control, but instead as an active part of the formation of sexual identity (Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality, and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994)).
- 25 Much as an exterminator might tell a customer to get used to living with bees since the means used to get rid of them was often more toxic than the bees themselves.
- 26 Morwenna Ludlow, “Demons, Evil and Liminality in Cappadocian Theology,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20 (2012): 179–211, 184.
- 27 Ludlow, “Demons,” 189; Dale Martin, *Inventing Superstition: From the Hippocratics to the Christians* (Cambridge, MA, London: Harvard University Press, 2004).
- 28 The “nexus” between demons and humans is “purely psychological,” writes Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 311. For Augustine’s ideas about exorcism as only including symbolic demons and not real ones, see Kelly, *Devil*, 113.
- 29 That is to say, Augustine is drawing upon a different set of non-Christian thinkers for whom evil had no real existence.
- 30 Peregrine Horden, “Responses to Possession and Insanity in the Earlier Byzantine World,” *The Social History of Medicine* 6 (1993): 177–194, 191–192.
- 31 Outlined by Martin Nilsson, “The New Conception of the Universe in Late Greek Paganism,” *Eranos* 44 (1946): 20–27 and refined by numerous subsequent scholars. (Richard Gordon, “Cosmology, Astrology, and Magic: Discourse, Schemes, Power, and Literacy,” in *Panthee: Religious Transformation in the Graeco-Roman Empire*, ed. L. Bricault and C. Bonnet (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 92) emphasizes, contra Nilsson, that placing the earth at the center of the cosmos lead not to one new cosmology but many. This is an important corrective since new ideas were added without negating the earlier views supported by ancient textual traditions.
- 32 This view was not a Christian development, though scholars of early Christianity who emphasize the Christian contribution often in turn stress unique Jewish contributions (Guy Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice: Religious Transformations in Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009)). Scholars of Neo-Platonism have recently made strong arguments for the pivotal role of Neo-Platonic philosophers.
- 33 The shift was taken for granted by Peter Brown’s claim that “violence was articulated in terms of the daimonic” (P. Brown, “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 89).

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