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EXORCISTS: THE ORIGINS, ROLES, AND LIVES OF LATE ANTIQUE EXORCISM SPECIALISTS

Henry, Jonathan Klein

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EXORCISTS: THE ORIGINS, ROLES, AND LIVES OF LATE ANTIQUE EXORCISM SPECIALISTS

Jonathan Klein Henry

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY

OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

This dissertation offers a detailed account of the historical origins, professional roles, and personal lives of Jews and Christians who practiced exorcism, especially highlighting their contributions to emerging social institutions and cultural identities in Late Antiquity. Beginning in Judaea in the Second Temple era, I show that Jesus and his early followers utilized exorcism as an unconventional means for appropriating special authority typically assigned to scribes, priests, and other Judaean ritual experts. I argue that the practice of exorcism became prevalent among Gentile Christian congregations when Christian leaders encountered diasporic Judaean ritual practitioners, who were sometimes called "exorcists" by authors who wrote in Greek. Inspired in part by traditions about Jesus, Gentile Christian leaders fostered populist, non-literate approaches to exorcism, and branded traditional Jewish ritual experts as illegitimate, ineffective, and illicit (thus contributing to the concept of "Jewish magic"). Throughout the second and third centuries, Christian leaders curated the socio-political capabilities of exorcism, which led to the creation of an order of Christian exorcists in the early episcopal hierarchy. The order of exorcists became obsolete around the beginning of the fifth century, but not before Christian leaders had sufficiently established rhetoric to malign Jewish practitioners of exorcism as magicians; meanwhile, educated Christians increasingly produced "magical" exorcism texts and objects without apparent jeopardy to a stable sense of Christian identity. To support these arguments, the dissertation draws upon an original database of evidence I have collected for more than fifty individual exorcists, including a comprehensive collection of epigraphical sources for approximately thirty Late Antique exorcists. Besides contributing to social history and the epigraphical study

of Late Antique religious functionaries, the dissertation also proposes fresh interpretations for sources in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Hellenistic Jewish literature, the New Testament, the writings of early Christian apologists and ecclesiastical leaders, rabbinic texts, and Greek and Roman authors from Late Antiquity. Ultimately, this study exhibits the substantial impact of exorcists and exorcism on the history of Jews, Christians, and others in Late Antiquity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION....1
Exorcism: A Narrow Type of Spirit Management....2
Who Were the Exorcists?....8
Demons, Exorcism, and Historical Research....9
Approaches to the Sources for Exorcists....14
The Structure of the Dissertation....16
CHAPTER ONE - "The Scribes Who Came down from Jerusalem" and Jesus's Exorcisms....20
Second Temple Jewish Exorcism in Materials Composed before 70 CE....26
Narrative Accounts....26
Ritual Texts....35
Jewish Exorcism in Texts Composed after 70 CE....51
Songs of David and Solomon for Healing the Afflicted....51
Eleazar and the Royal Tradition of Exorcism....54
Recollections of Jewish Exorcism in the Gospel of Mark....59
The Character of Jesus's Exorcisms....61
Conclusion: The Social Place of Exorcism before 70 CE....68
CHAPTER TWO - "Some of the Wandering Judaean Exorcists" and the Creation of Christian Exorcism....72
Gentile Christians and Exorcism....75
Paul and Exorcism....75
Christians and Early Exorcists....79
Exorcism at the Boundaries....88
Costly Books and "Curious Arts"....94
Conclusion....97
Christian Exorcism against the Gods....98
An Exorcized Oracle....100
Reimagined Demons....102
Tormenting the Gods....106
Means of Christian Exorcism....110
Christian Exorcism and Philostratus's Life of Apollonius....114
Conclusions....117
CHAPTER THREE - "One of the (Christian) Exorcists" and the Creation of a Clerical Order....118
The Origins of Ecclesiastical Exorcisms....121
Disqualifying Exorcists....125
Qualifying Exorcists....128
Orienting New Exorcists....129

Creating the Order of Exorcists 131
Exorcists as Healers 133
Exorcists as Factionalists 135
The Risks and Rewards of Clergy 140
Persecution 140
Participation and Promotion 142
Conclusions 149
CHAPTER FOUR - The Lives of Christian Exorcists 152
Sources for Fourth-Century Exorcistae 153
Exorcists and Couriers 156
Changing Lifestyles in the Fourth Century 166
Starving Exorcists 166
Marriage and Family 171
Changing careers 180
Benefits of the Job 185
A Good Burial 186
Other Provisions (A Servant?) 196
Conclusions 197
CHAPTER FIVE - "Why Do the Teachers Mention Exorcists?" The Decline of an Order 199
Problems and Ambiguities 201
A Summary View of Eastern Exorcists 204
Exorcists and Fourth-Century Syriac Liturgy 208
Exorcists and Saints 212
Exorcists and Books 216
Exorcists and Energumens 221
Exorcists at the End 225
Conclusions 231
CONCLUSION 235
Exorcists, Cultural Identity, and Magic in Late Antiquity 238
Christian Exorcism and the Problem of "Christian Magic" 239
Christian Exorcism and the Creation of "Jewish Magic" 241
Retrospect and Prospect 251
BIBLIOGRAPHY 254

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A subsequent seminar with Professor Luijendijk initiated a positive and productive affiliation. It would be hard to exaggerate her influence over my research,

writing, and scholarly outlook. When I became interested in studying demons, she taught me to be even more interested in the real people who concerned themselves with these demons. She pointed me to archaeology, papyrology, and epigraphy, to objects that tell stories about the past; material culture looms large in my research because of her influence. I would need several pages to describe the many ways I have benefitted from my mentor's guidance! Additionally, Professor Luijendijk provided a supportive presence during some difficult personal events; her encouragement never flagged, and this meant the world to me. I am delighted and honored to have a permanent, public association with Professor Luijendijk, who goes on record as my Doktormutter.

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Himmelfarb has also been a trusted advisor in many other ways, often pointing me in a productive direction and saving me from missteps. I am grateful for the opportunity to research under the guidance of such an extraordinary scholar and mentor.

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To mentors, dear friends, and family—even if your words are not cited in my dissertation, your influence appears on every page (at least in the good parts).

INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I reconstruct the characteristics of ancient exorcists and other exorcism practitioners in order to situate these figures among significant historical developments in Late Antiquity. I work to accomplish this by recovering the backgrounds and origins of exorcists' positions, the roles they held in their social contexts, and important details about their personal lives. With these considerations in view, I argue throughout this treatment that exorcists of Late Antiquity played a role in discourses and conflicts that were of far-reaching consequence.

The very premise of "important exorcists" may invite skepticism at the outset, and for good cause.[1] The topic is of marginal relevance to contemporary society (even though the number of people seeking out exorcists seems to have grown in recent years).[2] In modern consciousness, the word "exorcist" is likely to evoke the stereotype of a gloomy priest or an eccentric freelancer whose notoriety comes from private battles with forces of evil. By contrast, ancient exorcisms and exorcists often evidenced a more public character, sometimes in politically or culturally charged contexts. Most of the exorcisms from the ancient world, at least those we know from texts and objects, were performed by religious officials whose knowledge and institutional status authorized them to exorcize. As such, an investigation of ancient exorcists will likewise provide an investigation of the societies and institutions in which they functioned.

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[1] To drive home a distinction with modernity: As far as I am aware, modern exorcists and exorcism have not been in a strategic position to play a comparable role in socio-political events.

[2] E.g., Marika Malaea, "Catholic Church Attendance in Decline While Exorcisms and Exorcism Training is on the Rise," Newsweek, Nov. 1, 2019. Accessed Dec. 15, 2019, https://www.newsweek.com/catholic-church-attendance-decline-while-exorcisms-exorcism-training-rise-1469334; Jean Hopfensperger, "Exorcisms make a 21st century comeback in Minnesota, U.S.," Star Tribune, Nov. 11, 2019. Accessed Dec. 15, 2019, http://www.startribune.com/exorcisms-make-a-21st-century-comeback/564708901/.

Exorcism: A Narrow Type of Spirit Management

Exorcism is a term generally used to describe attempts to ward off evil spirits from a person, place, or object.[3] As with words like "religion" and "magic," it ultimately proves difficult to attach universal specificity to a term like "exorcism." Exorcism's connection with the invisible, unknowable, and unfalsifiable renders it something of a blank slate—its meaning changes with its situation.[4] Francis Young notes that, "Theologians, anthropologists and historians under anthropological influence have a tendency to define exorcism very differently,"[5] to which I add the further observation that exorcism's significance, personnel, social standing, and methods tend to fluctuate and evolve from one context to the next. Suffice it to say, exorcism and exorcists occupied a variety of different social spaces and discourses throughout different phases of antiquity, none of which lend themselves to tidy categorization in modern terms.

Because of this diversity, it is challenging to convey the significance of exorcists and exorcism in the ancient world—our own discursive terms and concepts are laden with meaning-making, and we impose our complexities on top of ancient complexities.[6] Exorcism may be approached as an activity pertaining to the occult, or religion more

[3] There is extensive bibliography on exorcism, much of which I discuss in appropriate sections in the dissertation. See the overview in Joachim Schmidt, "Exorcism," in Kocku von Stuckrad, ed., *The Brill Dictionary of Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 695–9 and a discussion of definitions in Francis Young, *A History of Exorcism in Catholic Christianity,* Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 15–20.

[4] For instance, the statement that "exorcism is always practiced by specialists (shamans, priests, etc.), and according to prescribed rules" (Schmidt, "Exorcism,"695) meets ample contradictory evidence in the case of Gentile Christian exorcism, which I discuss in chapter 2 of this study.

[5] Young, *A History of Exorcism*, 15.

[6] Preoccupation with theological or magical concerns takes up a great deal of attention in study of early Christian exorcism. Here, I attempt to offer a somewhat simple orientation through the lens of premodernity and modernity: If exorcism seems to be occult, religious, or magical, perhaps the common denominator between these topics is their distance from more functionally relevant topics such as science, industry, and technology.

broadly, or "magic," or any number of other contextual frameworks of understanding.[7] What is more, because exorcism's meanings have shifted over time and differed between cultures, each different expression of exorcism can be evaluated for its relationship to ambiguous cultural categories such as "religion" and "magic." As a result of these issues, and because of the wide range of materials I cover in this study, I find it prudent to begin from the basic concern—repelling or expelling hostile spirits—and from there to seek answers about what this concern meant to people in their particular contexts.

It is perhaps more useful to begin with a broad social-conceptual framework for exorcism as a way of adding specificity to any provisionally universal dictionary definition. The ideas about exorcism that I discuss in this study can fruitfully be viewed as a subset of a much broader portfolio of spirit management practices that were shared across a wide range of regions and times in the ancient world.[8] These methods seem to arise from different ways of answering the question, "What kind of spirit management will most benefit the human condition?" Time-honored traditions developed systematic philosophies and methods around this question. Furthermore, these philosophies and methods continued to be debated throughout antiquity.

These ancient forms of spirit management—including exorcism—ostensibly helped people understand and manage the universe around them. Since exorcism was just

[7] See, e.g., Georg Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult*, 2nd edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 38.

[8] On this "broader portfolio," consider the commonalities and disparities between different approaches to Mediterranean "demon management" as discussed in Dale B. Martin, *Inventing Superstition: From the Hippocratics to the Christians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Ilinca Tanaseanu-Döbler, *Theurgy in Late Antiquity* (Göttingen:Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); and Heidi Marx-Wolff, *Spiritual Taxonomies and Ritual Authority Platonists, Priests, and Gnostics in the Third Century C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); and see also a variety of citations among the arguments of this study.

one of many approaches, ancient ritual specialists from a range of traditions were as likely to summon a demon to perform a task as they were to cast one out.

The desire to understand and harness invisible forces is hardly a foreign concept in any age. In our scientifically informed era, educated people view the visible world with a shared appreciation for the many invisible features that make the universe work. We use a common lexicon to explain natural phenomena that evade easy detection and simple explanation. It is possible to discuss gravity, sound waves, or electricity with knowledgeable people from all around the world, without needing to discuss religion, philosophy, ethnicity, or mythological narrative as key parts of the explanation.

Ancient people, of course, accounted for natural phenomena in a variety of ways, but we may generally observe a shared appreciation for the invisible beings that made the universe work: gods, angels, demons,[9] heroes, and a host of other spirts that span or defy classifications. [10] Ancient Hellenistic philosophers and ritual experts tended to agree that demons helped keep the universe running.[11] From its first appearances in Greek, the term δαίμων could indicate a wide range of gods, intermediary beings, heavenly bodies, and so on.[12] These beings were deemed relevant to the degree that they ostensibly affected the

[9] In this treatment, I use the term "demon" and avoid alternative spellings like "daimon" and "daemon" unless it is necessary in the discussion. People in the ancient world disagreed with one another about the nature of demons, but they did not rely on orthography to convey their differing perspectives.
[10] In addition to other bibliographic notes, see Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 1–40 (esp. 1–5 for this section). Unfortunately, the timing of this dissertation did not permit extensive engagement with Reed's volume.
[11] It may be helpful to think of them as "the gods in action" (see Petersen, "The Notion of Demons," 39). As a concept, a δαίμων essentially did things, not as "a specific class of divine beings, but a peculiar mode of activity" (Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985], 180). See discussions in chapter 2, Martin, *Inventing Superstition*, 71.
[12] This holds true even beyond the philosophical texts, as Giulia Sfameni Gasparro has shown from epigraphical evidence, in "Daimón and Tuché in the Hellenistic Religious Experience," in Per Bilde, et al., ed., *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1997), 67–109, highlighting evidence outside the confines of philosophical texts.

lives of humans. “The universe must needs be filled through and through with life” (ἀνάγκη γὰρ ὅλον δι᾽ ὅλων τὸν κόσμον ἐψυχῶσθαι), Philo of Alexandria declared, presenting a common truism about the ubiquity of demons and other creatures who administered the cosmos.[13]

Ancient and modern sciences thus differ in their explanations for how things get done in the universe. However, the sciences of modernity share an important similarity with their ancient predecessors when they look to the invisible for explanations about visible by mysterious phenomena—why some objects fall and others rise, why some people become sick and others do not, and how unique landscape features came to exist. Our explanations differ, but we have always looked for some sort of explanation.

Besides the desire to understand, we share another key similarity with our ancient ancestors: a desire to control. Humans exploit their understanding of the universe to try to promote a more desirable environment for human flourishing, whether it be an question of agricultural abundance or the remedy for an illness. Today, we thrive in a culture of rapid innovation, which we describe in scientific and commercial language. In the ancient world, the vocabularies for describing the invisible processes of the universe overlapped with cultic, mythological, and philosophical vocabularies.[14] Because demons could “get things done” in the visible world without being seen, many people were interested in

[13] Philo, *De gigant.* II.7 (LCL 227:448–49). Cf. for instance, the Pythagorean pronouncement that “all the air is filled with souls, and these are called demons (*daimones*) and heroes” (εἶναί τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων· καὶ τούτους τοὺς δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας νομίζεσθαι), André Laks and Glenn W. Most, ed., trans., *Early Greek Philosophy, Volume IV: Western Greek Thinkers, Part 1*, LCL 526 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 387–87 (*Pythagorean Memoirs* quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in Diogenes Laertius).

[14] Late Antique philosophers sometimes claimed to advance knowledge by taxonomsizing and describing these spirits. See, e.g., the second book *De mysteriis*, in which Iamblichus lays out an encyclopedic treatment of the gods, archangels, angels, intermediate class (demons and heroes), archons (of the cosmos and of matter), and the manifold forms of souls.

learning the appropriate ways of understanding, appeasing, or controlling these beings. Specific tactics for approaching these unseen spirits would be determined by whether one deemed these spirits to be predominately good, bad, or ambivalent.

Exorcism is best understood as part of this question of managing the world, of "getting things done" with demons. The term "exorcism" is useful for describing the various adversarial tactics used against harmful, numinous entities; generally, exorcism is carried out against a visible person or object imagined to have been overtaken by the spiritual entity, with the understanding that the invisible spirit is being affected by the exorcism.[15] Unlike methods that were intended to coax or demand beneficial services or advice from such beings, "exorcism" is the term we use to describe adversarial approaches to spirits that are deemed harmful. Ideas about the exact nature of these kinds of beings and the precise methods for warding them off differed greatly from region to region, from school to school, and from one generation to the next.

As I have noted, exorcism represented a small part of a broader portfolio of spirit-management methods in some cultural contexts. Hellenistic philosophers classified demons among minor divinities whose existence was to benefit the human race; one might be able to gain benefit from demons. By contrast with positive approaches, exorcism posits that a certain spirit or species of spirit is harmful, and thus, needs to be expelled or repelled. This is the approach we find on display in tablets from Mesopotamia and Jewish texts associated with Second Temple Judaea, as I discuss in the first chapter.

[15] A range of sub-categories emerges, because the tactic might be seen as reactive (generally an expulsion) or preventative (often an apotropaic ritual or object); there are many ambiguous situations where the line between reaction and prevention is hard or impossible to discern.

Early Christians merged a variety of Jewish and Greek ideas and terms in unique and innovative ways,[16] and in doing so, they brought exorcism even further to the forefront of their system. Christians who feared that most unseen spirits were evil demons concluded that exorcism would be their primary approach for managing the unseen ecosystem. As I have understood the sources, the exorcisms of Jesus and subsequent adaptations by early Christians presented the smallest range of training and ability of any group performing exorcisms in the ancient world; exorcism was the entirety of their "demon management" portfolio, and even in this regard, they intentionally shunned much learning on the topic.

Moreover, within the broad category generally termed "early Christianity," it is important to distinguish between the exorcisms practiced in one century from those of an earlier or later century. Christian exorcism as I describe it below was unrooted and dynamic during much of its early evolution. As I discuss in the first two chapters following this introduction, there are sound reasons for distinguishing between the cultural significance of Jesus's Judaean exorcisms and the later exorcisms of the Gentile movement that grew out of his legacy.[17]

To sum up, while it is possible to discuss exorcism a broad definition in mind, understanding what exorcism meant or how it was conducted requires careful attention to the significance of the practice in its different cultural setting. It is possible to gain even

[16] See Dale Martin, "When Did Angels Become Demons?" *JBL* 129 (2010): 658.
[17] Among other things, noting the distinctions between Jesus's exorcisms and those of his later Christian devotees can prevent the anti-Jewish rhetoric of these authors from making its way back into the Jesus movement and its conflicts with Judaean sages.

more precision by attending to factors that are explicitly grounded in a social context. Attending to exorcists and other personnel of exorcism is a step in this direction.

Who Were the Exorcists?

Just as there is no single concept of exorcism, there is also no single concept of "exorcists."[18] However, it is possible to identify many of the people (or at least kinds of people) who were performing exorcisms, and in some cases, we can learn a great deal about these ritual experts and the lives they lived. In turn, this can refine our ideas about exorcism and its place in ancient societies and subcultures.

Ancient sources generally do not refer to the personnel of exorcism as "exorcists" or any equivalent term, save for a few specific contexts. In cases where exorcisms were but a small part of a larger portfolio of expertise, the practitioner might have been acting in their role as a scribe, priest, teacher, or perhaps as an expert-for-hire. Indeed most of these persons did not possess a title that made any explicit reference to the act of warding off spirits—they did exorcism as part of their broader occupation. Of all the people who we find performing exorcists, it is only possible to find Christians who were expressly hired to receive a narrowly conceived professional title as their sole concern—these *exorcistae* occupy the bulk of my attention in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters.

Of course, we might justify calling a broad range of ancient persons "exorcists" if they occupied one of the various exorcistic roles. With enough explicit explanations about the limits and uses of terms, we might defensibly use the term "exorcist" to refer to a distinguished sage from Jerusalem, a Christian spice merchant, a displaced Judaean priest, or an actor who abandons the stage for a career upbraiding demons at his local

[18] For Greek terminological backgrounds, see philological notes in chapter 2.

church (people we meet in the chapters to follow). If explanation is not given, however, the use of the term "exorcist" can lead to historiographical mistakes and misunderstandings. Thus, although it is still reasonable to use the term "exorcist" in broader scholarly settings or everyday parlance, I have generally avoided using this term unless the ancient sources also employ a technical term (e.g., εξορκιστής) to indicate as much. Instead, I refer to the known profession of the person wherever it is possible—scribe or priest, for instance—or if this is unknown, I often default to more general categories such as "ritual expert."

Demons, Exorcism, and Historical Research

Exorcism's historical relevance has already been established thanks to scholarship concerned with the social impact of ancient demonology. My interest in understanding the social context of exorcists derives from this scholarship, in which exorcism experts are useful "among the social contexts for placing demonology."[19] Scholarship into demonology has been vibrant in the area of early Christian studies, as one might expect based on the prominence of demonic discourse in early Christian literature. Ancient Christian authors crafted the blueprint of a new demonology, and it was up to exorcism's practitioners to build this blueprint into something real. The "problem of demons" was of tremendous consequence to Christian thinkers of the second century and beyond. Elaine Pagels showed how Justin Martyr and other Christian apologists wove demons into the central points of their influential writings.[20] Christian exorcism promoted these ideas by manifesting the apologists' sophisticated ideas into concrete reality. Recent studies have

[19] David Frankfurter, "Introduction [to a Special Volume on Demonology in the Ancient Mediterranean World]," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 14 (2013): 1–8, here citing 5.
[20] Elaine Pagels, "Christian Apologists and 'The Fall of the Angels': An Attack on Roman Imperial Power?" *HTR* 78 (1985): 301–25.

described the many ways that beliefs regarding demons exerted tremendous influence over the formation of Anthony's monastic self-identity,[21] Eusebius's imperial political discourse,[22] and the ecclesiastical politics of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, and Ambrose of Milan, three of the most important bishops in the fourth century.[23] Groundbreaking investigations from the 1970s subjected "social demons" to clear and sober analysis, making it easier to perceive the broader consequences that might result from demonology.[24] The current study builds upon these trajectories in scholarship into ancient demons, especially by paying attention to Christian exorcistic innovations in the midst of other beliefs and traditions.

Scholars have long suspected that the historical contribution of exorcists and exorcisms can best be found in the process of Christianizing the Roman world. An early Christian apologist writing from Carthage, Tertullian, boasted that Christian exorcisms had a penchant for "making Christians."[25] Historians from Gibbon onward have argued that exorcism helped Christians advanced their cause, an argument that scholars have worked to refine over the years; it is also a claim I generally support.[26] However, the

[21] David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk* (2006); Gregory A. Smith, "How Thin is a Demon?" *JECS* 16 (2008): 479–512.
[22] Hazel Johannessen, *The Demonic in the Political Thought of Eusebius of Caesarea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[23] Dayna S. Kalleres, *City of Demons: Violence, Ritual, and Christian Power in Late Antiquity* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).
[24] Jonathan Z. Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity," *ANRW* 2.16.1 (1978): 425–39; Peter Brown, "Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages," 17–45 in Mary Douglas, ed., *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*, Association of Social Anthropologists Monographs 9 (New York: Tavistock, 1970), 17–45; idem, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980; and Brown's many subsequent discussions of demons and holy men, demons and the cult of saints, demons and morality, and so on.
[25] Tertullian, *Apol.* 23: *…christianos facere consueverunt.*
[26] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 2, John Bagnell Bury, ed. (New York: MacMillan, 1914), 30–31 places exorcism among the miraculous prodigies employed "very frequently to the conviction of infidels." This was followed by Adolf von Harnack, *Die Mission und*

historical importance of exorcism has also been questioned, particularly after Robin Lane Fox vigorously argued that not a single convert could be reliably connected to Christian exorcism.[27] However, the entire project of measuring the influence of Christian exorcism through the numbers of converts made thereby strikes me as suspect from the outset. I suggest that we are better off abandoning simplistic transactional ideas about exorcism and conversion, which are perhaps more apropos of a marketing campaign than a dynamic, multigenerational cultural revolution.

In the treatment to follow, I offer a somewhat different perspective on the "Christianizing" effects of exorcism and its practitioners. First and foremost, I see Christian exorcism as an activity that "Christianized the Christians," meaning that the rhetoric, personnel, and practices of exorcism defined the distinct boundaries of "Christian" belief, conduct, and identify. Exorcism "made Christians" by shaping the contours of Christian identity, defining who Christians even were.

Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, 2.113 (Moffatt, ed., 2.131). Harnack devoted an entire chapter to the topic of "Der Kampf gegen die Dämonen" (book 2, ch. 3). Peter Brown has been especially influential in reviving interest in exorcism's historical value, in e.g., "Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages," 17–45 in Mary Douglas, ed., *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*, Association of Social Anthropologists Monographs 9 (New York: Tavistock, 1970), 17–45; idem., *World of Late Antiquity: From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971; and idem., *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). See also Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University, 1984), 6–7, 27. Besides this question of Christianization, exorcism has attracted a measure of attention in tradition-historical studies on Jewish and Christian rituals or beliefs, or in the questions pertaining to the life of Jesus. I discuss these issues and their sources at length in the chapters to follow.

[27] Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York: Viking, 1986), 298–99; followed by Sorensen, *Possession and* Exorcism, 169 n. 3, 178 n. 23 and Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus*, 290–1 (cf. reiteration in Andrea Nicolotti, *Esorcismo Cristiano e Possessione Diabolica Tra II e III Secolo*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia/ Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity 54 [Turnhouts: Brepols, 2011], 51). Sorensen especially argued the exorcism presented an obstacle to Christianization. Briefly, I find that Lane Fox overstated the social importance of disparaging words from exceptional figures like Lucian of Samosata and Marcus Aurelius. It is hard to imagine that most educated people were on part with Lucian—a point Lucian himself made time and again (i.e., the educated, well-regarded sort of people who met with Lucian's approbation for believing in miraculous cures, spells, and, it should not be forgotten, traditional oracles and contemporary sophists).

In large part, this socially constructive power of Christian exorcism seems to have derived from its ability to create new kinds of "others" out of Jews and "pagans." From around the beginning of the second century onward, Gentile leaders in the Jesus movement were aware that exorcism had the potential to isolate and defame Jewish exorcists (religious/ritual experts) and "pagan" priests; new forms of Christian exorcism sprung up to highlight and deepen these differences into social divides. In the writings of Christian apologists and theologians, exorcism provided ostensible proof that civilization was corrupted by demons masquerading as gods, and in so doing, elevated exorcism as a symbol for global conquest in the name of Jesus. These ideas represent different dimensions of early Christian identity-creation, and exorcism touched them all.

Christian exorcists and their exorcisms also "created Christianity" by filling out the institutional structure of the early Christian episcopacy. There is a window of time—approximately two centuries, 200–400 CE—when it is possible to find church exorcists involved in central ecclesiastical developments, including controversies. We do not meet Christian exorcists in any technical, professional sense before the third century; when they did finally appear on the scene, their importance appears to have been more thoroughly rooted in their ability to contribute to the growth of episcopal bureaucracy than on their ability to achieve any sort of ritual mastery. Attention to exorcists in these contexts can shed light on the fluidity of the Christian movement, but more crucially, exorcists reveal some of the means by which the incipient episcopal hierarchy gained compliance from congregations and their leaders. In the third century especially, exorcists and exorcism played a pivotal role in the events that shaped the ascendant "orthodox" identities of the fourth century. Turning to the fourth century, we find

exorcists in warring Nicene, Arian, and Donatist camps—all thoroughly rooted in the institution-building efforts of the 200s.

While much of the work deals with Christian exorcists, I have remained mindful of the broader context of Mediterranean Christians and Jews. The history of exorcism is punctuated with conflict between these groups. The conflicts are often attributable to Christian leaders, who took pains to distinguish their way of doing things from the exorcisms of Jewish experts. These disagreements were related questions of status, authority, textuality, acceptance of cross-cultural ("worldly") knowledge, and the appropriate use of Jesus's name in healing. Such conflicts drew lines of distinction between groups who listened to people claiming to be Jesus's spiritual heirs and groups who followed Jewish leaders. There was nothing natural about these distinctions between various communities of Jews, of course, and creating these distinctions required a great many other points of division besides those I discuss in this study.[28] In sum, exorcism possessed a reputation for healing, but it also became a prominent source of painful divisiveness.

Although once-forbidden textual and material exorcism practices eventually became more widely acceptable in the world of "Christendom," Jews continued to suffer the full stigma of suspicions about magic in exorcism. Further, while Jewish "magical" practices do not seem to have fundamentally changed during the course of Late

[28] As such, exorcism joins many other factors that can be analyzed for their role in the so-called "Parting of the Ways" between Judaism and Christianity. The complexity of this topic has become more fully appreciated in the wake of Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, ed., *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, TSAJ 95 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); see now Annette Y. Reed, *Jewish-Christianity and the History of Judaism: Collected Essay*, TSAJ 171 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018).

Antiquity,[29] outsider toleration for traditional Jewish ritual expertise declined as Christian influence grew. At various points, this dissertation assesses the increasingly deleterious effects of Christian exorcism ideals on the Jews who did not agree with these novel Christian norms. In the final pages, I return to the role Christian exorcism played in redefining Jewish ritual science as "magic." Such dynamics made "magicians" out of Jewish priests, scribes, and elders.[30] Inasmuch as it provided standards and methods for demonizing Jews and their leaders, Christian exorcism can be linked to the plight of Jews in Christian-dominant regions.

Approaches to the Sources for Exorcists

I have aimed to recover the relationships that connected exorcists and the Late Antique social institutions they served.[31] These social concerns have sometimes prompted me divide or juxtapose texts and corpora in ways that are unconventional, largely because institutions evolve at a different pace and in different ways than the literature of these same institutions (or the literature and institutions of offshoots or competitors).

In some cases, I have found it necessary to adopt a brisk pace through thorny, complex sources in order to reconcile one set of issues with events or phenomena of a different sort. In every case, I seek to marshall the crucial evidence and arguments that pertain to a distinct problem I am trying to resolve.[32] However, I fear that some readers

[29] E.g., they remained literate, continued to adapt to their context, etc. These and other points are argued at length below, particularly in the first two chapters.
[30] Notwithstanding such aspersions, these Jewish experts were the prototypical exorcists from which Christians had ultimately been inspired in their own exorcistic impulses.
[31] I credit Elizabeth A. Leeper, "Exorcism in Early Christianity" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1991) for a sustained interest in these kinds of sociological questions. Although my methods and conclusions differ from her own, the treatment is an early indicator of the kinds of questions that might be asked of early Christian exorcism.
[32] Although I rely heavily on texts, I have sometimes found it necessary to recontextualize authors or their message in ways that do not fit comfortably with existing scholarly discussions (although I have attempted

interested in specific topics, such as baptismal exorcism, amulets, or healing, may find my discussion of these topics overly brief.[33] I hope that my resulting hypotheses are sufficiently convincing or thought-provoking to contribute something useful to such readers. Ultimately, the driving interest has been to learn as much as possible about people who performed exorcisms in the ancient world and to relate this knowledge to historical social contexts.

Finally, one of the key contributions of this treatment is its attention to epigraphical materials for ecclesiastical exorcists. The stones "gossip among themselves," as Peter Brown put it, and I have reported some of what they have to say in the chapters below.[34] These sources, too, have helped to create a different portrait of exorcism and exorcists than is usually advanced, sometimes correcting long-held misconceptions. The epigraphical sources have changed the way I read third-, fourth-, and fifth-century texts about exorcists, which in turn has shaped my understanding of second-century exorcism (and to a degree, radiated outward to the first century). Hence, although the epitaphs do not feature prominently in the first half of the study, they can inform how we approach earlier and later persons who were said to perform exorcisms.

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to diligently respect each of these scholarly conversations by grappling with current opinions and pressing questions).

[33] Additionally, I remain cautious about finding and incorporating evidence for freelancing, unaffiliated "magicians." While it is reasonable to imagine that freelancers and outcasts tried their hands at exorcism, the sources at my disposal dedicate their attention to people who occupied or vied for legitimacy. In cases where authors have used the terminology of illicit magic to describe another person or group, another look at the sources may reveal hints of institutional affiliation, education, or high social standing of these persons. While I am supportive of research into the exorcisms of institutionally unaffiliated persons, I understand that as a different pursuit, which would use different materials and follow different methods to arrive at the outcome appropriate to that study.

[34] Peter Brown, "Conclusions," 405–15 in Hervé Inglebert, Sylvain Destephen, Bruno Dumézil, eds., *Le problème de la christianisation du monde antique* (Paris: Picard, 2010.), here citing 406.

The Structure of the Dissertation

Much of this study is occupied with a tumultuous period in the history of exorcism that lasted about four centuries, from approximately 50 CE to 450 CE. Exorcism underwent tremendous change during the span of time that passed between the early Jesus movement and the reign of Theodosius the Great at the end of the fourth century. From the turn of the second century onward, early Christian leaders encouraged all kinds of people to perform a new kind of exorcism for a wide variety of reasons—resulting in a wide range of effects. However, for all the details and drama in the chapters to follow, many of the changes to exorcism wrought by Christians were of a temporary nature. By the fifth century, I argue that Christian exorcists and Christian exorcism acceded to the norms that had already defined exorcism for millennia. The special class of narrowly focused exorcism specialists (a Christian innovation) declined in the fifth century, and exorcism passed back into the hands of more erudite clergymen and scholars; textual Christian exorcism incantations began to flourish.[35]

In chapter 1, "The Scribes Who Came down from Jerusalem," I begin to disentangle Second Temple Jewish exorcism from misconceptions about its social status and informal character. My first order of business is to establish the prestigious character of exorcism in the ancient world, which I attempt to do by looking at the backgrounds and status of Judaean exorcism in the Second Temple period. I seek to show that the social status of Jewish exorcism was not far removed from other typical forms of accepted religious expertise in the ancient world, closely related to other activities that

[35] Over time, experiments in exorcism eventually produced observations that may have contributed to, among other things, developments in modern psychology. See, e.g., Francis Young, *A History of Exorcism in Catholic Christianity*, Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 77–80.

took place in temples and schools around the Mediterranean and Near East. In particular, I argue against the concept of a popular (or populist) Jewish exorcism, which places Jesus and "the scribes from Jerusalem" on similar social footing. Judaean ritual experts were held in high esteem, partly thanks to their knowledge and skill. Jesus gained notoriety by disrupting these claims to knowledge, skill, and esteem, and he showed that it was possible to learn how to do exorcisms without spending years laboring under a teacher.

The social and epistemological distinctions I point out in the first chapter are particularly crucial for understanding the chapters to follow. Hence, when chapter 2 introduces "Some of the Wandering Judaean Exorcists," I show that Gentile Christians developed "Christian exorcism" against a backdrop of misunderstandings about the social and intellectual climate of Jesus and his scribal/priestly opponents.[36] Christian exorcism was founded upon a bias against the literate ritual sciences and experts they encountered (called "exorcisms" and "exorcists" in the Greek-speaking diaspora). Instead, Christian writers maintained that the learning, methods, and specialists of the Jews and "pagans" could be replaced by a few rudimentary gestures and phrases uttered by even the most unlettered Christian. This newly minted form of exorcism coincided with another development in Christian demonology: paranoia of and aggression against the "pagan" gods. Thus, although it had been developed in response to superior Jewish expertise, the simplicity of Christian exorcism made it a popular, habitual method for warding off demons, gods, and sickness in everyday life.

[36] Because of this, I argue that Christian exorcism only superficially followed the social and intellectual contours of Jesus's exorcisms.

As Christian exorcism became a widespread practice among Jesus's devotees, its applications began to extend to the ecclesiastical setting. This led to what I call "ecclesiastical exorcism," which is simply the application of the Christian exorcisms I have described above in a church setting, initially motivated by concerns over baptism and false prophets. Episcopal leaders continued to see the virtue of this simple, aggressive practice, but wanted to bring the ecclesiastical practice in line with broader institutional developments. Thus, when chapter 3 introduces "One of the (Christian) Exorcists," it becomes apparent that the exorcist has little in common with the figures described in the first two chapters. The ecclesiastical exorcists were intended to bring critical support to the evolving episcopal structure. And, indeed, they did prove their dedication to their bishops many times over. They did this not only by performing exorcisms, but also by showing that their word could be useful in times of factional discord. The dedicated exorcists of the third century underwent persecution with their fellow-clergy, but also found themselves benefitting from their integration in the episcopal structure. By concentrating on the sources that make these risks and rewards known, I have been able to bring detail and specificity to otherwise-obscure parts of the exorcist's career. Details about the "Lives of Christian Exorcists" remain in focus in chapter 4. Here, I synthesize epigraphical, epistolary, and literary sources to show how exorcists participated in fourth-century church life. Exorcists remained valuable commodities in the ecclesiastical ranks by supporting their bishops in word and deed. I evaluate their position in the church as a stable one, although it lacks the dynamism and development of the prior century, which leads me identify stagnation in the strength and permanence of this clerical office. Chapter 4 also brings individual exorcists and their

families into distinct focus, contributing to our knowledge of how non-elite clergy lived and labored in the fourth century.

Chapter 5 deals with the sharp decline of the order of ecclesiastical exorcists, which led a ninth-century deacon to ask, "Why Do the Teachers Mention Exorcists?" As Christian intellectual culture came into its own, the old concept of Christian exorcism no longer held its same appeal. Here we may contrast the rise of sophisticated liturgies and commemorations held in ornate shrines and basilicas with the exorcists, whose existence was premised on an illiterate and anti-elite orientation (chapters 1 and 2), and whose ranks were stocked with quotidian, subservient characters (chapters 3 and 4). The demise of the office of exorcists was not in spite of their faithfulness to their original charge, but rather because of slavish adherence to it. Finally, the Conclusion offers final thoughts on exorcism's place in Late Antique history, with particular attention to relations between Christianity and Judaism.

CHAPTER ONE

"The Scribes Who Came down from Jerusalem" and Jesus's Exorcisms

In the Gospel of Mark, we find the reflections and recollections of an unknown devotee of Jesus of Nazareth around the year 70 CE.[37] This gospel is our most important source for what Jesus's followers and their competitors were saying and thinking about him in the decades following his death.[38] As Mark understood it, Jesus of Nazareth's legacy included an ambitious program of healing and exorcism.[39] In fact, Mark depicted Jesus tussling with evil spirits nearly everywhere he went—synagogues, a cemetery, and generally in the gaze of the public.[40] Jesus also fell into conflict with other people, who found his exorcisms unbecoming and disturbing. In the third chapter of Mark, we read that these skeptics included Jesus's own family, along with people from the scribal

[37] The dating of Mark remains without consensus but is generally agreed to have been written around 68–71 CE. A recent argument for a post-70 date is Christopher Zeichmann, "The Date of Mark's Gospel Apart from the Temple and Rumors of War: The Taxation Episode (12:13–17) as Evidence," *CBQ* 79 (2017): 422–37. Matthew Larsen, *Gospels Before the Book* (Oxford University Press, 2018), argues that Mark (as we call the author) likely never finished composing his memorial of theology, exegesis, and reminiscence.

[38] The bibliography on Mark and its historical import is beyond voluminous. Recent scholarship has taken a greater interest Mark's narrative and exegetical inventiveness, for which see, e.g., Kelly R. Iverson and Christopher W. Skinner, eds., *Mark as Story: Retrospect and Prospect* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011); Holly J. Carey, *Jesus' Cry from the Cross: Towards a First-Century Understanding of the Intertextual Relationship between Psalm 22 and the Narrative of Mark's Gospel*, LNTS 398 (London: T&T Clark, 2009); Stephen P. Ahearne-Kroll, *The Psalms of Lament in Mark's Passion: Jesus' Davidic Suffering*, SNTSMS 142 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Thomas Hatina, *In Search of a Context: The Function of Scripture in Mark's Narrative*, JSNTSup 232 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002); Robert M. Fowler, *Loaves and Fishes: The Function of the Feeding Stories in the Gospel of Mark*, SBLDS 54 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981).

[39] David E. Aune, *Apocalypticism, Prophecy, and Magic in Early Christianity: Collected Essays* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 385–88 for a general overview of why many or most scholars agree that the historical Jesus participated in a practice of exorcism or something very much like it. See also, e.g., Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1978); Graham H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist: A Contribution to the Historical Jesus*, WUNT 2.54 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992); Stevan L. Davies, *Jesus the Healer: Possession, Trance, and the Origins of Christianity* (Continuum, 1995); Amanda Witmer, *Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist: His Exorcisms in Social and Political Context*, Library of the Historical Jesus Studies 10 (London; New Delhi; New York; Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2013); Eric Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity*, WUNT 2.157 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002); Todd Klutz, *The Exorcism Stories in Luke-Acts: A Sociostylistic Reading*, SNTS Monograph Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[40] Synagogue (Mark 1:23–28, 39), graveyard (Mark 5:1–20), and in general public (Mark 1:32, 34; 3:11).

classes. Here, we find that Jesus's strange behaviors worried his relatives.[41] They feared he had lost his mind, but they had no way of determining a clear-cut diagnosis.[42] Mark 3:21 says these relatives took measures "to apprehend him" (ἐξῆλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτόν), either to hold him there or to carry him somewhere else.[43]

While Jesus's relatives may have initiated the crisis in this story, few interpreters have cast doubt on their intentions. Instead, the supposed villains appear suddenly and without introduction in verse 3:22, "The scribes from Jerusalem" (οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων).[44] Scholars have characterized their intentions as an attack—these scribes "have come looking for a fight."[45] I highlight this unwarranted contrast between the motives of the scribes and Jesus's relatives because it reveals a deep misunderstanding of the role of scribes in Judaean exorcism. In this chapter, I argue that scribes such as these

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[41] A good summary of discussions surrounding the identity of those Mark has referred to as οἱ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ is in R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 165–66.

[42] Mark 3:21: ἐξέστη.

[43] The verb is used "several times in Mark with the meaning 'to arrest' (e.g., 6:17; 12:12; 14:1, 44, 46, 49, 51)," Robert A. Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, Word Biblical Commentary 34a (Dallas: Word, Incorporated, 1989), 172. Although Mark adds no details about Jesus arguing or scuffling with relatives, or passively surrendering to their demands, they seem to have successfully seized him and held him in place. Furthermore, we are best served by reading this as "house arrest" until the relatives are able to secure scribal attention. Otherwise we are left to contend with an inexplicable juxtaposition of (1) Jesus being seized with no mention of duration or release, and (2) Jesus being investigated by Jerusalem scribes, who appear (potentially in the same house) without explanation. See Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 172–74.

[44] Commentators often highlight distinctions between the prestigious Jerusalem scribes and local Galilean scribes (France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 168; Adella Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007], 228). Catherine Hezser, "Jewish Scribes in the Late Second Temple Period: Differences Between the Composition, Writing, and Interpretation of Texts," in Raimo Hakola, Paavo Huotari, and Jessi Orpana, eds., *Scriptures in the Making: Texts and Their Transmission in Late Second Temple Judaism* [Leuven: Peters, forthcoming], accessed from online pre-publication: https://www.academia.edu/36723048/_Jewish_Scribes_in_the_Late_Second_Temple_Period_Differences_Between_the_Composition_Writing_and_Interpretation_of_Texts_)," 9–10 is a helpful summary on this matter. Scribes are unique to Mark in this vignette, while Matthew 9:34 focuses on the Pharisees. Luke's broader assessment likely reflects the Christian movement's expansion across the Jewish and broader Roman map by the time he wrote. The text concerns a variety of συναγωγὰς καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας (Lk 12:11), who failed to appreciate the ecstatic witness of Christian confessors in trial settings.

[45] France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 169, a rather conventional reading. Cf. M. Eugene Boring, *Mark: A Commentary*, New Testament Library (Louisville and London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 106; Collins, *Mark*, 228 (with a discussion of grounds for prosecuting Jesus for magic); "the evil suggestion" that he was possessed (*EDNT* 2.219); and many more.

represented a select group of practitioners who were sanctioned to steward and practice exorcism in Judea and its environs.

Confusion about Jewish exorcism in the Second Temple era has led to a malignant opinion about Judaean scribes, and it likewise obscures the unusual character of Jesus's exorcisms. As I argue below, scribes and priests performed exorcisms, and we have no indication that exorcisms were freely performed by laborers, peasants, or other persons from among the uneducated masses. Nonetheless, modern scholarship has stood strong in the opinion that Jewish exorcists of the Second Temple era were unconfined by institutional standards and constraints.[46] Influential descriptions of Jewish exorcism have treated Jesus's exorcisms as if they were paradigmatic of Jewish exorcism; together, both Jesus and his fellow Jewish "magical" exorcists supposedly drew from a "strong strain of native, Palestinian, Semitic paganism,"[47] and exorcism was a "common occurrence in inter-Testamental Judaism, to a certain measure of rabbinical embarrassment."[48] By this rubric, charismatic Jews such as Jesus navigated a democratic, free-market bazaar of magic and miracle to combat demons for the right price. This is the basis for assertions that Judaean exorcists attracted notoriety around the Roman world during the Second Temple era, which is a position I argue against.[49]

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[46] Here my arguments diverge from Gideon Bohak, "Jewish Exorcism Before and After the Destruction of the Second Temple," 277–300 in Daniel R. Schwartz and Zeev Weiss, eds., *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History? On Jews and Judaism before and after the Destruction of the Second Temple* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), esp. 299. Despite this point of disagreement, I affirm Bohak's broader argument for continuity.

[47] Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, 68. For the abiding influence of Smith's study, see, e.g., David Frankfurter, "Ancient Magic in a New Key: Refining an Exotic Discipline in the History of Religions," 3–20 in idem, ed., *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), here citing 3.

[48] Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973), 64.

[49] The few examples to follow are merely representation of a ubiquitous claim: John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan* (323 BCE–117 CE) (Edinburgh: T&T Clark,

These oft-repeated claims notwithstanding, I am unconvinced that it is accurate to state that Jews of this time were especially famous for their exorcisms.[50] To begin with, there seem to have been no famous exorcists in the Greek- and Latin-speaking Mediterranean until the first or second century.[51] Furthermore, there is scant evidence that Jewish exorcism was practiced by the unspecialized laity of people who lacked formal connection to scribal or priestly circles.[52] That view of exorcism runs parallel to similar assumptions about "a popular and influential group of non-priestly teachers, who led a 'democratization' of Judaism," an untenable assumption as Steven Fraade demonstrated.[53] To guarantee a parcel of social space for these freelance operatives, the

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1996), 119–20: "Jews were particularly renowned as magicians and exorcists"; Susan R. Garrett, *The Demise of the Devil: Magic and the Demonic in Luke's Writings* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1989), 91: "first century Jews were renowned for and proud of their exorcistic ability"; Gary B. Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care in Early Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 44; Paul Trebilco, *The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 148; Geert van Oyen, "Demons and Exorcisms in the Gospel of Mark," in Nienke Vos and Willemien Otten, ed., *Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 100. There is very little evidence upon which to base this claim, as van Oyen notes in his argument for widespread exorcism: "Being an exorcist was not very exceptional at Jesus' time, though it must be said that there are not so many nonbiblical texts which give as broad a description of exorcisms by one particular person as do the synoptic gospels" (van Oyen, "Demons and Exorcisms," 100).

[50] In the following chapter, I suggest that Jewish exorcists did not attract notice outside of Palestine until the end of the first century or the beginning of the second century. This coincides with the uptick in interest in demons and exorcism that has sometimes been observed by historians, e.g., E. R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress and Other Essays on Greek Literature and Belief* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 196.

[51] See chapter 2 of this treatment, as well as Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism*, 18–46.

[52] One might explain this populist hermeneutic by invoking "modern sensibilities." I think this is probably mistaken. I suspect that the excitement over great papyrological and epigraphical discoveries had some part to play in this tendency. We learned little about Pharisees and Sadducees, and a great deal about Jews who "served and worked everywhere, in every branch of the economic life of the country, as soldiers and policemen, tax-farmers and State officials, as tillers of the soil, artisans, and merchants" as Victor Tcherikover summarized (*CPJ: Vol 1* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, for Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1957], 19). Identifying overreaches in populist interpretation should not in any way discourage scholars in the Humanities from possessing "modern sensibilities" of the sort that lead to favorable views of democracy, equality, and social welfare!

[53] Steven D. Fraade, "'They Shall Teach Your Statutes to Jacob': Priest, Scribe, and Sage In Second Temple Times," digitally published at https://www.academia.edu/301787/They_Shall_Teach_Your_Statutes_to_Jacob_Priest_Scribe_and_Sage_In_Second_Temple_Times. The paper has exerted some degree of influence on such discussions, despite being unavailable until recently (save for the author's willingness to share the paper upon request). Another study that offers an appropriately variegated portrait of the scribal habitus of this era is Samuel L. Adams,

ideal type of "charismatic holy man" is invoked as if this paradigm were a dependable fact of history (which is hardly the case).[54] The texts themselves tell a different story altogether.

Judaean exorcism emerged as an institutional function governed by literate elites, who engaged with (and likely contributed to) the transmission of learning between Mesopotamia, the Levant, and Egypt.[55] When we speak of Judaean exorcism in the

"The Social Location of the Scribe in the Second Temple Period," 23–37 in Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert Tigchelaar, eds., *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, JSJSupp 175/1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017). I am unpersuaded by Hezser's broad rejection of any sort of meaningful overlap between intellectuals/authors and Jewish scribes, argued in "Jewish Scribes in the Late Second Temple Period"; cf. Hezser, "Scribes/scribality," 355–59 in Tom Thatcher, Chris Keith, Raymond F. Person Jr., Elsie R. Stern, eds., *The Dictionary of the Bible and Ancient Media* (London: Bloomsbury 2017), esp. 357: "In contrast to those who 'merely' copied the text of the Torah…" Ongoing scholarship into the work of editors, copyists, composers, etc. has found that literacy, copying, and creativity were more closely intertwined than was conventionally assumed a few decades ago (e.g., many textual anomalies previously explained as symptoms of orality are now explained as part of the creative obligation of educated scribes). The range of textual traditions in which this can be demonstrated may be seen in Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug, eds., *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 175 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017). In the end, it is most feasible to argue that some "mere scribes" lacked prestige and generative learning, but other scribes attained deep learning and elite status within a community or society.

[54] I do not treat a variety of rabbinic "holy man" tales, e.g., those of Hanina ben Dosa, Onias/Honi the Circle Drawer, Shimon ben Shetach, or Joshua ben Perachiah. No necessary relationship exists between a small number of holy men and a freelance movement among the broader laity; the rationale seems to be presumed. Alan J. Avery-Peck expressed doubts about the value of comparing Jesus and other Second Temple holy man with rabbinic holy men, but left the question of comparison open and the paradigm of holy man barely troubled, in his "The Galilean Charismatic and Rabbinic Piety: The Holy Man in the Talmudic Literature," 149–65 in Amy-Jill Levine, Dale C. Allison, and John Dominic Crossan, eds., *The Historical Jesus in Context*, Princeton Readings in Religion (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), esp. 163–65. Yet the typology of holy man as read into Tannaitic and Amoraic sources rests on shaky foundations, for which see Chana Safrai and Zeev Safrai, "Rabbinic Holy Men," 59–78 in Marcel Poorthius and Joshua Schwartz, *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); cf. David Levine, "Holy Men and Rabbis in Late Antiquity," 45-57 in Marcel Poorthius and Joshua Schwartz, *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity* [Leiden: Brill, 2004], with important caveats raised in 51-53. For the Bavli in particular, the evidence of influence is more established, so Geoffrey Herman and Jeffrey L. Rubenstein, *The Aggada of the Bavli and Its Cultural World* (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2018), xxvi–xxvii; note, however, the numerous contrasts delineated by Rubenstein in "Martyrdom in the Persian Martyr Acts and in the Babylonian Talmud," 175–201 in the same volume. I argue that the idea of a holy man paradigm does nothing to explain the companion argument for democratized exorcism, not unless one wants to argue that the ostensible multitudes of freelance Jewish specialists were themselves holy men. Additionally, none of these accounts deals with exorcism.

[55] I do not draw any connections to thoroughly Greek or Romanized regions for a good reason—there was hardly an exorcism tradition to speak of. Here I am in general agreement with Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism*, esp. 75–117.

Second Temple era, we are talking about rites composed in Aramaic and Hebrew, which were produced for use at the Temple (and by related groups, especially at Qumran). I save discussions of diasporic, Greek-language Jewish and Gentile (primarily Christian) exorcism until the next chapter, because its complex, fluctuating relationship to Jewish exorcism requires a range of arguments and supporting proofs on its own.

While it is customary to look across all eras for recollections of the Second Temple era, I find it most prudent to first analyze texts composed during the time in question; we may then cross-check against subsequent texts that recollect the earlier era.[56] We may divide the extant compositions into two groups: narrative accounts and ritual texts.[57] In both kinds of texts, exorcism was a conduit for expressing the supreme efficacy of God's gifts of wisdom and skill, bestowed upon his elect. The particular knowledge and skill of exorcism belonged first and foremost to the realm of literate experts, who studied, adapted, and transmitted both kinds of texts in the course of their training and subsequent career.

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[56] This deviates from the conventional method of using later compositions that speak of the Second Temple era as evidence of that era. For reasons I will explain in the appropriate parts of the discussion, I am unconvinced of the relevance of Philostratus's account of Apollonius (which I discuss in chapter 2), the Testament of Solomon, and Pseudo-Philo's "Song of David."

[57] Similar to the grouping in Florentino García Martínez "allusions to magical practice in literary texts" and "magical texts" (*idem*, "Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 13–33 in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. J. N. Bremmer and J. R. Veenstra [Leuven: Peeters, 2002]). I find this preferable to the division of "insider" and "outsider" (Yuval Harari, *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah* [Detroit: Wayne State University, 2017], 10; Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* [Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008], 87–88), which gives the appearance of presuming that sages did not handle both ritual and narrative texts. Throughout, I work with the understanding that both "insider" (ritual) and "outsider" (narrative) texts could be read, handled, copied, and composed by the same kinds of people. For the purposes of my study, I do not further divide ritual texts by genre (e.g., Esther Eshel, "Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 395–415 in Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld, eds., *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt/Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003]) or exorcism practices by typology (e.g., Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 88), yet I should add that these divisions remain helpful as literary and thematic categories.

This speaks not only of social status, but also of epistemic fluency. Exorcism in Judaea in the Second Temple Era was not only "Jewish" in some sense but was also further situated in a global scholarly network of ideas and texts. In the continuous hubbub of cultural exchange across the Near East, deeply learned priests, scribes, healers, and diviners studied collections of exorcism rituals that evolved over the course of millennia. Judaean scribes participated in this pan-cultural exchange while they prioritized indigenous Jewish literary forms, beliefs, and practices. To borrow David Frankfurter's language about claims to tradition, Second Temple Jewish exorcism contributed to the Great Tradition of Judaism by transforming a heterogenous anthology of foreign and local ideas into reliable sources of knowledge, which were then suitable for use by the "institution and hierarchy."[58] Owing to the diligent ingenuity of literate specialists,[59] extant Jewish exorcism texts reveal a broad interest in Sumero-Babylonian fields of expertise, including exorcism. Jewish scribes and sages deserve recognition as participants in worldwide scholarly pursuits, not in *spite* of exorcism or "magic," but rather in part *because* of it.

Second Temple Jewish Exorcism in Materials Composed before 70 CE

Narrative Accounts

There are three noteworthy exorcism passages in narratives of the Second Temple period: one each for Abraham, Daniel (perhaps), and an exiled Jew named Tobiah. I argue that

[58] David Frankfurter, "The Great, the Little, and the Authoritative Tradition in Magic of the Ancient World," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 16 (2015): 11–30, here citing 25: "A Great Tradition involves an institution and hierarchy that knows the religion, writes it out, sustains its central cults, and from which certain texts, charms, images, or practices draw their authority." Frankfurter adopts the terminology from mid-20th century studies of Robert Redfield.

[59] *Literacy* should be taken in a context-appropriate way to indicate the complex interplay between oral and written bodies of "text," not an anachronistic claim to the supremacy of the written word. For more discussion on this, see e.g., Steven Fraade, "Literary Composition and Oral Performance in Early Midrashim," ch. 17 in Steven Fraade, ed., *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

these exorcism accounts say more about the producers of the texts and their assumed readership than they do about exorcism *as practiced* by Jews or anyone else during the Second Temple era. Texts of this kind provided elite Jews with a literary avenue for envisioning patriarchs and legendary heroes—and by extension, their contemporary selves—in relation to the wise or regal classes of other nations.[60] They can be contextualized within a much larger discourse of narrative creativity in the Second Temple period, the literary world of historians and so-called Bible rewriters[61] who "underscored Jewish intellectual and ethical superiority over the Gentiles in whose midst they lived."[62] From the exile onward, traditions and stories about great figures of the past offer insight into the ethical imagination of literate Jews, many of whom received the finest education and ascended through aristocratic ranks.[63] These authors relayed fabulous claims about their narrative subjects, such as the dramatic assertion that

[60] E.g., Ezekiel's *Exagogue*, in which a highly educated author deployed Jewish traditions via a medium appropriate to a similarly educated audience (on questions of genre and performance, see Edmund James Stewart, "Ezekiel's *Exagoge*: A Typical Hellenistic Tragedy?" *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 58 [2018]: 223–52). The epistemic sources of knowledge themselves factor into the hero's journey: "royal rearing and education" (τροφαῖσι βασιλικαῖσι καὶ παιδεύμασιν), "patriarchal heritage and gifts from God" (γένος πατρῷον καὶ θεοῦ δωρήματα), and upon completion of a quest (lines 68–82), direct revelation—all in a flowery iambic trimeter.

[61] I allude to texts that scholarly convention has classified as retellings of biblical works. On problems inherent in the classification of texts as "biblical interpretation" or "rewritten Bible," see Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 6–9.

[62] Erich Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 188.

[63] To claim that exorcism was a learned activity does not imply the inverse, that all learned people practiced exorcism. We should expect to find differences between social circles. See, e.g., the inter-scribal discourse hypothesized by Benjamin G. Wright III, "Putting the Puzzle Together: Some Suggestions Concerning the Social Location of the Wisdom of Ben Sira," 89–112 in Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills, eds., *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005). I cannot not speculate on how administrative functionaries like those mentioned in the Zenon Papyri (e.g. *CPJ* 1.1, 4, 6) would have viewed exorcism; however, there is no reason to suspect that educated professionals found the activity dubious, especially if they remained in contact with state apparatuses that staffed exorcistic personnel near the upper echelons of the royal councils.

Abraham taught astronomy to the Egyptians for the very first time.[64] These apologetical and pedagogical materials gave lessons in the heritage and ethics of the Jews.[65]

As these narratives probed and extended the plotlines of noteworthy characters and inherited themes, they often pitted Jewish wisdom and revelation against the learned divination and practical magic of other esteemed hieratic traditions.[66] Incredible deeds notwithstanding, these tales reflect historical realities. Each of the exorcism tales I discuss below presuppose an imperial society governed by means of a highly structured bureaucracy in which learning and political authority were visible and inseparable. Calendars, physiognomy, exorcism, and historical knowledge belonged in the hands of the elite scribal and priestly classes of Egypt, the Levant, and Mesopotamia. The

[64] See Mladen Popović, "Networks of Scholars: The Transmission of Astronomical and Astrological Learning between Babylonians, Greeks and Jews," ch. 7 in Ben-Dov and Sanders, *Ancient Jewish Sciences*, esp. 167 n.35. The reception of Abraham as an astronomer had a complicated history. See, e.g., Annette Y. Reed, "Abraham as Chaldean Scientist and Father of the Jews: Josephus, *Ant.* 1.154–168, and the Greco-Roman Discourse about Astronomy/Astrology," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* 35 (2004): 119–58, which includes a discussion about the broader heritage of ideas leading up to Josephus's recalibration of Abraham for a Roman audience. Cf. similar claims about Moses and his "principle role in the transmission of literacy and literature in the ancient Mediterranean" (Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 154), or even more bold, his invention of every noteworthy feature of Egypt's governance and religion (Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 155); Louis Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses in the Context of Ancient Judaism* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2007), 1–16.

[65] Apology can be an aspect of pedagogy. It is possible to define *apologetical* texts as exclusively outward-facing efforts, that is, intended solely to convince outsiders of a claim. Still, it is a fair observation that apologetical literature exists to buttress trust where belief exists or encourage new faith where it does not (see Victor Tcherikover, "Jewish Apologetic Literature Reconsidered," *Eos* 48 [1956]: 169–93). In the end, I believe an apologetical text would fulfil its purpose if it accomplished either or both of these aims.

[66] Arnaldo Momigliano probed the utility of such a paradigm (revelation and paideia) looking at "Iranians and Greeks," ch. 6 in his *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

Mesopotamian *āšipu*[67] or *mašmaššu*[68] (terms often translated as *exorcist*) offers a notable example of the kind of priestly/scribal practitioners who had mastered such a "formidable" curriculum.[69] The course of learning of these practitioners consisted of already-ancient compendia of symptoms, incantations, natural sciences, and more, which they studied in a variety of languages.[70] These experts "were all members of the urban

[67] Most recently, see Daniel Schwemer, "Mesopotamia," 36–64 in David Frankfurter, ed., *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019). Markham J. Geller, *Ancient Babylonian Medicine: Theory and Practice*, Religions in the Greco-Roman World 189 (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) gives thorough and accessible discussions on a variety of aspects of medicine, magic, science, expertise, etc. in the context of Babylon. On the topic of the *āšipu* in particular, see conclusions by JoAnn Scurlock, "Physician, Exorcist, Conjurer, Magician: A Tale of Two Healing Professionals," in Tzvi Abusch and Karel van der Toorn, eds., *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives* (Groningen: Styx, 1999), 69–70. Scurlock shows that the *asû* and the *āšipu* relate to one another like a pharmacist and physician in the modern world (by way of analogy). The *asû* is likened to an assistant, less-well trained than the *āšipu*. Cf. the overviews in Barbara Böck, *The Healing Goddess Gula: Towards an Understanding of Ancient Babylonian Medicine* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 186–87; Gina Konstantopoulos, "Shifting Alignments: The Dichotomy of Benevolent and Malevolent Demons in Mesopotamia," 19–38 in Siam Bhayro and Catherine Rider, eds., *Demons and Illness from Antiquity to the Early-Modern Period* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017). In a comparison with Judaism and Christianity, Eric Sorensen concluded that the *āšipu* "among a host of specialized professions…most resembles the later exorcist" (Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism*, 19). Yet Sorensen also describes many significant differences separate these more archaic "exorcists" from later Christian practitioners, making such comparison a fraught task. I argue in this chapter that most of the Christian sources discussing exorcism seek to divorce the practice from its learned sphere, resulting in a full antithesis to the Great Traditions (Mesopotamian, Jewish, Egyptian) of exorcism. In later chapters, I argue that these radical views (much like early, radical apocalypticism) needed to be replaced with more realistic methods and ideas. This resulted in a new Christian system for exorcism (which included texts, liturgies, objects, shrines).

[68] The terms *āšipu* and *mašmaššu* appear to refer to the same kind of experts, and may have been interchangeable (Geller, *Ancient Babylonian Medicine*, 43–44).

[69] Daniel Schwemer, "Magic Rituals: Conceptualization and Performance," in Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 422.

[70] Schwemer, "Magic Rituals," 425. In order to gain knowledge and skill, these functionaries "copied and collected a wide variety of texts, including many which are unrelated to magic." Sam Mirelman, "Mesopotamian Magic in Text and Performance," in Strahil V. Panayotov and Luděk Vacín, ed., *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic: Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 347. Summarizing the knowledge of Old Babylonian tablets from Tell Haddad, Nathan Wasserman notes: "The pool of incantations and procedures in our exorcist's work seems to contain different categories, with fluid boundaries between them, combining the areas of agricultural abundance, human procreation and harmonious marital relations" ("From the Notebook of a Professional Exorcist," 329–49 in Dahlia Shehata, Frauke Weiershäuser, and Kamran V. Zand, eds., *Von Göttern und Menschen: Beiträge zu Literatur und Geschichte des Alten Orients: Festschrift für Brigitte Groneberg*, Cuneiform Monographs 41 [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010], 345). Of particular interest is Wasserman's analysis of the civic role of this expert in a domestic dispute ("From the Notebook," 345–47), thus contextualizing the sort of rituals that could otherwise seem impractical or frivolous to modern readers. For a detailed breakdown of the disciplines of knowledge housed at specific libraries, see Philippe Clancier, "Teaching and Learning Medicine and Exorcism at Uruk during the Hellenistic Period," 41–66 in Alain Bernard and Christine Proust, eds.,

elite and held high offices at local temples or the royal court, and their patients usually belonged to, or were associated with, the same social stratum."[71] The king and his experts remained in frequent correspondence about a whole host of topics important to the sovereign's health and prosperity.[72] So, too, in Egypt, illustrated in the intertextual play between narrative figures and diagnostic manuals. The Bentresh Stele is a good example. Jacco Dieleman has summarized the Bentresh Stele's narrative as "a forgery of the Persian or Ptolemaic period, which relates the miraculous cure of a princess Bentresh of Bakhtan by the Theban god Knonsu-the-provider-in-Thebes in the time of pharaoh Ramses II."[73] In the story, the royal scribe Thothemheb gave a diagnosis that was identical to the ancient medical treatise designated the Edwin Smith Papyrus (from ca. 1600 BCE). "An ailment I will fight with,"[74] he reported back to the king.[75] Priests, scribes, sages, kings—such was the cast of characters in the Hebrew Bible, the foils against whom a character such as Moses or Daniel could demonstrate the advantages of worshipping Israel's God. Thus, for instance, Daniel competed against the skills of the

Scientific Sources and Teaching Contexts Throughout History: Problems and Perspectives, Boston Studies in the Philosophy and History of Science 301 (Dordrecht, Heidelberg, New York, and London: Springer, 2014).

[71] Schwemer, "Magic Rituals," 422–23.

[72] Simo Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993).

[73] Jacco Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 273 n. 239.

[74] Translation in James P. Allen and David T. Mininberg, eds., *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 70–115 (no. 60), for instance, the traumatic head injury in Case 7 (pg. 77); parallel noted in Robert K. Ritner, "An Eternal Curse upon the Reader of These Lines (with Apologies to M. Puig)," 3–24 in Panagiotis. Kousoulis, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Demonology: Studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 175 (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011), 7. Case 8 (Allen and Miniberg, *The Art of Medicine*, 79) is interesting for its concern over a gaping head injury that would allow a god or other spirit to enter into the patient's head (and for which the doctor determines not to attempt a cure).

[75] In the Bentresh Stele, the scribe reported to the king, who invoked the healing deity himself.

court diviners, the גזרין (Dan. 2:27; 4:4; 5:7), and then received an appointment to rule over them thanks to his superior accomplishments (Dan. 5:11).

The trio of Jewish exorcism tales to be considered here showcases this same stock of characters and issues.[76] The *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242) is a Danielic work that offers a crucial "missing link between the Babylonian traditions [about Nabonidus's exile at Teima] and the biblical book" of Daniel's account of Nebuchadnezzar's madness.[77] In this case, either Daniel or some Daniel-like figure helps King Nabonidus regain his health back from some affliction that may have had a demonic cause (4Q242 l. 4). The unnamed Jew seems to be an official "diviner" (גזר) in the king's court,[78] the same role as Daniel's opponents in the now-canonical text. In the *Genesis Apocryphon,*[79] Egypt provides a venue for Abraham's feat of exorcism. In what seems like a benevolent analogue to Moses's triumph over Pharaoh's magicians (Ex. 7–11), the patriarch reverses the divine affliction in Pharaoh's household. Abraham cures Pharaoh by means of laying his hands upon him and praying, a brief description of a modality that scholars have related to the methods taught in Babylonian *āšipu* manuals.[80] For the plot, it was most important for the cure to be delayed until after this evil creature has routed "all" the educated figures of his court, leaving all questions of skill and wisdom beyond dispute.[81] In the end, both of

[76] Witmer, *Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist,* 41–44 discusses these cases, primarily emphasizing differences between Jewish exorcisms and those depicted in the gospels.
[77] John J. Collins, "Prayer of Nabonidus," *DJD* XXII, 83–93, here citing 86.
[78] Witmer, *Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist,* 43–44.
[79] The story takes up most of column 20 in 1Q20 (1QapGen^{ar}).
[80] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary,* 3rd ed., Biblica et Orientalia 18/B (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 213. Note Jan Joosten's evidence that the exact term for the expulsion of the spirit is a distinct Hebrew usage that evolved after the term's application in Zech. 3:2, in Joosten, "The Verb גער 'to Exorcize' in Qumran Aramaic and Beyond," *DSD* 21 (2014): 347–55, esp. 354–55.
[81] 1Q20 col xx.20: כול אסיא ואשפיא וכול חכימיא.

these miracles testifies to the merciful benevolence of Israel's God and the capacity of Jews to serve him in ways that could benefit a tolerant king.

Finally, the story of Tobit and his family concerns a different stock of characters, generally characterized as "simple folk striving to live ordinary upright lives."[82] Nonetheless, it is still true that Tobit's journey begins because a powerful monarch exiles him out of spite for his faithful piety (Tobit 1:13–14, 18). In the course of his trials, Tobit's son learns how to banish the murderous Persian demigod Asmodeus with assistance from the good angel Raphael, who taught him the use of fish entrails as a deterrent to this particular spirit.[83] This incident seems to be premised on the idea that all kinds of wisdom could be revealed and sanctioned by God.[84] By the tale's conclusion, Tobit emerges as a latter-day example of faithfulness to the God who called and prospered Israel's patriarchs.[85] The details of spiritual warfare seem to recede as quickly

[82] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, CEJL (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2003), 34.
[83] Asmodeus is typically identified with the Zoroastrian deity responsible for suffering in the world. See Eshel, *ha-Emunah be-shedim be-Erets-Yiśra'el*, 154–55; M. Hutter, "Asmodeus," in van der Toorn, et al., ed., *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 106–8; Shaul Shaked, "The Zoroastrian Demon of Wrath," 285–91 in Christoph Eslas, et al., ed., *Tradition und Translation, Festschrift für Carsten Colpe zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994). The international range of these events seems to have indicated the boundless authority of Israel's God over the world's span, besides making for a more dramatic story. See also Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 206–10 and 242–43.
[84] Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 33 rejected earlier attempts to rationalize this recipe in light of ancient medicine, determining it to be a case of "primitive conceptions and beliefs about angles subduing demons and supplying remedies for bodily afflictions"; cf. similarly Benedikt Otzen, *Tobit and Judith* [London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002], 48, "pagan" and magical" elements). Yet this could be misleading. While "common people" may have found these sorts of topics intriguing, literate persons lavished their attention upon angels, demons, and rituals to a degree that farmers and bricklayers could not afford (cf. Sirach 38:24–39:11). Loren Stuckenbruck's analysis could make the question a moot point: "For the author [of Tobit], 'magic' and 'medicine,' however these categories are defined, are virtually indistinguishable," Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Tobit and the Problem of 'Magic,'" 258–69 in Hermann Lichtenberger and Gerbert Oegema, *Jüdaische Schriften in ihrem antik-jüdischen und urchristlichen Kontext* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002), here citing 268. His broader argument is to posit the appropriateness of the collective media of "magic" and "medicine" for pious Jews as long as the source could be traced to God.
[85] Daniel A. Machiela and Andrew B. Perrin, "Tobit and the *Genesis Apocryphon*: Toward a Family Portrait," *JBL* 133 (2014): 111–32, a discussion of how both works share a "deep concern for Israelite identity and conduct in a world beset by the realities of widespread impiety and foreign domination, a

as they arose, a plot element of fleeting interest in the service of greater claims and aspirations.

All told, these stories reveal little about the prevalence or methods of exorcism during Second Temple times. Nevertheless, they indicate several important facts about exorcism's assumed epistemological sources and social location. First, a few glimmers of practical method—rebuking rituals, hand gestures, and fish entrails—strongly suggest that Jews were amenable to exploring exorcistic rituals and materials if they could be assimilated into the frame of Israel's heritage. Perhaps more telling is that the texts make no effort to discredit relationships between exorcism and literacy, scholarship, incantations, or so-called *materia magica.*[86] If a scribe were persuaded by the legends telling how Moses or Abraham instructed other ancient civilizations in their ways of wisdom, there would be minimal cause for concern over foreign knowledge and its sources. It stands to reason that a true sage could feel confident in their ability to detect and filter out any idolatrous detritus.

Second, Abraham the patriarch and the Jewish גזר are hardly examples of common people; their presence in the royal court was occasioned by their pre-existing social standing. If the foreign sages proved ineffective, it was because they invoked inferior deities and failed to acknowledge the true God and his elect representatives. The greater wisdom of Israel's revelation deftly surpassed the stately knowledge of world-class sages, but in no way implies a disregard for the class of specialists. Perhaps the

world where venerable examples of wise, devout, and virtuous Israelites—male and female—were considered valuable" (132).

[86] In fact, they may have encouraged the perceived relationship. Eshel, *ha-Emunah be-shedim be-Erets-Yiśra'el*, 292–94 gives a comparison of terminology in narrative accounts and ritual texts.

wisdom of Moses, Abraham, or Daniel—mediated by the best of contemporary Jewish scribes—could guide the learned classes of foreign conquerors and increase their benefit to the realm.[87] This view reflects the same well-studied ideals of Hellenistic Jewish texts that balance "loyalty to the regime" with faithfulness to "convictions, without compromise or assimilation,"[88] as Erich Gruen summarized. It is also worth noting that this focus on prestige excludes images of unofficial figures, who would undoubtedly be considered illicit sorcerers (why invite that comparison to oneself?).

Finally, the existence of the textual materials themselves is a significant indicator of education and formal roles. Even "simple" Tobit endures thanks to the labors of scribes, whose education and status permitted them to reinvent the text numerous times.[89] The scribes who crafted and transmitted these texts were adept in working with literary conventions, motifs, and traditions shared across the ancient world, while still valuing their "ancestral heritage and gifts of God."[90] It hardly matters that most Jewish sages could not claim to have dazzled in the court of a foreign sovereign. The stories they told and transmitted helped to contextualize their heritage in that broader world. And while these stories cannot historically support a picture of Jews as notorious exorcists before the destruction of the Temple, they at least suggest that literate Jews understood skills

[87] The ideal portrait of an internationally acclaimed scribe is described, e.g., in Sirach 38:34–39:11 (speaking of the figure introduced in 38:24) and *Aramaic Levi* 88–100.
[88] Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 244.
[89] See the survey of questions in Andrew B. Perrin, "An Almanac of Tobit Studies: 2000-2014," *Currents in Biblical Research* 13 (2014): 107–42; more recently, Naomi S. S. Jacobs, "Scribal Innovation and the Book of Tobit: A Long Overdue Discussion," 579–610 in Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert Tigchelaar, eds., *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, JSJSupp 175/1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017.
[90] To quote Ezekiel's *Exagogue* 35 (γένος πατρῷον καὶ θεοῦ δωρήματα), to which were added the "royal upbringing and education" (l. 37: τροφαῖσι βασιλικαῖσι καὶ παιδεύμασιν) of Pharaoh's court (Howard Jacobson, *The Exagogue of Ezekiel* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983], 35; Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Jewish Authors*, Vol. 2, *Poets* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 355).

such as exorcism to be the property of respected people who could typically be found operating within a world ordered by conventions.

Ritual Texts

A second group of sources, the ritual texts, offer clearer evidence of what narrative vignettes implied. Most of these texts were recovered from Qumran, and undoubtedly represent only a miniscule sample of the kinds of texts available to educated Jews in this era.[91] My goal in discussing these texts is to establish that Jewish exorcism manuscripts inscribed before the fall of the Temple served institutional purposes (e.g., pedagogy and application), and were best suited for use by trained and training experts.[92] The various psalms, hymns, and incantations more clearly communicate what narratives[93] usually only implied about the scope of Jewish learning.[94] Even with the comparatively small number of ancient texts that survived, the remaining sample sufficiently reveals their scribes' interest in (or perhaps even need of) a broad range of knowledge about topics

[91] E.g., Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 239, who relates Qumran to more general practices: "…indigenous textuality of the sort we see at Qumran (along with Egypt, Mesopotamia, and other Near Eastern cultures) was preserved in temples and among priests during the Hellenistic period under discussion here."

[92] Not unlike today, the concept of *educational* "is a vague term, covering a wide spectrum of different situations, uses and objectives," Christine Proust, "Does a Master Always Write for His Students? Some Evidence from Old Babylonian Scribal Schools," 69–94 in Alain Bernard and Christine Proust, eds., *Scientific Sources and Teaching Contexts Throughout History: Problems and Perspectives*, Boston Studies in the Philosophy and History of Science 301 (Dordrecht, Heidelberg, New York, and London: Springer, 2014), here citing 92.

[93] Given the composite, evolved nature of much scribal composition in the ancient world, it is useful to note that the transmission of wisdom could be undertaken in a myriad of ways. A work might incorporate only bits and pieces of a wisdom tradition as part of a larger work, e.g., astronomical data could be embedded into a narrative. Such phenomena are common enough in a whole gamut of ancient literature, including novels (e.g., Heliodorus's expositions on the Nile or the sophistic "digressivism" in Achilles Tatius, see Tim Whitmarsh, *Narrative and Identity in the Ancient Greek Novel*, 129–35 and 242–46 respectively). Perhaps catalogs of physiognomic traits of the "Man of Sin" (surveyed in Matthias Henze, *The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, STAC 11 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001], 91 n. 127) persisted because of the residual importance of that branch of scholastic knowledge.

[94] David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 200–28 discusses and contextualizes rudimentary education at Qumran. Cf. Emanuel Tov, "Scribal Practices" and "Scribes," 827–31 in Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

such as human physiognomy,[95] astronomy,[96] and healing.[97] These labors fostered an indigenous variety of scholarship as part of complex cultural negotiation with other societies.[98] From an epistemological point of view, the contents of some of Qumran's exorcism manuscripts prompted Jonathan Ben-Dov to include them in his survey of Jewish "sciences," which he delimits as "an intellectual activity which involves cosmological speculation, divination, or the didactic tools required to obtain this kind of knowledge."[99] On a more rudimentary note, I would emphasize that the presence of these manuscripts in their collected context and literate habitus[100] ought to predispose us to see them as part of the scholarly curriculum (even when it is impossible to discern a

[95] Mladen Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Mark Geller suggested Akkadian backgrounds to the physiognomy in 4Q561 in "New Documents from the Dead Sea: Babylonian Science in Aramaic," 224–29 in Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb and Sharon Keller, eds., *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon*, JSOTSupp 273 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), esp. 227–29.

[96] See the insightful discussions in Jonathan Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

[97] Joan E. Taylor, "Roots, Remedies and Properties of Stones: the Essenes, Qumran and Dead Sea Pharmacology," *JJS* 60 (2009): 226–44.

[98] The essays in Jonathan Ben-Dov and Seth L. Sanders, ed., *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Literature* (New York: New York University and Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, 2014) compellingly treat these epistemological categories and cultural relationships.

[99] Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Scientific Writings in Aramaic and Hebrew at Qumran: Translation and Concealment" in Kathel Bertholet and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, ed., *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June - 2 July 2008* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 380–81. Ben-Dov notes that prescriptive exorcism texts shared epistemological features in common with a number of these other "sciences." I would simply add two thoughts. First, we must also recognize an *application* to the science beyond the epistemological layer delimited in this definition. Second, though his article addresses Qumran specifically, the "non-sectarian" nature identified in some texts from Qumran and beyond (e.g., *Ps.-Philo, Wis. Sol*., Josephus, etc.) speak to a broader vein of wisdom. Qumran represents a single stream of transmission for text which may have gravitated around the activities of scholars in Jerusalem.

[100] Leuchter, *The Levites*, 253, on related psalmic literature, "The mere act of textualizing and arranging these cultic hymns on a scroll made them suitable for study and intellectual exploration beyond ceremonial and cultic contexts."

particular epistemology).[101] This reinforces the idea that Jewish learning is not something we recognize in *spite* of exorcism or "magic," but rather in part *because* of it.

Transmission and Adaptation of Sumero-Babylonian Traditions

To elaborate on these claims, I will describe some of the texts from Qumran along with select comparanda from other traditions, but I must clearly state that I do not propose any specific *genealogy* for particular Jewish exorcism rites (or even as a prolegomena to such a genealogy) from Mesopotamian sources.[102] Similarly, I identify cross-cultural thematic and formal features without resorting to speculation about how these scholarly conventions migrated.[103]

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[101] I am purposefully leaving aside questions of esotericism and magic for now, but it is worth addressing the potential explanatory power of esotericism in the transmission of exorcism texts. See Michael E. Stone, *Secret Groups in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 92–94 for a recent hypothesis. Stone's definition of esotericism rests on the crux of "transmission by secret groups," rather than the contents or formal features of a text (Stone, *Secret Groups*, 21). In some cases, it is only possible to say that such transmission was "not unlikely" (*Secret Groups*, 92, 93; but on the absence of secrecy, see 93 n. 13). For the purposes of the current study, I see no need to divide esotericism from education, and indeed, the two may exist in a dialectical relationship. In our connected and information-rich age, it is difficult to grasp the social place of authentically esoteric knowledge. This is especially true of assumed-factual knowledge of the sort that would fit comfortably in the epistemological spaces now occupied by our sciences (which are made esoteric in our day by a different order of "sacrality," such as data privacy and proprietary corporate knowledge).

[102] For a treatment that lays out a claim and evidence for direct dependency, see e.g., Ida Frölich, "Babylonica from Qumran—Mesopotamian Lore in Qumran Aramaic Texts," 587–601 in Zoltán Csabai and Tibor Grüll, eds., *Studies in Economic and Social History of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Péter Vargyas* (Budapest: l'Harmattan, 2014). My circumspect model of cultural contact has been influenced by David Carr's approach to ancient education, whereby "close study of nearby cultures may uncover some specific ways the textual/educational matrix of those cultures influenced that matrix in ancient Israel" (Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 14).

[103] I find it difficult to imagine that we can know the nature of any actual connections between Jewish scribes and Mesopotamian scholarship at any given time, at least with the evidence currently available (a topic probed in Popović, "Networks of Scholars"). Siam Bhayro, "The Reception of Mesopotamian and Early Jewish Traditions in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls," *Aramaic Studies* 11 (2013): 187–96 seeks to establish 11Q11 as a mediating text between Akkadian scholarship and later incantation bowls from Late Antiquity and beyond; this does not solve the problem of how and where Jewish scribes began working on these sources to begin with. Aramaic mediating influences should probably be studied in light of a broad array of Semitic sources (including non-Aramaic, non-Mesopotamian sources, e.g., the Phoenician inscription Arslan Tash I). Claims of dependency and direct engagement between Jewish and Mesopotamian scholars are especially to be questioned. As for the quality of Jewish reception and adaptation of foreign wisdom, this must have been a matter of subjective opinion. What is not a matter of opinion is the basic situatedness of these rites in a literate/pedagogical context among other texts of the sort

The ubiquitous place of exorcism in ancient *āšipu* curricula is apparent from the literary context of the "*Āšipu*'s handbook," which Philippe Clancier published with an analysis of two *āšipu* libraries. Archaeologists excavated both libraries from a house in Uruk (now in Al Muthanna Province, Iraq), "where two scholarly families lived, but not at the same time, the first at the end of the Achaemenid Empire and the second during the Hellenistic era," roughly 445–229 BCE.[104] Clancier tabulated the curriculum that students (i.e., "sons")[105] were required to learn: "Divination in its many forms (from haruspicate to astrological), incantations, hymns and prayers, mathematics, astronomy, historical and literary composition."[106] Only students who copied, learned, and applied the canonical texts would receive their appointment as *āšipu*.[107] It is important to note that the distinction between sage, scribe, priest, and doctor did not follow our standard divisions, and "we now know that the *mašmaššu* [=*āšipu*] was first and foremost a temple priest."[108] The core collections of incantations in this curriculum is known as *Udug-hul-a-kam* (in Sumerian) and *Utukkū Lemnūtu* (in Akkadian), a corpus whose remarkable history spans from "among the very earliest of Mesopotamian incantations from the third millennium

that would have been deemed scholarly knowledge. Even if, for example, a scholar in Babylon were to refuse to recognize the validity or efficacy of Jewish rites, those exorcism incantations nonetheless remained recognizable as elite materials (albeit *misinformed* from the point of view of the outsider).

[104] Clancier, "Teaching and Learning Medicine and Exorcism at Uruk," 43. The two families date, respectively, to about 445–385 BCE and after 350–229 BCE.

[105] On biological and pedagogical "sons," see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 20–22.

[106] Clancier, "Teaching and Learning Medicine and Exorcism at Uruk," 45.

[107] Clancier, "Teaching and Learning Medicine and Exorcism at Uruk," 48. The scribe who mastered all the canonical texts and the commentaries on those texts would be eligible for the title of ummânu, "scholar," (see Clancier, "Teaching and Learning Medicine and Exorcism at Uruk," 58; Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 33).

[108] M. J. Geller, "The Exorcist's Manual (KAR 44), 292–312 in Ulrike Steinert, ed., *Assyrian and Babylonian Scholarly Text Catalogues: Medicine, Magic and Divination*, Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), here citing 292.

BCE down to the very latest cuneiform tablets with Greek transliterations,"[109] including tablets at the house in Uruk.[110] While learning the incantations in *Udug-hul*, the *āšipu* would learn how to identify evil spirits causing certain illnesses, and what prayers were useful for invoking the correct god to effect expulsion and healing. Such collections of incantations demonstrate that the elite echelons[111] in a number of societies were preoccupied with developing a science for healing patients by purifying[112] them and expelling unwanted spirits.

Scribes and practitioners of different cultures adapted these curricula to suit their own beliefs and needs. Gregorio del Olmo Lete has discussed how Ugaritic scribes transmitted Babylonian wisdom but altered it to suit the pantheon and worldview of the local cult.[113] Some of the texts may have been copied purely "for educational or scholarly reasons," since they had no direct application to Ugaritic belief or practice.[114] The scribes

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[109] Markham J. Geller, *Healing Magic and Evil Demons: Canonical Udug-hul Incantations*, Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 8 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 3. See also Markham Geller, *Evil Demons: Canonical* Utukkū Lemnūtu *Incantations*, State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts, 5 (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2007). Online transliterations and translations of many texts are made available at http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cams/gkab/corpus/.

[110] These incantations cross-pollinated with the contents of other collections—they shared lines of text and whole sections with a number of other bilingual collections, each of which also had its own complex history of transmission (Geller, *Healing Magic and Evil Demons*, 5–6).

[111] E.g., the data in an Assyrian court memorandum analyzed by Markham Geller in his introduction and translation of the Udug-hul series illustrates how teams of copyists were tasked with serving the needs of court-sponsored scholars, who must have required ready access to collections as a whole: "Kudurru and Kunaya have completed 'Evil Demons' [the Udug-hul collction]… Marduk-šarrani, Sulaya, Balaṭu, Naṣiru, Sîn-aha-iddin, Remuttu, Iddin-ahhe, Bel-ušezib, Nabû-šar-ahhešu; these nine have been serving with the scholars and are working on the 'Sick Man's House'. Šamaš-iddina, Per'u, Bel-epuš; these three are finishing the Series according to its (original) tablet" (Geller, *Healing Magic and Evil Demons*, 42).

[112] A focused look at purity in Mesopotamian rites is found in Claus Ambos, "Purifying the King by Means of Prisoners, Fish, a Goose, and a Duck: Some Remarks on the Mesopotamian Notions of Purity," 89–103 in Petra Rösch and Udo Simon, *How Purity is Made* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012).

[113] E.g., Ugaritic collections that transmitted, adapted, and added new compositions that reflected theological distinctives current in that region, as Gregorio del Olmo Lete notes of the Akkadian texts that "follow Babylonian models," even in the presence of differing theological foundations (*Incantations and Anti-Witchcraft Texts from Ugarit* [Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014],1–2).

[114] Walter Farber, *Lamaštu: An Edition of the Canonical Series of Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals and Related Texts from the Second and First Millennia B.C.*, Mesopotamian civilizations, 17 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 16.

also fostered a canon of texts of distinctly Ugaritic origins, identifiable by their repeated concern about snakebite and forms of local witchcraft. Del Olmo Lete notes that these texts make full use of Babylonian patterns and motifs, "but do not translate any known Babylonian text. They show an autonomous tradition of their own."[115] Additionally, Sumero-Babylonian traditions migrated from Canaan to Egypt, as Egyptian scholars further adapted these myths and rituals to harmonize with indigenous Egyptian scholarship, belief, and cultic practice.[116] Jacco Dieleman's research indicates that Egyptian priests were likely the mediators of Mesopotamian knowledge into Greek texts, which had their own distinct cultural hue.[117] Priests, scribes, sages, and doctors accessed and amended the knowledge of other cultures to a remarkable degree.[118]

Judaean scribes give us no exception. We have enough data to say that they, too, modified foreign traditions in their process of authoring a large number of recognizably

[115] Del Olmo Lete, *Incantations and Anti-Witchcraft Texts*, 29–30.
[116] Jacco Dieleman, "Claiming the Stars: Egyptian Priests Facing the Sky," *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 17 (2003): 277–289; his hypothesis on the transmission and translation of the PGM texts reveals the complexity of the matter, as Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 292–94 shows: Demotic magical papyri were composed as a way of assimilating Greek spells, which had originally been composed under the influence of Egyptian rituals. Rita Lucarelli, "Demonology in the Greco-Roman Period," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 11 (2011): 109–25 shows how Egyptian priests assimilated foreign gods as subservient beings (i.e., the typical idea of "demons" in contemporary discourse) in the service of more respected gods (see esp. 122). See also Susanne Beck, "The Transfer of Knowledge from Mesopotamia to Egypt," 71–98 in Jochen Althoff, Dominik Berrens, Tanja Pommerening, eds., *Finding, Inheriting or Borrowing? The Construction and Transfer of Knowledge in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2019). On the same text used as a test-case in her article, cf. Susanne Beck, *Exorcism, Illness and Demons in an Ancient Near Eastern Context: The Egyptian Magical Papyrus Leiden I 343 + 345*, Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities 18 (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018).
[117] Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 194, on pharmacological lists in PGM XII and the Uru.an.na: *maštakal*.
[118] Persian traditions could also be addressed (as well as Indian comparanda to Persian rites: see Satnam Mendoza Forrest and Prods Oktor Skjaervø, *Witches, Whores, and Sorcerers: The Concept of Evil in Early Iran* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011], 113–36; cf. Jan Gonda, *Vedic Ritual: The Non-Solemn Rites* [Leiden and Köln: Brill, 1980], 249–60). The nature of the Persian sources makes comparison a very fraught task, and in the end, I have not found any positive contribution to our social understanding of Jewish exorcism that is not already found in a variety of other sources.

indigenous texts.[119] "The Astronomical Book of Enoch," a text that dates from the first few centuries BCE, provides an excellent example of adaptation. Eshbal Ratzon has demonstrated that the calculations in this book (as expressed in the scroll 4Q209) were not flatly "influenced by Mesopotamian sources (directly or indirectly),"[120] but that the received data was entirely comprehended and reworked to conform to Jewish cultic ideals.[121] Another stunning example comes from what Gideon Bohak and Mark Geller have documented about the survival of Akkadian-language astronomical data "produced by a well-trained hand" [122] in a Genizah manuscript from the eleventh century CE, which helps to reveal how scientific astronomical data migrated "from Mesopotamia to Syria to Judea and finally to Egypt, in a recognisable literary format containing precise statements which are adapted to each geographic milieu."[123] (Here, in a sense, Abraham has indeed taught the Egyptians about astronomy.) The ability to create indigenous adaptations such as these reflects the mastery of the scribes who created them; there was nothing regressive about emphasizing the beliefs and values of the local culture over and above those of foreign societies.[124] We need not assume that adaptation was a by-product of

[119] Seth L. Sanders has argued that one of the hallmarks of Jewish literature was its "ideology of reinvention," in contrast with "Babylonian scribal culture's ideology of continuity" (*From Adapa to Enoch: Scribal Culture and Religious Vision in Judea and Babylonia*, TSAJ 167 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017], 22–23).
[120] Eshbal Ratzon, "The First Jewish Astronomers: Lunar Theory and Reconstruction of a Dead Sea Scroll," *Science in Context* 30 (2017): 113–39, here citing 114.
[121] Ratzon, "The First Jewish Astronomers," 133.
[122] Gideon Bohak and Mark Geller, "Babylonian Astrology in the Cairo Genizah," 607–622 in Ra'anan S. Boustan, et al., eds., *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), here citing 608. See also Michael D. Swartz, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Later Jewish Magic and Mysticism," *DSD* 8 (2001): 182–93.
[123] Bohak and Geller, "Babylonian Astrology in the Cairo Genizah," 620.
[124] The transmission of (apparently) obsolete knowledge, on the other hand, has been seen as an indicator that Jewish scholars in Palestine lagged behind (or were unable to participate in) the scholarly discourse taking place in more elite Mesopotamian and Hellenistic networks (Popović, "Networks of Scholars," 188–92). I am reluctant to assume that (a) these texts from Qumran are representative of all (or even most) Jewish scholarship available across the Levant in this era, or that (b) the sages at Qumran would have transitioned to more current astronomical calculations if they but knew and understood them.

disputation. As Mark Leuchter has discussed in the case of the biblical Chronicler,[125] scribes eagerly adapted texts to which they were fundamentally sympathetic (and indebted), thus keeping the received tradition vibrant and relevant. I argue that this scribal culture is representative of a sophisticated and purposeful interplay between traditions—the very kind of situation where Frankfurter has urged interpreters to look for a dialectic between Great and Local traditions (and overlapping Great Traditions).[126] The following three ritual texts from Qumran, though fragmented, can illustrate how formal Jewish approaches to exorcism fit within this paradigm.[127]

Unfortunately, our only case-studies come later, but we at least know that Jewish scholars were aware of (and even debated) alternative cosmic models, with some accepting and some rejecting the newer models, but we only have evidence for this in later texts. The Bavli recollects a debate about the accuracy of the knowledge of "our sages" and the "sages of the nations," with a few rabbis seeking a mediating position with the "sages of the nations," and rabbi even says that "their idea is better than our own" (B. Pes 94b; cf. Ber.R. 6:8). The sages of Israel and the sages of the nations conceived of the motion of the spheres through the heavens in a totally contradictory manner. In b. Pes, observation of the natural world leads Rabbi to say that the sages of the nations have a more correct understanding; however, though somewhat unclear, it seems that the editor finds a way to salvage the position held by the sages of Israel. In Ber.R., the final decision appears to be that "no one can ever know the truth about that." We also know that Jewish sages continued to rework scientific data throughout Late Antiquity, both in Palestine and in Babylon. In Palestine, sages debated the size of the cosmos (y. Ber. 2a-c: cf. BerR 6). What I find striking about this example is that a Jewish sage advances the Ptolemaic dimensions of the globe (Rabbah's assertion that the earth is 6,000 parasangs may be converted to Ptolemy's 180,000 stades; on Ptolemy, see J. Lennart Bergren and Alexander Jones, *Ptolemy's "Geography": An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001], 14f.). The rabbis who rejected these calculations had exegetical, hermeneutical, and epistemological reasons for doing so, but ignorance of Ptolemaic cosmic dimensions was not one of them. Later, in b. Pes 94a, the calculations of the Yerushalmi have been entirely reworked (e.g., liquid measurements converted to measurements of area). Again, while these examples postdate 4Q209 by centuries, they reveal how indigenous sages might prefer to preserve obsolete knowledge simply because they are not convinced that it is (or perhaps that it *should* be) obsolete.

[125] Leuchter, *The Levites*, 253: "He qualifies his own work as an interpretive/sapiential cornerstone of revelatory texts that Levites (and other biblical writers) had produced in an earlier era."

[126] Frankfurter, "The Great, the Little, and the Authoritative Tradition," 15.

[127] There are numerous overviews and analyses in addition to studies of individual compositions, and Hebrew University of Jerusalem maintains a bibliography at https://new.huji.ac.il/. Among the classic overviews of the following texts are Florentino García-Martínez, "Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Jan Bremmer and Jan Veenstra, ed., *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Leuven and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2002), and Philip Alexander, "Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 331–53 in Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment. Vol. 2* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1999). Eibert Tigchelaar, "Evil Spirits in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Brief Survey and Some Perspectives," 125–36 in Jörg Frey and Enno Edzard Popkes, eds., *Dualismus, Dämonologie und diabolische Figuren: Religionshistorische Beobachtungen und theologische Reflexionen*, WUNT (2nd Riehe) 484 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018) offers an updated

4Q560 (4QLivre magique ar)

Pieces of parchment from Qumran contain an Aramaic composition that has been designated 4Q560 (4QLivre magique ar). The text fragments most likely came from a larger collection of texts that had been collected as "a magic manual written in semi-formal hand at the end of the Hasmonean period (c. 50 B.C.E.)."[128] The prior provenance of the texts is anyone's guess, but they undoubtedly came from various collections and underwent adaptation with each copying.[129] Even though little remains of the scroll, two glimmers of Mesopotamian scholarly conventions come into focus.[130] First, Mesopotamian scribes learned to address the combination of "'heartburn', fever, chills…" among the frequent complaints of the patients in Mesopotamian tablets.[131] Although damage and wear makes it difficult to decipher most of the symptoms 4Q560 originally listed, the complaints of "fever and chills, and 'heartburn'" (אשא ועריה ואשת

overview; Ishay Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires:* Yetzer Hara *and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011), esp. 44–53 for a thought-provoking intervention into conventional understandings of the demonic *yetzer* at Qumran; the overview of Bohak, "Exorcistic Psalms of David and Solomon," in *More OT Pseud.* is broadly instructive in establishing precedents, practices, and *Nachleben* for Solomonic and Davidic exorcisms found at Qumran; Esther Eshel, "ha-Emunah be-shedim be-Erets-Yiśra'el bi-yeme ha-Bayit ha-Sheni/Demonology in Palestine during the Second Temple Period" (Dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999), esp. 243–324 establishes one of the most thorough and influential overviews of demonological ideas and practices in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but is seldom cited in Anglo-European scholarship because of numerous accessibility issues: it remains unpublished and is written in Hebrew (although it contains a very generous overview in English). Eshel has mediated her thesis (and updated findings) into English through a variety of subsequent publications (e.g. Eshel, "Genres of Magical Texts).

[128] Joseph Naveh, "Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran," *Israel Exploration Journal* 48 (1998): 252–61, here citing 261. Authoritative edition is Émile Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4.XXVII Textes Araméens, deuxième partie,* DJD 37 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 291–302.

[129] Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic,* 111, suggests a provenance outside of Qumran based on the scroll's use of Aramaic instead of Hebrew.

[130] I focus on two examples. A number of possible parallels with Mesopotamian traditions are discussed in Douglas L. Penney and Michael O. Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran [4Q560]," *JBL* 113 (1994): 627–50. However, as Naveh pointed out, Penney and Wise based their analysis on a number of indefensible reconstruction and translation decisions—the very term "Beelzebul" in the title is misleading. Subsequent analyses (such as Naveh's own) look to *materia magica* and later Talmudic sources for comparanda, which is fruitful, but gives less context for the sociological origins of 4Q560, something Penney and Wise had attempted.

[131] E.g., Geller, *Healing Magic and Evil Demons,* 83–84 (Tablet 2: 68–69); 489 (Tablet 13–15: 225–226).

לבב, i.4) survive there.[132] Second, the Udug-hul series adjures whatever spirits are culpable for these maladies, driving them away: "evil Lamaštu and Labaṣu demons…go out. Internal illness and 'heartburn', disease, headache…I adjure you by the great gods, so that you may leave and always go away from him."[133] Likewise, the Jewish exorcist in the text of 4Q560 adjures (מומה, ii.5) the harmful entities with the same therapeutic intent.

There is no way of pinpointing an immediate background of 4Q560's lists of symptoms, spirits, and incantations against them.[134] Nevertheless, the very act of combining lists of symptoms, spirits, adjurations, and purifications[135] into a ritual relies on millennia of precedent in the Sumero-Babylonian curricula, some of which remained in circulation.[136] Whether considering the current fragments from Qumran or speculating about its exemplars (and companion texts) prior to its migration to the Dead Sea, the composition bears witness to a literate understanding of how illnesses came to attach to human bodies. Training, social connections, and material resources explain how an ancient scribe would gain access (both physically and intellectually) to lists of symptoms, causations, and curative forms and formulae.

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[132] "Heartburn" is set off with quotes to indicate its uneven relationship to the modern ailment by the same name. Prior to the advent of modern testing, it was not always possible to distinguish between cardiac and digestive ailments, and between minor and fatal varieties of each.
[133] Geller, *Healing Magic and Evil Demons*, 255 (Tablet 7: 21–24).
[134] It must be left as some vague "Mesopotamian influence," to adopt the language Ratzon used of 4Q209 ("The First Jewish Astronomers," 114). I would not want to be misunderstood as recklessly painting a picture of direct dependence between some Udug-hul incantation and 4Q560, and would attempt to discourage anyone eager to make claims about textual relationships. Presumably, the rites of canons like Udug-hul remained static relative to the changes in astronomical understanding over time (a consideration might have struck the sages of Qumran as irrelevant to the value of such texts for their purposes).
[135] It is worth recalling that concerns for purity should not be taken as an automatic indicator of sectarian/Essene perspective (e.g., David Hamidović, "Illness and Healing through Spell and Incantation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 97–110 in Siam Bhayro and Catherine Rider, eds., *Demons and Illness from Antiquity to the Early-Modern Period* [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017], esp. 105). Purification (ethical and physical) was a prominent concern in Mesopotamian rites as well (e.g., Ambos, "Purifying the King").
[136] See summaries of evidence and scholarship in Annette Yoshiko Reed, "'Ancient Jewish Sciences' and the Historiography of Judaism," 195–253 in Ben-Dov and Sanders, *Ancient Jewish Sciences*, esp. 217–18.

Songs of the Sage (4Q510 and 4Q511)

A pair of texts from Qumran known as Songs of the Sage (שירי משכיל), now designated 4Q510 and 4Q511, reveal even more useful data for our purposes.[137] The two ritual compositions are all that remain from what was probably a longer ritual cycle, which Johann Maier hypothesized might provide "a source for the liturgy at the Temple in Jerusalem."[138] Maier's impression was that these Songs could have been composed in Jerusalem prior to transmission and obligatory adaptation by later scribes.[139] At any rate, the text is intact enough to provide a key indicator of its elevated social place. The ideal speaker of the composition, "I, a *maśkîl*" (אני משכיל),[140] appears in several other scrolls that remark on their role in consecrating and instructing both priests and a broader community.[141] The figures we tend to term *sages* had long been wrapped up in priestly

[137] Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4. III. (4Q482–4Q520)*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 215–62. Cf. Bilhah Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran: 4Q510–511," 53–63 in Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of* Research, STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992).
[138] Johann Maier, "Songs of the Sage," 889–90 in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. See the brief discussion in Stone, *Secret Groups in Ancient Judaism*, 93–94 for a recent discussion of "esoteric" texts at the Temple. Interest in Qumran sectarianism has at times obscured this theory (e.g., Hamidović, "Illness and Healing," 108 appears to misread or ignore Maier's conclusions).
[139] Similar suggestions have been made about other "sectarian" works, such as the image of the composers of the *Book of Watchers*, perhaps "circles of scribes with an intimate connection to the priesthood, scribes who were not necessarily disenfranchised nor engaged in active conflict with the Temple authorities" (Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005], 65).
[140] 4Q510 Frag. 1:4. Cf. 1QH[a] 10.14–16.
[141] See now Benjamin Wold, *4QInstruction: Division and Hierarchies* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 12–94, with a tabulated summary of the term *maśkîl*'s occurrences on pg. 70, and summaries of his arguments on pp. 196–201. For perspectives on the ideas Wold seeks to revise, see, e.g., Charlotte Hempel, "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures," 67–92 in Peter Flint and James C. Vanderkam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years, Volume 2: A Comprehensive Assessment*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Matthew Goff, *4QInstruction*, Wisdom Literature from the Ancient World 2 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 1–29. On knowledge as a particular concern for the *maśkîl*, see Joseph Angel, "Even a cursory look at the surviving fragments reveals the centrality of the conception of knowledge in the text," in Angel., "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511)," *DSD* 19 (2010): 1–27, here citing 6 (yet I am not persuaded that the ideal of revealed knowledge [pg. 25] was in any way peculiar to the sectarians at Qumran; note, too, Wold's brief critique of Angel's way of dividing student and teacher types, in Wold, *4QInstruction*, 69).

and scribal identity.[142] Exorcism represented just one of the many bodies of knowledge the sage would have mastered prior to being elevated to the position of *maśkîl*.[143] *Maśkîlim* thus possessed more than enough wisdom to perform these rites.[144] This was the status quo for exorcism rituals throughout the Near East, and exorcism relied on the same levels of status as other cultic activities (e.g., sacrifice, inspections of the sick, public prayers, etc.). The *maśkîl*'s self-declaration of social eminence would have hardly seemed unusual.

The ritual content likewise suggests familiarity with learned forms that resemble incantations in the *Udug-hul* corpus. Our broken copy of 4Q510 begins with copious formulae of thanksgiving and praise to the Lord, which read in part:

> Words of thanksgiving in psalms of [splendour] to the God of knowledge, the glory of the po[werful] ones, God of gods, Lord of all the holy ones. [His] rea[lm] is above the powerful mighty, and before the might of his powe[r] all are terrified and scatter; they flee before the radiance of his glorious majestic strong[hold]. And I, a Sage, declare the splendour of his radiance…(4Q510.1–4).[145]

Contemporary scholars have found it difficult to explain this section's role in the ritual, as Joseph Angel notes, largely because this section "differs strikingly from customary Jewish magical practice (known mostly from later texts)."[146] However, praise for

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[142] On scribality in Israel's priesthood (or priestly scribes), see, e.g, Mark Leuchter, *The Levites and the Boundaries of Israelite Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 247: "…the [Persian-era] Levites factored text into a wisdom curriculum that moved beyond Aaronide-ritual contexts," involving a matrix of text-work and claims to revelation. Also, Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 1–10; Fraade, "'They Shall Teach Your Statutes to Jacob," 7–12.

[143] The concern is status, not individual perfection (e.g., admissions of transgression and faults in 4Q511 frag. 18 col. ii.

[144] 4Q511 Frags. 48–49 + 51.1–3. Cf. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 108; Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience," 7–8 (Angel further argues for a pedagogical role in addition to the apotropaic or exorcistic function of the ritual, pg. 26).

[145] Here I use the translation of Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*: *Translations* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997–1998), 1027–29.

[146] Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience," 4.

divinities constituted an important part of Mesopotamian exorcism rituals, for example, in this praise to Marduk:

> Great lord of the land, ruler of lands, foremost son of Ea, who is supreme in heaven and earth, great lord of the land, ruler of lands, who is god of the gods, who has no rival in heaven and earth, the solicitude of Anu and Enlil, merciful one among the gods…[147]

These details continue at length (I have only provided a selection),[148] and would need to be performed with expert precision. Having glorified and invoked the deity, the scribe would begin to list the kinds of spirits that the incantation would expel, as follows:

> … I have declared your greatness, (now) let me extol the invocation of your name[149] among the gods, let me glorify you.
>
> May the patient's illness depart from him. Fate (Namtar), Asakku (sacrilege), and Samana-demons, evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil ghost, evil Sheriff-demon, evil god, evil Bailliff-demon, Lamaštu, Labaṣu, and Jaundice-demons, Lilû, Lilītu …[150]

In the incantation of 4Q510, we see praise and adjuration brought together in a similar fashion:

> …And I, a Sage, declare the splendour of his radiance in order to frighten and terr[ify] all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Lilith…[151]

The praise ends and the list of vexing spirits begins. Some of the spirits recall the Mesopotamian curriculum (e.g., Lilith), but the more prominent foes are distinctly Jewish. This is especially true of the "bastard spirits" (ממזרים, i.5), a theme that draws upon Jewish traditions about the fallen angels and their offspring. The distinct

[147] Geller, *Healing Magic and Evil Demons*, 70–71 (Tablet 2.31–37).
[148] In Geller, *Healing Magic and Evil Demons*, the section runs from 70–80 (Tablet 2:31–61).
[149] This section follows immediately upon the mention of the name of Marduk. The idea of the "name" of God does not appear in the extant selections of 4Q510, but refferences appear throughout 4Q511.
[150] Geller, *Healing Magic and Evil Demons*, 70–71 (Tablet 2.31–37).
[151] Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1029.

eschatological framework and communal interests[152] likewise indicate specialized learning in the local tradition. The resulting combination of recognizable ritual forms and indigenous Jewish wisdom can be read as an example of scribal mastery, which is also apparent in the next example.

A Ritual Psalm Collection (11Q11)

A collection of psalms known as 11Q11 (11QPsAp[a]) offers what appears to be a manual for the repulsion of evil spirits.[153] Our copy from Qumran appears datable to the early common era (50–70 CE).[154] Once again, forms and ideas assimilated from outsider traditions appear to have influenced parts of the ritual, as Siam Bhayro has argued in his study of 11Q11, which he views as an intermediary adaptation between *Utukkū Lemnūtu/Udug-hul* rituals and the later Aramaic incantation bowls.[155] As with the

[152] Communally inclusive language is a distinguishing philological feature that distinguishes these distinct cultures in a more general way, as discussed in Seth L. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 2009), 36–75, here citing key conclusions on 75: "Unlike Mesopotamian political ritual and discourse, which imposed a king over a mass of subjects, imagined as a territory or a passive, voiceless group, this West Semitic ideal of political ritual and discourse bonded peoples, imagined as agents, to each other."

[153] I find Mika Pajunen's ordering of 11Q11 convincing, presented in "How to Expel a Demon: Form- and Tradition-Critical Assessment of the Ritual of Exorcism in 11Qapocryphal Psalms," in Mika Pajunen and Hanna Tervanotko, ed. *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism* (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 2015), 128–61. This ordering is as follows: Psalm 1, (fragments 1–2, col. I); Psalm 2, Of Solomon (col. II.1–III.13); Psalm to Banish an Evil Spirits (col. IV.1–V.3); Psalm to Banish Satan (col. V.4–VI.3); Psalm to Protect from Evil Spirits (col. VI.3–13) = Psalm 91. Pajunen also notes that we cannot be sure how many psalms originally made up the collection ("How to Expel a Demon," 133). See further discussion in Ida Fröhlich, "Magical Healing at Qumran (11Q11) and the Question of the Calendar," in Helen R. Jacobus, Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme, and Philippe Guillaume, ed., *Studies on Magic and Divination in the Biblical World* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013), 39–49.

[154] Dating established by Florentino García Martínez, Eibert Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11, II. 11Q2-18,11Q20-31*, DJD 23 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 181–205, esp. 184. Martínez has argued that contrary to prior opinion, the texts in Cave 11 exhibit no aberrance (i.e., a higher degree of sectarianism) from the collections in other caves ("Cave 11 in Context," 199–209 in Charlotte Hempel, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Texts and Context*, STDJ 90 [Leiden: Brill, 2010]). Gideon Bohak has drawn upon Genizah and other texts to give a fuller eclectic reading to the fragmentary Qumran texts in Bohak, "Exorcistic Psalms of David and Solomon: A New Translation and Introduction," in Richard Bauckham, James Davila, and Alexander Panayotov, eds., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2013), 287–97.

[155] Bhayro, "Reception of Mesopotamian and Early Jewish Traditions," esp. 193–95.

previously discussed exorcism texts, the rituals in 11Q11 likely underwent adaptation in transmission from one Jewish collection to another. This is most clearly apparent in the final ritual, which happens to be our biblical Psalm 91 (LXX Ps. 90): The sense of the psalm is nearly identical to the Masoretic text, albeit exhibiting "many types of variations (transpositions of colons and word order, different words used to convey the same thought, etc.)."[156] This was not a novice's adaptation, but rather the labor of a skillful scribe anticipating a public ritual performance.

References to King David and his son Solomon appear several times in the collection of 11Q11, and they provide an early glimpse of what in Late Antiquity was to become "a flourishing industry of 'Davidic' and 'Solomonic' exorcisms."[157] But first, these exorcistic rites participated in an ambitious effort to create and adapt (and at times imagine) an immense corpus of "Davidic" psalms. These texts not only gave historical import to the words they were writing, but, as Eva Mroczek has argued, they also recast David in a much broader role.[158] The text known as "David's Compositions" (from the

[156] Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon," 151; cf. ibid., "Qumranic Psalm 91: A Structural Analysis," 591–605 in Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), with 592–93 offering a similar summary of variants. A brief overview of technical exorcism terms in Ps. 91 in 11Q11 is found in Hermann Lichtenberger, "Ps 91 und die Exorzismen in 11 QPsAp^{a}," 416–21 in in Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld, eds., *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt/Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-lewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environmen*t (Berlin: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), here citing 420.

[157] Bohak, "Exorcistic Psalms of David and Solomon," 292.

[158] Mroczek, *Literary Imagination*, 85: "Rather than being authors who serve to vouchsafe new scriptures and doctrines, filling in bibliographical gaps, such figures take on new lives and colonize new texts about heavenly knowledge, prayer, and prophecy. Writing becomes one part of a broader network of activities and features that make up the legendary character's exemplary reputation and biography." Emphasis rests upon characters as tradents, rather than blatantly authorial figures (*Literary Imagination*, 78, conclusions from the text of "David's Compositions"). I argue further that this relationship between the ancient sage and the contemporary scribe played an important role in guaranteeing and shaping exorcism traditions. These scribes guaranteed that wisdom (regardless of its actual historical source) conformed to the priorities of indigenous cult. Altering texts might seem like a simple task to us (e.g., what is so hard about swapping the name of a foreign deity with an epithet for Israel's God?), but mastering this level of creativity was an advanced skill in virtually all systems of pedagogy in the East and West.

nearby scroll 11QPsalms[a]) lists 4,050 psalms that reveal David to be "a prophetic figure, a scribe and sage similar to the enlightened sage Enoch, and a revealer of song and calendrical knowledge."[159] In this manner, exorcism psalms added substance to traditions about David's musical cure for King Saul (1 Samuel 16:13–23) and Solomon's great wisdom about all matters (1 Kings 5:9–14), and perhaps even most exciting of all, claimed to be a part of that same tradition of skill, revelation, and learning.[160] These practices enlivened the reciprocal relationship between the composing scribe/performing sage and the biblical character of old. As we have seen, master scribes assimilated foreign wisdom into indigenous traditions, and now they added historical depth to these literary productions by attributing compositions to David or Solomon.

If exorcism represented just a small part of the wisdom and skill in the Qumran collections, the sages who collected and copied these texts conceived of David's library as similarly diverse. The catalogue of "psalms David wrote" (11Q5 xxvii.1–11) lists 364 songs for daily offerings, 52 for sabbath offerings, 30 for the new moon and special holy days, and finally, "Four songs to be sung over the afflicted."[161] Israel's past and present sages could be (and ideally should be) trained in the many areas of knowledge attributed to David and Solomon, including their knowledge of ritual exorcism. I further discuss these exorcistic Temple psalms for the afflicted in the section below.

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[159] Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 78.

[160] Of additional note is Josephus's depiction of David and Solomon as "exorcists," see Roland Deines, "Josephus, Salomo und die τέχνη," 365–394 in Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld, eds., *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt/Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-lewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environmen*t (Berlin: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), esp. 267–85..

[161] 11Q5 Col. xxvii.9–10: ושיר לנגן על הפגועים ארבעה.

Jewish Exorcism in Texts Composed after 70 CE

In texts written before 70 CE, I find exorcism is presented as a dignified practice of sages, and never is it given into the hands of "artisans, smiths, and potters" (Sirach 38:27–29). If there were a significant contingent of freelance Jewish exorcists, one might expect this to emerge in the disparate sources written after the fall of the Temple. Memories of chaos, sectarian division, or populist movements would provide every opportunity to blame freelance practitioners or their opponents if they made up a notable part of the population. As we see, there is no mention of such a social dynamic. Rather, what prior texts have only hinted at—prestige, official cult use—becomes clearer in later texts.

Songs of David and Solomon for Healing the Afflicted

In the introduction to his new edition of Davidic and Solomonic rituals, Gideon Bohak aptly noted that we only possess "the tattered remains of what was once a flourishing industry of 'Davidic' and 'Solomonic' exorcisms."[162] I have already noted the example of 11Q11 from Qumran, and Bohak suggests the remaining compositions "were transmitted from one exorcist to another in professional networks" across their seven centuries.[163]

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[162] Bohak, "Exorcistic Psalms of David and Solomon," 292. See Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 98–105 for a survey of the full range of Davidic exorcisms, including discussion of Josephus *Antiquities* 6.166-214.

[163] Bohak, "Exorcistic Psalms of David and Solomon," 292. It is worth noting here my reasons for omitting Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* (LAB) from consideration as a representative ritual. This is not because of open questions about provenance, but because its "Song of David" is a product of the author's narrative-theological agenda. Little attention has been given to the author's prosopoetic habit throughout, giving numerous other original compositions: A lamentation of the people of Israel for Joshua (LAB 24.6), a florid song of victory for Deborah and Barak (LAB 32), the lamentation of Jephthah's daughter before her death (LAB 40.5), and the expansion of Hannah's prayer of thanksgiving (LAB 51.3–6). David's Song, too, was an imagined ritual; it only needed to spark the imagination. It remains a useful attestation of an educated author's interest in David as exorcist, the potential efficacy of songs in that enterprise, and noteworthy demonological beliefs—as well as a certain artistic beauty. I believe this compositional strategy and genre explains many of the Song's anomalous features, something Bohak noted, "We may also note the complete absence of God, and of God's praises, and even of God's angels, from this exorcistic psalm, in marked contrast with most of the exorcistic texts of the Second Temple period" (Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 98). For recent interest in Pseudo-Philo's creative perspective and methods, see Atar Livneh, "Deborah's New Song: The Historical Résumé in lab 32:1-11 in Context," *JSJ* 48 (2017): 203–45 (a very thorough philological and comparative analysis with an eye to Pseudo-Philo's distinct

The persistence of tradition "from Qumran to Cairo" is illustrated by Bohak's reconstruction of 11Q11—he is able to suggest text-critical improvements from a Genizah fragment from the eleventh century (T-S K. 1.123).[164]

Later evidence also helps to establish the Temple as the most noteworthy provenance of these texts. The editors of Talmud Yerushalmi knew a *baraita* (tannaitic tradition: והא תני)[165] recollecting how ritual practitioners at the Temple would intervene in the case of "the afflicted" using psalms: "They recited the Psalm of the Afflicted in Jerusalem" (אומ' היו שיר פגועין בירושלם).[166] The editor then proceeded to a follow-up question, "And what is the Psalm of the Afflicted?" (ואי-זהו שיר פגועין). The answer consists of two scriptural Psalms: Psalm 3 and the entirety of Psalm 91. The latter, of course, is the closing song from 11Q11 discovered at Qumran.[167] Though it is quite brief,

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tendencies and aims); Max Botner "'Then David Began to Sing This Song': Composition and Hermeneutics in Pseudo-Philo's Psalm of David (LAB 59.4)," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 28 (2018): 69–87. Its scant value for ritual notwithstanding, the Song perhaps belongs alongside the broadening biographical/bibliographical life of David that was then undergoing explosive developments.

[164] Bohak, "Exorcistic Psalms of David and Solomon," 294; for his edition of the Genizah fragment T-S K 1.123 and a synoptic analysis of the Genizah text and 11Q11.see Gideon Bohak, "From Qumran to Cairo: The Lives and Times of a Jewish Exorcistic Formula," *Meghillot* 10 (2013): 163–179 (Hebrew); Gideon Bohak, "From Qumran to Cairo: The Lives and Times of a Jewish Exorcistic Formula (with an Appendix by Shaul Shaked)," 31–52 in Ildikó Csepregi and Charles Burnett, eds., *Ritual Healing: Magic, Ritual and Medical Therapy from Antiquity until the Early Modern Period* (Florence: SISMEL, 2012).

[165] This *baraita* comments on the propriety of preventative and healing measures on the Sabbath. Note R. Yudan's contrast between apotropaic and recuperative practice (כאן משנפגע כאן [עד] (מ)שלא נפגע), which is beyond the scope of this study. For a brief note on *baraitot* in the Yerushalmi, see Moulie Vidas, *Tradition and the Formation of the Talmud* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), 88 n.14.

[166] y. Shabb. 8b, 6:2// Eruv 26c, 10.12. For פגע, see Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1135; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, 2nd ed.*: Addenda et Corrigenda*, CAL Dictionaries of Talmud , Midrash and Targum 2 (Ramat Gan, Baltimore, and London: Bar-Ilan University Press and Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 841 (#424b).

[167] See Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 108–111 and 380; Brennan Breed, "Reception of the Psalms: The Example of Psalm 91," 297–310 in William P. Brown, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), esp. 299–300. I find it interesting that the rabbinic delimitation of the Psalm includes both the beginning *and* the end of the Psalm: " יושב בסתר עליון" עד "כי אתה י'י מחסי עליון שמת מעונך" (mss=Leiden, Scaliger, 3). Could this have been a way of staving off confusion about various recensions of this Psalms still in circulation?

this *baraita* commemorates the use of such rituals in association with the Temple and its personnel.[168]

Solomon's fame shone brightly, too. The traditions attributed to his name shared wide circulation, and some people were able to claim expertise in a Solomonic body of practice that included exorcism. This recognition has led scholars to understand Second Temple exorcism in light of the medieval textual accretions collectively known by the title *Testament of Solomon*.[169] Sarah Schwarz has demonstrated the many convincing reasons why the *Testament of Solomon* cannot be used as a reliable source for first-century exorcism—individual spells and parts of spells must have had ancient origins, but it is impossible to determine which ones.[170] As matters stand, the text is more valuable as a resource for studying early Christian thought, as Ra'anan Boustan and Michael Beshay have demonstrated.[171] Consequently, we can say that at least some Jewish exorcists mastered Solomonic rites, but we risk severe distortions if we consult the *Testament of Solomon* out of ambition to know the contents of those demonological sciences.

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[168] In terms of the Dead Sea Scrolls, this implies that the ritual authorities at Qumran followed the precedent that had already been established at the Temple.

[169] E.g., Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism*, 189 n.55: "first-to-third century Testament of Solomon"; Graham Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism among Early Christians* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 294, triangulating the *Testament of Solomon* and Lucian of Samosata with the New Testament. Examples could be multiplied.

[170] Sarah Schwarz, "Reconsidering the *Testament of Solomon*," *Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha* (2007): 203–37; the conclusions on 208–9 are worth citing at length: "These traditions were gathered over time, until they were integrated with what may have been a separate organizing principle with its own developmental history, the narrative framework, which contextualized those spells within a story of the building of the Temple. Along the way a testamentary conclusion was also added, which seems rather thin and fits in only tenuously with the main points of the text. My fundamental view of the composite text is that the narrative framework (even if it also independently circulated in the early history of this tradition)—the story of Solomon building the Temple and using demons to do it—is an organizing principle applied at a relatively late point to the totality of this material. The individual spells were ancient elements, gathered over time into a spellbook collection which had its own magnetic effect on related Solomoniana, drawing in once separate pieces and adding them to the collage until a piecemeal collection was made to sound like a story of its own."

[171] Ra'anan Boustan and Michael Beshay, "Sealing the Demons, Once and For All: The Ring of Solomon, the Cross of Christ,and the Power of Biblical Kingship," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 16 (2015): 99–129.

Eleazar and the Royal Tradition of Exorcism

Although we cannot know the exact contents of Solomonic rites at the end of the Second Temple period, it is possible to gauge the degree of decorum characteristic of the rites. This is due to the Jewish aristocrat Josephus, who mentioned demons and exorcisms several times in the histories he composed under Flavian patronage.[172] His apologetical digression on the Jewish exorcist Eleazar in his *Antiquities* 8.45-48 preserves the most formal attempt to describe "an exorcism ceremony as it was customary in his day."[173] In this story, Eleazar stood before Vespasian and his retinue to perform an exorcism demonstration, allowing the Emperor to witness as demons overturn a vessel of water in their haste to flee from Eleazar's wondrous ring and incantations. The ring served as a container for a medical "root indicated by Solomon" (ῥίζαν ἐξ ὧν ὑπέδειξε Σολόμων) at its base.[174] Outside of the New Testament,[175] this is the only narrative of Judaean exorcism from around the time of the Second Temple—we may estimate that the event itself occurred sometime around 67–69 CE or slightly thereafter.[176] It is unclear to me

[172] In his discussions of demons, he generally adopted the language and descriptions common to Greek historiography. See Steve Mason and Honora Chapman, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, vol. 1b: *Judean War 2: Translation and Commentary* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 335–336, n. 2805; Dale B. Martin, "When Did Angels Become Demons?" *JBL* 129 (2010): 672–73. Additionally, see Jason von Ehrenkrook, *Sculpting Idolatry in Flavian Rome: (An)Iconic Rhetoric in the Writings of Flavius Josephus Early Judaism and Its Literature* (Society of Biblical Literature/Brill, 2011) for numerous examples and analyses on the association between statuary and their numinous namesake, a complex topic in its own right (and not unrelated to Christian discourse on demons discussed in the chapter that follows this one).

[173] Eshel, *ha-Emunah be-shedim be-Erets-Yiśra'el*, 216.

[174] Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 104.

[175] I will treat Gentile Christian exorcism in the next chapter. As I show there, Luke understood the social sphere of exorcism to belong to priests.

[176] Josephus gives no indication of timing, but the presence of military figures (χιλιάρχων καὶ ἄλλου στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους) predisposes us to read this in the context of conquest. However, the indication of Vespasian's "sons" (τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ) providing witness to this demonstration complicates matters. We know of no occasion of where Domitian accompanied Vespasian and Titus in any of the events in Alexandria or Judaea, c. 66–69 CE ("…between the ages of 15 and 18, [Domitian] saw neither father nor brother…" Brian W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* [London and New York: Routledge, 1992], 13). Another possibility is that the demonstration took place during the triumph celebrations in Rome, when Vespasian and his sons could plausibly have been together in the presence of military leaders; against this,

whether Josephus saw these events for himself, or if he learned these details from another witness or account—and this was hardly his emphasis.[177] Instead, his digression served to emphasize the majesty of Israel's kingly wisdom, its ongoing relevance through the endeavors of contemporary Jewish specialists, and the grace of the God who granted this wisdom and skill.[178] Eleazar's techniques of gesture with ring and root, adjuration, and incantation have been analyzed in detail elsewhere.[179] Here, I am interested in the profile of a person who would be permitted to perform this kind of demonstration in the presence of Vespasian and other assembled dignitaries.

First, Eleazar's demonstration presupposes that he had already developed his skills and reputation in the Solomonic arts before the War erupted. This situates his training further back in the late Second Temple era. This skill derived from a corpus of

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Josephus mentions no other non-martial dignitaries. Alexandria is yet another possibility. Before the campaign seems unlikely (e.g., one would expect persons like Agrippa to be mentioned in the demonstration, cf. *War*, 3.68) or afterwards, during Josephus's stay there, about which "unfortunately we know nothing" (William den Hollander, *Josephus, the Emperors, and the City of Rome: From Hostage to Historian*, Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, 86 [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014], 101).

[177] I cannot help but notice that Josephus connects himself to the incident by only the most tenuous of threads: "For I researched/observed/knew/learned of a certain Eleazar of the same people as me" (*Ant.* 8.46: ἱστόρησα γάρ τινα Ἐλεάζαρον τῶν ὁμοφύλων). Translators have frequently relied on a clear reference to Josephus as an eyewitness of a site (*Ant.* 1.203) for the meaning of ἱστόρησα here—otherwise, the term is a *hapax* in Josephus. I do not find this translation method convincing. If Josephus was setting out to insert himself into the narrative as an eyewitness, but if so, this was an oblique way of accomplishing the intent. The passage likewise exhibits no interest in promoting a sect (see prior opinions summarized in Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 103)

[178] In agreement with Deines, "Josephus, Salomo und die von Gott verliehene τέχνη," 390–92; Deines argues that Josephus wanted to teach Romans about the marvelous therapeutic abilities that God chose to effect through Jewish wisdom, in "Josephus, Salomo und die von Gott verliehene τέχνη," 385–92 (the author finds a similar meaning behind the zodiacal synagogue mosaics, in idem, "God's Revelation Through Torah, Creation, and History: Interpreting the Zodiac Mosaics in Synagogues," 155–88 in Uzi Leibner and Catherine Hezser, eds., *Jewish Art in Its Late Antique Context*, TSAJ 163 [Tubingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2016]). On the other hand, Christopher Begg pins his motivation on more ego-centric aims: "he gets the opportunity of interjecting himself into the narrative" (Begg, *Flavius Josephus: Books 8–10*, 14 n. 159). Apologetical aims intertwine with personal aims and needs, and little can be gained by disagreeing over Josephus's motivations, as if complex social acts can be attributed to a single basic motive. Both arguments can coexist.

[179] Deines, "Josephus, Salomo und die von Gott verliehene τέχνη," 385–92; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 100–05; Dennis C. Duling, "The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8.42-49," *HTR* 78 (1985): 1–25.

compositions that Solomon organized (συνταξάμενος) and passed down as a "method for exorcisms" (τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων).[180] This "skill against demons" (κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην) was transmitted from the royal court of Solomon, and "until now heartily remains with us" (αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει).[181] At least as Josephus understood Eleazar's method, it was based on the mastery of an impressive body of texts as well as skill in implementing the contents of those texts. And of course, the biographical presence of King Solomon in the bibliography of texts added to the prestige of this discipline.

Second, Eleazar's training and knowledge were probably complimented by some sort of official status; he was likely to have been a priest or a figure of equal magnitude. Eleazar wore his ring so that people would notice it, which suggests a costly item. Richard Gordon notes that an expensive ring signet (σφραγίς) could signal a successful practitioner—prestige consisted of the object's expense and aesthetic value as it combined with the expert's "mastery of technique."[182] Perhaps the signet advertised the name of Solomon or an iconographic representation of the root he prescribed, and people were sufficiently convinced by whatever contents perpetually hid beneath it. Regardless, the use of a σφραγίς to announce medical or "medico-magical" ingredients enjoyed a long history, as Véronique Dasen has documented. Such seals or signets could create trademark stamps for pills, label containers of a medical concoction, or act as healing

[180] *Ant*. 8.45.1–4. In the next chapter, I will discuss how this new terminology of exorcism evolved and took root in the first and second centuries.
[181] *Ant*. 8.46. This further illustrates the *bibliographical* and *biographical* shape of the corpus, which Mroczek discusses. Here, Josephus uses the method for organizing and enlivening the connection between an ancient curriculum and its continued relevance.
[182] Richard Gordon, "Archaeologies of Magical Gems," 39–49 in Chris Entwistle and Noël Adams, eds., *Gems of Heaven: Recent Research on Engraved Gemstones in Late Antiquity, c. AD 200–600*, British Museum Research Publication 177 (London: British Museum, 2011), esp. 44 on this note. The article itself is a rich analysis and proposal for new practices in scholarly examination of these artifacts.

objects in their own right.[183] Thus, the ring may have denoted Eleazar's special status as a priest or other ritual expert.

Likewise, Eleazar's audience before Vespasian suggests that Vespasian regarded Eleazar like one of the other priests or seers he consulted. Ritual experts commonly entered into the presence of Vespasian and Titus, although there was never an invitation to folk practitioners or charmers of a charismatic variety (i.e., as opposed to credentialled and educated persons). To the contrary—Vespasian's "resume of experts consulted" is quite impressive. He consulted with Balbillus, one of the empire's most storied astrologers, and even initiated the perennial *Balbillea* games in his honor.[184] This was the son of Thrasyllus of Mendes, the Stoic scholar who had served as Emperor Tiberius's personal astrologer.[185] Vespasian's own royal astrologer was the "royally named Seleucus, presumably recruited in Syria."[186] In an unusual case reminiscent of Josephus's resettlement to Rome, Vespasian allowed Veleda the "divine" [187] seer of the warring Germanic peoples to settle in Italy, perhaps to serve in a temple.[188] During the critical events of the year 69 CE, he consulted with Basilides, the priest of the temple of Ba'al at

[183] Véronique Dasen, "Magic and Medicine: Gems and the Power of Seals," 69–74 in Chris Entwistle and Noël Adams, eds., *Gems of Heaven: Recent Research on Engraved Gemstones in Late Antiquity, c. AD 200–600*, British Museum Research Publication 177 (London: British Museum, 2011).
[184] Levick, *Vespasian*, 80. For a detailed example of Balbillus's scientific method of astrology, see Martin Gansten, "Balbillus and the Method of *aphesis*," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 52 (2012): 587–602.
[185] Tiberius the Politician, 7, 137, and 187 n. 37.
[186] Barbara Levick, *Vespasian*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 80.
[187] Veleda, "long considered by a good part of [the Germanic peoples] as a divinity" (diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam, Tacitus, *Germania* 8.2).
[188] For the saga of Veleda, see Grant Parker, "Foreigners and Flavians: Prejudices and Engagements," in Andrew Zissos, ed., *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome* (Chichester, UK and Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), esp. 284–85. For the inscription regarding Veleda, typically regarded as an attempt at humor, see Édouard des Places, "Inscription grecque métrique concernant Véléda," *Revue des Études Grecques* 61 (1948): 286–288; R. Merkelbach, "Das Epigramm auf Veleda," *ZPE* 43 (1981): 241.

Mount Carmel for an oracle (and received a favorable one).[189] This same Basilides later appeared in a vision to deliver oracles to Vespasian, who had come alone into the temple of Serapis in Alexandria to learn something about his future fate.[190] And of course, Josephus himself, a high-born priest, was already once an envoy to Nero's court on behalf of captive priests, and a prophet of favorable omens towards Vespasian.[191] These exemplify the practitioners who could speak in Vespasian's presence. In each case, we are dealing with persons of noteworthy status, either in their home culture or among Rome's nobility.[192] Perhaps we can connect Eleazar to Vespasian through the aristocrats in the court of King Agrippa II, someone who could inform the Emperor about important practitioners of arts that would be mysterious and fascinating to the Roman.

The emerging picture of Eleazar is of someone with a preexisting pedigree and education, someone such as a priest or a sagacious man of aristocratic stock. He was a noble exorcist practicing what could only be understood as a royal exorcism, using traditions from the reputed father of Judaean exorcistic sciences, Solomon. Apparently, no one in attendance felt the need to question these things; his reputation, extraordinary ring, and laudable results spoke for him.[193] Like other Jewish exorcists, Eleazar evades the mold of informal, democratic laity. The sole exception may be found with Jesus of

[189] D. Wardle, "Seutonius on 'Vespasianus Religiosus' in AD 69–70: Signs and Times," Hermes 140 (2012): 184–201. The history of Ba'al at Carmel is described by M. Avi-Yonah, "Mount Carmel and the God Baalbek," *IEJ* 2 (1952): 118–24 (plus plates).
[190] Wardle, "Seutonius on 'Vespasianus Religiosus,'" 191–92. Levick, *Vespasian,* 277 n.9 suggests that "the Alexandrians may have been attempting to outdo Carmel."
[191] Summarized in den Hollander, *Josephus,* 1–2.
[192] This, of course, had much to do with Vespasian's desire for legitimation.
[193] Furthermore, this demonstration before Vespasian may have been the first time non-Jewish persons came into contact with the ancient art of exorcism.

Nazareth; yet we find a presumed connection between scribes and exorcism in the earliest gospel, a point worth describing below.

Recollections of Jewish Exorcism in the Gospel of Mark

At the outset of the chapter, I introduced the pericope in Mark that connects scribes to conflicts over Jesus's exorcisms. This is one of two passages in which Mark presented Jesus engaged in conflicts with scribes about who should be allowed to exorcise (Mark 3:20–53 and 9:14b). In this section, I return to Mark 3 to interpret it according to my broader argument about scribes and their involvement in exorcism.[194]

When we recognize the historical connection between scribes and exorcism, puzzling features in the story begin to make sense. First, it helps us understand why the scribes would suddenly appear in Mark 3:22 with no explanation or contextual background from Mark. He assumed that his readers would be aware that the scribes possessed professional interests in therapy and healing, and that this group would be interested in a person who had been detained for doing exorcisms "out of his mind" (ἐξέστη). Second, we can probably dispense with the image of scribes suddenly appearing for no reason. It seems more likely that Mark imagines Jesus's relatives summoning the scribes after they detained him, which further helps explain why Mark incorporated a stern statement in which Jesus disavowed these relatives.[195] Unfortunately, Mark does not disclose his ideas about how the scribes handled Jesus when they encountered him. Did they observe Jesus's condition before announcing their findings to his relatives, or did they base their determination on evidence they gathered from others?

[194] Matthew's adaptation (Mt. 12:27) alludes to the exorcistic abilities of Jesus's opponents ("your sons"), which he has changed to Pharisees.
[195] Mark 3:31–35.

Not much else can be discerned between Mark's narrative breaks, gaps, and lapses in detail. Some scholars have plausibly explained these gaps as part of Mark's strategy for obscuring or re-inventing what had been an embarrassing occurrence.[196]

It is possible that the great embarrassment lurking in Mark's tale was a rumor about Jesus himself undergoing exorcism by scribes. Scribes who diagnosed would also be likely to provide therapeutic services, so the next step in the gaps of Mark's story would presumably be exorcism.[197] However, Mark advances the narrative through adversarial dialogue, constructed out of distinct sayings; very little action occurs outside of spoken discourse. According to Mark, the scribes diagnosed Jesus with an evil spirit, "The spirit possessing him is Ba'al-zebul" (Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει),[198] and in response, Jesus

[196] "[T]he implication that Jesus' kinsmen regarded him as mad…was probably the same reason which led Matthew and Luke to rewrite the introduction to the Beelzebul incident," Earnest Best, "Short Studies, Mark III. 20, 21, 31–35," *NTS* 22 (1976): 309–19, here citing 314. Rebuttals of claims that Jesus was mad seems *de rigueur* at this stage of gospel tradition, which is at least suggestive of some prevailing rationale that would give rise to such rebuttals. On discussions pertaining to the historical value of these narratives, see Witmer, *Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist*, 109–32.

[197] Matthew 26:63 shows the high priest adjuring Jesus in terms highly reminiscent of Jewish exorcism texts, only there the interrogation and threats are turned against the ostensible Messiah, not Lilith or bastard spirits: "I adjure you (ἐξορκίζω σε) by the living God that you tell us if you are the Christ, the Son of God." I discuss this passage in the next chapter.

[198] It is not possible to know the origins of this statement, which could have had its roots in the criticisms of Jesus's opponents, or, alternatively, could have been specially crafted by Mark or another devotee to make the scribes look aggressive. Identifying the precise deity has been somewhat problematic, but there is consensus that the name refers to a form of Ba'al worshipped somewhere in the region. Note that Naveh "Fragments of an Aramaic Book" corrected the influential but ultimately unlikely title of Penney and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebul," yet one will note that Naveh is perhaps more frequently cited than heeded in New Testament scholarship. For discussions about the New Testament's mentions of Beelzebul, see, e.g., Collins, *Mark*, 229–30 (shows how "by the Ruler of the Demons" [ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων] could be an attempt to translate *Ba'al Zebul*); Wolfgang Hermann, "Baal Zebub," 154–55 in Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst, ed., *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd revised ed. (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 1999), esp. 155; Witmer, *Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist*, 114: "it is possible that the use of Beelzebul by both Mark and Q is linked with the local Syrian deity *zbl ba'al-u' ars*, in which case the accusation could be meant to imply that Jesus was somehow linked with foreign gods, which were understood by some within Judaism as demons." If such a diagnosis were indeed based on historical events, the range of possible diagnoses could have provided a basis upon which elaboration could take place (e.g., the "ravaging angels…bastard spirits, demons, Lilith," etc. (Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1028–29).

pronounced a warning about their "unforgivable sin."[199] The way Mark juxtaposed these apophthegmatic sayings ensured that readers would see things from Jesus's point of view (as Mark understood it), and that they would already be predisposed to see the scribes as antagonists. This confrontation and any act reminiscent of it, even if therapeutic, could be understood as an attack.[200] Likewise, Mark showed that familial concern was not a sufficient cause for enlisting treatment for Jesus's followers, even if their behaviors seemed to be aberrant. Mark did not forget who had attracted the scribes' attention to Jesus's methods, and so he closed with a renunciation of the relatives of Jesus.[201]

The Character of Jesus's Exorcisms

Because of the dramatic exorcisms he himself practiced, Jesus went on to inspire a movement that was also made famous partly through exorcisms in his name. This later development introduced significant adaptations, which I discuss in the next chapter. Jesus's personal exorcisms were suited to a Palestinian context and Jewish concerns, and

[199] The teaching is designed to make people think twice about saying things like "he has an evil spirit" (3:30: πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἔχει) with ὅτι. I find it unlikely that Mark preserves an original saying that goes back to the days of Jesus, but rather is a highly formulaic critique about his legacy or the practices of his followers. See the seminal study of M. Eugene Boring, "The Unforgivable Sin Logion Mark III 28-29/Matt XII 31-32/Luke XII 10: Formal Analysis and History of the Tradition," *NovT* 18 (1976): 258–79, arguing that the original "post-Easter" saying branched off into multiple versions and translations, two of which would appear in Mark (the closest to the original, even if later) and Q (revised numerous times); see a broad range of hypotheses in Christoph Heil, ed., *Q 12:8–12: Confessing or Denying; Speaking against the Holy Spirit; Hearings before Synagogues,* Documenta Q (Leuven: Peeters, 1998). While I am unconvinced that we can reveal exact transmission routes and contents along the way, I think it is at least demonstrable that the sayings underwent transformations of terminology, contents, context, meaning, etc.

[200] Most commentators read this as an attack, and France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 168 is typical: "It is this deliberate perversion of the truth which provokes the unparalleled severity of Jesus' counterattack." It is true that people can erase the line between "diagnosis" and "accusation," rendering them one and the same thing in order to impinge on a person's perceived fitness for a role. Even in such cases, fitness resides in the eye of the beholder, depending on their level of devotion to the authority figure. For example, as I write these lines, a public debate is raging in the United States of America over the psychological fitness of the President; specialists who have warned about certain aberrant behaviors have become categorized as attackers by devotees.

[201] Another angle, which is interesting but adds little to the current argument, is that Mark included the relatives of Jesus in this story in order to erode their important position in the movement of Mark's day. See David C. Sim, "The Family of Jesus and the Disciples of Jesus in Paul and Mark," 73–97 in Oda Wischmeyer, David C. Sim, and Ian J. Elmer, eds., *Paul and Mark: Comparative Essays Part I. Two Authors at the Beginnings of Christianity* (Boston and Göttingen: De Gruyter, 2014), esp. 85–90, 96–97.

must be understood in that social context as an idiosyncratic form of Jewish ritual therapy. It seems to me that Jesus was concerned with making the therapy of exorcism available to everyone. By this, I not only mean to say that he exorcized marginalized persons, a fact has already been noted by other scholars. Namely, I argue that he also taught uneducated people how to do exorcisms, which propelled his followers into a social domain properly occupied by learned ritual experts.

Few insights come from analyzing Jesus's exorcisms in the context of ostensibly comparable "magical" practices—this essentially asks the topic in question to provide its own (questionable) foundations. Yet this describes the predominant way of approaching Jesus's exorcisms. Scholarly discourse has largely been defined by questions of comparative magic, even in cases where scholars are arguing that Jesus was not a magician.[202] "Magic," as a disputed category in its own right, has proved to be a poor

[202] Consider the competing portrait of *Jesus the Magician* (Smith) and *Jesus the Exorcist* (Twelftree), which captures the state of scholarship. Morton Smith concluded that Jesus's contemporaries would easily be able to recognize the exorcisms of a commonplace, opportunistic magician (Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, 126–29). Jesus's opponents were "small town lawyers and teachers who owed their prestige and income to the Law," which, in the course of his arguments, Smith confusingly makes out to be magicians like Jesus who call Jesus a magician (Smith, *Jesus, the Magician*, 200.). Smith's circularity has proved to be difficult to argue with, partly because scholars have not identified the problems inherent in seeing Jesus as just another typical exorcist. For instance, influential studies by Graham Twelftree disagreed with Smith, and argued that Jesus's contemporaries would not have seen him as a magician, even though he employed techniques like "standard formulas or incantations used by the exorcists of ancient magic" (Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism among Early Christians* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011], 46). That is, he envisioned Jesus as a "very ordinary exorcist," save for a few alterations to doctrine, technique, or disposition (Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 173). Innovations are read essentially as theological phenomena: Jesus "was the first one to link the relatively common phenomenon of exorcism with eschatology" (Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 173; but see, e.g., 4Q510 and 4Q511 for examples of eschatology and exorcism combined). Elsewhere, Twelftree concluded somewhat differently: "[T]he most significant difference between the method of the first followers of Jesus and the magical exorcisms known at the time is both the high level of confidence reported of the followers of Jesus as well as the extreme brevity of their method, both of which are not generally seen in the magical literature" (Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus*, 53). Cf. Everett Ferguson's conclusions, "Christian practice had formal similarities with the pagan," but fundamental differences lay in "an attitude of faith and humility instead of compulsion (Everett Ferguson, "Exorcism," in idem, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* [2nd ed.; New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1997], 1.412); cf. Elmar Bartsch, *Die Sachbeschwörungen der römischen Liturgie: eine liturgiegeschichtliche und liturgietheologische Studie* (Münster/Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1967), 340–42 for

basis for discussing something as poorly understood as ancient Jewish exorcism; hence, I suggest that the multiplication of ancient materials in recent times has only made the discussion more unwieldy. Eliding Jesus's exorcism with other relevant sociological questions may alleviate this cumbersome problem.

As I have shown, Jewish exorcism was embedded in a larger body of learning and cultic expertise, and that is where we should look for the stakes of exorcism. Jesus's exorcisms tapped into a complex cultural web we may describe in terms of tradition, education, literacy, and spiritual charisma, which together provided the habitus and resulting cultural valuation of exorcism.[203] I do not wish to suggest in any way that I am the first scholar to attempt a connection between Jesus's exorcisms and social concerns. Instead, I characterize my contribution in this section as a synthesis of several strands of scholarship that already point in this direction, which I then bring into conversation with my broader concerns about Jewish ritual sciences.[204]

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further ideas about the kinds of dispositions and intentions that are often declared to distinguish Christian invocations from "superstitious" beliefs and practices. Yet the very picture of a typical exorcist has itself been based on a faulty portrait of democratized Jewish exorcism; recall that this portrait of Jewish exorcism already presumes Jesus as a key source. Circularity is mistaken for consistency. This likely impacts the use of Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* to understand Jesus's exorcisms. Apollonius has often been read as a helpful parallel for explaining Jesus's exorcisms, but which in all likelihood was probably based on Philostratus's direct knowledge of gospel traditions. See the discussion by Marc van Uytfanghe, "La *Vie D'Apollonius de Tyane* et Le Discours Hagiographique," 335–74 in Kristoffel Demoen and Danny Praet, eds., *Theios Sophistès: Essays on Flavius Philostratus' Vita Apollonii* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); and Simon Swain, "Culture and Nature in Philostratus," 33–46 in Ewen Bowie and Jaś Elsner, eds., *Philostratus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). To support a hypothesis about Jesus via Philostratus is to support an argument about Jesus from his own reception history. I return to Philostratus in the following chapter. These and other flaws pervade much of the comparative work involving Jesus, Jewish rituals, and Greek magic (e.g., the mischaracterization of Greek magical papyri as having been "under such Jewish influence it is reasonable to suppose that they have their origins among Jews of some kind" as Twelftree argues in *In the Name of Jesus*, 43–44, citing Smith for support).

[203] I evoke *habitus* on purpose, as a way of invoking Pierre Bourdieu's ideas about class and pedagogy. Furthermore, I nod to his formula in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 95: "[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice]" when I speak of a sociological question as "solved, or at least estimated."

[204] Additionally, this will provide a sufficient foundation for the next chapter, which deals with the distinct phenomenon of Christian exorcism outside of Palestine.

The theme of *purity* provides a helpful starting point.[205] It has received attention in connection with Jesus's exorcisms, usually to argue that the practice could have disturbed the boundary between the impure and the pure; this, in turn, is thought to have provoked controversy between Jesus and those who monitored those boundaries. Todd Klutz reasonably identified Jesus's exorcisms as acts of purification, made controversial because Jesus was not authorized to purify in this way;[206] Amanda Witmer saw Jesus as a subversive, boundary-crossing cultic "bandit," who showed uncommon care for the marginalized;[207] and finally, Jodi Magnes has argued that Jesus's exorcisms were intended to potentiate a new apocalyptic kingdom, not by changing the rules about purity, but by claiming to have changed the people who were likely to be deemed impure.[208] These studies paint a similar portrait of a man who wanted to bring the therapeutic benefits of higher society down to the level of the most needy.[209] This approach to exorcism, through the lens of exclusion and purity, immediately improves the efficiency and quality of the discourse on the topic. However, depending on a reader's predisposition towards a group such as the scribes, it might appear that Jewish experts

[205] Beyond the points I discuss, see also Thomas Kazen, *Scripture, Interpretation, or Authority? Motives and Arguments in Jesus' Halakic Conflicts*, WUNT 320 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), along with Cecilia Wassen, "Jesus' Table Fellowship with 'Toll Collectors and Sinners': Questioning the Alleged Purity Implications," in *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 14 (2016): 137–57, who provides a corrective to Kazen and others who have "overread" Jesus's antagonism to purity regulations.
[206] Klutz, *The Exorcism Stories in Luke-Acts*, 82–151; idem, "Grammar of Exorcism in the Ancient Mediterranean," 156–65 in Carey C Newman, James R Davila, and Gladys S Lewis, eds., *The Jewish roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, JSJsupp 63 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1999), esp. 163.
[207] Witmer, *Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist*, 28–30, 154, 204. Witmer argues that Jesus's exorcisms occupied a similar social space as the activities social bandits of the day (although the activities themselves differed), making him something that I believe may be described as a cultic and therapeutic version of Robin Hood (*Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist*, 205).
[208] Jodi Magnes, "'They Shall See the Glory of the Lord' (Isa 35:2): Eschatological Perfection and Purity at Qumran and in Jesus' Movement," *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 14 (2016): 99–119.
[209] This is not to claim that exorcism was only available to the "highest" elite, but rather as a comparison with the destitute, who completely lacked fiscal resources and medical access.

held some sort of cynical antipathy against the poor, which was hardly the case. What is needed is a robust connection to other prominent social questions, especially pedagogy and pedigree.

Jesus and his early followers did not come from pedigrees of erudition and prestige, yet still sought to make a mark on wide swaths of practice that interested the learned classes. There was a scholarly, scientific quality to the therapeutic outlook of sanctioned Jewish sages and practitioners, characterized both by inward-looking interests in indigenous traditions and outward-facing interests in foreign knowledge. We saw this in the case of Jewish ritual sciences, and the same hold true for controversial aspects of purity. Mira Balberg highlights this in her discussion about the "traditions of the elders," to which Jesus was said to object in Mark 7. Following John Poirier and Yair Furstenberg, Balberg suggests that learned views on purity and impurity bear unmistakable marks of influence by "the prevalent humoral theory, which dominated Graeco-Roman medicine during the time of the High Empire."[210] In other words, these were not the sorts of discussions one would be likely to overhear on a fishing vessel or behind plowing oxen. Furthermore, they reveal westward-facing engagement with Greek learning, much as the practice of exorcism was sustained by eastward-facing engagement with Mesopotamian scholarship. Figures who were not invited to participate in scholarly

[210] Mira Balberg, *Purity, Body, and Self in Early Rabbinic Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 2014), 57, citing seminal work by John Poirier and Yair Furstenberg. This should not be surprising; as we have seen from the first, the sample of surviving texts from the Second Temple period evidence significant interest in the natural world and its workings, and at least some Jews participated in the back-and-forth among scholars. In his massive compilation De medicina, first-century scholar Cornelius Celsus cited a recipe "attributed to the author Iudaeus" (*quod ad auctorem Iudaeum refertur*) for a plaster that could be applied to a fractured skull (*De med.* 5.19.11). See brief introduction and citation in Louis H. Feldman and Meyer Reinhold, *Jewish Life and Thought Among Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 115.

discourse would have ideally known to respect the opinions of those with superior expertise.

These social norms notwithstanding, Jesus proved to be effective at encroaching on the boundaries of expertise. Chris Keith has compellingly argued that Jesus "was a scribal-illiterate carpenter who at times occupied the social space of a scribal-literate teacher," which embroiled him in debates over authority and scriptural interpretation.[211] To say that Jesus was illiterate does not imply he was ignorant or unable to hold his own with learned people—his reputation as a compelling teacher and able controversialist pervades early recollections about him. Still, he lacked the means, and perhaps the need or desire, to advance a highly nuanced approach to exorcism. This devout, uneducated teacher developed methods inspired by bits and pieces of scribal exorcism, but offered no analogue to the broader disciplinary framework in which Jewish exorcism was positioned.

This explains why scholars find "little interest in or adherence to formula" in Jesus's exorcisms.[212] If Jesus lacked direct access to literate cultural knowledge, his understanding of exorcism would come in response to sources and concerns far removed from the exorcism texts of his day. Some traditional knowledge could have come through second-hand access by listening to trained professionals ply their art.[213] What was lacking in knowledge could be supplemented by claims to charisma, a theme amply developed by

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[211] Chris Keith, *Jesus against the Scribal Elite: The Origins of the Conflict* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2014), 108.
[212] Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism*, 137; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 2, *Matthew 8–18*, 336 n.13, "his refusal to employ much ritual."
[213] Smith, *Jesus the Magician* is riddled with problems, but he was probably not wrong to suppose that early followers of Jesus put into practice techniques they had learned by watching trained professionals (*Jesus the Magician*, 197).

Stevan Davies and subsequent scholars who have identified the role of divine possession in Jesus's exorcisms.[214] This pneumatic conviction permitted Jesus and his followers to enrich their presentations of knowledge and skill through appeals to divine revelation and empowerment.[215] These claims of possession by the Holy Spirit, and frequent engagement with evil spirits, led some to interpret Jesus's personal possession as an affliction, as we saw. If he were ever the subject of scribal exorcism, as I have cautiously suggested, such an experience could have provided an unpleasant learning opportunity. Indeed, Mark's accounts of exorcism conflicts may have been deemed worthy of preservation not only because they evoked painful memories, but also because such conflicts helped give shape to the mode of exorcism practiced by Jesus and his followers.

By surveying Jesus's exorcisms in this way, I find that he was not an example of a typical Jewish exorcist, yet his entire approach only makes sense in the Jewish setting of his day. His conflicts with scribes offer further proof about the elites who lay claim to the practice as their specialty. Jesus sought to increase access to healing and cultic acceptance on behalf of those afflicted by evil spirits; on behalf of his disciples, he developed a new way of approaching exorcism through simple forms of mimicry and divine inspiration. Much as he seems to have approached questions of purity, Jesus's novel approach to exorcism stands in oblique relationship to learned traditions of his

[214] Stevan L. Davies, *Jesus the Healer: Possession, Trance, and the Origins of Christianity* (London, 1995), and extended by the work of Klutz, Witmer, Sorensen, and others. I should note that I am wary of appeals to fixed anthropological models as is sometimes practiced in these treatments, especially when discussions concern particulars of exorcistic practices.

[215] This may explain how Luke so easily reapplied the unforgivable sin logion (Luke 12:10) to prophetic witness in the courtroom, when he undoubtedly knew Mark's placement of the saying within an exorcism conflict. In fact, the two activities were similarly pneumatic.

day.[216] Thus, Jesus's exorcisms were very Jewish, but also very different because of his idiosyncratic approach to knowledge, status, and questions of who could have access to these things.

Conclusion: The Social Place of Exorcism before 70 CE

We have no accounts written before the fall of the Second Temple that depict contemporary Jews performing exorcisms—a remarkable fact that we should not be eager to gloss over. After the War, only Josephus professed to give a description of exorcism as it was practiced, and Mark gives insight into Jesus's approach. These texts represent our best chance of understanding Judaean exorcism in the Second Temple era, and the findings may be summarized:

- The ongoing practices of copying, textual emendation, and combining texts into collections are all characteristic of higher scholarship in the ancient world.
- The variety of subjects preserved in the extant collections of texts from Qumran reveals an interest in the same breadth of curriculum as other ancient scholarly traditions, e.g., astronomy, physiognomy, and healing.
- Education and institutional trust were both tacitly present in the appropriate assimilation of outsider knowledge. This includes the initial act of attaining texts mediated through foreign scholarly traditions, the capacity to read and comprehend significant ritual forms or themes in those texts, and the

[216] This, ironically, means that the simplicity is complicated to describe in relationship to the established body of tradition. It seems less precise to say that he was either for or against that knowledge, per se; rather, I prefer to think that he stood outside of the determinative domain of these fields, yet managed to become embroiled in controversies with the experts who knew a great deal about these areas of study. This is more dynamic than mere statements of *for* or *against* anything.

transformation of this knowledge in a way that is in keeping with mastery of the indigenous tradition.

- The adaptation of texts and traditions from within indigenous Jewish culture likewise required a similar level of skill and social status (if the resulting rendition was to be trusted).
- The self-designation of משכיל in the Songs of the Sage corroborates at least some performance of exorcism by this authoritative community figure.
- The narrative accounts show a competitive interest with sages, scribes, and priests of other cultures. Anti-intellectualism and nativism are not espoused. Rather, the narratives emphasize the priority of Israel's God, and the importance of revelation granted to his people.
- Narratives and ritual texts alike were collected and adapted by the same scribes.
- The biographical interests that governed the ritual collections may mirror motivations for transmitting narrative accounts, namely, to connect heroic figures with the contemporary scribes and their students.

By these measures, I conclude that exorcism rites were properly the concern of scribes, priests, and associated persons, and fell neatly among many other priestly or scribal concerns (sacrifice, juridical affairs). A similar combination of tasks occupied various classes of priests/scribes/sages around the Near East and Egypt, and I find nothing to suggest that Second Temple Jewish leaders fundamentally transformed the sanctioned practice of exorcism into a democratic activity. This is not to exclude people

of the laity from their part in the rites. Specialist authority is nothing but potential energy without social complicity and participation.[217]

Second Temple Jewish ritual authorities developed structures for social expansion, structures that allowed human connection to have a sense of coherent shape and direction. They ordered the world (time, space, correct procedure) and solved practical problems when people or situations deviated from the desired norms.[218] Texts and rituals of exorcism provided a few of the tools in this basic undertaking. Martin Goodman has suggested that "the two roles of scribes, as writers and interpreters, were mutually reinforcing" for the prestige of Jewish scribes.[219] Perhaps there was a third role for some, as experts of institutional ritual sciences. In this dominion of functioning, exorcism elevated the prestige of the highest achievers, and added to the credibility of those under their tutelage and leadership.

This understanding of exorcism has broader implications for how we describe Jewish knowledge in the Second Temple era. In particular, we may dispense with any sort of condescension that easily accompanies interpretations of Jewish exorcism—likely the false hues of Orientalism and anti-Jewish thought refracted across the vibrance of

[217] Partakers in such rites are not to be oversimplified, as Catherine Bell's description illustrates: "A participant, as a ritualized agent and social body, naturally brings to such activities a self-constituting history that is a patchwork of compliance, resistance, misunderstanding, and a redemptive personal appropriation of the hegemonic order" (Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009], 208).

[218] Deviation by sickness, transgression, disruptive weather, etc. For the functional role of science in this context, see Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Ideals of Science: The Infrastructure of Scientific Activity in Apocalyptic Literature and in the Yahad," ch. 6 in Ben-Dov and Sanders, *Ancient Jewish Sciences.* Of course, even the "positive impact" is itself illusory, since the nature of absolute truth claims includes within itself an invitation to schism over fine details of definition, implementation, implications, etc.

[219] Martin Goodman, "Texts, Scribes, and Power in Roman Judaea," 79–90 in Martin Goodman, ed., *Judaism in the Roman World: Collected Essays* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), here citing 89.

Jewish learning and inventiveness.[220] The industry and acumen of Jewish sages permeates the surviving corpus of textual evidence. Ancient exorcism was a methodical science, and whatever one may think of its inherent usefulness, it still represents a slender token of the knowledge Jews acquired and dispensed in conversation with neighboring cultures. As a practice so often mistaken for an indicator of uncritical superstition, wild opportunism, or gullible syncretism, Second Temple exorcism should now emerge as an indicator of something opposite to these demeaning portraits.

In Jesus's legacy we meet for the first time an exorcist from the laboring classes, the sort of person who "devotes his heart to plowing furrows" (Sirach 38:26) rather than aspiring to deep furrows of learning (Sirach 38:33–39:11). His legacy as a different sort of exorcist proved to be remarkably influential, and he is the earliest and most important example of a popular or democratizing exorcist. I argue that his approach to exorcism is best understood in the same complex of ideas that pervade the Jewish ritual sciences—questions about pedagogical access, and whether practical healing knowledge should be constrained and regulated or freely dispensed at the expense of learnedness. Jesus's legacy spread westward beyond the Levant across the Mediterranean world, and when this occurred, the nuances of his conflicts over Jewish practices in Palestine began to be reinterpreted and misconstrued by Jesus's Gentile followers. As the next chapter discusses, early Christians turned their exorcistic zeal against the gods of the nations, yet criticized Jewish exorcisms and other ritual practices for reasons that were very different from those expressed in the gospels.

[220] This unflattering view would hardly be possible without the suppression and destruction of Jewish sources across the ages.

CHAPTER TWO

"Some of the Wandering Judaean Exorcists" and the Creation of Christian Exorcism

This chapter discusses Gentile Christian exorcism, which I distinguish from the exorcisms of Second Temple era Judaeans (whether scribes, priests, or Jesus and his earliest followers). Here, I argue that Gentile Christian exorcism grew out of encounters between Gentile Christian leaders and diasporic Judaean ritual experts ("exorcists") in the late first century and continued to develop throughout the second century. This form of exorcism had a deep and lasting impact on Christian rhetoric against Jewish ritual experts, while also adding shape to Christian opposition to "paganism." Because of this, I identify the exorcists and exorcisms discussed in this chapter as pivotal considerations in the emergence of Christian identity and Jewish-Christian relations.

The movement begun by Jesus underwent significant changes during the final decades of the first century and the beginning of the second century. The Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts keenly demonstrate these changes, since they respectively serve as a revision and sequel to Mark. Luke's style reveals him to have been an educated author, and he also portrayed Jesus as an educated, literate man.[221] Luke omitted any questions about Jesus's sanity, and in general, "Whatever sounds vulgar to the educated, or irritates Christian sensibilities, Luke replaces."[222] When it came to exorcism, Luke allegorized

[221] On Luke's education and the gospel's unity with Acts, see Richard Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary*, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, Publishers, 2009), 7–12. For Jesus's literacy, see Chris Keith, *Jesus against the Scribal Elite: The Origins of the Conflict* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2014), 124–47.
[222] François Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1–9:50*, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002), 4.

Jesus's confrontations with demons as "the finger of God," which ultimately pointed to the judgment of Judaean leaders who hardened their hearts against Jesus's message.[223]

Luke similarly reimagined Jesus's successors; this is particularly true of the Apostle Paul, the apostle *par excellence*.[224] In Acts, Paul becomes something of an educated guru—we find him lecturing Athenian philosophers,[225] reasoning in the school (ἐν τῇ σχολῇ) of someone named Tyrannos for two years,[226] and finally, although being declared mad by the Roman governor, this madness was only induced by his "great learning" (τὰ πολλά σε γράμματα)![227] Luke interwove these speeches with stories of prophecy, healing, and judgment, which proved that Paul was specially empowered by the Holy Spirit.[228] Along the way, Luke imagined how Paul would react to demons and exorcism during his mission to the diaspora.[229] The two stories of Paul and exorcism in Acts are paradigmatic, offering key insights into the two areas of concern that prompted Gentile Christian leaders to develop a distinct form of Christian exorcism. First, Luke disparaged Jewish specialists called "exorcists," making the case that their books and

[223] Luke 11:20: ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια; cf. Exodus 8:15: δάκτυλος θεοῦ ἐστιν τοῦτο.
[224] For examples of rhetorical skilled apostles besides Paul, see Peter's speeches, e.g., Acts 1:16–25, 2:14–40, 3:12–26, 11:5–17.
[225] Acts 17:9–34.
[226] Acts 19:9–10.
[227] Acts 26:24.
[228] Max Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts*, JPTsup9 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) on the centrality of charismatic themes in these books.
[229] By *diasporic*, I indicate the populations of Jews living all across the world, whether of necessity or out of conscious decision, both before and after Roman occupation, with particular attention to the Greek- and Latin-speaking world; and, the Christians who identified with Jewish heritage in one way or another, and who lived in the same places as diasporic Jews (see, e.g., James 1:1; 1 Peter 1:1). While I emphasize the novelty of Judaean cultic exorcism outside of Palestine in the first century and early second century, I let the sources do the leading without attempting to add additional layers of "neat binaries between the origin and destination, a colony and its 'mother' country" (Balasubramanyam Chandramohan, "Diasporic [exilic; migrant] Writings," in John C. Hawley, ed. *Encyclopedia of Postcolonial Studies* [Greenwood, 2001], 145). For general observations on the idea of diaspora and Jewish diaspora in particular, see Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (2005): 1–19; J. Price, "The Diaspora of the Graeco-Roman Period," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 13 (1994): 169–86; John M. Barclay, ed., *Negotiating Diaspora: Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire* (Library of Second Temple Studies 45; London: T&T Clark, 2004).

rituals were an unnecessary, ineffective, and expensive distraction from authentic spiritual power.[230] Second, Luke demonstrated exorcism's potential for disparaging the "gods of the nations" as evil spirits. With these stories from Acts as a starting point, we can trace the earliest evolution of Christian exorcism as a reaction to Jews and "pagans."

In this chapter, I argue that the practice typically called "Christian exorcism" originated from Gentile Christian interactions with Judaean exorcists gone abroad; the resulting habit of Christian exorcism provide pivotal support for Christian cultural causes across the cultural and political landscape.[231] Starting with evidence from the Pauline epistles, I argue that Paul did not promote exorcism, although his theology provided helpful concepts for later Christians to develop new ideas about the practice. I then discuss the first written appearance of Palestinian Jewish ritual healers called exorcists, which attracted a measure of notoriety among both Christians and "pagans" in the second century. I suggest that, in response to these Judaean exorcists, second-century Christians began performing therapeutic and apotropaic acts that they sometimes called exorcisms (although Christians avoided calling themselves exorcists until the third century).[232] This new form of exorcism quickly manifested its "atheistic" potential; it provided Christians

[230] Although I argue that Luke was suspicious of those who identified with ἐξορκίζ-/ορκίζ- terminology, I use "exorcism" throughout to refer to the practice of casting out demons, and highlight terminological nuances where necessary.

[231] The development of this argument stands in contrast with prior models that take "Christianity" as a unitary organization that "moved beyond its Jewish foundations into the wider Roman society," and thus "was forced to come to terms with the dominant culture" (Elizabeth Leeper, "Exorcism in Early Christianity," [PhD Diss.; Duke University, 1991], 200).

[232] I will discuss the evolution of Christian exorcists as an ecclesiastical position in the next chapter. Here, I note the earliest references to Christian exorcists: Cyprian, *Ep.* 4, 23, 69, and 75; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43.13-15; Origen, *Hom. Jos.* 24.1, yet this is Rufinus's translation, which means that we cannot know whether Origen used the term ἐξορκιστής of Christians who practiced exorcism.

with a means for relentlessly shaming the gods and for disturbing well-established worldviews associated with "paganism."

Gentile Christians and Exorcism

Paul and Exorcism

Paul probably never performed an exorcism, even though he contributed to exorcism's development in several ways. His ideas provided some of the basic elements that Luke, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, and many others used to develop a distinct form of Christian exorcism. However, to name Paul as a founder of Christian exorcism is not to claim that Paul ever mentioned exorcism, when in fact, he did not mention it even once. Nor is it likely he ever performed an exorcism himself—the claim that he did is tendentious at best.[233] If he or his congregations practiced a form of exorcism, it must have been less famous than the plethora of experimental charismatic gifts flourishing among adherents of the day.[234] Paul's priorities lay elsewhere. Instead of cluttering his letters with worries about demonic possession, he obsessed over the purity of a singular organism, which was the congregation, the body of Christ. He sought to keep this group safe from idols and angels, but to do that, he used means other than exorcisms.

First, Paul did not conceive of demons in the same way that one finds in Mark and the other synoptics, nor did he use demonic nomenclature in the same way. In Mark, demons were diseases and wild marauders, a concept that mirrored the views of Jewish ritual practitioners in the Land of Israel.[235] For Paul, a "demon" (δαίμων) was any deity

[233] Contra, e.g., Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism among Early Christians* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 57–77.
[234] 1 Cor. 2:12–14 and 12:1–14:1; Rom. 12:1–13.
[235] See Dale Martin, "When Did Angels Become Demons?" *JBL* 129 (2010): 657–77, esp. 673–75; and chapter 1 of this dissertation.

other than the God of Israel. These demons came from the scriptures he inherited in Greek translation, and were primarily imagined as the objects of wood and stone to which the nations foolishly devoted themselves. "All the gods of the nations are godlings," to use Paula Fredriksen's apt translation of δαιμόνια in Psalm 95:5 (MT 96:5).[236] These were objects made by human hands, and one could hardly compare them to the Lord who made the heavens.[237] When Paul used the term *demon*, he was warning against the enticements of idolatry in the mold of Israel's Deuteronomistic narratives and oracles. Paul agreed with Isaiah's claim that these deities "are nothing" (ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν), and posed no immediate threat to the bodies and souls of believers.[238] Nowhere did Paul present demons surveilling congregations of believers in hopes of infiltrating or harming them. The temple demons were not able to enter the body of Christ unless believers went to their habitations and communed with them—the demons ate the smoke of sacrifice while the believers shared their meat. Even with these ideas in mind, Paul still struck a conciliatory tone with congregants who might consume idol meat (demon food) out of ignorance; doing so would neither prompt a demonic attack nor cause unseen spiritual contamination.[239] The most immediate danger to the congregation did not come from the demons, but rather from the jealous God who had not hesitated to lay waste to his own people for their unfaithful festivities.[240] Paul invited the Corinthians to abstain from eating idol meat as a way of keeping themselves and their impressionable co-worshipers

[236] Paula Fredriksen, *When Christians Were Jews: The First Generation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018), 148.
[237] Ps. 95:5: ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια, ὁ δὲ κύριος τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησεν.
[238] Is. 65:3 (Greek) and 1 Cor. 10:19–21.
[239] 1 Cor. 10:27–29.
[240] 1 Cor. 1–11 and 22.

in God's good graces. Paul advised people to avoid these gods, but nowhere suggested exorcism or other protective acts.

In contrast to demon-deities, Paul registered deep suspicions about the intentions of angels, classifying them among the world's sinister powers, both cosmic[241] and earthly.[242] The only times we may be certain that he pictured good angels, he used a qualifier: angel "of God" or "of light."[243] And even with an angel of light, one would need to exercise caution, because Satan also disguises himself as a good angel![244] For this reason, Paul cautioned the Galatians to doubt even the revelations of an angel from heaven (ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ) should its teachings fall outside of the parameters of Paul's revealed teachings during his time among those believers.[245] Women fell under a peculiar kind of angelic threat if they tempted these creatures with their uncovered heads.[246] Angels were not to be trusted. Yet even with these sinister spirits watching his congregations, Paul never made any mention of exorcism.

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[241] Rom. 8:38.
[242] 1 Cor. 4:9.
[243] Gal. 4:14; 2 Cor. 11:14.
[244] Paul worried over the dangers that angels might pose to his congregations: "Satan disguises himself as an angel of light" (αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός) (2 Cor. 11:14), comparable to the so-called "false apostles" (ψευδαπόστολοι) who bore a different message from Paul's revelation. Interestingly, as Gentile Christians became more worried over demons in the second, third, and fourth centuries, angels apparently became less threatening. See Rangar Cline, *Ancient Angels: Conceptualizing Angeloi in the Roman Empire*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 172 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1–18, 105–68 for a discussion of evolving Christian dispositions towards angels.
[245] Gal. 1:8. The "destroying angels and bastard spirits" (מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים) of 4Q510 f1:5–7 likewise intrude upon the community, looking to mislead the righteous in the current apocalyptic age. See Steve Mason on Paul's proprietary *evangelion*, "Paul's Announcement (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον): 'Good News' and Its Detractors in Earliest Christianity," 283–302 in idem, ed., *Josephus, Judea, and Christian Origins: Methods and Categories* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2009).
[246] 1 Cor. 11:10. As Loren Stuckebruck has observed, questions about whether these angels were elect or fallen is hardly central to understanding Paul's anxieties, which resided instead in the powers of female sexual temptation ("Why Should Women Cover Their Heads Because of the Angels?" in ibid. *The Myth of the Rebellious Angels*, 278).

The only "exorcism" I can find in Paul's letters is his performative expulsion of a man who engaged in a relationship[247] that the Torah forbade.[248] Paul wrote that his own personal spirit would join with the Corinthians as they enacting a curse to "give such a one over to Satan for the destruction of the body" (παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός).[249] He neither blamed nor confronted demons in a person, but rather physically expelled a man into the hands of Satan. This ban rid the congregational body of its moral contamination.

Nonetheless, Paul's writings contained ingredients that, if later readers were to harmonize them with the vocabulary in Mark's gospels, could identify the gods of the diaspora with the "demons" Jesus had confronted in Palestine. Unlike Paul's demons, who resided in temples, Mark's demons were ravaging spirits who sought to harm and destroy through illness and madness. By the second century, thinkers such as Justin, Tertullian, and the anonymous author of the *Origin of the World* fruitfully reimagined

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[247] A great deal of debate has surrounded the nature of this relationship. Craig S. de Vos, "Stepmothers, Concubines, and the Case of Πορνεια in 1 Corinthians 5," *NTS* 44 (1998): 104–14, on 113 suggests that "the relationship discussed in 1 Cor 5 probably involves a sexual relationship (concubinage?) between a young man and his late father's concubine. Such a relationship was not illegal and may have had no social consequences other than a 'few raised eyebrows' amongst the Corinthian elite." Michael Goulder, "Libertines? (1 Cor. 5-6)," *NT* 41 (1999): 334–48, on 347–48 argued for much the same conclusion. I find this argument satisfactory.

[248] 1 Cor. 5:1–13; see David Raymond Smith, '*Hand This Man over to Satan': Curse, Exclusion and Salvation in 1 Corinthians 5* (London: T & T Clark, 2009). The most pertinent intertext is Deuteronomy 27:20, which combines the infraction and the curse in a single elocution (the most commonly cited intertexts are Lev. 18:8 and/or Deut. 22:30). For the historical context of these Deuteronomistic curses, see Laura Quick, *Deuteronomy 28 and the Aramaic Curse Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). The context of 1 Corinthians 5 reveals that preparation for the ongoing Pascha (1 Cor. 5:6–8) is a primary concern. This is in keeping with Paul's view that his community of believers lived in a transformed Deuteronomistic lineage (see, notably, 1 Cor. 10:1–14). For Paul's more mature use of the law, see Thomas H. Tobin, *Paul's Rhetoric in Its Contexts: The Argument of Romans* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 343–47 and throughout. While Tobin does not discuss the passage in 1 Cor., he shows Paul's evolved use of the Mosaic law following, what he argues, were the disastrous results of the Corinthians reading his letter to the Galatians. See also Tobin, *Paul's Rhetoric*, 271 for the law's continued pertinence despite the denigrating statements he had issued in Galatians, "He seems not to have noticed the extent to which his arguments stand in tension even with some of his own convictions about the place of the law and the importance of Israel, which he expresses elsewhere in his letters and even in other parts of Galatians."

[249] 1 Cor. 5:3–4.

world politics, philosophy, and culture as the realm of gods, who could be imagined as fallen angels and evil demons.[250] Now they could say that the nations had been worshiping the very beings who robbed the afflicted of their health and sanity!

Additionally, Paul's teachings on charisma opened up the possibility that any believer might win the "lottery" of pneumatic gifts.[251] Some congregants could teach, some might proclaim oracles, and others might heal. These people were not to learn how to do these miracles from books of incantations, but rather through the exercise of corporate spiritual charisma. A synthesis of synoptic and Pauline materials can help explain many of the features of exorcism as early apologists understood it, as we see below.

Christians and Early Exorcists

I have already introduced Acts, which was composed by an educated Greek who reinterpreted his intellectual inheritance from the Jesus tradition. This second-century book reflects the thoughts of an educated author, whom tradition has named Luke.[252] Luke represents a new supersessionistic phase in Gentile Christian identity, a "highly charged and negative representation" of the Jewish people who dwelt all around the

[250] Justin, 1 *Apol.* 5; Tertullian, *De cult. fem.* 1.2–4 and *Apology* 22.3; *NHC* II.121.27–35 and II.123:4–24.
[251] See Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 119–27, 134–36, 138; cf. Robert Jewett, "The Question of the 'Apportioned Spirit' in Paul's Letters: Romans as a Case Study," 193–206 in Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker, and Stephen C. Barton, eds., *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2004), and Dale B. Martin, "Tongues of Angels and Other Status Indicators," *JAAR* 59.3 (1991): 547–89, which argues that Paul subverted existing ideas about charisma by demoting glossolalia below other spiritual gifts.
[252] Richard Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 2006), 343–46.

Roman world.[253] Indeed for Luke, Jesus's legacy culminated in Rome, when Paul vehemently rejected the Jews before proclaiming his gospel in the capital of the world.[254]

Consistent with this background, the exorcism story in Acts 19:13–20 provides the first example of a kind of ritual practitioner given the designation of *exorcist* (ἐξορκιστής). Luke derided exorcists as "wandering Judeans," including a group of incompetent Judaean priests. This is also the first witness to a direct Christian critique against Jewish ritual experts for the use of so-called *materia magica*, and especially their literary productions.[255] Luke's vision of exorcism was simple, empowered by the Holy Spirit, accompanied by the proclamation of Paul's gospel, and followed Jesus's non-literate example.[256] For Luke, Christians did not "do exorcisms" after the fashion of the Judaeans; instead, spirits fled from a Christian's preaching,[257] or from an apostle's shadow that passed over someone.[258]

The backdrop of this narrative incident is Paul's own effortless miracles, which meticulously avoided any ritual: "God did extraordinary miracles through Paul, so that when the handkerchiefs or aprons that had touched his skin were brought to the sick, their diseases left them, and the evil spirits came out of them."[259] This story exemplifies the unelaborated style of a genuinely pneumatic miracle. As I have mentioned, Paul himself probably never exorcised, and the act was certainly not a critical part of his project of

[253] Drew W. Billings, *Acts of the Apostles and the Rhetoric of Roman Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 135.
[254] Acts 28:25–28.
[255] Around the same time as Acts was composed, we may note a surge of Christian opposition to and assimilation of Palestinian Jewish intellectual materials, like lists and philosophies about cosmological beings.
[256] On the charismatic theology of Acts, see Turner, *Power from on High*, 401–27.
[257] Philip, in Acts 8:5–6.
[258] Peter, in Acts 5:15.
[259] Acts 19:11–12, NRSV.

identity-building. When Luke fictionalized Paul, however, he envisioned him as the premier successor to Jesus's wonder-working ministry (as Luke understood that ministry).[260]

With Paul's miraculous deeds in mind, Luke then introduced a novel class of healers as his antagonists: "Then some of the roving Judaean[261] exorcists (τινες καὶ τῶν περιερχομένων Ἰουδαίων ἐξορκιστῶν) tried to use the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits, saying, 'I adjure you by Jesus, the one whom Paul proclaims.'"[262] Luke zoomed in on "some of" (τινες) the Judaean/Jewish exorcists he imagined dwelling in Ephesus, and from that sample, selected the so-called Sons of Sceva, who were Judaean priests. The dark turn of Luke's story is also the miracle of the incident, the demoniac's violent wounding of Judaean priests:

> Seven sons of a Judaean high priest named Sceva were doing this. But the evil spirit said to them in reply, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you?" Then the man with the evil spirit leaped on them, mastered them all, and so overpowered them that they fled out of the house naked and wounded.[263]

The miracle here is not that someone was cured, but that seven men were beaten. While it is generally supposed that Luke invented this priest and his sons, he probably based this

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[260] Klutz, *The Exorcism Stories in Luke-Acts.* At first blush, Luke's Paul may seem like a latter-day instance of the legendary exorcist-healers, what Abraham, Moses, and Daniel were imagined to be—the lone hero working miracles in the midst of unsuccessful foreign opponents. However, unlike older Jewish exorcism stories, Luke made a deliberate effort to destroy the literate framework of such exorcism rituals. Unlike Daniel, Luke's Paul would never accept the role of leadership over his ritual opponents in the confines of their institutional context. Luke and Paul both rejoice that these books are burned at great monetary loss.

[261] My translation, "Judaean," is informed by Steve Mason, "Jews, Judeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of
Categorization in Ancient History," 141–84 in idem ed., *Josephus, Judaea, and Christian Origins: Methods and Categories* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2009), cf. 359; cf. Annette Y. Reed, *Jewish-Christianity and the History of Judaism*, TSAJ 171 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 474–80.

[262] Acts 19:13.

[263] Acts 19: 14–16, NRSV, substituting Judaean for Jewish. The Western text-form is quite distinct at this point. See Pervo, *Acts*, 474–75, and for illustrative purposes, one may consult an apparatus for the interesting disparities in a wide variety of manuscript traditions, e.g., George W. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, vol. VI: The Acts of the Apostles* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922), 446–51.

story on some of the realities that were taken for granted by his own day.[264] I understand the priestly exorcists in Acts to be diasporic ritual experts from the Land of Israel.

Scholars have long noted how first- and second-century Jewish refugees contributed to historically significant events.[265] Some of the refugees from the first revolt/revolution included Jews who believed in Jesus, but shunned the Greek title of "Christian" and considered the Gentile way of following Jesus to be appalling.[266] In a similar fashion, the sudden appearance of exorcists in the second century may signal a new development in Jewish, Christian, and Mediterranean ritual practice.

Luke intended a pejorative meaning when he described these Judeans as "wandering" (περιερχομένων) Jewish exorcists, implying that they were homeless or wanderers, or something to the effect that they were priests without a temple.[267] They exemplify "the exoticized appearance of a ritual expert outside his indigenous milieu."[268] While the Second Temple still stood, certain key institutional functions had been constrained to cultic locales. This may explain why we do not find Jewish exorcists in the

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[264] Luke failed to understand that he was projecting current realities onto a very different world, nearly a century earlier. See Pervo, *Acts*, 476–77 (but note Pervo's adherence to models of exorcism and magic, which I do not follow).

[265] E.g., their possible role in creating the ideological environment that led to the Alexandrian Jewish revolt, John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 143; cf. a different view in William Horbury, *Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 152–53. Some of the hardest evidence of a growing Jewish diaspora following battles with Rome come from the sale and manumission of slaves. See, e.g., Mary Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 369, 507.

[266] Revelation provides a key example, for which see instance, John Marshall, *Parables of War: Reading John's Jewish Apocalypse* (Waterloo, Ont.: The Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 2001); Elaine Pagels, "The Social History of Satan, Part Three: John of Patmos and Ignatius of Antioch: Contrasting Visions of 'God's People'" *HTR* 99 (2006): 487–505. My colleague at Princeton, Rebekah Haigh, is developing a convincing argument for reading Revelation as a "performative reification of Jewishness," providing a post-Temple messianic liturgy for Jewish devotees of Jesus.

[267] *LSJ*, 1373 (s.v., περιέρχομαι).

[268] David Frankfurter, "Ancient Magic in a New Key: Refining an Exotic Discipline in the History of Religions," 3–20 in idem, ed., *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), here citing 15.

works of Greek and Roman authors from before the second century. As the previous chapter discussed, first-century Judaean ritualists functioned on behalf of the official cult (or a sectarian counterpart). However, by the time we meet the first Jews designated as *exorcists,* Judaean sectarian leaders and cultic experts had experienced decades of occupational destabilization, which eliminated old duties and created new opportunities. Priests maintained a respectable status, but the greater part of their cultic relevance faced obsolescence.[269]

In the discussion to follow, I hypothesize that Jews of the late first and early second centuries were responsible for introducing and popularizing anti-demonic rites known as exorcism (based on the ορκίζ- word group). Traditionally, terms derived from ορκίζ- applied to solemn legal and political oaths or administrative investigations, and Septuagintal translators used the terms ὁρκίζω[270] and ἐξορκίζω[271] in this very way.

Palestinian Jews use the term ימי both as a near-equivalent term for these kinds of oaths, but also to adjure ghastly demons.[272] Josephus treated ἐξορκίζ-, a derivative of

[269] Stuart Miller, *At the Intersection of Texts and Material Finds: Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels, and Ritual Purity among the Jews of Roman Galilee*, (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 2015), 291 (as well as ch. 9 in general); Ben-Zion Rosenefeld, "The Liminal Time from the Temple's Destruction until Yavne, 70–85/90 CE," 142–57 in Joshua Schwartz and Peter J. Tomson, eds., *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: The Interbellum 70–132 CE* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), here citing 151: "However, the rank of high priest ceased to exist…[m]oreover, it was possible that they would no longer receive priestly dues or tithes," and cf. 154–55 on involvements with R. Yahanan ben Zakkai.

[270] Gen. 24:37; 50:5–6, 16, 25; 2 Chr 36:13; Neh. 5:12.

[271] Gen. 24,3; Judg. 17:2 (A text); cf. *LSJ* 598, s.v.. ἐξορκίζω. Also see ἐνορκίζω, to impel another person or spirit to perform an action or an oath (e.g., Neh. 3:25; 2 Thes. 5:27).

[272] For ימי as an oath, see examples in Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 580 (s.v., יְמִי); Genesis Apocryphon 1Q20 22:21–22 (1Q20/1QapGen ar 22:21–22); however, note that שְׁבַע was the more common term for solemn oaths in classical biblical Hebrew. For ימי as an oath for adjuring evil spirits, see Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1993), 268 (s.v., ימי); 4Q560. For the Greek term, see *LSJ*, 598 (s.v., ἐξορκίζω), e.g., Demosthenes, *Or*. 54.26, Polybius, *Hist.* 3.61.10. See also Gen. 24:37, 50:5; Ex. 13:19, Jdg. 17:2, 1 Kgs. 22:16, and numerous other LXX uses; Josephus *Ant.* 2.200 and 11.145; Mt. 26:63. In Mark 5:7, it is the demoniac who adjures Jesus (ορκίζ- root).

ορκίζ-, as the proper equivalent to the term used in Palestinian-Jewish ritual adjuration of demons. Perhaps similarly, Matthew 26:63 may have intended to depict the High Priest Caiaphas unsuccessfully using the term ἐξορκίζω to forcefully compel Jesus's spirit, modelling him upon Jewish exorcists in Matthew's milieu.

Prior to Acts 9:13, I know of no designation in the Greek language for Jews or Christians who specialized in confrontations with demons.[273] The gospels frequently spoke about exorcisms with another verb, "I cast out" (ἐκβάλλω), which never spawned a substantive equivalent to "exorcist"—there never were "casting-outers," to coin another substantive. Luke either knew of the Judaean ἐξορκιστάς ("exorcists") from his own encounters with them, like Josephus's use of the verb ἐξορκίζω to describe the Solomonic methods for exorcisms (τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων).[274] As for Josephus, he may have been echoing the terminology these specialists had begun to use to translate their arts and texts into Greek. The unusual orthography that apparently describes "the one who is exorcized," ἐξορκίζομένῳ, is only known from P. Fouad 203, and I suggest it may be understood as one of these earlier translation attempts.[275] This early second or late first-century papyrus appears to be the oldest extant material witness to Jewish exorcism in Greek, and shares abundant similarities with texts from Qumran.[276] This papyrus might help us catch a glimpse of the translation of Second Temple texts out of libraries in

[273] It is possible that the *nomen agentis* was intended as a nickname (or even insult) by Greek authors; the "exorcists" known by the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the gospels went by more their proper institutional titles like *sage*, *priest*, or *scribe*. Jesus's followers who worked such wonders were *disciples*, *apostles*, or simply *Christians*.
[274] *Ant*. 8.45.1–4. In fact, it is not unlikely that Luke was inspired by Josephus's use of the term.
[275] Pieter W. van der Horst and Judith H. Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*, Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 125–33. The ἐξορκίζομένῳ is debated (see ibid., 133).
[276] Van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*, 125, dating established "on the basis of comparison with other, datable papyri." See various comparisons with Qumran in van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*, 125, 127–33.

Judaea, perhaps still in the possession of their learned owners. In other words, the very sort of exorcists and exorcistic text to which Luke objected.

Numerous authors, all of them learned, began adopting the term *exorcist* into their literary lexicon at roughly the same time as Luke. The Syrian satirist Lucian expressed dismay over his educated, ostensibly well-heeled acquaintances who were suddenly falling head-over-heels for faddish superstitions.[277] These superstitions included rumors about individuals who could supposedly control demons, the most notable being a famous Syrian-Palestinian exorcist, a ring-wielding Arabian demonologist, and a learned Babylonian ritual expert.[278] He also knew of (and disparaged) Jewish incantations.[279] Around this time, Marcus Aurelius may have been thinking about these same exorcists when he expressed suspicion about those who claimed to cast out demons in great shows of drama (δαιμόνων ἀποπομπῆς), one of the lessons he learned from his wise teacher Diognetus.[280] Claudius Ptolemy knew of exorcists (ἐξορκιστάς/ἐφορκιστάς) among the ritual and spiritually charismatic personnel of the second century. According to his understanding, these exorcists shared astrological influences with divinely inspired persons (θεολήπτους) and dream interpreters (ὀνειροκρίτας), all said to be influenced by the moon in Libra, Aries, and Leo.[281]

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[277] Lucian, *Philops*. 16, using a narrative persona to express his ideas. The depth of Lucian's satirical style should caution us against reading his stories and descriptions as typical educated opinion, as often occurs in early Christian studies.
[278] Lucian, *Philops.* 9–11, 16–17.
[279] Lucian, *Podagra* 171–73. See Graham Anderson, "Themes and Composition in Lucian's Podagra," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F. 122.2 (1979): 148–54.
[280] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 1.6.
[281] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* IV.4. Contrast with the moon in Sagitarius and Pisces, which brings forth necromancers and agitators of demons" (νεκρομάντεις καὶ δαιμόνων κινητικούς). The Latin translation of Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.23.4 (reflected in the popular ANF translations by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson) conveys a similar list of activities to those Ptolemy deriving from the moon in Libra, Aries, and Leo, practiced by heretical *sacerdotes*, namely their practice of *exorcismis* and the interpretation of dreams

To be clear, I am not arguing that all ritual experts who identified themselves as exorcists in the second century can be identified as Jewish; I see no reason to doubt that anyone from anywhere with a reasonable degree of ritual expertise could convincingly style themselves as such. Nor am I saying that all Judaean ritual practitioners migrated away from Palestine.[282] Rather, I am claiming that the specific terminology first appeared in Jewish literature in the first and second centuries, and in second-century Gentile Christian discussions about Jewish ritual specialists. With these facts in mind, I see early Gentile Christian expressions of interest in exorcism and exorcists as, first and foremost, a reaction to perceived competition with Jewish ritual practitioners in the diaspora.

Self-styled Christian philosopher Justin Martyr expressed his own concerns about Jewish exorcists. In general, Justin found demons useful for defining the Christian movement as a distinct social entity, and his ideas had a lasting influence.[283] Justin is the first author to claim (perhaps somewhat tendentiously) that Christians were also

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through *oniropompi*, all of which Irenaeus found blameworthy: *Igitur horum mystici sacerdotes libidinose quidem vivunt, magias autem perficiunt, quemadmodum potest unusquisque ipsorum. Exorcismis et incantationibus utuntur. Amatoria quoque et agogima, et qui dicuntur paredri et oniropompi, et quaecumque sunt alia per rierga apud eos studiose exercentur.* The extant Greek version of Irenaeus does not mention exorcisms *per se*, but rather τεχνὰς οὖν μαγικὰς ἐξεργαζόμενοι καὶ ἐπαοιδὰς, φίλτρα τε καὶ χαριτήσια, παρέδρους τε καὶ ὀνειροπόμπους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κακουργήματα ("magic arts and enchantments, charms and love spells, familiar spirits and interpretation of dreams and other tricks").

[282] My hypotheses do no need more than the well-timed migration of a few dozen scribes, priests, and practitioners-in-training to key cities around the Empire, which is a modest suggestion.

[283] Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 15: "Justin not only reinterprets the Enochic myth of angelic descent, but he locates it within a Christianized history of culture in which demonology contributes to the construction of a Christian identity in contradistinction to both Jews and pagans." Justin's opinions were of enormous consequence for Christian thought. Peter Lampe convincingly argues that Justin was actually rather successful at establishing himself in Rome, "The social environment appears to have hesitantly acknowledged Justin's philosophical role, which was carried out wearing the philosopher's mantle, even though his contemporaries might have been inclined to shake their heads over the content of the new Christian "philosophical school" (Peter Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 2003], 276). Lampe further suggests that Justin's success led Christians to become more conversant with philosophy, and reflected a positive light on the Christian movement among the upper classes (Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus*, 284).

"exorcizing" (ἐπορκίζοντες).[284] He mentioned Christian exorcism in order to highlight contrasts with the methods and outcomes of "all the other exorcists" (ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἐπορκιστῶν).[285] Christian exorcism was supposed to be easy to learn—one only needed to invoke "the name of Jesus Christ" (τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). Because Christian exorcism was becoming a means for testifying to the death and resurrection of Christ, it also helped to know the thumbnail sketch of his story as "true Son of God, who was the First-born of all creatures, who was born of a virgin, who suffered and was crucified by your people under Pontius Pilate, who died and then, after His resurrection from the dead, ascended into Heaven."[286] Note, however, that these exorcizing Christians were not intended to be counted as official "exorcists" by anyone, nor did Justin describe them as anything other than "our people, Christians" (τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀνθρώπων τῶν Χριστιανῶν).[287] This was sufficient, since all Christians had access to the limitless power of Christ.

In his dialogue with a Judaean refugee named Trypho, Justin singled out Jewish exorcism for a very specific criticism.[288] His complaint was that "those from among you [who] exorcise through an art, even as the nations do, making use of exorcisms and

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[284] Justin, *2 Apol.* 6.

[285] Justin, *2 Apol.* 6, where he classifies practitioners known by the designation of *exorcists* alongside those who used incantations and other kinds of spells (ἐπᾳστῶν [cf. ἐπᾳστέον] καὶ φαρμακευτῶν). On dating *2 Apol.*, Justin refers to the actions of Quintus Lollius Urbicus, which allows for a general date-range; see Denis Minns and Paul Parvis, ed., *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr*. *Apologies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 42.

[286] Justin, *Dial. Trypho*, 85: τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, καὶ διὰ παρθένου γεννηθέντος καὶ παθητοῦ γενομένου ἀνθρώπου, καὶ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀποθανόντος, καὶ ἀναστάντος ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀναβάντος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; trans. by Thomas B. Falls, *Justin Martyr: The First Apology, The Second Apology, Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks, Discourse to the Greeks, The Monarchy or The Rule of God*, The Fathers of the Church 6 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1948), 283.

[287] Justin, 2 Apol. 6.6.

[288] Trypho was probably a composite figure invented for the dialogue. For exorcists, Justin, *Dial. Trypho*, 85; for Trypho as a refugee, Justin, *Dial. Trypho* 1.

incense and tying (amulets)."[289] Justin is on record as the earliest extant Christian author to explicitly criticize the very idea of exorcistic art or method, or associating it with the rituals "of the nations." His novel ideas about the τέχνη (art, skill) of Jewish exorcism differ from Josephus's proud Solomonic "skill against demons" (κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην). Eleazar had been confident in his use of ring, root, and incantations,[290] and it appears that the exorcists Justin criticized were not too different from Eleazar in aims and methods. When Justin saw Gentile ritual arts in Jewish exorcism, it may have been a result of his haphazard approach to learning and remaining ignorant; by his own admission, Justin held to strong opinions about disciplines he never studied.[291] Or perhaps Justin saw this as another opportunity to insinuate that Jews and demons (of the nations) were more closely related than other Christians had previously suggested.[292] Regardless, Justin mischaracterized Judaean exorcism as a discipline, in particularly its built-in capacity to adapt outsider knowledge without losing sight of distinctive Jewish commitments.

Exorcism at the Boundaries

As I discussed in the previous chapter, Jewish exorcism was part of a larger assimilative science that advanced in conversation with other cultures. After the Temple fell, the traditional methods, forms, and formulae discussed in the prior chapter continued to be

[289] Justin, *Dial. Trypho*, 85: οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπορκισταὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, χρώμενοι ἐξορκίζουσι καὶ θυμιάμασι καὶ καταδέσμοις χρῶνται.
[290] Josephus, *Ant.* 8.45.1–4; see chapter 1 of this treatment.
[291] By his own admission in *Dial. Trypho* 2, Justin skipped many regular subjects on his fast-track to becoming a Platonic philosopher: he dropped out of his studies with a Stoic because he was not learning enough about God; he did not continue with a second teacher who insisted on charging a fee; and most crucially, he failed to take the advice of a Pythagorian teacher, who insisted on an academic core curriculum in music, astronomy, and geometry.
[292] Cf. Annette Y. Reed, "Trickery of the Fallen Angels and the Demonic Mimesis of the Divine: Aetiology, Demonology, and Polemics in the Writings of Justin Martyr," *JECS* 12:2 (2004): 141–71, esp. 171.

preserved and updated through sanctioned channels of learning and status.[293] I have also argued that none of this was uniquely Jewish. Practitioners of different indigenous traditions similarly maintained a dialectic between tradition and adaptability as they journeyed beyond their regions of origin. Diasporic Egyptian priests were met with a mix of fascination, welcome integration, and disapprobation not unlike what Jews experienced.[294] As well, scholars have often mischaracterized these Egyptian practitioners in comparable ways to those I have identified in my study of Jewish ritual sciences. Robert Ritner criticized these misunderstandings in his intervention on the matter:

> Even in later Roman Egypt, native magicians were not lone, 'wandering craftsmen' cobbling together the remnants of traditions with superficial understanding. They were never 'basically a one-man show' with 'no school, no organization, no building, and no institution upon which [they] can rely.' Egyptian magicians who did 'wander' to Europe—or to the imperial court—were still trained priests, and probably associated with local sanctuaries of Egyptian gods.[295]

Jewish ritual practitioners, like these Egyptian priests, have been depicted as wandering representatives of a waning Great Tradition, perhaps overly syncretistic or too closed-minded, notions that are firmly rooted in the polemics of ancient critics. Furthermore, competition and conflict are interposed where they are not called for.[296] Jewish exorcists

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[293] Here I agree with Gideon Bohak's conclusion that "the cumulative Destructions of 70, 117, and 135 CE" were "relatively meaningless events in the history of Jewish exorcism," largely because of the "remarkable cultural openness" of Jews towards non-Jewish knowledge ("Jewish Exorcism Before and After the Destruction of the Second Temple," 277–300 in Daniel R. Schwartz and Zeev Weiss, eds., *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History? On Jews and Judaism before and after the Destruction of the Second Temple* [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012], 299.

[294] See Robert K. Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995), 3333–79, here in reference the ancient sources described on 3358.

[295] Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice," 3357–58.

[296] See Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice," 3367 n.174 for his corrective to Betz, who saw competition as the primary driving force behind adaptations in the Egyptian ritual tradition of this time. Competitive exorcism is clear in many of the Christian texts that I survey here, but competition and boundary-setting were two of the founding traits of Gentile Christian exorcism.

were amenable to learning new rituals and developing new ritual forms in response to changes in the world around them.[297] This was, after all, an entire discipline within a much larger ritual-scientific curriculum.[298]

This native adaptability is one of several reasons it seems feasible to suggest that some early Jewish exorcists used Jesus's name in certain of their exorcism rituals, as Acts claims.[299] The idea that some Jews would heal in Jesus's name should not be so surprising if we recall that no one had any way of anticipating the large-scale consequences that would result from the developing Christian movement.[300] Why not use the name of Jesus, especially if people were saying that it worked as well or better than other names or formulae? To invoke and command a spirit was not the same as worshipping or devoting one's self to that spirit—that connection would need to be created and stated.[301] Furthermore, it was not as if the entire ritual would need to be about Jesus, since his name could be mentioned among other names in passing (and even then, one might perhaps picture him as "Joshua the son of Naum," as in P. Fouad 203). Some Jewish sages may have only been acquainted with so-called "Jewish-Christians," who remained unaffected by supercessionistic innovations of Christians such as Luke; these

[297] Hence, e.g., *PGM* IV.3019–3020 ("I adjure you by Jesus, the God of the Hebrew"), IV.3025, *inter alia*; cf. Orig., Cont. Cels. 4.33. Note, as well, times when Egyptian and Jewish rituals seem to have been confused with one another (or with another cult or movement), such as Celsus's scattershot portrayal of Egyptian demonology along with Jewish and Christian (Origen, *Contra Cels*. 1.6 and 68; 6.39–40; and 7.58; note as well Origen's expressions of confusion about Celsus's ideas). See also Hippolytus, *Ref* 4.28.
[298] Note also the proliferation of "magical papyri" in this era; see, e.g., Franziska Naether, "Griechisch-Ägyptische Magie nach den Papyri Graecae et Demoticae Magicae," in Andrea Jordens, *Ägyptische Magie und ihre Umwelt*, Philippika 80 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), esp. 200-2.
[299] Justin does not seem to have been aware of the phenomenon discussed here.
[300] Christians could not know how the story would play out either, but leading Christian thinkers spun the apocalyptic dystopia of a demon-controlled Empire into a strategic plan for political power, and act of premeditation that one might call *anticipating.*
[301] Hence, Bohak bluntly concluded that the "supposed incompatibility between magic and monotheism is nothing but a hoax" (Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 68).

Jews would have had no prior reason to believe that using this name would obligate them to submit to Jesus's lordship. Finally, some Christians were much more amenable to Jewish ritual sciences.[302] However, Luke seems to have held that "the name of Jesus" was proprietary to Jesus's followers, and that use by outsiders would not be tolerated.[303]

Consequently, we can also imagine why many concerned Jews would begin to eschew this name in particular, as rabbis began to do. The *locus classicus* on this matter is Tosefta Hullin's story of Rabbi Eleazar (Elazar) ben Dama, whose death was fortunate, because otherwise he might have been treated by someone using Jesus's name to heal.[304] Adiel Schremer has taken this incident as emblematic of the estrangements that culminated in the separation of Jewish and Christian communities. He argues that, in time, "Christianity's break with Judaism was caused by the severity of the rabbis themselves."[305] This observation is important, because it preserves the agency of Jewish leaders, something Christian history books tend to ignore.[306] In the codified version of the story, Rabbi Ishmael prevented the healing, which set a precedent worthy of being followed:

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[302] See, e.g., Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6:36, 7:20, 9.9.

[303] Note the hopefulness in Mark 9:38–40: "Do not stop him, for nobody who does mighty deeds (δύναμιν) by my name will be able to (δυνήσεται) revile me soon after [he does it]. For one who is not against us is for us." This seems to indicate the hope that people using Jesus's name as part of their exorcisms would eventually convert if they were permitted to keep going. Luke cites this in his gospel, but in writing the exorcism in Acts 19, he apparently indicated that there was an expiration date on Jesus's leniency (among other similar "expired mercies" in Acts, particularly when it pertains to the Jews). Jesus's authority was to be accepted or rejected, not ambivalently incorporated into someone else's model of practice.

[304] tHul 2:22–23 and its broader context on boundary-setting principles. Cf. tSanh 10:10 (and cf. tShab 7:23).

[305] Schremer, 99.

[306] Nonetheless, I do not think that a single group should be granted the agency of deepening community tensions to the point of division. Luke and Rabbi Ishmael flourished in an interbellum time of adjustment that probably saw many such controversies. Some second-century Christians demanded allegiance in return for the use of Jesus's name, and some Jewish leaders found it efficient to reject the name. In both cases, we have the texts composed by the winners, and little access to the writings of people who would be amenable to cooperation or rapprochement.

> There was a case with Rabbi Elazar ben Dama, who was bitten by a snake, and Jacob of Kefar Sama came to heal him in the name of Jesus son of Pantera (ישוע בן פנטרא), and Rabbi Ishmael did not allow him.[307]
>
> מעשה ברבי אלעזר בן דמה שנשכו נחש ובא יעקב איש כפר סמא לרפאותו משום ישו בן פנטירא ולא הניחו רבי ישמעאל אמ' לו אי אתה רשאי בן דמה אמ' לו אני אביא לך ראיה שירפאני ולא הספיק להביא ראיה עד שמת[308].

One wonders how many healings had taken place "in the name of Jesus" before this account was written, and how much debate had gone on between sages prior to this determination of mortal magnitude.

We do not find that healings in Jesus's name ceased simply because Rabbi Ishmael determined against it. I agree with Schremer that this served as an important flashpoint among Jewish and Christian leaders over the course of several centuries. For one thing, later texts continued to offer vigorous opinions on the problem.[309] Additionally, we may look at Epiphanius's exposé from a Jew of Tiberias, Joseph (Josephus *comes*, "Joseph the Count"), who claimed he heard leading Jews using Jesus's name to heal in the Jewish Patriarch's own household. Joseph became very ill, and he told Epiphanius that while his Jewish relatives (τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίων) were muttering "secret words,"[310] he could remember:

> An elder, a scholar of the law, came and whispered to him, "Believe <in> Jesus, crucified under Pontius Pilate the governor, Son of God first yet later born of Mary; the Christ of God and risen from the dead. And believe that he will come to judge and quick and the dead." That same Josephus told me this plainly during his story, as I can truthfully say.[311]

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[307] Adiel Schremer, *Brothers Estranged*, 87. The case is discussed at length to determine if the use of Jesus's name could create a *min*. Schremer deemphasizes the exact identity of *minim*, showing instead that a desire for internal cohesion was the issue at stake (not the precise contents and adherents of *minut*).
[308] t.Hul. 2.22.
[309] Cf. yShab 14:3, 14c; bSanh 101a. Peter Schäfer discusses the gamut of texts in *Jesus in the Talmud* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 52–62.
[310] To which Epiphanius added, "that they always repeat in secrecy among themselves" (Williams, *Panarion, Book 1*, 138); ἀεὶ μυστηριωδῶς γινόμενον παρὰ τούτων ἤκουσε (1.344.16–17).
[311] Williams, *Panarion, Book 1*, 138.

> τῶν γὰρ νομομαθῶν ἀνήρ τις πρεσβύτης ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγειλε λέγων ὅτι «πίστευε <εἰς> Ἰησοῦν, τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγεμόνος, υἱὸν θεοῦ προόντα καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας ὕστερον γεγεννημένον, Χριστὸν δὲ ὄντα θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντα, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς». ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰώσηπος ἐν τῇ ὑφηγήσει σαφῶς μοι ἀνήγγειλεν.[312]

Joseph ended up performing an exorcism in Jesus's name before ultimately converting into a very staunch defender of Nicene Christianity. Epiphanius may have been aware that the story about Jews praying in the name of Jesus sounded far-fetched enough to require corroboration, so he added a second account from a different Jewish man. This second man reportedly told Epiphanius about other Jews who had whispered over his sick bed: "Jesus Christ, the crucified son of God, will judge you" (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ μέλλει σε κρίνειν).[313] This man also told Epiphanius that he believed in Jesus, but that he "was still a Jew from fear of the Jews" (ἔτι ὄντος Ἰουδαίου διὰ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων φόβον).[314]

The accumulation of evidence suggests that some Jews were prepared to assimilate Jesus's name into healing and exorcism rites. On the other side, Luke disliked it when Jews appropriated Jesus's name without converting. For his part, Justin blamed Jewish priests and Jewish teachers for causing Jesus's name "to be profaned and blasphemed throughout the whole world."[315] All of this added dense layers of complexity to the original first-century controversies over Jesus's legacy of exorcism.

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[312] Epiphanius, *Panarion* 1.344.17–22 (Holl).
[313] Williams, *Panarion, Book 1*, 138 (1.345.1–2, Holl).
[314] Williams, *Panarion, Book 1*, 138 (1.344.25, Holl).
[315] Falls, *Justin Martyr*, 328 (Justin, *Dial. Trypho* 117). He further claimed that they sent messengers around the world to "report the outbreak of the godless heresy of the Christians (αἵρεσιν ἄθεον Χριστιανῶν) and to spread those ugly rumors against us which are repeated by those who do not know us" (Falls, Justin Martyr, 173 [Justin, *Dial. Trypho* 17]).

At least Jews and Christians shared one point of agreement—Jews were capable of casting out demons using the names of Israel's God. Justin tentatively conceded that Jewish exorcisms could work if they invoked "the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (θεοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεοῦ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ).[316] Likewise, Irenaeus, the second-century bishop of Lugdunum (Lyon) agreed that "Jews even now put demons to flight by means of this very adjuration, inasmuch as all beings fear the invocation of Him who created them" (…*Iudaei usque nunc hac ipsa adfatione daemonas effugant, quando omnia timeant inuocationem eius qui fecit ea*).[317] However, even these beneficial names and narratives were connected to an additional problem: they were incorporated into incantation texts, which in turn were preserved in books and copied onto amulets. The exorcism on P. Fouad 203 is part of such a text.[318]

Costly Books and "Curious Arts"

Some Christians saw no problem with these books or the wisdom they contained, arguing that such wisdom was a gift from God.[319] Luke may have understood that accepting

[316] Justin, *Dial. Trypho*, 85, noting the particles and optative in εἰ ἄρα ἐξορκίζοι τις ὑμῶν. Justin denied that they could work such wonders in the names of kings, or the righteous, or prophets, or patriarchs (βασιλέων ἢ δικαίων ἢ προφητῶν ἢ πατριαρχῶν). See the contrasting position provided by, e.g., the "Prayer of Jacob," in van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*, 217–46; Origen, *Contra Cels*. 1.22. Cf. later exorcisms in the name of R. Joshua b. Peraḥya, see Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Third Edition. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1998), 17.
[317] Irenaeus, *Adv. haer*. 2.6.2 (Latin text, *SC* 294, 62); trans., *ANF* 1, 365–366. This should not lead us to imagine that Irenaeus or Justin admired or sought to emulate these Jewish exorcisms.
[318] The exorcism is incomplete because of damage to the papyrus, but the extant beginning start with an invocation of "his angel who guided this people at the exodus, who appeared to Joshua the son of Naum," and now speaking directly to the evil spirit, "Who cast you into the abyss, into the place of destruction, and who covered (you) with chaos," Van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*, 125–33. Origen likewise knew of Jewish exorcisms in the name of "the God who drowned the king of Egypt and the Egyptians in the Red Sea" (ὁ θεὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ καταποντώσας ἐν τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους) Origen, *Contra Cels.* 4.33; see Pieter W. van der Horst, '"The God Who Drowned the King of Egypt,' A Short Note on an Exorcistic Formula," in idem, ed., *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 280–84.
[319] Perhaps in 1 Tim. 4:1–2. Most examples derive from heresiologists, although see more direct defense, e.g., *Hom*., 3.36, where the author gratefully reviews the wisdom "to know the names of angels, to drive away demons, to attempt medicinal cures for diseases, to find charms against poisonous serpents, to

Jewish incantation books would transform belief and practice as he advocated it,[320] but perhaps more pertinent to his concern, it would risk ceding preeminence to Judaean practices and practitioners—the authentic experts about such things. Luke was intent on corralling curious people away from the wide world of curiosity, because such knowledge was neither safe nor necessary. Thus, Acts gives the example of the "many who believed" (πολλοί τε τῶν πεπιστευκότων), who cleared the air of secrets and spells by "confessing and disclosing their practices" (ἐξομολογούμενοι καὶ ἀναγγέλλοντες τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν).[321] Then, many of these practitioners held a public ceremony to incinerate these books:

> And a considerable number of those who practiced meddlesome arts (τὰ περίεργα πραξάντων) collected their books and burned them in front of all. And they added up their value and discovered they had been worth fifty thousand silver coins.[322]

Luke's story sends a message in no uncertain terms: people who claim to believe in Jesus will not adapt to these practices, and those who have already given into their curiosity should rid themselves of these books without delay. Regardless of the specific contents of

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understand antipathies" (ἀγγέλων ὀνόματα γνωρίζειν, δαίμονας ἀπελαύνειν, νόσους φαρμακείαις πειρᾶσθαι παύειν, κατὰ δ' ἰοβόλων ἑρπετῶν ἐπαοιδὰς εὑρίσκειν, ἀντιπαθείας ἐπινοεῖ; trans. adapted from *ANF* 8, 245). Later Christian use of the names of angels, saints, and theologians in exorcisms should not be explained as a popular-level misunderstanding of Christian doctrine, or a by-product of "pagan" influence. These misperceptions arise from the way most of the evidence is preserved: little apotropaic phylacteries, Byzantine "magic" textbooks," and the like. These texts rely upon a belief that had been with Jesus's followers since the first century: Good spirits say and do good things, and evil spirits do or say evil things. Paul had taught a similar idea when he claimed that no person possessed by an evil spirit would be able to proclaim that "Jesus is Lord" (1 Cor. 12:3); the author of 1 John extended this idea to promote a particular view of Jesus by claiming that no evil spirit would confess anything but "Jesus Christ has come in the flesh" (1 John 4:1–3). Undergirding these statements is the rather simple idea that the holy spirit would confess good things through the human it possessed, and that evil spirits would say anything besides what is good and right through their human instruments. In similar fashion, one person cannot call upon both good spirits and evil spirits. No one can invoke both Jesus or his angels on one hand and turn to conjure the help of a demon on the other hand, a teaching Origen proclaimed before a congregation: *Non potest inuocare magus Michael, non potest inuocare Raphael neque Gabriel ; multo magis magus inuocare non potest omnipotentem Deum nec Filium eius Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum nex Sanctum Spiritum eius. Nos soli accepimus potestatem inuocandi Vnigenitum eius Iesum Christum* (Origen, *Hom. Numbers* 13.5.2).

[320] I.e., a change of disposition towards knowledge and its valid sources would have a transformative effect.

[321] Acts 19:18.

[322] Acts 19:19.

these books,[323] Luke wanted to discourage Christians from becoming advocates of these "meddlesome"[324] deeds, the sort that one might learn from a "wandering"[325] Jewish expert.

For similar reasons, Justin rejected any method for exorcism (ἐπορκισταὶ τῇ τέχνῃ),[326] which further insinuates that he rejected exorcism books upon which such sciences depended. Irenaeus ruled out "curious" words and deeds even more explicitly than Justin, demanding that a Christian should not "perform anything by means of angelic invocations, or by incantations, or by any other perverse curiosity" (*Nec inuocationibus angelicis facit aliquid neque incantationibus neque aliqua praua curiositate*).[327] Writing a few decades later, Origen suggested that the Jewish origins of incantation books constituted a valid cause for concern. He wrote: "but those who did those [Solomonic] adjurations used books that have not been declared appropriate, but they adjured demons by such [books] as they had received from a Hebrew" (*sed ipsi, qui utuntur adiurationibus illis, aliquotiens nec idoneis constitutis libris utuntur, quibusdam autem et*

[323] Scholars often debate whether or not those books and deeds constituted illicit "magic," but Luke did not insinuate that Jews were doing anything that could deemed inappropriate by any cultic leader or political magistrate. Luke felt free to discuss "magic" elsewhere (Acts 8:9–13 and 13:8, μαγεία and μάγος), but here he avoids the term. It is possible that he did not know how to be more specific about the differences between Christian exorcism and traditional Jewish approaches. Did Luke know that Jewish exorcism was part of a broader curriculum? Perhaps not, but he also lacked the sense that Jewish ritual practices could be equated with "magic." See lengthy summaries and positions in Pervo, *Acts*, 478–81, who finds magic in the passage. There is another stream of debate over whether Jews had been "playing with foreign fire," as Israel Abrahams referred to the idea in *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, Volume 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917), 111. The chapter on "Disease and Miracle" (pp. 108–12) engaged with the influence of Wilhelm Bousset, whose theories of *Spätjudentum* gave sophisticated structure to much older antisemitic concepts (under the banner of *Wissenschaft*). This view of Jewish "superstition," of course, played a key role in arranging scholarly support for Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda and policy. Bousset's influence is thoroughly explored in Diane M. Segroves, "Racializing Jewish Difference: Wilhelm Bousset, the History of Religion(s), and the Discourse of Christian Origins" (PhD, Vanderbilt University, 2012), with particularly relevant examples pertaining to "Jewish magic and materialism" on 89 and 116–19.

[324] Acts 19:19, περίεργα.

[325] Acts 19:13, περιερχομένων.

[326] Justin, *Dial. Trypho*, 85.

[327] Irenaeus, *Adv. haer*. 2.32.5.

de Hebraeo acceptis adiurant daemonia).[328] If there were appropriate books of exorcisms, Origen (so famously fond of books) nowhere says anything about such books. On the other hand, Origen was pleased to report that "it is primarily uneducated people" who practiced exorcism.[329]

From Luke to Origen, we see that books and methods of exorcism—particularly *Hebrew* books on exorcism—received the ongoing disapprobation of Christian writers. Even as the movement became more organized and bookish, Christian leaders attempted to keep exorcism free of literary entanglements.[330]

Conclusion

Diasporic congregations of Paul's day may have known something about Judaean exorcism, but may not have interacted with the regional practice in any direct or meaningful way. Gentile devotees of Jesus did not begin to discuss interest in mimicking Jesus's exorcisms for most of the first century, and when they did begin to focus on exorcism, they also noted their thoughts on Jewish cultic experts who engaged in the practice. Luke knew of exorcists like this and depicted them as aimless wanderers, or meddlers; Justin argued that the migrating Judaeans of his day had nothing to offer the world, and that they served no divine mission and fulfilled no prophecies by their expansion outward.[331] Their unwanted presence complicated the dynamics of religious

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[328] Erich Klostermann and Ursula Treu, *Origenes Werke XI: Matthäuserklärung II: Die lateinische Übersetzung der Commentariorum Series*, 2nd ed., Origenes Werke 11, GCS 38 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1976), 230. Without saying whose determination had decreed (*constituo*) these books unsuitable (*nec idoneus*) for use in exorcism, Origen appears to assume that the matter was settled by someone preceding him. Furthermore, in this context, he follows the notion that the Jewish High Priest was trying to exorcize Jesus in Mt. 26:63.

[329] Ὡς ἐπίπαν γὰρ ἰδιῶται τὸ τοιοῦτον πράττουσι (Origen, *Contra Cels.* 7.4.21).

[330] This began to change in the fifth century, as I discuss in the fifth chapter of this treatment.

[331] Justin, *Dial. Trypho*, 117, pointedly applied to contemporary Jewish refugees. If Jews like Trypho took solace in the idea that they were fulfilling scriptural prophecy about the Lord's name being "glorified among the nations" (Malachi 1:11), Justin argued that this promise applied only to Christians.

competition, and apparently diverted the attention of some Christians and potential believers. Christian exorcism evolved to address these developments. However, Christian leaders developed a practice that would not require them to compete on a level playing field against the acknowledged exorcism experts, the Judaean exorcists themselves.

The new Christian equivalent of exorcism was simple and charismatic by definition, and bore a defensible connection to both Pauline theology and traditions about Jesus (as second-century Gentile Christians such as Luke understood them).[332] It is unlikely that either Jesus or Paul would have approved of the anti-Jewish biases inherent to Gentile Christian exorcism. Luke's story of bloodied priests and charred books was one of the many steps that led to Paul's climactic rejection of the Jewish synagogue: "This salvation has been sent to the Gentiles. They will listen."[333] Luke imagined that the beating of religious competitors could cause the gospel message to "grow mightily and prevail."[334] Armed with these ideals, Christian leaders such as Luke, Justin, and Irenaeus turned their attentions to another opponent that could be beaten and tormented to the glory of God: the "gods of the nations" themselves.

Christian Exorcism against the Gods

Paul's congregations were wary of the false gods who lived in temples, but Paul did not send them on missions to hunt down demons in their natural habitat. Likewise, I see no indication that Christians anywhere regarded the Mediterranean divinities—Zeus, Apollo, the *lares*—as synonymous with (for example) a fever demon, even if they expressed

[332] In retrospect, the rudimentary character of Jesus's exorcisms and the simplicity of Gentile Christian exorcism may appear like an obvious connection to make; this is how it is usually taken. According to my hypothesis, the appearance of an organic connection to Jesus's exorcisms had to be developed.
[333] Acts 28:25–28.
[334] Acts 19:20, NRSV.

displeasure with both. To be sure, there were not always clear lines drawn between gods, demons, and fate (to name a few possible meanings of δαίμων), but people knew how to make a distinction between them—no one would claim that a temple of Jupiter was functionally the same as a haunted house. However, I argue that Christians began making increasingly stronger associations between the respectable gods, the many dispassionate spiritual agents of the world, and the vilest spirits that plagued the human race—these were now all equal co-conspirators with Satan in his nefarious schemes. More than just an idea, this was also a blueprint for creating a "Christian identity in contradistinction to both Jews and pagans."[335] Pauline congregations had already abstained from temples and sacrifices (i.e., "idolatry"), but in the second century their non-participation began extending to festivals, the theater, and for some, the baths. Besides this passive resistance, Christians also found more active ways of expressing "atheistic" antipathy toward the gods.[336]

By reclassifying the gods in this way, Christians of the second century also began to imagine that it was possible to exorcize the spirits that their neighbors worshipped and feared. Jewish exorcism had primarily consisted of therapeutic or protective rituals, but in the hands of Christians, exorcism became a versatile expression of cultural critique and social action. Christians saw exorcism, even therapeutic exorcism, as a chance to degrade the gods.

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[335] Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 15. On *pagan* as a category in late antique discourse, see Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 25–32.

[336] On Christian "atheism" in the second century, see Tim Whitmarsh, "'Away with the Atheists!' Christianity and Militant Atheism in the Early Empire," 281–93 in James Carleton Paget and Judith Lieu, eds., Christianity in the Second Century: Themes and Developments (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), esp. 291–93.

Christian leaders recognized the social and political potency of exorcism, and became more enthusiastic about the practice than ever before. As I discuss in greater detail in later sections, Christians began finding new ways for incorporating this adapted practice into additional areas of life. Exorcism became a part of the daily protective routine for some Christians, while others delighted in publicly shaming the gods; these apotropaisms and aspersions soon found their way into the initiation of every convert. In this section, I reconstruct the methods and effects of anti-theistic exorcism, beginning with its first mention in the Book of Acts.

An Exorcized Oracle

An attentive reader of Acts 19 will notice that neither Paul nor the sons of Sceva cast out any spirits. In the New Testament, Paul's single exorcism is not directed against a demon causing fevers or epilepsy; instead, he casts out a divine spirit of prophecy. In Acts 16:16–18, as Paul and his cohort were walking to prayer in Philippi,

> We met a slave-girl (παιδίσκην) who had a spirit of divination (πνεῦμα πύθωνα ὑπαντῆσαι ἡμῖν) and brought her owners (κυρίοις) a great deal of money by uttering divinations (μαντευομένη). While she followed Paul and us, she would cry out, 'These men are slaves of the Most High God, who proclaim to you a way of salvation.' And this she did for many days. But Paul was annoyed, and turned and said to the spirit, 'I charge you (παραγγέλλω)[337] in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her.' And it came out that very hour.[338]

The story seems to exist for the sole purpose of imagining that Paul expelled a competing spirit of divination. This spirit parasitically inhabited a slave girl, who was coerced to prophesy by masters within and outside of her body.[339] In Luke's view, this was no

[337] Cf. Acts 1:4; 4:18; 5:28, 40; 10:42; 15:5; 16:23 (the magistrates' command to the jailer who held Paul after he commanded the demon to leave the young woman); 17:30; 23:22, 30.
[338] Acts 16:16–18, NRSV, with minor modifications.
[339] One might hope or assume that the formerly-possessed slave fared well after being delivered from her condition, but Luke's focus was elsewhere (cf. the patient treated by the sons of Sceva).

sham—he imagined that the Pythian spirit was a true oracle, since it was able to divine the truth about Paul; this same spirit was also like an evil demon, since Paul was able to cast it out.

Luke apparently modelled Paul's exorcism in Acts 16 after Jesus's exorcism of the Legion demon in Luke 8. In so doing, he established connections between the ravaging spirits faced by Jesus in the synoptic gospels and the Deuteronomistic demons in Paul's writings.[340] As a result, the oracle and the Legion demons appear to be different breeds of the same species: The Ephesian oracle and the Legion demon cried out (κράζω)[341] to the son/servant of the Most High God (τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου),[342] who in turn instructed (παραγγέλλω) the spirit to exit (ἐξέρχομαι).[343] The oracle-spirit in Acts did not go into swine like the demon in Luke 8, but Luke kept this demoniac vocabulary in mind when talking about how the city began to mistreat Paul in return for his exorcism.[344] In so doing, Luke conflated Mediterranean oracles with the evil spirits that occupied the attention of Palestinian scribes, meaning that "pagan" oracles and prophecies were as sacred as the ravings of a lunatic.

The Jewish exorcisms we know from antiquity were deployed to protect or heal, and there is no tradition of ancient Judaean/Jewish exorcists attempting to cast an

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[340] See references to Deuteronomy in discussion of Paul, above.
It is worth considering that Luke may have intended the narrative as a typological look at slavery to demons and rescue through the gospel.
[341] Lk. 8:28: He cried out (ἀνακράξας) to Jesus; Acts 16:17: She cried out (ἔκραζεν) to Paul.
[342] Lk. 8:28: Jesus is son of the Most High God (υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου); Acts 16:17: Paul is servant of the Most High God (δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου εἰσίν).
[343] Lk. 8:29: παρήγγειλεν γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (+ Lk. 8:33: ἐξελθόντα δὲ τὰ δαιμόνια ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου); Acts 16:18: Παραγγέλλω σοι ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξελθεῖν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς.
[344] E.g., removal of clothing—Lk. 8:27: οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἱμάτιον; Acts 16:22: περιρήξαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια. Binding/being bound—Lk. 8:29: ἐδεσμεύετο ἁλύσεσιν καὶ πέδαις φυλασσόμενος; Acts 16:24: τοὺς πόδας ἠσφαλίσατο αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ξύλον.

oracular spirit out of someone's body. There is also no record that any devotees of Jesus had attempted this before the second century. However, the synthesis between Paul's demons and Jesus's demons meant that healing someone of madness and silencing an oracle could be considered one and the same. Luke may not have fully understood the significance of these conflations, since he did not explore the concept any further.

Reimagined Demons

Justin does not appear to have expanded upon Luke's idea of expelling oracular spirits, but he contributed to demonology in ways that encouraged Christians to begin exorcising gods from their temples. If Luke conflated Paul's demons/gods and Jesus's demons/illnesses into one sort of demon, Justin took things several steps further by combining Paul's demons, the synoptic demons, the fallen Watchers,[345] and Platonic demonology.[346] As a result of his synthesis, he implicated all the gods, demons, and fallen angels in a "dystopian collusion" against the human race:[347]

> …for the wicked demons from ancient times appeared and defiled women, corrupted boys, and presented such terrifying sights to men that those who were not guided by reason in judging these [diabolical] acts were panic-stricken. Seized with fear and unaware that these were evil demons, they called them gods and greeted each by the name which each demon had bestowed upon himself.[348]

If the young woman in Acts 16 was a slave to bad men and an intrusive spirit, Justin portrayed all humans in a similar condition. As Elaine Pagels explained in a seminal

[345] Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 160–62.
[346] See Justin's appeal to Plato, *Apology* 24B in Justin, *1 Apol.* 5. The *locus classicus* for Plato's demons is *Tim.* 90a–c.
[347] Petersen, "The Notion of Demon," 32; Claeys, *Dystopia*, 4–5 introduces the idea of applying these utopian categories to dystopian thought. Although the dystopian Christian vision of authors like Justin can be tied to apocalyptic thought, apocalypticism is not a prerequisite for this kind of chaotic view ().
[348] Falls, *Justin Martyr*, 37–38; Justin, 1 Apol. 5: ἐπεὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δαίμονες φαῦλοι, ἐπιφανείας ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γυναῖκας ἐμοίχευσαν καὶ παῖδας διέφθειραν καὶ φόβητρα ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν, ὡς καταπλαγῆναι τοὺς οἳ λόγῳ τὰς γινομένας πράξεις οὐκ ἔκρινον, ἀλλὰ δέει συνηρπασμένοι καὶ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι δαίμονας εἶναι φαύλους θεοὺς προσωνόμαζον, καὶ ὀνόματι ἕκαστον προσηγόρευον, ὅπερ ἕκαστος αὐτῷ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐτίθετο.

essay, Justin believed a faction of demons were the true culprits behind the persecution of Christians, because these evil spirits had deceived all of the priests, philosophers, and rulers of the world into worshipping them as gods.[349] Justin expressed pity for those who fell for the demonic belief in gods, statues, rites, myths, instead of the "Creator God, and from his first-begotten Christ."[350] Justin believed that demons also caused these people to persecute Christians, as Pagels discussed.[351] If any of this made Justin sound like a blasphemer, he wholeheartedly affirmed the charge: "We confess ourselves to be godless when it comes to those whom you deem gods" (ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι).[352] Imagining himself in the role of an inspired philosopher, something of a latter-day Socrates,[353] Justin sought to educate the world otherwise.

It can be difficult to appreciate how shocking it was for Justin to blatantly proclaim that "demons are evil and unholy (κακοὺς καὶ ἀνοσίους δαίμονας),"[354] since the

[349] Justin, *2 Apol.* 5; see Elaine Pagels, "Christian Apologists and 'The Fall of the Angels': An Attack on Roman Imperial Power?" *HTR* 78 (1985): 301–25. Besides Justin, we see this idea developed elsewhere by near-contemporaries of Justin, e.g., in several lines of poem known to Irenaeus, a Christian presbyter of the mid-second century, perhaps his mentor Pothinus, conflated the creator of idols (εἰδωλοποιὲ/*idolorum fabricator*), soothsayer (τερατοσκόπει/*portentorum inspector*), astrologer (ἀστρολογικῆς ἔμπειρε/*astrologiae cognitor*), and magician (μαγικῆς τέκνης/*magicae artis*), all as parts of the equally sinister works of Satan through the power (δυνάμεως/*virtutem*) of the angel Azazel (now joined by the category of heresy (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.15.6). τερατοσκόπει: Plato, *Leges* 933c, the τερατοσκόπος and μάντις were adept in μαγγανεύματα (here, apparently charms and spells) in the same sense that a doctor (ἰατρικός) held expertise over matters of the body. Note Greek mss. of Deut. 18:11, which place τερατοσκόπος among other forbidden acts of soothsaying (John William Wevers, ed., *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, vol. III, 2: *Deuteronomium*, 2nd ed. [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006], 223, 233). This reductive list conflates quite a broad range of religious experts into one "paganism." Later, Origen equated the founding rites of time-honored temples with magic: "At the first founding of these kinds of images and temples that are deemed most powerful (ἐνεργέστερα), strange invocations were done (κατακλήσεις περιέργους γεγονέναι) by those who spend their time in the service of the demons through magical arts (οἱ τῇ τῶν δαιμόνων διὰ μαγγανειῶν θεραπείᾳ)" (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 7.69). Even in the case of the most historically important temples, Origen invites us to imagine profane magic at play, but more importantly, invites us to equate them as one.

[350] Justin, *1 Apol.* 24.

[351] Justin, *1 Apol.* 58. For persecution, see Pagels, "Christian Apologists," 325.

[352] E.g., Justin, *1 Apol.* 6.

[353] Socrates was the first to try to convince the Greeks of their error, and for this, he was martyred (see *1 Apol.* 5; cf. *2 Apol.* 3, 7, 10); see Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 170–3.

[354] Justin, *1 Apol.* 5.

term *demon* has come to be applicable to anything evil, terrifying, and tragic.[355] Authors such as the second-century philosopher Celsus were incredulous about these people who were going around saying these things about the gods and demons—were the Christians implying that God did not know how to administer the cosmos?[356] In the Greek-speaking world, δαίμων had a much broader range of meaning than the English word *demon*, and could apply to all sorts of gods, intermediary beings, or the forces of fate.[357] Educated people imagined good and bad demons, just as there are good and bad animals; however, philosophers focused their attentions on the demons that could make a positive difference.[358] These demons were part of a vast bureaucracy. Some were "in charge of certain animals, or of crops…or of what happens for the sake of these [crops]—showers of rain, moderate winds fine weather," not to mention the demons supervising human "skills, or of all kinds of education in the liberal arts, or of medicine and physical training and other such things."[359] Even evil demons served the purposes of the gods (and good

[355] E.g., Paul Oppenheimer, *Evil and the Demonic: A New Theory of Monstrous Behavior* (Washington Square: New York University Press, 1996).
[356] Origen, *Contra Cels.* 7.68 and 8.2.
[357] Heidi Marx-Wolf, *Spiritual Taxonomies and Ritual Authority: Platonists, Priests, and Gnostics in the Third Century C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2016), 1; Cf. Dale Martin, *Inventing Superstition: From the Hippocratics to the Christians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), x–xi. On further uses of the term (or related terms) outside or on the margins of the Hellenistic world, see Rita Lucarelli, "Towards a Comparative Approach to Demonology in Antiquity: The Case of Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 14.1 (2013): 11–25, esp. 11–12; G. J. Riley, "Demon," 235–40 in Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst, ed., *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 1999), esp. 236–38.
[358] Origen, *Contra Cels.* 8.33.
[359] Porphyry, *De abst.* 2.38.2, trans., by Gillian Clark, *Porphyry: On Abstinence from Killing Animals* (London; New Delhi; New York; Sydney: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), 70 (and see now Travis Proctor, "Daemonic Trickery, Platonic Mimicry: Traces of Christian Daemonological Discourse in Porphyry's *De Abstinentia*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 68 [2014]: 416–49 for possible influences of Origen). The Jewish philosopher Philo saw that "the universe must needs be filled through and through with life" (ἀνάγκη γὰρ ὅλον δι᾽ ὅλων τὸν κόσμον ἐψυχῶσθαι), a common view about the ubiquity of demons and other creatures (Philo, *De gigant.* II.7 [LCL 227:448–49]); cf. the Pythagorean pronouncement that "all the air is filled with souls, and these are called demons (*daimones*) and heroes" (εἶναί τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων· καὶ τούτους τοὺς δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας νομίζεσθαι), André Laks and Glenn W. Most, ed., trans., *Early Greek Philosophy, Volume IV: Western Greek Thinkers, Part 1*, LCL 526 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 387–87 (*Pythagorean Memoirs* quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in Diogenes

demons) by performing important functions too base for the gods.[360] The development and growth of hieratic-spiritual discourses from the second century to the sixth (at least) helps us see how rituals were believed to have a true impact the harmony of the universe.[361] Experts in such matters could ensure that gods, demons, and other spirits would remain beneficial to the humans who approached them correctly.[362] We might

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Laertius). A documentary film of this imagined invisible ecosystem would be as busy, delightful, and sometimes as frightening as what we already see in nature. Spirits in water accompanied fish, frogs, algae, currents, frozenness, mist, and a myriad of other creatures or phenomena; they teemed in the air like birds, bugs, clouds, and winds, moving with them, moving them, affecting them and being affected; they concentrated around groves, temples, altars, and participated in community building rites; and most prominent among them were the gods, heroes, and demons who ruled humanity and the other spirits alike. On the material character of spirits like demons, see Gregory Smith, "How Thin is a Demon?" *JECS* 16.4 (2008): 479–512, here citing 481–82: "No ancient demon was immaterial, in the way we use the word since Descartes. The demons who roamed the late ancient world as a matter of course could not in practice be reduced to pure mind, *res cogitantes*." See further discussion in Marx-Wolf, *Spiritual Taxonomies*, 65; cf. Dale Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999, 13–14.

[360] Sarah Iles Johnston, *Hekate Soteira: A Study of Hekate's Role in the Chaldean Oracles and Related Literature* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 34: "As the concept of 'divinity' became more detached, philosophy and mysticism called for something to fill the roles that the gods, now completely severed from the material world, were no longer permitted to fill; the daemones stepped in." Cf. Rita Lucarelli, "Demonology in the Greco-Roman Period," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 11 (2011): 122: "Though they performed evil acts, they still served the just purposes of the good. Because of their aggressive powers, such demonic gangs are usually under the authority of a god to maintain control of them and direct them to the proper target," on the question of how Hellenistic Egypt adopted and placed evil demons as mediators between the good gods and humankind."

[361] Marx-Wolf, *Spiritual Taxonomies*, 123. Consider the coherency Robert K. Ritner describes in *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1993).

[362] "Just as one has to be socialized to know which fork is the appropriate one to use (to use a slight anachronism), so one has to be socialized to know how much is the right amount of money to spend for a particular social occasion—or what is the right amount of respect and awe one should demonstrate toward a god or daimon," (Dale Martin, *Inventing Superstition: From the Hippocratics to the Christians* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 71; cf. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 104–5; Georg Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult*, 2nd edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 207–81; Keimpe Algra, "Stoics on Souls and Demons: Reconstructing Stoic Demonology," 71–96 in Nienke Vos and Willemien Otten, ed., *Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity*, VCSupp 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), particularly 72–77. For an expression of good and bad forms of "demon management," consider the moonlit scene in Heliodorus' *Ethiopian Story*, an entertaining narrative about relating to the transcendent gods through appropriate physical ritual. Heliodorus encodes doctrine in narrative form, much like Christian acts and gospels (On the religious disposition of Heliodorus, see John Morgan, "E. Heliodorus," in Schmeling, ed., *The Novel in the Ancient World* [Leiden: Brill, 1996], 417–56, especially 446–54). In *Ethiopian Story*, 6.14-15, an aged mother has successfully performed an illicit rite, tripod and all, near hear son's lifeless body. When this scene is beheld by elite temple professionals, they react with horror. Heliodorus says on their behalf: "The mere sight of such things was unclean…it was not proper for a priest either to take part in or be present at such rites; the prophetic powers of priests proceeded from legitimate sacrifices and pure prayers, whereas those of the profane were obtained literally by

refer to the dominant Mediterranean approach as "demon management," sciences for minimizing harm and maximizing benefits.

Justin called for an end to demon management, but he does not seem to have taken the next step—calling for the exorcism of the gods themselves. I suggest this highlights a significant difference between Justin and the other authors I discuss below. For Justin and those before him, the gods/demons blinded people's eyes and deluded their minds; for other Christians, these beings were hiding everywhere in the world, including in its inhabitants, and they all needed to be exorcized.

Tormenting the Gods

Tertullian became one of the most strident promotors of this "atheistic" exorcism. He operated in Carthage sometime around the year 200 and wrote his apology to the magistrates of the city to protest the treatment of Christians.[363] In his writings, Tertullian suggested that exorcisms could provide proof of the new Christian demonology that identified the gods and all their underlings as evil spirits.[364] When Christians tormented the demons that infested the sick, they could get these evil spirits to confess that they were exactly the same as the gods to whom people built temples—the only difference was location.[365] Tertullian could barely imagine a place that was not contaminated with

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crawling upon the ground and skulking among the corpses" (*Ethiopian Story*, 6.14, translated by J. R. Morgan in Reardon, *Collected Greek Novels*, 486-87). As a consequence for her impious ritual, the woman lost her life in a homicidal rage. The internal logic of this anecdote is clear, and with it, the real-world logic in which this narrative made sense: these two distinct types of ritual practitioners were opposites; there was no "paganism" to bind these people into one faith. Priesthood was one thing, and scrabbling through the gore of a battlefield was another altogether. However, a Christian analysis of this account pointed to a commonality: the power of both kinds of personnel relied on the same demons in different guise.

[363] On the difficulty of dating Tertullian, see Timothy D. Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 57–59, who tentatively and cautiously suggested a lifespan of about 170–212; cf. ibid. 92–93 for the idea that Tertullian experience very little exposure to Jews and their literature.

[364] Tertullian, *Apol* 23.15–16.

[365] Tertullian, *Apol* 23. 3.

demons.[366] Nor did Tertullian make any personal exceptions. Discussing the emperor's sacred tutelary deity, his *genius*, Tertullian announced that "we are accustomed to exorcising evil spirits, which is what these *genii* really are, out of people, but we do not swear by them."[367] The progression is striking: Josephus's Eleazar had exorcized demons in the presence of the emperor, but Tertullian now insinuated that the emperor himself could stand to be exorcized.[368]

If Tertullian had one thing in common with Eleazar, it was the idea that exorcism could demonstrate something important—wisdom, power, truth. However, Tertullian suggested a different *demonstratio* (or we might say *daemonstratio*) that would turn the tables on the demons:[369]

> Let there be produced right here before your tribunals someone who, it is well known, is beset by an evil spirit (*quem daemone agi constet*). If any Christian (*quolibet christiano*) bids the spirit to speak, the same will confess that he is a devil (*daemonem*), just as truly as elsewhere he will falsely proclaim himself a god. In a similar way, let there be selected one of those who are thought to be under the influence of a god (*qui de Deo pati existimantur*) who conceive the divine power from the fumes which they inhale at the altars…if they do not

[366] A major problem was the demonic influence that overshadows every human born on earth (Tertullian, De *anima* 39.1–3), something educated Greeks believed (Origen, *Contra Cels.* 8.34), but with less-sinister implications. See his identification demons in connection with cult sites (*Apol*. 22.6; 23.10; *Idol*. 3), theaters (*Spec*. 25.1–2), bedroom (*De an*. 46.13), etc.; for demons impersonating the dead, see Tert., *De an*. 57. To Tertullian, even the very doorway of a home or a bath could be as perilous as the idol inside; indeed, a wealthy Christian who had disapproved of his servants' garlanding of doorways in his absence was still chastised in a divine vision when they decorated the doors anyway (Tertullian, *De idol.* 15). The passage has attracted some interest because of a cryptic attribution of this knowledge (of demons at doorways) to Enoch (see James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds., *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*, Compendia rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 3.4 [Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996], 50-51; see Greco-Roman parallels is J. H. Waszink and J. C. M. Van Winden, *Tertullian*us *De Idololatria*, VCSupp (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 244. The idea is found in Lactantius, *Institutes* 2.14: "They cling to individual men and they seize all homes, indeed, every last doorway" (McDonald, *Lactantius*, 154). Cf. also Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I (LCL 510: 92-93).

[367] Tertullian, *Apol.* 32; cf. Lactantius, *Inst.* 2.14: "They take to themselves the name of *genii*, for thus they translate the word *daēmonas* into Latin" (Mary Francis McDonald, *Lactantius: The Divine Institutes, Books I—VII* [Washington, D.C.: Catholic University, 1964], 154).

[368] By implication, the same could be said of Justin's beloved Socrates, Tertullian, *Apol.* 22.

[369] Tertullian, *Apol.* 2.12 for the torment and confession of Christians, which this passage also echoes.

> confess that they are devils (*nisi se daemones confessi fuerint*)—not daring to lie to a Christian—then right here and now shed the blood of that bold Christian![370]

The demons and the gods were the same. Tertullian declared that a Christian should be able to wring a confession out of these divine devils, perhaps something like, "I am Apollo!" The world would then realize that they should begin persecuting demons instead of Christians.[371]

This idea of tormenting the gods took root and flourished over the next century, with luminaries such as Minucius Felix,[372] Cyprian,[373] Origen,[374] Lactantius,[375] and many others "revealing the bankruptcy" of the gods through exorcism.[376] Yet rather than curtailing persecution, Christians started to see that their exorcisms resulted in even more persecution. In one instance, Dionysius of Alexandria implied that "atheistic" exorcism led to Emperor Valerian's crackdown on Christians during the late 250s. According to Dionysius, Valerian had been tolerant of Christians in his household before falling under the influence of Macrianus,[377] who was not only a prominent finance officer, but Dionysius also intriguingly identifies him as "the teacher and *archisynagōgos* of the magicians of Egypt" (ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ τῶν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου μάγων ἀρχισυνάγωγος).[378]

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[370] Tertullian, *Apol.* 23.4–6.
[371] Accounts about averting martyrdom by means of successful exorcism seem to be the domain of later hagiographers. In one notable case, Christians eager to salvage Marcus Aurelius's reputation had the emperor summoning Abercius, bishop of Hieropolis, to come and perform a healing in his household ("Marcus to Euxenianus Publio," *LCL* 113, 298–301; see discussion in W. M. Ramsey, "The Tale of Saint Abercius," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 3 [1882]: 339–53).
[372] Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 26.11 is perhaps the first to make the explicit claims. He hailed from North Africa, from perhaps a bit earlier than Tertullian.
[373] Cyprian, *Ad Donatus* 5.
[374] Origen, *Hom. Ex.* 6.5; *De princ.* 3.2.1; Orig., *Hom. Jos.* 24.1; Orig., *Hom. Lev.* 16.6.5; etc.
[375] Lactantius, *Inst.* 2.15.
[376] Peter Brown, *World of Late Antiquity: From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 55.
[377] Dionisius's writings on this incident are preserved in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.10.3–9.
[378] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.10.4. On Dionysius's strategy of blaming someone else (a usurper in this case) instead of the emperor, see David Potter, "Decius and Valerian," 18–38 in Diederick W. P. Burgersdijk and

This Macrianus convinced Valerian that Christians were making demon management impossible, because they indiscriminately drove good demons away along with the bad ones. In the words of Dionysius, good Christians "are and were capable by their presence and sight (παρόντες καὶ ὀρώμενοι), and by merely breathing on them and uttering words (μόνον ἐμπνέοντες καὶ φθεγγόμενοι), of scattering the designs of the baneful demons."[379] Rather than admit that the Christians were correct about the demons, Valerian chose to persecute them for their impiety.

In a later case, Lactantius declared that exorcism prompted Diocletian's rage against Christians, leading to dire persecutions when the monarch became "incited with the inspiration of demons to the persecution of the just people."[380] On one occasion, the emperor called for an augury of cattle entrails to help him plot his future decisions, but Christians in his retinue performed an exorcism gesture (I discuss this phenomenon in the next section) and "the demons took to flight and the sacred rites were disturbed."[381] The priests figured out what was happening, which leads into Lactantius's violent stories of Christians tormented for refusing to worship the gods.[382]

Alan J. Ross, ed., *Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 20–1; and Benedikt Dorbath, "Die Logik der Christenverfolgungen durch den Römischen Staat" (Th.D. dissertation; Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, 2016), 221–24.

[379] Translation from Kirsopp Lake, *The Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 2*: English Translation*, LCL 2 (London; New York; Cambridge, MA: William Heinemann; G. P. Putnam's Sons; Harvard University Press, 1926–1932), 150–1. The offending "pagan" rituals were τῶν παμμιάρων καὶ βδελυκτῶν ἐπαοιδῶν. Dionysius depicted Macrianus's retaliation on behalf of the demons a "thank-offering" (χαριστήρια) (Lake, *Ecclesiastical History*, 153 and Dorbath, "Die Logik der Christenverfolgungen," 224).

[380] Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.* 3; translation is Mary Francis McDonald, *Lactantius: The Minor Works*, Fathers of the Church 54 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1965), 140.

[381] Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.* 10; McDonald, *Lactantius: The Minor Works*, 148–9.

[382] Dorbath, "Die Logik der Christenverfolgungen," 224 n.993 notes the similarities and differences between this and the Valerian persecution as told by Dionyisius.

The martyrdom accounts above assume that "pagans" were very familiar with this kind of behavior, and somewhat paranoid about it. The call to exorcize the gods was not merely rhetorical and theoretical, and Tertullian may have met with a good degree of success in his call for Christians to embrace exorcism as one of the pleasures (*voluptates*) that could substitute for of worldly entertainments such as the theater.[383] Indeed, any Christian could put on a performance. "Atheistic" exorcism appealed to a merchant[384] and a soldier,[385] although Tertullian had to chide them for not fully understanding what they were doing. Although the evidence is hardly conclusive, Tertullian seems to give the impression that some Christians went about their days directing exorcistic energies against this temple, that altar, and at times, afflicted persons. However, this prompts a question: how were all these Christians practicing all these exorcisms? Did they spend their days shouting into temples? Hardly, because the next section shows, Christians developed ways of performing exorcisms without saying a word.

Means of Christian Exorcism

Jesus's death on the cross had long symbolized God's victorious power,[386] and Justin's idea of exorcism appealed to the life of Christ who had been "crucified by Pontius Pilate."[387] Out of these concepts grew the most prominent exorcism technique in Late Antiquity, the popular gesture known as "the sign of the cross."[388] To this sign, Christians

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[383] *Quod calcas deos nationum, quod daemonia expellis, quod medicinas facis, quod reuelationes petis, quod deo uiuis, haec uoluptates, haec spectacula christianorum sancta, perpetua, gratuita; in his tibi ludos circenses interpretare…*(*Spect*. 29)
[384] Tertullian, *De idol.* 11.
[385] Tertullian, *De coron.* 11.
[386] 1 Cor. 1:18; 2 Cor. 13:4; Rom. 8:38; 1 Pet. 3:18–22.
[387] Justin, *Dial.* 30, 76, 85; *2 Apol*. 6. Cf. Justin, *Dial*. 131, Jesus crucified as an overthrow of demons.
[388] The most authoritative study of the sign of the cross remains a series of nine articles published by Franz Joseph Dölger, each titled "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens" followed by the sequential number of the article (I–IX) in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* as follows: "Beiträge I," *JAC* 1 (1958): 5–19; "Beiträge II," *JAC* 2 (1959): 15–29; "Beiträge III," *JAC* 3 (1960): 5–16; "Beiträge IV," *JAC* 4 (1961): 5–

frequently added other signs or noises to indicate censure, primarily hissing and spitting. Charles Bolton suggested that the sign and hissing might have been related, "the invocation of the name Jesus Christ in Greek in this period would be *Isus Khristos*," which might have easily elided into a hissing sound.[389] Regardless of the origin of the pairing of hissing and gesturing, Christians became so associated with these impromptu exorcisms that Emperor Julian was barely joking when, in the fourth century, he claimed that the *sine qua non* of Christian theology was hissing at demons and making the sign of the cross.[390]

Tertullian talked about the sign of the cross as a constant ritual, consistent with the notion that evil demons were always crowding around:

> [W]e make the sign of the cross on our foreheads (*frontem signaculo [crucis]*[391] *terimus*) at every turn, at our going in or coming out of the house, while dressing, while putting on our shoes, when we are taking a bath, before and after meals, when we light the lamps, when we go to bed or sit down, and in all the ordinary actions of daily life.[392]

Exorcism by the sign of the cross even provided symbolic imagery for what Tertullian was doing in his anti-heretical writings: a figurative exorcism against a scorpion.[393]

17; "Beiträge V," *JAC* 5 (1962): 5–22; "Beiträge VI," *JAC* 6 (1963): 7–34; "Beiträge VII," *JAC* 7 (1964): 5–38; "Beiträge VIII: Das Kreuzzeichen als Segensgestus in der Liturgie," *JAC* 8/9 (1965/1966): 7–52; "Beiträge IX," *JAC* 10 (1967): 7–29.

[389] Charles A. Bolton, "The Emperor Julian against 'Hissing Christians,'" *HTR* 61 (1968): 496–97, here citing the final page.

[390] Julian, *Ep*. 19.

[391] Variants exist in the mss.; see Jacques Fontaine, *Tertullianus, De Corona* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966).

[392] Tertullian, *De cor.* 3.4; trans. by Rudolph Arbesmann, Emily Joseph Daly, and Edwin A. Quain, *Tertullian, Disciplinary, Moral, and Ascetical Works*, The Fathers of the Church 40 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1959), 237.

[393] Tertullian even imagined his attack on his theological opponents as an exorcism against a scorpion threatening to sting, saying that he could "make the sign and adjure and squash the creature underfoot" (*signandi statim et adiurandi et urgendi bestiae calcem*). Tertullian, *Scorpiace* 1. For dating to 203/4 and other introductory matters, see T. D. Barnes, "Tertullian's *Scorpiace*," *JTS* 20 (1969): 105–32 and Eugenio Romero-Pose, "*De bono martyrii:* A propósito de los *Scorpiace* de Tertulliano," *Revista Espănola de Teología* 62 (2002): 517–28.

Christians like Tertullian adopted no τέχνη for exorcism, just as they eschewed the potions and incantations that might have been organized into some method. The cross and crucified Christ offered all the wisdom and means one could ever need—not priests, books of incantations, or *materia magica*. This remarkable means of protest, protection, and identity was just as available to an educated man like Tertullian as it was to an illiterate child who would grow up to remain an illiterate adult. Any zealous Christian could "spit and blow at smoking altars" (*fumantes aras despuet et exsufflabit*) to exorcize their demons.[394] Whether the cross was invoked as a gesture, worn as adornment, or inscribed on the body as a tattoo, this symbol purportedly furnished safety against "ailment brought on by demons, poisoning, beasts possessed by evil spirits and natural catastrophes as well as against the evil eye, and 'magic rituals' invoking the gods of Antiquity," *inter alia*.[395] Additionally, sometime during the second century, Christians began to ward off demons at baptism using the sign of the cross, a practice that has been amply documented and discussed.[396] This development would have significant consequences for Christian exorcism, as subsequent chapters discuss.

Even after churches began employing specialists for exorcism in the early third century, lay believers were still permitted and encouraged to perform unadorned exorcisms through these means. Lactantius reported that the Christians who thwarted Diocletian's augurs did so merely by gesturing the sign of the cross, for "how much terror

[394] Tertullian, *De idol*. 11.7.
[395] Ádám Bollók, "The 'Phylactery of the Cross' and Late Antique/Early Medieval Mortuary Practices in the Eastern Mediterranean and on Its Fringes," 215–30 in Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska, Niklot Krohn, and Sebastian Ristow, eds., *Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter* 4 (Remshalden: Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner, 2016), esp. 217–23.
[396] See the discussion in Henry A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1985), 61–62, 74. Although Kelly's analysis is valuable, his treatment suffers from outdated assumptions about Gnostic and Orthodox Christianity as bifurcated communities (*Devil at Baptism*, 75).

this sign causes demons," and no demonic rite could succeed if a Christian would perform this gesture nearby.[397] As I previously noted, Joseph the Count used the sign of the cross to perform exorcisms in Tiberias in the fourth century, first to heal a demoniac[398] and second to protect against his suspicions of Jewish magic.[399] Even the Torah could not match the power of the exorcistic cross: "…the demons do not look upon the Law with fear and trembling, but rather when they see the cross they tremble and flee, and they are rendered powerless and chased away," so an anonymous author wrote towards the end of Late Antiquity.[400] Finally, Troels Kristensen documents notable examples of crosses being inscribed on temples and statuary to provide safety from these gods, now thoroughly implicated as evil demons.[401]

This form of exorcism seems to have been particularly appealing to combative men. The low bar of entry alone may have been attractive to them, "Such simple adjurations that they can be done by simple men."[402] Tertullian wrote about Christians who enjoyed spitting on altars and tormenting demons, yet even in these rudimentary cases, the practitioners were short on understanding about what they were really doing.[403]

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[397] Lact., *Inst*. 4.27. McDonald, *Lactantius: The Divine Institutes*, 314–315. Cf. Athanasius, *De incarnat.* 31.2 and 4.
[398] Epiphanius, *Panarion* 1.345.10–21; Holl, ed., 1.30.10.
[399] Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 30.12.5; Holl, ed, 1.348.4–6 Holl. See brief discussions in Andrew Jacobs, *Epiphanius of Cyprus: A Cultural Biography of Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 89–90; Gideon Bohak, "Magic in the Cemeteries of Late Antique Palestine," 157–74 in Oren Tal and Zeev Weiss, eds., *Expressions of Cult in the Southern Levant in the Greco-Roman Period* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), esp. 165.
[400] Andrew Jacobs, *Christ Circumcised: A Study in Early Christian History and Difference* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 68.
[401] Troels Myrup Kristensen, *Making and Breaking the Gods: Christian Responses to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2013), 35, 134, 223–24 (plus, one may look to Quodvultdeus's story and note that the girl was healed by application of a crucifix to her body), and 169; as well, see 127 for the possibility that Christians may have considered themselves doing baptismal exorcisms.
[402] Origen, *Contra Cels.* 7.4.19–20: καὶ ὁρκώσεσιν ἁπλουστέραις καὶ ὅσα ἂν δύναιτο προσάγειν ἁπλούστερος ἄνθρωπος.
[403] Tertullian, *De idol.* 11 and *De cor.* 11. I discuss both passages in the next chapter.

Perhaps they considered exorcism to be a sanctified version of the "circus games," something else Tertullian had suggested.[404] This expression need not be taken strictly as a metaphor: Strabo recorded a local legend from Temesa about Euthymos of Locri, an Olympic athlete who wrestled and defeated the Hero of Temesa (ἥρωα τὸν ἐν Τεμέσῃ), the vindictive ghost one of Odysseus's crewmen.[405] Around the 170s, perhaps a century and a half after Strabo's simple story, Pausanius told the tale again in its newer, relevant form.[406] He chose to call Odysseus's crewman both a hero and a demon (ἥρως and δαίμων), he included a love story between Euthymos and a beautiful woman victimized by the ghost,[407] and finally, he gave the whole thing a happy ending. Euthymus "prevailed in the fight, for the Hero was expelled from the land and disappeared, and sunk into the sea…and the people here were liberated from the demon from that time onward."[408] If an Olympic athlete could be remembered for defeating a hero or demon, what pride might a person feel who had tormented a god?

Christian Exorcism and Philostratus's Life of Apollonius

The rapid spread of Christian exorcism bears on how scholars frequently resort to Philostratus's *Vita Apollonii*, a third-century philosophical biography of the first-century Pythagorean philosopher Apollonius, to understand Jesus's exorcisms.[409] It would be exciting if the work provided independent testimony of first-century exorcism, but this

[404] Tertullian, *De spect.* 29. Cf. Novatian, *de Spect*. 4, linking idolatry, the games, and exorcism as an act standing in opposite to either.
[405] Strabo, *Geography*, 6.1.5.
[406] Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 6.6.
[407] Pausanias, *Description*, 6.6.8: the ghost's tribute from the town was a right to the "most beautiful young maiden in Temesa" (διδόναι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γυναῖκα τῶν ἐν Τεμέσῃ παρθένων τὴν καλλίστην).
[408] Pausanias, *Description* 6.6.10: ἐνίκα τε δὴ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἐξηλαύνετο γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὁ Ἥρως ἀφανίζεταί τε καταδὺς ἐς θάλασσαν…καὶ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐλευθερία τοῦ λοιποῦ σφισιν ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος.
[409] Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 3.38, 4.20. A standard treatment is found in Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 23–27, and 48, where he finds Apollonius to be "sufficiently comparable [to Jesus's exorcisms] to be of direct value to us." Cf. Witmer, *Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist*, 60.

independence is predicated on one of two factors: first, Philostratus's ignorance or lack of engagement with Christians of his day, or second, the general obscurity of Christian exorcism in the first quarter of the third century. The first condition is dubious at best. Philostratus completed his *Life of Apollonius* in the court of Severus Alexander, who may have revered both Apollonius and Jesus in equal measure, and Julia Mamaea, who "had overt Christian leanings."[410] This was a change from the conditions under which he had begun his work at the request of Julia Domna, a tireless promoter of Apollonius's contributions to philosophy, politics, and cult.[411] The sophist subtly (and successfully)[412] promoted the cause of Apollonius by drawing upon prominent Christian ideas, but skillfully avoided becoming engrossed in raw polemics over Christian theology.[413] Philostratus aimed to elevate "his hero[414] as a new educator of humanity" by crafting a narrative of his "protreptic, pedagogical, and even missionary design,"[415] primarily

[410] Simon Swain, "Culture and Nature in Philostratus," 33–46 in Ewen Bowie and Jaś Elsner, ed., *Philostratus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), especially 37–8: "Julia Mamaea had overt Christian leanings. She was 'a most pious woman' (i.e., a Christian) according to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.21.3–4, who records that she summoned by military escort no less a figure than Origen and heard from him 'about the fame of the Lord and the excellence of the Divine Teaching.' Even more interesting is the fragment of a letter to Julia Mamaea by bishop Hippolytus of Rome explaining the symbolism of Exodus 25:10 'thou shalt make an ark of the covenant from acacia wood." The existence of this letter should incline us to accept the statement of the Augustan History that "according to a contemporary writer' Alexander worshipped Christ and Abraham beside Orpheus and Apollonius in his private chapel (*Alex.* 29.2). He was sympathetic to Christians: he charged the Christian intellectual Julius Africanus (a celebrated correspondent of Origen) with the establishment of a library in the Pantheon (of all places), and Africanus dedicated to him the first non-theological work penned by a Christian author, the miscellanist encyclopedia called 'Girdles.'"

[411] See the brief summary of Julia Domna in Christopher Jones, "Apollonius of Tyana, Hero and Holy Man," 75–84 in Jennifer K. Berenson Maclean and Ellen Bradshaw Aitken, ed., *Philostratus's* Heroikos*: Religion and Cultural Identity in the Third Century C.E.* (Ledien and Boston: Brill, 2004), esp. 77–78.

[412] Jones, "Apollonius of Tyana," 83–84.

[413] Marc van Uytfanghe, "La *Vie D'Apollonius de Tyane* et Le Discours Hagiographique," 335–74 in Kristoffel Demoen and Danny Praet, ed., *Theios Sophistès: Essays on Flavius Philostratus'* Vita Apollonii, Mnemosyne Supp. 305 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 343: "en lisant le seul Philostrate, on croirait que les chrétiens n'existaient pas…L'absence de la moindre allusion trahirait donc en soi déjà un agenda caché" (cf. 364: "L'audience visée par Philostrate est sans doute plus élitaire que celle qu'ont en vue les évangélistes ou les hagiographes, mais le principe performatif est le meme").

[414] The term *hero* is not without relevance to the discussion of Philostratus's philosophical program; see numerous helpful essays in Maclean and Aitken, *Philostratus's* Heroikos.

[415] Van Uytfanghe, "La *Vie D'Apollonius de Tyane*," 364.

hoping to entice the sovereign to rule with Apollonius's political values.[416] This sophistic didacticism infuses Philostratus's exorcism stories with caution against luxuries and decadent affections (in favor of austere masculinity).[417] Besides the obvious valorization of Apollonius the miracle-man, I suggest that Philostratus crafted these exorcism stories to insert his values into the contemporary discourse of demons and exorcism. The masculinity of exorcism could make Apollonius a powerful man, like Euthymus and Jesus.

The second condition, ignorance of Christian exorcism, requires that Jesus traditions be unknown to Philostratus, which is unlikely.[418] It further presupposes that exorcism held a negligible status among Christians of the day, when, in fact, it was only becoming more popular. As I will discuss in the next chapter, exorcism was becoming integral to ecclesiastical operations during the time when Philostratus penned his *vita*, so much so that churches around the Mediterranean had begun appointing professional exorcists. Finally, it is worth noting that the historical figure of Apollonius had no Hellenistic rationale or tradition of exorcism upon which to draw.[419] Philostratus, however, had before him and around him a robust, relevant tradition of Christian

[416] Van Uytfanghe, "La *Vie D'Apollonius de Tyane*," 373.
[417] First, Philostratus, *Vita Apoll*. 3.38, the petulant ghost falls in love with the son, having abandoned the love of women, and provides luxuries to the boy's household; notably, the mother emphasizes that the boy is neglecting his formative studies and engagement in masculine sport (for Philostratus's further emphasis on the degradation of contemporary youth and their style of athletics, and his desire for what we might call "orthodox athletics," see his *Gymnasticus*). Second, Philostratus, *Vita Apoll*. 4.20, which we might term an "exorcism contra Sybaris." The demon drives the youth to excess and vulgarity in the context of Apollonius's teachings on sobriety and divine libations. Once free from the demon, the young man discards his "Sybaritic dresses." See the survey of "Sybaris as a Marker of Luxury" in Annette Condello, *The Architecture of Luxury*, Ashgate Studies in Architecture (Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 13–33.
[418] Besides the oblique literary mimicry of Jesus at various places throughout, consider Severus Alexander's commission to Julius Africanus for a Christian library.
[419] Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism*, 117.

exorcism. For this reason, I doubt the value of Philostratus's exorcism stories for critical reconstructions of the practice. Rather, it is sufficient to note that Philostratus portrayed the admirable person of Apollonius, in part by evoking pertinent ideas about Christian exorcism, but all to convey his own philosophical values to ruling elites like Severus Alexander.

Conclusions

I have argued that a new concept of exorcism had its seminal beginnings in the diaspora, as Gentile Christian leaders began encountering Judaean ritual specialists and their "foreign" methods. The seminal form of Christian exorcism, found in Luke's writings, was more of an anti-exorcism. Inspired by stories about Jesus and the theology of Paul, Luke advanced the idea that spirits could be expelled almost casually or accidentally—from the shadow, the handkerchief, the simple instruction. Over time, the shadow and the handkerchief were joined by the gesture of the cross, the exhalation, and the spit of common Christians. The curated simplicity of Christian exorcism put the power of Christ into the hands (and on the foreheads) of educated and uneducated people alike. This new form of exorcism—a word slowly adopted by Christians for their own practice—could easily be distinguished from Jewish and "pagan" rituals, especially with the development of a new genre of blasphemous exorcism against the gods of the world, whose only contributions to humanity were misery and oppression.

Although Christians exorcized, we do not see any Christians known as "exorcists" until the beginning of the third century. The next chapter explains why and how Christians began appointing their own "exorcists," a group of specialists that occupy most of the attention in the remaining chapters ahead.

CHAPTER THREE

"One of the (Christian) Exorcists" and the Creation of a Clerical Order

Sometime around the year 235 CE, a Christian prophet established a broad regional reputation because of her spiritual charisma.[420] Her reputation permitted her to perform church functions beyond those typically performed by women in churches, particularly those led by men such as Luke, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and their descendants. This woman presided over the Eucharist, interviewed catechumens,[421] and baptized them into the body of Christ (possibly after exorcizing them beforehand).[422] Her rise to prophetic fame coincided with a wave of devastating earthquakes and other woes, along with apparent anti-Christian sentiment, which only heightened the stakes of her prophecies and signs.[423] For example, twenty years later, even her opponents were still talking about how she had proved that she was able to cause an earthquake (or at least predict one).[424] Her fame

[420] The present narrative comes from an epistle from Firmilian to Cyprian, which is included in the , *Ep.* (O) 75.10. Firmilian introduces the incident to Cyprian, saying that it happened "about twenty-two years ago, after Alexander" (*ante uiginti enim et duos fere annos temporibus post Alexandrum*). "Alexander" refers to Severus Alexander, who died in 235. For more on this passage, see Charlotte Methuen, "'The Very Deceitfulness of Devils': Firmilian and the Doubtful Baptisms of a Woman Possessed by Demons," *Studies in Church History* 52 (2016): 49–64; Ayşe Tuzlak, "The Bishop, the Pope, and the Prophetess: Rival Ritual Experts in Third-Century Cappadocia," 252–73 in Kimberly B. Stratton and Dayne S. Kalleres, ed., *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Elizabeth Leeper, "Exorcism in Early Christianity" (PhD diss.; Duke University, 1991), 188–92.

[421] By this time in the third century, it seems likely that examination and baptism would involve exorcism. If this was indeed the case, then she represents the closest example I know of a woman performing exorcisms in antiquity. The other women (those mentioned only by Tertullian) have been completely obliterated from memory.

[422] For women "heretics" and their baptisms, cf. Tertullian, *De praesc. haer.* 41 (discussed below).

[423] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.1: *…multae istic* [after the reign of Alexander] *conflictationes et pressurae acciderunt uel in commune omnibus hominibus uel priuatim christianis; terrae etiam motus plurimi et frequentes extiterunt, ut et per Cappadociam et per Pontum multa subruerent, quaedam etiam ciuitates in profundum receptae dirupti soli hiatu deuorarentur, ut ex hoc persecutio quoque grauis aduersum nos christiani nominis fieret…*

[424] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.2, of her promise to cause the earth to be moved: *facere se terram moueri polliceretur.* Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.2, of the brethren who were convinced by her—*deciperet fraternitatem*. Regarding opponents who were convinced of supernatural abilities of some kind: the author (Firmilian) launches into an explanation about how the spirit in her could not have caused an earthquake, but rather had sufficient foreknowledge to pretend that the earth was being moved on command (*spiritus praesciens et intellegens terrae motum futurum id se facturum esse simularet quod futurum uideret*).

sped across Cappadocia and Pontus, and her stable of supporters included a presbyter, a deacon, and others among "the faithful."[425] With this notoriety came the bitter attention of churchmen who tried to put a stop to her ministry.[426] Opposing church leaders had little administrative or political recourse against this woman's ministry, especially because she enjoyed a degree of formal ecclesiastical support and there seemed to be no way of stopping her.

However, the tide turned when a new champion "suddenly appeared."[427] His name was apparently unimportant, but he was remembered as a "proven man, someone who always conducted himself well in religious practices,"[428] as Firmilian, a bishop from Caesarea in Cappadocia, described him some twenty years after the event. Firmilian lauded this man for his militant insistence on patriarchal propriety, in stark contrast to the "oafish presbyter"[429] and all the others who supported this woman. Firmilian and his colleagues said that the supposed gendered disarray in those churches had been caused by a sinister influence: Whereas the duped presbyter and the others had attributed the woman's deeds to the Holy Spirit,[430] the woman's challenger "boldly resisted" her and

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[425] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.4, *hic et unum de presbyteris rusticum, item et alium diaconum fefellit*; Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.5, *fidelium.*

[426] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.4, *…fratrum plurimorum, qui et ipsi fortes ac laudabiles in fide aderant*, "many brethren, who themselves remained strong and praiseworthy in the faith." The terms *fors* and *laudibilis* may have been jargon to describe those who could remain in good standing after this incident had played out.

[427] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.4, *subito apparuit*.

[428] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.4, *vir probatus et circa religiosam disciplinam bene semper conversatus.* I translate *conuersatus* and *disciplinam* in connection to the conduct and order of the Christian community. *Disciplinam* indicates the orderly execution of the ministry or the practices of the church, something Tertullian had complained "the heretics" (the ones who ordain women) lacked (see Tertullian, *De praesc. haer.* 41, the disorganized scope and sequence of promotion); see Nicolotti, *Esorcismo cristiano*, 574. *Religiosam*, of course, does not equate to "religion" in the taxonomizing sense of the term today; here, I interpret the term as an indication of his devotion or scrupulosity with regard to the occupation of church ministry (Christianity done "right," as Cyprian and Firmilian saw it).

[429] Or "rustic," "uneducated," or some similar idea (*unum de presbyteris rusticum*, Cyprian, *Ep*. [O] 75.10.4). This puts the presbyter in contrast to the educated, disciplined exorcist.

[430] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.2: *emersit istic subito quaedam mulier quae in extasin constituta propheten se praeferret et quasi sancto spiritu plena sic ageret.*

"revealed [the spirit] to be an extraordinarily vile demon."[431] And this was not all. The man exposed[432] her clerical supporters, divining that the demon had seduced both the presbyter and a deacon to commit fornication with her.[433] Firmilian does not say that the man cast the demon out of the woman, but this was unnecessary as far as Firmilian was concerned. Her long deception ended when the "proven man" unmasked the demon and its misdeeds.

This "proven man" is of great significance for the study of ancient exorcism practitioners, because he is the first known example of a Christian going by the title of exorcist (*exorcista*). The use of this term also marks the invention of a Latin calque based on the Greek term ἐξορκιστής.[434] Furthermore, Firmilian described him as "one of the exorcists" (*illi unus de exorcistis*), which indicates that a number of people had already been designated as *exorcistae*. This term pinpoints a class of Christian exorcists, at least one of whom was active in the environs of Cappadocia and Pontus in the 230s.[435]

These first professional Christian exorcists appear suddenly and with little introduction, raising many questions about their origins.[436] To begin, why would Christians begin to appoint exorcists to serve their congregations? After all, the

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[431] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.4, *inspiratus dei gratia fortiter restitit et esse illum nequissimum spiritum qui prius sanctus putabatur ostendit* (cf. Cyprian, *Ep.* [O] 75.11.1, *nequissimus daemon*).
[432] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.4, *detectum.*
[433] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 75.10.4, *ut eidem mulieri commiscerentur,* and note that the preceding context deals with the actions of the demon through the woman; hence, the demon was also the one seducing the two clerics.
[434] Like Tertullian's use of the term *clerus* (Alexandre Faivre, *Chrétiens et Églises, des identités en construction. Acteurs, Structures, frontières du champ religieux chrétien* [Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2011], 260–61), this use of *exorcista* was probably a Christian innovation of the late second and early third century. See also Nicolotti, *Esorcismo cristiano*, 573.
[435] Or at least by the 250s, given the possibility that Firmilian could have applied the term anachronistically.
[436] We may compare this sudden appearance of an assumed class of people to "Paul's" encounter with "some of the wandering Judaean exorcists," previously unmentioned before Acts 19:13.

distinctive exorcistic habit of second-century Christians rejected the skills of the Jews and "the nations," as Christian authors were fond of boasting. There was nothing about Christian exorcism that necessitated the involvement of specialists.

In this chapter, I begin with this question—why appoint Christian exorcists?—and develop a portrait of exorcism and exorcists from about 220 to 320 CE. Much of the evidence is concentrated in Rome and Carthage, because ecclesiastical exorcists emerged from the high-stakes conflicts that occupied powerful Christian leaders in those cities. I discuss how Christian exorcists joined the ecclesiastical ranks in response to increased exorcistic activity in congregational settings, but the real catalyst was the flurry of ecclesiastical organizing and hiring in the first decades of the third century. From there, I show that exorcists quickly became an integral part of the clergy, participating in the same conflicts, persecutions, and prospects as all the other clergy. The chapter closes by showing how this momentum drove the office to full maturity in the early fourth century.

The Origins of Ecclesiastical Exorcisms

Before proceeding to the actual exorcists, I find it useful to discuss several factors that contributed the premise that there even could or should be clerical exorcists. This will introduce some of the complicated internal struggles with which exorcism was becoming involved. Two matters, baptism and heresy, helped to thrust the concept of "ecclesiastical exorcism" into existence. Exorcism changed when it came to church.[437]

First, we begin with exorcisms aimed against "the devil at baptism," in the words of Henry Kelly. The removal of demons at baptism contributed to a sense of Christian

[437] These adaptations to exorcism were additive, and thus should not be thought of as putting an end to the outward-facing concepts and actions.

identity through "demon-free" solidarity.[438] I suggest that exorcism may have become connected to baptism almost by accident; exorcism continued to sprawl wherever Christians went, and it gradually encroached upon church ritual with little forethought or afterthought. The sign of the cross had become an apotropaic habit of everyday Christian life, and worshippers may have employed the sign at baptism in much the same way as Tertullian suggests they would do when entering and leaving the door of the gathering.[439] With growing suspicions about demons in water,[440] as well as the notion that every Gentile had a demon attached to them at birth,[441] it is possible to understand why exorcism was on its way to becoming a prerequisite for baptism. Theologians who practiced exorcism saw the promise of a deeper meaning at the crossroads of these two Christian practices.[442] Thus, baptismal exorcism helped to connect exorcism with the

[438] Henry A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1985); see also Leeper, "Exorcism in Early Christianity," 211–73, 346–47; Nicolotti, *Esorcismo cristiano*, 91–101.

[439] The previous chapters showed how the novel practice of Christian exorcism rapidly imposed itself on a variety of non-therapeutic concerns previously untouched by the exorcisms of the Jews and "the nations." Tertullian encouraged people to ward off demons by the sign of the cross all day (Tertullian, *De an.* 39.4, *ex aqua et spiritu*, citing John 3:5), and nothing invites us to believe that he made an exception for baptism.

[440] Church leaders or laypeople exorcized the element of water itself (and not just baptismal water), in addition to persons who came forward to renounce idolatry. We know that Christians were concerned about the "demon content" that might be found in different kinds of water. Nicola Denzey Lewis mentions peoples' worries over water and the "powerful and capricious beings" like "nymphs, nereids, and river spirits" that animated and heated water. Nicola Denzey Lewis, "The Problem of Bad Baptisms: Unclean Spirits, Exorcism, and the Unseen in Second-Century Christian Practice," 187–203 in Eduard Iricinschi, et al., ed., *Beyond the Gnostic Gospels: Studies Building on the Work of Elaine Pagels*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 82. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), here esp. 193–95. she likewise shows that Tertullian worried about baptismal water, just like Valentinian authors. Indeed, Tertullian assumed that Christians will want to make the sign of the cross on their heads before taking a bath (Tertullian, *De cor.* 3.4).

[441] Tertullian also imagined that the children of "the nations" (*ethnicorum*) had a parasitic evil spirit attached to them during various idolatrous birthing rites, which symbolically "declared them to be 'candidates' for the demons"—see Tertullian, *De an.* 39.2: *genimina sua daemoniorum candidata profitentur* (contrast with Tertullian, *De or.* 3, candidates for heavenly glory with the angels and God). Thus, everyone is like Socrates in at least one respect: they have some kind of demon attached to them from childhood.

[442] See Franz Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual: eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 3.1–2 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1909), 4–5. The origins of baptismal exorcism are typical traced to the Valentinian sect because of the first extant witness to baptismal

gathered church and its initiands, a setting that was dominated by the bishop's presence more than at any other time or location—to bring an activity to church was to invite the involvement of the clergy.

A second ecclesiastical connection to exorcism came through a clash over charisma. Elizabeth Leeper plausibly connects exorcism to bishops who opposed the unfettered prophecy and female leadership practiced by the so-called Montanists—one thinks of Firmilian's "false prophetess" who appeared some fifty years after these events.[443] Church leaders were divided in support or opposition to a popular prophetic movement that was sweeping the province of Asia. Because the clergy lacked unity on how to respond, dissension spread far and wide.[444] This occasioned novel tactics, or novel applications for old practices. This explains why two meddling bishops arrived in

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exorcism, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 80.3; see Thraede, "Exorzismus," *RAC* 7:79–84; Kelly, *Devil at Baptism*, 45–80, 106–22; Leeper, *Exorcism in Early Christianity*, 244–48 and idem, "From Alexandria to Rome: The Valentinian Connection to the Incorporation of Exorcism as a Prebaptismal Rite," *VC* 44 (1990): 6–24. If dogma precedes praxis, then one may rule out a practice on the basis of a statement of belief (see, e.g., Kelly's insistence that "since [Cyprian] does not follow the sin-demon theory of ethical possession, there is no occasion for the exorcistic factor of baptism to come into play in ordinary circumstances," *Devil at Baptism*, 110). According to this view, theological reflection was primary, and practice was a side-effect of theology. However, I see the opposite as an equal or greater possibility: as a consequence of exorcism's great popularity and growing ubiquity, owing to the ease with which gestures and rudimentary formulae could be employed by nearly anyone. This is hardly surprising when we recall that Tertullian envisioned demons everywhere, even more thoroughly entwined with the everyday world than Justin had imagined (see discussions on the means of exorcism in the previous chapter).

[443] Elizabeth A. Leeper, *Exorcism in Early Christianity* (Duke University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1991), 188–192; "The Role of Exorcism in Early Christianity," *Studia Patristica* 26 (1993): 59–62. According to Leeper, "orthodox" leaders recognized the institutional value of a person like Firmilian's first-mentioned exorcist above: "His 'job' was to maintain social order by demonizing and excluding the disruptive element" (Leeper, "Exorcism in Early Christianity," 298). The charisma of such exorcizing Christian became an attractive asset to leaders who wanted to exclude the competing charisma of "deviants," particularly those seemingly unruly prophets like the so-called Montanists. Leeper further argued that the number of church exorcists may have increased with the need to readmit repentant apostates, who would need to be evaluated (see Leeper, "Exorcism in Early Christianity," 305–10).

[444] Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 151–97. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.8, who preserves some of the clearest claims that Montanus was possessed by demons, and that it would have been easy to tell this from the very moment he opened his mouth to prophesy. Much like Luke portrayed Paul casting out the oracular spirit of Apollo, Christians began trying to cast the Holy Spirit (or an evil demon, depending on perspective) out of one another.

Pepouza around the year 170, seeking to exorcise the prophetess Maximilla and cut her off from clerical sponsorship.[445] They failed, a fact that they could not deny, yet they blamed this outcome on the clergy who were protecting her from what we might call "ecclesiastical therapy."

Such failures must have stiffened the bishops' resolve, which shaped their reactions and the methods of their successors. A flurry of synods convened to plan for more situations like the confrontation in Pepouza and new baptismal controversies that followed on the heels of persecutions in the early second century.[446] I cautiously hypothesize that exorcists may have been deputized at one of these synods. For one thing, bishops were busy men, and there had to be better ways to manage time-consuming quests to restore order to associated congregations around the world than to abandon one's own congregation for a length of time. As well, if such a confrontation proved futile, the person performing the exorcism could risk embarrassment. Finally, confrontations such as those in Asia Minor could serve as proving grounds for lower orders of clergy—this is how they could gain the reputation of a man like Firmilian's exorcist. Indeed, Firmilian's exorcist may have been appointed in such circumstances. These related factors might help explain how the stakes over exorcism warranted a new clerical position.

[445] The two bishops were named Zoticus of Cumane and Julian of Apamea. They faced stiff opposition from a presbyter and his followers (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.17: ὧν οἱ περὶ Θεμίσωνα, "those of Themiso").
[446] Briefly on the synods, Christoph Markschies, *Between Two Worlds: Structures of Earliest Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1999), 172–74.

Disqualifying Exorcists

Now church leaders had to consider a method for recruiting good exorcists and weeding out undesirable ones. They could not blindly enlist anyone who happened to be enthusiastic about exorcism, because this would open the doors to anyone. A core concept of Christian exorcism was its accessibility to everyone, hence the practice presented few practical barriers to entry on its own. Episcopal sources registered worries about exorcisms being done by heretics, women, and undisciplined men just as ecclesiastical exorcism was beginning.[447] Inferring standards from the sources below, we see that the first ecclesiastical exorcists were intended to be men who had dissolved their behavioral or professional conflicts of interests between the church and Satan (as defined by episcopal leaders).

First, exorcists were to be male. That is not to say that Christian women were forbidden from reacting to demonic threats with gestures of exorcism. Irenaeus had no problem mentioning faithful women who "blew at [the heretic Marcus] and heaped anathemas on him" (*exsuffiantes et catathematizantes eum*); in fact, he valorized these women as examples of what he expected of all believers who encountered such heretics.[448] However, allowing women to usurp exorcisms that were assigned to males signified anarchy, at least according to Tertullian: "Their women are audacious, effecting exorcisms and peradventure baptisms" (*quorum mulieres audeant exorcismos agere, forsitan et tinguere*)![449] The congregation's men were supposed to be doing these things,

[447] It is worth adding that they did not cease to write against Jews and "pagans."
[448] Irenaeus, *Adv. haer*. 1.13.4 (*SC* 264:196–99); cf. *Adv. haer.* 1.16.3, demanding this behavior of all his readers.
[449] Tertullian, *De praesc. haer.* 41.

and it was a sign of weakness and disorder for them to permit women to perform these duties.[450]

Furthermore, exorcists would need to be "proven men" when it came to Christian conduct. Some Christians performed exorcisms without paying much attention to proper discipline. In the previous chapter, a quote from Tertullian mentioned common Christians performing exorcisms against the demons of idolatry.[451] However, he was not praising these Christians. In both contexts, he complained that they appeased demons even more than they tormented them. The key problem in both cases lay with their occupations. In his work *De corona*, Tertullian chastised the soldier who frightened away demons during the daylight hours, but at night served as a bodyguard outside of their habitations, the temples. Tertullian says that this soldier should imagine himself spending the night "leaning on a spear, like the one that pierced Christ's side."[452] Military service was attractive, yet Tertullian chided soldiers, urging them to find careers that did not require them to tend to the safety of imperial and demonic powers.[453] According to Tertullian, a soldier would not be a good candidate for the office of exorcist unless he quit his job.

[450] It is almost an accident that we know about these exorcizing women, since Tertullian seemed reticent to even talk about them in further detail. Besides Tertullian, no other author explicitly mentioned them, so we are left with a kind of *damnatio memoriae* for Christian women who exorcized—we merely have a vague sense that it sometimes happened in some places.

[451] These exorcists almost certainly lacked any official standing in Christian hierarchy: They were bound by secular employment and Tertullian objected to bi-vocationalism among clergy in his tabloid treatment of competing ecclesiastical networks (Tertullian, *De praesc. haer.* 41).

[452] Tertullian, *De coron.* 11.2: *et quos interdiu exorcismis fugavit, noctibus defensabit, incumbens et requiescens super pilum quo perfossum est latus Christi.*

[453] Tertullian, *De cor.* 11.4; cf. 15.1–4 for his conclusions. Additional discussion of the martial occupation appears in the following chapter.

Christians in private occupations were sometimes no better. Tertullian took to task the seller of incense who also happened to enjoy the drama of defiling altars and casting out their demons:

> *Quo ore christianus thurarius, si per templa transibit, fumantes aras despuet, et exsufflabit, quibus ipse prospexit? Qua constantia exorcizabit alumnos suos, quibus domum suam cellariam praestat?*
>
> With what mouth will a Christian incense-seller spit at and blow away the altar smoke if he passes through a temple for which he himself has provided [the incense]? With what consistency will he exorcise his own dependents, to whom he presents his own home as a larder.[454]

This merchant may have put on a good show of exorcism, but he had been feeding and caring for the demons, which put them in his debt:

> *Ille quidem si excluserit daemonium, non sibi placeat de fide. Neque enim inimicum exclusit. Facile debuit de eo impetrare, quem quotidie pascit.*
>
> Indeed, this person should not be satisfied with his faith if he expelled a demon, for it was not an enemy that he expelled—he was obliged to receive this easy thing from the one he has been feeding daily.[455]

The merchant's unsanctioned profession did not make him a heretic, "Where one possessed of a devil exorcises."[456] However, the seller was still helping demons more than he hurt them.[457] When Tertullian impugned the exorcisms of laymen, it was not to exclude them from the church, but rather to compel them to moderate their lifestyle (and likely to put a stop to their exorcisms in the meantime). As I discuss below, churches could incentivize the cessation of worldly career pursuits by subsidizing such a person's retirement from their worldly occupation.

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[454] Tertullian, *De idol.* 11.
[455] Tertullian, *De idol.* 11.
[456] Aug., *De bapt.* 6.8.11 (ANF 4.483).
[457] I.e., not unlike the demons Irenaeus saw helping the Simonians and Carpocratians, which Firmilian also saw in the nameless prophet, and of course, not unlike what Mark said the scribes attributed to Jesus.

Qualifying Exorcists

The early third century introduced the "'professionalization' of ecclesiastical office,"[458] and exorcists were part of this movement. Newly hired clergy had to come from other professions, perhaps under pressure from a presbyter or bishop. To use Tertullian's errant merchant and soldier as examples, zealous exorcists had a choice to make: They could quit their secular jobs and enter the employ of their bishop, or they could keep their demon-abetting jobs and quit pretending to do real exorcisms. It may be possible to reconstruct some of the ways these early exorcists entered into the clergy.

First, it was possible for churches to pressure influential, but wayward, figures in their congregations to leave behind their sin-tainted careers. We have a test case in a teacher, a retired actor, who caused alarm in his North African congregation by continuing to teach pupils the theatrical arts.[459] He no longer acted in the theater himself, but Christian leaders saw theaters as hotbeds of evil spirits and sexual perversion; Tertullian claimed that anyone, even a Christian (*fidelem*) could become penetrable (*penetrabiles*) by demons.[460] Like Tertullian's merchant, this teacher's transgressions were indirect, committed by enabling others to sin—the merchant by supplying incense as food for demons, and the actor by preparing actors to engage in the deviancies of the stage.[461] Cyprian wrote an epistle about this teacher, who was not part of Cyprian's own

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[458] Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 176.
[459] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 2.1, "not master and teacher of erudition, but of perdition of young people" (*magister et doctor non erudiendorum sed perdendorum puerorum*).
[460] Tertullian, *De spectaculis* 26; cf. Novatian, *de spectactulis* 4: "In the assembly of the faithful *he brazenly exorcises demons whose enticing pleasures he lauds in the spectacles*. And though he renounced the devil once and for all, *he brings to naught everything that was wrought in baptism*. After [professing] Christ, he attends a spectacular of the devil. In so doing, he renounces Christ just as if he were the devil" (I have added italics for emphasis to the translation of R. J. DeSimone, *Novatian*: *The Trinity, The Spectacles, Jewish Foods, In Praise of Purity, Letters* [Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1974], 126–27).
[461] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 2.2.

diocese. Instead, he worshipped under the rule of Bishop Eucratius in Thenae (near modern-day Sfax, Tunisia), some 280 kilometers to the south of Carthage. Cyprian's advice was to convince this man to quit teaching, and if lack of funds endangered him, to have the man enrolled in the congregation's charity roll. Cyprian even offered to have the Carthaginian church take him in if the church in Thenae could not provide for him. Either way, he would learn to be content with a life that was "more frugal, but more salutary" in the care of the church.[462] More importantly, the teacher would no longer "teach perishable things to those outside the church, but rather learn salutary himself in the church."[463] Cyprian did not spell out what would happen next, but it is possible that, if the man were suitably rehabilitated, church leaders might discern ways of putting the man's natural talents to good use.

Cyprian might make a similar offer to someone like Tertullian's merchant (or his spiritual descendent). Perhaps he could be persuaded to stop selling incense to idol worshipers. This would be the end of the seller's business, but the church's provisions would remove his excuses for supporting idolatry. He would then be free instead to learn proper discipline that would make his exorcistic enthusiasm more useful to the church.

Orienting New Exorcists

Cyprian made it clear that aspiring clergy would need to prove themselves in the eyes of numerous clergy before they could become fully engaged in their permanent positions. One of Cyprian's epistles discusses his decision to bestow proper clerical authority on two confessors who were aspiring to be a lector and a subdeacon.[464] Cyprian took great

[462] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 2.3: *sit contentus ecclesiae sumptibus parcioribus quidem sed salutaribus.*
[463] Cyprian, *Ep.* (O) 2.3: *nec alios extra ecclesiam mortalia docere, sed ipse salutaria in ecclesia discere.*
[464] I discuss confessors in more detail below.

pains to expresses his support for established protocols for evaluating incoming minister. First, before Cyprian would appoint them, the two prospective clergy had to be approved for "pre-ministry" by a conciliar panel of priests and deacons,[465] examined by teaching presbyters,[466] and then evaluated in a probationary period for their ability to perform their duties.[467] Even though Cyprian towered over the other clergy in authority, and despite the excuses one might imagine persecution could afford, he highlighted the place of protocol in these appointments. He assured everyone that these appointments, despite the absence of these presbyters and deacons, constituted "nothing new."[468] Nothing indicates that this process and protocol would have been any different for exorcists than for these lectors and subdeacons.

One thing that does not seem to have occurred when exorcists joined the clergy was any sort of development of a method, a τέχνη, like that of the Jews and the nations.[469] The simultaneous beginnings of the ordo of lectors—a separate, literate office—may further suggest that church leaders wanted to keep exorcisms and texts apart from one another. That is not to say that nobody made the attempt to be an exorcist and

[465] Cyprian, *Ep.* 29.2: …*quos iam pridem communi consilio clero proximos feceramus.* We ought not imagine a "grand council" of bishops, but rather one composed of the presbyters and deacons to which Cyprian sent this letter. Apparently, the panel identified and approved a slate of potential clergy that could be trained and moved through the ordination process.
[466] Cyprian, *Ep.* 29.2: …*cum presbyteris doctoribus lectores diligenter probaremus.*
[467] Cyprian, *Ep.* 29.2: …*examinantes an congruerent illis omnia quae esse deberent in his qui ad clerum parabantur.*
[468] Cyprian, *Ep.* 29.2: …*Nihil ergo a me absentibus uobis nouum factum est.* The claim itself was up for debate.
[469] The idea of literate lectors is self-evident, but there is one unusual situation that requires explanation. This is the "illiterate, bookless reader" of P.Oxy. XXXIII 2673, which AnneMarie Luijendijk discusses in "Papyri from the Great Persecution," *JECS* 16 (2008): 341–69, here referring to 352–56. Given the context during Diocletian's persecution, Luijendijk finds reason to believe that the lector feigned his ostensible illiteracy.

literate at the same time (an exorcist might hold a dual office as lector and exorcist).[470] Instead, I see no evidence that method and literacy were specific requirements or desiderata for ecclesiastical exorcists. Officially, at least, books and exorcisms likely remained far apart from one another during this time.

Creating the Order of Exorcists

The exorcists, as clergy who were adopted into the ecclesiastical chain of command, cannot be discussed without an appreciation for a flurry of bureaucratizing activity at the start of the second century.[471] The most pivotal development of this time was the introduction of the monarchical bishopric, when urban congregations began federating and consolidating resources under the oversight of a single bishop, one in each city.[472] Distilling Allen Brent's argument about the nature of these changes, we might say that urban bishops had resembled teachers in one-room schoolhouses around the city, but now

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[470] ICUR 6, 15721 (cf. Rüpke, *Fasti*, 2847), Proficius in Rome (from the Catacombs ad decimium on the Via Latina); see Antonius Ferrua, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, nova series, vol. 6, Coemeteria in viis Latina, Labicana et Praenestina* (Vatican City: 1975), no.15721 (cf. P. F. Grossi Gondi, "Scavi nelle catacombe romanae," *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* [1918-1919]: 92–93). See also the exorcists/lectors Procopius and Alphaeus, which Eusebius mentioned (William Cureton, *History of the Martyrs of Palestine by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea* [London: Williams and Norgate, 1861], 4, and further discussion in chapter 5 of the current study).

[471] Prior scholarship dates the ordination of exorcists, lectors, and probably acolytes to sometime between the years 220 and 240, as showin in Andrea Nicolotti, *Esorcismo Cristiano e Possessione Diabolica Tra II e III Secolo*, Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia/ Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity 54 (Turnhouts: Brepols, 2011), 82–83. This date range is consistent with what I have found, although Harnack's attempt to pin these ordinations specifically on Pope Fabian seems overly ambitious, considering the thinness of sources at our disposal (despite his presentation of new sources-beneath-sources).

[472] Previously, presbyters of congregations coexisted side by side, but now a hierarchy began to emerge. In Rome, Victor (c.189–199) was the earliest adopter of monarchical authority over the whole congregation and clergy; see Peter Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 2003), 397. See useful discussion of ecclesial developments in Sabine Hübner, *Der Klerus in der Gesellschaft des spätantiken Kleinasiens*, Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium Band 15 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 31–33; John St. H. Gibaut, *The* Cursus Honorum: *A Study of the Origins and Evolution of Sequential Ordination*, Patristic Studies 3 (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 11–58; Alistair C. Stewart, *The Original Bishops: Office and Order in the First Christian Communities* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014); and Faivre, *Chrétiens et Églises*. Exorcists were in a somewhat distinct position: their role formalized, but their methods do not seem to have become formalized until sometime around the early fifth century (see chapter 5 in this treatment).

one bishop emerged as the administrative superintendent over all the small schools, their teachers, and their collected resources.[473] Thus, the bishop's seat began representing real political and civic influence on the urban landscape. Now one could convincingly imagine a Christian "city in the city,"[474] structured around ranks of clergy who, under episcopal patronage, provided aid and services to the populace.[475] In return, bishops could earmark provisions for clerical positions to a degree they had not previously been able to do. In cities where one could make a living working for the church, "joining the clergy became tantamount to taking up a profession."[476] As professional clergy, exorcists would be able to rise through the ranks. Some exorcists received progressive appointments to higher positions as deacon, presbyter, and in rare cases, men who had started out as exorcists were elected to be become bishops over their own cities.[477] Hence, exorcists are mentioned in connection with episcopal politics as often as they are with spiritual warfare; frequently, the topics are indistinguishable from one another.

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[473] Brent, *Political History*, 240, cf. 242

[474] Markschies, *Between Two Worlds*, 186. On the alternative identity of the episcopal movement (catholicity), see e.g., Caroline Humfress, "Citizens and Heretics: Late Roman Lawyers on Christian Heresy," 128–42 in Eduard Iricinschi and Holger Zellentin, ed., *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity*, TSAJ 119 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), esp. 129; Denise Buell, *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 47.

[475] Finances looked large in all these matters: "…the emergence of what we call a 'monarchical episcopate' was intimately connected to the attempt of bishops to obtain a monopoly of church funds. Bishops began to act as the privileged distributors to the poor of the gifts of the laity. All that need be said of this development is that, in major churches of the third century, it appears to have worked," Peter Brown, *Treasure in Heaven: The Holy Poor in Early Christianity* (Charlottesville, VA and London: University of Virginia Press, 2016), 25–26, and chapter 2 more generally.

[476] Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2005), 176.

[477] Late in this chapter, I discuss the exorcist-turned-bishop named Latinus; in the next chapter, I discuss Martin, whose journey followed the same path. We lack episcopal resumes for many or most bishops, making it impossible to study the frequency with which exorcists rose through the ranks. See further discussion in Matteo Braconi, "La carriera del presbitero. Testo e contesto di una nuova iscrizione cristiana proveniente dalla catacomba di S. Mustiola a Chiusi (SI)," *Epigraphica: Periodico Internazionale di Epigrafia* 80 (2018): 551–62.

Exorcists as Healers

The church dispensed alms, healing, and education to a broad audience, with the exorcists playing a role in this support network. In a letter written in 251, we find that there were multiple exorcists spread throughout the congregations of Rome, all helping to shoulder the responsibility for the large number of people among the laity.[478] During his time as bishop of Rome (236–250 CE), Pope Fabian developed a network of "forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, lectors, and porters,"[479] one-hundred seventy-four official clergy altogether, in addition to widowed and distressed persons numbering fifteen hundred, and "a large and innumerable crowd of people."[480] The author of the letter in which this information is found, Pope Cornelius, grouped the exorcists, lectors, and porters into one group of fifty-two persons, which makes it impossible to arrive at the total number of exorcists in this distribution.[481] Still, exorcists were part of the tangible, human spoils that would follow a successful bid for episcopal power—or they could help sabotage such a claim, as we find a little further below.

I have alluded to healing, but it is worth saying a little more on this topic. Christian exorcism has captured the attention of scholars interested in finding the roots of Christian approaches to institutionalized health care.[482] Christian exorcists continued the

[478] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43.13–15.
[479] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43.11: …ἐξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα πυλωροῖς δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.
[480] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43.12: μεγίστου καὶ ἀναριθμήτου λαοῦ.
[481] There is a precedent for assigning these numbers to seven congregational districts in Rome, thus Harnack (*Die Quellen*, 103): 7 deacons + 7 subdeacons to care for 14 regions; 42 acolytes, 3 in each of the 14 regions; 46 presbyters are hard to explain (*Die Quellen*, 96). I find this method unhelpful for calculating the number of exorcists. Besides the speculative nature of the calculations to begin with, it is possible that that some among this fifty-two held dual offices, as did the lector-exorcists I discuss below.
[482] Andrew Daunton-Fear, *Healing in the Early Church: The Church's Ministry of Healing and Exorcism from the First to the Fifth Century* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009); Peregrine Horden, *Hospitals and Healing from Antiquity to the Later Middle Ages* (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain; Burlington, VT:

tradition of providing an alternative to Jewish and "pagan" healers by lending assistance to the unconverted public.[483] Exorcists seem to have spent a remarkable amount of time with their patients. In an urban church, a plurality of exorcist could devote time to "many prayers, many fasts, many exorcistic invocations" to aid even the most hopeless cases.[484] We know of one patient who was treated while he was reclining "on his bed," but it is not clear whether this was in his own home or on his bed in a room owned by the church in Rome.[485] Regardless of whether they had a treatment space[486] or the time and flexibility to make house calls, these exorcists relied on episcopal resources to help them get the job done. Every aspect of these duties was intended to connect patients with "the rest" of the conversion process, which culminated when they encountered the bishop himself.[487]

Ashgate Variorum, 2008); Hector Avalos, *Health Care and the Rise of Christianity* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999); R. J. S. Barrett-Lennard, *Christian Healing after the New Testament: Some Approaches to Illness in the Second, Third, and Fourth Centuries*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994. Agreeing with Nicolotti, *Esorcismo cristiano*, 83, While exorcism was becoming associated with baptism, the attentions of exorcists seem to have been given to healing baptismal exorcism in the second and third centuries.

[483] According to Cornelius, Novatian was not yet a convert when he sought out the exorcists for help; this was the starting point of his faith (ἀφορμὴ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι, Eusebius, *Hist. eccl*. 6.43.14).

[484] Origen, *In Iesu Nave hom.* 24.1 (*GCS* 30:447–48): *multae orations, multa ieiunia, multae exorcistarum invocations*. In the end, the demons remain (like the Canaanites of old), "considering it more tolerable to endure the exorcistic punishments" (*tolerabilius ferens exorcistarum poenas*). Eusebius, *Hist. eccl*. 6.43.14, ὃς βοηθούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπορκιστῶν, a process of healing. Cornelius's learned readers could imagine a situation where a number exorcists could handle a case for an indeterminate amount of time, and adapt to the situation by various means, as the rest of the story shows. Leeper analyzed exorcism for "problems of failure" (esp. "Early Christian Exorcism," 112–15), but I think this is taking apologetical claims too seriously. There is no natural reason to expect exorcisms to be anything but long, drawn-out, and sometimes unsuccessful endeavors.

[485] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl*. 6.43.14, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ, οὗ ἔκειτο.

[486] A stay at a clean, orderly healing chamber might have exercised a powerful therapeutic effect, especially for those who came from situations of squalor. It is striking to see how a good environment can magnify the effectiveness of treatment for depression and personality disorders among low-income Brazilians: "Most patients were living under significant psychosocial stressors, and during our trial, they stayed at a 'very comfortable and very supportive environment', as reported by the patients themselves. Therefore, part of the increased placebo effects found in our study might be due to this 'care effect,'" (Fernando Palhano-Fontes, et al., "Rapid Antidepressant Effects of the Psychedelic Ayahuasca in Treatment-Resistant Depression: A Randomized Placebo-Controlled Trial," *Psychological Medicine* 49 [2018]: 1–9, here citing 6).

[487] τῶν λοιπῶν, Eusebius, *Hist. eccl*. 6.43.14. The end of the process mandated by the "canon of the church" (κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα) was the act of being sealed into the church by the bishop (τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· τούτων δὲ μὴ τυχών).

Exorcists as Factionalists

It was efficient to connect patients, exorcists, and bishops in a seamless process of healing and initiation. It also lent itself naturally to what we might call privacy violations if the same things happened today. Indeed, much of what I have been able to say about exorcism and healing in the preceding paragraph is because of a smear campaign involving the health of another bishop. Cornelius and Novatian were the two bishops who claimed the seat left vacant by Pope Fabian's death. Cornelius claimed that Rome's exorcists held a dirty secret about Novatian, and now Cornelius wanted to let the world know the terrible truth.[488]

The rumor was especially biting because it concerned problems with Novatian's baptism—baptism was the very issue on which Novatian positioned himself as a hardliner and a purist. As with other commotions over baptism, this conflict tilted on questions about apostates and heretics, and whether they would need to be rebaptized to rejoin the church. Cornelius's rumor began with Novatian just before he converted as a full-grown adult. Everyone probably knew Novatian had been sickly, but did they know the reason that Cornelius knew? "Satan," Cornelius said, "Came into him, and took residence inside of him for a long time."[489] His affliction was so terrible that "while he was receiving aid from the exorcists, he fell into a perilous illness. And just before the point of death, in the bed in which he was lying, he received the pouring of baptism—if indeed it is proper to say that such a person as this received baptism."[490] The hardworking

[488] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43.13–15.

[489] … φοιτήσας εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ οἰκήσας ἐν αὐτῷ χρόνον ἱκανόν (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43). I suspect that Cornelius used the verb φοιτήσας with the awareness that the reader might recall the sexual, penetrative connotations the term could sometimes indicate.

[490] …ὃς βοηθούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπορκιστῶν νόσῳ περιπεσὼν χαλεπῇ καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι ὅσον οὐδέπω νομιζόμενος, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ, οὗ ἔκειτο, περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν, εἴ γε χρὴ λέγειν τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰληφέναι (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43).

exorcists had done everything they could to save Novatian from an awful case of demon-possession, and despite their best efforts, Cornelius wanted people to know that it was impossible to salvage what had gone wrong with his baptism. The exorcists only succeeded in saving his body but not his soul. Who would want this damned soul to become bishop of Rome?[491] Wittingly or not, Rome's exorcists became character witnesses against Cornelius's rival to the bishop's throne. Cornelius showed how the subtle authority of exorcists could be useful in larger episcopal struggles: not only did he win the day, but his opponent Novatian has gone down in history as a heretics.

Another incident reveals the one case we have of an exorcist daring to oppose the bishop. This example comes from Carthage in the year 250, when an exorcist and another minor cleric lent their official support to a popular church leader, a confessor named Lucian. Apparently, Lucian hoped that his cause would be helped by writing "this epistle in the presence of an exorcist and a reader of the clergy."[492] As we saw from Cornelius's damning letter about Novatian, exorcists came in handy as character witnesses between ecclesiastical sects.

The relationship between the confessor, exorcist, and bishop is a complicated one. The confessors emerge from the deep rift that had begun to develop in the ecclesiastical hierarchy even before end of the Decian persecutions. These were conflicts over whether to reincorporate lapsed Christians into the church, and if so, how to do this. Rigorists like

[491] Translation of Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43 by Kirsopp Lake, *The Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 2*, 121. In all of this disgraceful emergency, Novatian did not receive the other elements "that one must necessarily partake in according to the rule of the church" (...ὧν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα), including "sealing by the bishop" (σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου). Thus, for instance, in *Ep.* 69.1–11, Cyprian could question the validity of baptisms performed by all who claimed Novatian as their bishop.
[492] Cyp., *Ep*. (O) 23: *presente de clero et exorcista et lectore*. For historical context, see ch. 6 in Allen Brent, *Cyprian and Roman Carthage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), and idem, *A Political History of Early Christianity* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2009), 260–74.

Novatian of Rome wanted the guilty to stay guilty; he did not wish to see any of those who had apostatized given a means of penance. Others claimed the support of those who had suffered the most from persecution, the confessors, and argued that this should permit them readmission by retracing the steps of their apostasy: the lapsed would visit the confessors to beseech their mercy. Allen Brent explains, "Since the fallen brethren had done so [apostatized] through obtaining a *libellus* certifying their pagan sacrifice, the confessors who were standing fast would issue to the fallen a 'certificate of reconciliation (*libellus pacis*)'. By presenting this to the presbyter or bishops at the Eucharist, they could thus be readmitted to communion."[493] It seemed to some that confessors—not bishops—stood as the gatekeepers between penitents and the fellowship of the church; worse, they wielded ecclesiastical power without ever having a bishop lay hands upon them for ordination. Cyprian could see the potential threat this posed to episcopal authority, but he knew better than to dismiss the opinions of these confessors (and martyrs) outright. Rather, he preferred to hold court for each of the lapsed believers, a slow and tedious process. Cyprian reframed the authority of their *libellus pacis* as "simply a request to a bishop,"[494] which could be admitted as part of the evidence in these quasi-legal proceedings.

As a prominent confessor, Lucian wanted to preserve the right of confessors to issue binding certificates. With a sizeable contingent looking to him for support, Lucian wrote an epistle to Cyprian on behalf of "all the confessors."[495] In this epistle, he tells

[493] Brent, *A Political History of Early Christianity*, 265.
[494] Brent, *Cyprian and Roman Carthage*, 251.
[495] Epistle 23, from *Universi confessors* to *Cypriano papae* (emphasizing his importance as archbishop of Carthage).

Cyprian how they all "desire for him to have peace with the holy martyrs,"[496] implying that his position had put him at odds with the heroes of the Decian persecutions. Cyprian replied in a letter addressed to Rome. He mustered the skills of a trained jurist, probing the intricacies and loopholes in the confessors' position; he managed to walk a balance between lauding and disparaging the fervent beliefs of Lucian and the rest of his party.[497]

Lucian signed his high-stakes letter to Cyprian: "Lucian signs this, present from the clergy are an exorcist and a reader" (*presente de clero et exorcista et lectore*). This addition of two minor members of the clergy might seem curious unless one recalls the tenuous authority Lucian held as he faced off against Cyprian and the other bishops. Most likely Lucian had never been ordained—this was clearly the case for many of the confessors. Theirs was no party of trained bishops, and in fact, Cyprian derides their simple ways and their audacity to challenge men like himself (that is, when he is not praising their valor). It may have been a challenge to find clergy, legitimately ordained under Cyprian's rule, who would then turn to support the confessors. Lucian found two who would stand with him as he signed his plea to Cyprian. Even though the two clergymen remained anonymous,[498] their signatory marks demonstrated the range of the Lucian's coalition. The gambit did not work for Lucian in the end, but in the process, he left a historical footprint for exorcists. Once again, the record leaves clues to suggest that the exorcists were seen as figures who could help make or break a reputation.

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[496] *Optamus te cum sanctis martyribus pacem habere*.
[497] Cyprian, *Epistle* 27. Brent explains the intricacies of Cyprian's argument in *Political History*, 260–74 and idem, *Cyprian and Roman Carthage*, ch. 6. For the current purposes, a basic understanding of the parties and their essential purpose for existing should suffice to make sense of the structures in which exorcists served.
[498] Did they fear they might lose their positions if their names became known?

Finally, it is worth mentioning how the first-mentioned exorcist mentioned above fits into these factional disputes. Firmilian only mentioned his story of the prophetess and the exorcist because it helped build a case against another insider faction that vied for dominance over the urban episcopal network. Firmillian raised the specter of the prophetess because no reasonable bishop in his circles in the 250s would have defended a woman who was now remembered for causing so many demon-problems twenty years before in Cappadocia/Pontus. His church had declared her baptisms invalid, and hence, her converts would need to come to his faction for a less-schismatic exorcism.[499] Firmilian used her defamed memory to find a precedent against the decision of Stephen, the bishop of Rome: Stephen had been arguing that churches should accept people who had received their baptism at the hands of "apostate" clergy. Firmilian "asserted that his own church had never accepted heretical baptism and had, through a council, rejected schismatic baptism."[500] The first-mentioned exorcist strove against an "unruly" charismatic, but he was only remembered because his actions could be read as a legal precedent to guide tensions between bishops in the year 256.

[499] Episcopal unions were composed of wealthy, well-connected men. Regardless of majority/minority status in society, they were able to develop a sense of rich (albeit new) precedent and propriety, almost in real time. Barristers and educated bureaucrats brought their taste for legal fictions and significant case studies to Christian leadership. This is visible already in Irenaeus, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, et al., but it had developed into an episcopal *lingua franca* by the time of Cyprian and his cohort of bishops around the world. I believe this may explain what I see as a heightened capacity to develop binary rulings out of complex, non-binary situations—that is, complex ideas and factional positions that are systematically distilled into simple in/out, yes/no, true/false positions. In the case of church leaders who comprehended their work through ministry, scripture, or sophistry, it was perilous to rise to the top without being represented by a cadre of "lawyers," men like Cyprian, Firmilian, Cornelius, etc.

[500] J. Patout Burns, *Cyprian the Bishop* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 215 n.21.

The Risks and Rewards of Clergy

It is apparent that exorcists immediately participated in the full gamut of ecclesiastical life just as any of the other clergy.[501] Because of this, we find them first suffering and finally prospering along with their compatriots in the broader Christian network. I illustrate this solidarity by investigating the contrasting experiences of clergy from about the year 220 to 320. During this century, Christian exorcists suffered imprisonment and death for their faith before proving that exorcists were capable of rising to prestigious heights in church leadership.

Persecution

Most of the martyr-exorcists appear among the hagiographic lists of martyrs who suffered for their faith, with little more information than their name, position, and city. Hence, we have hardly more than a mention that Agathon, an exorcist from Alexandria who was apparently burned for his confession.[502] We are more fortunate with Felix of Nola, who joined the clergy around the time when the offices of lector and exorcist were being introduced. We know about Felix because his legacy as a philanthropist, exorcist, priest, and martyr caused him to be venerated by the Christians of Nola, a little to the northeast of Pompeii.[503] He was the son of a retired Syrian centurion named Hermias, who settled in Nola in the early years of the third century.[504] As Felix matured into adulthood, he dispensed of his wealth to care for the poor, and joined the clergy as a lector under the

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[501] They did not slowly become a part of the clerical orders, as some have suggested (contra Leeper, *Exorcism in Early Christianity*, 330–31, 348).

[502] *Acta sanct.*, feb 14: *Ibidem sanctorum martyrum Cyrionis presbyteri, Bassiani lectoris, Agathonis exorcistae et Moysis, qui omnes igne combusti evolaverunt ad caelum*. Hippolytus Delehaye, *Acta sanctorum: November II, 2: Kommentar zum Martyrologium des Hieronymus* (Brussels: Peeters, 1931), feb. 9, 84.63; feb. 14, 95.119; iun. 25, 335.9.

[503] Most of what we know of Felix comes from the hymns of Paulinus of Nola and archaeology of the site at Cimitile. I cite these sources briefly in this section and more extensively in the following chapter under discussions of Paulinus and the site of Cimitile.

[504] Paulinus, *Nat.* 4 and 5 (CSEL 30, 15 and 16).

oversight of Maximus, the elected bishop of Nola.[505] After serving as a lector, Felix rose to the position of exorcist, and finally, he became a priest.[506] Then, in the midst of persecutions in the 250s and 260s, Felix earned admiration (and a *de facto* promotion) by remaining steadfast when Maximus fled to escape the threat of torture. The material impact of Felix's memory can be appreciated at the basilica complex constructed in his honor at Nola. As a child, Paulinus of Bordeaux (later of Nola) attended commemorations that featured the relics of St. Felix. In adulthood, Paulinus returned to develop a palatial building complex to shelter the saint's relics. Worshipers crowded beneath the gilded, star-speckled dome inside St. Felix's basilica, listening to the echoes of Paulinus's voice bring life to the saint's past and present exploits.[507]

More exorcists suffered under Diocletian's policies. Eusebius declared that exorcists found themselves incarcerated alongside other clergy during this time,[508] and in his recollections of the *Martyrs of Caesarea*, Eusebius likewise documented the fatalities

[505] Paulinus, *Nat.* 4 (CSEL 30, 15).
[506] Note that this order of promotion does not fit stereotypes about the rank of the exorcist (i.e., sandwiched between acolytes and lectors). This ranking shows the diverse character of the *cursus honorum* across the Christian world during the third century, and also may justify our confidence that Paulinus was working from an authentic recollection from that time. Note that Paulinus does not use the term *exorcista* to describe the second office Felix held, which I believe to be due to the metrical demands of the poem. Such circumlocutions are found throughout the poetry (and the genre of metrical poetry in general). He describes him thus, "After [becoming a lector,] he rose to the rank whose task is to exorcise demons with a faithful voice and to banish them with sacred words" (*inde gradum cepit, cui munus uoce fideli adiurare malos et sacris pellere uerbis*, in *carmen.* 15.102–113). The only *gradus* associated with adjuring evil spirits would be exorcists.
[507] The extended *Nachleben* of this commemorative activity remains into contemporary times, as documented in a recent dissertation by Alyssa Maldonado-Estrada, "Lifeblood of the Parish: Men and Catholic Practice in Williamsburg, Brooklyn" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2018).
[508] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 8.6.9.

of exorcists named Procopius, Alpheus, and Romanos.[509] Two other exorcists named Hermes[510] and Cornelius[511] also make a specific appearance in the martyrologies.

Finally, Peter, an exorcist in Rome, was martyred along with a presbyter named Marcellinus during these Diocletianic interventions.[512] Both were commemorated at a burial spot *ad duas lauros* ("at the two laurel trees") four miles outside the city on the *via Lavicana*.[513] The catacomb complex of St. Marcellinus and Peter grew to become large and well-appointed, and ultimately provided Constantine with the site for the grand mausoleum that would house Helena Augusta, his mother. A loculus where the two saints were presumably buried has been identified, but their epitaphs are missing.[514]

Participation and Promotion

Roughly a decade after Peter and other exorcist suffered for their faith, the exorcists under Constantine found themselves looking back at persecution from a relatively advantaged perspective. Exorcists attended the Council of Arles (314), Constantine's first

[509] See chapter 5, for discussions of these and other exorcists in Greek and Syriac sources.
[510] Delehaye, *Acta sanctorum*, ian. 1, 20.47; ian. 4, 25.13; dec. 31, 17.40 (incl. n.41–42).
[511] Delehaye, *Acta sanctorum*, ian. 23, 25–26 (X Kal. Feb.).
[512] BHL 5230–5231. The founding legend of the Basilica and Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter, just south of Rome on the *via Labicana*. *Liber pont.* 34.26–27; Delehaye, *Acta sanctorum*, ian. 21.73; iun. 2, 293.1; these and other sources are available online at the Oxford Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity database, ID no. E02500, http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E02500, displaying individual entries amassed by Robert Wiśniewski, Paweł Nowakowski, Matthieu Pignot, David Lambert, Philip Polcar, et al.
[513] The site was already devoted to human burial for a century or more before this martyrdom (although it is difficult to know the identities of those buried there or the causes of their death). The accepted theory is that those laid to rest there were relatively wealthy victims of a plague, but little can be said beyond this. Philippe Blanchard and Dominique.Castex, "A mass grave from the catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus in Rome, second-third century AD," *Antiquity* (2007): 989–98; Géraldine Sachau-Carcel, Dominique Castex, Pascal Mora, and Robert Vergnieux, "Modélisation de deux ensembles funéraires de la catacombe des Saints Pierre et Marcellin à Rome: objectifs et méthodes," *Virtual Retrospect* (2009): 161–70. The hagiography: *IV Non. Iun: Romae natale Petri exorcistae et Marcellin presbiteri Romae in cimiterio inter duos lauros via Lavicana miliario quarto Marcellini presbiteri et Petri exorcistaea* (in Hippolytus Delehaye, et al., *Acta Sanctorum–Band November II – 2* [Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1931], ian. 1; iun. 2, 293).
[514] Vincenzo Nicolai, "The Origin and Development," 36 fig. 34.

state-funded convention of bishops, presbyters, deacons, lectors, and exorcists.[515] On their travels to and from Arles, they likely experienced the rare privilege of travelling along the imperial network of animals and way-stations, the *cursus publicus*.[516] The seven European exorcists accompanied their bishop or presbyter to the council were recorded by name and city:

> Agapius of Nice, accompanying a deacon named Innocent.
> Beclas of Vienne, accompanying a bishop named Verus.
> Rufinus of Caesaraugusta, accompanying a presbyter named Clementius.
> Felix of Treves, accompanying a bishop named Agrucius.
> Petulinus of Lyon, accompanying a bishop named Vosius.
> Victor of Apta Julia, accompanying a presbyter named Romanus.
> Victor of Vaison-la-Romaine, accompanying a bishop named Daphnus.[517]

It is not unlikely that some of these exorcists and their travelling companions were successors to clergy who had been martyred during the Diocletianic persecutions. Thus,

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[515] H. A. Drake, "The Impact of Constantine on Christianity," in Noel Lenski, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine* (Rev. ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 118. For descriptions of official transportation, see Anne Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 87–92.

[516] Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer*, 87–92. Kolb provides ample instances of councils and synods that made use of the *cursus publicus* (and mentions also that Hilary of Poitiers made use of it for his exile; Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer*, 90). Church representatives could be issued special vouchers (*evictiones*) that would allow them to use the official transport service (Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfe*, 88). However, some bishops in Aquitaine, Gaul and Britain appear to have refused use of the *cursus publicus* even when the right was granted, hoping to preserve a sense of independence (Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer*, 90: "Laut Sulpicius Severus wiesen die Bischöfe die staatliche Unterstützung zurück und reisten auf eigene Kosten, um ihre Unabhängigkeit zu bewahren"). Personal uses seem to rely largely on favors exceptional enough to be mentioned in writing (examples in Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer*, 93–94).

[517] Charles Munier and Charles de Clercq, *Concilia Galliae A. 314 – A. 506*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 148 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963), 14–22. Following Parisiensis Lat. 12097, fol. 81' (designate cod. C), the exorcists named are as follows: Beflas (cods. KTAD: Beclas) accompanying Verus episcopus (l. 18-29; *de ciuitate V[ienn]ensi prouincia suprascripta* [i.e. Vienna]]); Victor of Vaison-la-Romaine accompanying Dafenus episcopus (l. 30-31; *exurcista de ciuitate Vasensi prouincia Vienninsi*); Agapius of Nice accompanying Innocentius diaconus (l. 34: *Agapitus exorcista Portu Incheinsis*); Victor of Apta Julia accompanying Romanus presbyter (l. 35; *exorcista Portu Incheinsis*); Petulinas (cod. K: Pytolinus; cod. ly: Pilatinus; cod. T: Pitulinus) of Lyon accompanying Vosius episcopus (l. 43-44; *exurcista de ciuitate Lugdunensium*); Felix of Treves accompanying Agrucius episcopus (l. 51; *exurcista de ciutate Triuerorum*); and Rufinus (cod. K: Rofinus) of Caesaraugusta (modern Zaragosa in Spain) accompanying Clementius presbyter (l. 65-66; *de cuiutate Caesaraug[ust]a*). On the distinctive spelling *exurcista* in cod. C (*Par. Lat.* 12097; Tris. nr. 66786); cf. Vincentius the exorcist from Como (*CIL* 5, 5428), likely datable to the first half of the sixth century.

for instance, Rufinus of Caesaraugusta was undoubtedly keenly acquainted with the famous legacy of Vincent and the other martyrs from his city.[518]

The exorcists at the Council of Arles seem to provide a testament to the mentoring and evaluation required of new clergy in the early third century, and just how well-integrated the exorcists were in this hierarchy. Bishops, presbyters, and ranking deacons could not have missed the gravity of the Emperor's summons, and must been mindful of how visible their clerical companions would be. This is especially of interest when considering the exorcists from Treves and Lyon, who accompanied bishops from these well-established urban churches.[519] Other, higher-ranked clergy from these churches would have been qualified to travel with their bishop, including deacons and presbyters. For some unknown reason, however, Agrucius and Vosius selected an exorcist from their ranks on the way to this important meetings. Among other things, this indicates of the trust these bishops had for their exorcists. Indeed, it is entirely possible that some of these bishops or presbyters began their clerical careers as exorcists, as we find in the next (and final) example.

The earliest exorcist for whom we have a firm material record also became one of the first bishops in the northern Italian city of Brixia (modern Brescia). This important Gallic city submitted to the Romans in the third century before the Common Era, receiving its recognition of *civitas* in 41 BCE.[520] In 73 CE, Vespasian stamped his indelible favor upon the town when he built the *capitolium* temple, soon followed by an expansive

[518] Victor Saxer, *Saint Vincent, diacre et martyr: culte et légendes avant l'An Mil*, Subsidia hagiographica 83 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2002).
[519] See Mullen, *Gazateer*, 232.
[520] Carolynn E. Roncaglia, *Northern Italy in the Roman World: From the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 56–58.

forum complex, a theater, and more. The city also saw some of the early struggles associated with Constantine's rise to power. In 313 CE, Constantine's forces clashed with Maxentius's armies just outside the city;[521] not long afterwards, around 315, it became a holding place for Donatus's opponent Caecilianus, as Constantine sought to sort out some of the unexpected consequences of his favor towards the Christians.[522]

One witness of these and other dramatic events was a man named Flavius Latinus, who attained the high appointment as Brixia's bishop around the year 320.[523] Latinus had begun his preparations for this position when he joined the clergy as an exorcist, probably around the year 280. Latinus is known from an epitaph that was found under the Basilica of Saint Afra, which before the thirteenth century had been known as the Basilica of S. Faustino *ad sanguinem*.[524] The epitaph is no longer extant, having probably gone missing during the course of major renovations and new construction. Fortunately at least eleven scholars had already been able to study and copy the epitaph prior to this loss.[525] The earliest known transcription comes from Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini, who in 1481 published his *Antiquarium sive Antiquitatis Sacrarium*, one of the earliest antiquarian volumes of ancient inscriptions, including some autopsies.[526] Ferrarini's representation of

[521] Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 81.
[522] Philumenus convinced Constantine to have Caecilianus (Donatus's opponent) detained in Brixia around 315; see Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, (Cambridge, MA; London England: Harvard University Press, 1981), 59, and 56–60 for context on Caecilianus.
[523] CIL V 4848; ILCV 1038.
[524] For the martyr thought by tradition to have been buried there, see Monica Ibsen, "Brescia," in Paul C. Finney, ed., *The Eerdmans Encyclopedia of Early Christian Art and Archaeology, Volume 1* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017), 218–s20.
[525] See Luigi Falsina, *Santi è chiese della diocesi di Brescia* (Brescia: Tipografia Queriniana, 1969), 313.
[526] Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini, *Antiquarium sive Antiquitatis Sacrarium* (1481). See Marco Buonocore, "Epigraphic Research from Its Inception: The Contribution of Manuscripts," in Christer Bruun and Jonathan Edmondson, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 29–30. The last person to have transcribed the inscription for themselves in person seems to have been Sebastiano Aragonese da Brescia in 1564.

Latinus's epitaph was, unfortunately, not an autopsy, but rather one of the many transcriptions Ferrarini made in his own hand.[527] However, Ferrarini did preserve the general layout of the inscription as one may see below:[528]



Transcription:

Fl(avio) Latino episcopo
an(nos) III, m(enses) VII, pr{a}esb(ytero)
an(nos) XV, exorc(istae) an(nos) XII,
et Latinillae et Fla(vio)
Macrino lectori,
Fl(avia) Paulina neptis
b(ene) m(erentibus) m(emoriam) p(osuit).

Translation:

For Flavius Latinus, bishop for three years and seven months, presbyter for fifteen years, exorcist for twelve years; and for Latinilla; and for Flavius Macrinus the lector. Flavia Paulina his granddaughter erected this to their well-deserving memory.

The general dating consensus among scholars of the nineteenth century placed the inscription at the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth century.[529] I am a proponent of the latter option, tentatively following those who date the inscription to about 315–325.

[527] An autopsy would permit more thorough reflection on the socio-cultural location of this epitaph.
[528] Ferrarini, *Antiquarium*, CLX.
[529] Falsina, *Santi è chiese*, 313.

The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the attendance of Ursicinus as the bishop of Brixia at the Council of Serdica in 343.[530] In the episcopal list, one bishop named Apollonius held the office between Latinus and Ursicinus, which means that we should probably date Latinus at least several years before 343. Various suggestions for Latinus's accession to the bishopric have been offered on a variety of grounds, but there is no real proof.[531] Luigi Falsina's suggestion of dates between 313 and 317 at least rests on reasonable logic,[532] giving Apollonius approximately twenty years as bishop, and allowing for Ursicinus to become bishop by about 340.[533] In all, considering the chronology of the bishops that succeeded Latinus, and the clues potentially inherent in his name, we may reasonably date Latinus's epitaph to a time between 315 and 325.

Regardless of whether Latinus adopted the *nomen gentilicium* Flavius as a way of raising his status under the reign of Constantine,[534] or simply inherited it as a family name passed down from earlier generations,[535] the *nomen* was intended to communicate

[530] Canon X of this council rules upon the very kind of accession to the episcopate as we see in the resumes of bishops like Latinus, and recommends the pathway of reader, deacon, presbyter, and then bishop.
[531] See Falsina, *Santi è chiese*, 311 for suggestions as wildly varying as 80–115 CE, the early second century in general, and 325–329. These suggestions in turn are based on various church traditions and legends, some of which want to locate Latinus in the first century. There is also great debate about whether to even count the list's first bishop (Anathlon) as a legitimate figure. See Roderic L. Mullen, *The Expansion of Christianity: A Gazzeteer of Its First Three Centuries*, SuppVigChr 69 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004), 215 for a brief summary of sources.
[532] Falsina, *Santi è chiese*, 315.
[533] Faustinus succeeded Ursicinus at an unknown date, followed by the heresiologist Filastrius (present at the synod of Aquileia of 381), and then by Gaudentius, who was bishop by about 390.
[534] Benet Salway, "What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1994), 139. G. L. Gregori, *Brescia romana. Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale*, vol. 2 (Rome: Quasar, 2000), 64 suggests that Latinus adopted the name as his fortunes improved. In Constantine's full name (Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus), the *nomen* Flavius was inherited from his father, Flavius Valerius Constantius, who may have adopted the name to mask his humble origins (A. H. M. Jones, et al., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 1, *A.D. 260–395* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971], 227–228).
[535] The popularity of the *nomen* had previously become very well-established, for example, among soldiers (Lindley Richard Dean, *A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1916], 120), and Jewish men and women (Leonard Victor Rutgers, *The Jews in Late Ancient Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora* [Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995], 162).

prestige. It would not be irrational to imagine Latinus as part of a well-established family, perhaps with a modicum of wealth or influence. As Constantine elevated the status of church officers across the empire, it may be that the rising waters also elevated expectations about what sort of man ought to be appointed bishop of a significant city such as Brixia.

According to his epitaph, Latinus served the church for almost forty-one years. If he was raised to the role of bishop between 315–320, then Latinus would have been ordained as an exorcist at some point around 275–280. He appears to be the earliest exorcist for whom we have any sort of material evidence. Chronologically, he joins the exorcists for whom we have epistolary and literary evidence in authors such as Cyprian and Origen, as discussed earlier. However, the bulk of that evidence speaks of Rome and Carthage, and says little about places such as northern Italy in the third century. Later, several mid-fourth century exorcists from northern Italy make an appearance in the epigraphical record, but it could be easy to relegate this to an innovation post-Constantine. However, Latinus's career shows that exorcists operated elsewhere across Europe, even if the written record makes little mention of their existence prior to the early fourth century.

Latinus's epitaph likewise mentions other family members, and their inheritance of both his name and something of his status. Latinus married and fostered a family line, and passed his name to Latinilla, Flavius Macrinus, and Flavia Paulina. Latinilla and Flavinus were probably children of his, and hence relatives to Latinus's granddaughter

Flavia Paulina as well.[536] The clergy became something of a family career, too, when Flavius Macrinus accepted his ordination as a lector. Latinus's case may show us not only how an exorcist could rise in the new *cursus honorum*, but also how the ecclesiastical structure grew in prestige in the early years of the fourth century.

Conclusions

This portrait of ecclesiastical exorcists from about 220 to 320 CE demonstrates their integral role the growing church bureaucracy of the long third century. Their *ordo* emerged in response to a complex web of developments that included consolidation and leadership, schisms, money, baptism, heretics, and healing, among other things.

Besides exorcist mentioned by Firmilian, the martyrs of Caesarea, and the brief notice of Agathon of Alexandria, evidence for exorcists in the third century is limited to sources we would usually classify as Western or Latin—North Africa, Rome, and an assortment of other European cities. Although there is much less solid evidence for ecclesiastical exorcists in Cyprus, Antioch, Jerusalem, and other Greek- or Syriac-speaking communities, that evidence does appear, especially in the fourth and fifth centuries. As some of the select constituents of the original mono-episcopal hierarchy, exorcists accompanied that model as it disseminated across the world of Late Antiquity. However, the character and makeup of the evidence differs by region. Thus, the following chapter discusses evidence for approximately thirty-seven individual exorcists from Latin sources in the long fourth century, whereas the fifth chapter's discussions of fourth-century ecclesiastical exorcists in Greek and Syriac sources can only highlight

[536] Alternative opinions about how Latinus was related to the others mentioned on his memorial appear in Gregori, *Brescia Romana*, vol. 2, 309 n. 50.

groups of exorcists, not individuals. I discuss the aforementioned sources in the appropriate places below, but it is prudent to introduce these complexities here alongside my assertion that churches across the world adopted the practice of appointing ecclesiastical exorcists.

Despite arguments to the contrary, hiring exorcists did not preclude other Christians, including laypersons, from exorcizing.[537] Regular Christians could still ward against false gods and magical practices, particularly by employing the sign of the cross.[538] We will search in vain for a blanket prohibition on non-clerical Christians performing exorcisms. All Christians could resist the devil, or at least could try. The doors remained wide open to the antidemonic exploits of holy men, as well as an explosion of monastic spiritual warfare, which David Brakke richly explored.[539] These monks have come down to us as renowned demon-fighters; the, exorcists have not.

Although Christian leaders enthusiastically supported exorcism by ecclesiastical exorcists and laypersons, they remained adamant in their opposition to Jewish exorcism. This is consonant with what I have argued about Gentile Christian exorcism and its pessimistic message about Jewish exorcism. The developments in Christian exorcism mentioned in this chapter arise out of the desires and tactics of leaders like Justin, Tertullian, and Origen, who exploited their understanding of exorcism as a means for casting suspicion on Jewish exorcists. The roles of the exorcists discussed in this chapter

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[537] As in Leeper, *Exorcism in Early Christianity*, 331; Daniel van Slyke, "The Order of Exorcist Among the Latin Fathers Reconsidered in the Light of Martin of Tours," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 123 (2009): 357–79.
[538] The preceding chapter documents a few of the available examples of exorcisms by people who were not apparently exorcists (e.g., the men in Diocletian's retinue, and Joseph the Count).
[539] David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2006); idem, *Talking Back: A Monastic Handbook for Combating Demons*, Cistercian Studies 229 (Trappist, KY: Cistercian Publications; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009).

were fashioned by leaders who took these suspicions to heart. Unlettered and low-status, Christian exorcists embodied the important points of distinction that had been used to distinguish Jews and Christians from one another on the topic of exorcism.

While the church's exorcists have turned out to be less-famous (almost barely remembered today), they performed the diabolical drudgery of spiritual warfare for the "innumerable others" in urban congregations. Perhaps their familiar place in the daily life of churches made it all the more unlikely that we would hear much about them. Indeed, turning our attention to fourth-century exorcists in the next chapter, it is the very ordinariness of exorcists that stands out above all.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Lives of Christian Exorcists

Ordained Christian exorcists were a part of the third century's enduring legacy in the fourth century. As I show in this chapter, the institution of exorcists persisted and prospered as a "humble office"[540] in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Exorcists went to great lengths to serve their bishops in essential ways. In return, exorcists gained access to the bishops, which offered them new ways of benefitting from these more powerful men. Hence, we find exorcists serving under the variegated (Nicene, Arian, Donatist, and "other") banners of bishops and presbyters, who strove to gain stewardship of basilicas, sacred martyr relics, and tithing congregations.[541] Fourth-century exorcists we meet appear to have been dependable, cost-effective functionaries in service to their churches, whether that meant casting out demons or carrying letters across the world. This multiplication of duties permitted the *exorcistae* to display the marks of a flourishing, order of clergy.

This chapter contextualizes exorcists within a larger Christian culture, and I draw upon the personal details of their lives in order to appreciate how the changes in Christian culture impacted them. The evidence at my disposal in this chapter differs markedly from the sources available to me in other chapters; here, I assemble a collection of epistolary, epigraphical, and literary sources that contribute new insights into the lives of exorcists. Until now, we have only heard *about* ecclesiastical exorcist, but in this chapter, we come as close as we are able to their individual voices. It is poignant to note that we do not possess a single conjuration against demons in our inventory of statements by exorcists.

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[540] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* 5.2, *ordinationem…humiliorem*.

[541] See Christine Shepherdson, *Controlling Contested Places: Late Ancient Antioch and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

All we have left are expressions of hunger, thirst, and concern or sorrow over loved ones.[542] I linger on this theme, because it is in the domestic details that we come the closest to seeing the exorcists themselves as social subjects. I am mindful of Sabine Hübner's words in the conclusion of her rich survey of clergy in Asia Minor, "entry into the clergy did not mean retreat from the world."[543] And thus, despite the dark association of exorcists with demons, we can now catch a glimpse of them as ordinary men.

Sources for Fourth-Century Exorcistae

The previous chapter indicated the presence of exorcist in the epigraphical record, but it is useful to discuss the scope of that evidence. I have identified approximately thirty-seven exorcist from the long fourth century (c.420–515) that shape my understanding of Christian exorcists.[544] To date, this is the most exhaustive list of exorcists who can be named or otherwise specifically ascertained to be a distinct individual, and I hope will provide a basis for future scholarly conversations about the exorcists who lived in this era. Besides Flavius Latinus of Brixia (discussed in the previous chapter),[545] twenty-five other exorcists are known from funerary epigraphy, including Ursicinus of Panonia Inferior,[546] Sentius Respectus of Clusium,[547] and possibly Videmius of Carthage, although his epitaph is more difficult to date.[548] In Milan we find Januarius,[549] Saturus,[550]

[542] See CIL 5, 6252 (Saturus of Milan) below.
[543] Sabine Hübner, *Der Klerus in der Gesellschaft des spätantiken Kleinasiens*, Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 15 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 270.
[544] Of course, this is in addition to discussions of exorcists as an aggregate class.
[545] Discussed in the previous chapter.
[546] Milena Milin, "An Exorcist on an Epitaph from Sirmium," *Starinar* 47 (1996): 245–47, fig. 1; *AE* 1996, 1256.
[547] CIL 11, 2559; ILCV 1261; AE 1998, 442; AE 2004, 551; Valeria Cipollone, *Regio VII: CLVSIVM*, Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae Septimo Saeculo Antiquores, ns. 11 (2003), 48–50.
[548] CIL 8, 25193; ILCV 1263b; IFCCarth 2, 58; Diehl 1263; *Rev. Tun.* 1908, 530, 374; Ennabli, *Les Inscriptios Funéraires Chrétiennes de Carthage*, vol. 2, 78–79; *CRAI* 1907, 526.
[549] CIL 5, 6276; ILCV 1263a.
[550] Discussed below.

and Victurinus.[551] Roman exorcist burials in the long fourth century include Bassilianus,[552] Celer,[553] Faustus,[554] "Florentia,"[555] Gelasius,[556] Irenaeus,[557] Laurentius,[558] Macedonius,[559] Maximus,[560] Palladius,[561] Paulus,[562] Petronius,[563] Philadelphius,[564] Primus,[565] Proficius,[566] Totius,[567] and three anonymous individuals identified as exorcists.[568] I do not attempt provide a detailed assessment of each inscription, but I have considered each during my analysis of exorcists in this chapter.[569] These inscriptions refine our understanding this class of clergymen in their fourth-century context.[570]

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[551] See below.
[552] CIL 10, *949,15; ICUR 1, 3130; ILCV 1258b.
[553] ICUR 4, 11856; ILCV 1258 (36); "Escavazioni Nel Cimitero Di Callisto," *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 6 (1868): 6–s15.
[554] ICUR 6, 15700; ILCV 1258a (em); Giorgio Schneider Graziosi, "Notizie–Roma–Scavi nelle catacombe romane," *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (1913): 229–41. In the Catacombs ad decimium (Grottoferrata).
[555] This is the only remaining onomastic information, leaving us to wonder about the form of the name and its significance and whether it belonged to the exorcist or a relative (cp. With Florentia in AE 1933, 95; AE 1926, 46; CIL 3, 2837). We may be certain that any exorcist buried in St. Callixtus would be male (see the prior chapter). In the inventory from the Catacombs of Callixtus, CAL 9303, published by Giovanna Ferri, "Le epigrafi e i graffiti," 159–72 in Fabrizio Bisconti and Matteo Braconi, ed., *Le catacombe di San Callisto. Storia, contesti, scavi, restauri, scoperte. A proposito del cubicolo di Orfeo e del Museo della Torretta* (Todi: Tau Editrice, 2015), esp. 164–65.
[556] ICUR 3, 7621; ILCV 2493; ICaRoma 133.
[557] Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e vaticanis codicibus edita* 5 (Rome, 1831), 383, 3;
[558] ICUR 2, 5181.
[559] ILCV 1259; ICUR 9, 24435; AE 2001, 179.
[560] ICUR 10, 26776; AE 1976, 59.
[561] ICUR 10, 27138.
[562] ICUR 4, 10026, discussed further below.
[563] ICUR 7, 19180.
[564] ICUR 5, 14545.
[565] ICUR 9, 23974; ICUR 9, 24105; ILCV 1259a (em); AE 1997, 166.
[566] ICUR 6, 15721.
[567] ICUR 4, 12119c.
[568] ICUR 1, 1039, in Basilica SS. Quattuor Coronatorum; second, ICUR 5, 14810, in the Catacombs of Praetextatus; and third, in the Catacombs Bassillae ad s. Hermetem, ICUR 10, 26864; Carlo Carletti, *Iscrizioni cristiane inedite del cimitero di Bassilla "ad S. Hermetem"* (Rome: Vatican, 1976), 104, no. 129. I do not count the extremely fragmentary ICUR 10, 26865 and the only possible Greek inscription for an exorcist (also very fragmented): ICUR 5, 15160, cf. Antonio E. Felle, *Concordanze delle Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres Occidentis* (Bari: Edipuglia,1991), 77.
[569] I have attempted to be judicious about incorporating lengthy discussions of individual epitaphs in the present treatment, and focus on several pertinent examples instead. However, a stand-alone, comprehensive treatment of the full epigraphical record is being prepared for publication apart from the present study.
[570] Furthermore, I hope that the present discussion may have serendipitous effects on future discussions, e.g., unpublished epitaphs coming to light.

Literary remains are also useful for fleshing out personal details about exorcists and their duties on the job. Mentions of other specific exorcists include Candidianus of Singidunum,[571] Victorinus of Vercellae,[572] and Cardamas of Burdigala,[573] all known to us from epistolary correspondence. Then there are the previously mentioned seven European exorcists who attended the Council of Arles (314),[574] yet we do not possess any epigraphical data on exorcists from Gaul, Hispania, and other places northwest of Italy.[575] Finally, there is the most famous of all the ordained exorcists, Martin of Tours, whom I will discuss further below. In addition to these specifically identified individuals, we know of numerous unnamed exorcists of the church, such at the North African exorcists who supported Primian's claim to leadership of the Donatist party.[576]

From this list of exorcists, we have the most explicit domestic and professional information about Cardamas of Burdigala (modern Bordeaux), thanks to the letters of Meropius Pontius Paulinus, the famed bishop of Nola (ca. 352–431).[577] Where other

[571] *PL* 10, 719. Discussed below.
[572] *PL* 12, 947. Discussed below.
[573] Discussed at length below.
[574] C. Munier, *Concilia Galliae A. 314–A. 506*, CCSL 148 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963), 14–22.
[575] In the next chapter I discuss a lack of epitaphs for the exorcists who lived in Antioch, Caesarea, Cyprus, and further eastward, and my suggestions there may apply here as well.
[576] Augustine, *Contra Cresc.* 4.47.57 (CSEL 52: 554). Shira L. Lander, *Ritual Sites and Religious Rivalries in Late Roman North Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 148–51; Brent Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 114, 120.
[577] For recent treatments of Paulinus and his writings see Dennis Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Catherine Coneybeare, *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Jennifer Lynn Smith, *The Natalicia of Paulinus of Nola and the Embodiment of Authority at the Shrine of St. Felix* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 2004). Paulinus documented many details about his building projects at Cimitile, the church complex he restored and expanded in Nola. Combining his writings with archaeological discoveries has made Paulinus a rich source of knowledge about the décor and impact of basilicas and cult sites from this time; see Tomas Lehmann, *Paulinus Nolanus und die Basilica Nova in Cimitile/Nola: Studien zu einem zentralen Denkmal der spätantik-frühchristlichen Architektur* (Weisbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004). See also Peter Brown descriptions of Paulinus in the "age of affluence," chapters 13–14 in *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 208–40.

sources are terse and fragmented, Paulinus thoroughly described some vignettes from Cardamas's life. Because of this, I repeatedly turn to Cardamas to help trace threads that run through all the other sources.[578]

From these letters, the following picture emerges. Cardamas and Paulinus shared a mutual point of contact through Bishop Delphinus of Burdigala, who had baptized Paulinus sometime around the year 389.[579] Paulinus was still an imperial administrator when he underwent his baptism, and Cardamas was most likely still working at his secular occupation as a comic actor. Moving forward a decade to the turn of the century, we find that Paulinus had become a presbyter, renounced his wealth, and moved to Nola with Therasia, his wife. Here he built up Cimitile, the century-old shrine of St. Felix, the exorcist-confessor Paulinus had long revered. In this same decade, Cardamas stopped being a mime and earned a position of exorcist in the church of Burdigala. Sometime between his conversion (about which we know nothing) and his ordination as an exorcist, Cardamas began carrying letters between Delphinus and Paulinus, and he continued to do so even after his ordination. I turn now to these dual responsibilities as a courier and exorcist for vital clues about the exorcists and their role in the fourth century.

Exorcists and Couriers

How Cardamas, an ordained member of the clergy, leave his parish for weeks or months to carry mail? Did he perhaps bear the title *exorcista* as mere formality, leaving his

[578] It is important to note the historiographical difference between viewing Cardamas as an anchoring point as I bring the disparate data together, which I try to do, and viewing Cardamas as "the typical exorcist," which I have tried not to do. Not only is Cardamas just a single piece of anecdotal data, but, I hasten to add, we do not know what part of "Cardamas" is true and what is an invention by the clever, affectionate, fervent mind of Paulinus. Thus, even the portrait of Cardamas in Paulinus's writings must be chastened with evidence from elsewhere.

[579] Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 65–66. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 218 for his intimate connection with Bordeaux.

demon duties behind? There was nothing unusual about clergy carrying letters on behalf of more elite leaders of the church. From Paulinus's correspondence alone, we learn about other clergymen who carried letters. In this section I discuss three examples of exorcist-couriers: Candidianus of Singidunum, Victorinus of Vercellae, and Cardamas of Bordeaux. These exorcists would not have been example from their regular duties, even when abroad. Hence, Paulinus reported that Cardamas had proved himself to be a "frightful exorcist against the demons" when he sojourned at Cimitile.[580] Although clerical couriers retained the regular church duties that were required of them, their travels also permitted them to perform these duties in other churches far away from home.

We possess five of Paulinus's letters that Cardamas carried sometime roughly between the years 399 and 401.[581] These are limited to correspondence with Delphinus, the bishop of Bordeaux,[582] and with Amandus, a presbyter in that same diocese.[583] Other letters carried by Cardamas have not survived, for instance, Paulinus's correspondence with Venerius, the bishop of Milan.[584] Unless Paulinus is exaggerating, Cardamas may have made many additional trips, "almost a regular routine of the journey to and fro" (*prope sollemniter commeans*) between Bordeaux and Nola.[585] That journey consisted of

[580] Paulinus, *Ep*. 19.6, also mentioning that he was a commendable man of the clergy (*clericum probabilem hominibus et exorcistam daemoniis terribilem videremus*).
[581] These are 14, 15, 19, 20, and 21. The former two are dated to about the year 399, and the latter two come from a little later, probably 400 or 401. The subject of dating in the letters of Paulinus has been the subject of a great deal of investigation. The foundational treatment of Pierre Fabre, *Essai sur la chronologie de l'œuvre de saint Paulin de Nole* (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1948) remains authoritative in its overall schema to this day.
[582] Paulinus, *Ep.* 14, 19, and 20.
[583] Paulinus, *Ep.* 15 and 21. Both Amandus and Delphinus had played a crucial role in Paulinus's spiritual formation during his youth spent in Bordeaux.
[584] Mentioned in Paulinus, *Ep.* 20.3.
[585] Walsh, *Letters*, vol. 1, 194.

approximately 1500 kilometers at the shortest, and could have taken between twenty and thirty days.[586] The actual time spent travelling would be greatly lengthened with additional stops and longer sojourns in other dioceses, which lay outside of the direct route.[587]

Although they traveled under episcopal authority, clerical couriers on ordinary missions would not have access to the benefit of Imperial travel arrangements like the ones enjoyed by the seven European exorcists who went to the Council of Arles in 314.[588] Exorcists could contract merchants and vessel owners to transport them across land and sea, and a bishop might draw upon their vast social network to help whenever that was possible.[589] Assuming typical travel conditions, traveling exorcists would lodge along the way in public inns, monastic communities, and in private homes devoted to charity towards clergy.[590]

Bearing letters between bishops was hardly a trivial task. Carrying privileged communication required a great deal of trust on behalf of the sender, analogous to the trust still required if the mail is to move today. However, unlike modern carriers, the personal couriers of Late Antiquity possessed a deeper level of personal connection with both sender and receiver, and could be expected to act as personal representatives,

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[586] Calculated using http://orbis.stanford.edu.
[587] Cf. *Ep.* 20.3, correspondence with Venerius.
[588] As discussed in the previous chapter, strict parameters governed any ecclesiastical access to the imperial network of animals and way-stations on the *cursus publicus*, limiting its use to special occasions or to special favors from the sovereign himself.
[589] That Paulinus was capable of maintaining close connections with shipowners is clear from *Ep.* 49. Some travel had to do with finding someone who happened to be headed the right way (see examples in Peter M. Head, "Named Letter-Carriers among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri," *JSNT* 31 [2009]: 279–99).
[590] A clear and thorough overview of lodging in late antiquity may be found in the first chapter of Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in The Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 11–39.

confidential emissaries, and much more than mere movers of letters from one location to another.[591] Catherine Conybeare emphasized the involvement of couriers in the lives of their receiving churches: a courier "will live and eat with the community; he will participate in its daily spiritual round; on occasion, mention is even made of the carrier nursing the writer [Paulinus] through an illness."[592] Correspondence, gifts, personal interviews, questions, and more helped create a social network that could connect clergy across the vast expanses of the empire.[593] Much like technological social networking in the modern age, a full spectrum of communication in written and spoken words, and even pictures,[594] proved useful for fostering *caritas*, Christian brotherhood that spanned the miles and years between personal contact.[595] Likewise, Cardamas complemented written communication with a personal touch. Delphinus had charged Cardamas to return to Bordeaux with reports of "all that goes on at Nola in the Lord's service."[596] There is no doubt that Cardamas returned to Delphinus with many things to say that did not make it into any written letter.[597]

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[591] See descriptions of ancient couriers in two articles by Peter M. Head: "Named Letter-Carriers," esp. characteristics on pp. 283–91, and idem, "Letter Carriers in the Ancient Jewish Epistolary Material," 203–219 in Craig A. Evans & H. Daniel Zacharias, eds., *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon*, SSEJC 13; LNTS 70 (London: T & T Clark/Continuum, 2009), esp. pg. 219.

[592] Coneybeare, *Paulinus Noster*, 37. Cf. other incidents involving the monk Victor, who washed Paulinus's feet and rubbed his limbs with oil; Paulinus even discussed Victor's recipes for bread and porridge, in Paulinus, *Ep.* 23 (to Sulpicius Severus)—the recipe signified pious austerity.

[593] One may see this network represented as manipulatable diagrams thanks to the online database of Julia Hillner, Dirk Rohmann et al., Clerical Exile in Late Antiquity (www.clericalexile.org, 14 Mar 2019).

[594] Sulpicius Severus requested portraits of Martin of Tours and Paulinus of Nola for his baptistery, "positioned so that the catechumens would see it before stepping into the water, to inspire them with the example of the saint's life and virtue" (Guy P. R. Métraux, "Late Antique Villas: Themes," in Annalisa Maexano and Guy P. R. Métraux, eds., *The Roman Villa in the Mediterranean Basin: Late Republic to Late Antiquity* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018], 414).

[595] Perrin, "La place des courriers" emphasizes the role of *caritas* in correspondence, and shows how Paulinus emphasizes and develops the term in his own idiom (Perrin, 1042–44).

[596] Walsh, *Letters*, vol. 1, 185.

[597] Bishops could also have used their couriers to eavesdrop on the world, even in cases of the most benign intent. Paulinus knew that it was important to highlight good and important news, so he proacstively informed Delphinus about his relations with Pope Anastasius and Bishop Venerius of Milan; perhaps to

Victorinus of Vercellae, Nicene Courier-Exorcist

Besides Cardamas, we know of two other courier-exorcists who carried sensitive correspondence during some of the heated controversies of the 350s and 360s. The first of these, Victorinus of Vercellae, was an exorcist who accompanied Syrus, a deacon, on the long journey from northern Italy's Piedmont region to Scythopolis (modern-day Beit She'an).[598] These two pro-Nicene clerics bore important letters from the congregations of the Vercellae (modern Vercelli) to Eusebius, the bishop who had recently been exiled from his charge over that diocese in the aftermath of the Council of Milan (355).[599]

Bishop Eusebius had risen to prominence as an important representative of a purist Nicene party in northern Italy, and now he found himself ousted and exiled because of the outspokenness with which he protested his opponents.[600] During his exile, he sojourned as a guest in the home of Joseph of Tiberias, the same character we previously encountered reporting stories of his own miraculous exorcisms to Epiphanius.[601] All of this occurred during a fraught time that has become known as the Arian controversy. In the retelling of it, the conflict is often streamlined into a match between two large movements, the Nicenes and the Arians; in reality, it was an intricate

make sure none of the crucial details became garbled in transmission, Paulinus also chose to write to Delphinus about these same matters Cardamas was supposed to be telling him (Paulinus, *Ep.* 20).

[598] Victorinus is mentioned second in order, befitting his lower rank.

[599] The diocese included the cities of Novaria (modern Novara), Eporedia (modern Ivrea), Dertona (modern Tortona), and, of course, Vercellae. The clearest historical analysis of the letters between Eusebius and the congregations may be found in Daniel A. Washburn, "Tormenting the Tormentors: A Reinterpretation of Eusebius of Vercellae's Letter from Scythopolis," *Church History* 78 (2009): 731–755.

[600] In his exile, Eusebius moved from Scythopolis to Cappadocia, and finally to the Thebaid. The death of Constantius II (and Emperor Julian's dislike for what he saw as petty ecclesiastical banishments) allowed Eusebius to return to northern Italy in 362. Upon his reinstatement, Eusebius traveled to the Council of Alexandria (362), and seems to have spent considerable energies restoring and fostering the Nicene network across northern Italy.

[601] See chapter two, above. Epiphanius mentions social connections between himself, Eusebius of Vercellae, and Joseph of Tiberias in Ephiphanius, *Panarion* II.30.5.1–2.

philosophical and political puzzle, involving numerous parties, alliances, and a high degree of subterfuge and intrigue. Exile and excommunication were not unusual for any side during this time, as the political winds shifted from one year to the next.

While Eusebius was exiled, letters from the Italian churches helped to allay his anxieties over the state of his churches and his reputation among them in absentia.[602] In his reply, he clarified the importance of their letter and the couriers who brought them:

> *His ergo dum afficimur cogitationibus, et omnem consolationem fratrum qui ad nos e diversis veniebant provinciis, ad dolorem magis absentiae vestrae, quam ad laetitiam verterem: hoc praestare dignatus est Dominus, ut id de quo eram sollicitus, non solum litteris sinceritatis vestrae, sed et praesentia charorum nostrorum Syri diaconi et Victorini exorcistae cognoscere potuerim.*[603]
>
> While we were troubled by these thoughts and I was thus turning every consolation of the brothers, who came to us from many different provinces, more to pain at your absence than to joy, the Lord deigned to allow that I could receive just the information I was anxious for, not only from the letters of your sincerity but also through the presence of our dear friends Syrus the deacon and Victorinus the exorcist.[604]

Eusebius had reasonable cause to worry about the stability and loyalty of his flock, and any gap in correspondence with his colleagues and underlings could prove to be fatal to his influence among them. These letters and their couriers allayed these fears.

Eusebius did not just regard these traveling clergymen as a means for transporting written correspondence, but also emphasized that he had taken the time to bond with his couriers. Hence, he gave thanks "not only for the exchange of written letters but also the physical presence" (*non solum litteris… sed et praesentia*) of the "dear" couriers Syrus

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[602] As Daniel Washburn shows ("Tormenting the Tormenters," Eusebius worked to maintain a dignified reputation befitting a bishop, even though it led to competition with the bishop of Scythopolis who watched over him in exile.

[603] Eusebius of Vercellae, *Epistle* 2.1 (PL 12.948C); Vincentius Bulhart, *Eusebii Vercellensis episcopi quae supersunt*, CCSL 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1957), 103–10.

[604] English translation by Richard Flower, *Emperors and Bishops in Late Roman Invective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 243–249.

and Victorinus (*charorum nostrorum syri diaconi et victorini exorcistae*) that vouch for the safety and faithfulness of the churches of northern Italy. [605] It would appear that both couriers, Syrus and Victorinus, served Eusebius in the diocese of Vercellae, and thus constituted a part of the vital engagement by which he maintained his place within his network of colleagues.

Here we are also able to catch glimpse of the flexibility of movement among members of the clergy, even the lower orders. When Eusebius wrote his reply to the churches of Vercellae and norther Italy (the second of his surviving epistles), the deacon Syrus conveyed this reply back to Italy alone, without the company of Victorinus the exorcist.[606] This is only because Syrus had made the decision to go on a pilgrimage to holy sites in the region, and he picked up Eusebius's reply when he began his return trip home.[607] Victorinus the exorcist apparently departed to the West soon after he helped to deliver the letters from the churches of northern Italy; perhaps he returned directly to one of the cities in the diocese of Vercellae, where he could lend support to the pro-Nicene faction that sought to retain its precarious footing in the region. Alternatively, Victorinus could have moved to a more hospitable city, either temporarily or permanently serving

[605] Eusebius of Vercellae, *Epistle* 2.1: *Charorum nostrorum,* "our dear…" As is common in epistolary literature, Eusebius mostly uses the first-person plural *nos-* to indicate himself throughout.
[606] Eusebius seems to indicate the absence of the exorcist Victorinus plainly enough when he thanks God for the good fortune of being able to engage the services of Syrus the deacon, apparently the lone person available to return the erstwhile bishop's letter to the diocese of Vercellae. Embedded in the second letter is an additional letter Eusebius had sent to his foe in the faith Patrophilus, the bishop of Scythopolis, complaining of the conditions of his exile.
[607] Eusebius of Vercellae, *Epistle* 2.10: "Syrus the deacon, who by the providence of our Lord was at the time going to see holy places, and was not found among the rest of the brothers" (*Syrum diaconum…quia providentia Domini nostri eo tempore ad videnda loca sancta accesserat, et cum caeteris fratribus inventus non est.*

some allied congregation; as we see below, it is possible that he served and died in Milan in the 370s.[608]

Candidianus of Singidunum, Arian Exorcist

Another exorcist, Candidianus, carried letters for the Arian bishops of Illyria, who stood in conflict with Eusebius of Vercellae, Ambrose of Milan, and their colleagues.[609] This made him an opponent of the aforementioned exorcist Victorinus. We know of Candidianus because he was mentioned at the end of a letter sent on December 18, 366:[610]

> *haec per Secundianum presbyterum, Pullentium lectorem et Candidianum exorcistam transmisimus caritati tuae, XV. Kalendas Ianuarias, Gratiano nobilissimo et Dagalaifo consulibus, exemplum penes nos retinentes.*
>
> We send this letter with love (*caritas*) by Secundarius the presbyter, Pullentius the lector, and Candidianus the exorcist on the fifteenth calends of January, noble Gratian and Dagalaifus consuls; we have retained a copy [of this letter] for ourselves.

The letter that Candidianus helped to carry contained sensitive statements from a small synod of four bishops in Singidunum (modern Belgrade). Two of the bishops, Ursacius of Singidunum and Valens of Mursa (now Osijek, Croatia), are probably best remembered as disciples of Arius himself.[611] Ursacius and Valens had also served as advisors to

[608] For Victorinus in Milan, see below.
[609] Connections between the various players in this historical drama may be helpfully visualized at Julia Hillner, Dirk Rohmann et al., Clerical Exile in Late Antiquity (www.clericalexile.org, 24 February 2019). E.g., to view Ursacius of Singidunum as the central figure in relationship between Valens of Mursa and Eusebius of Vercellae: https://www.clericalexile.org/network/person/18.
[610] *PL* 10:718A (Fragmentum XIV)//*PL* 13:572C, also known as *Epistola synodi Singedunensis ad Germinium semiarianum*. A brief overview of these incidents, complete with summaries and excerpts, can be found in R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318–381* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 1988), 592–95.
[611] John Fleming, "A Commentary on the Co-called *Opus historicum* of Hilary of Poitiers" (Doctoral thesis, Durham University, 1951), 302.

Constantius II,[612] partly thanks to the connection forged between Constantius and Valens during the battle of Mursa (September, 351).[613] Ursacius and Valens have often been cast as "bishops of the court,"[614] thanks to this close association. Still, their influence appears to have fallen into dire uncertainty with the death of Constantius in 361. By 366, Ursacius and Valens had pressing concerns about a different letter written by an erstwhile ally, Germinius, bishop of Sirmium (today's Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia), in which he appeared to capitulate to the Nicene position. This would have alarmed Ursacius and Valens, since these three bishops had once stood together less than a decade earlier to draft a bold pronouncement on the nature of Christ, a document their opponents quickly referred to as "the Blasphemy of Sirmium."[615] Now Ursacius and Valens sent their expressions of faithful *caritas* while seeking clarification and support from their old colleagues over this same issue. Had they lost another ally? This was their crucial concern.

To ensure the safe transfer of this letter from Singidunum to Sirmium, a trip of about two days,[616] Candidianus accompanied a presbyter named Secundianus and a lector by the name of Pullentius. The small party of couriers had a hierarchy of its own, with the

[612] A fuller portrait of the incidents in question can be found in Timothy Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1993), e.g., 140, 145–46; "when Constantius visited Rome in 357 his entourage included Ursacius, Valens, Basil of Ancyra, and Eudoxius of Germanicia" (Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, 284). Fleming, *Commentary Opus historicum*, 72 points out that their eventual ecclesiastical condemnation seems to have had little impact on life outside of the church.
[613] Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 534.
[614] Hilary, *In Constantium* 14.3, cited in Daniel H. Williams, "The Anti-Arian Campaigns of Hilary of Poitiers and the 'Liber Contra Auxentium'," *CH* 61 (1992): 7–22, here pg. 9; cf. Fleming, *Commentary Opus historicum*, 72.
[615] The pejorative title "Blasphemy of Sirmium" was coined by Hilary of Poitiers, and the name proved to be tenacious. For an in-depth analysis of this event, see Carl Beckwith, *Hilary of Poitiers on the Trinity: From* De Fide *to* De Trinitate (Oxfrod: Oxford University Press, 2008), 54–68 (ch. 3). During his own exile, Hilary wrote a work against Ursacius and Valens specifically (Beckwith, *Hilary of Poitiers*, 9–10).
[616] Calculated using http://orbis.stanford.edu, on the basis of private travel (36km/day) over about 72 km.

presbyter, lector, and exorcist representing clergy from higher and lower orders.[617] As with other elite couriers, these three were to deliver more than a mere letter, conveying as well a personal touch of collegiality and charity (*transmisimus charitati tuae*)[618] from their sending bishops.

Ursacius and Valens pled in vain, as Germinius had already capitulated to the Nicene party.[619] They were to be remembered in church histories not as proponents of orthodoxy, but as politically savvy Arians and condemned heretics. Secundianius, Candidianus's travelling companion, followed in the footsteps of Ursacius and found himself singled out and rejected as a heretic at the Synod of Aqueleia in 381.[620] If Candidianus had hoped to rise through the ranks, his association with the crumbling faction of Arians does not bode well for his prospects. He is never mentioned again, and his epitaph joins the many undiscovered sepulchers of antiquity.[621] On the other hand,

[617] This is almost certainly the case with the lead cleric on this courier mission, Secundianus, who succeeded Ursacius as bishop. See S. L. Greensdale, "The Illyrian Churches and the Vicarate of Thessalonica," *JTS* 46 (1945): 17–30, esp. 22–24; Jacques Zeller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'empire romain* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1967), 149–50; Fleming, *Commentary on Opus historicum*, 400. For the other two clerics likewise serving Ursacius, see the opinion of Fleming, *Commentary on Opus historicum*, 400. Other hypotheses are more difficult to defend. For instance, if the four bishops in the small synod wanted to send a representative from each diocese, this would mean that one of the bishops did not have a cleric to send. Alternatively, some have seen Candidianus as belonging to Germinius's diocese in Sirmium (Adolf Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* [A. Hölder, 1911], 122). In this case, he would be returning to his home diocese, which would require that Germinius had sent the exorcist to Singidunum. This is unlikely, given his lack of participation in the synod, and his apparent failure to even acknowledge the correspondence.

[618] *PL* 13:572c.

[619] Hanson, *Search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, 593–95

[620] Fleming, *Commentary on Opus historicum*, 400; Neil McLynn, "From Palladius to Maximinus: Passing the Arian Torch," *JECS* 4 (1996): 476–92, esp. 478–80; for more background and an English translation of the Council minutes, Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "Acts of the Council of Aquileia (381 C.E.)," 275–88 in Richard Valantasis, ed., *Religions of Late Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), and Secundianus is mentioned by name on pg. 283.

[621] In the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg, the name Candidianus appears with high frequency in Pannonia superior (AE 1929, 218; CIL III, 3666; CIL III, 4321; CIL III, 4452; CIL III, 4150) and inferior (AE 1972, 382; AE 1993, 1303; AE 1901, 220; AE 1996, 1258; CIL III, 3230; CIL III, 3229). Neither these, nor those appearing elsewhere, can be linked to this exorcist.

Germinius's exorcists in Sirmium had been able to experience life as both Arian and pro-Nicene clergy without facing such consequences.[622]

Changing Lifestyles in the Fourth Century

To add one more burden to his role as a courier and an exorcist, Cardamas needed to adopt monastic values in order to be held worthy of his office. Arguing against abstention and fasting was not a sustainable strategy in the late fourth century, a fact illustrated by the plight of a monk named Jovinian. He taught that eating, drinking, and marriage were no less meritorious than asceticism in the eyes of God. Jovinian's writings on the matter gained some support, but even greater opposition, until a synod in Milan (393) condemned him as a heretic. His victorious opponents saddled him with long-lasting epithets: "teacher of luxury" (*luxuriae magistrum*)[623] and the "Christian Epicurus."[624] As David Hunter showed, Jovinian was probably less of an innovative heretic than he was simply a man behind the times.[625] But there was no mercy for those old ideas in this new world. Cardamas, an old man and a new recruit, found it difficult to adjust to the strict asceticism practiced by clergy in the late fourth century.

Starving Exorcists

If any exorcists starved in the long fourth century, it was probably not for want of provisions but rather because of a surplus of piety. Cardamas seems to have thought he was starving on Paulinus's piety, or at least this is how Paulinus depicted Cardamas at the

[622] It is possible that among these exorcists, or at least a near-contemporary to Germinius and all the rest, was an exorcist named Ursicinus (see Milin, "An Exorcist on an Epitaph," and *AE* 1996, 1256).
[623] Ambrose, Epistula extra collectionem 15.2 (CSEL 82.3, 308).
[624] Jerome, *Contra Jovinianum* 1 (*PL* 23).
[625] David Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), ch. 4. Jovinian's beliefs resemble earlier theologians, like Epiphanius, who connected extreme ascetic practices with heresies like Manichaeism.

beginning of his clerical career, after Easter in 399.[626] Paulinus made light of Cardamas's attempts to adjust to the strictness he demanded at Cimitile, his church complex in Nola. The harsh practices pioneered in monasteries had become the new norm for clergy across the Mediterranean and beyond in the late fourth century. Clerics of all kinds were to abstain as much as possible from food, wine, sleep, and sex. In Paulinus's Nola, as in other Italian churches, the community shared a single daily meal in the evening. Augustine explained, "Taking only one meal daily towards night… is everywhere quite common," and he considered the communities of Milan and Rome that practiced the three-day fast to be much more admirable.[627] With such habits established as a bare minimum, ecclesiastical communities raced to outdo one another in their expressions of ascetic zeal. In his letter to Sulpicius Severus, Paulinus expressed how thrilled he had been to learn new ways of practicing scarcity from the courier Victor, a former soldier who had become Martin's disciple. Victor not only cared for Paulinus by washing his feet and rubbing him with oil, he also made bread and gruel that tried Paulinus's ascetic discipline, and even sheared his head to help him resemble his old senatorial self even less.[628] Victor had been a soldier for Caesar, but had become "a soldier for the eternal King"[629] with his new way of life.

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[626] Letters 14 and 15, to Delphinus and Amandus, respectively (following the chronological table in Perrin, "La place des courriers," 1050–51).

[627] Augustine, De mor. eccl. 1.70 (PL 32.1340); translation is Richard Stothert, "St. Augustin: The Writings against the Manichaeans and against the Donatists," in Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, First Series, vol. 4 (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1887), 60.

[628] Paulinus, *Ep.* 23.1–11 is structured around the ascetic exploits Victor performed at Cimitille. Paulinus spends the remainder of the letter 23.12–47) expounding upon themes introduced by Victor's actions in the first paragraphs.

[629] Paulinus, *Ep.* 25.8 (Walsh, *Letters*, vol. I, 78). Paulinus wrote this epistle to a military man named Crispianus, who once served alongside Victor (before the latter left his arms to become a monk). Paulinus urged him to leave the service, to give up on the idea of marrying, and to turn to the monastic lifestyle exemplified by Victor.

If Victor represented a hardened soldier of self-denial, Cardamas seemed intent on finding the fool in Cardamas's attitude (I discuss this ridicule at greater length below). Indeed, Paulinus filled his letter to Amandus with witty jokes[630] at Cardamas's expense. Paulinus wrote that he countered the budding exorcist's complaints about fasting from food and wine with a series of good-natured rebukes. The vignette conveys a charming sense of playfulness, with Cardamas using scripture in an attempt to evoke enough pity to earn a meal:

> …he began to murmur to me about noon: "*My throat is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue hath cleaved to my jaws*. *My soul*—and my belly—*has grown faint*, and *my bones have cleaved to my flesh* with hunger and thirst." I made reply to him. "My son, *in thy humiliation keep patience, let not the lusts of the belly take hold of thee,* for *not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word of God*." But he was *like a deaf man and did not hear*, and *like deaf asps he stopped his ears* to my words, but in vain. At lunchtime he longed to fill his stomach, and no one gave him even a husk until the day faded into evening. Then, after the hymn was sung, however melancholy his abstention from lunch had made him, he became reconciled to me when refreshed by dinner.[631]

From Paulinus's perspective, Cardamas's longing for food demonstrated that he lacked the sort of self-mastery that the community expected of its clergy. Cardamas's perspective must have been a little different—after a long lifetime of regular meals, he found himself the butt of a joke, simply for desiring lunch!

This leads me to wonder about the oft-repeated claim in Paulinus studies: that Cardamas was an abysmal drunk, or even more technically, an "alcoholic."[632] The former

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[630] Paulinus indicates his levity in *Ep.* 15.4 with the verb *iocor*, (*sed ne diutius iocando uideamur iniuriam facere…*"), "but lest I appear by further joking to do injustice" (Walsh, *Letters*, vol. 1, 150).

[631] Walsh, *Letters*, vol. I, 150, with references to Ps. 21:16, 118:81, and 101:6. It is not impossible that the dialogue is a prosopopoeia constructed by Paulinus (to make his conversation with Cardamas sound more edifying). However, if Cardamas is indeed quoted authentically (or even nearly so), some of the very few words we have from an ancient Christian exorcist are psalms he had committed to memory.

[632] Walsh, *Letters*, vol. 1, 255, cf. 242. Cf. Daniel König, *Bekehrungsmotive: Untersuchungen zum Christianisierungsprozess im römischen Westreich und seinen romanisch-germanischen Nachfolgern (4.-8. Jahrhundert)* (Husum: Matthiessen Verlag, 2008), 236 n.127, "…des Trunkenboldes Cardamas…" These statements are ubiquitous in the literature on Paulinus.

mime's reputation as a drunkard is primarily based on the following words that Paulinus wrote to his friend Amandus:

> He joined us for the evening meal and did not shudder at our poor board. More remarkable still, he was satisfied with the available drink (*calicibus*), so that I realised that in your holy presence he has reformed (*emendatum*), and is being schooled by Paul, drinking wine in moderation, not in full measure, rejoicing his heart and not distending his stomach. I saw that he was drunk with sobriety, full of spiritual intoxication and uttering a hymn to God, whom he invokes repeatedly…*Blessed be the Lord who doth wonderful things, who turned the rock into pools of water*, and made Cardamas a cleric, as I have seen, and sober (*sobrium*), as I have believed.[633]

Certainly, Paulinus "represented" Cardamas as a drunkard, as Dennis Trout says.[634] Yet it is important to remember how that this was the view through a distorted lens that interpreted eating and drinking as gluttony and drunkenness. Any amount of food or drink beyond the barest necessity could be taken as immoderate. Even in cases where we can be almost certain that the cleric was not immoderate, one's use of wine could be singled out for benevolent ridicule, as when Paulinus teased Cardamas, but people who did not abstain could also become subject to demeaning attacks.[635] Jovinian became the "Christian Epicurus" because of his advocacy for moderate behavior.[636] This should lead to caution when considering Cardamas's struggle to attain to new standards in eating and drinking. Any progress towards what Paulinus calls sobriety could simply indicate progress in the extremes of austerity, and not progress away from dissolute or foolish

[633] Walsh, *Letters*, vol. I, 150.
[634] Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 130.
[635] For instance, Jerome's attacks on Vigilantius, another courier who carried letters for Paulinus, who drank more wine than Jerome thought necessary (*Contra Vigilantium*). Among other things, Jerome derided him for being so frightened by a earthquake in Bethlehem that he jumped out of bed and started to pray naked, still "reeking" of wine—at least in Jerome's opinion.
[636] *Moderate* is of course a term that indicates social standards of moderation and excess. I use the term to reference long-standing norms that ascetic activists sought to overturn.

behavior. Indeed, had Cardamas's behavior been too intemperate, he would have hardly been recommended or accepted either as a courier or an exorcist to begin with.

Despite Cardamas's struggle to become acclimated to these rigors, he proved his dedication over time. About two years into his new career, Cardamas had become suitably adapted. Paulinus wrote to Delphinus in 401, boasting of how Cardamas's new attitude had led to bodily changes:

> He consistently dined at our poor board, restricting himself to the measure of our diet and avoiding neither our poor vegetarian dishes nor our meagre cups. The emaciation of his body and pallor of his face can bear witness to this (*adtenuatione sui corporis et oris pallore testari*), unless a strenuous return journey encourages him to renew acquaintance with his former cups and refreshes his strength.[637]

If Cardamas arrived home looking weak and emaciated, this was proof to Delphinus of the exorcist's newfound dedication to discipline. Although it speaks of Cardamas, I see this statement as another confirmation of how Paulinus derived social capital from asceticism: he hoped to impress Delphinus with the rigors of diet he practiced at Cimitile. The holy harshness of Cimitile's would not be merely conveyed by letter, but also in the changes to Cardamas's physical appearance—again recalling that couriers were physically immersed in the messages they conveyed. Paulinus came up an excuse in advance in case an unsupervised Cardamas ate and drank as normal until he arrived home Delphinus's doorstep looking healthy. If that were to happen, Cardamas assured Delphinus, it was *not* because Nola's asceticism was sub-par, but because Cardamas lacked the spiritual and physical strength to make the journey in his weakened state.

It is also worth returning to the exorcist Victorinus, the courier who carried letters from Vercellae to Scythopolis. Victorinus was probably among the first among the

[637] Walsh, *Letters*, vol. I, 182–183.

exorcists to experience the transformations that would later frustrate a very hungry Cardamas. Victorinus's bishop, Eusebius, may have been the first to introduce ascetic values to churches in Italy. Not many years after Eusebius's death, Ambrose of Milan remembered the elder bishop this way, as the early vanguard for an ascetic ecclesiastical life. Ambrose chastened the church at Vercellae for what he perceived as their decline under the bishop who had succeeded Eusebius: "It was Eusebius of holy memory who was the first in the West to combine these conflicting qualifications in that even when he resided in the city, he observed monastic rules and governed his Church soberly with fasting."[638] The Vercellaean bishop's vision for ascetic clergy came to be realized in large part through the influence of Ambrose.[639] The stalwart courier-exorcist Victorinus of Vercellae, who carried letters to Eusebius in the perceived dangers of exile, was undoubtedly well-acquainted with the rigors of ascetic life his bishops championed.

Marriage and Family

Of course, ascetic values not only impacted an exorcist's belly, but also radiated its influence outward to the families of exorcists.[640] Kyle Harper summarized a scholarly

[638] Ambrose's letter to Vercellae in 396, *Epistula extra collectionem* 14.66; translation by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches*, Translated Texts for Historians 43 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 319. Ambrose portrayed himself as the one carrying on the revered Eusebius's legacy of strict expectations for anyone who sought ordination. He emphasized how Eusebius's legacy should be seen as a high bar for any subsequent clergy to clear: "…how great care is required at Vercellae where it would seem that two qualities are demanded from the bishop in equal degree: monastic asceticism and ecclesiastical discipline." In the same letter, Ambrose also laments the erosion of authority that Vercellae had once exercised when Eusebius of Vercellae was still alive.

[639] The mutual economic, cultural, and ecclesiastical relationship that connected Vercellae with Milan impacted clergy across the north of Italy. See the thorough study by Lellia Cracco Ruggini, "Vercelli e Milano: nessi politici e rapport ecclesiali," in Enrico dal Covolo, Renato Uglione, and Giovanni M. Vian, ed., *Eusebio di Vercelli e il suo tempo*, Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose 133 (Rome: Libraria Ateneo Salesiano, 1997), 91–120.

[640] See also Aline Rouselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity*, trans., Felicia Pheasant (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1988), who attributes the popularity of asceticism to contact between Egyptian anchoritism, "male repugnance for marriage in Greek countries and…the aversion of the women of the Roman world to the legal and social conditions of marriage" (*Porneia*, 198).

consensus on the sexual revolution before and during Cardamas's lifetime thus, "The fourth century witnessed a fierce struggle, driven by the sudden advance of specifically Christian norms and prohibitions, and only toward the beginning of the fifth century did Christian values obtain a vice grip on public sexual culture."[641] The fourth century was also a time for such paradoxes as anti-marriage writings by married clergy, fathers writing against procreation, and virgins living faithfully with their spouses and children, as we see below.

While he was still a married man, Paulinus warned others against "the bonds of marriage and the other thorny and empty anxieties of the temporal state."[642] In a different context, Paulinus mentioned one of Cardamas's "anxieties," because the exorcist worried about the needs of his ailing wife while he was visiting abroad.[643] Similarly, if one were a parent, unhappiness was the best outcome one could expect: "[P]arents are very often most unhappy about their children. They lose the good ones, or else have such sons that they are forced to envy childless couples."[644] True, this was a gloomy axiom, but Paulinus also knew about the desirability of avoiding such grief, having experienced it himself. Three epitaphs from Milan for exorcists named Saturus, Januarius, and Victorinus can illustrate the paradoxes and rapid transformations of this time. As well,

[641] Kyle Harper, *From Shame to Sin: The Christian Transformation of Sexual Morality in Late Antiquity*, Revealing Antiquity 20 (Cambridge Harvard University Press 2016), 2–3. A further paradox of this era: elites who wished to be anonymously celebrated, for which see Camille Thiel, "*Cuius nomen Deus scit*: anonymat et prestige dans les inscriptions de l'Antiquité tardive," 261–70 in Frédéric Hurlet, Isabelle Rivoal, and Isabelle Sidéra, eds., *Le prestige: Autour des formes de la différenciation sociale* (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2014).
[642] Paulinus, *Ep.* 25, trans., P. G. Walsh, *Paulinus of Nola: Vol. II,* Ancient Christian Writers 36 (New York; Ramsey, NJ: Newman Press, 1967), 76.
[643] Paulinus, *Ep.* 15.4.
[644] Walsh, *Letters,* vol. II, 77–78.

these cases raise some of the difficulties inherent in interpreting material remains in this context.

First, one finds concerns about chastity (of sorts) and grief on a double-epitaph hanging in the courtyard in front of the basilica of St. Ambrose in Milan.[645] Saturus, an exorcist, and his son-in-law Pecorius collaborated to erect this commemoration for Saturus's wife and his daughter, Nonneta and Maura (whose nickname was Caiane). This memorial is one of the finest among those having to do with exorcists and would have required a modest investment on the part of the two grieving men.[646] The inscription for Nonneta reads:

> *[B(onae)] m(emoriae) / [N]onneta qui vixit in s(a)ec(ulo) an(nos) XL pl(us) / min(us) qui vix(it) cum virginium(!) suum(!) an(nos) / XVIIII et men(ses) III dies X Saturus ex{s}or/cista maritus se vivum cont(ra) vot(um) pos(uit) / dep(ositus) // die XVII Kal(endas) Ian(uarias).*
>
> Of happy memory / Nonneta, who lived in this age for 40 years (more / or less), who lived with her virgin / for 19 years, 3 months, and 10 days. Saturus the exor/cist, her husband, himself still living, placed this against his wishes. / Buried on the 17th Kalends of January.

The inscription for Maura follows immediately, with a christogram marking the division between the two:

> *b(onae) m(emoriae) / Maura sive Caiane filia eorum qui vix(it) / in s(a)ec(ulo) an(nos) XXVI m(enses) VII d(ies) XVI et vixit / cum virginio suo an(nos) VI m(enses) VIII dies XX / Pecorius virginius eius se vivum cont(ra) / vot(um) pos(uit).*
>
> Of happy memory, / Maura (also known as Caiane) his daughter, who lived / in this age 26 years, 7 months, and 16 days, and lived / with her virgin for 6 years, 8

[645] CIL 05, 06252 = ILCV 01263 (38) (em). The clearest representation is available in Vincenzo Forcella and Emilio Seletti, ed., *Iscrizioni cristiane in Milano: anteriori al IX secolo* (Codogno: A. G. Cairo, 1897), 74. A photograph and other information may be found at https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/foto/F034453#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&r=0&xywh=-113%2C129%2C2222%2C1739.

[646] The size (58 cm. x 87 cm.) is the largest I have found in my collection of exorcist-related epitaphs, the hand is one of the neatest, and it is one of the few with a figurative image (incised at the very bottom, the figure of two birds approaching a central vase with branches in their beaks).

months, and 20 days. / Pecorius her virgin, himself still living, placed this / against his wishes.

Finally, an image of birds bearing branches comes at the very bottom. A reproduction may be seen below:

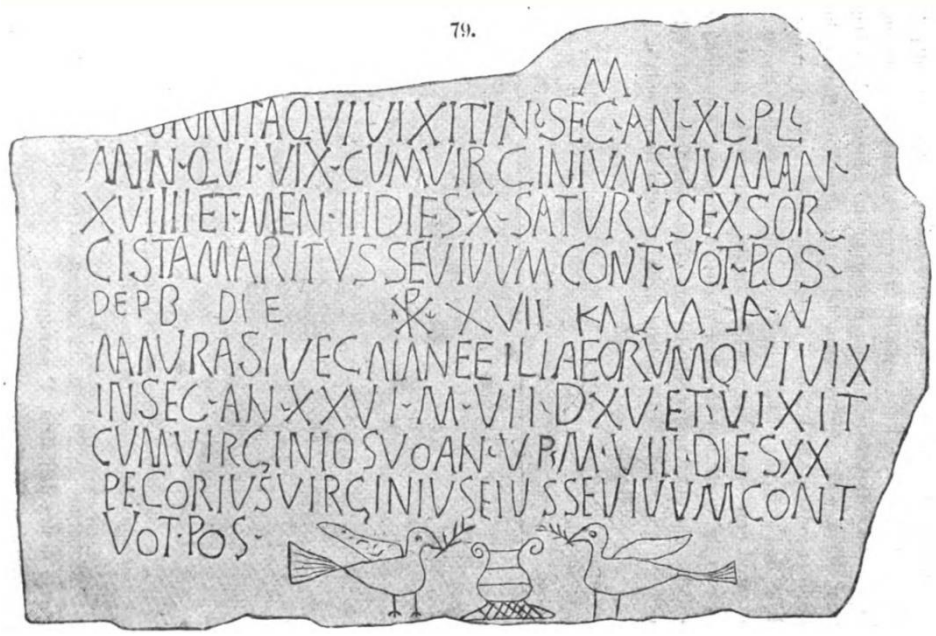


Figure 1: Epitaph for Nonneta and Maura, CIL 5, 6252 (Forcella and Seletti, ed., Iscrizioni cristiane, *74)*

This epitaph recalls the very problems ascetic churchmen sought to escape: sex and unnecessary sorrow. First, of course, the sorrow is already strongly implied by the context of these words on a funerary epitaph. Several sad possibilities could explain the passing of Nonneta and Maura. For instance, Nonneta could have died well before the creation of this memorial, but Saturus and Pecorius delayed commissioning the gravestone until after Maura also passed away several years late. Another possibility is that they two women died at the same time, perhaps due to the same illness.[647] From the

[647] Nonneta and Saturus were married for eighteen years when she died, and Maura was twenty-six years old when she died. Other variables to consider are that both Nonneta and Maura could have died at the same time, but that Maura was adopted, or she was Nonneta's child from prior to her marriage to Saturus (e.g., another marriage), or that Nonneta and Saturus had conceived Maura out of wedlock. On the basis of

catalogue of conventional sayings that Saturus and Pecorius could have requested for their departed ones, they chose to declare that they buried their wives *contra votum*, against one's wishes, an expression that signals displeasure.[648] Whether a bond of twenty years, like Nonneta and Saturus, or the seven that Maura and Pecorius shared, the repetition of *contra votum* conveyed the unpleasant perception that both had ended too soon.

The most peculiar expressions found on this epitaph (and others of this time) have to do with references to the virginity of married persons, and in particular to the male partner as *virginius*, a virgin in some sense of the word.[649] As one might expect, this use is meant to indicate that the relationship is pure, somehow related to the ideal state often attributed to virgins in this society. However, what is less certain is exactly *how* marriage could be connected with virginity—what were people supposed to imagine about this relationship? A recent investigation by Christian Laes finds a range of possible meanings, but concludes that whether the term signals chastity before marriage or a particular way of life after marriage has been consummated, it served as a "wide and broad-ranging term

ages and dating, it is simpler to conclude that Nonneta died earlier, and that the two men purchased this relatively large slab (with professional lettering) several years later on the occasion of Maura's passing. Alternatively, the idea that both died at once from the same illness possesses the sort of simplicity that historians are taught to favor.

[648] Fundamentally, there is agreement that *contra votum* indicates that something has not gone according to a person's wishes or requests. A recent and convincing interpretation by Ulrike Ehmig concludes that this convention should be read in continuity with an older tradition of votive inscriptions ("Pro & contra: Erfüllte und unerfüllte Gelübde in lateinischen Inschriften," *Historische Zeitschrift* 296 [2013]: 297-329). This treatment has been expanded in his *Donum dedit: Charakteristika einer Widmungsformel in lateinischen Sakralinschriften*, Pietas 9 (Gutenberg: Computus Druck Satz & Verlag, 2017). For more traditional interpretations of the phrase *contra votum*, see Alfred Stuiber, "Contra votum," *RAC* 3 (1957), 421–22, and Kevin Uhalde, *Expectations of Justice in the Age of Augustine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2007), 175 n. 47 (cf. pp. 84–85: "A sense of betrayal hovers around the grief.").

[649] The phrase *qui vixit cum virginium suum* appears awkward. It is a dependent clause that seems intended to modify Nonneta, but the phrase instead reads: "who lived with his virgin." Likely, we are meant to read: "Nonneta…who lived with her (male) virgin…"

connotating holiness in body and spirit."[650] For some, it may have been a way of claiming that the couple had avoided indiscriminately "sowing seed in the field" outside of procreation.[651] For others, it could represent their state before their marriage (never married before) or after the marriage ended (never married again).[652]

Based on Saturus's location in Milan sometime in the fourth century, we may be justified in reading this epitaph as a response to Ambrose's demand for chastity in marriage.[653] Saturus and his son-in-law advertised their sensitivity to these changing ideas about marriage propriety. Perhaps the juxtaposition of *virginius* and *contra votum* encodes a subtle boast that other pious people could appreciate: Saturus missed his spouse for many reasons, but sex was not among those reasons.

Compared to Saturus's considerate mention of virginity on his wife's epitaph, another inscription from Milan comes across as quaintly unselfconscious:[654]

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[650] Christian Laes, "Male Virgins in Latin Inscriptions from Rome," 105–19 in Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Ville Vuolanto, ed., *Religious Participation in Ancient and Medieval Societies: Rituals, Interaction and Identity*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 41 (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2013), 115 cited here. This study is limited to Rome, and does not do much to delimit issues of dating, so the applicability to Milan and other cities is contingent upon attention to possible regional differences over time.

[651] To borrow the agricultural view of intercourse presented by Caesarius, the sixth-century bishop of Arles, *Sermon* 44.3 (titled "On Chastity, Abortion, and Abstinence before the Celebration of Church Feasts," in Mary M. Mueller, ed. and trans., *Saint Caesarius of Arles: Sermons, vol. 1 (1–80)* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1956)

[652] It is also worth considering that use of the term was affected by the asymmetrical speed and directions with which these social norms evolved across the Christian world.

[653] Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (Columbia University Press, 1988), 357–63.

[654] CIL 05, 06276 = ILCV 01263a. The location is part of a sprawling band of necropoli, with churches later built above them in various stages (see Soprintendenza archeologica della Lombardia, *Milano capitale dell'impero roma 286–402 d.c.* [Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1990], 120). The collection of saints' remains would continue to grow for centuries, and the holy relics would come to include the supposed skulls of St. Matthew, one of the Maccabees, and even an infant executed by Herod the Great. The partial collapse of 1688 portended the many damaging adaptations that would follow, especially the series of incredibly destructive demolitions begun in 1807, which seem to have been carried out with little regard for the preservation of the art and history that remained in the church. These centuries of destruction have reduced the current legacy of what had been one of the proudest cathedrals in Milan. In the midst of all this tumult, the epitaph for Januarius has gone missing, and the context of remaining tombs and relics is poorly

Valerius qui
vixit in saeculo
ann(os) XL m(enses) X d(ies) V
Ianuarius exorcista
sibi et coniugi fecit.

For Valerius, who lived in this age 40 years, 10 months, and 5 days. Januarius the exorcist made this for himself and his wife.

Januarius, speaking himself and for his wife, had this stone made to memorialize a deceased man named Valerius, perhaps their son.[655] Note that for Januarius, his wife was simply his wife (*coniugi*), with no added disclaimers about the sanctity of their union. We could imagine that Januarius lived at well before Saturus and Ambrose and the obsession with chastity. Yet this is a leap to conclusions. Notwithstanding the absence of pious excuses about how he conducted his marriage, there is nothing that would contradict the expectation that "the average clergyman…should 'have had sons, and not continue to

understood. Fortunately, ample transcriptions of the epitaph have been preserved. The earliest transcription is by Cyriacus of Ancona, for which see Edward W. Bodnar and Charles Mitchell, ed., "Francesco Scalamonti: Vita Viri Clarissimi et Famosissimi Kyriaci Anconitani," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series 86.4 (1996): 1–246, with the inscription appearing as n. 120 (pp. 74–75). Another copy is found in Martin De Smet, *Inscriptonium Antiquarium Quae passim per Europam Liber* (Franciscus Raphelengius, 1588), fol. CLXXII, and later (among sources mentioned in *CIL* and elsewhere), Lodovico Antonio Muratori, *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum: in praecipuis earumdem collectionibus hactenus praetermissarum*, vol. 4 (Aedibus Palatinis, 1742), MCMLIV, n. 5. One odd variant can be found in Jan Gruter, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis romani in absolutissimum corpus redactae* (Heidelberg, 1603), 1060 [MLX], n. 9, who sees the inscription beginning with the common formula *D. M.* (*dis minibus*). This rendering is also given later in Nicolo Carminio Falcone, *L'Intera Istoria Della Famiglia, Vita, Miracoli, Traslazioni, E Culto Del Glorioso Martire S. Gennaro Vescovo Di Benevento Cittadiono, e Principal Protettore di Napoli* (Naples: Felice Mosca, 1713), XCI–XCII, who interprets this insertion as *Deo Maximo*. Based on the other renditions of the inscription (from Cyriacus to Mommsen), the presence of *D. M.* seems to be unlikely, not to mention the unlikelihood of Falcone's interpretation.

[655] The inscription does not define the relationship between Valerius, Januarius, and Januarius's wife. A typical stone would tell the reader whether Valerius was a son, a brother, a former master, a friend, or something else. Some older scholarship seems to have taken the inscription to only refer to two persons "the exorcist Valerius Januarius" and his wife (most notably, Falcone, *L'Intera Istoria Della Famiglia*, XCI–XCII). The name Valerius Januarius is certainly a possibility, e.g,: from Rome, both AE 1973, 47 and AE 1975, 14; from Volubilis, AE 1953, 40 = IAM 2, 499 = AE 1955, 28 n. 78; from Meninx, AE 1933, 35 (41 n. 158; 54 n. 206); from Colonia Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa in modern Romania, AE 2000, 1253 = ILD 249; from Loveč in Bulgaria, *ILBulg* 257; tab. 52, 257. However, I disagree with this hypothesis, not least because this use of *sibi et X* (e.g., *conguigi, filio, libertis*, or *collibertae*) is indicative two people (in this case, *Ianuarius exorcista* and his wife) who are both distinct from the person outside of the clause (in this case, Valerius).

make sons.'"[656] By extension, the same might be said of other epitaphs that speak of marriage without qualifications, such as Sentius Respectus in Clusium; and in Rome, Celer, Maximus, Petronius, Proficius, and perhaps Bassilianus[657] and an anonymous exorcist.[658] Any of these may have lacked the kind of sophistication, interest, or involvement that would cause them to reference continence on their final epitaph, while others may predate the overwhelming obsession with a chaste clergy.

Finally, a dated epitaph in Milan can certainly be contextualized in Ambrose's tenure. The Milanese exorcist Victorinus is known from a well-worn limestone epitaph that was found beneath the Basilica of St. Eustorgio in Milan. *Victurini exsorciste* died on November 3, 377,[659] roughly six years after Eusebius of Vercellae died and about three years into Ambrose's tenure as the bishop of Milan. The year Victorinus was laid to rest also saw Ambrose publish his treatise *On Virginity* (377), in the midst of his conflict with Milan's Arians. Although Ambrose urged all Christians to valorize chastity, and did not use this occasion to lay out ecclesiastical policy, this treatise was like the prow of a ship pointing the direction of his diocese more changes to come.[660] Had he lived a little longer, this Victorinus would have witnessed the diocese of Milan fulfilling and outshining Eusebius of Vercellae's vision for chastity and order.

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[656] Brown, *Body and Society*, 257.
[657] ICUR 1, 3130 is fragmentary: *Bassilianus {a}e<x=SS>orcista / co(n)iugi bene merenti in pac{a}e*; but the visible text gives us only *-ianus aessorcista* / *enemerenti in pacae*.
[658] ICUR 10, 26864, cf. Carletti, *Iscrizioni di Bassilla* "*ad S. Hermetem*," 104, no. 129.
[659] ICI 12, 1 (= AE 1972, 214). Online: https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD009112, includes image. The orthography of is not atypical. Much of the epitaph is dedicated to fixing the date of his burial, which has turned out to be invaluable for historical purposes: *III Non(as) Nob(embres) Gra/tiano Aug(usto) IIII et / Merobaude cons(ulibu)s*. This has enabled archaeologists to fix a hard date on the area's transition to a Christian site (P. Biscottini, *I Chiostri Di Sant'Eustorgio in Milano*, [Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 1998], 21, 38, 48–49).
[660] Brown, *Body and Society*, 350–65.

However, perhaps Victorinus was already well-acquainted with what Ambrose was trying to accomplish. It hinges on whether or not the Northern Italian exorcists named Victorinus (of Milan and Vercellae, respectively) were one and the same person. From a distance, Ambrose expressed concerns over lax influences and organizational attrition in the diocese of Vercellae following Eusebius's death; old stalwarts must have been convinced that Ambrose was the truest defender and keeper of Eusebius's legacy in all of Northern Italy.[661] If the faithful courier-exorcist from Vercellae outlived his bishop, he may have seen the appeal of relocating to Milan. Minor clergy could and did make permanent moves, whether for a promotion (as Eusebius had done as a young lector who moved from Rome to become the bishop of Vercellae),[662] or as a lateral move without rising further through the ranks.[663] It is not hard to imagine the seasoned exorcist moving from the disappointments of Vercellae to the excitement of a new church complex going up outside the city walls of Milan. As well, some of Ambrose's opinions about the direction of the church of Vercellae may have formed in conversation with clergy who

[661] Ambrose most clearly honored the spiritual debt owed to Eusebius of Vercellae when he chose Honoratus to be the city's next bishop. He wanted to ensure that this next successor to the bishop's throne in Vercellae was worthy of the elder bishop's legacy, since it appears that he found the results of Eusebius's most immediate successor (Limenius) less than successful in this regard. Note that in Ambrose's letter to Vercellae (*Epistula extra collectionem* 14), he nowhere mentions Limenius. Rather, he points to infighting, and to the harsh reality that the city that had once provided bishops to other cities had no bishop of its own. The larger part of Ambrose's epistle to Vercellae (14.7–43) is bound up in persuading the church of Vercellae to avoid teachings of monks who had come to Vercellae from Milan to overturn the austere way of life demanded by Eusebius. The contents, context, and result of this letter speak to the influence of the clergy of Milan, the towering influence of Ambrose, and his supreme unwillingness to chart a course away from asceticism.

[662] Jerome, *De viris illust.* 96 (PL xxiii. 735B; modern edition is found in W. Herding, ed., *Hieronymi de viris inlustribus liber*, Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana [Leipzig: Teubner, 1924]). Jerome says that Eusebius was originally a native of Sardinia (*Eusebius, natione Sardus, et ex Lectore urbis Romanae, Vercellensis episcopus…*).

[663] In large enough numbers, such transfers to a more desirable diocese could become a problem (hence the Council of Serdica, canon XVI, rules against minor orders overstaying in Thessalonica specifically).

had worked for Eusebius, had outlived him, and were now eager for outside intervention in their home diocese.

Whether we can identify an exorcist as married, married with pious qualifications, possibly-unmarried,[664] or anything else, it is safe to conclude that the exorcists were neither innovative nor alone in navigating these struggles and life decisions. Where marriage was deemed unproblematic, exorcists married. When marriage began to present questions and challenges, exorcists and others began adding qualifications to describe why their marriage was still respectable. As they ate, drank, married, and procreated, or denied themselves these activities, the exorcists fell in line with whatever expectations were handed down to them from on high.

One might wonder why people signed up to become exorcists. What we can know about the men, whose career consisted of the unpleasant coupling of demon possession and self-abnegation? Where did they come from, and what did they hope to get out of it? As we turn to these matters below, it is possible to appreciate some of the reasons why men would continue to seek out or accept this position.

Changing careers

It is unusual for us to know anything at all about an exorcist's employment prior to being ordained.[665] We have only two examples. The first and most famous example is Martin of

[664] A number of other exorcists, likely from the long fourth century, have no mention of spouses or children, including: Vindemius of Carthage; Ursicinus of Sirmium; and in Rome, Gelasius, Irenaeus, Paulus, and Primus. It is perilous to draw too many conclusions from this data, because the inscriptions themselves are often missing the pieces we would need in order to see if another family member was once listed there, and, of course, the absence of a spouse or children on an epitaph does not indicate that there were no such people in an exorcist's life. Some of the clearest examples of exorcists for whom we lack any indication of family are also ones that appear later than the others mentioned above: Vincentius of Como (sixth century), John of Aeclanum (sixth century), and Laurentius of Rome (sixth or seventh century). I discuss these again in the next chapter.

[665] Aline Rousselle, "Aspects sociaux du recrutement ecclésiastique au IVe siècle," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 89 (1977): 333–70 remains a crucial essay on this topic.

Tours, who initially followed in his father's footsteps to become a soldier for several years. We saw a glimpse of Tertullian's disapproval for a martial career for Christian men, and this same disapproval lingered into the fourth century. For example, Paulinus wrote a letter to a soldier named Crispinianus, a complete stranger to him, imploring him to forsake the military and serve Christ; when that letter failed, Paulinus sent a second one that ends with threats of eternal poverty and judgment for his decision to remain in the military.[666] After his dishonorable discharge from the military, Martin went to serve Hilary of Poitiers, who eventually ordained him as an exorcist (*exorcistam eum esse praecepit*),[667] probably around the year 360. From there, Martin went on to become a bishop.

According to Sulpicius Severus, who wrote about these events some forty years after the fact, Hilary hoped to ordain his precocious disciple directly into the diaconate, but Martin "withstood him many times, crying out that he was undeserving" (*sed cum saepissime restitisset indignum se esse vociferans*) of this higher office.[668] Severus claimed that only sacrificial humility could have motivated Martin to accept his appointment as an exorcist, "which appointment he did not spurn, because he did not want to be seen scorning the humbler office" (*quam ille ordinationem ne despexisse*

[666] Paulinus, *Ep.* 25. Paulinus's irritation with Crispinianus may make more sense if we imagine that the soldier was ignoring subtle coercions to clerical service, which would have quickly ingratiated him into important circles that included other former soldiers. Paulinus wrote to Crispinianus on behalf of their mutual friend Victor, the spiritual "son of Martin" (Paulinus, *Ep.* 23.3); Paulinus may have found it embarrassing that he was no more effective at recruiting Crispinianus than Victor had been before the latter convinced him to take up the cause.
[667] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* 5.2
[668] Demurral from ecclesiastical honor functioned as a trope in the fourth century, and can be construed as a literary convention (e.g., Paulinus's ordination as presbyter by Lampius and Augustine's appointment to the bishopric by Valerius record similar demurrals). Brakke addresses the topic of monks and the temptation of the bishopric in *Demons and the Making of the Monk*, 67–68.

tamquam humiliorem videretur non repudiavit).[669] It is important to remember that Severus's assessments can sometimes tell us more about the mind of the author than about Martin.[670] Naturally, Severus wanted to rule out any suggestion that Martin's career on the *cursus honorum* had any root in crass, worldly motives.[671] The historical Martin, on the other hand, may have gladly accepted his appointment to the clergy, trusting that his ambition and discipline would earn him promotions and accolades.

Unsurprisingly, Cardamas is the other exorcist whose secular career we know: he had once been an actor by occupation.[672] Paulinus mentions the "buffoonery of the mime's role" (*ridiculum mimici nominis*) that had characterized Cardamas before his transformation into a cleric.[673] If *ridiculum* is an accurate description, then we may determine that Cardamas made a living performing at festivals and banquets and not by declaiming high art for ten-thousand people in *Le Palais Gallien* (the great theater in Burdigala). We would be close to the mark if we imagine an actor who delighted or disgusted audiences with wild music, eccentric costumes, and crude, sexual antics, as in the images collected by Katherine Dunbabin.[674] Still, Cardamas probably knew how to conduct himself around well-to-do people who hired his troupe for convivial settings. As

[669] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* 5.2.
[670] Matthew Ryan Reed, *Sulpicius Severus and Martin of Tours: defending a mentor, securing a saint* (Louisiana State University, Master's thesis, 2009), 7–10 and 76–81.
[671] Indeed, the circumstances under which Martin received his discharge from the military include charges of cowardice. To speculate for a moment, perhaps Martin's suffering reputation cut off other career possibilities, and any appointment in the clergy provided an appealing option. These considerations are the stuff of real life that have no place in hagiography.
[672] In addition to the present discussion, see Ruth Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2008). Webb discusses the possible conceptual associations between demons, exorcism, and acting (e.g., Webb, *Demons and Dancers*, 159–60, Theodoret of Cyrrhus's vignette on the maids and cook who play-acted an exorcism for their own amusement and to their own peril).
[673] Paulinus, *Ep*. 19.4.
[674] Katherine Dunbabin, "Problems in the Iconography of Roman Mime," 161–182 in Christophe Hugoniot, et al., *Le statut de l'acteur dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine* (Tours: Université François-Rabelais, 2004).

one sees from Dunbabin's study, these mimes made a living by putting on shows for public gatherings, perhaps festival days,[675] or providing entertainment at the banquet gatherings of the well-to-do.[676]

Paulinus may have believed that Cardamas earned condescension, not because he was a lowly exorcist or a man who struggled to achieve total abstemiousness, but merely because he had been a vulgar actor.[677] Cardamas supplies "a running joke in the letters of Paulinus to Delphinus and Amandus, who send him."[678] For his part, Cardamas probably found the role of "lesser man" familiar. If we were to imagine a theatrical *cursus honorum*, mimes like Cardamas ranked beneath the pantomimes, the "aristocracy" of the stage.[679] It is true that a combination of raw talent, intelligence, and some lucky successes could have propelled Cardamas to a respectable station in society,[680] but this appears like a remote possibility for Cardamas. It is best to imagine Cardamas transitioning from a low position on stage to a low position at church, perhaps driven by social and economic pressures.

Elites may have supplied funding for actors, but this does not mean that they liked them. The actor's profession became a matter of great tension in Late Antiquity, and although it persisted and flourished, it was also destabilized at times by powerful cultural and economic forces. It is no secret that many among the elites, whether they were

[675] The wild and obscene performance depicted in figs. 4–6 in Dunbabin, "Problems in the Iconograpy."
[676] Dunbabin, "Problems in the Iconography," 181–82, especially in the discussion of C. Fundilius Doctus (fig. 11) and Eucharistos, son of Eucharistos (fig. 12).
[677] Contrast with his stereotyped assumptions about Victor, the former soldier, and how this prepared him for the bishopric (Paulinus, *Ep.* 18.7).
[678] Conybeare, *Paulinus Noster*, 37.
[679] Emmanuel Soler, "Les acteurs d'Antioche et les excès de la cité au IVe s. apr. J.-C.," 251–272 in Christophe Hugoniot, et al., *Le statut de l'acteur dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine* (Tours: Université François-Rabelais, 2004), here pg. 252–53.
[680] Soler, "Les acteurs d'Antioche," 254; Dunbabin, "Problems in the Iconography," 171–73.

Christian or not, found mimes offensive.[681] Emmanuel Soler has argued that fourth-century elites became increasingly antagonistic towards actors, which adjusted the variables of supply, demand, and cost. Paying elites found themselves caught in "a scissor effect," as Soler has described it: the more elites pressured actors into leaving town or converting to Christianity (and forsaking acting), the more expensive it became to fund the remaining actors.[682] The wealthy were expected to foster and fund their performances, which were becoming more expensive in cities where Christianization aggressively advanced. This unfortunate combination of the offensive with the expensive could have repeated itself in many cities around the Roman world, and Cardamas may have experienced social pressure, antagonism, or even unemployment because of similar pressures (albeit with its own distinct regional flavor).

Despite his difficulty adapting to the rigors of his position, Cardamas apparently had a much easier time mastering the "artless art" of exorcism itself. He probably did not have to learn to read, but he did trade his stock of jokes for psalms.[683] For exorcists, general ability still surpassed literacy and learning, as Cardamas helps to illustrate. Paulinus praised Cardamas's quick competence: "[Cardamas] hears the Lord's will with the ear of faith, recounts it with holy eloquence (*pio narrat eloquio*), and fulfils it with energetic purpose."[684] Paulinus does not imply anything about literacy or learning beyond

[681] Blake Leyerle, *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 23–26 gives examples.
[682] Soler, "Les acteurs d'Antioche," 271–72.
[683] Paulinus, *Ep.* 15.4 has Paulinus and Cardamas sparring in a battle of wits using scripture citations. While only a vague indicator of a mime's possible familiarity with literature, the inscription of the mime Eucharistos, son of Eucharistos, closes with a line from Philistion, for which see Sencer Şahin, "Ein Kahlkopf aus Patara. Der Mime Eucharistos und ein Spruch von Philistion," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 21 (1993): 83–91.
[684] Walsh, *Letters*, vol. I, 150 (*Ep.* 15.4).

the aural-oral sequence of hearing, repeating, and then doing. This was all the education he needed.

For the rest, Cardamas could rely on skills he had fostered as an actor: "The buffoonery of his role as a mime once produced levity in him," but "now the gravity of his role as an exorcist produces reverence" commensurate with the levity.[685] Armed with rudimentary facts about Jesus and perhaps some psalms or credal statements, one could get to work threatening the demons with hellfire and judgment.[686]

Benefits of the Job

There was more to being a fourth-century exorcist than just self-denial and exorcisms. Exorcists received coveted benefits in return. Some of these have been much-discussed. For instance, besides receiving a salary, exorcists were also listed among the persons declared "exempt from the compulsory public services that are incumbent on persons."[687] As well, an exorcist might still rarely ascend through the ranks of the *cursus honorum* as Latinus and Martin did. However, this was hardly a regular benefit. The process was ill-defined and perhaps seldom used.[688] One of the benefits of being an exorcist arises naturally from work with epitaphs, which is the social value of a good burial in a respectable location. Here it is possible to gain a better appreciation for what it meant to

[685] *…ut in eo ante ridiculum mimici nominis leuitatem nunc adsumpta de exorcistae nomine gravitas reuerentiam dederit* (Paulinus, *Ep.* 15.4).
[686] There is insufficient place in this treatment discuss the overlap between amulets and liturgical creeds, but I would at least suggest that the imagined power of credal truth may have played a role in the textualization of exorcism formulae.
[687] *Theod. Cod*. xvi ii. 24, March 377; trans. by Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions: A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography* (New York : Greenwood Press, 1969). See Peter Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire*, Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2002), 29–34; idem, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 37–38.
[688] Hübner, *Der Klerus*, 31-33 synthesizes the evolution of the church offices into five phases, with the fourth century comprising the third and fourth phases. Here, Hübner refers to the *cursus honorum* as the exception rather than the rule in the fourth century (*Der Klerus*, 33).

be a low-ranking but well-connected man, as exorcists frequently seem to have been. It is to this benefit that I now turn.

A Good Burial

The prestige of a good burial went hand in hand with the privilege of knowing important men, since "impressing others through one's funerary architecture occurred no longer through tomb size but by means of patronage."[689] We see that the aspiration to be buried near the saints, *ad sanctos*, was particularly appealing, but could be difficult to procure. When the child of Therasia and Paulinus died around the year 392 or 393, he was buried *ad sanctos*.[690] However, Paulinus later questioned the propriety of burial *ad sanctos* for the son of a noblewoman named Flora, so he sought Augustine's advice on the matter.[691]

Special burial locations were not ordinarily available to common persons. However, exorcists were more than ordinary as long as they had the confidence of their overseer. Hence, we find these lower clergy in excellent locations, surrounded by signs of opulence and privilege. The honor of being in the presence of elite bishops thus followed acolytes, exorcists, lectors and others from life into the grave. Case studies of two epitaphs found *in situ* in the catacombs illustrate this well.

First, there is the case of Paulus, an exorcist in Rome, whose funerary stone rests in the floor of an ornate cubiculum. His epitaph and the room in which it was discovered make for an interesting juxtaposition. The burial was made in a location known for its heavy episcopal oversight: the catacombs of St. Callixtus, perhaps the earliest official

[689] Leonard Rutgers, "Cemeteries and Catacombs," 497–521 in Paul Erdkamp, ed. *Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), here referring to 502.
[690] Paula J. Rose, *A Commentary on Augustine's* De cura pro mortuis gerenda (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 14–17.
[691] Rose, *Commentary on Augustine's* De cura, 19–23.

Christian burial place in Rome. The large complex took its name from Pope Callixtus, one of the most formidable bureaucratic organizers of the early third century (217–222).[692] Before he made his name as pope, Callixtus earned his reputation as the deacon who had created a sustainable system for the care and expansion of a Christian burial complex.[693] From the modest starting point of Area I in the late second-century, the catacombs expanded on Callixtus's early framework, with galleries stretching over ten kilometers and up to five levels, and a complicated layout, "increasing the total number of available tombs from a hypothesized original 180 to at least 1,500 within less than a few decades."[694] The catacombs have not failed to impress researchers, beginning with Giovanni Battista de Rossi, who discovered the catacombs and carried out his excavations across the 1850s.[695]

Of the biggest surprises that greeted de Rossi was an unusually large number of prestigious people buried in these catacombs, including "the largest group of popes linked to any cemetery other than Saint Peter's itself."[696] Nine pontiffs who ruled the Roman church throughout most of the third century (c. 230–283) were interred in a single

[692] Brent, *Political History*, 242.
[693] According to most available accounts, Pope Zephrynus gave Callixtus charge over the funerary area while the latter was still a deacon. For a general overview of the catacomb, see Lucrezia Spera, "Cal(l)isti Coemeterium (Via Appia)," in Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, et al., eds., *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae: Suburbium*, Vol. 2: *C–F* (Rome: Quasar, 2001), 32–44. Referring to Area I of the catacomb. See Lucrezia Spera, "The Christianization of Space along the via Appia: Changing Landscape in the Suburbs of Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology* 107 (2003), 23–43, esp. 24 for Area I within the emerging cultural context of Roman Christian burial.
[694] Rutgers, "Cemeteries and Catacombs," 503. Overview in Philippe Pergola, *Le catacombe romane*: *storia e topogragia. Catologo a cura di Palmira Maria Barnini* (Rome: Carcci, 1998), 196–203.
[695] Giovanni Battista de Rossi, *Roma sotteranea Cristiana, descritta ed illustrate dal cav. G. B. de Rossi* (3 vols.; Rome: Cromo-litografia potificia, 1864–1877).
[696] Rosamond McKitterick, "The representation of Old Saint Peter's basilica in the *Liber Pontificalis*," 95–118 in Rosamond McKitterick, et al., eds., *Old St. Peter's, Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), here pg. 111.

crypt, the Crypt of the Popes.[697] In his studies, de Rossi came to the opinion that Pope Miltiades (311–314) was buried in a nearby square-shaped crypt (4.18 m. x 4.2 m.), cubiculum M2. The "Miltiades area" of the catacomb (Area II/III) was developed in the middle of the third century.[698] Unlike other zones in these catacombs, which have received extremely detailed treatments, there are many limits to what can currently be said about the Miltiades area.[699]

Most research on the cubiculum in question has had to do with the impressive art that adorned the ceiling. The paintings in cubiculum M2 contain themes that older scholarship considered "pagan" or "heretical" (e.g., a satyr, a dancing woman resembling Psyche),[700] but these themes are now recognized as an expression of the pastoral "eclecticism" evoked in some Christian art at this stage (late third and early fourth century).[701] The marble-slab paneled ceiling is barrel-vaulted with a skylight, a type of

[697]Besides these nine, Pope Cornelius (251–253), who figured so prominently in the previous chapter, was separately laid to rest in one of the oldest sections. Pope Gaius (283–296) was "the first bishop who was not placed in the already full Crypt of the Popes," see Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, "The Origin and Development of Roman Catacombs," 5–69 in Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai, Fabrizio Bisconti, and Danilo Mazzoleni, ed., *The Christian Catacombs of Rome: History, Decoration, Inscriptions*, 3rd ed., trans., Cristina Carlo Stella and Lori-Ann Touchette (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2009), esp. 35.
[698] For recent research on this area of the catacomb, see Carlo Carletti, "Gli affreschi della cripta di Milziade nel cimitero di S. Callisto: interventi di restauro." *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 69.1–2 (1993): 141–68. Cf. Antonio Baruffa, *Le Catacombe di San Callisto: Storia – Archaeologia – Fede* (3rd ed.; Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992), 87. De Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana*, II, 266–283 refers to this as the "second area," based on his belief that this was the second area into which the catacomb expanded after Area I. Modern research has concluded that Area II (di Milziade) and Area III of the catacomb "should be considered a single area" (Carletti, "Gli affreschi della cripta di Milziade," 144).
[699] Comprehensive studies of other areas include Josef Wilpert, *La Cripta dei papi e la cappella di Santa Cecilia nel cimitero di Callisto* (Rome, 1910); Louis Reekmans, *La tombe du pape Corneille et sa région cémétériale* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archaeologia cristiana, 1964); and Louis Reekmans, *Le complexe cémétérial du pape Gaius dans la catacombe de Callixte* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archaeologia cristiana, 1988).
[700] Carletti ("Gli affreschi della cripta di Milziade," 164) mentions Carlo Cecchelli, *Dal momento che lo inserì nei suoi Monumenti cristiano-eretici di Roma* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1944), 162–67
[701] Carletti, "Gli affreschi della cripta di Milziade," provides a full survey; particularly, see 158: "Il sistema decorativo nel suo complesso appare come tipico della produzione pittorica dell'età tetrarchica—protocostantiniana, nella quale, in una sorta di eclettismo, pur nella conservazione di alcuni elementi del sistema cosiddetto lineare (alternanza di linee rosso-verdi, kymation, prevalenza degli elementi circolari e

construction most common in the late third and early fourth century.[702] A long bench-like step running around the edges of the room supplied a seating area, and two bases that must have served as the foundations upon which serving dishes could be rested.[703] This crypt, then, served as a *refrigarium*, a meeting place for funerary banquets.[704] The number of deceased inside the room remained small: two *arcosolia* occupy the side walls, and a large niche (for a sarcophagus) appears on the back wall.[705]

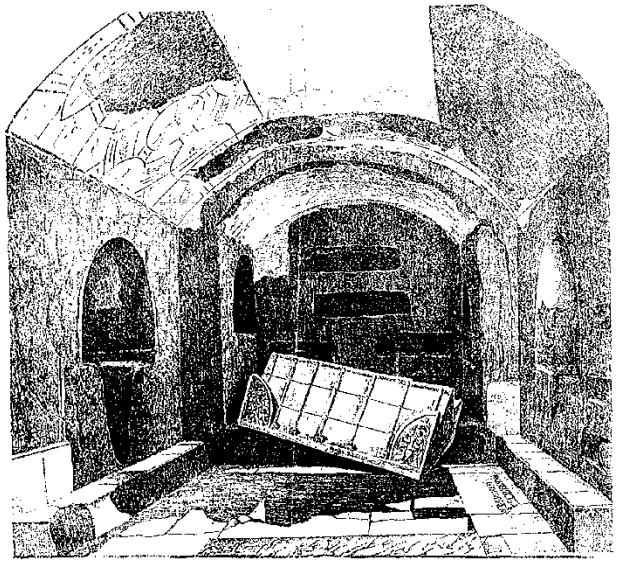


Figure 2: Cubiculo M2, showing the large sarcophagus lid (from de Rossi)

The most remarkable artifact in this crypt belonged to the *refrigarium*'s luminary star, some person of great honor and means, but whose identity is a mystery. One

ellis-soidali), vengono riproposti apparati decorativi tradizionali (il c. d. II stile pompeiano), soprattutto nella ripresa delle architetture pro-spettiche, che definiscono le pareti e incorniciano elementi decora-tivi di tipo fitomorfo o personaggi ripresi dal repertorio figurativo mitologico. Uno stile, in definitiva, in cui, come osservava Cagiano de Azevedo, « la vena popolaresca tenta di paludarsi con vesti clas-siche »" (and cf. similar artistic phenomena in the catacombs of Domitilla, Praetextat, and. Marcellino e Pietro).

[702] Baruffa, *Le Catacombe di San Callisto*, 87; Nicolai, "The Origin and Development of Roman Catacombs," 32; Carletti, "Gli affreschi della cripta di Milziade," 146.

[703] Carletti, "Gli affreschi della cripta di Milziade," 148. This supersedes the interpretation of Baruffa, *Le Catacombe di San Callisto*, 87 (following de Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, 189) that these were foundations for podiums or seats, from which worship leaders would preside over a service.

[704] Baruffa, *Le Catacombe di San Callisto*, 87.

[705] Carletti, "Gli affreschi della cripta di Milziade," 147.

indicator of this person's importance is the massive lid of a colossal sarcophagus, "The biggest that has ever been found in the catacombs of Rome."[706] De Rossi supposed that this lid rested on a sarcophagus that lay in the large niche cut into the back wall, and he further hypothesized that it belonged to Pope Miltiades. He based his decision on the ornateness of the crypt and the grandiose size of the coffin lid, the record of Miltiades's burial in these catacombs according to the *Depositio episcoporum*,[707] and his absence from the other likely find-spot—namely the "crypt of the popes" in the same catacomb. This hypothesis has largely been questioned and is considered inconclusive at the very least.[708] The room is generally agreed to have been important, but we cannot say more whose posthumous presence made the room so outstanding. The exorcist below may shed a little more light on the subject.

Paulus, an exorcist, was buried in this intriguing room. I believe he was buried here to receive the honor of resting with an important saint or martyr, whose identify remains a mystery. Paulus's marble memorial slab rests in the pavement on the right side of the crypt.[709] It is difficult to give a date for this inscription with the current data.[710] The epitaph is 57 cm. tall and 104 cm. wide as it now remains, but these dimensions do not account for what appears to be a large missing piece on the right side, and perhaps as well

[706] Baruffa, *Le Catacombe di San Callisto*, 87.
[707] Record for January 10, "Miltiades in Callixtus."
[708] Carletti, "Gli affreschi della cripta di Milziade," 145–146.
[709] ICUR 4, 10026; cf. de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea* II, 275 (and in the appendix, 106, Cubicolo a^3, inscription XXXVII n. 28); Rupke, *Fasti*, 2631.1; *PCBE* Paulus 7 (Pietri 26).
[710] If he died contemporaneously with the general development and use of Area II/III (including cubiculum M2), his death could have come roughly between 275–315. He could have served in the same date-range, although this is even more tenuous given the absence of numerical data on his inscription (the text that would have followed *vixit*). However, if his epitaph advertises his burial near a martyr's tomb (which dates to the range of roughly 275–315), then his burial must have taken place after the martyr was buried there. In this case, a date anytime after the early fourth century might be most likely.

along the top portion. The letters, which are neat and mostly uniform at 5.2 cm. tall, appear to have been inscribed by a skilled worker (see figure 3, below):[711]

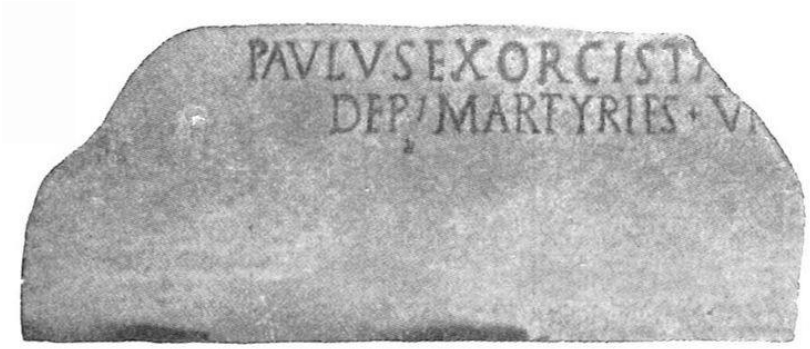


Figure 3: Funeral Inscription for Paulus the Exorcist (ICUR 4, 10026).

The extant text reads as follows:

> *Paulus exorcista [3]*
> *dep(ositio) Martyries vi[*

Because so much text is missing, naturally the translation must remain tentative. One reading of the text sees Martyria as Paulus's wife or daughter,[712] and the translation would read as follows:

> Paulus the exorcist, buried with Martyria…

I do not find it so clear that *martyries*, which only appears in this inscription, should be taken as a proper name.[713] Furthermore, there is little way to imagine what *vi[…* could mean in this case. However, we do know that a *martyry* often referred to a place of worship.[714] I believe it makes better sense to imagine that *martyries* refers to a location rather than a personal name. Paulus was buried in the doorway of a *martyry*, an ornately

[711] Image from Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby EDCS.
[712] The entry in ICUR explains: "Martyria uxor uel filia Pauli fuisse uiditer."
[713] *Martyry* is otherwise unattested from my queries of Latin epigraphical databases.
[714] E.g., Chrystom, *Hom* 11 on 1 Thess. 5; Palladius, *Lausiac* 103; Gregory of Tours, *S. Jul.* 1.2.46; Socrates, *Hist*. 4.23; Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos* 84 and *Hist. Ar.* 37; *Council of Laod*. IX, which forbids attendance at the "martyries of the heretics." The term is sometimes translated into Latin as *Confessiones* (*Chalcedon* 8; Cod. Theod. 1.7).

designed room of commemoration which was itself within a short walking distance from a large number of martyr-popes. I believe this signals Paulus's burial was a sort of *ad sanctos*, a burial for oneself or one's loved ones in close proximity to the sacred dead. Seen in this way, the extant text of the inscription would now translatable as:

> Paulus the exorcist, buried with the martyrs (or: at the martyry chapel).

This still leaves the problem of *vi[…*, which could refer to a few different options, depending on how much of the inscription has gone missing.[715] Most likely, the missing letters read *vi[xit*, and went on to state that "he lived this many years." This one of the most common inscriptional formulae encountered on Roman epitaphs, often much abbreviated so as to take up very little space, for instance: *VIX PL MIN ## ANN.* We are missing approximately ten letters, or perhaps a little less than one-third of the inscription's width. In this case, the approximate text of the full inscription would have read:

> Paulus, exorcist, [some short appellation or description], buried at the martyry chapel, who lived X-number of years.

This inscription could have contained a brief note about his career, or some epithet such as *benemerenti in pace*, and probably his age.

If my interpretation of the inscription is correct, Paulus's inscription could shed light on crypt M2 itself. If the large niche in this room did indeed house a large sarcophagus (in addition to its *arcosolia*), some person or persons of ecclesiastical significance may have been interred there, making it a *martyry*. Perhaps de Rossi's

[715] Besides the option I prefer here, one could imagine a term such as *vivum/vivo*, to say that "I erected this while still alive." While it is not uncommon to use such a formula, it seems to exclusively occur with a reflexive *se* preceding the *vivum*. The absence of the reflexive leaves this a poor option.

hypothesis at least has the prescient value of nodding to the significance of the person buried there, whether or not it was Miltiades.

Of course, there was no dishonor to being buried in any of the many identical looking *loculi* lining the gallery walls of the catacombs. However, it was a distinct honor to rest in this particular location. His tidy, if modest, inscription would have been visible to anyone entering or exiting the stunningly ornate cubiculum. We do not know precisely how Paulus would have gone about procuring this coveted piece of real estate in the catacombs, but the more important observation is that he was able to accomplish this at all.

A second example shows an exorcist and wife who likewise secured their resting place among the wealthy. As the demand for sacred burial places continued to grow in the fourth century, "a new catacomb was created just a little more than 100 meters north of the 'Regione di Sotere'" of the catacomb of St. Callixtus.[716] The catacombs were sacred to the martyrs Marcus and Marcellianus, as evidenced by graffiti (ICUR IV, 11745), and Pope Damasus himself may have been buried here.[717] These factors alone made this a desirable place to be buried *ad sanctos*, which accounts for the addition of burial spaces beneath the shrine on the surface.[718] Patrick Saint-Roch found the catacomb

[716] Nicolai, "The Origin and Development," 42.
[717] The descent from above-ground memorials to subterranean inhumation began around the year 331 and continued until around 406 (Saint-Roch, "Basiliae coemeterium," 207, 209). Recent investigations of the Catacomb of Callixtus suggest that the Basilica of Pope Damasus may have been located in this vicinity, and will undoubtedly be the subject of ongoing research (Cristina Felici, et al., "Il comprensorio della catacomba di San Callisto alla luce delle indagini geofisiche," *Archeologia e Calcolatori* 27 [2016]: 227–49, esp. 239–40 and 246).
[718] Patrick Saint-Roch, "Basilei coemeterium," in Vincenzo F. Nicolai, et al., ed., *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae: Suburbium,* vol. 1: *A–B* (Rome: Quasar, 2001), 207–11, on 208 argues that the underground portion probably was not created until 331 (ICUR IV, 11748 is an inscription in situ at the access of the door to the subterranean section). For the latter date, see ibid., 210.

to be the domain of elite members of society who could afford an opulent burial settings, interspersed with clergy, including those of the lowest grades.[719]

Here an inscription for Celer the exorcist and his wife was found in the fall of 1867, when some oxen working in the vineyard there collapsed the subterranean roof below their feet, revealing the location of these catacombs.[720] The walls of this area were decorated with fine art, featuring ornate paintings of the natural world, such as birds and flowers, and a depiction of the four evangelists (which gives the crypt its name). Saint-Roche dated this area to about the year 359, providing an approximate date to Celer and his wife as well.[721] The inscription (ICUR 4, 11856 = ILCV 1258 [36]) is preserved and has been photographed (see Figure 3). It is made of incised marble and stands 23 cm tall x 26 wide. The stone immediately attracted de Rossi's attention because it is "sottile," only 1.2 cm. thick.[722]

[719] Patrick Saint-Roch, "Enquête 'sociologique' sur le Cimetière dit 'Coemeterium sanctorum Marci et Marceliani Damasique'," *Rivista di Archaeologia Cristiana* 59 (1983): 411–23. These findings are later summarized and further synthesized in Saint-Roch, "Basilei coemeterium," 207–11. "A certain number of members of the clergy" were inhumated in this cemetery, although "one does not find a bishop or deacon, only two presbyters, an acolyte, an exorcist, and two lectors, to which may be added a widow and a few *fossores*" (Saint-Roch, "Basiliae coemeterium," 211).
[720] Giuseppe de Rossi, *Bullettino di Archaeologia Cristiana* 6 (1868): 11.
[721] For prospopographical entries, cf. also Rupke, *Fasti*, Nr. 1131; PCBE Celer I; Pietri 25.
[722] De Rossi, *Bull*., 11.

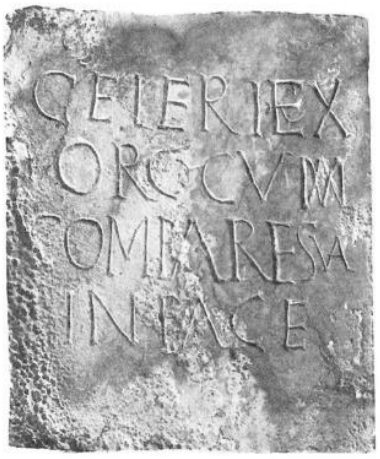


Figure 4: Epitaph of Celer the Exorcist, ICUR 4, 11856 = ILCV 1258 (36)..

Transcribed, the inscription reads as follows:

Celeri ex
orc(istae) cum
compare sua
in pace

The simple inscription lends itself well to translation with little discussion: "To Celer the exorcist, with his wife, in peace."

Additional data may be deduced from the from the face of the epitaph. One can make out no additional figures or artistic augmentation. The letters are relatively small, at 2.7 cm. tall, and not particularly neat or even. The lines slant, and the letter shapes vary in regularity. The final *m* on line 4 appears to have been corrected and the final two letters of *sua* are diminished to ensure that it fit on line 3. The epitaph is not typical of the sort one would expect from a well-to-do person, and indeed, stands in contrast to the precision-crafted surroundings in which it was affixed. More than likely it was episcopal connections, not money, that permitted Celer and his wife to have their plain epitaph fixed among ornate displays of wealth and patronage.

Victorinus in Milan, Celer and Paulus in Rome seem to indicate that exorcists could attain coveted burial locations that might otherwise have been out of their reach. Similar things could be said of Vindemius in Carthage,[723] and in a rural context, Respectus of Clusium.[724] I think it is not unreasonable to suppose that an epitaph for *Cardamas exorcista et coniugi* could emerge from a spot of relative prominence in one of the shrines or basilicas that lay in or around Burdigala. This honor would have been well of limits to *Cardamas mimus*, and illustrates one of the benefits of being an exorcist.

Other Provisions (A Servant?)

Cardamas and his wife did not have to wait until death to be considered for additional services. Paulinus reported to his friend Amandus that the exorcist was concerned for his frail wife while he busied himself with the Lord's work elsewhere: "He asserts that his wife is disabled, and thus is not able to take care of herself" (*mulierem suam debilem et ideo inutilem sibi adserit*).[725] Paulinus requested that his distinguished friend investigate to make sure Cardamas's story was true, and if it was, to provide for the needs of Cardamas's wife.[726] It appears that this provision was to be supplied in the

[723] Vindemius rests at the once-imposing Basilica Maiorum at Mcidfa (CIL 08, 25193); Liliane Ennabli, *Les inscriptios funéraires Chrétiennes de Carthage, Vol II: La basilique de Mcidfa*, Publications de l'École Française de Rome 62 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 62), 78–79, no. 58.
[724] CIL 11, 2559; ICI 11, 27; Valeria Cipollone, "Nuove ricerche sulla catacomba di Santa Mustiola a Chiusi," *RACrist* 74 (1998): 93–147. At the catacombs of Santa Mustiola in the pastoral countryside outside of Clusium (modern Chiusi), Sentius Respectus ('*exsorcista*') and his wife Minucia Orestina were commemorated in a conspicuous location near the subterranean basilica, the ritual heart of the catacombs. The galleries branch off from this shrine, and CIL 11, 2559 is a few meters down a gallery on the right. Here we also find the first known bishop of Clusium, Lucius Petronius Dexter, buried in 322 (ICI 11, 2); also the deacon Sulpicius Felicissimus (ICI 11, 28). Somewhat deeper into the catacombs is the presbyter Aurelius Irenaeus, who was interred with his wife Aurelia Agapes, gives his clerical resume: *iacon*(*o*) [=diacono] *annis V praesviter*(*o*) *annis XXX, menses VIII*, analyzed in Matteo Braconi, "La carriera del presbitero. Testo e contesto di una nuova iscrizione cristiana proveniente dalla catacomba di S. Mustiola a Chiusi (SI)," *Epigraphica: Periodico Internazionale di Epigrafia* 80 (2018): 551–62.
[725] Paulinus, *Ep.* 15.4. Perhaps Cardamas spoke more about his wife in real life than emerges from the written record.
[726] Paulinus, *Ep.* 19.4.

form of a *mancipiolum*.[727] Translators have had to decide whether Paulinus's wife was to be furnished with "a small property"[728] or "a slave."[729] The latter seems probable, especially as one considers the handling of Sanemarius, who Paulinus freed from his own service. In return, Sanemarius was sent to Burdigala to perform *religiosam servitutem* on Paulinus's family estate under Amandus's oversight and patronage.[730] Perhaps Paulinus had an arrangement with Amandus that permitted him to mobilize "sacred servants" like Sanemarius to care for needs in the extended network of dependents and property. Cardamas's wife would be cared for by a young servant who would thus "merit the possession of true freedom under your protection" (*obtinere firmam libertatem sub uestra defensione mereatur*).[731]

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have depicted the thriving office of exorcists in the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century. Exorcists continued to torment demons, but they also served many other purposes. Church leaders of most major "orthodox" varieties (Nicene, Arian, Donatist, etc.) employed exorcists as useful cogs in the machinery of ecclesial politics. Exorcists who served under ascetic-minded presbyters and bishops were coaxed into new ways of living. The adjustment to ascetic-clerical life was not an easy one, at least for some.

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[727] This is, unfortunately, a *hapax* form of the term in all of antiquity until the eleventh-century *Vita Gerardi Broniensis* (Lothar von Heinemann, *Vita Gerardi abbatis Broniensis*, MGH SS, 15 [Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1888], 655–73).
[728] Walsh, *Letters*, vol. 1, 150.
[729] Perrin, "Les Courriers," 1055.
[730] Paulinus, *Ep.* 12.12.
[731] Paulinus, *Ep.* 12.12.

Exorcists changed with the times. The many ecclesiastical changes they experienced were not specific to their order alone, since all clergy were being swept along by the powerful currents of piety and politics. We look in vain for any major issue exclusively having to do with *ordo* of exorcists. This could be interpreted as stability in the course of the treacherous fourth century. Alternatively, perhaps it marks stagnation—a mere opportunity to remain afloat at the beginning of another century, where anything could be waiting.

CHAPTER FIVE

"Why Do the Teachers Mention Exorcists?" The Decline of an Order

After encountering a thriving office of exorcists, this chapter now examines the end of the office of exorcists. Sometime in the very early ninth century, a deacon named Yeshu sent correspondence from his home in the village of Tirminaz[732] to Cyriacus, the Patriarch in Antioch.[733] As often happens in ecclesiastical correspondence, Yeshu's letters were more than just an exercise in pleasantries. Instead, he offered lists of questions, requiring the kinds of answers only the most illustrious Patriarch could give.[734] Yeshu expressed puzzlement about why the service manuals would stipulate the participation of a member of the clergy that, as far as he knew, did not exist: "Why do the teachers mention exorcists (ܡܢܬܚܫܟ) in the eucharistic liturgies and in the *sedre*? And whether they were exorcising others, and not [just] those who were being baptized?"[735] In Yeshu's experience, priests practiced exorcisms (ܡܫܡܫܢ) during the service. Cyriacus began his answer to Yeshu by invoking exorcism's inscrutability: "It is not, I think, uncensurable that mysteries should be pried into [with the word] 'why?'" In other words, Yeshu was not asking a very good question. Still, Cyriacus provided a brief answer, "Nevertheless, [know that] exorcists were once different from baptizers."[736] This suggests

[732] Tirminaz was not far from Cyrrhus (across the modern Syrian border just west of Kilis, Turkey).
[733] Description and current bibliography on Cyriacus of Tigrit at Witold Witakowski, "Quryaqos," in Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron M. Butts, George A. Kiraz and Lucas Van Rompay, eds., *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition* (Gorgias Press, 2011; online ed. Beth Mardutho, 2018), https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Quryaqos; cf. Ignatius Ephrem I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: A History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, trans. Matti Moosa (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003), 376–78.
[734] See full text and translation of Cyriacus's correspondence and treatises in Mikael Oez, *Cyriacus of Tagrit and His Book on Divine Providence*, 2 vols., Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 3 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2012), 370–87 and 404–19.
[735] Oez, *Cyriacus of Tagrit*, vol. 2, 414.
[736] Oez, *Cyriacus of Tagrit*, vol. 2, 414.

to me that Cyriacus himself did not know much more about the office of exorcists, which made Yeshu's question seem especially problematic.[737]

What has happened to the exorcists? In previous chapters, we encountered a flourishing clerical order that was instituted to administer a simple, orderly, and informed practice of exorcism, yet without elevating it to a science. Instead of thriving between the fourth and eight centuries, we find that the exorcists had become a faint memory. Yeshu could have traveled the world and found a few ordained exorcists in some churches, at least in theory, but he would probably find his ignorance matched wherever he went. Answers to his question remain shrouded in mystery. In fact, very little has been written about the distinct office of exorcist in the later years of antiquity, from the fourth century onward, and the history of ordained exorcists in Eastern traditions has gone virtually ignored.[738]

Facts that Cyriacus called "mysteries" can be clarified to a degree. To the extent that our sources permit, it is possible to give Yeshu's question an answer, albeit some twelve-hundred years later than expected. As I consider the final years of the order of exorcists, I find that the practice of ordaining exorcists declined in the early fifth century, meaning that Cardamas and his colleagues in the previous chapter represent the final years of the office. I correlate this decline primarily with the baroque exorcism rites that had become far too specialized for unlettered persons, such as most of the exorcists discussed up to this point. Other offices, like subdeacons, absorbed the quotidian work of

[737] One finds additional discussion of the baptismal mysteries, including exorcism, in Oez, *Cyriacus of Tagrit*, vol. 2, 372–76 and 384.
[738] For ecclesiastical trends in Latin exorcism from the Middle Ages onwards, see Francis Young, *A History of Exorcism in Catholic Christianity*, Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

the exorcists, while the censuring of demons passed on to those of higher education and status. Instead of fostering a class of exorcists, these leading men fostered solemn exorcisms that reflected their elite capabilities. By Yeshu's day, exorcism had become a "mystery," the work of learned ritual experts, which resembles the status of exorcism when Jesus's movement seized on the practice centuries earlier.

Evidence to support this thesis accumulates beginning in the fifth century in both East and West. Some of the most explicit records come from the Syriac church, both in Cyriacus's Antioch and points further East. Thus far, I have not given much space to Eastern churches, and reasonably so, since most material evidence for exorcists is concentrated in the West. Additionally, the topic of Eastern exorcism comes laden with scholarly disagreements about whether or not churches in the East ever appointed official exorcists. Thus, I begin this part of the study with a brief statement of the *status quaestionis* of exorcists in the East, using data from Syriac texts and Latin sources to fortify a picture of a clerical office on the decline across the fifth-century Christian landscape. In the end, I find that exorcism as a *practice* thrived as never before; however, only a few menial exorcists remained in service, and the office itself practically disappeared by the seventh century.

Problems and Ambiguities

In scholarly treatments on the topic of exorcism, the majority opinion is that Eastern churches did not recognize official exorcists as they did in the West. Eastern exorcists, it is often supposed, remained generally unfettered by church oversight, having been "regarded rather as persons endowed with unusual supernatural powers received direct

from God."[739] A fourth-century Syriac document known as the *Apostolic Constitutions* seems to confirm this historical assessment: "An exorcist is not ordained."[740] Finally, the epigraphical record appears to speak through silence. In her masterful survey of ordained clergy across Asia Minor, Sabine Hübner did not find evidence for a single exorcist in any of the Greek clerical epitaphs.[741] My own investigations of Greek[742] and Syriac[743]

[739] Louis Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution*, trans. by M. L. McClure (London: SPCK, 1904), 344.

[740] *Apostolic Constitutions*, 8.26. For the text, see Paul F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002), 9–10.

[741] Sabine Hübner, *Der Klerus in der Gesellschaft des spätantiken Kleinasiens* (Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium Band 15; Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 25 n. 70, "Exorcisten und Akoluthen werden in kleinasiatischen Inschriften nicht genannt...Es gab sie auch im spätantiken Ägypten nicht."

[742] In Greek, the only possible exorcist inscription known to me is *ICUR* 15160, from area E9 in the Catacomb of Praetextatus (see Antonio E. Felle, *Concordanze delle Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres Occidentis* [Bari: Edipuglia,1991], 70, a fragment which was read as … OC EΞOPK. However, this is extremely uncertain, and would be little short of tendentious if used for evidential purposes.

[743] In Syriac, there are possible exorcist epitaphs from the Silk Road, in thirteen-century Semirechye (in contemporary Kazakhstan). Daniel Chwolson listed inscription for various clergy, including possible exorcists named Barshabā (Barsabas) and Andrea (Andreas). See Chwolson, *Syrisch-nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie. Neue Folge* (St. Petersburg: Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1897), 35, no. 169, gives record of "Tarim, the believer," who was married to Andreas, either a ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ("believer") or ܡܗܝܢܐ ("exorcist"), but the word was too illegible to decipher. Chwolson mentions Barshabā the exorcist elsewhere: in Chwolson, *Syrisch-nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie*, Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg 37.8 (St. Petersburg: Académie impériale des sciences, 1890), 101, no. 21, but his translation "Barshabā the believer" indicates his hypothesis that the inscriber had been trying to signify ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ("believer," or "Christian"), having the term مومن ("believer") in mind. Theodore Nöldeke's review, "*Syrisch-nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie, herausgegeben und erklärt von D. Chwolson. Nebst einer Beilage: Ueber das türkische Sprachmaterial dieser Grabinschriften vom Akademiekr* [sic.] *Dr. W. Radloff. Mit drei phototypischen Tafeln und einer ebensolchen, von Prof. Dr. Julius Euting ausgearbeiteten Schrifttafel*" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 44 (1890): 520–28, on 522 suggested ܡܗܝܢܩܐ ("exorcist") to be the correct reading. Chwolson, on the basis of correspondence with Nöldeke in the interim, subsequently altered his translation, reflected in the *corrigenda* of *Syrisch-nestorianische Grabinschriften* from the same year (1890), for which see pg. 161, no. XXI; the "believer" is now an "exorcist." I have not reviewed these inscriptions in person, nor their photographs, and I hesitate to follow any determination by Nöldeke and Chwolson without further inspection of the evidence. The difficulty of handling this corpus is complicated by both the obscurity and attrition of the sources, as Mark Dickens describes, "Unfortunately, of the approximately 610 gravestones found in the Chu Valley, nearly 500 of them were destroyed in a fire in the museum where they were being kept in Almaty in 1939" ("Syriac Gravestones in the Tashkent History Museum," 13–50 in Dietmar W. Winkler and Li Tang, eds., *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters*, Orientalia—patristica—oecumenica 1 [Münster–Vienna: Lit Verlag. 2009], here citing 17; see 1–26 for a clear introduction of context and *Forschungsgeschichte*).

inscriptional corpora has produced no clear evidence for exorcists. Nonetheless, I argue for specialist exorcists in the ranks of Eastern churches.

Reconstructing the experiences of churchgoers in the ancient East requires that we determine whether the eastern churches hired exorcists. For instance, when the pilgrim Egeria made her trailblazing pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the 380s, she recorded an invaluable account of the sacred spaces and solemn rituals she encountered.[744] One of the rites she observed in Jerusalem was an expulsion of demons by a rite of exorcism:

> *Hoc autem, dominae sorores, ne extimaretis sine ratione fieri, scribere debui. Consuetudo est enim hic talis, ut qui accedunt ad baptismum per ipsos dies quadraginta, quibus ieiunatur, primum mature a clericis exorcizentur, mox missa facta fuerit de Anastase matutina.*[745]
>
> I must write this, lady sisters, lest you think that it is done without explanation. For the custom here is such that those who come to baptism during those forty days in which there is fasting are first exorcized by the clergy early, as soon as the morning dismissal from the Anastasis has been done.[746]

Who were these exorcizing clergy? Previous chapters have given evidence of exorcists filling such roles across various fourth-century ecclesiastical networks in the West, but we also know that bishops, priests, and presumably deacons could perform this duty. Excellent scholars are divided. For instance one claims that ordained exorcists were at work here,[747] while others declare that the East was altogether lacking an order of

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[744] For discussions of dating, see Anne McGowan and Paul Bradshaw, *The Pilgrimage of Egeria: A New Translation of the Itinerarium Egeriae with Introduction and Commentary* (Collegeville, MN: Order of Saint Benedict, 2018), 17–32; Pierre Maraval, *Egérie Journal de voyage (Itinéraire)* / Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz , *Valérius du Bierzo: Lettre sur la B^se^ Egérie*, 2nd ed., rev. and corr., Sources chrétiennes 296 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2002), 27–39.

[745] Egeria, *Itin.* 46.1.

[746] McGowan and Bradshaw, *The Pilgrimage of Egeria*, 130.

[747] George E. Gingrich, *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrim,* Ancient Christian Writers (New York: Newman Press, 1970), 123 n.463 recommends the suggestion of A. A. R. Bastiaensen, *Observations sur le vocabulaire liturgique dans l'Itinéraire d'Egérie*, Latinitas christianorum primaeva 17 (Nijmegen-Utrecht: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1962), namely, that the order of exorcists performed the operations Egeria described (however, Bastiaensen, 13–15, offers a references with precious little exposition, thus doing very little to clear ambiguities).

exorcists.[748] A creative director planning to stage this scene for film or stage would face the ambiguities of our sources and scholarship. Should they cast a different actor to play an exorcist for the role, or would they call for an actor already outfitted in the robes of a presbyter? I will explain why I would advise casting a distinct exorcist.

A Summary View of Eastern Exorcists

We find specialist exorcists in various places across the East. In a prior chapter, I discussed how "one of the exorcists" confronted the second-century Christian prophetess, who was supposedly leading men astray. That exorcist was lauded by Latin-speaking leaders, who ordained exorcists in their own churches, yet the exorcist in question performed his work in the Greek-speaking East.[749] This story does not indicate that the position was identically defined across the world, but it does serve to indicate that the role was organized and recognized in several distinct regions.

More specific evidence for Greek-speaking exorcists comes from Eusebius of Caesarea, the Constantinian historian, who reports that exorcists numbered among those killed or imprisoned under Diocletian's persecutions in 303 CE. He lists Palestinian exorcists Procopius of Jerusalem (later of Scythopolis), Alpheus, and Romanus, all put to death, while many others across the Empire were thrown in prison.[750] Eusebius's martyrological history was translated into Syriac in the year 411, in the city of Edessa.[751]

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[748] McGowan and Bradshaw, *The Pilgrimage of Egeria*, 155 n.46.1.

[749]Christine Trevett, *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 15, 171. She places the convergence of exorcists at Pepuza to "at the latest before the early 170s" (37).

[750] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 8.6.9.

[751] Syriac text is British Library MS. Add. 12150, which is also "the earliest dated Christian literary manuscript in any language" (Sebastian Brock, "Syriac Culture, 337–425," 708–19 in Averil Cameron & Peter Garnsey, eds., *The Late Empire, AD 337–425*, The Cambridge Ancient History 13 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997], here citing 718). Standard Greek critical edition of the *Martyrs of Palestine* is Gustave Bardy, *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire Ecclésiastique. Tome III. Livres VIII-X et Les Martyrs en Palestine. Texte grec, traduction et notes*, SC (Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 1958).

This translator used the technical appellation for "exorcist" (ܟܫܝܡܐ) alongside the designations of other offices, which proves that the term was useful at least *in theory* in Syriac in the early fifth century, and that it was useful *in practice* in fourth-century Greek ecclesiastical parlance.[752] These and other exorcists apparently did not receive commemoration in the epigraphic record, which must point to some distinction between Latin practices on the one hand, and Greek, Syriac, Coptic and other practices on the other. Perhaps this distinction was rooted in regional ways of epigraphically memorializing human life, but I suspect the roots run deeper, since we can find examples of nearly every trade and status in the epigraphic record. More likely, it had something to do with the way ecclesiastical exorcists were organized and utilized in Eastern orders, and how they related to such worldly concerns as regional tax policies or place within a *cursus honorum*. At the very least, however, we can be confidant that organized exorcists were not a repugnant or foreign entity in the majority Greek- and Syriac-speaking churches known to Eusebius.

Other evidence comes from the dedication of the Golden Church in Antioch (341 CE), where nearly one-hundred clergy gathered from across Asia, Mesopotamia, Arabia,

[752] Alpheus was a lector and exorcist (ܟܫܝܡܐ ܘܩܪܝܐ ܕ; I have removed relative particle), who was active as a preacher and teacher (ܟܠܦ ܘܐܝܟ) (William Cureton, *History of the Martyrs of Palestine by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea* [London: Williams and Norgate, 1861], 5; Syriac pg. ٣). In both Cureton's edition and the popular *ANF* translation (Schaff and Wace's 1890 work based on the shorter recension), Romanus is a deacon (διάκονός, ܫܡܫܢܐ) and exorcist (ἐπορκιστὴς, ܟܫܝܡܐ in Cureton, Martyrs of Palestine, 6; Syriac pg. ١). In the Syriac recension of Eusebius's *History of the Martyrs of Palestine*, we find Procopius described as a lector (ܩܪܝܐ), a translator from Greek language into Aramaic, and one who "opposed the powers of the evil one, and the devils trembled before him" (Cureton, *History of the Martyrs*, 4; Syriac pg. ٤). Though not called an *exorcist* as such, he appears comparable to the other two exorcist-martyrs Eusebius has listed. It is also in the Syriac of the same that we find. The shorter Greek recension omits the offices of Alpheus and Procopius. See comments on his martyrdom in Paul Keresztes, "From the Great Persecution to the Peace of Galerius," *VC* 37 (1983): 386–87.

and points between to deliberate over polity and doctrine.[753] In their tenth published canon, the assembled bishops decided that rural bishops, *chorepiskepoi*, could not ordain priests, but determined that they could ordain readers, subdeacons, and exorcists.[754] While I doubt that all churches or dioceses practiced this ordination, a significant number of urban and rural churches in the East affirmed the appointment of exorcists, corresponding to the Western practices we have already seen.[755]

To address any remaining doubt, the writings of theologians leave few questions about the *ordo* of exorcists among Greek- and Syriac-speaking churches. Writing around the year 380, Epiphanius listed exorcists and translators (ἐπορκισταὶ καὶ ἑρμηνευταὶ <ἀπὸ> γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν) among the positions beneath the priesthood permitted to marry and remarry. In this context, he was engaging in a relevant debate over marriage and the clergy, which lends plausibility to the idea that this statement of his represents the kind of hierarchy he promoted during his tenures in Palestine and Cyprus.[756] Around this same time, another Greek-speaking author could hardly imagine an Antiochene church operating without ordained exorcists. In his pseudonymous *Epistle to the Antiochenes*, written in the name of Ignatius of Antioch, an author greets "subdeacons (ὑποδιακόνους),

[753] See introductory discussion in C.W.B. Stephens, *Canon Law and Episcopal Authority: The Canons of Antioch and Serdica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1–14, and pg. 241 for a translation of the epistle mentioning place-names; Eduard Schwartz, "Zur Geschichte des Athanasius," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-Historische Klasse (1911): 469–522, esp. 503–4. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015039592111&view=1up&seq=516

[754] English translation available in Stephens, *Canon Law*, 243.

[755] Besides councils and synods, I have already discussed some of the ways Eusebius of Vercellae, his peers, and his opponents trafficked in an expansive matrix of clergy from Scythopolis to Jerusalem to Western Europe. This was carried out through letters (some carried by exorcists themselves) and personal visits. At the very least, we can say nobody from this cast of characters objected to another diocese's exorcist ordinations.

[756] Epiphanius, *De fide* 22.10; K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Bände 1-3: Ancoratus und Panarion*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 37 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933), 522.

lectors, singers, doorkeepers, the laborers,[757] exorcists (ἐπορκιστάς), confessors."[758] It makes little sense to suggest that the author would introduce an irrelevant office into the text, when he intended to make the text more pertinent for the community or communities he wished to influence. I argue that both authors strongly point to the personal presence of exorcists in Greek- and Syriac-speaking churches in Palestine, Antioch, and beyond.

Add to this the prior notice discussed above by Cyriacus, the latter-day Patriarch of Antioch, who affirmed the distinct role, as well as additional texts I discuss below. There is no cause for denying the presence of specialized exorcists in the Antiochene episcopate, or in other churches across the East (and, of course, the West).[759] This does not mean that they bore identical duties, qualities, rank, pay, and status in all regions, but sufficiently demonstrates that the title and role were recognized, sanctioned, regulated, and utilized across the ecclesiastical world. Such was the historical reality in the centuries before Yeshu asked about exorcists, yet none of the sources say what became of them, a problem to which we now turn. I discuss four interrelated factors to explain the end of the exorcists: the growing liturgy, saints' cults, textualized rituals, and the changing nature of possession itself.

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[757] Joseph Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. 3, part 2: *S. Ignatius*, *S. Polycarp*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1889), 241 n. 12. Κοπιῶντας, *laborers*, typically associated with sextons and *fossores*.
[758] Ps.-Ignatius, *Ep. to the Antiochenes*, 12. See discussion in Bart D. Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery: The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 460–80, and Lightfoot, *S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp*, 258. I generally agree with proposals that places this creative editor in an Antiochene milieu towards the end of the fourth century, although it is difficult to know if scholars have been right in determining that the author was one the Anomoeans (one of several post-Nicene splinter group).
[759] Allowing for regional diversity, we need not imagine every church having the funds or desire for an exorcist.

Exorcists and Fourth-Century Syriac Liturgy

First, I suggest that the complex liturgical cycles that began to develop near the end of the fourth century point us in the direction of the exorcists' demise. When we read the baptismal homilies of the great preachers of that day, we find a mixed message about exorcists—they are said to be important, yet they seem marginal.

On the one hand, these bishops agreed about the importance of exorcists and emphasized the role of exorcism in the lengthy baptismal rites. Educated bishops turned their attention from the visible act of exorcism, and rather sought a higher meaning for the received liturgical traditions. In his seminal study on baptismal exorcism rituals, Henry Kelly termed the transformed rites "'liturgotropic' interpretations, on the analogy of Robert Graves's concept of iconotropy: that is, the reinterpretation of another culture's religious images to suit one's own mythological presuppositions."[760] To these rites were added growing bodies of post-baptismal exorcisms as well—an opportunity for flourishes of priestly genius, drawing back the *mystagogical* curtain to advertise all kinds of theological wonders that would take a (Christian) lifetime to experience. Exorcism played an important role in these dramatic rites.

On the other hand, these homilies created impossible expectations for exorcists. Their rites needed to guide expectant converts through the mountains and valleys of shame, terror, hope, and beauty, all to prepare them for a total transformation of the self. In the previous chapter, we witnessed Paulinus's gentle humor towards the hardworking exorcist Cardamas; yet there was never a hint that the exorcist should be promoted to the diaconate. Cardamas grew older as the liturgy grew more extravagant, and his simple

[760] Henry A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1985), 146.

manner stood in sharp contrast with clerical virtuosity. No one would be confused about which was the mime and which was the orator. The gap between exorcists' abilities and the rites, which they supposedly existed to support, continued to widen.

Theodore of Mopsuestia was one preacher who knew how to craft homilies to elevate these rites. A recipient of a world-class education at Libanius's school in Antioch, his eloquent exegesis lent his sermons fame. He delivered his sermons in Greek, but as was common practice in such bilingual zones, translations immediately followed into Syriac.[761] In some cases, an interpreter would be on hand to give an extemporaneous translation for those who only knew Syriac.[762] He delivered his *Catechetical Homilies* around the year 390 in his hometown of Mopsuestia before returning to Antioch as a presbyter.[763] These homilies "arguably offer the only catechetical curriculum that has been preserved in the form in which it was designed and delivered."[764] The twelfth of

[761] Followed by many other languages across the case of history.

[762] Such translation had a long-standing history in polyglot Syriac churches throughout Syria and Palestine, as Egeria observed during her visit: *Et quoniam in ea prouincia pars populi et grece et siriste nouit, pars etiam alia per se grece, aliqua etiam pars tantum siriste, itaque quoniam episcopus, licet siriste nouerit, tamen semper grece loquitur et nunquam siriste: itaque ergo stat semper presbyter, qui episcopo grece dicente siriste interpretatur, ut omnes audiant [ut omnes audiant] quae exponuntur* (Egeria, *Itin*. 47.3); "And because in that province some of the people know both Greek and Syriac, others Greek alone, and others only Syriac, and because the bishop, though he may know Syriac, however always speaks Greek and never Syriac, therefore a presbyter always stands by, who, when the bishop is speaking in Greek, translates into Syriac so that everyone may hear what is being explained" (McGowan and Bradshaw, *The Pilgrimage of Egeria*, 132). The aforementioned Procopius of Palestine, mentioned by Eusebius, may have performed this role at the beginning of the fourth century, in addition to exorcising. Peter Bruns, *Theodor von Mopsuestia: Katechetische Homilien*, Vol. 2 (Freiburg; Basel; Vienna: Barcelona; Rome; New York: Herder, 1995), 319, notes that Theodore himself copied extensively from earlier Greek writings, including the Nicene Creed and various liturgical manuals; this set of homilies provides commentary and expansion upon these prior texts. The extant versions of the sermons are Syriac translation are often attributed to Theodore's disciple Ibas, particularly after Bruns, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, Vol. 1, 22; Adam Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and the Development of Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 63.

[763] See the survey of introductions provided in Juliette Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria, and Egypt* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2007), 38–39.

[764] Daniel L. Schwartz, *Paideia and Cult: Christian Initiation in Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Hellenic Studies 57; Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2013), 5. Schwartz draws a contrast with the other two sizeable bodies of catechetical literature from this time period, those of Cyril of Jerusalem and

these *Homilies* deals with many steps leading up to baptism, including the practice of exorcism. Here, the preacher speaks of the role of the exorcists:[765]

ܒܟ ܠܟ ܟܠܗ ܚܡ[766] ܐܚܕ ܟܐܟ ܡ ܟܬܐ ܀ ܐܠܚ ܐܚܕܐ ܐܦܣܩ ܟܠ ܐ
ܟܠܟ ܟܬܐ[767] ܫܥܬܟ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܕ ܐܬܪ ܟܬܪ ܐܡܟܗܕܐ ܐܠܗ ܠܐ ܐ ܟܠ ܐܬܐ
ܟܡܝܐ ܟܬܐ ܐܒ ܐ ܐ ܐ

Such a metanalysis of an exorcist's role is exceedingly rare. First, consider the terminology of the Greek and Syriac. Preaching in Greek, Theodore may have originally referred to exorcists using the participle οἱ ἐξορκίζοντας, "those who exorcise," which means the activity could have been done by any kind of cleric: bishops, presbyters, deacons, lectors, or the office in question, exorcists. John Chrysostom selected this very term in his Antiochene *Baptismal Catecheses*, which introduces grammatical ambiguity.[774] Elsewhere in the *Homilies* priests are shown performing these rites (e.g., 2.18, 2:20).[775] However, Theodore's Syriac translator has rendered the agent using the term *mawmyānā'* (ܡܐܡܝܢܐ), which is a *nomen agentis*, not just a participle.[776] This indicates that some literate persons in Theodore's milieu had specialist exorcists in mind when they heard Chrysostom's sermon. Bringing the technical designation into greater focus, the translator includes the term ܡܬܩܪܝܐ, that is, "those who are named/called" by this title. This may be yet another parallel to Chrysostom's homily, which refers to them as τεταγμένοι, "established." Both terms point to a clerical specialization, an *ordo*.

We find the importance of exorcists greatly overshadowed by the loftier things in these expansive, world-building speeches. Theodore called their services "essential" (ܡܫܬܘܬܐ), but the same could be said of salt and even more quotidian things.[777] And it was

[774] Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*, 2.12.7. Text and translation in Antoine Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome. Huit catéchèses baptismales*, 2nd edn., Sources chrétiennes 50 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970): 108–260, cf. 77–79, where Wenger argues that Chrysostom indicates an order in the *taxis* of ecclesiastical hierarchy. See also the *exorcists* in Silke Trzcionka, *Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth-Century Syria* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 147.

[775] Related ambiguities occurred in translations from (unambigious) Greek to Syriac. E.g., the "Jewish exorcists" of Acts 19:13 come to us as ἐξορκιστῶν, exorcists; however, in the Peshitta, they become ܚܫܚܝ, a participial form (Aph. act. pl.). Are these "exorcists," or simply Jews "who were exorcising" (cf. the prior phrase ܗܘܘ ܚܕܐܢ, describing their itinerancy)?

[776] Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 79, §130.

[777] Smith, *Compendious Lexicon*, 162 for ܡܫܬ. Cp. Theodore here with Chrysostom, *Cat. ad illum*, 2.12.10.

about to get even worse. If the exorcists were already outshone, they would soon face a new development in liturgy, which Susan Ashbrook Harvey discusses: These homilies were just the first stage in a two-stage development. The homiletical genre had flourished in the fourth century to reshape the minds of "a huge influx of population into the churches…when adult baptism was the normal practice," especially calling attention to the spiritual meaning of the many "actions, gestures, and spoken formulae of ecclesiastical rites."[778] Yet things changed in the fifth century, as the increasing prominence of infant baptism altered the nature and sequence of catechism. In response to this changing world, these sermons became a subject for academic inquiry, useful for

> monastics especially (who sometimes felt they were not required to participate in the standard activities of Christian sacramental life), or clergy and bishops. Their purpose was to provide more advanced teachings on liturgical practices, and to summarize interpretive traditions of the church. In their Byzantine and Syriac forms, they self-consciously develop themes of the earlier catechetical sermons.[779]

Similar trends could be found in Ambrose's Milan, among other places. It is not coincidental that the number of exorcists diminished in both the East and the West in the fifth century, a time of transformation for the dramatic production of baptism.

Exorcists and Saints

The skills of preachers awoke another threat, as they energized the memory of powerful saints of old. The image of legendary saints as numinous exorcists has been cemented in the textbooks following the work of Peter Brown.[780] However, I do not think anyone has asked what effect these saints had on the exorcists, because the order of exorcists had not been sufficiently studied. As one might suspect, exorcists found themselves serving in the

[778] Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 134.
[779] Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 134–35.
[780] Brown, *Cult of Saints*, 106–27.

shadow of long-deceased legends, animated by eloquent hymns and speeches. These saint-sermons flowed from the mouths of the same rhetors who provided baptismal homilies. The saints provided an effective, visible, and lasting replacement for the exorcist, a point that is perhaps best made by juxtaposing these saints with the exorcists we have already met.

For instance, at Paulinus's basilica complex in Cimitile at Nola, the hoary exorcist Cardamas had to compete with the ageless St. Felix, a third-century exorcist Paulinus had venerated since youth.[781] True, people could witness Cardamas seasoning his speech with piety and his meal plan with fasting, but could the man "dispel our darkness with this star, and rout the ancient demons from Nola," as Paulinus claimed about St. Felix?[782] Hardly. Furthermore, Paulinus mentioned Cardamas's zeal in performing exorcisms,[783] but did he draw a spellbound crowd? No, and in fact, no amount of effort the man expended could bring the people to their knees like the silent, immobile saint whose presence haunted the environs like a benevolent ghost:

> Why, then, does such great awe encompass this threshold? And who compels such crowds of people here? What power constrains evil spirits, seizes them against their will, forces them vainly protesting with rebellious cries to the tomb of the martyr, and plants them on this holy threshold, where they are almost immovable?[784]

The answer, of course, is not Cardamas, but Felix. Historically speaking, we understand that this saint was animated by the same breath that turned baptism into an epic

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[781] St. Felix's *curriculum vitae*: Paulinus, *Carm*. 15.102. See Jennifer Lynn Smith, "The *Natalicia* of Paulinus of Nola and the Embodiment of Authority at the Shrine of St. Felix" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 2004).
[782] P. G. Walsh, *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola*, Ancient Christian Writers 40 (New York; Ramsey, NJ: Newman Press, 1975), 139 (*Carm*. 19.229).
[783] Paulinus, *Ep*. 21.
[784] Walsh, *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 117 (*Carm.* 18.82–101). Paulinus describes the dramatic physiological manifestations of people visiting the shrine in *Carm*. 10.266–82.

adventure—the holy priest and his tongue of silver and gold. The saint himself was just "a fragment of dust, the sacred tokens of the apostles' flesh," as Paulinus knew.[785] Paulinus was similarly aware that something compelling needed to be made of these fragments. If the blood of martyrs was the seed of the Church, the dust of the martyrs must have seemed like a culture of spores blowing across the Mediterranean and beyond its very fringes. Just as mushroom colonies emerge from the same fruitful mycelium, the skilled artisans and liturgists around the world exhibited a rich, variegated culture of Christians saints. Meanwhile, Cardamas begged his betters for help, since he could not provide for his ailing wife.[786]

Additionally, I have already discussed Sulpicius Severus and his biography of the famous exorcist Martin of Tours. In the previous chapter, I noted that Severus carefully crafted his *vita* of St. Martin to reflect his own values and opinions, so it is hard to determine how much of the work is about Martin and what is about Severus himself. Here it will be good to remember that Severus wanted to explain away Martin's initial appointment in the clergy by claiming that Martin was only trying to be modest. Severus wanted his readers to see that his exorcisms were so impressive in spite of his ordination to the *ordo* of exorcists, or at best, his exorcisms did not deserve commemoration *because* he was an exorcist. I suggest this might reflect on changes in how the office of exorcist was esteemed by men of influence in the years that passed between Martin and Severus's account of him. Severus saw exorcisms by Martin the holy man as more valuable than exorcisms by Martin the exorcist.

[785] Walsh, *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola*, 143 (*Carm.* 19.363).
[786] Paulinus, *Ep.* 15.4.

The exorcists of Antioch, so hastily mentioned in the baptismal sermons, had to stand in the shadow of St. Babylas, third-century martyr of Antioch, destroyer of Apollo, humiliator of Julian, protector of all who called upon him. In the days of John Chrysostom, St. Babylas underwent a complex posthumous saga that is the subject of a great deal of analysis.[787] It is sufficient here to appreciate the extent to which John Chrysostom, a preacher who mentioned Antioch's exorcists in passing, now savored the image of St. Babylas roving the city, performing mighty deeds by day and night. St. Babylas had even burned down the grand Antiochene Temple of Apollo on the outskirts of town in 362—so went the miraculous account, which I imagine provided a special sense of relief to an unknown arsonist. Taking the road back to Daphne in the night, St. Babylas confronted the frightened spirit of Apollo, and with an awesome display of heavenly firepower, forced the ancient demon-god to leave. Libanius, teacher to Theodore and Chrysostom, mourned the demise of his god and the culture surrounding him. Chrysostom, preaching some twenty years after the fact, mocked the obsolescence of the whole age of gods and temples, asking: *How weak is a god like Apollo if a Christian's dead body can keep his prophets silent?*[788] The spirit of exorcism was alive and well, but no thanks was due to the exorcists. They witnessed the whole scene from

[787] Chrysostom preached his homily while still a deacon. The incident with St. Babylas's remains and Apollo's temple was embroiled in all manner of controversy. See Dayna S. Kalleres, *City of Demons: Violence, Ritual, and Christian Power in Late Antiquity* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 65–67; Christine Shepherdson, *Controlling Contested Places: Late Ancient Antioch and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 64–66, 88; Wendy Mayer, "The Late Antique Church at Qausiyeh Reconsidered: Memory and Martyr Burial in Syrian Antioch," in J. Leemans, ed., *Martyrdom and Persecution in Late Antique Christianity: Festschrift Boudwijn Dehandschutter* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 161–77.
[788] Chrysostom, *Babylas* 113.

the sidelines, perhaps as cheerful as Chrysostom, but as helpless as Libanius to stop the world from changing around them.

These examples probably replicated themselves again and again, wherever exorcists and saints tried to occupy the same space. The once-audacious voice of the exorcist was overcome beneath the echoing roar of grandiloquent orations and splendid hymns.

Exorcists and Books

In prior chapters, I have discussed the illiterate, improvisatory nature of early Christian exorcism. The concern about textual exorcism was hardly peripheral, but rather provided a hardened distinction that kept Christian exorcism distinct from Jewish and "heathen" practices, which thrived on books and catalogues of so-called *materia magica*. We recall that exorcists were hired to preserve this rudimentary style of exorcism, especially in times when ecclesiastical and theological work became increasingly bookish. Yet over time, expectations for liturgical excellence grew more competitive, and as a result, even the exorcists were now in need of a script telling them what to say. Exorcism could not escape the book forever, nor could exorcists escape the bookish exorcism.

It is worth considering that these exorcism books may have first been introduced as an eleventh-hour effort to modernize and improve the order. Without a doubt, such incantations would allow any would-be exorcists to *sound* more literate and polished; the overall effect on the exorcists may have been more negligible. As the exorcists faded, the little exorcism books also disappeared. Today, there is no extant copy of such a book, which means that the timespan or geographical scope of this effort, or the reception history of these books, met with significant barriers and limits. The ritual materials from

such standalone exorcism books are probably reflected in the large sacramentary codices and ecclesiastical compendia, exorcism rites which began flourishing in the early Middle Ages. Once textualized, the tradition of exorcism was preserved, copied, transmitted, and adapted for use by a diverse range of clergy in all manner of settings.

The *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* mentions these books for exorcists. The *Statuta* is an apocryphal document mistaken for an actual conciliar text; it likely comes to us from a single bookish Gaul in the late fifth century.[789] Here, we find a previously unfamiliar tradition, that of giving a little book (*libellus*) to exorcists when they were ordained.[790] This book would contain sanctioned exorcism rites that exorcists should commit to memory. We may see the *libellus* or a similar book depicted in medieval art.[791] The *Statuta* gives support to the notion that clerics should provide exorcists with sample rites, which exorcists should commit to memory and use in their practice.

Perhaps under the influence of the *Statuta*, Isidore of Seville pictured the same kind of book in in his *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, where exorcists "commit to memory from the sacraments of the Scriptures, from whence he exercises the gifts given to him by the Holy Spirit" (*memoriae mandet de Scripturarum sacramentis, unde exerceat donum quod illi est a Spiritu sancto concessum*). This was why exorcists were given a book upon ordination, because "in it are written the exorcisms" (*in quo scripti sunt exorcismi*), all they would ever need to lay hands on possessed persons or in a baptismal rite for

[789] Charles Munier and Charles de Clercq, *Concilia Gallia*, vol. 1, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 148 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), 162–88. Once mistakenly transmitted under the title of the *Fourth Council of Carthage* (398) (*PL* 84:199, *Concilium Carthagenense quartum*).
[790] Canon 95.
[791] E.g., Princeton Ms. 7, 4v (Index of Medieval Art no. 137208); Biblioteca casanatense, 724.B.I.13 (1), miniature 5 (Index of Medieval Art no. 140561); Walters Art Museum inv. 37.1188 (Index of Medieval Art no. 67815).

catechumens.[792] This was a far cry from the days when exorcists could shout at the devil using short, improvised phrases. Now they were being educated, or at least would be, in an ideal world.

All of this was too little, too late. Both exorcists and their "little books" became elusive. In fact, not a single Late Antique *libellus* has been discovered as a stand-alone text. The closest comparanda arise inside of large sacramentaries, such as the Gelasian Sacramentary. These texts are much-discussed by scholars of medieval liturgy. Young surveyed the most important of the liturgical exorcism rites and discovered that the ritual exorcisms in these books followed a separate path of development from the pre-baptismal rituals behind the homilies and homiletical commentaries I mentioned above.[793] I suggest this is because exorcism books did not begin to appear until near the end of the office of exorcists.

Over time, the ritual of exorcism came "to mean the orthodox use of ecclesiastical ritual to detect, protect against, or repel the forces of evil assailing the bodies and goods of the faithful."[794] This is not just so of Gallican sacramentaries of the Middle Ages, nor was it restricted to either East or West—it seems to follow whenever and wherever exorcists disappeared and books took their place. Greek liturgical exorcisms populate medieval and early modern codices with a diverse assortment of ritual materials, some of

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[792] Isidore, *De eccl. off.* 13.3: *accipientes potestatem imponendi manus super energumenos, sive baptizatos, sive catechumenos.* Kelly, *Devil at Baptism*, 244: "Isidore's description of exorcists sounds largely theoretical, and it may well be that the exorcistate did not exist in Spain as an independent order." Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* VII.xii.1–3 and 31 also mention the exorcist amidst the other offices, listing their main duties as exorcising energumens. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 15, who list Isidore's main sources among fourth- and fifth-century writers such as Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, etc.
[793] Young, *History of Exorcism*, 44–53, contra. Florence Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme des possédés dans l'Eglise d'Occident (Xe-XIVe siècl*e), Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du Moyen Âge 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 313–18.
[794] Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe: Superstition, Reason, and Religion, 1250-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 59.

it quite old.[795] In Egypt, many Greek exorcistic incantations were composed by theologically astute practitioners, and despite many regional distinctives, this practice of creating relevant literary exorcisms seems to have kept tempo with the broader Christian movement.[796] For instance, there are signs of contact between ecclesiastical exorcisms, the growing Christian-Solomonic tradition, and Orthodox theology in Greek-speaking Europe and Coptic Egypt.[797] Textualized exorcism eventually participated with the broader field of "occult sciences,"[798] which contributed something to the natural sciences that are taken for granted in modernity.[799] Teachers could taxonomize demons in long lists of names and characteristics, showing their linkage with other unseen forces, like

[795] Paris BNF suppl. gr. nos. 142 (four pages) and 1044 (one page); Vat. bibl. apost. gr. nos. 1538 (one page), 1606 (one page), 1753 (one page), 1811 (one page), 1852 (one page), 1871 (one page), and 1935 (two pages); Venezia bibl. nat. marciana gr. nos. II.163, col. 0444 (thirteen pages), III.12, col. 1267 (one page), VII.038, col. 1385 (one page), XI.020, coll. 1475 (one page), and gr. z. 408, coll. 0672 (one page); Athens nat. bibl. fonds princ. nos. 363 (12 pages); Madrid nat. bibl. gr. 4644 (three pages, two different entries); Holy Nikanoros Monastery, Zavorda, 165 (number of pages unknown); Meteora Barlaam Monastery, 118 (four pages). I have examined Zavorda 165, Barlaam 118, and several of the Venetian manuscripts to produce preliminary translations of these untranslated exorcisms. This work awaits in a future project.

[796] See Theodore de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian: Artefacts, Scribes, and Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 204–12, which surveys the liturgical exorcisms found in amulets. Cf. discussions in Joseph Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits on Amulets from Late Antique Egypt: Text, Typology, and Theory* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

[797] See e.g., Venezia nat. bib. gr. II.163, 33–36 and Madrid nat. bibl. gr. 4644, 77v–78, cf. with the Coptic texts in Angelicus Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, vol. 2: *Übersetzungen und Anmerkungen* (Brussels: Edition de la Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth, 1931), 149–207.

[798] Maria Mavroudi, "Occult Sciences and Society in Byzantium: Considerations for Future Research," 39–95 in Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi, eds., *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva: La Pomme d'or, 2006).

The most convenient collection of such texts remains Armand Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège 36 and 88 (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1927–1939).

[799] See, e.g., George Saliba, "Revisiting the Astronomical Contacts Between the World of Islam and Renaissance Europe: The Byzantine connection," 361–73 in Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi, eds., *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva: La Pomme d'or, 2006).

stars, planets, and wind.[800] From this knowledge, more elaborate liturgies, incantations, and amulets could be formed.[801]

An example to demonstrate the overlapping layers of exorcistic knowledge can be found in an exemplar for an apotropaic household[802] amulet, which is now found in a sixteenth-century codex in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. One portion of the text resembles Justin Martyr's simple exorcisms of the second century, which we saw in the second chapter:[803]

> I adjure you by the one who was crucified by Pontius Pilate and suffered and was buried and raised again on the third day to judge the living and the dead.

To this is added portion from the Solomonic traditions:

> I adjure you, every evil demon, never wrong this house, not on any day or hour. Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, Adonael,[804] God [is?] with you all.[805]

This is followed immediately by a list of subsequent Orthodox traditions intended to seal these protections:

> Lord Jesus Christ, through the privileges (invested in you by) your non-spermatic procreation by the Mother of God (Theotokos), with St. John, with the holy apostles Peter and Paul, Luke, Matthew, Andrew and Thomas and Bartholomew and Simon and Jacob and Phillip and St. Demetrius and St. Gregory, St. Basil, St. Nikolaus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Leo,[806] and all of your saints at once—now

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[800] See the lists and tables in Richard P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988). More specific to the West, Young suggests that the beginnings of psychology were discovered in the permissibility to experiment with exorcism and the symptoms of possession (*History of Exorcism*, 77–80).

[801] See the mix of texts in Louis Delatte, *Un office Byzantine d'exorcisme (Ms. de la Lavra du Mont Athos θ 20)*, Mémoires Collection in-8°, sér. 2, 52:1 (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1957).

[802] The text mentions "this house" several times.

[803] My translation of Venezia nat. bib. gr. II.163, 33–36. The manuscript is not digitized, but a transcription exists in Afanasiĭ Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* (Mosquae: Universitas Caesarea, 1893), 332–33.

[804] Adonael is also found in *Test. Sol.* 18:14 (cf. NHC 5,85): "The tenth said, 'I am called Metathiax. I cause pains in the kidneys. If I hear "Adonael, imprison Metathiax" I retreat immediately" (trans. by D. C. Duling, *OTP* 1:954).

[805] The incipit likewise titles the amulet "exorcism of Solomon, which God gave to him to subdue the 19,999 unclean spirits," and begins with the pledge, "We, the demons—we will flee from whoever may swear (this exorcism) such that we may hear the name of the Lord and the name of Solomon, and we will certainly not harm them." Cf. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische*, vol. 2, 169.

[806] Leo the Great (c. 400–460).

> keep watch over this house, and the souls and bodies of those who have this prayer, to the glory of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

The scribe of this manuscript also had on hand an adjuration against destructive caterpillars, which they placed immediately after this trinitarian invocation.[807]

These exorcisms serve as a simple illustration of complex literary evolutions that began, as I suggest, when Christian bishops and presbyters became invested in textualizing exorcisms, and which continued as priests and scribes preserved and adapted these texts for more than a millennium.[808] If exorcists like Cardamas could have kept pace with the growing sophistication of liturgy, exorcists might have played a vital role in shaping these texts. As things went, the texts themselves served to render the exorcist obsolete.

Exorcists and Energumens

A final factor that impacted exorcists came as a byproduct of rapid Christianization, when churches began to be increasingly occupied with the chronically possessed. It was no longer possible to keep up the pretense that Christian exorcism would cure all the demons. Churches gave afflicted souls a technical title, *energumens*, lending a shorthand way to talk about a disappointing class of people.[809] Liturgical manuals now called for the possessed to be dismissed and readmitted at various times, depending on the

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[807] "…I adjure you, caterpillar, by the living God. I adjure you, caterpillar, by the angels. I adjure you, caterpillar, by the 12 apostles. I adjure you, caterpillar, by the forty martyrs. I adjure you by the three generals in command. I adjure you, caterpillar, by heaven and earth. I adjure you, caterpillar, by the sun and the moon. I adjure you, caterpillar, by the four archangels: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael. Remove your folks and go aloft to the high mountain, so that there you may be able to see your daily nourishment…" This sort of incantation is widely attested in the Middle Ages, for which see Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Itacha: Cornell University Press, 2006), 237–38, noting as well the analogues in Catherine Chène, *Juger les vers: Exorcismes et procès d'animaux dans le diocèse de Lausanne (XVe-XVIe s.)*, Cahiers lausannois d'histoire médievale 14 (Lausanne: Section d'histoire, Université de Lausanne, 1995), which Caciola mentions.

[808] The *libellus*-tradition reflects the fifth century, and ritual texts continued to be copied and produced by ecclesiastical figures into modern times.

[809] ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ = ἐνεργούμενος.

particular tradition.[810] These energumens seem to be in mind when an author known as Ambrosiaster gave his opinion about exorcists:

> The teachers are indeed the exorcists, because in church these men restrain and beat the restless, or they are those who, having been instructed in the readings themselves, were accustomed to instruct the children, as is the custom of the Jews, whose tradition was passed to us and fell into disuse through negligence.
>
> *magistri vero exorcistae sunt, quia in ecclesia ipsi conpescunt et verberant inquietos, sive hi qui lectionibus inbuendi infantes solebant inbuere, sicut mos Iudaeorum est, quorum tradition ad nos transitum fecit, quae per neglegentiam obsolevit.*[811]

This author flourished in the West sometime around the year 370, and the present selection is from his exposition on the spiritual gifts in Ephesians 4:11, probing the divine authority for the church's clerical hierarchy. He seemed disappointed with the exorcists of his own day and age, wondering why they did not resemble the Jewish sages who exorcise. Ambrosiaster's familiarity with Jewish exorcism matches the depiction I have offered elsewhere: Jews who performed exorcisms tended to be found among the educated, the sort of people who might be prone to teaching.[812] Although Ambrosiaster complained about the ignorance of church exorcists by comparison with Jewish sages, ecclesiastical exorcists were simply being true to the original strategies that created their methods and position.

Here, the *infantes* in Ambrosiaster's typological language could conceal a double valence: Jewish youth taught by their sages, and in the church, catechumens who should

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[810] See, e.g., *Epistle of James of Edessa to Thomas the Presbyter*, in F. E. Brightman, ed., *Liturgies: Eastern and Western* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 490, regarding the, their exorcism, and their dismissal.

[811] Text and translation of Ambrosiaster, *Comm. Eph.,* 4:11–12 from Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 110.

[812] Lunn-Rockliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology*, 40–44 offers some of the evidence for Ambrosiaster's acquaintance with Jewish practice.

be under instruction and trial from the exorcists.[813] However, as Ambrosiaster considered the current stock of exorcists, his first reaction was to imagine them "restraining and beating the restless." Here is another polyphonous term: these "disturbed ones" could have alluded to the demons being punished, but as with all possessed souls, the human body experienced any ferocity intended for demons. Ambrosiaster's exorcists were becoming custodians, albeit unmannerly ones, to the disturbed and unruly.

Perhaps exorcists provided these services in Antioch in or around the year 386. Here, we can eavesdrop on John Chrysostom, who chided his wealthy congregation for their lack of enthusiasm about corporate exorcisms for the perpetually possessed (an uncomfortable part of the service that typical congregants seemed determined to avoid by slipping out of church early).[814] The deacon would command that the doors be opened and the energumens let in, then he would address the rest of the congregation to stand up straight as the afflicted bowed their heads.[815] These poor souls were members of the congregation who had already passed through the waters of baptism and tasted of the mysteries of the Eucharist, but the devil somehow got the best of them.[816] The faithful who stayed to participate found that even their attendance was not enough to satisfy the preacher—now he wanted them to weep and shout together as the energumens bowed their heads in shame.[817] But who led these churchly demoniacs into the basilica when the

[813] He was also aware that the Christian exorcists had some relationship to these Jewish precedents, but as an elite Roman Christian, he could hardly fathom the counter-cultural values of earlier centuries.
[814] The passages in question are from John Chrysostom, *De incomprehensibili Dei natura homilae*, 3.31–39, 42; 4.31–46 (with the problem of skipping the ceremony especially at 3.32). Text in Jean Daniélou, Anne-Marie Malingrey, and Robert Flacelière, *Jean Chrysostome Sur L'incompréhensibilité de Dieu: Homélies I–V*, Sources chrétiennes 28 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970); *PG* 48.701–812.
[815] Chrysostom, *De incomp.* 4.33, 4.41, cf. 3.42.
[816] Chrysostom, *De incomp.* 4.40.
[817] Chrysostom, *De incomp.* 4.35, 41.

deacon called for them?[818] Chrysostom did not mention anything specific about the administrative routine, but the exorcists would be the natural officers to herd the docile and restrain the restless as they approached the bishop.

The same ritual is in view, although less picturesquely, in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. This patchwork of church orders is thought to have been "written in Syria, and probably in Antioch, between 375 and 380."[819] Here, the deacon would shout, "Bow your heads, energumens, and receive blessings" (κλίνατε οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε), at which point a bishop was to offer a lengthy eulogy on their behalf.[820] I suggest the exorcists may have attended to the energumens in this ceremony as well.

The same *inquieti* again come into view in the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*. This text imagines exorcists as managers of the daily affairs of energumens, caring for their needs while trying to make them useful: "Exorcists shall lay their hands on the possessed every day. The possessed shall sweep the floors of the houses of God. Energumens who dwell in the house of God shall have their daily necessities attended to on schedule by exorcists."[821] If the afflicted could be made useful by cleaning the church, the exorcists could redeem their own time by keeping their own hands full of energumen business: their daily healing, food to feed them, and in Antioch, maybe also herding them into the church for their frightful eulogy.

Earlier generations of Christian leaders had publicized a foolproof antidote for spiritual affliction, a promise their descendants now had to reconcile with harsh reality.

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[818] Chrysostom, *De incomp.* 4.33.
[819] Bradshaw, et al., *Apostolic Tradition*, 9.
[820] *Apost. const.* 8.6–7; Brightman, *Liturgies: Eastern and Western*, 6.
[821] *Omni die exorcistae energumenis manus imponant. Pavimenta domorum Dei energrumeni verrant. Energumis in domo Dei assidentibus victus quotidianus per exorcistas opportuno tempore ministretur* (*PL* 84:207, XC–XCII).

The burden of chronic possession fell upon the specialists formerly tasked with casting out demons. Instead of healing energumens, the exorcists began keeping them company. The daily routine of "exorcising energumens," along with cleaning and eating, gave a modicum of usefulness to both groups. Any remaining powers of placebo migrated to liturgies and shrines, while exorcists watched from the sidelines. It does not seem unlike waking in a world where taxi drivers had ceased to drive people to their destination, but instead made a living shadowing the sort of people who used to ride in taxis (these would need a technical term, too). In brief, it would be hard to mount a case on behalf of the order of exorcists in the presence of this many energumens.

Exorcists at the End

But what effect did all of this have, exactly? We should not imagine a summary firing of exorcists, an ecclesiastical pink slip due to underperformance. I propose, instead, a gradual process lasting decades, and in some places, possibly several centuries. This fading was asymmetrical from region to region, and may have undulated in some places—gone, then back again after a bishop pondered canons and writings of his forebears. The evidence is scant, but I will document here a trend of decline across the East and West.

I have already mentioned the *Apostolic Constitutions* twice, once for its ceremony of the energumens, but initially as a prominent text for denying that Eastern exorcists were ordained. The canon, "An exorcist is not ordained," was attributed to Jude the Apostle, which should give us pause when considering the relationship between the message and reality.[822] Indeed, the prohibition implies the opposite was reality at the

[822] *Apost. const.* 8.26, which together with 8.25 were written in the name of Lebbaeus Thaddaeus.

time, and I interpret the statement as a critique, or perhaps even a proposal. The author preferred to see aspiring clerics ordained into one of the three ordinary offices: bishop, presbyter, or deacon.[823] Someone thinking of becoming an exorcist would not have the option available; if a person was competent in their ministry, they must instead be promoted to another grade. This practice could lead to the decimation of the exorcist class, and any remaining class of exorcists would (theoretically) be populated with struggling incompetents. There is no way of knowing if this proposal made any immediate impact. Nonetheless, it shows a particular mindset towards exorcists, and offers insight into the kinds of procedures churches might develop as they sought to phase out an office of waning relevance. Perhaps the pseudonymous apostle said out loud what others had begun to think.

If we cross a gap of two or three decades and look to Persia, we find one of the principal ecclesiastical feats of the fifth century. There, leading bishops had undertaken the task of establishing an imperially sanctioned Church of the East.[824] Thanks to the goodwill of the Persian monarch Yazdgard, Mar Isaac, the most prominent bishop in the East, was able to build a strong ecclesiastical coalition that extended from his episcopal seat in Seleucia-Ctesiphon, across the breadth of Sassanid Persia, and into the borders of the Roman world. He also capitalized on the tireless efforts of his cross-cultural liaison, Mar Maruta, who secured the formal recognition of Western bishops, contingent upon

[823] *Apost. const.* 8.26. Discussions about the *Apostolic Constitutions* within the framework of the broader (and very uncertain and confusing) pseudo-Apostolic genre, see Bradshaw, *Apostolic Tradition*, 9, who refer to the narrow date range "generally agreed…between 375 and 380."
[824] It is difficult to give a certain picture of organizational evolution among Persian Christians, but it is fairly well-accepted that the bishop of Seleuca-Ctesiphon named Papa formed an alliance with the Edessene bishop. See Wilhelm Baum and Dietmar W. Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History*, trans., Miranda G. Henry (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 7–21

their acceptance of several polity and doctrinal mandates. These efforts culminated at the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon/Synod of Mar Isaac (410 CE).[825]

In the Synod's fifteenth canon, the Persian bishops acknowledged the office of exorcist by its *nomen agentis* (ܡܗܝܡܢܐ), but they noted that this office corresponded to an office the Western bishops called the *subdeacon*:[826]

ܘܟܗܢܐ ܢܬܒ ܥܠ ܣܘܒܣܠܝܐ.
ܘܫܡܫܐ ܩܐܡ ܒܪܫ ܒܣܕܪܐ (ܒܗܕܐ ܣܕܪܐ)
ܟܕ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܝܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܗ ;
ܘܬܬܝ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܢܩܪܘܢ ܠܢ ܐܢܢ ܡܘܡܝܢܐ ,ܕܗܝ
ܢܩܘܡܘܢ ܒܬܪܥܐ ܒܙܒܢ ܫܡܫܐ.[827]

> And the priest will sit on the *subselia*;
> And the deacon will stand up at the head (in the order)
> When the bishop is sitting on his throne;
> And the subdeacons, whom are called by us the *mawmyānē* (exorcists), they will stand at the doors during the time of the service.

In other words, wherever the received canons mention the *subdeacon* (ܡܫܡܫܢܐ), we may understand that the Persian bishops of this time referred to them as *exorcists*.[828] Here, the exorcists participate by standing at the doorway when the uninitiated and possessed have been ejected. We may imagine the exorcists/subdeacons standing guard at the door, protecting the mysteries from the gaze of the uninitiated and unworthy.[829]

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[825] Basic background and sources are surveyed in Lucas Van Rompay , "Isḥaq," in *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition*, edited by Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron M. Butts, George A. Kiraz and Lucas Van Rompay (Gorgias Press, 2011; online ed. Beth Mardutho, 2018), https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Ishaq. The *Synodicon Orientale* and related resources may also be found online at http://syri.ac/synodiconorientale.

[826] My translation is based on the text from J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale ou recueil de synodes nestoriens* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 28.

[827] ܡܘܡܝܢܐ.

[828] This script presents a vivid image of the layout of the personnel in the church, which may be fruitfully compared with Egeria's account of churches in Jerusalem (*Itin.* 45).

[829] See Oscar Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados, oder, Synodicon orientale* (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1900), 24.

Why would the Persian bishops wish to equate their exorcists with the subdeacons of the West? Why not simply equate their own exorcists with the exorcists that populated places from Antioch, to Caesarea, to Rome, and beyond? Here we may find a telling indicator that the office had begun to decline elsewhere. The Persian movement had consolidated with direct organizational assistance from the West through the late third and early fourth centuries, at the very time when Western examples of hierarchy and polity would be most likely to involve ordained exorcists. Why did the Persian bishops feel that their exorcists would be equivalent to subdeacons elsewhere? We should not mistake their continued employment of *mawmyānē* for an indicator that they resisted change and lagged behind the West. Rather, it indicates their own transformation, changing the position without a change of name.

Further, in the West, Italian epitaphs reveal the coterminous exorcist inscriptions. Vincent, an exorcist in Como, died in 526 around the age of fifty:[830]

> *B(onae) m(emoriae) / hic requ(i){t}es(ci)t (i)n pace famulus / dei v(i)r ex<o=U>rcista Vincentius / qui vixit in hoc s(a)eculo ann(os) pl(us) m(inus) / L d(e)positus sub d(ie) III Kal(endas) Maias / Olebrio v(iro) c(larissimo) c(onsule) ind(i)ctione quinta*
>
> Of happy memory / here rests in peace a servant / of God, honorable exorcist Vincentius / who lived in this age more or less / 50 years, deposited here on the third Kalends of May / Olebrius illustrious consul in the fifth indiction.

[830] CIL 5, 5428 = ILCV 1262. For dating via indiction and consul, see the table in Roger S. Bagnall and Klaas A Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 148. The epitaph is not located at the Musei civici di Como as listed, but the museum informed me that it resides at a nearby warehouse (private communication from Isabella Nobile, 23 Aug 2017).



Figure 5: Vincentius of Como, CIL 5, 5428

His epitaph is dated by consulship and has nothing to say about family ties, but perhaps the exorcist had monastic ties. As one can see from the lower half of the image (Fig. 1), Vincent had the posthumous companionship of a certain Pelagia in a smaller hand below his own. This *famula Christi* died in the year 530 as a woman piously devoted to Christ, perhaps as a nun. Vincent and Pelagia shared this in common, for he was a *famulus dei*, and their epitaphs were likely paid for from the common purse. We should picture a similar monastic setting for John, an exorcist buried at Aeclanum in 511 CE.[831] We can

[831] CIL 9, 1381 = ILCV 1260: "Here, in the sleep of peace, rests Caelius John rests, an exorcist, who lived roughly (??) years. He was deposited here on the eighth day before the Ides of December, in the Consulship of the most distinguished Flavius Felix" (+ + + *Hic requiescit in / somno pacis Caelius / Iuhannis exhorcista / qui vixit ann(os) pl(us) m(inus) Γ / (XX?) / depositio eius II Idus / Decembres Fl(avio) Felice v(iro) c(larissimo) consule*). The epitaph has since perished. Cf. Chiara Lambert, *Studi di epigrafia tardoantica e medievale in Campania. Volume I. Secoli IV-VII*, Schola Salernitana, Medioevo scavato 3 (Borgo San Lorenzo, Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2008), 134. The diocese of Aeclanum remains most famous for its fifth century bishop, Julian, who was a leading theological rival of Augustine's during the Pelagian controversy. For a brief biography, see Henry Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 464–72; from the same year, see the more thorough work of Josef Lössl, *Julian von Aeclanum: Studien zu seinem Leben, seinem Werk, seiner Lehre und ihrer Überlieferung*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), esp. biographical research at 19–73. John the exorcist ministered between Julian's death around 455 and the Lombard conquest of nearby Benevento later in the sixth century, a period imaginable as its waning days before finally being destroyed by Constans II in 663 (Lössl, *Julian von Aeclanum*, 42–43).

plausibly imagine both Vincent and John wrangling, feeding, and routinely exorcising energumens. When they passed, it is doubtful that their open position was filled by another *exorcista*.

The final exorcist in the epigraphical record is Laurentius, buried in Rome around the year 600.[832] His is the crudest of all the exorcists' epitaphs I have seen, with letters so wobbly they look virtually scrawled onto the stone:[833]

> Here rests Laurentius,
> exorcist
>
> + *Hic quiescet Larentius*
> + *exorcista*



Figure 6: Laurentius of Rome, ICUR 5,13564

The stone was not originally meant for him, since there is a badly worn inscription on the other side belonging to the first person to be buried under the stone. Whoever commemorated Laurentius's life scratched these bare facts into this repurposed stone, offering no details of his life besides his name and his office. Laurentius is the last of the named exorcists I have been able to find in Late Antiquity. His provenance is a mystery,

[832] There is a different Laurentius, an exorcist in Rome, but his epitaph dates him to about the early fifth century (ICUR 2, 5181): *[Locus La]urenti exor[cistae.* Now kept in the lapidarium at the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls.
[833] ICUR 5, 13564. Image from Anna Maria Nieddu, *La Basilica Apostolorum sulla via Appia e l'area cimiteriale circostante* (Vatican City: Pontifical Institute, 2009), 370, fig. 412.

other than what appears to be less social integration and available craftsmanship than either his exorcistic forebears or his comparable ecclesiastical contemporaries.[834]

By this time, Antioch almost certainly had no exorcists, whether ordained or not. Patriarch Severus of Antioch was the "exorcism expert" for later figures like Cyriacus of Tigrit, who I mentioned at the start of this chapter. In the Antiochene Patriarchate, Severus provided the gold standard for information on the topic from the sixth century onward. If there were exorcists, I am satisfied that we would catch at least a brief glimpse of them among more than six-hundred prospographical entries from his writings. He attested to many different walks of life: multitudes of monks, lectors, scribes, soldiers, and beyond. However, in all of this, I cannot discover any individual recognized as an exorcist.[835] He did however know of subdeacons, who are mentioned numerous times, similar to the observation made by the bishops at the Synod of Mar Isaac.[836] By Severus's day, preparations for catechesis and baptism required the services of offices no lower than the deacons and archdeacons, without the help of an exorcist.[837] As in Rome, the exorcists had died out in Antioch.

Conclusions

This is not the only case of an exorcism practice rising, plateauing, and declining, all within a few short centuries. In Mesopotamia, "[T]he writing of Aramaic spells on

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[834] Perhaps he was visiting Rome when he perished? Or perhaps he was an adherent to some small Visigothic congregation there? The number of hypotheses could multiply without getting us closer to evidence itself. What we can know is that he was apparently not prosperous, nor was he cared for from a stable common purse as we might hypothesize of others, e.g., Vincent in Como.

[835] Frédéric Alpi, *La Route Royale. Sévère d'Antioche et les églises d'Orient,* vol 1 (Beyrouth: Institute Français du Proche-Orient, 2009), 113-76.

[836] Frédéric Alpi, *La Route Royale*, 98 n.136 refers to Cathedral Homilies: subdeacon and other minor offices are mentioned with no reference to the office of exorcist. Cf. the summary table in Alpi, *La Route*, vol. 1, 115.

[837] Severus considers this custom (ܚܘܕܢܐ) to be an established standard of process (Alpi, *La Route Royale*, vol. 1, 146). The temporal priority of the custom: ܫܫܝ ܟܕ ܡܬܝ ܟܕ ܠܗ ܟܕ ܚܕ ܒ ܡܢ.

earthenware bowls ceased more or less abruptly at the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries," which appears rapid considering the earliest extant bowls date to the sixth century.[838] However, exorcism had been a keystone innovation of the early Christian movement, and exorcists were hired by churches intent on preserving this specific practice.

They preserved freedom of ritual, as they had been directed to do, yet their success in this mission defeated them. Exorcists, noted less for their learning than for their zeal and charisma, could not keep pace with the growing demands of the institutionalized church. Indeed, a new stock of bookish rites defied the *raison d'être* of the office, while the steady presence of energumens interrogated the efficacy of their presence.

Towards the end, exorcists could be found carrying out a variety of jobs that had nothing to do with the purgation of demons from energumens, and this may have sustained them for a time. However, their responsibilities were easily distributable to other offices. Menial tasks could be absorbed by the swelling ranks of gradations within other offices (for instance, the deacon, protodeacon, subdeacon, deaconess, etc.), which further marginalized demand for the exorcists. Books "memorized" liturgies and incantations for subsequent generations, and these texts could then be deployed by a variety of personnel (legitimately or otherwise).

Ecclesiastical exorcists became "extremely rare…in the high Middle Ages," save for scattered reference to exorcists appointed "for ordination and ceremonial

[838] Shaul Shaked, James Nathan Ford, and Siam Bhayro, eds., *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls Volume One*, Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1–3.

purposes."[839] I do not intend to claim that everyone forgot exorcists had existed, or that every church got rid of every exorcist, or that no enterprising liturgists failed to renew a place for the order in their ritual polity. Liturgical manuscripts sometimes mention exorcists, but whether or not these lists reflected the presence of real exorcists is difficult to know.[840] From time to time, regional churches may have seen the appeal in having an exorcist on staff. Kelly notes a renewal movement of exorcists in the Armenian Church "in the Middle Ages, under the influence of the crusaders."[841] An Irish church dedication in the ninth-century Ms. Angers 477 calls for exorcists during the dedication of a church, and even diagrams their position during the "aspersion of the walls," when the bishop would exorcise the new church.[842] Nonetheless, the practice of appointing exorcists seems to have been abandoned in major centers of Christian influence, particularly Antioch and Rome.

My arguments, of course, are based upon the evidence as it is available, and its relationship to the related evidence I have assessed in prior chapters. The inferences I make are guided by the rapid decline of evidence for people who identified as exorcists,

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[839] Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800–c. 1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 44–45.

[840] E.g., the ἐπορκιστῶν in the Diakonika of the Liturgy of St. James (from the "Diptychs of Jerusalem," in Brightman, *Liturgies: Eastern and Western*, 501). In the Coptic tradition: *Euchologion of the White Monastery*, a calque of liturgies from around the Christian world, which makes it difficult to say much about the mention of exorcists here; see Stephen J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 103–7. The passage in question is found in E. Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc*, Patrologia Orientalis 28/8 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1958), 301, or 61.19 by the manuscript.

[841] Kelly, *Devil at Baptism*, 81.

[842] Dominique Barbet-Massin, "The Rite of Church Dedication in Early Medieval Ireland and the Dedication Scheme in the Angers Manuscript 477," *Peritia* 27 (2016): 11–30, which likewise analyzes the sources and legacy of the traditions found in Irish *Ordo* of fifteenth-century manuscript RIA Ms. 23 P 16 (Leabhar Beac). Barbet-Massin notes the manuscript's influences, ranging from Theodore of Mopsuestia to Julian of Aeclanum and beyond. Barbet-Massin notes aspersions at a church dedication ritual in sixth-century Spanish liturgy (Barbet-Massin, "The Rite of Church Dedication," 15, and 19–20 for some of the Irish liturgical elements). See also plates for the diagram of where church officers are to stand, with the exorcist's place marked ("The Rite of Church Dedication," 26–28).

the shifting roles and responsibilities assigned to exorcists, and the swelling popularity of new exorcistic phenomena. Additionally, scholars generally agree that ordination of exorcists ceased to be commonly practiced in the Middle Ages, but it is difficult to pinpoint *when* this occurred.[843] In Nancy Caciola's assessment, by the tenth century, "The order of exorcists was a vestigial trace."[844]

I have suggested that this attrition set in rapidly during the late fourth and early fifth centuries, and the office never underwent a renewal comparable to its apex in the third and fourth centuries. Yet Christian exorcism persisted, adapted, and flourished in other forms.

The graves of the final exorcists represented an end of a Christian experiment and the beginning of new opportunities. As Christian leaders began restricting the activity of exorcism to the higher classes of learning and ritual skill, Christian anti-demonic practices became socially and epistemologically aligned with the kinds of ritual sciences practiced by other faiths and cultures. Christian exorcism could now converse, however recalcitrantly, with the immense knowledge developed and preserved in Jewish, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and other ritual curricula.

[843] See, e.g., Young, *History of Exorcism*, 65 for debates over the topic, which remains without clear definition.
[844] Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 230.

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have described the backgrounds, duties, and lives of the various sorts of people who were permitted or tasked to perform exorcisms in antiquity. The social status, backgrounds, and methods of so-called exorcists shifted over time and from place to place. From these persons and their contexts, it is possible to conclude that learned, legitimate, and, ideally, institutionalized exorcism was the typical baseline for the practice. This norm prevailed in Mesopotamian/Levantine practices, Judaean cult, Egyptian ritual expertise, and the dissemination of these regional expressions across the Mediterranean by "the exoticized appearance of a ritual expert outside his indigenous milieu," to return to David Frankfurter's phrase.[845] Jesus, his early followers, and several generations of Christians are noteworthy for their various ways of snubbing these norms.

I began by describing some of clearest discernable features of the Judaean tradition of exorcism, particularly its association with social and intellectual prestige. Among the key contributions of the first two chapters is a recognition of the social place of Judaean exorcism. Jewish exorcism, often portrayed as democratic, populist, and susceptible to "corruption" by "pagan" practices, can now be reintroduced as a function of elites who were trained and accredited to perform exorcisms as a function of their broader ritual expertise. By contrast, the exorcism practice of Jesus and his early followers was unconstrained by curriculum and institutional cult.[846] In his milieu, Jesus

[845] David Frankfurter, "Ancient Magic in a New Key: Refining an Exotic Discipline in the History of Religions," 3–20 in idem., ed., Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), here citing 15. It is worth recalling scholarship discussing regionality and its relationship to diasporic ritual expertise, such as the analysis of Robert K. Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995), 3333–79, esp. 3357–58. These and similar concerns are especially address in the first two chapters of this dissertation.

[846] As a result, formless styles of exorcism inspired by the Jesus tradition required centuries to develop and stabilize into formal texts, orders, and techniques.

positioned himself as an internecine critic and rival to the scribes. His exorcisms are best understood in his first-century Palestinian context among the other prominent social and cultural issues of his day, such as access to healing and education.

The second chapter followed the paper trail left by the writings of Luke, Justin, and Tertullian, among others, showing how and why Gentile Christian leaders reinvented exorcism and demonology in such novel ways. Gentile Christian leaders encountered Judaean ritual experts abroad, far from their native cultural context. This coincided with efforts by authors like Luke and Justin to weave new ideas about demons into an evolving sense of Christian identity (between "Jewish" and "pagan"). As they recontextualized and reinterpreted Jesus's legacy of exorcism for a broader audience, these writers laid foundations for Christian leaders of the later second and early third century. These leaders also laid the foundations of ecclesiastical uses for exorcism.

In the first quarter of the third century, urban episcopal elites deemed exorcists essential to their construction of a new episcopal bureaucracy. Hence, exorcists were some of the few essential classes of personnel selected to establish a permanent, visible, and ultimately well-resourced Christian presence in cities large and small (e.g., Rome, Carthage, Brixia, and Nola). An investigation of sources shows that acceptance for the position spread widely and quickly. These exorcists played a key role in legitimizing and adapting Christian exorcism to an institutional context, and their contributions far outlasted their office. These official exorcists provided healing to people afflicted by demonic illnesses, sometimes died as martyrs with other clergy, occasionally received promotions, and above all, served the aims and actions of the bishops who stood above them as their patrons.

In the fourth century, ecclesiastical exorcists and exorcism no longer enjoyed the same dynamic field of expansion and change that had generated early ecclesiastical exorcism. Exorcists in this century fell in line with all the broader ecclesiastical changes, as dictated by their bishop, but do not seem to have produced any sweeping changes of their own. The exorcists lived and believed as their leaders directed them, as examples of Nicene and Arian exorcists showed. Varying ways of adapting to changing moral and ethical norms that dictated how clergy were to eat, drink, and even procreate; in every surviving example, exorcists did as they were told.

Thinking experimentally about events that did not happen but could have, some noteworthy exorcist could have tried standing up for a new age of literate exorcisms, or pioneering new ways of exploiting the dynamism and notoriety of rural holy men, or leveraging their order's legacy of spiritual discernment to effect political change to benefit themselves and their colleagues. However, this was not to be. The exorcists were plenarily swept up in the political, ecclesiastical forces of the post-Constantinian world. The former importance of exorcists waned under the growing shadow of opulent basilicas and illustrious clergymen. Christian exorcism survived and thrived in this new world of "Christendom," yet the exorcists who had been stewards of the practice for two centuries were increasingly excluded from the new, literate turn in Christian exorcism. The idea that there could and should be a distinctly Christian approach to exorcism no longer strictly precluded rituals and so-called *materia magica*, especially in the case of liturgical rituals and items that were sanctioned by bishops and other high-ranking clergy.

Exorcists, Cultural Identity, and Magic in Late Antiquity

Regarding question about how exorcists and their practices relate to rituals, *materia magica,* and the broad category of "magic," I have mainly suggested that Christian exorcism played a generative role in the creation of what is now often called "magic."[847] Early Christian exorcism discourse aggressively propagated an "othering" message to accompany its personnel, institutions, and cures. As Christians developed new stereotypes of what constituted strangeness, compromise, and demonic contamination, they exploited these stereotypes to raise suspicions about gods, demons, heretics, and Jews. These judgments and tropes remained remarkably consistent and persistent across the centuries of Christian exorcism rhetoric.

Exclusionary ideas were not confined to the topic of exorcism, and the rhetoric of exorcism promoted ideas that were adopted in other areas of theology or policy. Of course, it should go without saying that exorcism was not the sole method for creating and excluding identities—the emergence of a cultural movement as complex as early Christianity requires a multitude of means and methods for critique, social consolidation, and cultural production. Nonetheless, Christian exorcism and exorcists arrived early and prominently among these means and methods, and should not be downplayed among the complex of factors that helped Christians to achieve material force in society.

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[847] Although my research has largely bypassed discussions about the boundaries and utility of the term "magic," I agree with recent arguments for the continued utility of the term. See David Frankfurter, ed., *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 189 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), esp. 3–20, for ways in which the term "magic" can be responsibly used to describe "religious" materials, figures, and other phenomena that seem difficult to categorize otherwise. In a similar vein, see Joseph Sanzo, "Deconstructing the Deconstructionists: A Response to Recent Criticisms of the Rubric "Ancient Magic," in Attilio Mastrocinque, Joseph E. Sanzo, and Marianna Scapini, ed., *Ancient Magic: Then and Now* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, forthcoming). The outcomes of my research cause me to approach "magic" through a genealogical lens (rather than as, e.g., a bounded concept or category for theoretical reflection); however, I hope to redraw some of this research into ways that can more readily interface with current research on "magic."

For these and other reasons, Late Antique exorcism and "magic" can be fruitfully discussed among the broader developments that impacted early Christian and Jewish identity and relations. Considering the rich intersection of exorcism and these broader socio-cultural phenomena, I determine that exorcism offers insight into the evolution of "Jewish magic," as well as Late Antique Christianity's supposed acquiescence to "magic." Here, I note exorcism's relationship to Christian and Jewish "magic" in turn.

Christian Exorcism and the Problem of "Christian Magic"

It can be puzzling to observe educated Late Antique Christians adopting practices of the same sort that Christian anti-magic rhetoric had seemed to oppose so stridently. Francis Young pondered the vexing question of educated Christians engaging in "magical" practices that Christian literature otherwise seemed to condemn in a way that represents how many scholars view exorcism and its relationship to "magic." Briefly speaking, it is common to suppose that there was a form of Christian exorcism that was free of "magic," but somehow, at some point, Christian exorcism and "magic" cross-contaminated one another. Hence, "the abiding relationship between exorcism and magic raises a 'chicken and egg' question that is, perhaps, unanswerable: did magicians draw on the church's exorcisms before exorcists drew on magical material, or vice versa?"[848] As I have understood the sources, nothing requires us to distinguish between the church affiliated exorcists and so-called magicians Young considers.

I suggest that it is more helpful to appreciate the changing nature of exorcism and "magic" as Christian leaders understood these. These changes did not just temporally coincide with the decline of the order of exorcists, but also coincides with evidence for

[848] Francis Young, *A History of Exorcism in Catholic Christianity*, Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 17.

increasing use of texts that earlier generations of church leaders deemed dangerous to Christian identity. There were no "magicians" guilty of introducing worldly practices into the church, but rather, priests and other respectable clergy wrote amulets, *sortes*, and exorcism liturgies. Thus, what we see as "magical" may simply be signs of textuality, education, sophistication, and a willingness to listen across cultures. The "magic" in exorcism is only magical when compared against some of the anomalous standards established by early church leaders who wanted to develop a distinctly Christian approach to exorcism. Taken in isolation, the end of this early approach to exorcism might seem like a narrative of declining "purity," or something of this sort. However, when viewed against the broader backdrop of the centuries preceding and succeeding Late Antiquity, Christian exorcists and early Christian exorcism may be an anomaly that needed to become settled, like a dissonant accidental note in music that resolves itself into something more harmonious with the constellation of long-held notes around it.

I suggest that it is particularly fitting to look for such "resolution" in the post-Constantinian era. Christian leaders once used exorcism to define themselves against Jewishness, "paganism," and other constructs of vital importance. For several centuries, exorcism helped bear the load of identity formation. This avoidance of exorcistic textuality and structured knowledge relaxed as Christians ascended to higher political and cultural prominence. Theodore de Bruyn reached a simiarl conclusion regarding amulets and other materials that seem to drive a wedge between the "normative Christian discourse" developed by authors like Justin and the habits of later clergy. De Bruyn argues that the "normative discourse," which was "generated in an effort to keep Christians from doing what pagans or Jews did, allowed for only a few polarized

alternatives: ‘demonic’ amulets comprising incantations and ‘magical’ signs, and ‘acceptable’ amulets consisting of the gospel, the cross, or water and oil that had been blessed.”[849] I suggest that when Christian identity had become stable enough to stand on its own—without aid from the meaning-building dynamism that once accompanied Christian exorcism—then exorcism was no longer required to serve as a boundary between Christian and other cultural identities.

Thus, to say that Christian exorcism changed when exorcists began disappearing is not the same as claiming that church exorcists were the bulwark against the incursion of magic. Rather, I see this temporal correlation as something of an indicator that the brash experiment of early Christian exorcism was settling into something more sustainable and useful to the clergy, their congregants, and their neighbors.

Christian Exorcism and the Creation of “Jewish Magic”

Throughout the dissertation, exorcism can be noted playing a role in the relationship between Jews and Christians. Most, though not all, of the adverse rhetoric of exorcism was found in Christian literature and was directed against Jews. I posit that Christians generated the idea of “Jewish magic” in the course of drawing contrasts between Jewish and Christian approaches to exorcism.

This study has especially focused on the Christian personnel and practices of exorcism, but I do not wish for this focus on Christian exorcists to give the impression that Jewish “exorcists” ceased practicing. There is evidence to suggest that Jewish sages and elders continued practicing traditional approaches to ritual sciences in Late Antiquity

[849] Theodore de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian: Artefacts, Scribes, and Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 245, cf. temporal notes on 41–42. Compare with the “veritable explosion of gospel divination” in the fifth century, discussed in AnneMarie Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles? The Gospel of the Lots of Mary*, STAC 89 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 79–92, here citing 79.

and beyond.[850], and thus, any Jewish exorcism formalities, *materia magica*, or ritual-scientific learning was itself suspected of demonic influence. Even as careful scholars, it is not difficult to fall for the rhetorical ploy inherent in discussions about Jewish magic. Thus, I find it important to emphasize one of the arguments of this study: when we refer to "Jewish magic," we are referring to a respected form of Jewish ritual expertise that had been practiced long before the rise of Christianity; if we call this practice "magic," we do so under the terms and conditions of early Christian exorcism enthusiasts.

This point is especially noteworthy because associations between Jewish ritual sciences and "magic" helped to foster more general suspicions about Jews, which became condemnations, which ultimately led to a demonization or dehumanization of Jews in "Christendom." This association between Jews and magic is noteworthy—in the most lamentable sense—for its heinous role in the history of Jews in "Christian" societies, particularly in Europe.[851]

The discomfort caused to Jews who encountered intrusive Christian exorcism is dramatized in the story of Joseph the Count, who attempted to Christianize Tiberias and the Galilee in the name of Constantine. Perhaps no incident more fittingly connects the history of Late Antique Christian exorcism and the creation of Jewish magic than this fourth-century conflict in the regions where Jesus had first clashed with the scribes. Here

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[850] Gideon Bohak's research into ancient Jewish ritual expertise has highlighted significant continuity in the practice, regardless of external events. See, e.g., Bohak, "Jewish Exorcism Before and After the Destruction of the Second Temple," 277–300 in Daniel R. Schwartz and Zeev Weiss, eds., *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History? On Jews and Judaism before and after the Destruction of the Second Temple* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012); idem, "Exorcistic Psalms of David and Solomon: A New Translation and Introduction," in Richard Bauckham, James Davila, and Alexander Panayotov, eds., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2013), 287–97; and Gideon Bohak and Mark Geller, "Babylonian Astrology in the Cairo Genizah," 607–622 in Ra'anan S. Boustan, et al., eds., *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

[851] Furthermore, and unfortunate though it may be, I find that our language for the study of such ancient rituals as "magic" hews to boundary lines established by early Christian authors.

the Christian performer of exorcism saw himself extinguishing the "magic and curious deeds" (μαγείαις…καὶ περιεργίαις) of the "noble Jews" (γεννάδαι Ἰουδαῖοι).[852] I suggest that Jewish sages in Tiberias recognized the changing definition of "magic" on the heels of this incident, offering their own stories and arguments to defend the rights they had once had the luxury of assuming, namely, the established norms of traditional ritual expertise, and their legal rights perform acts that were becoming identified with "magic."

I have previously discussed Joseph the Count, a converted Jew from Tiberias who claimed to have performed an exorcism using the sign of the cross even before he became a Christian. Joseph had been a member of the Jewish Patriarch's retinue in Tiberias, and probably considered the city home from about 290 to 325 CE.[853] Joseph subsequently left Tiberias, converted to Christianity, and ultimately received a personal charge from Constantine himself: Joseph was to return to the Galilee and establish Christian basilicas there. Joseph rode back into Tiberias boasting a royal stipend and imperial orders in hand. Upon arriving, Joseph would have had the chance to see the familiar faces of elders and rabbis who were still alive and dwelling in the city.[854] These were the same people who had troubled Joseph because they possessed Christian books and used the name of Jesus in healing. [855] Although Joseph converted to the Christian faith, he seems to have only

[852] Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.12.3; 1.348.3–4 (Holl). Succinct summary of the "Joseph incident" in Jacobs, *Epiphanius of Cyprus*, 89–90; Gideon Bohak, "Magic in the Cemeteries of Late Antique Palestine," 157–74 in Oren Tal and Zeev Weiss, eds., *Expressions of Cult in the Southern Levant in the Greco-Roman Period* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), esp. 165.
[853] Goranson, "The Joseph of Tiberias Episode," 71.
[854] These events preceded the meeting in or around 355 between Epiphanius, Eusebius of Vercellae, and Joseph of Tiberias in Joseph's new home in Scythopolis. It is impossible to know when Joseph returned to Tiberias within the range of c.325–c.355.
[855] E.g., Epiphanius, *Pan.* 1.341.26–27 (Holl.): "After reading from those [New Testament books in Hebrew], his thinking was afflicted (διάνοιαν ἐτρύχετο)…He was feeling vexed (ἀσχάλλων) about the faith of Christ."

grown more suspicious of the motives and practices of Jews who engaged in cross-cultural learning.[856]

Joseph's decision to build a basilica on prime real estate in the center of Tiberias was controversial, something he must have anticipated.[857] Joseph attempted to commandeer an unfinished building that the citizens of Tiberias had already designated as a future expansion to the cities bathing facilities.[858] According to Epiphanius, Joseph made the decision about where to build his first church building *after* he heard about their idea of constructing a bath house, implying that Joseph tendentiously intruded on their plans.[859] As one might expect, those who had a vested interest in building a bath house registered opposition, and whenever Joseph ran into difficulties with his building project, he blamed the Jews.[860] When something went wrong at the refineries he had established, Joseph came up with a bizarre story about "the horrid Jews"[861] and their magical ability to bind fire so that the flames no longer produced heat.[862] However, he added that "they

[856] Put another way, Joseph had once condemned the "ecumenism" of Tiberian Jewish leaders, and he continued to condemn them after he switched to the other side.
[857] In addition to Miller, "Markers of Pagan Cult," see also Yizhar Hirschfeld and Katharina Galor, "New Excavations in Roman, Byzantine, and Early Roman Tiberias," 207–29 in Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge, and Dale B. Martin, eds., *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*, WUNT 210 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), noting especially the helpful topographical aids on 208, 213, and 228.
[858] *Pan.* 30.12.2 (1.347.21–24 [Holl]): ναὸς δὲ μέγιστος ἐν τῇ πόλει προϋπῆρχε· τάχα, οἶμαι, Ἀδριανεῖον τοῦτο ἐκάλουν. ἀτελὲς δὲ τοῦτο τὸ Ἀδριανεῖον διαμεῖναν τάχα οἱ πολῖται εἰς δημόσιον λουτρὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐπισκευάσαι. Epiphanius's use of the optative seems to indicate true reservations about the accuracy of his memory. Palestinian Jews local bathing facilities "as an integral component of urban civilization," as discussed by Martin Jacobs, "Römische Thermenkultur im Spiegel des Talmud Yerushalmi," 219–311 in Peter Schäfer, ed., *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture*, vol. 1, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 79 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), here citing 311.
[859] …ὅπερ εὑρὼν ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐκ τούτου τὴν πρόφασιν ἔσχε, *Pan.* 1.347.14–25 (Holl); 30.12.3.
[860] It is reasonable to suppose Joseph needed to have some sort of excuse about why he failed to complete his charge, even though he had spent imperial funds.
[861] Williams, *Panarion, Book 1*, 140; εὔτολμοι Ἰουδαῖοι (Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 30.12.4; 1.348.2 [Holl]).
[862] "Well, the fire was smouldering and not doing anything but had practically ceased to be fire" (Williams, *Panarion, Book 1*, 140); ἤργει γοῦν τὸ πῦρ καὶ οὐκ ἔπραττεν ἀλλὰ τῆς ἰδίας ὡς εἰπεῖν φύσεως ἐκτὸς ἐγένετο (Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 30.12.5; 1.348.4–6 [Holl]).

did not entirely succeed,"[863] because Joseph thwarted these noble Jews with an exorcism, which Epiphanius relates as follows:

> He ordered water fetched in a vessel…in the sight of all—a crowd of Jews had gathered to watch, eager to see how it would turn out and what Josephus would try to do. Tracing the sign of the cross on the vessel with his own finger, and invoking the name of Jesus, he cried out, "In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, whom my fathers and those of all here present crucified, may there be power in this water to set at naught all sorcery and enchantment these men have wrought, and to work a miracle on the fire that the Lord's house may be finished." With that he wet his hand and sprinkled the water on each furnace. And the spells were broken, and in the presence of all, the fire blazed up.[864]

Here, Joseph used the simple sign of the cross to defeat the "magic and curious deeds" (μαγείαις…καὶ περιεργίαις) of the "noble Jews" (γεννάδαι Ἰουδαῖοι).[865] Perhaps imitating the exorcized waters of baptism, Joseph used a vessel of water to "baptize" Jewish magic away from the furnaces these Jewish leaders had supposedly bound.

There is a great deal of resonance between this story and the portrait of exorcism I have been developing in the course of this study. In particular, I see Joseph as the "simple" Christian practitioner of exorcism against the Jews and their sophisticated, suspicious rituals. If we recall earlier to the discussions of the second chapter, Luke used the term περιεργία in association with the seven Judaean exorcists he had hoped to discredit. As well, the first chapter identified Palestinian Jewish exorcism with the ritual sciences of "noble Jews" of the sort Joseph knew in Tiberias. If Joseph (and Epiphanius) had problems with Jewish ritual sciences, they were following the lead of Luke and Justin, who decried such practitioners, their rituals, and their use of so-called *materia magica*. Thus, in the details of this passage about Joseph and the nobles of Tiberias, we see a clash between Jewish exorcism and Gentile Christian exorcism that echoed and

[863] Williams, *Panarion, Book 1*, 140 (ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τέλος ἴσχυσαν).
[864] Williams, *Panarion, Book 1*, 140–41.
[865] Epiphanius, *Pan.* 30.12.3; 1.348.3–4 (Holl).

rejected it. The Roman Christian colonization of Jewish Tiberias had its beginnings in this crucible of antagonism and exorcism.[866]

The story of Joseph stands out as an example of exorcism's symbolic power in the broader politics of the Constantinian and post-Constantinian age. Over the course of centuries, Christians had been rehearsing a script about removing the old gods by exorcism. However, unlike the early authors of texts discussing exorcism, many Christian leaders of the fourth century (and later) possessed direct political influence. It was hardly a stretch to adapt exorcistic symbols as signs of conquest. Even Constantine himself may have exploited this imagery when he attributed his triumph to a vision of the cross, and subsequently ordered the *labarum* on his soldiers' armor. Ramsay MacMullen argues that Constantine's evocative use of the cross can be linked to the kind of "miraculous" symbolism that I find consonant with early Christian exorcism.[867] If Constantine intentionally evoked a militant exorcism symbol to commemorate his triumph, he was fulfilling an idea that Christians had been promoting for nearly two centuries. If Constantine forced "pagan" priests to ashamedly strip their gods of their colors and clothing before the public eye,[868] he was merely making them participate in the pageantry of shame that Christians had been enacting and elaborating on since the second century. Firmicus Maternus, a new convert from the old gods, demonstrated how thoroughly he

[866] Antipathy was to continue to build for several decades, culminating in a revolt in the time of Gallus; see Benjamin Isaac, "The Eastern Frontier," 437–60 in Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey, ed., *The Cambridge Ancient History XIII: The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), here referring to 453–54.
[867] Ramsay MacMullen, "Constantine and the Miraculous," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968): 81–96.
[868] Eus., *Vit. Const.* 3.54. A.H.M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 174, who noted that different people could have interpreted the spoliation of the temples in different ways, and so they did.

could participate in this Christianizing climate by urging the Constantius II and Constans to continue the exorcism of the gods begun by Constantine.[869]

This same spirit of conquest accompanied Joseph when he left Constantine's presence for his contentious reunion with the Jewish ritual experts in Tiberias. When Joseph claimed that his exorcism had unmasked Tiberias's resident "exorcists" as magicians, he did so as an official representative of the court. Joseph may have used this incident as a "claim to fame" when spreading the salacious tale to his Nicene visitors, including Epiphanius, who recorded the story in his influential *Panarion*.

I suggest that the Jews of Tiberias did not fail to see the implications of Joseph's exorcisms for them. Indeed, I argue that we see a response to Joseph's aggressions in Talmud Yerushalmi Sanhedrin 7:19, 25d. The concluding pronouncement in this sugya is attributed to R. Darosa, a fourth- or fifth-century rabbi, who contended for a broad gray area between a common magician (המכשף) and the rabbis who could perform remarkable deeds that witnesses might confuse with magic.[870] For sages whose deeds appeared to be sorcery, R. Darosa suggested a category that rests between guilt and innocence: חיוב שהוא פטור, guilt which is acquitted.[871] Thus, the gemara concludes that rabbis cannot be held liable for punishments of magic, even if what they are doing is for all intents and purposes could not be distinguished from magic.

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[869] See Dennis Paul Quinn, "In the Names of God and His Christ: Evil Daemons, Exorcism, and Conversion in Firmicus Maternus," 3–14 in Markus Vinzent, ed. *Papers Presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford, 2011, Volume 17: Latin Writers, Nachleben,* Studia Patristica 69 (Leuven; Paris; Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2013).

[870] R. Joshua claims that he is able to take plant species and turn (עביד) them into animals that can then reproduce (עבידין) more like them, echoing R. Hinena b. R. Hananiah's report that he observed (חמית) a *min* turning (מתעבדא) a skull into a beast

[871] *Pnei Moshe* paraphrases: פטור אבל אסור, where אבל ("but") adds opposition between the pairs. However, R. Darosa seems to imply simultaneous existence of two categories.

The various vignettes leading up to R. Darosa's conclusions vividly illustrate his point, particularly the first case-study[872] featuring three rabbis who were going to the bath house in Tiberias.[873] They were unaware that "one of the *min*[874] was watching them" (חמתון חד מיניי). Using only his words,[875] this *min* was able to trap all three rabbis at the vault (כיפה) inside the bathhouse. However, one of the rabbis, R. Joshua, said some words (the same words?) before the *min* could run away, trapping him in the main entrance (ותפש יתיה תרעא). Everyone coming in and going out had to shove the *min* to get by, so he agreed to let the rabbis go if R. Joshua would do the same for him. After going outside

[872] Yerushalmi introduces a narrative with the term דלמא in the following places, based on a query of the Ma'agarim database (https://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il) and following the numbering of Leiden ms. Scaliger with alternate numbering in brackets: yBer 1:1, 2c**;** 2:2, 4c; 2:3, 5a; 2:8, 5a; 2:9, 5d; 7:3, 11b (דלמה); yPeah 3:7, 17d; 7:4 [or 7:3], 20a; 8:9 [or 8:8], 21b (2x in the same daf); yShevit 4:3, 35b; 5:9 [or 5:4], 36a; yMa'as 3:4, 51a; 4:2, 51b; yShab 1:2, 3a; 16:1, 15c; yPes 3:7, 30b; 5:5, 32c (דלמה); ySheq 5:6 [5:4], 49b; yYoma 1:1, 38c (דלמה); 3:2, 40b; ySuk 5:1, 55a; yBeisa 1:7, 60c; yTaan 2:1, 65a; yHag 1:7, 76c; yYey 8:2, 9b (דלמה); yKet 6:3, 30d; yGit 1:5, 43d; 5:10, 47c; 6:5, 48b; yQidd 1:6, 60d; 3:4, 64a; 3:5, 64a; 4:6, 65d; yAvZ 4:9 [or 4:10], 44b; and the passage under consideration here, ySanh 7:13, 25d (2x in the same daf). Cf. also other Palestinian redactions, e.g. BerR (ms. Vat. bib. apost. ebr. 30 unless otherwise specified) 6:7 (1st hand); 35:3 (2nd hand); 46:7 (2nd hand); 62:2 (B.L. 340 and Vat bib. apost. ebr. 3rd hand); 62:5 (3rd hand); 77:2 (3rd hand); 79:6 (3rd hand); 79:7 (3rd hand). The dominant scholarly opinion sees דלמא as a transliteration of the Greek term δρᾶμα, essentially a story. See Saul Lieberman, *Shabbat, Erubin, Pesahim of the Jerusalem Talmud* (Jerusalem, 1934 [Hebr.]), 24, 56; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), 151, s.v. דלמה; Leib Moscovitz, *The Terminology of the Yerushalmi: The Principal Terms* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2009 [Hebr.]), 138–39; Moshe Assis, *A Concordance of Amoraic Terms, Expressions, and Phrases in the Yerushalmi* (3 vols.; New York and Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary, 2010 [Hebr.]), 1:302 n.345; "Geschehnis," Gerd Wewers, trans., *Sanhedrin. Gerichtshof*, Übersetzung des Talmud Yerushalmi IV/4 (Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1981), 208–09.

[873] למיסחי בהדין דימוסין דטיבריא. See also, e.g., Giuseppe Veltri, *Magie und Halakha: Ansätze zu einem empirischen Wissenschaftsbegriff im spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Judentum* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 26–46; Philip S. Alexander, "The Talmudic Concept of Conjuring (*'Aḥizat 'Einayim*) and the Problem of the Definition of Magic (*Kishuf*)," 7–26 in Rachel Elior and Peter Schäfer, eds., *Creation and Recreation in Jewish Thought: Festschrift in Honor of Joseph Dan on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), although I consider the discussion about mesmerism highly speculative; Yuval Harari, "The Sages and the Occult," Chapter 17 in Shmuel Safrai, et al., eds., *Literature of the Sages, Second Part: Midrash and Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science, and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature* (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum and Fortress Press, 2006), 533; Joshua Levinson, "Enchanting Rabbis: Contest Narratives between Rabbis and Magicians in Late Antiquity," *JQR* 100 (2010): 54–94.

[874] See Adiel Schremer, *Brothers Estranged: Heresy, Christianity, and Jewish Identity in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). The *min* in Tiberias need not be imagined as somehow related to the *min* of Sepphoris, mentioned later in the same gemara.

[875] "He said what he said," אמר מה דמר.

the bath, R. Joshua mocked the *min,* "Behold, in what other way are you wise?" (הא מה דאת חכם); the *min* responded by suggesting they make the short walk to the Sea of Galilee. Once there, the *min* "said what he said" again, which made the water part as Moses did at the Red Sea: "And did not your rabbi Moses do at the Sea?" (ולא כן עבד משה רבכון בימא). The rabbis met this challenge to Moses's authority by suggesting that the miracle was not complete until the *min* walked through it as Moses did. When the *min* stepped far enough into the Sea of Galilee, R. Joshua "decreed" (גזר) that the quasi-demonic[876] Prince of the Sea should shut the water upon the *min.* The story ends as the foolish *min* perishes beneath the waves.

The story is impressionistic and stylized, but the details of this vignette are reminiscent of the incident that Joseph instigated. As a Jew who had converted to Christianity, Joseph can be identified as "one of the *minim*." Furthermore, this was the same city center where Joseph had sought to build his basilica, and the bath house was either the same contested location mentioned by Joseph or another one nearby. In Tiberias, Joseph's exorcistic and therapeutic formulae were brief and spare, requiring no special "wisdom." R. Joshua's taunt, "Is that all you know?" would be a fitting retort to the repetitive ways of a Christian who only knew to say a few catch phrases. Even the Prince of the Sea was "exorcized" in a non-Christian sense when R. Joshua impelled this spirit to perform the task of thwarting the *min*.[877] These are some of the key reasons for connecting Epiphanius's account of Joseph with this selection from the Yerushalmi.

[876] From the particular Christian point of view, *demonic* in the evil sense; in the traditional Mediterranean view, *daemonic* in the sense of a functional spirit (see discussions on taxonomy in chapter 2).
[877] גזר recalls the use of the term ὁρκίζω, the term by which exorcists compelled demons to do whatever was demanded. Compare with the use of גזר in chapter 1 of this treatment. The same verb appears as a participle in P. Fouad 203.16–19, but its use there remains ambiguous (van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers,* 133).

As a piece of legal reflection, the gemara in Yershalmi Sanhedrin 7 probes the boundaries and features of magic to a degree that was unprecedented in Jewish literature. Prior discussions on this topic had been mostly taken up by the question of how to punish sorcerers, not how to define them.[878] I suggest that this newfound need to differentiate between magic and wisdom came in response to Christians and their public push to redefine of exorcism and magic. When Christian exorcism came to Tiberias, it was used to redefine Jewish ritual experts, Jewish "binding" spells, and related matters as "magic." Thus, even rabbis found it necessary to reckon with the question of whether or not some of their practices should be deemed illicit. Speaking optimistically, the gemara is a piece of constructive legal thought, a means for "organizing and articulating [rabbinic] authority 'in a Roman way.'"[879] Yet in hindsight, we find that such sophisticated arguments were of little protection against deep-seated suspicions and animosity that embittered Christians against Jews.

As Christianity became established across the world, the movement spread and established these anti-Jewish opinions with it. Christian leaders worked to formally inscribe this connection between Jews and magic into public consciousness. The *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (a fifth-century text I discussed in the previous chapter because of its mention of ecclesiastical exorcists) charged that Christians who trusted in two related kinds of evil practices be excommunicated, namely, those who believed in "auguries and incantations…and similarly, Jewish superstitions and feasts (*auguriis vel*

[878] y.Sanh. 7 begins with a citation of the Mishnah and a collection of midrash on Exodus 22:17, 19:13, and Lev. 20:15–16 (see e.g., *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, a dialogue between R. Aqiba and R. Ishmael; *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Shimon b. Yohai*, which puts R. Yosi ha-Galil in conversation with R. Aqiba).
[879] Natalie B. Dohrmann, "Law and Imperial Idioms: Rabbinic Legalism in a Roman World," 63–78 in Natalie B. Dohrmann and Annette Yoshiko Reed, ed., *Jews, Christians, and the Roman Empire: The Poetics of Power in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), esp. 77–78.

incantationibus…similiter et iudaicis superstitionibus vel feriis…).[880] Here, forbidden "magical" practices like auguries and incantations were used to color the broad spectrum of Jewish beliefs and practices. Eventually, a number of church canons threatened Christians with excommunication if they sought out the help of Jewish doctors.[881] In fact, Jewish sages who became doctors frequently reaped suspicions and penalties of magic, owing to persistent associations between illness, demons, and science in Christian nations.[882] Finally, Joshua Trachtenberg discusses an even broader scale of paranoia against medieval Jews, whereby "every innocent Jewish act which by its strangeness laid itself open to suspicion was considered a diabolical device for working magic against Christians."[883] In so thinking and behaving, medieval Christians placed all Jews in danger of accusations of magic and subsequent punishment.

In these and other cases, attention to exorcism and its personnel helps to explain how Jews and magic came to be so deeply associated in the Christian imagination—at least in the beginning. By the middle ages, those suspicions seem to have become perpetual, self-sustaining biases (even though, as I noted in the prior section, key contrasts between Christian and Jewish ritual expertise were constantly eroding).

Retrospect and Prospect

I have set out to describe and explain how exorcism and its practitioners affected institutions and society. In retrospect, I wonder how this history would have evolved

[880] Canon 89 of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* as numbered in Charles Munier, CCSL 249, 352.
[881] Rebecca Rist, *Popes and Jews, 1095–1291* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 95 collects a variety of these canons.
[882] Rist, *Popes and Jews*, 93–97. Cf. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, 4 (note, however, that the connection between exorcism and medicine was much more than just "the popular view," and furthermore, the penchant for associating "scientific training" with "superior magicians" was hardly a paradox when traditional modes of Jewish exorcism are viewed in their scholastic context and in light of earlier Christian assessments of scientific approaches to demons).
[883] Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2004), 2.

without conflicts over exorcism and healing. Would Jesus and the scribes have had such terrible disagreements if they were merely arguing over the materials of health and purity—utensils, cloth, water—absent a rich sense of spiritual victimhood at the hands of unseen forces? Would Luke and Justin have been so eager to wish the demise of Jewish ritual practitioners (about which they probably understood very little)? Would episcopal bureaucracies have developed at a different pace, or would sectarian conflicts about baptism and authority have festered so terribly absent the sting of demonic rhetoric? These questions are of little merit for *telling* history, but they may help us to appreciate some of the impacts of what has preceded.

In the end, I find exorcism to have been of great import to Christian history and the history of those impacted by the spread of Christianity. Scholars of the past have wondered if exorcism helped Christians "Christianize" the Roman world, but here I find that the practice helped to "Christianize" the Jesus movement itself. Its multifaceted contributions extended to such disparate topics as ritual (and non-ritual), the limits of cultural exchange, and the development of working organizations—and much more.

The historical consequences of exorcism are, I think, easy to downplay in light of the obscure beginnings of the practice and the eventual, mysterious disappearance of people hired to be exorcists. Exorcists of the ancient sort have gone extinct and face the problems all extinct species face: the problems of novelty and irrelevance. Extra work must be done to understand long-gone historical or pre-historical entities. Perhaps exorcists are somewhat more fortunate than some subjects, since they are stereotypically associated with an entertaining sense of horror. However, this very avenue of interest may have a paradoxical chilling effect on public and scholarly interest in their relevance

to the world and its history. I have sought to establish relevance by looking at the circumstances surrounding how exorcists came to be, by looking at how they lived, and by considering how they came to an end.

Finally, the research laid out in this study could extend into many other relevant topics. Light shed on the starting and ending points of Christian exorcism gain can awareness of conditions and consequences that long precede and postdate the phenomena I have been able to discuss. The limits of time, space, and my own expertise may provide starting points for research into such topics as the rise of Christian interests in the sciences or the promotion of textual exorcism culture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (although these are not entirely unrelated things). Patient attention to the minutiae of Christian exorcism in its first four or five centuries may prove helpful for bringing additional clarity to some intractable problems in the study of magic. Thus, I hope that this treatment will prompt new interest in talking about the role these beliefs and characters played in shaping institutions we now take for granted.

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