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Abstract

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The idea of progress has become one of the central concepts of western civilization; but in the ante-Nicene period, this idea, with its inherent optimism, was little known. The universe was controlled by supernatural forces which were often working against man. Fate and the stars controlled the lives of men, but controlling the stars were demons. These pages review pagan and Christian demonology from Plato to Iamblichus. During these centuries, there were variations among the pagans in the concept of the function and nature of demons; but the answers to the three main philosophic questions implicit in demonology—the problem of evil, the problem of unity and diversity, and the relationship of the soul to a higher sphere—remained remarkably the same.

Christianity, because of a different view of the universe, answered these questions in a different way. The early Christians, from Paul to Lactantius, proclaimed victory over the demonic forces which held the pagan world in fear. By the cross of Jesus Christ, the power of the demonic forces which had enslaved men was broken.
The major battle against the forces of evil had been won, and the cross was a positive token that ultimately a kingdom would be established in which demons had no power. Among the Christians, the despair of the pagan world was replaced by an eschatological hope.
Hereafter learn with awe
To dread the Son of God: hee all unarm'd
Shall chase thee with the terror of his voice
From thy Demonic holds, possession foul,
Thee and thy Legions; yelling they shall fly,
And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,
Lest he command them down into the deep,
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.
Hail Son of the most High, heir of both worlds,
Queller of Satan, on thy glorious work
Now enter, and begin to save mankind.

Paradise Regained IV. 625-635
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I. Introduction

Now a belief in the supernatural beings is quite foreign to the modern man's understanding of the scheme of things. His knowledge of science prevents him from finding any room in the world outside himself or the world of personality within himself for either gods or demons. Such beings simply cannot exist for him, in the sense in which they existed for the men of the pre-scientific age.

Any study of the philosophical and religious beliefs of the ante-Nicene period must attempt to depart from the suppositions of the twentieth century and return to what is equivalent to another universe. Though the physical universe might really be much the same today as in the days of Plutarch, the manner in which men view the universe has shifted radically over the centuries. The philosophical questions themselves, like the physical universe, have changed little; yet the solutions offered to these various questions have changed in correspondence with the change in men's attitudes towards the world around them.

In considering the demonology of the early Christian period, we must lay aside the modern conception of the relationship between the supernatural and the physical world which has its origin in Newtonian physics. Twentieth-century man usually rejects miracles and the possibility of personalities manipulating the universe a priori. While the modern mind considers impossible "the partition of our world into a natural order overlaid by a supernatural order which keeps breaking through," 2 nevertheless this was the view of both pagan and Christian at the end of the ancient world. The concept of a universe
run by natural law or chance apart from any personal intervention of
other beings was not the accepted view of that period. Apart from
the Epicureans, it was a generally accepted belief that evil could
be inflicted upon mankind by supernatural agency, and demons were
part of that agency.\(^3\)

In keeping with the prevalent attitude that miracles and super-
natural intervention cannot possibly occur today, much evidence which
might suggest the existence of miracles and supernatural activity
is dismissed as erroneous on a purely suppositional basis. Twentieth-
century man cannot examine the subject with impartiality "without
coming to the conclusion that the historical evidence establishing
the reality of witchcraft (and other supernatural activity) is so
vast and so varied, that nothing but our overwhelming sense of its
antecedent improbablity and our modern experience of the manner in
which it has faded away under the influence of civilization can
justify us in despising it."\(^4\) Evidence for supernatural manifestations
exists not only among Christians, but among the Greeks and Romans, as
well as many Arabian, Persian, Mexican, Buddhist, and Alexandrian
authors.\(^5\) Besides such evidence from historical sources, in our
own day we have the evidence of the parapsychologists, and some
spiritists. A sceptical dismissal of all available evidence might
by typical of twentieth-century man, but such cynicism was unknown
in the period under consideration.

Though some scepticism towards magic and other forms of demon
activity can be found during the Roman Empire, such as among the
Epicureans, few examples of the thorough-going scepticism of more
recent times can be found. Though Cicero writes against divination and an absolute, immutable rule of the heavenly bodies over man, he still does not deny the possibility of sidereal influence on man's character and activities. He denies absolute determinism, yet it does not seem to occur to him to deny all influence of the heavenly spheres.  

For ancient man the universe was personal. Nature and the world were viewed as having personality. It was virtually impossible for the universe to be looked upon as a machine run in accordance with immutable laws. Power was personal, not simply a law of nature. As shall be seen, demons not only provided a bridge between man and higher spiritual beings, but they provided a bridge between different levels of the physical world. There is no clear dichotomy here between the physical and spiritual role of demons. Demons filled the gap between God and men, but they also filled the gap between the earth and the sublunary world — "The doctrine of daimones is connected with that concerning power. Antiquity could not imagine an abstract force with no starting point; potency was to be found in objects, statues, amulets, and so on, but especially belonging to gods and daimones."

Thus, in studying the demonology of the ante-Nicene period, today we must not only reassess our notion of the supernatural, but we must reexamine our concept of the relation of the spiritual to the physical worlds.

About the second century B.C., a feeling of weariness began to spread over the ancient world. The universe was still considered to be very personal and alive, but the question increasingly came to
be whether or not the controlling beings were hostile to man. The greatest contrast between the classical period and late antiquity is in the increasing fear and spread of superstition in the latter. A fundamental change in mentality occurs between the two periods, and the religious feeling of late antiquity cannot be understood without taking this change into account. The growth of the mystery religions is one important manifestation of this change, but the increasing involvement with demons is another. Edwyn Bevan has well-expressed this growth of fear:

We have never been thoroughly frightened; the ancient world was frightened; there is a great difference. The possibility that the Unknown contains Powers deliberately hostile to him is one the ordinary modern man can hardly entertain even in imagination—though why, if it contains conscious beings of any sort, these should necessarily be friendly rather than hostile it would perhaps be difficult to prove from the fragment of the Universe accessible to our senses. And till the Unknown has been realized as something terrible, till we have had the feeling of helplessness and ignorance in the face of an immense Universe...we can hardly understand the mood which led men so eagerly to seek for 'knowledge' and catch at anything which seemed to promise them light and safety.

There are some portions of our present society which do manifest a despair very like the despair felt in late antiquity, but these feelings have not become deeply rooted in the general attitude of the people. A great amount of optimism, often baseless and unfounded, seems to be still present. Such optimism is the exact opposite of the climate of opinion in late antiquity.

Late antiquity saw the growth of belief in a deterministic universe, in which the choice of man was unimportant. E.R. Dodds has suggested that behind this growing acceptance of determinism
lay "the fear of freedom - the unconscious flight from the heavy burden of individual choice which an open society lays upon its members." There was "a loss of self-confidence, of hope in this life and of faith in normal human effort." Such a despair in the significance of human decisions and actions logically leads to a fatalistic ordering of the universe, a relinquishing of man's responsibility for his own thoughts and efforts. Yet, such a condition of total despair is unliveable and can logically lead only to suicide. Some significance was still sought; some mediating power must be found between the workings of the universe and the daily lives of men. At some points demons provided such links, at other points they merely reinforced the fear which necessarily accompanied a deterministic universe.

Such a radically different conception of the natural order must not simply be lightly dismissed as an irrelevant relic of the past. These beliefs are important because they "are the stuff of which the thoughts and feelings of Rome's peoples and subjects were made; and because they in their turn supplied the background against which, and in reaction from which, must be seen the rise of the early Christian church." The historian might choose to ignore how Christ cured the demoniacs, but he cannot ignore the large proportion of the gospels devoted to such cures. The importance lies in the fact that Christ came as conqueror over the evil spirits which held the Gentile world in such fear. The early Christian apologist did not counter such fear by arguments from the realm of science, as some would do today, rather he countered the fear
by maintaining that Christ, sitting on the right hand of God, yet permeating the personality of the believer as a re-invigorating and fortifying power, was ever waging a victorious war with all and every spiritual power of evil— in the planetary spheres, in the middle air where demons roam, and in the cities and villages of earth.

The Apologists proclaimed a new freedom, a release from demonic delusion and a deterministic universe. Unless the deterministic, demonic nature of the universe is first understood, the freedom which early Christianity offered seems insignificant.

Among the early Greek writers, demons are indefinite and lack personality; there is a great confusion between men, gods, and demons. Hesiod is the earliest of the classical Greeks who becomes important in a study of demonology. He states that demons are the departed souls of men who lived in the golden age. Now they exercise guardianship and protection over the present race of men. Pythagoras' conception of demons is much more personal than Hesiod's. By certain purification rites, he thought the soul could be separated from the body; and in such periods of separation, the soul became a demon. This notion is remarkably similar to the concept of the Kundalini among the Hindus, and it would be interesting if the connection between the two ideas could be traced. In Plato's numerous writings, demons are sometimes equated with men and are sometimes outside of men. Sometimes they are said to be the souls of departed men, in a manner similar to Hesiod. In his myths of reincarnation, Plato describes demons as the guardians and guides of men; everytime a man enters a different life, he obtains a different demon. The most important Platonic concept for the development of later demonology is the
mediating function of demons. At this point, demons take on more individuality than they had previously and become mediators between the gods and men, carrying prayers, divinations, and oracles.

Xenocrates most thoroughly systematized this intermediate function of demons. He further developed Platonic demonology so that it had a three-fold importance: religiously, because demons take the place of gods in mythology and cults; psychologically, because demons are the bodiless souls of men before birth and after death; and ethically, because the contrast between good and evil in this earthly life is carried on among demons.

Belief in demons becomes more important to philosophical systems after the classical period, especially in Middle Platonism. The Stoics provide an important link with Middle Platonism, especially through Posidonius. Their argument for the existence of demons is based on the structure of the universe. If there are living beings on earth and in the sea, certainly there must be something inhabiting the atmosphere. Such an argument shows the close connection between the material and spiritual worlds which is noticeable throughout the demonology of late antiquity. For the Middle Platonists themselves, demons were important in purging Greek mythology of its crasser elements. All of the crude activities of the gods of myth could easily be ascribed to demons. With the Middle Platonist's emphasis on the supreme transcendence of God, the mediating role of demons became especially important in providing man a means of contact with higher powers. Plutarch was the main Middle Platonist writer. His many writings
on demons not only provide insight into Middle Platonism, but his quotes from earlier authors often give us otherwise unknown information.

The Alexandrian Jew Philo was the first to make the identification between Greek demonology and Jewish angelology. He clearly recognized the state of Platonic demonology when he stated that demon, angel, and soul were all different words for the same thing. Though much of his extreme Platonism is rejected by the apologists, Philo is important in making many initial connections between Greek and Hebrew thought.

One of the most important elements in the early confessions of the Christian Church is the emphasis on the power of Christ to overcome the demonic forces. The tyrannizing power of demons was broken by Christ on the cross and will be totally destroyed when he comes again to establish his kingdom. This proclamation of victory is central to all of the writings of the early Church Fathers, but they do differ on other aspects of their demonology. The apologists were generally agreed, however, that angels were spiritual beings who function as God's servants in ruling over men and various facets of the universe. By their fall, certain angels began to use their powers to dishonor God and bring mischief to men, through magic, astrology, the mantic arts, and false religion and philosophy. The Greek fathers, such as Justin Martyr, are generally more philosophical in their approach, showing the combination of truth and demon-inspired error in Greek philosophy. The Latin fathers, such as Tertullian, are generally more practical in their approach, showing how demons infest the theatre,
the baths, and other areas of daily life. The Alexandrian fathers, Clement and Origen, combined their Christian demonology with various elements from Gnostic heresies and Platonic philosophy. For the Alexandrians, demonology was most important in explaining the origin of evil.

In the fourth century, there was a growing emphasis on magic and superstition. This growth was partially sponsored by the Neo-Platonist view of the universe. Nature was a manifestation of the world-soul, and all it's various elements were united by bonds of spiritual sympathy. A study of nature thus became a study of the spirits and demons and how to control them. Plotinus himself seems to have been a magician of some ability, but he sought to teach men how to rise above the need for magic through the innate powers of the soul.

As previously stated, though the systems of thought have greatly changed over the centuries from late antiquity to our own day, many of the philosophical questions asked have remained the same. At the outset of this study on demonology, it might prove useful to summarize briefly what problems demons often solved in the various philosophical systems we must consider. The position demons take differs between pagans and Christians, and there is variation within each group itself. The nature of demons is not the most important question at this point in history, although it does become a matter of great debate as the Middle Ages advance. What is important is the place demons have in the various philosophical systems. Certain philosophical questions are implicit in any discussion of demons,
and one's attitude towards demons changes with the means by which these questions are dealt. At issue is the very structure of the universe, both physical and spiritual.

The problem of evil is the first major question which obviously is related to a discussion of demons. To consider the problem of evil and the possibility of a dualistic universe logically leads one to the problem of unity and diversity which has plagued philosophers from earliest times to the present. The third question on which the study of demons impinges is the relationship of the soul to a higher sphere. This last question naturally is not as important to the Christian apologists as to their pagan predecessors, but even there it has a minor role.
II. Pagan Demonology from Plato through Middle Platonism

In earlier Greek thought, demons played an important role, but this role changed frequently. The demons did not really gain individuality or personality until after Plato. In this earlier period even more than in-the-writers during the Empire, there is some difficulty in distinguishing between demons and the human soul, or even between demons and the essence of inanimate things.¹ In more popular belief, demons became associated with springs, rivers, streams, trees, etc. Other categories of demons prevailed over sickness, and it was thus only logical that demon possession and disease should be closely linked in the minds of the people.² These nature-demons thus comprised the soul, force, or mana residing in some species of natural phenomena. Rather than being personalities, they were essences or functions.³

In several of Pindar's Odes to Victory, the success is attributed to the demon of a clan rather than to the individual. In Aeschylus' Agamemnon a similar concept is expressed when Clytemnestra's personality becomes almost lost and submerged under the rule of the daimon genes. The demon here is a kind of collective soul of the clan responsible for hereditary guilt and vengeance.⁴ Like the nature-demon, the demon of the tribe or clan lacks personality and individuality. It is a kind of collective soul which includes and transcends any individual and generational peculiarities. This demon of the clan later was particularized and became the guardian spirit of the individual, an idea which Plato particularly emphasized. Not only did tribes possess such a collective soul or demon, but magical
fraternities were similarly united by a demon, which later developed into the Mystery God. Though these early ideas of demonology differ from later Hellenistic developments, it is easy to see how demons who were powers over nature and individual groups could quickly be conceived of as world rulers, in a cosmic sense.

In Homer the term *demon* is merely a vaguer term for *theos*, but Hesiod gives the term a meaning unknown in Homer, though important in later developments. Hesiod was the first to differentiate demons, gods, and heroes into three classes of beings superior to man. Demons were the deceased of the golden age, who as the guardians of men became intermediaries between gods and men. Though once men, these demons were now invisible, hovering about the earth as souls with a life-span of 9720 years.

Hesiod's conception of demons was influential in forming Pythagorean demonology, which in turn was influential in the formation of Platonic thought. The archaic Greek conception was that there was in the human body a plurality of "functional" souls. The term *psyche* was applied when these were conceived of as a unity. In the sixth century *psyche* became the name for the immortal soul, but among the Pythagoreans the immortal soul was known as the *daimon*. More precisely, the demon was the bodiless soul, so that the aim of Pythagorean rites became to realize the *demon*, or to send the soul outside of the body. The Pythagorean ideal of the cathartic practice was to "create" a demon within oneself, by means of purification and contemplation. By skillful use of the diaphragm (then thought the seat of the soul), the soul could be gathered from where it was dispersed. This regathering of the soul would culminate in ecstasy, or the
separation of the soul from the body. In this separation of the soul from the body, the demon is created. It is obvious how this concept of the demon being the disembodied soul is related to Hesiod, but also important is the application of the demon, as a potential, to every man, not just to those who lived in the golden age.

Empedocles continued the Pythagorean connection between souls and demons, but he added the element of reincarnation, an element which forms a strong mythic basis for Plato's concept of the soul. Those souls which have sunk into the corporeal world Empedocles called demons. They took many forms of life until finally they might be redeemed, through struggle and catharsis. Between these demons, who struggle back to their home among the gods, and the world of the elements there is no significant connecting link; but there is a parallel between the elements and the demons in their determination and destiny. For, in the mechanics of the natural world, the elements are struggling back to their origin, to the unifying principle, in a way similar to the struggle of the soul. In this parallel there is the beginning of the important connection between the physical and immaterial worlds which continues throughout the study of demons.

Because of the materialistic nature of pre-Socratic philosophy, the human and divine spheres must have been viewed as separated spatially, not just immaterially. In order to perform the spiritual connection between the human and divine spheres (a function demons more obviously fulfill in Platonic and post-Platonic thought), the demons had to perform a physical connection as well. This mingling of the spiritual and physical spheres becomes quite important in Hellenistic thought, so that in Hellenistic theology the word
stoicheion, element, comes to mean a demon. A sharp dichotomy between the physical and spiritual worlds had not occurred in the thought of antiquity; thus demons did service in both realms.

In Plato, as an inheritance from Pythagorean and materialistic philosophies, the place of demons seems to be an attempt to solve the problem of relating the human and divine spheres (a similar purpose is seen in the problem of divinity of the human soul). Philosophically there are two ways to connect divine and human spheres. First, one can believe that the difference between man and God is a difference of degree, not essence, a belief that there do exist common qualities between God and man which unite the two. This basically is the Christian position, in a slightly modified form. Since man is made in the image of God, there exist certain elements in both God and man which enable them to have relationships with one another. The second alternative to the problem is to say that there exists an intermediate sphere in which the two original spheres participate; the two spheres themselves can still be regarded as absolute opposites. It is this position which Plato adopts and which is maintained in pagan philosophy.

Though in our later study of the demonology of the apologists we shall see many similarities in certain phases of Christian demonology with the pagan systems; in the very basis and origin of the two systems conceptually there is a large difference. The very difference in demonology between pagan and Christian authors reflects a different conception of God and of man, and of the possibility of the two having any intercourse. In pagan demonology, demons serve the purpose of providing a mediatorship between man and God. In Christian
demonology this is not the purpose at all, since the only mediator necessary between God and man is Christ Jesus.

In seeking a mediator between God and man, the philosophers were implicitly stating a form of dualism, though the intensity of the dualism varied from person to person. Basically, dualism "is the result of the predominance of experience over the inborn tendency of the intellect towards unification." There seems to be an almost innate intuition that there is unity behind the world, yet in just observing the order of the world, one can see only chaos and disunity. Experiential evidence and logical thinking are at odds. The philosophers, seeing this clash between unity and diversity, sought some means of uniting the disorder in the world. The concept of demons was one means of achieving unity, for by the mediating power of demons man was brought into closer accord with the divine will. The divinity of the soul was another means philosophers grasped at for achieving unity. If the soul was immortal, even though it was now forced to live in a material universe, it still possessed the divinity which would eventually cause the soul to be united with the One. These two possibilities of mediatorship found in pagan philosophy are naturally antithetical and cannot logically coexist, but they do form two separate threads of thought throughout pagan philosophy. That both theories continued, often uncomfortably brought together in one system, illustrates the confusion which often existed between a demon and the human soul. Especially in early Platonic philosophy it is often difficult to determine whether the demon has a personal existence or whether a demon is simply some aspect of the human soul. In Plato, as in the nature-demons and "demons
of the clan" already mentioned, demons actually seem to lack any absolute, individual existence.

At this point, some mention ought to be made about the demon of Socrates. Though the demon of Socrates has an important position in the demonology of Middle Platonism, the demon attains a meaning at that time which is quite different from what is found in Plato and Xenophon. In studying Socrates' "demon" in Plato and Xenophon, there is no justification for a confusion of daimonion and daimon. The two are not synonymous, and it is important to note that the term used of Socrates' sign is daimonion, not daimon. Socrates in the earlier writings on the subject is said to have a "divine sign," the nature of which will be examined shortly, but this sign did not take the form of a distinct god or demon, as occurs in Plutarch and later writers. The idea that Socrates possessed a personal deity or demon was found in the Theages, a dialogue wrongly attributed to Plato. It is this dialogue which fills the gap between Plato and Plutarch in speaking of the demon of Socrates rather than the daimonion semeion. In the Theages the demon not only guides Socrates in the selection of pupils, but also determines the amount of progress the pupils make. Socrates does not even reject Theages' suggestion that the pupils should attempt to conciliate the god by prayer and sacrifice. Thus, this dialogue asserts that Socrates believed in a personal divinity. From Plato and Xenophon it is questionable whether this were truly the case; it is even dubious whether Plato's concept of demons allowed for their separate existence as individual beings.

From childhood, Socrates possessed this kind of voice that never urged him forward into action, but restrained him from some
actions that were planned. One such instance of opposition was the divine sign's prompting him to refrain from politics. If the divine sign were really a guardian spirit, as later writers maintained, it seems peculiar that Socrates viewed it as almost unique to himself. John Burnet has well summarized the argument against Socrates' speaking of a personal demon:

The regular use of *gignesthai* in this connection proves that the "divine something" is not a "genius" or familiar spirit of any kind, as it was supposed to have been in later days. The "sign" is never called a daimon, though the idea of the daimon as a guardian spirit was quite familiar.

The sign was impersonal and cannot be viewed as a divinity. It is still quite debatable what the "divine sign" was, but it is enough for our study of demonology to see that Socrates' demon is only mentioned in post-Platonic authors.

Though the most famous element of Plato's demonology has been shown not to exist in Plato himself, there are many remaining passages in Plato which elucidate the concept of demons. One of the most delightful of Platonic dialogues, *Cratylus*, explains Socrates' etymology for the term daimon. Socrates' etymology is important in showing the relationship which existed between demons and men, and the difficulty in distinguishing between a demon and the soul.

For his notion of demon, Socrates goes back to Hesiod's *Works and Days*:

> But since Fate has covered up this race (the golden race)
> They are called holy spirits (daimones) under the earth,
> Noble, averters of evil, guardians of mortal men.

The golden race of men was obviously not made of gold, but it is described as golden because it was good and beautiful. Now the good
are the wise, and because these were wise and knowing (daemones), Hesiod called them spirits (daimones). In the old language Socrates said the two words were the same.\(^{19}\) Hesiod and the other poets are right when they say that when a good man dies he has a great portion and honour among the dead, and becomes a spirit (demon), a name which is in accordance with the other name of wisdom. And so I assert that every good man, whether living or dead, is of spiritual nature and is rightly called a spirit (demon).\(^{20}\)

In the Cratylus Socrates thus equates the demon with certain aspects of good men. In other dialogues, however, the demons are described as outside of men and almost seem to partake of the character of the Roman genius. In the myth of Er at the end of The Republic, the departed souls are brought before Lachesis and are told that they are to begin another cycle of mortal generation; Each soul is to choose its own lot which shall determine its destiny in the next life. No divinity shall choose the soul's destiny, but each soul shall choose the deity which shall guide its life. After each soul had chosen his own life, Lachesis "sent with each as the guardian of his life and the fulfiller of his choice, the genius (daimon) that he had chosen, and this divinity led the soul first to Clotho," who ratified the destiny, and then to Atropos, who made the destiny irreversible.\(^{21}\) This demon of each person accompanies him throughout life and eventually leads the soul back to the underworld after death.\(^{22}\) During life each man should try to behave seemly according to the direction of his daimon.\(^{23}\) With this usage the demon becomes almost the ideal of the individual, a concept developed more in later Stoic philosophy.
The demons, besides acting as guides, in some sense act as the guardians of men. For example, if a man has tried to murder another, and the wound does not prove fatal, this is due to the demon of the attempted slayer.\textsuperscript{24} The gods also are said to be the guardians of men, and men are the chattels of the gods.\textsuperscript{25} In this we see the uncertainty of the position of demons. On the one hand they are closely linked with the human soul; in other instances they are almost indistinguishable from the gods.

The idea that the gods and the demons are guardians over the affairs of men is given a mythic base in Plato. Long years ago, in the time of Cronos, a most prosperous State existed. Cronos knew that no man could have control of all human affairs without being filled with pride and injustice. Therefore, he appointed as rulers of cities not men, "but beings of a race that was nobler and more divine, namely daemons."\textsuperscript{26} In this Cronos acted as we do now in the case of sheep and herds. As we do not let oxen rule oxen, so Cronos did not let men rule men. When a State is ruled by mortals and not gods, there is no peace and prosperity for the people. For this reason the State ought to be ordered by the immortal principle within us.\textsuperscript{27} In this myth we find the same confusion over the nature of demons seen earlier. In the two accounts given of the myth, one time Plato says living things were divided among gods and demons for rulership; one time he merely mentions demons as rulers. Not only are the gods and demons classed together, but in the moral drawn from the myth in the \textit{Laws}, it almost seems as if the demon is the same as the immortal principle within each person. This ambiguity persists throughout Plato's discussions of demons and becomes a topic of debate among his followers.
In the *Symposium* Plato presents a very different notion of demons through Diotima, Socrates' former instructor. Though the idea of demons in the *Symposium* is noticeably different from the other dialogues, it is this dialogue which is most frequently discussed in later authors on demonology. The new element found in this dialogue is the mediating function of demons, though it is still maintained that man can somewhat attain to their nature. Diotima, in discussing the nature of Eros (the basic subject of the entire dialogue), says that Eros is not a god, rather he is between mortal and immortal. He is a great spirit (demon), for the whole of the spiritual is between divine and mortal. When Socrates questions Diotima further on the power of these demons or spirits, she replies:

> Interpreting and transporting human things to the gods and divine things to men; entreaties and sacrifices from below, and ordinances and requitals from above; midway between, it makes each to supplement the other, so that the whole is combined into one. Through it are conveyed all divination and priestcraft concerning sacrifice and ritual incantations, and all soothsaying and sorcery. God with man does not mingle; but the spiritual is the means of all society and converse of men with gods and of gods with men, whether waking or asleep. Whosoever has skill in these affairs is a spiritual (daimonios) man;... Many and multifarious are these spirits (demons), and one of them is Love.

With such a statement, demons gain individuality and become beings. Some of the vagueness of their nature is removed. The underlying function of demons here is to unite two diverse spheres...the basic function of demons found in most pagan demonology. By uniting man and god through the activities of demons, "the whole is combined into one," and the unity which seemed logically required was achieved. Also important to note here is that the activity of demons is connected
with religious ritual and rites. In later writings these demons connected with religious performances are easily equated with the gods themselves.  

Many assign the Epinomis to Philippos of Opus, a contemporary of Plato's in the later Academy. However, by the second century B.C. the work was clearly recognized as part of the Platonic canon. Whether truly Platonic or not, the work does comprise the next important step in the development of pagan demonology. In the Epinomis is found a cosmology in which demonology is essential and in which is found the oldest expression of a systematic theory of demons. As seen earlier, demons are important in both the spiritual and the physical realms. This is most clearly stated in the Epinomis. There are five forms of body: fire, ether, air, water, and earth. Under the predominance of each one of these a different order of living being is created. The Olympian gods may be assigned any position one wishes in the hierarchy (an attitude of indifference found also in the Timaeus), but the immortal, visible gods, who are the stars and the heavenly bodies, must be placed corresponding to fire. Below the visible gods are the demons of the ether and of the air. These beings are invisible to us, but because of their immense wisdom and learning, all our thoughts are known to them. The gods possess absolute perfection of wisdom, thus they have no part in pleasure or pain. In contrast, the demons are capable of painful feeling in like manner as men. Those beings who entirely fill the heavens are intermediaries, moving with easy flight between one another and the highest regions of the gods. The water produces a kind of demigod which is sometimes visible and sometimes vanishes (i.e., a nymph).
These five forms of living beings are real existences which come into contact with men dwelling on earth in several ways: through sleep in dreams, speech coming in voices and prophecies, certain forms of sickness and health, and finally at the moment of death. The whole universe is thus permeated with living beings who form an unified structure connected with the entire system, both physically and philosophically.

The concept that demons have an intermediate position between gods and men finds similarities in the teachings of Zoroaster, Orpheus, the Egyptians, and the Phrygians. It is a concept first seen among the Greeks in Hesiod, developed somewhat by Plato, but systematized most thoroughly by Xenocrates. Xenocrates' demonology was significant in three respects: religiously, because his demons take the place of the gods in mythology and the cults; psychologically, because they are the bodiless souls of men before birth and after death; ethically, because the contrast between good and bad which is found in this earthly life is carried on among the demons. There are degrees of virtue among demons as there are among men. Those myths which attribute unworthy deeds to the gods actually speak of the evil demons, rather than the holy gods. Demons also have varying responsibilities, depending on their closeness to either the godhead or men. As in the Epinomis, Xenocrates sees a relationship between the hierarchies of beings and the physical universe, though this relation is slightly different. In nature Xenocrates compares the gods to the sun and the stars; demons are compared to the moon and men are compared to lightning, comets, and meteors. Although he does not state that these parts of the universe are the abodes of these various beings (men obviously don't
live on comets), after Xenocrates' time it became customary to view
the moon as the abode of demons and the sun and stars as synonymous
with the gods (some things already seen in the Epinomis and obvious
in astrological terms).

After the classical period when belief in demons becomes more
important to philosophical systems, the Stoics began to argue for
the existence of demons on the basis of the structure of the universe.
The older Stoic philosophy had a very organic view of the construction
of the universe. If there are living beings in the earth and water,
so there must be in the clean air as well. What beings could be more
appropriate for inhabiting the pure air underneath the moon than demons. 36
This connection between various elements or environments was first
developed most fully in the Epinomis, but it is through Stoic adaptation
that the idea comes to be accepted by the Middle Platonists. Later
Stoics modify the concept even further by turning the deputy gods or
demons into natural forces, a notion to which Plutarch especially
objected. 37

Some forms of Xenocrates' demonology are found in the Stoic
Posidonius, but it is difficult to discuss effectively these two writers
as possible sources for later demonologies because of the fragmentary
remains of each. The idea that the soul is immortal and after death
becomes a demon is xenocratic, and is adopted into the Stoic system
by Posidonius. 38 The soul is held to be eternal and composed of a
vaporish spirit, which ascends to the higher regions when removed from
the body. Through Posidonius, certain forms of later Stoicism have a
closer identification between men and demons. The agathos daimon
becomes basically equivalent to the Roman concept of genius, something
fully present at birth. This special demon of the individual is distinct
from the soul, yet is so closely connected with the individual that it
might be called the "ideal man." Though Posidonius realized the
importance of Xenocrates in the realm of psychology by identifying
the demons with the human soul, he failed to give demonology the religious
meaning it had for Xenocrates. The important contention by Xenocrates
that the gods of the myths were equivalent to the demons is not made
by Posidonius at all, but the idea is preserved by the Middle Platonists
and reaches its full flowering among the Christian apologists.

During the second century revival of Platonism, known as Middle
Platonism, demonology becomes a much more important and integral part
of the philosophical system. Plato's works in general and some
treatises in particular, notably the Timaeus, are regarded as store-
houses of inspired truth. Ideas of transcendence and inspiration become
more important, and special emphasis is placed on the doctrine of the
One. The notion of the "wholly-other" which becomes so important to
Plotinus and the Neo-Platonists is beginning to take form. God is so
totally transcendent that He cannot possibly have any intercourse with
man. For God to mingle with matter would be to attribute evil to God.
The supreme transcendence of God reinforces the need for demons as
intermediaries between God and man. The dualism of body and soul also
becomes quite important in bridging the gulf between God and man. It
is only this dualism which permits the possibility that man can become
like God by the elevation of his soul above his body and ultimately by
the separation of his soul from his body.

During the period of Middle Platonism, demons, magic and divination
permeated all walks of life and all levels of thought. Lucian's
The satires present a rather amusing caricature of the beliefs during this period. In the "Pathological Liar" Lucian has Ion, a Platonist, describe the antics of a Syrian in Palestine who specializes in exorcising demoniacs. The demoniacs are invariably subject to fits, besides possessing rolling eyes and foaming mouths. Frequently they speak in strange tongues. Ion testified to the fact that he had once seen a devil actually coming out of a man — it was all black and smoky. The entire account sounds like a fifteenth-century narration in a witch-hunting manual. In another satire Lucian ridiculed the many false oracles being established, especially in the East. "Alexander" gives a very good portrayal of the trust people placed in the oracles, despite the expense, sacrifice, and even humiliation this trust often involved. It is important to note that Alexander in his youth studied under Apollonius of Tyana and became "an expert in his particular brand of pretentious nonsense." Though Lucian himself might consider Apollonius and his teachings "pretentious nonsense," such was not the consensus.

Apollonius was probably born during Tiberius' reign. His magical powers caused a cult to develop around him in his Cappadocian birthplace (perhaps much like Lucian's Alexander). Under the patronage of the wife of Septimius Severus, Philostratus was encouraged to write a work on Apollonius. The African emperors as a group were quite well-versed in magic, astrology, divination, and other forms of occultism, so that it is not surprising that the emperor's wife should take delight in a Levantine thaumaturge. Under Diocletian, Apollonius became a sort of pagan rallying point against Christianity. He thus was known to both Lactantius and Eusebius. Since Apollonius' reputation
continued for so many years and pervaded high ranks of society, it
would be wrong to take Lucian's ascription of "pretentious nonsense"
as an accepted opinion of Apollonius.

Philostratus' Apollonius of Tyana is not basically autobiographical
in format, but takes the form of a romance. Apollonius' journeys
among the Babylonian Magis, Indian Brahmins, and Naked Men of Egypt
are all described. Several incidents of demoniac possession, exorcism,
and demon-appearances are vividly portrayed. It is truly remarkable
how closely these accounts accord with similar stories in the later
Middle Ages. If some fragments of Apollonius were found in a monastery,
it would be difficult to date them from content alone. For example,
one time when the Ephesians had a plague, they came to Apollonius to
seek help. Apollonius led the youth of the town to the theatre:

There they found an old man who looked like a
beggar; his eyes were closed - on purpose; he
carried a wallet, with a morsel of bread in it;
he was clad in rags, and his face squalid and
filthy. Apollonius made them stand around and
said, "Pick up all the stones you can, and smite
the abominated of Heaven." The Ephesians were
amazed at what he could mean, and horrified at
the notion of killing a wretched stranger; for
the beggar besought them with many piteous
treaties. But still Apollonius urged and
exhorted them to lay on and not spare. Somebody
began with a few skirmishing shots. And when
the pretended blind man suddenly stared full
at them, displaying a glance full of fire, they
perceived that it was a demon, and stoned him
so heartily that a mound of stones was heaped
over him.

When they removed the stones, a dog, like a big lion, was found
crushed beneath - spluttering like a mad dog. One can almost visualize
the medieval grotesque howling among the stones. These more popular
forms of demon-lore must be kept in mind as we continue in our
investigation of philosophical speculations on the subject.
The most important philosopher for the study of the demonology of Middle Platonism is Plutarch. In his earlier years he wrote a most important work - *De Superstitione*. Though *De Superstitione* contributes little to an understanding of demonology proper, it is quite important in delineating the fear which permeated the pagan world during late antiquity. Plutarch's basis for attacking superstition is his recognition that the prime motivation for superstition is fear. In his loathing for this fear, he pronounces the verdict that atheism is preferable to superstition. After reading Plutarch's other works in which his extreme reverence for traditional beliefs is manifest, this conclusion might come as somewhat of a surprise. Yet, it is the fear against which Plutarch is fighting. He sees how the fear of the superstitious person can totally destroy man as man. He has seen that

to the superstitious man, every infirmity of body, every loss of money, every unpleasantness or failure in political matters, are called 'plagues from God' and 'assaults of the daimon', consequently, he ventures not to remedy it, nor resist it, lest he should appear to fight against God, and to resist when he is chastised; but, if sick, the physician is pushed away; if in sorrow, the philosopher who comes to advise and comfort him has the door slammed in his face.

Plutarch recognizes that an intense belief in demons, whose power is superior to man's, inspires fear and dread, but because of his conservatism and respect for tradition, Plutarch will not go the next step and attack the existence of demons. Somehow he hopes to maintain the existence of demons while at the same time avoid the dread which they inspire. He never completely resolves the dilemma.

Plutarch's concept of demons serves a variety of theological interests. As part of his heritage from Xenocrates Plutarch
uses the existence of demons to help explain certain religious practices, especially oracles. Like Xenocrates, Plutarch uses demons to purge Greek mythology of its crasser elements. The barbarities of certain religious rites are readily attributed to demon activity (as are the more benign and efficacious rites). By believing in a class of beings intermediate between god and man, the transcendence of god is maintained and the problem of evil is partially solved, relieving god of contact with matter. As intermediaries, demons also provide the needed contact of man with the divine. Since the demon is often identified with the souls of the departed, the demonology of Plutarch also becomes important as a way of gaining insight into the destiny of the human soul. Finally, in contrast to the fear which demons often inspired, at times Plutarch is able to use the notion of demons being a kind of guardian angel for moral stimulus. If the demon is man's guardian, man should follow his directive and guidance. In these various functions of demons in Plutarch's thought, it is quite evident that demonology is still fluid and lacks dogmatism; yet the religious, psychological, and ethical significance seen earlier in Xenocrates' demonology is still present in Plutarch and Middle Platonism. Plutarch did not merely naively absorb the demonology of his times. He was quite aware of his heritage from Xenocrates, Empedocles, and other writers on the subject of demons, as is evidenced by his discussion in "Isis and Osiris" and "The Creation of Oracles."

The organic view of the universe noted above in the Stoic philosophy is also a key element in Plutarch's demonology. If one should remove the air between the earth and the moon, he would destroy the unity and connection of the universe. Similarly, if one should remove demons as
non-existent, gods and men would necessarily have no intercourse or communication with each other, the interpreting and communicating being having been removed. Or, alternatively, one mixes all things together, drawing Deity down to human passions.\textsuperscript{50} The demons are essential to the unity of the universe, and there seems to be a certain correspondence between the physical and immaterial spheres—a correspondence hinted at in Empedocles and later developed by St. Paul. For Plutarch this correspondence can be observed in the death of a demon; for when a demon dies, his decease causes a disturbance in the atmosphere.\textsuperscript{51}

Related to their intermediate position in the scheme of the universe, demons partake of a mixed or intermediate nature. This mixed nature Plutarch traces as far back as Homeric usage. Homer in many places calls the good "godlike," but the term derived from the demons he uses of worthy and worthless alike. The assumption behind this seeming ambiguity is that the demons have a complex and inconsistent nature and purpose.\textsuperscript{52} Xenocrates explained the mixed nature of demons in terms of triangles. The equilateral triangle is like the divine nature, being equal in every way. The scalene triangle is comparable to the mortal nature, being unequal in every way. The isosceles triangle is more like the nature of demons, being equal in one way and unequal in another. Demons possess a nature mixed of divine power and mortal passions.\textsuperscript{53} Plutarch believed that this mixed and intermediate nature of demons was asserted by Plato, Pythagoras, Chrysippus as well as Xenocrates, all of whom were following earlier teachings of the ancient theologians. The demons did not possess unalloyed divine nature, but in them the divine was combined with the nature of the soul and the senses of the body. They thus became susceptible to pleasure and pain in the degree to which they were
associated with matter. Different demons possessed different virtues and vices, depending on the degree of their union with matter.54

In Plutarch's myth of Timarchus, Timarchus descends into the cave of the oracle of Trophonius. While dreaming in the cave he sees stars (which he takes to be demons) being prepared to be borne down again into another birth. The more the soul mingles with the flesh, the more irrational it becomes. Not every soul or daemon submerged in the body is called the soul; the part free from corruption is the understanding. On closer observation, it seemed to Timarchus that some stars were traveling in a straight path while others moved with a spiraling motion. Those demons who were not excessively weighted down by matter, who were of a more rational nature, were the straight-traveling stars, while the more irrational demons followed a spiraling path.55 In many ways the myth resembles portions of Plato's Timaeus, the most important part of the Platonic corpus for the Middle Platonists. In the Timaeus, Plato implied that there are two kinds of gods, the heavenly bodies plus the earth and the gods of traditional mythology. All these gods were made by the Father of the Universe. This Father of the Universe instructs the gods to make three classes of creatures, as he has made them. The Father of the Universe provided the human soul as a seed for this secondary creation:

...he turned again to the same bowl in which he had mixed the soul of the universe and poured into it what was left of the former ingredients, mixing them in much the same fashion as before, only not quite so pure, but in a second and third degree. And when he had compounded the whole, he divided it up into as many souls as there are stars, and allotted each soul to a star. And mounting them on their stars, as if on chariots, he showed them the nature of the universe and told them the laws of their destiny.56
The soul who lived well in his life would return to his star and live there happily. One who did not would become a woman in his second life and continue deteriorating throughout his lives until he managed to improve himself.

The myth of Timarchus provides important insights into the demonology of Plutarch. By describing the degree of mixture between the demon and matter, he explains the varying degrees of vice and virtue in demons, but the degree of evil in men is explained similarly since demons are virtually equated with the human soul. Diviners and men inspired have docile souls from birth, due to the "straight path" or perfection of their demons. There was a man of Clazomenae named Humodorus who had reached such a stage of perfection that night and day his demon could leave his soul entirely and travel far and wide. Finally one day his wife and enemies found his untenanted body and burned it.

Though Socrates is not described as being able to go outside of himself in the same manner as Humodorus, Plutarch does say he had a soul more quiet and sensitive to demonic communication. Ordinary men are too disturbed by the fluctuations and vicissitudes of their own beings to perceive the demons. Socrates was not so hindered. Demons most often communicate to men in sleep, since it is only at that time that most men are quiet enough to perceive the communication. Socrates' soul was so ordered that he did not suffer this limitation. The demons communicate more by illumination than by words:

_We it is true, as it were groping in the dark, find out another's conceptions by the voice; but the conceptions of the Daemons carry a light with them, and shine to those that are able to perceive them, so that there is no need of words such as men use to one another, seeing thereby only the tokens of the conceptions, and being unable to see the conceptions themselves unless there is present a peculiar and (as I said before) a divine light._
Because of the non-verbal nature of the demonic communication, a quiet, unperturbed soul, like Socrates', is necessary for its perception.

Plutarch's demons have a definite connection with the human soul and, as has been already seen, are sometimes even equated with the soul. The question naturally arises, why should demons want to communicate things to the soul of man? Then, what is the nature and content of their communication? For the answer to the first question Plutarch finds a partial solution in Hesiod. Hesiod taught, says Plutarch, that those souls that are not to be put into another body, being free from all union with the flesh, become guardian demons and preside over other souls. These guardian demons do not slight the affairs of men. They are kind to those who strive after what they themselves have obtained, and they encourage and aid those in their efforts to achieve the goal or prize. There are several ways in which Plutarch sees this beneficial activity of demons operating. We have already seen the more personal type of communication through dreams and illumination. More public means are through oracles and sacred rites. God cannot maintain his dignity and majesty of being by mingling with humanity, therefore the demons become the agents of the gods in their guardianship over men. They watch over the mysteries, sacred rites, and oracles, while also exercising their guardianship by punishing the proud and the wicked. In the mysteries one can obtain the plainest truth and manifestation concerning demons.

As has been repeatedly noted, Plutarch's demonology is full of complexities and contradictions. Are demons the souls of men, or are they independent beings? Sometimes he seems to say the soul
is a part of the demon. At other times he says the soul becomes a demon when it is totally purified and perfected. Yet, if the demon is a totally perfected soul, how can there be degrees of virtue and vice in a demon? Demons are said to be the agents of the gods, operating especially in the mystery religions, yet the barbarities of these religions are equally demon-inspired. If the demons are perfected souls, how can they be the source of fastings, beatings, and even human sacrifices? Like Xenocrates, Plutarch attributes to the demons the stories of rape, deceit and evil which legend ascribes to the gods. This is consistent with what he says about the degree of virtue and the mixed nature in demons, but on the other hand it is inconsistent with the concept that the demon is a perfected soul acting as man's guardian.

Apuleius is the second Middle Platonist important in studying demonology. He does not cover anything not found in Plutarch, but he is slightly more systematized in his thinking and recognizes the variety of opinions on exactly what a demon is. His significance is increased by St. Augustine's many citations. Like Plutarch, he believes it would be improper for God's majesty to intervene in human affairs. Therefore, demons perform the intermediary function between man and god. From the one they carry prayers and supplications. From the other they carry bounties and assistance. Apuleius believed that the demons were intermediate in both nature and locality between gods and mankind. The nature of these middle inhabitants is conformable to their place of origin - the middle region being a mixture of the terrestrial and the celestial. More specifically, Apuleius stated that
demons are as to genus animated beings, as to mind rational, as to feeling passive, as to body aerial, as to duration eternal. Of these five characteristics...the three first are the same as those which we possess, the fourth is peculiar to themselves, and the last they possess in common with the immortal Gods, from whom they differ in being subject to passion.

Besides recognizing these demons which fit into the hierarchical structure of the universe, Apuleius also recognizes variations in the nature of the demons. Such inconsistencies were seen in Plutarch, but he never seemed to recognize them himself. Under one signification, the human soul, even when it is still in the body, is called a demon. Apuleius seems to have been the first to equate this concept of a demon with the Roman genius. In another sense, the demon signifies the human soul when it has quitted the body. A more exalted species of demons preside over certain powers, such as sleep, love, hunger, etc. Among this more exalted category of demons Apuleius places Plato's guardian demon. He believed this demon resides in the profound recesses of the mind, in the place of the conscience. This was probably the source of Socrates' voice.
Thus far we have mainly been considering Greek developments on the idea of demons. These Greek ideas are crucial in understanding the Church Fathers, who often phrased Christian doctrine in terms of Greek philosophy. However, though the Church Fathers used terms from Greek philosophy, more often than not they were expressing ideas which were very non-Greek in character. Among the Middle Platonists, Philo attempted to unite Platonic philosophy with Jewish theology. He is important to our study because his results were sometimes used by later patristic writers. He also points the way towards a different sphere of speculation on the subject of demons which in many ways is quite different from that pursued among the Greeks.

Philo seems to have been the first person to make the identification between Greek demonology and Jewish angelology. In discussing the Genesis account of creation, Philo's allegorical interpretation frequently sounds like the Timaeus. He thought that the ideas of soul and mind were created by God on the first day of creation. God created rational souls without bodies, and, at God's command, the powers created irrational souls together with bodies. The rational, incorporeal souls created by God were stored away in the air. Unfortunately, some of these souls developed a craving after things of the earth and descended into bodies. Others maintained their more excellent constitution and were never sullied by contact with matter.\(^1\) Genesis 6, the story of the sons of God marrying the daughters of men, is an account of the fall of some of the angels into the material world. For Philo, souls, demons and angels are merely different names for the same thing; the functions
of angels described in Scripture are the same as the functions of demons as described by Plato. The only difference is one of nomenclature.

Angels are not apprehended by our senses, being incorporeal in the purest sense of the word. Their bodies are not composed of any of the elements, not even the air. Being incorporeal souls, they are of the same nature as the mind. Philo uses the term *Logos* for the mind, which includes the rational soul of man. It thus becomes quite natural for him to use the term *logoi* for angels as well. In some passages, however, Philo states that the powers constitute the Logos. The powers are the instruments by which God created the intelligible world and by which God exercises His care over the world as a whole. The angels are instruments of Providence in caring for mankind, though at times Philo uses the terms *angel* and *power* interchangeably. He translates the phrase "Lord of Sabaoth" as "Lord of the powers", and he speaks of the angels in their totality as an army serving the Lord. This army of angels is arrayed in companies, each with certain tasks to perform. Some are guardians of nations; some administer God's blessings to man, while still others are responsible for administering justice (the latter kind is exemplified by the angels appearing to Abraham on the road to Sodom and Gomorrah). Jacob's dream of the ladder with angels ascending and descending was Philo's basis for saying that angels function as intermediaries.

In the apocryphal writings of the Jews, a more magical and superstitious type of demonology makes its appearance. Apparently the Jews picked up much of this lore during the Babylonian captivity, since the Persian element is quite prominent. Names of angels and demons become very important in magical incantations which were used
for everything from exorcism to curing diseases. Not only were the names of the angels important, but the divine name, the tetragrammaton, assumed an important position in the magical practices of Judaism and eventually of many Gentiles. The God of Israel's "proved power to deliver His people in the past, and those possessed with demons in the present, showed that He controlled vast spiritual forces." The "Ineffable Name" could conquer any of the uncountable Shedim or spirits who lurked everywhere and in everything. The growing superstition among the Jews manifested itself in another Persian practice, that of angel-worship. This practice became so wide-spread among both Jews and Gentiles in Asia Minor that by 360 A.D. the Council of Laodicea was forced to expressly forbid such worship and prayers.

Other evidence of the growing superstition concerning demons among the Jews at this time is the growth of material concerning the magical abilities of Solomon. The Testament of Solomon, probably written around 250 A.D., describes various incidents in which Solomon has numerous demons brought before him by means of a ring. He then compels the demon to tell him the name of the angel which has power over him, for each demon is frustrated and subdued by one angel. Anyone who obtains the name of the angel is able completely to resist the assault of the demon. In the first century Josephus mentions a book of incantations for summoning demons which was already in circulation under Solomon's name. The book was owned by a Jew named Eleazar, who, in the presence of Vespasian, delivered those possessed of demons by applying a ring designed by Solomon to their nose. At the same time he would read incantations from his book. When the demon came out of the person he (the demon) would overturn a pot of water set down by Eleazar. This was done to prove that the demon had really departed.
The apocryphal Jewish writings on demonology are not all concerned with magic, however. Like the Greeks, the Jews were concerned about what position and function the demons and angels had in the structure of the universe. In some ways the Jews were perhaps even more concerned about this than the Greeks, for they had to maintain the sovereignty and majesty of their One God in the face of angels and demons. As among the Greeks, angels and demons served a multiplicity of functions for the Jews. The Book of Jubilees gives three orders of angels. The angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification were the supreme order, serving God directly. The third order consisted of angels presiding over natural phenomena—winds, clouds, darkness, storms, the seasons, etc. This third class is comparable to the stoichcia of the Greeks—a concept doubling for spiritual and natural forces. In late antiquity it was virtually impossible to separate the physical and spiritual spheres. The Alexandrian Jews, as seen earlier in Philo, had expressed this sympathy between spiritual and physical causes, this unity of the cosmos, by speaking of God's "powers." Since demons had power over nature, it was quite logical to view them as agents of diseases as well as cures. From this stemmed much of the magic and superstition mentioned earlier. At the time of Noah, the fallen angels taught their wives charms and enchantments, and made them acquainted with the cutting of roots and woods. They had also taught men knowledge of the arts. On the other hand, the good angels taught Noah medicines against diseases. Parallel to the angelic kingdom which aided Noah was the demonic kingdom. The Book of Jubilees calls the head of this demonic kingdom Mastoma, which has
the same meaning as Satan. The evil spirits under Kastema tempt men, accuse them of sin, and destroy those who have sinned.¹⁶

The angels and demons were guardians, for good or evil, over nature and to some extent over individuals. Of great prominence in Jewish literature of this period is their guardianship over the nations as well. This idea has its origin in the Hebrew Scriptures. When the Lord divided the nations, he assigned spirit rulers to the Gentiles, but He alone was to be the God of Israel.¹⁷ The nations in failing to worship the true God of Israel began worshipping their spirit rulers as gods.¹⁸ St. Paul and the Christian Apologists stress this concept by attacking paganism as the worship of demons.¹⁹ Frequently the angelic powers were described as the stars of heaven, or the stars of God. Thus, "when Israel came into contact with the astral deities of the east, she was already prepared to accommodate them to her scheme of things. They were not Gods in their own right, but angelic viceroys with a delegated power."²⁰ Some of these viceroys were good, but others had become corrupt and did not exercise their power except for evil. In some of the enthronement psalms and the prophets, a cosmic struggle is described between God and these forces of evil.²¹ This struggle becomes amplified in the writings of Paul and becomes part of the major apologetic thrust of the early Christians.

The earliest Christian writings, the New Testament, assume the existence and power of demons as much as they assume the existence and power of God. In all of the synoptic gospels, it is the temptation scene which sets the theme for Jesus' ministry. The temptation becomes representative of the conflict between Satan and Jesus which reached its turning point at the Cross. Throughout the gospels, when Jesus'...
ministry is described, his power over the demons is always emphasized. Two incidents in the early days of his ministry are almost paradigmatic of Jesus' power over the spirits. He had returned from his first tour of Galilee to his hometown of Nazareth. As was his custom, he went to the synagogue on the sabbath to read the Scriptures. The text he chose is quite illuminating as to how he viewed his ministry -

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

The modern reader probably takes this passage as a general expression of kindness and philanthropic intent, but this does not seem justified historically. The world, both Jew and Gentile were captives of certain cosmic forces, and it was from the bondage of these forces that Jesus had come to set the world at liberty. The real thrust of Jesus' miracles is the emphasis of the new world in which Christ triumphs over Satan and his powers. The emphasis of the miracle stories is not on philanthropy, but on the power of Jesus in casting out demons and waging war on the kingdom of Satan.

That such was the significance attached to the miracles by Jesus' contemporaries is clear from what occurred at Capernaum. It is significant that Luke places the account of the casting out of demons immediately after the proclamation quoted above which Jesus made in Nazareth. In Capernaum Jesus continued his custom of teaching in the synagogue on the sabbath days, and the people were astonished at the power and authority of his speech. When a demon-possessed man began causing a disturbance in the synagogue, demanding Jesus to leave him alone, Jesus demanded the demon to come out. The reaction
of the crowd was not, "Oh it was so kind of Jesus to alleviate the suffering of that poor man." Such is a modern reaction, but not the reaction of Jesus' contemporaries. The people were amazed at the authority and power of one who could command demons.25

Jesus' ministry set the tone for the cosmic conflict, but the central battle of that conflict was the Cross. During the Middle Ages, a great deal of literature and art grew up around the suffering Savior. The key element of this literature was love. Anyone who would suffer so much for man must love man above anything known before. Such might be true, but this was not the main interpretation of the Cross among the early Christians. Love and suffering were important, but even more important were power and victory. The suffering of Jesus was not simply the expression of God's love, but was also the agony of the battlefield necessary for victory. Without the victory of the resurrection, the suffering of the Cross was meaningless.26 The emphasis of the early sermons in Acts is not on the love of God, but rather on His power - His ability to overcome the strength of Satan by snatching Jesus from the grave.27

This stress on the power of God as seen in the resurrection is continued in St. Paul. The demons were the instruments of the crucifixion; but in crucifying Christ, they became the agents of their own destruction. They failed to observe the significance of the Cross, so that by the Cross they were conquered. In the one moment when it looked as if the evil spirits had triumphed, they were defeated. If the princes of this age had known the results of the Cross, "they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."28 For though Jesus was nailed to the Cross by the demons, he nailed the ordinances against man to the Cross and thereby triumphed over the demons.29 The sovereignty of God was expressed even
in Jesus' humiliation, so that the hostility of the demons served not their own ends, but God's. The resurrection was the proof that Death, the greatest weapon of Satan and his demons, was insufficient.\textsuperscript{26}

The demons were cosmic spirits, and any deliverance from their power meant that the salvation had to be cosmic as well. For the early Christians salvation was not just psychological, but it was a rescue of the whole world.\textsuperscript{31} Beginning with the later Middle Ages, theology has increasingly subjectivized the Christian message, "reducing it to a psychological internal experience of the individual, rather than seeing that message as an objective proclamation of God over all forces that stand ranged against men."\textsuperscript{32} The idea of "cosmic salvation" is difficult for the modern man to understand without some understanding of the solidarity between man and the physical universe which was so axiomatic for Paul's contemporaries. This correspondence was seen as early as Empedocles among the Greeks and continued into Christianity. Demons have a place in the cosmic scheme of things, as expressed by the Greek word \textit{stolchola} mentioned earlier. For Paul, the demons are the elements and rulers of this world; they control this present creation. When non-Christians, Paul writes that the Galatians "were in bondage under the elements of the world", and he warns them to beware of returning again to that bondage.\textsuperscript{33} The context makes clear that returning into bondage would include returning into the religious system of Judaism, which the "elements of this world" control. Elsewhere Paul reiterates that not only are many religious rituals under the control of the elements, but so are the pagan philosophical systems.\textsuperscript{34} The elements are at once physical and spiritual - the entire cosmos comes under their rule.
This view of the immense rule of the elements or demons is to be placed in contrast with Hebrews 11:5 - "Unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come." Though the demons control this present age, they will have no position of rulership in the future kingdom. Though Satan and his company are rulers of this age, they have no future. Their influence passes with the passing of this world. Thus, for the early Christians, demonology and eschatology were inextricably mixed. The two together gave significance to the Church and to history. The earliest confessions of faith emphasize Christ's conquest over demonic forces because such conquest is the basis for the new age of eternal life. Ignatius, one of the earliest of the Church Fathers, described this conquest and the hope it aroused in poetic terms:

A star blazed forth in the sky, outshining all the other stars, and its light was indescribable, and its novelty provoked wonderment, and all the starry orbs, with the sun and the moon, formed a choir around that star; but its light exceeded that of all the rest, and there was perplexity as to the cause of the unparalleled novelty. This was the reason why every form of magic began to be destroyed, every malignant spell to be broken, ignorance to be dethroned, an ancient empire to be overthrown - God was making his appearance in human form to mold the newness of eternal life! Then at length was ushered in what God had prepared in His counsels; then all the world was in an upheaval because the destruction of death was being prosecuted.

Jesus Christ destroyed the ancient empire of the kingdom of darkness and so provided the basis for the future kingdom of light. Christ is placed at the very center of cosmic happenings, ushering in a new world which has its beginnings now, but whose ultimate realization is yet to come.

Ignatius' hymn is comparable to several hymns in the New Testament in content. Students of the New Testament have found that Paul quotes
and Philippians iii:5-11 are two passages where this seems most clearly to be the case. Both passages speak of the new creation of which the Christian is a part and the triumph of the new creation over the principalities and powers. In the Philippians passage Paul writes that Christ became subservient to death and because of this humiliation, he was exalted by God. The exaltation and homage Jesus receives as a result of his humiliation is not simply the liturgical worship of the Church. Rather, at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess his lordship. The "every" is described as "things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth." That this phrase most specifically refers to demonic powers is evident from an exorcism text written in Egypt during the third century A.D. The text deserves to be quoted at length not simply for the similar terminology with Philippians 2, but as an example of the popular demonology of the period:

For those possessed by daemons, an approved charm by Pibechis.
Take oil from unripe olives, together with the plant mastigia and lotus pith, and boil it with marjoram (very colorless), saying: "Joel, Ossarthiomi, Emori, Theochipsoith, Sithemeoch, Sothe, Joe, Mimipsothiooph, Phersothi AEEIOYO..."

A phylactery is then made of tin to be hung about the sufferer. On it are names at which every demon will tremble. Then follows the adjuration for the demon to leave:

...I adjure thee by him who appeared unto Osrael (sic) in the pillar of light and in the cloud by day, and who delivered his word from the taskwork of Pharaoh and brought upon Pharaoh the ten plagues because he heard not. I adjure thee, every daemonic spirit, say whatsoever thou art. For I adjure thee by the seal which Solomon laid upon the tongue of Jeremiah and he spake. And say thou whatsoever thou
art, in heaven or of the air, or on the earth, or under the earth or below the ground, or an Ebusecan, or a Chapsacan, or a Pharisce. Say whatsoever thou art...

Ignatius uses similar terminology in describing Jesus "who was really born and ate and drank, really persecuted by Pontius Pilate, really crucified and died while heaven and earth and the underworld looked on." Demons are thus included in the final obedience to Jesus Christ. The Cross was an object of great interest to the spirit forces, for in it was their future determined. The hymn in Philippians proclaims that no longer do the stars, Fate or any other spirit forces control man's destiny. Christ's reign includes reign over the demonic forces which once gripped the world in fear.

The Philippians hymn also emphasizes a certain paradox in Christianity. Christ reigns; he has taken his place in the heavenly court; the angelic host is already submissive to him. Yet there is still opposition and conflict; he still waits for victory. The main battle has been fought and won. Victory is assured, yet there is still fighting to be done before the end comes. The paradox in Philippians lies in the fact that this is a hymn. As Ignatius looked forward to the newness of eternal life brought by Christ, so Paul could anticipate with certainty His reign:

...in the hymn the Church is caught up from earth to heaven, from the scene of conflict and duress into the presence of the all-conquering Lord, from the harsh realities of what is to the glorious prospect and promise of what will be, because it is already so in God's sight. The Christ-hymn enables the Church to see beyond the present in which the Head of the Church reigns invisibly and powerfully but known only to faith - to that full proof of His reign in the heavenly sphere in which all the powers are veritably subject to him and His dominion is manifestly confessed.
Many have argued that the hymn originally was used in a baptismal context - reminding the Philippians of their beginning transformation and separation from the old nature. This is a significant speculation since the baptismal rite, as it was known in the Middle Ages and in present Roman Catholicism is actually an exorcism. The Church is described by Paul as the body of Christ. This close connection between Christ and the Church is often described in the passages where the discussion deals with the Lordship of Christ over the entire cosmos. The Church is a participant in the warfare against the malignant demon forces. The warfare has changed because of Christ's victory, yet the warfare continues. Christians still live in a demonic world, and the demons work invisibly in every area of life. Demons cause illnesses, most spectacularly through demon-possession. Since they are the "elements of the world" they are closely linked with natural forces, and they use their power in this area to enhance their authority over men. Even circumstances of history come under their influence. The works of the demons in the religious and philosophical spheres has already been briefly mentioned, but it deserves somewhat more attention.

The main battle is fought on a spiritual, not a physical level. The weapons the Christian should use against the demonic forces are spiritual - salvation, faith, truth, righteousness, the Spirit, the word of God, and prayer. Satan is the prince of the power of the air and in this position he controls the atmosphere or, to use Carl Becker's phrase, the "climate of opinion". The air is the general spiritual climate which influences mankind in which men live, which they breathe, which dominates their thoughts, aspirations and deeds. He (Satan) exercises his 'influence' over men by means of the spiritual atmosphere which dominates and uses as the medium for his power.
Satan rules the atmosphere; but by the resurrection the power of God was made manifest in Christ, who becomes above all principality and power, including the power which Satan exercises over the air. Paul prayed that the Ephesians would have a better understanding of the future hope. In explaining this hope, the central factor is the triumph over demonic forces and the union of Christ with the Church. The Church thus becomes a part of Christ's conquest over demons. Though writing many centuries later, John Calvin understood somewhat the Church's role against the kingdom of darkness:

...if the glory of God is dear to us, as it ought to be, we ought to struggle with all our might against him who aims at the extinction of that glory. If we are animated with proper zeal to maintain the kingdom of Christ, we must wage irreconcilable war with him who conspires its ruin.

Somewhat earlier Hugh of St. Victor similarly saw the Church's purpose as a continuation of the fight against demons begun by the Incarnate Word:

The work of man's restoration is the subject matter of all the Scriptures...the incarnate Word is our King, who came into this world to fight the devil. And all the saints who were before His coming were as soldiers going before His face; and those who have come and will come after, until the end of the world, are as soldiers who follow their king. He is the King in the center of His army, advancing girt by His troops. And although in such a multitude divers shapes of arms appear in the sacraments and observances of those who precede and come after, yet all are soldiers under one king and follow one banner; they pursue one enemy and with one victory are crowned.

The apologists continued to proclaim triumphantly Christ's victory over demons which was such an essential part of the early Christian message. Christianity offered freedom and liberation from the oppression which the pagan world felt so heavily - oppression from demons, Fate
and magic. Christ had achieved victory over the demons and the
malignant powers ruling the universe, and that victory could be
appropriated by the humblest man in the street through faith. The
numerous gods of the pagans were merely immoral demons, and Christianity
offered release from arbitrary rule and a deterministic universe. Some apologists believed the evil impulses within man were actually
demons. Through the Holy Spirit these demons could be put to flight,
and the soul could dwell in gentleness and quietness. When the demons
gain the ascendency and the Holy Spirit is forced to leave, the man's
actions are filled with disorder and chaos. Other apologists
emphasized the rulership of demons in certain intellectual spheres.
There are two ways of power and instruction - that of Light and
that of Darkness. The two ways are opposites and each one seeks
to control all areas of thought and life. The Way of Darkness is
a path of crookedness, death, corruption, and disorder. When the
day arrives when all things perish, the Evil One and his followers,
leaders of Darkness, shall not survive.

The disruptive and chaotic effects of demon activity were essential
to the demonology of the Greek Fathers of the second century. The
very existence of demons was due to their failure to perceive the
order in the universe. Justin Martyr, the earliest of these second
century Greek apologists, thought there were three classes of evil
spirits. All three classes were originally created good by God,
and it is only of their own free will that they became evil. The
first class of evil spirits consists of Satan himself, whose fall
in some way was connected with his temptation of Eve. Through fleshly
desire a second category of angels fell by marrying the daughters
of men. The offspring of this union became the giants or demons.
These three classes of evil spirits are Justin's personal conception and cannot be found presented exactly in this way in earlier writers, though his categories are adopted by later apologists.\textsuperscript{55} Though Justin does delineate these three classes of evil spirits, the works and operations of these various categories are usually considered together. Justin did not develop his categories of evil spirits without being aware of the many theories that were available. His categories do bear certain resemblances to the \textit{Book of Enoch}, but he consciously rejected many theories then prominent among both Jews and Greeks. A theory which would become quite important to the later Gnostics was that the angels were emanations of the Father who aided Him in creating the world (an idea partially derived from the \textit{Timaeus}). Justin refuted this theory as well as those speculations which said that angels were personifications of God's power or were the souls of the departed.\textsuperscript{56} Though Justin recognized certain validities in pagan philosophy, whenever it seemed to him that the Scriptures contradicted either Greek or Jewish thinkers, he was ready to side with what he thought the Scriptural position to be.

For Justin, as for all men of this period, demon activity was quite noticeable in all areas of the universe and in the lives of individuals. Angels were originally placed by God as overseers of men and all things under the heavens. Though they violated their responsibility by sinning with women, they subjected mankind to themselves by teaching them magic and false religious rites. Because of their servitude to their own lusts, they really needed the sacrifices, incense and libations which they had taught men to use. Among men they caused all sorts of disorder and chaos - murders, wars, adulteries and other
types of dissipation. The false prophets and poets glorified the
demons as gods, thus increasing mankind's obedience to them. From
the true prophets the demons learned of the truth of God and
caricatured this truth in their own perverted religions. The
ultimate purpose of the demons is to alienate men from God their
Creator, and to clamp them down to things of this earth. They attack
all degrees of men, even "those who rise to the contemplation of
divine things; and, unless such persons are wise in their judgments
and pure and passionless in their life, the demons will force them
into ungodliness." The great emphases in Justin's thought is that Christianity
is the absolute Truth. This includes truth in the realm of philosophy
as well as religion, ethics and all other areas. There is truth in
Greek philosophical systems only at those points where they accord
with Christianity. Justin was among the first of the apologists
to defend Christianity in this way against the pagan systems, and this
emphasis on Truth is very important in his conception of demons. Since
Christianity as the Truth is a totally rational system, those who
attack and oppose Christianity are doing so from an irrational base.
The demons have brought it about that all those who live by right
reason are an object of hatred and scorn. Because Socrates had some
knowledge of the truth, he was persecuted and killed. The demons
in this perspective are irrational beings in opposition to the truth.
Apart from divine intervention, all men would remain under the control
of these irrational powers. The evil in life Justin attributed
to the subjection of men's rational powers by the
daemons who were everywhere active in the universe.
Justin believed that if men are shown the truth
they have the power to recognize it and can then
choose to obey it. The purpose of Christ's coming
is to save men from evil deeds and to teach assured truth. He brings to a race diseased and deceived by the action of daemons the full divine energy... He is therefore called the Savior.

Thus, the purpose of Jesus Christ was the defeat of the demon powers. As evidence for this Justin cites the many cures of demoniacs by the name of Jesus. People who had been helpless were cured by Christians, even though other exorcists and magicians could not cure them. By the crucified Christ, the principalities and powers were thwarted in their plans, so that at the Second Advent Satan and his demons will no longer have any power over those who are in Christ. Foreknowledge of his final overthrow makes Satan desperate in his assaults on men. His desperation produces the frenzy of attacks on the Church. One interesting proof of Christ's power over the demons is the visit of the Magi soon after Christ's birth. As usual, Justin develops his argument from Scripture, this time quoting Isaiah, "He shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria." Justin took this to mean that the wicked demon that dwelt in Damascus should be crushed by Christ at His birth. The Magi, by coming and worshipping Christ, openly revolted against the power that had held them in bondage, namely the demon of Damascus. As a practical apologist, Justin was mainly concerned with continuing the "fight against evil spirits which were seeking to win control of the universe and the souls of men." Though Justin Martyr treated Christianity as the ultimate philosophical system, his main defense of Christianity was based on Scripture. The other Greek Fathers of the second century allowed more un-Scriptural thought, particularly Platonism, to influence them. Tatian, like Justin, attributed the origin of the demons to
a fall of certain angels. Free will was involved in this fall, but Tatian says nothing of the union of angels with women. The Logos created angels before the creation of men; but some, under the leadership of Satan, revolted against God. Tatian does not specifically say in what this revolt consisted, but he does hint at the resultant bodily change in the angels. None of the angels or demons possess flesh, for their structure is spiritual—like that of fire or air. These bodies are only easily seen by those strengthened and fortified by the Spirit of God. With their fall, the angels became less spiritual, sinking deeper into the material world. The demons chose the "inferior things in matter and conformed their lives thereto—shaking off reining of authority and becoming robbers of deity." Tatian definitely rejects the idea that demons are the departed souls of men. Demons are of a higher order than men, but they use their great powers in persuading men to revolt against God's authority. Again we see the idea that demons work against the right order of the universe, producing chaos and discord.

Tatian was in accord with the consensus of his day that demons held the entire world in tyranny. They were the ones who introduced the doctrine of Fate and showed men the position of the stars. They dignified the stars with celestial honor in order that they themselves might be thought to remain in heaven. By placing the constellations there, they thought they "might make to appear rational the irrational course of life on earth." The demons exercise tyranny over men by their doctrine of fatalism and by astrology. By teaching men magic they further increase their power, causing men to place confidence in herbs and roots rather than God. Through Magic they act as if
they are friends of man, but they readily accept reverence and worship as gods. Ultimately, the demons seek to lower the soul of man to material things. They work through the sense-perceptive, material world, working evil upon the soul. The Lord permits this activity of demons, but they will be judged at the end of the world. The demons try to enslave man to wandering (planētōn) stars, but Christians do not follow the guidance of Fate or its lawgivers. They have learned to know one Lord who does not wander. They are able to conquer demons through the "breastplate of the celestial Spirit" by repudiating matter.

Athenagoras more than any of the other Greek Fathers of the second century treats demonology within a philosophical context. For him the doctrine of demons is a postulate of philosophy, and he gives a brief recapitulation of the beliefs of earlier thinkers on demons - from Thales through Plato. He then compares the philosophic doctrine to the Christian position, which he traces back to revelation. After creation God distributed and appointed angels to govern the world, the elements and the heavens - in short, the material universe. Some of the angels chose to abandon their rightful position. Together with their leader, the prince of matter, they "outraged both the constitution of their nature and the government entrusted to them." They fell into an impure love of women and became negligent of their duties. This union produced the giants, whose souls are the demons.

The prince of matter and his followers, both fallen angels and demons, still exercise rulership, but the control and management is contrary to the good that is in God. Thus Euripides could wonder if this world was run by chance or by a deity, since prosperity and adversity...
seemed to be administered contrary to hope and justice. Similarly, Aristotle said that the things below the heavens are not under the care of Providence. Because of the disorderly results of demoniac rulership, many have concluded that the world is governed by irrational chance. Such men fail to understand that in spite of the chaotic events, nothing is out of order or neglected in the many facets of the world.71 Athenagoras saw a fine balance between God's order and plan for the universe and the importance of the individual.

Unlike other Christian apologists, Athenagoras has little to say about Christ's conquest over the demon forces, the destiny of the demons, or exorcism and magic. He does spend some time on the manner in which demons draw men to idols, but his most unique contributions are to the psychological ramifications of demonology. The whole passage in question is so different from anything found among the pagans or later apologists that it deserves to be quoted at length:

the irrational and fantastic movements of the soul about opinions produce a diversity of images (eidola) from time to time: some they derive from matter and some they fashion and bring forth themselves; and this happens to a soul especially when it partakes of the material spirit and becomes mingled with it, looking not at heavenly things and their Maker, but downwards to earthly things, wholly at the earth, as being now mere flesh and blood, and no longer pure spirit. These irrational and fantastic movements of the soul, then, give birth to empty visions in the mind, by which it becomes madly set on idols...the demons who hover about matter...avail themselves of these delusive movements of the souls of the multitude; and, taking possession of their thoughts, cause to flow into the mind empty visions as if coming from the idols and the statues.72

Whenever the soul ceases to function in conformity with rational truth, being occupied with earthly and material things, the soul itself produces a variety of images. When the irrational has gained control of the soul,
the mind is engulfed by empty visions. The demons take advantage of the irrational fluctuations of the soul. When a vacuum is created, when the soul has reached a degree of passivity, the demons eagerly possess the thoughts, imprinting their own doctrines on the passive mind.

Among the Greek apologists of the second century, many beliefs on demons were held in common. The basis of this agreement was largely their reliance on Scripture. Their deviations depended on their understanding of Greek philosophy. Angels are spiritual beings, though not totally pure who function as God's servants in ruling over men and various facets of the universe. They have free will and must merit their eternal position through trial. A part of these spirits fell from God and became evil. By magic, astrology, and the mantic arts they tempt men to sin and teach every art of wickedness. Despite these areas of agreement, there were some variations in emphasis. Justin relied most heavily on Scripture in developing his position and had more to say about Christ's power over the demons and their final punishment. Tatian's doctrine of spirits has a more philosophical framework. He saw the prime influence of demons in the introduction of fatalism, astrology and magic to man. Though Athenagoras was an Athenian philosopher and though he surveyed the philosophical developments of demonology, he had a more spiritual interpretation of demonology than the others. Demons brought chaos and disharmony mainly through idolatry and controlling the thoughts of irrational men, yet in spite of the seeming disorder, God still ultimately controls the universe.73

The author and date of the Clementine Recognitions is unknown, but from internal evidence the best date seems to be the last half
of the second century. Written in the form of a philosophical and theological romance, the main body of the work consists of a dialogue between Peter and Simon Magus, with Peter doing most of the talking. The work clearly reveals the practical nature of the Latin Christians, in contrast to the more philosophically oriented Greeks. While some of the Greek apologists began to view the origin of demons in terms of the descent of certain angels into matter, the Clementine Recognitions stresses the fact that there is no evil in substance. If there were evil in matter, God would have to be blamed for creating evil. Any evil among God's creation is due to the volition of the creature rather than the desire of the Creator.

Much of the evil among men is due to the instigation of demons. In the past, certain angels left their appointed order and began to satisfy their own lusts by favoring the vices of men. These angels taught men that demons could be made to obey men by magical invocations, "and so, as from a furnace and workshop of wickedness, they filled the whole world with the smoke of impiety, the light of piety being withdrawn.

It was because of the flourishing of these infernal arts that God brought the flood. After the flood, Ham unhappily discovered the magical art and handed the instruction to his son Mesraim, from whom came the Egyptians, Babylonians and Persians. The nations called Mesraim Zoroaster.

Besides working evil through magic, the demons deceive and seduce men through perverse and false religions. God has provided a test whereby man can discern truth from falsehood. Whatever is spoken by the true God is always true; whatever is spoken by demons might be largely true, but demonic utterances always have enough falsehood to negate the truth.

Yet men are continually deceived by error. Through the drunkenness and mad emotions of the false religions, power is given to the demons to enter
the minds of men. Such raving Bacchanalians are not possessed by a
Deity, as those religions often teach, rather they are demon-possessed.
Once the demon has been able to convey himself into a man's body and
is able to remain a long time, through the negligence and apathy of the
man, the demon can compel the person to do whatever he desires. At the
end of the world these souls follow the fate of the demon to whom they
were obedient. All non-Christians are subject in this present life
to various demons, and their souls in the future shall be tormented
forever. 78

Even the weakest Christian has power over the demons, for a demon
has no power against a man unless a man voluntarily submits himself to
the demon's desires. When a man is immoderate in eating, drinking,
and in seeking pleasure, he is neglecting himself and opening his mind
to demonic manipulation. The Gospel protects believers from demonic
assaults since the demons are forced to depart where faith is present.
Perfect faith drives the demon from the soul, but the demon remains
in any portion of infidelity. If the demon remains in any degree,
he suggests thoughts to the man's heart; and the man, not knowing the
source, will believe the thoughts to be his own. 79 The author of the
Clementine Recognitions was not as detailed in his description of the
psychological mechanics of demon influence as was Athenagoras, but then
the author was writing a romance, not a polemic for philosophers. His
description is more practical and could be more easily applied by his
readers than Athenagoras' discussion of images.

Though the Latin Fathers often lacked the philosophical training
of the Greeks, they were just as insistent on the corrupting influence
of demons on the "climate of opinion". The entire world and thought
pattern were saturated with the blindness, corruption, irrationality and decadence which the demon forces had sown and cultivated. Christianity, as the Truth, was the only effective means of escaping from the web of despair in which the entire pagan world was caught. Tertullian, a contemporary of Apuleius, analyzed the way of life and thought pattern of the average Roman citizen; and he found demonic infiltration everywhere.

Like the Greek Fathers, Tertullian believed the demons originated as the offspring of the union between certain angels and the daughters of men. They are spirits of a very impalpable substance. Because they are spirits, they act as if they are winged. In a moment they are everywhere, so that because of their ability to know what is going on everywhere, their swiftness often passes for divinity. Their abode is among the stars and the clouds, a position from which it is easy to control the rain and other aspects of the weather. The purpose of the demonic world is the ruin of man, in the realm of both body and soul. Because of the subtle nature of these demons, they are often able to operate undetected until their harm has been done. Man is unable to detect their presence by either sight or sense. As an obscure blight ruins fruit, crops and flowers, as tainted air produces pestilence, so "by a contagion similar in its obscurity the breath of demons and angels achieves the corruption of the mind in foul bursts of fury and insanity, or in savage lusts, along with every kind of delusion."

The demons seek to keep man in ignorance and darkness. They strive to keep men from removing the ignorance they have about Christianity. They persecute and attack Christianity, especially through the minds of its enemies, that "men may be unwilling to know for certain, what they certainly know they do not know."
The greatest delusion is that by which demons convince men of the existence of gods. Lusting after the smell and blood of sacrifices, the demons promote idol-worship in order to satisfy their own corrupt desires. By devising the practices of the games and theatre the demons further reveal their craving for blood and their practice of deceit. In the physical torture of the games is typified the physical and spiritual disorders which the demons inflict on mankind. In the masks and costuming of the theater, the demonic deceit and falsehood is clearly manifest. Simple attendance at these games can bring demon-possession, for the whole amphitheater contains as many unclean spirits as there are seats. One Christian woman who went to the theatre returned demon-possessed. When the unclean spirit was being exorcised and was accused of daring to enter a woman who believed, the demon boldly replied, "and I was quite right, too, for I found her on my own ground." Through the games and theaters, through idolatry, through the arts of the astrologers, soothsayers, augurs and magicians, the demons work to encourage men to forsake God. What little truth is in these systems the demons learned from the prophets. Demons infest all areas of life and thought, and each individual has a personal demon whose total control leads to suicide. In order to gain complete truth and deliverance from error, men must turn to Christianity, for only the Christians have power over the demons.

Tertullian's fellow-African Minucius Felix also saw the corrupting influence of demons to be all-pervasive. The heavenly vigour of these wandering spirits had been overlaid by earthly lusts and desires. Having lost the simplicity of their original natures, they seek to conspire for the loss of others. Being depraved themselves, they cause the deprivation
of men, alienating them from God by superstitions. These demons lure men down to material things by several means. They can totally indwell and possess a person's body and mind, striking terror into minds and distorting limbs. When they cause certain diseases, they can pretend to effect a cure once they have received the necessary worship and sacrifice as idols. These demons lurk under statues and consecrated images. They inspire prophets, haunt temples, cause fires to spring forth from sacrificed entrails, and govern the flight of birds. They control the entire pagan religious system in order to corrupt the human race.36 Minucius mentions nothing about the conquest of Christ over the demons, in fact he does not even mention Christ at all in his work. His objective is to show the weaknesses and pitfalls in the pagan system. In his viewpoint the main weakness of pagan religion is its demonic inspiration.

The early Christians had not only to fight against the pagans, they had their own sects to contend against. Among these sects the groups called Gnostics seem to have been the most prevalent. Almost all of the Church Fathers took pains in refuting Gnosticism. Because of the many different Gnostic sects, it is difficult to give a brief description of them, yet there is one element which seems to bind all the various Gnostic systems together— that is, the notion that the world is bad. It is under the control of evil or ignorance or nothingness. This hellish world is incapable of redemption, and the only thing that redeems man is the divine spark within him. The impetus for this particular attitude of despair (in contrast to the fear and despair among the Greeks) seems to have come from the debris of shattered eschatological hopes among the Jews.37
From their world view it is easy to see how the Gnostic systems would have a prolific demonology. Many Gnostics thought that the angels made man and the world. Some groups tried to gain control over these spiritual rulers through magic arts, charms, familiar spirits, etc. Numerous Gnostic gems and stones have been found with incantations on them by which the cosmos was to be controlled. By knowing the names of the demons who controlled the world, the Gnostics thought they gained power over these demons and thus gained freedom from the principalities who formed the world. Another system said that the only way to gain freedom was to experience every kind of action—needless to say that this sect was condemned for very immoral activities. Whatever the sect, it was by knowledge that the Gnostics thought freedom could be achieved. 88

When Irenaeus wrote his extensive attack on Gnosticism, he never condemned the Gnostics for their belief in the existence of demons, but he did attack their fear. God made all things visible and invisible, and He did not use angels to do it. As the Creator, He always exercised ultimate control over the world; so there was no need for the righteous to fear. Even before the coming of Christ men had been saved from wicked spirits, demons, and every apostate power, because the demons feared, above all, the existence of God. The purpose of the coming of Christ had been the destruction of the "apostate angel" and his followers. Anyone who continued to fear the demon forces was under demonic dominion, for he was fearing a vanquished foe rather than trusting in a victorious Lord. 89

The Alexandrian Fathers continued the fight against Gnosticism, but some Gnostic thought did subtly find its way into their beliefs.
Clement at one time promised to write an article in which he would discuss angels and demons. This article has not survived, and it is uncertain whether it was ever written. Nevertheless, a fair amount of Clement's demonology can be reconstructed from his surviving works. Like most of the other apologists, Clement believed in the fall of certain angels, and he believed this fall consisted of these angels marrying women, seeking their own pleasure. Unlike many of the other apologists, however, he says nothing about the offspring of this marriage or the relation this episode might have to the origin of demons.\(^9\) Clement does give a very hierarchical structure to the society of the universe which, though it does not explain the origin of demons, does help describe their nature. This hierarchical structure is largely found in the *Excepta Ex Theodoto*, which is apparently part of the notes left by Clement for completing his *Stromata*. At the summit of Clement's hierarchy, which bears many similarities to Gnostic schemes, is the Father. The Only-Begotten, the Son, is the face of the Father on whom the seven angels, *hoi protoktistoi*, gaze. Each segment of the hierarchy gazes upon the next highest order. The archangels and angels, thus, behold and gaze upon the First Created as the First Created gazed upon the Only Begotten. At the present time man occupies an impermanent middle-ground below the angels and above the evil demons. Salvation consists of passing through the angel-spheres and finally gazing on the Face of the Father along with the First Created. In this hierarchy the demons, along with the souls of the wicked, are below mankind. These demons are said to be incorporeal because the bodies which they do have, when compared with the spiritual bodies of the saved, are merely a shade.\(^1\) Whenever Clement speaks of the nature of the demons, he always speaks of them as shades and in
association with the souls of the departed wicked. They are of an earthy and watery nature which causes them to sink down of their own weight. Flitting about graves and tombs they sometimes appear as shadowy phantasms.

Clement's conception of the nature of demons is somewhat contrary to the attitude of previous apologists who fought against the pagan conception of the demons as departed souls. He seems to have succumbed to the Gnostic doctrine of emanations. The demons then would possess the same souls as angels and men, except for the degree of corruption by matter. Though Clement's speculations on the origin and nature of demons seen unorthodox compared with other Christian writers, there is nothing unusual in his description of demon activity and the victory Christ has over tyrannizing demons. Though he fails to emphasize demonic influence in magic and astrology, he does recognize their general influence on religion, philosophy and the souls of men. The Alexandrians in general did not develop the role of demons in magic and astrology as did previous apologists, rather they emphasized the works of the demons which were hostile to God and men. In their hatred for God the demons robbed him of honor by establishing many pagan deities. Heathen religions and mysteries are celebrations to demons. The demons established these rites not out of desire for blood and sacrifice, but out of hatred for God and man. By receiving worship and adulation they robbed God of what was rightfully His while at the same time they corrupted men by deception. Satan and his cohorts bind men to stones and idols by the chain of superstition. Clement recognized that some believe that demons inspire pagan philosophy as well as pagan religion, but he never says whether or not he agrees with this belief.

Some of the Gnostics went so far as to say that the various passions within man were demons. Clement did not agree with this
position, but he did believe that the demons entice men with pleasures. They held out beautiful sights, then "having beguiled those incapable of distinguishing the true from the false pleasure, and the fading and meretricious from the holy beauty, they lead them into slavery." The angels communicate with men by an inner voice; by correction, admonition and example they seek to bring man to a higher sphere. The demons, on the other hand, manipulate nature and the souls of men in order to bring corruption. They attack men's souls where the men do not have enough energy to wage war against the demons. Because of their deceptive attacks on men, it is difficult to distinguish true from false joys. Subtly they build up passions in men, trapping them in the material world.

The only way in which men can safely approach demons is on the basis of Christ's victory over them. Clement opens his "Exhortation to Heathen" with an invitation for the heathen to reap the fruits of the victory over demon forces. He invites the pagans to lay aside the dramas and raving, intoxicated poets, the satyrs, frenzied rabble and the rest of their demon crew and let Truth cast her rays on those involved in darkness. A virtual song of victory is sung because Christ has loosed men from the bitter bondage of tyrannizing demons. The great power which demons otherwise have over men seems inconsistent with their position in Clement's hierarchical system; yet it is consistent with the general beliefs of his day.

The culmination of the second and third century apologetic movement was reached in Origen's Contra Celsum. More explicitly than any of the earlier writers Origen connects the origin of evil with the devil and his angels. He believed that no one can understand the origin of evil
unless he possesses an accurate understanding of demons. In so far as they are demons, they are not God's creation. They are God's creation only as they are rational beings; their irrationality is not from God. The demons at one time were a higher creation, but they became impious towards God and fell from heaven. Now they roam about on earth in grosser bodies, seeking to turn men from the true God by dragging them down to earthly things. Some among the demons were led by plausibilities to think themselves gods. They persuade men to worship and sacrifice to them by performing the petitions of their devotees. They bolster their assumed divinity by bestowing oracles and gifts of prophecy on their priests. Since they are unclothed by earthly bodies, the demons do have some perception of the future. Desiring to turn men from God, they creep into certain animals and control their flights and movements. By this means men become occupied with things earthly rather than the pure worship God.

The most pervasive means of demonic activity among men is magic. The magi who visited the infant Christ had been in communion with demons. Their art flourished until something more divine appeared, then they were unable to withstand the divine power. The singing of the angelic hosts at the nativity signified that the demon forces had finally been overthrown. The overthrow was accomplished by the angelic powers' visiting the earth and by Jesus's own divine power. When the magi tried to perform their usual practices and could not, they went in search of the reason for their defeat - then they met the infant Jesus. Celsus contended that Christians obtain their seeming power from demons and that Jesus performed his miracles by magic (a charge similar to the accusation of the Pharisees). In refutation Origen
repeatedly shows how Jesus' power was superior to that of the demons and it was only by His death that the ruler of demons, who held the souls of men in subjection, was destroyed. When the demons saw the decrease of their sacrifices and blood because of the spread of Christianity, they tried to prevent any further expansion of the new religion. But the demonic forces have been curbed by the crucifixion of Christ. By the name of Jesus Christians have power over demons and are no longer enslaved by their power.
IV. The Closing of the Ante-Nicene Period

The closing of the ante-Nicene period saw the growth in magical practices, both black and white. Fear was still present, but either white magic, or Christianity, or the very powers of the soul itself would be sufficient in dealing with the malignant attacks of demonic forces. The growth of magical practices was not the product of some nebulous, primitive folk-lore, but the majority of popular incantations were "the product of highly educated people, becoming more and more childish by a long process of dilapidation." The all-pervasive occupation with demoniacal elements in so many writers is quite distinct from a similar occupation with witches in the last centuries of the Middle Ages. To some degree the concern with witches had been a forcibly imposed belief by the clergy on the people. There was no dogmatic imposition of magic on the people in the third and fourth centuries.

From the third century onward there had been a great increase in the use of private mediums, whom Minucius Felix called "prophets without a temple." Theurgy became the refuge of a despairing intelligentsia. Marcus Aurelius was a friend of Julianus the theurgist, who was the namesake of the Emperor Julian. Julian himself was quite enamored with Iamblichus, and under his patronage theurgy became extremely popular and fashionable. Though magic had been present from the earliest times, Neo-Platonism helped encourage men to practice it:

Neo-Platonism, the most prominent school of philosophy in the Empire, probably led men on to belief in magic more than any previous classical system. Nature was looked upon as real only in so far as it was soul, and its processes were regarded as the expression of the world-soul's mysterious working. The investigation
of nature thus tended to become an inquiry concerning spirits and demons, a study into the strange and subtle relations existing between things united, as all things are, by bonds of spiritual sympathy. 5

Under the late Empire there was a growing tendency to confuse philosophy with magic.

It is often said that Neoplatonism in its purity, as found in Plotinus, does not possess the decadent superstition and magical beliefs we find in Iamblichus. While there is some truth to that statement, it is wrong to think that Plotinus did not believe in demons and the magic they produced. To believe such is to lift Plotinus out of the third century. Plotinus did have definite beliefs on the existence and nature of demons, and there is some probability that he himself was a magician. The case for Plotinus being a magician rests upon three incidents in his life told by his pupil Porphyry. The three incidents occurred at different times during Plotinus' life, but Porphyry describes them all in the same context. They all were obviously related in Porphyry's mind. In the first incident, the philosopher Olympius was envious of Plotinus and tried to harm him by magic, directing star-rays against him. The soul of Plotinus was so strong that the rays returned to harm Olympius. Plotinus knew the moment that the spells were cast because his intestines started contracting. In an almost humorous way this accords with a passage from the Enneads in which Plotinus discusses how a sage withstands magic:

In the soul he is immune from magic; his reasoning part cannot be touched by it; he cannot be perverted. But there is in him the unreasoning element which comes from the (material) All, and in this he can be affected, or rather this can be affected in him. And, just as the unreasoning element responds to the call of the incantation, so the adept himself will dissolve those horrible powers by counter-incantations.
It seems that though Plotinus' soul could resist the magic of Olympius, his intestines, his unreasoning element, could not. But not only does Plotinus resist Olympius, he is able to harm Olympius through the same magic with which he was attacked.

The second incident cited by Porphyry concerned a seance held by an Egyptian priest in Rome. The Egyptian priest had invited Plotinus to a seance in which he would conjure the familiar spirit (oikeios daimon) of Plotinus. The evocation succeeded, but rather than an inferior demon, a god appeared. Because of an unfortunate accident, the god departed before he could be addressed. Nevertheless, as the result of this experience, Plotinus wrote an essay, "On Our Allotted Guardian Spirit." In this Plotinus stated that each soul is a universe containing many different levels of reality. Our lives are led according to a certain principle. The guardian spirit is a step above this principle so that he can lead the soul to a higher level. Based on Plato, Plotinus describes a continuing process of reincarnation; each life possesses a different guardian demon.7

The last incident is not as spectacular as the others, but in many ways it has more depth. Amelius, Plotinus' teacher, asked Plotinus to accompany him to religious rites one day. Plotinus said he was not to go to the gods, but the gods should come to him.8 Because Porphyry places this episode directly after the seance and the tale of Olympius, he obviously took this statement to be an assertion of magical powers. Though Plotinus does not have a reputation for magical abilities as strong as Iamblichus, it would be misleading to say he had no such abilities.
On the other hand, Plotinus taught that the soul could rise above the sphere of magic. Because of the structure of the Plotinian universe with its close connection between soul and matter, magic was an inevitable power. Plotinus stood at the beginning of a new era when nature was gradually being repudiated. Men were being driven in upon themselves:

In the inmost consciousness of life and the being of the soul they believed they were in touch with the eternal, the unchanging and the divine. Instead of deifying the world and uniting themselves with God by the heightening of the senses or by the contemplation of the stars, they began to draw fancies from their inner impulses or sought benefit in meditation. The idea of the beauty of the heavens and of the world went out of fashion and was replaced by that of the Infinite. Demon forces might still work through magic. They might still control Fate, but the soul was able to rise above these evils. Death and disease might harm the material sphere; but the soul, the essential man, is beyond harm. Only through contemplation does a man remain untouched by magic, "no man self-gathered falls to a spell; for he is one, and that unity is all he perceives, so that his reason is not beguiled but holds the due course, fashioning its own career and accomplishing its task." Plotinus' concept of the power of the soul to escape from the fear and dread of a magical universe had not been developed by previous Greek philosophers, but his demonology proper follows the main lines worked out by the Middle Platonists. There are many different forms of souls, and demons are one such form. In many ways they are like gods and men, in that they all possess souls, yet there are distinctions among souls even though they are all of the same race.
The gods are without affections and passions, yet the demons have affections and passions. The demons are eternal after the gods, but they are already inclining after the race of men. The degree to which demons incline toward a lower, passionate state and why they did not remain passionless is a problem for Plotinus. He questions "whether there is no spirit (daimones) at all in the intelligible (nous) world, and, on the other hand, nothing but spirits in the universe; whether godhead is confined to the intelligible world, or 'there are gods here too' and the universe is, as we used to say, a 'third god', and each of the beings down to the moon is a god." He finally decides that it is better not to call anything in the intelligible world a demon or spirit, and if there is an Idea of demon, to call it a god.

Ultimately, Plotinus derives his doctrine of demons from Diotima's tale in the Symposium. What then does he think are demons? He goes so far as to ask whether they are the trace left by each soul when it enters the universe, but he never explicitly answers the question. However, he does enigmatically say that the pure soul produces a god and its love is a god. But not all demons are loves, for not all remain undefiled by matter. All souls in the universe produce a love-demon which desires the good and the beautiful. Other demons come from the soul of the All and "are produced by other powers according to the need of the All; they help to complete it, and along with the All govern individual things. For the soul of the All had to provide adequately for the All by producing powers which are those of spirits and beneficial to its totality." This second category of demons partakes of bodies of air and fire, a kind of intelligible
matter. Thus they are an intermediate stage between complete incorporeality and material embodiment.

Porphyry maintained Plotinus’ views on the origin of demons. They are the progeny of the whole soul of the universe, composed of a pneumatic substance. The good demons, who rule their pneumatic substance in conformity to reason, govern the region under the moon. The whole scheme of knowledge—music, medicine, gymnastic, philosophy—is due to their kind governance. Malefic demons are souls which do not rule over the pneumatic substance with which they are connected, giving way to irascible and agitated motions of the pneumatic substance. The pneumatic substance itself is passive and corruptible. The good demons keep perfect symmetry of substance, not so the malefic demons. Thus the malefic demons abound in passivity and are distributed about the terrestrial region. Because of their impulsive nature, their attacks are sudden and rapid, causing pestilence, sterility, earthquakes and other natural disasters. The good demons, because of their orderliness, work their cures more slowly. By assuming they are gods, the evil demons pretend they cause blessings such as fertility when in fact they cause the opposite. Because of their guardianship over the world, the good demons warn men of the attacks of the evil demons, especially through dreams.

Because of his great reputation as a magician, we would expect Iamblichus to have a more complete demonology than the previous Neo-Platonists. We are not disappointed in our expectation, but his demonology is basically that of Middle Platonism. Concerning the origin of demons, however, Iamblichus amplifies the explanation given by Plotinus and Porphyry. The generative and demiurgic powers
of the gods produce demons, while the heroes are produced from the reasoning powers of the gods. Because these two beings are generated from different causes, their essences are accordingly different. The demons are more concerned with mundane natures and affairs. Yet it would be improper to give incorporeality as a distinction between gods and demons, because bodies are subservient to causes; and it is essence which causes differing bodies. The demons work on the souls of men that they might draw them into nature. The very presence of demons "renders the body, indeed, heavy, afflicts it with diseases, draws down the soul to nature...and detains about this terrestrial place those who are hastening to divine fire, and does not liberate from the bonds of Fate." By enslaving men with the appetite of generation and a desire of nature, the demons seek to accomplish the works of Fate. Some demons are guardians over certain spheres of the universe, and every individual receives the proper guardian demon at the hour of birth. Evil demons are prohibited from such rule and guardianship.

Contemporary with Iamblichus was the Christian Lactantius. While Iamblichus was greatly respected by the Emperor Julian, Lactantius was a tutor to Constantine's eldest son. The contrast between the two contemporaries then becomes a good contrast between pagan and Christian demonology towards the end of the ante-Nicene period. In Lactantius' refutation of paganism, he is mainly concerned with a refutation of pagan demonology, since he held pagan religion and philosophy to be the result of demons. Demonology was a central focus of debate between pagans and Christians, an area of debate the modern man has difficulty comprehending. In basic content
Lactantius' demonology differs little from the earlier apologists, but in the wealth of material collected from pagan sources which he uses as the basis for his attacks, he stands alone.

Lactantius placed the origin of demons in Genesis 6. From the beginning God had given power over the earth to the devil. God then sent messengers for the protection and care of the human race from the devil's deceits. While they were dwelling with men, the devil coaxed them into carnal relationships with women. Their offspring, being of a middle nature - neither angels nor men, were demons. These demons and fallen angels now wander over the earth seeking solace from the destruction of men. They were sent by God to help man, and even now they deceive men by pretending to remain in their positions as guardians. 19

A battle between light and darkness is constantly going on within men. Demons control the lower nature of the body and seek to gain power over the soul through that means. After insinuating themselves into a man's body, they secretly work on his inner organs; "they vitiate the health, incite sicknesses, terrify the thoughts by dreams, and disturb the minds with madness, so they might force men through these evils to run for their help." 20 It was demons who taught men the dark arts - astrology, divination, necromancy, magic and the like. In order to overwhelm and enslave the human hearts, these demons seek to mix the false with the true, obscuring the truth and separating men from God. 21 Only the name of Jesus Christ, because of His Power and His Passion, is able to remove the power of demons. When a Christian makes a sign of the cross at a sacrifice, the oracles are unable to respond. The names of Jupiter and Apollo have never been known to possess any such power. 22
Demons were important to the thoughts of both pagans and Christians, but there were important differences we have noted in the two groups which ought to be amplified. The demonology among the Greeks, including Neo-Platonism, was very fluid. It was often difficult to tell the differences between demons, souls, and gods. All terms are at times used interchangeably, because all are composed of basically the same "soul-substance". There is a general flux and movement from demons to souls and from soul to soul. Plato's doctrine of reincarnation, the constant re-cycling of the soul, hints at this lack of individuality and personality which is an important by-product of the Greek systems. The Christian apologists, on the other hand, had a more rigidly defined demonology. Because they had a more complete concept of the Creator than did the Greeks, it was easier for them to distinguish souls from angels from demons, since each was individually created by God. Their demonology becomes more indefinite as they are influenced by Greek philosophy. Clement, for example, tries to unite certain Greek and Gnostic beliefs with accepted Christianity. His synthesis becomes very confused and contradictory at points.

Ultimately differences between pagan and Christian demonology stem from differences in their conception of the structure of the universe. The differences between pagan and Christian authors reflect a different conception of God and of man, and of the possibility of the two having any intercourse. Pagan thought is more dualistic. God is almost the exact opposite of man locked in a material world. If man is ever to have contact with God, it must be through the mediating power of demons.
Demons provide the connecting links between opposing factions of the universe. Through their mediating powers, unity is achieved in the midst of diversity. Or, to quote Diotima, through the mediating power of demons, the "whole is combined into one." For Christians, the sovereignty of God rather than demonic mediation provides the unity to the universe. The diversity which exists originates in the rebellion of the creature, both angelic and human, against the Creator's plan. Such diversity is overcome by Christ's victory at the Cross. Christ's mediatorship assures the restoration of the unity which the creature's rebellion had disrupted. In the future reign of Christ, when every knee shall bow to Him and every tongue shall confess His Lordship, unity will have been achieved. The three main philosophic questions dealt with in demonology - the problem of evil, the problem of unity and diversity, and the relationship of the soul to a higher sphere - are all dealt with differently by the pagans and the Christians.

Yet to both Christians and Greeks, demons were essential. There were variations in the meaning of demons, their nature and their effects on men. There were variations in the means of protection from these malignant forces. Despite these variations, demons were agreed by all to be an integral part of the structure of the present universe, both physical and spiritual. Their presence explained the evil present in the world, both physical - such as natural catastrophes, and spiritual - such as human sacrifices. The men of this period were not from primitive jungle tribes; Plato and Clement have never been accused of such origins. Yet these rational men held a belief which seems very irrational to modern men. This was not some trivial speculation they engaged in; it was central to the very structure of the universe.
Remove demons and angels and the world ceases to be as we now know it.

Demons continued to be essential to the Weltanschauung of the Middle Ages. Much of the demonology of that period was derived from Augustine. The theory of history Augustine develops in the City of God is meaningless if there are no evil supernatural beings in control of the Earthly City. Like the early Christians, Augustine closely connected demonology and eschatology. Demons now control the Earthly City; but in the Last Judgment, the two cities will be separated, and the final end and punishment of the Earthly City will be executed. The idea of constant conflict between the earthly and heavenly cities was essential to the medieval concept of knighthood. St. Bernard's Praise of the New Militia describes knighthood as symbolic of the Christian life in general. Knights are faced with the problem potentially applicable to the entire Christian community. Knights must engage in a literal war against God's enemies while every Christian, as a member of the Church militant, is involved in continual warfare against demonic forces.

In medieval romances of chivalry and daring knights, magical forces, which are demonic, constantly work to ensnare and trap the knight. Magic and fatalism constituted an inheritance of which the Church had always been acutely conscious; almost every page of the apologists expresses an intense hostility to it. In the literature, contests between Christianity and heathenism become duels between saint and magician, between a representative of God and a representative of Satan. Pact stories developed in which the devil, often appearing as an angel of light, sought to ensnare the unsuspecting victim and bring him to a fatalistically determined end. Many pact stories, by eventually
having the person redeemed, demonstrate Christianity's rejection of fatalism and demonic domination.\textsuperscript{23}

The later Middle Ages saw a growth of fear of the demonic which in depth and dimension had not been known since late antiquity. Witch trials raged throughout Europe. The art of cathedral tympanum's and other popular places was designed to produce an attitude of terror.\textsuperscript{24} Judgment scenes depict in horrible terms the power demons can have over a man's soul. Demonic power sometimes seemed more real than the power of the conquering, victorious Christ of the early apologists. But by the seventeenth century, some were beginning to cast doubts on the reality of demons. This caused great consternation among those who, in the tradition of the early apologists, saw demons as essential to the Christian structure of the universe. Cotton Mather saw that what was at issue was the reality of the spiritual or invisible world. He saw that if the materialists succeeded in destroying a belief in an invisible world, "we shall come to have no Christ but a light within, and no Heaven but a frame of mind."\textsuperscript{25} In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, scientific materialism did remove this concreteness from Christianity as Mather feared.

Therefore, a large portion of men in the twentieth century fail to see the reality of the demonic, contrary to most centuries in man's history. The effect of Newton, Darwin and Freud was not only the abolition of the divine, but was also the banishment of the demonic from men's thoughts. In Newton's universe there was no room for an irrational principle in nature, yet demons with their vascillating natures are irrational. Darwin's biological struggle with its survival of the fittest replaced the demonic battle which men had fought for.
centuries. Freud's studies turned the demonic influences on the soul into psychological complexes and neuroses.\textsuperscript{26} With such transformations, certainly no one would believe in demons anymore than he would believe in the Ptolemaic theory of the universe.

Yet the astrology columns continue in the newspapers. Books on occultism gain increasing popularity. Mayoral candidates wear copper bracelets to ward off evil spirits.\textsuperscript{27} Housewives hold seances when the moon is right. Even sacrificial murders occur in the name of demonism and witchcraft.\textsuperscript{28} The study of magic and demonism is fascinating and important, "not mainly for the sake of the fragments which this study adds to our knowledge of ancient religions; nor mainly because the humanist must never close his eyes to the all-too-human. There are few human activities in the history of which an unbroken chain of tradition can be traced more clearly and conclusively."\textsuperscript{29} The Enlightenment was optimistic about the nature of man and the world in which he lived. The twentieth century often shares this optimism, but then we are faced with sacrificial murders - people eating human hearts and carrying human bones in their pockets. Is this "realization of the demon" in man, or are there really irrational forces operating in the universe which work destruction, discord, and chaos?
Notes

I. Introduction


4. Ibid., 13. Parenthesis inserted.


7. Ibid., 29.


II. Pagan Demonology from Plato through Middle Platonism


3 Francis MacDonald Cornford, From Religion to Philosophy (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), 97.

4 Ibid., 58; Dodds, Greeks and the Irrational, 40.

5 Cornford, From Religion to Philosophy, 94, 101.

6 Richard Heinze, Xenocrates (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), 79.

7 Ibid.; Erwin Rohde, Psyche (Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1921), I, 96-97.

8 Andres, "Die Engellehre der griechischen Apologeten," 10; Soren Skovgaard Jensen, Dualism and Demonology (Munksgaard, 1966), 65.

9 Soren Skovgaard Jensen, Dualism and Demonology (Munksgaard, 1966), 71-72.

10 Rohde, Psyche, II, 178, 187. The epistrophe of Neo-Platonism is thus also found in Empedocles.

11 Jensen, Dualism and Demonology, 73.

12 Murray, Five Stages of Greek Religion, 136-137.

13 Jensen, Dualism and Demonology, 41. Jensen's work is crucial in understanding the philosophical suppositions underlying pagan demonology.

14 Ibid., 34.


It is curious that in Homer the gods and demons are synonymous, as seems also to be the case in some passages of Plato already studied. In other writers demons are mediatory between gods and men, and yet again other writers begin to equate gods and demons, with a supreme One beyond both. There does not seem to be a clear historical progression in these views. Often in the same author references can be found to the demons as mediators and to the demons as being gods. This lack of precision as to the meaning of the term daimon is paralleled in Roman studies by the term genius. The various meanings of genius are discussed in W. W. Fowler's *Roman Ideas of Deity* (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1914), 17-28.

Friedrich Andres, "Die Engellehre der griechischen Apologeten," 120. Dr. Andres also notes that Cumont thought the demonology of the Epinomis was influenced by previous ideas on genies.
From Xenocrates on belief in good and evil spirits became universal among Platonists.

Aristotle's notion that nature was demonic, or full of demons, is significant in this connection (De divi, per somn, 463b 12-15).


Heinze, Xenocrates, 108.

Seneca and other Stoics later disparage this idea of a demon or genius, but it is an idea important to the Middle Platonists.


Ibid., 223.

Philostratus (trans. J. S. Phillimore), Apollonius of Tyana (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), lx. Also see chapter 6 of Gibbon's Decline and Fall for a discussion of the occult-inclinations of the Severi.

H. Armin Moellering, Plutarch on Superstition (Boston: Christopher Publishing House), 119.


Moellering, Plutarch on Superstition, 122.

Glover, Conflict of Religions, 97.


Hesiod too attributed a definite mortality to demons.
The use of the terms *demon* and *soul* seem inconsistent with the earlier definitions given in the Timarchus myth. Such confusion of definitions must simply be attributed to the lack of dogmatism still present in Plutarch's demonology.

This non-verbal communication of the demons seems reminiscent of Pythagoras' "realization of the demon" discussed above, though it does lack the ecstatic element.


[53] Plutarch, "The Cessation of Oracles", 416D.

[54] Ibid., 417B, 419F; Plutarch, "Isis and Osiris," 360A.


[57] Plutarch, "On the Sign of Socrates," 592C.

[58] Ibid., 592D. The use of the terms *demon* and *soul* seem inconsistent with the earlier definitions given in the Timarchus myth. Such confusion of definitions must simply be attributed to the lack of dogmatism still present in Plutarch's demonology.

[59] Ibid., 589D.

[60] Ibid., 592C. This non-verbal communication of the demons seems reminiscent of Pythagoras' "realization of the demon" discussed above, though it does lack the ecstatic element.

[61] Ibid., 593E-F; Plutarch, "The Cessation of Oracles," 437A.


[63] Ibid., 417C; Plutarch, "Isis and Osiris," 355B, D, 360F.

[64] Plutarch, "The Cessation of Oracles," 417C.

[65] Ibid., 417E; Plutarch, "Isis and Osiris," 361B.


[69] Ibid., 363-365.
III. Jewish and Christian Demonology


4. Ibid., 372-381.

5. Ibid., 372, 377, 382.

6. Alfred Eidersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (Grand Rapids: Erdmans, 1959), II, 748, 759. It is rather unfortunate that we do not know more about the Babylonian and Persian religions. Egypt had a great reputation in the ancient world for its knowledge of sorcery and magic, but it seems to be in Babylon and Persia that the magical practices originated.

7. After the Babylonian captivity the Jews developed a practice of leaving the name Yahweh or Jehovah unpronounced whenever they were reading a text or talking about their God. Because the Hebrew only had consonants in its alphabet, God's name had four letters. Thus the Ineffable Name, or unpronounceable name for God became known as the tetragrammaton.


10. Ibid., 424.


12. Williams, "The Cult of Angels at Colossae," 415; Martin Dibelius, *Die Gesterwelt in Glauben der Paulus* (Gottingen: Vandenhoecke und Ruprecht, 1909), 80. The same idea was expressed in the 60th chapter of the *Book of Enoch*.


16. Ibid., 418; Dibelius, *Die Gesterwelt*, 35.
Curiously enough, Plutarch admits that much of the mystery religions and Greek religious practices were the worship of demons. He sees nothing wrong with the practice, partly because his very definition of demon differs from the Christian one.

G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 4; Judges v.20; I Kgs. xxii.19; Neh. ix.6; Dan. viii.9-11. Psalm lxxxii is an entire psalm on the failure of the gods or demons to administer their provinces justly.

Psalm lxxiv, 13-14; Isa. xxvii.1; xxv. 6-8; li.9-10; Zech. xiii.2. John Milton's perception of Christianity is shown in the central position he gives the temptation scene and Christ's power over demons in Paradise Regained.


Hebrews xi.14; I Cor. x.10; Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, 114-115.
Kallas, The Satanward View, 22024; Bibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, 76-84; MacGregor, "Principalities and Powers", 18.

I Cor. xv. 24-25; Heb. x. 12-13; I pet. iii. 22.


R. P. Martin, Carmen Christi, passim; Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, 110.


Martin, Carmen Christi, 269-270.

Ibid., 292-94.

Col. i. 18,20; Eph. i.10,22; Oscar Cullmann (trans. Floyd Filson), Christ and Time (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950), 186.

I Thess. ii.18; Rom. viii.35,38; Rev. ii.10,13.

Eph. vi.11-20.


Eph. i.15-23.

John Calvin, Institutes i.14.


"The Shepherd of Hermas" (trans. Kirsop Lake), The Apostolic Fathers (London: Heinemann, 1913), Mandate V.ii.5.
The Epistle of Barnabas" (trans. James A. Kleist), (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1961), xviii.1; xx.1; xxii.3


Justin Martyr, First Apology, 58.

Ibid., 5; Second Apology, 8.

Barnard, Justin Martyr, 122.

Justin Martyr, Second Apology, 6.

Justin Martyr, First Apology, 52; Second Apology, 8; Dialogue, 45,131.

Justin Martyr, Dialogue, 78. It is interesting to note that Trypho becomes rather heated at this explanation, accusing Justin of an artificial interpretation of Scripture.

Barnard, Justin Martyr, 110.


Ibid., 12.

Ibid., 9. Chapter 8 also discusses the establishment of Fate by the demons. Also see Andres, "Die Engellehre der Griechischen Apologeten," 52.

Tatian, Address to the Greeks, 17.

Ibid., 9, 11, 16.

71. Ibid., 25.

72. Ibid., 27. Though the perspectives are different, there is a certain sense in which Pythagoras' "realization of the demon" and certain mystical experiences can be linked with Athenagoras' description of the fluctuating soul. One senses that Athenagoras would have opposed mysticism. The necessity for the soul to achieve a certain passivity before attaining any type of mystic union would, to Athenagoras', be demonic. Pythagoras considered such an experience demonic as well, but his conception of a demon differed from Athenagoras'.

73. Andres, "Die Engellehre der Griechischen Apologeten, 159-61.


75. Ibid., IV. 26.

76. Ibid., IV. 26-29. "Nations" was a term used in Jewish and Christian writings for Gentiles or non-Jewish people.

77. Ibid., IV. 21.

78. Ibid., IV. 13-15.

79. Ibid., IV. 16-19, 23-24; V. 32-33.


81. Ibid., xxii. 5-6.

82. Ibid., ii. 18; xxvii. 6.


84. Tertullian, Apology, xxxv. 12, xxii. 9.

85. Ibid., xxiii. 2-4; Tertullian (trans. Rudolph Arbesmann, Emily Daly, Edwin A. Quain), On the Soul (New York, 1950), lvii. 2,4.


88. Irenaeus (trans. Alexander Roberts and W. H. Rambaut), Against Heresies (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1868), I. v. 4, xxii. 1, xxiv. 4,


Clement of Alexandria (trans. William Wilson), *Exhortation to the Heathen* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1868), 1. Franz Cumont in *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1959) has collected numerous examples of ghosts and shades who came back to haunt the living, but these were all departed men rather than demons. Clement seems to blend the attributes of demons and souls as many of the Greek philosophers had done before him.

Ibid., I. 1. 3; Andres, "Die Engel und Dämonenlehre des Klemens von Alexandrien", 310-13.

Clement, *Stromata*, I. xvi.

Ibid., II. xx.

Clement, *Exhortation to the Heathen*, 1; Andres, "Die Engel und Dämonenlehre des Klemens von Alexandrien," 20, 313-14, 326.


Ibid., III. 2-3, 37; IV. 92-93; VII. 6.

Ibid., I. 60.

Ibid., I. 6, 31; III. 30, 36.
IV. The Closing of the Ante-Nicene Period


2Jacob Burckhardt, Die Zeit Konstantins des Grossen (Leipzig, 1880), 243. Quoted in Oesterreich, Demonical Possession, 159.


5Thorndike, The Place of Magic in the Intellectual History of Europe, 70.


10Plotinus (trans. MacKenna), Enneads, IV. 4. 44.

11Ibid., VI. 7. 6.


13Ibid.


16Ibid., III. 5-6, 9.

17Ibid., IV. 6-7; IX. 5-7.


20. Ibid., II. 14; II. 12.

21. Ibid., II. 15-17.

22. Ibid., IV. 27.


24. de Givry, Witchcraft, Magic and Alchemy, 37.


27. Van Hetherly, "We'll Rise to Fight Another Day," Houston Chronicle, December 8, 1971, Sec. 1.


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B. Articles


C. Primary Works


III. Jewish and Christian Demonology

A. Books


B. Articles


C. Primary Works


