

PART III

CHAPTER I

ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY ON SOME SINGLE LITURGICAL UNITS OF THE EXORCISTIC PRAYER (FOLIOS [ΦΦ] 133v-139v)

This chapter attempts to analyse the Xiropotamou exorcistic text piece by piece looking at some fundamental ideas which emerge and possible inspiration behind the author's writing. One of the conclusions that clearly emerges from study of these units is that to the Greek mind of the period, the moral construction of reality that distinguishes evil from good is based upon two ostensibly opposite discourses which contribute to one unified worldview: on the one hand, the *exotikά* (malicious entities living at the margins of society) as they are experienced by laypeople, and, on the other, demons and the devil, representing the official Orthodox church dogma concerning evil.

φ.133^v.

Διάταξις τῶν δαιμονιζομένων. Τὸ πῶς ἐρωτᾶς, ἵνα εἴπῃ σοι ὁ δαίμων τὸ ὄνομά αὐτοῦ. Ἐνταύθα, ζήτησον[τὸ ὄνομα]^Aτοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος.

^A**[τὸ ὄνομα:]** Find out the name of the evil spirit.

The word of God (ό λόγος, בָּרָךְ) created the cosmos, and we see that God's word is praised in Old and New Testament Scripture¹ as having creative power: «God said, 'Let there be light' and there was light... And God said, 'Let the earth sprout vegetation...' and it was so» (Gn 1:3, 11). God's word made the light shine out of darkness of the original void, and the word called life into being. This word accomplished what it said. The Creator brings forth what was nothing into existence by the sheer power of his speaking action. In the Gospel of John not only is the word of God present and active at the beginning of time as God's creative instrument, but the word is a divine person, the *Son of God*. This Son is eternally «in the bosom of the Father» (Jn 1:18), but whom God finally communicates out into the world at the incarnation: «The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us. We have seen his glory, the glory as of the only Son who came from the Father, full of grace and truth. John testifies concerning him. He cries out, saying, 'This was he of whom I said, "He who comes after me has surpassed me because he was before me" '» (Jn 1:14-15). Thus this word is more than language; it is a person full of power and truth, and a word that communicates God's grace through action.

The words used in liturgical exorcisms are likewise more than mere speech acts; they also aim to accomplish what they say². Their power stems from God, who is always at work, pouring graces into his creation. Jesus testifies that God's creative work is unfinished: «My Father is working until now, and I am working» (Jn 5:17) – God is at work perfecting creation, recreating it, and bringing new life from the dead. We may ask: is God working alone? Jesus, the creative word of God, promised: «Amen, amen, I say to you, whoever believes in me will also do the works that I do; greater works than these he shall do» (Jn 14:12). Just as God used his beloved word to create all things, he wants to use believers as instruments of blessing in the world – but how? Jesus tells them: «Whatever you ask in my name, this I will do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son» (Jn 14:13). One aspect of God's work is thus people asking things in Jesus' name for the glory of God, the biblical model for this are the «greater works» or power encounters that one finds throughout the New Testament, that is, the supernatural events such as exorcism and healing. God's creative power is

¹ Cf. Gn 1:3; 9; 11; 14; etc. Ps 33:6 (32:6 LXX): «By the word (λόγῳ) of the LORD the heavens were made, and by the breath of his mouth all their host». This creative word is referred to as λόγος in the LXX, and *dabar* in the Masoretic text which reads:

בְּזָבֵר יְהֹוָה שְׁמֵים נָעֲשׂוּ וּבָרוּךְ פִּיו כָּל־צְבָאָם:

(for the creative power of God's speech cf. also Ps 148:5; Jb. 33:4; Jn 1:1-5; Heb 11:3).

² For the sake of clarity I am using the word «liturgical exorcisms» to distinguish them from «secular exorcisms». This work is about liturgical exorcisms.

seen clearly in liturgical exorcisms, where Jesus' name is invoked for blessing and liberation. Thus it is no surprise that Alexander Schmeman remarks that an exorcism is a *poem* in the deepest sense of the word; as «poem» in Greek means *creation* or *making*, in essence exorcism is imbued with God's creative power. By God's power exorcism brings forth a new creation, new life and spiritual health where before there was death and spiritual oppression³.

We have also seen that in many significant instances the Gospels depict Jesus commanding his followers to do the «greater works» in his name, which includes performing exorcisms (Mt 10:1-8; Mk 3:15; 6:7-13; 16:17; Lk 9:1-6; 10:17-20). Luke portrays the exuberance of the apostles who participate in this exorcistic work: «The seventy-two returned with joy, saying, 'Lord, even the demons are subject to us in your name!'» (Lk 10:17). Why is exorcistic power a cause for joy? Because it is proof that God has deemed man worthy to participate in his mighty and wonderful works⁴. Just as the work of the Word of God was to create all things, and bring light into the darkness, so his followers must perfect creation until the end of time (cf. Acts 26:18; Mt 28:18-20). St. Paul says boldly «we are God's co-workers» and «ambassadors for Christ» through whom the Creator himself is speaking (1 Cor 3:9; 2 Cor 5:20) – this is true in all aspects of ministry, but especially exorcism. Why is exorcism a special aspect of God's work? Because in exorcism God is speaking and working through the exorcist, often beyond words. One example is in Acts 19, we see that God was conferring to Paul, during his two years at Ephesus, extraordinary exorcistic power, so much so «that even handkerchiefs or aprons that had touched his skin were carried away to the sick, and their diseases left them and the evil spirits came out of them» (19:12). This power is clearly from God, the power is flowing through Paul's body and into everything he touches, not because Paul himself possesses any special «power or piety» (Acts 3:12), but because he has surrendered himself totally to the purposes of God. Paul, like all the apostles, firmly believes in the power of Jesus' name to heal and exorcise people⁵. Paul is not the source, but simply the channel through which

³ A. SCHMEMAN, *Of Water and Spirit*, 24. Father Alexander writes that the meaning of the exorcisms is to face evil, to acknowledge its reality, to know its power, and to proclaim the power of God to destroy it. The exorcisms announce the forthcoming Baptism as an act of victory.

⁴ C.f., e.g. Jb 5:9; Ps 107; Rom 11:33; Eph 3:18.

⁵ Elsewhere Paul exorcises demons in Jesus' name as he did in Acts 16:18, when he commands a spirit to leave a little possessed girl. Healings are performed in Jesus name by Paul and the apostles, e.g. Acts 3:6; 5:12; 9:34; 14:3; 14:9-10, 19:11-12; Gal 3:5; Rom 15:19; 2 Cor 12:12; etc. and also by the other Christian communities in general

the divine blessings flow⁶. Here is just one small example in the work of Paul of a clear continuation of Jesus' healing and exorcism ministry⁷. In all instances the New Testament speaks of these extraordinary events as normal, everyday aspects in the growth of the faith in Christian communities⁸.

God's purpose as seen in Jesus' ministry was to bring blessing and health, and so through those who surrender to his purposes, it should not be surprising to us that God is capable of doing «miracles». However the miracles and exorcisms of the New Testament are not ends in themselves, but they are pointers meant to encourage faith, thus Jesus says, «Unless you see signs and wonders you will not believe» (Jn 4:48). Faith is the goal; as John famously writes: «For God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that whoever *believes* in him should not perish but have eternal life» (Jn 3:16). Faith that Jesus is truly the Messiah risen from the dead opens to believers the source of everlasting life, but miracles, exorcisms, and healings cannot give eternal life⁹. Jesus warns his disciples that these «signs» can be dangerous if they become a distraction from what is important:

«Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord', will enter the kingdom of heaven, but the one who does the will of my Father who is in heaven. On that day many will say to me, 'Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and cast out demons in your name, and do many mighty works in your name?' And then will I declare to them, 'I never knew you; depart from me, you workers of lawlessness» (Mt 7:21-23).

The danger here is if these miracles distract a person from what is really important in the final judgment: whether a person chose to obey God's will or not, were they faithful to the knowledge God gave them or not, did they avoid «works of lawlessness» or not. A faith relationship with Jesus Christ leads to eternal life, and the Biblical data characterizes this relationship by

Heb 2:4; Gal 3:5 as a signs confirming apostolic teaching that Jesus is truly the Messiah risen from the dead.

⁶ Cf. Acts 3:12, Peter admits that miracles and healings are not achieved by human «power or piety» but by God's power that flows through faith in Jesus' name (3:16). The message in Acts 19 is that God's power is exorcistic, and it is flowing through Paul's ministry leading to a kind of mass liberation for the people in this heavily pagan society. Luke thus uses Ephesus as a prime example of the victory of Christ, the city is leaving the chains of oppression under evil spirits and freely coming to joyful communion within the Christian community, though not without some controversy and opposition from those who profited from the pagan culture (Acts 19:23 ff.).

⁷ See also Heb 2:4; Gal 3:5; Acts 5:12; 14:3.

⁸ Cf. Gal 3:5; Acts 14:3-10, 19:11-12; Rom 15:19; 1 Cor 1:4-5; 2 Cor 10:4, 12:12, 13:3.

⁹ Cf. that man is saved by faith cf. Rom 10:9; 6:4,22; cf. also Jn 3:36; 20:31; Col 2:12; 1 Pt 3:21; Eph 2; Tit 3:4-7; 1 Jn 5:13 for faith, baptism, and regeneration unto eternal life.

obedience and discipleship, but not necessarily on the performance of miracles and exorcisms.

On the other hand, exorcism can be a striking indicator that God's power is active in the world. But it is more than that. As we have seen exorcism announces that the kingdom of God has come¹⁰. Entering the kingdom is more than a change of authority, it is a change from this world to the next, it is becoming a «New Creation» (2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15). Why is this important? Because only the person who is a new creation is capable of bearing fruit for God in harmony with his Spirit of love, peace, joy, patience, etc without resorting to human means to force his will on others. (Rom 7:4; Jn 15:16; Gal 5:13-14, 22). And therefore because exorcism is an act of love and service of someone who is suffering, it is a sign that the new creation has come. The purpose of all this is greater trust in God's goodness and his promises in Scripture. The exorcism truly manifests the mystery which it announces; it actualizes that which it states by God filling human words with the divine energy which they invoke¹¹. Exorcism does all this because it is proposed in the name of Christ who is God and has «broken» into the enemy territory not by force but by assuming a humble human life. In Jesus God made human words his own, because Christ-God has already destroyed the demonic power from within, he is fully and serenely free of all evil, and thus opened in himself the way for man's full restoration¹². Jesus, God's living Word says «Behold, I make all things new» (Rv 21:5). Since the time that God's Word has been given to humanity, exorcism is a creative manifestation of divine power for the restoration of humanity wounded by sin. By surrendering to God's purposes exorcism restores man's original dignity as the king of the earth, entrusted with the care of creation to direct it toward the praise of God's name and the joy of all people.

Liturgical exorcism can be seen as «divine speech» pronounced or mediated through the person of the priest. This divine speech comes forth

¹⁰ Concerning his exorcisms, Jesus says in Mt 12:28. «But if it is by the Spirit of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you».

¹¹ Poem in Greek is ποίησις - meaning a 'making'. See Γ.Ν. ΦΙΛΙΑΣ, *Oι εξορκισμοί ως θεραπευτική λειτουργική δραστηριότητα*.

¹² Cf. Christ victory over evil on the cross gives man access to God, Heb 10:19-20: «We have confidence to enter the holy places by the blood of Jesus, by the new and living way that he opened for us through the curtain, that is, through his flesh». Cf. Jn 4:4 «Little children, you are from God and have overcome them, for [Spirit of God] who is in you is greater than he who is in the world». Thus John explains that the power that Christ possessed over the internalization of demonic influence is conferred to those who believe (cf. 1 Jn.5:18-19).

in exemplary performative utterances or «strong illocutionary acts»¹³. A good example of this is in the rite of Baptism. The belief that exorcism announces a new creation is attested by the naming of a child at Baptism, marking the beginning of a new spiritual life in Christ and the liberation from the fallen human nature – what the Byzantine fathers called «illumination»¹⁴. Clearly the exorcisms that precede Baptism comprise an important part of the ceremony itself but the climax of the ceremony is when the child is simultaneously given a name. However, in the Greek Orthodox Church the name is revealed only on the day of Baptism. It is significant that this occurs after the conclusion of numerous exorcistic utterances and practices¹⁵. They precede the candidate renouncing the devil, pledging allegiance to Christ, Baptism and Chrismation. When the Christian name is pronounced, it is «in the name» of the Trinity. As the ceremony proceeds, the name of the baptized person is seen as being held in suspension between the authority of demons and the authority of God. The possibility of bestowing this name, so important for the child's social and spiritual identity, arises precisely when Divinity has triumphed through faith and thus the demons who had claimed authority over humanity are expelled. The ceremony must be performed completely for proper Baptism dissociates the in-

¹³ J.L. AUSTIN, *How to do things with words*. According to Austin a number of conditions must be met for a performative utterance to succeed. Failure to fulfill any one of these conditions may void the effect of the utterance. Γ.Θ. ΒΕΡΓΩΤΗ, *Λεξικό Λειτουργικῶν καὶ τελετουργικῶν ὕρων*, 54. [Η ἐξωχριστιανικὴ ἐννοια τοῦ ὕρου δηλώνειτὴ «δέσμευση κάποιουνμὲ ὕρκο»] Also. Θ. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΥ, *Ἐξορκισμοί, ἐξορκιστὲς καὶ βασκανία*, 11.

¹⁴ Infants in Greece are not baptized immediately after birth. This is surprising given the importance of Baptism in establishing the child's chances for salvation, not to mention simple membership in the Christian community. It is the godparent's prerogative to select a name for the child. Baptismal names are sacred and for the most part shared in common with a saint of holy figure of the Orthodox tradition. At Baptism only a personal name is bestowed and this name, never the family name, will be used in church to refer to the individual. The Christian name allows the child to be recorded in the book of Life. Interestingly, in Greece generally unbaptized children are not addressed by their eventual name. They are usually called simply μωρό (baby), a neuter noun or else βεβέ in the case of boys and βεβά in the case of girls. In the case of the first example, the name represent that the new-born child as barley incorporated into humanity. In the second instance, the foreign provenance of the term perhaps underscores the conviction that the the child does not yet belong to the Greek Orthodox community.

¹⁵ The ceremony of Baptism has been unchanged for hundreds of years, certainly since the 1647 edition of the J. GOAR, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*. There is a long and stable tradition at least in Greece, which reflects the church's success in conserving its rituals and theological positions. It is no surprise, therefore, to find a standardized text (Ακολουθία του αγίου βαπτίσματος) for the Baptismal rite containing instructions to the priest for carrying out this rite.

dividual from the demonic and confers power to the baptized over demonic forces through union with Christ crucified and raised¹⁶. The significance of this in popular culture can be seen in Greece where it is traditionally believed that if the priest omits any words the demons may not be completely banished and, they might haunt the child throughout his life¹⁷.

Exorcism texts consistently speak of a kind of struggle of names: the name of the Trinitarian God vis-à-vis the names of the devil and his assistants. This is the reason for example why during exorcism the devil is addressed, but always in imperative forms: «I banish you»; «I adjure you»; «Depart»; «Come out»; «Take fear» (φεῦγε πονηρὲ διάβολε; Ἐξορκίζωσε; ὘ρκίζωσε; εἰπὲ τὸ ὄνομά σου; ὄρκίζω σε δι’ αὐτοῦ; ἐν φῷ πᾶν; Εἰπὲ εῖ; Εἰπὲ ἂ ἐρώτησά...etc.). On the other hand many of the texts begin with the passage: «In the name of the Holy Trinity, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, in the beginning was the Word» thus establishing the original sacred ground on which the exorcistic struggle will take place while at the same time laying claim to the sacred performative power of language¹⁸. This invocation is not a summoning or creation of sacred ground but an acknowledgement of the bedrock of spiritual reality that is already there: the unconquerable work of God. The God who truly created and penetrated the cosmos by the eternal Word has already made peace through that Word, forgiven sins, conquered all evil by his cross, and «He has delivered us from the domain of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son» (Col 1:13, cf. vv. 14-19). Exorcism is simply a call of demons to a reality to which they are bound as creatures living in a universe created by God, a reality that they cannot escape. Every time the key phase, «I exorcise you», is pronounced, it is eventually followed by a sub-phrase, «in the name of...[one or all of the persons of the Trinity]»¹⁹. Outside the context of the rite of Baptism, one has to keep in mind that the force of exorcism, is not, in the first instance, to make the demon depart,

¹⁶ As Cyprian puts it «When such people (catechumens) come forward to receive the waters of salvation and the sanctification of Baptism, we ought to be convinced and firmly believe that the devil is there overpowered and that through God’s mercy the man now dedicated to him is set free». *Epistulae IXIX*, 15.

¹⁷ According to local folklore, on the island of Crete these ‘half baptized’ people become vampires called «katakanades» while in Tinos they are called as «the poorly baptized ones». See Α. ΦΛΩΡΑΚΗΣ, *Τήνος: Λαϊκός πολιτισμός*, 235; Γ. ΚΑΛΑΙΣΑΚΗ, «Κρητικαί προλήψεις» τεύχη 1, 2, 5 (#233-236, 241-2); «Exorcism, Exorcist», in *A new Dictionary of Liturgy*, 230; H. LECLERQ, «Exorcisme, Exorciste», 970.

¹⁸ See also the article written by P. MYLONAS – G. KOUKAS «Μαγέια και ζόρκιας την Ελλάδα» [access date: 18.05.2014] www.etypos.com/content/entheta_pdf/9magic.pdf/.

¹⁹ Μ. ΠΑΠΑΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – Μ. ΒΑΡΒΟΥΝΗΣ, *Ἐξορκισμοί του Ιερομόναχου Βενέδικτου Τζανκαρόλου*.

but rather to make it speak. The scope of exorcism lies in forcing the demon to reveal its name because by revealing its names it surrenders itself to the God-given authority of the exorcist²⁰. Thus in the Xiropotamou 98 text it reads: «I exorcise you, evil devil, enemy of truth, by the awful and holy name of All-Powerful God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, to tell me immediately what your name is called»²¹. In the Middle Ages the word «*ὄνομα*» (name) could also mean person because the name is the revelation of the person²². This is the precisely the issue in the Xiropotamou 98 document, practically the whole text is taken up with the effort to elicit the name of the demon²³.

At the beginning of the text, the priest is instructed to follow a certain path: «Find out the name of the devil spirit. Seek to make him tell you how many are with him, and to which class he belongs, and what is the name of his leader»²⁴. By faith in the prevailing name of Jesus the exorcist brings the demons face to face with themselves, their name and that of their «cohort» is the reality of their creaturely nature. Later he is told: «Whenever you ask, say in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit»²⁵. The exorcist has authority, acting in the name of the Trinity, to reveal to the demons the reality that they are not gods but mere creatures created by God, and over this reality they have no power.

²⁰ See for example the *Testament of Solomon* where the devil refuses to give its name. nos 46. «But I said to him: ‘Tell me his name’. But he answered. ‘I cannot tell thee. For if I tell his name, I render myself incurable. But he will come in response to his name’». Also: O. BAUERNFEIND, *Die Worte der Dämonen im Markus evangelium*, 36-37; A. JIRKU, *Die Dämonen und ihre Abwehr im alten Testament*, 25; A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia 1*, 36); E. VOUTRIAS, «Euphemistic names for the prayers of the nether world», 73-82.

²¹ XIROPOTAMOU 98, φ. 134.

²² See D.F. MOKE, *Eroticism in the Greek magical papyri*. Here the author makes a close connection between names and persons as well as Jewish elements and numbers. See also E. PACHOUMI, *The Erotic and Separation Spells of the Magical Papyri and Defixiones*. F. GRAF, *Magic in the Ancient world*, 120-121 differentiates between: 1) *defixiones iudicariae* (judicial spells) in which one attempts to do harm to one's adversaries at a trial. Although these spells most often come from Athens and from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., there are examples in all eras and from all regions; 2) *defixiones amatoriae* (erotic spells and curse tablets), which have the aim of causing reciprocal and wild love in a beloved person; 3) *defixiones agonisticae* (agonistic spells) in the context of the amphitheater or other spectacles and which are especially well attested to in the imperial era; 4) *defixiones* against slanderers and thieves; 5) *defixiones* against economic competitors, attested to from the fourth century B.C. up to the imperial era (in magic papyri).

²³ Φ.Ι. ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ, *Η μαγεία εντός των τειχών*, 71.

²⁴ XIROPOTAMOU 98, φ. 133.

²⁵ XIROPOTAMOU 98, φ. 133b.

At numerous points the stubborn devil is called mute or deaf and in one place he is described as «deaf, insensate, holding the tongue, and grinding the teeth»²⁶ indicative of his blindness to divine Goodness and perhaps of the demon's reluctance to reveal his name. But these characteristics of the demons may in fact be the attributes of the possessed person. To know the demon's name means *ipso facto* to control it, because forcing the demon to name himself subjects him to the exorcist's mastery. The eschatological importance of the procedure perhaps explains the Byzantines' abiding interest in the names and especially the categories of demons²⁷. Sometimes, in texts that seemingly exceed the bounds of Orthodox tolerance, the demons are given many names, all of which the priest must recite. The exorcisms found in the athonite manuscript of Philotheou 186, include various demonic names, secret names, which were whispered into the ear of the victim, among which we find: Abiron, Abrian, Abriane and Konsegramine²⁸.

²⁶ L. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, φ.7v, 30 «Εἰ δέ εἰσικωφοὶ καὶ οὐ λαλοῦντες»; F. PRADEL, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete*, 11.

²⁷ D. JORDAN in *Magic and ritual in the ancient world*, 25 demonstrates the replication, albeit with permutations, of six basic categories of demons in a succession of extraordinary texts which includes a third-century B.C. papyrus exorcism, an excerpt from pseudo-psellos and an exorcism attributed (probably) wrongly to St. Ephrem the Syrian.

²⁸ L. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, φ. 68v, 70. The presence of exorcisms in early medieval liturgical manuscripts (early Medieval Europe) is normally taken to reflect the church's ongoing response to lively, vibrant traditions of possession-like behavior in early medieval Europe. The textual transmission and manuscript context of liturgical exorcisms paint a different picture, however. The vital, elaborate exorcisms of the earliest tradition (the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, especially as preserved in the Paris Supplement of the Vatican Sacramentary) quickly give way to procedural exorcisms in the 8th Century Gelasian Sacramentary and the subsequent Gregorian Sacramentaries. The exorcisms become demonstrably fragmented and adapted to cover a wider range of procedural uses (mostly pre-Baptismal exorcisms). Exorcisms shift in rubric, also: the *Medelam tuam deprecor* prayer appears as a solemn exorcism in the Leofric Missal, for instance, but is prescribed instead more generally for a sick person in the 11th century sacramentary Missal of Robert of Jumieges and in the Cambridge Corpus Christi College 163, 422 (ab hac vexatione becomes instead *ab hac valitudinis*; references to demons and the devil are omitted). In some cases these shifts imply a diversity of local ecclesiastical needs, a diversity which could lead to creative, dynamic responses on the part of early medieval liturgists to the received body of church prayers and practices. Often, however, the rubrics imply increasing use of exorcisms not for possessed persons, but for inclusion in more routine liturgical roles: preparation of the materials for mass, and preparation of the catechumen for Baptism. There is a generic gap, then, between the lively and widespread role of exorcism as it is portrayed in the dramatic saints' lives, and the much more mundane role implied for it in the liturgical tradition itself. I will show how this trend develops and what its applications are most specifically to Anglo-Saxon England, where demon possession may have been a much rarer phe-

At another point the specific names, «Vileth, Missanou, Arka and Avouzamba» are spoken aloud and then paired with the names of the four archangels - Michael, Gabriel, Samael and Raphael - who neutralize them²⁹. The names and attributes of the demons are important, especially insofar as they can be matched, opposed, and controlled by the more powerful Christian names. Holy names undoubtedly dominate the demons in the language of the ritual texts. The priests with whom I spoke at the various monasteries of the Athos and the participants themselves all expressed definite agreement on this point. Contradictions (for example continued signs of possession even after a first exorcism) may cause the priest to refer the victim to a doctor or else to perform another exorcism at a later date augmenting the prayers, vigil and fasting.

The exorcisms published by Louis Delatte are the most specific regarding names for the demons, but they also express the greatest elaboration of names of Divinity: «I exorcise you by the holy names of almighty God which are: Messiah, Saviour, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonai, only begotten, way, truth, life, consubstantial, beginning, first-born, wisdom, spring, root, Paraclete, mediator, lamb, sheep, alpha and omega, beginning and end, serpent, ram, lion, worm, word, sun, bread, flower, vine, mountain, door, earth, stone, far-corner, bridegroom, shepherd, prophet, priest, immortal, sturdy, all-seeing, merciful, eagle, tetragrammaton, Lord Jesus Christ, by these holy names I exorcise you»³⁰.

According to Marcel Detienne, the Belgian historian and specialist in the study of ancient Greece, the plurality of demons stands nameless and thus in direct contrast to the named, sanctified individuality of people³¹. In Orthodoxy the tendency of names is toward inclusion: all beings incline toward one name, the name of God. This trajectory is evident, for example, in the Trinity where, according to Orthodox theology, three persons πρόσωπα share only one essence οὐσία – and one name ὄνομα³². This ten-

nomenon than is commonly presumed.

²⁹ L. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, φ. 98v-102, 89-93.

³⁰ L. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, φ.40v «Ἐξορκίζω ύμᾶς διὰ τῶν ἀγίων ὄνομά των τοῦ παντοδθνάμου Θεοῦ οὗτον Μεσσίου, Σωτῆρος, Ἐμμανουὴλ, Σαβαὼθ, Ἄδωναί, μονογενοῦς, ὁδοῦ, ζωῆς, ἀληθείας, ὁμοουσίου, ἀρχῆς, πρωτοτόκου, σοφίας, πηγῆς, ρίζης, παρακλήτου, μεσίτου, ἀρνίου, προβάτου, ἄλφακατῶ, ἀρχῆςκατέλους, ὄφεως, κριοῦ, λέοντος, σκώληκος, λόγου, λαμπρότητος, φωτός, εἰκόνος, δόξης, ἡλίου, ἄρτου, ἄνθους, κλήματος, ὅρους, θύρας, γῆς, λίθουακρογωνιαίου, νυμφίου, ποιμένος, προφήτου, ιερέως, ἀθανάτου, ἴσχυροῦ, πάνταθέοντος, ἐλέους, ἀετοῦ, Τετραγραμμάτου, Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ τούτων τῶν ἀγίων ὄνομάτων ἐξορκίζω ύμᾶς».

³¹ M. DETIENNE, *Demoni*, 559-571.

³² Cf. Mt 28:19, where in Jesus words one single name is shared by the three persons: «Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit». Notice Jesus did not say names.

dency toward onomastic singularity (which parallels the spiritual quest of humanity to merge with God) also appears in the practice of naming a vast populace after a limited number of saints. Demons, on the other hand, tend toward entropy, chaos, and become indistinguishable. The conviction evident in many exorcistic texts is that to succeed in naming them at all is to exercise control over them. The liturgical exorcism preserved in the athonite manuscripts of *Lavra Θ 20* (Athos 882) and *Philotheou 186* (Athos 1850) which probably used to be recited by priests or monks in the past, explicitly addresses itself to a body of local belief concerning the exotikà³³, which the Church normally considers as substandard superstition. One may altogether deny that such prayers belong within the Christian corpus, indeed, many texts examined here are not included in any established prayer-book, but it would be difficult in any case to distinguish the precise identity of a possessing demon from one of the exotikà. The exotikà may often have been the attacking force that prompted exorcism. The Orthodox Church has admitted certain demons a place within its cosmology. That these «orthodox demons» would be confused in exorcisms with exotikà who were not officially recognized by the Church, perhaps posed less of a problem to the Church than one might think. After all, the purpose of exorcism is to get rid of a nagging evil as quickly and as expediently as possible. The expulsion of evil and liberation from it (the pragmatic value of exorcism) is more important than the specifics of where the evil is coming from. Nevertheless we see that exorcism, and Baptism as well, are points of mingling contact be-

³³ Μ. ΠΑΠΑΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – Μ. ΒΑΡΒΟΥΝΗΣ, *Εξορκισμοίτου Ιερομόναχου Βενέδικτου Τζανκαρόλου* 100, note 4. The term exotikà here will refer to the «demons» or «demonic beings». The term «Demon» (the root meaning of the θείας, Greek word «**daimon**» is «knowing» or «intelligence») refers to beings in the pagan myths. The term «devil» (which means «slanderer») on the other hand expresses very clearly a developed doctrinal orthodox conception of evil. It's for this reason that one only hears about demonic possession, but never of devilish possession. Men may cast out demons, and rebuke them in the name of God, but devils are stronger and older, more powerful than anything but beings of an equal, divine weight class. It's for these reasons that while demons might possess people, the devil always shows up in person. Thus the literal meaning of the word exotikà is «things outside or beyond». It offers us a way of navigating between the fine line of the sacred (doctrinal) and the magical (local level) within a morally structured cosmos as is the one found in many villages in Greece. In his Preface (xvi) to his book *The Demons and the devil*, Charles Stewart comments that «whatever view one may take of these being does not change the fact that exotica is an indigenous category in Greek culture and has been so since the Middle Ages at the very least». See also E. PACHOUMI, *The Erotic and Separation Spells*, 53 (2013) 294-325. This article, an inventory of extant erotic and separation spells, calls into question the view that the practitioners were always male and that the female victims were sexual innocents sought for marriage. See also P. MIRECKI – M. MEYER, *Ancient magic and ritual power*; A. APOSTOLIDES – Y. DREYER, «The Greek evil eye», 64 (2008) 1021-1042.

tween standard Orthodoxy and – from the Church’s point of view – sub-standard folk belief.

φ.133^v.

Ζήτησον ἵνα σοι εἴπῃ πόσους ἔχει μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐκ ποίας τάξεώς ἐστίν καὶ πῶς καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρχοντος^B αὐτοῦ, ἐνποίᾳ δυνάμει καὶ ἔξουσίᾳ ἐστί, ἐνποίῳ [τόπῳ]^Γ εἶναι φίλος κειμένος.

^B[ἀρχοντος]: The leader

One of the elements of the standard tradition that, to a large extent, derived from the angelic origin of the demons was the loose hierarchy in which they were believed to be organised. Basically this hierarchy followed that of the ranks of the fallen angels with the devil as their head. Biblical language played an important part both in the titles used for him and for this division of the demons. Thus in Psalm 82:7 for example, we find a reminder of the fall of one of the princes (εἰς τῶν ἀρχόντων, LXX). Ezekiel 28 is a prophecy concerning the fall of the king (ἀρχων, vv. 2, 12) of Tyre compared by Ezekiel with the fall of another mysterious Edenic creature from Hebrew tradition. This angelic being from ancient history fell to earth at the beginning of time, «You were in Eden...you were an anointed guardian cherub... I cast you to the ground» (v. 13-14, 17, cf. part 1 ch 1, 1.3). Whatever the case may be, the fall of this Edenic creature seems to be taken for granted as strikingly similar to the oral tradition concerning the ancient serpent of Eden, the Satan who «roves» the earth in Job, both of whom Revelation identifies with Satan³⁴.

In the synoptic narratives Jesus is accused of performing exorcisms by the power of the ἀρχων τῶν δαιμονίων «the ruler of demons» (Mt 12:24) whom Jesus equates with Satan and the power/kingdom of Satan that must not be divided against itself but is united under his lordship (Mt 12:26). In

³⁴ Cf. part 1, ch. 1, 1.3; Rv 12:9. The Masoretic text of Ezekiel 28:13-19 identifies this angelic being itself as the victim of the fall, v.14: «You were an anointed guardian cherub. I placed you, you were on the holy mountain of God», but the LXX opens the way for another interpretation, v.14 LXX: «With the guardian cherub I put you on the holy mountain of God» (μετὰ τοῦ χερουβ ἔθηκάσε ἐν ὅρει ἀγίῳ θεοῦ, emphasis mine) as if he were speaking of Adam accompanied by the angel. Also v. 16b reads in the Masoretic: «You sinned, so I cast you as a profane thing from the mountain of God, and I destroyed you, O guardian cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire» compare the LXX «You sinned. You were wounded from the mountain of God, and the guardian cherub led you out from the midst of the stones of fire» (καὶ ἤγαγέν σε τὸ χερουβ ἐκ μέσου λίθων πυρίνων). It seems therefore that the LXX slightly tweaks the translation to conform it to the story of Adam’s fall, to which the angel is merely witness. The fall of one of the cherubim, however, is what we find it in the original Hebrew text.

John's Gospel Jesus makes number of references to the devil as the ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτο «ruler of this world»³⁵. Most significant however, are perhaps the passages in Ephesians 2:2 and 6:12. Here the «prince of the authority of the air» ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος is openly spoken of as the spirit of evil, «the spirit that is now at work in the sons of disobedience» (2:2). The author says that this spirit of evil rules *ipso facto* over all human beings the «rest of mankind» who are all dead through the power of sin, including the author and his audience before they were freed by faith in Christ (2:3–8). In Ephesians 6:12 the spiritual enemies of man's salvation are perhaps described more vividly than anywhere else in the New Testament: «For we do not wrestle against flesh and blood, but against the rulers (ἀρχάς), against the authorities (ἐξουσίας), against the cosmic powers (κοσμοκράτορας) over this present darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places». This demonic hierarchy in Ephesians is a conglomeration of the power wielded by ὁ διάβολος «the devil» (v. 11) who is «the evil one» (v. 16) and whose satanic power is set against God and his saints (v. 18). In the later tradition many authors, when expressing their ideas of the demonic hierarchy, were simply content to repeat these formulaic titles individually or in various combinations³⁶. Gregory of Nazianzus for example, speaks of a mixture of principalities and powers, invisible tyrants and persecutors, world rulers of the darkness of this age and in the heavens³⁷. The most usual title for the devil was, then ἄρχοντα, but this was sometimes replaced by similar ones such as ταξίαρχος, εξαρής, αρχηγός, πρότος, or ἀρκος³⁸.

The title κοσμοκράτορας «world ruler» and others which implied that the devil ruled the world were the subject of particular attention. St John of Damascus thus explained the idea of the κοσμοκράτωρ by saying that the devil was the commander (πρωτοστάτης) of the rank of angelic powers surrounding the earth (τις περιγείου τάξεως), the guardianship of which God had committed to him³⁹. This idea was echoed by such writers

³⁵ The title for the devil as «the ruler of this age» is often used by St Ignatius of Antioch d.107 A.D. (replacing the Johannine «this world» with «this age», perhaps a Pauline influence), which is which is somewhat strong evidence that Ignatius was familiar with John's Gospel, cf. Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11. Cf. 1 Jn 5:19 the whole world is in the power of the Evil One; 2 Cor 4:4 ὁ θεὸς του αἰῶνος τούτου, «the god of this age». On the rule of Satan in the New Testament see H. KRUSE, *Das Reich Satans*, 29-61.

³⁶ See also Mt 12:24; Mk 3:22; Lk 11:15. On the names of demons in extra-canonical apocalyptic literature to A.D. 100, see G.A. BARTON, *The Origin of the Names*, 156-167.

³⁷ GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, Or 11 4c837.

³⁸ On the origin and development of the standard orthodox hierarchy see B. RUBIN, *Der Fürst der Dämonen*, 469-481.

³⁹ JDamOrth 2.4.

as Saint Basil and George Scholares (Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople from 1454 to 1464) who mentions not only that the air is the place of the devil's rule but also that he is called «world-ruler» since his rule is perigeial, «world-surrounding»⁴⁰. However Gregory Palamas states similarly that the devil does not really rule heaven, earth, and the creatures of God in between, but he rules only where humans abuse and misuse things in the world, and that it is from this that he derives his title⁴¹. He does not directly dictate sin and force people out of the Church, but slowly eats away of their love of God by deviously infiltrating their thoughts with the idea of self-sufficiency, the thinking that they can remain virtuous on their own without attending church and without obeying the teachers of the Church. So, in general, when the devil manages to get someone away from the worshipping life of the Church, he distances them from the grace of God in the Eucharist and delivers them to the slavery of lust.

George Scholares refers to a disagreement over whether the devil was the leader of the angels about the earth or of all the angels, but the tradition was generally united in seeing the demons who fell with him as comprising or being drawn from one rank, *τάγμα*⁴². By comparison with alternative traditions there was very little attempt made here to divide this group up, although some use was made of the notion of the seven wicked spirits or demons mentioned in the New Testament and of the *μεσημβρινόν δαιμόνιον* of Psalm 91:6 and occasionally the demons were individualised or categorised in terms of their actions⁴³. Other developments were brought about by the addition of obvious details such as describing the demons as the devil's servants or workers, or by use of the common military metaphor where titles may be given to the leader of leaders⁴⁴. Jewish apocalyptic traditions propose the first indications of a demonic hierarchy that will be

⁴⁰ BasAitKak 9 c352a-b:

⁴¹ PALAM Hom 33, 188.

⁴² R. GREENFIELD, *Tradition of belief*, 20. George (Gennadius) Scholares was a theologian and first patriarch of Constantinople during the Turkish occupation (1454-1456, 1463, 1464-1465). At first, he supported the union of the Churches and participated in the Synod of Florence (1439), but later he became a fervent opponent of the union. He mastered Latin language and respected Latin culture, especially Thomas Aquinas. He was a great supporter of Aristotle.

⁴³ Mt 12:45 and Lk 11:26 refer to the demon returning to a formerly possessed man with seven worse spirits while Mk 16:9 and Lk 8:2 refer to Mary Magdalene having had seven demons. Also the Church's monastic tradition sees as one of the most dangerous enemies of the spiritual life what the psalmist calls «the noonday devil» (Ps 91:6). The monks took this phrase as an apt description of the lethargy or fatigue they battled at about midday.

⁴⁴ Examples of the division of demons in general may be found in e.g. Origen, Phil 17.1, 91; 20.20, 145.

crystallized in the New Testament with Satan emerging so clearly as the head while all the other demons remain nameless, almost disappearing behind the shadow of the ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων. The only exception to this is found in Revelation, where we see the name of several significant demons alongside Satan such as Wormwood (8:11), and «the angel of the bottomless pit», Apollyon or Abaddon, also mentioned in Hebrew tradition⁴⁵ (Rv 9:11); his name means «destroyer» because he is «king over» the scorpion-like demons who afflict mankind in all the earth. Despite these would be rivals, Revelation also gives us the clearest indication of Satan's self-proclaimed lordship over the demonic world⁴⁶.

^Α[τόπω]: The place.

If the demon cannot be named precisely, at least his sphere of activity can be determined and circumscribed. The exorcist first and foremost attempts to identify the times and places of demonic assault as well as all sorts of illness provoked. These various details furnish an elaborate picture of the demons. In most respects this picture is consistent with the Orthodox conception of the devil.

According to the theology of the Orthodox Church, the dwelling place of the devil is Hell (Κόλασις, Αδης, Τάρταρος, Γέενα, Καταχθόνιον), although through his attendant demons or his own metamorphoses the devil could reach most anywhere. Local Greek traditions elaborate still further the association of *exotikà* with all parts of the physical world. The question of place of demons in the environment was therefore one more ground for conflating the identities of doctrinal and local conceptions. The following catalogue of places from the exorcism attributed to St. Basil is fairly comprehensive:

«Depart from wherever you may appear, Beelzebub, whether from the sea, a river, from beneath the earth, from a well, a ravine, a hollow, a lake, a thicket of reeds, from matter, land, refuse, whether from a grove, a tree, a thicket, from a fowl, or thunder, whether from the precincts of a bath,

⁴⁵ Cf. Jb 26:6; 28:22; Prv 15:11 Abaddon is mentioned along with Sheol.

⁴⁶ Cf. Wormwood 8:10-11 and Abaddon 9:1,11 are called individual «stars» that fall from heaven. But John sees Satan as the dragon who has «swept down a third of the stars of heaven and cast them to the earth», Rv 12:3-4, showing his superiority over other stars, i.e. angels, cf. Jb 38:7. Satan is the principle spirit of evil who leads «his angels» against the archangel Michael's angels who defeat the dragon and cast his impious horde out of heaven, 12:7-9. Rv 13:1-18 shows how the devil comes to dominate the earth through his beasts, he deceives the world to make war on the blessed city of God's people, and is finally thrown into the lake of fire to be tormented forever, 20:7-10.

a pool of water or from a pagan sepulchre or from any place where you may lurk; whether by knowledge or ignorance or any place not mentioned»⁴⁷.

Another list from the exorcisms or prayers of deliverance for general use by Saint John Chrysostom makes some additions: «either of the dry land or of the water, or one in a forest, or among the reeds, or in trenches, or in a road or a crossroad, in lakes, or streams, houses, or one sprinkling in the baths and chambers»⁴⁸.

We note that there is an emphasis on water and water sources which is very striking and which recalls the particular association of the *nereids* with such places⁴⁹. Anselm Strittmatter presents another passage from a different exorcism where the demons occupy the four classical divisions of the world: air, water, earth and underworld: «Those flying in heaven, those flying in air, those wandering in either, those upon the earth and those be-

⁴⁷ GOAR 579; ZER 17; ROM 359; PAP 108.

⁴⁸ GOAR 582; ZER 153; ROM 364; PAP 112; POR 134 with slight differences. It is interesting to note that St. Basil refers to the evil spirit by 63 different epithets and names which are descriptive of evil affliction, such as «deceiver», to name one. Basil even mentions exorcism prayers for insects which inflict damage upon vineyards, fields, etc. Characteristic of exorcism prayers of St. Chrysostom is the mention of the works, passion and Resurrection of Christ, one by one, throughout the prayers, with the specific phrase, «Jesus Christ rebukes you, O Demon...», repeated extensively throughout his prayers. Some of these exorcism prayers are lengthy, while others are short. There is also a prayer for the banishment of the «evil eye».

⁴⁹ In modern Greek folklore, the term «nereid» (νεράϊδα, neráïda) has come to be used of all nymphs, or fairies, or mermaids, not merely nymphs of the sea. Nereids are particularly associated with the Aegean Sea, where they dwelt with their father in the depths within a silvery cave. The Nereids were fifty Haliad Nymphs or goddesses of the sea. They were the patrons of sailors and fishermen, who came to the aid of men in distress, and goddesses who had in their care the sea's rich bounty. Individually they also represented various facets of the sea, from salty brine, to foam, sand, rocky shores, waves and currents, in addition to the various skills possessed by seamen. The Nereid Thetis was their unofficial leader, and Amphitrite was the queen of the sea. Together with the Tritones they formed the retinue of Poseidon.

neath the abyss»⁵⁰. By late antiquity, there was a division between the upper air, *aither* [αἰθήρ], inhabited by gods and lower air, air, realm of demons. This division of space crosses the division of the world into four elements – earth, water, air and fire – all of which could contain demons. The belief that spirits dwell in houses, or sometimes in the foundations of these houses before they are built, is also directly confirmed in passages quoted by the same Strittmatter such as the following: «Those in the foundations of a house, or in their entrance or exit or in storage room, or in the middle courtyard, or in a room, or in lairs, or in the ground, or in foundation, or in a room, or in dung, or in a bath house, or in a work place or in deserted places or in graves»⁵¹.

φ.133^r

ἐν τίνι ὑποτάσσεται, ^c[πότε] ἐξέρχεται, τί σημεῖον ποιεῖ ὄπόταν
ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

Γ[πότε]: When.

One of the principles of exorcistic completeness requires that all possible times of demonic assault should be mentioned. Thus the exorcism of Saint John Chrysostom adjures that : «Every...night time spirit as well as daytime, midday and evening, imaginary spirit and molesting spirit...forthwith depart from the creature of the Creator Christ»⁵². Another exorcism published by Anselm Strittmatter specifies the time by reference to specific activities: «Do not have contact with them whether through eating or through drinking, neither seated nor while standing up, nor in entering or departing; neither while putting clothes on or in taking them off»⁵³.

⁵⁰ A. STRITTMATTER, «Ein griechisches Exorzismusbuchlein», 26 (1932) 129. Strittmatter re-discovered the unedited Ms. Car, C 143 manuscript which was listed in the catalogue published by Henri Omont under the title of «11th century prayers for those who suffer from impure spirits –who are under the influence of evil» and which has the following contents: 12 foglios 17 x 124 mm, made of hard paper. f. 1,1-2r,3 (GOAR,716);f. 2r, 4-2r, 21(GOAR,733);f. 2r, 22-2v, 11 This seems to be unedited. No manuscript reports this:f. 2v, 12 -2v, 26 (GOAR,733);f. 5r, 1-5r, 13 (GOAR, 737);f. 5r, 14 -5v, 9= this is unedited and no manuscript reports this; f. 5v, 10-20r, 26 (GOAR,734);f. 10v, 1-3v, 22; (GOAR, 729);f. 3v, 23-11r, 29 in Cryptensis Γ. β. VI (s. XIII-XIV);f. 11v, 1 - 12v, 19 in Cryptensis B. a. XXIII – T. SCHERMANN, *OC* 4 (1904) 151-163. See appendix for the text.

⁵¹ A. STRITTMATTER, «Ein griechisches Exorzismusbuchlein», 26 (1932) 141.

⁵² GOAR 582; ZER 153; ROM 364; PAP 112; POR 134

⁵³ A. STRITTMATTER, «Ein griechisches Exorzismusbuchlein», 26 (1932) 135.

Many exorcisms share in the general Greek conception that demons attack particularly at midday and midnight⁵⁴. The origin of this belief is most likely from the Greek version of Psalm 91 that speaks of God's protection against night attacks «from the thing travelling in darkness» and also from the «demon of midday» (δαιμονίου μεσημβριοῦ, Ps 91:6, 90:6 LXX). In many texts only these two times, midnight and midday, are mentioned. The distinction between demons that are physically encountered (συναντικόν) and those that are imagined (φανταστικόν) may well be bound up with specific times of attack. As was pointed earlier, demons appearing at midday or midnight are often apparitions (φαντάσματα), but they are not rigorously distinguished from demons encountered while one is awake. In the final Baptismal exorcism the angel of the light (guardian angel) is enjoined to protect the catechumen from «every snare of adversary, from encounter with evil, from the demon of midday and from evil apparitions»⁵⁵. The exorcism of Basil refers to demons that appear «in daydreams and in heavy sleep»⁵⁶. This last phrase probably refers to nightmares, evoking a direct link with conceptions regarding a certain exotikà, the **vrakhnas** which were believed to be demons that jump on people's chest while they are sleeping or a small child who sits on sleepers' chests and causes nightmares.

This function clearly conveys the idea of heavy sleep. The exorcism texts also mention demons that appear either with the new or old moon⁵⁷, and even specify spirits that vary according to the phase of the moon⁵⁸. Richard Green goes further than this and mentions a list of demons for every week, day and month and for each hour⁵⁹. These exorcisms declare that any phase of the moon may be dangerous. That the appearance of demons was associated particularly with the full moon may correlate with the occurrence of epilepsy at or around this time. An orthodox priest from the Athos had the following to say about the spiritual properties of epilepsy:

«Speaking as a priest I can say that the church does not accept the idea of any good power in the epileptic. In ancient times, when God had not revealed himself, the people were pursuing belief and would believe in anything. One thing they believed was that the light-shadowed are related to the epileptic. One can see that when the epileptic is in trance he

⁵⁴ Μ. ΠΑΠΑΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – Μ. ΒΑΡΒΟΥΝΗΣ., *Εξορκισμοί του ιερομόναχου Βενέδικτου*, 106, note 19,20, 41.

⁵⁵ Baptismal rite.

⁵⁶ GOAR 579; ZER 17; ROM 359; PAP 108;

⁵⁷ Μ. ΠΑΠΑΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – Μ. ΒΑΡΒΟΥΝΗΣ., *Εξορκισμοί του ιερομόναχου Βενέδικτου*, 119-120, note 51.

⁵⁸ See L. DELATTE, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme*, 32ff.

⁵⁹ See Appendix.

is very powerful because he is possessed by a genius which supports him in exercising power. When he is not in a trance there is no genius possessing him; at such times he is without any special powers»⁶⁰.

φ.133^r

Γίνωσκε, ὁ πόταν ἐρωτᾶς, λέγε ἐν ὄνόματι τοῦ Πατρός κ(αὶ) τοῦ Υἱοῦ κ(αὶ) τοῦ Ἅγιου Πνεύματος, εἰδὲκ(αὶ) δένσοι ἀποκρίνεται, λάβετὸ ἄπυρον⁶¹ ἀπτό μενον ἐν πυρὶ καὶ καῦσον [τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ, κ(αὶ) ὄψει]^Δ

If it does [not] respond, take a piece of coal that is alight with fire and burn his tongue and face

This practice of burning with a hot coal may have roots in longstanding folkloric practices to ward off the evil eye; ὄψει in Greek literally refers to the eyes or the countenance. The nature and breath of Orthodox tradition makes it difficult to establish precisely where Orthodoxy ends and alternative tradition begins even though the Church tradition concerning the devil does observe certain doctrinal essentials. This is due to a number of factors including the historical interrelation among Hellenistic Greek, Hebrew and Christian cosmologies. Greek paganism, which largely set the tone of religious culture in Greece at the time of Christ, drew almost no distinction between *daimones* and *theoi* (Demons and Gods)⁶². They existed together as a class of fair spirits situated in the lower atmosphere between man and an absolute god who, in Stoic and Neo-Platonist thought, was increasingly considered as unitary and more akin to a philosophical principle than a personal deity to whom cult should be addressed. Thus in examining many original sources the reader finds himself on the boundary between the holy and the secular or between the Church practice and sorcery. This is the case with spells and amulets which greatly resemble the Orthodox rituals, a unity that reflects their mutual influence and ultimately suggests a common cultural basis.

In the above passage, we come across the phrase «take a piece of coal and alight it with fire and burn his tongue and face» where ὄψει, here translated «face» can mean eyes, literally «vision, sight, countenance». One

⁶⁰ Personal communication. Interview with an orthodox priest in April 2013, Mount Athos.

⁶¹ This refers to the piece of coal used in an incense burner.

⁶² Thus when speaking to his pagan audience in Corinth in 1 Cor 8:5-6, Paul distinguishes the many so-called *theoi* and *kurioi* of heaven and earth, from the one God from (ἐξ) whom the universe came into existence through (διὰ) the one Lord Jesus Christ.

may ask: why in a text of exorcisms do we find the coal mentioned and in a way as to burn the tongue and the face/vision of the sufferer? The origin of purification with a hot coal could be biblical, we see for example in Isaiah's famous throne-room vision of YHWH that in order to speak in God's presence Isaiah's tongue must be purified by contact with a hot coal in the hand of a seraphim (Is 6:6-7). The burning with a hot coal is also strikingly reminiscent of the ritual purification from the evil eye, found commonly among the fringes but still within Greek Orthodox tradition⁶³. The evil eye predates Jesus and is considered a superstition by many in the West. It is the idea that a person who envies other people can cause harm to them simply by looking at them with envy, scorn, or hatred. «Everyone who hates his brother is a murderer» says St John (1 Jn 3:15) echoing Jesus teaching (Mt 5:21-22) – so we know that, regardless of its effects, the evil eye is a grave offense. St. Basil the Great wrote a homily on envy, explaining how envy is of the devil, and that it is harmful to those who are consumed by it, as well as to those they envy: «As rust wears away iron, so envy corrodes the soul it inhabits. More than this, it consumes the soul that

⁶³ There exists a great collection of ancient magic-related materials, a compilation from classical and even a few early Christian sources with introductions, for example G. LUCK's, *Arcana Mundi*. This book, among others, is eye-opening. The ancients were right about a whole lot more than we «sensible» moderns often think, and strange things happened then, just as they happen now, but weren't ignored. Among other interesting aspects we find these following Corsican and Calabrese folklore dialect formula for evil eye:

«Due occhi ti docchiaru/Tri ti sanaru/ Lu Patriu, lu Figghiu, lu Spiritu Santu/Lu mali mi va a mari/Lu boni mi venicca`/Per la Santissima Trinita`/Lu Signuri, dillu celu calau/‘na parma d’oliva all artaru posau/Cu li so mani benediciu/Docchiatura e cornatura/Fori ogni mali la tu persona» which is translated as «Two eyes have struck you/Three will cure you/The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit/The evil go to the sea/The beneficial come here/In the name of the Holy Trinity/Our Lord who has descended from heaven/Has placed an olive palm on the altar/Blessed with His hands/(?)Befallen by eyes and by horn».

Another one says:

«A nome della Santissima Trinita`/Di Santu Lune... di Santo Sabato e/Mattina di Pasqua, ogni mali/Interra mi casca» which is translated as «In the name of the Holy Trinity/Holy Moon, Holy Mars, Holy Mercury, Holy Jupiter, Holy Venus, Holy Sabbath, and Easter Morning, all evils the world go/Away from me». (The names may also be translated as the days of the week.)

We find also the Calabrese «fushinate», a prayer recited while rubbing the forehead of someone with a headache. The words of the prayer can only be revealed on Christmas day, and the one who passes them on loses his or her healing power. Calabrian spirits are also called «munaceddi» (little monks) – moderately harmful evil forces who engage in simple mischief such as petty thefts and deceptions. See also the book by D. CARRINGTON, *The Dream-Hunters of Corsica*.

gives it birth, like the vipers which are said to be born by eating their way through the womb that conceived them»⁶⁴. St Basil goes on to explain how envious people secretly enjoy seeing those that they envy fall into misfortune, «In a word, he is an enemy of present good fortune but a friend when it is no longer possessed»⁶⁵. The Greeks who themselves have become Westernized in many other aspects of life still hold firm to the belief in the evil eye. The evil eye is believed to be able to penetrate the window to the soul, physically exposing a person's inner being. It is believed that through this window evil spirits/demons enter the body, empowering the jealous or envious person to cause harm upon others⁶⁶.

In Greece a distinction is made between μάτιασμα and βασκανία. *Matiazma* comes from the word *mati* (μάτι), which means eye; it is an inadvertent gesture of scorn that is unknowingly caused by most people at one time or another. *Vascania* (βασκανία) on the other hand which literally means to «kill with the eye», is considered extremely harmful and can, in extreme cases, even cause death. It is believed that a person who puts a vaskania on another person does so knowingly⁶⁷. Many methods and devices are used to ward off the evil eye. Precautions include, avoiding the direct stare of another person, the concealing of women and children, food, and prized possessions. Personal protection includes the wearing of protective amulets such as jewellery of blue «eyes», phalluses and gestures; blue or red cloth, sacks filled with rue and garlic, coal and others.

The Greek Orthodox Church recognizes the evil eye in so far as the Church acknowledges that demonic forces may be at work to heighten the ability of some people to cause other people malicious harm. It believes that there are people who through jealousy and/or envy can bring harm upon other people just by looking at them. Thus when members of the Church feel that the evil eye has been put on them the priest reads the prayers that have been included in the Eucologion for exorcising the evil eye⁶⁸. This practice is known as **ξεμάτιασμα**⁶⁹. For the **ξεμάτιασμα** in the ab-

⁶⁴ BASIL THE GREAT, *Homily on envy*, PG XXXI, 380bc.

⁶⁵ BASIL THE GREAT, *Homily on envy*, PG XXXI, 380bc.

⁶⁶ W.L. MOSS – S.C. CAPPANNARI, *Mal'occhio*, 2. See also M.H. HARDIE, *The evil eye in some greek villages*.

⁶⁷ R. DIONISOPOULOS – MASS, *The evil eye and bewitchment in a peasant village*, 51.

⁶⁸ G.C. PAPADEMETRIOU, *Exorcism and the Greek Orthodox Church*.

⁶⁹ This is a term used for the ritual healing of the evil eye affliction. It entails holy spells accompanied by symbolic acts. It is a common form of expression to denote both the attack and the ritual healing of the evil eye. It is a system of relations where the two processes form a unity, given that the first necessarily entails the second and the latter in turn ritually completes the first.

sence of a priest, the following prayers are recommended along the standard one⁷⁰. The prayers to be recited are:

⁷⁰ «Ευχή επί βασκανίαν. Του Κυρίου δεηθώμεν. Κύριε ο Θεός ημών, ο Βασιλεύς των αιώνων, ο παντοκράτωρ και παντοδύναμος, ο ποιών πάντα και μετασκευάζων μόνω τω βούλεσθαι, ο την επταπλάσιον κάμινον και τη φλόγα την εν Βαβυλώνι εις δρόσον μεταβαλών και τους αγίους σου τρεις Παίδας σώους διαφυλάξας, ο ιατρός και θεραπευτής των ψυχών ημών, η ασφάλεια των εις σε ελπιζόντων, σου δεόμεθα και σε παρακαλούμεν, απόστησον, φυγάδευσον και απέλασον πάσαν διαβολική ενέργειαν, πάσαν σατανικήν έφοδον και πάσαν επιβουλήν, περιέργειάν τε πονηρά και βλάβη των οφθαλμών βασκανίαν των κακοποιών και πονηρών ανθρώπων υπό του δούλου σου [...], και ή υπό ωραιότητος ή ανδρείας ή ευτυχίας ή ζήλου και φθόνου ή βασκανίας συνέβη, αυτός, φιλάνθρωπε Δέσποτα, έκτεινον την κραταιάν σου χείρα και τον βραχιονά σου τον ισχυρόν και ύψιστον, και επισκοπών επισκόπησον το πλάσμα σου τούτο, και κατάπεμψον αυτώ Αγγελον ειρηνικόν, κραταιόν, ψυχής και σώματος φύλακα, ος επιτιμήσει και απελάσει απ' αυτού πάσαν πονηράν βουλήν, πάσαν φαρμακείαν και βασκανίαν των φθοροποιών και πονηρών ανθρώπων, ίνα υπό σου ο σος ικέτης φρουρούμενος, μετ' ευχαριστίας ψάλλῃ σοι «Κύριος εμοί βοηθός, και ου φοβηθήσομαι τι ποιήσει μοι ἀνθρωπος» και πάλιν «ου φοβηθήσομαι κακά, ότι σοι μετ' εμού ει, ότι συ ει ο Θεός, κραταιώμα μου, ισχυρός εξουσιαστής, ἀρχων ειρήνης, πατήρ του μέλλοντος αιώνος». Ναι, Κύριε ο Θεός ημών, φείσαι του πλάσματός σου, και σώσον τον δούλο σου από πάσης βλάβης και επήρειας της εκ βασκανίας γινομένης, και ανώτερον αυτόν παντός κακού διαφύλαξον, πρεσβείαις της υπερευλογημένης, ενδόξου Δεσποινής ημών Θεοτόκου και αειπαρθένου Μαρίας, των φωτοειδών Αρχαγγέλων, και παντών σου των Αγίων. Αμήν». PAP: 517. [O Lord Our God, the King of the ages, almighty and all powerful, who create and alter all things by your will alone; who changed into dew the flames of the furnace in Babylon that had been heated seven times more than usual, and preserved in safety your three holy youths; the physician and healer of our souls; the security of those who hope in you; we pray you and beseech you: Remove, drive away and banish every diabolical activity, every satanic attack and every plot, evil curiosities and injury, and the evil eye of mischievous and wicked men from your servant (Name); and whether it was brought about by beauty, or bravery, or happiness, or jealousy and envy, or evil eye, do you yourself, O Lord who love mankind, stretch out your mighty hand and your powerful and lofty arm, look down on this your creature and watch over him(her), and send him(her) an angel of peace, a mighty guardian of soul and body, who will rebuke and banish from him (her) every wicked intention, every spell and evil eye of destructive and envious men; so that, guarded by your, your suppliant may sing to you with thanksgiving: The Lord is my helper, and I shall not be afraid; what can man do to me? And again: I shall fear no evil because you are with me.

For you are God my strength, the powerful ruler, the Prince of Peace, the Father of the age to come. Yes, Lord, our God, spare your creature and save your servant (Name) from every injury and brought about by the evil eye, and keep him (her) safe above every ill. For you are our King and all things are possible to Thee, O Lord. Therefore, we ascribe glory to the Father, and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.]

Ευχή 1: «Ιησούς Χριστός νικά, κιανείν αιμάτι το σκορπά, η κυρά η Παναγιά». Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΑ ΕΙ ΚΑΙΝΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΔΙΩΧΝΕΙ ΜΑΚΡΙΑ ΤΟ ΚΑΚΟΜΑΤΙ (ΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΚΑΝΙΑ).

Ευχή 2: «Ιησούς Χριστός νικά κιόλατα κακά σκορπά» Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΑ ΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΣΚΟΡΠΙΖΕΙ ΜΑΚΡΙΑ ΟΛΑ ΤΑ ΚΑΚΑ!

Ευχή 3: «Άγιοι Ανάργυροι και θαυματουργοί, δωρεάν ελάβατε δωρεάν δότε ημίν». ΑΓΙΟΙ ΑΝΑΡΓΥΡΟΙ, ΕΣΕΙΣ ΠΟΥ ΚΑΝΕΤΕ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΑ, ΠΗΡΑΤΕ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΘΕΟ ΔΩΡΟ (ΤΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΗ ΝΑ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕΤΕ), ΔΩΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΜΑΣ ΔΩΡΟ (ΤΗΝ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΙΑ).

Ευχή 4: «Αγία Ειρήνη, ρήνεψέ το Παναγιά μου Περασιά, πέρασε το». ΑΓΙΑ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ, ΕΙΡΗΝΕΥΣΕ ΤΟ (ΗΣΥΧΑΣΕ ΤΟ, ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΣΕ ΤΟ) ΚΑΙ ΣΥ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΑΣΙΑ (αυτό είναι μάλον κάποιο όνομα για την Παναγία, όπως λέμε Παναγία η Οδηγήτρια) ΚΑΝΕ ΤΟ ΝΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΕΙ, ΝΑ ΦΥΓΕΙ ΜΑΚΡΙΑ.

A typical example of ritual purification from the evil eye proceeds as follows: The above prayers are said while the sufferer takes a dish of water and makes across over it. He/she then drops a live coal into the water and as it falls to the bottom, as the coal is extinguished, it is believed that the «evil eye» is extinguished with it. He then signs the cross three times over the water and takes a little dust from the coal, sprinkles salt on it, and rubs the sufferer's head with the mixed coal and salt. He then concludes by throwing three pinches of salt into the fire to banish the evil eye. Other variances of the ritual are the throwing of five coals in succession while repeating for each a narrative charm, the usage of three nails, three live coals and three splinters with holy water to be drunk, the dipping of the finger in the oil and with it make the sign of the cross on the victim's forehead and so forth⁷¹. These Greek rituals vary from person to person and from town to town depending on which village the family originated from.

The Greek Orthodox Church forbids its members to consult and make use of individuals who use magic rituals to get rid of the evil eye⁷². It does not recognize the wearing of amulets as a form of protection against the evil eye. But many members of the Greek Orthodox Church can be seen wearing these amulets (usually blue stones or small «eyes») in conjunction with their crosses believing that prevention is better than cure.

⁷¹ M. HARDIE, *The Evil eye in some Greek villages*, 107-123.

⁷² G.C. PAPADEMETRIOU, *Exorcism and the Greek Orthodox Church*, 49-51.

^Δ[τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὄψει]: **Tongue and face.**

The texts speaking about liturgical exorcisms exhaustively catalogue those parts of the body in which demons may manifest themselves. However this idea appears already in many non-liturgical exorcisms or magical texts where we find the so-called litany of the parts of the body. One of the most well-known texts is *The Secret Book of John* (The Apocryphon of John)⁷³.

In the section about the Creation of man [Construction of the Human Body] the author narrates thus:

«The seven Powers began to work:
Goodness made a psyche of bone
Providence made a psyche of sinew
Divinity made a psyche of flesh
Lordship made a psyche of marrow
kingdom made a psyche of blood
Zeal made a psyche of skin
Understanding made a psyche of hair»

The text continues, giving demons credit for building the human body: «The host of demons took these substances from the Powers to create the limbs and the body itself. They put the parts together and coordinated them. The first ones began by making the head: Abron created his head; Meniggesstroeth created the brain; Asterechme the right eye; Thaspomocha, the left eye; Ieronumos, the right ear», etc. going through all body parts⁷⁴.

⁷³ *The Secret Book of John* (The Apocryphon of John) which is considered by scholars to be the *locus classicus* for the Gnostic mythological system.

⁷⁴ The text continues: «Bissoum, the left ear; Akioreim, the nose; Banenrphroum, the lips; Amen, the front teeth; Ibikan, the molars; Basiliademe, the tonsils; Achcha, the uvula; Adaban, the neck; Chaaman, the neckbones; Dearcho, the throat; Tebar, the shoulder; Mniarcon, the elbow; Abitriion, the right arm; Evanthen, the left arm; Krys, the right hand; Beluai, the left hand; Treneu, the fingers of the right hand; Balbel, the fingers of the left hand; Kriman, fingernails; Astrops, the right breast; Barroph, the left breast; Baoum, the right shoulder joint; Ararim, the left shoulder joint; Areche, the belly; Phthave, the navel; Senaphim, the abdomen; Arachethopi, the right ribs; Zabedo, the left ribs; Barias, the right hip; Phnouth the left hip; Abenlenarchei, the marrow; Chnoumeninorin, the skeleton; Gesole, the stomach; Agromauna, the heart; Bano, the lungs; Sostrapal, the liver; Anesimalar, the spleen; Thopithro, the intestines; Biblo, the kidneys; Roeror, the sinews; Taphreo, the spine; Ipouspoboba, the veins; Bineborin, the arteries; Atoimenpsehei, respiration; Entholleia, the flesh; Bedouk, the right buttock; Arabeei,

Interestingly enough, many of the liturgical exorcisms consulted in this research similarly catalogue those parts of the body giving an exhaustive list of the places where demons may infest themselves. As in other cases, the intention of the author was toward completeness because if any member of the body was overlooked it could remain afflicted. But such a worry seems to reveal lack of trust in God who has promised to protect his faithful who are sealed in his name. This is why baptism as an «immersion» is so important and effective, as it is a spiritual cleansing and protection of every part of the body that is thereby immersed into the pure and holy body of Christ. Specifying the parts of the body, was also a means of identifying and thus controlling the demons. By naming the anatomical parts of the body, the author had in mind the integral protection of the whole body against any infiltrations of the evil spirits. Many texts which speak of exorcisms, contain anatomical litanies⁷⁵. The Xiropotamou manuscript 98 gives mention of only two of these anatomical parts, namely the tongue and the face. However, other texts and manuscripts mentioned in this work and reproduced by Strittmatter and Delatte give other examples⁷⁶. Strittmatter for example reproduces the following text taken from the Car.C 143 b manuscript that he discovered in the library of Zurich. The text reads:

«May the demon be expelled:

From the crown, from the forehead, from the ears, from the eyelashes, eyebrows, eyes, nostrils, lips, teeth, tongue, taste, spine, arteries, pharynx, neck, joints, shoulders, chest, arms, muscles, armpits, elbows, hands, finger, nails, lungs, mammary glands, heart, stomach, liver, lung, spleen, kidneys, gall bladder, sides, tendons, belly, navel, hip, joints, buttocks, thighs, knees, ankles, shins, calves, ankles (Αστράγαλος), balls of feet, toes, feet, from the hair of the head to the hair of the feet, from the right to left, from the backside, from the

the penis; Eilo, the testicles; Sorma, the genitals; Gormakaiochlabar, the right thigh; Nebrith, the left thigh; Pserem, the kidneys of the right leg; Asaklas, the left kidney; Ormaoth, the right leg; Emenun, the left leg; Knyx, the right shin; Tupelon, the left shin; Achiel, the right knee; Phnene, the left knee; Phiouthrom, the right foot; Boabel, its toes; Trachoun, the left foot; Phikna, its toes; Miamai, the toenails». M. WALDSTEIN – F. WISSE, *The Apocryphon of John*. Section 14,15-20, 5.

⁷⁵ The mentioning of the anatomical parts of the body shows us the kind of progress in medicine society had obtained at that time. See M. ΠΑΠΑΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – M. ΒΑΡΒΟΥΝΗΣ, *Εξορκισμοί των Ιερομόναχον Βενέδικτου Τζανκαρόλου*, 108, note 28.

⁷⁶ I. ΠΑΠΑΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – M. ΒΑΡΒΟΥΝΗΣ, *Εξορκισμοί των Ιερομόναχον Βενέδικτου Τζανκαρόλου*, 51, f. 28^v - 29.

inside and from the outside, from bones, veins, marrow, joints and from the whole body»⁷⁷.

The Athonite manuscript of Filoteou, asks the demons not to have the power to reside in:

«...the four humours, blood, bile, phlegm, and black bile, nor in the flesh and bones, nor in marrow or nerves, veins and arteries, feet, kidneys, intestines, sides, back, shoulders, arms, nails, heart, spleen, liver belly, stomach, viscera, windpipe, anus, leg, anklebone, ankle, hip socket, buttocks, coccyx, back, genitals, pubes, navel, breastbone, thorax, elbow, palm, nape, pharynx, joints, shoulder blades, spine, neck, extremity, ear lobes, temple, cerebral membranes, marrow, brow, wrinkles of the womb, furrows of the brow, face, tongue, lips, cheeks, teeth, eyes, pupils, chin, ears, mouth, nostril, nasal passage, eye brows, brain, crown, forehead, top of the head, neck/thalamus, temple, sinciput, occiput, scalp line, cranium, face, callouses, forehead, cartilage, digestive tract/sphere, uvula, membrane, diaphragm, beard, jaw bones, hearing, jaw, muscles, head, hair, outside or inside in garments or other such places»⁷⁸.

It is interesting to note that such lists demonstrate a considerable knowledge of anatomical terminology and must have been influenced by medical science. The Church, in any case, does not pretend to be able to treat all illnesses by exorcism. It concedes today, as it has done since the Middle Ages, that certain complaints are best treated by physical, rather than spiritual techniques. The Roman Ritual (*De exorcismis et supplicationibus quibusdam*) for exorcism prescribes that the priest verify in mod-

⁷⁷ A. STRITTMATTER, «Ein griechisches Exorzismusbuchlein Ms. Car.C 143 b der Zentralbibliothek in Zurich», 134. The whole text is reproduced in the Appendix.

⁷⁸ The Athonite manuscript of Filoteou φφ.44 -44^v ἐν τοῖς τέσσαρι στοιχείος, αἵματι, χολῇ, φλέγματι καὶ μελαίνῃ χολῇ οὗτε ἐω ταῖς σαρξὶ καὶ ὀστέοις οὗτε ἐν τοῖς μυελοῖς καὶ νεύροις, φλέβαιςκαιάρτηριαις, ποσί, νεφροῖς, ὑπογαστρίοις, πλευροῖς, νώτοις, ὕμοις, βραχίοσιν, ὄνυχίοις, καρδίᾳ, σπλήνᾳ, ἡπατί, κοιλίᾳ, στομάχῳ, σπλάγχνοις, βρόγχῳ, πρωκτῷ, σκέλει, ἀστραγάλοις, σφυροῖς, κοτῦλοις, γλοθτοῖς, ιεροῖς, ὀστέοις, ράχῃ, αἰδοίοις, ἥβῃ, ὄμφαλῷ, στέρνοις, θώρακι, ἀγκῶνι, πήχει, αὐχένι, φάρυγγι, ειλαμίσι, κλειδίοις, ὡμοπλάταις, σπονδύλῳ, τραχήλῳ, τέρθρῳ, παρωτίσι, μήνιγγι, ειλαμίσι, μυελοῖς, προμετωπίδῳ, στολίσι, ἀμαρυγαῖς, προσώπῳ, γλώττῃ, χείλεσι, παρειαῖς, ὀδούσιν, ὄφταλμοῖς, κόραις, πώγωνι, ὠσί, στόματι, ρινί, μωκτήρι, ὄφρύσι, ἐγκεφάλῳ, κορθφῆ, στεφάνῃ, μετώπῳ, βρέγματι, κροτάφοις, ἵνιοις, περιδρόμῳ, κρανίῳ, ὅψει, τύλοις, μετωπίῳ, χόνδρῳ, ἴσθμῳ, θαλάμοις, ὄχετεύμασι, σφαιρίῳ, κίονι, στυλίδι, διαφράγματι, ὑπήνη, γνάθοις, ἀκοῇ, σιαγόνι, μύαις, κεφαλῇ, τρίχαις, ἔξωθεν ἥξεσθενένιματίοις ἥλλοιςτόποιοιςδήτισιν. See also GOAR (1647) 729 and L. DELATTE, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme*, 55-56.

ern exorcisms more than ever before, that the person thought to be possessed is not actually suffering from some natural or psychological illness⁷⁹.

Reduced anatomical lists give a more specific sense of the areas of the body thought to be most vulnerable. Chrysostom lists only the mind, the soul, the heart, the kidneys and the senses (and, for good measure, «all members»)⁸⁰. In the Orthodox Church, most attention was paid to sense organs, which were usually associated with the Spirit. The openings of the body were also an area of special interest, for these were the points through which demons could enter. During the course of an exorcism it was expected that the demon would depart through one of these natural exits⁸¹. One text likens the departure of the demon to natural human waste. «Get rid of them through the intestines of the person and send them downward through the natural action of the anus, that is without any psychic or somatic damage. Amen»⁸².

In another passage by Mylonas and Koukas the demon is told the exorcist to descend into the toe (big toe) of the left foot and not to have the power to go into any other part of the body without his permission⁸³. So that the exorcists would know when the demon(s) were departing, they commanded them to give a sign (*σημεῖον*) in a form of a scream, or perhaps a flash of light⁸⁴. «Often they come out through the mouth, fiery like a flame like congealed cold wind (*ἀνεμος πεπηγμένος*) and swelling the wind pipe while emerging. Often they come out of the ears, leaving from the stomach and the heart»⁸⁵.

⁷⁹ The full title page reads: RITUALE ROMANUM EX DECRETO SACROSANCTI OECUMENICI CONCILII VATICANI II INSTAURATUM AUCTORITATE IOANNIS PAULI II PROMULGATUM, *De exorcismis et supplicationibus quibusdam*. This was approved on the 21 settembre 2001 and a new revised edition was published in 2004. The new ritual gives the priest a choice of two forms of exorcism, which it calls «deprecatory» and «imperative». Deprecatory means a prayer to God, in this case to ask Him to deliver the demoniac. «Imperative» means a command issued to the demon in the name of God to depart. The imperative formula is a real exorcism, but the deprecatory form is not a true exorcism per se. A prayer is a request to God; an exorcism is a command to a demon. The so-called «deprecatory exorcism» is simply a petition, not an exorcism.

⁸⁰ From his/her mind, from his/her soul, from his/her heart, from his/her reins, from his/her senses, from all his/her members = POR:134 cf.Gb 4:114v (cf. GOAR:582; ZER:153; ROM:364; PAP:112)

⁸¹ At Mount Athos for example, when monks yawn, they quickly make the sign of the cross on their mouth as open gaps are considered dangerous. In fact the act of yawning is often found in conjunction with evil-eye or other spells. It is excoriated in the canon law as a practice of sorceresses.

⁸² Π. ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ – Γ. ΚΟΥΚΑΣ, *Εξορκιστής*, 15-16.

⁸³ Π. ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ – Γ. ΚΟΥΚΑΣ, *Εξορκιστής*, 2.

⁸⁴ «...καὶ τί σημεῖον ποιεῖς ὅταν ἐξέλθῃς», XIROPOTAMOU 98, φ.137^r.

⁸⁵ Lavra Θ 20, φ.7^v.

These standard exorcisms are very similar to the lay exorcisms practised in Greece which the Greek call «charms» or «spells» (ξόρκια). However the difference is quite noteworthy. Liturgical exorcisms are always performed by a priest and are always consistent with the Church's doctrine while the lay exorcisms are not usually performed by the priest but rather by family members usually a mother or a grandmother. The language of the spells is very simple, sometimes in verse form. While they may contain vulgar language, frequent appeal is made to the saints, Christ, or God and phrases from known prayers or passages from the New Testament. Spells in Greece are not necessarily perceived by people as belonging to a tradition distinct from Orthodoxy. The form and imagery of these spells do, however, constitute objective differences between the spells and Orthodox practice and this is because of their unorthodox language and the non-priestly performance. Although the Church censures the spells labelling those who intone them «sorcerers», for the Greek villagers who do not have any special knowledge of Church doctrine, these differences are not always perceived and many village priests, belonging to this group than any other, would sometimes read spells along with ecclesiastically accepted prayers.

This confusion is perhaps due to the low level of education among the clergy in Greece to the effect that the local priest basically accepts the local traditions, superstitions and beliefs – or at least he is tolerant of them. According to the latest statistics, by 1975 only 9% of the clergy had received university training. Even if the percentage today has risen, few are those who decide to enhance their academic life⁸⁶. It seems that the standard orthodox tradition failed to eradicate and counter ideas that were fundamentally in opposition to it. Such ideas, many of which stemmed ultimately from Byzantium's pagan heritage, were rooted too firmly in popular customs that provided alternatives that were too attractive to be swept away

⁸⁶ The clergy is classified under categories A B C D (See the Orthodox Yearly Directory of 2011, 12001), A being the highest. The majority of priests, especially outside urban areas, have a primary or secondary education and a modicum of religious training. Most urban priests have at least studied theology at a seminary; priests and bishops in larger cities normally have degrees in theology from universities in Athens or Thessalonica. The village priest is the traditional preserver of Greek culture and traditions, and as such he usually enjoys high respect among his parishioners. In poorer parishes, peasants often went into the priesthood for economic advancement, and in many cases a married rural priest continued his secular trade after ordination. By the 1980s, however, the social prestige of the priesthood had dropped, so children received less encouragement to enter that profession. The lack of intellectual functions in the priesthood (priests do not regularly give sermons, and few become theologians, the latter being more for lay people.) and the higher pay received by teachers are the reasons for this decline. This information was obtained from Father Maximos Pafidis an Orthodox priest, Athens 2014. Church of Greece 2014.

completely by the dominant doctrines of orthodox Christianity. Rather such alternative practices could be seen flourishing in its shadow during the Palaeologan period. This relationship between the pagan pre-Christian system and Christianity represents and mediates, relationships between different categories which are typically opposed, such as magic and religion, Greek and Christian beliefs, sinfulness and chastity, piety and impiety, good and evil, literacy and illiteracy, religious and national identity, but, in the final analysis, between secular and ecclesiastical authority and control. This regulatory role was enhanced within the framework of the Greek traditional culture, within which literacy corresponds to a «high status state» by virtue of the fact that clerics and the Church constituted virtually the only purveyors of education not only during the time Greece was under Turkish rule, but also at a later time, extending that role up until the beginning of the 20th century. It is little wonder, then, that most of the clerics who reviewed folk tradition and worked on collecting and recording popular folklore were highly literate people and, in numerous cases, also teachers.

φ.133^r.

εἴτε λέγε τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην: - Ἐξορκίζω^E σε, πονηρὲ διάβολε, ἐχθρὲ τῆς ἀληθείας, διὰ^F

^E[Ἐξορκίζωσε]: **I exorcise you.**

Although the verb ὄρκίζω is at least as old as Xenophon the Greek historian, soldier, philosopher (c. 430 - 354 B.C.) with the form (έξ)ορκώ attested earlier in his writings, it was not used early on in adjuratory (a solemn spell) formulae spoken to demons, but in the context of oaths sworn between contracting parties. The use of ὄρκίζω especially to adjure demons is a comparatively recent development and seems to be attested no earlier than the 1st century B.C.⁸⁷. Here we see in pagan magic texts the erotic and related curses on papyri and leaden tablets ὄρκίζω is the normal term of compelling a *nekydaimon* (a demon which brings death) to perform a task on behalf of the practitioner⁸⁸. The adjured demon acts as a kind of malign

⁸⁷ J. PRESCIA, *The Oath and Perjury*. The social context of early oaths in magic ritual is most recently discussed in C.A. FARAONE, *Molten Wax*, 60-80. The noun ὄρκος is cognate with Greek ἔρκος, «enclosure», «fence».

⁸⁸ *Nekydaimon* is, a term found predominantly in the Greek Magical Papyri but denoting a concept that spans ancient magical practices, refers to the soul of a dead person. An interesting example was found in Crete, Greece. A folded and inscribed lead tablet from Phalasrama in Crete, dated to the 4th or early 3rd century B.C., comes close to what we might imagine as a magic incantation for banishing unwanted demons. The inscription

servant or ally. In the contexts of a more healing sort, on the other hand, ἔξορκίζω is used rather differently. The demons (or the diseases they cause) are actually adjured to depart from an afflicted patient; the sense of the verb becomes truly «exorcistic».

In Jewish and exorcistic rituals, the verb ὄρκίζω is widely used and its use gives rise to the special category in the history of magic of a healing amulet that will have important ramifications for the development of later Christian ritual. However, we shall also find that ἔξορκίζω is widely used in the adjurations of the *defixiones* (a type of curse found throughout the Graeco-Roman world) which points to a particularly Jewish use of the verb. Here a curious cross-over from the Jewish exorcisms of benevolent magic to the more malicious adjurations of the aggressive—sexual spells can be detected. The serial adjurations of the Jewish God and of his saving acts found in the early Judeo-Greek exorcisms reappear in the context of the curses and *defixiones*. Linguistically, as well, there can be little doubt that the use of ἔξορκίζω to adjure demons—whether those who fetch and serve or those that are expelled—mirrors an originally Semitic *השׁבָעַת*, «to adjure»—a verb used in the Dead Sea Scrolls for exorcism, as well as in later Aramaic amulets⁸⁹.

had evidently been doubled over several times into a compact square to be worn as an amulet. Much of the text is clearly difficult; however, there is enough material preserved to demonstrate that incantations were written against noxious spirits described variously as Epaphos, a she-wolf (*λύκαινα*), a dog (*κύων*)—or pair of dogs (*κύνε*)—and the like. In a section that seems to mention magic ingredients targeted to injure the bearer of the verses, there are further allusions to composite, mythic beings: the tongue of a lion-serpent, something from a chimera, a hawk's feather, and the claw of a lion. Despite some lacunae, these seem to describe the «wicked things» (*κακά*) that some sorcerer had apparently concocted in an ointment or potion; the hexameters work as a counter—charm against ghosts and demons sent against the holder of the amulet. This text shows at an early stage two crucial procedures for the expelling of demons: the use of the «flee»—formula and the application of an oath (*όρκος*). Though the demonology of this relatively early Greek charm does not contain a notion of a possessing demon, the tablet's rich folklore shows animal-plagues being vanquished by invocations that become standard in the later, true exorcistic texts. The method is rather straightforward: alongside the summoning of Greek healing gods, the incantation wards off the demons by commanding them to flee (*φεύγε*). This stratagem of expulsion is widely found in late antique magic spells, particularly in exorcisms, but can also be used for banishing diseases and ailments in general—themselves the manifestation of demonic activity. The *φεύγε*-formula is used several times in commanding the animal-demons with the aim of driving them back mad to their own domains.

⁸⁹The language of adjuration tends to divide down the middle, in terms of «Greek» versus «Jewish» application and utilization. What distinguishes the adjurations of the Jewish «exorcistic» type from the Greek «evocation» type is the fact that each type has its own characteristic understanding of the numinous. The Semitic *πνεύμα ἀκάθαρτον* is an

The formula 'Εξορκίζωσε⁹⁰, «I adjure you», is most frequently encountered in aggressive-coercive magic operations that compel *nekydaimones* and kindred spirits to render personal service on behalf of the practitioner. When occurring on protective amulets, on the other hand, the formula implies an altogether different purpose: it provokes wicked and disease-causing spirits to depart from a «possessed» or afflicted person; in this context alone are they said to be truly «exorcised»⁹¹. When studying the

entity to be expelled from the sufferer (the demon-possessed); the Greek δαίμον, on the other hand, is a genie awakened from the dead to render service. Further, the coercive Greek netherworld adjurations (written on lead and papyrus *defixiones*) regularly set oaths upon the ghosts of the dead, compelling them to bitter necessity (πικρύανάγκη). The Jewish exorcisms, on the other hand, adjure the demons by the great God of Israel, YHWH, a Lord made splendid and alive in the recounting of his mighty deeds of history. Further, the presentation of demons in their omorphic form is common to both paradigms. Primarily, however, we have concluded that the «Greek» adjurations conjure up the underworld dead to serve. True «Jewish» adjurations, on the other hand, cast out (i.e., «exorcise») the demons represented as actually indwelling the afflicted. Jews, as much as Greeks, would have been inclined to curse their enemies as to heal their friends. When dealing with highly individual matters of personal gain or the preservation of health and well-being, synthetic reconstructions of cultural models prove insensitive to racial and ethnic boundaries. The enactment of the «oath» (όρκος) is common to most ancient societies, and there is an intrinsic risk in assuming that its use in magic would have been particularly, or exclusively, Jewish rather than Greek. Nonetheless, at least in the context of the phenomenology of spontaneous demon-possession and subsequent expulsion, the epigraphic and papyrological records repeatedly point to a practice tightly influenced by Jewish exorcists. It has also been shown that ancient practitioners may have advised the use of the serial «Jewish oath» (εξορκισμός) for the evocation of the dead, as well as for the healing of the aggrieved. See R. KOTANSKY, «*Greek Exorcistic Amulets*», 260.

⁹⁰ The original sense of 'Εξορκίζω is to place one under, to oblige someone to accomplish an action under a false oath, or bind one by another or, to administer an oath to someone, as noted in R. MERKELBACH, *Astrologie*, 1 (1993) 49-62, esp. 61 ('Εξορκίζω is «ich vereidige», not «ich beschwöre»). «Adjure», though not exact, is the best the English language has; it is no longer equivalent to the Latin adjuro (= «to swear»); see P. B. GOVE, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, s.v., 27: «1: obs. to put on oath 2: to charge or command solemnly as if under oath or penalty of curse». A glance at the published catalogues of medieval manuscripts in major European and American libraries suggests that many such collections of *Εξορκισμοί*, still remain unedited. These liturgical exorcisms as a whole, though preserved in manuscripts of late date, share many points of contact with their older counterparts on papyrus and contain a valuable source of information on the whole history of exorcistic texts and amulets.

⁹¹ *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* defines «exorcise», as: «¹a: to expel (an evil spirit) by adjuration ^{b:} to get rid of (something troublesome, menacing, or oppressive);²b: to be freed of an evil spirit by use of a holy name or magic rites» (798). This specialized sense is already observed in ancient Greek, s.vv. *Εξορκισμός*, («exor-

exorcistic amulets (for example the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris from Graeco-Roman Egypt, which each contain a number of magical spells, formulae, hymns and rituals dating from the 2nd century B.C. to the 5th century A.D.) we come across the adjurations with the exorcism formula which has as its title Πράξις γενναία ἐκβάλλοντα δαίμονας, that is intended to expel indwelling demons⁹².

The first lines of a particular Greek custom involving an exorcistic amulet give a unique involving the crowning of the demoniac's head with olive branches and then, in Coptic, an invocation of the «God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob». A widely acknowledged interpolation, «Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the son of the Father», then follows. The Coptic section concludes by describing the driving away of «the unclean demon Satan who is in him (that is the patient)»⁹³.

The hallmark of this exorcism is its use of the verb ἔξορκίζω with specific verbs of expulsion: «**I adjure you** (ἔξορκίζωσε)... to come out of (ἔξελθάν)...and **stand away from** (ἀπόστηθι) so-and-so». These attendant imperatives, in effect, turn the adjuration itself into a true exorcism, for the imperatives represent the resultant action of the adjuration. The adjuration formula specifically aims at expelling the demon: «I adjure you out»(ἔξορκίζω ... ἔξελθειν); hence, «I *exorcise* you» (i.e., «I compel you under oath to come out»). In the Manuscripts of Lavra Θ 20 and Philoteou 186, we find a series of different conjurations which usually precede sections of the Gospels but which surely have been influenced by these earlier secular texts. In these manuscripts we find 4 different conjurations:

ἔξορκίζω (mentioned 50 times),
ἔξορκίζμός (mentioned 12 times),
όρκίζω (mentioned 16 times),
όρκίσμός (mentioned 2 times)
ἀφορκίζω (mentioned 4 times).

These verbs are further reinforced with the adverbs: ισχυρῶς ἐξ, ἔξουσια στικῶς ἐξ, ἔξουσια στικῶς καὶ αὐθεν τικῶς ἀφ.

In the exorcistic prayer of Xiropotamou the verb ἔξορκίζω is mentioned only one time while ἔξορκίζμός is never mentioned. However

cise an evil spirit», esp. in Acts 19:13,14 v. ll.). See also R. KOTANSKY, «Greek Exorcistic Amulets», 243-279.

⁹² PGM IV, 3007 ss; H.R BETZ, *The Greek Magical Papyri in translation*, xli; W.M. BRASHEAR, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 3380-3730.

⁹³ R. KOTANSKY, «Greek Exorcistic Amulets», 261.

όρκιζω is mentioned 8 times while ὄρκισμός and ἀφορκίζω are never mentioned. These verbs are further reinforced with the adverbs: ἵσχυρῶς, ἔξουσιαστικῶς, (see 312-316).

The exorcist obliges or imposes upon the demon to make an oath to a higher being who in turn obliges him to keep the oath or at least to realise what he had promised to do. In all these cases a form of the verb ἔξ/όρκιζω is used where such a relation is indicated by the prepositions διὰ (genitive) which is most frequently used, εἰς, ἐν, ἐξ, ἐπί (dative), κατά, παρά (gen) and also dative alone which is rare⁹⁴. The construction ἔξορκίζω with the dative never appears although it is very frequent in other religious and magical manuscripts. When the words «I adjure you» are followed by **κατά** with the genitive or the use of no preposition at all (double accusative), we are introduced to a powerful agent by which the spirits are controlled. This phenomenon can be seen in the Xiropotamou text where the **σε**, with no apparent noun in apposition, stands completely isolated from what follows, be it accusative plural nouns or accusative singular nouns, etc. that immediately follow⁹⁵. However the **σε**, precisely because it remains anonymous, is deceptively benign. It is, in truth, the afflicting demon. No better illustration of this ambiguous use of the pronoun **σε**, in exorcistic contexts can be found than that occurring in a much-discussed spell of the Great Paris Magical Papyrus.

This «Approved Spell of Pibechis for those Possessed by Demons» (πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένους Πιβήχεως δόκιμον) shows, like the Xiropotamou text, an unidentified use of **σε**, though the context eventually tells us it will be a demon⁹⁶. In lines 3033-3034 of that spell, amidst a long, running series of ὄρκισμοί, one reads in particular, – ὄρκισω σε τὸν ὀπτανθέντα τῷ ὘σραὴλ [sic] ἐν στύλῳ φωτινῷ καὶ νεφέλῃ ἡμερινῇ «I adjure you (by the) one who appeared to Israel in a shining pillar and a cloud by day». The Greek gives the same, sometimes confusing, double accusative (**σε + τὸν ὀπτανθέντα**); but only in lines 3037-3038 are these specifically named as the demon: ὄρκισω σε πᾶν πνεῦμα, δαιμόνιον, λαλῆσαι, ὀποῖον καὶ ἄλλην, «I adjure you - every spirit, demon - to tell what kind you are». Within the same series of oaths in the exorcism, we also encounter less ambiguous adjurations with **κατά** (+ genitive), as well as the double accusative; but in each case we see little mention of the demon. In fact, out of the fourteen

⁹⁴ The grammar of incantations has been well established in research. See W.L. KNOX, «Jewish liturgical exorcism», 191-203; B. CAMPELL, «The technique of exorcism», 39-49; T.E. KLUTZ, «The grammar of exorcism », 156-165.

⁹⁵ It is mentioned eight times throughout the text. Τέξορκίζωσε [preposition to, at], διὰ= «through, across, by, over» and takes the Genitive in this case.

⁹⁶ PGM IV. 3007-3086. On this important exorcism see also A. DEISSMAN, *Light from the Ancient East*, 250-260. Pibechis was a legendary magician from Egypt.

adjurations contained in the whole Pibechean exorcism, only two actually name the **σε** as the possessing demon

Some texts also have **εις + accusative** (as in some examples, given below). Though **σε** is unidentified in our text, the use of a plural genitive (**σε δια των αγίοναγγέλων**) or accusative genitive (**της ὑπεράγνου θεοτόκου, τοῦ Κυρίουνήμῶν, Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ**) immediately following Ἐξορκίωσε, means, as a rule, «I adjure you by the God who...» and not, «I adjure you, the God who...»⁹⁷. The use of **Ἐξορκίζω σε**, in some texts can also be found in the imperative plural form (ff. 135b=I adjure all you evil spirits)⁹⁸. In the Xiropotamou text although we do not find directly the verb used imperatively in the plural, however we see it refers to the plurality of the object, in fact the author of the texts puts the preposition **ὑμᾶς** (accusative plural), the imperative is given in the plural - a plurality of demons (though unnamed) which suddenly become the object of an ‘exorcism’ and thus enlighten the text. The phrase **Ἐξορκίζω σε** seems at times to behave as a kind of «fossilized» formula in which the pronoun becomes inextricably fused to the verb of adjuration; little care is taken to make known the identity of the pronoun. There must have also come a time, too, when **Ἐξορκίζωσε** alone proved sufficient enough to refer automatically to the expulsion of demons (hence «**Ἐξορκίζω**» singular or plural), without any accompanying verb of departure. Although **Ἐξορκίζω σε** («I adjure you») on Greek curse and magical tablets (papyri) routinely addresses spirits of the dead, the locution in liturgical exorcisms become a plain formula of exorcism with no strings attached except to cast out the demons.

§[ἐχθρὲ τῆς ἀληθείας]: **Enemy of Truth.**

The battle with Satan is not something artificial or invented by man, but this war was declared by God himself. In the book of Genesis the serpent has just incited Adam and Eve to sin and God said to the serpent: «I will put enmity (ἐχθρὸν, LXX) between you and the woman, and between your offspring and her offspring; he shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise his heel» (Gen 3:15). This is what the Fathers called the *proto-evangelium*, because it announced the victory of a much-longed-for Saviour who would both crush the head of «that ancient serpent, who is called

⁹⁷ On the problem see A.D. NOCK, «Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus», 266 (line 19).

⁹⁸ An isolated use of the **Ἐξορκίζω σε** in the imperative plural which becomes **φυλάξατε** is beautifully represented by a bilingual silver amulet in the Ashmolean museum, R. KOTANSKY – J. NAVEH – S. SHAKED, «A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet», 5-24, lines 31f.

the devil» (Rev 12:9) and teach his brothers to do the same: «The God of peace will soon crush Satan under your feet», Paul says to the church in Rome (16:20). Here at the dawn of humanity just after the fall, God has drawn the battle lines between the devil and mankind who must heretofore decide between good and evil, God and Satan, truth and lies; he has effectively declared a war that will dominate the rest of human history. In this battle there are no bystanders, those who refuse to reject Satan and his works are *de facto* under his power and subject to the wrath of God (Eph 2:1-3). But God has indeed loved humanity, that's why he sent a faithful Saviour, one who taught his children to pray always: «Our Father in heaven... deliver us from the evil one (ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ)» (Mt 6:9,13).

Not surprisingly one of the metaphors with which the devil is often defined is «enemy» (ἐχθρός). This title is important in the New Testament, where the devil is the enemy of the message of salvation⁹⁹. Jesus calls «the devil» with the notorious title «the father of lies» affirming that «there is no truth in him» (Jn 8:44). Therefore by his own nature Satan is the *enemy of the truth* by which humanity is «set free» (Jn 8:32). In the context of exorcism in the New Testament, the role of Satan as ἐχθρός is paramount. For example, in Luke's Gospel when Jesus sends his disciples out to perform exorcisms, we read:

«The seventy-two returned with joy, saying, 'Lord, even the demons are subject to us in your name!' And [Jesus] said to them, 'I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven. Behold, *I have given you authority to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy*, and nothing shall hurt you. Nevertheless, do not rejoice in this, that the spirits are subject to you, but rejoice that your names are written in Heaven' » (Lk 10:18-20, emphasis mine).

Here we see that in the fierce battle with evil, clearly manifested in exorcisms, the disciples are not afraid of the enemy, but joyfully confident that «nothing shall hurt [them]». This is because Jesus has bestowed upon his disciples a unique dignity: heavenly *authority* over all the power of the enemy. Satan, who once had authority in heaven, has fallen like lightning, and Jesus' disciples have a mysterious but real part in his demise. The disciples are to rejoice not so much that the enemy is beaten down by Christ,

⁹⁹ Other references to Satan as the Enemy of God, particularly as the one frustrating God's good purposes for giving eternal life to humans: see in the parable of the weeds and the wheat, Mt 13:24-30, 37-43. Here the devil is referred to three times as the «enemy» ἐχθρός, who sows weeds in the field of God's kingdom (Mt 13:25, 28, 39). Also in the Davidic prophecy of Psalm 110:1, the Messiah is exalted to «sit at the right hand» of God who will put «all enemies under his feet»; 110:1 is by far the most quoted or referenced psalm in the N.T., cf. Mt 22:44; 26:64; Mk 12:36; Lk 20:43; Acts 2:35; 7:55-56; 1 Cor 15:25; Eph 1:22; Heb 1:13; 8:1; 10:13; 12:2.

but that the original dignity of man is restored, for God created Adam to rule as king of creation and to live forever (Gn 1:26-28; 2:17). Although Adam fell and all humanity fell with him, Christ's disciples are no longer slaves through fear of death and Satan (Heb 2:15) but they are heirs of the kingdom of heaven, endowed with royal authority as sons and daughters of God (Lk 6:35; 12:32; Gal 3:26; 1 Pt 2:9). This royal power is the essence of being a disciple, «But to all who did receive [Jesus], who believed in his name, he gave the authority (ἐξουσία) to become children of God» (Jn 1:12). In the climax of his greatest letter Paul lauds the unbelievable grace of receiving divine sonship: «For you did not receive the spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received the Spirit of adoption as sons, by whom we cry, 'Abba! Father!'» (Rom 8:15). The liberated slave becomes an adopted son, not by a juridical pronouncement but by the true gift of Trinitarian life, because God has chosen to dwell within man through the Holy Spirit, conferring to Christ's followers what was unthinkable to ancient Jews: fraternal and familial communion with God as partakers in the Divine Nature¹⁰⁰.

The Son of God came to heal wounds due to sin, forgive those who repent, and restore fallen man to his original dignity and fullness of life¹⁰¹. In the aim of restoration Jesus gave his disciples the power over the demons who up to the time of Christ had exploited man's forgetfulness of God by enslaving mankind to increasingly corrupt and perverse desires «contrary to nature... men committing shameless acts with men» (Rom 1:26-27). And not only mankind but nature is wounded as well. Thus all creation eagerly awaits the restoration from God in «hope that the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to corruption and obtain the freedom of the glory of the children of God» (Rom 8:20-21).

According to the New Testament the judgment against Satan was first declared at Christ's crucifixion (Jn 12:31) and the battle against him continues through Christ's servants until the end of the age¹⁰². But is this war truly against the devil, and if so why? At the end of time Satan will be bound to hell forever (Rv 20:10). In Revelation John thus reveals the source of the devil's rage against mankind: he and «his angels» have been

¹⁰⁰ Gal 4:6; 2 Pt 1:4; For how communion with God and sharing in his nature seems inconceivable in Hebrew scripture cf. Is 42:8; 45:6; 48:11; 55:9. Yet it is prophesied as well that YHWH would come and dwell in the midst of his people Zec 2:10; Ez 48:35; Jer 3:17; Zep 3:17; and transform their hearts and souls to his liking through a new covenant, Jer 3:17; 31:31f; 32:40; Ez 36:25-28.

¹⁰¹ Cf. e.g. Mt 1:21; 8:17; 1 Tm 1:15.

¹⁰² For examples in the New Testament epistles of the Christian spiritual combat against the devil and his kingdom, cf. especially: 1 Pt 5:7-10; Eph 6:10-18; Col 1:12-14; 2:8-15; 2 Cor 2:10-11; 10:3-5; Eph 4:27; 1 Jn 5:18.

cast out of heaven (Rv 12:9, cf. Lk 10:19) at which the angels of heaven say: «Woe to you, O earth and sea, for the devil has come down to you in great wrath, because he knows that his time is short!» (Rv 12:12). God has given Satan the task on earth «to make war...on those who keep the commandments of God and hold to the testimony of Jesus» (12:17); he tempts them to lead them to disobedience and sin (Eph 2:2). He does this because he is furious that Jesus promises his disciples «rejoice that your names are written in heaven» (Lk 10:20), that is, rejoice that you are heirs of the eternal rewards. But why would God allow spiritual combat with the devil? Because through resisting his snares the faithful are made even stronger, and they become saints who lead many others to salvation. Thus Peter writes: «Your adversary the devil prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking someone to devour... resist him firm in your faith... And after you have suffered a little while, the God of all grace, who has called you to his eternal glory in Christ, will himself restore, confirm, strengthen, and establish you» (1 Pt 5:8-10). The apostle's point is clear: by resisting temptation and rejecting Satan the faithful are profoundly strengthened by God, and they come to resemble Jesus more and more which is God's ultimate purpose for humanity¹⁰³.

It is not surprising then that almost every aspect of human encounter with the demonic could be described as a kind of battle with the declared enemies of mankind, that is, the devil and his demons. In fact much of the language in the LXX, particularly that in the Psalms, was interpreted as symbolic of the cosmic struggle with demons (cf. e.g. Ps 91:6; 18:1-50). This war song, Psalm 144:1, for example, «Blessed be the LORD, my rock, who trains my hands for war, and my fingers for battle» would be interpreted as spiritual combat, where Israel's battles become battles against the demonic forces. In this war God's power will always triumph, and he confers his triumph to people who have absolute trust in him. Even God's sovereignty over the cosmic ecology and the forces of nature (e.g. Ps 104) could be interpreted as a spiritual battle. In the book of 2 Maccabees for example, the struggle of martyrdom begins to be described as a struggle with evil, and this idea was taken up by the early church in light of its own experience. Christian martyrs were often called «athletes of multiple combats» not so much because they battled beasts in the arena but because by their blood they defeated the satanic forces in the cosmic sphere, sharing in the glorious victory over evil displayed in Christ's crucifixion (Jn 12:31; Col 2:14-15). This is related to the basic idea that had counterparts in Stoic and other Hellenistic philosophy as well as in the Bible, in which the virtuous life resembles a continuous contest or battle against evil forces whether

¹⁰³ Cf. Rom 8:28-29; 2 Cor 3:18:

external or internal. The demons were always pictured as tempting, confusing, pushing, wrestling, beating, boxing the athletes of God (cf. 2 Cor 12:7; 1 Cor 9:24-27; Rev 2:10) in the ring of the contest in order to trip them up and throw them down if given the chance, and so prevent them winning their garlands and trophies¹⁰⁴.

Liturgical exorcism gives symbolic form to the conflict between malignant demonic forces on the one hand and social and religious ideals on the other. These positive values are represented in the Holy Trinity that subsists in perfect unity. The demons are repeatedly referred to as enemies as seen in the Xiropotamou 98 exorcisms because they foment chaos and rebellion against God¹⁰⁵. The exorcisms always confirm God's greater power and treat the devil as a traitor, impostor, or defector¹⁰⁶. It is God who has power over all living things and who heals all illness¹⁰⁷. He inspires virtue (*αρετή*), wisdom (*σοφία*), purity (*αγνειά*), self-control (*εγκράτεια*),

¹⁰⁴ The term *ὑποσκελιζω* appears in the LXX at eg. Psalm 16:13; 36:31; 139:4. For other examples of athletic metaphors used to describe Christian spiritual combat see: Eph 6:12; 1 Tm 6:12; 2 Tm 2:4-5, 4:7; Phil 1:30, 2:16; Jud 1:3; Heb 12:1. Some key words here are *ἀγών*, *ἀγωνία*, *ἀγωνίζομαι*. The *ἀγών* originally was the assembly of Greeks gathering at the arena for their national games, but even by the classical period *ἀγών* came to refer to any contest for a prize, struggle for victory, or even a legal dispute. In the New Testament the *ἀγών* is a struggle for victory in spiritual combat. This is exemplified by the Passion of Jesus, Heb 12:1b-2: «Let us also lay aside every weight, and sin which clings so closely, and let us run with endurance the race (*ἀγών*) that is set before us, looking to Jesus, the founder and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is seated at the right hand of the throne of God». Jesus' spiritual *ἀγών* ended in victory but passed through much suffering on the way, thus the term *ἀγωνία* (agony) comes from Luke 22:44: «And being in an agony [*ἀγωνία*] he prayed more earnestly; and his sweat became like great drops of blood falling down to the ground». The *ἀγών* of the Christian is perseverance in faith, hope, and love until the end: «Blessed is the man who remains steadfast under trial, for when he has stood the test he will receive the crown of life, which God has promised to those who love him» (Jas 1:12). The «garland» of victory in the Olympic *ἀγών* becomes the «crown» of eternal life (1 Cor 9:25; 2 Tm 4:8; Jas 1:12; 1 Pt 5:4, Rv 2:10), exemplified by Christ's resurrection and heavenly enthronement. Thus Stephen, at his martyrdom, saw the glory of Jesus at the right hand of God in heaven calling him homeward (Acts 7:55) and Stephen received the *stephanos*, the crown befitting his name. In the struggle for eternal life, the clear adversaries are personal sin and the «tempter» Satan (Mt 4:3). Thus when Jesus asked if only a few will be saved he uses athletic language: «Strive (*ἀγωνίζεσθε*) to enter through the narrow door. For many, I tell you, will seek to enter and will not be able» (Lk 13:24) because of their evil works (v 27).

¹⁰⁵ XIROPOTAMOU 98, φ. 134.134, 137b. This is also confirmed by Π. ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ – Γ. ΚΟΥΚΑΣ, *Εξορκιστής*, 15.

¹⁰⁶ «Εξορκισμοί του Αγίου Βασιλείου», *Εύχολόγιον τό Μέγα*, 150.

¹⁰⁷ A. STRITTMATTER, «Eingriechisches Exorzismusbuchlein», 127-144.

love (αγάπη, as opposed to ἐρωτας, *eros*), hope (ελπίδα), gentleness (πραότητα), long-suffering (μακροθυμιά), patience (υπομονή), prudence (σωφροσύνη), and caution (προσοχή)¹⁰⁸. Armed with these virtues man can valiantly confront his spiritual enemies, taking refuge in Christ, he can continue in loving faith even unto death.

The world as seen through the liturgical Orthodox exorcisms is one in which the forces of good are basic and prior to anything else. The forces of evil constitute, by God's permission, an overlaying opposition (forces opposed to salvation) that presents itself to the human heart and may sometimes sway people to its cause. This picture is accepted by a great many Greek people and held as an apt explanation of how one may aspire toward the values of good and yet only partially achieve them in life. This moral cosmology rationalizes the human position. In an ideal world everyone would live in harmony. The world is not, however, ideal; it is fallen and the condition of humanity is one of imperfection and suffering. Diabolical influence in the form of illness (whether physical or spiritual) or the tendency towards harmful action often exerts itself and cannot be avoided. Prayer, fasting, the observance of Orthodox rituals and the participation in the liturgical life of the Church are ways of warding off such destructive influence. They are a preventive approach. Exorcism is a wholly direct resort. It is taken once the moment of evil has arrived and when the demonic influence is already evident, or when the subject is in a state of demonic possession. In these rituals the values of God are restated performatively. The priest in the name of God chases the demons from the person and prays for the deliverance of the person from the demonic influence as he did at Baptism and prays that God should restore the individuals to their former state of purity and health.

One holistic-relativistic approach to exorcism views the goal to be psychological reassurance of the victim, and thus the effectiveness of exorcism is not in the power of words spoken by the priest¹⁰⁹. It is rather the presence of the priest and correct performance (along with the anointing with oil, insufflations through the mouth of the victim, benediction with blessed water and the use of the relics of the saints) that are most reassuring. The words are not unimportant, but they are only one aspect of a larger framework that exorcism erects. The incorporation of the possessed or sick person into this framework is both the object and the end result of exorcistic ritual. The rite is itself the cure even if this sometimes can take years to bear fruit.

¹⁰⁸ «Ἐξορκισμοί του Αγίου Βαστλείου», *Εύχολόγιον τό Μέγα*, 152.

¹⁰⁹ This is the direct opposite to the ritual of Baptism where, according to the common Greek belief its effectiveness comes with the correct reading of the ritual.

Another approach aims at lasting spiritual health and independence of the victims of demonic infiltration. The victims can be encouraged to renounce the devil, retrieve their will from all evil, and adhere to the creed of orthodox faith, as John says: «This is the victory that has overcome the world – our faith» (1 Jn 5:4). Thereby the victims can stand on their own feet, having renewed the powerful, life-giving promises of their Baptism.

φ.134^v.

τοῦ φρικτοῦ κ(αὶ) ἀγίου ὄνόματος τοῦ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ Πατρός, Υἱοῦ, καὶ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος, ἵνα μοι εἴπης εὐθύς πῶς καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομά σου. Ὁρκίζω σε διὰ τῶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων, θρόνων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, δυνάμεων, ἔξουσιῶν,^{110G} τῶν πολυομμάτων χερουβίμ κ(αὶ) τῶν ἐξαπτερύγων σεραφίμ ἵνα μοι εἴπης εὐθὺς πῶς καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὥρκίζω σε διὰ

^H[τῶν πολυομμάτων χερουβίμ κ(αὶ) τῶν ἐξαπτερύγων σεραφίμ]: **by the many-eyed Cherubim and the six-winged Seraphim**

Angels and archangels abound in liturgical and non liturgical texts, being named singularly or in groups, with the most common enumeration being the famous four, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel¹¹¹. The Xiropotamou exorcism mentions generically «angels, thrones, dominions, principalities and Cherubim». Cherubim are the second of the nine orders of angels in medieval angelology. They are often referred to as two in

¹¹⁰ These were classes of angels, «the sons of God», and subsequently divisions of the universe (or of the heavens) that the various angels were appointed to watch over, cf. Dt 32:8. Col. 1:16 says, «For by Him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him for him». See also Eph. 1:21.

¹¹¹ Amulets containing exorcistic texts from Jewish tradition show the particular influence of angel-names as a standard of apotropaic power. The names appear inevitably in lists, which are sometimes quite extensive and may point to a lively circulation of texts behind them. While some lists are too brief and typical to assume a literary source, the complexity of some of them suggests a dependence upon angelological formularies circulating in some form among the craftsmen who manufactured gems or amulets with exorcistic prayers inscribed on them (who may in this case be Rabbis). Through the long invocation of angels of the cosmos one can deduce that the manufacturers had a certain dependence upon a widely-circulating hierarchy. The proximity of the seven archangels for example to those of the ancient Jewish apocalypse the Book of the Watchers also makes a literary relationship quite certain. This important text, part of the apocryphal 1 Enoch corpus, was known throughout ancient Judaism and Christianity (notably to the author of Jude in the New Testament). The date of this amulet in the first century B.C. would make it (or its source) important evidence of the early circulation of the Enoch tradition amulets. See I. FRÖHLICH, «Theology and demonology in Qumran texts», 101-129.

number, and rarely are they named separately. One place where the peculiar phrase, «the two archangels», is encountered again occurs in a liturgical context¹¹². In an exorcism that also lists adjurations by the great name of God, the seven heavens, and the Cherubim, the two archangels are specified as Gabriel and Raphael¹¹³. The relevant portion reads as follows:

«όρκίζω ύμᾶς, πνεύματα, εἰς τοὺς δύο ἀρχαγγέλους. Γαβριήλ καὶ Ραφαὴλ, ἵνα ἔλθετε ἔμπροσθέν μου τάχιστα καὶ συντομώτατα».

«I adjure you, spirits, by the two archangels, Gabriel and Raphael, that you come (out) before me, most quickly and immediately»¹¹⁴.

Virtually the same text occurs in a portion of a manuscript labelled *Traité de Magie de Salomon*:

«όρκίζω ύμᾶς, πνεύματα, εἰς τοὺς δύο μεγάλους ἀρχαγγέλους. Γαβριήλ κ(αὶ) Ραφαὴλ, ἵνα ἔλθετε ὅδε προθύμως, τάχιστα, συντομώτατα»,

«I adjure you, spirits, by the two great archangels, Gabriel and Raphael, that you come here eagerly, most quickly and immediately»¹¹⁵.

In a broader liturgical context one can see the fuller role that the Cherubim (and Seraphim) play: they attend the throne of God singing together the heavenly Trisagion. A typical exorcistic text reads, for example, as follows:

«όρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ Χερουβὶμ ἐπὶ σκιάζοντα τὸ ἱλαστήριον κ(αὶ) λέγοντα ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος, Κύριος Σαβαὼθ, κτλ. » which is translated as:

«I exorcise you by the One who sits upon the throne of his own glory ...whereby the Seraphim stand, crying out above the throne, and the Cherubim overshadow the mercy-seat and say, ‘Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord Sabaoth’, etc»¹¹⁶.

¹¹² R.D. KOTANSKY, «Remnants of a liturgical exorcism on a gem», 143-156.

¹¹³ ^A[τὸ ὄνομα:] THE NAME mentioned earlier.

¹¹⁴ A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I, 27, 23-25.

¹¹⁵ A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 420, 9f.

¹¹⁶ A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 229,16-21. See also 231,12: (όρκίζω ύμας)...εἰς τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβὶμ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔξαπτέρυγα Σεραφίμ, κτλ..(followed by the trisagion); Also: ὄρκίζωσε, πνεύμα πονηρόν, εἰς τὸν ἀόρατον θεὸν Σαβαὼθ τὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ, κτλ., 231,37/232,1f; ὁ ἐπὶτῶν Χερουβὶμ, καθήμενος (εὐχή of Grego-

«ἐξορκίζω ύμᾶς παντα τα δαιμόνια εἰς το μέγα ὄνοματοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβίμ, κτλ.»,

«I exorcise all you demons by the great name of God and by the many-eyed Cherubim», etc.¹¹⁷

Any mention of the «Great Name» would refer to God, specifically to his divine and ineffable Name; it could not be a reference to the Cherubim, for the Cherubim's task is to be the throne upon which God rests. In liturgical exorcisms, the **μέγα ὄνομα** is never used of the Cherubim, but only in reference to God¹¹⁸. In fact, in such contexts, though **μέγα ὄνομα** and **Χερουβίμ** are juxtaposed they are always kept separate. Parallels from the liturgical exorcisms again provide a plausible nexus:

And also:

«όμνυωσας εἰς τὸν θεὸν τῶν Χερουβίμ καθήμενον, οὗτὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐλωὲ Κέσαρ, ἐλωέ, κτλ.»

«I abjure you by the God who sits upon the Cherubim, whose name is Elōe, Kesar, Helōe», etc.;¹¹⁹

«Ορκίζω σε ἐπὶ θρόνου Θεοῦ Σαβαώθ, θεορκίζω σε εἰς τὰ Χερουβίμ καὶ εἰς δ' εὐαγγελισταίς, Λουκᾶν, Ματθαῖον, Μάρκον, Ἰωάννην, <εἰς> τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Σεραφίμ, ὄρκίζωσας εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄνοματοῦ Θεοῦ»,

«I exorcise you, on (sic) the throne of God Sabaoth, I 'God-exorcise' you by the Cherubim and by the four Gospels, Luke, Matthew,

ry the Theologian, followed by the Trisagion) Id., 242,14; ὄρκίζω σε κατὰ τῶν πολυομμάτων Χερουβίμ και τῶν ἔξαπτερύγων Σεραφίμ, 246,27,35); ὄρκίζω ύμας κατὰ τὰς ἀγιας δυνάμεις πολυόμματα Χερουβίμ ἔξαπτέρυγα Σεραφίμ τὰ περιπτάμενα κύκλῳ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ και κράζοντα ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος Κύριος Σαββαώθ, κτλ.(εὐχή of the Great Martyr Trypho) in F. PRADEL, 263,28-30; Μενωφρί, ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ Χερούβιμ καθήμενος (*PGM* VII.633f) καθήμενον ἐπανω Χερουβίμ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ (*PGM* V.21.5f.); ὄρκίζω σε τον...(sc. God), δνύμνον σιτὰ πτερυγῶματα τοῦ Χερουβίμ (*PGM* IV.3058-3060): και λέγοντες ἄγιος, ὁ θεός, δν ἀνυμνον σιτὰ χερουβίμ, κτλ.; (*PGM* XXIIb 5, 14).

¹¹⁷ A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 232, 26-30.

¹¹⁸ A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 231, 33f.

¹¹⁹ A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 504, 25-27.

Mark, John,<by> the One upon the Seraphim; *I exorcise you by the great name of God»*¹²⁰.

An exorcism by the **Great Name** and the **Cherubim** serves as a mere reminder of the long liturgical forms of exorcisms that included God sitting on his heavenly throne with the many-eyed Cherubim, and possibly winged Seraphim, in attendance. This is very clear in the exorcistic texts that I have consulted which exorcises an «unnamed» demon by the celestial realms and their inhabitants and which mentions the entities by which evil spirits are adjured along with the celestial components¹²¹.

φ.134^r

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τῆς Ὑπεράγνου θεοτόκου Μαρίας διὰ τῶν ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων τῶν δώδεκα καὶ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα,¹²² διά τῆς φοβερὰς καὶ ἀδεκάστου κρίσεως καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀγίου αἵματος τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,¹²³ διὰ τῶν εἴκοσιτεσσάρων πρεσβυτέρων¹²⁴ τῶν διά παντὸς παρεστών των τὸν θρόνον τὸν ἀόρατον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ψαλλόν των αὐτῷ.

¹²⁰ A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 97, 23-27.

¹²¹ Here I refer to the manuscripts of the Athos 882 (Lavra Θ 20), the Athos 1950 (Philoteou 186), Hieromonk Benedict Tzankarolos (nos. 2115 - 1627) and the Ms. Car, C 143 der Zentralbibliothek in Zürich.

¹²² The seventy were the wider circle of Christ's disciples, comprising a secret body in existence during his lifetime and that may have continued after the resurrection (Lk. 10:1ff).

¹²³ This is the first mention of the name Jesus Christ in the entire exorcistic prayer and it holds its importance because it shows the importance of this name in exorcism. «For where two or three are gathered together in *my name*, there am I in the midst of them» (Mt. 18:20). «And these signs shall follow them that believe: In *my name* shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues» (Mk 16:17); «And whatsoever ye shall ask in *my name*, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son» (Jn 14:13); «For whosoever shall call upon *the name of the lord* shall be saved» (Rom. 10:13); «And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in *the name of the Lord Jesus...*» (Col. 3:17); «Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in *the name of the Lord*» (Jas 5:14). See also S.A. DIAMOND, *The Psychological Genesis of Violence*, where the daimonic can be described as any natural function with the power to control the emotions.

¹²⁴ The twenty-four elders is a reference to the presbyters seated around the throne of God in Revelation (4:4, 10; 5:5, 6, 8, 11, 14; etc). Significantly it is one of these elders who first announces to John the victory of Christ: «Weep no more; behold, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered» (5:5). It is possible that these elders were a model for the elders on earth, who announce the Good News of Christ's victory as saviour of the world, since the earthly order was based on heavenly order. Presbyters were the board of elders (English: aldermen) in the early Church. However dur-

«[through] the very holy Mother of God, Mary, through the holy Apostles, the twelve and the seventy, through the terrifying and unfavourable judgment and through the Holy Blood poured out from the side of our Lord Jesus Christ, through the twenty four elders and through all those standing by the unseen throne of God and singing praise to him»

Θ[διὰ τοῦ ἀγίου αἵματος τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,]: **through the Holy Blood poured out from the side of our Lord Jesus Christ**¹²⁵

Given the juxtaposition of these two themes here: the day of judgment and the blood of Christ, we can ask the question: Is there any intrinsic connection between these two in the context of spiritual warfare and exorcism? As early as St. Polycarp and St. Ignatius, Church Fathers who were born while the apostles were still alive, the blood of Christ was being invoked in the context of the final judgment of spirits. St. Ignatius writes:

«Let no man deceive himself. Both the things which are in heaven, and the glorious angels, and rulers, both visible and invisible, if they believe not in the blood of Christ, shall, in consequence, incur condemnation»¹²⁶.

And St Polycarp testifies to the Philippians that God «raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave Him glory, and a throne at His right hand. To Him all things in heaven and on earth are subject. Him every spirit serves. He comes as the Judge of the living and the dead. His blood will God require of those who do not obey [believe in] Him»¹²⁷.

What does it mean «His blood will God require»? Orthodox Christianity in the tradition of the Fathers holds that the Son of God became human «the Son of Man» to become the representative of all men, and he died for the

ing the time in Jesus ministry the term still refers to Jewish leaders (e.g. Mt 15:2; 26:3; Lk 9:22; Acts 4:8; but Acts 11:30 seems to be the first reference to Christian elders). Luke speaks of the «ordaining of elders» (Acts 14:23) and the leaders of the Jerusalem church are «apostles and elders» (15:2, 4, 6, 22, 23, 16:4) but there were also «elders» in Ephesus and other churches (Act 20:17; cf. Tit 1:5; 1Tm 5:19; 1Pt 5:1). At first it seems they were quite similar to bishops (ἐπίσκοπος), as Paul calls the elders in Ephesus bishops, ἐπισκόποι (Acts 20:28; cf. Php 1:1, 1Tm 3:2, Tit 1:7).

¹²⁵ XIROPOTAMOU 98, φφ.137^v

¹²⁶ ST. IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans* (shorter version) ch. 6. ('incur condemnation' is written literally 'judgment is to them').

¹²⁷ ST. POLYCARP, *Letter to the Philippians*, ch. 2.

sins of all humanity¹²⁸. As Peter writes: «For Christ also suffered once for sins, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but made alive in the spirit» (1 Pt 3:18). Therefore God gave Jesus' blood as a free gift to wash away all human injustice (Mt 26:28, Eph 1:7), because both Old and New Testaments attest that «without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sins» (Heb 9:22). But to those who consciously reject Jesus and reject the gift of his blood for the forgiveness of their faults that blood will not save but «condemn unbelievers»¹²⁹. Thus the Gospels and Pauline letters generally depict those who reject Jesus as having the wrath of God on them¹³⁰. Furthermore Jesus himself says the Pharisees who reject him must answer for all the «righteous blood» shed from «innocent Abel» onward (Mt 23:35; Lk 11:51). Who escapes the wrath of God? All those who embrace Jesus for who he is, «the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world» (Jn 1:29); «Christ our Paschal Lamb has been sacrificed» (1 Cor 5:7) by his blood the people are saved. From the earliest tradition of the Church Fathers we see that all who believe that the Lamb's blood was shed for their sins will receive forgiveness and salvation¹³¹. Thus the healing and life-giving properties of Christ's blood are *actualized* by faith, but the wrath-provoking properties are *actualized* by unbelief. St Ignatius writes: those who «believe not in the blood of Christ, shall, in consequence, incur condemnation» including the demons «the glorious angels, and rulers, both visible and invisible» whose

¹²⁸ 1 Jn 2:1b-2 «But if anyone does sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world» for the scapegoat bearing away the sins of the nation see Lev 16:21-22.

¹²⁹ Cf. Heb 10:29; 1 Cor 11:27-30. As we have seen in the witness of Ignatius and Polycarp, other Church Fathers are also in agreement. Cf. ST. JEROME, *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, XXIII, 1418: «It is written that when the side of Jesus was pierced 'He shed thereout blood and water' (Jn 19:34). This has a mystical meaning. For Himself had said, 'Out of His belly shall flow rivers of living water' (Jn 7:38). But He shed forth blood also, of which the Jews sought that it might be upon themselves and upon their children. He shed forth water, therefore, which might wash believers; He shed forth blood also which might condemn unbelievers».

¹³⁰ Cf. Jn 3:36. For St Paul a central purpose of faith is to be saved from the coming wrath of God, 1 Thes 1:10; Rom 1:18. Faith in the blood of Christ has saved believers from all wrath: «Since, therefore, we have now been justified by his blood, much more shall we be saved by him from the wrath of God», Rom 5:9.

¹³¹ cf. e.g. JUSTIN MARTYR, *First Apology*, chap. 32, 457: «And after this He was crucified, that the rest of the prophecy might be fulfilled. For this 'washing His robe in the blood of the grape' (Gn 49:10) was predictive of the passion He was to endure, cleansing by His blood those who believe on Him» (cf. Jn 20:31; Mt 10:32-33; Rom 10:9; Eph 2:8).

doom is the final judgment precisely because they must answer for the blood of Christ¹³².

Thus we see here the Blood of Jesus seems to be the divine means, or the litmus test, by which the final judgment will be decided. Those who reject Christ's blood are facing judgment, while «everyone who lives and believes in» him have already passed over judgment, there is no more condemnation or wrath for them¹³³. Before his death Jesus says: «'Now is the judgment of this world; now will the ruler of this world be cast out. And I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all people to myself.' He said this to show by what kind of death he was going to die» (Jn 12:31-33). So the devil and all the evil of this world will come under «judgment» and be «cast out» in a kind of macro-exorcism (ἐκβάλλω is an exorcistic term, cf. Mt 7:22; 8:16; 10:1; 12:24; etc.). In John's Gospel Christ will be «exalted» on the cross as the Cosmic Exorcist (Jn 3:14) who will refine the world by freely pouring out his blood in the ultimate sign of love: «This blood poured forth washed clean all the world» the Church Fathers insist, because from the cross God's love crushed the devil in the fury of his cruelty¹³⁴.

¹³² Who will have to answer for this blood? The demons and unrepentant sinners who would, at least in Paul's estimation, fail to recognize that «all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God, and are justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God put forward as a propitiation by his blood, to be received by faith» (Rom 3:23-25). To the New Testament authors, it is not simply Roman soldiers or the Jewish authorities who were responsible for Jesus' crucifixion, but more importantly, in reflecting on Old Testament prophecies, especially Isaiah 53 (cf Acts 8:28-36), these authors came to believe that all humanity was responsible (Mt 26:28; Jn 1:29; Heb 9:28). All in some way participated in the death of this innocent Jesus who was «wounded for our transgressions; he was crushed for our iniquities... and the LORD has laid on him the iniquity of us all... like a lamb led to the slaughter... although he had done no wrong» (Is 53:4,6-7,9). As Peter quoting from Isaiah 53 writes: «He himself bore *our sins* in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness. 'By his wounds you have been healed'» (1 Pt 2:24, Is 53:5, emphasis mine).

¹³³ Jn 11:26; Cf. e.g. Jn 5:24 «Truly, truly, I say to you, whoever hears my word and believes him who sent me has eternal life. He does not come into judgment, but has passed from death to life». Cf. also 1 Jn 3:14; Rom 8:1. In the words of Paul true Christians have «died to sin» and passed through death into life because through baptism their sins were destroyed by Christ's crucifixion, and they now live a new life of service and love to God (Rom 6:1-7; Col 2:12). «Now that you have been set free from sin and have become slaves of God, the fruit you get leads to sanctification and its end, eternal life. For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord» (Rom 6:22-23).

¹³⁴ J. CHRYSOSTOM, *Homilies on the Gospel of John*, PG LIX, 3. For blood as the symbol and reality of God's love, St Ignatius, Epistle to the Trallians, VIII, 190, writes: «I love you greatly, and foresee the snares of the devil. Therefore, clothing yourselves with meekness, be ye renewed in faith, that is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, that is the blood of Jesus Christ».

John is explicit that «the judgment of this world» is the death of Christ, or more specifically, how one reacts to it: for those who accept Christ the judgment of their sins is over, it has already happened at Calvary – all sins died with Christ and are forgiven, and for those reject Christ what happened at Calvary will be their final judgment. «Whoever believes in the Son has eternal life; whoever does not obey the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God remains on him» (Jn 3:36).

The power of the Blood of Jesus for the destruction of demonic power has been recognized since the patristic period, and even in some of the later literature of the New Testament canon. This Blood plays a decisive role in the battle between good and evil as John writes in Revelation: «Now war arose in heaven, Michael and his angels fighting against the dragon. And the dragon and his angels fought back» (12:7) but the forces of evil are defeated, «and the great dragon was thrown down, that ancient serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world – he was thrown down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him» (v. 9). This is the famous fallen angel theme, but in the next verses we see clearly by what means Satan is cast down and by what authority:

«And I heard a loud voice in heaven, saying, ‘Now the salvation and the power and the kingdom of our God and the authority of his Christ have come, for the accuser of our brothers has been thrown down, who accuses them day and night before our God. And they have conquered him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, for they loved not their lives even unto death’» (Rv 12:10-11).

Satan, whose name means accuser, is naturally «the accuser of our brothers» who wants to see God's image plunged it into sin and hell. But what does it mean to say «the kingdom of God and the authority of his Christ have come»? It means that mankind has a glorious new hope: Jesus Christ has ascended to heaven with his newly acquired humanity, offering his most precious blood to his eternal Father in forgiveness of sins¹³⁵, and now reigns on God's throne as the supreme king of the universe (cf. Dan 7:13-14). How did Jesus as a human person gain this royal authority over all things? He earned it. St Paul tells us that God's eternal Son, though he was equal to God «emptied himself» to assume human nature, and embraced crucifixion «he humbled himself by becoming obedient to the point of

¹³⁵ Heb 9:11-12 «Christ appeared as a high priest of the good things that are coming, then through the greater and more perfect tent - not made with hands, that is, not of this creation - he entered once for all into the holy places, not by means of the blood of goats and calves but by means of his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption».

death, even death on a cross. Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name that is above every name» (Phil 2:7-9).

The basis of spiritual combat is that all believers share in the royal authority of Christ's blood that has vanquished the powers of evil. In fact they have conquered and continue to conquer Satan by Christ's authority: «And they have conquered him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, for they loved not their lives even unto death» (Rv 12:11). Who has conquered? Since angels do not fear death, this verse cannot refer to angelic combat, it must refer to humans «our brothers» (v. 10) who have conquered in bearing witness to the faith even at the risk of their lives. The blood of martyrs is united to the actual Blood of Christ, spilled «once and for all» for human salvation «by means of his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption» (Heb 9:12; 10:19). Christ's blood is the power by which all the saints would overcome the fear of spilling their own blood, and thus the power of Christ's blood would continue to conquer Satan long after Christ's earthly life. John is telling us that this cosmic war is still going on in his time, and that the martyrs and confessors participate in the eschatological triumph of God over evil in a decisive way: *they have conquered him by the blood of the Lamb.*

Many of the Church Fathers interpret «by the Blood of the Lamb» as a reference to blood of the Passover lamb in Exodus 14¹³⁶. By *the death of the firstborn son* (of Pharaoh) Israel was finally freed from bondage, and by the *blood of the lamb* the firstborn sons of Hebrew families were spared – both types of Christ who is God's firstborn Son and sacrificial Lamb, the God-Victim (Jn 1:29; Rv 5:6; 22:1; etc.). Just as the destroying angel had no power to kill the first born sons of the Israelites who had the blood of the lamb on their doorposts (Ex 12:12-13), so the devil has no power «to touch» the faithful who hide under the blood of Jesus (1 Jn 5:18). By Christ's death they will be freed from death and enter the promised land of heaven (Rom 5:9-10, 15, 21; 2 Tm 1:10). Thus John is intent on calling Jesus here the new Passover Lamb, whose blood will not save people from physical bondage to Pharaoh but from the spiritual death of sin, slavery to the devil, «the accuser of our brothers who accuses them day and night before our God» (Rv 12:10). Satan's accusations are silenced for those for whom the Lamb's blood has washed clean of all sin, for Christ will «snatch from the Evil One the souls that are precious above all, for by nothing can they be bought, save by the blood of Christ»¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ Cf. e.g. ST. BASIL, *De Spiritu Sancto*, XIV.xxi, 182; ST JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, IV. iv, 718; ST. JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dialogue with Trypho*, XL, 575.

¹³⁷ ST. EPHRAIM, *The Nisibene Hymns*, XIXv, 365.

The final victory over the demonic powers is achieved by the blood of Jesus that frees, unites and strengthens Christ's faithful disciples to persevere to the end. The blood of Christ is terrifying to demons because it constitutes the sign *par excellence* that their doom is sealed. It is precisely because the «Blood of God»¹³⁸ was poured out in infinite love, that wrath comes on all who reject such love. As the Xiropotamou exorcism indicates the *eschaton* will indeed be a «terrifying and unfavourable judgment» for Satan and his agents, because the blood of Christ will annihilate them. Satan boasted to swallow all souls in the pit of Hades. But when Satan devoured the innocent humanity of Jesus on the cross, unaware of his hidden Divinity, Satan's jaw was broken by his own cruelty, as Jerome explains¹³⁹. In choosing to suffer death for poor sinners the Son of God perfectly surrendered to his Father's will, though it was hard on his flesh, his Divine Nature secretly entered the jaws of death where he finally revealed the hidden power of his Divinity, smashing open the gates of Hades. The demons were shocked at their master's powerlessness to stop the Son of God from pillaging hell¹⁴⁰. Christ's loving cross has already publically humiliated the devil as the quintessential «murderer» and not a god, defeated the empire of death, and «disarmed the rulers and authorities and put them to open shame, by triumphing over them» (Jn 8:44; Col 2:15). Jesus' divine blood dealt a powerful blow to the demonic stranglehold over the human heart.

Christ's sacrificial death essentially brings the *spiritual* fulfilment to God's covenant oath of blessing to Abraham after the sacrifice of Isaac: «I will surely bless you, and I will surely multiply your offspring as the stars of heaven... And your offspring shall possess the gate of his enemies» (Gn 22:17). By Christ's outpouring of blood man's spiritual enemies are defeated and the gate of death and hell is conquered; thus Jesus says: «I am the Living One. I died, and behold I am alive forevermore, and I have the keys of Death and Hades» (Rv 1:18). So after Jesus descended to Hades to release Abraham and the other «spirits in prison» of death (1 Pt 3:19) he ful-

¹³⁸ Expression of IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, *Letter to the Ephesians*, I, 139.

¹³⁹ St Jerome uses a metaphor inspired by Ez 29:3-5; Satan is destroyed by the hidden Divinity of Christ: «The divine virtue of the Son of God [is like] a hook concealed beneath the form and fashion of human flesh [so that] might lure on the 'Prince of this world' to a conflict, whereby offering His flesh as a bait, His divinity underneath might catch him and hold him fast with its hook. Through the **shedding of His immaculate blood**... he alone who knows no stain of sin hath destroyed the sins of all... As, therefore... a fish seizes a baited hook... so he who had the power of death seized the body of Jesus in death, not being aware of the hook of **Divinity** enclosed within it, but having swallowed it he was caught forthwith, and the bars of hell being burst asunder, he was drawn forth as it were from the abyss», from *A Commentary on the Apostles Creed*, 16.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. 1 Pt 3:18-22; Eph 2:5-6; 4:8-10.

filled the scripture by leading the «host of captives» to heaven when he «ascended on high» (Eph 4:8-10; Ps 68:18). This «gift» of heaven is also for all the spiritually «dead» people in this age, the prisoners of sin¹⁴¹. God had promised to make stars of Abraham's offspring, and Paul says those who belong to Christ are «the offspring of Abraham, heirs according to promise» (Gal 3:29). The spiritual reality of the promise is not a long life with many children on earth but Christ reveals it as being «born from above» and raised up «as the stars in heaven» into God's presence (Jn 3:3; Gn 22:17). Thus the power of God's blood make humans be born again «from above... by water and Spirit» into God's family as «sons of God» who are described elsewhere as «stars» (Jn 3:3, 5; Gal 3:26; Jb 38:7). Just as Satan was once a «Day Star» who fell into death and caused the fall of «a third of the stars of heaven and cast them to the earth» (Is 14:12; Rv 12:4), so God's loving Son became man to make humanity alive, lifting them up to heaven to become «stars» and «sons of God» who will love God forever «to the praise of his glorious grace» (Phil 2:15; Eph 1:6), thus replacing the void left by the rebels who refused to praise. Even during this age of darkness the profound spiritual reality of God's children is that they shine as «φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ»¹⁴² enthroned «in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus» (Phil 2:15; Eph 2:6). In light of man's celestial destination God's promise to Daniel 12:2-3 makes sense: «Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky above; and those who turn many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever». The fact that God's blessing to Abraham in Gn 22:17 constitutes heavenly beatitude is also indicated by the blessing of Eph 1:3-7: «Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us in Christ with every *spiritual blessing in the heavenly places*... he predestined us for adoption as sons through Jesus Christ... In him we have redemption through his blood». To Paul Christ's blood gives man *right now* nothing less than citizenship in heaven as sons of the Most High, a citizenship and sonship that the ancient serpent rejected.

In the historical context of the doctrine of Christ's blood, it could be argued, that Ignatius and Polycarp are merely concerned with refuting the heresy of Docetism and thus they used belief in the blood of Jesus as the

¹⁴¹ Cf. e.g. «God, being rich in mercy, because of the great love with which he loved us, even when we were dead in our trespasses, made us alive together with Christ – by grace you have been saved... and seated us with him in the heavenly places» (Eph 2:5-6).

¹⁴² Literally «luminaries in the *cosmos*», «lights in the world», or «stars lighting up the sky».

sign to distinguish orthodoxy from heresy¹⁴³. Thus St Irenaeus questions the Docetists: «And how, again, supposing that He was not flesh, but was a man merely in appearance, could He have been crucified, and could blood and water have issued from His pierced side?»¹⁴⁴. But regardless of the original motivations the early apostolic tradition has stood the test of time, proving influential to subsequent Church Fathers who also stress the power of the blood of Christ, and it is not without biblical precedent.

The blood of Christ is recognized to this day as an invincible armour against evil. Even John XXIII, a Catholic pope who began the reform of Vatican II in the 1960s, writes in an apostolic letter about the blood of Christ: «Unlimited is the effectiveness of the God-Man's Blood – just as unlimited as the love that impelled him to pour it out for us... Such surpassing love suggests, nay demands, that everyone reborn in the torrents of that Blood adore it with grateful love... Nourished by his Body and Blood, sharing the divine strength that has sustained countless martyrs, they will stand up to the slings and arrows of each day's fortunes - even if need be to martyrdom itself for the sake of Christian virtue and the kingdom of God»¹⁴⁵

St. John Chrysostom lauds Jesus' blood in the context of spiritual combat¹⁴⁶: «This blood poured forth washed clean all the world... Christ has purchased us with His blood, and adorned us with His blood. They who share this blood stand with Angels and Archangels and the Powers that are above, clothed in Christ's own kingly robe, and having the armour of the Spirit. Nay, I have not as yet said any great thing: they are clothed with the King Himself». To «share in this blood» means for Christians to be clothed in spiritual armour, that is to drink worthily the consecrated wine of the Lord's Supper. St Chrysostom clearly believes this wine is Jesus' blood, a belief shared by all of the Church Fathers from at least the time of St Ignatius (107 A. D.) if not St Paul himself¹⁴⁷. Chrysostom encourages the faith-

¹⁴³ For many early Church Fathers, and perhaps for the author of St John's Gospel, the outpouring of blood and water (Jn 19:34) from the crucified body of Christ was put forward as proof against those who denied the incarnation, and believed that Jesus was 'god' in the sense of a divine spirit but not a true man of flesh and blood. To the Docetists Christ's earthly manifestation was only the appearance of humanity, and his death mere illusion (δοκέω to seem).

¹⁴⁴ IRENAEUS, *Adv. haeres.* 4, 33, 2, 1260.

¹⁴⁵ JOHN XXIII, *Apostolic Exhortation: Inde a primis*, June 30, 1960.

¹⁴⁶ J. CHRYSOSTOM, *Homilies on the Gospel of John*, PG XXXVI, 3.

¹⁴⁷ cf. 1 Cor 10:16; 11:27; St Ignatius, referring to the Eucharist, writes «I desire the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became afterwards of the seed of David and Abraham; and I desire the drink of God, namely His blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life» (*Letter to the Romans*, VII, 205). Ignatius is also famous for exalting the bishopric and coining

ful to drink worthily the blood of Christ for the purpose of spiritual war: «Let us then return from that table like lions breathing fire, having become terrifying to the devil; thinking on our Head, and on the love which He hath shown for us... [this blood] waters our souls, and works in them some mighty power. This blood, if rightly taken, drives away demons, and keeps them afar off from us, while it calls to us Angels and the Lord of Angels. For wherever they see the Lord's blood, demons flee, and Angels run together».

And if the demons do chase Christians in their pilgrimage towards the cross which is the ocean of God's mercy, the demons will be swallowed in the ocean of God's wrath – to use the imagery of the Church Fathers. Because, as the Fathers saw it, just as Pharaoh's army was drowned in the Red Sea when they tried to chase the Israelites on their way to the promised land (Ex 14), so the demons will be drowned by the blood and water from the side of Christ in baptism, which opens for humans as ea of mercy but for demons utter destruction¹⁴⁸. As Moses said to the Israelites being pursued by the Egyptian army: «Fear not, stand firm, and see the salvation of the LORD, which he will work for you today. For the Egyptians whom you see today, you shall never see again. The LORD will fight for you» (Ex 14:13-14). To the Fathers the Egyptian army was symbolic of the demonic forces, drowned in the ocean of the waters of baptism (cf. 1 Cor 10:2). The New Testament imagery of Baptism, baptizing with water and with fire in the Holy Spirit (Mt 3:11) is drawn from Isaiah 43 where the Lord says again: «Fear not, for I have redeemed you; I have called you by name, you are mine. When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; and

the terms «catholic church» to refer to the ‘universal’ church (*katholicos*) and Eucharist as referring to the Lord's Supper: «Let no man do anything connected with the Church without the bishop. Let that be deemed a proper Eucharist, which is [administered] either by the bishop, or by one to whom he has entrusted it. Wherever the bishop shall appear, there let the multitude also be; even as, wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church» (*The Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans*, VIII, 232).

¹⁴⁸ Cf. JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dialogue with Trypho*, XL. ST. BASIL THE GREAT, *De Spiritu Sancto*, XIV, 18: «So in like manner, the history of the exodus of Israel is recorded to show forth those who are being saved through baptism. For the firstborn of the Israelites were preserved, like the bodies of the baptized, by the giving of grace to them that were marked with blood. For the blood of the sheep is a type of the blood of Christ; and the firstborn, a type of the first-formed... And the firstborn were preserved by God from being touched by the destroyer, to show that we who were made alive in Christ no longer die in Adam... the sea is typically a baptism bringing about the departure of Pharaoh, in like manner as this washing causes the departure of the tyranny of the devil. The sea slew the enemy in itself: and in baptism too dies our enmity towards God. From the sea the people came out unharmed: we too, as it were, alive from the dead, step up from the water saved by the grace of Him who called us».

through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you; when you walk through fire you shall not be burned, and the flame shall not consume you» (Is 43:1-2). Thus as the original Exodus was a redemption of the nation of Israel through the sacrifice of a lamb and passing through the sea, so baptism is the New Exodus that will redeem God's people through baptism into the new Paschal Lamb who, in the fire of his love, poured out blood and water destroying all man's spiritual enemies. And by revealing the ocean of his mercy at his death, the Lamb gave new life and liberty to his children.

Speaking of his death Jesus says to his disciples: «The cup that I drink you will drink, and with the baptism with which I am baptized, you will be baptized» (Mk 10:39). Jesus' death is a baptism, into which all humanity has been or will be crucified with Christ and those who believe in him are resurrected with him, reborn to eternal life with Christ «the firstborn from the dead»¹⁴⁹. Thus Paul writes: «one has died for all, therefore all have died» (2 Cor 5:14) and «We were buried therefore with [Jesus] by baptism into death, in order that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life» (Rom 6:4). Christ died to pour out his life for all people; he transformed death into a gateway into eternal life: «For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive» (1 Cor 15:22). The Xiropotamou text clearly makes reference to John 19:34 «One of the soldiers pierced [Jesus'] side with a spear, and at once there came out blood and water». St John Chrysostom, St Ignatius, and many Fathers as well, saw in these lines a reference to baptism: «In this place blood and water show forth the same thing, for baptism is His passion»¹⁵⁰. Jerome and other Fathers also interpreted this flow of blood and water as the birth of the Church. Just as Eve was formed out of Adam's rib while God put him into a deep sleep, so the Church, the new Eve and bride of Christ, was born out of «the blood and water» from Christ's «rib» while he was 'sleeping' on the cross.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Rv 1:5; cf. Act 26:23; Rom 8:11; 1 Cor 15:20; Col 1:18; 1Pe 1:3. Christ's death is a birth into eternal life, thus he is «the firstborn among many brothers» Rom 8:29. He died to destroy death, so that in dying with Christ people might no longer perish but be born into eternal life, 2 Tm 1:10; Heb 2:12-15.

¹⁵⁰ J. CHRYSOSTOM, *Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, PG LVXIII,832, cf. also Jerome, *A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, XXIII, 1418.

¹⁵¹ Thus John makes the parallel with Genesis, for in Jn 19:34 «blood and water from the side» is literally «from the rib» of Christ: ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς which is undoubtedly a reference to Gn 2:22 and God's forming Eve from Adam's rib: φόκοδόμησεν κύριος ὁ θεός τὴν πλευράν, ἥν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Αδαμ, εἰς γυναῖκα (LXX), «And the Lord God built the rib which he took from Adam into a woman».

One of the hallmarks of the liturgical exorcisms, discussed above, is the repeated mention of baptism (or some other allusion to washing) in the context. Since exorcism and baptism were closely linked in the early Church, the proliferation of such liturgical texts with these elements juxtaposed probably met a growing need in the fourth century¹⁵².

Liturgical exorcisms were regularly performed at Baptismal initiations since Baptism signifies liberation from sin and from its instigator the devil. Thus prepared, he is able to confess the faith of the Church, to which he will be «entrusted» by Baptism¹⁵³. It is no surprise then that the Xiropotamou text mentions the holy blood of Jesus as a clear indication of Baptism. The traditional Greek Orthodox view holds that through Baptism, one becomes not only a Christian, but a person in the full moral and legal sense. For many Greeks to be Greek is to be Orthodox. Most of the Greeks believe that without baptism one is vulnerable to demonic assault and if a child should die in this state, the soul goes neither to heaven nor to hell. So to be properly baptized means to be under the protection of God and the Church. The rite of Baptism, properly performed, dissociates the individual from the devil: «when such people [catechumens] come forward to receive the waters of salvation and the sanctification of Baptism, we ought to be convinced and firmly believe that the devil is there overpowered and that through God's mercy the man now dedicated to him is set free¹⁵⁴».

The Baptismal ceremony itself evokes a broad spectrum of themes rich in symbolism. The central mystery of Baptism, both textually and performatively, is a process of death and rebirth. When the initiate is baptised into Christ, the faithful believe that the person dies and is reborn just as Christ died and was resurrected (Rom 6:3-4). Alongside its associations with death and rebirth, the Baptismal water also forms part of an elaborate imagery of purification from the unclean and polluting spirits. Impurity is sin and all prior sin is washed away in the Baptismal immersion.

The general orientation of all churches in Greece is along an east-west axis, with the main entrance in the west with the altar towards the east. The various rites of the Baptismal office that take place at the church are

¹⁵² For the study of exorcisms at Baptism see H.A. KELLY, *The devil at Baptism*.

¹⁵³ Some exorcistic amulets have 'Baptismal' prayers inscribed on them and were worn as protective amulets (see R. KOTANSKY, «Greek Magical Amulets», 174-180. One is reminded also of the sort of amulets studied most recently by J. SPIER, «Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets», 25-62; cf. C. BONNER, «Liturgical Fragments on Gnostic Amulets», 362-367. Note also F.C. CONYBEARE – A.J. MACLEAN, *Rituale Armenorum*, 391-394, for exorcisms in Baptismal contexts. A study of the exact relationship between the late Christian liturgical exorcisms and their early (Jewish) counterparts in the magical papyri and kindred texts has yet to be undertaken.

¹⁵⁴ Epistulae lxix, 15, 4:44.

woven into a whole by the movement through space. The overall direction is from outside to inside, from west (symbolic of the end of the day, darkness, exile) to east (symbolic of birth, Eden, divine origin). The first part of the service is meant to take place outside the main sanctuary (west, outside). The renunciation of the devil (through the action of blowing on the catechumen) is performed while facing west. The Baptism itself takes place in the centre of the church and at the moment of immersing the child in the front, the priest is instructed to face the east. The progression from west to east also represents movement from darkness to light; the demons of darkness are defeated by the light of Christ. The initiate is illumined by Baptism and Chrismation (anointing) and becomes a child of light (1 Th 5:5). A set of spiritual associations with the respective states is set out schematically below:

Unbaptised	Baptised
devil	Christ
Darkness	Light
Black	White
West	East
Impure	Pure
Sin	Sinless
Nameless	Named
Death	Life
Outside	Inside
Wicked	Righteous
Spirits (demons)	Holy Spirit (God)

There is no doubt that even if Baptism is heavily concerned with the endowment of the Holy Spirit, yet it is largely considered to be an exorcistic ceremony with the expulsion of evil spirits, symbolized by the crossing of the Red Sea as we have seen. It is important to observe that exorcism is not effected solely through the usual verbal commands such as «I exorcise you» or «come out and depart», but also through gestures such as insufflations, the reading of the Gospels, the use of the blessed water and the litanies of Saints. Blowing, spitting, immersing in water, and anointing with oil may all serve to expel demons. Virtually every aspect of the ritual may be viewed as apotropaic against demons. Even the cross is one of the most apotropaic objects in case of demon assault. Almost every church in Greece has an image of Christ on the cross figured on its icon screen. Beneath this cross are the skull and bones of Adam. The blood of Christ drips from the cross onto these bones, symbolizing Christ's redemption of earlier sin and the release from death that his crucifixion has conferred. The naming of the

child helps join the child to the community socially, while the instilment of the Holy Spirit incorporates the new member spiritually into the body of Christ. Similarly, the gift of the Holy Spirit at Baptism creates a spiritual bond between the initiate and fellow Christians while allowing for the fact of individual difference. All this shows the importance of the exorcism in the rite of Baptism because without the negative, there can be no positive.

φ.135^v.

τόν ἀκατάπαυστον ὑμνον,¹⁵⁵ καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἔργων τοῦ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ τῶν ἐνουρανῷ καὶ ἐπίγῆς γεγενημένων διὰ τῶν ἀγίων πατριαρχῶν Ἀβραὰμ, Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ¹⁵⁶καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων τῶν πρὸ νόμου κ(αὶ) μετὰ νόμον,¹ διὰ τῶν ἀγίων δεκατεσσάρων χιλιάδων νηπίων τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου¹⁵⁷ ἀναιρεθέν των κ(αὶ) διὰ πάντων, κ(αὶ) πασῶν

«The un-halting hymn, and through all the wonderful works of Almighty God both heavenly and earthly that came through the holy patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and all the saints who lived before the law, through the fourteen thousand holy children slain by Herod and through all, and all»

¹⁵⁵ The unhalting hymn here is referring to the Trisagion: «αγιος αγιος αγιος κυριος σαβαωθ». It occurs in the liturgy after the Eucharistic prayer (cf. Isaiah 6:3; Rev, 4:8).

¹⁵⁶ The recurring allusions to the powerful acts of God, or of heroes like Moses, David, Solomon, and others, give as many liturgical variations as biblical tradition and doctrine would allow. Equivalent exorcisms, containing both Jewish and Christian elements have been found somewhat intact in the Greek magical papyri, and, in more fragmentary conditions, on the magic lamellae and curse-tablets. In these texts, too, the unclean demon is adjured by God's creative and salvific acts, his divine attributes, his celestial throne, or the hosts of angelic beings. Exorcistic adjurations (*Εξορκισμοί*) expelling evil spirits by their citation of the mighty deeds of God are also widely documented from texts of a somewhat later period. Such liturgical exorcisms are preserved in medieval manuscripts in the form of separate handbooks or are scattered among larger collections that house various divinatory astrologoumena, magico-medical recipes, and pseudo-Solomonic anecdota. The more important of the longer corpora are those published by J. GOAR, *Euchologion*; A. VASSILIEV, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*; A. DMITRIEVSKIY, *Opisanie liturgic eskich rukopisej chranjas c ichsja v bibliotekachpravoslavnago Vostaoka*; F. PRADEL, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete*; A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*. Examples of shorter handbooks or only partially edited exorcistic manuscripts have also been published by REITZENSTEIN (1904), STRITTMATTER (1932), L. DELATTE (1957), and most recently JACOB (1971), and M. ΠΑΠΑΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – M. ВАРВОУНΗΣ, *Εξορκισμοί των Ιερομόναχον Βενέδικτου Τζανκαρόλου*, to name a few; See also: R. KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets*, 148.

¹⁵⁷ Mt. 2:16.

[τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἔργων τοῦ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ... γεγενημένων διὰ τῶν ἀγίων] **The wonderful works of Almighty God... that came through the saints.**

The demons are opponents par excellence to the Christ's disciples and their challenge enables the saints to refine and express their holy nature that grows in them by the power of sanctifying grace. Theologically it is not a contest of equals, but symbolically there is often a convergence between the image of the enemies (Demons) and that of the holy figures. This pattern may be observed in the Old Testament where God's all-encompassing power is tested, and so revealed, by the rebellious angel Satan who, like him, was considered immaterial. This distinction between divine immateriality and angelic immateriality was debated by theologians¹⁵⁸. At Baptism the evil spirits that possess the uninitiated are expelled by the Holy Spirit; the same space is contested by similarly conceived supernatural forces (both called *pneumata*) that operate through the same materials (air and water). At other times there may be symbolic convergences that cannot immediately be related to a particular contest. An example would be St. Christopher of Tilos. The inhabitants of the Greek island of Tilos say that the saint was so handsome that female admirers would not allow him the peace to pursue his chosen path toward God. Seeing his situation, God bestowed a dog's head on him so he could observe his prayers unmolested. Animal features, including those of a dog, are common among demonic beings, especially the devils. According to certain widely circulated medieval traditions, devils were said to transform themselves into dogs for the express purpose of entering convents and deflowering nuns¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁸ Χ. ΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΣ, *Δογματική της Ορθοδόξου Ανατολικής Εκκλησίας*, 123. ID., *Εκκλησία και πολιτεία εξεπόψεως ορθοδόξου*.

¹⁵⁹ Many other magical practices are common in Greece. According to R. BLUM – E. BLUM, *Health and Healing*, 161, in Naxos, spells are transferred alternately to successive generations, from mother to son, from one daughter to another, and so on. In other parts of Greece spells are transferred only from woman to woman. It is also believed that these formulas should be kept secret in order to maintain the strength and effectiveness. Writing about his research trips to Naxos, the folklorist S. IMELLOU, *Πέριτονεντη Νάξω*, 176, noted that spells against jaundice are very common in Greece, they seem to be historically attested and there seems to be an astrological component to many of the spells. Usually the ceremony against jaundices begin with an invocation to the Holy Trinity. See. C. STEWART, *Demons and the Devil*, 227-228. According to R. BLUM – E. BLUM, *Health and Healing*, 136, 155, and S. IMELLOU, *Πέριτονεντη Νάξω*, 185-86, particularly important is the Moon (either full moon or new moon) and the stars, which constantly refer to spells related to defects. The importance of astrological and meteorological phenomena in spells and other rituals such Klidonas is huge but is not the scope of this study. In Naxos there is a similar spell jaundice followed by a ceremony consist-

Given the fine line that transpires between on the one hand, the exotikà (malicious things living at the margins of society) as they are experienced by laypeople and, on the other, demons and the devil, representing the official Orthodox church dogma concerning evil, we find a variety of stories throughout Greece relating to how people in recognition of the protection given to them by Virgin Mother (*H Παναγία*) or various saints, offer votives, candles or money. Thus at times Saints and exotikà which normally oppose one another, can be also similar in relation to certain events and contexts. On some occasion this may lead to quite specific similarities, as both are constrained to operate at similar times across identical media¹⁶⁰.

In a number of cases sailors would save themselves by supplicating the saints. Many ships also carry an icon of the Παναγία or of other saints. This applies also to many cars and buses. This concept very clearly points to the similarity and the inter-changeability between what we call the Christian sacra and the exotikà. This is more realistic and more true on the level of the village, family and individual where the relation between saints and exotikà reveals itself to be more subtle¹⁶¹. It is not strange therefore that we find instances where demons and saints intermingle, sometimes borrowing formal features from one another, in other instances expressing or representing values and powers opposite to those we might have expected following a structural model. Like saints whom people appeal to through votives or by offerings of wine, oil, or liturgical service in their chapel the exotica may also be appealed to with offerings.

φ.135^r τῶν ἀγίων ἀνδρῶν τε κ(αί) γυναικῶν, τῶν τῷ ἀγίῳ θεῷ εὐαρεστησάντων ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν. Ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς πάντα τά πονηρὰ πνεύματα διὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων ἵνα μοι εἴπῃς τὸ ὄνομά σου: - Εἴτα δείξον

ing in placing wine in glass (the amount is proportional to the age of the victim), then throwing inside an object of pure gold, like a wedding ring or another ring that has precious stones on it. On top of the beaker is placed an open scissors in a form of a cruciform which is left out all night under the stars and gathered before the sun. This operation is repeated for three days, but the scissors must remain all the time on the glass. In the village of Komiaki in Naxos, the *xorkistra* should go the person who brings the well and return midnight following a different route. And in this case, fill a glass with water from the well and pour into a gold object. See [on line access: 13.6.2014].htm.www.e-typos.com/content/entheta_pdf/9magic.pdf.

¹⁶⁰ One important consideration to make is that for the Byzantines there were no well-defined boundaries between the natural and the supernatural as there were no palpable boundaries between evil magic and the beneficial miracle...«his frontier was obscured in the minds of the population of the empire». A. KAZHDAN, «Holy and unholy miracle workers», 73.

¹⁶¹ Of these there are other examples. See for example the article by A. KAZHDAN, «Holy and unholy miracle workers», 73-82.

τόν τίμιον σταυρόν, κρατών εἰς τὸ χέρισου κ(αὶ) λέγε: Ἰδού ὁ τίμιος Σταυρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, φεύγε πονηρὲ διάβολε, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς^K

«[By all the] the holy men and women, full of virtue in holy God during their life. I adjure all you evil spirits by all the saints in order that you tell me your name. Take in the right hand the honourable cross of powers and he says: Behold, the honourable Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, flee O evil devil, Jesus Christ!»

^K[Ιησοῦς Χριστός]: **Jesus Christ**

The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles attest to the existence of secular exorcists who were not explicitly in communion with the group of Jesus' disciples and apostles but who actively used Jesus name for exorcisms¹⁶². St Paul writes that God has highly exalted Jesus and «given him the name that is above every name» (Phil 2:9; cf. Eph 1:21). As is reported by secular traditional texts, in secular exorcisms the names of holy people and the names of saints are widely mentioned even though such exorcisms are non-ecclesial. Secular exorcisms can be defined as those performed by someone who is not a member of the clergy or affiliated with any particular religion or Church. Secular exorcists were and still today speak in the name of a «higher being», be it medical science or some psychological, metaphysical or spiritual belief system. They might invoke also the name of Jesus, speak of God or the devil, depending upon the particular delusions, hallucinations or religious belief system held by the patient. They may firmly and literally believe in the physical reality of the pathological problem manifested in the patient's symptoms and suffering, and dispense solutions or encouragement while joining with the patient in a «therapeutic alliance» against the wicked and debilitating forces bedevilling them. However, in this framework, it is clear that the degree of emphasis on the unique power of the name Jesus Christ is the element which distinguished and dif-

¹⁶² «And John answered him, saying, 'Master, we saw one casting out demons in thy name, and he does not follow us: and we forbade him, because he does not follow us'. But Jesus said, 'Forbid him not: for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me'». See Mk 9:38-39, note this is before Jesus' death and resurrection. Christian exorcism is founded in the belief that Jesus commanded his followers to expel «evil spirits» in his name, cf. Mt 10:1;10:8;Mk 6:7;Lk 9:110:17;Mk 16:17.

ferentiated the apostolic work of the early Church from the work of the magicians of those times¹⁶³.

On the other hand, an exorcism performed by the Church through its ordained clergy who has first ruled out any case of psychiatric illness, tends to take literally the phenomenon of demonic possession and the casting out of demons, while a secular exorcist looks at this process from a more psychological, symbolic or metaphorical perspective. However, the methods and, hopefully, the results are similar.

It is generally held that in late antiquity the accusation of magic was used by Christians to attack the pagans. However, there is quite ample documentation to show that Christians themselves accused other Christians of dabbling in the magic arts, in order to strike at their respective adversaries, especially when doctrinal disputes arose between bishops and their principal collaborators. With such a charge, they not only aroused the fears of the masses, but also provoked the intervention of the imperial authorities, which could bring about the removal and the exile of the condemned and even execution, as in the case of Priscilian. The efficacy of this accusation was facilitated by a widespread belief in the terrible power of magic and the fear of evil, but also by the ambiguity of the powers of the magician, which could be easily confused with the supernatural powers of a saint. Where the distinction between them depended on the source of their powers, respectively, demons or God¹⁶⁴. However, we must not forget, that the accusation of using demonic power to perform miracles was also directed at Jesus. The synoptic Gospels show that Jesus shared the ideas of his time, but so far transcended them that by a commanding word alone, without the use of any magical practices, he cast out unclean spirits.

φ.136^γ. νικᾶ, ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ φυλῆς τοῦ Ἰούδα, ὁ ἐκ ρίζης Δαβίδ, ὁ Ἐμμανουὴλ. Οἱ Χριστός βασιλεύει, ὁ Χριστός ἔξουσιάζει, ὁ Χριστός θανατοῖ, ὁ Χριστός ζωογονεῖ, Ἅγιος Ἅγιος Ἅγιος Χριστός ὁ σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ

¹⁶³ See G. MARASCO PAGES, «L'accusa di magia». The references regarding the theme of magic in the New Testament are ample. See: D.E. AUNE, «Magic in Early Christianity» and S. BENKO, *Pagan Criticism of Christianity During the First Two Centuries A.D.*, 1055-1101. The same can be said regarding the Byzantine traditional magic. See R. GREENFIELD, «A contribution to Paleographic Magic», 117-153. And Σ.Ν. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Η μαγεία σταθυζαντίν ἀνομικά κείμενα*. According to Professor Troianos, the term «white magic» contrasts the apotropaic magic by black magic, which acts to cause harm to potential victims, unlike the white magic which seeks to chase away evil and cure diseases. See Σ.Ν. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Μαγεία καὶ Δίκαιοστο Βυζάντιο*, 449-572. For details about white magic in Byzantium and the texts of the Byzantine physicians, see M. ΧΡΟΝΗ, *θεραπείες ασθενειῶν*, 379-406.

¹⁶⁴ On this theme see also S. GARRETT, *Light on a dark Subject*, 142-165.

ούρανός καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, ὁ ὁν
εὐλογημένος εἰς τούς αἰῶνας ἀμήν. Ἀναστήτω ὁ Θεός κ(αὶ)
διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἔχθροὶ αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) φυγέτωσαν ἀπὸ προσώπου
αὐτοῦ,

«He is victorious, *the Lion from the tribe of Judah, the root of David*, the Emmanuel. The Christ reigns, Christ has authority, Christ *puts to death*, Christ *makes alive*, Holy, Holy, Holy, Christ the [God of] hosts, heaven and earth are full of his glory, Hosanna in the highest, blessed is he unto the ages, Amen. *Let God arise and let his enemies be dispersed and let them flee from his face.*»

In the Hebrew scripture YHWH possesses divine attributes that are proper to him alone; his power and glory are infinite, and no other divinity or created intelligence can exhibit them. But according to the Nicene-Constantinople Creed of Orthodox belief Christ himself is God, *homousias* with the Father; Christ is the Son of God, and the eternal word. Christ reigns on the throne of God, exhibiting all divine power and was infinitely glorified with the Father before creation began (cf. Jn 17:5). In a display of the splendour of Christ's divine power, we see in this text a fusion of Old and New Testament divine epithets. Here the classic divine qualities of YHWH are accorded to Christ perhaps for the purposes of exorcism, so that Christ's power may be displayed through faith, just as the unconquerable power of God in the Old Testament was displayed through faith of Israel in their God (cf. e.g. 2 Ch 20:1-26). For example «Christ puts to death, Christ makes alive» is a quote directly from 1 Samuel 2:6 LXX, and «Holy Holy Holy... full of his glory» is from Isaiah 6:3 – both with Χριστός inserted in place of the divine name, YHWH. But it is simpler than that. In the mind of these exorcists, it may have been that the divine name YHWH was not being replaced but only the milder κυρίος. It was only natural for Christians familiar with the LXX to replace what was originally YHWH with Χριστός for two reasons: 1) the Jewish translators who made the LXX had already replaced YHWH, out of reverence for the divine name, with κυρίος (Lord, *adonai*) in their translation and 2) the affirmation that «Jesus is κυρίος» is found in every book of the New Testament. Thus, replacing κυρίος with Χριστός was natural and reflected a foundational tenant of Christian faith from the beginning, namely, that is that Jesus is Lord (1 Cor 12:3). This replacement was most likely done without regard for the original Hebrew setting of the divine epithets. So κυρίος is replaced with Χριστός but notice that where the Θεός is used from the LXX quotation it is not replaced with Χριστός: as in the end of the above citation, *Let God arise and let his ene-*

mies be dispersed... flee from his face, «Ἀναστήτω ὁ Θεός... προσώπου αὐτοῦ» is an exact quotation of Ps 68:1 (LXX).

But the God-Man Christ has achieved a new victory, one that the incorporeal YHWH of the Old Testament could not. «Weep not the lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David has conquered» (Rv 5:5), the elder consoles John thus in Revelation 5:5 (cf. 1 Sam 2:6). God has fulfilled his promise to David to bring forth a Messiah from the tribe of Judah who would rule the whole earth: «Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage, and the ends of the earth your possession» (Ps 2:8). It was not enough for God to simply destroy Satan by his own omnipotent power, he wanted to do it through the very virtues that the devil lacked: obedience, servitude, and humility. Christ humbled himself to become human, to serve mankind by pouring out his blood for all people, bearing the penalty of their bad behaviour, «He committed no sin... He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness. By his wounds you have been healed» (1 Pt 2:22, 24). He did this so that all who humbled themselves to accept Jesus in repentance would be freely washed, justified, and raised up with Jesus to heaven (1 Cor 6:11; 2 Cor 5:21; Eph 2:5-6). Thus through the humble Christ God crushed the pride of the devil who enslaved humanity, and opened the way to paradise. But Jesus was resurrected and ascended into heaven. This is Christ's victory over the beast of Daniel 7:11-14 – the Lion of the tribe of Judah has triumphed, announcing his victory from the Cross he said «it is finished» (Jn 19:30), what is finished? The devil's kingdom. No longer can Satan tyrannize God's precious human creatures, because «our citizenship is in heaven» God has made humanity sit with Jesus on his throne (Eph 2:6). God has given mankind a new master and a new brother, a new hope and a new friend – and through him someday all creation will be restored in the new heavens and the new earth (Is 66:22; Rv 21:1; Rom 8:21).

φ.136^τ. ως ἐκ λείπει καπνός ἐκλιπέτωσαν, ως τήκεταικηρός ἀπό προσώπου πυρός, καὶ ἡχιών ἀπὸ τοῦ καύματος τοῦ ἡλίου. Κατηραμένε διάβολε, τί βραδύνεις καὶ οὐ λέγεις τὸ ὄνομά σου; Δὸς δόξαν τῷ ἀγίῳ θεῷ, φοβήθητι τοὺς τοιούτουςκαὶ τοσούτους ὄρκισμούς, ὄρκίζω σε διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰπὲ τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὄρκίζω σε δι' αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾧ πᾶν

φ.137^γ. γόνυ κάμπτει ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, ἵνα εἰπῆς τὸ ὄνομά σου. ὄρκίζω σε διὰ τὸν κενώσαντα¹⁶⁵ ἐαυτὸν καὶ μορφὴν δούλου λαβόντα, εἰπὲ τί σοί ἔσται ὄνομα, ὄρκίζω σε διὰ τοῦ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἴδιον ἐκχέοντος ἐπὶ σταυροῦ, εἰπέ τὸ ὄνομά σου, εἰπέ φανερῶς, ἐγὼ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐρωτῶ σε: τί σοί ἔστι ὄνομα;

¹⁶⁵ A reference to Phil. 2:7

φ.137^r. Εἰπέ εἰ καὶ ἄλλους ἔχεις μετὰ σοῦ συνεργούς, καὶ πῶς ἔχεις καὶ ἐκ ποίας τάξεως,^Δ ἢ πῶς καλεῖται ὁ ἄρχων σου, ἐν ποίᾳ ἔξουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει,^Δ εἰς ποῦ καὶ ἐν τίνι τόπῳ εἶσαι ὥκειμένος, νὰ μοι εἰπεῖς πρὸν ἐκβεῖναι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου ἐν τίνι ὑποτάσσει, εἰπὲ, εἰπέ πότε ἐξέρχει, καὶ τί σμεῖον ποιεῖς ὅταν ἐξέλθῃς, ὁρκίζω σε διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου.

Α[ποίας τάξεως, ἢ πῶς καλεῖται ὁ ἄρχων σου, ἐν ποίᾳ ἔξουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει]: to which class do you belong, or what is your name of your leader, and which is your authority and power.

It is already clear that the demons described in the exorcism texts are many and unnamed. According to the Orthodox doctrine, many angels fell together with Satan. In the exorcism of Basil they are referred to as «all the ranks falling with him [the devil]»¹⁶⁶. As we see here in the Xiropotamou 98 text, the demons are compared with an army where it is said that they have classes (τάξεις) and a commander (άρχων)¹⁶⁷ a term which we have discussed above. There are points on which the exorcisms correspond closely to the Orthodox doctrine. One must not forget that in the New Testament, Christ asks the demon what is his name and it responds, «My name is legion, for we are many» (Mk 5:9; Lk 8:30). The name legion is of course a Latin military term, where the Roman legion of the first century consisted of several thousands of soldiers both foot and cavalry – but here the enemies are spiritual, arrayed in battle against the people of God. The throng of demons is also referred to in the exorcisms as a «crowd», as the «collaborators» (συνεργάτες - συναίμοι) of the devil who is described as «dragon like» (δρακοντοειδής) or «beast-faced» (θηριοπρόσωπος)¹⁶⁸. This accords with the Jewish perceptions of the tyrannical human empires which persecuted God's people, and were thus represented as beasts in Jewish apocalyptic literature such as the book of Daniel (Dan 7:3-12; 8:20-21). In the New Testament it is precisely over these beast-like empires that Satan claims to have authority (Mt 4:8-9; Lk 4:5-7) which corresponds well Jesus' name for the devil in John's Gospel «the ruler of this world» (Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11). This world ruler κοσμοκράτωρ along with his angels (Eph 6:12), would presumably continue to wield authority after the resurrection (cf. Rv 2:10) as attested by historical fact, where the Roman empire, from time to time, terrorized God's people in the brief but severely bloody per-

¹⁶⁶ EXORCISM OF ST. BASIL THE GREAT, PAP 107-111.

¹⁶⁷ XIROPOTAMOU 98, φ.137^r

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Rv 12:3; 13:1-2; St. Basil calls the demons **stíphos** or co-workers of the devil, 147 -149.

secutions of the first three centuries A. D. This bestial imagery also corresponds to folk perceptions of the exotiká as monstrous, having the face or feet of various animals. Elsewhere in the exorcisms they are referred to as «donkey-limbed» or able to metamorphose into a variety of forms¹⁶⁹.

While the demons may cause disease and illness, their much more widely recognized activity is to lead people astray and to cause them to sin. They were purported to elicit desire (επιθυμία), and accentuate lewdness (λαγνεία), shamelessness (αναίδεια), greed (φιλαργυρία), envy (φθόνος), lethargy (ληθάργους ποιούνται); stir up illusions (ιωδάλμασιν ταράσσονται); lies (ψευδείς), pride (υπερηφάνεια), vanity (ματαιότης), evil (πονηρία), idolatry (ειδωλολατρία), and covetousness (πλεονεξία). In short, the demons are always inviting humans to break God's commandments, they incite sin, and so wherever anyone is doing anything displeasing to God, the demons are there to capitalise on it.

Paul cautions those whose «life is hidden with Christ in God» to avoid «sexual immorality, impurity, passion, evil desire, and covetousness (πλεονεξία), which is idolatry» (Col 3:3, 5). Idolatry, Paul says, is a sacrifice that brings «communion with demons» (1 Cor 10:20-21). What is gained in this sacrifice is the fleeting pleasure of sin, what is «sacrificed» is the presence of God, or the life of the human soul. By sin the divine life of freedom and joy that God has given becomes slavery to demons. Demons actually feed on the life-blood of their poor human slaves who fall into sin and away from God's commandments (Ez 16:20; Gal 4:8). «The wages of sin is death» (Rom 6:23) and human death is the nourishment of Satan; it is «the serpent's food» (Is 65:25). Demons thus are at the root of all evils¹⁷⁰. St John writes: «Little children, let no one deceive you... whoever makes a practice of sinning is of the devil, for the devil has been sinning from the beginning. The reason the Son of God appeared was to destroy the works of the devil» (1 Jn 3:7-8). So if one desires to be free of the devil's power, he must desire to separate himself from sin. Through exorcism, faith, and/or renewal of baptism the liberating power of Jesus' name flows into the human soul, resurrecting it from the dead, and liberating it from the destructive power of Satan. This is a beginning of the process of sanctification by which the wounds the devil has made in the human psyche are slowly healed and Divine Life in the soul is increasingly restored.

¹⁶⁹ L. DELATTE, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme*, 93.

¹⁷⁰ A. VASSILEV, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, 332-333.

φ.138^v. τοῦ φανερώσαντός σε διὰ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν Ἀποστόλων Πέτρου, ἐν Σίμωνι τῷ μάγῳ κ(αὶ) ἐν κύνωπι τῷ ἀγχίστῳ¹⁷¹ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἀπόστολος Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ. Εἰπὲ ἀέρῳ τησάσου, πανοῦργε διάβολε, τα πείνω σον ἔαυτόν, ὁ ἄδης ἐστὶν εἰς καθέδρανσου, ἐκ εἰ ἐστιν ἡ οἰκησίς σου. Λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐστι καιρὸς τοῦ ἀναμένειν.

φ.138^r. Ο Κύριος ἐγγὺς ἥξει κ(αὶ) οὐ χρονίσει κρῖναι τὴν γῆν, κ(αὶ) σὲκ(αὶ) τὴν συνεργόν σου δύναμιν κολάσει εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός, παραδοὺς εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, ὅπου σκώληξ ὁ ἀκοίμητος κ(αὶ) τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται. Εἰπὲ τὸ ὄνομάσου, ὅ τι μέγας ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ κ(αὶ) μεγάλη ἡ δόξα τοῦ Πατρός κ(αὶ) τοῦ Υἱοῦ κ(αὶ) τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

φ.139^v. Περὶ βουρκολάκκου^M τὸ πᾶς νὰ τὸν χαλάσῃς.

Τοῦτο δὲ νεῖναι ἀληθῆς ἀ μὴ ἔναι τέχνη τοῦ διαβόλου κ(αὶ) φαντάζετ(αὶ) διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἡμῶν, ὅμως ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ τοιοῦτον λείψανον, πρέπειν ἀγένη λειτουργία διὰ τὸν ἀποθαμένον μετὰκολλύβων¹⁷² κ(αὶ) εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν,

¹⁷¹ Simon Magus was a sorcerer at the time of the apostles who converted to Christianity but was later rebuked by St. Peter for attempting to obtain spiritual powers from the apostles for money, hence, «simony» (Acts 8:9-24). Simon was also said to have asserted that his magic was a greater force than Peter's faith in Christ. He sought to demonstrate this in Rome by flying, but fell to earth and died of his injuries. This incident revealed the true and greater power of Peter, who thus unmasked the Devil in Simon. All sorcerers were thought to work in collusion with the Devil. These events are reported in the apocryphal *Acta Petri*. See J. MONTAGUE RHODES, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 331-332. In a similar fashion the Decil in Kynops was exposed by St. John the Theologian. Kynops was a sorcerer who lived in a cave on a shoutheastern promontory on Patmos (this area today is called Genoupa). Kynops could conjure up and command the spirits of the dead and he challenged St. John to a contest. Kynops drove into the water to prove his supernatural power and St. John turned him to stone. Their encounter is mentioned in T. ZAHN, *Acta Joannis*, 90ff.

¹⁷² Kollyva is a mixture of boiled grains, honey, nuts, raisins, and sugar that is distributed at memorial services (μνημόσυνο/α) held after 3 days, 9 days, 40 days, 6 months and one year. When people are given Kollyva, these say, «May God forgive him/her». The Kollyva mixture is then placed on a platter and shaped into a mound or cake, to resemble a grave. The Kollyva are symbolic of the resurrection of the dead on the day of the Second Coming of the Lord. St. Paul said, «what you sow does not come to life unless it dies» (I Cor. 15:36), and St. John, «unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit» (Jn 12:24). There is also a practice on Mount Athos whereby the icons of saints are incorporated onto the surface of the Kollyva offerings made in their honour.

νὰ εὐγάνουν ὕψωμα¹⁷³ εἰς βοήθειαν πάντων ὁμοίως κ(αὶ) διὰ τὸν ἀποθαμένον...

φ.139r.

κ(αὶ)¹⁷⁴ μετὰ τὴν λειτουργίαν γίνεται ἀγιασμὸς μικρὸς μετὰ ἀγίων λειψάνων ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ μνῆμα, κ(αὶ)¹⁷⁵ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ ἀγιασμοῦ διαβάζουν τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου, εἴτε τοὺς ἔξορκισμοὺς καὶ ὄλαctὰς ὅπισθεν γεγραμμένας εὐχάς, καὶ ὡσὰν διαβαστοῦν αἱ εὐχαὶ ῥαντίζεις τὸν λαὸν μετά τοῦ ἀγιασμοῦ, κ(αὶ)τὸ περίσσευμα τοῦ ἀγιασμοῦ τὸ χύνεις ἀ...{...}

Περὶβορκολκών (φ.139r-[140r-149v=missing]150r).

<Ἐρμηνεία περὶ ὅταν εὐρεθῇ νεκρὸς λεγόμενος παρ' ἡμῖν κατα χθόνιον ἥγουν βουρκόλακος τί ὄφείλει περὶ τούτου [ποιῆσαι;]

Γινώσκετε περὶ τούτου ἐὰν εὐρεθῇ (όποῦ) πολλάκις τινὲς ἀνορύττου σιτὸν τάφον καὶ εὐγάλουν τὸ λείψανον ἔξω καὶ συνάγουσι ξύλακαὶ καὶ ουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιοῦσι μεγάλην ἀμαρτίαν, καθὼς λέγει ὁ ἄγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Νηστευτὴς εἰς τὸ κεφάλαιον <νβ> τοῦ νόμου αὐτοῦ. Τῇ παρασκευῇ ἐσπέρας ποίησαν παννυχίδα

φ.129v. ἡ γουνικόλλυβα, καὶ ψάλλουσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Τὸ δὲ σάββατον πρωΐ ποίησον λειτουργίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τῆς λειτουργίας ποίησον ἀγιασμὸν καὶ ὕψω σον παναγίαν. Εἴτα ἔρχεται ὁ ἵερεὺς ὡς ἐστιν μετὰ τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον ὥπον¹⁷⁶ (ὑ)φορᾶται τὸ κακὸν καὶ λέγει τοὺς ἀφορκισμοὺς ἐπάνω τοῦ τάφου καὶ οὐκ ἀνοίγεις αὐτόν.

Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

φ.131v. Ἐπιτιμᾶσοι Κύριος, διάβολε, ἔξελθε καὶ ἀναχώρη σον ἀπὸ τοῦ λειψάνου τούτου σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις σου ὅτι δε δόξασται τὸ ὄνομάσου, τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

¹⁷³ *Ypsoma* is a term for the bread that is offered (προσφέραται, hence also προσφορά) for the preparation of the Eucharist. It has the lamb stamped on it along with the words «Jesus Christ Conquers – Ιησούς Χριστός Νικά» At the end of the liturgy it is distributed to the congregation as antidoron (blessed bread).

‘Ο Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ φοβερὸς καὶ ἔνδοξος, ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῇ ἰσχύᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀκατάληπτος

φ.132^v. καὶ ἀνεξ χινίαστος ὑπάρχων (ὑπάρχεις = Lavra), αὐτὸς ὁ προορίσας σοι, διάβολε, τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως τὴν τιμωρίαν, δι’ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀχρείων αὐτοῦ δούλων, κελεύεισοι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ συνεργῷ σου δυνάμειά ποστῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ λειψάνου τούτου ἐπ’ ὄνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Ὁρκίζω σε οὖν, παμπόνηρον{...}

φ.133. σφοδρῷ τρίβους ἀσφαλεῖς, τὸν ἀπτό μεν οντῶν ὄρεων καὶ καπνίζονται, τὸν ἀναβαλλόμενον τὸ φῶς ὡς ἴμάτιον, τὸν ἐκ τε ἴναντατὸν οὐρανὸν ὡσεὶ δέρριν, τὸν στεγάζον τα ἐν ὑδασι τὰ ὑπερῷα αὐτοῦ, τὸν θεμελιοῦντα τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῆς, οὐκ λιθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, τὸ ὑδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκχέοντα αὐτὸ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς, ἔξελθε καὶ

φ.133^v. ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τοῦ λειψάνου τούτου. Ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ σωτηριώδους πάθους –καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Κύριε Σαβαώθ, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ισραήλ {...} τῶν αἰώνων.

φ. 134^v. Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Οὖν, Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὄμοιώσιν καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ ἔξουσίαν αἰωνίου, εἴτα ἐκ πεσόντα διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας μὴ παριδών, ἀλλ’ οἰκονομήσας διὰ τῆς ἐν ανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ κόσμου,

φ.135 αὐτὸς καὶ το πλάσμασου τοῦτο λυτρωσάμενος ἐκ τῆς δουλείας τοῦ ἔχθροῦ, πρόσ δεξαι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σουτὴν ἐπουράνιον καὶ σύ ευζοντῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἄγγελον φωτεινὸν ῥύμενον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, ἀπό συναντήματος πονηροῦ, ἀπὸ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ, ἀπὸ φαντασμάτων πονηρῶν.

Καὶ ποίει σταυρὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ τάφου φυσῶν ἐκ τρίτου καὶ ἐκ φώνει.

Ἐξέλασον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πᾶν πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα

φ.135^v. κεκρυμμένον, καὶ ἐμφωλεῦον αὐτοῦ τῇ καρδίᾳ, πνεῦμα πλάνης, πνεῦμα πονηρίας, πνεῦμα εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ πάσης πλεονεξίας, πνεῦμα ψεύδους καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας τῆς ἐνεργουμένης κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ διαβόλου.

Καὶ μνημονεύει Ὄτι καὶ ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. Ὄτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ κοιμήσεως (καὶ) ἀνέσεως (τοῦ δεῖνος). Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός.

Καὶ ποίει ἀπόλυτιν. Καὶ φεύγειτὸν κακὸν καὶ ὁ τάφος οὐκ ἀνοίγεται, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ. >

Μ[Περὶ βουρκολάκκου]:¹⁷⁶ About the Vampires.

In the *Pedalion*, which is an annotated collection of Greek canons (ecclesiastical rules) compiled by Nicodemus Hagioreites and Agapios Leonardos and published in 1800 we find a subject index and an entry which reads: «Vampires (βρυκόλακες), that they do not exist and how people who burn them ought to be punished»¹⁷⁷.

This entry in the subject index refers the reader to a note to Canon 66 of St. Basil the Great, which prescribes ten years excommunication for grave robbery. The Greek vampire or *vrykolakas* does not correspond to the «Hollywood vampire». According to the Greek Folklore, the vampire is the non-decomposed body of an excommunicated individual which has been possessed by the devil and terrorizes the environs. The Greek belief in vampires is not documented before the mid-fifteenth century. The hierarchy of the Orthodox Church was hostile to the popular belief in vampires and tried repeatedly to eradicate it¹⁷⁸. The provision of the *Pedalion* on

¹⁷⁶ The modern Greek *vrykolakas* (from a Slavic word meaning «werewolf»). Cf. J.C. LAWSON, *Modern Greek Folklore*, 377. A comprehensive treatment of the Greek vampire is found in chapters seven and eight of K. HASTRUP's, *Fieldwork among friends*, in A. JACKSON, ed., «Anthropology at Home», 173-236. Also L. ALLACCI, *De Graecorum hodie quorundam opinationibus*, 142-149. **See appendix for the full text.** In 1645 he completed the *De Graecorum hodie quirundam opinationibus*, in which he discussed many of the beliefs common to the people of Greece. Allatios covered the Greek vampire traditions in great detail. He described the *Vrykolakas*, the un-decomposed corpse that has been taken over by a demon, and noted the regulations of the Greek Church for the discernment and disposal of a *Vrykolakas*. Confer also T. BRACCINI, *Prima di Dracula. All'origine del vampiro*.

¹⁷⁷ *The Rudder*, Canon 66 of St. Basil the Great says that «A grave-robber shall remain excluded from Communion for ten years».

¹⁷⁸ Nicodemus in view of Canon 66 of St. Basil comments that: «It is fitting that we add in the present footnote how great condemnation those priests or laymen deserve who open graves in order to find, as they say, the *Vrykolakas*, as they call them, and put them to death. Oh, to what a wretched condition and lack of knowledge present-day Christians have reached! Christian brethren, what delusions are those you have? What foolish and infantile imaginings are those in which you believe? What mockeries are those with which the demons separate you from an implicit belief in God, and make sport of you like silly children? I tell you and I inform you with every assurance that *Vrykolakas* never occur, nor are there any in the world. *Vrykolakas*, as you call them,

vampires is a part of this church policy against the belief in vampires. The note to Canon 66 of St. Basil the Great states how priests and laypersons who open graves to search for and kill so-called vampires ought to be punished. Nicodemus denounces this practice as childish and stupid. He states that there is no such thing as vampires and that the devil does not have the power to raise the dead¹⁷⁹. He claims to have investigated the matter carefully and has never met someone who actually has seen a vampire but only people who have heard that other people have seen them. He thus urges the faithful to reject this as fantasy and delusion.

But if they because of their weak faith believe that demons have possessed a deceased person, they should get the priest to chant and sprinkle holy water on the grave¹⁸⁰. However they should not open the grave in order to chop up or burn the corpse. If they do that the bishop should not only punish them as grave robbers but also as murderers. At the end of the note Nicodemus recounts that it is believed (falsely in his opinion) that people who have been killed, hanged, or died a violent death can become vampires. He repeats in the end a condemnation of the Bogomils who are said to believe that demons can possess corpses.

Nicodemus mentions only those who have been killed, hanged or died a violent death as possible candidates for becoming vampires according to popular belief. But in the earlier documented folklore it is often the corpse of an excommunicated person which was believed to become a vampire, as we will see below. In any case Nicodemus repeats the traditional objection towards belief in vampires: (a) it is said to be a childish delusion caused by a weak faith; (b) it seems to ascribe too much power to the devil (i.e., the power to raise the dead); and (c) it results in the desecration of graves and corpses when people try to destroy the vampire. This treatment of vampires in the *Pedalion* is an interesting example of the tension between the worldview of the educated elite and that of popular folklore.

are nothing else than a false and childish prejudice born of your fear and unbelief; and they are a silly notion which fools you and tells you that the dead rise out of their tombs and come forth and trouble you. There are no Vrykolakas, because it is impossible for the devil ever to raise a dead person and to make a corpse that has been dead a month or two have blood, or finger nails, or any bodily movement or motion, such as you imagine. Vrykolakas are a silly notion, because, if one examines carefully those who claim to have seen Vrykolakas, he will find that after saying that someone else told them about it they finally come to believe that they themselves have seen them. That is my impression from having many times and in many places investigated the facts. Hence, my brethren, when you learn these, dismiss any such prejudice and imagination from your thought, and henceforth believe not that there are any such things as Vrykolakas in reality».

¹⁷⁹ The Xiropotamou text insists on the fact that Vampires are not real. See φ. 139.

¹⁸⁰ XIROPOTAMOU 98, φ. 139

As a concession to folklore Nicodemus offers the possibility of having a priest chanting and sprinkling holy water at the grave of a suspected vampire but the traditional ways of destroying vampires (i.e., dismembering and burning the corpse) were to be eradicated by severe punishments.

Belief in vampires commonly called βρυκόλακας (vrykolakas), though also referred to as καταχανάδες in Crete, persisted throughout Greek history and became so widespread in the 18th and 19th centuries that many practices were enforced to both prevent and combat vampirism¹⁸¹. The deceased were often exhumed from their graves after three years of death and the remains placed in a box by relatives; wine was poured over them while a priest would read from scriptures¹⁸². However, if the body had not sufficiently decayed, the corpse would be labelled a *vrykolakas* and dealt with appropriately¹⁸³.

In Greek folklore, vampires could come about through various means, from people who died after being excommunicated, desecrating a religious day, committing a great crime, living a bad life, or dying alone¹⁸⁴. Other supposed causes included having a cat jump across one's grave, eating meat from a sheep killed by a wolf, and being cursed. The vampires were usually thought to be indistinguishable from living people, giving rise to many folk tales with this theme. Crosses and *antidoron* (blessed bread) from the church were used as wards in different places. To prevent vampires from rising from the dead, their hearts were pierced with iron nails

¹⁸¹ R. DE TRACI, *A Cretan Tale of Vampires*.

[on line access: 13.6.2014] <http://gogreece.about.com/od/weirdgreece/a/weirdcrete.htm>.

¹⁸² J. TOMKINSON, *Haunted Greece: Nymphs, Vampires and other Exotiká*.

¹⁸³ M. SUMMERS, *The Vampire in Europe*.

¹⁸⁴ «Persons guilty of abominable crimes, those who die under a parent's curse, or who die excommunicated, all children conceived on one of the great festivals of the Church (when abstinence is ordained) become vampires. They arise from the tomb any night except Saturday, and live by sucking the blood of living men, especially of their own nearest and dearest» Cf. W.H. ROUSE, «Folklore from the southern Sporades», 173. Also, M. SUMMERS, *The Vampire in Europe*, 221, mentions Robert Pashley, who in his book *Travels in Crete* (1837), recounts that «the Vampire, or Katakhana, as he is called in Crete, is denominated Vurvúlakas, or Vrukólakas, in the islands of the Archipelago, where the belief is generally prevalent, that if a man has committed a great crime, or dies excommunicated by a priest or bishop, the earth will not receive him when he dies, and he therefore rambles about all night, spending only the daytime in his tomb» See also the testimony relative to Sphakia (Crete) dating back to 1888 and cited by J.C. LAWSON, *Modern Greek Folklore*, 372-373 who states that: «it is popularly believed that most of the dead, those who have lived bad lives or who have been excommunicated by some priest...become vrykolakes; that is to say, after the separation of the soul from the body there enters into the latter an evil spirit...it keeps the body as its dwelling-place and preserves it from corruption, and it runs swift as lightning wherever it goes, and causes men great alarms at night and strikes all with panic».

while resting in their graves, or their bodies burned and the ashes scattered. Because the Church opposed burning people who had received the myron of chrismation in the Baptism ritual, cremation was considered a last resort.

Leo Allatios (1586-1669) dealt extensively with contemporary Greek folklore in his treatise «De Graecorum hodie quorundam opinationibus» (1645), «On the beliefs of some modern Greeks»¹⁸⁵. In particular, he wrote about the «vampires» who haunted the Greek islands, describing them as un-decayed dead bodies who were believed to come out of their graves at night to terrorize and even kill people.

Allatios himself promoted the belief that was gaining ground in the West through the sixteenth-century, namely that Vampires were real and were themselves the work of the devil. Just as the Inquisition in the previous century had championed the idea that witchcraft was real and that witches actually communed with the devil, so vampires were thought to be actually walking around the towns and villages of Europe. They were not the dead returned, they were bodies reanimated by the devil and his minions. Allatius even quoted the witch-finders bible, the *Malleus Maleficarum (The Witch's Hammer)*, which noted the three conditions necessary for witchcraft to exist: the devil, a witch, and the permission of God. In like measure, Allatios asserted that for vampires to exist all that was needed was the devil, a dead body, and the permission of God.

The tying of vampirism to the devil by Allatios and his colleagues brought Satan into the vampire equation. Vampirism became another form of Satanism and the vampire became the instrument of the devil in the popular psyche. Also, his victims were tainted by evil. Like the demons, vampires were alienated from the things of God. They could not exist in the realms of the sacred and would flee from the effective symbols of the true God, such as the crucifix or from holy things, such as holy water and the Eucharistic wafer, which both Orthodox and Roman Catholics believed to be the very body of Christ. In like measure, the offices of the church through the priest were believed to be an effective means of stopping the vampire. Eastern Orthodox common people always invited the priest to participate in their anti-vampire efforts. In its attempt to counter the superstitious beliefs in vampires, the Orthodox Church ordered its priests not to take part to such activities, even threatening excommunication.

Allatios does not distinguish between *burculaca* and *tympaniaios* (the two species of vampires found in Orthodox canon law texts) and tries to explain this phenomenon in two ways: either these corpses are animated

¹⁸⁵ M. SUMMERS, *The Vampire in Europe*, 29 says that: «One of the earliest – if indeed he were not actually the first – of the writers of the seventeenth century who deals with vampires is Leone Allacci».

by the devil, or they are still inhabited, as a penance, by the sinful souls of their former owners. Some scholars have argued that Allatios' handling of this matter is heavily influenced by his Catholic faith and his belief in Purgatory. A thorough analysis of Greek folklore, travellers' accounts and Byzantine texts seems to demonstrate that Allatios' views were widespread and dated back to Byzantine times, and that they were influenced, moreover, by the diffusion of the medieval heresy of Bogomilism¹⁸⁶.

The Orthodox Church denied the existence of vampires, seen as evil, reanimated corpses, but admitted that in some cases the devil could create fantastic visions, making a possessed corpse seem «alive» (well-fleshed, engorged with blood...) and appear to people to scare them and lead them into sin. However, if the people terrorized by the devil decided to burn the corpse (as often happened), they would have committed mortal sin: therefore the need arose to exorcise the alleged «vampires», not because they were really reanimated corpses, but because it was feared that the devil had taken possession of them to lead the faithful astray¹⁸⁷. This explanation, among other things, is given in a different version of Chapter 710 of the *Nomocanon of Malaxos*¹⁸⁸. The idea that the evil spirit lurks in the heart has

¹⁸⁶ L. ALLACCI, *De templis Graecorum recentioribus*.

¹⁸⁷ T. BRACCINI, *Prima di Dracula*, 151.

¹⁸⁸ The official view of the church on popular prejudices was also reflected in the collections of the Ecclesiastical canon (Nomokanones) as reported in Σ. ΓΚΙΝΗΣ – Ν.Ι. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ – Μ. ΜΑΝΟΥΗ, *Nomokánon, ετενεχθείς, εις λέξιν απλήν*, which constitute the manifestation of the official Ecclesiastical law defining acceptable religious conduct See Γ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Ενκεφόλαιον Νομοκάνονος*, 381-389. A large part of these laws concerned prohibitions imposed on participation in unacceptable folk events and laid down harsh punishments and penalties which were to be imposed on the practitioners, such as fortune tellers, charmers, astrologers and folk healers. The response caused by the stance of the Church is recorded and corroborated by ethnographic interjections such as the following example reported by Ε. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ – ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ, *Προλήψεις και δεισι δαιμονίεστης Θράκης*, 223: «Η γυναίκα που έκανε γητείες και τοξομολογούντα νεστονπαπά, οπα πάς την έριχνε κανόνα (τιμωρία) νανήστενε δύο μήνες κάθεπτρωί και βράδυνακαμνε από σαράντα μετάνοιες, να βάπτιζε ένα δύο παιδιά, δεντην μεταλά βαίνε και την έδινεαντίς Αγία Κοινωνία έναχουλιαράκι Μεγάλο Αγιασμό. Ένα χρόνο δεθακινωνούσε». [«To the woman who cast a spell or performed a charm and who confessed her evil deed to the priest at confession, the priest would impose severe punishment, demanding of her to fast for two months, to kneel forty times every morning and night or to stand godmother to one or two children. In addition, he (the priest) would refuse to administer communion to her, giving her instead a spoonful of holy water, which had received holy blessing during the Feast of Theophany. Last but not least, she would be denied communion for a whole year»]. This kind of evidence corroborates the religious exclusion of the offenders, an act virtually effectuating social exclusion. The various punishments and penalties imposed upon those who participated in folkloric events systematically validated the identification of these customs with sin and evil, as Γ.

various testimonies of this belief in the modern age, from the account of the famous French botanist Joseph Pitton deTournefort (1656 – 1708) who in 1700, on the island of Mykonos, witnessed several exorcisms against an alleged vampire. In one case, besides performing the rite, it was thought best to extract the heart from the corpse, believing that the devil was hidden inside it¹⁸⁹.

In truth the ecclesiastical authorities, faced with a real mass hysteria in the population aroused by the appearance of an alleged *vrykolakas*, had to recognize that it was probably not wise to stubbornly deny the existence of the phenomenon, as was stated in Chapter 710 of the Nomocanon of Malaxos. The Church began to take on a more flexible attitude and, in fact, a different version of the particular chapter is attested in various manuscripts. However it is to be noted that condemning and prohibiting practices relating to divination, healing ailments through charms, casting spells, bearing amulets or pentagrams do not appear to have exerted considerable influence not only upon the common people, but also upon the clerics themselves, particularly the lower ones, who, by means of exploiting the Christian element of this hybrid system, legitimized, either consciously or unconsciously, their participation in these practices¹⁹⁰. Such inconsistencies between the official point of view of the Church and the practice of priests, some of whom «were more than willing to take the initiative or even benefit from practicing certain customs that were unmistakably pagan in their origin» is substantiated by numerous ethnographic data¹⁹¹.

Following a categorical introduction stating that «it is inconceivable that a dead person could turn into a *vrykolakas*», the alternative text however admits that the devil, in a bid to lead men astray, «will make unprece-

ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Ἐνκεφάλαιον Νομοκάνονος*, 388 writes «Αυτά όλατα αμαρτήματα ο διάβολος μας παρακινάει και τα εργαζόμεσθεν και αλίμονον εις τον ἄνθρωπον οπού να μη διορθώσει του λόγου του ἡώς ζει εις τον κόσμον τούτον, να Εξομολογηθεί να μετανοήσει να κλαύσει και να κάμει τον κανόνα του οπού να του δώσει πνευματικός του πατήρ, διό τιθέλει κολασθεί» [«all these sins we commit are incited by the devil and woe betide anyone who fails to correct themselves during their lifetime in this world, to confess, to repent, to weep and to fulfill their religious duty in the way it has been handed over to them by their religious confessor, because they will be committing a sin»]. The above identification of these categories as religiously unacceptable, offensive, blasphemous and, therefore, punishable was facilitated by the structure of the religious system itself permeating the traditional communities, a system based upon the bipolar relationship between the sacred and the profane, according to which misfortunes stem from offences that must be punished.

¹⁸⁹ This shocking case is discussed in depth in the publication T. BRACCINI, *Prima di Dracula* particularly, 151-152.

¹⁹⁰ Γ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Ἐν Κεφάλαιον Νομοκάνονος*, 385-387.

¹⁹¹ M. ALEXIOU, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition*, 106.

dented actions to expose them to the wrath of God»¹⁹². The text explains that it therefore often occurs to some people at night that some dead man whom they knew in their lifetime, comes along and talks to them for example, and in their sleep they see him walking in the street or standing still and also suffocating people. «People feel upset; they hurry to the tomb, open it and dig up the corpse. And because their faith in God is not flawless, the devil transforms itself and enters the dead body. And though it may have been in the tomb for some time, to these men the corpse would still appear as if retaining flesh, blood, nails and hair. In the presence of these manifestations, he continues, the Vrykolakas, should not be set aflame. The priests should instead be called to invoke the Virgin Theotokos and also do a Minor Blessing of the water. They should then celebrate the liturgy and invoke the Blessed Virgin, imploring her aid; they should also make a commemoration of the dead with Kollyba [sweet boiled wheat]. Then the exorcisms and the two Baptismal exorcisms should be recited over the corpse. The faithful present should then be sprinkled with the holy water, but the greater part of the holy water should be sprinkled on the corpse: by the grace of God, the devil will flee from there»¹⁹³.

φ.139^{κ(αὶ)} μετὰ τὴν λειτουργίαν γίνεται ἀγιασμὸς μικρὸς μετὰ ἀγίων λειψάνων ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ μνῆμα, **κ(αὶ)** μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ ἀγιασμοῦ διαβάζουντάς εὐχάς τοῦ **Μεγάλου Βασιλείου**,^Ν εἴτε τοὺς ἔξορκισμοὺς καὶ ὅλας τὰς ὅπισθεν γεγραμμένας εὐχάς, καὶ ὡσὰν διαβαστοῦν αἱ εὐχαὶ ῥαντίζεις τὸν λαὸν μετά τοῦ ἀγιασμοῦ, **κ(αὶ)** τὸ περίσσευμα τοῦ ἀγιασμοῦ τὸ χύνεις ἀ... {[.....]}.

Ν[διαβάζουντάς εὐχάς τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου εἴτε τούς ἔξορκισμοὺς καὶ ὅλας τὰς ὅπισθεν γεγραμμένας εὐχάς,] **With... the prayers of the Great Emperor wither the exorcisms and all the previous written prayers**

The Euchologion (prayer-book) of the orthodox tradition includes different prayers of exorcism attributed to persons of great esteem and which are used in particular situations. It also includes a prayer of intercession to the Paraclete in favour of persons tormented by demons. The first to be evoked are the four prayers attributed to Basil the Great which concern

¹⁹² Γ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Ἐν Κεφάλαιον Νομοκάνονος*, 385-387.

¹⁹³ The sprinkling of holy water besides being a strong force in repelling evil, holy water has the twofold benefit of providing grace for both body and soul.

persons who suffer because of the demons but which can be used against any infirmity¹⁹⁴.

The first prayer asks God to intervene with the power of his action to expel the demons and give strength and the Spirit to the believer: «Ο Θεός τῶν θεῶν, καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυρίων, ὁ τῶν πύρινων ταγμάτων δημιουργός...». «The God of gods and the Lord of lords, the demiurge of the fiery ranks... ».

The second prayer is a direct and strong exorcism which takes into consideration innumerable possible forms of demonic presence and identity: «Ἐξορκίζω σέ τόν ἀρχέκακον τῆς βλασφημίας...», «I exorcise you the arch-evil of blasphemy... ».

The third prayer asks God to intervene with the power of his action as the God of the heavenly lights from whom all good things come: «Ο Θεός τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὁ Θεός τῶν φώτων...». «The God of heavens, the God of lights... ».

The last prayer asks God to command the evil and impure spirits and demons to depart from the soul and body: «Ο Θεός ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ λυτρωσάμενος τό γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων...» «The God the eternal, the redeemer of the race of humans... »..

The second exorcism to be evoked are the four prayers attributed to St. John Chrysostom which concern persons who suffer because of the demons, but which can be used against any infirmity. It asks for the mercy of God to purify and free his servant: «Ο πάσιν ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασιν ἐπιτιμήσας...».

The third prayer asks God to send down upon the person a peaceful angel, a mighty angel, a guardian of soul and body, that will rebuke and drive away every evil: «Ἐπικαλούμεθασέ, Δέσποτα, Θεέ Παντοκράτορ...».

The fourth prayer is a direct command to the devil to depart swiftly from this creature of the Creator Christ our God: «Τήν θείαντέ καὶ ἀγίαν, καὶ μεγάλην, καὶ φρικτήν, καὶ ἀστεκτον ὄνομασίαν καὶ ἐπίκλησιν».

Conclusion

The exorcistic prayer contained in the late 17th/early 18th century Xiropotamou 98 manuscript, shows that the Orthodox view of the devil does not differ substantially from the Roman Catholic view, which was also formulated in the patristic period, that is, before the Great Schism. In effect both historical Churches agree that the devil is the personification of

¹⁹⁴ See appendix.

evil; yet a more detailed exposition of Orthodox assumptions involves more difficulties, in as much as the Orthodox Church is not headed by a leader whose pronouncements on issues of defining doctrine are held to be infallible and final. For this and other reasons, it may be misleading to speak of Orthodox dogma regarding the devil, since its thinking on this matter is continually interpreted and re-presented rather than fixed and formalized in a code of unalterable pronouncements. In regard to the devil, the Orthodox Church has remained flexible and has constantly assimilated new representations so long as they did not contradict basic principles. This attitude makes it all the more difficult to draw rigid distinctions between local beliefs and official Orthodoxy, and must be borne in mind when examining the devil in Orthodox tradition.

The demons continue to share many characteristics with the fallen angels. Satan is their leader. They are immaterial, sexless, formless; do not die and they may reside in the air, on the earth, or beneath the earth – but their main point of contact, or point of entry, from the metaphysical world into this physical reality is the human psyche. The human mind is the door, the key region of flux between the two worlds, spiritual and physical. And it is precisely here that the demons mount their attack. In order to carry out their machinations the demons are able to transform themselves and assume any gender or shape they please. As the angels form the army of God, demons may be ranked on the model of an army under Satan.

The Orthodox Church has always unambiguously considered the devil inferior and subordinate to God. God created Satan and the other angelic powers through his Son, the eternal Word (Col 1:16). The powers who fell into darkness did so of their own free will. They cannot see the good, but they fear God's justice, and so they continue to sow rebellion through human agents. They would utter every kind of blasphemy against God, and aim to destroy humanity; but they are under God's law and can only «destroy» in so far as God permits for the testing and ultimate good of mankind. The power of God is absolute, but Satan is allowed to operate under divine constraints. While God is love and goodness beyond our imagining, the rebellious devil is the author of evil, who not only hates God, but arouses an indescribable sense of horror and rage in humans. This is because the mental capacity of the mortal mind is insufficient to understand the manifold variations of Satan's malice, the rage of his poisonously fury, and the insanity of his delight in inflicting pain. Suffering and death, the weapons of Satan, are a result of the curses mankind puts on itself by rebelling from God. But through these very same weapons Jesus conquered the ancient serpent by accepting to suffer and die in love – showing that God's love is infinitely greater than all the power of the enemy. The Ortho-

dox moral world emerges as an arena in which good struggles against evil and the battleground is in every human heart, where the kingdom of heaven battles against the kingdom of this world dominated by darkness.

While the topic is broad Orthodox tradition concerning the devil does observe certain doctrinal essentials. One who has accepted Christ should properly disdain demons as vain and ineffectual. Though the devil has already been vanquished by the cross of Christ, even as a defeated foe, can still do a lot of harm if one does not fight, «Submit yourselves therefore to God. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you» (Jas 4:7). By embracing evil and refusing to resist temptation offered by the devil, the human can wound himself, and destroy his own soul. But by turning to God and asking for mercy, God's miraculous grace can begin to restore human life that chooses to walk down the path of penitence. Penance is the «narrow way», the only way that leads to eternal life «for the gate is wide and the way is easy that leads to destruction, and those who enter by it are many» (cf. Mt 7:13). But Jesus builds virtue and love of God in the truly repentant soul to a greater degree than if sin had never happened (Lk 7:40-50). In this way the devil and his angels serve the purposes of God on earth training his elect to reject all evil in all its seductive forms. These tests purify the heart that chooses the good for God's sake and rejects evil in all humility; the soul and faith are purified just like gold is purified in the fire (1 Pt 1:7).

The Church, Christ's mission on earth, maintains the protection of the body of Christ through a large, overarching framework of sacraments and rites; through the rite of exorcism the priest seeks to bring the deliverance that Christ achieved on the cross to the afflicted. Deliverance is accomplished through prayer and on-going ministry to those who, after Baptism, are liable to struggle with bondage to sin, the influence of demons, sinful drives, or the effects of overwhelming psychological and/or spiritual trauma. Participation in exorcism should be combined with the renewed will and desire of the victim to stand on the spiritual ground that Jesus won for their salvation. And thus exorcism can help a soul come fully into the light of Christ, with greater wellness and confidence, having rejected the devil and his poisonous weapons of self-pity and deceit.