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THE SOURCES OF MEDIEVAL DEMONOLOGY

by

DIANA LYNN WALZEL

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Thesis Director's signature:

[Signature]

Houston, Texas

May, 1974
TO MY PARENTS, WHO
HAVE ALWAYS BEEN
PATIENT AND ENCOURAGING.
"There are two equal and opposite errors into which our race can fall about the devils. One is to disbelieve in their existence. The other is to believe, and to feel an excessive and unhealthy interest in them. They themselves are equally pleased by both errors and hail a materialist or a magician with the same delight."

-- C. S. Lewis,
The Screwtape Letters
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PREFACE
PREFACE

For the last several centuries a rationalistic, optimistic humanism has prevailed in our Western culture. Belief in demons and a supernatural world impinging on our seen world was considered a relic of the superstitious past. However, in this view which began with the Enlightenment there has been a gradual shift. The increasing amount of superstition in our present society indicates a decreasing confidence in man's ability to overcome all hindrances to progress and the betterment of the world by his reason and innate talents. Admittedly there has always been an under-current of pessimism in humanism, but within the last century, and especially in the last decade, it has surfaced more frequently. There are many reasons for this change.¹

Not the least of these causes is the opening up of the East to the West. The poets and cultural elite of the last century were increasingly attracted to the Eastern religions, which are primarily irrational and mystical. The pantheism of these oriental religions, with their animism and spiritism, transformed the intellectual world almost as thoroughly as did the mystery religions in antique Rome. German philosophers, English authors and American reformers often found in Eastern thought a kind of universalism and
transcendental meaningfulness which the West was unable to supply. In the last century, the Eastern influence was primarily among the intellectuals; by the 1960's the influence could be felt in all levels of culture. Because of the chaos and complexity of modern culture, old beliefs are failing, and people are looking for something new.

Psychic and parapsychological research has also opened the door to the irrational and the super-rational. Telepathy, clairvoyance, automatic writing, trance utterance, premonition, and the like all indicate the possibility of something beyond or other than the normal sense-perceptible world. Since 1848 when the Fox sisters first began noticing the rappings in their farmhouse at Hydesville, New York, study of the paranormal phenomena has steadily increased and gained respectability. In 1882 the Society for Psychical Research was founded in England by F. W. H. Meyers. Past presidents of the society include such scholars and luminaries as Arthur Earl of Balfour, William James, Andrew Lang, Gilbert Murray, Gardner Murphy, and E. R. Dodds, among others. Not only men of letters, but men of science have begun to study this field with interest and exactitude. ²

Curiously enough the movement towards occult and supernatural activities is a movement outside of the established churches. Liberal theologians such as
Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr speak of the demonic as man's tendency towards evil, but never allow the real existence of demons.\(^3\) Rudolf Bultmann points the way to demythologizing all references to demons and the supernatural from the New Testament.\(^4\) Though the established churches are still operating on premises of Enlightenment thought, the ordinary church-goer is again becoming conscious of the possibility of supernaturalism. Since the Church has generally rejected any Christian supernaturalism, the people are turning more and more to another type of supernaturalism and occultism.

There has been a shift in attitude towards the supernatural--a shift that even fifteen years ago would have seemed improbable. This is not to say that belief in demonic supernaturalism has the wide acceptance which scepticism of the supernatural had a few years ago, but the general intellectual climate is certainly more open to mysticism and the occult since before the Enlightenment. An examination of the demonology of earlier periods will not now evoke as many remarks on the uncritical, credulous minds of undeveloped cultures. On the other hand, must all the miracles and exorcisms told of in the medieval legends be accepted? An examination of the demonology of the first eight or nine centuries of the Christian era will perhaps
provide insight into what our attitude to the occult re-
surgence in our own times ought to be.
CHAPTER I
CHAPTER I

EARLY CHRISTIAN DEMONOLOGY

The demonology of the first millennium of the Christian period had several sources--Greek philosophy, Jewish apocryphal literature, Biblical doctrine, and pagan Germanic folklore. The classical concept of demons had gone through many changes before the New Testament books were penned, but it is important to grasp these changes in order to understand exactly what was meant by a demon at Christianity's inception.

Homer had equated demons with gods and used daimon and theos as synonyms. Later writers gave a different nuance and even definition to the word, but the close relationship between demons and the gods was never completely lost from sight. In the thinkers of Middle Platonism the identification of demons with the gods was revived, and this equation is ever-present in Christian authors.¹

Hesiod had been the first to view demons as other than gods, considering them the departed souls of men living in the golden age. Going a step further, Pythagoras believed the soul of any man became a demon when separated from the body. A demon, then, was simply a bodiless soul. In Platonic thought there was great confusion between demons and human souls. There seems to have been an actual distinction between the two for Plato, but what the distinction

¹
was is impossible to discern. It is uncertain whether or not he believed demons to be persons.

Several of Plato's dialogues contain brief discussions of demons, but the most important for our purposes is the Symposium. Though the idea of demons in the Symposium is noticeably different from the other dialogues, it is this dialogue which is most frequently discussed in later authors on demonology. In his other dialogues demons are viewed as the souls of departed men, the immortal principle within man, or as the guardians and guides of men. Though it is still maintained that man can somewhat attain to the higher nature of demons, new elements of demonology are found in the Symposium. The basic subject of the entire dialogue is the nature of Eros. Diotima, Socrates' former instructor, says that Eros is not a god, rather he is between mortal and immortal. He is a great spirit (daimon), for the whole of the spiritual is between divine and mortal. When Socrates questions Diotima further on the power of these demons or spirits,

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

...Many and multifarious are these spirits, and one of them is Love.

In this single reply there are two new elements added to Greek demonology. The first is the mediating role of demons; the second is the clear connection of demons with religious cult and ritual.

Xenocrates forms the connecting link between Plato's demonology and that of the Middle Platonists. His demonology has a three-fold significance. Religiously, demons take the place of gods in the mythology and cults. By this means the immoral activities which the mythologies attributed to gods could now be assigned to demons. From a psychological perspective, Xenocrates conceived of demons as the bodiless souls of men before birth and after death. The ethical significance of the demon-world arose because the contrast between good and evil in this earthly life is carried on among the demons.

Late antiquity saw an enormous spread of superstition, in great measure due to the increased prominence of the oriental religions. The existence of evil demons was made known to the Greeks and Romans largely through this oriental
influx. With the increased oriental influence, demons began receiving more attention in the philosophical works, especially among the Middle Platonists. For the Middle Ages the most important Middle Platonist was Apuleius. His demonology differs little from that of the more prolific Plutarch, but his works had wider influence. Few of Plato's works other than the *Timaeus* were directly available in the medieval period, but Apuleius and other authors preserved segments of Plato in their writings. Often these preserved segments were marginal and relatively unimportant to the entire Platonic corpus. The significance of these segments was increased, however, by their treatment in such authors as Apuleius.

A matter of frequent discussion for the Middle Platonists was the demon of Socrates, and Apuleius fittingly composed a little work on the subject entitled "Concerning the God of Socrates." Much of the material was taken from the *Timaeus*; but Apuleius went beyond the *Timaeus* in his description of demons, reading into Plato many oriental ideas more familiar to Apuleius than Plato himself. Apuleius believed that Plato made a triple division of nature, so that there were gods of the highest, the middle, and the lowest station. It is with this middle nature that we are principally concerned. These middle divine powers were
situate in this interval of the air, between the highest ether and the earth below, through whom our aspirations and our deserts are conveyed to the Gods. These the Greeks call by name 'demons,' and being placed as messengers between the inhabitants of earth and those of heaven, they carry from the one to the other, prayers and bounties, supplications and assistance, being a kind of interpreters and message carriers for both. Through these same demons, as Plato says in his Symposium, all revelations, the various miracles of magicians, and all kinds of presages, are carried on.

Knowledge of future events is obtained by many means—dreams, entrails, flights of birds, prophets, thunders and lightning; but all these particulars are through the will and authority of the celestial gods, administered through the obedience and services of demons.

The gods of heaven, the celestial gods, cannot condescend to things of this earthly nature. Thus, the gods who dwell in the air become intermediaries between these celestial gods and earthly creatures, since their habitation borders on both. In ancient theology the demons or attendants of the gods are often given the names of the gods they serve, since they do share their nature in part. Apuleius more specifically described the nature of demons in the following manner:

demons are as to genus animated beings,
as to mind rational, as to feelings passive, as to body aerial, as to duration eternal. Of these five characteristics...the three first are the same as those which we possess, the fourth is peculiar to themselves, and the last they possess in common with the immortal Gods, from whom they differ in being subject to passion.

Because of the passionate nature of demons, the ceremonies which they have organized for the gods are often characterized by extreme rejoicing or extreme mourning.

Like earlier Greek writers, Apuleius attaches several different significances to the word demon. We have already seen somewhat in detail the mediating role demons play between the gods and men. In another sense, the human soul even when it is in the body is called a demon. Apuleius here connects the Greek concept of demon with the Roman idea of genius. This connection, which seems to have been made first by Apuleius, continues into the earlier medieval period. However, Apuleius also recognizes that at times demon signifies the human soul only after it has quit the body. He sees yet another species of demons residing over certain powers, such as Sleep and Love. This species is perhaps met with in monastic writings where virtues and vices are sometimes described as spirits and demons. This latter group is of a more exalted dignity than the others, and it is from this more elevated order of demons that Apuleius believes the
guardian demons are drawn. He recognized that Plato was of the opinion

that a particular demon is allotted to every man, to be a witness and a guardian of his conduct in life, who, without being visible to anyone, is always present, and is an overseer not only of his actions, but even of his thoughts. But when life is finished, and the soul has to return to its judges, then the demon who has presided over it immediately seizes, and leads it as his charge to judgment, and is there present with it while it pleads its cause. 9

It is not stated by Plato, but Apuleius thinks this guardian demon which ultimately brings man to judgment dwells in the profound recesses of the mind, in the place of the conscience. This is possibly what is meant by Socrates' demon.

When, three centuries later, Augustine sought to refute the pagan religions, he turned to Apuleius for an understanding of the nature of demons. Augustine basically accepted Apuleius' ideas on the function of demons, but he thought demons should be despised rather than praised because of this. Augustine argued that the very title of Apuleius' work implied the baseness of the demons. Though his work is on demonology, he entitles it "Concerning the God of Socrates," rather than "Concerning the Demon of Socrates." Why does he do this unless human society had been illuminated enough so that most men have a horror of demons? Everyone would have
thought Apuleius insane to write a book on Socrates' demon.

In his work, Apuleius attempted to set forth the dignity of demons, "But what did even Apuleius find to praise in the demons, except subtlety and strength of body and a higher place of habitation? For when he spoke generally concerning their manners, he said nothing that was good, but very much that was bad."

Apuleius recognizes that demons are agitated with the same perturbations of mind as men. They are provoked by injuries, propitiated by gifts, delighted with sacred rites, and annoyed if neglected. On them depend soothsayers, prophets, dreams and magicians' miracles. When Augustine recalls Apuleius' definition of demons as animal in nature, passive in soul, rational in mind, aerial in body and eternal in time, he argues that animal and rational are to be shared with the gods as well as men. Their eternalness in time does not make them higher than men, for it is certainly better to have temporal happiness than eternal misery. Being passive in soul does not make them above men either, since men too have this characteristic. Augustine cannot logically see how these beings can be worthy of divine honour, "those aerial animals who are only rational that they may be capable of misery, passive that they may be actually miserable, and eternal that it may be impossible for them to end their misery!"

Apuleius believed that there were good and evil
demons, but Augustine seeks to show from Apuleius' own writings that all demons are evil and in no way deserve man's honors. Apuleius admits that every human emotion is experienced by the demons with the same mental disturbance and the same tide of feeling and thought. It is these turmoils and tempests which banish them from the tranquility of the celestial gods. If this be so, Augustine knows the mind of the demons must be tossed with a hurricane of passions:

What part of them, then, is free, and endued with wisdom, so that they are pleasing to the gods, and the fit guides of men into purity of life, since their very highest part, being the slave of passion and subject to vice, only makes them more intent on deceiving and seducing, in proportion to the mental force and energy of desire they possess? 

Apuleius admits demons are subject to anger, but true religion tells us to avoid anger. They are flattered by honors; we are not to be so influenced. Demons love some, hate others; but the true religion says to love all, even our enemies. Demons are won over by gifts, but the true religion says do not favor on account of gifts received. Lastly, "the true religion commands us to put away all disquietude of heart, and agitation of mind, and also commotions and tempests of the soul, which Apuleius asserts to be continually swelling and surging in the souls of demons." Why should you humble
yourself and worship those whom you do not wish to be like in this life? How can the intercession of demons win man friendship of the celestial gods when the demons are defective in that which is the better part of every living creature? Their inferior parts, their bodies, are linked with the gods while their superior parts, their souls, are linked with men.  

Augustine rejected that demons were departed souls of men as well as that they were mediating spirits. Platonists such as Apuleius say the gods cannot have intercourse with men without becoming polluted. If demons have intercourse with men without becoming polluted, then demons are less liable to pollution than the gods. If they do become polluted, then how can they serve as man's mediators with the unpolluted gods? If they cannot provide this benefit for men, what good is their mediation? Perhaps the truth is that demons abide together in a state of pollution, excluded from blessedness. Augustine agrees with Apuleius that demons have aerial bodies, but he sees no dignity in demons nor any mediatorial possibilities in their nature.

Pagan demonology reached the peak of its development among the Middle Platonists, so that demonology is not as central to the philosophic system of Neo-Platonism. Although a strong case can be made for Plotinus being a magician, his teaching stressed that the soul was able to
rise above the sphere of matter, magic and all evils. Despite Plotinus' emphasis on the transcendant power of the soul, later Neo-Platonists, most notably Porphyry and Iamblichus, became increasingly involved with magic as a means of power and redemption. Neo-platonist writings are really not essential to the development of demonology, however. Most of their beliefs on demons are simply re-statements of earlier Middle Platonist positions.¹⁶

The Alexandrian Jew Philo attempted to unite Platonic philosophy with Jewish theology. He seems to have been the first, though not the last, to make the identification between Greek demonology and Jewish angelology. By the use of allegory Philo changed the Genesis account of creation into a Platonic description of origins very similar to the Timaeus. According to Philo, God during the creation period made rational, incorporeal souls which he stored away in the air (the residence of demons among the Greeks). Unfortunately, some of these souls developed a craving after things of the earth and descended into bodies. Others maintained their more excellent constitution and were never sullied by contact with matter.¹⁷ Genesis 6, the story of the sons of God marrying the daughters of men, is an account of the fall of some of the angels into the material world. For Philo, souls, demons, and angels are merely different names for the same thing; the functions of angels described in Scripture
are the same as the functions of demons as described by Plato. The only difference is one of nomenclature.

Philo also described angels as powers. The powers were the instruments by which God created the intelligible world and by which God continued to exercise His care over the world as a whole. The angels or powers were thus the instruments of Providence in caring for mankind and had intermediary functions in some ways parallel to the Greek demon. Philo translated the phrase "Lord of Sabaoth" as "Lord of the powers," and he spoke of the angels in their totality as an army serving the Lord. This army of angels was arrayed in companies each with certain tasks to perform. Some were guardians of nations; some administered God's blessings to man, while still others were responsible for administering justice.

The Jewish apocryphal literature, which will be considered later in connection with the monastic writings, abound in magic and a superstitious type of demonology. Many oriental and Persian elements are evident, apparently acquired during the Babylonian captivity. The apocryphal books introduce Satan as a seducer of man throughout Israel's history, but rarely is he shown in direct contrast with God. Any concept of moral combat was lacking, and man could only stand in superstitious dread of his power which, though not absolute, was yet awesome.
Whether one reads Greek philosophers or Jewish romances, one cannot avoid the conclusion that demons increasingly occupied men's thoughts in late antiquity. Though it was admitted that demons could be benign, increasingly they were viewed as malignant and harbingers of evil for man. Astrology flourished, even philosophers were magicians, and people flocked to the oriental cults in hope of redemption from despair. A fear and despair, a feeling of weariness had begun to spread over the ancient world about the second century B.C. Gilbert Murray called this the "Failure of Nerve." This hopeless despair continued into the first Christian centuries, and it was in the Christian message that many found hope of deliverance.

Biblical treatment of demons lacks the excesses found in the superstitions of the pagan systems and the demonology of rabbinic Judaism. Tales of demonic transformations, smoking devils and the like are notably absent. This is not to say, however, that the demons had no significance in the early Christian system. The Christians recognized the evil intent and power of demons, but they never, at least in the early days, had a fear and dread based on a fancifully developed demonology. The fear which possessed the pagan world was countered by maintaining that Christ, sitting on the right hand of God, yet
permeating the personality of the believer as a re-invigorating and fortifying power, was ever waging a victorious war with all and every spiritual power of evil—in the planetary spheres, in the middle air where demons roam, and in the cities and villages of earth.22

Both the pagans and Christians had a very personal view of the universe. Both believed that personal beings, often malignant, controlled the functioning of the universe as well as events in individual lives. The Christians, however, believed that these powers could be fought and that victory over them was assured. The Christians then believed in a cosmic conflict (Religions derived from Zoroaster and Persian dualism also believed in a cosmic conflict, but victory of the forces of light was not certain). For the Christians, the central battle of this cosmic conflict was the Cross. The demons were the instruments of the crucifixion; but in crucifying Christ, they became the agents of their own destruction. They failed to observe the significance of the Cross, so that by the Cross they were conquered. In one moment when it looked as if the evil spirits had triumphed, they were defeated. If the prince of this age had known the results of the Cross, "they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."23 For though Jesus was nailed to the Cross by the demons, he nailed the ordinances against man to the Cross and thereby triumphed over the demons.24 The sovereignty of
God was expressed even in Jesus' humiliation, so that the hostility of the demons served not their own ends, but God's. The resurrection was the proof that Death, the greatest weapon of Satan and his demons, was insufficient. The demons were cosmic spirits, and any deliverance from their power meant that the salvation had to be cosmic as well. For the early Christians salvation was not just psychological, but it was a rescue of the whole world. Beginning with the later Middle Ages, theology has increasingly subjectivized the Christian message, "reducing it to a psychological internal experience of the individual, rather than seeing that message as an objective proclamation of God over all forces that stand ranged against men." The idea of "cosmic salvation" is difficult for the modern man to understand without some understanding of the solidarity between man and the physical universe which was so axiomatic for the contemporaries of the early Christians. This correspondence was seen as early as Empedocles among the Greeks, and the Stoics later argued for the existence of demons on the basis of the structure of the universe. If there were living beings in the earth and the water, there must be beings in the clean air as well. This view was adopted by the Middle Platonists, as we briefly saw in Apuleius, and continued in a modified form throughout the Middle Ages. Demons were as necessary to the unity of the universe as was
the air. There was no sharp dichotomy between the physical and spiritual worlds. This mingling of the spiritual and physical spheres became quite important in Hellenistic thought, so that the word *stoicheion*, element, came to mean a demon. 29

For Paul, the demons are the elements and rulers of this world; they control this present creation. When non-Christians, Paul writes that the Galatians "were in bondage under the elements of the world," and he warns them to beware of returning again to that bondage. 30 The context makes clear that returning into bondage would include returning to the religious system of Judaism, which the "elements of this world" control. Elsewhere, Paul reiterates that not only are many religious rituals under the control of the elements, but so are the pagan philosophical systems. 31 The elements are at once physical and spiritual--the entire cosmos comes under their rule.

This view of the immense rule of the elements or demons is to be placed in contrast with Hebrews ii.5: "Unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come." Though the demons control this present age, they will have no position of rulership in the future kingdom. Though Satan and his company are rulers of this age, they have no future. Their influence passes with the passing of this world. 32 Thus, for the early Christians, demonology and
eschatology were inextricably mixed. The two together gave significance to the Church and its history. The earliest confessions of faith emphasize Christ's conquest over demonic forces because such conquest is the basis for the new age of eternal life. Jesus Christ destroyed the ancient empire of the kingdom of darkness and so provided the basis for the future kingdom of light. Christ is placed at the very center of cosmic happenings, ushering in a new world which has its beginnings now, but whose ultimate realization is yet to come.

Since the Church is the body of Christ, the Church is a participant in the warfare against the malignant demon forces. The warfare has changed because of Christ's victory, yet the warfare continues. Christians still live in a demonic world, and the demons work invisibly in every area of life. Demons cause illnesses, most spectacularly through demon-possession. Since they are the "elements of the world" they are closely linked with natural forces, and they use their power in this area to enhance their authority over men. Even circumstances of history come under their influence.

The main battle is fought on a spiritual, not a physical level. The weapons the Christian should use against the demonic forces are spiritual--salvation, faith, truth, righteousness, the Spirit, the word of God, and prayer.
Satan is the prince of the power of the air and in this position he controls the atmosphere or, to use Carl Becker's phrase, the "climate of opinion." The air is the general spiritual climate which influences mankind in which men live, which they breathe, which dominates their thoughts, aspirations and deeds. He (Satan) exercises his 'influence' over men by means of the spiritual atmosphere which he dominates and uses as the medium for his power. 37

Satan rules the atmosphere; but by the resurrection the power of God was made manifest in Christ, who becomes above all principality and power, including the power which Satan exercises over the air. Paul prayed that the Ephesians would have a better understanding of the future hope. In explaining this hope, the central factor is the triumph over the demonic forces and the union of Christ with the Church. The Church thus becomes a part of Christ's conquest over demons.

The early Christian writers continued triumphantly to proclaim Christ's victory over demons which was such an essential part of the New Testament gospel. The second century Greek apologists derived their demonology mostly from the New Testament. Angels were spiritual beings with free will. Some fell from their exalted position of serving God and became evil; these were the demons. Demons for the Christians, in contrast with the Platonists, were always
evil. In some ways the angels that kept their first estate can be likened to the good demons among the Greeks; but in orthodox Christianity, angels were never to attain the exalted and dignified position of the Greek eudaimon. The Christians, like many intelligent Greeks, believed demons were the source of the pagan cults and religious practices. However, whereas the Greeks viewed this function of demons as service to the gods, Christians considered their activities as evidence of rebellion against the one true Lord and Creator of the Universe. Whereas the Greeks thought the demonic administration of the cultic rites was cause for the respect and worship of demons, Christians believed such deeds indicative of the demonic desire to draw men from worship of the one true God. Thus, all activities in the pagan religions were demonic to both Greeks and Christians. The Greeks saw these activities as a mixture of good and evil, after the nature of demons themselves. The Christians saw these activities as undeniably evil and antagonistic to the True Faith. It was demons who introduced men to idolatry in ages past. Magic, astrology, the mantic arts, the theater, games, and spectacles are all demonic in origin and content. Justin Martyr argued that since demons oppose the one true philosophy, Christianity, they must be irrational. Later Alexandrian Christians stressed even more strongly the demonic origin of all pagan religion and
philosophy.

The concept of redemption developed in this early period is not so much an atonement for the guilt of sin, though that is never lost from sight, rather, redemption is seen as a ransom paid to Satan for man's release. When he fell, Adam surrendered himself and mankind into the devil's power. Satan's power over man is therefore quite just. God, in order to maintain His character, must not do injustice even to the devil. Something more valuable than the world must be given as a ransom for the world and man. Satan was deceived by Christ's humanity and thought his contest was with an ordinary man. By inflicting death on one who was sinless he justly forfeited dominion over the world. God would not have been just to save man from the demonic powers simply by His power. Satan could have argued that man had come into his power at the fall by man's own will. The demonic power over man was just; and God, through the Cross, found a just means to ransom man from their hold.38

The Christians, then, viewed their redemption as deliverance from demonic forces which controlled the world. Their lives and their deaths were to continue the warfare against demons. When Eusebius was writing his history, he promised to write about peaceful wars, fought for the peace of the soul. In contrast to secular histories Eusebius described wars in which men fought for truth rather than for
country. The monuments of the early Church are imperishable, for

it is the unshakable determination of the champions of true religion, their courage and endurance, their triumphs over demons and victories over invisible opponents, and the crowns which all this won for them at the last, that it will make famous for all time. 39

Because of the early persecutions of the church, martyrdom soon came to be seen not simply as the surest way to earthly renown and heavenly reward, but as a struggle with the devil.

In two letters of Ignatius of Antioch before his death we see the beginning of the concept of martyrdom as a battle with the devil. When many friends came to visit him in Smyrna, already referring to him as a martyr and confessor of the faith, Ignatius feared he would become proud and lose the crown of martyrdom which he so desired. He wrote,

For now I must fear the more and pay no heed to those who would puff me up. Those who so speak to me torture me. To be sure, I long to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy of it. My passionate desire is not approved by the majority, but it is pressing me all the more. I need humility by which the Prince of this world is undone. 40

He further wrote to the Romans not to try to bring any influences to prevent his martyrdom:
May nothing visible or invisible prevent me from reaching Jesus Christ. Fire, cross, struggles with wild beasts, wrenching apart of bones, mangling of limbs, grinding of the whole body, evil tortures of the devil. . . let them come upon me, provided only that I reach Jesus Christ.  

When Polycarp of Smyrna, Ignatius' contemporary, was later martyred, his martyrdom was also seen as a struggle with Satan. For the first time martyrdom was pictured as an imitation of Christ. As Christ's death was a struggle with the devil, so was the Christian's.  

The early Christians viewed the persecutions against them as demonically inspired. When the martyrs calmly went to their deaths and heavenly rewards, they thwarted the evil desires of the demons. Eusebius quotes a letter from Gaul which describes the persecutions the Christians were there undergoing:  

The adversary swooped on us with all his might, giving us now a foretaste of his advent, which undoubtedly is imminent (II Thessalonians ii.7-9). He left no stone unturned in his efforts to train his adherents and equip them to attack the servants of God, so that not only were we debarred from houses, baths, and the forum: they actually forbade any of us to be seen in any place whatsoever.  

The Grace of God made them unshakable pillars against the enemies, but by this endurance they drew on themselves
increased assaults by the evil one. Some of the Christians
were eager to be the first Gallic martyrs, but others were
untrained, flabby, and not in a "fit condition to face the
strain of a struggle to the death." After the persecution
had gone on for a time,

when the tyrant's instruments of tort-
ture had been utterly defeated by Christ
through the endurance of the blessed
saints, the devil resorted to other
devices--confinement in the darkness of
a filthy prison; clamping the feet in
the stocks, stretched apart to the
fifth hole; and the other agonies which
wardens when angry and full of the
devil are apt to inflict on helpless
prisoners. 43

The majority of these Gallic Christians suffocated in prison.
As the persecutions were seen as a struggle with the devil
for the Christians, the thirst for Christian blood on the
part of the pagans was considered by the persecuted as a
form of devil worship. 44

The visions of Perpetua most clearly show how
martyrdom was viewed as a struggle with the devil. In A.D.
202 at Carthage a young noble lady, Perpetua, was arrested
along with two slaves. Perpetua's father was very much
against her, and she had only recently been baptized when
arrested. Two church officials bribed the authorities so
the young girl (she was twenty-two) could have her baby boy
with her in prison. When Perpetua's brother went to see
her, she told him of the visions she had. In one vision a prisoner was ascending a ladder, defying a dragon. He invited her to follow, and she climbed to the top where she met the Good Shepherd. The golden ladder stretched to Heaven from earth, and each of its steps was guarded with hooks and sharp knives. If a wicked man treads on one, cutters went to work, and he falls into the clutches of an enormous dragon which was coiled around the ladder's base. In another vision Perpetua was visited by her pastor Pomponius who had come to lead her to the Ampitheater. He told her not to be afraid; he would be with her in the arena. She waited in the arena, expecting the wild beasts to be released, but instead a massive Egyptian came to fight with her. During the struggle Perpetua became masculine. When the Egyptian tried to grab her by the foot, she kicked him in the face with her foot. From then on Perpetua had the upper hand in the battle and finally killed the Egyptian by a blow on the head. Those watching blessed Perpetua for her great victory. When Perpetua awoke from her vision, she realized she was not going to fight with wild animals, but with the devil, and the victory was to be hers.45

There are many allusions to Perpetua's vision which would be interesting and profitable to investigate, but for our study the conquest of Perpetua by wounding the Egyptian's head is most significant. Perpetua herself, on awakening,
recognizes that the Egyptian was not any Egyptian, but that old serpent, the Devil himself. When the Egyptian tries to grab Perpetua for the feet and she in turn conquers him by a mighty blow on the head, the reference is undoubtedly to the protoevangelium of Genesis iii.15. There the Lord addresses the serpent in the Garden after man's fall: "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman and between thy seed and her seed, he shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." The early Christians recognized this as a prophetic announcement of Christ's future conquest over Satan on the cross. By alluding to this verse in her vision, Perpetua sees her martyrdom as similar to Christ's death in that she too is victorious over the devil. A cluster of Scriptures were often referred to by the early Christians as amplifying this conquest over the serpent. The Christians were given power to tread on serpents and scorpions, which were symbols of demonic forces. These enemies were to be under the conqueror's feet, for placing the foot on the fallen head indicates that it can never more be exalted. 46

Prudentius uses similar imagery when he describes the soul of the martyred St. Agnes taken to heaven by angels:

Haec calcat Agnes ac pede protuit
stans et draconis calce premens caput,
terrena mundi qui feras omnia
sparget venenis mergit et inferis,
nunc virginali perdomitus solo
cristas cerebri deprimit ignei
nec victus audet tollere verticem. 47

As with Perpetua, when Agnes put her foot on the dragon she was symbolizing the dragon's complete overthrow. Other authors depict death in general, not simply martyrdom, as a struggle with demons. The Coptic gospels and some apocalyptic writings show demons carrying off the souls of the wicked. In a closing prayer to his *Hamartigenia*, Prudentius asks that no fierce demons "Relentless, grim, with threatening look and voice" drag him headlong into black yawning caves below, there to exact from me what is due. 48 Such beliefs will be examined later in the writings of Gregory the Great, but before Gregory's day a different form of combat with the devil began to appear. As the persecutions became less frequent and the Church began to be established in the world, monasticism began to replace martyrdom as the chief means of resisting demonic power.
CHAPTER II
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CHRISTIANITY OF THE SECOND RANK

When we enter into a study of early monasticism we encounter what many have called Christianity of the second rank. Popular pagan beliefs had populated the world with fauns, sylphs and grotesque demonic forms. Jewish apocalyptic writers had similarly described creatures and happenings which today we associate with Gothic gargoyles, medieval romances and fairy tales. Early Christianity had been notably free from such superstitions. The first- and second-century Christians sincerely believed in demons, but the fantastic tricks and descriptions later assigned to them were unknown. However, from the third century there existed in Christianity a kind of subsidiary religion—a religion of the second rank. It differed among different people, but was alike in its superstition, dualism, and polytheism. The sternest asceticism was respected, and angels and demons were often formally worshipped. This religion could never be totally extinguished; but as the Church passed into the Middle Ages, it was legitimized. The third through eighth centuries mark the stages in the process of the fusion, and each century reinforced the superstitions of the previous century. Christendom was turned into a society of "deceived
deceivers," and this characteristic did not go unnoticed by pagan critics. In separate provinces ancient gods were transformed into Christian saints, angels, and heroes. Origen by his allegorization and spiritual theology admitted any superstition which had the least grain of spiritual content. An allegorized Old Testament made an allegorized paganism more acceptable.

Monasticism was a warning against the worldliness, frivolity and immorality of the great cities. The monastic renounced the world in order to fight and conquer the crude sins which had corrupted the society of the late empire. His goal was to attain a state where virtue was a habit. Many of the early monks were rather unlearned Coptics. They fell into many errors often through ignorance (one monk could not decide whether the Old Testament preceded the New or vice versa), but they all thought that in striving for virtue they were striving for a better life. The ascetic fled the world to live in the desert to rediscover God and await Christ's imminent return. The world around him was doomed, and the monk suppressed everything in himself, whether in mind or body, which would link him to that world. The world and all it had been was without value, and the anchorite looked for a new world in which nature, man, and all things were transformed. The past and even the present were rejected with hopes of a future in which there would be
a new world and virtue would be triumphant. The ascetic rejected the values, sensations and forms of the outside world. He fled from that world into a world which to him was more real and more important, though to us that new world seems little more than the product of an over-heated brain. Though he sought to flee a world and society whose values he considered an illusion, his new world was populated with continual illusions. Greater importance was attached to the world of angels and demons than to the real world.

The general moral purpose of the monastics can be appreciated by modern men. Certainly late Roman society was corrupt in many ways, especially compared with the nobility of character frequently found in the early Roman Republic. However, the monastic life often incorporated within it many of the pagan elements which it sought to reject. The monks

cherished the ancient mythology under a Christian name. To live in the sphere of pure and impure spirits, to be visited, refreshed and strengthened by the former, and to be tempted and assailed by the latter, soon was held to be a sign of a heroic Christianity. . . .

The desert solitudes were peopled with the most bizarre monsters, and with these the anchorite was to do battle. Hybrid forms of animals, voluptuous females, or little black Ethiopians from the South came to assault the monk in his
stronghold of virtue. Since the Christians believed the pagan gods were demons, the idols of the Egyptian temples provided ready-made devil-images. Temptations of sensuality, pride and ambition were perceived in hellish shapes. To the monastic imagination the empty stretches of desert were filled

with the very worst society, with swarms of winged demons and all kinds of hellish monsters. It substituted thus a new kind of polytheism for the pagan gods, which were generally supposed to be evil spirits. The monastic demonology and demonomachy is a strange mixture of gross superstitions and deep spiritual experiences. It forms the romantic shady side of the otherwise so tedious monotony of the secluded life, and contains much material for the history of ethics, psychology, and pathology.\(^3\)

William E. H. Lecky, extreme rationalist that he was, put the monastic life in the worst possible light. The lively imaginations of these ignorant men, he believed, were accentuated by the austerities which deranged their entire physical system. Lecky believed that there was

no phase in the moral history of mankind of a deeper or more painful interest than this ascetic epidemic. A hideous, sordid, and emaciated maniac, without knowledge, without patriotism, without natural affection, passing his life in a long routine of useless and atrocious self-torture, and quailing before the ghastly phantoms of his delirious brain, had become the ideal of the nations which
had known the writings of Plato and Cicero and the lives of Socrates and Cato.4

There is undeniably this total irrationality in many of the monastic tales; but when one recalls that Athanasius, one of the greatest minds and theologians of the period, was also the author of the fantastic Life of Antony, it becomes worth our whole to seek out the worthier aspects of monasticism.

In its inception, monasticism was a reaction to the advancing secularization in the Church. The enthusiasm of the first days of Christianity had waned, and in its place there arose more and more a sober conviction or, perhaps, even a more theoretical belief and a submissive acceptance. There were many who did not become Christians, but, finding themselves Christians, remained so. They were too strongly impressed by Christianity to leave it, and too little impressed to be Christians indeed. Pure religious enthusiasm began to wane, old ideals received a new form; and the self-reliance and responsibility of individuals grew weaker. The 'priests and kings of God' began to clamour for priests, and to come to terms with the kings of the earth. Those who once had prided themselves on being filled with the Spirit, no longer traced that Spirit so actively in themselves, and sought to recognize it in symbols of faith, in holy books, in mysteries, and in forms of Church order.5

Monasticism was an attempt to reproduce the moral force of the Church as it was in its earliest days. The desert was
the demons' natural domain, and it was to the desert that they retreated on being driven out of the cities by the Church. As the Church was becoming more settled in the world, the ascetics fled to the desert in pursuit of the demonic enemy and a more virtuous life.

All the lives of the monks and the saints have the same basic pattern. Beginning with an inner conflict with his own thoughts, the ascetic goes on to combat the demonic onslaught from without. This wonder-working phase of faith ultimately gives way to the calm of perfect knowledge and perfect accord with God. Evagrius, one of the earliest writers on the ethics and theology of monasticism, wrote an ethical manual entitled Antirrheticæ. The Antirrheticæ is divided into eight books, each book devoted to an evil spirit which frequently attacks monks. Evagrius had been ordained lector by St. Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, and then deacon by Gregory Nazianzus. He flourished in Constantinople until he fell in love and was loved in turn. After several visions and struggles, Evagrius fled the city for the desert, and "within fifteen years he had so purified his mind that he was deemed worthy of the gift of knowledge and wisdom and the discernment of spirits." With this discernment Evagrius wrote the Antirrheticæ. Evagrius' evil spirits are really neither more nor less than predecessors of the seven medieval vices--gluttony, fornication, avarice,
anger, melancholy, _acedia_ (boredom), vanity, and pride. The fight against such vices was a fight against demons; subjugation of the passions was part of a greater, unseen and terrible war. The monk was to overcome the vices, and to struggle against himself, before he could fully meet the demonic onslaughts. However, throughout the lives of the monks and saints, personal vices are personified as demonic beings. One wonders how many other times demonic appearances to the monks were simply extensions of their own personal weaknesses and sins. Sometimes the hermit would have a foreboding or certain knowledge that an approaching visitor is the Devil, only to discover later that it was none other than his own self!^{7}

The Church was no longer as expectant about Christ's return; it was beginning to accept a place in history and the temporal world. Martyrdoms became less frequent. Anchoritism and monachism arose to continue the fight against the devil. For the participants the battle was not simply symbolic, but real and continuous. For the anchorites the devil was not a theological speculation, but something experienced. The basic pattern of the struggle with the demonic forces was found in the Biblical account of Christ's temptation. After His baptism, Christ went into the desert or wilderness, fasting and praying forty days. There he was with wild beasts (Mark i.13) and tempted by Satan. As
Adam was cast out of Paradise for obeying his belly rather than God, so Satan tempted the Lord with hunger (Satan always tries to attack man through bodily weakness and desires). Like the serpent in Genesis, Satan presented himself to Christ as a friend and counselor. At first sight his advice did not reveal any evil intention, but when the firm resistance of Christ forced him to unmask himself, he was lost. This was the tactic the monastic combatants tried to employ—if you can call the devil's bluff, his power is gone.

This concept of a struggle with demons as a characteristic of ascetic life was continued outside of formal monastic circles. St. Maximus the Confessor, who was a disciple of Pseudo-Dionysius and Origen and played a part in the Lateran Council of 649, espoused many of the monastic principles enunciated three centuries earlier by Evagrius. Maximus repeatedly compares Christ's temptation with the Christian's and sets it up as a model for the ascetic struggle. However, whereas Christ's battle was more extrinsic, for mere man the struggle is largely intrinsic—a war of passions and virtues. There is a parallel and almost an equation between the struggle with demons and the struggle for self-mastery. The demons could work with the Lord only through the outside; with fallen man they have an entrance through his desires. By his way of life the ascetic cuts
off the occasion for sinning with most things, so that most
temptations for him come through the thought life. The
demons are weakened when the passions are lessened through
God's commandments, "but they perish when finally through
detachment of the soul the passions are utterly destroyed,
as they no longer find anything by which they may settle
in and war against it." 10 From the passions in our soul the
demons seize the opportunities of stirring up in men im-
passioned thoughts. By these, they war upon the mind and
cause sin. When the mind is overcome, the demons lead to a
sin of thought, and when this is completed, they carry the
prisoner to the deed. The soul is made desolate, the demons
withdraw, and man is left only with the idol of sin. 11
Maximus cited five reasons why God permits Christians to be
warred upon by demons: that in attacks and counter-attacks
we come to distinguish virtue and vice; possessing virtue in
such combat and struggle, we shall hold it firm and steadfast;
with advance in virtue we do not become high-minded,
but learn to be humble; having had some experience with vice,
we will the more hate it; when we become detached we never
forget our own weakness nor power of Him who has helped us. 12

There was one particular kind of demon which was
peculiar to monastic life—the noonday demon. The belief in
a noonday and midnight demon seems to go back to Assyrian
and Babylonian belief. The rays of the sun, especially in
mid-summer, easily cause sunstroke, and it was natural for the people of the Near East to regard the period of noonday as dangerous and haunted by demonic agency. A more psychological reason, however, was that at noonday a man's shadow becomes very small or disappears. In many places in the Near East the shadow was the double, the soul, the ka, the companion; and at noon a man is easily overcome because his shadow is small. . . . In cases of death from sunstroke the natural inference is that this has resulted from the complete disappearance of the shadow, or from a demonic attack in a moment of extreme vulnerability.  

Correspondingly, midnight was an hour beset with fears because of the chill and cold. The midnight demon was often conceived as the opposite manifestation of the noonday demon—as fever arises from the chill caught at midnight and chill from the fever caught at midday.

Nothing in the Hebrew scriptures confirmed this popular conception of the demon of noonday, but the LXX and Vulgate did make such an interpretation of Psalm xci (xc). 6. The psalm promises you shall not be afraid of the terror by night, the arrow by day, the pestilence that walks in darkness, or the destruction that wastes at noonday. For this last phrase the LXX and Vulgate rendered daimonion mesembrinon and daemonium meridianum, respectively. The
monastic writers connected this demon acedia—the boredom with the ascetical life which haunts the cloister at noon-tide. Acedia—indifference, distaste, apathy of heart and mind—was a feeling well-known to the desert fathers. It was most often felt at noonday "when the desert radiated an intolerable heat, when time itself appeared to stand still and life suddenly seemed to be devoid of meaning." Evagrius and John Cassian connected the noontide demon with acedia, but Jerome and Augustine made more allegorical interpretations of Psalm xci. Augustine allegorized the text to mean the increased heat of persecution which came upon the Church when the enemies of the true religion learned that they were not able to eradicate the truth swiftly. For Augustine, then, the demon of noonday was the stormiest period of persecution experienced by the early Church. Jerome held that the devil has power over Christians any time they sin, and the common belief that the midday demon possessed special power was silly. The term "noonday demon" Jerome allegorized to refer to the devil disguising himself as an angel of light.

The demonology of the Christianity of the second rank can be described, but its nature is not fully perceived until one reads the writings of the monks themselves. Saints' lives were written throughout the middle ages, but their first appearance was made concerning the Egyptian monks.
There was a pagan complement to this type of literature in the lives of the sages. Eunapius wrote the Lives of the Sophists, Iamblichus wrote the Life of Pythagoras, and Philostratus wrote the Life of Apollonius of Tyana. In all these pagan works the sages tend to be faith-healers and thaumaturges. They drive out demons, tame wild beasts and control the elements. When the Christians began to write saints' lives, they incorporated these pagan elements into their tales. The popularity of these legends and lives enabled them to be vehicles for incorporating folk elements into the main stream of Christian development.\textsuperscript{17} They also are evidence of the oriental influence which was increasing in all areas of Western life.

The legends of the monks and saints are not Christian, they are only Christianized. Shortly after the second century there arose in Gnostic circles apocryphal accounts of the lives of the apostles which had all the miraculous and superstitious elements of pre-Christian religious romances. The Church combatted these stories, but was unable to prevent genuine narratives from becoming infected.\textsuperscript{18} The earliest acts of the martyrs have in them no popular miracles, but after the persecutions,

with the lapse of time, there was no longer any standard by which to measure the unexplained heroism of the martyrs, [and] it became easy to transfer to the
Christian martyrs the conceptions which the ancients held concerning their heroes. This transference was promoted by numerous cases in which Christian saints became the successors of local deities, and Christian worship supplanted the ancient local worship. 19

The legends were a kind of theology of the people, an expression of simple wishes and expectations. Like the myth, the explanatory fable of nature, and the doctrinal fable, the legend had an independent religious and hortatory importance. It showed the auxiliary power of the supernatural and the possibility of a savior in every need. 20

About A.D. 250 a man was born in Middle Egypt whose life was to become a pattern for all saints' lives throughout the medieval period. Antony was born of well-to-do Christian parents, but decided to sell all and lead an ascetic life. Athanasius composed a biography of Antony about 357 which became greatly popular. There is a problem of how much of the Vita is Antony and how much is Athanasius--there are long passages representing discourses by Antony which set forth a high degree of learning, though Antony is presented as having no formal education. In three discourses Antony is shown presenting a refined theory of asceticism, a refutation of Greek philosophy and Neo-Platonism, and an attack on Arianism. Undoubtedly in these sections we see both Antony and Athanasius; nevertheless, the demonology of the Vita is important to study because of the great influence it had on
later authors.

Soon after Antony had resolved upon the ascetic life the devil set about employing his tactics against him. The devil first tried to make Antony desert the ascetic life by reminding him of his sister and property and the forsaken amenities of life. He represented to him the austerity and all the toil that must go with virtue. The Enemy saw, however, that he was being vanquished by Antony's steadfast faith. Therefore, he tried to attack him through the flesh by suggesting filthy thoughts or masquerading as a woman by night. Antony prayed, "filled his thoughts with Christ and reflected upon the nobility of the soul that comes from Him. . . ."\textsuperscript{21} The entire experience put the devil to shame, and Antony thus had his first victory over the devil. Antony did not become careless as a result of this victory over fornication, however. He left the village and went to live in a tomb some distance from town. A man brought Antony bread at intervals and locked the door upon him. The devil was especially alarmed at Antony's strong continuance in asceticism, so he came one night with his demons and beat him so severely that Antony lay speechless. When the man came to bring Antony bread, he thought him dead and brought him to the village church. About midnight Antony regained consciousness and persuaded the men to carry him back to the tomb.

The Enemy, seeing he had availed neither with the
spirit of fornication nor with blows, realized he must use other tactics. That night the demons came making such a noise that the whole place seemed to be shaken by an earthquake. It seemed

as though demons were breaking through the four walls of the little chamber and bursting through them in the forms of beasts and reptiles. All at once the place was filled with the phantoms of lions, bears, leopards, bulls, and of serpents, asps, and scorpions, and of wolves; and each moved according to the shape it had assumed. The lion roared, ready to spring upon him, the bull appeared about to gore him through, the serpent writhed without quite reaching him, the wolf was rushing straight at him; and the noises emitted simultaneously by all the apparitions were frightful and the fury shown was fierce.22

Antony was still sore and bruised in body, but he was alert in spirit. He mocked the demonic apparitions, saying that if they had any real power it would have been enough for just one of them to come against him rather than trying to scare him with their numbers. Their aping the form of brutes he took to be a sign of their helplessness, and he encouraged them if they had any power against him to go to it. The demons gnashed their teeth at Antony because of their impotence. The Lord helped Antony by shining a beam of light down through the roof, and the demons fled. The Lord promised to help and be with Antony and to make his name renowned
everywhere. Antony arose quite strengthened and felt more vigorous in body than ever before. On the next day Antony decided to go into the desert.

The devil unsuccessfully tried to dissuade Antony from his purpose by tempting him with gold and silver. Antony found a deserted fort which had become infested with creeping things. There he settled and the reptiles left at once. Two times a year Antony received bread; otherwise he never left the place. Friends came, but Antony would not let them come in. They heard "what sounded like riotous crowds inside making noises, raising a tumult, wailing piteously and shrieking: 'Get out of our domain! What business have you in the desert? You cannot hold out our persecution.'"  

At first the visitors thought these were men, but when they peered in and saw no one, they realized they were demons. With the sign of the cross the visitors escaped unharmed, while Antony himself never suffered any harm from them. Antony never grew weary of the contest, receiving help from heavenly visions and the singing of psalms. For twenty years Antony practiced the ascetic life, never going out and seldom seen by others. Some friends, hoping to imitate him, came and broke down the door of the fort. Antony came out as from a shrine. He was neither obese from want of exercise nor emaciated from fastings and struggles with the demons. Athanasius records that the state of Antony's soul was pure,
neither distracted by grief nor dissipated by pleasure. He "had himself completely under control--a man guided by reason and stable in his character." 24

The next one-fourth of the Vita is an address Antony made to the monks on the ascetic life. It is little more than a manual on demonology. As mentioned above, the discourse shows much learning and an acquaintance with both Biblical and Greek demonology as well as popular beliefs. Antony counselled the monks that their lives should be lived in watchfulness because of the enemy which surrounds them. The wicked demons live in the surrounding air. The monk's battle and wrestling is with these principalities rather than with any flesh and blood enemies. There are many variations in the nature of these demons, but Antony believes an account of the distinctions would take too long. It is most important for the monk to know their capabilities and tactics, however.

Demons were not made demons, for God made nothing bad. They were created fair, but fell from heavenly wisdom and have since been roaming the earth. They have deceived the Greeks and are envious of the Christians, not wishing them to rise to the heavenly position from which they themselves have fallen. Through much prayer and ascetic discipline the Christian may receive through the Holy Spirit the gift of discerning spirits and be able to know about them, "which of them are less wicked, which of them are more so;
and what special interest each one of them pursues and how each is rebuffed and cast out. For their ruses and machinations are numerous. 25 Because of his experiences Antony feels he should guide his monks in these areas. The devil begins his attack by suggesting evil thoughts of unclean pleasures. By prayers, fastings and confidence in God these fleshly temptations are easily thwarted. If they should return, they can be rebuffed by repeated prayers. When the devil fails in this first mode of temptation, he changes his tactics and devises apparitions in order to frighten the heart. The demons transform themselves and mimic women, beasts, reptiles, and mighty warriors. When the monk does not cower before these phantoms but rather makes the Sign of the Cross, they soon disappear. Another tactic the demons use is pretending to prophesy or foretell future events. The demons have lighter bodies than men. They can travel rapidly and often seem to be foretelling events when they are merely reporting what they have observed or even caused. This was how the demons inspired the Greek oracles. Despite man's material body, however, the pure soul always has greater knowledge and wisdom than the demons. If all else fails the devil himself will appear, but by the grace of Christ all the tactics of the demons come to nothing.

The demons are treacherous and capable of every change and transformation. Often they pretend to sing psalms
or they quote sayings from Scriptures. Sometimes they act as an echo when the monks are reading. Sometimes they act as monks and simulate pious talk. They do this in order to bring the guileless to despair and make the ascetical life seem worthless. The demons by this means seek to sow their own evil along with the truth. They should not be listened to at any time, but the monk should only resolve to continue practicing asceticism. Since the Incarnation the power of the devil has declined. He has no real power, but he is unable to keep quiet and continues to threaten with meaningless words. If this is borne in mind, any monk ought to be able to despise the demons. One must fear God and only despise the demons. When the demons come, they come with confusion and tumult, seeking to induce fear. A vision of the holy angels or a revelation from God is not turbulent and produces courage and calm in the human soul.

Antony begins the conclusion of his address by citing numerous examples of demonic attack from his own life. In whatever state of mind the demons find a monk, that is how they represent their phantoms. When the Christian staunchly maintains his faith, the enemies are put to shame—so the Enemy withdrew from Job but took Judas as prisoner. If the monks, then, wish to despise the Enemy,

let us always keep our thoughts upon the things of the Lord and let the
soul ever rejoice in hope. We shall then see the trumperies of the demons as so much smoke and see them fleeing rather than pursuing. For they are, as I said, abject cowards, always apprehensive of the fire which has been prepared for them.\textsuperscript{26}

The last half of the \textit{Vita} tells of Antony's ministry to others, his healing powers, and his desire for martyrdom. Antony's miracles were never done through commands; but through prayer and Christ's name, so that it would be clear to all that the power was the Lord's. Even a group of Greek philosophers marvelled at the fear the demons had of Antony. Athanasius noted that Antony's gift of discerning spirits was unique in the practice of asceticism:

He recognized their movements and was well aware in what direction each of them directed his effort and attack. Not only was he himself not fooled by them, but encouraging others who were harassed in their thoughts, he taught them how they might ward off their designs, describing the weaknesses and wiles of the spirits practicing possession. And so each went down as though anointed by him and filled with confidence against the designs of the Devil and his demons.\textsuperscript{27}

Among the last words of Antony to the two monks taking care of him before his death was encouragement not to fear the demons, but to place their confidence in Christ.

Certain elements of Athanasius' (or Antony's)
demonology not found in the Biblical treatment of demons were eventually incorporated into writings by orthodox Catholics—many will be noticed in Augustine, for instance. Among these elements are the almost magical use of the sign of the cross, the shape-changing ability of demons (transforming themselves into animals, satyrs, monsters, etc.), the foul smell associated with demons (they often leave an odor which lasts for days when they depart), and the devil appearing as a little black boy. Many of these concepts of demons, as mentioned earlier, are derived from Gnostic or oriental sources. Some concepts which do have a Biblical base are especially important in later developments. The concept of the continuing struggle with the devil and Christ's power over demonic forces is always emphasized by Christian writers and is the basis of the milites Christi. That the devil begins his attacks on the flesh by suggesting lascivious and evil thoughts is one of the bases for the practice of the ascetic life, as was briefly seen above in Maximus the Confessor.

Athanasius' Life of Antony is a real curiosity in view of Athanasius' leading role in the greatest intellectual conflict of the early Church—the Arian controversy. It is difficult to understand how such a logical thinker could write such a fanciful tale. In many ways, however, it seems as if Athanasius is writing his life of Antony with an eye on the pagan world. When Antony emerges from the fort after twenty
years of battling demons, he emerges as if from some inmost shrine, an initiate to the mysteries. In becoming perfect, or telos, Antony had achieved a goal understandable to the pagans. At the end of the time in the fort, Antony is physically and in disposition of soul all balanced. Antony's condition is shown in his bodily strength which he retained until his death (this should be contrasted with Porphyry's description of Plotinus as ashamed of his body). Antony's perfection is seen as a return to man's natural condition. Bodily strength, power over wild beasts and even being waited on by animals are not simply miraculous tales, but in Athanasius' telling are reflections of the constant teaching of Christian ascetics on the recovery of man's condition as it was before the fall.²⁸ Athanasius has a tendency to emphasize and aggrandize the heroic in his hero. The material on demons, though certainly noticeably present, is less overwrought than in later accounts of monks and still seems to fit into a certain intellectual framework. The stout defence against the attacks of the devil is an essential part of Antony's growth to perfection and oneness with God.

The Life of Antony enjoyed a tremendous popularity. Twenty years after it was written Evagrius translated it into Latin and it was read as far away as Gaul. It was the literary forerunner of Jerome's lives of Paul and Hilarion. Augustine cites it as one of the deciding influences in his own
conversion, marvelling that such miracles had been worked so recently, "almost in our own times." Antony's life became a pattern for all later saints' lives. In order to see this influence we will briefly examine two other saints' lives—one from Gaul and the other from Britain.

Sulpicius Severus, a contemporary of Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, was one of the first Christian Latin writers to compose a biography. Athanasius had been an exile in Gaul some time during the fourth century, and Sulpicius was familiar with his writings. Gaul at this period was the region possessing the most vital and progressive Christianity in Western Europe. Martin, bishop of Tours, became Gaul's patron saint; and Severus, Martin's biographer, thus gained a unique influence on the miracle-literature of the following centuries. Severus wrote contemporaneously with the life of his hero and knew him personally. There is little irrelevant detail in Sulpicius' Life of Saint Martin; the style is simple and direct; the use of language is excellent. Nevertheless, the Vita is little else than a catalogue of wonders.

As a youth, Martin was in the army, but upon becoming a Christian he gained a discharge. When he went to see Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, Hilary wanted to make Martin a deacon, drawing him closely into the divine ministry. Martin resisted, insisting upon his unworthiness. Hilary realized that the only way to impose on him a divine office was if it seemed to
involve some measure of humiliation—so he made Martin an exorcist. Martin could not refuse lest he seem to despise such a humble office. About 371 A.D. Martin was chosen bishop of Tours by the people. He was reluctant to accept the position; but once he had accepted, he was zealous in the performance of his duties. He went about destroying the pagan shrines to demons and replacing them with churches or monasteries. Frequently enjoying the vision of angels and often conversing with them, the devil was also visible to Martin's eyes. No delusion of the devil could be presented to him undetected. Whatever form the enemy assumed, Martin discovered him. Some of the forms Satan assumed were pagan divinites—Jupiter, Mercury, Venus and Minerva in particular. In all demonic assaults Martin protected himself with the sign of the cross and with prayer. From Martin's own lips Sulpicius learned that one day when Martin was in his cell, the devil appeared to him with a diadem, bejewelled and with a purple robe. He said he was Christ descending upon earth, revealing himself to Martin first. From the Holy Spirit, Martin saw that this was the devil and said Christ must appear with stigmata. At these words, the devil "instantly vanished like smoke, filling the cell with such a stench as to leave no doubt it was the Devil." 30

Many later writers enlarged upon Sulpicius' works on St. Martin. At the end of the sixth century Gregory of Tours
wrote a book of Miracles and devoted four out of eight books to
Martin. Not only does Gregory rehearse the miracles as re-
corded by Sulpicius, but he adds 206 that were worked at
Martin's tomb. Venantius Fortunatus wrote a poetical account
of Martin's life and his many miracles. At least one case of
demonic possession ought to be cited as an example:

The Saint, it chanced, had stopped before
a house; he went to enter, at the
threshold paused, scenting a dreadful
demon's shadow there. A cook, possessed,
had grown a raving beast, biting his
companions and himself for food. The
others ran and feared to cross his path,
scarcely escaping safe for all their
speed and pleased enough to win unbidden
out. Our iron-heart, God's soldier,
Martin, stood and would not budge nor
let the maniac pass. He bade the Thing
of gnashing plague to halt, thrusting his
holy fingers in its mouth. 'Here, wolf
of evil, here is offered food. Elsewhere
you hunt, here's meat between your teeth.'
The jaws of fury slowly opened out, they
dared not bite. Gaping the beast was
held and feared the touch of flesh it
longed to tear. The cornered spirit was
convulsed with pain yet might not pass
the mouth those fingers closed. Then,
leaving trails of foulness on the air,
the filthy presence backed through filth
away, blasting an outlet for driven
fiends.31

The sublime faith in himself sets the tone for many of
Martin's miracles as well as other saints' lives. In the back-
ground is the concept that Christ is conqueror over demons,
but often this is lost from sight and the saint appears simply
to possess magical powers and a Christian name.

In the eighth century, several centuries after both Martin and Fortunatus, a monk in Britain by the name of Felix wrote a life of St. Guthlac at the request of King Aelfwald. Despite the difference in time and place from the two previously mentioned saints' lives, Felix's Life of St. Guthlac possesses the same characteristic demonology as found in works by Athanasius and Sulpicius Severus. The work is beautifully written and contains several lovely descriptions of nature. The language throughout is very descriptive and poetic. Guthlac seems to have been born in 674 and related to the royal family of Mercia. Because of his birth he was trained as a warrior, but at the age of twenty-four he entered the monastery of Repton at Derbyshire. About the time when Guthlac began the hermit's life, he was one day singing psalms and hymns when the devil shot a poisoned arrow of despair at him. The arrow "stuck fast in the very center of the mind of the soldier of Christ. Now when meanwhile the poisoned weapon had poured in its potion of black venom, then every feeling of the soldier of Christ was disturbed by it, and he began to despair about what he had undertaken." For three days he was in despair, remembering his sins and despairing of ever being cleansed. At nightfall on the third day he began to sing and Bartholomew, his patron saint, appeared to him from heaven with words of encouragement. Felix commented that when
Guthlac "like a soldier fighting in the serried ranks, had realized that the heavenly aid and angelic light had reached him, immediately the clouds of impious thoughts were dissipated, his troubled heart was enlightened and he sang triumphantly: 'The Lord is my helper. . . .'" Bartholomew promised to aid Guthlac in all his tribulations. Guthlac, as a result, had greater faith and strength in the Lord. The triumph of his first battle gave him hope for future glory and victory. The devil never could again use the weapon of despair against Guthlac, because once the arrow was broken it could never more prevail against him.

Though the arrow of despair could not prevail against Guthlac, the devil did try other weapons. On one occasion two devils in human form with wild countenances appeared before him as if fallen from the sky. They said they were going to desist from assaulting him, but rather aid him in his asceticism. Guthlac rebuked them and the two devils fled howling. Thereafter "the man of God despised the phantoms and foul spirits, having obtained everywhere the prize in the fight." A few days later, however, his entire cell was filled with

horrible troops of foul spirits; for the door was open to them as they approached from every quarter; as they entered through floor-holes and crannies, neither the joints of the doorways nor the openings in the wattlework denied them
entry, but, bursting forth from the earth
and sky, they covered the whole space
beneath the heavens with their dusky
clouds. For they were ferocious in
appearance, terrible in shape with great
heads, long necks, thin faces, yellow
complexions, filthy beards, shaggy ears,
wild foreheads, fierce eyes, foul mouths,
horses' teeth, throats vomiting flames,
twisted jaws, thick lips, strident voices,
singed hair, fat cheeks, crooked legs,
swollen ankles, splay feet, spreading
mouth, raucous cries.

This horde filled almost the whole intervening space
between earth and heaven with their bellowings. They bound
the limbs of Guthlac and took him through wild country beating
him all the while, but Guthlac maintained his faith. They
then began to drag him through the freezing skies. When the
summit of the sky was reached "the northern heavens seemed to
grow dark with gloomy mists and black clouds." Innumerable
squadrons of foul spirits came at them from the north. These
spirits brought Guthlac to the mouth of hell. In hell evil
spirits could be seen running about torturing the souls of the
wicked. The spirits threatened to throw him amongst such
manifold tortures, but Guthlac despised their threats. Just
as they were preparing to thrust him into hell, St. Bartholomew
again appeared with heavenly light; the demons fled, and
Guthlac was escorted back to his cell. Shortly thereafter
when he was praying he espied two of those attendant demons
weeping and crying, "We mourn for our strength which has been
everywhere broken by you, and we bewail our lack of power
against your strength; for we dare not touch you nor even approach you." Having said this they vanished like smoke. In the *Life of Guthlac* are themes found in almost every saint's life. Demons are tormentors of the holy man and with demons are associated such things as filth, smoke, stench, blackness, howlings, and grotesque animal forms. The holy man attains deliverance from these demons most often through prayer, the sign of the cross or a direct divine intervention. The basis for the Christian's power over demons, so important to the early days of the Christian period, is lost from sight. Christian deliverance becomes no different from pagan magic except for the symbols used.

These strange tales in the lives of the monks and saints, even miracles in general, do not fall pleasantly on modern ears. It is often difficult to understand how otherwise seemingly sane men could succumb to such irrationalities. Wm. Ed. H. Lecky, whose disdain for the monks was noted above, felt there were three aspects of the miracle stories which must be considered: the possibility of the fact, the nature of the evidence, and the predisposition of men in certain stages of society towards the miraculous. The most important of these factors Lecky believed to be the intellectual climate. Experience itself has shown that under certain intellectual conditions prodigies are non-existent and the whole fabric of superstition melts silently away. Lecky offered several
elements which he believed contributed to the superstitious climate in the ancient and medieval periods. There was a division in the ancient mind between physical science and speculative philosophy. Because of the relative unimportance of the physical sciences, there was a complete absence of the habit of cautious, experimental research. Today the widespread use of printing affords a check on error, but such a check was lacking in earlier periods. Natural laws were not yet understood, and natural phenomena were viewed as simply capricious. The society in general was thus open to superstitious beliefs, but the monks and hermits were particularly susceptible:

With such men, living such a life, visions and miracles were necessarily habitual. All the elements of hallucination were there. Ignorant and superstitious, believing as a matter of religious conviction that countless daemons filled the air, attributing every fluctuation of his temperament, and every exceptional phenomenon in surrounding nature, to spiritual agency; delirious, too, from solitude and long continued austerities, the hermit soon mistook for palpable realities the phantoms of his brain.35

The possibility of miracles to the Christian is a corollary of God's sovereignty and omnipotence. However, many doubt the authenticity of the miracles of the Nicene and post-Nicene period. The miracles of this period have a lower
moral tone than those in the Bible and the apostolic age, while many are more pompous. The later miracles are often not so much supernatural as unnatural. Misanthropic hermits are often shown on confidential terms with wild beasts, to which are attributed moral feelings as well as states of repentance and conversion. The miracles increase with time, but paradoxically many of the fathers, as will be shortly seen, maintained that miracles in the Biblical sense had ceased. G. G. Coulton recognized that the "medieval mind oscillated between blind belief in miracles and an uncomfortable conviction that the age of real miracles was receding more and more into a distant background."36 In 1274 the General of the Dominicans, Humbert de Romans, drew up a memorial for the ecumenic Council of Lyons in which he justified the Crusades on the ground that Christians were, in those days, driven by necessity to use the sword against unbelievers, "for even as an artificer, when he has lost one tool, uses another that still remains to him, so we Christian folk, not having miracles now-a-days, but still possessing warlike weapons, defend ourselves with these latter."37 Though Humbert believed miracles had ceased, accounts of them continued centuries after his time.

There were miracles in the early days of the Church, but they were purposeful rather than exhibitionary. Peter was delivered to prolong his ministry, but this miracle was
witnessed only by himself. Stephen and James died martyr's
deaths without any divine intervention or impressive spectacles
to convince their persecutors of their error. Miracles began
to noticeably increase in the third century, however.
Curiously, when Christianity was nominally exalted above
other religions by State-recognition, the new faith sought to
increase its prestige by claiming it could do the same things
the pagan religions could, rather than stressing its differences
from and superiority over the other religions. Ostensibly
the necessity of miracles arose because the barbarians could
not fully understand or accept Christian theology, but they
could accept the visible representations of the new religion.
Many Christians thought the conversion of Western Europe could
be achieved not simply by teaching a new doctrine but by
manifesting a new power. Yet the new power the saints
supposedly manifested seemed often strangely pagan. Some
thought the miracles and tales of the supernatural could be
used as tools to teach moral principles.

The miracles were not always believed, however--
credulity was not a universal characteristic of the age.
Sulpicius Severus in his Life of St. Martin recognized that
many were incredulous about Martin's demeanor, character and
knowledge of Scripture, but Sulpicius called Christ to witness
that such things were true. Martin himself frequently told
Sulpicius that during his episcopate he did not have the
"fulness of miraculous powers he remembered having before." Brichtio, who succeeded Martin as bishop of Tours, questioned the authority of Martin's miracles. Vigilantius, whom Jerome opposed as a heretic for not believing in saints' relics and miracles, argued that the purpose of miracles was to overcome the resistance of the incredulous. He implied biblical miracles had occurred for that purpose and stated that real believers who sought miracles through prayers and ritual were not acting with proper piety. Believers should be motivated by faith rather than miracles. It is those with lack of faith who seek a sign; "those alleged miracles that seem to aim at more may well instead be tricks of the devil, leading men on by cunning deceptions...the more illicit the purpose of the miracle the less likely it is to be one." Such views as held by Vigilantius were not frequently heard, though they were to appear again in later Protestantism. Like Vigilantius the Protestants were to argue that the miracles advanced monasticism, the worship of saints and of the Virgin, the belief in Purgatory rather than Christian doctrine itself.

As seen at the beginning of this chapter, apocryphal miracle stories are the source of the luxuriant growth of miracle stories in later ecclesiastical writings. The earliest Christians and martyrs had a definite demonology, but miracles were not developed as they were in later Christian
writings and in the medieval period. By the fourth century, as seen in Athanasius' *Life of Antony*, the leaders of the Church were swimming in miracles. Yet, it cannot simply be said, as did Lecky, that belief in miracles stemmed from an unscientific, somewhat irrational intellectual climate.

Miracles cannot be inferred from man's ignorance, nor is bare inexplicableness a sufficient criterion for the miraculous. If one does not recognize a certain order and pattern in the universe, one would not recognize a miracle when it occurred. There must be a certain natural order or natural law for the miracle to transcend, otherwise the miracle would not be a miracle!

It is most disturbing, however, to discover that the very fathers who record long lists of miracles contemporary with themselves testify that the age of miracles, in some sense, ceased with the Apostolic Age. Ambrose was surprised at the return of miracles with the discovery of the bodies of the two martyrs Protasius and Gervasius of Milan, implying that miracles had not occurred for quite some time. Augustine wrote that miracles such as those of Scripture are no longer done, yet then immediately gives a recitation of those wrought at Hippo by St. Stephen's relics. There seem to have been few miracles in North Africa before Augustine vigorously pressed for the introduction of saintly relics. Chrysostom teems with expressions that miracles have ceased
and writes that just because miracles do not happen now does not mean they never happened; it is just that miracles are not now needed as previously. Gregory the Great, commenting on Mark xvi.17, said that signs were necessary in the beginning of the Church that faith might grow, but the wonders of grace are greater than miracles. In a letter to Augustine in Britain, to be examined later, Gregory warns the missionary to refrain from performing too many miracles! Isidore of Seville wrote in the same spirit as Gregory. He said the apostolic miracles were necessary to convince the world of Christianity. Now that the world is so convinced, Christianity shines forth good works. After Christianity's acceptance, the performance of miracles is a seeking after vainglory and human praise. Miracles were a sign to unbelievers and were not necessary for believers.  

One writer has presented the thesis that these accretions to Christianity were derived from the heathen rhetorical schools in which so many of the Christian leaders had their training. As Lucian noted, there are different rules for writing history and panegyrics. Whereas history admits of no falsehoods, the panegyric knows no such limitations. Perhaps this is true, but whatever the exact source, it is undeniable that the great stream of miracle-working and demonic dealings is not original to the Church, but entered it from without. Benjamin Warfield well summarized
the situation facing the Church:

The fundamental fact which should be borne in mind is that Christianity, in coming into the world, came into a heathen world. It found itself, as it made its way ever more deeply into the world, ever more deeply immersed in a heathen atmosphere which was heavy with miracle. This heathen atmosphere, of course, penetrated it at every pore, and affected its interpretation of existence in all the happenings of daily life. It was not merely, however, that Christians could not be immune from the infection of heathen modes of thought prevalent about them. It was that the Church was itself recruited from the heathen community. 43

Broadly speaking, every possession the heathen had, the Christians transferred to themselves and made their own. John Seznec has well shown this in relationship to the pagan deities in his book The Survival of the Pagan Gods. It will be seen in a later chapter on the Germanic influence on medieval demonology, but it is also true of the monastic tales. Augustine tells a story, which he says he had confirmed with the man himself (Augustine had baptized the man and heard the tale from his own lips), about a countryman named Curma who dwelt in Tullium. Curma was so sick he was almost dead. While he was in an unconscious state he saw the otherworld as in a dream. Curma recovered, but at the same hour he came to his senses, Curma the smith died. In his dream Curma the farmer had heard it was not himself but Curma the smith who
had been ordered into the next life--evidently the spirits had brought the wrong person to the land of the dead! The tale itself is rather curious, but the whole matter becomes more interesting when we find Gregory the Great telling exactly the same story about one Stephen whom he knew personally. Stephen had gone to Constantinople, fallen sick and died there. The embalmers were hard to get at so the body was left unburied. When Stephen was brought to the otherworld the judge exclaimed this was not the Stephen he wanted, but Stephen the smith. Stephen, Gregory's friend, was resuscitated and Stephen the smith died that very hour. The entire case becomes even more complicated when we discover that Lucian, two hundred and fifty years before Augustine and three hundred and fifty years before Gregory, related the same story. Lucian does not say the story really happened, but tells it as a means of laughing at the superstitions of his time. Interestingly enough, in Lucian's tale it is a smith who is really sought by Pluto. Plutarch relates the same story and, like Augustine and Gregory, vouches for it personally. Both Augustine and Gregory were clearly vouching for a miracle contemporaneous to themselves which had not happened.

Some of the miracles were fraud; some were real but little different from pagan counterparts. Unlike the earliest miracles of the Church, miracles from the third century onward were not integrally bound up with the content of the
Christian faith itself. Christianity of the second rank, with its fantastic demonology and miracles, entered orthodox Christianity from paganism and the folk beliefs of the people. Experience was sometimes valued more than doctrine; religion became in some ways connected more with the material than with the moral. In seeking for a more experiential, miraculous religion,

the senses which seek to perceive and therefore do perceive that which is holy, become dull and blind in the presence of that which is actually perceptible, and dazzle the reason. The reason became accustomed to a fabulous world of wonders, and more and more lost all rational standards. Even the most cultured Fathers from the fifth century ceased to be capable of distinguishing between the real and unreal; they were defenceless against the most absurd tales of the miraculous, and lived in a world of magic and enchantment. Then there once more emerged practices which date from the earliest age of civilization.\(^45\)

Monasticism, because of its ascetic style of life, was peculiarly adept in perpetuating this somewhat debased form of Christianity. As Christianity expanded its influence and more and more people became nominally Christian pagan elements were increasingly brought into the Church. As will be seen in the next chapter, and indeed has been noticed in this, Augustine was not immune from accepting and sometimes
even encouraging the Christianity of the second rank with
its many miracles; but the full acceptance of these beliefs
into the mainstream of Christianity was accomplished by
Gregory the Great, who will be studied at the end of this
work.
CHAPTER III
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AUGUSTINE: DEMONOLOGY AND THE EARTHLY CITY

The demonology of St. Augustine should be examined not merely because his belief in demons reflects the general attitude of the fifth century, nor even because his writings on the subject were later quoted so frequently during the Renaissance witch hunts, but because his demonology is intricately interwoven with his ideas of history and with his concepts of the nature of the universe. The City of God especially indicates this integral connection between Augustine's demonology and the rest of his thought; therefore, before beginning a detailed examination of Augustine's demonology, perhaps it would put the subject in perspective to have in our minds an overview of The City of God and its developing ideas.

Augustine's purpose in writing The City of God is to refute pagan charges made against Christianity, most specifically that the barbarian invasions and the sack of Rome in 410 were due to the neglect of pagan divinities and the acceptance of Christianity by an increasing number of people. In his refutation and apologetic, Augustine describes the existence of the two cities in the world--the City of Light and the City of Darkness, or the City of God and the City of
the Devil. Both of these cities are cosmic and have their origins in the angelic sphere. Men and angels are members of both cities, and the second half of The City of God is devoted to showing the historical progress of the two cities, from their foundation in the angelic circles to their culmination and final separation at the day of judgment. The first half of the work is spent in refuting the objections of the ungodly who prefer their own gods to the Founder of the holy city.

Like most of the Church Fathers, Augustine considers the pagan divinities to be demons rather than gods. Such gods or demons seek their own gratification only and have no concern for the welfare of their worshippers and devotees. The first five books of The City of God show that no temporal advantages were ever given by the pagan divinities. When the old gods were worshipped in the days before Christ, many calamities befell Rome, but no help was forthcoming from the demon-divinities. The gods did not give precepts ensuring the moral well-being of the people, but rather seduced the populace by instituting theaters, games and banquets. The crimes and immorality of the demons were celebrated while the lives of the worshippers were ignored. Profligate manners were destroying the republic, yet the gods did nothing to intervene. Both the demons and the rulers of state sought to deceive the people of Rome with falsehoods and to bind them
more firmly in society by a religion of lies. Such a system is instituted to deceive and control the people and is not the source of Rome's greatness.²

While Rome's greatness cannot be attributed to its gods, neither can it be attributed to Fate.³ By God's will Rome has been preserved. An example of His care and preservation is the manner in which He prevented the pagan barbarians from invading Rome. Radagaisus, the king of the Goths, was a consistent worshipper of the pagan gods and thus had great confidence that he would become Rome's conqueror, yet God caused "that the king of the Goths should be conquered in a wonderful manner, lest glory should accrue to demons, whom he was known to be supplicating, and thus the minds of the weak should be overthrown."⁴ God further designed that when Rome was conquered by the barbarians, it should be by barbarians who protected the Christian religion and opposed the demons with their impious sacrifices. A multitude of gods is thus of no use in attaining terrestrial things. God is the bestower of gifts, never demons. While God gives eternal life, He also gives light, air, earth, water, fruits, the soul of man, body, senses, mind, life and even empire, bestowing these on good and bad alike.

After demonstrating in the first five books of The City of God that the pagan gods can give their worshippers no temporal advantage, in the next five books Augustine shows
how the gods cannot provide eternal life. If the gods cannot provide temporal blessings, how are they to provide eternal prosperity? If Ceres, Liber or Vulcan do not establish terrestrial kingdoms, how can they be expected to ensure future blessings? The gods of myth and of civil theology (as Varro terms the study of the civic deities) are reprobates, delighting in foul and obscene worship. Matters of eternal truth are beyond their power and interest. Augustine discusses many of the gods individually and in detail to show that none of them are capable of bringing eternal bliss to man. The demons of the philosophers, especially as in Apuleius and the Neoplatonist Porphyry, also lack the stability and wisdom to lead the soul to higher realms. Whether in the material realm or in spiritual things, the demons, who are creatures, are unable to provide man with those things which have their source in God alone. The City of God, then, is not simply a refutation of the pagan charges against the Christians, but is an attack on the demon forces which have so long deceived men as to their true nature and motives.

Some have seen in Augustine's demonology a continuing influence of his pre-conversion battle with Manichaean dualism. That man was born in a world where forces of light and darkness were already in conflict seems to indicate, say these critics, that "Augustine was still carrying about with him
more Manichaean ideas than he was conscious of. On closer examination, such criticism will not stand. Augustine's imagery of light and darkness can be derived just as easily from Christian writings, particularly the gospel of John, as from Manichaean teachings. Recognition of the existence of evil and of personal beings whose goals were to rebel against the Good did not force Augustine into any kind of dualism. His great understanding of God's sovereignty and the relationship between the Creator and His creatures kept him from returning to any kind of Manichaean dualism.

Augustine followed Plato in deriving the etymology of daimon from a Greek word meaning knowledge. Demons, however, have knowledge without charity, and their knowledge only inflates them with pride. From their overweening pride they seek divine honors and the worship due only to the true God. Demons are not superior to men as many of the people and even philosophers hold. Rather, they are

spirits most eager to inflict harm, utterly alien from righteousness, swollen with pride, pale with envy, subtle in deceit; who dwell indeed in the air as in a prison, in keeping with their own character, because, cast down from the height of the higher heaven, they have been condemned to dwell in this element as the just reward for irretrievable transgression.

Spiritual beings, whether good or evil, were not
eternal with God, but they were created by Him. When the Scriptures say God created Heaven and earth, it is to be understood that God created spiritual and corporeal creatures, for the angels are frequently called "the Heavens." Heaven here is that intellectual heaven "where the intellect is privileged to know all at once, not in part only, not as if it were looking at a confused reflection in a mirror, but as a whole, clearly face to face." Here, in a very neoplatonic sense, is perception all at once, apart from the ebb and flow of time. In the Genesis account of creation, the creation of angels or other spiritual beings is not specifically mentioned, but the time of their creation can be easily inferred. From other portions of Scripture, Augustine deduces that the angels had to be created before the stars on the fourth day. He is inclined to think that the spiritual creation came into being when God said, "Let there be light." By such terminology it is shown that the angels were created partakers of that eternal light which is unchangeable. The angel is not a light in himself, but in God. If he turns away from that Light he becomes impure and darkness, deprived of Light eternal. If anyone, however, opposes this interpretation that the angels were created with light and says they were created before the phrase "In the Beginning" (which later was Milton's view), Augustine will not quarrel with him. The main point is that the angels are
not co-eternal with God, but are His creatures. It seems natural to conclude that all angels, those good and those who were to fall, were created on an equal footing, but it is quite possible that those who did not fall knew even then that they would remain eternally blessed. Possibly the angels who fell, though created good, lacked something in beatitude by not being so assured of their eternal felicity. The Scriptures, however, provide no record of two such angelic natures, and the original equality of all angels in blessedness must be assumed. If the devil and his angels, who were blessed before they fell, had remained fast, there would have been added to their blessedness the assurance that they would never fall. Their beatitude was without defect, but "if they had known of their future fall and its eternal punishment, they could not have been blessed; for the fear of this great evil would even then have constrained them to be miserable." Augustine thus concludes that the contrary propensities in the good and bad angels arose from a difference in their wills and desires, not in their nature. There is no entity or essentia which is contrary to God, and even the apostate angels derive their nature from God, not from another origin. All angels were created with free will. Some angels, through pride, decided to forsake God and rely on themselves for blessedness, but there is no other good
for the rational creature except adherence to God. Blessedness cannot arise from the creature itself. The Lord foresaw evil was to arise out of good before He created anything, but He thought it more fitting to His omnipotence to bring good out of evil than to permit no evil. The life of angels and of men is so disposed as to show forth the power of free will and then God's grace.  

Exactly when the angels fell is not explicitly stated in the Scriptures, but there had been some speculation on this point before Augustine's time. The Jewish apocryphal Book of Enoch held that the angels fell through lust many years after man's disobedience by intermarrying with the daughters of men. This view was also found in early Christian writers such as Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian. A second view, held by Irenaeus and Cyprian, stated that the devil and his angels fell through envy. These angels envied man, God's new formation, and thus tempted Adam to do wrong. The third view, brought into acceptance by Augustine, does not appear before Eusebius, but was later held by Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom. This view placed the fall before the beginning of time and before man's creation. Then the devil and some of the angels

being enamoured rather of their own
power, as if they could be their own good, lapsed to this private good of their own, from that higher and beatific good which was common to all, and bartering the lofty dignity of eternity for the inflation of pride, the most assured verity for the slyness of vanity, uniting love for factious partisanship, they became proud, deceived, envious.

The City of Darkness had its beginnings in this revolt of the angels, and its basis was willfull pride. The wicked angels exchanged their blessedness for misery, forsaking Him who supremely is and turning to themselves who have no such essence. Pride thus becomes the beginning of sin. By abandoning Him, they abandoned a more ample existence and thus became wretched.

As Genesis speaks of the creation of angels under the phrase "Let there be light," so the separation of the blessed angels from those who fell is spoken of when God separated the light from the darkness. As darkness has no absolute existence but is merely the absence of light, so evil has no positive nature; but the absence of good is called evil. In the creation account God calls the light good, but he never gives his approval to the angelic darkness. The deep chasm of darkness into which the angels fell reveals the true nobleness of the rational creation dependent on the Light. Even in their fall the demons do not become absolute evil.
Good and evil often co-exist in angels as in man; for evil things, when they arise, must perforce always arise from good things, there being no other source. After their sin the angels can no longer remain in that tranquil air which belongs to earth. From the upper heavens they are cast down into the darkness of this lower atmosphere which we know. In such regions of tempestuousness, storms, and dark mists, the devil and his angels, now demons, are imprisoned until the time of judgment. They are denied the ethereal purity of the higher regions and are confined to a darker region more suitable to their darkened spirits.¹⁹

It was part of the generally accepted Stoic philosophy of the period that God was the soul of the kosmos and this world itself was God. The world was divided into two parts, heaven and earth, which were again divided into ether and air, water and land. All these four parts were full of souls. Those in the ether and the air were immortal while those in the water and earth were mortal. According to Platonic philosophers, especially of the Middle Academy, each realm in the universe had its corresponding being. The demons were assigned to the middle region of the air because their natures were considered midway between gods and men. Augustine always rejects any mediatorship of demons which such a philosophy implied. At one point, however, he does assign different types of life to different elements and holds
that demons were given their position in the air because they have more aerial bodies and are free from death. More frequently, however, Augustine emphasizes the demonic residence in this earthly atmosphere, with the devil as prince of the power of the air, as an imprisonment and punishment for their rebellion. No longer can these angels reside among the stars and the celestial firs, but they are confined to a region of darkness and turbulence. 20

The demons, even after their fall, have aerial bodies. It is because of their bodies that they are able often to foretell many future events and perform many miraculous acts. Because men cannot do these things, many seek to honor demons; but they have no true basis for this. Mere acuteness of sense does not make demons superior to men; many animals would be superior to men using such a criterion. If we put demons above us because they occupy the air and we the earth, then birds should be above us as well. Man can maintain moral superiority over the demons in spite of their inferior bodies. Because of their aerial bodies these worthless spirits are able to do many things. The physical body can be so trained as to cause even men to marvel, "Why should it be hard for the devil and his angels to make out of corporeal elements, through their own aerial bodies, things at which the flesh marvels; or even by hidden inspirations to contrive fantastic appearances to the deluding of men's senses, whereby
to deceive them, whether awake or asleep, or to drive them into frenzy?" 21 Though such things are marvelous and beyond belief, a man need not aspire to such as being good anymore than he aspire to the wonders of a tightrope walker. The pious will not deplore their want of power in this regard. The levity of the demons' bodies enables them to in-dwell images which men then worship as gods. Angels and demons are able to change their bodies by the operation of their will, but Augustine is not sure how this is done. One possibility he suggests is that the angels change the inferior and more bodily elements into the corporeal appearance they choose, somewhat as Jesus turned water into wine. Another alternative, however, is that the angels change their own bodies into whatever is suitable for the act they wish to perform. Though the aerial bodies cause the demons to have certain superior powers than men, they in no way have moral superiority. 22

The bodies of the demons give them certain powers in the physical creation, though they can do nothing without God's permission. They often have power to induce diseases, most frequently by making the air unwholesome. Because of their residence in the atmosphere, they can regulate rain, storms and other atmospheric conditions. The levity of their own bodies enables them to in-dwell and take possession of the less rational animals, the most notable example of this
being the devil's possession of the serpent in the Garden. The demons do not have the power to create ex nihilo, for God alone is the Creator; but "through the subtlety of their perception and body they know the seeds of things which to us are more hidden, and scatter them secretly through fit temperings of the elements, and so furnish opportunities for producing things, and of accelerating their increase." Augustine held the view that there are hidden seeds of all corporeal things visibly concealed in the corporeal elements of this world. The demons have the power to cultivate these seeds, but such cultivation is not creation any more than when a bad man cultivates a field of corn he can be said to have created the corn.

With their rebellion the demons turned away from the Light which would enlighten them to live wisely and blessedly; but though their reason is now darkened with folly, they can never lose it. Through their own will they have brought misery to themselves by alienating themselves from their Source of life, but nothing can change the nature God created for them. The superior perception and speed of movement of the demons is largely due to the nature of their aerial bodies. Because of their longer life span, demons too gain a greater experience of events than do men. Demons often foretell acts which they themselves intend to perform; but because of their heightened perception, they are
genuinely capable of foretelling events. However, demons are not always perfectly accurate in their forecasts and do make mistakes in judgment. Such mistakes are largely due to their inability to take into account God's higher plan for a situation and for their failure to recognize virtue. If the demons had recognized the virtuousness of Job's life, they never would have tempted him. Augustine never denies demonic prescience, but he always seeks to strengthen his readers in their faith in one God and in the truth and righteousness of scriptural prophecy.25

Demons are able to foresee changes in time by their acquaintance with various signs which are hidden from us, but they are unable to fathom the eternal causes which are beheld in God's wisdom. In his earlier writings, Augustine conjectured that demons become acquainted with the thoughts of men by observing the bodily reflections of those thoughts. Even the dull sense of man can recognize the thoughts of others from voice inflection and facial expression, how much more is this true through the keen perception of demons? In his Retractations, Augustine modified this opinion somewhat. He confessed,

I spoke on a very obscure subject with a more daring asseveration than I should; for it has been discovered, through certain actual experiences, that such thoughts come to the knowledge of demons. But whether certain
signs, perceptible to them but hidden from us, are given by the body of men when they are reflecting, or whether they learn these things through another power and that a spiritual one, men can ascertain either with the greatest difficulty or not at all.\textsuperscript{26}

Whatever the exact means, the demons do have a heightened understanding; but this understanding is lacking in love. They have "knowledge without charity, and are thereby so inflated or proud, that they crave those divine honours and religious services which they know to be due to the true God, and still, as far as they can, exact these from all over whom they have influence."\textsuperscript{27} The knowledge of the demons is thus limited by their lack of charity and inability to perceive righteousness and virtue. They recognized Jesus in the flesh, fearing his power to punish, but not loving his righteousness. Jesus made himself known to them not by his eternal truths, but by showing the temporal effects of his power. The demons are so proud of possessing their knowledge of material and transitory things; but the good angels and holy men hold such knowledge cheap, because they are more occupied with the love of God, "and therefore they have a more certain knowledge even of those temporal and mutable things, because they contemplate their principles and causes in the world of God."\textsuperscript{28} The ungodly, however, are mocked and deceived by the lying wonders which the demons foretell and
perform.

Augustine considers the origin, characteristics and powers of demons not merely from a propensity for philosophical speculation. The nature of demons is important for Christians to understand because the beginnings of that City arrayed in opposition to the City of God are found in the angelic rebellion. Of the two parts of creation, the material and spiritual, the spiritual "is either pious or impious--the pious consisting of men and angels who are righteous, and who duly serve God; the impious consisting of wicked men and angels, whom we also call devils."29 The origin of the two human communities is seen in the two diverse communities of angels, and the basis of the division is the object of the City's love. One city, predestined to suffer eternal punishment with the devil, is dominated by an earthly love of self and contempt of God; the other city, destined to reign eternally with God, is possessed with the love of God and contempt of self. Thus, all men are not in one brotherhood or family, but each man is in either the City of God or the City of the Devil, sharing a citizenship with both men and angels. Man's destiny is not merely global, but it has cosmic dimensions and is shared by other spiritual beings in the universe.

As Christians are members of the Body of Christ, so the unrighteous are members of the Body of the Devil. In
On Christian Doctrine, Augustine gives as one of the seven major rules for Scriptural exegesis this concept of the Devil's Body. The devil is the head of the impious, who will share his eternal punishment, and sometimes Scripture speaks of the devil when it also means to include the whole body of his followers. When Isaiah speaks of the King of Babylon and Ezekiel refers to the King of Tyre, not simply the devil is meant, but also those angels who fell with him. Elsewhere men too are called the devil because they share in the characteristics and destiny of his Body. When man sinned, prompted by the devil's arguments, God abandoned the sinner and the devil entered. By God's justice the human race was delivered into the power of the devil. The first indication of this was when the Lord told the serpent "Dust thou shalt eat" and told the man "Dust thou art." God thus indicated the predominance of the flesh over the spirit after the fall, and the entire exchange revealed the new rulership man was placed under. With Adam's sin, all men were placed under the prince of the power of the air. The demons holding sway over men are called "rulers of darkness" and the darkness is the sinful men over whom they rule. The society of men and their kingdoms are thus now all under the domination of the fallen angels. Often this Body of Iniquity is called Babylon, in contrast to Jerusalem, the city of the Great King. The nations are all under demonic dominion and, under
demonic orders, have established sacred offices, sacrifices, and temples for the worship of their rulers. The culmination of the wickedness and power of this demonic dominion will be in the Antichrist. He will, as the devil's ruler, lead a vicious assault on the Church. The forces of wickedness will not be strong enough to conquer the Church, and all the elements of darkness will be punished with eternal fire.  

As a member of the Devil's Body or Kingdom, men naturally partake of many of the devil's characteristics. When God told the serpent "Dust thou shalt eat" and man was told "Dust thou art," the sinner was handed over as food for the devil. If he should not be eaten by the Serpent, he should not become earth. As food, when eaten, becomes a part of us, so "by a bad life of wickedness," pride and ungodliness do we become ourselves one with the devil." From the corruption of the flesh arise many incitements to vice and vicious desires, but not all the vices of a wicked life can be attributed to the flesh. If such were the case, the devil, who has no flesh, would be clear of all iniquity. Man became like the devil "not by having flesh, which the devil has not, but by living according to himself—that is, according to man. . . . For the devil, too, wished to live according to himself when he did not abide in the truth." When a man lives according to himself, not according
to God, he is like the devil; when he lives according to the truth, he lives not according to himself, but unto God. 33 Pride and self-love thus become the root of all sin, because they turn man in upon himself, link man with the devil, and become sacrifices to him. 34

When men share the devil's characteristics and are in his Body, they necessarily share the devil's punishments. Proud men often despise Christ because he became subject to physical death and deem the demons worthier because they are incapable of physical death; but "as the truth counsels men to seek the fellowship of the holy angels, in like manner impiety turns men aside to the fellowship of the wicked angels, for whose associates everlasting fire is prepared, as the eternal kingdom is prepared for the associates of the holy angels." 35 The devil and demons rebelled and became fugitives from God's love, but they cannot escape His justice. The demons themselves anticipate their future punishment, and it is only by the goodness of the Creator that they continue to be supplied with life and quickening-power. God judges both the demons and wicked men in mass, but He also judges the voluntary and personal acts of individuals. From the fact that the devils prayed in the gospels not to be tormented, it can be proved that they may be somewhat spared or punished according to their deserts. Even now, however, because of their viciousness, the devil and his hosts are
bound in the chains of darkness into which they were cast at their fall, preserved for their everlasting punishment. The binding of the devil mentioned in Scriptures is his being prevented from exercising his whole power to seduce men. Shortly before the end of the world the devil and demons will have the restrictions on their power removed. At that time they will assault with all their might the City of God, but to no avail. At the end of three and a half years of raging against the Church of God the demons will be sentenced to eternal punishments. This eternal punishment is called the second death. The demons, because of their spiritual nature, are immortal and cannot be without some kind of life; but they can suffer the utmost death, which is alienation from the life of God, in an eternity of punishment. Origen believed the devil and his angels would suffer severe and prolonged pain for their sins, but after a time would be delivered from their torments and re-united with the holy angels. The Church rightly condemned this view, for the punishment of the demons is eternal.\textsuperscript{36}

The demons, says Scripture, are to suffer in eternal fire, but how is it possible for their aerial bodies to be pained by material things? Some learned men held that demons "have a kind of body made of that dense and humid air which we feel strike us when the wind is blowing." This kind of substance could not be affected by fire. On the other hand,
it should not be debated too forcefully that demons, lacking bodies, cannot be punished with material fire. The spirits of men, which are immaterial, are now contained in material bodies and in the world to come shall be indissolubly united to their own bodies. Men's spirits are definitely affected by the material, their bodies. The immaterial bodies of demons might similarly be affected by hell-fire. As in so many instances, Augustine here holds to his position, that the demons will be tormented by fire, regardless of what starting point his challenger might take. Whether demons have aerial bodies or no bodies, they shall be tormented by the material hell fire.

So far we have surveyed Augustine's demonology, noting especially his views on the origin of demons, their nature, their destiny, and man's relationship to the Devil's Body. In the second portion of this chapter we shall examine more closely how the wicked have fellowship with demons, how the Christian is to wage war against them, and, finally, how God's sovereignty controls all their activities.

Demons do not carry on their deceptions and iniquities independent of human desires, but the soul by its mode of worship can invite demons into fellowship. In his Confessions, Augustine asks if in his longing for God he should have sought the help of angels. He warns against this because the demons often serve as false mediators for men.
Whenever man tries to seek God through arrogance and pride, the fallen angels are attracted to his side and, passing as angels of light, seek, often by magic, to cleanse man of his impurities. To some, the devil seems a suitable mediator because he lacks flesh and blood, but he is like man in that he is sinful and thus can only be a false mediator.\textsuperscript{38}

The setting up of idols is the most widespread means of attracting demons. Setting up an image in a prominent place rapidly leads to love of error. The crowd, honoring and venerating the image, soon thinks it similar to a living body, and, influenced by the position and authority of those who establish the rites, the people endow the figure with hidden power. It is this propensity which attracts the evil spirits to possess the pagan images. The demons are attracted to dwell in certain temples by being presented with what suits their peculiar tastes. They, being spirits, are not attracted by food as are animals, but to various kinds of stones, plants, animals, rites, and songs. In order to be provided these attractions, the demons cunningly seduce certain men "either by imbuing their hearts with a secret poison, or by revealing themselves under a friendly guise, and thus make a few of them their disciples, who become the instructors of the multitude. . . ."\textsuperscript{39} Once the rites are instituted, they gradually creep into the souls of the vast multitude of men. The Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus wrote that because a previous
generation erred very far with respect to the knowledge of the gods through unbelief and inattention to their service, the art of making gods was developed. Man is incapable of making souls, so he invoked the demons to inhabit the images he had made. Varro too states that at Rome there was a time when the gods were worshipped apart from images. Gods were multiplied, however, for the lust of the soul desired a greater number of demons to whom to prostitute itself. Augustine holds that it was largely through pagan idolatry and pagan rites that the demons seduce men.\textsuperscript{40}

As previously noted, Augustine considers the pagan divinities to be demons rather than gods. The pagan worship is undeniably demonic, but Augustine concedes that the demons probably used historical persons as the basis for establishing the worship. The gods are either foul spirits having taken occasion to steal into the minds of men to deceive them or they were once men whose sacred rites have been patterned after their lives. With lying fables the demons then cover up the truth of the origins of the gods. Only Christianity has been able "to manifest that the gods of the nations are most impure demons, who desire to be thought gods, availing themselves of the names of certain defunct souls, or the appearance of mundane creatures, and with proud impurity rejoicing in things most base and infamous, as though in divine honours, and envying human souls their conversion to the true
From Varro, Augustine learned that the Roman system of worship was established by Numa Pompilius. Hydromancy, divination by gazing at appearances in water, was introduced from Persia and used by Numa to see the images of the gods, "or, rather, appearances whereby the demons made sport of him." By these arts he learned the sacred rites he gave forth as facts while he concealed the causes, which he himself feared. One day, long after Numa's death, a ploughman near Numa's tomb turned up the books in which were written the causes of the sacred institutions. When the books were carried to the praetor and then to the senate, they were ordered burned. Augustine believes the causes of the institutions were never to become known to the people, the senate, or even the priests themselves and "also that Numa himself attained to these secrets of demons by an illicit curiosity, in order that he might write them down, so as to be able, by reading, to be reminded of them." He was unwilling that anyone should know of these causes and was afraid to destroy them for fear of enraging the demons; therefore, he buried them. That the senate ordered the books burned indicates that the things written in them were considered foul and noxious even by those who had already accepted so many shameful rites.

Not only Rome, but all the nations were deceived by
sacrifices, temples, and rites instituted upon the persuasion of demons who wished to be considered gods. However, "the false gods, that is to say, the demons, which are lying angels, would never have required a temple, priesthood, sacrifice, and the other things connected with these from their worshippers, whom they deceive, had they not known that these things were due to the one true God."43 Desiring to be worshipped as God, the demons institute sacrifices and temple-worship in imitation of the true worship instituted by God; but because of their wicked desires and corrupt instincts, these sacrifices and temples become scenes of lewdness. These malign spirits with slyness suggest thoughts to the impious or openly present noxious opinions to the minds of the foolish so that they are unable to remain in the truth. Even Apuleius, who sets forth the dignity and mediatorship of demons, can find little to recommend them except the subtlety and strength of their body. In order to seduce the people, they institute the most obscene festivals, licentious theaters, and vicious games. On the authority of those supposed gods the morals of the people are debased. The theatrical entertainments and lewd mystic rites were not brought into Rome by the ignorant devotion of the Romans; but they were commanded by the gods themselves, the most notable instance being Cybele during the Punic War. Any secret moral precepts which the mysteries pretend to reveal are merely a sop to the
virtuous, who are few in number; wicked examples are given in the plays and festivals to encourage the numerous vicious. 44

The demons are intent upon keeping man's soul in darkness by blinding him to the truth. When so blinded a man cannot perceive that in the pagan rites the evil spirits are passing themselves off under the name of gods. The Bacchanalia shows how much power the unclean spirits, when held to be gods, exercise over the minds of men. To support his position Augustine quotes a now lost work against superstition by Seneca. Seneca wrote that the festivals such as the Bacchanalia drive men into such a mental frenzy that they assume they propitiate the gods in ways which not even the cruelest men would desire. "No one would doubt that they are mad, had they been mad with the minority; but now the multitude of the insane is the defence of their insanity." 45 By such frenzied rites the demons increase their power over men and so enslave their will that it is difficult for them ever to be freed from captivity. By lust and covetousness the devil rules within man and takes possession of his heart. Augustine develops the manner of demonic infiltration further than any of the previous Church Fathers, with the possible exception of Athenagoras, but he makes no claim at being exhaustive.

In an early letter written to Nebridius, one of
Augustine's pre-conversion friends who joined him in Christianity, Augustine considers the problem of how demons put thoughts and dreams into men's minds. He conjectures that thought always produces an effect on the body which, though not always discernible to us, is discernible to demons and angels. These imprints on the body formed by notions of the mind remain with the force of habit and perhaps can be used by demons to bear thoughts and dreams into our minds. Because of the aerial nature of their bodies, demons are able to pass unhindered through our bodies and yet affect us with their activity. By inducing imaginary visions these demons can mingle themselves with men's thoughts so as to produce all types of evil.46

Whether the demons work on the minds of men through the pagan ritual or through subtle modes of thought-transference, deceit is a key factor in all of their operations. Only those who have first been deceived can be demonically controlled. Apuleius described demons as being particularly like men in the tempestuousness of their passions, and Augustine views their intent on deception and seduction in direct proportion to the energy of their passions. These proud spirits do not lust after the smoke of carcasses, but are delighted with preventing their worshippers from drawing near to God. Because Satan and his followers frequently transform themselves into angels of light in order to deceive,
"there is great need of God's mercy to preserve us from making friends of demons in disguise, while we fancy we have good angels for our friends; for the astuteness and deceitfulness of these wicked spirits is equalled by their hurtfulness. And is this not a great misery of human life, that we are involved in such ignorance as, but for God's mercy, makes us a prey to these demons?" Even the philosophers of the wicked city who maintained that the gods were their friends have been deceived by the demons who ruled that city. The demons pose as false mediators who do not translate man to higher things, but rather block and cut men off from the proper path. The mediatorship of the demons can only lead to death, as the devil's persuasions originally did in the Garden. However, through idolatry, through false philosophies, and finally through magic and lying wonders the demons seek to persuade men that their ways are the ways of life. They have many different methods of operation, forming their deceit in accordance with the thoughts and presumptions of each person. Demons desire to bring men further in subjection to themselves. In magic men worship and are obedient to demons in order to share in their superior powers. Augustine's views on magic were the elements of his demonology examined most closely during the Middle Ages. The most controversial topics--human pacts with the devil, demonic seduction of women, transformation of bodies, and the demons' creative
power were always discussed under the guidance of Augustine.

Before his conversion Augustine once decided to enter a competition for reciting dramatic verse, and a sorcerer came to him offering to ensure that he won. Even at that time Augustine refused the aid of the sorcerer who would have offered animal sacrifices to demons for him. The same reasoning did not then prevent Augustine from being active in astrology. He persuaded himself that the astrologers offered no sacrifices and said no prayers to aid their divination. After his conversion Augustine, as the Church Fathers before him, takes a strong stand against magic and all forms of divination as being demonic. 49

A distinction must be made between true miracles and magic. True miracles are done to improve faith in the one true God. They are done by simple faith and reliance on God, not by incantations, charms, or any magical paraphernalia. Miracles which have no part in the worship of the one God are demonic. Some hold the magic arts cause for boasting, but even pagan laws severely punish many such practices. Apuleius himself in his trial on charges of magic denies any knowledge of the magic arts. There he says the magicians justly deserve condemnation; yet if demons, who provide the power for the magic, are so wonderful, he should have welcomed an opportunity to proclaim their cause to the judge. 50

There are basically three kinds of miracles—those
done by good Christians through public righteousness, those
done by evil Christians through the appearance of public
righteousness, and those done by magicians through a private
contract with demons. The Christians are not able to perform
all the miracles the magicians perform, but that does not
make them inferior. The seeming superiority of magicians in
this area is divinely ordained so that Christians will remain
humble, practicing works of righteousness rather than miracles.
The most notable example in Scriptures of the work of
magicians is the conflict between Moses and the wise men of
Pharaoh's court. The wise men of Egypt were able to make
serpents, but not small flies. Ultimately all such power is
given by God, and the demons cannot work more than He permits.
Involved here is Augustine's concept of proximate and ultimate
causes. Though the magicians, through the demons, may appear
to create some things, by cultivating the hidden seeds of
things in the world, all power comes from God.51

The idea of a pact with the devil or demons has some
dim Scriptural precedent, but the most important early de-
velopment of the idea is found in Augustine. Augustine makes
a two-fold division in the manner men can have fellowship with
demons. One way, which we have already reviewed in some de-
tail, is through the worship of idols. Another way is through
"consultations and pacts involving prognostications which
demons who have been placated or contracted with."52 To this
second group belong the magic arts and all manner of divination. Astrology, based upon "signs of things instituted by human presumption" is to be categorized with the pacts formed with demons. All superstitions are based on agreements with demons. The signs used in magic and divination are not signs of things as they are; they are not signs of the real world, but they are signs because they have been agreed upon in the pact. Men who desire evil are thus further subjected to illusion and deception. According to Augustine, many things predicted under such conditions prove true, so that the men are further enmeshed in their error. A true prophecy does not necessarily indicate divine agency. When Samuel appeared to Saul at the bidding of the pythoness, Augustine believes, though he refuses to be dogmatic, that the soul of Samuel himself did not appear, but was impersonated by a phantasm, illusion or some diabolical machination. That the prediction proved true is not surprising, since demons do possess a limited power of that sort.

Among the demonic illusions discussed by Augustine, the problem of incubi was a very hotly debated topic of the later Middle Ages. Unlike many of the earlier Church Fathers, Augustine did not believe that the angels fell when the sons of God and the daughters of men consorted together. He recognizes that there were rumours, often the experience or reports of trustworthy persons, that sylvans or fauns, commonly
called incubi, "had often made wicked assaults upon women, and satisfied their lust upon them; and that certain devils, called Duses by the Gauls, are constantly attempting and effecting this impurity is so generally affirmed, that it were impudent to deny it." Augustine will not deny the possibility; but on the other hand, he refuses to assert that demons, with aerial bodies, are capable of such lusts and of cohabiting with women. He left the problem to be solved by others to follow in the church.

In a somewhat similar manner Augustine refuses to deny the possibility of bodily transformations by magical and demonic means. If he did deny such things, someone would say that he heard of them on the best authority, and so the debate would continue. Augustine himself says he has heard of a region in Italy where landladies of inns give cheeses which change the eater on the spot to a beast, though his mind remains human. Homer, Varro, and Apuleius all give incidents and tales of men being changed into beasts. If demons really do such things, they "do not create real substances, but only change the appearances of things created by the true God so as to make them seem to be what they are not. I cannot therefore believe that even the body, much less the mind, can really be changed into bestial forms and lineaments by any reason, art, or power of the demons; but the phantasm of a man, which even in thought or dreams goes through innumerable changes,
may, when the man's senses are laid asleep or overpowered, be presented to the senses of others in a corporeal form, in some indescribable way unknown to me, so that men's bodies themselves may lie somewhere, alive, indeed, yet with their sense locked up much more heavily and firmly than by sleep, while that phantasm, as it were embodied in the shape of some animal, may appear to the senses of others, and may even seem to the man himself to be changed. Demons are never capable of creating anything, and what passes for great magical powers is often mere appearance and illusion.

The demons, then, have many ways of bringing man into further captivity and keeping man from drawing near to God. The devil led man to death through pride, but through Christ's humility man can escape from bondage and return to life. As its merited punishment for sin, man was held exacted under the pride of demons. Only through the work of Jesus Christ is man delivered from their power. Whatever right principalities and powers had to hold man fast to pay death's penalty, Christ extinguished. The devil thought he was conquering Christ by exacting death from him as an absolute right; but through his eagerness for the death of one man, he lost control of all his dominions. The devil was, by his own perversity, a lover of might and an assailant of righteousness. In rescuing men from the power of the devil and his demons, God chose to use righteousness rather than
power. It was a delightful twist God used to conquer the
demons with the instrument they most despised. For Christians
the devil no longer reigns within, but assaults the Church
from without. His strongest attack on the Church is to en-
courage heretics, who mingle with the Church and pervert her
doctrine. The true Christians, however, remain delivered
from darkness and are citizens of the Kingdom of Christ. 56

Delivered from the devil’s absolute hold, Christians
should now wage war against the demons and the Kingdom of
Darkness. In order to fight an effective battle the believer
should know his adversary and the means of combatting his
designs. It was the Lord who first overcame the devil, and at
the final defeat of the demons the Christians will receive a
crown. Through true piety godly men wage war with the powers
opposed to godliness. The Christian’s abode is with heavenly
things, and war should be waged against those demonic powers
seeking to draw him from his abode. Invisible foes are over-
come when invisible and sinful desires are conquered. This
is done by bringing the body under subjection. Having re-
nounced transitory things by which men are enslaved to demons,
the Christian maintains his freedom by subduing all sinful
pleasures. All pacts and associations with demons are to be
avoided, lest the Christian again become enslaved to temporal
things. The martyrs contended on all sides with hostile
powers and conquered them all by dying bravely. Not all
Christians were faithful in this waging war against demonic forces, however. In one sermon Augustine exhorts the Christians, the few who attended on that particular Sunday in January, to avoid the riotous celebration of the Kalends of January. Apparently some of the brethren could not resist the plays, mimicries, and festivities of that pagan festival and had stayed away from Augustine's sermon to engage in more fleshly pleasures. Those who did attend to their Christian responsibility were reminded that they were separated from demons and that those who take part in such festivities are, as it were, offering incense to demons. Yet not even the saints and faithful are totally free from the temptations and deceits of the demons in this life. Such a state of weakness and anxiety in time should spur the Christian on to the hope of that security which shall be his in eternity. 57

Augustine has a very well-developed demonology, and the demons impinge on many areas of his thought, but he always stresses that God's providential rule is superior to the demonic will. God uses evil angels not only to punish evil, as with Ahab; but also to probe and manifest good, as in the case of Job. Job himself recognized the devil was under God's omnipotent hand, for he said "The Lord gave, the Lord has taken away," not "The Lord gave, the devil takes away." The devil and his demons could not operate without God's permission. The demons in their rebellion against
God do not "know how the most excellent wisdom of God makes use of both his snares and his fury to bring about the salvation of His own faithful ones." God uses all things, both visible and invisible, for his own purposes, and the demons are not excluded from His sovereignty. We have already seen many instances of God's providence in other discussions--God created the angels, knowing they would sin, but desiring to show His might by bringing good out of evil; the Lord worked so that Rome would be conquered by Christian rather than by pagan barbarians; God allowed Numa's books to come to light to reveal the wicked origins of Roman religion; Satan was conquered by Christ's death, the very instrument he thought to be the means of Christ's defeat. For a season the demons are allowed power to work against the City of God and often employ violent persecution. Their power proves harmless to the Church and even increases her triumph by adding glorious martyrs to her number. The temptations and trials manufactured by the forces of darkness benefit those whose injury was intended. Thus a mockery is made of demonic power. By their own fault the demons were made malign. They sought to rebel against God and live after their own will, but the great works of God are such that "He could fulfill His will through that very creature-will by which an act contrary to the Creator's will was done." Augustine has some beliefs concerning demons which he
himself holds, but for which he does not have enough proof or evidence to assert with utter dogmatism. Exactly when the angels were created and a portion fell is not definitely stated in Scripture. Augustine recognizes this and is content with speculation on this point. Whether there were any distinctions in angels at creation he is not sure, though he rather thinks not. Demons can change their bodies and can perceive as well as possibly influence men's thoughts, but exactly how they do these things is difficult for man to know. Exactly what type of bodies demons have is also open to speculation, though Augustine himself leans in favor of an aerial body. He does not seem to be really convinced in his own mind that incubi exist, but he is willing to discuss the possibility. There are thus many things concerning demons of which Augustine is uncertain. More important than these, however, are the facts concerning demons which he asserts repeatedly with assurance. The angels are not eternal, but were created by God. Their nature was good, and the evil that arose stemmed from the willful pride of the creature. There is no absolute evil for Augustine, since all things have their origin in good. Through pacts with the devil and pagan religion, men enter into close alliance with and become part of the Devil's Body. Here too the nature of the religion is not an independent one, but is an imitation of that worship of the one true God. God's will ultimately
controls the activity of the Devil's Body, whose end is eternal punishment; and nothing can be accomplished apart from His permissive will.

Like the earlier Church Fathers, Augustine's demonology is closely linked with his eschatology. The demons' power is limited and ultimately in the future will be abolished with the total conquest of the Kingdom of God. The exhilarating sense of liberation and freedom from the Satanic stronghold does not seem as strong in Augustine as in the early Christians, however. Perhaps this is in part due to the somewhat changed eschatology. The early Christians were near in time to the first conquest of Satan by Christ on the cross. They also thought they were close to that time when Satan would be totally subordinated by Christ's Second Coming. The proximity, whether real or supposed, of these believers to such cosmic events added excitement to their proclamations of victory over the demonic forces and powers. By the time of Augustine, Christ's Second Coming is still theoretically imminent, but more probably it will not happen in at least another five hundred years, after the Church has ruled for a millennium. The ultimate conquest of the demonic hordes seems very much in the future. During this present time there is persecution and constant toil. Christians must laboriously and diligently struggle against the flesh and the demonic world system. That the Christian
has been liberated from the demonic rule is true, but his
new-found freedom cannot be realized totally for some time.
Some of the joy and excitement of the early Church seems to
have gone.
CHAPTER IV
CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTH

The early church had been forced to take a stance on demonism because of the Hellenistic world's preoccupation with the demonic. Oriental mysticism and the philosophic systems of the ancient thinkers had compelled Christians to confront the phenomena of the demonic, magicians, and witches. The last chapter showed how central Augustine's demonology was to his attack on paganism. Thus, when the barbarian invasions increasingly brought the Germans into contact with Roman Christendom, the material was already formed which could be used by the young Germanic church. Several elements and motifs of later medieval demonology, the demonology most familiar to us, have their source in the Germanic influences which began to be particularly noticeable by the sixth century.

Though legal documents do not reveal the workings of the mind in this area, the law codes do give a skeletal outline of Germanic attitudes toward demons. This outline can then be fleshed out by literary sources. There are three general types of Germanic law which will be examined—the folk-law, canon law, and kingly law. The folk-law was the law which the German tribes had before their contact
with Christianity. No actual works of pre-Christian sources are available, but by examining the oldest Germanic laws some concept of pre-Christian notions can be attained. Though the earliest Germanic laws make no specific mention of demons, they do refer to several practices which later were thought to be due to demonic power. It is from this standpoint that the earliest codes will be briefly examined.¹

The Lex Salica, composed during the first part of the reign of Charles Martel, probably has sources under Clovis, very shortly after the conversion to Christianity. Witchcraft and magic were not forbidden per se, but fines were exacted for the evil uses of such power. A fine of eighty-nine sols was imposed for even calling a free woman a witch without being able to prove it. Administration of herbs causing death, attempting to cause death, or causing abortion were heavily fined. One of the most gruesome articles is the one requiring two hundred sols of the witch convicted of eating a man. In all the regulations on witchcraft in the Salic Law, as well as in other barbarian codes, there was not a death penalty for witchcraft but fines for its evil uses. The Lex Ribuaria and Lex Baiuvariorum similarly legislated against poisoners (malefices) and the evil side of magic (maleficium).²

In reviewing these early laws, something of the early attitudes towards demons is discovered, but many questions
also arise. A belief in the real power of witches was assumed. The outworking of this power could bring harm to others, and it was this evil which was scorned, abhorred and legislated against. From this came the concept that to be a witch was an insult and could even be the basis for divorce. ³ Magical activities not harmful were not covered by the law. No reference is made in these early laws, however, to the relation of men to the world of demons. What the early Germanic beliefs were on this cannot be said from the legal position. Did they honor demons with a cult? Did they seek alliances with them? Did they offer gifts to them? With all these things the laws are unconcerned. The laws are concerned with the personal freedom of the neighbors and if anyone is harmed by the practices—beyond that they take no interest. ⁴

When Christianity begins to have a stronger influence, noticeable changes in the law codes are produced. This can be seen in the Visigothic Code of the seventh century. The original Visigothic laws, based on oral tradition, were first compiled and written by Euric at Arles in the last part of the fifth century. At the beginning of the sixth century Alaric II compiled a Breviariun mainly from the Codes of Theodosius. It was on these two earlier compilations by Euric and Alaric that the Visigothic Code formed in the middle of the seventh century was based. The Theodosian
Code was a compilation of laws or decrees issued by the emperors from 313 until 438. In order to gain the political support of the Christian citizens the emperors during this period issued numerous edicts suppressing pagan rites. Especially during the reign of Constantine the practice of magic was severely punished—the sentence was death and nobility of rank brought no exemption. Magic was not only condemned because of the physical harm produced, but because it brought confusion to the minds of men and turned virtuous minds to lust. The Justinian Code of the sixth century continued the severe punishment of magic and sorcery. What makes the Visigothic Code important to the study of demonology is that it takes the earlier laws against magic, continues the severe punishment against such practices, yet begins to give as the reason not simply the harmfulness of such acts, but that intercourse with demons is involved as well. This tendency had already been evident earlier in some of the interpretations of the Theodosian Code, but it was first codified in the Visigothic Code. The Visigothic Law ruled that "Enchanters, and invokers of tempests, who, by their incantations, bring hail-storms upon vineyards and fields of grain; or those who disturb the minds of men by the invocation of demons, or celebrate nocturnal sacrifices to devils, summoning them to their presence by infamous rites" shall be publicly scourged with two hundred lashes, scalped
and dragged through ten villages as a warning to others. Legal and political events of the Visigothic domination are closely related to the ecclesiastical councils which were so prominent in Visigothic Spain. Of the three main kinds of councils—national, provincial and diocesan—nineteen national councils were held in Spain. These councils, though ecclesiastical, were presided over by the king. It is not surprising that the Visigothic Code should then begin to treat magic from a more religious perspective. The earliest synods and Church councils, when they mentioned demons at all, were primarily concerned with demoniacs and how they were to be treated by the Church. The Synod of Elvira, held at the beginning of the fourth century in Spain, excluded demoniacs who were possessed with an evil spirit from active participation in the divine service. Even the least services in the Church, like lighting the lamps, were forbidden them. A demoniac who was a catechumen could be baptized only at his death. Later in the century the Synod of Laodicea forbade both the higher and the lower clergy from being magicians, conjurors and astrologers (an earlier collection of canons had forbidden any demoniac from being a cleric). By the fourth century exorcists were part of the lower clergy appointed by the bishop, and their duties and functions were specified in the canon law. When an exorcist was ordained, the bishop gave him the book in which exorcisms
were written, commanding him to take it and commit it to memory. The possessed (energumen) were given the responsibility of sweeping out the Church. The exorcist himself was to daily lay his hands on the demoniacs and to give them their daily food at the right time.\textsuperscript{9}

Several of the synods which considered problems related to demons were called to deal with various heresies. About 543 the emperor Justinian promulgated an edict against Origen and called for a synod to deal with the problem. Origen had held that all created spirits must develop and that the material world was created for the purpose of disciplining and purifying these spirits. Each spirit has a different kind of material nature in proportion to his degree of removal from the Creator. Man is simply a spirit that has fallen very deeply and resides in a material body. Those spirits that have completely turned against God have received very dark bodies, invisible and yet indescribably ugly. Man is placed between angels and demons, both of whom try to influence him. Origen's world-view is in many ways neo-Platonic, and he populated the whole universe with spirits ascending and descending according to their moral worth. As was briefly noticed in the last chapter, Origen did not believe evil could conquer in the end. All evil spirits, even the devil, cannot always remain evil; and all spirits must ultimately return to God. All spiritual creatures,
including the demons, thus had the capacity for redemption. Origen's teaching on demons was anathematized by several synods, beginning with the Fifth Oecumenical Synod. Three of the ten anathemas of the Synod had to do with demons or touched upon the subject:

6. If anyone says that the heaven, the sun the moon, the stars, and the waters that are above the heavens, have souls, and are reasonable beings, let him be anathema.

7. If anyone says or thinks that Christ the Lord in a future time will be crucified for demons as He was for men, let him be anathema...

9. If anyone says or thinks that the punishment of demons and of impious men is only temporary, and will one day have an end, and that a restoration will take place, let him be anathema.¹⁰

In specific response to the edict of Justinian against Origen, the Constantinople Synod of 543 drew up fifteen anathematisms on Origen, several of which dealt specifically with his heretical belief in demons. Anathemas two through five condemned the idea that the material universe had arisen as a result of the fall of immaterial spirits. That the demons differed from men only because of their darker bodies, that the stars, moon, and sun are rational beings, that there is no real distinction between the souls of demons, angels, and men—all these beliefs were condemned. Canon six anathematized those who believed that there were two kinds of demons, one consisting of human souls,
the other of higher but deeply fallen spirits. Also anathematized were those who believed the only Spirit that remained unaltered in divine love became Christ. Canons twelve, fourteen, and fifteen condemned those who believed that all rational souls will eventually be saved and re-united with God.11 These condemnations of Origen's beliefs concerning demons did not occupy the minds of men in the East only. Twenty years after the Synod of Constantinople a synod was held in Braga, in the Spanish province of Galicia, which dealt with many of the same problems. The almost neo-Platonic emanation theory, with ascending and descending spirits, which Origen had amalgamated with Christian teaching, was condemned. The dualistic Manichaean and Priscillian heresies were also legislated against. Canons seven through thirteen of the synod condemned aspects of Manichaean and Priscillian thought:

7. If anyone denies that the devil was at the beginning a good angel, created by God, and maintains that he came up from chaos and darkness, and had no creator, but is himself the principal and the substance of evil, as Manichaeus and Priscillian taught, let him be anathema.

8. If anyone believes that, because the devil has produced some things in the world, he thus also makes, by his own power, thunder and lightning, and storms, and draught, as Priscillian taught, let him be anathema.

After a few canons against astrology and the belief that the
souls and bodies of men are subjected by destiny to certain stars, the synod anathematized anyone who "says that the formation of the human body is a work of the devil, and that conception in the womb of woman is produced by the action of demons, and therefore does not believe in the resurrection of the flesh." The synods and the Church councils on all levels ruled on the nature of demons and their powers. When it is remembered that the king often presided over the national ecclesiastical convocations, it is to be expected that the law codes of the nation begin to reflect religious influences. As seen above in the Visigothic Code, magical activities were the first to be condemned as demonic. The synods repeatedly condemned pagan practices. Because the pagan gods were almost universally considered demons, condemnation of pagan practices easily became a condemnation of demonic cult or worship. The Synod of Tours in 567 condemned the observance of the Kalends of January and other pagan festivals. There were those who attended Church, then returned to their own homes to celebrate pagan festivals and errors, preferring in their hearts the worship of demons. Earlier councils had made similar statements and influenced legal developments in this area. Childebert I in the first half of the sixth century issued a law forbidding the observance of pagan practices after having dedicated oneself to God. The erection of any idol dedicated to demons
(and what idol is not so dedicated?) was similarly for-
bidden. Punishment for making offerings to devils were
epecially severe in Britain. At the end of the seventh
century Wihtred, King of Kent, issued laws under which a
person's entire goods could be lost for making such offerings. From the sixth to the eighth century in Gaul,
Merovingian rule was very weak. There was little cultural
interest and the importance of the Church council as an
organ for the development of law was forgotten. Between
585 and 742 there were only three, at the most six, synods
in Gaul. With the reform of the Frankish church in the
eighth century and through the influence of Boniface, the
church began to assume more importance. In 742, with arch-
bishop Boniface present, a German national council was held
in which pagan practices were stringently forbidden. There
was to be no mingling of pagan observances with the church
and no pagan rites under the names of the martyrs, con-
fessors and saints. Every bishop with the help of the count,
who was guardian of the church, was to see that the people
gave up heathen practices. Charlemagne's first capitulary
was virtually a re-enactment of the prohibitions of pagan
practices in 742. Priests, whether Christian or pagan, should
not offer sacrifices. Divining, auguries, lots, phylacteries,
incantations and other vile pagan practices were all for-
bidden. A Bavarian synod of Neuching in 772 fined forty
sols for using diabolical tricks to drive horses or cattle beyond their boundaries and thus steal them. Prohibitions were made against the kind of battle called wehadine when done by diabolical tricks or magic. General prohibitions against Bavarian customs using the mannerisms of pagan idolatry were also made. Throughout Carolingian times the old nature cult continued, and laws repeatedly were issued which forbade the worship of the pagan spirits of fields and forests. Offering animal sacrifices was punished, and at least one reference to the punishment of human sacrifice is made.

In the Church councils and later edicts of kings, magic is not merely condemned when it harms the neighbor, as in the earlier Germanic folk-lore. The relationship of men to demons, not mentioned in the pagan laws, becomes a matter of importance as Christianity gains influence. Religious devotion for and the cult of demons were condemned, as were witchcraft and any acts which used demonic powers to ensnare men. The union of religion and law, which was to be of crucial importance in the witchcraft trials of the Renaissance and later, was already taking place. Under all the canonical and stately rules against the cult of honoring demons is understood to be a heathen mythology--a mythology which the baptismal formula of the Church forswore. Magic, even when seemingly Christianized, was consistently opposed because it
held a false view of the demonic power over man's destiny. The Church in its promulgations did not totally repudiate magic and demons—it recognized that these did exist in the system of a fallen world. The Christian, however, was assumed to have power over these evil forces.

Imperial laws, conciliar decisions, and the vigorous denunciations of ecclesiastical preachers failed to extinguish pagan practices. Writers of penitential books took up the crusade for suppression of ancestral superstitions. In so doing, they preserved much information on primitive German folklore and pagan supernaturalism. The penitentials arose in circles of Irish monasticism. They described sins in detail and established appropriate penance for each sin. The evidence already seen in the laws and councils that medieval Christianity strongly intermingled with paganism is supported by the penitentials. The penitential of Theodore, emanating from the Archbishop of Canterbury towards the end of the seventh century, suggested a penance of ten years for anyone who sacrificed to devils in serious matters. Penances were also prescribed for those performing diabolical incantations or divinations; clergy doing such were to be cast out. One of the most interesting sections of this penitential is section X, "Of Those Who are Vexed by the Devil." Involved under this heading are suicide, despair, madness, and demon possession, all of which were assumed to be demon-induced:
1. If a man is vexed by the devil and can do nothing but run about everywhere, and (if he) slays himself, there may be some reason to pray for him if he was formerly religious.

2. If it was on account of despair, or of some fear, or for unknown reasons, we ought to leave to God the decision of this matter, and we dare not pray for him.

3. In the case of one who of his own will slays himself, masses may not be said for him; but we may only pray and dispense alms.

4. If any Christian goes insane (menta sua exciderit) through a sudden seizure, or as a result of insanity slays himself—there are some who celebrate masses for such an one.

5. One who is possessed of a demon (Daemonium sustinenti) may have stones and herbs without incantations.20

The Penitential of Columban at the beginning of the seventh century prescribed penance for eating or drinking beside pagan sacred places and partaking of the table of demons. By the eighth century penitentials with similar concerns were being written in Frankish lands. Magic, auguries, observing omens, divination, and conjuration of storms all had their appropriate penance. The pagan nature worship was proscribed in terms similar to those found in the conciliar decisions and law codes:

If anyone takes a vow or absolves from one by trees or springs or lattices or anywhere except in a church, he shall do penance for three years on bread and water; for this
also is sacrilege or of the demons. He who eats or drinks in these places shall do penance for a year on bread and water...

If anyone (does) what many do on the Kalends of January as was done hitherto among the pagans, seats himself on a stag, as it is called, or goes about in (the guise of) a calf, he shall do penance for three years, for this is demoniacal. 21

The persistence of heathenism is a concern found in all sources of the time, not only in the legal and penitential documents. As Christianity turned its attention to the conversion of Northern paganism at the end of the fifth century, more pains were taken with the problems of magic, superstition, and all forms of paganism. The pagan religions were nature religions and their modes of worship were conceived as patterns of the cosmic order, centering on the cycle of the agricultural year. Christianity, though respectful of nature as God's creation, was in contrast a historical religion, emphasizing the revelation of the divine purpose on earth in time. When the Christians came into contact with the barbarians, they tried to teach the pagans the error of their ways, instructing them in the evil, demonic nature of the spirits of field and stream. The barbarians accepted the new religion, but in times of trouble Christianity was quickly forgotten. Continuous education was necessary to keep the Germanic peoples outwardly Christian, and the old paganism was never totally dead.
One British king in the same temple had a Christian altar and another smaller altar on which he offered sacrifices to demons. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne in the middle of the seventh century, continually made efforts to convert the neighboring people while he was prior at Melrose. By their wicked deeds some profaned their professed religion, while others would immediately resort to their devilish arts of magic in times of plague. One day when some monks near the mouth of the Tyne were fetching home wood on rafts, a changing wind drove them out to sea while the crowd on shore cheered. Cuthbert, also standing on shore, rebuked the crowd; but the crowd answered, "May God have no mercy on any of those who have robbed men of their old ways of worship; and how the new worship is to be conducted, nobody knows."  

The notion of the devil and demons was actually unknown to Germanic heathenism. The barbarians had departed from their Aryan home before the religious revolutions of Zoroaster introduced dualism, and thus their religions had no trace of a personification of the evil principle. Loki and Hephaestus were two gods who tended towards evil, but they were more often depicted as tricky than malicious. Jacob Grimm, the pioneer in the study of Teutonic mythology, thought that monotheism was the original form of religion and the form most agreeable to reason. On the other hand, he thought polytheism arose almost unconsciously and that
there was something soft and agreeable to the feelings in it. Whereas monotheism reenforces absolutes and clearly defines right and wrong, "Polytheism is tolerant and friendly; he to whom all he looks at is either heaven or hell, God or devil, will both extravagantly love and heartily hate." Grimm sensed that a fundamental feature of polytheism was that "the good and beneficent principle in the Divine preponderates."²³ It was understandable then that no evil beings such as demons were known to the Germanic barbarians.

With the introduction of Christianity among the German tribes, native words were used to express new religious conceptions. The Germanic view of the world was a convenient vehicle for transmitting the Christianized Stoic view of the universe with beings at every level. Middangeard was a mythological word common to all the ancient Germanic languages. It was the middle dwelling, the abode of men, the world in a physical sense, and was basically equivalent to the Latin mundus and the Greek cosmos. The Germans conceived of the earth (midgard), the abode of men, seated in the middle of the universe, bordered by mountains and surrounded by the great sea. On the other side of this sea was the Utgard (out-yard), the abode of the giants. The midgard was defended by the As-gard, the yard or burgh of the gods, which was lying somewhere in the middle. Both
earth and mankind were thus conceived as besieged by threatening powers from without and defended by the gods.\textsuperscript{24} The Germanic world-view, though not possessing demons, could easily assimilate them when necessary.

An example of this assimilation is the manner in which Loki increasingly became a counterpart to Satan. Loki, the evil counsellor, so angered the gods with evil deeds which culminated in the death of Baldr, that after capturing him they bound him in a cave, where he was to lie until Ragnarokr. As seen in the last chapter, the Christians similarly considered Satan, having been cast out from the presence of God, as bound until the Day of Judgment. The shape-shifting ability of Loki, as well as other Norse gods, was easily made to correspond to Satan's ability to appear as an angel of light, or any other form, to trap his prey. Though Loki was not as malevolent as Satan, there was a correspondence which could be exploited between the sly, mischievous craft of Loki and the malicious deceit of Satan. The Halton cross from Lancashire has smith's tools on it. It is possible with Loki as the "Forger of Evil" that this indicates the triumph of Christ over Satan-Loki. The parallels are so curious that one scholar derived the name Loki from Lucifer and thought it impossible "that there should not have been some influence of the traditional conception of Lucifer upon the genesis of the Loki myth."\textsuperscript{25}
The assimilation and amalgamation of Christianity with the older pagan beliefs was not a process which took place in the few decades when the two cultures first met. Throughout the medieval period, and indeed into modern times, forms of pagan belief persisted, though sometimes covered with a cloak of Christianity. In the eleventh century the Corrector of Burchard of Worms has numerous penances for pagan practices—and this several centuries after Christianity had made its entrance into the area. Fear of the Fates; use of medicinal herbs with evil incantations; love potions; eating offerings to idols made at springs, stones, trees, and at cross roads; and observations of the Kalends of January were all vestiges of paganism which strongly persisted and were labelled diabolical by the Church. The practice of making tiny arrows and shoes for the enjoyment of satyrs and goblins that they might bring riches to the giver was still present as late as the eleventh century. Burchard several times condemns the Wild Ride, one of the strangest of these persistent beliefs, and at least one passage deserves to be quoted at some length:

Hast thou believed or participated in this infidelity, that some wicked women, turned back after Satan, seduced by illusions and phantoms of demons, believe and affirm: that with Diana, a goddess of the pagans, and an unnumbered multitude of women, they ride on certain beasts and traverse many areas of the earth in the
stillness of the quiet night, obey her commands as if she were their mistress, and are called on special nights to her service? But would that these only should perish in their perfidy and not drag many with them into the ruin of their aberration. For an unnumbered multitude, deceived by this false opinion, believe these things to be true, and in believing this they turn aside from sound faith and are involved in the error of the pagans when they think there is any divinity or heavenly authority except the one God. But the devil transforms himself into the form and likeness of many persons, deluding in sleep the mind which he holds captive, now with joy, now with sadness, now showing unknown persons, he leads it through some strange ways, and while only the spirit suffers this, the unfaithful mind thinks that these things happen not in the spirit but in the body...  

As early as the fifth century, B.C., if not earlier, there was a belief in Hecate or Diana as a leader of souls through the sky. The belief of demons or souls led by a divinity, usually Diana, riding through the sky continued into the medieval period. During the early Middle Ages the new idea arose that those who followed in the wild hunt were human beings, not simply spirits. Women were especially prone to night flight, and flying through the air to the sabbat became a characteristic of a witch in the sixteenth century. The idea of demonic flight through the air (or, in the case of humans, demonically-inspired flight) had ancient origins; but was re-enforced by the Christian belief that the demons were residents of the air, having been cast
down from heaven. Burchard of Worms recorded the belief that some were afraid to venture from their houses before cock crow because only the cock crow would cause the demons to vanish from the night air. 27

Cybele, as Magna Mater and the mother of gods, was on occasion considered the mother of demons (if gods are demons), then this comes quite naturally), but more frequently Diana was considered the leader of the wild hordes through the sky and the particular leader of demons. In several passages Diana is identified with the demon of midday (daemonium meridianum) and the particular cause of demonic possession. One time when Caesarius, a sixth century bishop of Arles, was visiting his diocese, he came to a castle called Luco. There was a lady called Eucyria by name. She fell at Caesarius' feet, supplicating the Lord with great tears. When Caesarius was asked the cause of this he was told she had a demon which the rustics call Diana. She was especially afflicted at night, dashing things against each other and becoming terribly weakened. Sometimes it took two strong men to lead her to the church where she might be somewhat relieved. All the time a strange voice spoke from her which some could hear while others could not. Caesarius rid the poor woman of her demon. Eugendius, a monkish contemporary of Caesarius, counselled others concerning cases of strong demon-possession:
"Spiritus gule et ire et fornicationis et amoris, et lunatice et Dianatice et meridiane et diurne et nocturne et omnis spiritus immunde, exi ab omine, quae istam scripturam secum habet. Per ipsum te adiuro verum filium Dei vivi: Exi velociter et cave, ne amplius introeas in eam. Amen. Alleluia." 28 In Roman times Diana was the goddess of the moon. Her close association with those who were demon-possessed, and ultimately her leadership of the demonic horde, is made more understandable when one recalls the words lunatic and moon-struck. Why Diana, the moon-goddess, should be called the demon of noon-day at first seems less reasonable, but in chapter two it was shown that the demon of noon-day was simply another manifestation of the demon of midnight.

The wild horde which Diana or Hecate led through the night skies was composed of the most grotesque demonic forms. Demons were capable of changing their forms at will, and most frequently they partook of fantastic animal shapes. When humans joined in the night ride they were carried on the backs of these animal-demons. The anchorites in Egypt seem to have been the first to bestow such animal forms on demons. Anubis the jackal god, Sekhmet the lioness and Sabek the crocodile were all essentially zoomorphic divinities. The gods of Egypt were often hybrids, half animal and half human, and the demons became hybrids as well.
Pagan festivals, such as the Kalends of January, brought men closer to these demonic forms by pageants in which men dressed as animals and all kinds of monsters. A motif especially seen in Northern art was that of Man between two animals, which became a symbol of Man threatened by demonic nature forces. In some of these portrayals Man is shown being devoured by these bestial demons. The fantastic forms of the gargoyles of medieval cathedrals had been in the imagination of the people for several centuries. The more grotesque the form, the more was the abnormal and evil nature of demons depicted.

Some animal forms came to be particularly associated with the devil and evil spirits. Many of these animals had previously been associated with one or more of the pagan gods. Representations of the devil as a he-goat go back to remote antiquity, and later witches all imagine their masters as a black he-goat to whom they pay divine honors. The he-goat was the sacred beast of Donar, and perhaps the goats sacrificed by the heathen were transferred to the false god by the Christians. The boar was an animal frequently mingling in the march of the wild horde. The animal was sacred to Fro and afforded food to the heroes in Walhalla. The monstrous jaws of Hell were those of the wolf, reminiscent of the Greek Cerberus, and frequently the devil is described as a soul-snatching wolf. The laws which King
Canute issued one Christmas at Winchester stated that "the shepherds whose duty it is to guard the people against this spoiler, namely the bishops and priests whose duty it is to protect and provide for the safety of the divine flocks with wise precepts, must be very active, and keep earnestly crying out, in order to prevent this ravening wolf from inflicting excessive injury and from making very frequent depredations upon the divine flock." 30 Perhaps the raven's old connexion with Wuotan caused it to be accepted as a demonic form; but in any case the black, cunning and vulturous bird was a frequent emblem of Satanic maliciousness. The LXX translated the **Baal-zebub** of II Kings i.2 as the "fly-god." The fly then was also sometimes a symbol of diabolic spirits. The smallness of the fly indicates that not only were demons able to change their form, but they, like the giants, were able to make themselves great or small. The most frequent animal form taken by the devil was the serpent, worm, or dragon. The serpent or dragon as a Stan-symbol had a more Biblical base than some of the other emblems, from the tempting serpent of the opening pages of Genesis to the apocalyptic dragon described by John. Early Church Fathers had interpreted Leviathan of the closing chapters of Job and of folk-belief as the great Enemy of mankind, and as a dragon the devil appears in numberless folktales. 31
Observing pagan rites was a means of having intercourse with demons, but there also grew up at a rather early date the tradition of a formal pact with the devil. At times a person might be unwillingly seized by an evil spirit, but a pact or covenant with the devil or demons was deliberate and willful. The idea of a pact with the devil precedes Christianity--it was at one point discussed by Lucan. Myths and sayings of the dualistic Eastern Zoroastrianism speak of service to the devil and alliances with him as does the Avesta. In these Iranian manuscripts, however, the evil principle has more power and authority than in Christian legends. Later writers frequently quoted Isaiah xxviii.15 as a Scriptural basis for the doctrine of a pact with the devil: "We have made a covenant with death. And with Sheol we have made a pact. The overwhelming scourge will not reach us when it passes by, For we have made falsehood of our refuge and we have concealed ourselves with deception." The earliest Christian legend of a pact is in the fourth century writings of St. Basil. In Palladius' fifth century work on the desert monks is recorded one of Palladius' own temptations in which the demon wanted to make a compact--if Palladius would sin only once, the devil would bring him any woman he wanted. However, the most influential early work on the compact with the devil was the sixth century Greek legend of Theophilus,
which Paulus Diaconus translated into Latin in the ninth century. The nun Hrotswitha of Gandersheim, a Saxon cloister, worked the legend into poetical form.

According to Paulus' version, before the fall of the Persians, in the Roman Empire, there lived a Vicedominus named Theophilus in Adan in Cilicia. Theophilus was a paragon of every priestly virtue. When the bishop died, the clergy and the people chose Theophilus as his successor. The archbishop called Theophilus to his ordination that the election might be confirmed; but Theophilus refused, imploring in humility. He said that if the people forcefully brought him to the Metropolitan he would fall prostrate at his feet, begging that the office be not forced upon him, since he was not worthy of it. The archbishop gave him three days for reflection, but at the end of that time he continued in his refusal. The Metropolitan then named another bishop. Theophilus began to be slandered and was eventually removed from his position. The Vicedominus came into dire circumstances, but he continued to live in godliness until the devil seduced his heart. Burning with ambition he desired to attain again his old dignity. In the covering of the night as Theophilus turned this over in his mind, a Jew came to him about making a permanent alliance with the devil. He assigned him to come the following day at the same hour to the Hippodrome. The
Jew promised to lead Theophilus and counsel him. For a moment Theophilus was alarmed and blessed the Jew with the sign of the cross.

Theophilus, however, arrived the next night at the appointed place and saw Satan enthroned as a king with white gowns, sitting with his servants and candles of hell. The Jew led Theophilus to him. When the devil asked why the Jew had brought a stranger, the Jew briefly told of Theophilus' distress. Satan said he could not help a servant of God, but if Theophilus would become his servant (famulus) and would come under his men (milites), then he could regain the respect and influence which he had held. Theophilus promptly said he was in agreement with that, kissed the evil One's feet and prayed to him. When the devil demanded that he should renounce Mary and her Son, Theophilus readily complied. Satan then went and put the matter in writing, sealing it with his ring. He departed with the Jew full of joy. On the next day Theophilus was already placed in his office again, the bishop who had removed him having been hastily impeached. Thenceforth, he became proud and haughty. The Jew reminded him from time to time of the thanks he owed himself and Satan.

After a short time God remembered Theophilus and his earlier serviceful life and worked repentance in him, so that he fasted, prayed and uttered lamentations. When
he recognized how he had done dreadfully and wondered how he could appear before God's tribunal, he decided to call on the mercy of Mary and ask for her help. Realizing he was so soiled he could not make himself pure, he resolved to do penance until Mary heard him. Forty days and forty nights Theophilus implored her until she appeared to him and began to hear him. She spoke to him of the anger of her Son, but she did not rob him of hope. Theophilus viewed the previous examples of great sinners—Rahab, David, Peter, Paul, the Corinthian, and begged for Mary's intercession with Christ. Renewing his faith, Theophilus spoke the Creed, and Mary promised to lay his petition at Jesus' feet. By daybreak the vision ended. For three more days Theophilus continued in penance, with prayers and fastings. Mary then appeared to him again and brought the forgiveness of her son. Theophilus, however, was not fully satisfied unless the written contract was removed from Satan's possession. After three more days Mary appeared and said she had the writing. When Theophilus awoke it was on his breast, and he was filled with joy. On the following day, which was a Sunday, Theophilus went to the bishop's feet, revealed his guilt and recounted Mary's mercy and the returned document. The bishop had a long discourse on the glories of Mary, and compared the forty days of Theophilus' fasting with the forty days of Moses. The word got around, and the people
gave glory to God. Theophilus went to Mary's temple in which the vision had appeared. He died three days later, greatly loved by the brethren. 32

The tale is full of eastern and pagan influences. Mary is in many ways elevated to the position of a god with her own temple. Sleeping in the temple of a god was a method throughout the ancient world for receiving revelations. The tale might have been a Christian adaptation of a pagan legend. Deliverance is more closely associated with Mary herself than with Christ's own work as the earlier Christians had taught. Nevertheless, deliverance from pacts with the devil is possible. A pact made with the devil for the purpose of worldly esteem, riches, or position can be abrogated by a return to the Christian fold. The devil's power is not absolute. The Theophilus legend, and other pact stories, became increasingly popular as the middle ages progressed, and many parallels with Goethe's Faust are obvious.

About the time the Greek version of the Theophilus legend was penned in the East, Caesarius, whom we have had occasion to mention earlier, was bishop of Arles. In the sixth century the Frankish church of southern Gaul had Arles as its focal point politically, economically and ecclesiastically. Caesarius was the most important bishop of the sixth century, and he fought against the prevailing
superstitions in all their forms. Born about 470 in Burgundy of Christian parents, Caesarius became bishop of Arles in 503. His episcopate was under three regimes—the Visigothic of Alaric II until 507, the Ostrogothic of Theodoric from 508 to 536, and the Frankish after 536. For a time Caesarius was regarded with suspicion by his Arian rulers, yet he always proclaimed obedience to the rulers, though abhorring Arianism. He presided over at least six councils while bishop, but he actually had little of the speculative in his temperament. Primarily a Pastor, Caesarius made a collection of sermons which would be beneficial for the average Christian. They are remarkable for the numerous similes drawn from nature and common daily life. He borrowed from many others, especially Augustine, in preparing the sermons. His purpose was to prepare homilies which unlearned priests could read to their congregations, hoping thereby to raise the truly Christian understanding of the people. In the following centuries missionaries spread his sermons throughout Europe. Eloi and Owen in Flanders, Pirmin in Suabia, and Boniface in Germany all found Caesarius' sermons helpful to the new congregations.

At baptism a person is asked if he will renounce the devil, his pomp and his works. This is the most fundamental promise a Christian ever makes to God. If one does not fulfill what is promised to God, faithfulness among men is
impossible. Among the pomp of the devil Caesarius in-
cludes all furious, bloody and shameful spectacles, being a
slave of gluttony or drunkenness, subjecting one's soul to
lust or dissipation, adultery, murder, robbery, false
testimony, observing omens, summoning charmers, sorcerers,
soothsayers or seers. Few men can be free from these things,
but each Christian should endeavor to correct these vices.
God's mercy should not be used as an excuse for continuing
in unrighteousness. God is both merciful and just, and
true faith recognizes both characteristics. Faith without
the accompanying deed is useless. If a servant goes about
praising his master all day, but never fulfills his commands,
the master is certainly not pleased. The Lord is no
different. A man who believes and does not act has the be-
lief of demons (James ii.19). In order for the Christian
to be free from the demonic influences of his former life,
he should become familiar with the Scriptures. Bishops,
presbyters and deacons should exhort their flocks to do
good. They should preach "that no one should pay vows to
a tree, observe omens, summon enchanters, or consult
magicians and seers. No one should follow the wicked custom
of the pagans and consider on what day he should set out on
a journey or on what day he should return to his own home....
No one should hang phylacteries, diabolical magical signs,
or any kind of charms on himself or his property." 33 No
eloquence or great memory is necessary to teach these things, only a simple admonition in ordinary language.

Some farmers, saying they are continually engaged in earthly matters, argue that they cannot listen to or read divine lessons. Yet, they remember and sing diabolical love songs! They remember what the devil teaches, but cannot keep in mind what Christ has shown them. If these farmers would only learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and a few psalms, especially psalms 1 and xc, and repeatedly say them, they could free their souls from the devil and unite them more closely to God. Shameful songs send a man to darkness and the devil, whereas holy songs show him Christ's light. If someone cannot remember anything said in Church it is simply because he does not want to. The care of the soul is very much like earthly cultivation. You cannot plant a successful vineyard without first removing the thorns and thistles.

Like Augustine, Caesarius explains that the purpose of Christ's coming was to free mankind from the tyranny and pride of the devil. Christ freed the human race through his suffering and humility, not through his power. If man had been saved by indulgence and power alone rather than justice and humility, then the devil could have been saved as well. Because of their freedom, the Christians should refrain from demonic songs, dancing and pagan practices.
They should encourage others to refrain from such practices and be active in destroying any remaining pagan temples. Magicians should be avoided even for the purpose of physical healing, for the devil can use charms and amulets to heal bodies while at the same time destroying souls. God allows the Christian to be tempted by the devil and his demons that the Christian might have the opportunity of wholeheartedly despising the devil's inventions. The Christian should beware of the devil's deception and always avoid the mere appearance of good without its substance. To avoid confessing sins by blaming Satan and recognizing no wrong in oneself gives Satan nothing but joy. As long as a man fails to recognize his sin, he remains estranged from God and Satan's work is accomplished. The devil can persuade and urge a man to sin, but he cannot compel him at all.

With God's help it is the Christian's power to decide whether to consent to the devil. The devil himself cannot harm by force. Caesarius' sermons have a freshness, vitality, and undoubtedly spurred many of his flock to better lives. With a vital faith in Providence, Caesarius had no fear in the presence of the blind forces of nature as in heathen superstition. Though, as seen from his Vita, Caesarius did believe in contemporary miracles, he minimized their importance and perhaps more than any other person of the period stressed the importance of spiritual wonders and the power
of the normal Christian life.

One of the missionaries who used and helped spread Caesarius' sermons was Boniface. Boniface, whose original name was Winfred, was born on the border of Wessex, near Exeter, about 675, at a time when Christianity was strong in Britain. A missionary to the Germans, Boniface eventually became archbishop in the Frankish realm. As a missionary Boniface was constantly denouncing heathen practices, especially all kinds of incantation, witchcraft, soothsaying and the like. The baptism formula he used on his converts emphasized that the new Christian was to for-sake the devil's kingdom:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Forsachistre diabolae} \\
\text{et resp. ec forsacho diabolae} \\
\text{end allum diabol gelde?} \\
\text{respon. end ec forsacho allum diabol gelda.} \\
\text{end alu diaboles uuercum} \\
\text{resp. end ec forsacho allum diaboles uuercum} \\
\text{end uuordum thunaer ende weoden ande saxnote} \\
\text{ende allem them unholdum the hira genotas sint.}
\end{align*}
\]

The Frankish synod of 742, organized by Boniface, has already been mentioned, and its rulings against pagan prac-tices noted. The letters of Boniface reflect in a more de-tailed way the activities of this energetic missionary.

About 738, Pope Gregory III sent a letter to the Old Saxons, recommending Boniface to them that they might learn Jesus Christ and escape from the devil's snare. Desiring that they be fully instructed in the Christian mysteries,
Gregory warned that "since the Kingdom of God is at hand: Let no one henceforth deceive you with high-sounding words to seek salvation in the worship of idols made by hands, be they gold or silver or brass or stone or any other substance. These lying deities, called gods by the heathen of old, are well known to be the dwelling places of demons, saith the Scripture, but the Lord our God is the creator of the heavens."36

Boniface was not only faced with the task of converting the heathen from Teutonic paganism, however. Two pseudo-Christians and false prophets were found among the Franks and had to be firmly dealt with to prevent the spread of heresy. Aldebert, one of the heretics, was a Gaul by birth. He preached apostolic simplicity and maintained he was a living saint. Gathering quite a following, especially among the women, Aldebert's morals were not above reproach, despite his saintly professions. He set up crosses in the fields, performed miracles, and seduced people from the churches, claiming he knew the names of the angels. Pope Zacharias thought they were names of demons not angels, and most churchmen seemed to agree. Boniface's fraternity thought the man a forerunner of Antichrist. At the suggestion of Boniface, Aldebert was condemned at a Roman synod in 745. Aldebert refused to subordinate himself to the apostles and claimed superiority to them, passing out
hairs and nail clippings as relics. At the third session of the synod Aldebert's prayers were read, including the section reading, "I pray and conjure and beseech ye, Angel Uriel, Angel Raguel, Angel Tubuel, Angel Michael, Angel Adenus, Angel Tubuas, Angel Saboac, and Angel Simiel." The bishops wanted the documents burned and Aldebert punished with bands of anathema. They reported to Zacharias that the names Aldebert used, except for Michael, were all names of demons which he summoned to his aid under the guise of angels. Actually, at least five of the names Aldebert used for angels are connected with gnostic tradition, and it is possible that Aldebert picked up the names in some contemporary liturgies. That he was actually engaged in formal demon-worship such as that of witches later in the middle ages is doubtful.  

All Boniface's letters were gracious, full of Christian spirit, and frequently accompanied by a gift for the recipient, whether he be king or humble monk. Boniface had a great desire to have a truly Christian Europe and wrote letters to kings and queens with hopes of converting them or in order to encourage them in the faith. One such letter was written about 746 to King Ethelbald of Mercia. Ethelbald had greatly strengthened the political power of Mercia in the eighth century. He had used this power to strengthen the Church as well, but he did have some serious
weaknesses. Boniface begins his letter by commending Ethelbald for his virtues. Then he brings him to task for his adultery, especially with nuns and virgins, and his persecution of and disregard for monks and monasteries. Kings Ceolred of Mercia and Osred of Deira and Bernicia, inspired by the devil, had previously corrupted the land with these two sins. They were condemned to an early and terrible death and plunged into the depths of hell. Boniface wrote Ethelbald, "Ceolred, the predecessor of Your Reverend Highness, as it was told by those who were present, while he sat feasting amidst his companions was suddenly stricken in his sins with madness by an evil spirit, who had seduced him by his persuasions into rash defiance of the law of God. So without repentance or confession, raving mad, talking with devils and cursing the priests of God, he passed on, without doubt, from this life to the torments of hell." \(^{38}\)

Ceolred's spiritual troubles had been described to Boniface by a man who had died and come to life again. While the man was out of the body, the whole universe seemed brought together before his eyes. Angels of dazzling splendor bore him up as he came forth from the body. They carried him into the air, and he saw a mighty fire surrounding the whole earth. The angels protected him from the flames. During this time a great multitude of souls left
their bodies and gathered in the place where the man was. The man "said also that there was a crowd of evil spirits and a glorious choir of the higher angels. And he said that the wretched spirits and the holy angels had a violent dispute concerning the souls that had come forth from their bodies, the demons bringing charges against them and aggravating the burden of their sins, the angels lightening the burden and making excuses for them." Each vice came forward as in person to accuse men, and the evil spirits chimed in with the vices to accuse and bear witness. The virtues and angelic spirits similarly called out in defence. The man also said he was given the ability to look at the merits of numerous men still living. Those free from blame and trusting in virtues were guarded by holy angels; those befouled with crimes and corrupt were each beset by a hostile spirit who urged them to evil deeds and "held them up to the merriment of other infernal spirits." As soon as a man sinned, this demon reported to other demons. The man told of Ceolred, king of Mercia, who was then still living, protected by angels. The demons asked the angels to remove their protection, charging Ceolred with a multitude of dreadful crimes. The angels sadly replied, "Alas! that this man of sin no longer permits himself to be protected, and that we can give him no help on account of his own demerits." The angels then withdrew their protecting
screen, and the demons, rejoicing, gathered from all over the universe to torment the King. 39

The desire of the demons to seize men's souls was recognized in the literature of the time, not simply in more theological works. Old English poetry contains numerous images for the devil's assaults. The poem the Whale is an allegorical representation of Satan's artful allurements. When hungry, the whale opens his mouth and emitting a sweet fragrance which attracts other fish, then the mouth closes on its catch. Not only animals, but men as well are sometimes deceived by the whale. One time a group of tired sailors camped on a smooth rock and made a fire. The rock turned out to be a whale which dived and brought destruction upon all the men. The devil deceives men through secret craft, enticing them to wickedness. Men finally seek help from the fiends and live for a time in security with the faithless ones (much like Theophilus). When the devil has man bound fast, he becomes the murderer. He beguiles men with carnal pleasures until he has the hell-doors closed around them and they cannot escape.

The Old English poem Juliana portrays the soul besieged like a fortress by the evil spirit. While Juliana is in prison for her Christian faith, the demon visits Juliana as an angel of light. Pretending to be God's messenger, he urges her to sacrifice to the heathen gods.
When the virgin seizes the "angel of light," he appears as an infernal imp and confesses his misdemeanors. It was he who instigated the soldier to open Christ's side, encouraged Herod to behead John, and caused Simon to oppose the apostles. The imp says his father, the ruler of hell-folk, sends out his children to pervert men's minds. If they fail in causing the faithful to stumble, he is exceedingly angry and has them bound. The demon confesses he had come to turn Juliana from salvation. Whenever the demons find a mind steadfast, they first try to arouse pride by inspiring delusive thoughts. Sinful lusts are made to appear attractive so that the mind might obey demonic teaching. The mind is set so on fire with sins that, for love of vice, it readily consents to the devil's will. If the demon confronts anyone with spiritual armour, he is forced to retreat and receive his punishment, being careful to choose a less courageous soldier in his next attack. Although a man might intend to do good, "the devil carefully scrutinizes all his victim's thoughts, how the mind is fortified within, how its defences are erected. He opens the rampart-gate by a bold assault. . . . When a breach is made in the tower, an entrance gained, he first with a flight of arrows sends into the heart bitter thoughts by way of the various desires of the mind ("suggestio"). The devil being his willing teacher, man turns from Christ's
law ("consensus"), his mind flounders into the slough of sin under the devil's power, who is more concerned about the destruction of the soul than of the body." 40 Such tactics did not work on Juliana, and presumably the demon returned to his father below for punishment.

The controversial Beowulf contains motifs found in several Old English poems, yet puts them in a more Germanic setting. The workers of moral evil are shown to be workers of physical evil as well; but the moral, spiritual level is not totally ignored. Beowulf's struggles, though heroic, are quite different from those described by Homer. Odysseus struggles with the Cyclops, and you know he is struggling with a monstrous and wicked foe; Odysseus is not struggling with the powers of darkness as in Beowulf, however. The Cyclops is under Poseidon's protection, but Beowulf's foes are the foes of God. Grendel and the dragon are referred to in terms which recall the powers of darkness with which Christians felt themselves encompassed. They are demonic, and the poem's blending of Germanic and Christian elements is an example of a process characteristic of the early medieval period. Many scholars attribute Beowulf to the age of Bede, and the poem reveals the fusion of old pagan and new Christian beliefs of the time. 41

After Hrothgar built Heorot with its great hall, Grendel, the fiend of hell, began to show his malice. Grendel
had lived in the fens and moors ever since Cain had been cast out by God for Abel's death. Cain had been the progenitor of elves, giants, monsters and all types of demonic creatures, Grendel among them. At night Grendel went to visit the hall of the Danes. Like a pestilence he seized thirty soldiers from their beds and departed for his fen-fortress laden with the slain. In a single night this creature committed such murder, yet he did not mourn for it--his ways were too set in hatred and violence. For twelve years Grendel stalked the halls of the Danes, and Heorot became his house at night. The poem sometimes reflects a pagan, sometimes a Christian response to Grendel's raids. At times in the temples the people made vows and sacrifices, beseeching the "destroyer of souls." Hell came to their minds frequently. Yet, elsewhere it is said that men well knew the malefactor was powerless to draw down their souls to the shades when the Creator forbad it.

Before Beowulf came, Hrothgar had despaired that his kingdom could ever be defended in his own lifetime against demons and devils (scuccum and scennum). Grendel by wizardry had neutralized the swords of all the warriors. Beowulf's great grip was what overcame Grendel; and even after the battle had just begun, Grendel longed to flee and seek out the devil's band (secan deofla gedraeg). When
Grendel was defeated and killed, Beowulf still had to face Grendel's mother who lived deep in the lake. The abode of these demonic monsters is a dreadful place. Later Germanic belief held forests as the peculiar abode of demons, as the early anchorites had thought the desert the demonic residence. Demons live in the wilderness areas, and their habitation is as monstrous as their being:

They guard a region
Uncouth, wolves' dunes, blustering headlands,
Desperate fen-ground, where the mountain-torrent
Falls down under the louring bluffs,
Pours down to earth. It is not far distant
Measured by miles that that lake lies;
Groves overhang it clothed with hoarfrost,
A great-rooted wood throws shade on its water.
There a strange horror at night may be seen,
A blaze on the stream.43

When Beowulf and the men approached the lake, they saw innumerable serpents on the water and sea-dragons (wyrmcynnes and sæ-dracon). After a fierce battle in the lake, Beowulf defeated Grendel's mother and obtained from the mother's den a sword with a golden hilt which he presented to Hrothgar. On the sword was inscribed the origin of the strife which produced the flood. The demonic monsters were in some way connected with those giants who in the days of Noah brought destruction on all mankind.

Beowulf is not explicitly a Christian poem, though it contains many Christian elements. Grendel, his mother,
and later the dragon Beowulf encounters are described with terms applied to the devil elsewhere. The descriptions of Grendel and his mother certainly show clearly what kind of beings the Christians of the time thought of when they spoke of demons—monstrous, man-devouring, residents of uncouth places, and originating in some great rebellion in ages past. There is a kind of pessimism in the poem, however, and no real sense of Christ's deliverance from demonic powers. The shadow of pagan despair remains—the feeling that all must die, chaos shall triumph, and ruin is inevitable. A kind of doomed resistance is valued, but the Christian assurance of triumph is lacking. Dorothy Whitelock compared Felix's *Life of St. Guthlac*, studied in the last chapter, with *Beowulf* to show how certain ideas about struggle with evil powers were prevalent in the period. Both share the conviction that the marshes are the abode of monsters, and there is a general similarity of theme between the two works. Beowulf is shown as a deliverer who saved human habitations from ravaging monsters by physical struggle. Guthlac was a hermit who took up his abode on haunted islands in fens and drove away demons by spiritual conflict, using spiritual armor. Hrothgar used the metaphor of spiritual armor against the promptings of the accursed spirit (*wergan gastes*) in a warning to Beowulf on arrogance (11. 1740-1749). The devil first attacked Guthlac when he
was singing songs; Grendel attacked when he heard the
festive sounds from Heorot (an example of one of the hymns
sung is recorded in the poem). There does not seem to be
any borrowing by either of the authors here, but a similar
outlook is present. 44

A more distinctly Christian treatment of demons is
found in the Caedmon poems. Some scholars seek to refute
that the Caedmon poems were actually written by the seventh
century monk, but certainly they were written some time be-
fore the tenth century. The Caedmon poems of the Junius
MS. are Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and Christ and Satan;
only the first and last poems are relevant to our subject.

Genesis is divided into two segments, the first an Anglo-
Saxon poem and the second an Anglecized version of an Old
Saxon Biblical paraphrase. Genesis A contains an account
of creation and the history of man from the fall through
the sacrifice of Isaac. Genesis B contains a second, more
detailed account of the fall of the angels, the temptation,
and the fall of man. God has created ten angel orders. One
of the angels, Lucifer was more beautiful than any of the
others. Boasting of his beauty, he revolted against God
and stirred strife among the other angels. He thought he
would build a strong throne by his own power alone and be-
lieved he had enough power to rear a better throne and a
higher heavens. He gained followers and began to boast in
their wisdom: "With such peers one may ponder counsel, and gain a following. Devoted are these friends and faithful hearted; and I may be their lord and rule this realm. It seemeth no wise right for me that I should cringe a whit to God for any good. I will not serve him longer." God hurled Lucifer from His throne and cast him into hell and the deep abyss where he became the devil. For three days and three nights the angels fell from heaven into hell, and God changed them all to devils. In the illustrations of Genesis accompanying the Junius MS, the angels are visually transformed into demons as they fall through the skies. They begin to have thin, black, spider-like bodies, and some develop tails, claws and other animal-like features. Satan is bound in the abyss, but his followers are more free to venture forth and do his bidding.

Augustine had shown how the devil had fallen through pride, yet pride was a prominent characteristic of the Germanic heroes. In Genesis B, Satan sometimes is Miltonic, still flushed with the exhilaration of his defiance. More often, however, he is miserable and sulking. In the conflict between the powers of good and the powers of evil, the angels are called the vassals of God while the demons are the vassals of Satan. The use of the lord-retainer relationship enables the poet to show Satan's pride is illegitimate. Because Satan's pride violates the
natural order it is both evil and preposterous. The devil by his own sin put himself into the position of a faithless retainer, and his punishment is that of a faithless retainer--deprivation of a lord and a meadehall. Satan's revolt is the violation of the feudal oath to an overlord.

The opening lines of Christ and Satan, the lament of the fallen angels, portray the despair that comes upon the demons because of their rebellion. Satan cries bitterly about the heavenly glory and bliss denied him while the foul fiends answer Satan's bitterness with accusations that he alone thought he was omnipotent and it was he who taught them not to serve the Savior. Repeatedly Satan contemplates his former happiness and mourns his fallen state: "Once I had power and glory, before I earned God's judgment on my sin in this loathsome realm, upon the floor of hell. Now I have come, and brought a host of fiends, unto this home of darkness... I am so large of limb there is no place in this wide hall to hide me, sore wounded with my sins. Both heat and cold by turns are mingled here. At times I hear the hell-slaves howling, mourning these realms of pain beneath the earth; at times men naked strive with serpents. All this windy hall is filled with horror! Never shall I know a happier home, nor any town or mansion; nor ever shall mine eyes behold the shining world again." Even in his imprisonment Satan is
forced to proclaim the majesty of the Lord whom he sought

to overthrow. After the lament of the angels the poet
proceeds to show the full annihilation of demonic power by
describing the Harrowing of Hell and the triumph of Christ
on resurrection day. The warrior-Savior burst into Hell,
broke the gates and delivered the saintly folk while
fastening the demons into chains of torment.

Though the distance might not be great in time,
there is a great intellectual distance between the
demonology found among the Germanic barbarians and the
triumpant freedom found in the Caedmon poems. The difference
is great between barbarian offering sacrifices at groves
and stream and the Christian glorying in his Creator and
his Savior from demonic bondage. There is no nice
evolution from pagan practices to Christian faith, however.
The Caedmon poems are contemporary with Boniface's
struggle with paganism. The old beliefs were never totally
eradicated, and more often than not they were assimilated
into Christian thought in some form. Gregory the Great,
who in many ways seems to be the first truly medieval pope,
capsulizes this synthesis in his writings, to which we now
must turn.
CHAPTER V
CHAPTER V

GREGORY THE GREAT: IMPRIMATUR ON POPULAR BELIEFS

Gregory the Great (c. 540-604) is a major link between ancient and medieval Christianity, between the Graeco-Roman world and the newly converted Germanic nations. Gregory depended strongly on the thought of the past. His indebtedness to Augustine is obvious in his works, but he frequently used other authors as well. He had the capacity of synthesizing thought and accommodating it to the needs of the time. It is fitting that our last chapter should primarily touch upon Gregory's demonology, because the Middle Ages were constantly using his works, which actually were a depository of the first six centuries of Christian thought.

Gregory came from a wealthy Italian family, and his early years were spent in political life. At the age of thirty-five he resigned as Prefect of Rome to enter the religious life. He founded six monasteries on his estates in Sicily and turned his home on the Caelian Hill in Rome into the Monastery of St. Andrew. After distributing his wealth, Gregory entered St. Andrew's as a monk. He was allowed to stay in his humble position only a short time,
for in 578 Pope Benedict I ordained him one of the seven deacons of Rome. In 579 he was sent to the imperial court at Constantinople as a nuncio by Pope Pelagius II. After staying in Constantinople for six years, Gregory returned to Rome to become abbot of St. Andrew's. Elected pope in 590, he vigorously led the Church until his death in 604.

The period in which Gregory lived was a miserable one. The wars between Emperor Justinian and the barbarian Goths left much of Italy a wilderness. In 568 the Lombards began their incessant attacks while floods, plague and famines worsened the situation. Gregory and others became convinced that the end of the world was at hand. Eschatological hope and a strong demonology are frequently linked, as was seen in the early Church and in Augustine. Gregory was no exception to this general rule, and his demonology is so prominent that Adolph Harnack called him "Doctor angelorum et diaboli."

Though he relied on earlier Church fathers in developing his doctrine of demons, he drew largely on superstition as well. He was the first to systematically treat many of the vulgar ideas that had become associated with the Christian religion. Gregory "sifted these ideas, accentuated such as seemed to him important, and expounded them dogmatically. The authority of Gregory is the principal justification of what has been called 'Christianity of the second rank.'"  

The demonology of two of Gregory's major works will
be studied, that of the *Moralia* and that of the *Dialogues.*

Gregory's *Moralia* was written rather early in his career and was dedicated to Leander, Bishop of Seville and older brother of Isidore. The work is a massive commentary on the book of Job, interpreted in the allegorical fashion to be so prominent in the Middle Ages. Rather theoretical and theological, the *Moralia* lacks the anecdotal character of Gregory's popular *Dialogues.*

Gregory, like Augustine, held that angels were creatures whose creation preceded that of man, but was closely connected with it. He opposed the gnostic idea that angels were aeons or emanations from God and believed that they, like man, were made in the likeness of God. The incorporeal spirit of angels received the imprint of that likeness more clearly than corporeal man. The knowledge of angels is vast, for they contemplate the Source of knowledge, yet even they cannot fully comprehend the Divine Nature. This angelic sphere, which Gregory divides into nine orders, performs four basic functions. They govern the world in general; regulate, assist, and champion the nations; protect and minister to individuals; and act as agents through which God speaks to man, acquainting him with His will. Because angels were created, the angelic nature was liable to change. The angels had the power of maintaining themselves in their created state, and those who did so were
rewarded with immutability and were made incapable of falling. The good angels were thus given stability, whereas those who rebelled were cast into the world of flux and change.²

Gregory placed the cause of the angels' fall in their pride. Satan, the leader of the rebels, sought power for himself and loathed to submit to His Creator and superior. The more he tried to raise himself up, the more he fell beneath himself. All those who similarly rebel against those placed over them by Divine ordinance, whether men or angels, follow the devil. Though Satan and the demons lost eternal felicity through their fall, they did not lose the greatness of their angelic nature. Satan's power on earth remains pre-eminent because of this angelic nature. The pride of the devil became the origin of man's fall, for Satan envied anyone who might rise above him in majesty. By fastening men as willing captives in the chain of iniquity, the devil gained lawful possession of the minds of men. From the time of Adam until the coming of the Lord he drew after him all the nations of the Gentiles.³

It was the purpose of Christ's coming to break the devil's power in the world. The Redeemer came to restore the broken number of angels by replacing them with redeemed humanity. The vacancies in heaven caused by the fall of the devil and his angels will be filled by those who have,
through Christ, overcome the devil on earth. The devil was the head of both wicked men and angels, so that when Christ triumphed over Satan, he brought all iniquity under his feet. The demons are brought into subjection by the cross, but only men are capable of redemption. An angel, and thus a demon as well, is pure spirit; but man is both flesh and spirit. Man receives redemption because he had an infirmity to draw him down. The angels fell by their own wickedness, but the wickedness of another brought man down. In a rather nauseating analogy Gregory explains how Christ was able to conquer Satan and bring redemption. In his incarnation Christ used his flesh as a bait to hook the devil; the devil took the bait and went down in defeat. While the devil "sought in Him the bait of His Body, he was pierced with the sharp point of His Divinity. For there was within Him His Humanity, to attract to Him the devourer, there was there His Divinity to wound" the devil. Satan (or the Behemoth of Job xi.19) knew the Son of God had become incarnate for man's redemption, but he did not know that this was to be through His death and that in His death He would pierce him. As a bird the devil was snared at the cross; and at the moment when he seemed most triumphant, he was vanquished. Like Augustine, Gregory sees God using humility rather than power to conquer the demonic forces.

Before Christ, the devil and his demons had a
rightful claim upon all men. Men followed them freely, bound in sin and guilt. This dominion had been justly given to Satan at the time of Adam's sin. However, through Christ the devil lost his right in man and his power over him. The demonic power is curbed after Christ. The demons can no longer rule over the saints as their possession, but they can persecute Christians outwardly. Though he still holds the hearts of unbelievers, after Christ, Satan is bound. Leviathan or the devil is at present imprisoned in the bottomless pit by elect angels. Having sought to make himself pre-eminent, he has fallen so low that he is now prostrated beneath the rule of the orders of angels. At the end of the world, the restraints on demonic power will be partially removed, and the devil will become incarnate in the person of the anti-Christ. His power will be enormous, possessing worldly glory and working miraculous wonders. At the end time, when demonic miracles are increasing, the signs of power will be taken away from the Church. The demons will corroborate their lies with miracles, so that even the righteous will be sometimes deceived. The minds of many will be shaken by these miracles, but finally the demons and the devil "will be smitten with eternal death, not in battle with the angels, not in contest with the saints, but through the coming of the Judge, by the breath of His mouth alone." All angels
and the elect of men will be there to gaze on the monster brought captive. These different periods in Satan's life, as described by Gregory, have been the basis of the different kinds of Satan described in literature. At times Satan is portrayed as a lordly figure, the author of wars in heaven, the originator of evil, and the tempter of men. This is the Satan that was seen, for example, in the Old English poem Genesis. In Christ and Satan was seen that other Satan—the hideous, hateful, pitiable wretch bewailing his lot.

Until the time of his final judgment, though bound, the devil continues to tempt Christians. Gregory's treatment of demonic temptations is very thorough, and his advice on how to counter demonic activity is one of the least theoretical aspects of the Moralia. The old adversary is wont to tempt mankind in two ways—by tribulation or by persuasion. Satan's basic method of temptation is no different from that he used in Paradise. He tries to remove the Word of God from men's hearts and replace it with the false blandishments of his own promising. Slowly he attempts to soften the threatenings of God and invites belief in false promises and temporal blessings to be provided by his demons. Leviathan varies his temptation according to the character of the person. The wicked are openly presented the evil things they desire, whereas the good are secretly
ensnared. In order that the thing done properly before the eyes of men might be spoiled in the sight of the Judge within, the demons have three main ways of proceeding against man's good actions—by polluting the intention, by overthrowing the action in the performance (a kind of ambush), by ensnaring the good deed at the end of the action (putting the man off-guard by seeming to retire and then attacking more vociferously than before). Sometimes demons corrupt the thoughts with beguiling pleasures, drawing man from the simplicity of a pure mind and spoiling the thoughts of good things. Often "the old enemy craftily blends and unites himself with those good thoughts, which are sown in our hearts through the instrumentality of the Holy Spirit, to disorder all that is rightly conceived, and tear in pieces what is once wrongly disordered." In order to ensnare men the devil often cloaks vices under the guise of virtues.

In examining the devil's means of attacking Job, Gregory used the analogy of storming a city, much as the poet of Juliana later was to use. Satan first began by destroying Job's wealth and health, for

he saw that the city which he desired to storm was too strong; therefore by bringing upon him so many external plagues, he led an army as it were on the outside against him, but when he kindled the feelings of his wife into words of mischievous persuasion, it was as though he corrupted the hearts of the citizens
within... For an enraged enemy, that holds a city encircled by his surrounding armies, upon perceiving its fortifications to remain unshaken, betakes himself to other methods (argumenta) of attack, with this object, that he may corrupt the hearts of some of the citizens also within; so that, when he has led on the assailants from without, he may also have coopersators within, and that when the heat of the battle increases outside, the city being left without succor by the treachery of those within, of whose faith, no doubt is felt, may become his prey...

Since man once voluntarily subjected himself to the devil in the Garden, he is now bound with the chains of sins and thus in some ways serves the devil even against his will. According to Gregory's analysis, sin is always consummated by a four-fold process involving the devil, the flesh, the spirit, and pride. Suggestion or suggestio comes from the devil himself. Where there is only suggestion there is no sin, but there is the seed of sin (semen peccati). The Christian cannot be forced to sin by the devil; only the suggestion can be offered, to be accepted or rejected. The suggestion of the devil is nourished by the pleasure (delectatio) of the flesh. From the spirit must come the consent (consensus) by which the sin is consummated. Pride provides the boldness to continue the sin (defensionis audacia). This was the pattern used in Adam's first sin and in all sins since. In the Garden the serpent offered the temptation; Eve took pleasure in the suggestion; Adam yielded
consent and refused to confess his sin. Gregory's treat-
ment of the process of sin was followed throughout the
Middle Ages. All sin originated in the suggestion of the
devil or his demons, and Gregory believed that evil spirits
attached themselves to particular vices, prompting man to
sin. 8

The temptations and persecutions by the demons are
not limitless, however. Satan and his company derive their
evil wills from themselves, but their power is derived from
God. What the demons desire to do unrighteously God does
not allow except with justice. For example, the demons
desire to persecute a Christian. God will allow this in
order to develop more virtues in the Christian. Both the
elect and reprobate angels serve God's decrees; even the
devil's artifices promote the good. Today Satan is bound,
and his power is restricted by God's sovereignty. When
Satan receives permission, as in the case of Job, "he as it
were rends and pierces all the body of the mind with the
temptations which he brings upon it, yet he does not attain
to the smiting of the soul, in that deep at the bottom of all
the thoughts of the heart, the interior purpose of our
secret resolution holds out, in the midst of the very wounds
of gratification which it receives, so that although the
enjoyment may eat into the mind, yet it does not so bind the
set intent of holy uprightness as to bring it to the very
softness of consenting."

To successfully withstand the devil's assault, as did Job, the Christian must fortify his mind with the whole sum of virtue. Because of Christ's advent, the believer should have more strength than the demons. By first conquering fleshly appetites, and one's own flesh, spiritual combats can be successfully won. Gregory in much of his demonology reflects the monkish world of which he was a part for a time. This is true especially in his emphasis on subduing the flesh as a prelude to successful warfare with demons. Only after the pride of the flesh has been tamed can the Christian search out the craft of the unclean spirits. Whoever orders himself after the precepts of life, tastes eternal fruits even in this life. Such a one need have no fear of the demons when they savagely rage and seek to seize the soul at the hour of death.

Gregory's demonology as found in the Moralia is really no different from Augustine's. The greater emphasis placed on the methods of demonic temptations and the means of Christian resistance, an emphasis easily traceable to Gregory's monastic background, does indicate a slightly different perspective on the subject, however. Not only how demons fit into the cosmic setting and the victory Christ obtained over them are important, but the daily struggle with demons as well. Gregory brings the spiritual struggles
of the desert fathers into the lives of the most ordinary Christian. He went far beyond Augustine in his acceptance of supernatural marvels. The popular beliefs concerning demons and angels became supported by the authority of the Church. Nothing was too weird or trivial if Gregory could make use of it for edification.

The collection of stories in the Dialogues thus became the most important contribution Gregory made to demonology. In the Dialogues the devil is presented, not as a "portentous power of darkness, but as a spirit of petty malice, more irritating than awful, playing all manner of mischievous pranks and doing at times serious damage, but easily routed by a sprinkling of holy water or the sign of the cross. The devil of Gregory's Dialogues is, in all essential respects, the same as he who flung a stone at Dominic and got spattered with Luther's ink."¹¹ The malignant power which Christ fiercely battled on the cross gives way to the impish Rumpelstiltskin met with in Gothic manuscripts or even conjured up in the minds of more modern men on All Hallow's Eve. Though far removed from the earliest Christians who battered the devil in their martyrdoms, the world of Gregory's Dialogues is very close to the magical world of fairies, goblins, dwarfs and imps. It was a world which frequently entered into the literature of later times and was repudiated with scorn by more enlightened
generations. In short, in Gregory's Dialogues, the sanction of the Church is given to what we now think of as the medieval devil.

It was in answer to questions from the papal household that Gregory originally decided to write about Italian saints. Conditions were desperate all over Italy, and indeed throughout Europe. In a letter to the imperator Mauricius Augustus in June of 595, Gregory bemoaned the miserable state of affairs. Cities had been destroyed by the barbarians, the population was on the decline, and there was no one to cultivate the land. ¹² Pagan practices and idolatry flourished so much that Gregory had to write numerous letters to clerics encouraging them to refrain from idolatry. In 597, he wrote a letter to Queen Brunhilda, queen of the Franks, encouraging this new Christian as to how to act in order to convert her subjects. Exhorting Brunhilda to prevent her subjects from worshipping idols, Gregory said the cults of trees should be abolished and sacrifices of animals should no longer be practiced, as occur among many Christians even as well as ecclesiastics. Christians ought not to have such a divided mentality (divisas mentes); and Gregory's Dialogues, written in the summer of 593, was largely to give confidence to the people in the Christian God.¹³ After reading of the many miracles performed in their very midst, the people should no longer doubt God's protection of His people,
despite the chaos about them.

The Dialogues are between Gregory and his deacon Peter. The doubts and questions Peter expresses throughout the dialogues give Gregory the opportunity of drawing spiritual and moral lessons from the tales. It is Peter that recommends an interruption of their study of Scripture for a description of miracles. He argues that there would be no sin in this since an "explanation of holy Scripture teaches us how to attain virtue and persevere in it. Then, too, the lives of the saints are often more effective than mere instruction for inspiring us to love heaven as our home."14 Gregory readily acquiesces to Peter's desire and recounts three books of saintly miracles. Throughout Gregory emphasizes, however, that the true estimate of the saintly life is not dependent on miracles. It does not automatically follow that if there are no miracles there are no great saints. Virtue, not miracles, provide a true estimate of life. Despite occasional warnings to this effect, Gregory admits that miracles are a testimony to holiness, and he completely satiates Peter's ears with an account of them.

Cases of possession are numerous among Gregory's accounts of demons. Perhaps the most famous tale is that of the nun who one day was walking in the garden when she saw a lovely head of lettuce. Lusting after it, she bit into it without blessing it—and ate the demon who had been
sitting on the leaf! Immediately the nun began raving as one possessed. When the demon was remonstrated with, he replied that the nun was on his own ground. The demon was removed by Equitius, head of the monastery in Valeria. After his death Equitius continued to have a certain power over demons. When the Lombards entered Valeria the monks of Equitius' monastery fled to the Church of St. Lawrence where Equitius' tomb was. The Lombards invaded the Church, and the monks prayed to Equitius for defense. An unclean spirit seized the Lombards, who fell to the ground tormented relentlessly. After that, they no longer attempted to profane the holy place. 15

Fortunatus, Bishop of Todi, possessed an extraordinary power over evil spirits. Julian, the protector of Gregory's church, was a friend of Fortunatus, and in later years Julian would draw examples for instruction from these stories. Fortunatus had one day cast out an unclean spirit from a possessed man. Around evening, when few were about, the spirit masqueraded as a stranger walking up and down the streets shouting, "Oh, what a holy bishop you have in Fortunatus, See what he has done! He has thrown me, a stranger, out of my lodging. I look for a night's shelter but can find none in this city." A man at home, with wife and son, heard the voice, was curious to know what the bishop had done, and invited the stranger in. While the guest and
the man's family were talking about the fire, the evil spirit took hold of the little boy and cast him into the hearth-fire, where he died. Only too late did the father realize he had invited the evil spirit expelled by Fortunatus. Gregory thought the man who lost his son did not find pleasure in his work of mercy, his hospitality; but only sought the bishop's defamation. An act, though good, becomes bad when done with evil intention. The man wished to appear more righteous than the bishop by receiving a person whom the bishop had rejected. The whole tale shows the moralistic purposes to which Gregory put such fantastic stories.16

Book II of the Dialogues is totally devoted to the life and miracles of St. Benedict, the founder and abbot of Monte Cassino. For three years during his early ascetic life Benedict lived in the cave at Subiaco. One day, while the saint was alone, the Tempter came in the form of a little blackbird which began to flutter in front of Benedict's face. Benedict made the sign of the cross, and the bird flew away; but when it left Benedict was seized with violent temptation. Remembering a woman he had once seen, he was carried away with great emotions; and only with God's help did he come to himself. He flung himself into a patch of briars until his body was covered with blood, seeking to drain the poison of demonic temptation. Never again did Benedict experience
such a temptation; and after this, he was ready to instruct others in virtue.

In 529, Benedict arrived at Monte Cassino, about seventy-five miles southeast of Rome. On the summit of Monte Cassino stood a very old temple where the country people still worshipped Apollo in the manner of their ancestors. It was there that the Master of evil himself did open battle with Benedict. Benedict destroyed the idols, overturned the altar, and cut down the trees in the sacred groves. The temple of Apollo was re-dedicated to St. Martin (the early Gallic saint whose life was written by Sulpicius Severus), and over Apollo's altar was built a chapel to St. John the Baptist. The Enemy did not appear to Benedict in a dream or disguise as he sometimes did to others, but he objected fiercely to the outrages he had to endure face to face. The other monks heard him, though they could not see him. According to Benedict's own description, "the Devil had an appearance utterly revolting to human eyes. He was enveloped in fire and, when he raged against the man of God, flames darted from his eyes and mouth." The appearance must have been monstrous and animal-like, much like the flame-breathing Leviathan of Job x 1.

Gregory believed that the devil was called by many animal names. Having descended from heaven to earth, Satan and his demons no longer raise themselves by any aspiration
or hope of heavenly things. Rather, they descend lower so that Lucifer himself becomes "an irrational and four-footed animal by the folly of his unclean doings, a dragon by his malice in doing hurt, a 'bird' by the levity of his subtle nature. For because he knows not what he is doing against himself, he is a monster with brute sense; because he maliciously seeks to hurt us, he is a 'dragon'; but because he exalts himself haughtily on the subtlety of his nature, he is a 'bird'." In Gregory are already many of the images of the devil and his demons found in later writers, including the fire-breathing dragon.

At this point the modern reader is probably surfeited with tales of demons and other miracles, but Peter was not. In order to have in mind the range of stories and their moral intent, at least two more accounts are necessary—one of a haunted house and another of a demonic convocation.

During the reign of the Emperor Justin, Bishop Darius of Milan was exiled for his faith and went to Constantinople. On the way to Constantinople he stopped at Corinth and took a house which the people warned had been uninhabited for a time because the devil had inhabited it for many years. In the middle of the night the Enemy of mankind began to create a terrible noise, imitating the noise of numerous animals. Darius denounced the devil and said it was because of his pride that he became like a pig and a mouse. The demon never
reappeared. 18

One day a Jew going from Campania to Rome was passing along the Appian Way. Evening was coming on when he arrived at Fondi, where he was unable to find lodging. The Jew finally decided to stay in the temple of Apollo. Though not a Christian he first crossed himself for fear of the unholiness of the place. The solitude of the place was so dreadful and disturbing that at midnight the man was still awake. At that hour there suddenly appeared before his eyes a troop of demons parading as an honor guard for their leader, who placed himself in the middle of the temple. The head spirit investigated each demon in order to find out how much evil had been done. Each reported the harm that had been accomplished to virtuous souls. One spirit reported how he was stirring up Bishop Andrew to a temptation of the flesh, and the master spirit encouraged him to complete what he had begun. All this time the Jew was lying wide awake, filled with terror. The master spirit sought to find out who dared to lie down in the temple. The demons were surprised to see the Jew with the sign of the cross and cried out, "Woe to us! An empty vessel signed with the cross." The Jew ran to the bishop, told him everything, and convinced him of his sin. The bishop repented and dismissed all women from his employ. Apollo's temple was converted into a chapel honoring St. Andrew the apostle, and the Jew
was converted as well. 19

Gregory counselled Peter that the only way to have victory over the demons was to fight them. Peter thought it would be an exhausting and harrowing experience to remain in the front lines of battle everyday, but Gregory assured him, "It will not be too difficult if we entrust our safekeeping to God's grace and not to our own efforts. But even under His divine protection we must continue to be as vigilant as possible. Once the Devil has been expelled from the mind, it often happens through the working of divine grace, that his position is reversed. Instead of being feared, he himself flees in terror before the virtues of holy souls." Without God's permission, the evil spirit has not power against mankind. Ultimately, victory over demonic forces is accomplished by man subjecting himself in humility before the Creator of the universe. 20

Early Christians, as seen in the first chapter, viewed death as a struggle with the devil. Gregory echoed this belief, but used it to teach a moral lesson. Those putting off their conversion to God until the time of death often no longer have an escape from devouring demons. Gregory hinted at this in the Moralia, but in the Dialogues graphic examples are given. Severus, an Italian saint, one time brought a man back to life again. On being asked where he had been and how he had come back the man said, "The guides
who led me away were dreadful creatures. From their mouths and nostrils they breathed a most unbearable fire. While they were leading me through a dark region, suddenly, like a beautiful vision, a young man with wings came to meet us and said to my guides, 'Lead him back again, because the priest Severus is weeping and through his tears has obtained pardon from God for the soul of this man.'" Severus helped the man do penance for his sins, and he died happily eight days later.  

The moral values of a similar story, the death of the young monk Theodore, Gregory exploited at least three times. Theodore evidently had not led an edifying life. On his deathbed a dragon came to devour him, crushing him and strangling him. Through the monks' prayers the dragon fled, and Theodore did not die. Thereafter he served God with much devotion, though he was in continual ill health. 22 Another monk was not so fortunate, however. This monk from Iconium was known for sanctity of character, though he had indulged himself in secret. When he became seriously ill the entire community gathered about him, expecting to see a glorious death. In his death struggles the monk was forced to reveal he was to be delivered to Satan. Because of his deceptive life, the monk told his fellows, "I have been handed over to the dragon to be devoured. His tail is now coiled around my feet and knees and, with his head to my
mouth, he is stealing the breath of life from me." Death immediately followed. Gregory concluded the episode by pointing out that the monk saw the dragon for the edification of those around him. 23

The anecdotal nature of Gregory's Dialogues insured its permanence. The frequent use medieval preachers made of Gregory's stories helped to insure the continuance of his views. Gregory was a great synthesizer and was not averse to using popular beliefs if they could be made to serve Christian ends. This is seen in his missionary policy as well as in the Dialogues. In a letter to helpers sent to aid Augustine, the missionary to Britain, Gregory advised them not to destroy the idol-temples, but remove the idols and re-consecrate the temples, placing relics therein. If the shrines are well built, it is essential that they should be changed from the worship of devils to the sacrifice of the true God. When the people are in the habit of sacrificing cattle to demons, some observance should be given to them in exchange for this. Let them slaughter animals for themselves to the praise of God, thanking Him for His provision. The people cannot remove everything pagan from their minds at once, and some accommodation must be made to their pagan beliefs. 24 It seems that the stories in the Dialogues and the popular tales about demons are just as much an accommodation on the part of Gregory as the re-dedication
of pagan temples.

As was noted earlier, however, Gregory's attitude towards miracles was somewhat paradoxical. Though he wrote an entire work on nothing but wonder-workers, he at times cautions against the extravagant use of miracles. When he heard the missionary Augustine was performing miracles, Gregory wrote him:

I know, most beloved brother, that Almighty God, out of love for you has worked great miracles through you for the race which it was his will to have among the chosen. It is therefore necessary that you should rejoice with trembling over this heavenly gift and fear as you rejoice. You will rejoice because the souls of the English are drawn by outward miracles to inward grace: but you will fear lest among these signs which are performed, the weak mind may be raised up by self-esteem and so the very cause by which it is raised to outward honour may lead through vainglory to its inward fall. 25

Gregory warned Augustine that the inner self is more important than outward miracles. Any miracles Augustine performed were only to aid in the conversion of others. Though the miracles and supernatural world of the Dialogues were an appeal to the masses, some did recognize the virtuous intent behind them. Bede recorded that Gregory's Dialogues collected the virtues of the most famous saints as an example of life to posterity. As in his expository works, such as the Moralia, Gregory "taught what virtues men ought to strive after, so by describing the miracles of the saints, he showed how glorious
these virtues are.  To Gregory, then, struggle with
demons was a part of the virtuous life.

When most of us today think of demons, if we do
think of them, some medieval imp undoubtedly comes to mind.
The lineage of this medieval devil must go back to Gregory
the Great; but, as we have seen, it cannot stop there. Even
the rationalistic Greeks of classical times had populated
their universe with demons, both good and bad. By the
Hellenistic period these demons had inspired fear and
terrified the minds of men. Eastern religions, including
Judaism, had developed a rather refined demonology in many
ways similar to later medieval beliefs. This infiltrated
later Christianity, beginning with the desert fathers.
Early Christianity had attacked the demonized world of
Hellenism by presenting Christ as the cosmic Lord who had
overcome all demonic forces on the cross. The pagan
religions, which even the pagans admitted were demon-
inspired, were confidently opposed by the Christians as
systems of rebellion against the one true God. As Chris-
tianity spread among the Germanic tribes of the North, the
pagan practices were persistently attacked as demonic; yet
at the same time, more and more of a kind of popular, and
in many ways pagan, demonology was accepted by the Church.
The Christocentric nature of early Christian demonology
often became submerged beneath a superstitious folklore.
In tracing through an idea as has here been done, there is a danger of developing a rather unbalanced view of the period under study. Many things transpired during the first centuries of the present era—the Empire was divided and finally disintegrated, doctrinal controversies split the Church, and the barbarian invasions brought new blood into the Mediterranean. Yet, amidst all the turmoils of the declining Empire and the Dark Ages, demons did have an important place in the thoughts of the people. There really were no great debates, doctrinal splits or even Church councils devoted to the subject. That would occur later, but was really not necessary yet. Demons were part of the cosmic order (or disorder) and impinged on the world of everyone. Everyone believed in demons, because that was the way the world then was.
FOOTNOTES
FOOTNOTES

Two great collections have been standardly abbreviated.
P.L.: Jacques-Paul Migne, Pathologiae Cursus Completus:
series latina, Paris, 221 volumes, 1841-1864.

M.G.H.: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legg. being the
Leges.

PREFACE:

1Os Guinness in The Dust of Death (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1973) masterfully analyzes the shift from an optimistic to a pessimistic humanism and its manifestation in both the Establishment and the Counter Culture. His chapter "Encircling Eyes" examines some of the causes and characteristics of the resurgence of the occult in our present day.


CHAPTER I: EARLY CHRISTIAN DEMONOLOGY:


3 Ibid., 202E-203B.

4 Richard Heinze. Xenocrates (Hildesheim: George Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), 96.


6 In some of Plato's dialogues, particularly the Apology, Socrates makes reference to a daimonion semeion or divine sign which gave guidance to him throughout his life. Later commentators took this to refer to a tutelary deity or demon.


8 Ibid., 362.

9 Ibid., 365. This is a reference to the myth of Er at the end of the Republic, 617E-620E. In the middle ages the text of the Republic seems to have been mainly known through secondary sources, such as Apuleius.

11 Ibid., VIII, 16.

12 Ibid., IX, 6.

13 Ibid., VIII, 17.

14 Ibid., IX, 9.

15 Ibid., IX. 16.

16 There is a real ambiguity in Porphyry's attitude towards magic and demons (magic is recognized by pagan and Christian alike to be performed with the aid of demons). On the one hand, Porphyry says the spiritual soul can be prepared for fellowship with angels by magic, though such preparation is not needed by the intellectual soul. Elsewhere Porphyry repudiates any association with demon. Augustine exploits these ambiguities in the tenth book of The City of God.


19 Wolfson, Philo, 372-382.

20 Alfred Edersheim. The Life and Times of Jesus the


23 I Cor. ii.8.

24 Col. ii.14-15; I Cor. xv. 12019, 54-57. The whole epistle to the Colossians explains the connection between the ordinances against man and the world-rulership of demons.


28 Arthur O. Lovejoy in The Great Chain of Being (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936) calls this concept the principle of plenitude. All conceptual possibilities must be actualized, and an infinite gradation of beings populates the physical universe. C. S. Lewis in The Discarded Image shows how this concept was related to the medieval model of the universe.


Col. ii.8, 20.

I Cor. ii.6, 8; II Cor. iv.4.


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

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

Eph. vi.11-20.


40 Tral. 4.1; Rev. Francis X. Gokey. The Terminology of the Devil and Evil Spirits in the Apostolic Fathers (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1961), 72-73. Rev. ii.10 gave added weight to the fact that martyrdom was a battle with the devil.

41 Rom. 5.3; Gokey. Terminology of the Devil and Evil Spirits in the Apostolic Fathers, 73.

42 Martyrdom of Polycarp 3.1; Gokey. Terminology of the Devil and Evil Spirits, 91.

43 Eusebius. History of the Church. V.1.

44 Ibid., VI.41.

45 "Et exsperrecta sum. Et intellexi me non ad bestias, sed contra diabolum esse pugnaturam; sed sciebam mihi esse victorian." Franz Joseph Dolger, "Das Martyrium als Kampf mit dem Teufel," Antike und Christentum (Munster in Westfalen: Arschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlun, 1932) III, 177-179; M. A. Smith. From Christ to Constantine (Intervarsity Press), 105-106.


48 Prudentius (Trans. Sister M. Clement Eagan). "The

CHAPTER II: CHRISTIANITY OF THE SECOND RANK

1Porphyrius. Vita Plotinus 16 - ; Lucian, "Peregrinus."


7This notion of internalized demons is found in the Shepherd of Hermas, a first century Christian allegory. In the allegory, Hermas projects the good and evil angels into the heart of man, speaking of the devil and evil spirits as a psychological evil. This was an unusual approach not met with again until the monastic writings.


11 Ibid., II. 31. Maximus received his schooling while Gregory I was pope. It was Gregory who described the stages of sin which were adopted in the middle ages--suggestio, delectatio, consensus, defensionis audacia.

12 Ibid., II.67.


The Decree of Gelasius in 496 (Migne, P.L. 59, 110-116).


Ibid., 129-130.


Ibid., c.9.

Ibid., c.13.

Ibid., c.14.

Ibid., c.22.

Ibid., c.42.

Ibid., c.88. The anointing mentioned is a reference to the anointing which is customary in the athletic games and indicates how the temptations of demons were seen in the context of a struggle or contest.

Derwas Chitty. The Desert City (Oxford: Basil Blackwell and Mott, Ltd., 1966), 4-5. Many ascetics, however, succumbed to the Neo-Platonic teaching of the evilness of the flesh and the necessity for freeing the soul from its baneful hold.
Augustine. Confessions, VIII.6. It is interesting to note that at this point in his career Augustine is not convinced that miracles occur in his own day.


Quoted in Jack Lindsay's Song of a Falling World, 274. Fortunatus took this incident from Sulpicius' Life of St. Martin, c.29.


Ibid., c.30.

Ibid., cc. 31-33.

Lecky, History of European Morals, 116. On pp. 361-366, Lecky discusses the intellectual climate behind miracles. His view that scientific knowledge prevents a belief in miracles does not fully hold up, however. Arthur Koestler in his Roots of Coincidences shows how many physicists are becoming interested in paranormal phenomena. The iron laws of the Newtonians has given way to the relativity of Einstein. In this change in the basic framework of science there seems to be more "room" for supernatural intervention. Lecky's rationalistic position is actually derived from Hume, who in his Enquiry concerning Human Understanding argued against miracles a priori. Hume's presuppositions have been attacked by many. In the nineteenth century Richard Whately showed how Hume's arguments against miracles could just as easily be used to raise doubts about the existence and conquests of Napoleon (Historic Doubts Relative to Napoleon Bounaparte, London: J. W. Parker, 1855). John Warwick Montgomery gives an excellent modern critique of Hume's position in The Shape of the Past (Ann

36 G. G. Coulton, Christ, St. Francis and To-day (Cambridge University Press, 1919), 176.

37 Ibid., quoted from Mansi, Concilia vol. 24, 114a.

38 Sulpicius Severus. Dialogue II.4; Dialogue I.18; Life of Martin c.25.


One of the most eloquent and systematized attacks on Catholic miracles from a Protestant standpoint is Conyers Middleton's Free Enquiry (London, 1752). Middleton was librarian at Cambridge, and his work is continually cited into the twentieth century.

41 Ambrose. Letters 22.9; Augustine. City of God xxii.8; Chrysostom. Sermons on I Cor. vi.2-3; Sermon 24 on John; Isidore of Seville. Sentences, I.27, Gregory the Great. Homilia in Evangelium 2.29.

This paradoxical attitude of the fathers toward miracles is treated by Benjamin B. Warfield. Counterfeit Miracles (London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1972 - repub. of 1918 ed.).

42 Warfield. Counterfeit Miracles briefly summarizes the work of Th. Trede on pp. 247 & 254. (Trede's work was Wunderglaube im Heidentum und in der alten Kirche). See also Lucian's "The Way to Write History."

43 Warfield. Counterfeit Miracles, 74.
44Ibid., 77082; Gunter, "Legends of the Saints," 130; Augustine. De Cura pro mortuis geranda c.12.15; Gregory the Great. Dialogues IV.36; Lucian. Philopseudes 25; Plutarch. On the Soul.


CHAPTER III: DEMONOLOGY OF ST. AUGUSTINE

1The City of God (trans. Marcus Dods), (New York: Modern Library, 1950), I.31; II.11,24; III.11; V.23; VI, preface; VII.22,33; VIII.1, 22,23; Letters of St. Augustine (trans. J. G. Cunningham), (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872, 1875), cii; Enarrationes in Psalmos (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina), xciv.6; cxiii.s.II.3; Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Heathen, I.21; Justin Martyr, First Apology c. 5, 9, 41; Origen, Contra Celsum, III.2, 37; Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Autolycum, I. 10.

2The City of God, I-IV.

3Ibid., V.1-11.

4Ibid., V.23.


6The City of God, IX.20; Cratylus 398B; I Corinthians viii.1.
7 The City of God, VIII.22.

"spiritus nocendi supidissimos, a justitia penitus alienos, superbia tumidos, invidentia lividos, fallacia callidos: qui in hoc quidem aere habitant, quia de coeli superioris sublimitate dejecti, merito irregressibilis transgressionis in hoc sibi congruo velut carcere praedamnati sunt" (Migne, P.L. 41, p. 246).

8 Confessions (trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin), (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1961), XII.13; I Corinthians xiii.12; Matthew xviii.10. A similar concept of angelic cognition is found in Canto XXIX of Dante's Paradiso.

9 Psalms cxlviii.1-5; Job xxxviii.7.

10 The City of God XI. 9, 32; De Genesi ad Litteram Libri Duodecim (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vol. XXVIII, Pars 1), II.13; Genesis i.1-5.


12 Admonition and Grace c. 10; Faith, Hope, and Charity (trans. Bernard M. Peebles), (New York: Cima Publishing Co., Inc., Fathers of the Church, 1947), c. 8; The City of God V.9; XII.1-3, 6; XVIII.18; XXI.1.

13 Athenagoras, A Plea for the Christians c. 24; Clement of Alexandria, Stromata V.1; Justin Martyr, Second Apology c. 5; Lactantius, The Divine Institutes II.14; Recognitions of Clement IV.26; Tertullian, Apology XXII.3.
15 Burkett, Religion of the Manichees, 101-102.

16 The City of God, XII.1.

"alii sua potestate potius delectati, velut bonum suum sibi ipsi essent, a superiore communi omnium beatifico bono ad propria defluxerunt; et habentes elationis fastum pro excelsissima aeternitate, vanitatis astutiam pro certissima veritate, studia partium pro individua charitate, superbi, fallaces, invidi effecti sunt." (Migne, P.L. 41, 349).

17 Ibid., XII.6.

18 Ibid., XI.9, 19-20; Confessions XIII.8, 14; Faith, Hope, and Charity, c.4.


21 On the Trinity, IV.14.

22 The Divination of Demons c.3; On the Trinity III.5; The City of God VIII.15, 23; IX.18; XV.23.
23. The City of God XVIII.9; The Divination of Demons
   c.5; De Genesi ad Litteram XI. 28-29.


"non solum malos, sed nec bonos Angelos fas est
putari creatores, si pro subtilitate sui sensus et corpis,
semina rerum istorum nobis occultiora noverunt, et ea per
congruas temperationes elementorum latentur spargunt,
atque ita gignendarum rerum et accelerandorum incrementorum
praebent occasiones" (Migne, P.L. 42, 876).

25. The Divination of Demons, passim; De Genesi ad
   Litteram XIII.17; The City of God XI.11.

26. Retractions II 30

"rem dixi occultissimam audiciore asseveratione
quam debui: nam pervenire ista ad notitiam daemonum, per
nonnulla etiam experimenta compertum est. Sed utrum signa
quaedam dentur ex corpore cogitantium illis sensibilia,
nos autem latentia, an alia vi et ea spirituali ista
cognoscant, aut difficillime potest ab hominibus, aut
omino non potest inveniri" (Migne, P. L. 32, 643).

The Divination of Demons c. 5; Letters ix.

27. The City of God IX.20; Faith, Hope, and Charity,
c.2.

28. The City of God IX.22; Against the Academics
   Robertson, Jr.), (Indianapolis & New York: The Liberal

29. Letters cii.20

"Restat spiritualis, quae vel pia vel impia est:
pia scilicet, in hominibus et Angelos justis, et Deo rite servientibus; impia vero in hominibus et angelis iniquis, quos etiam daemones dicimus" (Migne, P. L. 35, 378).

30 On Christian Doctrine III.37; De Genesi ad Litteram XI.24-25; Isaiah xiv; Ezek. xxviii; Matthew xiii.26; John vi. 70.

31 On the Trinity XIII.16; The Christian Combat c.3; Enarrationes in Psalms xciv.6; De Antichristo (Migne, P. L. 40); The City of God XVI.17; XVII.16; XVIII.9, 12, 18; XIX.9; XX.11, 13, 14; Ephesians ii.2; v. 8.

32 The Christian Combat, c.2.

33 The City of God XIV.3-4, 13.

34 Confessions III.3, 6; Letters lxxviii.

35 Letters cii

"Sicut enim veritas hortatur homines fieri socios sanctorum Angelorum; ita seduct us impietas ad societatem daemoniorum, cui praeparatur ignis aeternus, sicut regnum aeternum societati sanctorum" (Migne, P. L. 33, 378).

36 On the Trinity IV.18.

37 Faith, Hope, and Charity c.8; Matthew viii.29; The City of God VI.12; VIII.23; XIV.3; XIX.9; XX.1, 14; XXI.13, 17.

38 The City of God XXI.10; Matthew xxv.41.
39 The City of God XXI.6; VII.18; Enarrationes in Psalms cxiii.s.II.3; Mary Daniel Madden, The Pagan Divinities and their Worship as Depicted in the works of Saint Augustine, Exclusive of The City of God (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1930), 92.

40 The City of God VIII.24; VII.22; IV.31; Cicero, De Natura Deorum I.2.

41 The City of God VII.33

"aperiri, deos Gentium esse immundissimos daemones, sub defunctarum occasionibus animarum vel creaturarum specie mundanarum deos se putari cupientes, et quasi divinis honoribus eisdemque, scelestes ac turpibus rebus superba impuritate laetantes, atque ad verum Deum conversionem humanis animis invidentes" (Migne, P. L. 41, 221)

II.10; VI.8; VII.18, 27; XVIII.12, 14, 16.

42 Ibid., VII.34, 35.

43 Letters cii; Ennarationes in Psalms xciv.6.

44 The City of God I.31-33; II.4, 8, 10, 13, 22, 24-26; III.18; VI.6, 9; VII.24, 26-27; VIII.14; IX.3, 6; XIX.9.

45 Ibid., VI.9-10; I.32; II.4, 10; VII.18; XVIII.18; The Christian Combat c.1;

46 Letters ix; The Divination of Demons c.5; De Genesi ad Litteram XI.28.

47 The City of God XIX.9
"magna Dei misericordia necessaria est, ne quisquam, cum bonos Angelos amicos se habere putat, habeat malos daemones amicos fictos, esque tanto nocentiores, quanto astutiores ac fallaciores patiatur inimicos. Et cui magna ista Dei misericordia necessaria est, nisi magnae humanae miseriae qua ignorantia tanta premitur, ut facile istorum simulatione fallatur?" (Migne, P. L. 41, 636)

II Corinthians xi.14.

48 The City of God IV.32; VI.4, 6; IX.6; X.11, 19; XIX.10; Letters lxxviii; On Christian Doctrine II.24; Christian Instruction, passim.

49 Confessions IV.2; Justin Martyr, First Apology, 14; Lactantius, Divine Institutes II.16; Origen, Contra Celsum I.60; Tertullian, Apology xxxv.12. For an example of Augustine's familiarity with a diviner in Carthage, see Against the Academics I.6.

50 The City of God VIII.19; X.8-9; XXI.6.


52 On Christian Doctrine II.20; Isaiah xxviii.15.

53 On Christian Doctrine II.22, 23; De Diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum II, III (Migne, P. L. 40); De octo Dulcitii Quaestionibus VI (Migne, P. L. 40); Thorndike, History of Magic, 510; Deuteronomy xiii.1-3.

54 The City of God, XV.23.

55 Ibid., XVIII.18.

56 Ibid., IV.26, 31; VII.33; VIII.22, 24; IX.20; XVI.17;
XVIII.18, 51; On the Trinity IV.13, 15, 17; XIII.16, 17-19;
Confessions VIII.4-5; Faith, Hope, and Charity c. 14;
Sermo ccxxi; Ephesians ii.2; Colossians i.12-13; ii.15;
Romans viii.30; Ephesians iv.8; John xii.31.

57 The City of God II.29; X.22; XIX.10; On Christian
Doctrines II.35-36; The Christian Combat c. 1-2,5,6; Sermo
ccxxii; cxcviii; Madden, Pagan Divinities, 119-120.

58 On the Trinity IV.18; Enarrationes in Psalms LXXII.28;
De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum II.VI; 1 Kings
xxii.22; Job i.16, 21.

59 Faith, Hope, and Charity c.26; The City of God II.23;
V.9, 23, 25, 26; VII.35; X.21; XI.17, 18, 22; XIV.27;
XVIII.18, 51; XX.1; XXI.1, 13; On the Trinity III.9, 12,
14; XIII.16; Admonition and Grace c. 10; The Christian
Combat c. 8.
CHAPTER IV: DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NORTH

Several extensive studies have been done on the early Germanic codes and their relationship to witchcraft and magic. Two works by Joseph Hansen are pioneers in this field—Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter (Munich, 1900. Reprinted Munich, 1964); Zaubervahn, Inquisicion, und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter und die Entstehung der grossen Hexenverfolgung (Munich, 1900; Reprinted Munich, 1964). Also important are Henry Charles Lea's The History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, 3 vols. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1911) and Materials toward a History of Witchcraft, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1939). Jeffry Burton Russell in his Witchcraft in the Middle Ages (Cornell University Press, 1972) uses Hansen and Lea throughout his description of the development of witchcraft up to the Renaissance outbreaks of witchcraft trials. Because the history of magic and witchcraft is already so well documented, these subjects will be dealt with only as they impinge on the demonology of the time. The only work known to the author which even briefly deals with the demonology of the laws is Dr. Elisabeth Blum's Das staatliche und kirchliche Recht des Frankenreichs in seiner Stellung zum Dämonen-, Zauberv- und Hexenwesen (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1936).

These three early codes can be found in the Latin and with a German translation in Karl August Eckhardt's Die Gesetze des Karolingerreichs (Weimar: Herm. Bohlau Nachf., 1934). Lex Salica 19; 21; 64.2; 67.3; Lex Ribaria 83; Lex Baiuvariorum T3.8; 8.18.


Blum. Das staatliche und kirchliche Recht, 26-30.

Constitutions, title 8; Codex Justianus, Book 9, title 18. The severe punishment for magic, astrology, and the like was not simply a Christian addition—it is a part of ancient Roman law. See Theodore Mommsen. Romisches Strafrecht, 639-643, 861-865.

6 S. P. Scott (trans.). The Visigothic Code (Boston: The Boston Book Company, 1910), Book VI, title 2, article 3; "Malefici vel immissores tempestatum, qui quibusdam incantationibus grandines in vineis messibusque immittere peribentur, vel hii, qui per invocationem demonum mentes hominum turbant, seu qui nocturna sacrificia demonibus celebrent eosque per invocationes nefarias nequiter invocant...."


9 Ibid., 410-411.

10 Ibid., IV, 220.

11 Ibid., 221-228.

12 Ibid., 381-383. The Manichaean heresy was heavily influenced by gnosticism. Its founder, Mani (242-272) attempted to found a religion which would be an amalgam of Christianity, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. The sect continued to have influence during the Middle Ages and at one time counted Augustine among its adherents. Priscillianism, named after a follower of Montanus, was actually a sect in Spain. Manichaeism and Priscillianism were very similar in doctrine.
13. M. G. H. Legg, III.i, 133. Canon 13 of the Synod of Tours reads in part, "Sunt etiam qui in festivitate cathedrae domini Petri intrita mortuis offerunt et post missas redeunte ad domus proprias ad gentilium revertuntur errores et post corpus Domini sacratas daemoni escas accipint. Contestamur illam sollicitudinem tam pastores quam presbiteros gerere, ut, quosecumque in hoc fatuitate persistere viderint vel ad nescio quas petras aut arbores aut ad fontes, designata loca gentilium observationes custodiunt. Quid enim daimonibus cum Christo commune, cum magis sumenda judicium delicta videantur, addere, non pugare." It is noteworthy that here the worship of demons is really a kind of nature religion. This will be noticed more closely later. Margaret Murray in The Witch-Cult in Western Europe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) put forth the case that the later witches (sabbaths and practices were vestiges of the Germanic nature religions.

14. M. G. H. Legg, II.i, 2: "Credimus hoc, Deo propitio, et ad nostram mercedem et ad salutem populi pertenere, si populus critanus, relictam idolorum culturam, Deo, cui integram promisimus fidem, in quantum inspirare dignatus fierit, purae deservire debeamus. Et quia necesse est, ut plebs, quae sacerdotes praecipitum non ita ut opportet custodit, nostro etiam corrigitur imperio, hanc cartam generaliter per omni loca decievimus emittendum, praeipientes ut quicumque adonis de agro suo, ubicunque fuerint similacra constructa vel idola statim abierint vel sacerdotes hac distruentibus prohibuerint, datis fideissoribus non aliter discendant, nisi in nostris obtutebus praeententur..."


16. M. G. H. Legg, III.ii, 3-4; Blum. Das staatliche und kirchliche Recht, 35.

17. M. G. H. Legg, II.i, 45. The date is 769.
18 M. G. H. Legg, III.ii, 100-101.

19 This is made in the Capitulatio de Partibus Saxoniae found in Claudia Freiherr von Schwerin's Leges Saxonom und Lex Thuringorum (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1918), 39. Cap. IX reads @Si quis hominem diabolo sacrificaverit et in hostiam more paganorum demonibus obtulerit, morte moriatur." Another relevant capitulary dealing with pagan practices found in the same code is cap. XXI: @Si quis ad fontes aut arbores vel luvos votum fecerit aut aliquit more gentilium obtulerit et ad honorem demonum commederet, si nobilis fuerit solidos LX, si ingenuus XXX, si litus XV; si vero non habuerint unde praesentaliter persolvant, ad ecclesiae servitum donentur usque dum ipsi solidi solvuntur."


21 Ibid., 276-277, from the Burgundian Penitential.


24 Nellius O. Halverson. Doctrinal Terms in Aelfric's Homilies (Iowa City, Iowa, 1932), 18-19. From sources later than those dealt with in this work, J. Grimm showed how the demons assimilated most of the pre-Christian character of the giants - see chapter on "Giants" in Teutonic Mythology.


29. Harald Busch and Bernd Lohse (ed.). Pre-Romanesque Art (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), xx, 72-73. A clear example of this motif is seen on the purse from Sutton Hoo.


32 Karl Plenzat. "Die Theophiluslegende in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters," Germanische Studies, XLIII (1926); Russell. Witchcraft in the Middle Ages, 18-19; Palladius. The Lausiac History, c. 71.


34 This brief summary of Caesarius' teachings on demons is taken from his Sermons. Though the subject figures throughout the sermons, the most noteworthy are numbers VI, XI, XII-XIV, XXXII, L, LII, LIV, LIX, and LXXIX.


Do you repudiate the devil?
response: I repudiate the devil
And all the devil's gold (riches)?
response: And I repudiate all the devil's gold.

And all the devil's works?
response: And I repudiate all the devil's works and the words of Donar, and Wodan, and Saxnot and all those monstrous-demons that are their companions.

Burchard of Worms used the word holida for the wild, demonic horde of the skies.

36 Ephraim Emerton (trans.). The Letters of Saint Boniface (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), XIII.


38 Emerton. Letters of Boniface, LVII.
Ibid., II. From XCII it is evident that, in Boniface's view, there were two troops of demons - "the first striving to deceive men in this our common life and the second pursuing souls through the air, as they emerged from the prison of the body, and dragging them away to torment."

This assault on the fortress of the soul is summarized from Juliana by C. Abbetmeyer. *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin* (Minneapolis: H. W. Wilson Co., 1903), 38.


A later German tradition found in the twelfth century said Adam had commanded his children to avoid certain herbs, that they might not thereby degenerate. The evil descendants of Cain disregarded this and lost their nature. The children they bore were various - some had heads like dogs; some had mouths on their breasts, eyes on their stomachs. Some had one large foot; others had black, gleaming eyes and long teeth. Giants of the flood were also linked with Cain's devilish offspring. While such traditions probably arose in the first meetings of Germanic and Christian culture, they are not documented until the high middle ages. O. F. Emerson. "Legends of Cain, Especially in Old and Middle English," *PMLA*, XXI (1906), 831-929.


46 Ibid., 11. 119-153 of Christ and Satan.

CHAPTER V: GREGORY THE GREAT:


2 Dudden. Gregory the Great, II, 358-364.


4 Ibid., XXXIII.7; II.22; IV.3-7, 28; XXXI.49; XVII.19; XVII.30; XXIX.13.

5 Ibid., XXXII.27; IV.9; XVIII.42; Dudden. Gregory the Great, II, 366-367; C. Abbetmeyer has a good description of these three periods of Satan's deominion in Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin, 29-30

6 Morals on Job, II.38; I.36; II.46; III.81 VII.28; XIV.13, 38; XXXIII.24.
7 Ibid., preface.

8 Ibid., IV.27; XV.27.

9 Ibid., VII.29; II.10, 20; IV.19; XIV.38; XVI.28; XVIII.2; IX.46.

10 Ibid., I.35; II.18; XXX.18; XXXII.24.


12 M. G. H. Epistolarum I, 322: "Ecce cuncta in Europae partibus barbarorum iuri sunt tradita, destructae urbes, eversa castra depopulatae provinciae; nullus terram cultor inhabitat; saeviunt et dominantur cotidies in nece fidelium cultores idolorum: et tamen sacerdotes, qui in pavimento et cinere flentes iacere debuerent, vanitatis sibi nomina expetunt et novis ac profanis vocabulis gloriantur."

13 Ibid., II, 7.

14 Dialogues, I. preface.

15 Ibid., I.4.

16 Ibid., I.10.

17 Ibid., II.4, 8; Morals on Job XXXIII.15, 38-39.

18 Dialogues, III.4.


22 *Ibid.*, IV.38; *Homilia in Evangelia*, I.19, 7; II.38, 16.


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