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Devils, Witches, Pagans and Vampires: Studies in the Magical World View (Dr. Caligari's Carnival of Shadows Halloween Festival Fort Hays State University)

Robert Luehrs
Fort Hays State University, rbluehrs@fhsu.edu

Gerry R. Cox
Fort Hays State University

Ronald J. Fundis
Fort Hays State University

Jeffrey Burton Russell
Fort Hays State University

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Devils, Witches, Pagans and Vampires: Studies in the Magical World View

(Dr. Caligari's Carnival of Shadows
Halloween Festival
Fort Hays State University)

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INTRODUCTION

Every culture, until relatively modern times, has manifested a belief in sorcery, which might involve the use of divination, amulets and charms, the invocation of spirits, traffic with divine or demonic powers, and ritual acts for salutary or harmful purposes; such a belief is still widespread in some areas of the world. Sorcery is not a superstition peculiar to primitive or *backward* societies. It is a coherent, intuitive, nonscientific outlook resting on what might be termed the *magical world view*: the assumption that there exits a vast, noncorporeal realm full of entities which can directly influence man's psyche and body and which in turn, might be controlled by man's will. The works in this edition of *Fort Hays Studies* all deal with various facets of the magical world view.

Those who accept the tenets of the magical world view commonly make no clear distinction among magic, religion, philosophy, and science; all aim at understanding and possibly manipulating the hidden workings of the cosmos. A splendid example in the western tradition of the blending of wizard, religious leader, sage, and scientist is the Greek mathematician Pythagoras, who around 530 B.C. withdrew with his followers to southern Italy, there to organize a secret society devoted to meditating on the cosmic unity of all things. By contemplation of this harmony, which was expressed in numerical relationships, and by the practice of curious taboos, the Pythagoreans sought salvation, escape from the endless cycle of reincarnation binding on the rest of humanity. A later Pythagorean savant, Apollonius of Tyana, was also a combination of sorcerer, divine agent, and teacher, a description that historian Morton Smith finds applicable to Jesus as well.

The medieval Church did try to distinguish between religion and magic (that is, between petitioning and compelling supramundane intervention in human affairs), but the results of its efforts were not notable. Popular opinion continued to assert the efficacy of sorcery and interpreted Christianity accordingly. Thus it was generally believed that prayers would guarantee the success of any venture; that saints worked miracles for their devotees and, like pagan deities, visited disaster on whomever was remiss in offering devotions; that talismans bearing Biblical verses or the sign of the cross infallibly warded off evil spirits; and that a consecrated host could fulfill virtually any desire. Although usually avoiding such excesses, medieval intellectuals also shared the magical world view. Thomas Aquinas catalogued angels, noted the harm done by incubi, wrote of women who could curse with the evil eye, and warned magicians who invoked demons that such activity was tantamount to covenanting with Satan.

The magical world view was quite evident even among those we would like to credit with founding modern positivism. Most Renaissance scientists were fascinated by the natural magic NeoPlatonism, seeing it as the path to ultimate knowledge and God. Johannes Kepler was a serious astrologer, who hoped that his investigations of planetary motion would improve his accuracy as a prognosticator. Isaac Newton studied the mystical works of the Rosicrucians and devoted considerable energy to alchemical experiments, an interest he shared with Robert Boyle. The creators of modern science lived in the same era that saw some 100,000 individuals executed as witches. When the witch craze at last sputtered out in the eighteenth century, John Wesley lamented: "The giving up of witches is, in effect, the giving up of the Bible." The eighteenth century was the Age of Reason in which, for the first time, a significant proportion of western intellectuals at last

rejected the magical world view, but it was also the age of the mystic seer Emmanuel Swedenborg, the magical healers Anton Mesmer and Cagliostro, and the Count de Saint-Germain, who claimed to be 2,00 years old and was widely credited with a variety of occult powers.

In America today, where prodigies are usually attributed to human rather than spiritual agents, there is still a sizable audience for astrology columns in newspapers, fantasy literature, films dealing with supernatural themes, and warnings about the palpable works of Satan on this planet. An estimated 3,000 Americans, most of them middle class, well-educated, and creative, call themselves witches; they worship pagan deities and practice magic, claiming that their life-style provides them joy, freedom, and a sense of unity with the cosmos. Not satisfied with simply accepting the traditional manifestations of the magical world view, we have added our own demonic creations to it, creatures which embody the peculiar anxieties and frustrations of the modern world. Notable among these new spirits are Frankenstein's monster, conceived less as Mary Shelley's articulate Romantic than as a gibbering, mutant offspring of blasphemous technology gone mad; Mr. Hyde, the chemically liberated beast within whose existence demonstrates that we are all werewolves and that reason has but a tenuous hold on us; and Count Dracula, the undying shadow of the past feeding off the present. The particular contemporaneity of the Dracula theme is perhaps evidenced by the fact that more works in this volume address vampirism than any other aspect of the spectral realm.

The magical world view is an integral part of humanity's thought processes, but few scholars have bothered to investigate this phenomenon. The topic is often dismissed as too bizarre, too trivial, or too peripheral to merit serious study, although, fortunately, there is a tradition of solid research, much of it devoted to the history of witchcraft, stretching back a century and a half. Among the creators of this tradition were the Cologne archivist Joseph Hansen, whose *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess* (1900) remains the classic introduction to medieval witchcraft; Andrew Dickson White, first president of Cornell and assembler of that university's great archive on witchcraft, probably the best in the world; and White's associate, historian George Lincoln Burr, who published little but had tremendous impact on scholars working with the history of witchcraft. Seminal contribvutions to the analysis of the magical world view have also been made by Lynn Thorndike, historian of science and author of the monumental, eight-volume *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (1923-1958); Henry Charles Lea, whose massive collection of notes for an unfinished history of witchcraft was published in three volumes in 1938; and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, whose 1937 study of sorcery among the Azande of the southern Sudan demonstrated the value of anthropological methodology for understanding the social role of magic. During the last twenty-five years more than two dozen scholars have published signal and often controversial discussions of the magical world view, again with an emphasis on the history of witchcraft.

This volume of *Fort Hays Studies*, then, does not appear in a vacuum; it is a contribution to a legitimate and growing corpus of works which explore a part of social history and literature too often ignored. The authors of the essays in this collection have all participated in an interdisciplinary event at Fort Hays State University which, for lack of a more precise appellation, has been called the university Halloween Festival. This annual affair was devised in 1978 by a small

group of faculty members who envisioned a Chautauqua-style conference dealing with the magical world view, something which might appeal to the general public as well as to university audiences and which might establish salutary contacts between the two groups. The result has been most successful. At the end of October each year academicians, students, and townspeople from Hays join in several days of talks, panel discussions, films, displays, art exhibitions, dramatic presentations, readings, concerts, and sundry popular culture activities, all relating to topics appropriate to the season. The multifaceted character of the Halloween Festival is nicely captured in its official name, "Dr. Caligari's Carnival of Shadows," chosen as an homage to the classic German film of 1920, *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, which so masterfully probed the fragile nature of what is usually considered reality. Dr. Caligari, a mad psychiatrist, a figure at once ridiculous and menacing, seems a fitting bogey for modern times. The eclecticism of the Carnival of Shadows is well reflected in this issue of *Fort Hays Studies*.

The opening essay, by sociologists Gerry Cox and Ronald Fundis, points out that far from being incoherent superstition, the magical world view is a genuine endeavor to make sense out of life and to answer existential questions reason is not always equipped to handle. It is an effort to order reality when more rational knowledge systems fail to do so and to probe secrets inaccessible to customary logic. It is not necessarily to be condemned.

Of course, as Cox and Fundis observe, not all paths to occult knowledge are socially tolerable, and historically in western civilization one of the least reputable has been that taken by witches, censured in the Old Testament for unauthorized divination and by such classical authors as Ovid, Horace, and Apuleius as lecherous, murderous hags. Christian witches were particular objects of horror, for they were apostates who had contracted with Satan for the power to work harm. It is the concept of the diabolic pact which gives western witchcraft its uniqueness, just as the Judeo-Christian Devil, who assumed recognizable form in the period of the Apocrypha (roughly 200 B.C. to 150 A.D.), is a unique conception. Most deities of the ancient Roman world were ambivalent, capable of both good and evil, but the Devil is purely malevolent, a rebel, master of demonic legions, enemy of man and God, and, although ultimately inferior to the latter, capable of doing much harm in the universe. Jeffrey B. Russell's fascinating study of the Devil concentrates not on the theological aspects of the topic but on the wealth of folklore which has grown up around the Prince of Darkness, much of it having antecedents in pagan mythology. Russell offers particularly valuable insights into the origins of the story of the diabolic pact. His discussion is especially noteworthy because he has published two books on the developing concept of the Devil in western thought; indeed, this essay is a result of his research for the third volume in the series. Russell is also one of the foremost experts on the history of witchcraft, interested in the sources of the ideas which eventually coalesced to create the image of the witch; his emphasis has been on the contributions of medieval heresy trials to the process.

An older approach to witchcraft, seen in the writings of Burr, Lea, and, more recently, Rossell Hope Robbins, is that of the liberal rationalist, who denies the existence of witchcraft and blames the witch craze on superstition, misunderstood Scripture, and the malice of the Inquisition. One of the forerunners of this point of view was a sixteenth century country gentleman from Kent, Reginald Scot, the subject of my paper. Scot presented the first significant argument in the English

tongue against the very possibility of witchcraft and, in doing, came perilously close to rejecting the spiritual realm altogether. By placing revealed religion in jeopardy, he unwittingly became the forerunner of the deists also; Scot demonstrated how difficult it was to excise the witch from Christianity.

Another traditioinal interpretation of witchcraft, dating back at least to the Romantic historian Jules Michelet in the mid-nineteenth century and elaborated upon by the Egyptologist Margaret Murray in the 1920's, holds that witchcraft did exist as an underground, pagan survival. Witches did not worship Satan, of course, but according to Murray, they venerated a horned, fertility god named Dianus. A more popular variant on this theme, articulated especially in Robert Graves' poetic vision *The White Goddess* (1948), sees the witches' religion dedicated to the Mother Goddess, the original deity of Antiquity. Aidan Kelly, himself a poet, skillfully examines this myth, exposing its fallacy and showing that this matriarchal religion is really a modern creation, devised as an aesthetic rival to Christianity. Kelly 's essay is a personal testament about his own spiritual pilgrimage for in 1967 he helped found a movement which worshipped the Mother Goddess, the New Reformed Order of the Golden Dawn. The orginal Order of the Golden Dawn was the brainchild of the flamboyant Aleister Crowley and several British literary figures who wanted to dabble in the occult at the end of the nineteenth century. Kelly's group actually owed more to Gerald Gardner, an English civil servant who invented modern witchcraft about the time of the Second World War, claiming he was the heir to ancient traditions. Kelly's comments, then, offer the unusual insights of someone who was, for a time, a leader in the neopagan witchcraft revival of the last several decades.

One of the major obstacles faced by Gardnerians or anyone else desirous of resurrecting the ancient paganism of the British Isles is that the British Celts were a preliterate people, and what is known about their religion, Druidism, is limited to some thirty contradictory observations made by Latin authors. It was Roman policy in the first century to exterminate the Druids, allegedly out of civilized disgust at a religion which gloried in human sacrifice. When the Druids were rediscovered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they wre romanticized as noble savages, nature's sages, and even the architects of Stonehenge. John Knight's careful evaluation of ancient sources reveals the Druids to have been something other than hyperborean Pythagoreans and the Romans to have been motivated by something less than humanitarianism when they worked to eradicate Druidism from Britannia. Knight provides a glimpse of the reality of paganism in antiquity, unadorned by Gardnerian interpretations; the reality is rather less beautiful and joyous than what is sought by the modern devotees of the Mother Goddess.

Unable simply to abolish Druidic festivals, the Romans tamed them by grafting them onto established Mediterranean celebrations. Thus, apparently, the harvest feast of the Roman goddess Pomona, patronness of fruit and nuts, was united with the Celtic celebration honoring the Lord of Death at the beginning of winter to produce the prototype of Halloween. This was the time when bonfires were lit on the hilltops to encourage the revitalization of the waning sun and when the souls of the dead were supposed to revisit their old homes. Here might be one source for the vampire story.

Fear of the revenant is ancient, but the peculiarity of the vampire is that he is an evil spirit possessing his own body, not merely a ghost. Furthermore, the vam-

pire survives by appropriating the blood, the life force, of those not yet dead. Fear of blood-drinking demons is also ancient. The winged and taloned Mesopotamian horror, Lilitu, flew at night from her lair in desolate places to attack sleeping men and drain them of blood. In the Old Testament she appears as Lilith. She was also related to the *strix*, the Roman nightwitch who assumed bird form and was ravenous for the entrails of children. The most famous story about Apollonius concerned his destruction of a *lamia*, a female proto-vampire, who intended to marry one of his disciples. The significance of blood for the magical world view can be readily seen in David Lyon's discussion of blood-symbolism in the Old Testament. As Lyon traces the manifold associations that blood had for the ancient Jews, concepts they shared with other Near Eastern peoples, we can begin to grasp the special dread in which blood-hungry demons were held. Such beings appropriate for themselves a life force normally presented only to God. They deprive a man of his very soul. Lyon provides an excellent introduction to the folklore of the vampire, the topic of the last three papers.

The true vampire, as distinct from sanguinary demons or specters, appears to be a creature of realtively recent vintage; as in the case of the witch, the elements of the vampire's personality long maintained separate existences before at last fusing. Tales of true vampires, complete with the sexual component, seem to have emerged first from eastern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centures. By the mid-eighteenth century the name, of Magyar origin, and the stories were familiar enough in western Europe that a French monk, Dom Augustin Calmet, could pen a treatise on the subject. However, vampires have always been of more interest to poets and writers of fiction than to historians; Goethe, Lord Byron, Théophile Gautier, Nicolai Gogol, Ivan Turgenev, Alexei Tolstoy, and Guy de Maupassant all conceived literary vampires. One of the best of the breed, at least in English, appears in Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla* (1871), a hallucinatory, finely-crafted tale with overtones of a necrophiliac lesbianism; *Carmilla* inspired the unique film masterpiece, Carl Dreyer's 1932 *Vampyr*.

The best-known English vampire story, of course, is *Dracula*, the product of Le Fanu's fellow Irishman, Bram Stoker, one-time civil servant, private secretary to the noted actor Henry Irving, and member of an offshoot of the Order of the Golden Dawn. Stoker's literary talents were not remarkable; his genius lay in his ability to craft a villain of monumental proprotions by deftly combining folklore and history. Stoker's Dracula was modeled after Vlad Tepes, a fifteenth century Wallachian prince who was, to be certain, no vampire—it was his habit to drive stakes into other people—but was legendary for his cruelty. It is this intricate connection between fact and fiction that John Klier treats. Klier is especially interested in the early Russian versions of the historical Dracula, stories that were commentaries on the growing power of Moscow and on the necessity of severe measures to ensure social order. As Stoker's Dracula puts it in a momemt of reverie: ". . . what good are peasants without a leader? . . . The warlike days are over. Blood is too precious a thing in these days of dishonourable peace; and the glories of the great races are as a tale that is told."

From the fifteenth century on, Dracula has mesmerized the tellers of tales, and the stories woven about his exploits were often intended to instruct as well as to entertain. David Ison finds Stoker pursuing this double objective also. Further, Ison attributes the popularity of *Dracula* not so much to the historicity of the main character as to the modernity of the plot. The basic struggle in Stoker's book is

between superstition and science, that triumph of Victorian Britain. Dracula's opponents personify positivism; their weapons are the best technology can supply. And yet, they emerge victorious only by battling Dracula on his own ground, that of the supernatural. In the end, the magical world view is not superseded.

Since the vampire remains primarily a denizen of literature rather than the scholarly treatise, it is appropriate, however unconventional, to conclude this volume with an original story on the vampire theme. The author is Lee Killough, science fiction writer and granddaughter of Homer B. Reed, whose work among disturbed and handicapped children while he was a professor of psychology at Fort Hays State in the 1930's and 1940's gained national recognition. Not unnaturally, then, Killough gives us a splendid psychological sketch of the vampire as personifying the will to power. The blood of the victim is not only nourishment in this case; it is a means to master. Killough's vampire knows that whoever has conquered death, at whatever price, enjoys the greatest dominion of all. This *nosferatu* blends perfectly with the urban environment of contemporary life and has no need of a tomb hidden in the ruins of some decaying castle in a distant land; she has adapted well to the rhythms of modernity. She is, nonetheless, a worthy and direct descendant of Stoker's Transylvanian count.

None of the authors represented in this collection is necessarily endorsing the magical world view or arguing its superiority over the cosmos described by science. All, however, do contend that no account of the human experience can be taken as valid unless it gives proper consideration to this very ancient and very persistent visionary outlook. The legacy of the magical world view has hardly been a purely negative one. Most of the great civilizations of the past were constructed on the magical world view. It provided human beings with a sense of importance and a control over inexplicable forces. Its demons permitted men to externalize and face their worst fears; its gods inspired sages to seek knowledge. Indeed, Isaac Bashevis Singer has proposed that the human spirit would be a poorer thing without belief in something beyong the ordered reality which surrounds us; mortals must have their demons. This publication, then, is an attempt to indicate something of the outlines of that other realm, where the magical world view sets the standards for what is true and real.

Robert B. Luehrs
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THE CONTRIBUTORS

Gerry R. Cox is Associate Professor of Sociology at Fort Hays State University, where he teaches courses in the sociology of religion and of death and dying.

Ronald J. Fundis is Associate Professor of Sociology at Fort Hays State University.

David L. Ison is Associate Professor of English at Fort Hays State University and has an interest in the Gothic novel.

Aidan A. Kelly teaches theology and is Executive Vice—President of Hawthorne University in California. He has published a number of poems and essays and is currently working on a study of Gerald Gardner, the originator of modern witchcraft.

Lee Killough has published stories in the leading science fiction magazines over the last thirteen years and has authored several novels, including *A Voice Out of Ramah*, *The Doppelganger Gambit*, and *Deadly Silents*.

John Klier is Professor of History at Fort Hays State University specializing in Russian history. He has published numerous articles concerning the Jews in eighteenth and nineteenth century Russia.

John H. Knight is Chairman of the Humanities Division at Illinois Valley Community College and has a special interest in Welsh culture and literature.

Robert B. Luehrs is Professor of History at Fort Hays State University. He has published articles on eighteenth and nineteenth century religion and twentieth century children's literaure.

David T. Lyon is pastor at Pilgrim Congregational Church in Wichita, Kansas. The Rev. Lyon was formerly pastor at the Ecumenical Campus Center in Hays, Kansas.

Jeffrey B. Russell is Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Professor Russell's publications include *A History of Medieval Christianity: Prophecy and Order*; *Religious Dissent in the Middle Ages*; *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*; *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*; *A History of Witchcraft: Sorcerers, Heretics and Pagans*; and *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition*.

THE LURE OF DR. CALIGARI: THE SEARCH FOR KNOWLEDGE

Gerry R. Cox and Ronald J. Fundis

The lure of the occult and pseudoscience may be closely related to man's search for knowledge. Aristotle in the opening statement of *Metaphysics* says that all men by nature desire to know. Knowledge is the accumulated wisdom of mankind. Research in near-death experiences indicates that one's review of life focuses upon love and knowledge that one gains and shares throughout one's life. (See Moody, 1975; Moody, 1977; Osis and Haraldsson, 1977; Cox and Razak, 1979)

Man is involved in a seemingly never-ending search for knowledge. What one views as knowledge clearly changes over time. Aristotle did not live in an era of modern science. What was science to Aristotle could very well be unacceptable to scientists today. What is acceptable to scientists today may not be acceptable to Christian Scientists, to philosophers, to the Amish, or to the Ibu tribesman. William James suggested that we live by what truth we can get today and yet must be ready to call it falsehood tomorrow. What is gathered by groups of people is human knowledge. One's groups help to process knowledge, to determine what is true, and to define what is real. The problem for the individual is how does he or she know which facts are ture and which facts are important? For many this means that the individual turns to groups for answers. One's family, religion, street gang, or whatever helps the individual to decide which facts are true and which facts are important. The individual copes by turning to groups for answers.

Each individual is faced with significant problems and predicaments. Some are faced with the problem of explaining his or her being in the universe and other such philosophical questions. Whether explaining existence or figuring how to pay the bills this month, the way that one copes today is not significantly different than the way in which one was able to cope in other times. Each individual is a part of a culture. As a member of a culture, the individual is taught a pattern for survival. This pattern includes a problem-solving mode. The framework for making decisions allows one to cope, to survive, and to process information as it is received. Groups create realities. One learns to cope with being and problems of human living by adhering to knowledge systems created by one's groups or collectivities. The culture itself has a structure. The institutions of the family, education, government, and so forth offer the individual a knowledge system which he or she can accept or reject. One may turn to the structures provided by religion, politics, philosophy, magic, parapsychology, or whatever. One may turn to sages or would-be-sages such as Confucious, Buddha, Marx, Mao, Charles Manson, Edgar Casey, Alstaire Crowley, or whomever. Gaining knowledge from the structures of societies or from *sages* may provide the individual with a framework to understand life and what one does and feels. Those who provide fixed answers may provide confusion, ignorance, or real insights into solving the problems of life and existence.

All men have the desire to know, but not all men deal with philosophical questions of meaning or existence. What is trivial or irrelevant to one group is often critical to another. Teachers recognize that some students have more interest in gaining knowledge than others. Some topics arouse more interest than others even in the same students. Recent generations searching for answers to the deeper questions of life, existence, and so forth have relied upon reason in their search for knowledge. When the reason of science or philosophy fails, then indeterminate

knowledge systems such as folkways, psychokinesis, the occult, and so forth come into play. The objectivism of the ancient Greeks and the medieval world passed over into science. Non-objective explanations of physical events were explained by supernatural causes. Lightning was Zeus hurling thunderbolts. The sun moving across the sky was Apollo driving a chariot. Science attempts to explain and predict physical events. The regularities of nature, such as the rising and setting of the sun, are known as natural laws.

Scientific knowledge of nature and its laws are derived from empirical observation and from rational system building. No empirical knowledge is ever certain. It is hypothetical and probable. Rational knowledge is based upon logic. Five plus three equals eight. Mathematics and logic form the basis of science. Science rejects findings that are not precise and definite. The indeterminate knowledge systems thrive on the unprecise and indefinite. While all humans search for knowledge, all do not end their search with reason and science. What forces lead some to follow traditional modes of problem-solving such as science and religion while others turn to telepathy, psychokinesis, clairvoyance, hoaxes, quacks, and spiritualists?

All individuals live with a certain amount of ignorance. Even the most knowledgeable may have difficulty understanding the problems of inflation, how to fix a home computer, or what happens when one dies. Many, if not most individuals, are able to cope with such gaps most the time. All cultures provide the individual with problem-solving modes through its institutions such as the family, religion, and education. Individuals operate at different levels at various periods in their lives. Societal indoctrination is not characterized by consistency. Families offer a different form of indoctrination. Churches differ from schools. Schools differ from street gangs. Those who join the occult come from the same institutions as those who do not join. Those who do not join occult or fringe groups tend to be more integrated into their social groups while those who do join tend to be marginal members of groups or to not belong to groups at all. Table A illustrates a typology of those who choose to become or not to become members of occult-type groups.

Those who have been socialized in the traditional fashion and are members of traditional groups may be satisfied with the knowledge system of their traditional groups or they may not be. Those who are satisfied and secure with what they have been taught are not likely to join occult groups. Those who are not satisfied but are integrated into their social groups may join other traditional groups with different knowledge systems. A person raised as an atheist may become a Methodist. A person who is marginally a member of traditional groups and has been socialized into traditional knowledge systems may be insecure with such knowledge systems. In searching for a system of knowledge to make them more secure, the person may join occult or other groups.

Those who are not members of traditional groups but have been products of traditional socialization and knowledge systems are likely to be either shoppers or seekers. The shoppers are integrated into their social groups and are more likely to join traditional groups and knowledge systems. The seekers abandon not only their traditional socialization but also their non-traditional groups and are likely to join occult or other fringe groups. Those who are products of non-traditional socialization and knowledge systems that are integrated into their social groups are likely to join socially acceptable but non-traditional groups such as UFO clubs, ESP societies, and so forth. Those who have not been socialized by traditional means and

TABLE A

Membership in Traditional Groups

	Integrated	Marginal
Traditional knowledge System and traditional socialization	Secure (Will not join occult groups)	Insecure (Searching, may join occult groups)
Non-traditional knowledge system and non-traditional socialization	Acceptable (Conforms, will not join occult groups)	Deviant (May join occult groups)

Non-Membership in Traditional Groups

	Integrated	Marginal
Traditional knowledge system and traditional socialization	Shoppers (Will probably join other traditional knowledge system)	Seekers (Likely to join occult or other fringe group)
Non-traditional knowledge system and non-traditional socialization	Innovative (Likely to join groups more socially acceptable, i.e. telepathy, UFO's, etc.	Debilitate (Likely to join more self-destructive occult or fringe groups)

are not members in traditional groups and are marginal in their social groups are likely to be self-destructive in their response to the search for knowledge. They are the most likely to join the self-destructive occult groups.

There are many varieties of non-traditional knowledge systems. These range from acceptable to deviant systems. The more acceptable systems are often labeled pseudoscience. Those who have or claim to have knowledge of flying saucers, sea monsters, extra-sensory perception, spirit contacts, hunting ghost, and so forth are generally more acceptable. Such individuals often attempt to gain scientific verification of their knowledge (Zaretsky, 1974:630). Such approaches while often being dismissed as not being *real* knowledge, are generally acceptable because most individuals do not distinguish between the natural causes or explanations of phenomenon and the super-natural explanations (Thomas, 1909:651).

Having the Loch Ness Monster be real or people such as *Mork* visit from outer space is not too difficult to accept. Children talk to their dolls and hunters to their dogs. The hunter discusses situations with his dog while knowing that the dog probably cannot understand. It is a non-logical, but at the same time, an acceptable action (Pareto, 1935:425). Such people are tolerated in their knowledge systems with little opposition or negative sanction. Knowledge systems that are considered deviant are not so well tolerated. Satanists, vampires, and the *Incredible Hulk* are viewed as deviant (See Michelet, 1975; McNally, 1974; Wilson, 1971; and Thomas, 1971). This type of knowledge system is typically based upon secrecy.

All relationships are based upon knowledge. By knowing something about

another, a vendor can have greater success in sales. Simmel suggests that interaction, itself, is impossible without knowledge (Wolff, 1950:307). People are fascinated with secrets regardless of their content. The occult is filled with secret and *forbidden* knowledge systems. Secrets offer the possibility of a second world along side the manifest world (Wolff 1950:330). To have such knowledge places one in a position of exception.

Those socialized with non-traditional knowledge systems may choose not to be members of occult groups. Some, if not most, children of members of occult groups are socialized into such knowledge systems. Spouses, close friends, and other relatives may have been socialized into the occult as well. Many such people will either drop out or never really *join*. Man's major preoccupation is the pursuit of information, to explain natural phenomenon and the universe (Ward, 1968:12). Marginal members of occult groups may drop out. As marginal members, they are free from routine responsibility and free to resolve differences between their personal desires and socially approved patterns of behavior. They are better able to innovate (Boskoff, 1972:227). They are able to create new knowledge systems or to join with existing traditional systems. Other marginals are not able to accept traditional knowledge systems and also are not able to accept the occult system. Like W.I. Thomas' marginal man, they are neither Polish nor American. They fit no where. They are alone in a world that they did not make and that they do not understand. They become debilitated and lost in the world.

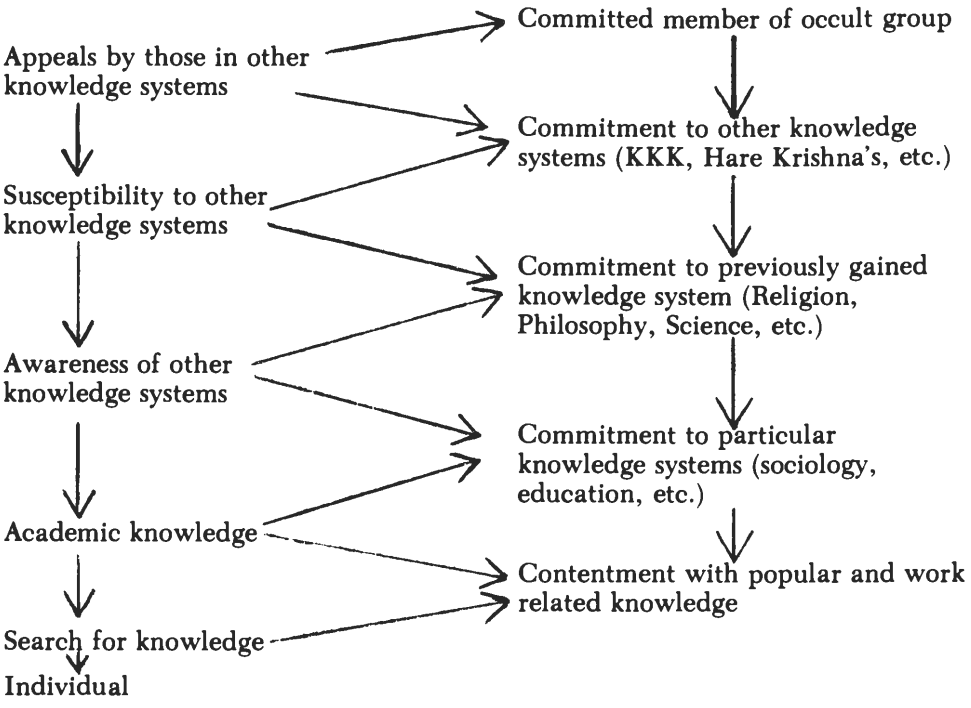
Whether individuals are socialized into traditional or non-traditional knowledge systems, all are seeking knowledge. Some turn to membership in the occult, others do not. Several other factors are necessary to help explain the choice.

Historically, sociologists have relied on Ralph Linton's social disorganization model to explain the existence of cults (See Linton, 1943; Barber, 1941; Ben-Yehuda, 1980; Stark, 1980.) This type of explanation for joining cultic groups focuses upon individuals who have a grievance and/or deprivation in a time of cultural disorganization. Such individuals respond to the breakdown of their social world by seeking new answers and ways to escape from the hardships of their social life and are attracted by the lure of secret and forbidden knowledge. Considerable research has been conducted into how deprived-disorganized individuals are recruited into the occult. Little has been done to explain how such people enter the occult milieu to be recruited (Stark, 1980:1391).

If one's needs are satisfied, then one has no need to seek out new social networks with persons who have ties to the occult. Numerous writers point to the rapid change in modern life as a major reason for people joining cultic groups (Ellul, 1967; Freedland, 1972; Webb, 1976; Woods, 1971; Slater, 1977; Evans, 1973; Stark, 1980; and Ben-Yuhuda, 1980). Yet the occult is not a new phenomena. The reasons for joining a witch coven are not significantly different now than they were in the fourteenth century or than they were in the first century. The humanness of man can be studied in any culture. The individual's search for knowledge follows predictable patterns (See Table B).

All individuals embark on a search for knowledge. For many, the rigors of survival and the harshness of stratification lead them to be almost immediately content with popular culture knowledge and work-related knowledge. They may keep up with new stars in the entertainment realm, fads, fashion, innovations,

TABLE B



elections, and so forth, continually adding knowledge but not seeking new knowledge systems.

For others the education institution provides a basis for academic knowledge and socialization into traditional knowledge systems for that culture. For some this exposure to academic knowledge leads to an acceptance of it and then to the contentment with popular and work-related knowledge. Still others pursue some facet of academic knowledge and become committed to some particular part of a knowledge system. One develops a commitment to Catholicism, sociology, education, or whatever. For many this becomes a vehicle for continuing the search for knowledge. For others, it narrows their thinking and little new thinking emerges.

Academic knowledge may also lead to an awareness of other knowledge systems. After gaining such knowledge, one can turn to a particular part of a knowledge system, or one can become more deeply committed to knowledge system that one was socialized to early in life. After studying several religious systems, one may become stronger in the faith that his or her family had given to him or her during childhood socialization. The awareness of other knowledge systems may simply increase one's curiosity for competing systems. This may lead to susceptibility to other knowledge systems.

In the search for knowledge, the occult has a particular attraction to those who are susceptible. Many books have been written about the occult. Some describe lost cities, monsters, witches, haunted houses, or whatever (Stewart, 1980; Rogo, 1979; Coxe, 1973; Stirling, 1958; Waite, 1973). Others write about the occult to

expose the charlatans and fakes, while still others try to show that the occult is truth (Freedland, 1972; Webb, 1976; Webb, 1974; Woods, 1971; Watson, 1973; Smith, 1975; Peterson, 1973; North, 1976; Lewinsohn, 1961; Murphy, 1960; Myers, 1961; Murchison, 1927; Anshen, 1961; Barnum, 1970; Hansel, 1980). Such knowledge may lead one to return to traditional systems of knowledge, or it may lead them toward a commitment to some alternative system of knowledge such as Nazism, KKK, Hare Krishna's, or whatever. If, and when, disaffection with such groups occurs, then the individuals may return to traditional knowledge systems.

For those who respond to the appeals of the occult or other such knowledge systems, contact with occult members may lead to a commitment to and membership in the occult. The membership may be lasting or transitory. For those for whom it is transitory, they may turn to other knowledge systems, then to traditional knowledge systems, to particular knowledge systems, and even further to contentment with popular and work-related knowledge systems.

From birth to death, individuals engage in a search for knowledge. The search may follow different paths, but all individuals continually gain knowledge. One may attain a high level of knowledge concerning techniques of welding, current and past stars of baseball, theories of physics, history of ancient Greece, the genealogy of one's people, or whatever. Having knowledge of physics is not superior to welding. One type of knowledge is not superior to another. All knowledge contributes to the development of man. Incorrect knowledge is detrimental to the growth of mankind. The occult, Hare Krishna's, The KKK, or whatever need to be studied as knowledge systems. What may be correct from such systems should be added to the knowledge stock of mankind. What is incorrect should be noted and its practice ended. Those who search for Atlantis, seek flying saucers, follow Nazism, engage in seances, or whatever are not to be condemned for their search for knowledge. They are to be condemned if they practice fraud, deception, deceit, or otherwise do harm to others. The holocaust of World War II, the witchcraft hunts of the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, the atrocities of the KKK—all must be condemned in spite of the knowledge they have have contributed.

For most the search for knowledge is based upon empirical observation and rational systems building of science that is taught by the educational system. For some who are aware of alternative systems of knowledge, choices exist. Those who join occult groups have made a choice. While many psychological and social factors enter into the choice, the process is a part of one's search for knowledge.

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THE DEVIL AND FOLKLORE

Jeffrey Burton Russell

The theological distinction between the Devil as prince of evil and his followers the demons is often blurred in folklore. The use of *deofol* (devil) as synonym for *demon* goes back in Old English at least as far as c.825 and persists to this day; French *démon*, Italian *diavolo*, and Spanish *diablo* have some of the same ambivalence, although in German a distinction between *Teufel* and *Dämon* is usually made. Sometimes folklore also splits the Devil into one or more personalities. From the time of apolcalyptic literature the Devil had many names, such as Satan, Belial, Beelzebub, and so on, and the apocalyptic stories sometimes made these independent characters.[1] In medieval folklore and literature this dramatic device sometimes reappeared. In certain medieval plays, for example, Lucifer is cast as prince of hell and Satan as his messenger. But such a distinction is ignored in most of the literature and legend as well as being flatly rejected by theology. Such divisions were always blurry and shifted in time and place, lacking consistency and coherence. Most important, the phenomenological type, both in theology and in psychology, is that the Devil is a single personality directing the forces of evil.

In addition to such ancient names as Satan, Lucifer, Abbaton, Asmodeus, Typhōn, and Sabbathai, derived from the Judeo-Christian-gnostic tradition, the Devil attracts a host of popular nicknames that grow in number and variety through time. He is Old Horny, Old Hairy, Black Bogey, Lusty Dick, Dickon or Dickens, Gentleman Jack, The Good Fellow, Old Nick, Old Scratch, with comparable sobriquets in French, German, and other languages.[2] Such names shade off into those of minor demons, themselves identified with the sprites or *little people* of paganism. Hundreds of such names exist, such as Terrytop, Charlot, Federwisch, Hinkebein, Heinekin, Rumpelstiltskin, Hämmerlin (all -lin, -kin, -lein, -le, -lot names are diminutives), Haussibut, Robin Hood, Robin Goodfellow, Knecht Ruprecht, and so on.[3] (In the twentieth century one hears fewer diminutive names for the Devil because fewer people believe in him.) Such nicknames were popular not only because of their association with the *little people* but also because to give the Devil an absurd name is to offer an antidote to the fear he engendered. Associated with such names are hundreds of usually humorous phrases or exclamations: what the Devil; *que diable; was in des Teufels Namen* (what in the Devil's name); *ce n'est pas le diable* (it's not so great); *c'est un bon diable* (He's a good guy); between the Devil and the deep sea; the Devil take the hindmost; Devil-may-care (a reckless person); the Devil to pay; give the Devil his due; he's gone to the Devil; speak of the Devil; or the Devil's luck.

The Devil's appearance varied even more widely than his name. He was frequently identified with or associated with animals, sometimes following earlier Judeo-Christian tradition and sometimes because the animals were sacred to the pagan gods, whom the Christians identified with demons. The Devil appeared as adder, ape or monkey, asp, ass, bear, bat, basilisk (legendary serpent or dragon with lethal breath and glance), bee or swarm of bees, boar, bull, camel, cat, centaur, chimaera (having the head of a lion, body of a goat, and tail of a serpent), crow, deer, dog, dragon, eagle, fish, fly, fox, gnat, goat, goose, griffin (having the head and wing of an eagle and the body of a lion), gull, hare, hawk, horse, leopard, lion, lizard, ostrich, owl, pig, phoenix, raven, rooster, serpent,

salamander, sheep, sparrow, spider, stag, swallow, tiger, toad, tortoise, vulture, wasp, worm, wolf, or whalt. Of these the most frequent were serpent (dragon), goat, and dog.[4]

The Devil appeared in a variety of human forms as well—as an old man or woman, an attractive youth or girl, a servant, pauper, fisherman, merchant, student, shoemaker, or peasant. He frequently made his appearance as a holy man—a priest, monk, or pilgrim. He could be a theologian, mathematician, physician, or grammarian, and in these capacities he was highly skilled in persuasion and debate. He could appear as an angel of light, as Saint Paul had warned, and occasionally he even dared masquerade as Christ or as the Blessed Mother of God. He might appear in threatening forms—as a giant, idol, or whirlwind. His proper form is invisible or amorphous, but he can shift his shape to suit his purpose.[5]

Often the Devil appears monstrous and deformed, his outward shape betraying his inner defect. He is lame because of his fall from heaven; his knees are backwards; he has an extra face on belly, knees, or buttocks; he is blind; he has horns and a tail; he has no nostrils or only one; he has no eyebrows; his eyes are saucer-like and glow or shoot fire; he has cloven hooves; he emits a sulphurous odor, and when he departs he does so with stench, noise, and smoke; he is covered with coarse, black hair; he has misshapen, batlike wings. Iconographically he becomes much like Pan, honed, hooved, covered with goat hair, with a large phallus and a large nose, and with saturnine features.[6]

The Devil's color is usually black, in conformity with Christian tradition and almost worldwide symbolism. His skin is black, or he is a black animal, or his clothing is black. Sometimes he is a black rider on a black horse.[7] The Devil's second most common hue is red, the color of blood and fire. The Devil dresses in red or has a red or flaming beard.[8] Occasionally he is green, owing to his association with the Green Man, a common Celtic and Teutonic fertility figure.[9] The Devil carries a fiery sword or an iron bar; or he wears and clanks his chains (the origin of poor Marley's ghost). He carries money and sometimes gives it out, but the money invariably changes sooner or later into something gross.[10]

The Devil is associated with certain places and certain times of day. His direction is north, the domain of darkness and penal cold. Lapland is a favorite place of his, and there he drives his reindeer. North is on one's left as one enters a church, and the Devil lurks on the north side of the church outside the walls, so that people prefer not to bury their dead there. On the medieval stage north is the direction of hell.[11] Anything sacred to the pagan gods may also be sacred to the Devil. Pagan temples were considered his dwelling-places and were either pulled down or else purified and turned into churches. Trees, springs, mountains, stiles, caves, old ruins, wells, groves, streams, and woods are also haunts of the Evil One. Sacred to the old gods because of their numinous qualities, such places were doubly feared by the Christians as both numinous and pagan. Demons can also haunt houses; an alleged *ghost* is really a demon.[12] The Devil favors noon and midnight, but he also likes dusk; he flees at dawn when the cock crows.[13] In accordance with Judeo-Christian tradition, the demons are supposed to dwell in the air or in the underworld, but they issue from both places to torment people. The air is so full of demons that a needle dropped from heaven to earth must strike one; they swarm in the air like flies.[14] Lucifer is most commonly believed to dwell in the underworld. Usually hell is placed at the center of the earth; a minor tradition sets it in

Iceland, whose extreme cold and groaning glaciers remind people of a place of torment.[15]

Lucifer and his follwers are active everywhere and at all times. They obsess us, attacking us physically and mentally. They cause physical and mental illnesses; they steal children; they shoot arrows at people; they attack them with cudgels; they even leap upon their backs. They enter the body through every orifice, especially the mouth during yawning and the nose during sneezing.[16]

The Devil is especially attracted to the vices and to sinners. He tempts people to sin, and then he gladly becomes the instrument of their punishment. Taking the form of a pretty girl, he enjoys tempting monks and hermits; taking the form of a handsome youth he seduces girls, especially servents. In a typical story the handsome young Devil solicits a young girl for sexual favors; when he adds money as a further inducement, she yields; immediately he resumes his hideous form and carries her shrieking off to hell. These stories have a certain sexist bias, for the men are usually more successful in repelling temptation than the women: When the Devil as a pretty girl tried to seduce Saint Dunstan, the monk drove her off by pinching her nose (!) with tongs.[17] Satan enjoys playing cards, gambling, and gossiping; yet at the same time he takes pleasure in punishing those mortals who follow his example. He carries off sabbath-breakers, kills a clergyman who plays cards on Sunday, and punishes vain women and naughty children. He hunts the souls of sinners as well as their bodies. The didactic purpose of such stories meets the eye, but they appear in genuine folklore as well as in homiletic literature.[18] In widely-credited stories, the Devil, surrounded by his demonic dogs, leads the wild hunt; a similar motif, which became one of the leading elements in witch-beliefs, is the rout of wild women.[19] Like his manifestation, the dragon, Satan guards underground treasures.[20] Demons hold tournaments or parliaments. The Devil writes letters, some of which were allegedly preserved.[21] The Evil One particularly loves to foment general discord, as he did at a village near Mainz in 858, or to disrupt a congregation at prayer or divine service.[22] he and his follwers ride animals backwards.[23]

Oddly, the Devil loves architecture because he took the place of the Teutonic giants, who were builders of giant artifices. Any large, mysterious object of stone is supposed to have been thrown down or built up by Evil One: Hence there are Devil's ditches, dikes, bridges, and gorges. Meteorites are hurled down by Lucifer, who also excavated Cheddar Gorge (a popular tourist attraction northeast of Cheddar, North Somerset, England) in one day. He piles up sandbars in harbors so that ships will run aground. The custom of naming large natural features of stone—the least alive of all natural objects—after the Devil, particularly in remote or desolate areas, persisted into the twentieth century in The Devil's Kitchen, The Devil's Punchbowl, The Devil's Slide, The Devil's Tower. Of artificial constructions the Devil's favorites are bridges, although he also constructed piers, houses, roads, and even (in special circumstances) church towers. When he pipes at a wedding, the guests may turn to stone. The following story is typical: Jack and the Devil build a bridge near Kentmouth. Whatever they build up by night falls down by day. Finally Satan completes the bridge with the understanding that he will obtain the soul of the first living soul to cross the bridge, but Jack tricks him by throwing a bone across the bridge, so that the first creature to pass is a dog. The Devil also is a destroyer and pulls down by night whatever people build by day. Several parish building programs were impeded by

such activity, and sometimes the location of the church had to be changed before building could be completed.[24]

As Jack showed with the dog and the bone, the Devil can be foiled and gulled by a quick wit. The function of such stories is to tame the terror. The Devil built a house for a cobbler after the cobbler promised that the Devil could have his soul when a lighted candle guttered out; but the cobbler blew out the candle before it could burn down. The candle trick was a great favorite. Lucifer wooed a servant girl and promised to marry her; a candle was lit during the service, and the girl agreed that when it burned out the Devil would have her soul; the priest saved her by swallowing the candle. A man who beat the Devil at cards claimed as wager that the Devil should plant him a fine avenue of trees. Satan agreed on the condition that when the man died he should have his soul whether he was buried in the church or outside it; the man secretly provided in his will that he be interred in the church wall. Even schoolboys outwitted the Old Boy by challenging him to cord a rope of sand or to count the letters in the church Bible. The Devil was defeated in wrestling matches, mowing or sowing contests, drinking bouts, gambling wagers, or debates (as in "The Devil and Daniel Webster"). He could even be thwarted (though this is rare in folklore) by a deathbed confession and repentance.

Sometimes Lucifer's humiliation was satisfyingly grotesque, as when he attempted to keep Saint Theobald from attending a council by removing a wheel from his cart; the saint forced him to take the wheel's place and went happily on his way with Lucifer rolling along the road beneath him. The Old One did not always stand for such treatment. A farm lad who tricked him into doing his chore of spreading muck found the muck all back in its original heaps the next morning. But on the whole the message was clear: An ordinary person, using his native wit, could make a fool of the Prince of Darkness. The ubiquity of such stories is testimony to their appeal to basic needs. Schoolboys, farmers, shoemakers, smiths, farmhands, servant girls, cobblers, and monks are common heroes of these tales; much more rarely is it a priest or a gentleman. The rich and the successful come more readily into tales in which the Devil carries off the avaricious and arrogant. *Fabliaux*, beast-epics, and other medieval tales close to the people's hearts featured the poor making fools of the rich and the proud, and no one is more arrogant than Lucifer. The stories of the duped Devil derive from the folklore about stupid trolls and giants and are closely linked to the misadventures of the *little people*. The duping of Rumpelstiltskin, a little man, a nature spirit, and/or a minor demon, is in the same genre. But the immense popularity of the tales was rooted in the resentment that the humble feel for the mighty. They suggest that even the Dark Lord can be brought down by courage and common sense, and this agrees with the theology that the Devil, though crafty, is at bottom a fool who understands nothing.[25]

The Devil could be a silly prankster, playing marbles in church or moving the pews about. He could even genuinely help people, repaying kindnesses or finding lost objects, although the people he helps are usually socially objectionable, such as heretics or thieves.[26] The stupidity and occasional helpfulness of the Devil gave rise to such expressions as *poor Devil*. Folklore was usually aimed at taming the Devil, but the opposite side of folk ambiguity sometimes expressed itself in frightening tales. *Jack of France* encountered a monk who was reciting the names of all who would die in the year to come; Jack heard him mention his name. Horrified. Jack peered under the monk's cowl and saw the Devil's face.

One must never call upon satan in irritation or anger, for he may answer your call. A man irritated by his whining little daughter exclaims that he wishes the Devil would carry her off; he does. An innkeeper vowing "May the Devil take me if this be not true" wished that he had held his tongue.[24]

The Devil has aides and accomplices and even a family. His grandmother (more rarely his mother) is a persistent figure in folklore. Originating with the fertility goddess Cybele, the Magna Mater, or Holda, the Devil's grandma is a terrible figure of great power, the prototype of Grendel's monstrous mother. Satan has a number of wives. His wife is sometimes a former fertility goddess. Or he can take his bride from among those women who having sexual dreams have slept with an incubus. But the Devil's marriage is not always happy: He may successfully woo a woman who turns into a terrible nag and scold. The Devil has nine or ten daughters of vicious disposition and various sons who are half mortal and half demonic, among them Merlin, Attila, Duke Robert the Devil, and Caliban. He may also have grandchildren. What he does not have is a father or grandfather, which would have undermined his own position as lord of all evil. Another sexist assumption lies here: Although the Devil's mother and granddaughter could be even more sinister than he, and though he dare not ignore their counsel, they cannot exercise authority over him. Masculine, he rules the infernal roost.[28]

The lines between the Devil and the minor demons, sometimes blurred in theology, is even more porous in popular religion and folklore. The ambivalent Greco-Roman demons were identified by Christian tradition with the fallen angels, and the nature spirits of the Teutons, Celts, and Slavs were also amalgamated. The giants were the most prominent fearsome spirits in the north; yet, although giants so persist ("Jack and the Beanstalk"), they lose their prominence, because the Devil seems to take over their role. The *little people* were also sinister:

> Up the misty mountain, down the rushy glen
> We daren't go a-hunting, for fear of little men.

The little people—leprechauns, kobolds, trolls, dwarves, elves, goblins, mares, brownies—are minor nature-spirits who dwell in lakes, woods, streams, caverns, or mountains, even in the barns and cellars of civilization. They are short, dark, and often misshapen. Originally morally ambivalent and sometimes even beautiful, they were assimilated to demons by Christianity, so that their negative and destructive properties prevailed. Dwarves guarded hidden, underground treasure and killed anyone who dared violate their privacy. Trolls (who could also be ghosts of the dead) lurked under bridges in wait for unwary travelers. Elves caused disease in animals and humans by shooting them with arrows or darts—elfshot. *Mares* haunted people's sleep at night (nightmares). Whatever the diverse origin of these spirits, they became one in folklore with demons. They frightened, harmed, and killed the same people as demons, but as with demons they too could be tricked, cajoled, and bribed. The ancient fertility spirits of agriculture (The Green Man) and of wilderness and the hunt (The Wild Man and Woman) were powerful enough to retain much of their independence and their ambivalence, but they lent their greenness and their hairiness as well as their unbridled sexuality to the Devil and his demons.[29]

Monsters were usually distinguished from demons, although they could also blend with them. Monsters were usually supposed to be distorted humans, although doubts existed as to whether they had souls. Monsters were supposed to

have been created in order to show humans what physical privation is like, and what, literally but for the grace of God, we might have been. F. Gagnon has plausibly suggested that monsters fit into the ontological chain stretching away from God in the direction of less and less reality: God—angels—human rulers—human subjects—barbarians—monsters—demons—Antichrist—Lucifer. Monsters are physically depraved—they are giants or dwarves or have three eyes or none or faces in their bellies. This sort of physical privation is a sign of their ontological privation, which readily transposes into moral privation. Their deformity blends readily with that of the Devil, the most twisted and depraved of all beings.[30] A particularly persistent and sinister monster is the wer-animal. Wer-animals are found in most cultures. (India, for example, has wer-tigers, while werewolves are most common in Europe where wolves were the most common danger.) Vampires also are found everywhere. Wer-animals are not the same as other monsters, for their monstrosity consists less in physical deformity than in their demonic ability to shift shapes, and where monsters can be ambivalent, wer-animals are essentially evil. The Devil is the chief of shapeshifters: Werewolves, vampires, and witches imitate their master in this quality in order to do his will.[31]

The most important of the Devil's many and varied accomplices is the Antichrist, whose influence permeates human affairs and who at the end of the world will come in the flesh to lead the forces of evil in a last, desperate battle against the good.[32] Heretics, Jews, and witches are among the most prominent of Satan's human helpers. Jews and heretics may at least sometimes be unconscious that they are serving the Devil, but the witches enlist knowingly in his ranks, worshipping him openly and offering him sacrifices. One can summon the Devil in many ways: by whistling in the dark, running widdershins around a church three times after dark, writing him a note in Jew's blood and throwing it into the fire, painting his picture, looking into a mirror at night, reciting the Lord's Prayer backwards, saying certain incantations, and so on.[33]

The most serious summoning of Satan is for the purpose of making a formal pact. The idea of formal pact goes back to a story about Saint Basil circulated by Saint Jerome in the fifth century and an even more influential story of Theophilus of Cilicia dating from the sixth.

In the Basil story, as retold by Hincmar of Reims, a man who wishes to obtain the favors of a pretty girl goes to a magician for help and agrees to renounce Christ in writing as payment. The gratified magician writes a letter to the Devil in the hope that the Evil One will be pleased with his new recruit and orders the lecher to go out at night and thrust the message up into the air. This he does, calling upon the powers of evil. Dark spirits descend upon him and lead him into the very presence of Lucifer. "Do you believe in me?" asks the Dark Lord upon his throne. "Yes, I do believe." "Do you renounce Christ?" "I do renounce him." All this is in blasphemous parody of baptism. Then the Devil complains, "You Christians always come to me when you need help but then try to repent later presuming on the mercy of Christ. I want you to sign up in writing." The man agrees, and the Devil, satisfied with the bargain, causes the girl to fall in love with the lecher and ask her father for permission to marry him. The father, who wants her to become a nun, refuses. The girl struggles against the Devil's temptations but finally, unable to resist longer, yields. But at last the story of the pact comes out, and with the aid of Saint Basil the boy repents and the girl is saved from a fate worse than death.[34]

The other story, the *Legend of Theophilus*, was repeated hundreds of times in a variety of forms in virtually every European language over the span of a millennium, fathering the Faust legend and indirectly influencing the Renaissance witch-craze.[35] According to the story, an old Anatolian legend first written in Greek in the sixth century and translated into Latin in the eighth, Theophilus was a clergyman of Asia Minor who was offered the bishopric when the previous bishop died. Theophilus declined the honor, much to his later chagrin, for the new bishop proceeded to deprive him of his offices and dignities. Enraged, Theophilus plotted to regain his influence and to seek revenge. He consulted a Jewish magician, who told him that he could help by taking him to see the Devil. Going out at night to a secluded place, they found the Devil surrounded by his worshippers bearing torches or candles. The Devil asked him what he wanted, and Theophilus replied, agreeing to become Satan's servant in return for his lost powers. He took an oath of allegiance to Lucifer, renounced his fealty to God, and promised to lead a life of lust, scorn, and pride. He signed a formal pact to this effect and handed it over to the Devil, kissing him in sign of submission. His life now increased in power and in corruption. Then the time came at last for the Devil to claim his soul in payment, and he sent out demons to torment the corrupt cleric and drag him off to hell. Terrified, Theophilus repented of his sin and threw himself upon the mercy of the Blessed Mother of God. Mary descended into hell, seized the contract from Satan, and returned it to Theophilus, who destroyed it. Mary interceded for him at the throne of God, and he was pardoned and the Devil cheated of his due.

As the legend spread across Europe, it promoted antisemitism and the cult of Mary. Most significantly, it initiated the idea of pact. The Fathers had argued that all evildoers are limbs of Satan whether or not they are conscious of it. Here in the idea of a pact was explicit homage to the Devil. Van Nuffel has shown how the idea of pact fit into both the tradition of Christian baptism and that of feudal homage. The power of the idea of pact kept growing. By the time of the witch-craze it was taken as literal, historical fact, and by the seventeenth century documents allegedly constituting such formal pacts were brought into evidence against accused magicians and witches in courts of law. The idea that witches were worshippers of Satan and had signed a literal, explicit pact with him was the heart of the witch-craze. In modern literature, the figure of Faust sprang from that of Theophilus.

Pact stories were tolerably common through the Middle Ages and Renaissance. A student at Saint Andrew's encountered a *minister* who helped him with his assignments in return for a pact signed in blood. Sir Francis Drake defeated the Armada with the Devil's help. The favors obtained in return for the promise of one's soul are usually illusory: A scholar signs a pact in return for gold, which turns into stone. Elegant feasts become offal and excrement; beautiful maidens turn into shrieking hags. In order to escape the consequences of pact one may be obliged to journey to hell to retrieve it or else rely on the intercession of an unjudgmental saint such as Blessed Mother. The typical pact story contains farcial elements. A knight promised to give the Devil his soul if ever he came to a town called Mouffle. The knight, confident that no such town exists, feels perfectly secure. The knight turned to the religious life, became a monk, and finally rose to the position of archbishop of Reims. Eventually he visited his home town, Ghent. There he became seriously ill and to his horror the Devil appeared at his bedside to

claim him—on the ground that the real, secret name of Ghent is Mouffle.[36]

The classic tale of pact is that of Faust. Johann Faustus was a German magician who died in 1538; he rapidly became a legend. The first book about him appeared in Germany in 1587 and the first book in English in 1592. From the sixteenth century onward the idea of pact was displaced somewhat toward the intellectual: In the next century, for example, Sir Robert Gordon allegedly sold his soul to the Devil in return for esoteric knowledge. According to legend, Faust is a divinity student who throws over theology for magic and calls up the Devil to help him. Lucifer sends his servant Mephistopheles, with whom Faust signs a pact in return for great knowledge. But inside Faust the intellectual is Faust the sensualist, and the legend reverts to the burlesque elements common in the Middle Ages: Faust makes love to Helen of Troy; he becomes pope; he visits the harem at Constantinople in the shape of Mohammed so that the sultan thanks him for doing him the honor of sleeping with his wives. The legend has been enshrined in theatre, poetry, and opera, but it has never had the strength to support the weight that a Goethe put on it. It draws its life from the Promethean archetype of the great man rebelling against the gods, but the underlying triviality and absurdity has never been fully transcended.[37]

Once one has summoned the Devil, whether deliberately or inadvertently, one cannot easily escape him. Repentance and a contrite heart help, along with confession, acts of charity, recitation of the Lord's Prayer, creed, or rosary, and sometimes one can drive him away by literally beating him. But usually one needs outside help. The pope's blessing is effective; most helpful are the saints, whom the Devil fears and shuns. Saint Gall infuriated the demons by driving them from place to place and depriving them of their rest; the Blessed Mother saves even those rash enough to sign written pacts. The signs and symbols of Christianity ward him off: the cross or the sign of the cross, holy water, the name of Jesus, the sacraments (especially the Eucharist), the words of the Bible, holy chrism, church bells. Other protections are unchristian in origin: hissing or spitting at the Devil (although the desert fathers adopted hissing), bronze, iron, fire, garlic, onions, pigs, and salt. This is largely apotropaic magic, in which things associated with the Evil One are precisely those that are most effective against him. Since he is associated with stench and smoke, he can be fumigated with incense, smoke from a yule log, or—best—asafetida (*Teufelsdreck* in German).[38]

FOOTNOTES

[1]J.B. Russell, *The Devil*, (Ithace, 1977), pp. 204-220.

[2]On the Judeo-Christian-gnostic names, see M. Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature* (LaSalle, Ill., 1931), pp. 26-34.

[3]J. Grimm, *Geutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. (London, 1883-1888), pp. 984-1004.

[4]Some of the associations are established. The serpent and the dragon are one and the same and derive from the Genesis story; the ape is the symbol of Satan's mockery of God; the bear is associated with lust and the spotted leopard with fraud; the fox is a symbol of wiliness, the pig of female sexuality, and the cat of vanity. The whale is a symbol (through Jonah) of the yawning mouth of hell; it is identified with Leviathan. The horse is a symbol of male sexuality. The raven is associated both with Cain and with Odin; the cat with Freya and Hilda; the goat with Pan and with Thor. Some animals were protected from association with

Lucifer owing to their association with Christ. The lion, a natural diabolical symbol, was seldom used as such because it is both a symbol of Christ (Rev. 5.5) and of Saint Mark; because Christ is the lamb of God, the Devil could never be a lamb; because the ox and ass were supposed to have been present at the birth of Jesus in the manger, the Devil was never an ox and seldom (in spite of its logical appropriateness) an ass (the ass also bore Jesus into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday). See B. Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces: A Guide to Animal Symbolism* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1973); B.A. Woods, *The Devil in Dog Form* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959); C.G. Loomis, *White Magic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948); G. Faggin, *Diabolicità del rospo* (Venice, 1973); K.M. Briggs, *A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language*, 2 vols. in 4 (Bloomington, Ind., 1970), vol. 2, pp. 45-47, 74-75, 121-122, 143; F.C. Tuback, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki, 1969), items 1530-1532; H.W. Hanson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1952); the index of the Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology, UCLA, s.v. *Devil, Demons*, etc., hereafter cited as UCLA. H.A. Kelly, "The Metamorphoses of the Eden Serpent during the Middle Ages and Renaissance," *Viator*, 2 (1971), 301-328 deals thoroughly with the transposition of serpent and dragon.

[5]Loomis; Tubach, nos. 1529, 1552-1553, 1558-1559; Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 61-62; S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, 2d. ed. 6 vols. (Bloomington, Ind., 1955-1958), categories G 303.3; 303.3.2.1; 303.3.2.5; M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p. 149; UCLA.

[6]Thompson, G 303.4; 303.4.5.6; 303.4.1.1; 303.17.1; Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 47-48, 143 (Devil as three-legged hare); UCLA. For the association of Pan with the Devil, see P. Merivale, *Pan the Goat-God* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969) (mainly deals with modern literature).

[7]Loomis; Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 49-51, 54, 65-67; Thompson, G 303.5; 303.5.1; Tubach, 1643; James, p. 345; UCLA; G. Penco, "Sopravvivenze della demonologia antica nella monachesimo medievale," *Studia monastica*, 13 (1971), pp. 34-35, on demons as Ethiopians, The Council of Toledo in 447 described the Devil as a large, black, monstrous apparition with horns on his head, cloven hooves, ass's ears, claws, fiery eyes, gnashing teeth, huge phallus, and sulphurous smell: B. Steidle, "Der *schwarze kleine Knabe* in der alten Mönchserzählung," *Erbe und Auftrag*, 34 (1958), 329-348. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 2.4. In the biography of St. Afra c. 750-850 (*Acta Sanctorum*, 5 August, para. 9), the Devil is black, naked, and wrinkled.

[8]Red was associated with evil in Ancient Egypt as the color of the sterile desert and of blood. Red-haired people were commonly supposed to be evil in the Middle Ages. Thompson, G 303.5.3; 303.4.1.3.1; UCLA. It is possible that the common iconographic trait in medieval art of showing the Devil or demons with upswept, pointed hair is a depiction of flaming hair; another explanation is that it is in the mode of the barbarians, who greased their hair and swept it up into points in order to appear more terrible.

[9]Thompson, G 303.5.22; UCLA. Rarely he is blue, a NeoPlatonic color for the demons of the lower air. See Thompson, G 303.5 and B. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst der ersten Jahrtausends* (Vienna, 1966).

[10]Thompson, G 303.20; UCLA.

[11]It is in the north that the Lucifer of Isaiah 14.13 set up his throne; cf. Job

26.6-7. See Rudwin, p. 63; UCLA. The connection between the Devil and Santa Claus (Sinter Claes, Saint Nicholas) are pronounced. In addition to his association with the north and reindeer, the Devil can wear red fur; he is covered with soot and goes down chimneys in the guise of Black Jack or the Black Man; he carries a large sack into which he pops sins or sinners (including naughty children), he carries a stick or cane to thrash the guilty (the origin of the candy cane); he flies through the air with the help of animals; food and wine are left out for him as a bribe. The devil's nickname (!) of Old Nick derives directly from St. Nicholas. St. Nicholas was often associated with fertility cults, hence with fruit, nuts, and fruitcake, which are characteristic of his gifts. See C.W. Jones, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan* (Chicago, 1978), pp. 309-323; A.D. de Groot, *Saint Nicholas: A Psychoanalytic Study of His History and Myth* (The Hague, 1965). De Groot pooints out that in the Netherlands St. Nicholas is often accompanied by a little black companion, Zwarte Piet.

[12]Thompson, G 303.15.3; 303.15.5; UCLA. Sometimes the demons built palaces under water: cf. Grendel's mere.

[13]Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 56, 139-140; Thompson, G 303.6. Müller, 775-776, gives examples of NeoPlatonic or gnostic influence on the belief that there is a demon for each hour of the day and night, or each day of the week, the seven-day demons being derived from the seven planetary demons of the NeoPlatonists.

[14]Müller, Coll. 772-773. *Bonaventure: ad modum muscorum in maximo numero.* Sometimes, particularly in Egypt under Neoplatonic influence, *deacon demons* tried to block the soul's ascent to heaven. Calculations of the numbers of the demons were made, and though these belong more to popular religion than to folklore, they were widely accepted as testaments to the terrifying omnipresence of evil spirits. About AD 180 Miximus of Tyre estimated that more than 30,000 demons existed. Under the influence of Rev. 12.4 it was generally believed that one-third of all the angels fell. Richalm observed that there were as many demons as grains of sand in all the sea; Johann Wier argued that there were 1,111 legions of 6,666 demons, for a total of 7,405,926. Others, supposing 6,666 legions of angels of whom one-third, 2,222 legions, fell, calculated 133,306,668, still a low number in comparison to humans, but Martin Barrhaus gave the number out as a not inconsiderable 2,665,866,746,664. Müller, col. 765; Rudwon, pp. 17-25.

[15]On hell, see Devil, pp. 240-241; Satan, p. 120-123; 143-146; J. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle: Der Mythos vom Descensuskampfe* (Leipzig, 1932); K. Maurer, "Die Hölle auf Island," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 4 (1894), 256-358; H.R. Patch, *The Other World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). Hell is a vast subject as well as a vast place, but as it is tangential to the Devil I gladly abandon it to the infernologists, one of the best of whom is Alan Bernstein of the University of Arizona. On purgatory the master work is now Jacques LeGoff, *La Naissance du purgatoire* (Paris, 1981).

[16]Whence the custom of saying "God Bless You" or *Gesundheit.* Tubach, 346D, 1620-1622; UCLA.

[17]Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 45, 52, 80-81, 141-143.

[18]Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 54-56, 71-74; 79-80; 108-111; 140-141; Thompson, G 303.6.2; 303.24; Tubach, 1202, 2452, 3503.

[19]Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 61-62, 67, 74, 114, 152-153; A. Runeberg, *Witches, Demons, and Fertility Magic* (Helsinki, 1947), pp. 7, 126-132; E.H. Carnoy, "Les Acousmates et les chasse fantastiques," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 9 (1884);

J.B. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972), pp. 48-50, 79-80, 211-213. Often motifs are mixed. For example, one version of the wild hunt has the Devil riding out with his *dandy dogs*; this was confused with the tale of the dogs of wild Parson Dando, whom the Devil carried off to hell on account of the sensuality of his life.

[20]Briggs, vol. 2, p. 148; A. Wünsche, *Der Sangenkreis vom Geprellten Teufel* (LEipzig, 1905), p. 71.

[21]Tournament: Tubach, 4931; parliament: Thompson, G 303.25.19; letters: Tubach, 3032, which reports a Devil's letter preserved in Agrigento cathedral.

[22]Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronica, anno 858, in MPL 109.163; Tubach, 240.

[23]R. Mellinkoff, "Riding Backwards: Theme of Humiliation and Symbol of Evil," *Viator*, 4 (1973), 153-176, shows how riding backwards was originally a mark of shame and then was transferred to evil. Similarly, riding, walking, or dancing widdershins, i.e., in a circle opposite to the sun's motion, is associated with evil and with the witch cult.

[24]Such sotires are parodies of the activities of saints as well as rooted in the folklore of giants: I have seen a staircase in New Mexico that St. Joseph constructed in one night, and the Holy House of Loreto was moved bodily from Palestine to Italy by the Blessed Mother of God. Thompson, G 303.9.1; Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 52, 60-61, 73, 85-89, 91-92, 95-96, 103-105.

[25]Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 56-59, 65-83, 92-94, 116-117, 124-128, 145-149; Wünsche, pp. 80-108, Tubach, 1567.

[26]Thompson G 303.9.9, 303.22; Tubach, 953.

[27]Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 105-106, 120-122, 132, 145-148, UCLA.

[28]Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 153-155; Thompson, G 303.11; H. Bächtold-Stäubli, ed., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 10 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927-19420, vol. 8, col. 1844; UCLA; Tubach, 1452, 1589.

[29]Grimm, vol. 2, p. 44; vol. 4, p. 1611; R. Bernheimer, The wild Man in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Mass., 1952). The agricultural spirit lives on in the names of pubs and the fiction of Kingsley Amis (*The Green Man*).

[30]F. Gagnon, "Le thème médiévale de l'homme sauvage dans les premières représentations des Indiens d'Afrique," in G. Allard, ed., *Aspects de la marginalité au moyen âge* (Montreal, 1975), pp. 86-87; B. Roy, "En marge du monde connu: Les races de monstres," in Allard, pp. 74-77; J.B. Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); H. Schade, Dämonin und Monstren* (Regensburg, 1962).

[31]D. Kraatz, "Fictus lupus: The Werewolf in Christian Thought," *Classical Folia*, 30 (1976), 57-79; M. Summers, *The Vampire* (London, 1928) and *The Werewolf* (New York, 1934) must be used with extreme caution. The prefix *wer* is Old English for *human*.

[32]R. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Seattle, 1981) and H.D. Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter*, 2d ed. (Munich, 1979) are now the best books on the subject. I wish to thank Professor Emmerson for his helpful comments. He would have liked to see more on the Antichirst in my writings, but there would be no point in repeating his excellent work, nor is the subject of the Antichrist, although clearly relevant to the Devil, quite central to the basic question of the origin and nature of evil. See also K. Aichele, *Des Antichristdrama des Mittelalters der Reformation und Gegenreformation* (The Hague, 1974).

[33]Thompson, G 303.16.18.1; UCLA. The dedication of the first-born child to

an evil spirit or wicked fairy is a commonplace of folk tales.

[34]Hincmar interjects the tale into his *Divorce of Lothar and Teutberga*, written about 860 (MPL 125.716-725).

[35]"Theophilus" was first translated into Latin by Paul the Deacon about 840 (*Miracula Sanctae Mariae de Theophilo penitente*); the next influential version was by Hroswitha in the tenth century (*Lapsus et conversio Theophili vicedomini*); the story appeared in the writings of Marbod (11th cent.), Guibert (12th cent.), and Hartmann (12th cent.). The versions by Gautier de Coinci in the twelfth century (*Comment Théophile vint à pénitence*) and Rutebeuf in the thirteenth (*Miracle de Théophile*) were both signs and causes of its rapidly-growing popularity, with many versions in French, Italian, and German. L. Radermacher, "Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage," *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologische und historische* Klasse, 206.4 (1930), 153-219; M. de Combarieu, "Le Diable dans le *Comment Theophilus vint à pénitence* de Gautier de Coinci et dans le *Miracle de Théophile* de Rutebeuf," in *Le Diable au moyen âge* (Paris, 1979), pp. 157-182; M. Lazar, "Theophilus: Servant of Two Masters," *Modern Language Notes*, 87 (1972), 31-50; Tubach 3572; H. Van Nuffel, "Le Pacte avec le diable dans la littérature médiévale," *Anciens pays et assemblées d'états*, 39 (1966), 27-43. On p. 40-51, Van Nuffel offers his comparison between pact, baptism, and homage (I modify it slightly):

Baptism	Pact	Feudal Contract
Introduction by godparent	Intro. by Jew	Intro. by vassal
Questions posed by bishop	Q. posed by Devil	
Request for admission	Req. for protection	Req. for protection
Submission	Submission	Submission
Become child of God	Bec. Servant of D.	Bec. vassal of lord
Signature (?)	Signature	Signature
Kiss of peace	Kiss of peace	Kiss of peace

For the influence of pact on the witch-craze, see J.B. Russell, *A History of Witchcraft* (London, 1980), pp. 55-59; 76-78.

[36]Since *mufle* is colloquial French for "slob" an element of anit-flemish prejudice may be operating here. On pact see Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 111-113, 132-133, 138; Tubach 3566-3572, 4188; Thompson F 81.2; Bächtold-Stäubli, col. 1842.

[37]Briggs, vol. 2, pp. 96-103.

[38]Müller, coll. 782-786; Thompson, G 303.16; 303.25.7; I. Goldziher, "Eisen als Schutz gegen Dämonen," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaften*, 10 (1907), 41-46. Other legends: God creates the Devil from his own shadow or his own spittle (Thompson, G 303.1.1.1 and 303.1.1.2; the Devil would do penance if assured of a return to grace (Tubach 1664); God creates the pleasant things of this world, but the Devil creates such things as bats, mosquitoes, and hail (UCLA).

REGINALD SCOT AND THE WITCHCRAFT CONTROVERSY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Robert B. Luehrs
Fort Hays State University

In the sixteenth century there was an intermittant but sharp debate among European men of letters concerning the reality of witchcraft. The true believers, a majority of the authors involved, held that there existed a secret, conspiratoral organization of witches, headed by Satan and full of apostates, typically women, who contracted with the demon to trade their souls for supernatural knowledge. These individuals flew to nocturnal gatherings for ritual orgies and blasphemous sacrifices, and they worked harm on their neighbors through diabolic power—in other words, they performed *maleficia*, such as causing disease or raising storms.

This, the classic idea of the witch, had its roots in pagan mythology and the magical tradition of Antiquity, although it had taken shape only a century or so before.[1] It had received official sanction through a series of papal bulls, culminating in that of Innocent VIII in 1484.[2] Thus witchcraft had become identified with heresy, and the Inquisition was empowered to move against it. The concept of witchcraft meshed nicely with the NeoPlatonic assumptions of the intellectuals also. Even Renaissance humanists were fascinated with the possibility of taping the power of cosmic spirits and controlling the heavenly forces which poured down upon the earth.[3] These activities, in turn, parallelled those of the village wizards and healers.[4] Intellectuals did not invent the image of the witch, but they did articulate it, giving coherent expression to the underlying anxieties of the era.

The greatest compendium of witch lore produced by scholars was the *Malleus Malleficarum*, published by two Dominican inquisitors, Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer in 1486. The printing press gave this volume unprecedented circulation and authority; it went through fourteen editions in a generation, more than any previous work of this nature and most subsequent ones.[5] This treatise, which bore on its title page the motto, *The greatest heresy is to disbeleive in witchcraft*, was intended as a textbook for the conduct of witch trials. It defined a witch as an individual, usually a woman, who renounced the Church, gave homage to Satan, sacrificed unbaptized children to this master, and submitted to sexual relations with incubi, demon lovers.[6] Sprenger and Kramer perversely catalogued the details of witches' carnal habits with an almost pathological misogyny, suggesting that the real theme of the *Malleus* was not the witches' treason to God but the sado-masochistic lasciviousness of women in general.[7] The book did omit some of the details of the classic witch image; nothing was said about the sabbat, for example, or the Devil's Mark, an insensitive, Satanic brand on the witch's body. However, the *Malleus* did present an essentially complete ideology, serviceable to sixteenth century Catholics and Protestants alike.

Precisely why the educated felt the need to embrace the concepts propounded by the *Malleus* has been much debated among historians but is a discussion which lies beyond the scope of this paper. In part, the belief in witchcraft helped to reaffirm the identity of Christianity itself at a time when the Reformation was dissolving all standards of definition. The reality of Satan was proof of the reality of God and the spiritual realm; the Devil's reality was testified to by the legions of tangible witches who did his bidding. The witches were the counter-saints. Their

activities—working miracles, levitating, foretelling the future, causing and curing disease, and so on—were twisted equivalents of what holy men of the past had done. The witches' powers provided witness to the actuality of the Lord of Hell. Thus, otherwise civilized, cultivated men could demand the extermination of witches. A case in point was that of Jean Bodin, an otherwise tolerant jurist and political economist, praised by Montaigne and Bayle for his wisdom. Bodin was a ferocious enemy of witches. He advocated suspending normal judicial forms to get them to the stake and even proposed burning those who did not believe in witchcraft. He was apparently the first to supply a legal definition of a witch: "One who knowing God's law tries to bring about some act through an agreement with the Devil."[8] This concept of a pact with Satan was the distinguishing mark of European witchcraft.

Against the formidable array of talent, authority, and arguments on the side of the true believers, the skeptics, those who endeavored to offer natural explanations for the phenomena attributed to witchcraft, were at a distinct disadvantage. They operated with the same basic world view as their opponents, animistic and Christian. Once the belief in witchcraft became a virtual requirement of faith, only denying faith could fully explode the idea of the witch. The price of rejecting the supernatural in favor of a mechanistic view of the universe would have been the crippling of Christianity, the opening of the door to agnosticism or nihilism, an unthinkable step. So the skeptics ultimately shrank from the implications of their own arguments, and under the auspices of the true believers a tremendous witch hunt was unleashed which occupied the later part of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth. The hunt reached particular intensity in Scotland, the Swiss cantons, France, and the German states but left no portion of the Protestant and Catholic worlds untouched. Through inquisitional court procedures and torture, tens of thousands were brought to accuse themselves and others of committing demonic sorcery, and these confessions were sufficient to send them to their deaths.

By the standards of other nations, England hardly experienced a witch mania at all, there being not one thousand witches executed in that nation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, largely because torture was rarely used to secure confessions.[9] English witches were customarily punished for *maleficia* rather than consorting with demons, a point emphasized in the three Parliamentary acts passed between 1542 and 1604 making witchcraft a statutory offense.[10] Nor was this the only peculiarity in the English perception of witches. English witch trials ignored the sabbat and had little to say about flying or sexual aberrations. The English displayed much more interest in something rarely encountered on the continent, the familiar, a lesser demon in animal form who ran errands for the witch but was not her lover. Also typically English were bewitched children, whose testimony was deemed sufficient to send some unfortunates to the gallows, for in England witches were hanged, not burned.[11]

The 1580's saw the opening stages of three decades of intense persecution of English witches. It was this distasteful spectacle that impelled Reginald Scot, in 1584, to publish *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, one of the earliet and most influential of the attacks on the witch delusion. The only previous literary venture of this scholarly, middle-aged, country gentleman from Kent had been a popular treatise extolling the virtues of hop farming.[12] *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, based on Scot's own examinations as a Justice of the Peace into reputed cases of witchcraft

and on research into the works of almost 250 authors, was the first book on the subject to be written in English. Even so, Scot did not address himself to the English concept of witches because he wrote in reply to Sprenger, Kramer,[13] and Bodin, and he was, in part, inspired by the work of the Erasmian Dutchman Johann Weyer, personal physician to the Duke of Jülich-Cleve-Mark. Scot was more radical than Weyer. Weyer did feel that the crimes attributed to witches were mere illusions caused by the Devil in melancholics or by drugs, but he fully accepted the palpability of demons and evil sorcerers allied with them.[14] Scot, strictly speaking, did not deny the existence of witches and demons; he did, however, deny them temporal power and thus came dangerously close to denying the supernatural altogether.[15]

Hearing of a wizard condemned to die, Scot wrote to the man, inquiring about his powers. The prisoner responded that he had none, and that furthermore in his twenty-six years of associating with self-proclaimed practitioners of the occult arts, he had never met with anything except imposture and illusion.[16] Scot's own investigations into witchcraft cases had produced the same results.[17] To Scot the witch trials were travesties of justice, full of irregularities. In these trials not only was the evidence insufficient for convictions, but there was rarely any proof crimes had been committed.[18] Witches were convenient scapegoats for adversities, but witches had no supernatural powers. Only God did.[19] The witchmongers, Scot argued with some justification, were Manichaeans, who claimed for the Devil a sovereignty matching that of God. They made evil ubiquitous and all but omnipotent in this world. They seemed to feel that the Devil appeared immediately in response to a summons, ready to perform any service, while God was distant and silent.[20] Scot observed:

> If it were true that witches confesse, or that writers write, or that witchmongers report, or that fooles beleeve, we should never have butter in the chearne, nor cow in the close, nor corne in the field, nor faire weather abroad, nor health within doores. Or if that which is conteined in *M. Mal. Bodin*, &c: or in the pamphlets late set foorth in English, of witches executions, shuld be true in those things that witches are said to confesse, what creature could live in securitie? . . . No prince should be able to reigne or live in the land . . . One old witch might overthrowe an armie roiall: and then what needed we any guns, or wild fire, or any other instruments of warre?[21]

Scot could find no Biblical foundation for the pact with Satan and no logical proof of it. How could a human being strike a legitimate contract with an invisible spirit?[22] How could an unwitnessed, unseen, corrupt bargain with the Devil be of more moment than the baptismal vow to God?[23] Witches were usually impoverished, despised, old women who gained no beauty, wealth, comfort, or wisdom from their dealings with Satan; why would anyone convenant to consign her soul to hellfire and risk torture and execution to boot while receiving nothing of any significance in return?[24] The contradictory accounts of this infernal pact and the utter unrealiability of the informants sufficed to prove this element of witchcraft pure fantasy.[25] Just as chimerical were the sabbat and those many stories in the *Malleus* of demonic lechery. Evil spirits, being devoid of physical members and of the internal vitality required to impregnate witches, were incapable of lewdness, although tales of incubi were convenient to cover the in-

descretions of monks and priests. What was called *incubus* was, in fact, a malady of sleepers caused by stomach vapors which produced a feeling of bodily oppression.[26]

Witches and devils could not transform their own forms or those of others, for God had assigned unalterable natures to all beings. If these could be metamorphosed, than all natural order was at an end.[27] The true believers held that witches could fly after anointing themselves with a noxious ointment made from the fat of young children; they pointed to the Biblical story of Satan transporting Christ to a mountaintop as evidence that the Devil, and presumably his followers, could travel through the air. Scot had no proof from Weyer or any other physician that rendered child had any particular efficacy.[28] As for the Scriptural reference, it had no application to witchcraft. Jesus was no witch and used no salve. His journey was done through the providence of God in fulfillment of a prophecy and was to be understood as a vision not as an actual event, a point made by Calvin himself.[29]

Scot found witches to be of three sorts. First, there were the innocent victims of superstition and malice, who might confess to impossible crimes because of torture or false promises made to them.[30] Secondly, there were the "women which be commonly old, lame, bleare-eied, pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles; poore, sullen, superstitious, and papists; or such as knowe no religion; in whose drousie minds the divell hath goten a fine seat; so as what mischeefe, mischance, calamitie, or slaughter is brought to passe, they are easilie persuaded the same is doone by themselves." These wretched creatures sometimes conceived themselves endowed with the power to cure illness or cast spells. They were forced to live on alms, and when rebuffed, they cursed their neighbors, claiming credit for whatever ill luck might follow. Thus they compensated for their impotence. When arrested for witchcraft, their delusions meshed nicely with those of their judges.[31]

Scot, drawing on Weyer, supposed that anyone who willingly confessed to occult crimes must be melancholic, a common affliction among the menopausal. These bewildered crones only imagined their powers.[32] If they did blaspheme God, kill cattle, or poison men, then they should be punished under the appropriate heresy or felony statutes.[33] It was senseless, on the other hand, to prosecute them for merely desiring to work mischief or for dreaming they flew to sabbats ". . . bicause there is nothing possible in lawe, that in nature is impossible . . . For the law saith, that to will a thing impossible is a signe of a mad man, or of a foole, upon whom no sentence or judgement taketh hold."[34]

The third type of witch, to whom Scot devoted fully a third of his book, was the fraud who deluded the naive with sleight of hand or natural magic, the study of the secret qualities of stones, herbs, and animals. Scot was enough a man of his century to believe that the wound of a murdered man bled in the presence of the killer and that the waters of certain rivers could transmutate wood into stone or turn white lambs black. He was unwilling to discount totally stories of women who could transmit venomous waves from their eyes. Such incidents no doubt seemed marvels to the unlearned, but they could all be explicated scientifically.[35]

Scot contended that he had mustered adequate empirical evidence and scholarly authority to disprove a number of the accusations made against witches, thereby casting grave doubts on the rest of what was said about them.[36] Those who nevertheless continued to hold to the myth of the witch had to be either extremely credulous, treating as factual unfounded legends and literary fiction; or

deceitful, perhaps inventing crimes in order to despoil the accused; or Roman Catholic, used to the bogus conjuring which passed as religion in that church.[37] Scot's conclusion on witchcraft was:

> Witchcraft is in truth a cousening art, wherin the name of God is abused, prophaned, and blasphemed, and his power attributed to a vile creature. In estimation of the vulgar people, it is a supernaturall worke, contrived betweene a corporall old woman, and a spiritual divell. The maner thereof is so secret, mysticall, and strange, that to this daie there hath never beene any credible witness thereof. It is incomprehensible to the wise, learned or faithfull; a probable matter to children, fooles, melancholicke persons and papists.[38]

The chief obstacle to this conclusion was the Bible, so Scot undertook to demonstrate that the classical witch appeared nowhere in Scripture. The Witch of Endor, that favorite example for the true believers, was only a ventriloquist who gave the illusion of raising Samuel from the dead.[39] Scot himself had investigated a similar case not six miles from his home, where a teen-aged girl had used ventriloquism to convince two clergymen and a host of neighbors that she was possessed.[40] The accurate translation of that key verse in Exodus 22, Scot correctly noted, was not "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" but rather "Thou shalt not suffer a poisoner to live." Indeed, all of the Hebrew words normally translated as *witch* in the Bible referred to other sorts—enchanters, diviners, astrologers, soothsayers, and the like—who were to be punished because they were impious swindlers.[41] Nowhere did the Bible address itself to witchcraft as described by the *Malleus* or Bodin, hardly a surprising fact, for, although Scot did not mention it, the Old Testament lacked a clear personification of evil and the elaborate demonology needed to create the Christian definition of witchcraft.[42]

The witchmongers, Scot said, would have witches work the same sorts of miracles Christ did, wonders such as raising the dead, healing the afflicted, even casting out devils.[43] In fact, since apostolic times all miracles had ceased. They were no longer required to bolster God's word, and the deity operated henceforth through natural laws.[44] Thus,

> if all the divels in hell were dead, and all of the witches in *England* burnt or hanged; I warrant you we should not faile to have raine, haile, and tempests, as now we have: according to the appointment and will of God, and according to the constitution of the elements, and the course of the planets, wherin God hath set a perfect and perpetuall order. I am also well assured, that if all the old women in the world were witches; and all the priests, conjurers: we should not have a drop of raine, nor a blast of wind the more or the lesse for them.[45]

It was here that Scot reached a boundary in his argument he dared not cross, for in limiting Satan he had also limited God. If God no longer worked miracles but functioned through "the noble order which he hath appointed in nature,"[46] then what logical reason was there for assuming miracles had ever existed? If natural law governed, then God was reduced to a passive figure. If the miracles attributed to witches were of the same order as those performed by Christ, what were the grounds for rejecting the former but not the latter? Scot could not treat such dilemmas without putting revelation as a whole in jeopardy, and his critics recognized the danger.

One of the most notable of the critics was James VI of Scotland, whose *Daemonologie* of 1597 appeared two years before Scot's death. James had become personally concerned with the topic of witchcraft in 1590 when a group of Catholic witches were tried for trying to sink the King's ship through the peculiar expedient of tossing dismembered corpses and baptized cats into the sea.[47] James' treatise, for the most part, did no more than rehearse the usual assertions of the true believers to refute Scot, but it did specify the key problem in Scot's book: "Doubteleslie who denieth the power of the Deuill, would likewise denie the power of God, if they could for shame. For since the Deuill is the verie contrarie opposite to God, ther can be no better way to know God, then by the contrarie . . ."[48] If the reality of the personification of evil faded, so did the reality of its opposite. If Satan, "God's hangman" James called him,[49] was powerless, so was God. An essential part of Protestantism was at stake here.

When James became King of England in 1603, he ordered copies of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* destroyed, had the anti-witchcraft statute stiffened, and influenced the famous translation of the Bible so that the various Hebrew terms discussed by Scot would all be rendered *witch*. However, as he began to study the witchcraft trials, he uncovered the same sort of evidence of fraud and superstition Scot had found a generation before. During the last nine years of James' reign, there were only five executions for witchcraft;[50] under Charles I no witches at all died. There was a resurgence of witch hunting under Cromwell. The last English witch to be executed died in 1684, 119 years after the first, a century after the publication of Scot's book.[51]

At the end of the seventeenth century, in an atmosphere of declining religious zeal and growing latitudinarianism, the debate over witchcraft resumed. This time the skeptics, bolstered by Locke's *historical plain method* and the mechanistic image of the universe proposed by Newtonian science, had the better of it. They were now emboldened to call into question the very basis of revealed religion in the name of reason, and by the early 1700's the elaborate structure of witchcraft in England had all but collapsed. The witchcraft statute, James' amended version of the Elizabethan law which had so offended Scot, was repealed in 1736, as a debate about the validity of the entire concept of miracles was shaking British intellectual circles.[52]

NOTES

1. Among the most useful of the studies concerned with the origins and development of the Christian concept of witchcraft are: Jeffrey B. Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1972); Jeffrey B. Russell, *A History of Witchcraft; Sorcerers, Heretics and Pagans* (London, 1980); Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons* (New York, 1975); Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Devil, Demonology and Witchcraft: The Development of Christian Beliefs in Evil Spirits*, 2nd ed. (Garden City, 1974); and H.R. Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Harmondsworth, 1969). Collections of primary materials may be found in E. William Monter, ed., *European Witchcraft* (New York, 1969) and Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100-1700* (Philadelphia, 1972). No serious student of the history of witchcraft should miss the classic, trailblazing work of Henry Charles Lea, *Materials toward a History of Witchcraft* (3 vols.; New York, 1939). Cornell University has a vast collection concerning the history of wit-

chcraft, assembled under the auspices of the school's first president, Andrew Dickson White.

2. For a text of the bull of Innocent VIII, see: Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York, 1959), pp. 263-266.
3. Carolly Erickson, *The Medieval Vision* (New York, 1976), pp. 3-28; Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (New York, 1969); Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, pp. 6-12; Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (6 vols.; New York, 1923-1941).
4. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth, 1973), pp. 209-300. See also: Barbara Ehrenreich and Dierdre English, *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1972).
5. Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, p. 337.
6. Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, ed. and trans. by Montague Summers (London, 1928), pp. 20-21.
7. According to the *Malleus*:

   > All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman. Wherefore S. John Chrysostom says on the text, It is not good to marry (*S. Matthew* xix): What else is woman but a foe to friendship, an unescapable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic danger, a delectable detriment, an evil of nature, painted with fair colours! . . . Wherefore in many vituperations that we read against women, the word woman is used to mean the lust of the flesh. As it is said: I have found a woman more bitter than death, and a good woman subject to carnal lust . . . there are more superstitious women found than men . . . they are more credulous; and since the chief aim of the devil is to corrupt faith, therefore he rather attacks them . . . women are naturally more impressionable, and more ready to receive the influence of a disembodied spirit . . . they have slippery tongues and are unable to conceal from their fellow-women those things which by evil arts they know; and, since they are weak, they find an easy and secret manner of vindicating themselves by witchcraft . . . All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in women insatiable. (*Ibid.*, pp. 43-47).

8. On Bodin's anti-witch *De la Démonomaine des Sorciers*, a textbook for judges, see: Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 53-56 and Lea, *Materials*, II, 554-574.
9. Reliable sources on English witchcraft include: Wallace Notestein, *A History of Witchcraft in England, 1558-1718* (New York, 1909); George Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, 1929); Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London and New York, 1970); Barbara Rosen, ed., *Witchcraft* (London, 1969); and Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 517-638.
10. The texts of the three acts are reprinted in Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 158-159, 243-244, 280-281. The Henrician Act of 1542, repealed in 1547, made it a capital offense to use magic or witchcraft to find treasure, provoke unlawful love, discover stolen property, or harm people and their belongings. It seemed as concerned with punishing fraud as with bringing to justice those

guilty of hostile activities. No known prosecutions occurred under this act. The Elizabethan Act of 1563, repealed in 1604, was more lenient. While imposing the death penalty for the invocation of evil spirits or murder by occult means, it provided a scant year's imprisonment for anyone causing injury by witchcraft, provoking unlawful love, intending to kill by witchcraft, or using magic to disclose treasure or stolen goods, with harsher penalties for second offenders. The bulk of the trials under this act appear to be clustered in the 1580's and 1590's, coinciding with the opening stages of the great witch hunt on the continent. Here, again, the major concern was with the injury done by witches. The third and last witchcraft statute, passed in 1604 and repealed in 1736, was more strict than its predecessor, imposing death for a first offense of injuring people or property by witchcraft and for second offenses in all other categories. Its chief concessions to the continental image of the witch was a clause condemning the disinterment of corpses for magical purposes and a statement forbidding people to "consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward any evil and wicked spirit."

11. Rosen, *Witchcraft*, pp. 30-33.
12. There is a brief biography of Scot in Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography* (22 vols.; London, 1921-1922), XVII, 1001-1003.
13. Scot wrote of the *Malleus* that it "conteineth nothing but stinking lies and poperie." Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, ed. by Brinsley Nicholson (London, 1886), XVi:1. All references to the text of Scot's *Discoverie* will be by book and chapter rather than by page number.
14. On Weyer, see: Gregory Zilboorg, *The Medical Man and the Witch during the Renaissance* (New York, 1935), pp. 109-207 and Lea, *Materials*, II, 490-545.
15. In his introductory epistle to the Dean of Rochester and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Scot noted: "My question is not (as manie fondlie suppose) whether there be witches or naie: but whether they can doo such miraculous works as are imputed unto them." (Scot, *Discoverie*, p. xvii) Likewise, his supplemental "Discourse upon divels and spirits" did not suggest devils were imaginary but formless, capable of tempting spiritually but not corporally. (*Ibid.*, pp. 411-470)
16. *Ibid.*, xv:42.
17. *Ibid.*, i:2, iii:10, vii:1-2.
18. *Ibid.*, i:2-10, iii:7.
19. *Ibid.*, i:5.
20. *Ibid.*, i:1, xv:26.
21. *Ibid.*, iii:14.
22. *Ibid.*, iii:4.
23. *Ibid.*, iii:6.
24. *Ibid.*, iii:8, 18.
25. *Ibid.*, iii:2-3, 16.
26. *Ibid.*, iii:19, iv:10-11.
27. *Ibid.*, v:2, 5.
28. *Ibid.*, iii:12.
29. *Ibid.*, v:7.
30. *Ibid.*, ii:8, 12.

31. *Ibid.*, i:3. Scot's views on this sort of witch were echoed in the studies of English witchcraft published a decade ago by Thomas and Macfarlane, both of whom argued that the image of the witch was generated out of changing views concerning the maintenance of dependent members of the community. Oddly, in many witch trials the witch was the original aggrieved party, having been denied Christian charity or a fee that was rightfully hers; her crime was vengeance for a hurt received. See: Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 604-608, 623-624, 658-677 and Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England*, pp. 168-176, 205-206.
32. Scot, *Discoverie*, iii:9, 11-12, 17.
33. *Ibid.*, ii:9.
34. *Ibid.*, i:6.
35. *Ibid.*, xiii:1-16, xvi:9-10.
36. *Ibid.*, ii:10.
37. *Ibid.*, i:5-9, xvi:6-7.
38. *Ibid.*, xvi:2.
39. *Ibid.*, vii:8-14.
40. *Ibid.*, vii:1-2.
41. *Ibid.*, vi:1, vii:1-2, ix:1, x:1, xi:1, xii:1-4, xiii:1, xiv:1, xv:1. See also: Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, p. 46.
42. Jeffrey B. Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca, 1977), pp. 174-220.
43. Scot, *Discoverie*, vii:16, 1x:7.
44. *Ibid.*, i:7, iii:7, vii:14, viii:1-3, x:10, sv:21, 39.
45. *Ibid.*, i:1.
46. *Ibid.*, viii:1.
47. Rosen, *Witchcraft*, pp. 190-203; Robbins, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 359-361.
48. James I, *Daemonologie, in Forme of a Dialogue, Divided into three Books* (Edinburgh, 1597), pp. 54-55. James responded to Scot's argument about accused witches being melancholic and poverty-stricken by observing that many of them were in fact corpulent, pleasure-loving, and prosperous. (*Ibid.*, pp. 29-30)
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 3 of the introduction, 20.
50. James' attitudes towards witchcraft in his later years may be traced in Notestein, *History of Witchcraft in England*, pp. 137-145.
51. The last individual in England to be convicted of witchcraft was Jane Wenham of Hertfordshire in 1712. Wenham, a poverty-stricken but aggressively independent widow of over seventy, claimed she was actually being persecuted because she was a dissenter and a Whig in a region tolerant of neither. In any case, sixteen people, including two clergymen, gave eyewitness accounts of her acts of *maleficia* and her association with demons in the shape of cats. The jury found her guilty as charged, but the embarrassed judge rapidly secured a full pardon for her. See: Phyllis J. Guskin, "The Context of Witchcraft: The Case of Jane Wenham (1712)," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 15, No. 1 (Fall, 1981), 48-71.
52. A recent overview of this debate is presented in R.M. Burns, *The Great Debate on Miracles. From Joseph Glanvill to David Hume* (Lewisburg, 1981).

IN THE SEASON OF SCARLET HERRINGS: SOME RATHER PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT METHODOLOGY IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES

Aidan A. Kelly

I am writing this essay because many scholars who I think ought to know better have recently begun assuming that the *Great Goddess* hypothesis—that a type of monotheistic religion focused on a goddess flourished in Europe and the circum-Mediterranean area in the first, second, etc., millennia B.C., and underlies all succeeding religions—is essentially correct. I am going to point out here that the arguments proposed in favor of this hypothesis turn out to be so many scarlet herrings[1], and that many people now think it true merely because its advocates have so often and loudly proclaimed it true (this is usually called the *big lie* technique in public relations and along carnival midways).

In interdenominational scholarly discussions it is considered gauche—and usually it IS gauche—to *advance truth claims* about one's own beliefs, or to even appear to be denying *truth claims* about other people's beliefs. Religious scholars therefore observe certain conventions in order to be able to get on with ecumenical dialogue, such as (1) never discussing truth claims about specific beliefs, and (2) always assuming that the other person is motivated by pure scholarly curiosity. But if one is not dealing with scholars, this last assumption imposes methodological demands that cannot realistically be carried out. It's silly to try arguing logically with people who are not interested in the facts, and who are willing to propose one argument after another for the conclusion they have already chosen, no matter how often the arguments are demolished. Furthermore, it is hardly a secret that *truth claims* are the whole point of religious beliefs, which are normally held for reasons much more intense than scholarship can claim. To ignore this aspect of religious beliefs is to ignore their essence—as every scholar also knows.

For these reasons, sometimes asking "Why was this written?" or "Why is this position being defended?" is the only way to deal realistically with controversial issues, given that in real life one has only so much time and energy to spend on arguing about them. Our avoidance of the issues of motivation and motives in academic discussions of religious studies often simply abandons the field to the ignorant or to persons with not very hidden agendas. There are quite a few issues about which this is true; I am concerned with the *Great Goddess* hypothesis because I was personally involved with it.

I spent fifteen years believing in the existence of the sort of ancient female monotheism that Robert Graves advocates in *The White Goddess* (Faber and Faber, 1948; 3d, rev. ed., 1966). In 1978, having undergone some radical personal transformations, I began to ask if there were some vantage point from which a pre-Christian *Great Goddess* would be compatible with a liberal, post-Vatican II, Roman Catholic flavor of Christianity. This was not an abstract question for me; I needed an answer that I could live with daily. I began looking at vantage points, and working through various relationship models, eg., Quarternities and Quintessences that might *expand* the Trinity, to see what they would imply. It soon became clear that the problem was not the relationship between Jesus and the Goddess, but that between Mary and the Goddess. Both could not be originals; but which was the imitation?

I was led to an answer by Geoffrey Ashe's *The Virgin* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), which I found useful for precisely the same two reasons that it was blasted by many reviewers. First, Ashe elegantly demonstrates that the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary is the most parsimonious interpretation of the data we have in the New Testament and the Church Fathers; any other interpretation requires assumptions that contradict the plain sense of the scriptural evidence. Second, Ashe is a committed Gravesian and Jungian and argues that the veneration of Mary has little to do with her but is instead a heretical revival of the worship of the pre-Christian *Great Goddess*. As Ashe reconstructs her life, Mary comes out sounding very unpleasant, something like a first century Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, and quite lacking in any faith in her son, either before or after his resurrection, which Ashe argues she never witnessed.

I could find no fault with the logic of Ashe's argument. The only way his conclusion could be wrong, I realized, would be if there had never been any sort of concept of a goddess as a monotheistic deity in pre-Christian times. If there had been any such Goddess at all, then one cannot avoid the conclusion that Mary must have been merely a bitchy Jewish mother, as Ashe argues. This conclusion does not bother non-Christians, of course, but as a Christian I did not want to accept it unless I were forced to.

Now, finally, I began to ask myself, "How could there not have been a Goddess? There's so much evidence for Her existence!" But just asking this made me able to see that perhaps there was not so much evidence after all. As a convinced member of the Gardnerian movement[2], I had believed that Graves' concept of the Goddess *ought* to be true, and had spent fifteen years trying to prove it true. Now I began a long and difficult process of stepping back to look at the situation more clearly. I ralized that actually I had found many facts that would not fit his theory; actually, I had pretty well convinced myself that the facts do NOT fit his theory at all. Now I could ask, "What's wrong here? Why won't the facts fit?"—and the answer became embarrassingly obvious. It was this.

For fifteen years I had been saying not, "Here are some interesting data. Could it be parsimoniously explained by the hypothesis of a *Great Goddess*? Let's get out Occam's Razor and see." I had been saying, "I WANT it to be true that there was a *Great Goddess*; so I will do my best to find evidence in favor of her existence, and to explain away any evidence that does not favor her existence." That is not scholarship but special pleading, nothing more, nothing less. And when I now look at the writings of Robert Graves, of many current radical feminists, or of practically anyone since Bachofen, I realized that the simplest way to explain why they take the positions they espouse is to suppose that they are engaging in special pleading also and are not basing their arguments on scholarly assessments of all known facts.

(Kind readers, please note: Admitting it publicly when you've been wrong is supposed to be of the essence of scholarship, and of scientific method; but how often have you seen it done?)

In *On Poetry* (Doubleday, 1969), Graves responds to criticism from Randall Jarrell by saying (p. 235), "Mr. Jarrell cannot accuse me of inventing the *White Goddess*." Well, yes, Mr. Jarrell could, and did, and rightfully so, because that is precisely what Graves did. Graves' imagination ranged over heaven and earth, and constructed a goddess to suit his own fancy. That some evidence supports his basic contention proves nothing. As the novelist Robert Anton Wilson has said,

"The evidence is so good that I'd believe it myself if I didn't know what a great artist I am and how easy it is for me to produce baroque and beautiful models to fit any weird facts you give me to work with." And the fact that Dr. Wilson made this remark in an interview in *Conspiracy Digest* (1976) is quite apposite here, since Graves' *White Goddess* presents a network of conspiracy theories.

The White Goddess is a perfectly charming book, of course. Graves' erudition is vast, and he tells stories well. It is hard for me to be critical about the book that introduced me to the classics, to mythology, to Celtic literature, to the history of Christian origins. Nevertheless, I had to realize that, although half the facts in the book are unexceptionable, the other half are anywhere from slightly to totally wrong, because they have been distorted to fit Graves' special-pleading argument. Furthermore, there is no way to tell which half any one fact belongs to except by going back to the original sources. As a result, *The White Goddess* is utterly useless as a reference work for any of the fields it deals with. (I had to throw out fifteen years' worth of notes when I finally realized this, and that hurt.) Graves himself claims to be only a poet (although he sometimes forgets this), and has caused little direct social damage. But damage is done when otherwise able scholars assume that his hypothesis is essentially correct and therefore arrive at erroneous conclusions (as with Christine Downing's *The Goddess*), or when persons with no scholarly abilities at all assume that *The White Goddess* is historically accurate in all details, and proceed to build political fantasies on it (as we have in Merlin Stone's *When God Was A Woman).*

At this stage of my retrogression, I could ask why anyone would want to believe in this Goddess theory. Again the answer became obvious: The Goddess theory is what Toynbee calls a revenant of the mythological theory of Christian origins, which is supposed in scholarly circles to be a dead issue. But it is not, for it lives on through the influence of Bultmann, and it certainly is not dead for the public. I find that I understand the theory best in terms of an old joke about a man being sued for breaking a borrowed vase, who argues, "Your Honor, in the first place, I never borrowed the vase. In the second place, it was already broken when I borrowed it. And in the third place, it was in perfect condition when I returned it." The joke is about the psychology of denial, and what is being denied by the mythological theory is the *truth claims* of Christianity.

Now, if we apply this pattern of thought to Mary, we find, "First, there was no such person as the Blessed Virgin Mary. Second, she was just a perfectly ordinary Jewish girl. Third, anything special about her everyone already believed about somebody else." About who? About the Goddess. That is, the Goddess has been invented simply to be that somebody else. In other words, the White Goddess theory makes no sense until one asks WHY it exists; then one can see that the only reason for it to exist is as an anti-Christian polemic.[3]

Once we realize that *The White Goddess* is motivated by Graves' deep-seated animus (or anima, if you will) against Christianity, we can more easily understand why the book is regarded as authoritative and all but inspired by people who want to call themselves *witches* and whose stance of being *non-Christian* quickly becomes *anti-Christian* at the least provocation. The *anti-Christian* polemic is, however, not usually displayed quite so blatantly as in Erica Jong's recent *Witches*, which preaches the orthodox Gardnerian line.[4]

I find it especially disheartening when scholars repeat the assertion (by Graves, and by others before him) that the veneration of Mary is an imitation of the cult of

Isis. This turns out not to be historically possible. Current Marian scholarship (especially that of Raymond Brown) has shown that all later ideas about Mary are already inherent in the Gospel of Luke, which was written by 95 or 100, and that Luke was not *making up* what he wrote about Mary, but transmitting the traditions about her held in the communities he knew. Now, what we know about Isis as the sort of goddess at issue here comes from Plutarch and Lucius. Plutarch scholars feel that his essays on religion, including that on Isis and Osiris, were written late in his life, ca. +/- 10; furthermore, certain passages in this essay are clearly an early form of the *Sophia* speculations that appear full-blown in Valentinian Gnosticism ca. 140.[5]

If the movement toward Gnosticism began as a sectarian split within the original Johannine community about 80-85, as Raymond Brown has proposed in *The Community of the Beloved Disciple*, then Plutarch's concepts make good historical sense if they fall in the middle of this developmental period, but there is no context for them earlier. Lucius' *Metamorphosis* was written about 155 (+/-10), right in the middle of the efflorescense of Alexandrian Gnosticism; so his Isis is best understood as a repaganized version of the Gnostic Sophia, and thus as an imitation of an imitation of Mary.[6]

If a *Great Goddess* had been worshipped in the Greco-Roman world, we would have much clearer evidence of such worship than her proponents can offer. It is at least suspicious that all the evidence they offer dates either about or after the end of the first Christian century, and that no relevant evidence is CLEARLY pre-Christian. Indeed, what is most obvious from Greco-Roman literature is that goddesses were not especially important to the Greeks or the Romans. Even more, it is the fact that goddesses were definitely second-class citizens of every pantheon known in Greco-Roman or Mesopotamian civilization that makes the *Great Goddess* hypothesis so apparently novel; this same fact is what many feminists are currently protesting as symbolizing a vast historical injustice.

Those who propose that the veneration of Mary imitates the worship of a *Great Goddess* are proposing that Christians had decided to emulate a type of worship that had not existed (according to the evidence we do have) in the Mediterranean area for at least 1,500 years. But why would Christians of any sort want to do that? (And if it were non-Christians doing so, there is no reason for discussion.) It would be as logical to assert that they had revived the concept of God that had existed before Abraham, who would have lived somewhere between 2000 and 1500 B.C.

Graves does, of course, exercise much ingenuity in trying to interpret evidence from classical Greek times in terms of the Great Goddess hypothesis; in fact, his *The Greek Myths* (Pelican, 1955) consists almost entirely of this sort of ingenuity. Typically, Graves takes a passage praising a goddess, and tries to interpret it as being from a tradition in which this goddess was the one and only deity. Such a passage is the "hymn to Hectate" in Hesiod's *Theogony* (404-452). Martin West, in his critical edition of the *Theogony* (Clarendon Press, 1966), says that "every family . . . has one principal deity whom it worships above all others . . . Hectate . . . is the chief goddess of her evangelist" (p. 277). That is, the passage is henotheistic, not monotheistic; the gap between *chief goddess* and *only goddess* cannot be leaped over by any facile assumptions. Every example that Graves offers suffers from this same flaw.[7]

Graves, and others before him, had constructed the *Great Goddess* theory

largely by appealing to times and places about which the evidence was so fragmentary that it could bear many different sorts of reconstructions. One such time and place, until quite recently, was Bronze-Age Greece. During the 1940s, Graves could still plausibly pick out one possibility—that of a matriarchal religion—offered by such great classicists as Martin Nilsson and Axel Persson as a way to explain extant data about the Bronze Age, and expand it into his vision of a civilization that extended across all of Europe and the Near East, of small, dark people, worshipping a Mother Goddess, and conquered by tall, blond invaders who worshipped a Father God. We can recognize that this latter-day myth arose out of the nightmare of World War II just as Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* did. We should also note that the Catholic Tolkien never forgot he was inventing a myth intended ultimately as an epiphany of his faith; but the non-Christian Graves did forget, and came to believe he had rediscovered a history that would justify his lack of faith.

In the early 1950s Robert Graves could plausibly speculate backward from the classic myths (in Homer, Hesiod, Genesis, and so on) to a goddess religion. But much work since then has eliminated that plausibility. There is still a little room—but not much—to quibble over what language the Minoan Linear A script was designed to record. The greatest probability—and there is no significant evidence to the contrary—is that the language was Northwest Semitic (an older relative of Hebrew). Such books as Cyrus Gordon's *The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilization* (Norton, 2d ed., 1965), Joseph Fontenrose's *Python* (University of California Press, 1959), and Michael Astour's *Hellenosemitica* (Brill, 1967), to name only a few, have now provided a clear outline of the history of Greece during the period in question. In this outline, the Greek mainland was the westernmost outpost of the general Semitic-speaking civilization that stretched across Asia Minor, down the Mediterranean coast to Egypt, and around the Fertile Crescent to include all of Mesopotamia. We can trace trade routes to the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile, and we can see the relationships of architecture in Greece to that in Mesopotamia. The work of structuralists and linguists (discussed in detail by Fontenrose and Astour) has made reasonably clear that the beliefs in 1500 B.C. which evolved into the classic Greek myths, on the one hand, and into the stories in Genesis, on the other, were simply a variety of the polytheistic beliefs then common in Mesopotamia, which by 1500 B.C. are known in the full light of documented history, and have been for thousands of years. These beliefs are not at all what Graves' speculations asserted. At the least we know that the society which existed in Greece then was not the sort of matrifocal, matrilineal, matrilocal matriarchy that Graves proposed so there is no room for the sort of goddess religion he proposed, since it could only have existed in that sort of society.

About the time I have reached this point in a coversation about why Graves' theory does not work, my feminist friends have begun protesting, "But the Goddess must have been worshipped even earlier, someplace else." The unstated assumption here is that if you want to believe in the goddess theory, but the facts disagree with the theory, then you simply move the theory to a time and place for which there are no inconvenient facts to contradict it. As I said, that is special pleading, not scholarship. To the contrary, what we must conclude is that, in the one situation (Greece in the early second millennium B.C.) in which it has become possible to test the *Great Goddess* hypothesis, it has failed miserably; so we have

no reason to think it might be true elsewhere or elsewhen.

I hope it has now become clear why such a theory about a pre-Christian female monotheism could not have been (and in fact was not) thought up by people who did not already know about the Blessed Virgin Mary. The gentle, loving Goddess being advocated by the Gardnerian/Neopagan movement, and by the feminist religious groups that imitate the Gardnerian pattern plays essentially the same role of personal deity and redeemer for them that Jesus plays in Christian belief. One cannot derive such a concept of a goddess from a dispassionate survey of historical data about goddesses, who were generally even more bloodthirsty and uncompassionate than the gods in any one pantheon; witness Artemis Orthia (beloved of Gardner), Demeter Melaina, Kali, Cybele, or the Morrigan (all of whom can be looked up in standard dictionaries of mythology). No, the Goddess being described in rather saccharine terms (and thus diverging from Graves) in current Neopagan and feminist literature has not been restored from history, but has been created by investing the Blessed Virgin with some of the divine attributes of her son. In this sense, the concept of the Goddess is Christian, and has never been anything else.

Since this Goddess was created specifically to replace Jesus, it becomes clear why she cannot live peaceable with him. Here she differs radically from all the genuine gods and goddesses, about whom there is a clear tradition in Christianity—one that includes such dicerse persons as St. Eusebius the Chronicler and J.R.R. Tolkien—that they always were Holy Ones of God, were essential to the gradual unfolding of the revelation of the Spirit to us and for us, and therefore dwell somewhere between the saints and the angels in the multidimensional *mansions of Heaven* whatever that may turn out to mean; however, this is a far more subtle topic than any of those I have dealt with in this essay, and there is no space here even to begin discussing it.

FOOTNOTES

[1]A scarlet herring is to a red herring as a scarlet letter is to a red letter. The three main ones dealt with here are (1) that the Goddess religion survived and became the current witchcraft movement; (2) that veneration of Mary imitates the cult of the Goddess; and (3) that there was any sort of *pre-Christian female monothesim* at all.

[2]This is a convenient name for the current *neopagan* religion of *witchcraft* and Goddess worship, founded by Gerald B. Gardner and Doreen Valiente in the 1950s. Its adherents, and many current radical feminists, claim that this religion is a survival of the ancient Goddess religion, and hence is evidence that the Goddess religion existed. To the contrary, I found myself forced to prove that this religion is entirely a modern invention; on this, see my paper, "The Invention of Witchcraft," in issue #10 of Marcello Truzzi's *The Zetetic Scholar*.

[3]If we apply this sort of thinking to Jesus, we arrive at, "Jesus was a perfectly ordinary person, and anything special about him was already believed about somebody else." It was in attempting to create an identity for this *somebody else* that Bultmann proposed a *pre-Christian Gnostic Redeemer myth* as one source for the Gospel of John, a viewpoint that is still infecting current Johannine scholarship. However, it has since turned out that all the evidence Bultmann offered for the existence of this myth is post-Christian; that is, there is no pre-Christian evidence at all for any concept of a Savior anything like Jesus of Nazareth. (After

all, if such a concept were already around, why did people find it so hard to accept the sort of Messiah that Jesus turned out to be?) It is this whole scenario that is being replayed in arguments about the Goddess.

[4]As an excuse for her vehemently anti-Christian attitude, Ms. Jong seems to blame Christianity for sexual problems. I've noticed that people who do this have never bothered to think seriously about how abominable their sex lives would be—assuming they were allowed to have sex lives at all—if Christianity did not exist. The irony here, of course, is that Christianity is more radically pro-sexual than any other religion, and deserves most of the credit for the fact that the sex lives of people in Western European civilization are as good as they are. This seems a good place to mention that Annette Daum, Coordinator of the Department of Interreligious Affairs of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, told the second annual meeting of Feminists of Faith that she sees a "disconcerting trend toward anti-Semitism" as being basic to these *post-Christian* Goddess writings.

[5]J.G. Griffiths, *Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride* (University of Wales Press, 1970), points out (citing the work of Torhoudt, 1942) similarities between De Is. 19 and Hippol. Refut. 6.30.1 (on p. 354), and between De Is. 54 and Hippol. Refut. 6.30.6-31.6 (on pp. 49, 504).

[6]Robert Graves suggested that the story of the disciples on the road to Emmaus is based on a similar passage in Lucius. This was a blatant and wilful ignoring of the fact that Lucius must be dated at least 45 years after Luke—and a fair example of the sort of errors that Graves perpetrated throughout *The White Goddess*.

[7]We must also remember that the first person to arrive at the concept of true monotheism, and to state it clearly, was the Second Isaiah, in Babylon, in about 550 B.C. This was one of the great creative achievements of humanity. It is as silly to ascribe this concept, on the basis of no evidence at all, to a provincial, conservative Greek poet some 150 years earlier, or—for that matter—to any earlier person, as it would be to claim that Hesiod had secretly written Plato's *Republic*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, or Newton's *Principia*.

THE BRITISH DRUIDS AND ROMANIZATION

John H. Knight

From the time of their disappearance during the Roman conquest of Britain in the first century A.D. until their literary reemergence during the Romantic period, the Druids of Britain lay beneath a pall of mystery and humbug. Since their disinternment from historical obscurity by early Romantics, these Celtic law-givers and priest of pagan culture have often drifted in the mists of legends not of their own making. Although studies by Mommsen, Jullian, Momigliano and Kendrick[1] set aside forever the Druids-and-Stonehenge type of fantasy for scholars, the Druids have been the subjects of a debate about their own demise. Norman DeWitt has asserted that "Few historians now believe that the Druids, as a corporation, constituted an effective anti-Roman element during the period of Caesar's conquests and in the early years of Roman Gaul . . ."[2] Yet recent historians continue to debate whether Rome attempted systematically to destroy this small group of pagan priests, or if their demise resulted from the inevitable decay of Druidic influence, perhaps accelerated by close contact with Roman civilization.[3] In short, determining the cause of the fate of th Druids in general, and of the British Druids in particular, is a labyrinthine process requiring skepticism towards sources and some small amount of projection from sometimes tenuous historical data. Yet in the end this scholarly detective story yields fascinating results which beg further investigation and new, more solid information.

Two major problems exist for historians trying to wend their way through this question: first, the reliability of sources; second, the availability of the evidence, especially for the British Druids. Nora K. Chadwick has shown in her study of the Greek and Roman sources how the prejudices of the classical historians both for and against the Celts cast fog over the modern student's view of the Druids. On the one hand, writers who followed Posidonius—Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Caesar, Pomponius Mela, and Lucan—presented accounts of the Celts and their Druids which correlate highly with post pagan Irish hero tales and the evidence of modern archeology, despite some evidence of what Stuart Piggott has called "soft primitivism."[4] On the other hand, the exaltation of the Druids by Alexander Cornelius Polyhistor and other members of the Alexandrian school during the early Christian era perpetuated the image of the Druids as primitive philosophers. As Mrs. Chadwick puts it, the Alexandrian tradition, "however erroneous at times in the interpretation of the traditions, is in tone respectful towards the druids . . ." and "dismisses their philosophy on the level of other systems beyond the limits of the Ionian and the Greek world."[5] Thus, making the Druids into magi in the Pythagorean or Stoic molds, vessels of grand primitive wisdom, occurred long before the Romantic movement and carried similar fancifulness.

Our major source of information about the Druids remains Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, a mixture of passages taken from the ethnographic work of Posidonius, other obscure sources, and presumably first-hand observations. Although Caesar reduced the Posidonian tripartite division of the Gallic intellectual class to two groups, he apparently was merely ignoring specific distinctive class features followed by Diodorus and Strabo. Yet Caesar's account of the Druids as teachers remains unique and essentially elevates the importance of the Druids as purveyors of the Gallic culture and laws. (VI, 13) Caesar, however, clearly had political

reasons of his own for emphasizing and even exaggerating the power of the Gallic priesthood. As J.J. Tierney has noted, although Caesar's account remains our most extensive source about the Celtic priesthood, the scholar who places uncritical trust in *De Bello Gallico* may diminish the validity of his work on the Druids: "That the influence of the Druids is exaggerated in this passage is made probable by the fact that we hear so little of them, either before or after this period, and also by the fact that Caesar, who gives in this section (VI, 13) such an astounding catalogue of their powers, never devotes another single word to them in his *Gallic War* in any of these capacities."[6]

Except for his discussion of the Druids' pedagogical duties and their suspected origins in Britain, Ceasar's portrayal of the Gauls and their Druids varies little from the accounts given by classical historians before or immediately after him. As Tierney has so meticuously pointed out, Posidonius' work on the Celts was "reproduced in summary and with some changes and additions in the three later Greek authors, the historian Diodorus Sicula, the geographer Strabo, and the writer of miscellanies, Athaneus. The similar material in Caesar's *Gallic War* is taken from Posidonius without acknowledgement and with significant and highly debatable omissions and additions."[7] The accounts of Diodorus (V, 31) and Strabo (*Geographia*, IV, 4) concern themselves primarily with ethnographic and religious matters, such as Posidonius' tripartite division of the Gallic intellectual class. In his next chapter, however, Strabo begins his famous and critical account of the Gallic custom of bringing home the heads of their enemies and nailing them to their huts, even though he initially omits from Posidonius the report of augury through human sacrifice. He adds that the Gauls embalm these heads and display them to strangers, refusing to return them to their relatives even for their weight in gold. He then adds to his source a statement that the Gauls "used to strike a man whom they had devoted to death in the back with a knife, and then divine from his death-throes; but they did not sacrifice without the druids."[8] This addition and a subsequent one describing other human sacrifices—by arrows, impaling, and the famous burning of victims within a wood and straw *colossus*, also reported by Caesar—well represent the derogatory tone so common to the later Roman writings which refer to the Gallic Druids. Lucan, for example, attributes to the Gauls "barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum sacrorum . . . nemora alta remotis incolitis lucis" [barbaric rites and a forbidding mode of worship in deep groves]. (*Pharasalia*, I, 447)

In Lucan's statement we can recognize the basis of the supposition of contemporary historians that Rome indeed formulated an official policy of repression against the Gallic religion. Of pre-Posidonian origins, the view is that the Druids were involved in barbaric religious rites (e.g., human sacrifices for purposes pointed out by Strabo above) which the Romans found abhorent to their ideals of civilization. In so far as this policy was focused on the Druids, DeWitt capsulizes the argument precisely: Based on Caesar's description, "the Druids were the dominant element in Gallic society . . . [and] backed by the religious sanctions of their decrees, they all but controlled the civil administration of the Gallic states, and . . . through their central organization and annual meeting at which the arch-Druid was elected, they constituted a pan-Gallic organization, the only truly national body."[9] The question, stated deftly by Hugh Last, has been not whether Rome did in fact practice official genocide against the Druids, but rather, why: "Was the consideration which brought Rome into conflict with Druidism that it

fostered disloyalty? Or was it that the Druids preserved practices of savagery incompatible with the standards of civilization expected by Rome in her empire?"[10]

What, in fact, do the extant classical sources reveal about Roman policy towards the Druids? Do the historical data support either of these two historical views, or is some other explanation yet more plausible for the fact that following the Roman conquest of Britain in the first century A.D., the Druids disappear from any prominent position in history?[11] Certainly one obvious reason for believing that Rome followed a determined policy of extermination of the Druids is the tonal change during the first century A.D. in Roman references to the priests. As we have already seen, Lucan decries the alleged barbaric rites of the Gauls, an echo of Caesar's earlier description (VI, 16), and a continuation of the ascription of human sacrifices among the Gauls by classical writers at least as far back as Posidonius. Pliny's attack on the Druids is yet more pointed, giving thanks to Rome for eliminating the monstrosity of human sacrifice and the cannabalism of the victim. (*Naturalis Historia*, XXX, 4) Neither of these sources reflects any of the earlier Posidonian attitude, clear even in Caesar's accounts (VI, 14), of respect for the position held by the Druids in their own society.

Indeed, according to Seutonius, Augustus had forbidden Roman citizens to participate in the religious rites of the Druids, and Claudius had decided to suppress the pagan religion altogether: "Druidarum religionem apud Gallos dirae immanitatis et tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictum penitus abolevit" [He thoroughly abolished the cruel and savage religion of the Druids among the Gauls, which under Augustus had only been forbidden to citizens]. (*Divus Claudius*, V. 25) Pliny's appraisal of Roman action borders on lauditory. After emphasizing the medico-magical powers of the Druids and giving his own singularly most extensive account of druidic rites in caves and oak groves, Pliny praises the extermination of this religious cancer: "Nec satis aestimari potest quantum Romanis debeatur qui sustulere monstra in quibus hominem occidere religiossimum erat, mandi vero etiam saluberrimum" [And we cannot estimate how much is owed to the Romans who removed the monstrous conditions in which killing a man was the highest religious function, and to eat him was indeed wholesome]. (XXX, 13)

Certainly on the face of this evidence, Rome would seem to have moved against the Druids for their participation, attested to from Posidonius to Pliny, in barbarous human sacrifices. Scholars who espouse this evidence would seem to be on firm ground, as Hugh Last points out: "In it [Roman history to the time of Claudius] there is nothing at all about anti-Roman activities against the Druids, but a consensus that it was the savagery of their rites which moved Rome to interfere . . . Thus the conclusion to which the evidence seems to point is that what Rome attacked in Gaul was barbarism, especially manifested in rites of human sacrifice, and that counted the suppression of such savagery as part of their service to mankind."[12]

In fact, however, that is not all of the evidence. As already reported (see note 11 above), Tacitus recorded a Druid-inspired Gallic uprising as late as 69 A.D. Even earlier, in 21 A.D., some Gallic cities revolted against heavy taxation and possibly against the Roman suppression of the Druids. Professor Hatt has speculated that the Druids may even have been behind this late outbreak.[13] And whatever the situation on the continent, the relations between the British Druids and the frontier legions of the Roman Empire were anything but settled. Undoubtedly, as

Ronald Dudley and Graham Webster have emphasized, driven from their Gallic domains and forced to retreat to the island which Caesar believed to be their home, the Druids must have been "a strong unifying force in the Celtic world . . . and were now bent on holding back the influence of Rome . . . The Druids in Britain would never compromise, and to them the *pax Romana* was anathema. To survive at all, resistance must be continued . . ."[14]

Although Dudley and Webster place considerable reliance upon the history of Dio Cassius, the account of Tacitus' *Annals* (written two centuries closer to the occurrences than that of Dio) concerning the great Briton chieftain Caratacus and his multi-tribal support among the Welsh after his defeat at Camulodunum (Colchester), his lengthy fight in the western mountains against the Romans until his capture in 51 A.D., and the continuity of the battle against Roman rule following Caratacus' generalship—all suggest a force behind the uncharacteristic tribal unity facing the invader. (XII, 31-40) Later in the *Annals*, in his famous description of Seutonius Paulinus' assault upon and decimation of the Isle of Mona (Anglesey), Tacitus gives us the singular reference to the British Druids upon which so much of the speculation about the Druids as *the* unifying political power would seem to rest, in combination with Caesar's account. Seutonius planned to attack Mona, writes Tacitus, because it was thickly populated, because it had given protection to many refugees fleeing before the Roman advance, and because he wanted this victory to rank with that of the reconquest of Armenia. Given the on-going fighting of the Welsh tribes after Caratacus' capture, especially the beleagured Silures and the Ordovice, Mona clearly must have represented more of a threat to Roman security than being a refugee camp, over-populated with the rag-tag assemblage of wounded, harassed Briton warriors.

That this is in fact the case becomes apparent in Tacitus' account of Seutonius' attack on Mona, surely one of the most vivid descriptions in classical history. To accomplish all of his goals—glory as well as the conquest of all of Britain south of the Picti—Seutonius drove his troops around the fierce resistance among the Silure and the Ordovice of south and north central Wales and through the lands of the Cornovii and the Decangali along the northern coast. Implicit in his strategy rests the suspicion at the heart of the religious barbarity-political power debate for the British Celts: On Mona, the known sacred refuge of the Druids, was concentrated a group of political leaders who sustained the resistance against total Roman victory, and whose destruction would make unified opposition among the tribes from the Brigantes south at best difficult and likely impossible. Clearly, in Tacitus' opinion, Seutonius initiated his Mona campaign in 61 A.D. with this in mind.

Driving through north coastal Wales with little opposition, Seutonius arrived on the shores of the Menai Strait, ordered his supply corps to construct flat-bottomed boats to ferry his infantry and cavalry across the shallows to assault the Holy Isle. On the approaching shore awaited a spectacle so weird and awesome that without the general's urging, notes Tacitus, the men would have turned back: "Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercursantifus feminis, quae in modum Furiarum veste ferali, crinibus deiectis faces praeferebant; Druidaeque circum, preces diras sublatis ad coelum manibus fundentes, novitate adspectus perculere militem" [Established on the shore was the hostile army in a dense mass, among them women dressed in funeral garb like Furies, hair streaming back and carrying torches, while nearby Druids poured forth fearful curses, their hands raised to heaven. This strange spectacle unnerved the

(Roman) soldiers]. (XIV, 30) Tacitus then goes on to describe, after Seutonius' troops had enveloped the Briton resistors in the flames of their own torches and had overrun the entire island, how the soldiers were given one last important task: "Praesidium pasthac impositum victis excisique luci saevisd superstitionibus sacri; nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant" [A force was established over the conquered, and their groves dedicated to horrible superstitions were hewed down. They indeed considered it a duty to cover their alters with their captives' blood and to consult their gods through human entrails]. (XIV, 30) Although Mrs. Chadwick suspects that Tacitus may have added "grand rhetorical effect on some picturesque hints which he had received from oral tradition,"[15] the passage has generally been accepted by scholars as evidence of Mona as a final, political stronghold of the Druids. Here, on what the last rebels against the Roman invasion believed was an isolated, safe refuge, protected by the Welsh mountains filled with loyal tribes, the last flames of the Druid fire was extinguished by Seutonius' legionnaires.

In addition to literary evidence, archeological finds on Anglesey have demonstrated the close ties between the Druids of Mona and the peoples of northern Wales and its borders. Basing her argument primarily on archeological evidence supplemented by classical historians, Anne Ross has concluded precisely what Tacitus' account propounds: The large cache of metal artifacts found at Llyn Cerrig Bach indicates that "they were flung there by the Druids in A.D. 61. This would represent a final desperate invocation of the gods, in which the metalwork from all parts of Celtic Britain were represented, slave chains, and chariots being included in the deposits."

In Britain, if not on the continent, one final piece of historical data, negative in nature, argues in favor of the view that the Druids could not keep themselves out of anti-Roman politics, and that whether Rome viewed their religious practices as barbaric or not, the Empire must have found their political meddling in Britain the primary reason for exterminating them. Except for Boudicca's rebellion in 61 A.D. while Seutonius was occupied on Mona, once the Druids were killed, the tribes of Britain never again presented a united front against the Roman invaders. Sporadic tribal war with the Silures and Ordovices in Wales, and intra-tribal problems with Venutius and his wife Cartimandua and their Brigantes periodically occurred, and often were not quelled without considerable Roman military effort. Indeed, as Tacitus' *Agricola* demonstrates, the Romans regularly had their military hands full of small uprisings in the British northlands. However, with the elimination of the Druids, accounts of any centralized or even ideologically unified campaign against the legions south of the lands of the Pacti cease to occur in the histories.

Combined with the evidence from Tactitus, Dio Cassius and others, the case for the elimination of the British Druids seems decidedly one of political expediency. If, after all, the only reason to exterminate the insular druids was the repulsiveness of their religious rites, when for ten years and more the Welsh tribes had been harassing and sometimes under Caratacus decimating the outpost legions, why should a military leader as shrewd as Seutonius risk a substantial part of his forces to eliminate religious fanaticism and weaken his already quite vulnerable border strength? Given Seutonius' exceptional military record, turning his forces against Welsh mountain resistance would soon assure him of the chance to dispense with the Druid barbarities. On the other hand, if the Druids in fact were the cohesive

force behind the resistance from the Welsh hills, whether that was a fact or believed to be the fact, his glorious victory could be more expediently accomplished by excising the cancer at the center of this disease of British resistance. Remove the leadership, remove the resistance. And, of course, by destroying the Druids, Seutonius would also eliminate the despicable religious rites which so continuously chaffed the sensibilities of civilized Romans.[17] In looking at the northern British religious cults, Anne Ross supports this belief: "The Druidic order would be, as in the case of the Anglesey community, ruthlessy suppressed and exterminated as being representative of human sacrifice, political power and constituting a unifying element amongst the opposition."[18]

Although historians have suggested that in Gaul the political, pedagogical and religious powers of the Druids as recorded in Caesar's and other classical reports were idealized, romanticized vestiges of an earlier time, in Britain the case for the Druids as the rallying force against the Roman invasion seems substantial. Reports of Tacitus, archeological evidence, and the general developments of first century military history in Britain[19] point to the destruction of the Mona stronghold by Seutonius as the stroke intended to cut the heart out of British tribal opposition. If that also halted the actual or supposed sacrificial rites so repugnant to the Roman people, then the Anglesey attack proved doubly successful. Undoubted in Gaul the lengthy historical contact between the Celts and the Romans did culturally dilute the importance of the Druids as teachers, law-givers and philosophers, as DeWitt and Piggott have convincingly argued. (See note 3 above.)

In Britain, however, the abrupt swiftness of the Roman conquest argues not for acculturation over a long period but a forced resignation to Romanization most facilitated by the calculated destruction of the Druids as the actual, or certainly believed, center of political opposition through their subversive organization of the Briton warriors. Unlike DeWitt's portrayal of the Gallic Druids as "educated gentlemen of Roman Gaul," our last view of their insular brotherhood shows them casting vile imprectations at the inevitable horde of Roman legionnaires forging the Menai Strait to effect the total subjugation of Celtic Britain.

NOTES

[1]Theodor Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Romand Empire from Caesar to Diocletian*, trans. W.P. Dickson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909); Cammile Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1908); A. Momigliano, *Claudius: The Emperior and His Achievement*, trans. W.D. Hogarth (Oxford, 1934; T.D. Kendrick, *The Druids: A Study in Keltic Prehistory* (London, 1927).

[2]Norman Dewitt, "The Druids and Romanization," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Americal Philogical Association*, 69 (1938), p. 319.

[3]DeWitt, p.331; Stuart Piggott, *The Druids* (New York, 1970), p. 129; Nora K. Chadwick, *The Druids* (Cardiff, 1966), pp. 98-102.

[4]*The Druids*, pp. 99-102.

[5]*The Druids*, p. 59.

[6]J.J. Tierney, "The Celtic Ethnography of Posidonius," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 60, Sect. C (March 25, 1960), p. 214.

[7]Tierney, p. 198.

[8]Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, trans. H.L. Jones (London, 1932).

[9]DeWitt, p. 322.

[10]Hugh Last, "Rome and the Druids: A Note,," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 39:1 (1949), p. 2.

[11]Pliny records an incident of a Romanized Gallic chieftain being put to death for being caught wearing a Druidic Talisman (XXX, 12), and Tacitus reports a Druid-led uprising in Gaul in 69 A.D. (*Histories*, IV, 54). Notably, after Tacitus' citation, there are no specific references to incidents involving the Druids as an organized group, although undoubtedly they continued to exist influentially for some time.

[12]"Rome and the Druids," p. 4.

[13]J.J. Hatt, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, 1959), p. 123.

[14]Ronald R. Dudley and Graham Webster, *The Roman Conquest of Britain* (London, 1965), pp. 71-72.

[15]*The Druids*, p. 38.

[16]Anne Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition* (New York, 1967), p. 16.

[17]Both Ross and Chadwick view with skepticism the participation of the Druids in Celtic religious rites. Ross even notes that there is "an extremely insubstantial corpus of evidence for the Celtic priesthood, the validity of which decreases upon critical study." (p. 52) Chadwick notes, "In fact the part assigned to the druids in religious ceremonies is far from clear; but it does not appear to have been prominent, or to suggest that the druids held the functioin of priests." (pp. 45-6) Thus the general use of the word "priests" to descirbe the Druids may itself be inappropriate.

[28]*Pagan Celtic Britain*, p. 367.

[19]Grace Simpson, *Britons and the Roman Army: A Study of Wales and the Southern Pennines of the 1st-3rd Centuries* (London, 1964).

THE SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF BLOOD IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Rev. David T. Lyon,
Chaplain, Fort Hays State University

Throughout most of the history of the people of ancient Israel a dominant element of the prevailing Hebrew religion was a series of rites and ceremonies. Some of these rites and ceremonies were public and others were private. However, one of the most unusual and bizarre rites involved the killing of beasts and the presentation of internal organs and blood to the Hebrew deity Yahweh. There is an important distinction between these public and private rituals which must be regarded as sacrifices and the common practice of offering up whole live animals which is regarded as an offering. We shall concern ourselves in this brief treatise with the sacrifice as it particularly relates to the symbolic significance of blood in the Old Testament.

The forms of such sacrifices were varied and diverse. At times the motivation for such sacrifices is apparent, and at other times the reason for the sacrifice is subtle and difficult to ascertain. However, there seems to be at least five specific reasons or occasions for sacrifices to occur. These five are:

a. a presentation of gifts to Yahweh (as if to imply, "I give so that you should give"),
b. a presentation as a tribute to a landlord, king, or significant person,
c. a presentation to provide fare for a common meal during which the individuals and Yahweh recement ties,
d. a presentation to sustain Yahweh while on earth,
e. and a presentation to purge the individual of sin and to regenerate the sinner.[1]

It is evident that these forms of sacrifice did not spring from a single source. And indeed, the reasons for such sacrifices are quite varied.

We can trace to early Semitic beliefs the concept that the immortality of the deity was sustained by the eating of special foods and the drinking of special liquids. And we can draw a theological parallel to the cultures of the ancient Vedic peoples where the deities used soma and armita and the ancient Greek belief that the gods used nectar and ambrosia.[2] However, when the gods visited the earth and traveled among mortals they were temporarily deprived of their accustomed celestial foods and required sustenance from earthly, more mundane sources. This early belief gave rise to the concept that the blood and suet of animals was special food to be reserved for the gods and later for the Hebrew deity Yahweh.

It was thought that the blood was a gift of Yahweh to the individual and the blood of animals was likewise a special gift of Yahweh to a lesser creature. Nevertheless, the blood of the lesser creature belonged to Yahweh and was not to be eaten by man but was instead to be returned to Yahweh through specific rituals. The blood of the animal was given to the altar because the blood was the most sacred part of the animal. Also the suet or fat of the animal represented to the ancients vitality and energy and was, like blood, reserved to Yahweh.

This ancient belief is the root of the modern Jewish dietary restriction against eating meat containing blood. In Genesis 9:4 we read, "Only you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood."[3] And in Leviticus 17:11 we find, "For the life

of the flesh is in the blood." And also in Deuteronomy 12:23 is found, "Only be sure that you do not eat the blood; for it is the blood of life, and you shall not eat the life with the flesh." These early references to dietary restrictions can also be found in the Exodus account where is found in Exodus 24:5-6, "And he (Moses) sent young men to the people of Israel, who offered burnt offerings and sacrificed peace offerings of oxen to the Lord. And Moses took half of the blood and put it into basins, and half of the blood he threw against the altar." The Hebrew people believed that Yahweh was especially present around the altar and the throwing of blood represents a gift, sacrifice, and offering to Yahweh. In Deuteronomy 32:38 we discover a fascinating verse, "who ate the fat of their sacrifices, and drank the wine of their drink offering?" Clearly the fat of the sacrifices is thought and believed to belong to the deity. And finally in Leviticus 3:8-9 we find a passage which speaks of both blood and fat as they relate to sacrifice, "and Aaron's sons shall throw its blood against the altar round about. Then from the sacrifice of the peace offering by fire to the Lord he shall offer its fat."[4]

There is a subtle suggestion related to the offering of blood upon the altar. Not only is the blood offered to Yahweh, there is also a sense in which the blood, the lifeblood, of the animal is returned to God. There is a strong sense in which the ancient Hebrew people believed that while it was acceptable for humans to consume certain parts of the animal, certain other parts (i.e. the blood and the fat) were the property of God alone. Johs. Pedersen writes,

> The sanctified animal is slaughtered, the blood is given to the altar, the holy stone, or whatever it is, and thus the holy soul of the animal is restored to the forces from which it sprang. For in the blood the soul is present in a special degree. The animal has become entirely absorbed into the sphere of holiness. In this way it sanctifies primarily the offspring later falling from the same dam; but in a wider sense it acts on all the rest of the species. The whole animal soul is strengthened by the sanctification, and the blessing will appear in renewed strength and fruitfulness. In sanctifying the animal, man, who sacrifices it, receives his share of holiness; and this is further strengthened by the fact that the worshipper with his fellows eat of the remains of the holy animal, making a meal off it in the holy place before Yahweh. All this is implied in the book of Deuteronomy.[5]

So then we have seen that great care was taken to return the blood of the sacrificial creature to Yahweh. Yet even in the routine of daily life care was taken with the disposal of blood. The thought was that even in day-to-day life some essence of the blood must be returned to God. The people were instructed to treat blood with caution and care and not to merely pour it out upon the ground. In Leviticus 17:13 is the injunction, "Any man also of the people of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among them, who takes in hunting any beast or bird that may be eaten shall pour out its blood and cover it with dust." There is also implied in these dietary restrictions a thought that the blood of the animal is the soul, essence, or life of the animal[6] and that if a man were to consume this lifeblood it might be possible that the man might take on some of the characteristics of the beast. Running throughout these pieces of text quoted above is an understanding that while man has dominion over the earth and the creatures of the earth[7] there is also a responsibility to take care to guard the soul and essence of each creature.

Another important concept relating to blood in the Old Testament is related to an understanding of the role and function of human blood. Just as blood served as the soul and essence of a beast it also served as the soul and essence of man. Not surprisingly then the shedding of blood is a serious offense. A person who causes human blood to be shed should be banished from the community of the faithful. Because a person spills the blood of another he becomes an anathema to the community. In Genesis 4:10-12 we read, "And the Lord said, 'what have you done? The voice of your brother's blood is crying to me from the ground. And now you are cursed from the ground, which has opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand. When you till the ground, it shall no longer yield to you its strength; you shall be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth.'" In this remarkable passage we see the ground cursing the person who spilled the blood of another. It is further implied that the murderer (in this case Cain) has poisoned the earth (i.e. a source of nourishment) and has jeopardized the food supply for himself AND others. Therefore Cain is an outcast. All that he touches is blighted. He is a walking plague. In this text there is stunning personification wherein blood has a voice and the earth opens its mouth to receive the blood. It is as if the earth is taking back the lifeblood of the victim. The earth is so profoundly offended by the heinous crime that it refuses to allow the growth of food!

In Numbers 35:33 there is to be found an interesting footnote to the theme of blood spilling. In this passage we learn that if blood is spilled upon the land the only way to correct the barrenness is to spill upon the land the blood of the murderer. We read, "You shall not thus pollute the land in which you live; for blood pollutes the land, and no expiation can be made for the land, except by the blood of him who shed it."

Generally it can be safely said that blood is regarded in the Old Testament as being a powerful liquid capable of containing essence and soul, as being capable of being offered to Yahweh as a sacrifice, and even as a cleansing tonic. For in I Kings 22:38 we see harlots bathing in the blood of Ahab. We read, "And they washed the chariot by the pool of Samaria, and the dogs licked up his blood, and the harlots washed themselves in it." The powerful properties of blood can potentially cure afflictions and reinvigorate for in Leviticus 14:2-7 we find that the blood of a bird is employed to cleanse a leper and somewhat astonishingly later in the same chapter we discover that the blood of lambs is used by the priest in a complex cleansing ritual for sinfulness of the leper. Even more remarkable is the passage in Exodus 29:19-28 we find that the ordination of Hebrew priests is undertaken with the use of the blood of a ram. The ritual of the cleansing of the leper and the ordination of a priest have some similarities! The essential thought is that blood is employed in both as a cleansing agent.

Another account using a vivid example of blood and its symbolic importance is found in the Passover of Exodus 12:21-22. In this vital rite of passage blood is used to protect the Hebrew people. They are instructed to take hyssop[8] and dip it into the blood of a lamb. The lamb, having been killed in the evening, must be unblemished. The blood laden hyssop is then sprinkled upon the doorposts and lintels of the doors. The blood of the lamb is empowered to protect the family against evil and harm. After dark the family is instructed to eat the cooked flesh of the lamb. All the meat must be eaten before the next day. However, if some remains uneaten it must be burned. No one may leave the dwelling after the blood has been placed upon the doorposts.

It becomes clear from these examples that the symbolic significance of blood to the people of the Old Testament was powerful. Blood has many functions and roles. It is the strong force of life.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Gaster, T.H., *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, Volume IV, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), pg. 147.

[2]*Ibid.*, pg. 149.

[3]All biblical quotations are from *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version*, (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1952).

[4]The sacrifice of animals and the throwing of blood upon the altar undoubtedly created a strong and offensive odor. The use of incense was likely created, in part, to mask this odor.

[5]Pedersen, Johs., *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), vol. III-IV, pg. 315.

[6]See Leviticus 17:11.

[7]See Genesis 1:26-31.

[8]Hyssop is the foliage of the marjoram plant which grew in the clefts of walls and between stones. I Kings 4:33.

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DRACULA: POINTS EAST

John D. Klier

Blood! Gushing warm and red, it is at once the symbol of vitality *and* death. Indeed, as the Bible succinctly puts it, "Blood is life" (Leviticus, 17:11). Small wonder, then, that blood has always been both feared and craved: Surrounded with taboos, it has been the central element in countless systems of ritual and magic, many of which originate in pre-history.

Understandably, that thing which robs the human body of this life-giving fluid is a terror firmly rooted in the myth and legend of human communities that are widely dispersed in time and place. The vampire, a supernatural bloodsucker, has a genealogy far too long for easy summation, as a glance at Montague Summers' *The Vampire, His Kith and Kin* will confirm.

The Slavs of Southern and Eastern Europe in particular were the cultural heirs of a Graeco-Roman civilization with a significant tradition of blood-robbing demons, and merged these with their own folklore to create a florid menagerie of vampire legends. In fact, the word *vampire* apparently has a Slavic provenance. The geographical setting of many latter-day vampire stories reflects these origins.

Despite, or perhaps because of their exotic settings, vampire stories were eagerly taken up by Western Europe in the 19th century. The vampire motif was especially popular with the Romantics, and the Shelley-Byron circle was a hotbed of such occult themes. Thence, the vampire passed easily into the Gothic novel. By the end of the 19th century, in fact, there was virtually a literary cottage industry in vampire tales. Amidst this sanguinary welter, *Carmilla*, a vampire novel by Sheridan Le Fanu, is disputably the best, a sustained work of haunting dread. For popularity, however, no vampire work has ever surpassed Bram Stoker's *Dracula*.

While recognizing that Stoker's bloodthirsty Count has become a fixture in American popular culture, via his reincarnation in countless films, critics differ in their explanations for such success. For Montague Summers, obsessed as he is with the objective reality of a whole pantheon of demonic beings, the answer was obvious: ". . . we are bound to acknowledge that the reason for the immense popularity of this romance—the reason why, in spite of obvious faults, it is read and re-read—his in the choice of subject and for this the author deserves all praise."[1]

Other explanations can also be advanced. The novel marked a departure from the Gothic novel by placing the events in the recognizable present, in well known locations, and by blending the supernatural with the mundane. (Modern technology plays a prominent role in the novel.) The latent sexual imagery which pervades the novel would surely have appealed to late-Victorian tastes. Note, for example, the sexual element in the description of the virginal Lucy Westerna, transformed into a vampire: "She seemed like a nightmare of Lucy as she lay there; the pointed teeth, the bloodstained, voluptuous mouth . . . the whole carnal and unspiritual appearance, seeming like a devilish mockery of Lucy's sweet purity."[2] Important, too, is the excellent sense of mood and place which Stoker created, especially in the Transylvanian sequences of the novel, dominated by the awesome Borgo Pass and the haunting (and haunted) Castle Dracula.

Yet none of these aspects of the novel could win for it such enduring popularity if it were not for the strength of Stoker's characters, or, better, character, for one stands out. Most of the *human* participants in the action are weakly drawn. Dr.

Van Helsing, the expert on vampires, displays a veritable omniscience concerning the plans of Dracula, but is quite incapable of mastering the English tongue. John and Mina Harher are a stout but uninteresting pair of Victorian lovers. Of the minor characters, one of whom is a Texas cowboy, the less said the better, with the single exception of the inspired portrait of the madman Renfield, who covets *life* by eating flies.

The dominant character is Dracula himself, a commanding majesty throughout the book: He is an arresting presence from the first moment he appears, tall, clean shaven save for a long white moustache, devoid of color in either clothes or features, and possessed of a preternatural handshake, strong, but ice-cold. Initial impressions are not deceiving, as Van Helsing explains. Dracula is a man to conjure with. "He must, indeed, have been that Voivode Dracula who won his name against the Turk, over the great river on the very frontier of Turkey-land. If it be so, then was he no common man; for in that time, and for centuries after, he was spoken of as the cleverest and the most cunning, as well as the bravest of the sons of the 'land beyond the forest'! That mighty brain and that iron resolution went with him to his grave, and are even how arrayed against us."[3]

There is an additional reason why Stoker's Dracula is such a striking figure—he is in fact based upon an actual historical personality, a Romanian prince who overawed his contemporaries throughout Central Europe. In a sense Stoker's novel does not so much create as re-create this dread personage, a man known to his contemporaries not only as Dracula, or *Son of the Dragon*, but also as Tepes—*The Impaler*.

In the course of his novel, Stoker himself hints at the source of his knowledge of a now-obscure Romanian prince. Dr. Van Helsing refers in passing to "my friend Arminius, of Buda-Pesth University," who is an expert on the genealogy of Dracula. The person in question was Professor Arminius Vambry, a Hungarian scholar, traveller and popular writer. Stoker met Vambry in 1890 at the same time that he was engaged in writing a vampire story.[4] Vambry's tales of the terrible Dracula inspired Stoker to equate his vampire-protagonist with the long-dead tyrant. In so doing, Stoker mixed up two very different sorts of terror. The vampire-Dracula is, after all, only a creature of the imagination, and his feats, though terrifying, lie in the realm of fiction. The original Dracula was no vampire, yet his deeds are more horrifying than anything in Stoker's novel, the more so because they are real. The fictional Dracula shines, however dimly, in the reflected light of the actual Dracula.

The historical Dracula was a prince of the territory of Wallachia, which together with Moldavia and Transylvania comprise the bulk of present-day Romania. In the fifteenth century, when Dracula ruled, this was very much a frontier area between Christian Europe and the expanding domains of the Muslim Ottoman Empire. The conquest of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks, in fact, occurred in Dracula's lifetime. his father, Vlad (?-1447) had been enlisted as a warrior against the Turks by the Holy Roman Emperor, and was enrolled in a crusading order, the Order of the Dragon, whence he acquired his nickname Vlad Dracul—Vlad the Dragon. His son, also named Vlad, was nicknamed Dracula—Vlad, Son of the Dragon. Vlad Dracula also acquired the more sinister nickname of *Tepes*, which means *The Impaler*. Impalement was a typical form of capital punishment in an unstable, border society, but Vlad Tepes raised it to the form of an art, an art readily available to the masses. His ex-

ecutioners developed scores of different methods for impaling human bodies on stakes, depending on the rank and sex of the victim, as well as his or her crime. They were careful to round the points and oil them, so that death would not be instantaneous, but the victim would suffer intensely, "twitching like frogs" as gravity forced them further down on the stake.

In a society balanced between two hostile and powerful civilizations, a leader could survive only by guile and duplicity. Vlad Tepes had both, to which he added the ability to terrorize any real or imagined opposition. Even this did not insure him a tranquil or even an uninterrupted reign. After succeeding his father as prince of Wallachia in 1448, and then actually ruling from 1456 to 1462, Vlad Tepes was deposed by the Turks in 1462, and imprisoned as a traitor by the King of Hungary for twelve years, until restored to the Wallachian throne in 1476. That same year he met his death in battle against the Turks.

Despite the shortness of Dracula's actual reign (less than seven years), he still had sufficient time to display the ferocity and sadism with which his name is inextricably linked. Dracula was indiscriminate in his cruelties: His own subjects, Romanians, Saxons, Gypsies, were just as liable to bear the brunt of his tortures as Turks or incautious foreigners. Contemporary reports to the Vatican claimed that by 1475, Dracula had personally authorized the killing of 100,000 persons.[5] When confronted with the bodies of Dracula's Turkish victims impaled outside the city of Targoviste in 1462, the Turkish Sultan Mohammed I is said to have personally abandoned a military campaign.[6]

If Dracula's deeds were so awe-inspiring to his contemporaries in the East, it is not surprising that his reputation began to spread westward. (Indeed, this process had already begun in 1462, when the German citizens of Sibiu, a Transylvanian city which Dracula had sacked, sent forged copies of Dracula's allegedly treasonous correspondence with the Sultan to King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary, who was Dracula's military ally.[7] It earned the prince twelve years of house arrest.) Whether carried by refugees from cities victimized by Dracula, or hostile clergy who had suffered at his hands, beginning in 1462 manuscripts began to appear in Europe chronicling his atrocities. The theme soon inspired a poem by the fifteenth century meistersinger, Michael Beheim. Antonio Bonfinius, the official court historian of King Mathias, assembled a more elaborate version.[8]

The Bible may have been the first book published in the West, but it was soon followed by popular entertainments of a less elevated nature. The exploits of Dracula were grist for the mill of fifteenth century publishers, and a whole series of pamphlets began to appear on the subject. By the end of the fifteenth century (i.e. less than 25 years after Dracula's death), there were at least thirteen editions of pamphlets about Dracula.[9] The publishers knew their audience well, and the works were inevitably illustrated with woodcuts, typically depicting Dracula dining in the open air amidst a forest of stakes bearing his impaled victims, while his minions hack off the heads and limbs of additional unfortunates. These works became the fifteenth century's equivalent of a best seller.

The fame of Dracula did not only spread westward. In 1490, in the Orthodox Kirillov-Belozerskii monastery in Russia, a monk named Efrosin copied a manuscript which, he noted, had been written four years earlier, in 1486. It was entitled *Stories of the Voivode Drakul* (*Skazanie o Drakule voevode*) and versions of it found their way into the hands of copyists in other monasteries as well.

The Soviet scholar Ia. S. Lur'e has identified over 25 different motifs or stories

which appear in the earliest printed and manuscript stories about Dracula.[9] Raymond McNally and Radu Florescu have identified others in a Romanian oral tradition.[10] They are not uniform, and the content of various versions provide hints as to the author's intention in writing his work. Thus, German tales tend to emphasize the irrationality and ferocity of Dracula's actions, while Russian verions suggest more rational, underlying motives for his deeds.

All versions emphasize the capriciousness with which Dracula could act. A favorite story describes Dracula dining with his boyars among a forest of poles on which hang the remains of his victims. One boyar is unable to stand the stench, and holds his nose. Dracula orders that he be impaled, but on a higher stake than the others, so that he will no longer be offended by the smell. On another occasion, Dracula orders the impalement of a passing monk. When the monk's donkey grows lonesome and brays for his master, Dracula has it impaled as well, near its owner.

A quick wit is the only salvation in many stories. Dracula tells foreign ambassadors who displease him, and whom he has executed, that he is not responsible for their death, but their own monarch who would send such simple men to such a dread monarch. On one occasion, while interviewing an ambassador, Dracula has a huge gold stake set up. "Why do you think I am doing this?" he asks. "Apparently a person of great rank has offended you," replies the terrified ambasssador, "and you wish to honor him in this way." "And what would you say if I told you the stake was for you?" "My Lord," answered the ambassador, "if I have committed a crime worthy of death, do as you wish, for you are a fair ruler, and I, not you, would be guilty of my death." "Well spoken," answers Dracula, bestowing honors and freedom on the ambassador.

Almost every cycle of Dracula stories recounts Dracula's reception of other ambassadors, variously described as from the Sultan or western Europe. Dracula is insulted because they fail to doff their caps to him. They explain in return that it is not their custom to remove their caps even in the presence of their own ruler. "An admirable custom in which I wish to reinforce you," answers Dracula, and orders that their caps be nailed to their heads.

In his own bizarre way, Dracula could be a social reformer. On one occasion he orders that all the sick, poor and elderly in his kingdom be brought together in one place. They are offered a feast, and then Dracula asks if they would like for him to remove all their earthly cares. "Yes, My Lord," they answer enthusiastically. Dracula orders the banquet hall locked, and burned to the ground with all inside. "Do you see what I have accomplished?" he asks his boyars. "I no longer have poor people in my lands, and these unfortunate people have escaped this world of poverty and illness."

Russian variants frequently emphasized Dracula's role as a cruel but just monarch. The fear of his justice and retribution was so great, it was said, that a gold cup was left by a fountain to serve passers-by, and nobody ever dared steal it. On another occasion a traveling merchant had 160 ducats stolen from a cart he had left on the street. He complained to Dracula, who instituted a search. Meanwhile, he returned to the merchant a purse with 161 ducats. The merchant counted the money and returned to Dracula to confess that there was one ducat too many. "Well done," answered Dracula. "If you had failed to return the ducat I would have impaled you next to the thief who stole your purse."

As already suggested above, the tone of the Russian cycle of Dracula stories is

different enough from the German cycle to have attracted the attention of scholars. The story-teller always has an objective, sometimes even beyond merely telling a good tale. What was the objective in the Russian version? This question is a logical one for investigators, because the first stories date to a time when the power of the Grand Prince of Moscow was becoming more and more unquestioned and absolute, pointing the way to a final consolidation of the autocracy under Ivan the Terrible. In a search for the moral of the Dracula stories, researchers have professed to find the chronicler's own thinly veiled assessment of this phenomenon.

One of the first Russian researchers to single out the Russian Dracula cycle, calling it "Russia's first historical novel," was Nikolai Karamzin, a writer, poet, traveller, publicist, and amateur historian. Karamzin found the work a curiously unfinished piece, lacking in the exclusion of an elegant moral (a shortcoming Karamzin avoided in his own literary work). Instead, the reader was left to judge for himself the philosophy of Dracula, which sought to treat his subjects for the diseases of evil-doing, vice, foibles, poverty, and illness with one remedy alone—death.[11]

Subsequently, Soviet investigators were not so shy in discerning the moral: N.K. Dudzii, for example, argued that the story was originally popularized in Russian society by the boyars, the powerful Russian nobility, as a propagandistic tool to use against Tsar Ivan the Terrible. The tsar was guilty of atrocities fully able to stand comparison with the deeds of Dracula, but of more concern to the boyars, he was completing the centralization of the Russian state and significantly increasing the power of the tsar. Both these phenomena pointed to the weakening or even the destruction of the last remnants of the power of the boyars and the minor princes.

A.A. Zimin, on the other hand, saw the author of the stories as caught between two stools: He contrasted the cruelty of Dracula with the ideal of mercy on the one hand, but, on the other, recognized the need to oppose the developing social protest against the imposition of a social system based on serfdom, a system intimately tied up with emergent royal power. Defending tyranny, but opposing cruelty, the author was unable to foresee where the concentration of autocratic power would lead—to a Russian Dracula in the person of Ivan the Terrible.[12]

As Lur'e points out, apropos of this debate, textual analysis alone is not enough to prove decisively the true intent of the author. Quite correctly, therefore, he directs attention to the necessity of ascertaining the identity of the original author in order to provide the correct orientation of the tales. As is so often the case with medieval Russian documents, authorial provenance of the material is extremely tenuous. However, a plausible, if not definitive case can be made for a member of the entourage of Grand Prince Ivan III of Moscow, Feodor Kuritsyn. This attribution leads down a fascinating path, and is worth pursuing further.

The case for the authorship of Kuritsyn (or perhaps a member of his private circle) is largely dependent upon circumstantial evidence. First, the author would of necessity be literate, which reduces the prospective candidates to a narrow strata of court officials and secretaries, or members of the clergy. (It would be remembered that all the early Russian versions exist only in manuscripts written or copied by monks in monasteries.) Attention has especially been focused on Kuritsyn, a prominent, literate court official in the reign of Ivan III because he was an ambassador to the court of the King of Hungary and to Moldavia between

1482 and 1484. The monkish chronicler of 1490 even noted that the original author had seen one of the sons of Dracula, which obviously suggests an official presence at the Hungarian court. Kuritsyn returned to Russia in good time to write a chronicle of Dracula—whose memory was still fresh in the minds of Hungarians and Moldavians—which could have provided the original for subsequent monastery copies.

If Kuritsyn or someone close to him was indeed the author—and while the argument from silence is not adequate for the historian, no good case has been made for any alternate candidate—what might have been his intention, beyond telling a good story?

As mentioned above, the reign of Ivan III, *The Great* (1462-1505), witnessed a dramatic increase in the power of Moscow, and a consequential increase in the power of the Muscovite Grand Prince. Novgorod, the last significant rival of Muscovy, was defeated and brought under Muscovite control, its unique institutions of local, aristocratic self-government swept away. The process was accompanied by violence and severity. An important theme of the Dracula tales, of course, in the combination of severity, cruelty, and justice. One might argue that a lazy or unfaithful wife, a dishonest merchant, traitorous boyars, and disrespectful ambassadors are not uniformly deserving of death, but the underlying theme is that *justice* has been done. Wallachia in the time of Vlad Tepes was, after all, a frontier area torn by mortal enemies, and bereft of such social amenities as prisons or law courts. One might not sympathize with Dracula's methods of rehabilitation, but in a perverse way they can at least be understood, especially because the Russian version, unlike the German version, does not over-emphasize the capriciousness of Dracula's violence and tortures. It could be argued, then, that the Russian cycle of Dracula tales was essentially an apologia for a newly-emergent Muscovite autocracy.

Another aspect of the Russian version has bearing on the question. The tales relate that while Dracula was imprisoned by King Mathias of Hungary he was offered a choice: If he would abandon his Greek Orthodox faith, and convert to the faith of the *Latins* (i.e. Catholicism), Mathias promised to restore him as prince of Wallachia; otherwise, he would die in prison. The tale notes critically that Dracula accepted the offer, "abandoning the light for darkness." The author laments that Dracula's inability to stand the rigors of prison thus earned for him eternal suffering. The Orthodox religious motif is quite strong. (Indeed, it grows stronger in later versions, one copyist specifying that Dracula, in converting to the Latin faith accepted *hellish darkness* (*tmu kromeshnuiu*).

The religious motif is another link to Kuritsyn who, besides his secular responsibilities, was closely involved in religious debate. Kuritsyn, in fact, was closely tied to a heretical group attached to the royal court, the *Judaizers* (*Zhidovstvuiushchie*). The Judaizers—so called because their rejection of the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of icons, and similar teachings allowed their clerical enemies to brand them as Jews—originated in Novgorod, and then spread to Moscow itself, almost exclusively among persons attached to court. They were initially protected by Ivan III, despite their questionable orthodoxy, because of their negative attitude towards clerical and monastic landholding. For a prince like Ivan, who coveted the rich holdings of the Church, the Judaizers offered a promising counterweight to clerical pretensions.[15] Ultimately, however, political circumstances forced Ivan to abandon the heretics to their enemies, and after con-

demnation by church councils, the Judaizers were either executed or imprisoned for life.[16] The fate of Kuritsyn, heavily involved in the movement, remains unknown—it is possible that princely intercession saved him. Ironically, it was the monks in the same monasteries whose power he opposed, and who eventually may have served as his captors, who saved *his* Dracula tales from obscurity.

The posthumous fate of Vlad Tepes, son of the Dragon, may be considered as bizarre as his violent life. Immediately transformed into a legendary figure after his death, his history was employed to satisfy the literary voyeurism of Germans, or to serve as a commentary on Russian autocracy. Forgotten by the nineteenth century, except in Romania, where he was a distant, half-remembered national hero who had fought against the Turks, he was transformed into a supernatural vampire, to satisfy the voyeurs of another age. It is a fate of which the dread Wallachian voivode with his perverse sense of humor and justice, might well have approved.

NOTES

1. Montague Summers, *The Vampire, His Kith and Kin* (New Hyde Park, New York, 1960).
2. Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (New York, 1932), 234-5.
3. *Ibid.*, 264-5.
4. Raymond T. McNally, Radu Florescu, *In Search of Dracula* (Greenwich, Conn., 1972), 13.
5. *Ibid.*, 115. This figure, of course, is an obvious exaggeration.
6. *Ibid.*, 47.
7. *Ibid.*, 43.
8. Ia. S. Lur'e, *Povest o Drakule* (Moscow, 1964), 24-29.
9. *Ibid.*, 32-33.
10. *In Search of Dracula*, 202-8.
11. *Povest o Drakule*, 12.
12. *Ibid.*, 13.
13. *Povest o Drakule*, 121.
14. *Ibid.*, 157.
15. George Vernadsky, "The Heresy of the Judaizers and the Policies of Ivan III of Moscow," *Speculum*, VIII, 4 (October 1933), 436-48.
16. For a fuller treatment of the Judaizers, see N.A. Kazakova, Ia. S. Lur'e, *Antifeodal 'nye ereticheskie dvizheniia ma Rusi* (Moscow, 1955).

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN BRAM STOKER'S *DRACULA*

David L. Ison

Continental writers during the late eighteenth century were direct imitators of the popular English Gothic novelists until after the turn of the century with Goethe's *Gotz von Berlichingen* (1773) and Schiller's *Die Rauber* (1781) were translated into English.[1] The continental and English traditions merged after the beginning of the nineteenth century into the form we now recognize as the Gothic novel.

This Gothic novel remained popular throughout the Victorian period in England, perhaps in part because of the emergence of penny novels. Printers and publishers were eager for material, circulated through the growing enterprise of commercial lending libraries; Gothic romances were popular among the now literate indusrial workers of England's cities.

Through the process of formalization, the Gothic novel seems gradually to have limited itself to a formula of stock elements. Plot lines were borrowed from chivalric romance; medieval imagery was adapted. Gothic novels were peopled by bandits, monks, inquisitors, and sadistic torturers. Use of poison vials, sleeping potions, and elixirs became common in this fiction. Settings included haunted towers, dark forests, or ruined castles, described always in the shape of the famous Strawberry Hill. Ghosts rattling their chains, and damsels in distress were stock characters in Gothic fiction.

Supernatural forces darkened the lives of normal people in the novels. Repeatedly one finds mystical jargon, necromantic imagery, figures from legend and superstition like the incubus and succubus, and of course, the bat-vampire-wolf figures common in these tales.

To any reader of Bram Stoker's Gothic novel *Dracula*,[2] these elements are generally familiar. Its date of composition, 1897, places it at the end of the nineteenth century when the popularity of traditional Gothic was on the wane. Under the influence of George Eliot, Thackery, Meredith, Thomas Hardy and others, the English novel had become a platform on which to investigate social issues, taking realism as its form. Thus, *Dracula* is a novel written past its time. Aside from the fact of its spectacular popularity, *Dracula* might well have been lost to the archives of literary historians. Certainly there is little to commend Bram Stoker's many other novels; they are poorly conceived and written.

Stoker tended to specialize in adventure and mystery novels; *Dracula* is his only Gothic novel and his only successful novel. Alongside Mary Shelley's *Frankenstien*[3] and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, *Dracula* is among the most popular of Gothic novels, even though close to a century has lapsed since it was written.

The phenomenon of *Dracula's* popularity is worth investigating. Yet the reasons for its popularity will not be found by tracing its ties to the Gothic tradition. *Dracula's* original success and continued popularity rise from Bram Stoker's modifications of traditional form. These modifications may be enumerated rather quickly.

First, rather than fall back on the traditional medieval or Renaissance settings common to Gothic novels, Bram Stoker places his characters in the London of the 1890's, giving this Gothic novel a contemporary setting. Second, Stoker draws on the Victorian debate between science and religion for a major component of con-

flict in the novel, whereas the traditional Gothic revelled in its own supernaturalism. Third, Stoker draws from psychology and medicine, then emerging sciences, still somewhat suspect in the minds of the general public who constituted Stoker's audience. Finally, Stoker deliberately and quite effectively contrasts the technology of the mechanistic 1890's with the folkloristic and superstitious stock situations of the traditional Gothic.

Of these four innovative modifications of form, the third and fourth are the most significant in explaining the continued popularity of *Dracula*. Science and technology are the elements which have carried *Dracula* into the twentieth century. In a spectacular display of the combat between science and technology on one side, and the darkest forces of evil on the other, Stoker allows evil to move to the very brink of triumph.

They are old truisms: A machine is only as useful as its operator makes it; the value of science is measured only by the technology it makes available to the benefit of mankind. Our fundamental distrust of science and technology is brought strongly into play in our response to *Dracula*, just as it was for readers of the novel's first edition. The line of conflict in *Dracula* which most powerfully grasps our imagination is the conflict between supernatural forces and scientific technology. We are convinced to believe in the fictional unreality of Dracula himself because of our need to trust in our own powers of invention.

Dracula reveals Stoker's use of two primary settings, contemporary London and contemporary Transylvania. London and other nearby English settings are, of course, described from Stoker's own observation. Elements of architecture, street scenes, modes of transportation, style of dress, all such details of imagery are handled through the journals or diaries of his English characters.

Transylvania, the place to which Jonathan Harker first travels and where he encounters Count Dracula, is revealed in the detailed entries of Jonathan's journal and letters he sends back to England. According to Leonard Wolf, *The Annotated Dracula* (1975), Stoker relied on research for all details of Transylvania. His source had been Emily Gerard's travel book, *The Land Beyond the Forest* (1888), a volume which describes Transylvania's landscapes, the Carpathian mountains, its medieval castles, the folkways of its peasantry, as well as its folklore and legends. The book describes Transylvania in the period of the 1880's, certainly contemporary enough for Stoker's needs. Identification of this source and the extent to which the author had relied on it should dispel the notion that Stoker spun this element from imagination or relied on traditional Gothic imagery. The accuracy of his descriptions, resulting from his research, lends a realism to this setting equally strong as the realistic imagery of contemporary England.

Stoker's cast of characters for *Dracula* similarly includes contemporary types. They are for the most part young modersn, well-trained or educated, the very people who are appalled by and disbelieve in the nighmare world of dark supernaturalism and Dracula. Jonathan Harker functions as a legal agent and real-estate broker; he is, in short, an up-and-coming young businessman.

John Seward, M.D., is professionally interested in psychology, *spiritual pathology* (113) as it's called in the novel. He is young, like the field of psychology at the time the novel was written. Perhaps because of his youth, he is a champion of progress—scientific and technological progress. Seward uses the very latest medical-surgical equipment, and records patient histories on a phonograph for transcription. He is a very complex personality as Stoker describes him, capable of

fear and depression in the presence of Dracula's awesome powers. Though he is determined to succeed, both he and his arsenal of scientific *weaponry* are ineffective without additional support.

Dr. Van Helsing, on the other hand, is somewhat older, though not old, a European physician. He too uses contemporary equipment, but his training and experience have made him less trusting than Dr. Seward of technological advances. While it is true that Mina Harker transcribes Dr. Van Helsing's research notes and letters, Van Helsing himself is shown with little faith in novelty. When confronted by Dracula's supernatural power, Van Helsing finds it necessary to rely on his knowledge of legends and folklore as well as on hypnotism, practiced on Mina, to overpower Dracula. The reader may be attracted to the younger physican Seward, but he is asked by the novelist to accept Van helsing's broader knowledge. Contrast among thse male types is the novelist's design for delineating character.

Yet, perhaps in his demand for contemporary detail, Stoker has overplayed his hand by making his physicans extraordinary. Three examples will illustrate the point adequately.

In a number of instances in the novel, the characters refer to and use either chloral hydrate or laudanum as a simple remedy. Chloral hydrate and laudanum—a combination of morphine and opium in alcohol—were inexpensive, readily available sedatives, used for a wide range of ailments from sore tooth to sleeplessness, earlier in the century. Yet, chloral hydrate was dangerous because a dose adequate to produce the desired effect might in certain patients cause death, and laudanum was, of course, highly addictive. While Dr. Seward watches over Lucy, he considers taking chloral hydrate to allow him some much needed rest, but rejects the idea. This not because of the danger of the drug but because he feels he might place Lucy in jeopardy by not keeping his vigil over her. Through sheer force of will, therefore, he overpowers his exhaustion and pulls through.

In another instance, Stoker allows the physicans to have Lucy's blood analyzed. The results of the blood tests not only contradict their observations of her serious physical condition and hallucinations, but also contradict the facts of medical testing. Such blood tests as had been used were supposed to have indicated Lucy was in a normal, vigorous state of health, although blood analyses cannot in fact determine general body condition. Besides, Dracula's having drank her blood would have depleted her red blood cells, resulting in an anemic or anoxic state—such as she actually suffers from, perhaps also inducing her hallucinations.

There is mystery here but not medical; it's a mystery of Stoker's invention or error. The reader is asked to believe this contradiction has to do not solely with scientific failure, although that is important, but with the process of Lucy's transformation into the membership of the *nosferatu*.

Blood also figures prominently in another such instance in *Dracula*, in this case a surgical procedure. Lucy's condition has become alarmingly serious. Dr. Van Helsing mixes a narcotic for her, administers it, then has Arthur strip off his jacket so that Van Helsing can perform a *transfusion*.

> Then with swiftness, but with absolute method, Van Helsing performed the operation. As the transfusion went on something like life seemed to come back to poor Lucy's cheeks, and through Arthur's growing pallor the joy of his face seemed absolutely to shine. After a bit I began to grow anxious, for the loss of blood was telling on Arthur,

> strong man as he was. It gave me an idea of what a terrible strain Lucy's system must have undergone that what weakened Arthur only partially restored her. (115)

Anxious, indeed. Perhaps it is somewhat unimportant fictionally that the procedure is performed under primitive conditions with no mention of sterile equipment. But it is fact that cross matching donor with the recipient for blood type is absolute necessity to prevent death from the transfusion itself. It is also fact that some 25 to 30 years from the date of the novel's composition were to pass before blood typing was discovered.

Dr. Van Helsing completes another surgical procedure which is even less convincing, for although it is horrifying, it is comic. Mad Renfield, the spider-eating asylum patient. has had an accident resulting in a blood clot in his brain. In order that Van Helsing and the others not lose the information to be derived from Renfield's dreams about Dracula, a trephination is performed. There is no anesthetic, no overt mention in the text of sterile environment nor sterilizing the trephining tools.

> "We shall wait," said Van Helsing, "just long enough to fix the best spot for trephining, so that we may most quickly and perfectly remove the blood clot; for it is evident that the hemorrhage is increasing." (257-58)

Dr. Seward, Arthur and Quincey, as well as Dr. Van Helsing observe Renfield sink nearer the point of death. Then, just above the patient's ear, Van Helsing makes his incision:

> For a few moments the breathing continued to be stretorous. Then there came a breath so prolonged that it seemed as though it would tear open his chest. Suddenly his eyes opened, and became fixed in a wild, helpless stare. This was continued for a few moments; then it softened into a glad surprise, and from the lips came a sigh of relief. He moved convulsively, and as he did so, said "I'll be quiet, Doctor. Tell them to take off the strait-waistcoat. I have had a terrible dream . . ." (258)

For the uninitiated reader, it is helpful to know that trephining involves laying open the scalp with a knife, drilling a hole through the skull with an instrument not unlike a brace and bit, then poking around inside the brain with a probe to locate the mass causing the patient's difficulty. Renfield is semi-conscious through the surgery, relieved from fear and pain by neither sedative nor anesthetic.

Once the brain has been opened, Van Helsing says, "Tell us your dream, Mr. Renfield." (259) Surely, Bram Stoker jests! Even so, this is enough to make any reader in 1984 thankful that medicine and psychology have advanced considerably nowadays.

In *Dracula* neither Lucy nor Arthur dies from the transfusioin, though Lucy later dies so the others can be spared. Thus, the reader is aware that Van Helsing's work comes to little purpose in her case. What is important is that medical science is weaker in that line of action than Dracula's supernatural power. Renfield lives through his surgery to tell his tale, but what the physicians learn is not particularly significant in their battle against Dracula. Once again, medical science and psychology fail in the long run even while gaining some little ground in the immediate situation.

Stoker's exaggeration is astounding. Perhaps his error, if indeed it was error, lay

in his assumption that then-current medical experimentation was actually viable, commonly-practiced medical procedure. Some elements in the novel might lead to that conclusion.

As is the case with Bram Stoker's use of source books for settings, in this area too he relied on reading and research for information. Details of physiology appearing in Dr. Seward's diary entries are drawn from medical writers such as Burdon-Sanderson, *Physiology*,[5] the writer being a physiologist who first measured the electrical impulses of the heart. Theories of *spiritual pathology* or psychology may well have been borrowed from James Frederick Ferrier, *Brain Knowledge*.[6] Ferrier was a Scottish metaphysician whose theory of knowledge assumed unity between the perceiver and the object perceived. The information on somnambulism or sleepwalking which figures prominently in *Dracula* is parallel to the historical discussion found in Robert Flier's *Ego and Body Ego*, as discussed in Jack R. Strange's *Abnormal Psychology* (1965). According to Leonard Wolf, even the description Stoker gives Dracula's body and face mirrors quite precisely the standard nineteenth century image of a self-abuser (masturbator), according to Weyland Young, *Eros Denied* (1964) who takes as his authority William Acton, *Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs* (1857).[7]

Stoker indirectly acknowledges some such borrowings from source materials in allusions to physicians and psychologists of his own day. Characters in *Dracula* cite authorities outside the realm for some of their ideas. For example, when Dr. Seward first reveals to Jonathan Harker that the vampire Dracula is responsible for Lucy's death, he cites *the great Charcot*. (178) The reference is to Jean-Martin Charcot, the French neurologist and pathologist, internationally known for his major contributions to psychiatry, who died in 1895.[8] Seward says, "alas that he is no more!" (178)

Technology, like medical science, is demonstrated through *Dracula*. The phonograph and typewriter are technological instruments in use by the novel's characters. Stoker has written in epistolary form, the records, journals, and diaries of the various principal characters. The majority of this material, we are given to understand, had been transcribed by Mina Harker using her typewriter and the wax cylinder phonograph recordings of the others.

As scientists both Seward and Van Helsing write out or dictate every piece of evidence to be studied or restudied later. Van Helsing finds Mina Harker's stenographic skills invaluable as the mystery becomes more complex. She provides him reams of typed material to pour over. Early in their acquintance, however, Va. Helsing has to overcome his distrust of technology and his sexist attitudes. He finds Mina charming, but disbelieves her power to recall the events surrounding Lucy's condition.

> "Ah, then you have a good memory for facts, for details? It is not always so with young ladies."
>
> "No, doctor, but I wrote it all down at the time . . ." . . .I took the typewritten copy from my workbasket and handed it to him.
>
> "I know your time must be precious—I have written it out on the typewriter for you." (171)

Van Helsing's response is exuberant:

> "Oh, Madam Mina, . . . how can I say what I owe to you? This paper is as sunshine. It opens the gate to me. I am daze, I am dazzle,

with so much light . . . Oh, but I am grateful to you, you so clever woman." (171)

Mina Harker's portable *traveller's typewriter* was probably a Blickenderfer or Columbia, which appeared in 1885, sold for five pounds five shillings, and weighed less than six pounds. The phonograph-dictaphone in use is described similarly to a unit produced by Edison Bell's Consolidated Phonograph Co., Ld., which was also portable and sold for two pounds two shillings, according to London advertisements.[9]

When Jonathan needs to check on the arrival of Count Dracula's shipment of earth-filled coffins, he telephones the telegraph office and has his answer within minutes.

The point of this is simply that science had already provided the inventions, and business had begun marketing this new technology by the 1890's. Telephones and telegraphs, typewriters and dictaphones were in common use by the date of the novel. In every case, they serve an immediate mechanical need providing speed of communication. In this light it is both humorous and ironic that Van Helsing uses a telegram to order the garlic needed to provide the others a folk-custom protective device against Dracula. Oddly, the garlic is used with the Christian cross as double protection.

In a novel whose primary plot centers on the necessity of doing Dracula in before he can devastate England's population, technological devices are valuable. For at least three hundred of the novel's three hundred and fifty pages, however, the advances gained by their use in the cause against Dracula are made to seem tedious, perhaps only because of the exorbitant supernatural power Stoker assigns Dracula.

Scientific technology has begun to telescope time, to make the world smaller. Dracula's threat is thus larger, his intended victims much more at his mercy because they are more accessible to him.

Other writers have commented on the *spell Dracula* casts, including Davendra P. Varma in *The Gothic Flame* (1957) and Montague Summers in *The Vampire* (1928). Leonard Wolf says it quite well in *A Dream of Dracula*:

> . . . Dracula . . . is huge, and we admire size; strong, and we admire strength. He moves with the confidence of a creature that has energy, power, and will, Granted that he has energy without grace, power without responsibility, and that his will is an exercise in death. We need only to look a little to one side to see how tempting is the choice he makes: available immortality. He has collected on the devil's bargain; the infinitely stopped moment.[10]

The image of modernism in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* is developed through repeated emphasis on contemporaniety in settings and characterization, and on medical science and mechanical technololgy. It is as if Stoker intends to reshape the old Victorian debate between science and religion, making the new-minted adversaries full of promise but weak in delivery.

Stoker's modern characters exhibit faith in science and technology, their means of controlling the physical world and overpowering death. Their aim is control and convenience, both subversions of time's negative toll and, by implication, God's authority.

Yet when they are tested by Dracula's supernatural powers, medical science

and the new technology fail Stoker's human characters, leaving them only folk ritual for comfort and protection, and the mysteries of superstition and the supernatural in which to trust. The novel shows these modern characters seeking goals similar to those of Dracula. Here is irony.

While it must be admitted that the figure of Dracula evokes our strongest emotions of fear and terror, he does so in part because our intellect has overpowered our imagination. Bram Stoker's final irony is that we moderns and the ageless Dracula are mirror analogs of one another.

The popularity of *Dracula*, unlike most earlier, traditional Gothic fiction, rises from the author's debunking medical science and technology and appealing powerfully to our need of religious belief.

NOTES

[1]The pattern of Continental writers' borrowings from the English Gothic romance and, later, their influence on the English Gothic is thoroughly discussed in Varma's *The Gothic Flame* (1957), Kliger's "The Gothic Revival and the German Translation," and Price's *The Reception of English Literature* in Germany (1952). One additional source traces some elements of this literary affinity, Stockley's *German Literature as Known in England: 1750-1830* (1929).

[2]Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (London: Constable an Col, 1857). Page citations to the novel are given parenthetically in the text of the paper, and are to the Doubleday and Company edition of *Dracula*, n.d.

[3]Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1961).

[4]Robert Louis Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (London: Standard Book Company, 1930).

[5]I am generally indebted to the detailed notes on Stoker's sources and allusions as given by Leonard Wolf, *The Annotated Dracula* (Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1975).

[6]*Ibid.*

[7]*Ibid.*

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]*Ibid.*

[10]Leonard Wolf, *A Dream of Dracula*, p. 302.

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BLOOD HUNT
Lee Killough

At eight o'clock, when Lane came out through the curtains for her first song, Garreth Mikaelian sat at a table talking to a barmaid whose nametag said NIKKI. "How long has she been singing here?"

The barmaid shrugged, "She was here already when I came last year."

"What do you think of her?"

Nikki sighed. "I wish I had her way with men."

Lane Barber worked her way through the club as she sang, taller than ever in her high heels, her mane of mahogany hair almost black in the club's dim light. She spotted Garreth. For a moment, her step faltered and a note wavered, then she smiled at him and moved on.

After the last song of the set, she came over to his table. "We meet again. I thought you weren't going to work overtime tonight."

He smiled. "I'm not. I'm here for pleasure. May I buy you a drink?"

She smiled back. "Later, perhaps. I've already promised to join some other gentlemen for the time being." She glided away.

Nikki, passing him, said, "Don't waste your hopes; you aren't her type."

He watched Lane sit down with three men in flashy evening jackets. "What *is* her type?"

"Older guys with bread to throw around. Out-of-towners. She only likes one-night-stands."

Garreth recorded it all in his head. "Does she let herself be picked up often?"

"You cops never stop asking questions do you? It's every night, only *she* does the picking up. They just think they do it."

"Really?" The trick was to keep them talking, to be encouraging.

Nikki leaned down. "She chooses one, see, and tells him to leave and meet her somewhere. I've overheard her telling guys that the boss is her boyfriend so she mustn't be seen with them but that the sucker turns her on so much, she *has* to see him. He leaves thinking he's really a superstud. The next night, it's a different guy."

"No one repeats?"

She shook her head. "Oh, they try, but she turns them down." Nikki sighed. "I don't know what it is she does to them. Maybe it's the tigress number."

"Tigress number?" Nikki was doing just fine. He smiled at her.

"Yeah. The few I've seen she goes with always have this huge hickey on their necks."

The whole world screamed to a halt for Garreth. He felt the hair lift all over his body. "Hickey? About this size and place?" He domonstrated with a circle of thumb and finger.

The barmaid nodded.

She's dirty! But for a moment Garreth could not be sure whether he felt satisfaction or disappointment at proof of Lane's involvement in two murders. Perhaps both. Wanted or unwanted, this gave him a legitimate excuse to ask all the questions of her he liked.

He gave Nikki five dollars. "For you, honey. Thanks."

Then he made his way to Lane's table. Nodding greeting to the three men with her, he said, "Sorry to interrupt, gentlemen, but I need to speak with the lady for

a minute."

Lane smiled. "I said, later, perhaps."

"It can't wait."

One of the men frowned. "The lady said later. Bug off."

Ignoring him, Garreth leaned down to Lane's ear. "I can use my badge and make it official."

She glanced up sharply at him. Her eyes reflected red in the candlelight. Why did her eyes do that? Garreth wondered. She stood, smiling at the men, cool and gracious. "He's right; it can't wait. I won't be a minute." As they walked away from the table, though, her tone became chiding. "So you're on duty after all. You lied, inspector."

"So did you. You said you didn't see Mossman after he left the club on Tuesday, but we found him with a bruise on his neck just like the ones the girls here tell me you put on all your men."

She glanced around. "May we talk outside?"

They left the club. Outside, the street streched away in both directions, glittering with the lights of signs and car headlights, smelling of exhaust fumes and the warmth of massed humanity. Like accents and grace notes, whiffs of perfume and male cologne reached them, too. Voices and cars blended into a vibrant roar. *My city*, Garreth thought.

Lane breathed deeply, too. "I do so love the vitality here."

Garreth nodded agreement. "Now, about Mossman . . ."

"Yes, I saw him. What else could I do? He would have waked all the neighbors, pounding on my door that way. He got the address from the phone book."

"So you invited him in?"

She nodded. She strolled down the street and Garreth followed. "He was a charming man, in spite of his insistence. He left about three, alive, I swear. But he insisted on walking, even though I warned him not to and offered to call a cab."

Garreth saw two possible flaws in the story. Three o'clock lay on the edge of the limits given by the M.E. for Mossman's time of death. He would have had to die very soon after leaving Lane's apartment. And would a man careful enough to leave his keys and extra money and credit cards hidden in his hotel room ignore the offer of a cab and walk down a street alone in the middle of the night?

They turned the corner. Once around it, the traffic thinned and the noice level dropped sharply. Garreth asked, "Why didn't you tell me this before?"

She signed sheepishly. "The usual reason: I didn't want to get involved."

"The autopsy found puncture wounds in the middle of the bruise on Mossman's neck. How did they get there?"

"Punctures?" She stared down at him. "I don't have the slightest idea. They weren't there when he left me."

Garreth said nothing in response to that. Instead, he waited, curious to see what more she might say to fill the conversation gap.

But unlike most people, who felt uncomfortable with silence and would say anything, often incriminating things, to avoid silence, she did not rise to the bait. She walked wordless beside him as they turned another corner.

Now almost no traffic passed. Garreth found himself preternaturally conscious of the near-empty street. Here on the back side of the block, they seemed a hundred miles from the crowds and lights.

He asked, "Did you ever meet a man named Cleveland Adair?"

Her stride never faltered. "Who?"

"An Atlanta businessman. We found him dead last year with a bruise and punctures just like Massman's. A woman matching your description was seen in the lobby of his hotel shortly before his estimated time of death."

He expected denial, either vehement or indignant. He was even prepared for her to try running away. Instead, she stopped and turned to look him directly in the eyes. "How many deaths are you investigating?"

Her eyes looked bottomless and glowed like a cat's. Garreth stared into them, fascinated. "Two. After all, it looks like the same person killed them both."

"I suppose it does. Inspector," She said quietly, "please back up into this alley."

Like hell I will, he thought, but found he could not say it aloud. Nor could he act on the thought. Her eyes held his and his will seemed paralyzed. Step by step, as commanded, he moved backward, until he came up short against a wall.

"You're here alone." Her hands came up to his neck, loosening his tie and unbuttoning the collar of his shirt. Her hands felt cool against his skin. "Have you told anyone where you are or about my little love bites?"

Yes, he thought, but he spoke the truth. "No." Should he have admitted that? He could find no concern in him; all he cared about at the moment was staring into the glowing depths of her eyes and listening to her voice. "I haven't told anyone."

"Good boy," she crooned, and kissed him gently on the mouth. She had to bend down her head to do it. "That's a very good boy." Her voice dropped to a whisper. "I don't think you should ever tell."

He barely heard her. Her voice reached him from a great distance, like all sensation at the moment: the rough brick of the wall at his back, the chill of the evening, the increasing rate of her breathing. Somewhere deep inside, uneasiness stirred, but listening to it seemed too much trouble. He found it easier to just stand passive and let her tip his head back against the wall.

Her lips felt cool on his mouth and cheek, and her fingers on his neck as she probed to one side of his windpipe. His pulse throbbed against the pressure.

"That's a nice vein," she whispered in approval. Her breath tickled as she spoke between kisses. "You're going to like this. You'll feel no pain. You won't mind a bit that you're dying." She kissed him harder, and he felt the nip of her teeth. Her mouth moved down over his jaw to his neck. "You're a bit short for me so this will be awkward unless you stand very still. Whatever happens, don't move."

"No." It emerged in a sigh.

"I love you, inspector. I love all men of power." Her teeth nipped harder, moving toward the spot where his pulse beat against her fingers. "You have knowledge, you know, knowledge I can't afford to have spread around, so that gives you even more power than most of my lovers. Still, I have more. I have the power of death, to take away your power. I love doing that."

She bit harder. A distant sensation told him her teeth had broken his skin, but he felt no pain, only a slight pressure as she sucked.

"What—" he began.

Her finger brushed across his lips, commanding him to silence. He obeyed. All desire to talk had left anyway. A wave of mixed warmth and cold moved outward through his body from where her mouth touched him. She shivered in pleasure and moved just a little, straining toward her mouth. He did not want her to stop.

Presently, though, he wondered if maybe she should. He felt very weak. He

needed to sit down before he collapsed.

His knees buckled, but her hands caught him under the arms and held him against the wall. She must be very strong, a languid thought came through the tingling of his nerves . . . certainly stronger than she looked, to be holding up someone of his weight so easily. Dreamily he thought, *The maiden is powerful*, just like the *I Ching* hexagram said.

But with the thought of the sage, lassitude disappeared. Fear rose up through him like a jet of icewater. Two men the singer knew had died of blood loss. Now she kissed his neck in the very spot the other men had had punctures and bruises, and he felt himself weakening, too! With a profund shock of horror and revulsion, he realized why. Lane Barber was sucking his blood!

He shuddered and tried to pull loose, pushing at her shoulders with his hands. His body obeyed only sluggishly, however, and when she noticed his effort, her body pressed harder against his, pinning him to the wall.

Use your gun, you dumb flatfoot.

But her hand easily kept him from reaching it.

Abandoning pride in favor of self-preservation, he opened his mouth to yell for help. Her hand clamped across his mouth, silencing him.

Garreth's breath caught in fear. He did not have the strength to fight her. Only her weight against him held him upright. She was killing him, as she had killed Adair and Mossman—were human teeth really sharp enough to bite through skin into veins? Where had she learned such depravity?—and he could do nothing to stop her. He was dying, helpless to save himself.

In desperation, he bit her hand to make her let go of his mouth. He sank his teeth in deep, using all his fading strength. Skin gave way. Her blook filled his mouth, burning like fire. Convulsively, he swallowed, and his throat burned, too . . . but with the fire came a new surge of strenth. Lane jerked the hand to free it, but he hung on, making the most of the opportunity to hurt her. More blood scorched down his throat. He managed to bring up both hands to her shoulders and push at her.

But the effort came too late. She tore loose from him, her hand from his mouth, her mouth from his throat. He felt her teeth rip through his flesh. As she backed away from him, he fell, collapsing to the ground.

The pain of the fall barely reached him. He only saw, not felt, the blood streaming from his torn throat to make a crimson pool around his head. A suffocating fog muffled all sensation . . . touch, sound, smells. He could only curse his stupidity for underestimating her as his breathing and heartbeat stumbled, faltered, and ceased.

"Goodbye, lover," a distant, mocking voice said. "Rest in peace."

Her footsteps faded into the darkness.