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APRIL, 1929

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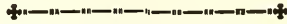
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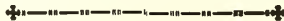


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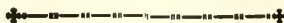
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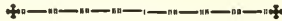
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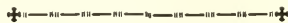
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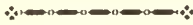
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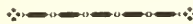


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HEL, THE GODDESS OF THE NETHER WORLD  
By Johannes Gehrts

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

# THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and  
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## THE LEGEND OF LUCIFER<sup>1</sup>

BY MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN

THE legend of Lucifer has no biblical basis. The ancient Hebrews knew of no devil whatever. Satan in the Old Testament is no devil in the accepted meaning of the word. He was originally not an adversary but an adjutant of the Almighty. Satan was a member of the celestial court and stood high in the councils of Jehovah. He belonged to the assembly of the sons of God, but sat on the opposition bench. He was a sort of prosecuting attorney attached to the judgment seat of the Eternal (*cf.* 1 Kings xx. 1-23; Job ii. 1-6).

A certain group of historians of religion maintain that the Devil is the creation of Christianity. Just as the French philosophers of the eighteenth century held that the theologians had invented the Lord, they affirm that the Devil has been expressly created by the priests for the greater glory of God. Lucifer, they claim, has been limned after the Lord as His left hand, so to speak. They call to witness the Church fathers, who baptized Beelzebub as *simia Dei*. The Christian Devil is, in their opinion, *sui generis*, without precedent. Satan is, according to this view, all by himself and has nothing to do with the evil spirits of the ethnic religions. These students of religion fail to see that no discontinuity exists in the evolution of human beliefs and institutions. In fact, the belief in a movement of rebellion within the family of gods is common to the

<sup>1</sup>Two mythological accounts of the origin of the demons and evil spirits may be mentioned in connection with our discussion. According to a belief current among the ancient Norsemen, the demons were produced by the ash-tree named Iggdrasil, also called the tree of life, the roots of which reach to the lowest depths of the underworld. A curious Jewish tradition teaches that the Devil and woman had a common origin in Adam's rib. Old Nick is believed by certain rabbins to have come out of the hole left by the removal of the rib from Adam before it was closed.

mythologies of all races. The opposition of Lucifer to the Lord has an analogy in that of Vrita to Indra in Hindu mythology, of Ahriman to Ormuzd in Persian mythology, of Set to Horus in Egyptian mythology, of Prometheus to Zeus in Greek mythology and of Loki to the gods of Asgardh in Scandinavian mythology. The conception of the imprisoned empyrean rebel may also be found in many of the ancient ethnic religions. Ahriman, who fought against Ormuzd, was bound for a thousand years; Prometheus, who assailed Zeus, was chained to a rock in the Caucasus; and Loki, the calumniator of the northern gods, was strapped down with thongs of iron in Nastrond (hell), out of which he will come in the "twilight of the gods" to do battle with them and their servants in Valhalla. He will at last be slain by the son of Balder, and then there will be a new heaven and a new earth, and Allfather will reign once more.

The fact of the matter is that the Devil is as old as is man himself. He may be traced back to the animistic conception of Nature, which saw behind natural events active creative spirits. With primitive man to think of good and evil powers was to personify them. The good events were believed by him to be animated by good spirits, the bad events by evil spirits. In a later stage of the evolution of the human mind, the demons behind good acts were subordinated to a good god, and the demons behind evil acts were subordinated to an evil spirit. In this manner, the Devil entered into human thought and has remained to this day. The Fiend is thus the incarnation of human frenzy. The human mind fell a prey to its own fear.

As far as the Devil of the Christian religion is concerned, his ancestry reaches back into the history of religions. He seems to hail from India where he tempted the Buddha, and whence he migrated to Persia in the person of Ahriman. The Jews learned to know him during their Babylonian captivity under Zoroastrian kings, blended him with their own Satan, who, as has already been stated, originally had no sulphurous odor whatever. After having thus turned Satan into a regular Devil, the Jews handed him over to the Christians, who, sad to say, show themselves no more grateful for Satan than for the Savior, whom they likewise owe to the sons of Israel.

But Satan, as we know him, is not of pure Semitic stock. During



the triumphal march of Christianity through the European countries, he assimilated many of the characteristics of the discarded gods of the old religions. All the rich wealth of ideas which the primitive European peoples associated with their ancient good and evil spirits, they ultimately distributed over the Christian Pantheon. A certain detail of dress, trait of character or trick of manner shows how Satan, in wandering over the face of the earth, has caught a trace of this or that local spirit. The Devil's identification with the uncouth Northern giants was especially momentous for the transformation of his character. It brought down the stern Satan of Judea from the height of his terrible power to the plane of pictured grotesqueness. The Devil, as he has come down to us from the Middle Ages, is a *mélange* of various elements. "He is at once," as it has been said, "of Jewish, Christian, heathen, elfish, gigantic and spectral stock."<sup>2</sup>

The New Testament account of a war in heaven which resulted in the defeat of Satan and his fall like a lightning from heaven (Luk. x, 18; *cf.* Rev. ix, 1) was not derived from the Old Testament, which has no hint whatever of a rebellion and expulsion of angels from heaven. This belief was brought back by the Jews from their Babylonian sojourn and first finds expression in the non-canonical Hebrew writings, particularly in the Book of Enoch. It is from the Old Testament apocrypha that this idea found its way into the New Testament.

The Gospel writers also identified Beelzebub (=Baal-Zebub), the fly-god of the Pœnicians, with Satan, (*cf.* Matth. xii, 24), inasmuch as the latter was modelled after the Persian Ahriman, who entered the world in the form of a fly.

The substitution of Lucifer for Satan as the rebel angel is a contribution by the Church fathers. It is the result of a wrongly interpreted biblical passage. The prophet compares the king of Babylon, on account of the worldly splendor by which he was surrounded prior to his death, to Lucifer ("light-bearer"), the Latin equivalent of the Semitic term for the "morning-star," *i. e.* the planet Venus when it appears above the Eastern horizon prior to day-break. Just as the brilliancy of Lucifer ("day-star" A. V.) surpasses that of all other stars in the firmament, so the splendor of the king of Babylon surpasses that of all other Oriental monarchs.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm: *Teutonic Mythology*. Translated from the German. 4 vols., London, 1880-1888.

Eusebius of Cæsaria, Tertullian, Jerome, and Gregory the Great erroneously understood the passage: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning, how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations" (Is. xiv, 12) to refer to the fall of the rebel angel. In consequence of this misinterpretation, the name of Lucifer has been used as a synonym for Satan. The two, however, were not generally identified until the time of St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (1034-1093), who, in his treatise, *Dialogus de casu Diaboli*, has considerably elaborated the account of the Devil's fall from heaven.<sup>3</sup> In popular belief, however, Lucifer and Satan are not blended, though they are thoroughly in agreement.

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The legend of the rebellion and expulsion of Lucifer, as formulated by Jewish and Christian writers, is as follows:

Lucifer was the chief in the hierarchy of heaven. He was pre-eminent among all created beings in beauty, power and wisdom. What better description can be given of him than the following portrait penned, according to patristic exegesis, by the prophet:

"Thou sealest up the sun, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz, the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created. Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee so: thou wast the holy mountain of God: thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire. Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee. By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned: therefore I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God: and I will destroy thee. O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness: I will cast thee to the ground, I will lay thee before kings, that they may behold thee" (Ez. xxvii, 12-17).

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in J. P. Migne's *Patrologia latina*, vol. CLVIII, col. 325-343.





## WAR IN HEAVEN

After the Revelation of St. John  
(By Albrecht Dürer)

To this "anointed cherub" was apparently allotted power and dominion over the earth; and even after his fall and exclusion from his old domain, he still seems to retain a part of his power and ancient title to sovereignty (Luk. iv, 6; *cf.* also John xiv, 30; II Cor. iv, 4; Eph. ii, 2).

The downfall of the Devil is, according to Church authority, attributed to self-conceit. From the fact that "the Devil sinneth from the beginning" (I John iii, 8) and that "Pride is the beginning of all sin" (Ecclesiasticus x, 15), it was inferred that the Devil's sin was pride. Eusebius, in the third century, advanced *superbia* as the motive of the Devil's rebellion, to which Nazianzus, in the following century, added envy. This accounts for the familiar phrase "as proud as Lucifer." Cædmon, in his poem on the fall of Satan, sees the cause of the revolt of Satan in pride and ambition. Marlowe, following tradition, also affirms that Lucifer fell, "by aspiring pride and insolence" (*Dr. Faustus* iii. 68). We recall Coleridge's quatrain:

"He saw a cottage with a double coach-house,  
A cottage of gentility,  
And the Devil did grin, for his darling sin  
Is pride that apes humility."

Various versions exist in the writings of the rabbis and Church fathers as to the way in which Lucifer's conceit showed itself. According to certain authorities, Lucifer's sin, which brought tribulation into the fair world, consisted in the fact that, in the haughtiness of his heart, he refused to bow before the Great White Throne. Others hold that his audacity went so far as to attempt to seat himself on it, and still others ascribe to him the bold project of seizing it and thus usurping the power of the Most High.<sup>4</sup>

In the medieval mysteries, Lucifer, as the governor of the heavens, is represented as seated next to the Eternal, who warns the high official of heaven: "Touch not my throne by none assent." But as soon as the Lord leaves his seat, Lucifer, swelling with pride, sits down on the throne of heaven. The arch-angel Michael, indignant over the audacious act of Lucifer, takes up arms against

<sup>4</sup> In *De partu virginis* written by Sannazaro, the "Christian Virgil," in 1526, Satan is also represented as attempting to usurp the throne of heaven.

him and finally succeeds in driving him out of heaven down into the dark and dismal dwelling reserved for him from all eternity. The Mont St. Michel on the Norman coast is the eternal monument to the victorious leader of the hosts of heaven in the war against the rebel angel.<sup>5</sup>



THE FALLEN LUCIFER (After Dore)

According to the Talmud. Satan's sin lay not in his rivalry with God but in his envy of man. When Adam was created, so say the rabbis, all the angels had to bow to the new king of the earth, but Satan refused; and when threatened with the wrath of the Lord, he replied: "If He breaks out in wrath against me, I will exalt my

<sup>5</sup> An interesting treatment of this legend is Maupassant's story "Légende du Mont St. Michel" (1888).



throne above His, and I will be higher than the Most High." At once God flung Satan and his host out of heaven, down to the earth. From that moment dates the enmity between Satan and Jehovah.<sup>6</sup> The Koran has a similar account of the revolt of Eblis against Allah. When Allah created man, so runs the Mohammedan version of the war in heaven, he called all the angels to worship this crowning work of His hands. Eblis, in his great conceit, refused to worship Adam and was banished from heaven for failing to obey the command of Allah.<sup>7</sup> Irenæus is of the opinion that the angels rebelled as soon as they learned of the proposed creation of man. "When the angels were informed," says this father of the Church, "of God's intention to create man after His own image. . . . they envied man's happiness and so revolted." The orthodox teaching, however, is that man's creation followed the Devil's rebellion. Adam was created by the Lord to fill the vacancy caused in the celestial choir-stalls by the fall of the angels. This act of substitution increased still further the Devil's hatred toward the Deity, and the temptation of Eve in the Garden of Eden was a successful effort on the Devil's part to balk the will of the Lord.

There have, however, been writers who advanced other reasons for the Devil's difference with the Deity. The German mystic Jacob Boehme, as far back as the seventeenth century, relates that when Satan was asked to explain the cause of God's enmity to him and his consequent downfall, he replied in justification of his act: "I wanted to be an author." Like the son of many a good family, he was driven out, he claims, for having had literary ambitions.<sup>8</sup> Anatole France suggests that Satan was banished from heaven for the reason that he wished to think for himself instead of accepting everything on authority. "Thought," says this latterday diabolist in his book, *le Puits de Sainte-Claire* (1895), "led Satan to revolt."

The Devil's fall from heaven according to legend, occurred on the first of August. A description of the anniversary festival of this great occasion, when all the devils appear in gala dress, is given by Heywood in his comedy *The Play called the Four P. P.* (1543-1547).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Louis Ginzberg: *The Legends of the Jews* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1909-1925), I, 64. In Voldel's *Lucifer*, the revolt of the angels is also caused by their jealousy of the privileges enjoyed by man.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. D. Conway, *Demonology and Devil-Lore* (2 vols., London, 1879), II, 143.

<sup>8</sup> The word "author" is used in this connection in its current meaning.

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The legend of Lucifer, as solving the problem of the origin of evil and of the birth of man, and as presaging the goal of human destiny, has always been a matter of great human concern, and a subject full of fascination for the poet. Nearly all the great minds of Christendom have attempted to treat this theme. Beginning with the account of the Creation by the Spanish monk Dracontius, the Latin poem of Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, in his work *De laudibus Dei* (5th century), which carries the history of the world from Creation through the fall of man to the Flood and the Exodus, and the transcript of the biblical text of creation by the old English poet Cædmon of the seventh century, we have had at different periods various treatments of this subject. The medieval passion plays in the end reached back to the creation and fall of the angels and the temptation of man which necessitated his salvation through Christ. In the seventeenth century, the Netherland imagination was fired with this theme. The youthful Hugo Grotius was the first to attempt it in his *Adamus exil.*, a Latin drama, written in 1601, which is supposed to have given hints to Milton. Two other Dutchmen of that period, both far greater poets than Grotius, were also attracted by this subject-matter. The distinguished Jacob Cats treated it in his idyll "Gront-Houwelick" (the Fundamental Marriage of Adam and Eve),<sup>9</sup> and Vondel in his tragedy of *Lucifer* (1654). So many poets of so many different nations during that period chose this subject of such historical and symbolical significance. In addition to the poets just mentioned we may refer to the following: the Scotchman Andrew Ramsay, the Spaniard Azevedo, the Portuguese Camoens, the Frenchman Du Bartas and the Englishmen Phineas Fletcher and John Milton.

The Puritan poet surpassed all his predecessors in his treatment of this old subject. He overlaid the original story with a wealth of invention and imagery. It may be said without any exaggeration that he produced the greatest of all modern epics. What fascinates us primarily in his poem is the personality of the Prince of Darkness. "The finest thing in connection with this [Milton's] Paradise," says Taine, in his *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (1863), "is Hell; and in this history of God, the chief part is taken by the

<sup>9</sup> This story is the first of a long poem, which bears the title of *Trouwing* and which was published in 1637.

Devil." It is generally agreed that the hero of *Paradise Lost* (1667-1674) is none other than Satan. Daniel Defoe, in his *Political History of the Devil* (1726), remarks that "Mr. Milton has indeed made a fine poem, but it is a devil of a history." The Miltonic Satan is the greatest personification of evil in all Christian poems. In the opinion of many critics, there is no poetic character, ancient or modern, that equals Milton's Satan in grandeur. The irreconcilable and irremediable archangel is an incomparable creation,—a mighty angel fallen! The reader cannot but be affected by a sense of sorrow for this fall.

It is a curious fact, indeed, that Milton, who started out in his poem "to justify the ways of God to men" (*Par. Lost* i. 26), ended by conferring lustre upon Lucifer. The Puritan poet portrays the Devil with such a passionate concern that the reader is not at a loss where to find the author's sympathies. The fact of the matter is that Milton himself was, as William Blake has said it, "of the Devil's party without knowing it."<sup>10</sup>

Milton's Satan is a great spirit fallen from heaven and clothed with a certain tragic dignity. The emperean rebel in *Paradise Lost* still holds his glory and his star. The ridiculous Devil of our ancestors has become in Milton's hands a giant and a hero. He is not the stupid good-natured lout of the medieval peasant. Nor does he answer to the feathered clown of the medieval mystery plays. He is really an epic, majestic figure, a Promethean character, who vainly but valiantly opposes a power which he knows he can never conquer.

It must be admitted, though, that this conception of Satan is not wholly original with Milton. The Devil had already been drawn by Avitus as an imposing figure reminding one of the Miltonic hero. In the Eger Passion play of 1516, we also have an approach to a higher dramatic conception of the Devil, that of a glorious, large hearted rebel Satan.

Milton's Satan is usually regarded as the mighty fallen, majesty in ruin, something to be admired and feared. We must, however, not overlook his awful grief, his wild despair. Milton knew how to render in words of surpassing beauty the impressive sorrow and the introspective pangs of the Archangel ruined. The expression of

<sup>10</sup> "The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of angels and God and at liberty when of devils and hell, is because he was a true poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it" (William Blake).



human emotions which Milton imparts to his Satan when this fallen angel descends into his doleful domain to summon his infernal council has aroused the admiration of readers to this day. Satan's pity for the sad plight of the spirits who fell with him, and his compassion for man, to whom he must bring destruction, are lines in *Paradise Lost* which cannot be easily forgotten.

In what beautiful terms is Satan's self-condemnation clothed by Milton! The poet follows tradition in describing Satan's punishment in hell (*Par. Lost* ii. 88). But this material pain is in Milton very insignificant as compared with the Devil's spiritual sufferings. It is the inward torments on which Milton lays chief emphasis, and this inner pain shows itself in the face of his Fiend. "Myself am Hell," Satan cries in the anguish of his soul (*ibid.*, iv. 75). What gnaws at his heart is not a serpent, but "the thought both of lost happiness and lasting pain" (*ibid.*, i. 54-55).

The pain of Milton's Satan is psychical rather than physical. His is the boundless horror and despair of one who has known "eternal joys" and is now condemned to everlasting banishment. Marlowe's Mephistopheles also complains of moral rather than material sufferings. His torment is to be hopelessly bound in the constraint of serfdom to evil. There is a suggestion of peculiar horror in the tortured protest which bursts from his lips when asked as to his condition:

"Think'st thou that I, that saw the face of God,  
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,  
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells,  
In being depriv'd of everlasting bliss?  
O Faustus! leave these frivolous demands,  
Which strike a terror to my fainting soul!" (iii. 78-83).

The idea of the repentant rebel is also not original with Milton. It is of pre-Christian origin and was also acquired by the Jews from the Persians. The writer of the Book of the Secrets of Enoch (written between 30 B. C. and 50 A. D.) already represents the apostatized angels as "weeping unceasingly." This conception is also found in the apocryphal Vision of St. Paul. In his lamentations over his expulsion from heaven in the medieval mystery plays, Satan has often given a very poetic expression to his deep yearning for the heaven which he has lost. In the Eger Passion Play, the Devil ex-

presses his willingness to perform the most terrible penance if he can but obtain his forgiveness. A modern version of Satan's *de profundis* has been given us by Frieda Schanz:

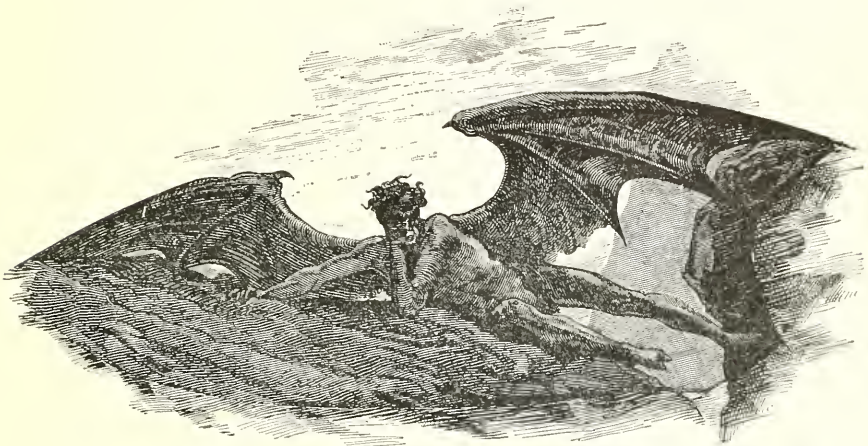
Der Teufel hat immer mit frechem Munde  
Den Himmel verflucht und Gott verklagt.  
Aber einmal in wunderbarer Stunde  
Hat er gesagt:  
"Und läge der Himmel noch tausendmal weiter  
Ueber dem Höllenmoor  
Und führte eine glühende Leiter  
Zu ihm empoor,  
Jede Sprosse aus eisernen Dornenzweigen,  
Jeder Schritt unausdenkbares Weh und Grau'n,  
Tausend Legionen Jahre möchte ich steigen,  
Um nur einmal Sein Angesicht zu schau'n."

It does not seem, though, that Satan is wholly satisfied with Milton's account of the events that led to his expulsion from heaven. The reader will recall Bernard Shaw's account of Satan's indignation over the Miltonic version of the celestial war. "The Englishman described me as being expelled from Heaven by cannon and gun-powder, and to this day every Briton believes that the whole of this silly story is in the Bible. What else he says, I do not know, for it is all in a long poem which neither I nor any one else ever succeeded in wading through" (*Man and Superman*, 1905).

Milton's delineation of the lesser lights of hell is not less to be admired. In *Paradise Lost* there is a distinct differentiation of demons. The personality of each devil reveals itself. Baal is not merely a devil; he is the particular devil Baal. Beelzebub, we feel, is distinct from Belial; Moloch is not Mammon, nor is Dagon, Rimmon. Milton's devils are not metaphysical abstractions. A personal devil is always a lot more interesting than an abstraction. Even his allegorical figures are living symbols. The demons in *Paradise Lost* are not ugly beasts. They have no horns, no tails. Nor are they wicked men, either. But they act in a manner which men can understand. The Devil should not be human, but he must have enough in common with human nature to play a part intelligible to human beings. In the artistic treatment of diabolical material,

the chief difficulty lies in preserving the just mean between the devil-character and the imparted element of humanity.

Milton had many imitators, all of whom fell far short of their model. Klopstock tried to give to Germany what Milton had given to his country. His *Messias* (1748-1773), which treats of the Christian system of salvation, was intended to parallel the epic of the Puritan poet. But his Satan is so much below Milton's Satan that we blush to think how this Satan of Klopstock could ever sustain a conversation with the Satan of Milton or even appear in his



Milton's Satan (After Dore)

company. He has neither the greatness of intellect nor the charm of personality with which Satan was clothed by Milton. The Devil of Klopstock is indeed a Miltonic Devil, "but oh how fallen! how changed!" (*Par. Lost* i 84). It will be recalled that when somebody once called Klopstock the "German Milton," Coleridge promptly retorted that Klopstock was a very German Milton.<sup>11</sup>

The subject of Satan's revolt has not failed of fascination even for the writers of the modern period, which has discarded the Devil into the limbo of ancient superstitions and in which his very mention, far from causing men to cross themselves, brings a smile on

<sup>11</sup> Albrecht von Haller's play *Vom Ursprung des Uebels* (1734) likewise contains many reminiscences of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. A tragedy called *Lucifer* was also published, in 1717, by a Jesuit father in Silesia Manz Noel.

their faces. It cannot be denied that most of our ideas in this realm of thought are quite different from the views that the contemporaries of Milton entertained. The tremendous belief in the personality of the Devil that had grown up during the Middle Ages flourished just as vigorously in the middle of the seventeenth century. Milton himself fully believed in the existence of the diabolical beings whom he described. He was as firm, although not as fantastic, a believer in a real, personal Devil as Luther was. We never think of doubting Milton. "As well might we doubt the reality of those scorching fires of hell that had left their marks on the face of Dante; or of the fearful sights and sounds that beset Christian on his way through the Valley of the Shadow of Death." Even Christopher Marlowe, in telling the story of the bargain between Faustus and Mephistopheles, believed that he narrated established facts. The conception of the Devil of a Marlowe, a Milton, a Bunyan, still represents the seriousness of the medieval fear of the Fiend. These men lived in an age of faith in which angels and demons were not abstract figures, but living realities. In our modern times, however, heaven and hell have lost their "local habitation," and angels and demons are considered as figments of the human imagination.

Contrary to all expectation, however, the legend of Lucifer has not ceased to exert a strong attraction upon the mind of man to this day. As a matter of fact, the Devil has perhaps received his greatest elaboration in modern times at the hands of writers who believed in him no more than Shakespeare did in the ghost of Hamlet's father. The treatment of this ancient legend, however, differs radically from that given to it by the poets of former times. It has been reserved for the last century to bring about a reversal of poetic judgment with regard to the events which supposedly happened in the heavens in the dim beginnings of history. It must not be forgotten that the accounts of the celestial war given by the rabbins and Church fathers came from partisans of heaven. The other party could perhaps furnish a different version of those events. Samuel Butler has remarked in his *Note-Books*, published posthumously in 1912, that we have never heard the Devil's side of the case because God has written all the books. It is apparent that he was not familiar with the writings of a number of men in different European countries who constituted themselves, during the last

century, as the spokesmen of the Devil and advocated a revision of his process. These *advocati Diaboli* endeavored to show that the Devil was after all not so black as he has always been painted.

During the period of the Romantic revolt in all European countries Satan was considered as a Prometheus of Christian mythology. He was hailed as the vindicator of reason, of freedom of thought, and of an unfettered humanity. The French Romantics saw in Satan the greatest enthusiast for the liberty and spontaneity of genius, the sublimest and supremest incarnation of the spirit of individualism, the greatest symbol of protest against tyranny, celestial or terrestrial. They predicted the day when Satan would return to his former glory in heaven.

Satan received ample vindication in England from such poets as Byron, Shelley, Swinburne and James Thomson. Byron portrayed Lucifer as a rebel against celestial injustice. Shelley took his transmuted Lucifer from Milton's Satan, and deified him a little more. The imagination of the poet of *Prometheus Unbound* (1820) made of the Devil the benefactor of man and the light of the world. George Du Maurier averred that no tongue had yet uttered what might be said for the adversary of the Almighty.

In Germany, as far back as the eighteenth century, Count Stolberg, in his *Iambs* (1783-1784), celebrated Lucifer as the Morning-Star, the Light-Bearer, to whom man is indebted for truth and enlightenment. Richard Dehmel's pantomimic drama *Lucifer* (1899) is a glorification of the Devil, whom the poet calls by such beautiful epithets as *Glansbringer*, *Gluthüter*, *Lichtschöpfer*, *Mutwecker*, *Weltbegeistrer*.

In Scandinavia, August Strindberg, in his play, *Lucifer or God* (1877), reverses the roles between the Almighty and His adversary. Lucifer is represented in this play as a compound of Apollo, Prometheus and Christ. This divinization of the Devil has for its counterpart the diabolization of the Deity.

In Italy, Carducci, in his *Hymn to Satan* (1863), describes the Devil clothed with such mighty and beautiful splendor that his glory almost compels the knee to bend. This bold writer represents Satan as "the immortal enemy of autocracy and the banner-bearer of the great reformers and innovators of all ages." His contemporary, Rapisardi, similarly celebrates, in *Lucifer* (1877), the Devil as the bringer of light to the world.

The last to report on the revolt of the angels is Anatole France, who, in his book *la Révolte des anges* (1914), presents us with an account of a second angelic rebellion against the Ruler of the Heavens. This work contains also a new version of the first war in the skies. A number of the inhabitants of heaven, who were hurled down to earth, form a conspiracy to storm the heavens and set up Satan as ruler. After having organized their forces and equipped them with the most modern instruments of war, the leaders of the revolt seek out Satan by the waters of the Ganges and offer him the leadership. But he who first raised the flag of rebellion in heaven refuses to lead another attack against the celestial citadel. In a dream he has seen himself becoming as harsh, as intolerant and as greedy of adulation as his eternal enemy Jehovah. The successful rebel would only turn a reactionary. He will rather remain the oppressed than become an oppressor.