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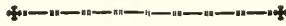
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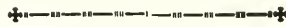
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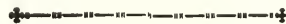


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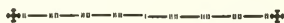
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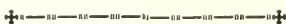
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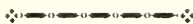
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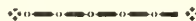
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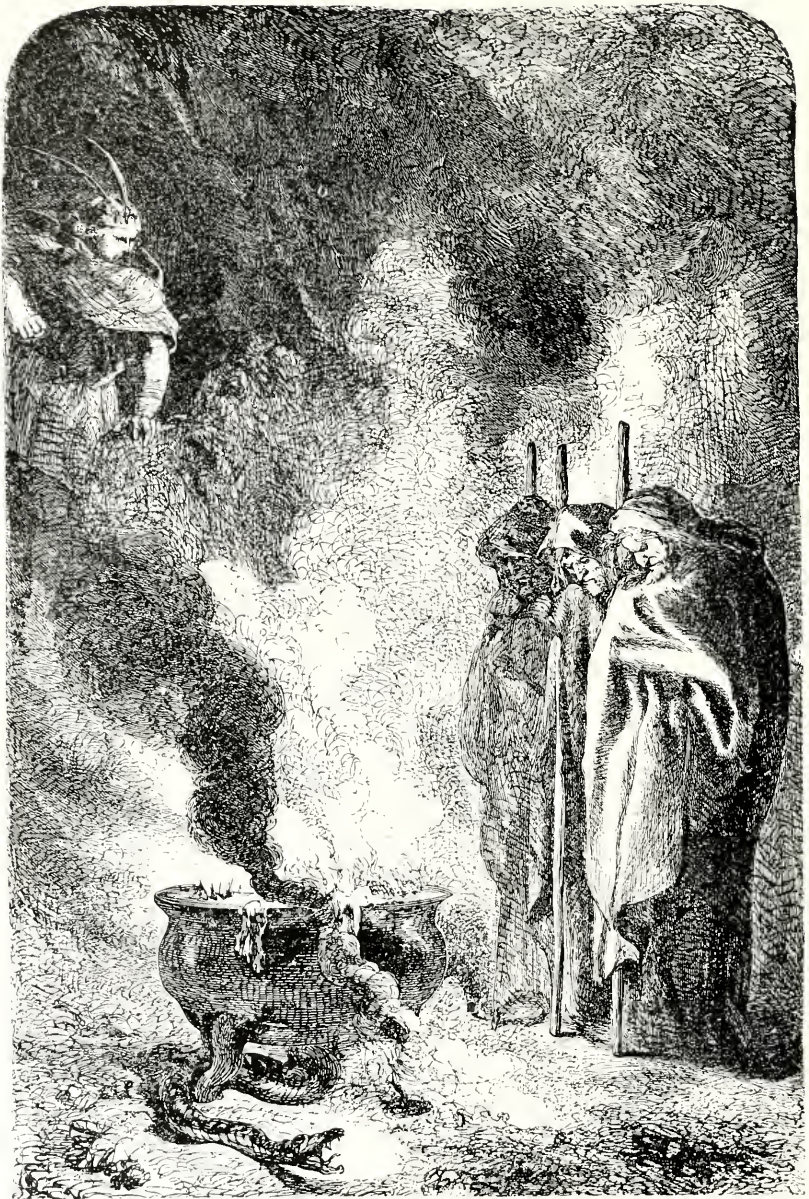
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THE FORM OF THE FIEND

BY MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN

THE Devil has assumed many forms and worn many costumes. Hundreds of books, pictures and prints depict his Infernal Majesty in almost as many different disguises as there are stars in the sky. Satan is a polymorphous individual. He is the equal of Jupiter in the art of physical tergiversation, having a capacity for almost endless variations and transmutations, which he uses to the great perplexity of mortals. As successor to Hermes, he has also inherited the Greek god's ability to contract and expand at pleasure. Indeed, if we credit all the accounts of the forms in which the Fiend has shown himself on earth, he is a quick-change artist of first-rate ability.

The Devil as a fallen angel is, naturally enough, "a spirit in form and substance,"—but he has been granted the power of manifesting himself to the eyes of man in a material form as far back as the first century of the Christian era. As the adversary of corporeal saints, he necessarily and unmistakably became more material than he had been as the shadowy opponent of the spiritual angels. Although in reality incorporeal, he can, of his own inherent power, call into existence any manner of body that it pleases his fancy to inhabit, or that will be most conducive to the success of any contemplated evil.

It has been said that the Devil can manifest himself to the eyes of man in any form which exists "in the heavens above, in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth." He can, first of all, still manifest himself in his former rôle as an angel. St. Paul warns us that Satan can transform himself into an angel of light (2 Cor. xi. 14), and St. Thomas, commenting on the words of the great

Apostle, teaches that the higher natural qualities of the angels have not wholly been withdrawn from the fallen spirits.¹

But this is not all. In order to mislead mankind, the Devil can even appear, according to Thomas Cranmer, author of *A Confutation of Unceritten Verities* (16th cent.), in the likeness of Christ. It is known that the Devil manifested himself to the Deacon Secundullus first as an angel and later as Christ himself.²

As a general thing, however, the Devil seeks his models among men. He has at his command, as Timon of Athens has said, "all shapes that man goes up and down in." He can appear in the form of either sex. The Fiend figured in human form when he approached the hermits of the Thebaid. The earliest known representation of the Devil in human form is found on an ivory diptych of the time of Charles the Bald (9th Cent.). In Thomas Middleton's *Witch* (p. 1778), Hecate speaks of a custom that witches have of causing their familiar spirits to assume the shape of any man for whom they have a passion.³

But incarnation in a human body is not sufficient for Satan. The forms of the whole of the animal kingdom seem also to be at his disposal. He can adopt, in fact, the form of any animal he wishes—from a worm to an eagle. Indeed, one of the most significant elements of demonology is the persistence of the animal character in which the Devil appears. But not content with known animal forms, he even seeks further to assume incredible and impossible shapes. Popular fancy assembled, in fact, the repugnant parts of all known living beings and fashioned the Devil out of them. In order to frighten the good Christians, the Fiend had to possess a form which was particularly suited to instil terror into their hearts.

The Devil, whom our medieval ancestors detected so unerringly and feared so mortally, was a compound of all the contortions and distortions known to exist among living things on this earth. Our pious forefathers imagined him who "one day wore a crown under the eyes of God" in as horrid and hideous a form as fancy could

¹ Consult the authorities quoted on this matter by Anatole France in his novel *la Révolte des anges* (1914). A contemporary Polish novelist, Kornel Makuszyński, says in his recent story "Another Paradise Lost and Regained" (1926): "It is one of the most ancient and common of hellish tricks for a devil to take the shape of an angel."

² Cf. Wilhelm Fischer: *Aberglauben aller Zeiten* (Stuttgart, 1906-7), I, 55.

³ Norman Douglas in his novel *They Went* (1921) offers an interesting variant in the person of Theophilus, the Greek merchant.



WITCHES CELEBRATING WALPURGIS NIGHT
(By Franz Simm)

render it. Like the Greek Gorgon, the Christian Satan was meant to represent, as Anatole France has said, the sympathetic alliance between physical ugliness and moral evil. The grotesque paintings of the Devil in the medieval cathedrals were enough to scare even the Devil himself.⁴ Daniel Defoe has well remarked that the Devil does not think that the people would be terrified half so much if they were to converse with him face to face. "Really," this biographer of Satan goes on to say, "it were enough to fright the Devil himself to meet himself in the dark, dressed up in the several figures which imagination has formed for him in the minds of men."

If you wish to see the Devil in his genuine form, we are told in Gogol's story "St. John's Eve" (1830), stand near a mustard seed on St. John's Eve at midnight, the only evening in the year when Satan reveals himself in his proper form to the eyes of man. Sir John Fraser suggests, in his *Golden Bough* (1911-1914), that this prince from a warmer climate may be attracted by the warmth of the mustard in the chilly air of the upper world.

The Devil, in fact, is very sensitive in regard to the unflattering portrayal of himself by the good Christians. On a number of occasions, he has expressed his bitter resentment at the ugly form given him in Christian iconography. A medieval French legend relates the discomfiture of a monk, who was forced by the indignant Devil to paint him in a less ugly fashion. Lucifer also appeared once in a dream to the Florentine painter Spinello Spinelli to ask him in what place he had beheld him under so brutish a form as he had painted him. This story is told in Giorgio Vasari's *Vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori et architetti* (1550) and retold by Anatole France in his story "Lucifer" (1895).⁵

It makes us, indeed, wonder why the Devil was always represented in so repugnant a form. Rationally conceived, the Devil should be by right the most fascinating object in creation. One of his essential functions, namely temptation, is destroyed by his hideousness. To be effective in the work of temptation, a demon

⁴ On the Devil in medieval art, consult Emil Mâle's three volumes: *l'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France; l'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France; l'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, and Maurice Gossart: *la Peinture des diableries à la fin du moyen-âge; Jérôme Bosch, "le faiseur de dyables," de Bois-le-Duc* (1907).

⁵ In his story "les Blattes," Anatole France also expresses the fear of an Italian painter that he may have incurred the Devil's displeasure by the manner in which he presented him on the cathedral doors and church windows.

might be expected to approach his intended victim in the most fascinating form he could command.⁶

The fact is that the form given the Devil in Christian iconography has an historical foundation. It has been derived from the fabled gods of antiquity. The medieval monster is an amalgamation of all the heathen divinities, from whom he derived, especially of those gods or demons which, already in pagan days, were inimical to the benevolently ruling deities.

Indeed, a great number of sacred animal representations will be found in most of the religions of antiquity. The gods of India, Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Greece and Rome were worshipped under the form of the animals which were supposed to possess the qualities for which they were revered. At a later period in the history of religion, the divinity was partly humanized; and a human deity was conceived with certain animal parts to represent the form under which he had originally been worshipped. Later on, all vestiges of the ancient animal forms were discarded, and the deity emerged in full human form. This evolution accounts for the fact that the Devil has appeared to our ancestors in full animal form, in a form half animal and half human, and finally wholly human.

As a matter of fact, every animal form that was assumed by the gods in antiquity has had its body occupied by the Devil.⁷ Furthermore, the Devil's representation in the form of certain animals is the result of a literal interpretation of a figurative scriptural expression. The medieval writers had a tendency to convert symbols and metaphors into facts. If the Devil is called in the New Testament a roaring lion, a dragon, a serpent, a wolf, a dog, it was instantly supposed that he was in the habit of actually assuming the forms of these animals.

The elephant, which was sacred to the eyes of the Buddhist, had its body inhabited by the Devil. The bull was diabolized for the

⁶ The Devil, it should be added in all truthfulness, appears on certain occasions also in an agreeable form. Anatole France tells us that "the Devil... clothes himself in divers forms, sometimes pleasing, when he succeeds in disguising his natural ugliness, at other times, hideous, when he lets his true nature be seen" (*la Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque*, 1893). William Shakespeare has also remarked that "the Devil hath power to assume a pleasing shape" (*Hamlet*, II, ii, 628-9).

⁷ The animals which were diabolized by the early Christians on account of their associations with mythological personages or ideas should not be confused, however, with those animals which, owing to the fact that they possess qualities inimical to man, were already feared as demons in the animistic religions.

reason that he was venerated by the Egyptians. As successor to the Egyptian Seth, Satan also appeared in the form of a pig. The fox, which was sacred to certain ancient divinities, was likewise considered as the Devil's incarnation. The bear was for similar reasons one of the Devil's medieval metamorphoses.

The representation of the Devil in the shape of a goat goes back to far antiquity. Goat-formed deities and spirits of the woods existed in the religions of India, Egypt, Assyria, and Greece.⁸ The Assyrian god was often associated with the goat, which was supposed to possess the qualities for which he was worshipped. This animal was also connected with the worship of Priapus, the Greek god of vegetal and animal fertility. The goat was similarly sacred to the Northern god Donar or Thor, whom, as Jacob Grimm says, the modern notions of the Devil often have in the background. Thor's chariot was drawn by goats. As the familiar of the witch, the Devil appeared in the form of a goat as well as in that of a dog. Esmeralda's goat, in Victor Hugo's novel *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831), was believed to be her familiar demon. French witches were often thought to slip into the skin of a goat to identify themselves with their goatish god. Satan presided at the Witches' Sabbath in the form of a black buck. The goat, in the grand scene of the Last Judgment, is also the symbol of the slaves of sin.⁹

The dog has always been one of the Devil's favorite metamorphoses, especially as the familiar of the witch or wizard. The Devil had already been represented as a dog in the Bible (Phil. iii. 2; Rev. xxii. 15). He is, therefore, called hell-hound in the medieval mysteries. Mephistopheles appears to Faust in the form of an ugly dog, "a fit emblem," as Conway says, "of the scholar's relapse into the canine temper which flies at the world as at a bone he means to gnaw."¹⁰ Cornelius Agrippa, the sceptic philosopher, who was considered a magician in the Middle Ages, was also attended by a devil in the shape of a black dog.

The Devil as guardian of hell was also equated to Cerberus and inherited the latter's triple head. Many mythologies, in fact, show

⁸ On the relation of satyrs to goats see Sir John Frazer's *Golden Bough*, vol. VIII, pp. 1sqq.

⁹ The creation of the goat has also been ascribed to the Devil. Hans Sachs has written a farce entitled "The Devil Created Goats" (September 24, 1556). Engl. Transl. in Wm. Leighton's *Merry Tales of Hans Sachs* (London, 1920), pp. 129-131.

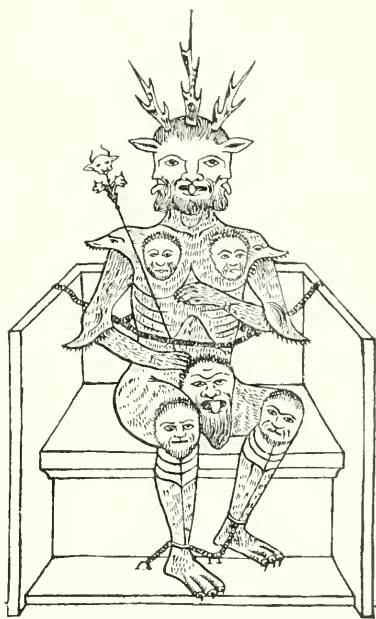
¹⁰ Moncure Daniel Conway: *Demonology and Devil-Lore*. 2 vols., 3rd ed., New York, 1889.

tricephalic gods of the underworld. The Devil's trinitarian head recalls Typhon of the Egyptians, Hecate of classical mythology, Hrim-Grimmir of the Edda and Triglaf of the Slavs.¹¹ The Dantean Dis has three faces: one in front, and one on each side. The middle face is red, that on the right side whitish-yellow, that on the left side black.¹² The trinity idea of the Devil was in-



THE TRINITY

From a painted window of the sixteenth century in the church of Notra Dame at Chalons, France.



THE TRINITY OF EVIL

From a French MS. of the fifteenth century, preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.

terpreted by the Church fathers as Satan's parody of the trinitarian God-head. The Devil is described as a three headed monster in the Gospel of Nicodemus (3rd cent.) and in the Good Friday Sermon of Eusebius of Alexandria, who addresses him as the "Three-headed Beelzebub."

The Devil inherited the form of a crow or black raven from

¹¹ Cf. Paul Carus: *History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil* (Chicago, 1900), p. 249.

¹² *Ibid.*

Odin, who, in Scandinavian mythology, had two ravens perched on his shoulders. Mephistopheles, in Goethe's *Faust*, is accompanied by two crows (i. 2491).

The dove, which was a sacred animal in the pagan period, was, in Christian days, gradually invested with something of the evil character of the Tempter of Job and came very nearly to represent the old fatal serpent power. This creature was sacred to all Semites, who revered it as the reincarnation of their beloved dead, and who, for this reason, avoided eating or even touching it. The Romans also held the dove in veneration and offered it as a sacrifice to Venus.

The bat, on account of its ugly form, was especially fit to offer its body for habitation by the Devil. In Anatole France's story "Le Grand St. Nicolas" (1909), six devils appear in the form of bats.

The rat or mouse was also among the Devil's metamorphoses. It will be remembered that Mephistopheles calls himself in Goethe's *Faust* "the lord of rats and mice." (i. 1516). An imp of hell jumps out of the mouth of the witch, with whom Faust dances in the Walpurgis-Night, in the form of a little red mouse (*ibid.*, i. 2179). In the Middle Ages, the soul was often represented as leaving the body in the form of a mouse. The soul of a good man comes out of his mouth as a white mouse, while at the death of a sinner the soul escapes as a black mouse, which the Devil catches and carries to hell. The Piper of Hamelin, in the legend well known to the English world through Robert Browning's poem "Pied Piper of Hamelin" (1843) and Miss Josephine Peabody's play *The Piper* (1909), who carried off one hundred and fifty children when the inhabitants of Hammel in Saxony refused to pay him for ridding them of the rats which had infected their town, was, according to Johannes Wierus and Robert Burton, none other than the Devil in person; and the rats which he charmed with his music into following him were human souls. Death, the Devil's first cousin, if not his *alter ego*, similarly has the souls, in the Dance of Death, march off to hell to a merry tune on his violin.¹³

The form of the fly for the Fiend was suggested by Ahriman, the Persian evil spirit, who is the ancestor of our Devil and who entered the world as a fly. The word *beelzebub* means in Hebrew "the fly-god." In Spencer's *The Fairie Queen* (1590-96), Archimago summons spirits from hell in the shape of flies.

¹³ On the Devil in the form of a mouse, see M. Barth's article "Dämonen in Mäusegestalt" in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* of February 7, 1917.

The cat, which was considered in Egypt as a guardian genius, a friend of the family, and a slayer of evil things, has been a representation of the Devil in all Christian lands. Bast, an Egyptian goddess, was figured with the head of a cat. Inasmuch as this animal was sacred to the ancient Egyptians, it naturally enough became a devil to medieval Christians. The cat, which drew the wagon of Freya, became the Devil's pet animal, after the Scandinavian goddess had turned as Frau Holle into the Devil's grandmother. The witch was believed to transform herself into a cat.

The belief in the diabolical character of the cat has persisted to this day and has even been shared by a great number of modern poets. Goethe, the German poet and sage, openly said that he believed black cats were of the Evil One. The French diabolists Baudelaire and Huysmans adored this animal. Verlaine, in his poem "Femme et chatte" (1866), represents the cat as the impersonation of the Devil, and woman as very much akin to the two. "The cat," Théophile Gautier has said in his essay on Baudelaire (1868), "has the appearance of knowing the latest sabbatical chronicle, and he will willingly rub himself against the lame leg of Mephistopheles."¹⁴

The dragon is a frequent diabolical figure in medieval literature. The basis of the conception of the Devil as a dragon is in the Book of Revelations (xii. 3, 7, 9). The Devil appears as a dragon in Michelet's story "Madeleine Bavent." In Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), the devil Apollyon is a winged dragon covered with scales, and belching fire and smoke. The Devil appears in the form of a dragon in the pictorial representations of the combat between St. Michael and the leader of the rebel angels by Raphael in the Louvre, by Luca Giordano in the Belvedere of Vienna, by Schongauer in the Cathedral of Ulm, by Jacobello del Fiore in Berlin and by Mabuse in Munich. In the Faust-book, Faust flies in a dragon-drawn chariot through the air. In Calderon's play *el Magico prodigioso* (c. 1635), Satan appears in the end as a dragon.¹⁵

The basis of the conception of the Devil as a worm is in the

¹⁴ On the cat, cf. Anne Marks: *The Cat in History, Legend and Art*, London, 1909; Champfleury (pseud. of J. H. Fleury): *The Cat Past and Present*, translated from the French by Mrs. Hoey, London, 1885; A. M. Michelet (Mme Jules Michelet): *les Chats*, Paris, 1909. Mr. Carl Van Doren has recently published in New York two anthologies of cat stories.

¹⁵ On the dragon, consult the following two recent books: G. Eliot Smith's *The Evolution of the Dragon* (1919) and Ernest Ingersoll's *Dragons and Dragon Lore* (1928).

passage "their worm shall not die" (Is. lxvi. 24; cf. Mark ix. 44, 46, 48), which has been applied to the chief of the evil spirits.

The representation of the Devil in the form of a wolf is the result of a literal interpretation of the biblical phrase "grievous wolves enter in among you" (Acts xx. 29).

Notwithstanding the biblical comparison of the Devil to the most courageous and ferocious of all wild beasts (1 Peter v. 8), representations of the Devil in the form of a lion were not popular out of respect for "the lion out of the tribe of Judah" (Rev. v. 5). The substitution of the dragon or the serpent for the lion as a general representation of the Devil was, furthermore, made necessary in certain countries by national respect as well as by Christian tradition. In the play *Pyramus and Thisbe* written by Rederijker Goosen ten Berch of Amsterdam, a lioness, appearing in a silent rôle, is however, interpreted as the Devil.

The Devil's simian aspect is of patristic origin. It comes from the fact that the Church fathers called Lucifer an ape on account of his efforts to mimic the Lord. When they noticed the similarities between the observances of Christians and pagans, they explained them as diabolical counterfeits. They believed that the Devil, whose business it always is to pervert the truth, imitated the sacraments of the church in the mysteries of the idols. The patristic appellation for the Devil as *simia Dei* was taken literally by later writers, and the Devil was represented by them under the form of a monkey.

Of all representations of Evil, that of the serpent is common to all countries, all peoples, all times and all religions. The serpent as an autumnal constellation figured among all races as an enemy of the sun-god or light-god. Moreover, the serpent, of old the "seer," was, in its Semitic adaptation, the tempter to forbidden knowledge. Satan played this part to our ancestors in the Garden of Eden. He appears in the traditional shape of the serpent in Dante's *Purgatorio* (viii. 98f.) Milton similarly mentions the infernal serpent (*Par. Lost* i. 34). A legend of the Devil in the form of a serpent will also be found in the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory the Great (593-94). Paphnutius, in Anatole France's novel *Thais* (1890), sees Lucifer as "the serpent with golden wings which twisted round the tree of knowledge its azure coils formed of light and love." In Goethe's *Faust*, Mephistopheles calls the serpent his aunt (i. 2049).

The Devil may owe his office as guardian of treasures to his

identification with the serpent or dragon. In Hindu mythology, homage is paid the serpent as guardian of treasures. The idea that demons are guardians of treasures is especially prevalent in the Orient. Furthermore, the Devil, who dwells in the bowels of the



THE GOOD LORD AND THE DEVIL
(In Goethe's *Faust*, by Franz Simm.)

earth, was soon regarded as the guardian of all subterranean treasures and as the possessor of unlimited wealth. It is believed in many European countries that treasures can be found on St. John's Eve by means of the fern seed. Treasures also bloom or burn in the earth and reveal their presence by a bluish flame on Midsummer Eve.

The idea of the Devil, in the representation of the temptation of Eve, as a serpent with the head of a woman is not earlier than the Middle Ages. According to the Venerable Bede, Lucifer chose to

tempt Eve through a serpent which had a female head because "like is attracted to like." Vincent de Beauvais accepts Bede's view on the female head of the serpent in the Garden of Eden. Pierre Comestor, in his *Historia scholastica* (c. 1176), concludes from this fact that, while the serpent was yet erect, it had a virgin's head. In the temptation scene of the medieval mystery plays, Satan usually appears as a serpent with a woman's head. Raphael, in his representation of the combat between St. Michael and the Devil, likewise represents the latter as a serpent with a woman's head. Ruskin shows an unfamiliarity with medieval literature and art when he states that the serpent in Paradise was for many centuries represented with the head of a man. In Grandchamp's painting of the Temptation, however, the serpent has the head of a handsome young man.

When the Devil was later figured in human form, he was given the head of an elephant, a camel, a pig, or a bird covered with thick locks resembling serpents, the ears of an ass, the mouth and teeth of a lion, the beard of a goat, the horns of a goat, a bull, or a stag,¹⁶ the wings of a bat, the long tail of a dragon, the claws of a tiger, and the foot of a bull, a horse, a goat, or a cock. The Ethiopic devil's right foot is a claw, and his left foot a hoof.

The Devil inherited his bull-horns and bull-foot from Dionysus, his horse-foot from Loki and his goat-foot from Pan. He borrowed his snaky *coiffure* from the Erinyes and his batwings from the Lemures, and shares his elephant-head with Ganesa, the Hindu god of wisdom, and his dragon-tail with the Chimera.

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The Devil appears in many colors, principally, however, in black. The black color presumably is intended to suggest his place of abode. Racial hatred had, however, much to do with the dark description of the Devil. There is no warrant in biblical tradition for a black devil. Satan, however, appeared as an Ethiopian or Moor as far back as the days of the Church fathers. Descriptions of the Devil as black in color will be found in the Acts of the

¹⁶ The Devil's horns are first mentioned in the *Vita S. Antonii* by St. Athanasius (4th cent.). Mr. R. Lowe Thompson, in his recent *History of the Devil* (1929), traces the Devil's horns to the dawn of history. He sees in the medieval demon the successor to Cernunnos, the ancient Gallic god of the dead. Adam Hamilton published anonymously a very clever essay entitled *Where Are my Horns*, in which Lucifer himself addresses the readers.

Martyrs, the Acts of St. Bartholomew, and in the writings of Augustine and Gregory the Great. A black face was a permanent feature of the medieval representations of the Devil. "Of all human forms," Reginald Scot tells us in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), "that of a Negro or a Moor is considered a favorite one with the demons." Satan figures as king of the Africans in John Bunyan's *Holy War* (1682). In modern literature, the Devil appears as a Black Bogey, among others, in Washington Irving's "The Devil and Tom Walker" (1824), in Robert Louis Stevenson's "Thrawn Janet" (1881) and in Anatole France's *le Livre de mon ami* (1884). It is a common belief still to-day in Scotland that the Devil is a black man. The term "Printer's Devil" is usually accounted for by the fact that Aldus Manutius, the great Venetian printer, employed in his printing shop toward the end of the fifteenth century a black slave, who was popularly thought to be an imp from hell. We now recall the popular saying that the Devil is not so black as he is painted. Even the devout George Herbert wrote:—

"We paint the Devil black, yet he
Hath some good in him all agree."

It should, however, be added in all truthfulness that whereas the Devil shows himself as a Negro among white men, he appears as a white man among the negroes. Many tribes of Western Africa, as a matter of fact, represent the Devil as white.

The Devil also appears to us in flaming red colors, whether he wears tights or not. Satan is portrayed in popular imagination as a sort of eternal salamander. He was described already in the New Testament as a fiery fiend. Red was considered among all Oriental nations as a diabolical color. Agni, one of the chief gods mentioned in the Indo-Aryan sacred books, is described as red in color. Brahma of the Hindus was also represented as of a red color. Hapi, god of the Nile, is also figured red in color.

The Devil also appears in yellow and blue colors. Yellow was considered, from antiquity, the color of infamy.¹⁷ The blue devil is a sulphurously constituted individual. When the Englishman suffers from melancholy, he believes himself to be possessed by the "blues," *i. e.* the blue devils.¹⁸

¹⁷ In Lenau's drama *Faust* (1835), the Devil is a gypsy for reasons other perhaps than the color of his skin.

¹⁸ Luther remarked that the Devil was a mournful character and could in no way endure light, cheerful music.

As a matter of fact, the Devil appears in any color that has an unpleasant look or suggestion. "As white as the Devil," say the Orientals, for whom white is the color of death and mourning. "As green as the Devil," says the Spaniard inasmuch as green was a sacred color to the Moors. "As yellow as the Devil," say the Italians, who do not like this color. The French swear-word *sacré bleu*, however, has no diabolical connotation. It is a euphemism for *sacré Dieu*. The French expression *le diable vert* also has no reference to the Devil's color. Gérard de Nerval has written a clever story "le Diable vert" (1849) in explanation of this expression.¹⁹

The Devil usually has saucer eyes all black without any white (Mérimée, *Lettres à une inconnue*, xxv). In Charles Nodier's story "le Combe de l'homme mort" (1832), he has little red eyes, more sparkling than red-hot coals. In Russian iconography, the all-seeing spirit of evil is represented as covered with eyes. Edgar Allan Poe, in his story "Bon-Bon" (1835) and Charles Baudelaire in his prose poem "les Tentations, ou Eros, Plutus et la Gloire" (1863), on the other hand, represent the Devil as an eyeless monster.

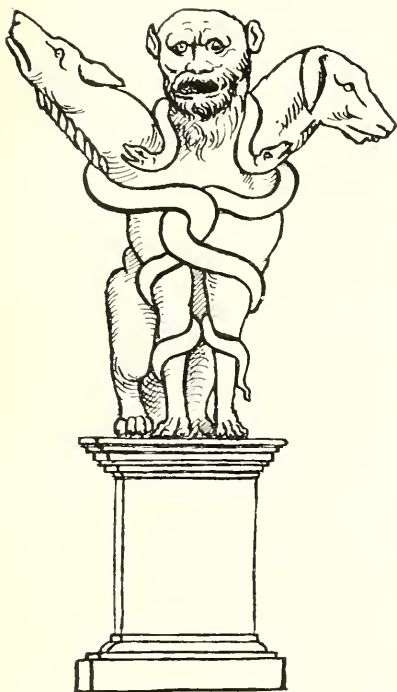
The Devil is usually figured in a lean form. His hands are long and lean. His face is generally as pale and yellow as the wax of an old candle and furrowed by wrinkled lines. The cadaverous aspect of the Devil is of old antiquity. With but one exception (the Egyptian Typhon), demons are always represented as lean. "A devil," said Cæsarius of Heisterbach of the thirteenth century, "is usually so thin as to cast no shadow" (*Dialogus miraculorum*, iii). This characteristic of the Devil is a heritage of the ancient hunger-demon, who could not be felt, because his back was hollow, and, though himself a shadow, cast no shadow. The Devil was reputed, however, to cast his own shadow in Toledo, the immortal home of magic. In the course of the centuries, though, the Fiend has gained flesh.

Hairiness is a pretty generally ascribed characteristic of the Devil. He has probably inherited his hairy skin from the fauns and satyrs. Esau was also believed to have been a hairy demon.

The Devil was often represented with a long beard, but long bearded devils are more common in the representations of the Eastern church. Diabolus was formed in the image and likeness of the Greek ecclesiastic, whose crook he often carries in his hand on

¹⁹ For the correct explanation of this expression consult Littré's dictionary.

cathedral doors or church paintings. Satan is known to affect ecclesiastical appearance, as will be seen further in our discussion.



THE THREE-HEADED
SERAPIS



AZIEL, THE GUARDIAN
OF HIDDEN TREASURES.

Moreover, as the counterpart of the monarch of heaven, the monarch of hell must needs also have a long beard. Pluto has a long beard descending over his chest in Tasso's poem *Gerusalemme liberata* (iv. 53).

The Devil's beard as well as his hair is usually of a flaming red color. Satan and Judas were both represented on the medieval stage with red beards. The Devil has flaming red hair in Nodier's story already mentioned. In Egypt, red hair and red animals of all kinds were considered infernal. Typhon, the evil spirit in Egyptian mythology, has red hair. Thor or Donar, in Scandinavian mythology, also has a red beard, although this, of course, represents the

lightning.²⁰ Red hair is down to the present day a mark of a suspicious character.

The Devil is often represented with a hump. This deformity was caused, according to the account given by Victor Hugo in his book *le Rhin* (1842), by the fact that, in escaping out of the sack in which the Devil carried them on his back to hell, the human souls left behind "their foul sins and heinous crimes, a hideous heap, which, by the force of attraction natural to the fiend, incrustrated itself between his shoulders like a monstrous wen, and remained for ever fixed." A book entitled *le Diable bossu* appeared at Nancy, in 1708, as a pendant to LeSage's novel *le Diable boiteux* published the preceding year.

The Devil often wears a suit of green cloth, as may be seen in Walter Scott's well-known ballad.²¹ Shakespeare is of the opinion that the Devil wears black garments (*Hamlet* III, ii, 1223). In Poe's story "Bon-Bon" already mentioned, the Devil wears a suit of black cloth. The color of his garments has, however, also been red, bistre and golden. In Goethe's *Faust*, Mephistopheles appears in a scarlet waist-coat and tights (i. 1536 and 2485). In Nodier's story already mentioned, the Devil is dressed in a doublet and breeches of scarlet red and wears on top of his head a woollen cap of the same color.

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In our own days, the Devil has turned human, all too human for most of us. He no longer appears in the gala attire of tail, horns and cloven foot, with which he used to grace the revels on the Blocksberg. "You fancied I was different, did you not, Johannes?" Satan asks the little Dutch boy in Frederik van Eeden's novel *De kleine Johannes* (1887). "That I had horns and a tail? That idea is out of date. No one believes it now." The Devil now moves among men in their own likeness, but "the kernel of the brute is in him still." His diabolical traits appear no longer in his body, but in his face; you can see them there, although he does not mean you should.

But although the Devil can now discard his animal parts, he

²⁰ On red hair as a diabolical characteristic, see E. L. Buchholz: *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit* (Berlin, 1867), II, 218-25.

²¹ The story of this ballad is given towards the end of this article.

cannot rid himself of his limp, which is the result of his cloven hoof or broken leg. He still limps slightly, like Byron, no more and no less.²² But notwithstanding his defect in walking, he steps firmly on this earth. The traditional explanation for the Devil's broken leg is his fall from heaven. This idea was suggested by the scriptural saying: "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven" (Luke x. 18). One of the most striking indications of the fall of the demons from heaven is the wide-spread belief that they are lame. This idea has probably been derived from the crooked lightnings. Thoth, Hephaistos (=Vulcan) Loki, Wieland, each had a broken or crooked leg. Asmodeus, in LeSage's novel *le Diable boiteux* (1707), appears as a limping gentleman, who uses two sticks as crutches.²³ He ascribes, in this book, his broken leg to a fight with a brother-devil and his subsequent fall. According to rabbinical tradition, this demon broke his leg when he hurried to meet King Solomon. Victor Hugo, in *le Rhin*, offers another explanation for the lameness of Asmodeus. According to this writer, a stone crushed the demon's leg. In Maupassant's story, "la Légende du Mont St. Michel" (1882), Satan had his leg broken when, in his flight from St. Michael, he jumped off the roof of the castle, into which he had been lured by the archangel.

The Devil is now clad in the costume of the period. He has on clothes which any gentleman might wear. The Devil is very proud of this epithet given him by Sir John Suckling ("The prince of darkness is a gentleman" in *The Goblins*) and by William Shakespeare ("The Prince of demons is a gentleman" in *King Lear*); and from that time on, it has been his greatest ambition to be a gentleman, in outer appearance at least; and to his credit it must be said that he has so well succeeded in his efforts to resemble a gentleman that it is now very difficult to tell the two apart. Satan wears with equal ease an evening suit, a hunting coat, a scholar's gown, a professor's robe (as in the paintings of Giotto's school), or a parson's soutane.

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²² Heine in his poem "Ich rief den Teufel und er kam" (1824), is of the opinion, however, that the Devil has finally succeeded in correcting his defect in walking. Mephistopheles retains, however, his limping leg in Goethe's *Faust* (i. 2498).

²³ The mother of the Devil is named, in the Alsfeld Passion Play of the end of the 15th century, Hellekrug (Höllenkücke) for the reason that she walks on crutches.

The Devil loves to slip into priestly robes, although it cannot really be said that he is "one of those who take to the ministry mostly." In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Satan is frequently shown under the garb of a monk. The Devil disguised as a monk has assumed a national character in Spain. The most characteristic treatment of the Devil in Spain is the play *el Diablo predicador* attributed to Belmote of Cello, in which Lucifer is forced to turn Franciscan monk. The conception of the Devil as a monk in the Germanic countries after the Reformation was principally the result of the Protestant anti-clerical sentiment. Luther declared, in fact, that the true Satanic livery was a monk's cowl. Satan is disguised as a monk in John Bale's biblical drama *The Temptation of Jesus* (1538). Mephistopheles, in the Faust-book, appears first to Faust in the guise of a monk. In Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (c. 1589), Mephistopheles takes the form of a Franciscan monk. In the "Temptation of Jesus" by Lucas van Leyden, the Devil is habited as a monk with a pointed cowl. In Anatole France's stories, the Fiend often borrows the appearance of a monk.²⁴

Satan is known to have occupied pulpits in many parts of Christendom. The Fiend is even famed as a pulpit orator. His speech to St. Guthlac, the Irish St. Anthony, is not, as has been somewhere stated, the only extant instance of a diabolical sermon. Among others, the Devil is said to have preached a sermon in the Church of North Berwick. Lord Morley recently related the French story of the monk, who was a particular friend of the Devil and who had him occupy his pulpit.²⁵

The Devil has now added to the charm of his exterior, already conferred upon him by Milton, a corresponding dignity of bearing

²⁴ On the Devil as a monk, read the interesting essay by Georg Ellinger: "Ueber den Teufel als Mönch." *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literatur-Geschichte*. N. F. I (1887-8) S. 174-81.

²⁵ The story as quoted by John O'London (pseud. of Wilfred Whitton) in a recent number of the *New York Times Book Review* runs as follows: A certain French monk, who was a particular friend of the Devil, was one Sunday morning too ill to preach, and as Diabolus chanced to appear that morning in the sacristy, he asked that obliging personality to occupy his pulpit for the special edification of his congregation. The Devil preached a most masterly sermon, covering himself with shame and confusion. "How now?" said the monk when the Devil came down, "you have pretty nearly ruined yourself with that sermon." "Oh! dear no," answered the Devil, "no harm done, no harm done; there was no unction in it." Richard Taylor's book entitled *The Devil's Pulpit* is a work on religious origins, which caused a great stir in England upon its publication in 1830. The Reverend Mr. W. S. Harris published in Philadelphia, in 1903, a book of *Sermons by the Devil* illustrated by Paul Krafft and others.

and nobility of sentiment. Marie Corelli, in her novel *The Sorrows of Satan* (1895), describes the Devil as of extraordinary physical beauty, fascination of manner, perfect health, and splendid intellectuality. In fact, he is represented by her as "a perfect impersonation of perfect manhood." The modern French writers also have a rather flattering opinion of the Devil. Georges Ohnet, in his novel *L'oloué* (1889), describes his villain, Clément de Thauziat, as "resplendent in Satanic beauty." Anatole France represents the fallen angel as "black and beautiful as a young Egyptian ("l'Humaine tragédie," 1895).

The Devil manifests himself to us now as a well-bred, cultivated man of the world. In appearing among us, he generally borrows a tall handsome figure, surmounted by delicate features, dresses well, is fastidious about his rings and linen, travels post and stops at the best hotels. As he can boast of abundant means and a handsome wardrobe, it is no wonder that he should everywhere be politely received. In fact, as Voltaire has already said, he gets into very agreeable society. His brilliant powers of conversation, his adroit flattery, courteous gallantry, and elegant, though wayward, flights of imagination, soon render him the delight of the company in every *salon*. In Heine's poem already mentioned, the Devil, by grace of the prelates of the Church, is at present the most admired personage in every court and fashionable drawing-room in Christendom.

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When the Devil wishes to tempt a man in the flesh, he approaches him in the form of a beautiful girl. The belief prevailed in the Middle Ages that the Devil is often manifest on earth clothed in all the natural perfections of woman, inciting men to sin until their souls are by this means snatched from their bodies and carried off to hell. The French theologians call the Devil incorporated in a woman "the beautiful Devil." It was in this form that St. Anthony met the Tempter in the Thebaid. This may be seen in the paintings by Bosch, Altdorfer and Teniers. Temptation in the form of a woman is very common in literature as in life. There is an instance of it in Dryden's *King Arthur* (1691) and in a ballad by Walter Scott, the story of which runs as follows: Two hunters meet two beautiful ladies in green. One of the hunters goes off with one of the green ladies. The other gentleman is more prudent.

After a time, he goes in quest of his companion and discovers that he has been torn to pieces by the Devil, who had assumed so fascinating a form. Beelzebub transforms himself into a beautiful girl in order to bedevil a young man in Jacques Cazotte's romance *le Diable amoureux* (1772). Théophile Gautier, in his poem *Albertus* (1830), tells how the Devil disguised himself as a woman to tempt a painter of high ideals and finally twists his neck.

The Devil has evidently in modern times changed sex as well as custom and costume. Owen Meredith has said:

"The Devil, my friend, is a woman just now.
'Tis a woman that reigns in Hell."

Victor Hugo similarly believed that the Devil is now incarnated in woman, as may be seen from the following line:

"Dieu s'est fait homme: soit. Le Diable s'est fait femme"
(*Ruy Blas*, 1838).

The belief in woman as the incarnation of the Devil was current until recent times in all Catholic countries. Prosper Mérimée speaks fully in the spirit of the Church fathers when he says: "Woman is the surest instrument of damnation which the Evil One can employ." St. Cyprian said: "Woman is the instrument which the Devil employs to possess our souls," and St. Tertullian addressed the beautiful sex with the following words: "Woman, thou art the gate to hell." "The eternal Venus," says Baudelaire, "is one of the most seductive forms of the Devil." The proverb says that the heart of a beautiful woman is the most beloved hiding place of at least seven demons.²⁶

Modern artists frequently represent the Devil as a woman. Felicien Rops, Max Klinger, and Franz Stuck may be cited as illustrations.

²⁶ A recent volume of tales in verse by Mrs. Alice Mary Kimball bears the title *The Devil is a Woman* (Alfred A. Knopf).