THE LOVES OF THE DEMONS

BY MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN

The medieval superstition about the loves between demons and humans is a theological interpretation of the ancient belief in the cohabitation of gods with mortal women. The pagan deities, after they had been raised to demonhood by Christianity, still continued to seek the company of the daughters of the earth. In the Northern European countries, this medieval belief was, in addition, a survival of the old Teutonic mythology in which elves and trolls woo or abduct mortals. The mystagogues and occultists of the eighteenth century reverted to the old indigenous belief that the demons who joined themselves carnally to mortals were actually elemental spirits. "In the latter half of the eighteenth century," Anatole France tells us, "much was spoken of sylphs and salamanders, elves, gnomes, and gnomides. They are born with souls as perishable as their bodies, and they acquire immortality by commerce with the magi. . . . Demons are no other than sylphs and salamanders. They are in truth beautiful and benevolent. . . . The angels whom Enoch shows us allying themselves to women in amorous intercourse are sylphs and salamanders" (la Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque, 1893). The reader will recall in this connection Fouqué's Undine (1811), which is based on this belief in an amorous alliance between an elemental spirit and a man. It is the story of a beautiful water-fairy, who has no soul and who can obtain a soul only by marrying a mortal. But she gains with this soul all human sorrows. Her husband is unfaithful to her, and she kisses him dead.

The apocryphal Book of Enoch, in its elaboration of the biblical account of a union between the sons of God and the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 1-4), fully admits the possibility of physical relations between celestial and terrestrial beings. The Talmud teaches that
the angels who forsook the choir-stalls of heaven for the love-beds of earth received corporeal forms so that they could be carnally joined to mortal women. The demons who descended from these fallen angels inherited the bodies of their parents, and therefore could continue seeking the company of the daughters of men. Other demons, who, in Talmudic tradition, formed a part of the six days' creation, received no corporeal forms because they were fashioned toward the end of the sixth day when the Lord was in a hurry to finish his work in order to avoid desecrating the holy Sabbath. These evil spirits, nevertheless, in the opinion of the rabbis, could avail themselves of human senses and passions by nestling in the hearts of human beings. In Christian mythology, the cohabitation between ethereal and material beings offered no difficulty. The demons, although possessing no bodies, could borrow human forms whenever they wished to join themselves to mortals in amorous union.

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Medieval superstition knew of a species of demons whose special mission was to seek carnal relations with mortals. They appeared either in the form of men or of women and were consequently called incubi and succubi. The incubus (Latin term for the English expression "lie on") was a demon in the form of a man who haunted women in their sleep, and the succubus (Latin term for the English expression "lie under") was a demon in woman's guise who visited men in their dreams. The Church put its full faith in this popular superstition and persecuted all who confessed having had such carnal connections. Medieval monks and nuns stood in holy terror of these lustful demons. The French novelist, Joris-Karl Huysmans, humorously calls these imps of hell "ecclesiastical microbes," since they chiefly tormented holy men and women in the monasteries and convents.

The belief in incubi and succubi was prevalent in all European countries. Witches and wizards openly avowed their relations with these demons. Cesarius of Heisterbach, in his Dialogus magnum visionarum et miraculorum (thirteenth century), records several manifestations of incubi and succubi.2


2 On the belief in the incubus, see the chapter "Die gespenstische Bühlschaft" in Erasmus Francisci's Der hölische Proteus (2nd ed., 1695). Professor
The delusion of these diabolical paramours did not end with the Middle Ages, that dark period of human history. It has continued to this day, especially in Catholic countries. This fact need not surprise us at all. For the Catholic, this belief, as any other belief, has been fixed *ne varietur* by the Church. Thus, in 1861, the Abbé Lecanu, writing a history of Satan, began with these words:

"In the matter of beliefs, we must return to those of the fifteenth century: we set forth this aphorism right at the beginning, in order that those who do not feel themselves in agreement with us may not waste their time by reading us."

Father Sinistrari, of Ameno, living in the seventeenth century, gives, in his learned work on *Demoniality or, Incubi and Succubi,* long and detailed accounts of these demons who assume human forms for the purpose of indulging in the vices of men. An English priest, the Reverend Father Montague Summers, who has recently brought out a critical edition of Sinistrari's work, fully shares, in this "enlightened" century, the belief in this medieval *incubus*-delusion.

In all fairness, however, it should be added that the belief in *incubi* and *succubi* is not now generally held by the Catholic priests. Anatole France, in *les Opinions de Jérôme Coignard* (1893), puts doubts into the mouth of his spokesman with regard to this medieval superstition. He has this liberal priest say:

"It is not written in the Fathers that the Devil begets children on poor girls. All these tales of Satanic lust are disgusting imaginings, and it is a disgrace that Jesuits and Dominicans have written about them."

The psychological basis for this belief in evil spirits who visited human beings in their sleep is sufficiently clear to any person who is even superficially acquainted with the modern theory of sex-repression and the working of the subconscious mind during our sleep. Reginald Scot, as early as the sixteenth century, explained George Lyman Kittredge, in his *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (1928), also has a long chapter on this subject. An interesting legend of a *succubus* will be found in E. L. Linton's *Witch Stories Collected from Scotland and England* (London, 1861).

The original Latin manuscript of Sinistrari's book was discovered in 1872. It was translated into French in 1875 and into English four years later. A new English translation from the Latin, accompanied by an introduction and notes, was issued, in 1927, in London.
the common belief of his day in *incubi* and *succubi* on physiological grounds, by assuming "some euyll humour" in the mortal's physical constitution. His contemporary, Johann Schenck, a Rhenish physician, explained the *incubus* delusion as the obstruction of the vessels which connect the spleen to the stomach by the thickening of the melancholic juices, which are converted into black bile.

The medieval belief in *incubi* and *succubi* has been frequently employed in works of fiction. Balzac has treated the *succubus motif* in his story *le Succube* (1833), which tells of the tragic fate of a beautiful woman, believed by her contemporaries to be a demon who charmed men in order to lead them to their ruin. Zulma, the Mauritian, had been brought to France from Africa by gypsies and left as a young girl in a church of Tours to fill the place of a statue of the Virgin Mary which they had carried off. The priest of the church baptized her and placed her in a convent; but when she grew up, her Oriental blood asserted itself, and she yearned for the world. After having escaped from the convent with the aid of a priest, who first taught her to sin, she sank lower and lower until she menaced the morals of the town. She was accused of luring men to sin by supernatural means, condemned and sentenced to death. Joséphin Péladan's novel, *la Victoire du mari* (1889), is an interesting modern handling of the old *incubus* delusion.

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The amorous ability of the Devil himself has been doubted on theological grounds by many demonologists. Inasmuch as Satan's fall, according to tradition, was the result of his pride and envy, it has been taken for granted that an incapacity for admiration or affection was the chief characteristic of the fallen angel. Théophile Gautier, in his essay on Baudelaire (1868), clearly states that "the distinguishing feature of Satan is that he is incapable of admiration or love." In Byron's *Cain* (1821), Lucifer mocks and gibes all through, not only at love of God, but at all human love, at Cain's love for Adah and for his children, at his affection for Adam and for Abel. Moreover, misogyny is generally included in misanthropy. His hatred of woman necessarily must form a part of the arch-enemy's hatred of all mankind. Furthermore, Satan's aversion to woman is probably even greater than his enmity to man. The war between woman and the Devil dates back to the days in Eden
when Satan used Eve as a tool to accomplish the fall of man, and when in revenge the Lord gave the woman the power to crush the serpent's head (Gen. iii. 15). This biblical story has justified many demonologists in affirming that dislike for the fair sex is a distinctly diabolical trait.

Certain demonologists, wishing to offer a reconciliation between the Catholic conception of the character and conduct of Satan and the popular superstition about the Fiend's fondness for the fair sex in this respect distinguish between the Devil and his demons. Satan himself, they maintain, has no room in his heart for any affection. The rest of the demons, however, having followed their leader, in his rebellion, out of devotion to him, are not safe against the wiles of women.

The belief in Satan's sensuality presents, however, a greater difficulty from the psychological point of view. The consistency of the character of the Tempter demands his unsusceptibility to the charms of the beautiful sex. For he is certainly a poor general who depends for victory on a certain weakness of his enemy which is also his own weakness.

These objections can be answered by calling attention to the fact that Satan, in paying court to the fair daughters of this earth, need not have his heart in the affair; and, not unlike many a mortal man, he merely pretends that he has an affection for his victims. Neither is it necessary to infer from Satan's relations to mortal women that he has sexual desires. He may in such instances act only as the tempter to sin without himself feeling any emotions. In fact, the frigidity of the Fiend has been well established by tradition. The medieval witches who confessed to having had carnal connections with the Devil complained of the bitter coldness of their diabolical lover. Very remarkably unanimous on this particular are the confessions of all the witches of every country.

European folk-lore contains many instances in support of the belief that the Devil himself did not disdain dallying with the fair daughters of Eve. The strategy of Satan in his relations with the beautiful sex was simple and infallible. When he wished to dominate a woman, he first took from her her virginity. It seems that, after this first sacrifice, she could refuse him nothing more and became his very obedient slave. In his efforts to obtain the soul of a woman, Satan would not shrink from any sacrifice. For a woman
this *cavalire servente* was willing to perform any sort of service, no matter how menial, if he had hope of winning her in the end. (In this respect, Satan is again not unlike many a mortal man.) But the Devil was often duped out of his due. There is a story of a Portuguese courtesan named Lupa, whom Satan served as a waiting-maid for several years, deeming this one soul worth such long and patient labor. But she died, in spite of all this trouble, repentant and sanctified, with St. Francis and St. Anthony mounting guard at her bedside.

Satan, as this tale shows, did not limit his attentions to virtuous girls, but even courted women of loose morals. He seemed, however, to prefer to pay his devotions to married women for the reason that adultery is a greater sin than unchastity, and his aim was always high. Anatole France, speaking from the viewpoint of the credulous common folk, assures us, in his already mentioned work, *la Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque*, that in former times the demons "used to take a hand in domestic life in a far more intimate fashion than they do today." One of the tricks, in which the Devil indulged on his amorous adventures, was to impersonate some man of spotless character in order to besmirch his name. "Occasionally," writes Lecky, "with a still more refined malice, the Evil One assumed the appearance of some noted divine, in order to bring discredit upon his character; and an astonished maiden saw, prostrate at her feet, the form of one she knew to be a bishop, and whom she believed to be a saint."4 Satan's power of impersonation was so great that women often gave birth to children that in miniature perfectly resembled the parish priest.

Apart from the ambiguity of such philoprogenitiveness, the procreative ability of the Devil has, however, often been called by Protestants into question, although Luther formally declared that the Devil, as the antithesis of the Deity, could beget children by virgins.5 The Old Testament, figuratively of course, speaks of the sons and daughters of Belial, and the New Testament of the children of the Devil (Acts xiii, 10; 1 John iii, 10). Sir Thomas Browne emphasized Satan's sterility. "I could believe," said he, "that spirits use with man the act of carnality, and that in both sexes; . . . yet


5 Consult on this question Schubart's learned Latin treatise, *De potentia Diaboli in sensus hominum* (1748).
in both, without the possibility of generation” (Religio Medici, 1642). Balzac likewise affirms that the Devil “copulates but doth not engender.” It is probably because he lacks children that Lucifer complains in Byron’s Cain (1821), “My brotherhood’s with those who have no children.”

Many demonologists hold the belief that the offspring of demons can only assume the form of animals. “When a demon fathers a child,” says Anatole France, in his already twice mentioned work, la Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédaque, “it takes the shape of an animal.” Others assert that the children of demons can only be demons or some other uncanny creatures. According to the belief of German country folk, elves are the offspring of demons and witches. Still others maintain that the child of a demon comes into the world only in the form of a physical monster.

Hoffmann’s story, “Der Teufel in Berlin” (in Die Scarpions-Brüder, 1819-1821, has for its subject the birth of a devil-baby. Satan, however, is not the physical father of the child born to a high Prussian commercial dignitary. In this tale, it was the impression made by the Devil upon the woman during her pregnancy that produced this monster to the great consternation of his parents.

The green monster in Gérard de Nerval’s story, “le Diable vert” (1849), owes its deformity to still less material causes. In the French author’s story, at a police sergeant’s wedding-feast, the groom drinks the wine from a bottle found in a fantastic cellar, although he knows that this liquor is possessed of the Devil. Nine months afterwards his wife gives birth to a monster who is as green as the seal of the bottle emptied by the father on the occasion of his wedding. All efforts on the part of the parents to change the color of the child’s complexion are in vain. The boy remains to the day of his death just as he was at his birth, a green monster. For this reason, the author explains, it is customary among Frenchmen to send each other to the green devil—au diable vert.

The turning-point in Hoffmann’s famous work, Die Elixiere des Teufels (1815), comes with the birth of a demon-child, who, in this case, is the product of a demon-mother and a human father. This story goes back to the days of the Thebaid, at which period

\(^{5a}\) In A. Petőfi’s poem, “Schwert und Kette,” the chain as symbol of slavery is the child of Satan and of a witch.

\(^{6}\) For the correct explanation of this expression, see Littre’s Dictionnaire de la langue française. 5 vols. Paris, 1863-77.
a certain saint obtains an elixir from the Devil. This fatal phial is later brought from the Egyptian wilderness to Europe and, after many centuries, it falls into the hands of a painter and pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, an Italian prince, who drinks it and is fired with infernal aims and ambitions. He produces amazing paintings, commits a series of atrocious crimes, and finally consummates an unlawful union with a diabolical phantom, by whom a son is born to him. At the sight of this monster, the father is seized with the most agonizing feelings of remorse. He is suffered to purchase his pardon, however, on condition that he shall continue to do penance as a wanderer on the face of the earth until the race to which he has given origin shall die out in virtuous atonement. That end must focus in the person of some descendant whose sanctity shall be as remarkable as was the original depravity of his cursed ancestor. This consummation comes in the eighteenth century in the person of Brother Medardus, who is the custodian of this elixir in a monastery in East Prussia. He also drinks it and is led to quit the cloister and commit numerous and atrocious crimes. But he repents in the end and thus brings about not only his own salvation but also that of his wandering ancestor.

The belief in a devil-baby has survived to this day among the backward peoples of Europe, as may be seen from a news item, printed in the New York World of February 18, 1920, about the birth of a devil in Russia.

This belief has even been transplanted to our own country. Miss Jane Addams, in an article printed in the American Journal of Sociology, of July, 1914, tells of the vivid interest of many old Italian women in the story of the supposed birth of a devil-baby in Chicago.7

The tradition of a child sprung from the union of a demon-father and a human mother was confused in the popular mind with the belief in a demon-baby placed in the bed of a lying-in woman. The demons, in imitation of the elves, were often supposed to substitute a child of their own for the human baby, which was therefore called a changeling. Thus in certain parts of France, we are informed by Victor Hugo in les Travailleurs de la mer (1866), the child from the union between a demon and a human mother was called _cambion_, which is the equivalent of our "changeling."

7 This story has been revised and reprinted in the Atlantic Classics, 2nd series, Boston, 1910.
Not all the sons of Satan, however, bear in their faces the mark of their diabolical descent. The "Mark of the Beast" in the children would defeat the aim of their father, who, in bringing these imps into the world, wished to promote through them in a more efficacious manner the work of hell on earth.

Many historical persons are believed to be of diabolical descent. The false prophet Bar-Jesus is called by St. Paul "child of the Devil" (Acts xiii. 10). Merlin the Wizard was, according to medieval legend, the son of a demon or an arch-innubus and a nun.\(^8\) He was to undo on earth the work of Jesus, but instead turned from his father to Christ. It was Merlin, Satan's own son—for such is the irony of mythology—who helped Parsifal recover the largest of all diamonds, dropped from the crown of Satan as he fell from heaven, out of which, according to legend, the Holy Grail was fashioned.\(^9\)

Robert the Devil, who also had Satan as his progenitor, did not follow in his father's footsteps, either.\(^{10}\) On the other hand, Ezzelino, the tyrant of Padua (in Albert Mussato's Eccelinus), another son of Satan, lived as was befitting his procreation. Mohammed and Pope Sylvester II were also considered children of demons. Luther and Dr. Faustus were in the Roman Catholic eyes twin sons of the Devil. Voltaire was also held by his enemies to be of diabolical descent. It was even rumored that Satan (Eblis in the Koran) was the real father of Cain, whom Eve passed off on her unsuspecting husband. The medieval sect of the Cainites worshipped Cain as the son of Satan. The Catholics formerly believed that all Freemasons were the fruit of Eve's adultery with the Serpent.

Whole families, peoples and races were popularly believed to be

\(^8\) According to the belief of the eighteenth-century occultists, as expressed in Anatole France's la Rotisserie de la Reine Pédaque, Merlin was not the son of a demon but of a sylph, who had intercourse with his mother. On Merlin's diabolical descent, see also the chapter "The Devil-Compact in Tradition and Belief" of the present work, note 23.

\(^9\) Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his adaptation of Nennius' Historia Britonum (ninth century), brought the Marvelous Merlin into Arthurian romance and Robert de Borron, in a poem dating from the thirteenth century, connected the old Welsh enchanter with the legend of the Holy Grail. See F. Lot, "Etudes sur Merlin," Annales de Bretagne, XV (1900).

\(^{10}\) A résumé of Balzac's lyrical analysis of Meyerbeer's opera, Robert le Diable (1831), will be found in the present writer's article, "Balzac and the Fantastic," Secession Review, XXXIII (1925), 2-24. On Robert the Devil's diabolic descent, see also the chapter "The Devil-Compact in Tradition and Belief" of the present work, note 27.
of diabolical descent. The Jews taught that all other races descended from the demons, while the other races believed that all Jews had horns. To the Greeks the Scythian race was of diabolical origin. According to Cæsarius of Heisterbach, the "fortissima gens Humorum" was descended from outcast Gothic women and *incubi daemones*. All the kings of Britain down to the present day are alleged by Cæsarius to be the descendants of a *mater phantastica*. This credulous writer supports the belief expressed in English metrical romances that Richard Cœur de Lion had a demon mother, who flew off through the roof of the church when King Henry tried to detain her at the moment of the elevation of the host.\(^{11}\)

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The *motif* of the demon lover plays a prominent part in the legends and literatures of all European countries. Many writers recall the fancy conceived by the fiends of hell for the fair daughters of this earth. The anatomically melancholy Burton tells of an evil spirit who was smitten with a mortal maiden. Walter Scott, in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802), retells the old medieval legend of the daemon lover.\(^{12}\)

This legend of the demon lover has also been treated by Bürger in his "Lenore" (1774). In this Ballad, the Devil appears on horseback at midnight beneath the window of Lenore in the form of her lover William, who fought at the side of King Frederick at the battle of Prague and died on that occasion, and calls her to ride with him to their bridal bed.

The French fantastic writer, Jacques Cazotte, in his romance, *le Diable amoureux* (1772), tells the story of Beelzebub, who, having taken the form of a fair young woman, conceived a passion for an earth-born man. This work is so important as the first specimen of French fantastic fiction that we offer a lengthy summary of its unusually interesting subject-matter.\(^{13}\)

\(^{11}\) See George L. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-7.


\(^{13}\) The synopsis of this story has been written after the résumé given by Edward Yardley in his book: *The Supernatural in Romantic Fiction*, London, 1880. Cazotte's romance has been translated several times into English under the title *The Devil in Love*. The first English translation appeared in London in 1793, and the second translation followed seven years later. An English
In this work, a young Spanish gentleman named Alvarez is the speaker throughout the story, and relates the adventures as happening to himself. He is a captain in the guard of the King of Naples, and among his brother officers is one named Soberano who is a cabalist, or, in other words, a man versed in Hebrew necromancy. He is skilled in the science of transmuting metals and enslaving the elemental spirits. Alvarez burns with the desire to communicate with the spirits, and presses Soberano to give him at once the means of doing so. Soberano intimates that, to accomplish his desire without danger to himself, he should first pass through some long term of probation. But the impatience of Alvarez will not permit him to wait. He declares that nothing, however terrible, can shake his resolution, and that he would pull the ears of the biggest devil in hell. Seeing him thus resolved, Soberano lets him have his way. They dine together, in company with two friends of Soberano, who are also cabalists, and then set out to the ruins of Portici. Proceeding through the ruins, they arrive at a vault, in which Soberano inscribes a magic circle. He instructs Alvarez to enter the circle and pronounce certain words, calling out three times the name of Beelzebub. He then withdraws with his companions. Alvarez, left to himself, pronounces the words, and calls on the Devil, according to his instructions. Hardly has he done so, when a window opens opposite to him at the top of the vault, a torrent of light, more dazzling than that of day, bursts through the opening, the head of a camel huge and horrible, with ears of enormous size, shows itself at the window and cries out: Che vuoi? Alvarez sustains his courage and orders the phantom to appear under another form. Thereupon the camel vomits a white spaniel, with ears sweeping the ground, and vanishes. As Alvarez makes a movement to pull the spaniel's ears, it throws itself on its back, and he perceives that it is a female. The dog, or rather bitch, afterwards appears in the form of a beautiful woman, to whom Alvarez gives the name of Biondetta. She, submissive, and to all appearance passionately attached to her master, does all in her power to form with him the closest connection. Alvarez, although by no means insensible to her fascinations, is somewhat alarmed at the prospect version also appeared in Boston in 1830. An illustrated edition of this romance was published again in Boston in 1925. It was also turned into an opera by Saint-Georges and Mazilliers and produced at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in 1843. A Spanish translation of Cazotte's work (El Diablo enamorado) appeared in Gibraltar in 1890.
of thus giving himself utterly to the Devil. She, however, deceptfully maintains that she is not the camel that appeared to him in the first instance, but that she is a sylphide, who, having fallen in love with him and assumed the form of a woman, is now doomed to continue this existence. As a compromise, he proposes marriage, but she naturally shrinks from anything so proper, and redoubles her efforts to seduce him. At last she is successful, and then the following conversation and scene take place.

"With a voice, to whose sweetness no music could be compared, she said:

"'Have I made the happiness of my Alvarez, as he has made mine? But no; I am still the only happy one; he shall be so; I will intoxicate him with pleasure; I will fill him with knowledge; I will raise him to the summit of greatness. Wilt thou, beloved, be the most privileged of creatures, and rule with me over mankind, over the elements, over all nature?'

"'Oh, dear Biondetta,' I said, 'thou art sufficient for me; thou fulfillest all the desires of my heart.'

"'No! no!' she said quickly, 'Biondetta is not sufficient for thee; that is not my name; it flattered me; I bore it with pleasure; but it is necessary that thou shouldst know who I am. I am the Devil, my dear Alvarez, I am the Devil.'

"She pronounced this word with an accent of enchanting sweetness.

"'Cease,' I said, 'my dear Biondetta, or whosoever thou mayst be, to pronounce that fatal name, and recall to me a mistake long since abjured.'

"'No, my dear Alvarez, no, it was not a mistake; I was obliged to make thee believe so, my pet. It was necessary to deceive thee in order to make thee reasonable. Thou seest I am not so black as I am represented to be.'

"This badinage disconcerted me.

"'But answer then,' she said,

"'And what shall I answer?'

"'Ingrate, place thy hand on the heart that adores thee; let a little of the delicious fire that burns in my veins be infused into thine; soften, if thou canst, the sound of that voice, so fit to inspire love, which thou usest only to terrify my timid soul; say to me, but with all the tenderness that I feel for thee, "My dear Beelzebub, I adore thee."'

"At this fatal name, though so tenderly pronounced, a mortal terror seized me; stupor and astonishment crushed my soul. She did not give me time to recover myself and
reflect on my folly. Without perceptibly altering the tone of her voice, she continued:

"Thou camest to seek me; I have followed thee, served thee, assisted thee, and have fulfilled all thy wishes. I desired possession of thee, and, in order that I should obtain it, it was necessary that thou shouldst abandon thyself freely to me. Henceforth, Alvarez, our union is indissoluble, but it is important for us to know each other. As I already know thee by heart, in order to make the advantage reciprocal, I must show myself to thee as I really am."

"I had no time to reflect on this singular harangue. I heard a sharp hissing at my side. . . . I turned my eyes, instead of the ravishing figure, what did I see? Oh! Heaven! it was the frightful head of the camel. It articulated with a voice of thunder the gloomy Che vuoi? which had so terrified me before, burst into a fit of human laughter more dreadful still and put out a monstrous tongue."

In Vigny's poem, "Eloa" (1823), the Devil's Dulcinea is not an ordinary mortal, but an angel, for there are women among the angels, at least so the poets tell us. This woman angel, who abandons heaven in order to dwell with the Devil in hell, is no other than the daughter of Christ. Eloa has sprung from a tear shed by Jesus over the tomb of Lazarus and was transformed by the Lord into an angel of the beautiful sex. The mission of this woman angel is to console the disconsolate, to love the afflicted. She is the celestial original of those mortal women who devote themselves to suffering creatures, degraded and guilty, whom they endeavor to raise and redeem.

In heavenly conversation with her brother angels, Eloa happens to hear with horror the story of the fallen angels, and, far from feeling any antipathy toward her wayward brothers, she is stimulated to aid them in their affliction. Eloa is no longer happy in the perfumed groves, amid which the angels wander, but yearns to descend into the abyss to bring consolation to her condemned co-angels. She feels that the angels of heaven do not need her sympathy because they are all happy. Among the children of men there are indeed many unhappy, but among the fallen angels there are some who are still more unhappy; and the angel most in need of her sympathy is Satan himself. In her opinion, Satan as "the most culpable must also be the most unfortunate of all the unfortunates."
Eloa feels that, if she could but find this great culprit, she would comfort him and perhaps even lead him back to righteousness.

Tormented with this thought, Eloa vacates her celestial dwelling to go in search of the exiled archangel. One day, as she is winging her way in the solitudes of the sky, she encounters an angel of brilliant beauty and seductive melancholy. Without telling her who he is, the Devil ensnares the fair angel with his personal charms and eloquent speeches of sweet sensuality. The unsophisticated maiden from heaven listens to the bland words of the Arch-Deceiver, is won by his hypocritical tears and finally sinks into his arms. Not knowing who he is, she loves him. Angel as she is, she is also a woman. Her compassion is thus rewarded by falling passionately in love with the banished archangel and resigning herself to his fatal power. Mephitopheles awakened aversion in Margaret, Ada felt pity for Lucifer, in Eloa this pity changes into love. It is her pity for the poor Devil that brings about the undoing of this maiden angel. "The Catholic priests," remarked Anatole France apropos of this poem, in his essay on Alfred de Vigny (1868), "who have acquired such a sure knowledge of the human heart, are right in saying that pity is a dangerous sentiment." Born on this earth, Margaret contributes to the redemption of Faust, but the heavenly daughter of Christ, the angel Eloa, forfeiting forever the delights of heaven, falls into the arms of the king of darkness. Unsuccessful in her efforts to lift the Devil to heaven, she consents to be dragged down by him to hell. Wrapped in a flowing cloud, the two pass together down to hell; and a chorus of faithful seraphim, winging their way back to heaven, overheard this latest and fatal dialogue:

"Oui me conduisez-vous, bel ange?—Viens toujours.
―Que votre voix est triste, et quel sombre discours!
N'EST-CE PAS ÉLOA QUI SOULÈVE TA CHAÎNE?
J'ai cru l'avoir sauvé.—Non, c'est moi qui t'entraîne.
—Si nous sommes unis, peu m'importe en quel lieu!
Nomme-moi donc encore ou ta Sœur ou ton Dieu!
—J'enlève mon esclave et je tiens ma victime.
—Tu paraissais si bon! Oh! qu'ai-je fait?—Un crime.
—Seras-tu plus heureux? du moins, est-tu content?
—Plus triste que jamais.—Qui donc es-tu?—Satan."

The Devil's greatest passion de cœur, however, was for a Georgian girl, who sought refuge from demoniac love in a convent and died there. Lermontov, in his poem, The Demon (written in
the years 1829-1841), depicts the Devil as suffering from boredom
and seeking happiness in a woman's love. He has broken with earth
and heaven and looks with contempt upon all who are moved by
petty passions. An exile from paradise and a hater of human
virtues, he has known these petty passions and despises them with
all his superiority. He flies over the earth and contemplates the
actions of men with contempt. He is weary of everything. Man-
kind has become corrupt and no longer offers any opposition when
he tempts them. Hatred is predominant in his heart, and he has
nothing but scorn for whatever he sees.

But Tamara, the daughter of Gudal, a Caucasian chief, is about
to be married to the Lord of Sinodal. She spends the evening
preceding her wedding, dancing and singing with her girl friends.
This girl is so pure and lovely that she would arouse noble thoughts
even in the Demon, and make him long for his lost paradise, if he
chanced to see her. The Demon does see her, and he loves her.
In order to prevent the marriage of Tamara to another, he tempts
the Lord of Sinodal, who is riding to the wedding at the head of a
gay cavalcade, to travel more swiftly through a dangerous mountain-
pass, where he is attacked by robbers and slain. The horse of the
groom arrives at Gudal's castle with the dead rider on its back.
The Demon appears to Tamara in her dreams, as she lies on the
bridal bed, after she has fallen asleep exhausted from the tears
shed over her dead lover, and urges her to grieve no more for one
who is now past help, but to open her heart to a love greater than
that of any mortal.

Tamara, seeking a way to protect herself against the visits of
the Demon and hoping to find consolation in religion for the loss of
her lover, begs her father to permit her to enter a convent. But
even in her sacred cell she can find no peace or safety. Her new
lover is but a phantom. She prays and weeps before her crucifix
but receives no comfort. In all her dreams the Demon appears and
begs for her love. The Demon, after long hesitation, finally ven-
tures into the convent in person. He is confronted by a seraph,
Tamara’s guardian angel, who, with a flaming sword in his hand,
wishes to bar the door for the Demon. Exulting in his great power,
however, the Demon tells the angel that the latter’s efforts to protect
Tamara are all too late, for he is in love with her, and nothing can
now keep him from her. Angry words are exchanged, and the
seraph, believing Tamara to be hopelessly lost, leaves her. The
feeble light in Tamara's cell grows dim and finally is wholly extinguished, as the Demon enters. He makes known his identity to Tamara and speaks words of passionate love. He tells her that he has loved her from eternity, and that she will have his love to the end of eternity. He begs her to love him and bring happiness to his wounded heart. He will give her what she has never dreamed of, though both must remain in hell. He offers her treasures untold and declares that he will even make her queen of the world. So eager is he to win her love that he expresses his desire for reform and his wish to be allowed to believe again in the power of goodness. He tells her that her love will redeem him to the heaven and happiness which he has forfeited. With all his powers of persuasion he tries to win her love, only to be rebuked. In the end, however, Tamara is overcome with pity and tells the Demon that if his words are sincere, he must vow that from now on he will turn from all thoughts of evil and lead a good life. So great is his love for the mortal maiden that solemnly he finally swears to molest mankind no longer and to ask pardon and mercy from his Maker.

Touched by his promise and his expressed desire for forgiveness, Tamara can no longer refuse the Demon, and permits him to take her in his arms and impress a kiss on her virginal lips. The Demon thus enjoys a brief moment of triumph. But Tamara, from fear of him, loses her reason and dies in agony. The sentry on duty hears a scream of pain and passes on. The Demon confronts the angel who is bearing her to heaven and claims the soul of the woman he loved. The angel, however, replies that God has already judged her and forgiven her because she loved and suffered. The gates of Paradise are open to Tamara, but the Demon remains alone as before, isolated and dissatisfied "without hope and without love."

The German poet, Friedrich Hebbel, in his poem, "Die Braut des Teufels" (1836), treats an interesting old legend, which tries to account for the name Die Jungfrau (The Virgin) given to one of the Swiss Alps. According to this legend, there once lived in Switzerland a beautiful and proud young maiden, who was in no way inclined to yield to the gentle passion of love. Many youths came from far and near to woo her, but all failed to awaken any emotion in her heart. On a certain midnight, a young man in dark clothes knocked on her window. So great was the potent charm which the Devil exercised over her that tremblingly she admitted him into her chamber, as if he were her husband. He clasped her
in his thin arms and stole kiss upon kiss. She wept, but, as if she were bound hand and foot, she could not resist. He proceeded to the last enjoyment, but still she did not utter the least sound of protest. When he had accomplished his evil deed, he said to her mockingly, "Good night, good night, thou art the Devil's bride." From shame, the young maiden climbed to the highest peak of the Alps, which has been named after her.14

Edward Garnett, in "Madam Lucifer" (1888), tells of a real infatuation on the part of the ruler of Gehenna for a slip of a girl. Lucifer falls head over heels in love with an earth-born maiden, named Adeliza. In order to win her, he dispatches her human lover to hell and assumes his form. The ruse, however, is discovered by the girl, and the discomfited Devil is forced to return to his Luciferetta in hell.

The belief in the wooing of mortal women by demons exists still today among the peasants of Ireland, as may be seen from the following anecdotes entitled "The Devil" (1892) by William Butler Yeats:

"My old Mayo woman told me one day that something very bad had come down the road and gone into the house opposite, and though she would not say what it was, I knew quite well. Another day she told me of two friends of hers who had been made love to by one whom they believed to be the Devil. One of them was standing by the road-side when he came by on horseback, and asked her to mount up behind him, and go riding. When she would not, he vanished. The other was out on the road late at night waiting for her young man, when something came flapping and rolling along the road up to her feet. It had the likeness of a newspaper, and presently it flapped up into her face, and she knew by the size of it that it was the Irish Times. All of a sudden it changed into a young man, who asked her to go walking with him. She would not, and he vanished.

"I know of an old man too, on the slopes of Ben Bulben, who found the Devil ringing a bell under his bed, and he went off and stole the chapel bell and rang him out. It may be that this, like the others, was not the Devil at all.

but some poor wood spirit whose cloven feet had got him into trouble."\textsuperscript{15}

* *

European folk-lore records few instances in which the Devil sought a mortal maiden in marriage. In Fred B. Perkins' "Devil-Puzzlers" (1871), the demon Apollyon appears as a bachelor. "I have a mother, but no wife," he tells the charming Mrs. Hicok. "Permit me to say," this gallant demon, however, adds with a graceful bow, "that, if I could believe there was a duplicate of yourself in existence, I would be married as soon as possible." This was, however, a meaningless compliment. The Devil has never had any serious intention of getting married. It stands to reason that Satan, who can see sufficiently into future matrimonial complications, would not enter the bonds. Moreover, why should he encumber himself with a wife of his own, while so many husbands, as Fernán Caballero has so aptly said, are daily supplicating him to take theirs off their hands?\footnote{Among the latest novels relating the loves of the demons may be mentioned J. W. Brodie-Innes's \textit{The Devil's Mistress}.}

The French Romantic poet, Edouard d'Anglemont, however, represents Lucifer consenting to lead a poor young girl, whom he has seduced, to the altar in order to save her from shame. In the poem "Marie" (1829), based on a Breton legend, a young girl sees in her dreams a young man who is so wonderfully beautiful that, upon awakening, she still cannot get him out of her mind. Her dream soon turns into reality. The man of her dreams appears to her in flesh and blood. He is no other than the fallen angel in person. Marie, who finds no strength in her to resist his sweet words of seduction, offers herself to him body and soul. When she realizes that she is soon to become a mother, she implores her lover to marry her. The Devil consents out of pity for his victim. He approaches the altar, however, without making the sign of the cross. This omission deeply chagrins the pious young girl. When the priest, holding the consecrated wedding-ring, asks the groom for his name, the latter in lieu of an answer assumes his proper shape. Marie flees at this sight and goes mad from fright.

In most legends, however, it is the Devil, who, in his attempts to marry mortal maidens, is worsted in the deal. An Italian tradi-
tion shows Satan, seized suddenly with a wish to know what it means to be married, successively leading three sisters to the altar. But he proves in the end to be no match for the cunning of his several spouses. 16

The Spanish woman novelist, Fernán Caballero, in her adaptation of an old Andalusian legend entitled "The Devil's Mother-in-Law" (1859), tells how the Devil, with all his reputation for wisdom, meets a mother-in-law, who knows more than he does. He is just as helpless against this marital appendage as most married men. An old widow "uglier than the sergeant of Utrera" and nicknamed Mother Holofernes, curses her daughter. The latter, too much occupied with matrimonial plans to help her mother in her work, is consigned to marry the Devil himself. The Evil One, availing himself of the right given him by the anathema launched against the girl by her mother, presents himself as an aspirant for the maiden's hand and is accepted. But Mother Holofernes, in her shrewdness, discovers the identity of the red-haired and mild-mannered young man, and devises in her head a cruel plan of revenge. After the wedding has been duly performed and celebrated and the bridal pair is preparing to enter the nuptial chamber, the old lady presents her daughter with a consecrated olive branch, with which she is told to beat her husband as an indication of a woman's mastery over man. The Devil, at the sight of this holy object, wishes to make a hasty retreat. As the doors and windows are locked, he slips through the key-hole, only to find himself caught in a black bottle, which is held by his mother-in-law on the other side of the door. The Fiend is carried in the phial to a secluded spot on the summit of the highest mountain and remains imprisoned for ten years, when he is finally released by a soldier under conditions which he considers undignified and cruelly oppressive. 17

Nicolò Machiavelli, the Italian statesman, pictures the demon Belphegor entering the bonds of matrimony as a sociological experiment. The story Belfagor opens in the infernal regions. Almost every man whom Charon ferries across complains that his wife was responsible for his downfall. The judges in hell are perplexed. They wish to be fair in pronouncing their sentences upon the sinful

16 This tale "How the Devil Married Three Sisters" will be found in Thomas Frederick Crane's Italian Popular Tales, London, 1885.

17 This story will be found in the present writer's anthology of Devil Stories (New York: Knopf, 1921).
men, and finally decide to send a demon to discover whether women really have the power to lead men to their ruin. Belphegor is delegated to go up to the earth, stay there ten years, and come back and report. The mission of the infernal deputy’s terrestrial sojourn is to marry a mortal maiden and learn by personal experiences what are the respective conveniences and inconveniences of holy matrimony. But the demon’s earthly career is cut short, and he abandons this earth before he has served the full term of his apprenticeship. He cannot support the aspersities of the temper of the lady, who has made the earth a hotter hell for him than the place from which he came. He deserts her and runs back to hell as fast as he can.\(^\text{18}\)

Machiavelli is said to have written several tales, but only his Belfagor has survived to our days. The Accademia della Crusca, which set no very great store by Machiavelli’s productions, made an exception of Belfagor and placed it in the canon of Italian classics.

This story is of medieval origin, and is not based on the author’s married life. The idea of the story is ingenious and contains many entertaining incidents. It was first printed by Giovanni Brevio in 1545, and appeared for the second time with the name of Machiavelli in 1549, twenty-two years after the death of the author of The Prince. The two writers did not borrow from each other, but had a common source in a medieval Latin manuscript which seems to have first fallen into the hands of the Italians, but was later brought to France where it has been lost. The tale of the marriage of the Devil appeared in several other Italian versions during the sixteenth century. Among the Italian novelists, who retold it for the benefit of their married friends, may be mentioned Giovan-Francesco Straparola, Francesco Sansovino, and Gabriel Chappuys.

In England, this story was no less popular. Barnabe Riche inserted it in 1581 in his collection of narratives. This version was the starting-point of a great number of dramatizations. We will but mention Grim the Collier of Croydon or, The Devil and his Dame by Haughton and Henslowe (1602); Machiavel and the Devil by Daborne and Henslowe (1613); The Devil is an Ass by Ben Jonson (1616); and Belphegor or, The Marriage of the Devil (1690). The story, The Divell a Married Man (1674), which is a

\(^{18}\)This tale will also be found in the collection of Devil Stories mentioned in the preceding note.
skit upon marriage, has likewise Machiavelli's novella for its basis.

In France, this story was translated in 1664 and rendered into verse by LaFontaine in 1694, and in Germany it served the Nuremberg cobbler-poet Hans Sachs as the subject for his farce How the Devil Took to Himself an Old Wife (1557).¹⁹

¹⁹ In Achim von Arnim's Halle und Jerusalem (1811), the sexton reveals himself as the Devil, and carries off Celinde's mother to be his bride.—The Journal of American Folk-Lore, XLV (1899), 128, contains an interesting Negro story of the Devil and his bride.—Mrs. Margaret Townsend published, in 1905, a very interesting play entitled The Devil in Search of a Wife, which is a satirical skit on the women of New York.