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The Relation of the Lucifer Tradition in the
Literary Compositions of the Middle Ages to the
Story of the Fall of the Angels in the Mystery
Plays.

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The devil scenes probably had their first beginnings in the devil-deacon of the Tollite portas.(1) The idea for this is based upon Psalms xxiv, 7-10:

7. "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.

8. Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.

9. Lift up your heads, O ye gates; even lift them up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.

10 Who is this King of glory? The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory."

Without doubt, this passage is the source of the Decensus of the Evangelium Nicodemi,(2) which formed the basis for the Harrowing of Hell story in the mediaeval drama of Western Europe.(3)

(1) Chambers, Mediaeval Stage, ii.91.

(2) Young, Harrowing of Hell, 891.

(3) For further development of Harrowing of Hell story, see Creizenach, i. Pollard, 166.

R.P. Wulker, Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der Abend-landischen Literatur.

Ten Brink, ii.242.

Ward, i.90.

The Decensus contains a dramatic account of Christ's descent into Hades between the time of his Crucifixion and Resurrection, of his breaking down the gates of hell, of his binding Satan and of his releasing the souls of the patriarchs. The part which shows its effect most directly upon the drama, I quote below: (1)

"While Satan and Hades were thus speaking to each other, there was a great voice like thunder, saying: Lift up your gates, O ye rulers; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting gates; and the King of glory shall come in. (2)

When Hades heard, he said to Satan: Go forth, if thou art able, and withstand him. Satan therefore went forth to the outside. Then Hades said to his demons: Secure well and strongly the gates of brass and the bars of iron, and attend to my bolts, and stand in order, and see to everything; for if he come in here, woe will seize us.

"The forefathers having heard this, began all to revile him, saying: O all-devouring and insatiable! open, that the King of glory may come in. David the prophet says: Dost thou not know, O blind, that I when living in the world prophesied this saying: Lift up your gates, O ye

(1) Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Apocraphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations. Vol. xvi. 173-175.

(2) Ps. xxiv.7.

rulers? Hesaias said: I, forseeing this by the Holy Spirit, wrote: The dead shall rise up, and those in their tombs shall be raised, and those in the earth shall rejoice.(1) And where, O death, is thy sting? where, O Hades, is thy victory? (2)

"There came, then, again a voice saying: Lift up the gates. Hades, hearing the voice the second time, answered as if forsooth he did not know, and says: Who is this king of glory? The angels of the Lord said: The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. (3) And immediately with these words the brazen gates were shattered, and the iron bars broken, and all the dead who had been bound came out of the prisons, and we with them. And the King of glory came in in the form of a man, and all the dark places of Hades were lighted up.

"Immediately Hades cried out: We have been conquered; woe to us! But who art thou, who comest here without sin, who art seen to be small and yet of great power, lowly and exalted, the slave and the master, the soldier and the king, who hast power over the dead and the living?

(1) Isa. xxvi.19.

(2) Hos. xiii.14.

(3) Ps. xxiv.8.

"Then the King of glory seized the chief satrap Satan by the head, and delivered him to his angels, and said: With iron chains bind his hands, and his feet, and his neck, and his mouth. Then He delivered him to Hades, and said: Take him, and keep him secure till my second appearing.

"While Hades was thus discoursing to Satan, the King of glory stretched out His right hand, and took hold of our foreforefather Adam, and raised him. Then turning also to the rest, He said: Come all with me, as many as have died through the tree which he touched; for, behold, I again raise you all up through the tree of the cross." (1)

The passages quoted from the Psalms influenced the church liturgy in the Liber Responsalis, the Gradule and the Processionale. Professor Karl Young shows this relationship. (2) He says that the intention of each of these liturgical pieces is to celebrate the entry of Christ into the world or into Jerusalem, an intention entirely consonant to that of the psalm, but that none of these formulas is in any way associated with the notion of the descent into hell. The case is somewhat altered in a Ceremonial of the ninth century for the Dedication of a Church. The Tollite portas

(1) Gospel of Nicodemus. Chap.v,21. vi,22. viii,24.

(2) Young, Harrowing of Hell,p.889.

formula is introduced into this ritual and seems in places to echo clearly the words of the Psalm, and implies a triumphal entry in "domum Domini", but added to these are also clear suggestions of Christ's entry into hell. (1) The notion of the harrowing of hell is suggested in two ways: by the cleric who ^Bhidden within the church ("quasi latente") uttering the challenge, "Quis est iste rex gloriae?" and fleeing ("quasi fugiens") when the doors are opened; and by the subsequent purifying of the building.

None of these liturgical pieces, however, had any connection with the development of the drama. (2) We may safely assume that the first origin of the devil as a character in the religious plays was in the Elevatio Crucis of the Easter Service. (3) The elevation of the cross or the resurrection of the Corpus Christi took place between Easter Eve and Easter Day matins. "In one version," says Pearson, (4) "all the church doors being closed and the pop-

(1) Quoted in Young, Harrowing of Hell, p.894.

Described in Chambers, Mediaeval Stage, ii.4.

(2) Young, Harrowing of Hell, 895.

(3) Chambers, ii.20.

Young, p.895.

Pearson, Chances of Death and Other Studies, ii,295.

(4) Pearson, ii,295.

ulace excluded, the officiating priest, 'with a few assistants and two candles,' raised the host and rood from the sepulchre, where it had been deposited on Good Friday, and carried it to the altar, amid resounding psalms and cries of Kyrieleyson! After the host and rood had been thurified with incense, the appointed prayers read, and the responses recited, a procession was formed, and the objects of adoration were carried to the main door of the church. The officiating priest struck this door with his foot and sang: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up ye everlasting doors!" The choir continued: "And the King of Glory shall come in!" Then the bishop or other high church official struck the door with a rod. At this a subdeacon, "dressed as the Devil" and standing outside the door, cried in a gruff voice: "Who is this King of Glory?" The choir responded: "The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle." The blow on the door and the above responses were thrice repeated. The door was then opened, the populace admitted, and the choir and ecclesiastics form the head of a procession, which marched to the altar with the appropriate 139th Psalm and the "Kyrieleyson". The host was then elevated, and the priest sang the hymn: (1)

"O vere digna hostia

(1) Mone, Lateinische Hymnen, No.161.

per quam fracta sunt Tartara."

Afterwards the Easter matins were conducted in the customary form." (1)

We have in this ceremony a most important factor in the development of the passion plays. As may be easily seen, the ritual itself is based upon the account quoted above from the Gospel of Nicodemis of the descent into hell where use is made of the twenty-fourth Psalm. In this ceremony, the devil is represented as being a mere personification of evil; he is simply an abstract evil-spirit. This same stage in the characterization of the devil is seen in the most primitive of the Harrowing of Hell scenes in the German plays, altho here we see him clearly as the ruler and leader of hell and the consequent antagonist of Christ. This is brot out in the conversation between the devil and Christ in two of the thirteenth century plays - the Muri Osterspiel (2) and the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle. (3)

Diabolus:

"Ir herren, lant d--- wesen!
wir waenen wol vor im genesen
hie inne sicherliche.

(1) Pearson ii.297. Copy of ritual in Milchsack.

(2) Froning, Das Drama des Mittelalters, i, lines 69-78.

(3) Froning, ii, lines 251 ff.

Jesus:

"Es ist ein kunec rihe,
wol geweltic unde starch,
der uf der erde nie verbarch
sin gotheit mit gezinge
und starch alle ir bingel

Diabolus:

"Wer mac noh dirre kunec sin." (1)

Simple responses such as these between Christ and Satan, being cast in an antiphonal form, possess of themselves a certain dramatic interest and consequently lend themselves readily to amplification. The mediaevalist believed thoroughly in a personal devil who not only opposed all that was good but was busily occupied in instigating and inciting man to evil deeds. He considered the devil his chief enemy and imagined himself in constant conflict with him. It, therefore, did the heart of the mediaevalist good to see represented before his very eyes the discomfiture and absolute defeat of his arch-enemy, bound in fetters and chains and helpless thru the might of Christ. For this reason, we have introduced into the Tollite portas scene the fear and consternation of the devils at the appearance of Christ. The stage directions in the Donaueschingen Passionspiel of the

(1) Froning, Das Drama des Mittelalters, i, lines 69-78.

fourteenth century read thus: "Und so die hell uff gat, machend die tuffel ein wild geschrey, und nimpt der Salvator ein ketten und bindet Lucifer, und die wil sy also brulend."

(1) In Das Redentiner Osterspiel, also of the fourteenth century, Lucifer calls out excitedly to his companions when he hears of Christ's coming:

"Wol her, wol her, wol, wol her
alle duvelsche her!" (2)

In the French Greban Passion of the fifteenth century, the dramatic representation of the consternation of the devils reaches its height. Satan has just reported to Lucifer that Christ has arisen. Fright seizes them; Lucifer gives quick and sharp orders for the gates of hell to be made firm and secure against the coming of Christ:

"Cerberus! Cerberus. hola magister!
et vous, mes diables, dormes vous?
barrez voz huyz a grans verroux,
tenez voz portes bien fermees,
et soyez a grosses armees
devant, pour les entretenir;
car tantost vous verres venir." (3)

(1) Mone, Schauspiele des Mittelalters, ii.341.

(2) Froning, i.137.

Bartsch, 219.

In the more primitive of the Harrowing of Hell scenes no mention is made of the individual when Christ frees the imprisoned souls; He simply leads them out of hell in a body. Two of the plays of the thirteenth century show this - the Muri (1) and the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle. The stage directions in the latter read thus: "Dominica autem persona precedat animas ad paradysium." (2) As the scene grows and develops, certain of the imprisoned souls of hell appear upon the stage individually and tell their respective stories. An opportunity is thus afforded for the introduction of Old Testament characters into the New Testament material. These are added gradually. In the St. Gall Passion and Resurrection of the thirteenth century, (3) only Adam appears and begs mercy and redemption of Christ:

"Herre du bist kommen her,
wir din gebedet han bit ger
in dirre vinstere mange stunt,
nu ist uns dine helfe worden kunt,
des wir binne wol vunf dusedent jar
vil gemerlichen waren." (4)

(1) Froning, 1,144.

(2) Froning, 11, line 255a.p.364.

(3) Mone, Schauspiele des Mittelalters, 1,125.

(4) Mone, 1,125, lines 73-78.

In a fourteenth century French fragment of the Harrowing of Hell, Adam in begging Christ's mercy, places the blame for his sin upon Eve. A peculiarity of this piece is that in place of the usual Old Testament characters introduced we have instead those of two chevaliers who fall at the feet of Christ and beg forgiveness for their sins.(1) In the longer and more developed scenes of the fourteenth century a whole troop of patriarchs appear, each with his respective speech. In the Alsfelder,(2) Christ is greeted and welcomed in turn by Adam, Eve, Isaiah, Simeon the prophet, John the Baptist, Daniel and Moses; In the Donaueschingen,(3) by Adam, Eve, John the Baptist, Daniel, Noah, Abraham, David, Isaiah, Moses and Jeremiah; in the Redentiner,(4) by Adam, Eve, John the Baptist, David, Enoch, Simeon and Elias. In the latter play we see also the patriarchs before the coming of Christ when they call upon God for salvation and rejoice that their term of imprisonment is drawing towards a close.

As the passion play developed, the figure of the devil became the all-prominent one. By this time he has become a distinct personality with a definite name. The king of the

(1) Romania, xxiv, 86.

(2) Froning, ii, 567 ff.

(3) Mone, ii, 122 ff.

(4) Froning, i, 122 ff.

devils is called Lucifer; he has a vast following and his chief adherent is Satan. From the beggar on the street to the emperor on his throne the one idea possessed by everyone was that the devil caused all the evil committed by man. People lived in constant consciousness of a personal contact with and opposition against the Evil One. They believed themselves to be in constant conflict with him and his numerous followers. It was, therefore, natural that in the more elaborate passion plays we should have the devil introduced whenever anything evil was going on as the prime cause and instigator of all evil deeds therein enacted. In the Benedikbeuern of the thirteenth century, Satan appears at the remorse of Judas patiently awaiting the latter's end, for as a matter of course, the devil laid claim to the souls of all bad men.(1) During the fourteenth century the evil one became prominent in various scenes. In the Frankfurter Passionspiel,(2) his malice is directed mainly against Christ. He it is, who tempts Judas to betray his master, Pilate to deliver Jesus into the hands of the revengeful Jews. It is the devil who during the bitter hour of suffering and agony on the cross taunts Christ that he is unable to save himself. The Alsfelder is the most developed in this respect. There are

(1) Froning, iii, 877 ff.

(2) Froning, ii, 379 ff.

but a few scenes in this long passion in which the devil does not play his part.(1) Here we see all the devils in consultation planning the best method for securing the downfall of Christ; we see them operative against John the Baptist and dancing around Herod's daughter when she gains her wish. Rejoicingly, they later lead her to hell. It is the devil who tempts Mary Magdalene to sin; Judas to betray his Master, and he is present at the Last Supper visible, however, only to Christ and Judas. A whole troop of devils are working against Christ when he is brought before Caiphas and Pilate. The devil even appears to Pilate's wife in a dream. As is the case in the Redentiner and Donaueschingen, he appears at the crucifixion to heap scorn and insolence upon the Son of God.

In the Redentiner Osterspiel,(2) the malice of the devil is directed against mankind in general rather than Christ. After Jesus, in the Harrowing of Hell scene has deprived the devils of their conquest, Lucifer in order to refill his habitation gives explicit directions to his followers to search the world, east and west, north and south for the souls of men. He wants everyone - the baker, the brewer, the miller and if possible the priest and monk. This command is immed-

(1) Froning, ii, 567 ff. iii, 673 ff.

(2) Froning, i, 167 ff.

ately followed by the return of the devils, rejoicingly, each one with an individual soul which he presents to Lucifer with the tale of its sin. Tutevillus triumphantly dances in with the soul of a shoemaker, Pistor with that of a baker, Sutor a shepherd etc. The climax is reached when Satan brings in a priest whom he has caught thinking of temporal matters while reading mass. However, the priest makes hell too hot even for Lucifer and is accordingly allowed to escape.

The great mediaeval religious epics written in the vernacular could not fail but have their influence upon the religious drama of the time.(1) From the eleventh century onwards there is a continuous and increasing production of religious poems in the German tongue; on the one side we have the lyric hymns to the Virgin, on the other the epic legends of the saints and the lives of Christ and his Mother. In the thirteenth century the passion for religious epics reached its climax. The conception of the world-drama centering around the person of Christ manifests itself in an endeavor to represent the story of the Son of God as a great world-epic. Many of these take us from the creation to the day of Judgment, giving an especially dramatic coloring and language to the events of the passion. From the end of the second century there had been prevalent a tradition that the devil and

(1) Pearson, Chances of Death and Other Studies, ii, 312.

his followers had formerly been bright angels of God who had sinned and as a consequence been banished from their heavenly home into the depths of hell.(1) There is no definite nor settled place in these epics for the fall of Lucifer to be introduced. This is also the case in the plays themselves. The Germans, at least, seem to have told or alluded to the story of the fall of the angels whenever or wherever opportunity offered itself. In Das Redentiner Osterspiel (2) as in Die Erlösung (3) the story of the fall of the devils is introduced in connection with the Harrowing of Hell scene. Before Christ makes his journey he announces his intention of going to hell in order to

" - halen dar ut Adam myt Even
und alle myne leven,
de to der vrowde synt ghebaren,
de de Lucifer myt homude heft verlaren!"(4)

After Christ has emptied hell of the patriarchs, the devils are busily occupied in refilling it. Satan, at an opportune moment, has discovered a priest thinking of temporal matters while reading mass, as has been mentioned before, and triumph-

(1) I treat this point later.

(2) Froning, 1, 123 ff.

(3) Piper, Die Geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters, 1, 277.

(4) Froning, 1 p.133. ll 255-259.

antly bears his soul off to hell. The priest, undaunted, describes the beauties of heaven in this dismal abyss of pain and darkness. This proves too much for Lucifer who breaks out in laments over the former beautiful home which he has forever forfeited.

"Dor mynen homut bun ik vorlaren!

o wig, dat ik je wart ghebaren!" (1)

Lucifer then tells how unable to bear the thought that man had been created to fill the place which they had lost, he and his companions plan the downfall of man in order that he may share a like fate with them.

"De mynsche is to den vrouden karen,

de we duvele hebben vorlaren:

doch wille wy ene to us keren,

wen he sik myt ["]sunden wil beweren,

wan se de ["]sunde hebben dan,

se scholen myt us duvelen to der helle gan!"(2)

In Das Alsfelder Passionspiel, (3) we see the devils in consultation as to the best means of tempting Christ. Here we have Lucifer telling how he was once the brightest of an-

(1) Froning, i, p. 195. Lines 1928-29.

(2) Froning, i, p. 196. lines 1948-52, 1958-59.

(3) Froning, ii, p. 571 ff.

gels, the brightest torch-bearer of God. Because of this he grew proud and plotted to set his throne above that of his maker and to equal in power his heavenly ruler. For this reason, God cast him, who had been "viel schöner dan die sonne,"(1) and his companions into the very depths of hell. Therefore, it is imperative that they should now seduce the enchanter, Jesus, in order to decrease the power of God. Satan then begs Lucifer to tell how he accomplished the downfall of man so as to give them, if possible, some hint in tempting Christ.

Lucifer also tells the story of his fall in a Doomsday Play of the fourteenth century.(2) After the division of the good from the bad, God commends the wicked souls to Lucifer's care. One of these waxes insolent declaring that God has treated him unjustly. Strange to say, Lucifer reproves him and justifies the ways of God towards the wicked by telling his own story.

In the preceding plays the fall has been narrated by Lucifer; it has not been acted dramatically. In the Kunzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel of 1479,(3) we have a complete cyclic play extending from the creation of the angels to

(1) Froning, 11, 572, line 173.

(2) Mone, 1, 273 ff.

(3) Germania, iv, 338.

doomsday. The idea of conceiving these events as a world-drama shows the religious play in its highest development which at this time was common in both France and England. But in one respect the Kunzelsauer Play is primitive in that it requires an interlocutor to explain to the audience the significance of each event before it is represented. The reason given for the cycle is to explain the mystery of the holy sacrament in order that the people may better understand its full meaning.

In the Wiener Passionspiel of the thirteenth century, (1) although one of the most primitive of the passion plays in regard to subject matter, yet, concerning the fall of the angels and of man it is the most developed of any of the German plays. Early as this is and without the intervention of an interlocutor, we have the change of scene and character on the stage in accordance with the change of action in the play. This passion play deals with the temptation of Mary Magdalene and the devils are naturally introduced as a motive for her sins. The first scene is represented in heaven where Lucifer makes his boast that he is God's peer. Then follows the battle in heaven - the cherubim and seraphim led by Michael, Raphael and Gabriel march against the rebel angels and upon the command of the Almighty:

(1) Froning, 1, 305 ff.

"Var hin, Luzifer, in dei helle
mit allen dinen geselle!" (1)

Lucifer and his followers fall into the blackness of hell. The beautiful angelic appearance of the former dwellers of heaven have now changed into hideous devil forms. Lucifer laments the change thus:

"wan ich do ze himele
waz ein engel schön und clar,
nu bin ich verschaffen gar!" (2)

Too late, he realizes the consequence of his rebellion - that he must forever dwell in hell and bewails his former home:

"Owi, owi hoemut,
du wurde nie gut,
noch nimmer enwerden maht!
ze spate han ich dez gedaht:
dez muz ich in die helle!" (3)

Lucifer cannot bear the thought that man will enjoy the happiness which he has lost and so plans his downfall.

From a perusal of these plays it may be seen that the devil, as an abstract principle, was introduced first

- (1) Froning, i, p.306. lines 31-32.
(2) Froning, i, p.307. lines 41-44.
(3) Froning, i, p.307. lines 50-55.

into the Tollite portas scene. As this scene developed, the devil assumed a distinct personality and as other incidents were added he came to play a more and more important part. Soon the tradition of his fall was introduced whenever it was possible to do so. The Germans were interested chiefly in the events concerning the passion and resurrection and, consequently, the fall of the angels was given in connection with these scenes. Since the fall of Lucifer played such an important part in the religious plays of not only Germany but also of France and England, it seems necessary to trace the development of the tradition. ✓

The story of the creation of man and his fall, as taken up in the Mystery Plays and other religious writings of the Middle Ages, is based almost entirely upon the Biblical account contained in the first three chapters of Genesis. But the prevalent idea concerning the devil and his fall from grace, as a connected story, is not to be found in the Bible. Mention is made of the devil in many passages of the Old and New Testament but there is no full account given in any one place. Therefore, the Scriptural teaching on this topic can only be ascertained by combining a number of scattered notices from Genesis to Revelations and reading these in the light of patristic and theological traditions.(1)

(1) Catholic Encyclopedia, iv,764.

The connection of Satan with the serpent in the Garden of Eden (1) is merely an inference of later dogmatic opinion and receives no countenance from the Scriptural narrative itself, which speaks of the serpent only as an animal and pronounces a curse against him with reference to his animal nature only. (2)

"Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?" (3)

"And the Lord God said unto the woman, what is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

"And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly thou shalt go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life:

"And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." (4)

(1) Genesis, iii, 1-7.

(2) Hawsis, The Devil in Current Coin, p.58.

(3) Genesis, iii, 1

(4) Genesis, iii, 13-15.

In the Old Testament, Satan as a distinct personality, is mentioned only in three passages.(1) In other places (2) the term "Satan" is used to signify merely a human adversary or opponent. Even the angel of God is described as opposing Balaam in the guise of a satan or adversary. (3) There is, however, mention of many evil spirits - Saul's evil spirit, 1st lying spirits in the mouths of the prophets, but there is no mention or allusion to the King-Devil or the Arch-Fiend.(4)

As a distinct being Satan appears for the first time in the Book of Job. Here, he is not regarded as a sinful character; he is not an antagonist of God, for he goes in and out of celestial convocations on fairly good terms with everyone. He even conducts an argument with the Lord and receives permission from him to become an accuser of men. Thus he is like our district attorney who brings and supports indictments. He appears nowhere as a mental tempter to sin and is nowhere asserted to be such or recognized as such. He is a meddler with environment but not with the soul.(5) He is therefore the celestial prosecutor who looks for nothing

(1) Zech.iii, Job xii, 1, Ch. xxi.

(2) As for instance, Ps. cix,6, Ecclesiasticus xxi,27.

(3) Num. xxii,32.

(4) Jewish Encyclopedia, xi,68.

(5) Jewish Encyclopedia, xi,69.

but iniquity in man and can believe him capable of nothing but iniquity. Even after Job has proven his innocence by surrendering his will to God, Satan demands another test by physical suffering. However, it is very evident that Satan has no power of independent action for he must first receive permission of God. In this stage, then, he cannot be regarded as an opponent of the Deity, so the doctrine of monotheism is disturbed by his existence no more than by the presence of other beings before the face of God.(1)

However, constant familiarity with evil begins to tell by degrees upon the former angelic character of Satan the accuser. He becomes unnaturally suspicious, not only willing but eager to accuse, at times even a slanderer; and as such, he is rebuked by God when offering to become the adversary of Joshua, the High-Priest: "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan."(2) (3) In Chronicles (4) Satan appears as one who is able to provoke David to destroy Israel. For the first time he is here regarded as an independent agent.

Origen believes that the passage in Kings (5) refers

(1) Encyclopaedia Biblica, iv, 4298.

(2) Haws, The Devil p. 62.

(3) See Jewish Encyclopedia, xi, 68.

(4) 1 Chron. xxi, 1.

(5) 1 Kings xxii, 19-23.

also to Satan as being a distinct personality. There Micaiah the prophet says:

"I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left.

"And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner.

"And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord and said, I will persuade him.

"And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth and do so.

"Now therefore, behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets, and the Lord hath spoken evil concerning thee." (1)

"Now by this last quotation," says Origen, (2) "it is clearly shown that a certain spirit, from his own free will and choice, elected to deceive Achab and to work a lie, in order that the Lord might mislead the king to his death, for he deserved to suffer."

The older conceptions of Hebrew theology had regard-

(1) 1 Kings xxii, 19-23.

(2) Ante-Nicene Library, x. Writings of Origen, 1,223.

ed Jehovah as the sole source of all power, the author of both good and evil . All the functions which we have attributed for ages to the Devil were in the early times referred to Jehovah himself. It was Jehovah, the God of the Jews, who was said to destroy, to provoke, to harden. A remnant of this belief lingers as late as Isaiah: "I make peace and create evil; I the Lord do all these things."(1) But the spiritual sensitiveness of the race grew and developed until the Jews found it impossible to credit Jehovah with tempting his people. (2) In Samuel (3) temptation to evil was directly attributed to God; in Job (4) it was ultimately attributed to God but through the medium of Satan; in Chronicles it is ascribed directly to Satan and tacitly denied of God.(5) Temptation to evil, however, is not directly denied of God until we reach the New Testament (6) "God tempteth no man, neither is he tempted of any." (7)

In this way, gradually, all those functions which

(1) Isaiah xiv, 7.

(2) Hawsis, The Devil, p. 60-61.

(3) ii Sam. xxiv,1.

Job 1.

(5) i Chron. xxi,1.

(6) James i, 13.

(7) Encyclopaedia Biblica, iv, 4298.

dishonored the Diety were transfered to one of his celestial agents, not yet distinguished as the Arch-Fiend, but spoken of as a "son of God", a chief persecutor, an accuser of the brethren or a satan which meant adversary - not yet of God but of man only. Thus, from being the not unnecessarily unjust accuser of man Satan becomes his tempter and enemy.(1) He becomes the image of malice, restlessness and envy - the willing messenger of evil to man. Before long, the terror of this accusing angel fairly took possession of the Jewish mind. The people imagined him constantly reporting them to God, lying about them, slandering them and even inciting them to evil for the sake of getting them chastised. By this time, a great change has passed over Satan. Instead of merely finding out, punishing and suppressing evil, he becomes its aider and abettor, a kind of marplot or diabolus. This was the belief of the Jews in 588 B.C. when they came in contact with the Persians, during the seventy years' captivity. The Persians believed in the Iranian Creed - that of two equal all-powerful beings opposed to each other, one good, the other evil. From this creed, the Jews borrowed Ahriman, the bad spirit, and lo! the satan or adversary of the brethren stepped forth as the Arch-Fiend, rivalling Jehovah himself in the number and activity of his subjects and

(1) Jewish Encyclopedia, xi, 68.

even disputing the range of his influence. As such, he appears not only as the accuser, slanderer and tempter of man but as the satan or adversary of God himself. (1)

In the Old Testament itself, no reference is made to angels or adherents being attendant upon Satan; even the angels of evil are here subject directly to God. After the close of the Old Testament, however, we find the devil invested with his full powers of Satanic royalty. The Apocrypha roughly fills the space between Malachi, the last of the prophets, and the advent of Christ; and in this memorable four hundred years during which time the Devil and all his demons seemed to the Jews to be let loose upon them in their contest under the Macabees with Antiochus, Nicanor and the Romans, both the figure of the conquering Messiah and of his satanic rival acquired solidity. (2) There grew up a complete fabric of demonology, of the crowned devil and all his demons. He rules over an entire host of angels. (3) As the lord of satans he not infrequently bears the special name Samael. Now, Satan appears as the author of all evil, as the source of wicked thoughts and as the Arch-Enemy of the Word and the Son of God. He is represented with ref-

(1) Hawsis, The Devil, p. 63-65.

(2) Jewish Encyclopedia, xi, 68.

(3) See Martyrdom of Isaiah, ii, 21; Vita Adae and Evae.

erence to the third chapter of Genesis as the author of all evil who brought death into the world. (1) Mastema, who induced God to test Abraham through the sacrifice of Isaac, has been identified with Satan in both name and nature. (2) Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit is likewise identical to him especially in view of his licentiousness. Satan is not only prince of the devils but is regarded as the ruler and leader of hell and death, as brought out in the Harrowing of Hell scene in Nicodemus. (3)

All uncertainty as to the current conception of Satan ceases when we reach the New Testament. The "enemy" of the Old Testament is now individualized; the "Satans" of the Book of Enoch are now unified. Satan is, by this time, the distinctly personal originator, instigator and perpetuator of sin, the cause of its penalty - death, the personal head of the realm of evil - evil bodily and spiritually, and the antagonist generally of God and of man. In strict accordance with his manifest activity he bears many names - prince, tempter, accuser, adversary, enemy, the evil injurious one, serpent, and so forth. (4) Although Satan is op-

(1) Wisdom ii, 24.

(2) Book of Jubilees xxvii, 18.

(3) Jewish Encyclopedia xi, 68.

(4) Encyclopaedia Biblica iv, 4298.

posed to God there is no dualism in the true sense. He is no more independent of him or co-equal with him than is man, but possesses merely superhuman power.(1) Through this development of Satan the popular imagination was prepared for the advent of Christ, for the final struggle between good and evil and the final triumph of good over evil. Although Satan is strong, Jesus is stronger.(2) Christ will finally bring him to nought and rescue his bondsmen, casting him and his angels into the eternal fire prepared for them, (3) along with the last enemy death.(4) This deliverance is in principle already begun but will not be completed until the second coming of Christ.(5) This is in all its broad characteristics the demonology of the contemporary Judaism stripped of its cruder and more exaggerated features. Evil demons or unclean spirits hover about the world and are in subjection to Satan.(6) A demon was said to enter into a man somewhat as if it were a physical entity and similarly was said to pass out or was forcibly expelled by some superi-

(1) See Roskoff, Geschichte des Teufels, i.

(2) Mt. xii, 29.

(3) Heb. ii, 14.

(4) Mt. xxv, 41; Rev. xx, 10; Jude vi.

(5) Encyclopaedia Biblica, iv, 4298.

(6) Mt. ix, 34; xii, 24; Mk. iii, 22; Lk. xi, 15.

or power who had authority to cast out demons. (1)

The Jewish Talmud and Midrash give a different version to the origin of Satan. They claim that he came into the world with woman, that is, with Eve and that in this way he was created and not eternal. As the incarnation of evil, he is devoted to the destruction of man and is the Arch-Enemy of the Messiah. In other words, he is the Antichrist. Here, also, God is represented as the final victor over Satan. The light which was created before the world was hidden by God beneath his throne and to the question of Satan in regard to it, God answered, "This is the light kept for him who shall bring thee to shame." At his request God showed Satan the Messiah; "and when he saw him he trembled, fell upon his face and cried 'Verily this is the Messiah, who shall hurl me and all the princes of the angels of the peoples down even into Hell.'" (2)

After the people had unconsciously in their minds developed Satan into a real personality they began to wonder and speculate as to his origin. Concerning this, there were prevalent many stories of Oriental character more or less similar in nature. The Apocraphal writings show that as in the case of man so in that of the angels, woman was

(1) Dictionary of the Bible, i, 593.

(2) Jewish Encyclopedia, xi, 69.

the cause. Azazel and Samhazi, seeing God's grief over the corruption of the sons of men, volunteered to descend to earth for the purpose of proving their contention that, as they had foretold at the creation of Adam, the weakness of man was alone responsible for his immorality. Angelic nature, however, was not proof against the blandishments of earthly women and Samhazi became enamored of Istar who would not yield until he had told her the name of Yhwh (God) by virtue of which he was enabled to return to heaven. As soon as Istar became possessed of the secret she rose to heaven herself and God rewarded her constancy by assigning her a place in the constellation of Kimsh. Samhazi and Azazel then marry earthly women and lead a licentious life. Soon after, they receive news concerning the approaching flood. The announcement of the world's and his own children's impending doom brings Samhazi to repentance and he suspends himself midway between heaven and earth in which penitent position he has remained ever since. Azazel, who dealt in rich adornments and fine garments for women, continued in his evil ways seducing men by his fanciful wares. Hence the goat is sent to him on the Day of Atonement.(1)

(1) See Jewish Encyclopedia. xi, 68. The story is also found in Targ. Pseudo-Jonathan to Genesis vi,4; Yalk Gen.44 Jellinek B.H.iv,127; Midrah-Abkir; Rashi,Yoma67; Geiger.

Variations of this story are not rare. In one version,(1) the angels that fell from heaven, seeing the shameless attire of the men and women in Cain's family, had intercourse with the women and in consequence were deprived of their garments of flaming fire and were clothed in ordinary material of dust. They also lost their angelic strength and stature. In the Book of Enoch eighteen angels are named as chief participators in the conspiracy to mate with women.(2) Samaza is the leader and Azael is one of the number. The cabalists give the older view. Aza and Azael fall and are punished by being chained to the mountains of darkness.(3) Another passage (4) says that these two rebelled against God; that they were hurled from heaven and now teach men all kinds of sorcery. (4) Allusions to these fallen angels occur also in the Koran (5) but their names are there given as Harut and Marut. Their fate in Arabic tradition is identical with that of Samhazi and Azael. The refusal to worship Adam (6) brings on the fall just as it

(1) Pirke R. Eli'ezer, xxii; ed. by Jellinek.

(2) Book of Enoch vi,7.

Zohar iii,208. Ed. Mantua.

(4) Zohar i, 37.

(5) Koran, sura ii,96.

(6) Koran, suras ii,32; vii,11; xv,29; xxxviii,73.

does in the Midrash.(1)

The Ante-Nicene Fathers of the Early Christian Church were fairly absorbed with the subject of the fall of the angels being due due to the blandishments of earthly women. They believed that after the expulsion of man from Paradise the serpent continued in his evil work; that he prevailed upon Cain to slay Abel and that as the number of men increased his power of inciting men to evil grew. (2) Crime and evil of every sort prevailed among mankind. One of the Cmentine Homilies tells how the lowest order of angels, being grieved at the sinfulness and ingratitude of men towards God, asked that they might enter into the life of man in order to punish him according to his merits.(3) Their petition being granted, they changed themselves into any form or nature which best suited their purpose. They became precious stones or pearl, the most beautiful purple or the choicest gold, or anything else that man held in high esteem; others became beasts or reptiles, fishes or birds. In such forms they would allow themselves to be stolen or captured by man and then in order to punish him would themselves assume human form to wreak vengeance upon him. But the blandishments of earthly women proved too alluring to angels in human form.

(1) Jewish Encyclopedia xi, 70.

(2) Ante-Nicene Library: Writings of Lactantius ii, 109.

(3) Ante-Nicene Library, xvii: Clementine Homilies, p.142.

Harassed and tempted by the dragon illicit relationships resulted. On account of this sin they could not again be admitted into the kingdom of heaven. Not being able to show the wonders and beauties of heaven to their paramours, they heaped upon them the most beautiful jewels and satans; they taught them the art of beautifying themselves, of painting, dyeing the hair and other methods of enhancing personal beauty. Gregory Thaumaturgis, Tertullian, Lactantius, Clement of Alexandria, Justin, Iraneous, Athenagoras, Methodius and Cyprian adopted this Jewish opinion with slight variations. Augustine and John Cassian exploded this theory of the fall of the angels by declaring that the "sons of God" were none other than the offspring of Seth who had led a godly life, and the "daughters of men" the descendants of Cain whose lives had been those of evil. (1)

The offspring of these former "sons of God" by the "daughters of men" were of a mixed nature; they were neither angels nor men. These were the demons. Heaven would not accept them because of their polluted spirit; hell would have nothing to do with them because of their semi-angelic nature. Hence they were forced to wander restlessly and maliciously upon the earth or in the air. These are the wicked spirits, the authors of all the evil which is

(1) Augustine, City of God, p. 300 ff.

committed. (1)

The authoritative teaching of the church on this topic, based upon the writings of the Early Church Fathers, is set forth in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council ("Firmiter credimus"), wherein, after saying that God in the beginning had created together two creatures, the spiritual and the corporeal, that is to say, the angelic and the earthly, and lastly man who was made of both spirit and body, the council continues: "Diabolus enim et alii daemones a Deo quidem natura creati sunt boni, sed ipsi per se facti sunt mali." Here it is clearly taught that the devil and the other demons are spiritual or angelic creatures created by God in a state of innocence and that they became evil by their own act. It is added that man sinned by the suggestion of the devil and that in the next world the wicked shall suffer perpetual punishment with the devil. It was only by their fall that the angels became devils. This must have been before the sin of our first parents since this sin itself is ascribed to the instigation of the devil: (2) "By the envy of the Devil, death came into the world." (3)

It is remarkable that for an account of the fall

(1) Lactantius. Vol.xxi of Ante-Nicene Library. p.127 ff.

(2) Wisdom ii,24.

(3) Catholic Encyclopedia iv,764.

itself of the angels we must turn to the last book of the Bible. For as such, we may regard the vision in the Apocalypse or Revelations, although the picture of the past is blended with the prophecies of what shall be in the future: "And there was a great battle in heaven, Michael and his angels fought with the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels; and they prevailed not, neither was there place found any more in heaven. And that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, who seduceth the whole world; and he was cast unto the earth, and his angels were cast down with him." (1) To this may be added the words of St. Jude: "And the angels who kept not their principality, but forsook their own habitation, he hath reserved under darkness in everlasting chains, unto the judgment of the great day." (2) In the Old Testament we have a brief reference to the fall in Job: "In his angels he found wickedness." (3) To this must be added certain verses from Isaiah and Ezechiel.

"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning? How art thou fallen to the earth that didst wound the nations? And thou saidst in thy heart: I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the

(1) Rev. xii, 7-9.

(2) Jude 1, 6.

(3) Job iv, 18.

stars of God, I will sit in the mountain of the covenant, in the sides of the north. I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the Most High. But yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, into the depth of the pit."(1) This parable of the prophet is expressly directed against the king of Babylon but both the Early Fathers and later commentators agree in understanding it as applying with deeper significance to the fall of the rebel angel. The older commentators, generally, consider that this interpretation is confirmed by the words of our Lord to his disciples: "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven." (2) For these words were regarded as a rebuke to the apostles, who were thus warned of the danger of pride by being reminded of the fall of Lucifer.(3)

The parallel prophetic passage is Ezechiel's lamentation upon the king of Tyre: "Thou wast the seal of resemblance, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou wast in the pleasures of the paradise of God; every precious stone was thy covering; the sardius, the topaz, and the jasper, the chrysolite, and the onyx, and the beryl, the sapphire and the carbuncle, and the emerald; gold the work of thy

(1) Is. xiv, 12-15.

(2) Luke x, 18.

(3) Catholic Encyclopedia iv, 764.

beauty; and thy pipes were prepared in the day that thou wast created. Thou a cherub stretched out, and protecting, and I set thee in the holy mountain of God, thou hast walked in the midst of the stones of fire. Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day of creation, until iniquity was found in thee."(1) There is much in this context that can only be understood literally of an earthly king concerning whom the words are professedly spoken, but it is clear that in any case the king is being likened to an angel in Paradise who is ruined by his own iniquity. (2)

Gunkel, however, in Schopfung und Chaos maintains that Isaiah in attributing to the Babylonian king boastful pride followed by a fall, borrowed the idea from a popular legend connected with the morning star or Lucifer as it was called. This myth is similar in many respects to the Greek legend of Phaeton. The brilliancy of the morning star and an effort on the part of the people to symbolize the shooting stars probably gave rise to the story told of Ethana and Zu. The latter, led by his pride to strive for the highest seat among the star-gods on the northern mountains, was hurled down by the supreme ruler of the Babylonian Olympus. That the people of Palestine were familiar with this story is

(1) Ezechiel xxviii, 12-15.

(2) Catholic Encyclopedia iv, 764.

shown by the account given in Enoch, (1) where under the leadership of Samhazi, the heaven-seizer, and Azael, the fall of the angels is represented as having taken place from Mount Hermon, the northern-most mountain of Palestine. This Lucifer myth was transferred to Satan in the pre-Christian century as may be learned from Vita Adae and Slavonic Enoch where Satan-Sataniel is described as having been one of the arch-angels. Because he contrived to make his "throne higher than the clouds over the earth and resemble 'My power' on high", Satan-Sataniel was hurled down with his host of angels and since then he has been flying in the air continually above the abyss. (2)

Rothschild (3) believed that because Jerome said nothing in his writings concerning the fall of the angels, that this tradition must have been unknown to the Earlier Church Fathers and that it was not introduced into the western world until the beginning of the fifth century and then by Avitus who brought the story from the Orient. Miss Smith is also of this opinion. (4) Ungemach (5) disagrees

(1) Enoch vi, 6.

Dictionary of the Bible 1, 593.

(3) Rothschild, Le Mistere du Viel Testament, Intro. xlii.

(4) Smith, York Mystery Plays, Intro. xlvi.

(5) Ungemach, Quellen der Chester Plays, p. 19.

with both. He claims that the tradition was well known by Hieronymus who lived during the fourth century, and that in his writings Hieronymus said that Origen (185-254) was also acquainted with the tradition. Ungemach's statement would lead us to believe that although this story was known as early as Origen that, with the exception of Hieronymus, it was not prevalent preceding the fifth century. This is not the case. Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgis, Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, and Athanasius, all living before the fifth century, make allusions to this tradition in their writings.

Athanasius, (1) Clement, (2) Cyril, (3) and Gregory (4) give as a proof of Satan's fall the words of Christ: "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven." (5) Gregory says: "Certain of the angels, refusing to submit themselves to the commandment of God resisted his will. One of them fell like lightning upon the earth." (6) Cyril writes: "Lucifer changed from the archangel into the devil and from the good servant

(1) Writings of Athanasius, in Ante-Nicene Library, iv, 50.

(2) Clementine Homilies in Ante-Nicene Library, xvii, 3.

(3) Cyril in Post-Nicene Library, vii, 8.

(4) Gregory Thaumaturgis, in Ante-Nicene Library, xx, 340.

(5) Luke x, 18.

(6) Gregory Thaumaturgis, in Ante-Nicene Library, xx, 340.

of God into Satan the adversary."(1) Gregory of Nazianzen says: "It is hard for men to be good because of him who for his splendor was called Lucifer but became and is called Darkness through his pride; and the apostate hosts who are subject to him, creators of evil by their revolt and our incitors."(2) Chrysostom believes that the greatest of evils is caused by pride and adds "thus did the devil become what he is."(3) In this connection, he quotes Paul's words: "Lest being puffed up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the devil."(4) Origen and Tertullian, writing at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, perhaps because the legend was new and unknown to the majority of the people, go into greater detail in explaining the fall. After having quoted the Isaiah, Ezechiel and Luke passages before referred to, Origen says: "In this manner, then, did that *being* once exist as light before he went astray and fell to this place and had his glory turned into dust which is peculiarly the mark of the wicked, as the prophet also says, whence, too, he was called the prince of this world, that is, of an earthly habitation, for he exercised power over those who

(1) Cyril, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Library, vii,8.

(2) Gregory of Nazianzen, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Lib 7,347.

(3) Chrysostom, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Lib. 11,92.

(4) i Tim. iii, 6.

were obedient to his wickedness, since 'the whole of this world lieth in the wicked one'(1) and in this apostate. That he is an apostate, that is, a fugitive even the Lord in the Book of Job says: 'Thou wilt take with a hook the apostate dragon, that is, a fugitive.' Now it is certain that by dragon is understood the devil himself."(2) In another passage Origen says: "There is no rational creature who is not capable of both good and evil. Not even the devil himself was incapable of good - he merely did not desire it or make any effort to obtain virtue. There was once a time when he was good and in the paradise of God between the cherubim. He then possessed the power of either good or evil but turned to evil with all the powers of his mind."(3)

Tertullian is also of the opinion that the passage in Ezechiel refers to the fallen angel who instigated man to sin; that by creation he was good but by choice had become evil and corrupt. He says: "This description properly belongs to the transgression of the angel and not to the princes: for none among human beings was born in the paradise of God, not even Adam himself who was rather translated thither; nor placed with a cherub upon God's holy mountain, that is to

(1) John v,19.

(2) Origen, in Ante-Nicene Library, x, 52.

(3) Origen, in Ante-Nicene Christian Library, x, 67-68.

say, in the heights of heaven, from which the Lord testifies that Satan fell; nor detained amongst the stones of fire, and the flashing rays of burning constellations, whence Satan was cast down like lightning.(1) No, it is none else than the very author of sin who was denoted in the person of a sinful man; he was once irreproachable, at the time of his creation, formed for good by God, as by the good Creator of irreproachable creatures, and adorned with every angelic glory, and associated with God, good with the Good; but afterwards of his own accord removed to evil. 'From the day when thine iniquities,' says he, 'were discovered,' attributing to him those injuries wherewith he injured man when he was expelled from his allegiance to God - even from that time did he sin, when he propagated his sin, and thereby plied 'the abundance of his merchandise,' that is, of his wickedness, even the tale of his transgressions, because he was himself as a spirit no less (than man) created, with the faculty of free-will."
(2)

A multitude of questions arose in regard to the whole matter. In the first place, when were the angels created? The Scriptures do not enlighten us upon this point. The

(1) Luke, x, 18.

(2) Tertullian Against Marcion, in Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vii, 80-82.

Greek theologians and Jerome held with Plato that spiritual creatures were made first and used by God in the creation of material things. The Latin theologians and Basil maintained that God made all things at once. Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, Chrysostom and several others held that the angels were made before the creation of other things and that thought was their chief function. Damascus thinks this plausible, for he says it is fitting that mental essence should be first created and afterwards that which can be perceived, and that as a finality, man himself should be created in whose being both parts are united.(1) Others considered that the creation of the angels took place after the first heaven was made. Basil held that the angels were created either after the light or with it, for he says, "the orders of angels, the heavenly hosts did not live in darkness but enjoyed a condition fitted for them in light and spiritual joy." (2) Augustine says that the creation of the angels are included either in the word "heavens" of "in the beginning God created Heaven and earth" or in the word "light" of when God said "let there be light." He is inclined to

(1) John of Damascus, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Christian Library, ix, 20.

(2) St. Basil, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Christian Library viii, 62.

the latter view. He reasons it thus: they could not have existed before the creation of heaven and earth for "in the beginning God created heaven and earth;" nor could they have been created after the sixth day because God rested on the seventh from all his work.(1) The only point upon which all the writers agree is that the angels were created before the formation of man.

Secondly, what was the nature of these angels? John of Damascus describes an angel as an intelligent essence in perpetual motion, incorporeal and through the grace of God immortal. They are minds and hence dwell in mental places. Since they are unhampered by bodily or three-dimension form they are uncircumscribed and thus are not hemmed in by walls and doors or by bars and seals. (2)

Thirdly, were the angels created equal? Origen is of the opinion that God created the angels equal but rewarded each according to his merits and good qualities. Hence some became archangels and others merely the lower orders of angels. This was not due to accident or partiality,(3) but ~~that~~ the angels gained their just rank in accordance with the good deeds which they performed in the praise and honor

(1) Augustine, City of God, Book xi, Chap.9.

(2) John of Damascus, in Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. ix, 19.

(3) Origen, in Ante-Nicene Lib. x, 65.

of their Almighty Creator.(1) "Whether they are equals in essence or differ from one another we know not," says John of Damascus, "but we do know that they behold God according to their capacity and that their food consists in the degree to which they are able to receive God."(2) According to Dionysius, they differ from each other in brightness and position, but whether their position is dependent upon their brightness or their brightness upon their position, he is unable to say.(3) Augustine is uncertain whether the angels were all created equal in the beginning or whether a certain number did not know that their angelic state of blessedness would not continue eternally. After much debating pro and con he finally comes to the following conclusion: "It will readily occur to any one that the blessedness which an intelligent being desires as its legitimate object results from a combination of these two things, namely, that it uninterruptedly enjoy the unchangeable good, which is God; and that it be delivered from all dubiety, and know certainly that it shall abide in the same enjoyment. That it is so with the angels of light we piously believe; but that the fallen angels, who by their own default lost that light, did

(1) Origen, in Ante-Nicene Lib. x, 69.

(2) John of Damascus, in Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. ix, 19.

(3) John of Damascus, in Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. ix, 19.

not enjoy this blessedness even before they sinned, reason bids us conclude." (1)

Fourthly, what was the function of the angels? The angels of the Bible generally appear in the role of God's messengers to mankind. (2) According to the original constitution of angels, they were made by God, in His providence for the care of the universe; in order that while God exercises a perfect and general supervision over the whole and keeps the supreme authority and power over all, the angels appointed for this purpose are to take charge of particulars.

(3) "They are mighty and prompt to fulfill the will of the Deity and their nature is endowed with such celerity that whenever the Divine glance bids them there they are straight-way found. They are the guardians of the divisions of the earth; they are set over nations and regions allotted to them by their Creator; they govern all our affairs and bring us succor." (4) Throughout the Bible, we find it repeatedly implied that each individual soul has its tutelary angel.

(5) Augustine says: "We should pray to the angels who are

(1) Augustine, City of God, Book xi, Chap. 13.

(2) Catholic Encyclopedia, 1, 476.

(3) Methodius, in Ante-Nicene Lib. xiv, 154.

(4) John of Damascus, in Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. ix, 19.

(5) Catholic Encyclopedia, 1, 476.

given to us as guardians." (1) These are able to assume different forms at the bidding of their Master, God, and thus they reveal themselves to men and unveil the divine mysteries to them. In general, the function of the angels is to sing God's praises and to carry out his divine will. (2)

Fifthly, what was the nature of the sin of the rebel angels? This presented great difficulties because of the supposed power and perfection of the angelic nature. The only excuse for their choice of evil instead of good would be through ignorance, inadvertence or weakness, or due perhaps to the influence of some overmastering power. If due to any of these then the angelic nature could not be perfect. Commentators argued that it could not be a weakness of the flesh, for their understanding was that angels were pure spiritual beings without body. And even spiritual or intellectual sin presented great difficulties when applied to the angels. Many of the authorities regard Lucifer's great offence as being the desire of independence of and equality with God. (3) The Church Fathers explain the fall in the following ways: "With difficulty are the angels moved to evil, yet at one time they were not absolutely immovable as

(1) Augustine, De Vidius, ix.

(2) John of Damascus, in Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. ix, 19.

(3) Catholic Encyclopedia, iv, 765.

witnessed by their fall." (1) "They are superior to man for they are incorporeal and are free of all bodily passion, but they must be subject to spiritual passion for God alone is passionless." (2) "Angels are not unchangeable for 'And angels which kept not their own principality but left their proper habitation, He hath kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.'" (3) Thus we know they have changed and having lost their dignity and glory have become demons." (4) "Anything created will change, therefore the fall was imperative." (5) "The angels that fell turned away from the light, either through fear or doubt that their blessedness as such would not be eternal." (6) "The greatest of evils is caused by pride. Thus did the devil become so; (7) for Paul declares 'Lest being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the devil.'" (8) "Pierced with the dart of pride, Lucifer

(1) Gregory of Nazianzen, Orat. 38.

(2) John of Damascus, in Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. ix, 20.

(3) Jude, 6.

(4) Jerome, in Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. vi, 432.

(5) Gregory of Nyssa, in Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. v, 20.

(6) Augustine, City of God, Book xi, Chap. 11.

(7) Chrysostom, in Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. ii, 92.

(8) Tim. iii, 6.

was hurled down from his grand and exalted position as an angel into hell. He believed his beauty and splendor due to his own nature rather than being the gift of God. For this reason he became puffed up and conceived himself equal to God. He fancied that he could trust in the power of his own will and through it supply himself with virtue and perfect bliss. This thought alone was the cause of his first fall." (1)

King Alfred says that a tyrant is similar to him of whom it is written that "he beholds all pride who is king of all the children of pride." He claims that the devil "desired a separate sovereignty and despised the fellowship and way of life of the other angels, saying 'I will build my seat in the north and be like the highest.' By his presumption he gained that into which he was cast when he exalted himself in imagination to such a height of power.(2) He "prided himself upon his virtues and because of his self-flattery waxed so proud that he fell." (3)

St. Anselm believed equality of God impossible of attainment and credited the angels with a knowledge of this fact, for he makes his Disciple in ~~his~~ De Casu Diaboli say

(1) John Cassian, in Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. xi, 280.

(2) King Alfred's Gregory. E.E.T.S. p. 111.

(3) King Alfred's Gregory. E.E.T.S. p.462.

"If God cannot be thought of except as sole, and as of such an essence that nothing can be thought of like to him then how could the devil have wished for that which could not be that of? He surely was not so dull of understanding as to be ignorant of the inconceivability of any other entity like to God." (1) In the same way St. Thomas answers the question whether the devil desired to be as God. "If by this we mean equality with God, then the Devil could not desire it since he knew this to be impossible, and he was not blinded by passion or evil habit so as to choose that which is impossible as may happen with men. And even if it were possible for a creature to become God, an angel would not desire this since by becoming equal with God he would cease to be an angel and no creature can desire its own destruction or an essential change in its being."(2) These arguments are combated by Scotus, who distinguished between efficacious volition and the volition of complaisance, and maintains by the latter act an angel could desire that which is impossible. He argues that although a creature cannot directly will its own destruction, that it can will something from which this would follow. (3)

(1) St. Anselm, De Casu Diaboli, Chap. iv.

(2) Catholic Encyclopedia, iv, 765.

(3) Scotus, Sent. dist. vi, lib.ii.

Although St. Thomas regards the desire of equality with God as something impossible, he teaches nevertheless that Satan sinned by desiring to be "as God", according to Isaiah xiv, but he understands this to mean likeness and not equality. He claims that not every desire of likeness with God would be sinful, but only where the desire is inordinate as in seeking something contrary to the Divine Will or in seeking the appointed likeness in a wrong way. The sin of Satan in this matter may have consisted in desiring the attainment of supernatural beatitude by his natural powers or stranger still in seeking his beatitude in the natural perfections and rejecting the supernatural. In either case, as St. Thomas considers, this first sin of Satan's was the sin of pride. (1)

Scotus, however, teaches that this sin was not pride properly so called but should be described rather as a species of spiritual lust. He believes that the mystery of the Divine Incarnation was revealed to them; that they saw that a nature lower than their own was to be hypostatically united to the Person of God and the Son and that all the hierarchy of heaven must bow in adoration before the majesty of the Incarnate Word; and that this, he supposes, was the occasion for Lucifer to wax proud and make his boast against

(1) Catholic Encyclopedia, iv, 765.

the Almighty. (1) This theory he bases upon the Biblical text "And again, when he bringeth in the first begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him."

(2) St. Thomas maintains that the Incarnation was occasioned by the sin of our first parents. (3) Scotus opposes this on the ground that since the sin itself was occasioned by Satan, that it presupposed the fall of the angels. How then could Satan's probation consist in the foreknowledge of that which would, ex hypothesi, only come to pass in the event of his fall? He likewise opposes the opinion that man was made to fill the gaps in the ranks of the angels. For this again supposes that if no angels had sinned then no men would have been made, and as a consequence, there would have been no union of the Divine Person with a nature lower than that of the angels. (4)

Sixthly, did the angels possess free-will? The mediaeval writers, as a whole, agree that God endowed both angel and man with freedom of will, with the choice of good

(1) Suarez, De Angelis, lib. vii, xlii.

(2) Hebrews i, 6.

(3) St. Thomas, Summa Theol. i, Q.Q.

(4) Catholic Encyclopedia, iv, 765.

See also Boswell, in Open Court Review, 1900.

Boswell, in Am. Cath. Quart. 1888.

or evil. "Both Devil and man had free-will."(1) As a proof that the demons were not created evil but became so by their own free-will, Origen quotes the Ezechiel and Isaiah passages before mentioned. He then adds: "The devil himself was not incapable of good - he merely did not desire it or make any effort to obtain virtue. There was once a time when he was good and in the paradise of God between the cherubim. He then possessed the power of either good or evil but turned to evil with all the powers of his mind." (2)

Seventhly, how many orders of angels were there? St. Gregory the Great says: "We know on the authority of Scripture that there are nine orders of angels, that is, Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Dominations, Thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim. That there are angels and archangels nearly every page of the Bible tells us, and the the books of the Prophets talk of Cherubim and Seraphim. St. Paul, writing to the Ephesians, enumerates four orders when he says: 'above all Principality and Power and Virtue and Domination; and again, writing to the Colossians, he says: 'whether Thrones, or Dominations, or Principalities, or Powers.' If we now join these two lists together, we have five orders and adding Angels and Archangels, Cherubim and

(1) Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. ^{II, 8} ~~x, 67~~.

(2) Origen, Ante-Nicene Lib. x, 67.

Seraphim, we find nine orders of angels. (1) St. Thomas, following Dionysius the Areopagita, (2) divides the angels into three hierarchies each of which contains three orders. Their proximity to the Supreme Being serves as the basis of this division. In the first hierarchy, he places those who are in God's presence and are said to be directly and immediately one with him, these are the Seraphim with their six wings, the many-eyed cherubim and those that sit in the holiest Thrones; in the second hierarchy are placed the Dominations, Powers and Authorities; and in the third the Rulers, Archangels and Angels (3) As stated before, Gregory names but nine orders of angels and then adds that God created ten in the beginning. He explains that the tenth order, including Lucifer and his followers, revolted, and that thereafter there were but nine orders which he then proceeds to name. Alfric, in De Initio Creaturae and Dominica iiii Post Pentecosten, based upon Gregory, (4) gives this same enumeration and explanation. This makes it clear why some of the epics and plays which follow, attribute to God the creation of ten

(1) Catholic Encyclopedia, i, 476.

Gregory's Hom. xxxiv and Mor. xxxii.

(2) St. Denis, De Coelesti Hierarchia vi, vii.

(3) St. Thomas, Summa Theol. i Q. cviii.

(4) Gregory, Mor. xxxii, 1072 and Hom. xxxiv, 1603.

orders whereas others credit him with creating only nine orders of angels.

The Church Fathers are engaged in a warfare against Satan on the behalf of God. Their armor and gunpowder are their writings based upon the Scriptures. I doubt if their works contain a single page in which some allusion is not made to the devil. They see the influence of the evil one at work in every act contrary to the will of God. They discuss Scriptural and doctrinal teachings pro and con, and as a consequence, their writings deal with subjects extending from the creation to doomsday. They are not only interested in the fall of the angels and of man, as I have already shown, but also of the continued work of the Evil One against God and mankind. We have explained to us the means by which Satan succeeded in tempting Cain to slay Abel; (1) how the work of the devil so spread that it became necessary for God to send a flood; (2) how even the Son of God had to strug-

(1) Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. vii, 9.

Tertullian, Ante-Nicene Lib. xi, 211.

Lactantius, Ante-Nicene Lib. xxi, 109.

Augustine, City of God, Book xv, Chap. 5.

(2) Chrysostom, Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. x, 1-40; 92.

Lactantius, Ante-Nicene Lib. xxi, 109; 127.

Clementine Homilies, Ante-Nicene Lib. xvii, 144 ff.

gle with and be on his guard against the wiles of the Evil One; (1) we see Christ in his conquest of hell; (2) we see Satan as the Antichrist; (3) and we have pictured for us the terrible scenes of the Last Judgment. (4)

As a warning against pride, the story of the fall of the angels proved to be a favorite theme for the Anglo-Saxon

- (1) Gregory of Nazianzen, Nicene & Post Nicene Lib.vii,433.
Clementine Homilies, Ante-Nicene Lib. xvii, 11; 291.
Tertullian Against Marcion, Ante-Nicene Lib.vii,190.
Leo the Great, Nicene & Post-Nicene Lib. xii, 174.
Origen, Ante-Nicene Lib. x,230
Cyprian, Ante-Nicene Lib. xiii, 189.
- (2) Augustine, City of God, Book xx, Chap. 8.
Tertullian, Ante-Nicene Lib. xv, 5.
Methodius, Ante-Nicene Lib. xiv, 76.
- (3) Cyril of Jerusalem, Nicene & Post-Nicene, vii, 108.
Tertullian Against Marcion, Ante-Nicene, vii, 453.
Tertullian, Ante-Nicene, xv, 5.
Augustine, City of God, Book xx, Chap. 14.
Chrysostom, Nicene & Post-Nicene, x, 458.
Hippolytus, Ante-Nicene, ix, 110.
John of Damascus, Nicene & Post-Nicene, ix, 43.
- (4) Methodius, Ante-Nicene, xiv, 76.
Augustine, City of God, Book xx, Chap. 1 ff.

in his sermons and homilies. Any reference to the fall of the devil is in some way connected with either the temptation of Adam and Eve or the present warfare which the devil and his adherents ^{was} ~~is~~ supposed to be waging against mankind.

(1) The influence of the Church Fathers is seen in these. King Alfred read Gregory the Great and put into the Anglo-Saxon tongue his principle theories and observations, in order that the English people might know the ideas for which the Church Fathers stood. (2) The West Saxon version of Augustine's Soliloquia is the last in the order of Alfred's translations. Alfred was attracted to Augustine by the nature of his theme, which is a treatise on God and the soul in which much space is devoted to a discussion of immortality. Alfred does not translate literally for in places he supplements passages from other sources, as Augustine's De Videndo Deo and De Civitate Dei, Gregory's Morals and Dialogues, and Jerome's Commentary on Luke. (3)

Aelfric, Archbishop of York, writing at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century composed many homilies, for the sake, he explains, of the unlearned men, who at this time, when the end of the world is approach-

(1) See Old English Homilies, Series 1 & ii. E.E.T.S.

(2) See King Alfred's Gregory. E.E.T.S.

(3) Cambridge History of Literature. p. 113-114.

ing, need to be fortified against tribulation and hardship; and remembering the injunctions of Christ, Aelfric believed it to be his duty to teach the ignorant. (1) His homilies are contained in two collections, designed to give alternate sermons for the greater feast-days; the first series being simple, doctrinal and instructive, the second discursive, historical and more elaborate. The first homily of the first series, De Initio Creaturae, treats not only of the creation, but relates the stories of the fall of the angels and of man, the flood, the dispersal of tongues, the patriarchs and the Mosaic law. Then follows another homily, De Natale Dominis, which gives the life of Christ from his birth to his ascension. (2)

In his Dominica iiii Post Pentecosten, based upon Gregory, (3) Aelfric deals with the fall of the angels. Here, the parable of the lost sheep is made to refer to the angels and mankind. "An hundredfold number is perfect and the Almighty had a hundred sheep when the host of angels and mankind were his possessions; but he lost one sheep when Adam through his sin lost paradise. Then the Son left the

(1) Thorpe, Homilies of Aelfric, 3-5. E.E.T.S.

(2) Cambridge History of Literature, 129.

(3) Gregory, Hom. xxxiv.

See Ungemach, Quellen der Chester Plays, p. 22.

host of angels in heaven, came to earth and sought the sheep. By his crucifixion he found his sheep and ascended into heaven rejoicing that the lost sheep had been recovered." (1)

According to Aelfric, the parable concerning the ten shillings, one of which was lost and found again, refers also to the nine hosts of angels. "Instead of the tenth host mankind was created, for the tenth had been guilty of pride and thrust from heavenly bliss to hell torments." (2)

The story of the fall of the angels and of man readily lent itself to epical form. The first to try this was Bishop Avitus of Vienna, who in the latter part of the fifth century, in Latin hexameter, wrote De Spiritualis Historia Gestis, in five books with the following titles: De origine mundi, De originali peccato, De sententia dei, De diluvio mundi, De transitu maris rubri. Ten Brink is of the opinion that this had a great influence upon the Anglo-Saxon Genesis, especially upon the Genesis B. (3) The epic is divided into two parts known as Genesis A and Genesis B or the Older and Younger Genesis. Genesis A, written in the seventh century, includes the lines 1-235 and 851-2935, which deals with the fall of the angels, the creation, the flood

(1) Thorpe, Homilies of Aelfric, p. 339. E.E.T.S.

(2) Thorpe, Homilies of Aelfric, p. 343. E.E.T.S.

(3) Ten Brink, Early English Literature, p. 84.

and the battle of Abraham. Genesis B, written in the ninth century, was inserted into the first Genesis in the tenth century in order to fill the gap between the lines 235 and 851. This repeats the fall of the angels in greater detail than Genesis A; tells of the council in hell, the plan to seduce mankind and the temptation and fall of man. (1)

Anglo-Saxon poetry, although Christian in coloring and tone, contains many traces of the old heathen belief. The poets borrow material for their works from church legends or paraphrase parts of the Bible, but they clothe each poem in a Germanic dress and adapt it to the conceptions and sympathies of their own countrymen. The Anglo-Saxon Genesis is a story permeated by the Anglo-Saxon spirit. God, angels and the devils become Teutonic heroes with all the virtues and vices of the same; and heaven and hell show marked traces of the Anglo-Saxon way of thinking before the introduction of Christianity. The poet shows us the angels as

(1) Brooke, History of English Literature, p. 16.

Archaeologia, Vol. xxiv.

Honcher, Anglia ~~XIV~~, VIII.

Wulker, Anglia viii, Bibliothek der Angelsächsische Poesie.

Vilmar, Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand.

Ten Brink, Early English Literature.

they appeared before the rebellion in heaven. They are called the children of glory and are pictured like the faithful followers of an earthly king. Each angel has his own beautiful seat grouped, according to his rank in the orders of angels, around the higher and more magnificent seat of God.(1)

From the Old Testament and other Christian sources, including Avitus, (2) the Anglo-Saxon poets borrowed the two principal characteristics of Lucifer - his beauty and his pride. The Lucifer, however, who appears to us in the Genesis is a figure of flesh and blood, every inch an Anglo-Saxon prince. Next to God himself he is the highest in power and stands in much the same relation to the kingdom of heaven as the brother or son of a mighty Teutonic king held in relation to the latter's earthly kingdom. He is the most beautiful of the angels, the fairest in heaven and the most beloved of his master:

"waes engla scynost,
hwitost on heofne and his hearran leof,
drihtne dyre."

- (1) See Ferrell, Teutonic Antiquities in A. S. Genesis.
Kemble, Saxons in England.
Grimm, German Mythology.
- (2) Ten Brink, Early English Literature, p. 84.

Because of this, Lucifer's pride and ambition cause him to wax insolent. He ceases to be thankful to God for the many benefits he had heaped upon him. He is a mighty personality in heaven; his adherents are many and strong; he believes himself capable of overcoming God. He wishes to set up a kingdom of his own in the northern part of heaven: (1)

"he on nor[†]ddaela

ham and heahsetl heofena rices

agan wolde,"

Lucifer wages war against God; his faithful followers with a Germanic loyalty flock to his standard, like Teutonic champions to the standard of their master. But when the decisive moment of the battle comes, they are unable to use their strength and might against their Creator, for he has deprived them of all courage. As a just punishment, they lose their overlord's favor and are cast out of heaven into hell. The punishment seems all the more terrible to the Anglo-Saxon because of the exile from home - home, being the thing which he revered the most highly. From henceforth they are called by new names; Lucifer is now Satan and the former angels are now spoken of as fiends or devils. The wretched ones dwell in the darkness of hell-torments and

(1) Gurteen, Epic of the Fall of Man.

Gaskin, Caedmon. The First English Poet.

become acquainted with woe, pain and sorrow. In the immeasurably long nights, the intense heat of renewed fire scorches them; at dawn the piercing, biting cold of the east wind strikes them. This interchanging of intense heat and cold in hell is peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon mind. It is a union of his own conception with the teachings of Christianity. The fire he has from the new faith; but the bitter cold, the frost, the darkness and swart mists were those of the Anglo-Saxon's northern home; the biting east wind was that from whose blasts he himself had suffered.

(1)

Satan, as the beginner and leader of the rebellion, is much more severely punished in hell than his comrades. In addition to the sorrow and grief which oppress him and the heat and cold which by turn scorch and freeze him, he is heavily bound. Satan himself tells how he is made powerless by iron bands - his feet are bound, his hands manacled, the doors of hell fastened. Not only has he forfeited his freedom but his love of action also; this is really his most deadly punishment. On the whole, the character of Satan is one which we can admire. He is proud but he has many noble qualities and is in no way mean or contemptible. He is sensitive to the galling chains that fetter him as

(1) Ferrell, Teutonic Antiquities in A. S. Genesis.

the chief of the rebels, but his "sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things." He cannot endure the thought that Adam, who is made of clay, shall possess the seat in heaven which he himself has lost. He feels that he can rest more easily in his fetters if Adam and Eve lose their kingdom. One of the thanes carries out his commission.(1)

The manuscript containing the Anglo-Saxon Genesis, Exodus and Daniel includes at the end fragments of shorter poems. Among these are verses on the fallen angels. These deal mainly with the laments and despair of the heavenly spirits in hell who have become devils. Satan breaks forth into lamentations over the heavenly bliss which he has forfeited and the torments of hell which he must forever suffer; he is full of regret and sorrow; his wails are heart-rending. We sympathize deeply with him when his companions turn against him with reproaches: "With lying words hast thou deceived us; God thou wast; thyself wast the Creator, so thou saidst; a wretched robber art thou now, fast bound in bands of fire." (2)

(1) See also Ziegler, Sprachgebrauch in Caedmon.

^{Bugge}
Brenner, Studien über die Entstehung der Nordischen Gotter und Heldensagen.

(2) Ten Brink, Early English Literature, 85.

Brooke, History of English Literature, 326.

Immediately following the poem on the fallen angels are poems on the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Pentecost, the Temptation and the Last Judgment. (1) Thus, this manuscript of the tenth century contains all the material necessary for a cycle extending from the creation to doomsday. Allusions to the fallen angels are also found in other Anglo-Saxon poems: in Elene, (2) Juliana, (3) Andreas, (4) and Salomon and Saturn. (5)

During the years 1169 and 1175, a learned French priest, Petrus Comestor, wrote in Latin his Historia Scholastica, a work which discusses Biblical history from the creation of the empyreum to the death of the apostles Peter and Paul. This became the groundwork of nearly all the later mediaeval Bible commentaries and religious plays. (6) (This work has been inaccessible to me.)

About 1250, and probably by one and the same author, was written a poetical version of Genesis and Exodus. Its

(1) Brooke, Early English Literature, 280.

(2) Elene, lines 759 ff.

(3) Juliana, lines 418 ff.

(4) Andreas, lines 1185; 1376.

(5) Salomon and Saturn, lines 449 ff.

(6) Ten Brink, Early English Literature, 197.

theme comprises Israelitish history down to the death of Moses. The poet, however, did not write from the Biblical text; his work is founded almost entirely upon Comestor, although the first six hundred lines are taken from some other source.(1) It seems to have been the author's object to present to his readers, in as few words as possible, the most important facts contained in the books of Genesis and Exodus without any elaboration or comment, and he has, therefore, omitted such facts as were not essentially necessary to the completeness of the narrative; while on the other hand, he has included certain portions of the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, so as to give a complete history of the wanderings of the Israelites.(2)

In the story of Genesis, we have a brief and concise account of the fall of the angels. After God has created the world and placed Adam and Eve in paradise, Lucifer grows proud and with his pride comes envy.

"Min fligt," he seide, "ic wile up-taken,
Min sete nord on heuene maken,
And dor ic wille sitten and sen
Al de dthinges de in werlde ben." (3)

(1) Ten Brink, Early English Literature, 196-197.

(2) Story of Genesis & Exodus, E.E.T.S. Intro.vii & viii.

(3) Story of Genesis & Exodus, E.E.T.S. Lines 277-280.

After his boast he and his companions become dragons, dark, dim and black. They fall out of heaven's light into the midst of the clouds of night. He sees Adam and Eve blissful and happy in paradise and cannot bear the thought:

"hu ma it ben,

Adam ben king and sue quuen

Of alle de dinge de in werlde ben.

Me to sorge, scade, and same;

And we de ben fro heuene driuen,

Sullen duffe one in sorwe liuen." (1)

Therefore, Lucifer makes his plans to tempt man. (2)

About the same time, a poetical version of the Genesis appeared in Germany. This is the Wiener Genesis, which treats of the creation, the fall of the angels and of man, Cain and Abel, Noah and the ark, Abraham, and Isaac and his sons. (3) Besides the Bible, the main sources for the Schöpfung und Sündenfall portion are Avitus and Isidor. (4)

(1) Story of Genesis & Exodus. E.E.T.S. Lines 296-297; 302; 307-308.

(2) Story of Genesis & Exodus. E.E.T.S. p. 8 & 9.

(3) Piper, *Geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, 1, 87.

(4) Piper, *Geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, 1, 91.

From this account we learn that God created ten orders of angels with Lucifer as the head. We have Lucifer's boast, the battle in heaven and the fall into hell. Then God in order to fill the gap made by the fallen angels creates man.

(1) Satan jealous of man's bliss plans his downfall.

In the thirteenth century the passion for religious epics reached its climax. The conception of the world-drama centering around the person of Christ manifests itself in an endeavor to represent the story of Jesus as a great world-epic. (2) In the Middle Ages men sought the unity of the world and its history in the problem of man's conduct. Thus, the unity of the world-drama lies in the struggle of man against sin, in his fall and his redemption, in the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the just. In those days religion was an active feature of everyday life; every life was itself a factor in the great world-drama which, beginning with the creation, ended only with the day of judgment. (3)

In Germany, two great epics were written during the thirteenth century - Das Passional and Die Erlösung. Das Passional contains more than a hundred thousand lines and

(1) Piper, Dichtung des Mittelalters, i, lines 79ff. 527.

(2) Pearson, Death & Studies in Evolution, ii, 312.

(3) Pearson, Death & Studies in Evolution, ii, 256 & 257.

is divided into three sections or books. The first book deals with the gospel narrative of Mary and Jesus; the second, with the lives of the disciples, apostles, principal angels, John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene; the third with the lives of all the saints from Nicholas to Catherine. (1) The fall of the angels is introduced in the second book in connection with the Archangel Michael. (2) Die Erlösung takes us from the creation to the day of judgment giving an especially dramatic coloring and language to the events of the passion. This treats first of the creation of the world and the fall of man, followed by the council in heaven between the daughters of God as to whether man is worthy of redemption. The epic then treats of the prophecies concerning Christ which precedes the Nativity, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension and Doomsday scenes. In connection with the Harrowing of Hell scene the story of the fall of the devil is told. (3)

During the same century, a great epic was written in England in honor of the Mother of God, which the poet in-

(1) Pearson, Death & Studies in Evolution, ii, 312.

Piper, Dichtung des Mittelalters, ii, 128.

(2) Goedeke, Geistliche Hymen des Mittelalters.

(3) Pearson, Death & Studies in Evolution, ii, 312.

Piper, Dichtung des Mittelalters, ii, 275-279.

tended should teach the decrees of God as embodied in her, and should represent from the beginning the history of the race from which Mary sprang. The poem undertaken in this spirit is called by its author Cursor Mundi because its scope in rapid review includes almost the entire world. In fact, it contains all the chief passages of sacred history; is a store-house of religious legends and abounds in quaint conceits gathered from many sources. Beginning with the Trinity, upon which the work is to rest as upon a firm foundation, the poet tells of the creation, the fall of the angels, the fall of the first man and the fortunes of his immediate posterity. Then Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Saul, David, and Solomon pass before us. The prophecies concerning the birth of Christ lead over to the New Testament portion that begins with Joachim and Anna and the conception and birth of Mary. Then comes Christ's birth, life, passion, resurrection and descent into hell. To Christ's ascension into heaven are joined the feast of Whitsuntide, the history of the apostles, the assumption of the Virgin and finally the finding of the cross by St. Helena. Then the poet proceeds to the seventh and last age of the world. The coming of the Antichrist, the fifteen days before the last judgment, with their terrible signs, and the judgment of the world itself are now his themes. But before he lays aside the pen, conforming with the purpose of

the poem, he returns to the Holy Virgin, describes her agony at the foot of the cross and glorifies her miraculous conception. (1) The author used many sources for the collection of his material. Besides the Bible, he used Biblical commentaries, homilies, the Apocraphal Books of Matthew, of the Nativity of Mary, and of Nicodemus, Robert Grossetest's Chateau d'Amour, Wace's Fete de la Conception Notre Dame, and most important of all, Petrus Comestor's Historia Scholastica. (2)

As I have already shown, it was through the amplification of the Passion that the Germans developed cyclical plays. The stories of the downfall of the angels and of man were introduced only incidentally in order to show the purpose for the sacrifice of Christ. There was no uniform method for the introduction of these themes, the purpose of which was to make clear the cause and effect of the action; it was needed to bring out the significance of the passion play. This, then, would connect the origin of the Old Testament plays with the Easter cycle rather than with the Christmas plays, as has been generally maintained here-

(1) Ten Brink, Early English Literature, 287-289.

(2) Cambridge History of English Literature, 381-384.

(2) Cursor Mundi, E.E.T.S. Sources by Haenisch. Vol i.

Ungemach, Quellen der Chester Plays, 18-39.

tofore. (1) The passion play would thus contain the germ from which the cyclical idea developed. Cyclical plays were made up of the principal elements in different combinations, but it was not necessary for any given cycle to contain all the elements. The principal elements out of which the great cycles grew were the Fall of Man carrying with it the story of Lucifer, the Procession of Prophets, the plays of the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection and usually the Last Judgment and Antichrist.

A different kind of cyclical development arose in England. The controlling factor here is the sequence of events, such as the Cursor Mundi, which must have been influenced by a preceding literary composition. The Ordo Adae fragment seems to be an early form of this. It contains an elaborate Adam and Eve representation, a shorter Cain and Abel play, followed by a Prophetiae breking off with Nebuchadnezzar, which precedes a version of the Fifteen Signs of Judgment, usually contained in Doomsday material. This is the document upon which is based the theory that the Old Testament series originated in connection with the Christmas plays. It, however, contains certain ele-

(1) Sepet, Les Prophetes du Christ.

Chambers, Mediaeval Stage, ii, 52-59, 68 ff.

Creiszenach, Geschichte des Neueren Dramas, i, 67.

ments which are similar to the Passion Plays as developed in Germany, for instance, in the role which Satan plays. He drags Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and each successive prophet after he has uttered his prophecy, off to hell. If this be a regular Prophetæ, as has been maintained, then it is the only known case in which prophets have been carried to hell. On the other hand, Creizenach has shown that several Easter Plays have borrowed Prophetæ. (1) For these reasons it would appear that the Adam could just as well be connected with the Easter cycle and like the Wiener Passionspiel was the beginning of a passion play. But since the Adam play does not show the traditional Old Testament subjects, it could not have been the basis for the Cursor Mundi. A manner of formation similar to that represented by the Adam is found in the Sainte-Genevive Nativity, Passion and Resurrection of the fifteenth century. Although a much higher developed play it contains the same elements as the Adam. Here we have the creation of man, his temptation, the expulsion from paradise, the Seth episode and the death of Adam which is followed by his soul being carried off to hell. The prophecies lead over to the New Testament material. (2)

(1) Creizenach, Geschichte des Neueren Dramas, i, 119, 219.

(2) Julleville, Les Mysteres, ii, 385 ff.

If the Ordo Adae is the beginning of a passion, then it shows an early attempt in the amplification of the passion play due probably to the influence exerted by various literary compositions. The majority of the religious cycles, which contained Old Testament subjects, had a restricted number of Old Testament themes which were practically the same in the different plays. The subjects generally include the fall of Lucifer, the fall of man, Cain and Abel, Noah and the ark, Abraham and Isaac and Moses and the rods. Now and then, these themes contain sporadic episodes, such as the death of Adam, Cain, Abraham or Lot. These are the subjects of general occurrence and such cycles are found almost exclusively in France and England, although also in some of the later Fronleichnamspiels of Germany, such as the Kunzelsauer and Egerer. However, in three of the German plays connected with the passion, we have the Lucifer and Garden of Eden episodes introduced preliminary to the New Testament material. These are the Wiener, the Hungarian and the Erlauer Magdalene Spiel. (1) The Greban Passion of 1452, includes besides the falls of the angels and of man, the Cain and Abel episode as does also the Troye manuscript of the fifteenth century. (2) In the Cornish Creation of the World

(1) Creißzenach, Geschichte des Neuern Dramas, i, 239, 354.

(2) Julleville, Les Mysteres, ii, 390, 411.

of the sixteenth century, were added to these the story of Noah and the flood. This is also the case with the Donai-Valenciennes of the fifteenth century. The most common stage, however, is that which includes the complete history of the Israelites down to the death of their leader, Moses. These are the York, Towneley, Chester, Coventry and the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript of the fifteenth century. This is the stage most commonly covered in the literary compositions of the Middle Ages. Such are the De Spiritualis Historia Gestis of Avitus, the Anglo-Saxon Genesis and Exodus, Aelfric's sermon of De Initio Creaturae, Comestor's Historia Scholastica, the Wiener Genesis and Exodus and the Middle English Genesis and Exodus.

Two plays, however, show a more developed stage. These are the French Viel Testament and the Cornish Origo Mundi. The Cursor Mundi shows the same stage in epical form. The cycle has here been filled in with most of the stories of the Old Testament as far as Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. These different incidents are unified and held together by the Oil of Mercy theme. I believe that the Old Testament subjects used were chosen because of their relation to this legend. There were prevalent several versions of the story based primarily upon the Apocraphal book concerning the Revelation of Moses. The legends which I have found containing this theme are an Old English version of

an Apocraphal Life of Adam, (1) Creatio Mundi, (2) Canticum de Creatione. (3) The main features of the story are as follows: Adam on his death-bed, sends Seth to Paradise in order to obtain from the angel there stationed the oil of mercy which God promised him at the time of his expulsion. The angel gives Seth three apple kernels which he is to place in Adam's mouth after his death. Two thousand years later Moses finds the rods which have grown from these kernels, pulls them up declaring that they betoken the Trinity, and by means of them performs his miracles. Before dying he replants them. A thousand years later an angel bids David bring them into Jerusalem in order that a cross may be made from them for the redemption of man. David, however, stops at his home over-night and the next morning finds them so thoroughly rooted that he is unable to pull them up. In the meantime David dies, and Solomon undertakes the building of the temple. He cuts down the rod in order to make a beam for the church, but finding that it lacks a foot of being long enough, he places it within the church so that men may pay it honor. It is in connection with this that the

(1) Thomas Wright, Chester Plays. Notes, p. 239.

(2) Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, ii, 220.

(3) Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, ii, 124 ff.

Horstmann, Anglia i, 287 ff.

legend of Maximillia is introduced. It is here that the prophecy of Sybyl is uttered. According to the Cursor Mundi and the Cornish Origo Mundi it is from this rod that the cross is made upon which Christ is crucified.

That the Oil of Mercy theme influenced the Old Testament subjects chosen is clearly shown by the French Viel Testament. Here we have other Old Testament stories following the Solomon incident. Up to the building of the temple, we have a connected and unified story held together by this Oil of Mercy theme. After this, there seems to be a general breakdown. Other Old Testament stories follow but they have no connection with each other or with what preceded and they lead to nothing. We have such scattered and unconnected scenes as the Patience of Job, the Apocraphal Story of Judith and Holofernes, the Defeat of the Assyrians and the Legend of Octavia. The Oil of Mercy theme, carrying with it throughout the promise of salvation, could be broken at any stage of the Old Testament material and still serve as a logical and coherent introduction to the New Testament subjects dealing with the life and crucifixion of Christ. For instance, the Sainte-Genevive Mystery passes over into the New Testament material following the Seth and Adam episode, although between the two we have the patriarchs in hell uttering their prophecies. (1)

(1) Julleville, Les Mystere, ii, 385.

Closely connected with the promise of salvation is the Council in Heaven between the four daughters of God as to whether man is worthy of redemption or not. This theme is especially popular with the French, but is not introduced into the German plays nor with the exception of the Ludus Coventriae into the English cycles. The earliest literary version containing this theme which I have been able to find is Grossetest's Chateau d'Amour of 1253.(1) There are several Middle English translations or versions of this work: A Sawley Monk's Version of the Castle of Love(2) and De Principio Creationis Mundi by Grosthed. (3) It is clear that many of the passages of the Cursor Mundi were taken bodily from either the original or some version of it. (4) Thus, in the Cursor Mundi as well as in the Viel Testament, both the themes of the Oil of Mercy and of the Council in Heaven are introduced. The great Greban mystery and also the Mercade Passion allowed the daughters of God to decree the redemption of mankind. Both themes form the connecting link between the fall of man and his redemption.

I have attempted to trace the development of Lucifer

- (1) Horstmann, Minor Poems of Vernon Ms. p. 355.
- (2) Horstmann, Minor Poems of Vernon Ms. p. 407.
- (3) Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, i, 349.
- (4) Cursor Mundi, E.E.T.S. Sources by Haenisch.

from two directions. First, I ventured an opinion as to how he happened to be introduced into the religious drama in connection with the Passion. Then I showed how the abstract principle of evil became in the minds of the Jewish people a living personality. The way was thus paved for the oriental tradition of Lucifer to be made to refer to the Jewish Satan. From this stage, I have traced the development of the fall of the angels in the writings of the Church Fathers and in other religious and literary compositions of the Middle Ages to the appearance of Lucifer in the religious drama of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the latter part of my paper I combined the different elements of the story of Lucifer which I had thus traced from different directions. I come to the following conclusions: that the material necessary for the cyclical development of the Mediaeval religious drama was current in the writings of the Church Fathers, and in the sermons, epics and legends of the Middle Ages; that Lucifer was introduced in connection with the Passion Play; that the Old Testament subjects, especially Adam and Eve, were introduced into the passion in order to show the reason for the redemption of man: that the downfall of man naturally carried with it its cause and thus we have the introduction of the fall of the angels; that the Ordo Adae, generally considered to be the beginning of a Christmas play, was in reality the beginning

of a passion play; that the introduction of the Oil of Mercy theme or the Council in Heaven formed the connecting links between the downfall of man and his redemption; that the Oil of Mercy tradition carried with it other Old Testament subjects selected in relation to its theme; and that it was in this manner that cyclical plays developed.

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