

UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE MEXICO
Facultad de filosofia y estudios superiores.

EVOLUTION OF THE IDEA OF THE DEVIL AND ICONOGRAPHICAL
TESTS IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE PAINTING FROM GIOTTO
TO MICHELANGELO.

Tesis que presenta

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para optar el grado de Maestro en Letras.

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FILOSOFIA



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A la memoria de mi abuelo

Lic. GUMERSINDO ENRIQUEZ.

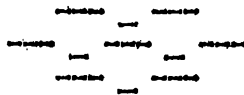
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ABSTRACT.

After tracing the origin of the concept of Evil in the Eastern religions, mainly in the Hebrew, a survey has been made, concerning the development of the Devil in the Christian Church; reviewing for this purpose the teachings of the Church. Other characters related to the Devil have been studied pointing their apocryphal sources. It has been shown why the representations of the Devil during the Renaissance are yet medieval, and how it is only at the end of the movement, in the border line with the barroque that the representations of the Devil show the humanistic influence. A descriptive catalogue of 57 paintings covering the period with a brief analysis of the main characteristics of the Devil or devils as represented in them, has been added.



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The curious reader may ask himself, perhaps, the reason of our interest in the Devil. Why the Devil? Well in part it is by spirit of justice and vindication, and in part to satisfy a subjective intellectual curiosity.

We say that by spirit of vindication, because little has been said about such an important character in relation to Plastic Arts. We have important works on the Madonna, and Christ-Child, and many Saints; erudite descriptions of their various attributes, and minute accounts of the subjects in which they appear. But one seems to have forgotten Satan, even though the importance of the personage can not be relegated to a second place. He is consistently neglected, as though one were afraid, as in the Middle Ages, that the simple fact of pronouncing his name should bring him to our presence. According to the canonical opinion generally accepted, humanity would not exist if it had not been for his intervention; and among the three enemies of man as in the Roman catechism - World Devil and Flesh - we see that "Devil" is in the middle as a trait d'union.

For catholics, (the writer is one of them) the Devil is a familiar and feared character, introduced in their spiritual world almost at the same time as the concept of God. We live between the love of God and the fear of the Evil one; sin itself has this double aspect: offence to the Divinity, and dangerous approach to the Devil. We can say without exaggeration that Satan is as a persistent companion of ours as it is a guardian angel.

For those who have no religious ties what has been already said may seem exaggerated or even absurd. But we must consider that, if it is so for the present-day catholic, how much more terrible must the demon have been for the Christian of the Middle Ages and of the Early Renaissance?

The period from Giotto to Michel Angelo is precisely the one we propose to examine in our iconographical survey. Even though many of the characteristics of the Middle Ages are discarded with the Renaissance the traditional conception of the Devil continues and express its influence in plastic representations through out the period,

We can see that even the prototype of the Renaissance - Michel Angelo - to represent Satan in his Last Judgement, uses the old Medieval pattern inherited from Orcagna and the Giottisti. And yet il divino Raffaello, nearer to the world of Plato than to the world of Aristotle and Augustine, will go to the "Legenda Aurea" - the Bible of the Middle Ages - to take from it a delightful character which will be one of the subjects of our detailed study Lilith.

For greater clearness we have divided our work in two parts. One of Theological exposition indispensable in the characterization of the Devil's personage - Chapters I, II, III, IV, V; and the other, which we may call technical, is constituted by a chronological survey of the works in Italian Art in which our Character does appear from the XIV to he XVI (Chapter VI). A last chapter of conclusions will summarize our results.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF THE DEVIL

- I.-- Historical Development.
- II.-- The Devil in other Religions.
- III.-- The Devil in Christianity.
- IV.-- Theories about the fall of Angels.
 - 1.-- Doctrine of jealousy.
 - 2.-- Doctrine of Pride.

CHAPTER II

Our purpose in outlining the history of the Devil is, first, to explain why this character does not appear in the plastic representations of the first centuries of Christian art; second, how following a process of evolution he reaches his complete development in the XIV and XV centuries; and surviving the Renaissance and Baroque periods he almost disappears in art from the XVIII century on; but also, third, to show the important role that he plays in Christianity.

For our purpose it should be enough to consider the Christian Devil, but it is not useless to say something about what other religions consider as evil, being Christianity only one of the synthesis of various religious conceptions.

I. The Devil as opposite principle is as old as man himself. According to Graf (1) we should go back to the Neolithic Period to find the roots of the duality, Good and Evil, a duality derived either from the natural forces themselves, or from the atmospheric meteors.

The origin of the association of "darkness" with Satan as well as the representation of the Devil as a figure in dark colors, goes as far back as our Epipaleolithic and Mesolithic ancestors, when night presented all the characteristics of danger.

But they were very far from attributing moral connotation to those manifestations. It is only when man's moral consciousness begins to be distinguished and determined, and religion assumes an ethical character that the Devil starts to be taken as the opposite of goodness, as the source not only of ". . . darkness, disease and death but also of sin."

It was only when man fused the idea of good and evil with their absolute conceptions that Gods and Devils were created; created by him on his own resemblance.

The Demon who originally was confused with God, at a time when deities were capable of doing good as well as evil, now gradually becomes differentiated from God, and finally is entirely dissociated from him.

This duality is expressed or implied in all or nearly all religions; but it takes diverse forms according to the manner of expressing it, in conformity with the variety of races and cultures.

II. Let us pass in rapid review the diverse appellations of the malevolent spirit in the principal religions.

(1) Graf Arturo.- Il diavolo.- Milano 1889. Translated into English in 1931.

For the Egyptians, evil was represented by Set the killer of Osiris, and by the serpent Apepi, personifying impurity and darkness and by Typhon.(2)

Among the Phoenicians, Moloch and Astarte (evil divinities), were opposed to Baal and Asherah.

In India the idea of the "oppositor" begins to be more complex. It lies not only in Vritru, the enemy of Indra, but also in the Trimurty itself; Shiva, the destructive principle is associated with Brahama the creator, and Vishnu the conservator.

But it is only in the Mazdeisme, in Persia, where an absolute Duality exists. For the Zoroastrians, Ormuz (Ahura-Mazda), has to fight with Ahriman (principle of evil), until the end of Time for the lordship of the world, in an almost eternal successions of victories and defeats, like the play of light and darkness or the sequence of seasons. (3)

In Greek and Roman mythology there is not a personification of integral evil, because for them (for the Greeks especially), evil was conceived as a distortion of the cosmos, an "uncosmised good," understanding by cosmos the opposite of chaos; it was a misuse of the disorganized powers of good. There are only characters such as Typhon, Medusa, Python Gorgone, etc., that presents evil, although only in part. Even the Romans that later in their evolution deified a great number of abstract concepts, such as chastity or concord, never imagined a true divinity and power of evil, even though they did imagine a goddess Febris and others of similar character.

The most important forms of duality takes place, first, in

(2) Set in the old kingdom was not at all an evil deity. Set before the invasion of the Ixsoos was the god who gave the crown to the kings of low Egypt. But Apofis, fourth pastor king, made of him the main deity, mixing Set's cult with the cult of Sutech who was his own deity, and whom he revealed at Set's temple in Ombos. When the Ixsoos were driven away, Set was taken as protector of the invaders and represented as running away on an ass. The 7th day of his flight he begot two sons, Judeus and Palestinus. After the 21st dynasty he was represented as a reptile, overcome by Horus, and called by the names of Baba, Smu, Apepi. This Set-Apepi was the father of Mako the evil Crocodile, and of the malefic Gods of Phoenicia, Amanta and Astarte, gods that conceive but do not give birth. He is the one who stops Osiris in his way and brings darkness.

(3) Ahriman was born from the mouth of Ormuz. Both gods will fight during a "cosmic duration" and then Ahriman will be absorbed into Godness represented by Ormuz, (pompeyo Gener op. cit.).

Judaism, and next, in Christianity; Graf(4) adds . . . "the real Satan with the qualities that are peculiarly his own and that go to make up his personality belongs only to these two religions, Judaism and Christianity and more particularly to the latter."

It is easy to understand why Judaism could not achieve a complete conception of the Devil. First because in Iaveh there are still together evil and good. "Jeovah is jealous, savage, inexorable. The punishments that he inflicts are out of proportion to the faults committed; his vengeance is frightful and brutal. It strikes indiscriminately both the guilty and the innocent, both men and beasts. He torments his worshippers with absurd commands which cause them to live in perpetual dread of sin. He is capable of evil and good because he is both God and Evil."

The second reason is that Israelites used to call by the name of Balins ("demons,") the deities of peoples among which they lived. The word has then an ambiguous connotation; for at the beginning this word related only to foreign deities, and only later towards the advent of Christianity it carried a connotation of evilness.

It is granted frequently that the Hebrews were monotheistic from the beginning. This is an error. To begin with, let us distinguish the meanings of the terms monotheism, monolatry and henotheism.

Henotheistic is the religion that considers a principal God above others; Monolatric is the one which worships only one God; Monotheistic the one which not only worships a single God but considers that this particular God is the only true for all mankind.

Jewish religion did not reach the monotheistic conception but in times close to the birth of Christianity. In the beginning, from Moses until Abraham, the Jews were henotheistic; the first commandment of the Decalogue says, "I am thy God, and thou shalt not worship any other gods besides me." It is only a later and fallacious interpretation the one that says, "I am thy God and thou shalt not believe that there are any other gods beside me.

Only with Christianity we reach the beginning of a true form of monotheism. Christianity is the last face of evolution of Hebrew religious thought. With Christianity teaching that there is only a true God for mankind, all the other foreign deities previously tolerated, are assimilated into one evil being and the Devil is born.

In the Old Testament almost no definite reference is made to the Devil as such. As we have already said, it is only late commentators of the Jewish period that have drawn his picture out of the few passages more or less related to him.

Many of the passages which these commentators relate to the Devil do not relate to him at all; for instance Isaiah XIV; 12; "How art thou, fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! For here

(4) Op. cit.



"Lucifer, fallen from heaven" does not mean the fallen angel but the king of Tyre fallen from the peak of the glory of his kingdom. Lucifer, the light-bearer may be applied to the king alluded in the Oracle of Ezekiel.

In Job I; 6, II; I, "Now there was a day when the Sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them" Where "Satan" is truly an angel without any evil connotation.

Only few of the passages can be truly referred to the Devil as Zechariah III; 1, 2, in which he is the enemy and accuser of the chosen people; "And he shewd me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right to resist him. And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan. . . is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?"

It is in the "Wisdom of Solomon" II; 22, 23, where we can see the first real allusion to the devil as such. (This book is not included in the King James or Luthers Bible). (5) "Nevertheless through envy of the Devil came death into the world, and they that do hold of his side do find it."

Finally, it is in the "Book of Enoch"⁽⁶⁾ the author calls Demons the angels enamoured of the daughters of men; and also the giants born of their union.

And these are practically all the passages of the Old Testament in which the Evil Spirit is mentioned.

III. Now we will consider the Devil in Christianity.

We must consider, first, that Jehovah is transformed into a God of love". . . who necessarily rejects as non assimilable, every satanic element," and in addition that, as Christians believe, Satan lead our first parents to sin, which was his first step in robbing God of the human family and of the world in which he lives. Moreover we must consider how great must his power be how firm his usurped dominion, if in order to ransom the loss it is necessary that the very Son of God shall sacrifice himself, and give himself up to that "death" which came into the world precisely through the agency of the God's and man's enemy.

(5) This book is included only in the vulgate.

(6) This book is one of the Pseudo apocripha; or writings which are not included in the Greek or Latin Bible. The "Book of Enoch" and the "Wisdom of the Antidiluvians."

The conditions of the ransom, gave Satan a degree of greatness and importance which he could not have gained otherwise. It is strange, but never was Satan so much feared as after the victory of Christ.

Now we shall pass in brief review the main opinions of the Church about the origin of the Devil and of his very nature.

Kent in his remarkable article about the Devil in the Catholic Encyclopaedia says:

"Mention is made of the Devil in many passages of the Old and New Testaments, but there is no full account given in any one place, and the Scripture teaching on this topic can only be ascertained by combining a number of scattered notices from Genesis to Apocalypses and reading them in the light of patristic, and Philological traditions."

The Lateran Council says "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. Like the angels they are pure spiritual beings, without a body; in their original state they are endowed with supernatural grace and placed in a condition of probation. By their fall they became devils."

Now we will consider, first, the question of origin and second the Fall of the Angels.

Tertullian in his "Adversus Marcionem" 2:10 says; "He was the best of all angels" and he mentions the prophecy of Ezechiel in which the King of Tyr is designated as the Devil (according to Tertullian). The text of the prophecy (Ezechiel 28:12), is, "Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou hast been in Eden! the Garden of God, every precious stone was thy covering . . . Thou are the annointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee so; thou wast upon the holly mountain of God . . . Thou wast perfect, in the ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee."

An interesting theory is the one presented by Lactance in his "Divina Institutiones" 2:9. He presents the Devil as brother of the Verb; . . . "God before he creates the world, produces a spirit, similar to him and full of the virtues of God the father. Afterwards he makes another one in whom the mark of the divine origin did not last, who was contaminated by the poison of jealousy and he passed from good to evil. He was jealous of his older brother who, remaining attached to the father conquered his affection." (7)

Saint Gregory of Nysse in his "catechetical discourse" 6,5, says that God gave him the lordship of the Earth. This explains the denomination of Prince of this World.

Gregory the fifth, having to explain the text of Job, 15:19 "He is the chief of the ways of God," makes Behemoth the same as the Devil. From him is derived the tendency to represent Demons in partial or complete shape of a sea monster.

(7) Turmel "Histoire du diable" Paris, 1931.

Thomas Aquina later agrees with the theory that the Devil was the most perfect of all creatures (Summa Theological 1,35), even superior to Saint Michel; even though the Areopagitic tendency considered seraphim above cherubin.

IV. There are two principal theories explaining the fall from heaven. The first one is the Jealousy theory. The second one that of Pride.

1. According to the first one, Justin says in his "Dialogues" 124.3) "Lucipher became Evil, in the moment he induced Eve to sin" but he does not go farther in the motif. Saint Irenée is more explicit, "The angel become apostat from the moment he becomes jealous of the creatures of God . . . and jealousy separates him from God. Tertullian explains the reason of the jealousy by saying that it is due to the fact that God had submitted to man all the things in the creation.

This doctrine of jealousy was widely spread, in the IV century we found the same doctrine in Lactance; but with him the Devil is jealous of the Verb not of man. Finally with Gregory of Nysse we have the more logical argument in favour of the jealousy theory. He writes in his "Discourse catechetic 6,5; The supreme authority assigned each of the angelic powers a charge in the administration of the universe. The gouvernement of the earth was assigned to one of this powers. Later on an earthly creature was created, in the image of God. This living creature is man; in him was the divine beauty of intelligent nature mixed to a secret force that later lead him to sin. The being in charge of the lordship of the warth felt offended and humiliated, when from nature submitted to his orders he saw to emerge a being made in the image of the souvereing deity; and that to this creature should belong and obbey what previously was under his jurisdiction."

2. Theory of Pride.

Origen of Alexandria, considered after as heretic, was the author of this theory that is still in favor in the Church, (Roman and Orthodox.) He went to the same passage of Isaiah 14, 12 that we have quoted before . . . "Hou ard thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer son of morning . . . For thou hast said in thine heart I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. . . . I will be like the Most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell to the sides of the pit." This passage of Isaiah became classic to explain the fall of angels. Eusebeius, following Origen says in his "Preparatio Evangelica" . . . The one who was the first to fall and caused the fall of others is usually called Dragon, Serpent. He felt on account of his Pride and his revolt against God."

In the West Saint Hilairius, Saint Ambroisius and Saint Jerommus were the propagators of the Origenis' theory, and Augustine put over it the seal of his uncountested authority.

We will not go further into the nature of the Devil's pride. It is clear that the early Christians had not definite conception of the form of the Devil. Only later with the necessary settling of the dogma in order to avoid heresies, a material form was given to him. Thus the Devil was born. We will follow his development up to the XVI century.

CHAPTER III

I.- Forms of the Devil. Their Characteristics.

II.- Kinds of Demons. Beelzabub, Satan, Lucifer, etc.

CHAPTER III

As long as the vagueness of the concept remained widely spread no concrete representations of the Devil were given. We hear from Tertulien, Origen, and Chrysostomus that the Devil absorbs the vapor and smoke of victims, sacrificed by the pagans as aliment, a creature that required such an unsubstantial food was not easily represent in plastics.

But little by little the diet of the Devil gets more various. And old proverb states that "when the Devil is famished he eats flies."

In the mind of simple people grew the idea of young and old devils, "the Devil when grown old becomes a hermit."

The anthropomorphic conception of Greek and Roman religion must have influenced the Christian mind in representing anthropomorphically not only God and heavenly beings but also the beings of the lower world. Thus, when the discussion arose about the nature of the Devil's body, Gregory the V (540-604), who surely could not accept such an anthropomorphism, tried but unseccessfully, to prove that they were incorporeal. It was generally agreed that they had human form; (1) and it is as such that the Devil is represent in the "Ravena Ivory" of the VI century, this being the first representation of the Devil in art.

Sin being the cause of the fall of angels, and conveying the idea of ugliness, by analogy man thought that devils had lost the beauty which essentially is an attribute of God and heavenly beings. Accordingly, art represented them as having a human form with beastly characteristics, which in many cases overshadowed the humans ones.

In time "to give Satan an excessive degree of ugliness, was considered a work of merit, which in itself benefitted the soul; and in which was found a legitimate outlet for hatred of an enemy never sufficiently feared."

Of great variety are the Devil's representations, some of them following descriptions of holy persons who claimed to have seen him. Saint Anthony the Hermit. (251-356), was said to have seen him in the form of a giant; and as a black giant did the Manicheans represent him. At other times he is presented entirely black but as a naked child. Many of the anachorets of the Thebaid saw him as an Ethiopian. In the Pseudo Abdias it is said, demons . . . "apparuerunt mihi duo viri Aethiopes nigri nudi terribili vultu et ululantes." Saint Augustine speaking of a certain man's dream in "Civitate Dei" refers to demons as "pueris negris."

Sainte Perpetue of Carthage reported to have seen him as a big

(1) Man, reversing the orthodox doctrine that God had made man and angels in his own image, made God and angels in man's own image.

rampant monster; "et era sub ipsa scala draco cubans mirae magnitudinis"

In the apocriphal Gospel of Saint Nicodemus he appears as a three-headed beast; Dante follows this representation; a possible fact specially if we consider that when Bishop Otto of Bamberg converted the Pomeranians to Christianity in 1124 he broke the three headed TRIGLAF, idol in the temple of Stettin, and sent its head to Pope Honorius II at Rome. Dante who as an ambassador of Florence visited Rome in 1301 must have seen with his own eyes the head of the Pomerian Triglaf, (2) and it is by no means impossible that he used it as a prototype for the description of his trinitarian Satan. . . . one face in the front, red; the one on the right side whitish yellow, and the other in the left side black.

He is represented as a huge giant, with no less than one hundred hands in the Vision of Fundal, written about the middle of the XII century. Sainte Brighth (1303-1373), saw him with a hundred feet and a hundred hands.

Very seldom, and only by influence of Germanic myths he is thought of as a dwarf.

In animal form beside as a dragon, the Devil was seen as a fox, a serpent, a snail, and even as flies and ants. In the XIII century Saint Gilles recognized the demon under the shell of an enormous tortoise.

As a lion he killed a child which was restored to life by Saint Eleutherius bishop of Tournay. To many persons he showed himself in the form of a raven or as a bat. As a dog the Devil became the companion of Pope Silvester II (1003), who was said to be a great magician and the legend goes that the Devil as a dog carried his soul to hell. As a dog, too, he appeared to Faust. As a he-goat he carried the witches to their Sabbath's meetings. As a cat he scratched their itching back. As a fly, he buzzed persistently around the head of pious folks.

During the XIII century the favourite form, described by Caesarius von Heisterbach, a Cistercian monk, was that of a tall thin man of livid emaciated complexion with protuberant eyes. Also a favourite representation of the XIII and XIV centuries was the form of a blackened disfigured angel, with great bat-like wings, hairy body, two or more horns on his head, hooked nose, pointed ears, swine's tusks, hands and feet armed with claws, and a tail.

Later the horns became ox-horns; the ears, asses' ears; hideous visages like the carved heads of fountain-spouts covered the joints and breast. The legs were changed into goats legs reminiscent of the satyrs. At times one leg was like the leg of a horse, sometimes the feet were like the talons of a bird of prey or the webbed claws of a goose, and the end of the tail was embellished with serpent jaws.

In short there is no savage creature, no hideous or disgusting one, under whose semblance the demons have not been represented.

(2) This was a divinity commonly revered by Celts, Teutons and Slavs, which Dante calls Dis- Lucifer-.

But not only under the shape of animals do the devils appear for they can also turn into inanimate things; as a gold-piece, or a goblet of wine, or a tree trunk or even a cow's tail, or a leaf of lettuce. This, in some of the paintings of Hieronimus Bosch (1460-1550), explains his diabolic life trees, stones, pieces of furniture and kitchen utensils.

II. So far we have spoken of devils in general; but we must not forget that, if in the beginning the Devil was an abstract concept rather than a concrete one, as soon as he entered into the spiritual baggage of the common people, he became more and more concretely conceived. Different names were given to him. The number of demons and their hierarchy were subject of controversy even in oecumenic councils.

In early times the statement that a third of the total number of angels fell after their revolt against God was considered sufficient; but later their number reached no less than ten thousand billion; other gave more specific numbers as in the protestant "Theatrorum Diabolorum," (3) where their number is estimated at 2,665,866,746,664 (sic).

Referring to their hierarchy, some of the fathers of the church though "that their rank was determined according to the various kinds of sins which the demons fostered; other believed that this was done according to their degree of power and method of action.

Thomas Aquinas and other theologians who followed him, declared that there is a hierarchy among the demons, copied from the hierarchy in heaven.

Here we arrive to the point where the extreme individualization gave proper names to some of the most outstanding members of this court of the lower world.

Beelzebouth, Hebrew misspelling of Baal Zebub, is called Chief of the Demons in Mat. XII, 24-27, Mark III, 22 Like XI, 15-18. Originally the name meant "the Baal of the heavenly mansion" and Saint Jerome showing probably contempt in humour translated as Dominus muscarum, "Lord of the Flies." He is the monarch of his kingdom and the Prince of Darkness.

This rank has also been ascribed to the fallen Angel under the name he bore before his fall, Lucifer, the bearer of light, and he was represented with the symbols of power, the cepter, the crown and the sword.

Satan appears more often as the Lord of the Sabbath; his kingship belongs more to this earth than to the subterranean dwellings. He is the Deity revered by witches; the one who makes pacts with humans and who is the instrument in the unions of incubi and succubi with humans.

In the lower world there are seven kings, Bael, Pursen,

(3) Issued by the followers of Luther.

W/ J
C/ J
D
P
G

Byleth, Paymon, Belial, (4) Asmodeo, (5) and Zapan (6).

The are 23 dukes, 10 counts, 11 presidents and hundreds of knights. Among these is Asmodeo-Sat, who commands one of the 6,666 legions of devils. (Each legion has 6,666 members, wherefore we have a total of 44,435,556 for the infernal army.

Some other devils like Astaroth and Mephistopheles seemed to have a more or less universal power. We will not go through all the ranks of Beelzebubs' Empire, in which the simplest tasks were ascribed to particular demons duly named and described. The popular imagination went even farther and assigned each of the mortals an individual temptor, a sort of counter-part of the guardian angel. For the common man of the XIV and XV centuries not only hell but also the earth was full of demons, creatures with perverse inclinations, watching for a moment of carelessness to enter in the body of men and make them their slaves. With the "Possession" the Devil acquires his maximum of power; not only is he the master of the lower world but also all mankind is his possible realm. It is in the XIV and XV centuries when he casts his shadow more intensely over the Christian world; and it is not the light of Christ that will drive him out of the earth; for it will be only with the results of humanism, that the classical thought with its logics and clearness will banish the fear and the darkness which this unfortunate Son of God has brought to the universe. To conclude we may say that if we consider first the Ravenna Ivory in which Jesus is exorcising a possessed of the Devil, and in the other hand the Last Judgement of Michel Angelo, we shall visualize that in the Ravenna Ivory the Devil is still a human and rather hesitant figure. In the painting by Michel Angelo almost every kind of diabolic form is represented, showing varieties of the distortion of the Devil in human form.

It is only with the unfolding of the Renaissance that Satan will reacquire some of his beauty, as we can see in Tintoretto, phenomenon which is easy to understand in an age enamoured of beauty. In this sense Michel Angelo in his Last Judgement is an exception, showing that even in the apogee of the Renaissance the iconography of the Devil followed the Medieval tradition.

(4) In the "Ascencion of Isaiah," apocryphal book, Belial was the spirit who tempted Eve. In the apocalyptical literature he is identified with Satan. In the "Book of Jubilees" (Apocryphal), he is the spirit of idolatry; in the "Testament of the 12 Patriarchs" (Apocryphal), he is the spirit from which the other seven impure ones emanated (Jewish Encyclopaedia).

(5) Asmodeo according with the "Book of Tobit" (Apocryphal), was the spirit enamoured of Sara, Tobit's wife, the archangel Raphael cast him out of her by fumigations (Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics).

(6) Zapan was the king of the cardinal Points.

CHAPTER IV

IMPORTANT FIGURES RELATED WITH THE DEVIL

I.-- Lilith

II.-- The Dragon

III.-- Levithan

CHAPTER IV

In the present chapter we will consider several characters that are intimately related with the Devil. First Lilith who represented as a serpent with a human head (Masaccio, Michel Angelo, Rafael), has been taken by the serpent itself and so, by the Devil. Second, Leviathan and the Dragon, whom are real representations of the Evil one.

If a spectator seeking documentary evidence looks at the fresco of Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel will say, this fresco represents the temptation in the garden of Eden. The group shows Adam, Eve and the serpent. Now who is the serpent? The orthodox answer is obvious, the devil. And it is due to ignorance of the correct meaning of the biblical story represented by the artist if the serpent is understood to be not Lilith but the Devil.

Let us forget for a moment Masaccio and see what has been said about Lilith in order to justify the assertion, apparently aprioristic, that the serpent, in this case is not Satan but Lilith.

1. The Myth of Lilith does not appear among the Jews before their migration to Babylon; therefore the idea of the Babylonian origin of the myth can have some justifications. Perhaps it might be better to say that the legend is of Sumerian-Akadian origin since the Sumerian element was still predominant in the lower portion of the Mesopotamia, before being completely absorbed by the Semitic one around the second millennium before Christ. (Probable date of the elaboration of this legend).

The name of Lilith is associated with the word Layil, night in Hebrew, and according with this, Lilith should be a nocturnal divinity and it is as such that she is presented in the Deuteronomy (XXXII, 24), and the Book of Esther (I,3), where she is spoken of as one of the three kinds of supernatural beings - spirits, demons and Lilins or night spirits - . Here the name is applied to the gender and one must accept that Lilith far from being the only one in her class possessed numerous kindred ones. The spirits do not have either form or body; the demons on the other hand have human form, and the Lilins have human form but with wings.

According to other versions, (Book of Enoch, and Chronicles of Jeremiah), Lilith was one of the demons (Hebrew Mazzechim), who were created at the end of the sixth day and the Sabbath having taken place before their creation was perfected, they have remained half human and half spirits. They are then neither angels nor ancient divinities of other countries as it is the case of demons in Hindu mythology. They are intermediators between man and angels, but those "Mazzechim" had usually evil inclinations. Of two of Lilith's brothers mention is made in the book of Enoch; of Uzza and Agad, whose sin was to fall in love with the daughters of men, when they were no longer in Paradise. The book of Jubilee tells that it was they who taught the descendants of

Cain magics and the art of seduction.

Finally Isaiah (XXXIV, 14), speaks about Lilith as a GHUL (ghoul), Lamnia in the Vulgata, and this translation brings an Hellenic myth which is of great interest for our purposes.

Lamia, queen of Lybia, daughter of Neptune (later the mother of the sybilla Herophila), was loved by Zeus; but the jealousy of Hera made her lose her reason and devour her own children. Zeus gave her the gift to sleep at will. Being harmless during her sleep, it was only when she awoke that she fulfilled her cruel destiny, destroying the children of men. The myth of Lamnia (as well as the one of Scilla), is a sea myth. The popular imagination used to represent her as a fabulous monster half woman and half dragon, serpent, or ass.

From this myth two things are important for us: the destructive activity of the woman and her hybrid representation.

Not only the essence of Lilith, but also the way she was created has been subject of discussion according to the different sources of information that we have at our disposal. We will study the two traditions concerning this problem.

According to one version she was like Adam, created from the dust of the earth and given him as companion. But since she was more perfect than he, this is the reason why she deceived by Adam, ran away from Paradise, preferring to live a lonely life rather than to endure the lordship of a being who had not yet received the spirit of God.

In the "Legends of the Jews" Ginzberg says almost the same thing . . . "created out of dust and ground, and given Adam as wife . . . but she insisted upon full equality with Adam, and with help of the ineffable Name, which she pronounced, she flew away from him and vanished in the air. At Adam's complaint, God sent three angels - Sinoi, Sinsinoi, and Semengelaf - to capture her. They found her in the Red Sea, and threatened that unless she went back, she would lose daily, by death, a hundred of her demon children that she had had in great number with Adam; but she preferred even this to returning to him. Eve having been created later, to the great satisfaction of Adam, Lilith became jealous of Eve's Offspring. Her revenge consisted in injuring babies, baby boys during the first night of their lives, and baby girls until they are twenty days old, This evil could be avoided by tying to the children an amulet bearing the names of the three angel captors" . . . or writing their names above the door of the house.

Lilith's other origin in her relation to beings of the sea seems nearer to the interpretation of the Vulgate. She was the woman that came up from the deep, and together with her innumerable companions hovered around the body of the newly-created Adam, until his real wife, Hawah, was created; when she was driven away by the angel and sent back to the surging sea. Having lived with Adam, while he was under Jaweh's spell, she bore to him numerous demons or mazhedim or shedim. And the creation of Eve having determined her expulsion from Eden, the hate she has towards the race merely human and as a consequence their injuries of the babies is also logical. In the Zohar, too it is

written . . . "having been the real wife of Adam for a hundred years, during the time he was living in disgrace, she bore to him demons and evil spirits." But Adam, having finished his time of punishment, she was driven away. Lilith and her kins having a longing for men, they join them when they are in a desert place or when they are sleeping alone. We know, too, that Cain after having killed Abel, (1) found refuge and warm welcome among the children of Lilith, and Adam, and that his progeny gave origin to the Cainites, who roamed along the borders of Arabia Petrea and were feared on account of their magic knowledge.

Another strange explanation about who Lilith was is given in a didactical apocriphal writing of the 2nd. century B.C., "The Wisdom of Solomon." According to this document, Lilith is the queen of Sheba, whose kingdom is in Yemarzod. Having loved Solomon, imprudently she revealed him the secret of the "seal," and the word that subjugated the "lilins." And thanks to this knowledge the Jewish king retained her in his kingdom, and had the lilins to perform for him the dances that no human being is allowed to contemplate. It is said, too, that Salomon made them work in the construction of the temple, and this is the reason why the splendor of this first temple could never be surpassed, since it was the work of non human hand.

In the early Middle Ages the star of Lilith declines. People forget her beauty and remember only her magic knowledge. We see that the popular imagination transforms her into a nocturnal demon which under the form of a night owl watches for the opportunity to injure infants. It is in the early Middle Ages when she is supposed to be the cause of erotic dreams, It is she who makes children laugh in their sleep. She was related to the Sabyrs, and was the guest of honour on the Sabbath. (2)

Now that we have reviewed the different roles ascribed to her we will study how the idea that she was Adam's first wife was spread.

It seems that Ben Sira in his Alphabeth (3) was the first to call her "the first Eve," which appellations was later corroborated by Buxlorf's Talmudic Dictionary. But it is through the pseudo apocriphal writings such as the Books of Adam, the Book of the Creation, etc., - assimilated lately in the Aurea Sacra and in the Protevangelium Jacobi, only through these, that this idea circulates during the Middle Ages.

In those times of religious fervor, the synoptical gospels which gave only few disconnected facts of the Messiah's life, and almost nothing of that of Mary's, could not satisfy a simple faith which needs a concrete expression. This is the reason why such an anecdotic liter-

(1) It is a common belief that Cain killed Abel with the jaw of an ass but according to the Zohar Abel was killed with a reed.

(2) The Sabbath was during the Middle Ages the day of the witches' reunion.

(3) Ben Sira's Alphabeth appeared in 450 A. D. and revised and enlarged in 1,000 A. D.

ature flourished; its mission was to fill the documental gap, in the story of Christ in which man should be interested.

The church that in the beginning had been so strict toward those writings, having already fixed the dogma, allowed and even used those "gospels" (of the Holy Mary, of Saint James, etc.); or "books" (of Enoch, of Adam, of Noah, etc.), enriching them from time to time with a new miracle or example designed to increase piety in the simple hearts.

Lilith, then, in the ecclesiastical spirit becomes a normal, tolerated guest; the fantastic was an everyday event, and the fact that Adam had a serpent-wife was not more extraordinary than the fact that Eve was made from a rib of our first father.

Owing to a common view that human life like history runs in cycles, so that the point of arrival becomes the point of departure we see that Lilith represented as a serpent is now enjoying Paradise as Eve and Adam do. For her the Golden Age is returned. The fear which she inspired belongs to the past. The fear that makes Tobias exclaim, before approaching Rachel possessed by this demon "no shore for thee, return, return, the sea is stormy, its waves are calling for thee; I lay hold of the shore of God, I wrap myself with the holly king, return, return, no shore for thee . . . , " this fear, belongs also to the past.

Now, to end this part of the investigation we think that we can assume that it is really Lilith and not Satan whom Masaccio, Michel Angelo Rafael and other artists had in mind when they painted the serpent in the scene of the temptation in the Garden of Eden.

Our conclusion is based on the fact that since 1260, the Golden Legend, in which Lilith's story was included was widely spread, and also on the fact that the representation of Lilith as half woman and half serpent had been introduced with Saint Jerome's revision of the Greek Gospels, around the beginning of the 5th century, since this version was the one accepted by the orthodox doctrine, and of as common acceptance as the Golden Legend itself.

II. As we have said at the outset other characters have been the representation of the Devil as, for instance, the Dragon and Leviathan. Now we will pass them in review and see which points all these representations have in common.

As DRAGON he appears several times in the Scriptures, even though more often in the book of Revelation. We will list the passages in which he is mentioned as an embodiment of Satan.

Isaiah speaking about the power that Iaveh has over his creatures says. . . . "the beast shall honour me, the dragon and the owls too" (Isa. 43; 20).

Jeremiah (51; 37), referring to the future lot of Babylon which will be the prey of the Devil says; "And Babylon shall become heaps a dwelling place for the Dragon.

Ezekiel (29; 3), talking of the Pharaoh of Egypt as the Devil himself says "Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon"

In Psalms (148; 7), exhortation is made even to the Devil to worship our Lord; "Praise the Lord, ye dragon and all deeps"

Isaiah (27; 1), shows the Lord in his day of Justice destroying the Evil. In this passage the Dragon is also spoken as Leviathan, the sea monster which we will treat next. "In that day the Lord, with his sore and great and strong sword, shall punish Leviathan the piercing serpent, even Leviathan that crooked serpent; and shall slay the Dragon that is in the sea."

Finally in Revelations in chapter 12, from 3 to 17 the Devil is called six times dragon, by instance:

Rev. 12; 3. ". . . and there appeared another wonder in heaven and behold a great red dragon having seven heads and ten horns and seven crowns upon his heads."

Rev. 12; 4. "And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth." (Here is mentioned the fact that a third of the total number of the angels followed Satan in his revolt and fall.) ". . . and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. . . . and he persecutes the woman" (12; 3). (Here takes place the allusion of the enmity of the Virgin towards the Devil.)

In Revelations 12; 7, the revolt of angels is described; "And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels." Rev. 12; 9 says ". . . and the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world. He was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him."

The same type of allusion is made in Rev. 12; 17. 13; 11. 16; 13. 20; 2. We see that Dragon Serpent, Devil and Satan are identified, through a process of individualization.

But that is not all about the Dragon-Devil; many are the Saints to whom diabolic dragons showed themselves. For instance in the eight century Saint John of Damascus (700-754), (4) describes the demons as dragons flying through the air.

Sometimes the dragon seems to be an intermediate creature between demon and beast, and in ancient "Bestiari" of the Middle Ages the devil is catalogued along with other beasts.

Now we will consider Leviathan. He is sometimes taken for the Devil himself; many a time he is confused with the Dragon or with the serpent, beasts representing the Devil himself or his symbol.

(4) Saint John of Damascus is one of the most noted Fathers of the Eastern Church. To him is ascribed the Romance of Barlaam and Josephat. (Note number 60 in Arturo Graf's "The story of the Devil.")

Leviathan does not appear at all in the New Testament, but only in few passages of the Old Testament; and it is logical to think that they are the remains of an old myth concerning God's victory over the sea monsters.

Job 41; 1, speaking of the power of God above all creation says "Canst thou drawnt Leviathan with an hook? and his tongue with a cord," . . . "He beholdeth all high things; he is a king over all children of pride."

A similar passage is founded in Psalms 74; 14 referring to the power of Iaveh. "Thou brakest the heads of Leviathan in pieces," and in Psalms 104; 26 ". . . that Leviathan, whom thou hast made to play therein."

Finally Isaiah 27; 1 pictures the end of Leviathan. "In that day the Lord with his sore, and great and strong sword shall punish Leviathan, the piercing serpent . . . the Dragon that is in the sea."

The end of the monster according to the orthodox Bible is referred to in Ezequiel 29; from 3 to 8. But it seems that in fragments of the Old Testament quoted by Mr. Kent in his article "Leviathan" in the Catholic Encyclopedia, a different version of the overcoming of the he-Leviathan and the destruction of the female is given. Both he-Leviathan and she-Leviathan were made and overcome almost soon after, in the fifth day of creation, because God, fearing that their offsprings should destroy the world, put the he-Leviathan in the bottom of the sea; but there was no room for the female, otherwise the waters would cover all the land, and then Iaveh killed her and preserved the body which will furnish the meat that will be served in the banquet of the coming of the Messiah.

Now if we take Lilith, the Serpent, the Dragon and Leviathan as a whole we can not miss to notice that all this characters are related by their ambiguous constitution which goes from the ophidius to the saurius. From the serpent to the crocodile the Devil can present all kinds of hybrid combinations of those two genders, and when we are in presence of a painting in which one of these combinations does appear, we are in a position to assume that it is a representation of the Devil.

CHAPTER V

FURTHER EVOLUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN DEVIL.

The Renaissance Devil.

CHAPTER V

Out of what has been said in precedent chapters especially in chapter II, we see that the conception of angels and devils was developed in Christian church from the beginning to the V Century; the council of Calcedonia in 451 A.D. was the first attempt to fix the dogma regarding the existence, form and mission of spiritual creatures; the apostolic Fathers, Clemens of Rome, Ignatius and Papias, especially this last one contributed to the belief in guardian and temptor angels, ascribing one of each kind to every human being. The fathers of the Easterns Church worked intensely in the elaboration of the doctrine concerning the angels, the contributions made by Origenes, Basilius, St. Gregory, Chrysostomos, and Cyril being the most important. Among the authorities in the Latin Church, we see that Tertulian made the demons the cause of contagious diseases, and gave them the gift of ubiquity; Ambroge and Jerome related them especially to the possessed. Saint Jerome is the first in suggesting a necessary hierarchy among angels or devils, and finally Augustine describes them as temptors whose common activity is "divination and magic."

From the Council of Calcedonia to the IX century we see that the idea of a hierarchy, and the conception of the external appearance of espiritual beings develops. The main lights in this field during the period are Petrus Lombardus, St. Bernard, St. Anselm and above all St. Thomas Aquinas who links the Middle Ages to the Renaissance and whose ideas are yet in favor in the theological thought of our times.

We will give a very short summary of some of Thomas Aquinas opinions that are somehow related to our subject and which we have expressed before in a more explicit form. We will use Pass, summary of Thomas Aquinas' Works. ". . .Concerning evil spirits Aquinas teaching is briefly as follows: their sin is only pride and envy; the devil desired to be as God; no demons are naturally evil, but all felt by the exercise of their own will. The fall of the devil was not simultaneous with his creation, otherwise God would be the cause of evil. Hence there was some kind of interval between the creation and the fall of demons. The devil was originally the greatest of all the angels, his sin was the cause of that of the other fallen angels, by incitement but not by compulsion. The number of the fallen angels is smaller than that of those who have persevered. The mind of demons are obscured by the depravation of the knowledge of ultimate truth; they possess, however, natural knowledge. Just as the good angels after their beatification, are determined in their goodness, so the will of the evil angels is fixed in the direction of evil. The demons suffer pain, which however is not of a sensory character. They have a double abode-hell where they torture the damned, and the air where they incite men to evil."(1)

(1) H. L. Pass, "Demons and Spirits," In Encyclopdia of Religion and Ethics. pp. 565 to 636. Christian Demons, pp. 578, 583.

This is the orthodox doctrine that the church was to adopt from the XIII century on. The same doctrine concerning the devil will be kept with very few changes through the Renaissance up to our days. It is a fact that the general direction of ideas suffered a change during the Renaissance, but it is also true that in theological matters this change was extremely slow; Panofsky (2) points out that the humanistic movement was started and maintained in the "Platonic Academy" (3) of Florence, where "a select group of men held together by mutual friendship, a common taste for conviviality and human culture, and almost religious worship of Plato, and a loving admiration for one kindly, delicate little scholar Marsilio Ficino." The companions of Ficino were Christoforo Landino, (4) Lorenzo il Magnifico, Pico della Mirandola and Angelo Poliziano. "The task which Ficino had shouldered was threefold. First: to make accessible by translations into Latin with epitomes and commentaries the original documents of Platonism including not only Plato but also the "Platonici" viz. Plotinus and such later writers as Proclus, Prophyrius, Jamblichus, Dionysius Pseudo-Areopagita, Hermes Trismegistos and Orpheus. Second: to co-ordinate this enormous mass of information into a coherent and living system capable of instilling a new meaning into the entire cultural heritage of the period, into Virgil and Cicero, as well as into St. Augustine and Dante, into classical mythology as well as into physics, astrology, and medicine. Third: to harmonize this system with the Christian religion." (5)

In relation to the third point we see that the church which in many respects could act as an innovator or appear as progressive, in regard to the dogma has always had a very conservative attitude. The church does not define a dogma but when it has been familiar with the people for several generations. Thus, the decisive acts of the church in the Councils are the result of a social religious need; are in themselves not a cause but an effect.

This is why at the same time it was discussed the validity of the conception of Plotinus $\epsilon \nu$, or the position of the Nous in the Ficino's elaborations (6) in a word, the modern universe, the church by the mouth of his preachers continued to speak to the people of a monstrous and incongruent devil.

The influence that the church had, even on the artists is depicted by the fact that men like Botticelli, impressed by the fiery speeches of Savonarola, destroyed those of his works which were considered as immoral.

(2) Panofsky: Studies in Iconology. Humanistic themes in the Art of the Renaissance, New York, Oxford University Press, 1939.

(3) The Academy of Florence was not the only one in leading this Humanistic movement. In Rome Aristotle was thoroughly studied under the direction of Pomponio Leto and in Naples Pontano lead the humanistic researches without being tied by any special direction, (not platonian, not aristotelian).

(4) Commentator of Virgil, Horace and Dante and author of the "Questiones Camandulenses."

(5) Panofsky, Ibid., pp. 129.

(6) The universe was divided for this "Accademist" in four hierarchies of gradually decreasing perfection: Nous or mens mundana, $\psi \upsilon \chi \acute{\eta}$ or anima mundana, spiritus mundanus and Natura.

Another circumstance which causes that in the plastics of the Renaissance, the Devil shows very few of the humanistic characteristics is that his representations were always related to a certain type of subjects as the Last Judgement, or the Descent to Limbo; both programmatic subjects, which were not executed but under command of the ecclesiastical authority in order to fulfill a certain mission. Other subjects, even though belonging to the field of religious painting made under command, let the artist a certain freedom; he could represent the patron saint under the features of his protegee. In Benozzo Gozzoli each one of the numerous characters who accompany the Magi-Medici, or those who watch at the construction of the Babel Tower, is a portrait. In the Madonna of Filippo Lippi we know that Mary is the monaca Butti. In the Madonna del Magnificat of Botticelli we can recognize Simonetta Vespucci. For the artist of the Renaissance the armour of Saint George was only a mere disguise, a pretext to give satisfaction to his benefactor. But the case of the Devil is completely different; who should like to be represented under his form? We know the serious difficulties that Michelangelo had for having put in hell only (not under the features of the Devil), some of his contemporaries.

For the humanist of the Renaissance, the Devil was a questionable being, and his power, his appearance, his dwellings were also questionable; but the religious paintings in which the Devil appeared were not executed for the sceptical, refined humanist; these paintings were made for the common people, and the church was interested in that they continued to believe in the existence and monstrous appearance of such a creature.

But the ideal of formal beauty manifested in all the arts, and the anatomical perfection reached in the human figure, could not leave Satan untouched. During the XVI century the artist fights in order to free the Devil of his medieval cast; but only those who were in a privileged position as Raphael or Michelangelo could dare to go against the ecclesiastical imposition. We see that especially in the representations of Lilith these artists succeeded to ascribe so much beauty on the beast, that we forgot easily that she is one of the representations of Evil. The results of this humanistic procedure seeking for perfection, even in relation to Evil, reach their full development in the Baroque period with Tintoretto's Satan. (7)

In the Baroque the church will accept as a "fait accompli" that Evil can assume the form of beauty in order to get into its claws the simple one attracted by its apparent beauty. The idea of temptation gains ground; St. Anthony tempted by beautiful women became a common devotional subject. (8) We see that finally even the Devil receives also his part of Beauty in this movement of the Renaissance; a movement that started early in the XIV century has not yet disappeared in its results.

(7) Tintoretto - Cristo Tentato da Satanasso. Scuola di San Rocco. Venezia.

(8) Pinturicchio: S. Antonio e Paolo tempted; App. Borgia Roma.

CHAPTER VI

- I.-- SUBJECTS IN WHICH THE DEVIL OR DEVILS DO APPEAR IN RENAISSANCE PAINTING.
- II.-- DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THIS PERIOD.

CHAPTER VI

I. SUBJECTS IN WHICH THE DEVIL OR DEVILS DO APPEAR IN RENAISSANCE PAINTINGS.

The subjects in which the Devil or devils do appear can be divided into two main groups,

1. Subjects connected with Christ.
2. Subjects connected with the life of Saints.

1. Under these related to Christ we have three principal subjects.
 - a) The Temptation in the Desert.
 - b) The Descent into Limbo.
 - c) The Last Judgement.

THE TEMPTATION IN THE DESERT.

Of the three main subjects related to Christ, the temptation in the desert is the less frequent. The church did not make out of this topic a devotional motif because it was hard to explain to the masses of Christians the relationship between temptor and tempted; this passage in the Scripture was passed under silence being the explanation too elaborate for devotional purposes.

THE DESCENT OF CHRIST INTO LIMBO.

This subject has been common in the church since the III century; during the first three centuries it did not appear in the oral credo, but as the organization of the church developed, it became one of the fundamental beliefs. Origene (185-254), was the one who did more for this idea in his eschatological writings.

THE LAST JUDGEMENT.

We find this subject since the early times of Christianity. The idea of a second coming of the Messiah was intimately connected with the resurrection and ascension of Christ in a kind of reverse phenomenon, as a counter-part of his going to heaven in body and soul. The idea of the last judgement was indispensable to the church also in order to explain the theory of reward and punishment in a spiritual plane. In the credo of the apostolic times, it appears as one of the few central teachings, and afterwards the church developed and elaborated it greatly. This idea of the second coming of the Lord belongs to what we can call the apocalyptical cycle, and precisely on account of its vagueness, it has

appealed to and interested the mind not only of theologians but also of artists.

2. Under those related to the life of Saints the subjects are so varied and frequently so obscure that we will list not the subjects but the role the Devil is playing in connection with certain saints. For this purpose we will transcribe the list that Maurice and Wilfred Drake include in their work "Saints and their emblems." (London 1916). p. 109.

DEVIL	and world, tempted by him	St. John C.
	as a goat near him	Anthony Ab.
	as a raven, stealing his bread	Amatus Ab.
	as scorpion, appearing in prison	Demetrius.
	as young woman tempted him	Albert.
	at his feet	Michael Archangel.
	beating him with a club	St. Apollinaris B.M.
	his bell broken by devil	Benedict Ab.
	blowing out his candle, angel lighting	
	it	Genevieve V.
	Casting out the devil	Bridget V. Ab.
		Melanius B.C.
		Silvin B.C.
		Ursmar B.C.
	carrying away his former companion	St. Landin Ab.
	cast out, near him	Geminian B.C.
	cast out of a boy	Hildulphus B.C.
	cast out of a man by cross	Linus Po. M.
	cast out of a woman	Zeno B.C.
	" " " " " led by rope	Hermes M.
	caught by leg with his crosier	Ronan B.H.
	chained at his feet	Norbert Abp.
	chained, led by her	Dymphna V.M.
	chained in his hand	Cyriacus B.M.
	crosier end piercing head	Benedict Ab.
	depressing scale pierced with angel's	
	staff	Michael Archangel.
	driving away the devil	St. Euphemia V.M.
	driven away by cross	Justina V.M.
	" " " " "	Macarius H.
	" " " " " with wand	John Ab.
	" devil off large stone	Oswald Abp.
	Frying away with him	Cyprian M.
	Friend a girl from devil, crown near	Cyriacus B.M.
	giving up a dead to him	Theophilus Pen.
	held down by his staff	John Ab.
	holding a chained devil	Angela V.
	" " " " "	Severus P.C.
	holding her hands	Theodora Pen.
	holding him in fire, angel protecting	
	him	Patrick B.C.
	In one scale, a soul in the other	Michel Archangel
	Issuing from a child's mouth	St. Hermes M.
	Issuing from a man at mass	Gaudentius B.M.
	Mocking her	Gertrude Ab.
	near him	Geminian B.C.



DEVIL	on chain	Armagil M.K.
"	"	Ronan B.C.
"	" white dog at his feet	Bernard Ab. Dr.
	on his shoulder	Goar P.C.
	pierced by her sword	Dymphna V.M.
	scourging a chained devil	Juliana V.
	seized with his piercers	Dunstan B.C.
	tau cross piercing foot of devil	Anthony Ab.
	tempting her at prayers	Madelberta V. Abs.
	tempting him	Nathaniel H.
	threatening it with an aspergill	Robert H.
	throwing her into a well	Euphrasia V.
	throwing stones on him	St. Romanus H.
	trampling on a devil	Theodore B.C.
	trampling on a devil, flaying knife in hand	Bartholomew Ap.
	trampling on a devil, holding spear and shield	Germanicus M.
	with hell at his feet	Theodulus M.
	with bellows on her shoulders	Genovieve V.
	with candle, saint writing	Dominic C.
	with hook, tomb with crosier in it near	Wulstan B.C.
	appearing, saint preaching	Stephen B.C.
	beating dead monk	Alphege B.M.
	casting out devils	Conrad B.C.
	" " "	Zenobius B.C.
	cast out by his cross	Macarius H.
	" " " " "	Philip Ap.
	disturbing his prayers	Curtbert B.C.
	driven from human temple	Gregory B.C.
	Flying from him	Columba Ab.
	putting devils to flight	"
	" " " "	Guthlac H.
	scourning chained devils	Choir of Powers.
	tormenting him	Wolfgang B.C.

II. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE.

Ducio de Buoninsegna. 1278-1319.

THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST.

Predella of the altar so called "Maesta."
New York, Frick collection.
1308-1311.



Christ appears on the top of a mountain; at the right hand of the painting two angels seem waiting the disappearance of Satan to serve our Lord. Satan on a rock near Christ points out the city spread all around the rocks. Jesus is ordering him to vanish, The devil appears in human body all covered with short fur, bird-like feet, hands like claws, bat-like wings, with a beard and moustachos; the arrangement of the hair imitate little horns.

Tintoretto 1518-1594

CHRISTO TENTATO DA SATANASSO.

Scuola di San Rocco.

The Christ appears in a very conventional desert; under a rustic construction, like a portal, in the midst of a tropical vegetation; Satan behind him is a perfectly beautiful creature an angel with no mixture of beastly characteristics; he is offering to the hungry Christ some stones that He may change them into bread.

Andrea Bonaiuti o da Firenze, active ca 1343-1377.

THE DESCENT OF CHRIST INTO LIMBO.

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chapter Hall.
1366.

In this fresco Jesus surrounded by light in mandorla shape, in a white tunic and with the labaro in hand, helps the blessed to go out of the cavern the wall of which appears torn down. Under the earth, just below Christ a demon tries to hear what is happening. This demon has the upper part of the body as a skeleton, and the inferior covered with fleece; a serpent is around his hips, as a belt, he has long bat-like wings, ram horns; other demons show themselves through breaches on the wall; one has a horse leg, ass' ears, tusks, monkey beard and wings; another has a tail, and a peculiar human spurred foot.

Andrea Vanni. 1332-1414.

VISIT OF CHRIST TO LIMBO.

Tryptich of the Crucifixion.
Washington, Corcoran Art Gallery.
1396.

The Tryptich in the central part represents the crucifixion with episodes of Longinus, the drawing lots for the tunic of Christ, the tormentors breaking the legs of Gestas, - the bad thief -, over the head of Gestas a dark little devil is carrying his soul away; this devil has bird-like feet, big bat-like wings and a tail,

In the right wing there is the visit to Limbo. The devil is under the slab which was closing the entrance to this place. Christ is stepping over the slab, and the devil shows only a black lion-like head and an arm still holding a broken lance.

Fra Angelico 1387-1455

CHRIST DESCENDS INTO LIMBO.

Altar of the Last Judgement.
Florence. Museo di S. Marco.
1436-1445.

A dark devil appears under the Limbo's fallen door on which the Christ is standing; other demons are standing in the cracks of the wall; they have cat's ears, the bodies depicted as armours, but the legs have fleece and the feet are bird-like.

Duccio, 1278-1319.

CHRIST IN LIMBO.

Part of the "Maesta's Altar.
Siena, opera del Duomo.
1308-11.

Christ with cross and labaro is standing on a demon and helps the good souls to come out of Limbo. The demon has a human body all covered with fleece, the feet disappear under the broken door; he has bat-like wings, a face more grotesque than terrible, the beard and hair are treated like flames.

Giotto, 1266/76-1337.

JESUS-CHRIST AUX LIMBES.

Panel painting sur bois.
München, alten Pinakothek.

Jesus in a kind of cave carrying the emblem of resurrection; out of the cave a demon is kneeling and another weeping, seated on the floor. Other two demons carry souls to the Limbo; they have hairy bodies, webbed feet, short hairy wings, goat beards, pointed ears and horns; the one who is seated on the floor has a kind of horse-foot.

Sano di Pietro, 1406-81.
Christ in Limbo
Altar piece (fragment)
Mass, U.S.A. Harvard University Fogg Mus.
1445.

Christ is standing on the slab which closed the Limbo; the devil shows only his dark hairy bird-like and part of his tail.

Zanobi Strozzi.

CHRIST IN LIMBO.

Predella.
Firenze, R. Galleria Uffizi.
1449-52.

Christ with labaro, helps the blessed to go out from some holes in the mountain. Winged demons, provided with tales try to hold them back.

Fra Angelico 1387-1455.

GIUDIZIO FINALE

Trittico in Tavola.
Roma, R. Gall. Nazionale d'Arte Antica.
1445-55.

Bellow the Christ, who is in a radiant mandorla are the blessed at his right; the damned are at his left. We can see only two demons, black, with tails big ears and bird-like feet. The artist does not seem to have a clear conception of them.

Fra Angelico 1387-1455.

GIUDIZIO FINALE.

Altar piece.
Florence, Museo di S. Marco.
1436-45.

Damned and demons appear gathered at the right hand, lower corner of the painting. Some of the devils are carrying scrolls, their color is black, they have bat-like wings and pointed ears, and seem to be inflicting some indeterminate punishment to the damned.

Fra Angelico 1387-1455

GIUDIZIO UNIVERSALE

Altar piece.
Florence, Museo di S. Marco.
1436-45.

This is the Angelico's most elaborate composition on this subject. We see Hell at the right hand side of the painting, divided in sections very much like in the Camposanto of Pisa. A big Satan is in

the bottom, personifying Hell itself; other smaller demons are dark, with bird-like feet, some with wings. In the first section of Hell the entrance is symbolized by the open mouth of a great fish.

Pacino di Buonaguida.

LAST JUDGEMENT.

Altar piece "Albero della Santa Croce"
Florence, Gall. Antica e Moderna.

This is a very complex painting; the main subject is a large cross; from the body of the cross six branches irradiate on each side and from each one hang three medallions, like fruits; there are in total more than 36 medallions with different scenes of the life of Christ. In the one which represents the Last Judgment we can perceive only a half of a devil with a bull's head. In the medallion representing the damned, a black demon, with ram's head.

In the scenes of the dead of Judas, behind Judas' hanging body there is a little black winged devil with bird's feet and a tail. Also in the scene of the temptation in the desert the devil appears black and with horns.

Giovanni di Paolo.

LAST JUDGEMENT.

Siena Gallery.
1453.

Christ, appears in the center of a double row of Seraphim; at his feet angels call for the Last Judgement. At both sides of the Savior, the Vergine, and S. John. Bellow we see the resurrection of the deads, and the reception that the angels do to the blessed; at the right hand side a demon flying carries a man who is emerging from the grave; this devil is black, winged with bird's feet. Another, only partially seen shows a big beastly mouth and horns.

Giotto, 1266/76-1337

THE LAST JUDGEMENT.

Padua Capella dell'Arena.
1305.

In the middle of this big fresco an enormous devil is represented seated; he has a human shape but with beastly head and horns; he is eating a human being and he is holding two more in his hands. He is

seated on a big rampant beast like a lizard but with feathers. The Hell is divided into sections according with the kind of sin, and punishment like in Dante's Divina Commedia. In the section of the carnal sin the temptation of Adam and Eve is depicted with little variations, the woman is offering the man a little vase while a standing lizard talks in her ear; two human shaped black devils watch at the scene.

Hairy bodies, and clawed hands seem to be the main characteristics of the minor devils in this fresco.

Francesco Traini

LAST JUDGEMENT AND HELL

Siena, Campo Santo.
1350.

In the center of Hell we see Satan in a human body, with beastly head provided with four tusks, long hooked nose, big dreadful eyes, pointed ears and horns. In the abdomen which shows its interior in fire, a human being is destroyed. The body of this devil is depicted as an armour but the feet are disappearing into the flames.

Around the bodies of the damned, serpents are torturing them; the serpents seem the motif more frequently repeated in this particular fresco.

In the first upper level Leviathan the mouth of Hell is represented as the obelisk of a monstrous fish, with enormous head.

Among the different kinds of devils we can distinguish the following types; demons with human body, of a dark color, tail and web feet; devils with monkey faces, bat-like wings, and horns; devils without wings.

Francesco Traini.

TRIUMPH OF DEATH.

Siena, Campo Santo.
1350.

In the middle part of the composition the great figure of death flies with her hook; at the left, devils carrying souls to Hell, at the right the angels carry the souls of the blessed.

All the devils are almost black but we can separate them in three main types: (1) devils with claw feet, goat legs, short tails, bat-like wings and a kind of dog's head; (2) devils with bird's feet, apparent ribs, tusks, and pointed ears; (3) devils with serpent body and dragon's head.

Other variations in this painting are devils with great ram's horns; and devils with lions' bodies.

Michelangelo, 1475-1564

GIUDIZIO UNIVERSALE.

Roma, Vaticano, Capella Sistina.
1535-41.

This impressive fresco covers the whole frontal wall of the Chapel. At the center is the Christ surrounded by the Vergine, S. John, and a multitude of saints carrying his attributes. Below Christ the angels of the judgement blow their trumpets; at the left, the souls of the blessed are carried by the angels; at the right, the damned are thrown into Hell by the devils. The lower part of the painting is divided into two sections; at the left there are scenes of the resurrection of the dead; at the right Caron is delivering his merchandise in the shores of Hell.

The demons seem more awkward than frightful; the human appearance prevails, but the beastly mixture provides the well constructed human bodies with all kinds of allusive appendix, which connect these demons with certain sins.

Signorelli 1441-1523

THE CONDEMNED

Orvieto, S. Brigio's Chapel, Cathedral.

Of demons in great disorder some thrown the damned into Hell, others carry the souls on their shoulders and a great majority keep the damned in place torturing them but not in a clear physical way. The devils are in an almost normal human appearance with horns and wings; some of them are rather agreeable to look at.

REPRESENTATIONS OF LILITH.

Filippino Lippi ca. 1457-1504

TEMPTATION OF ADAM AND EVE.

Florence, Chiesa di S. Maria Novella,
1487.

This scene is painted in one of the spherical triangles of one of the vaults. It is one of the four subjects treated, Lillith being

shown as a serpent with beautiful woman head, similar to the type of Eve.

Rafaello o Giulio Romano

STORIA DI ADAMO ED EVA.

Roma, Vaticano, Loggie di Rafaello.
1518.

Lilith's head and upper part of the body are of a woman, the rest is serpent-like. Her face is similar to Eve's. This representation of Lilith and the one by Raffaello alone in the Stanza della Signatura are the most beautiful concretizations of this character.

Ucello ca 1396/7-1475

THE ORIGINAL SIN.

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde.
ca. 1446

These frescoes painted in green grisaille are badly damaged, fortunately the head of Lilith is better preserved; it is a woman's head perfectly beautiful.

Lorenzo da Credi, 1459-1537.

TEMPTATION OF ADAM AND EVE.

Prodolla of an Annunziatione.
Florence, R. Galleria Uffizi.

The scene is very simply given, with no attempt of background; Lilith appears with head and part of the body of a woman, the resemblance with Eve is evident.

Michelangelo 1475-1564

TEMPTATION OF ADAM AND EVE.

Roma, Vatican, Soffito della Cappella Sistina
1508-1512.

Two scenes are represented in this section of the ceiling, the temptation and the expulsion. At the center of the painting dividing the two scenes stands the tree of knowledge and around it Lilith who is

only a serpent from the hips down; she is a beautiful woman and is not a replica of Eve's features.

SUBJECTS REPRESENTING THE DEVIL AS A DRAGON WITH S. MICHEL

Domenico Beccafiume, 1486-1551.

SAINT MICHEL AND LUCIFER.

Siena, Gallery.

Saint Michel in shining clothes, is shown with a sword in hand; the devil appears under him with a monkey-like face and a serpent's tongue.

Benvenuto di Giovanni.

ANNUNCIATION WITH S. CATHERINE AND S. MICHEL.

Volterra, Municipal Gallery.
1475.

In the upper part of the painting God the Father is surrounded by musician angels and by cherubs. Below, the Madonna seated in a chair receives the message of the angel; behind the Madonna is S. Catherine, and behind the angel is S. Michel piercing the devil with his javelin; the devil is shown as a dragon covered with scales with enormous wings and a serpent's tongue.

Benvenuto di Giovanni has another representation of the same subject in a trittico in Montepertuso, Pieve.

Giotto 1266-1336.

LA VITTORIA DI S. MICHELE SUGLI ANGELI.

Florence, S. Croce, Capella velluti.

The devil attacked by S. Michel appears like the seven headed beast of the apocalypse, but with a man's head at the end of the neck; he has white shining teeth, fiery tongue; half saurian body covered with feathers, bat-like wings and lions feet.

This rectangular fresco is badly damaged, but the composition is clearly divided in two sections; the upper one is crowded with angels led by S. Michel who steps in the devil; the devil is black but in human shape; he is laying over a fragment of the tree of knowledge. The other foot of S. Michel is over the eight headed dragon which is the best preserved of all the composition; at the side of the dragon, breaking

into the heavenly section we can see several devils, with black bodies, bird-like feet, bat-like wings and pointed ears. The lower part of the painting represents Hell and many similar figures can be suspected but the damage does not allow a precise description.

Pachiarotti.

VISITATION WITH S. MICHEL AND S. FRANCIS.

Siena Gallery.

In this trittico S. Michel is represented in the left wing standing on a dragon who has the shape of a hippocampus.

Pietro Alemanno active ca 1470-1498

L'ARCANGELO MICHELE E SAN PIETRO.

Roma Galleria Nazionale.

The archangel is standing on the shoulders of Satan. This one is completely human, has no wings; he has tusks, long ears and horns, his color is dark.

Sassetta 1392-1450

S. MICHELE (polyptico della Madonna)

Cortona, Baptistery
1437.

The central composition is a Madonna surrounded by angels; at her left two saints, S. Nicolas and S. Michel; at her right S. John and S. Martha. At the feet of S. Martha the Devil appears as a reptile; behind S. Michel a little dark winged devil shows himself.

Tadeo di Bartolò

S. MICHEL (Part of an altar piece)

Volterra.
1411.

The central piece of the altar is devoted to the Madonna in throne with the child. At the right side in a group of S. Francis and S. Michel; the latter is standing on the devil in shape of a Dragon with lizard's feet and a very long tail.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS RELATED WITH THE LIFE OF SAINTS.
(Arranged by alphabetical order of authors.)

Bordone, Paris

S. GIORGIO UCCIDE IL DRAGO.

Roma, Vaticano, Anticamera del Papa.

The saint is a young man, bearded, in armour on a white horse. He holds a sword in his hands, and the dragon who is at his feet has been trampled by his lance. The dragon has a beautiful lizard body, whose anatomy has been emphasized; all covered with brilliant scales.

Domenico di Bartolo, 1400-1428.

S. Martha

Perugia, Pinacoteca Vannucci.

1438.

In the panel at the left hand side of the Madonna the saint is standing with the palm of martyrdom in one hand and an urn in the other; at her feet the devil lies in the shape of a dragon.

Francesco di Giorgio, 1439-1502.

EXPULSION OF A DEMON.

Siena, Palazzo Publico.

The dead body of a franciscan monk performs several miracles. A black little demon with wings, horns and tail goes out from the mouth of a woman supported by two young men.

Francesco di Giorgio, 1439-1502.

S. BENEDICT TORMENTED BY THE DEVILS.

Florence Uffizi.

The saint appears in the entrance of a cave, an other monk in the top of a rock descends a bucket of water with a rope. Flying in the air a strange devil approaches the saint; He has a stone in his hand; his body is not dark, hands and feet are ended in long nails; the wings look more like shells than bat-like wings; the face is rather beautiful, and the hair is treated like fire; he wears a helmet.

Filippino Lippi 1457-1504.

S. FILIPPO CACCIA IL DEMONIO.

Florence, S. Maria Novella.

This painting is a terrible mixture of elements taken from the Roman-classic architecture. In the middle we see a hemicycle with an altar in the center, surmounted by a statue. The saint compels the devil to leave the statue, through a hole in its base; the devil who has already abandoned his dwellings is on the floor under the shape of a little lizard with feathers; he looks more like a fowl with saurian tail.

Gadi Tadeo, 1334-1366

SCENES OF THE HERMIT'S LIFE.

Florence, S. Croce, antico Refettorio.

In the upper right side of the fresco a little dark devil tries to tempt a saint hermit who is kneeling and praying; this little devil has wings, apparent ribs, and horns.

Gherardo Starnina 1354-1408.

STORIA DELLA VITA DI S. ANTONIO ABATE.

Firenze, S. Croce.
1404.

Two scenes of the life of the saint are depicted. One at the right in which Christ appears to S. Anthony in prayer. In the left part of the fresco the scene of the temptation is treated in great detail. Five demons are tormenting the saint; the first one in human shape but with little horns, big ears and tusks. The skin imitates the one of an hippopotamus but the legs are covered with fleece; he has goat feet and a long tail; others has a bear head, ram horns, serpent tail and bat wings; finally there are others with long pointed beards.

Giotto, 1266/76-1336

S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA NELL' ISOLA DI PATMOS

Florence S. Croce, Capella Peruzzi.

The Devil appears as the dragon of the apocalypsis, as the beast with seven heads, prepared to attack the "woman who is ready to be delivered, in order to devour her child"; here the child lies near the woman; at her feet the moon is put as symbol. The beast has the shape of a dragon conceived in the traditional way, lizard skin, long tail

like a serpent, bat's wings; the main head is crowned with flames and the other seven little heads are attached to the neck. This scene occupies part of the upper section of the semicircular fresco; in the center S. John is dreaming, and around him there are different visions among the clouds.

Giotto, 1266/76-1336

THE CORRUPTION OF JUDAS

Padua, Chapel of the Arena.
1305.

The devil appears behind Judas who is selling Christ to the priests; the devil is black and very similar to the figure of Judas himself, almost like a caricature of him, but in dark color and with wings; the figure is cut in the back, then we can not describe the shape of the legs and wings.

Giotto, 1266/76-1336.

ALLEGORIE DE VOEUX FRANCISCAINS. LA CHASTÉTÉ.

Assisi, S. Francesco, frescoes de l'église inférieure.
1261.

Monks with wings are fighting victoriously with the demons; one of the demons representing the carnal sin is shown in human form, clear color, a crown of roses in the head, blinded, with wings arrows and bow; under him the word AMOR is written; he has bird-like feet. Two other demons in dark color and beastly characteristics are given.

Giotto, 1266/76-1336.

S. FRANCIS DRIVING THE DEMONS OF DISCORD OUT OF AREZZO.

Assisi. Upper church of S. Francesco.
1261.

The demons appear flying over the city; S. Francis and other monks are exercising them from the upper story of a tower. They are dark, with bat-like wings, all the body is covered with hair almost curly, clear in some ones and dark in others; claw-feet; the heads are too big for the bodies.

Giovani da Milano; active ca. 1350-69.

S. MARTHA AND THE DRAGON.

Roma, R. Gall. Nazionale d'arte Antica,
1354.

In this altar piece, divided in various sections the main place is occupied by the Madonna and Child; above there are the Annunciation and the Nativity; at both sides groups of saints, and below the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and St. Marth's with St. Catherine. The devil is at the feet of St. Martha; he is like a big spotted bird with lizard-like head, and biphid tongue.

Giovanni da Milano, active ca. 1350-69

VARIE SANTE

Florence, Galleria Uffizi.
1350.

There is a group of six saints, the one in the middle in the costume of S. Dominic has a demon tied with a rope; the demon looks like a small dog with the body covered with scales, bat wings, claws, and enormous tongue.

Girolamo di Benvenuto, 1470-1524.

MIRACLE OF S. CATHERINE.

Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., Harvard University Fogg Museum.
before 1508.

The painting is divided in two sections; at the right side appears a woman in a bed attended by St. Catherine and other female figure, and a Dominican monk, at the left the Saint intercedes for the soul of the woman, while Christ descends from Heaven carried by four cherubim; the devil in the middle of the air holds a scroll in which the sins of the dead woman are written.

The devil is given here with great detail and clearness; he has four horns, black pointed beard, short bat-like wings, bird feet, but with five toes and spur.

Giulio Romano 1499-1546.

APPARIZIONE DELLA CROCE.

Camere di Raffaello, Roma.

The scene represents a battle field with Constantine; and his

warriors dressed in the most diverse way one from the other; some are wearing the Roman armour, other are naked like barbarians. Framing the composition two seated statues of Fraternitas and Moderatio. In the sky the Cross appears carried by three angels and facing the Cross in prey of great terror the devil like a lizard tied by the nose to a pole; he has a long tail and wings; he is the incarnation of Gentility.

Lambertini

INVENZIONE DELLA CROCE.

Venezia, R. Accademia

The scene represent is rather vague; at the right side of the composition two demons fly away in the air by effect of the exercises of a saint; in the other side a group of six persons, kneeling, adore the holy Cross whose intervention caused the miracle.

Lorenzo Monaco ca. 1370-1425.

STORIE DELLA VITA DI S. BENEDETTO.

Roma, Pinacoteca Vaticana.

At the left side of the painting the devil is holding by the robe a monk who is already stepping out of the monastery. He is dark, small with clawed feet and bat-like wings.

Mantegna 1431-1506.

S. GIORGIO.

Venezia R. Accademia

S. George in armour has at his feet a dragon with pointed nose lizard scaled body and large tongue. The saint has half of the javolin in his hand; the other half shows through the mouth of the beast.

Neroccio di Landi, 1447-1500.

MADONNA CON DUE SANTI.

Siena, Gallery

The two saints who appear behind the Madonna are S. Michel and S. Bernardin; S. Michel wears a very elaborate armour, his knees are covered with cherubim's heads; from his neck hangs a decoration made

of two angels; the dragon at his feet has wings, lizard body and big white teeth.

Orcagna 1320-1368

IL SALVATORE COLLA VERGINE E SANTI.

Florence, S. Maria Novella,
1354-57.

At the left hand side of this altar piece St. Catherine and St. George are together; St. George is standing on a dragon with saurian head and numerous teeth. Three scenes are represented in the predella; one of them is the death of a person and the weight of his soul; Jesus comes from heaven to rescue this soul while the Devil black, with tail and clawed feet shows his anger in violent gestures.

Orcagna 1320-1368

STORIA DELLA VITA DI S. MATTEO.

Florence, R. Gall. Uffizi.
ca. 1350.

In the upper part of the left wing of this trittico, St. Mathew and his companions all in white are exercising two dragons which are in front of two characters dressed in the manner of the rabbis; in our opinion that those two dragons represent Judaism and Gentility.

Palma Vecchio, 1480-1528

S. MARCO S. GIORGIO E. S. NICCOLO CHE SALVANO VENEZIA

Venezia, B. Accad.
1510-28.

The city appears very vaguely in the background; in the middle ground there is a galley full of demons, other demons are riding on big fish; in a little boat the three saints go to meet the galley and fight with the demons, completely human, some of them show only little horns and a short tale; only one shows wings of indescribable shape.

Pinturichio

S. ANTONIO E. S. PAOLO PRIMO EREMITA.

Roma, App. Borgia.
1492-95

In the middle of the rocky landscape the two saints are seated;

three beautiful women appear from the left to tempt them; all three have horns but of different shape in each case; one bat wings, the other bird-like feet; they are dressed with magnificence, and the devilish characteristics shown do not take anything out of their beauty.

Spinello Aretino. ca. 1346-1410

LA CROCIFISSIONE.

Florence, R. Galleria Uffizi.

Above the cross of the bad thief a demon is carrying away his soul. The soul is figured as a little naked man; the devil is bigger than the soul, black, clawed hands and feet, short tale, wings, very long beard, and tusks.

Ambroglio Lorenzatti., 1319-48.

THE BAD GOVERNMENT

Siena, Palazzo Publico
1337-39

Tyranny is in the middle of the great fresco, seated in a throne; a crown of horns is over his head. At his left a devil is inspiring him; this devil has black body in a centaurus' shape, tusks, cow's head, clawed feet, and horse tail.

Alunno, 1430-1502

LA VERGINE LIBERA UN BAMBINO DAL DEMONICO.

Roma, Galleria Colonna.

The devil in human size appears at the right side of the picture grasping the baby by the hand while the mother prays the Madonna and pulls her child by a leg. This devil is rather composite, he has a dragon like face, and breaths fire; long pointed ears, and sharp horns inclined towards the forehead; the body is more human than beastly, but all covered with hair, hands and feet are bird-like; he has a long feathered tail and short beautiful transparent wings.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION

In the precedent pages we have try to show the development of the Devil in Christianity from his origin in Hebrew religion up to the Renaissance. We have seen how the conception of the Devil vague in the beginning of Christianity became more and more specific as the organization of the church grew stronger, and as a result to the need of unification in the dogma in order to avoid existent and possible heresies. This concept of the Devil, we have pointed out reaches its crystallization in the XIII century and has been carried almost unchanged up to our times. The Renaissance Devil is yet medieval; the reasons of this phenomenon has been given by the conservative attitude of the church, and by the convenience that the church has found in continuing to teach such a doctrine to the masses of non learned Christians. We have stated also that the Renaissance spirit reached the plastic representations of devil only in later times, almost in the Baroque, but that during the period of the Renaissance extrictly speaking, the devil is represented according to the medieval pattern.

In the 57 paintings that we have listed in the descriptive catalogue, we may observe that there are few names of first class artists. Those artists to whom this kind of devotional subjects was ordered, being mostly second rate artists.

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