Arina Zaytseva

SHAPING THE LITERARY IMAGE OF THE DEVIL IN REFORMATION GERMANY

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2018

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by

Arina Zaytseva

(Russian Federation)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Arina Zaytseva**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 17 May 2018

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Abstract

The main questions that the present thesis is concerned with are connected to the development and functions of the devil's image in the sixteenth-century literary tradition of the Devil's Literature. How was this image shaped in the Late Middle Ages and in the Reformation times? How did it influence the readers? In order to answer these questions I compare the images of the devil presented in the late medieval treatise *Satan's Trial Against Humankind* and a text of a Lutheran preacher Andreas Musculus *On the Devil's Tyranny, Power, and Might*. In the assessment of these treatises I implement the methodology of theatricality. This notion connected visual and performative elements in literature and art by assessing the level of its engagement with the audience. It is useful in the analysis of the devil's image, as it highlights the visual and performative properties of a written text as well as its emotional impact on the readers

The devil's image presented in *On the Devil's Tyranny* was mainly influenced by the popular theater and Lutheran sermons. Luther's ideas influenced the image of the devil presented in *On the Devil's Tyranny*, as it became more frightening and tangible than the devil's image of the Late Middle ages. This image evoked emotional response from the readers and thus was a useful instrument of moralization and installation of Lutheran ideas.

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Table of contents

List of Figures

Introduction

> From my own experience in trying to make stories "work", I have discovered that what is needed is an action that is totally unexpected, yet totally believable, and I have found that, for me, this is always an action which indicates that grace has been offered. And frequently it is an action in which the devil has been the unwilling instrument of grace.[1]
>
> -Flannery O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners*

The epigraph of my thesis comes from the writer Flannery O'Connor, who is regarded to be the paragon of Christian Gothic literature. Although her short stories and novels dealt with the realities of the American Southern states in 1950-60's, they depicted a universal picture of the struggles of pious people and their obliviousness to the existence of diabolical powers. She famously stated that the devil was a conduit of God's grace, which was not always pleasant to acknowledge or receive. Interestingly, O'Connor's understanding of the function of the image of the evil forces came very close to the ideas of Lutheran preachers of the second half of the sixteenth century.

The devil became an "unwilling instrument of grace" in the hands of Lutheran preachers who strived to educate and navigate their flock with the whip of his image. By depicting graphically his terrifying and often lethal attacks on humankind, they tried to convince the believers to be aware of his presence on earth and to arm themselves with faith

[1] Flannery O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners: Occasional Prose*, eds. Sally and Robert Fitzgerald (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1961), 118.

in God's grace in order to save their souls. Thus, the tradition of *Teufelsliteratur*, or the *Devil's Literature,* was created, which revolved around the image of Satan and his demonic servants and was mostly didactic in its tone. One of the most important works of this tradition was a hefty compendium of Lutheran treatises on various devils entitled *Theatrum Diabolorum*. However, the treatises that comprised the collection were not created from scratch and were heavily influenced by medieval beliefs as well as literary and theatrical traditions.

The main questions that the present thesis is concerned with are connected to the development and functions of the devil's image in the sixteenth-century literary tradition of the Devil's Books. How was this image shaped in the Late Middle Ages and in the Reformation times? How did it influence the readers? And how did it change over the time in order to fulfill its new purposes?

In order to answer these questions I will compare the images of the devil presented in two pieces of writing: the late medieval treatise *Satan's Trial Against Humankind* and a text of the Lutheran preacher Andreas Musculus entitled *On the Devil's Tyranny, Power, and Might*. In the assessment of these treatises I will implement the methodology suggested by Laura Weigert who used the notion of theatricality in her work on medieval and early modern French theater and visual art.[2] This notion connected visual and performative elements in literature and art by assessing the level of its engagement with the audience.[3] It will help to analyze the image of the devil from the viewpoint of its visual properties as expressed in a written text and in its connection to performativity. I will analyze the emotional effect of this image on the believers. The fact that both pieces of writing were heavily influenced by the theatrical tradition provides the basis for my comparison. Just like the plays of the late

[2] Laura Weigert, *French Visual Culture and the Making of Medieval Theater* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 9.
[3] Ibid., 10.

medieval theater, *On the Devil's Tyranny* used specific rhetorical devices to evoke an emotional response in its readers and had a didactic function. I will also look at the influence that Lutheran sermons exercised on the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection and *On the Devil's Tyranny* in particular, as the preaching techniques of the times strongly resembled a theatrical performance and compelled the preachers to actively engage with their congregation.[4] Additionally, I will consider the linguistic approach of Stuart Clark who stated that the language shaped the thinking process of the times allowing people to believe in witchcraft and the existence of demonic powers.[5] This assessment of the early modern thinking shows how it was possible for the people of the Reformation period to be so frightened by the devil and his representation in preaching and religious literature.

The current research on the image of the devil and its reception in the Middle Ages and Early Modern times is immense and could be possibly named "a legion". Fascination with the devil transcended into the twentieth and the twenty first centuries and manifested through numerous studies on witchcraft, magic, astrology, literature, art, and cultural perceptions of all things diabolical.[6] It would be an excessive and tedious task to enumerate all of the literature on Satan. However, here I will present some of the most important findings in the field of *Teufelsliteratur* research to put the *Theatrum Diabolorum* in a broader context.

[4] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 76.
[5] Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 7.
[6] For the in-depth analysis of the devil's image and its significance for Middle Ages and Early Modern times see, for example: Jeffrey B. Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1981), *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1984); Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000); Alain Boureau, *Satan the Heretic: The Birth of Demonology in the Medieval West*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971); Elaine Pagels *The Origin of Satan: How Christians Demonized Jews, Pagans, and Heretics* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

The growing popularity that the image of the devil had experienced throughout the Late Middle Ages did not recede with the advent of the Reformation but was magnified by the numerous writings on it. These writings constituted the *Teufelsliteratur* tradition. Certain treatises were brought up in numerous works on the perception of witchcraft, magic, and changing social norms in Reformation Germany. For example, Jutta Zander-Seidel published a lengthy paper on the image of the *Hosenteufel* (the Devil of Pants). [7] She elaborated on the reception of the foreign fashion of puffy breaches that came from France and Italy to Reformed Germany and stated that it gave rise to a variety of furious responses from the Lutheran preachers who saw the new fashion as a threat to morals and to social and religious stability. In *Oedipus and the Devil* Lyndal Roper somewhat cheekily elaborates on the same ideas bringing up Musculus's *Hosenteufel* and his resentment towards the lewd fashion in the context of Oedipal struggle between the young people and old patriarchs of Reformed Germany.[8] Furthermore, Joel F. Harrington and Katja Altpeter-Jones studied another devil – the devil of marriage or Ehetuefel - in the context of Lutheran views on matrimony and proper behavior in and outside of marriage.[9] The devil urged the married couple to break gender norms and harmonious marriages, thus undermining its social and religious importance.

A few recent works on the *Teufelsliteratur* tradition should be mentioned here, as they became the basis for my research. Keith L. Roos was the first among the modern scholars to address the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection in its entirety.[10] Although his work

[7] Jutta Zander-Seidel, "Der Teufel in Plunderhosen," In *Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, vol. 29 (1987): 29-67.
[8] Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994), 119.
[9] Joel F. Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Katja Altpeter-Jones, "Adam Schubart's Early Modern "Tyrant She-Man": Female Misbehavior, Gender, and the Disciplining of Hybrid Bodies," *Women in German Yearbook* 20 (2004): 37-61.
[10] Keith L. Roos, The Devil in 16th Century German Literature: The Teufelbücher (Bern, Frankfurt am Mein: Herbert and Peter Lang, 1972); For the earlier assessments of the Teufelsliteratur tradition see: Max Osborn, Die Teufelliteratur des XVI. Jahrhunderts (Mayer & Müller, 1893); Heinrich Grimm, "Die deutschen "Teufelbücher"

did not receive a good critical review, it nevertheless blazed a trail for other historians of the Reformation. One of the most comprehensive works on the early modern devil literature belongs to Romy Brügemann -*Die Angst for dem Bösen*, published in 2010.[11] Brügemann focused on different literary genres that went parallel with the *Teufelsliteratur* tradition and influenced it; for instance the tradition of *Narrenliteratur* (Fool's Literature) of Sebastian Brant and Thomas Murner and the literature surrounding the legend of Doctor Faustus and his servant Wagner. Brügemann stated that all these traditions were bound by the fascination with the devil as well as a strong moralizing message that each authors tried to convey to their readers.[12] Brügemann divided the writings of the *Teufelsliteratur* genre into four groups: the first one dealt with the individual sins and transgressions of each believer, for example wearing overly fashionable clothes, gambling, drinking, dancing, swearing, engaging in usury, lying, being prideful, envious or lazy, etc. The second group comprised the sins connected to intimate interpersonal relations such as marriage, dealing with one's household, and servants. The third group included the vices connected to one's public and social life - that is, hunting, court, lawsuits, Sabbaths, schools, oaths, etc. The last one dealt with the broad understanding of the devil's might over and presence in this world.[13] *On the Devil's Tyranny* belonged to the fourth and last group, as it painted the image of the devil with bold strokes and was more concerned with general ideas about the devil and his influence on humankind than any specific vice.

The second and latest work on the *Teufelsliteratur* tradition is a chapter written by Albrecht Classen entitled "The Devil in the Early Modern World and in Sixteenth-Century German Devil Literature" and included in the book *The Faustian Century: German Literature*

des 16. Jahrhunderts, ihre Rolle im Buchwesen und ihre Bedeutung," in Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens: AGB 2 (1960): 513-570.
[11] Romy Brügemann, Die Angst vor dem Bösen (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann GmbH, 2010).
[12] Ibid., 130.
[13] Ibid., 128.

and Culture in the Age of Luther and Faustus published in 2013. Classen draws on numerous sources (and especially on Romy Brügemann's research) to set the literary context of the Devil's Literature in sixteenth-century Germany. He recalls different literary genres that focused on the figure of the devil and had directly or indirectly influenced the emergence of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* compendium. Classen begins his analysis with a brief overview of the demonological books such as Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus Maleficarum* and Johannes Nider's *Formicarius* that preceded the boom of interest in the devil's figure that marked the sixteenth century. Subsequently, Martin Luther continued this tradition with his highly influential and powerful views on the devil, as the great Reformist staunchly believed in an overpowering and ubiquitous demonic presence in the human world as reflected in his writings and documented statements.[14]

It is important to mention another interesting branch of *Teufelsliteratur* studies connected to the emergence of Doctor Faustus legend, as it shows the apparent influence that the tradition exercised on the plot, which was taken up by Christopher Marlowe and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The most important works in this field belong to Frank Baron, who focused on the development of Doctor Faustus's story. Baron specifically referred to the genre of *Teufelsliteratur* as it shaped the ideas of Johannes Spies, who created and published his *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* in 1587.[15] Following Baron, both Classen and Brügemann analyzed the traditions of *Faust-* and *Wagnerbücher*, that strongly condemned the sin of pride in human beings by setting the negative examples of Faustus and his servant

[14] Albrecht Classen, "The Devil in the Early Modern World and in Sixteenth-Century German Devil Literature," in *The Faustian Century: German Literature and Culture in the Age of Luther and Faustus*, ed. J. M. van der Laan and Andrew Weeks (New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 261.
[15] Frank Baron, *Faustus on Trial: The Origins of Johann Spies's 'Historia' in an Age of Witch Hunting* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992), 71.

Wagner who tried to "transgress the traditional limits of human knowledge by drawing strength and insight from the devil or his spirits".[16]

These works highlight the importance and controversial nature of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection. However, not many of them actually compare the image of the devil of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* to the preceding writings. This is quite important as one cannot talk about the significant changes and developments in the *Teufelsliteratur* tradition without mentioning the developments that the devil's image had undergone. My research compares Musculus's *On the Devil's Tyranny* and a late medieval treatise entitled *Satan's Trial Against Humankind*. This treatise was a part of a popular literary genre of *Satansprozesse,* and revolved around a heavenly court where the devil tries to win the case against humanity and to bring it back under his control. The treatise's format was inspired by theatrical morality plays, which juxtaposed good and bad characters, which personified Christian vices and virtues, and usually ended with the victory of the forces of good.[17] The devil there was shown in a comical way, as his behavior in court and ultimate defeat mocked his powerlessness before the grace and justice of God. On the other hand, *On the Devil's Tyranny* presented a different approach to the devil's image as it discussed his omnipresence and great power. He could not oppose God, as he was an instrument of His wrath and justice, but he harmed the believers and specifically aimed at the most pious ones. Even though there was a performative element to the books of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection it did not affect the gravity of demonic presence, but rather influenced the treatise's didactical function. My research deals with this development of the devil's image as well as the influences that shaped it in the treatise *On the Devil's Tyranny* and the power it exercised over its readers.

[16] Classen, "The Devil in the Early Modern World and in Sixteenth-Century German Devil Literature," 274.
[17] Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, *Lateinische Dialoge 1200-1400: Literaturhistorische Studie und Repertorium* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007), 306.

In the first chapter I deal with the development of the image of the devil from the Late Middle Ages until the second half of the sixteenth century. I will look specifically at the theater plays, theological developments, and social events that shaped the image of the devil. Whereas scholastic debates had essentially diminished the importance of Satan and pushed him to the margins of the Holy History (a process which was reflected, for example, in the concurrent theater plays), Luther changed this situation significantly when he claimed that the devil's strength and deceitful nature had been overlooked for centuries and he and his demons now infested the earth. Luther's ideas about the evil forces inspired the tradition of the *Teufelsliteratur* books, which were written by his followers and enjoyed great popularity among readers.

The second chapter is dedicated to the analysis of specific examples of the late medieval tradition of Satan's Processes plays and of early modern Devil's Literature. The object of comparison is the image of the devil represented in Bartolo da Sassoferrato's *Processus Satanae Contra Genus Humanum* (*Satan's Process Against Humankind*) and Andreas Musculus's *Von der Teufels Tyrenney, Macht, und Gewalt* (*On the Devil's Tyranny, Might, and Power*). By highlighting the differences and similarities between the images of the devil in both pieces of writing I strive to see the changes, which signified this character's developments throughout the Late Middle Ages and the Reformation. I look specifically at its textual visuality and vividness in connection to its entertaining or didactic function.

Finally, the third chapter deals with the cultural, theological, and social developments that influenced the image of the devil in Musculus' *On the Devil's Tyranny.* The treatise of this Lutheran preacher provides a fine example of the creation of a convincing and terrifying image of Satan through rhetorical devices borrowed from Lutheran sermons and hymns, plot formats found in late medieval drama, and connections to the real world

events. I show that the powerful influence that the devil's image exercised on the minds of sixteen-century people did not come out of nowhere, but was closely connected to the concurrent developments in theology and to the creativity of the writers and preachers.

CHAPTER 1. The Image of the Devil in Late Medieval Literature and Popular Culture

1.1 A Brief History of the Devil's Image

It seems that the devil was to blame for everything in the sixteenth century Germany. According to Andreas Musculus Satan "had polluted every corner of the world".[18] Following Luther he suggested that each believer should be constantly on the outlook for the devil's attacks that might strike them at any time of the day and in any place. In stating this he followed Luther who argued at his deathbed that "Mankind is nothing else but a sheep-shambles, where we are slain and slaughtered by the devil. How many sorts of deaths are in our bodies? Nothing is therein but death".[19] But what was the background of these ideas and how did they develop before the late Middle Ages and the Reformation? By answering these questions I will put the traditions of *Satan's Processes* and Lutheran writings on the devil into a broader context and explain some of the origins of the devil's image as represented in the *Satan's Trial* and *Theatrum Diabolorum*.

The question of the source of evil had already been stated in the Old Testament and surrounding religious literature, and this question bothered the best minds of the Church. Interestingly, at first the devil did not represent a vicious opponent of God and humankind but rather had a secondary role as an accuser fully subject to God. Even his name pointed to that function of his: Satan's name derived from the Hebrew word "satan" which can be roughly

[18] *...der Teufel alle winckel der welt also uberschüttet.* Andreas Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney / Macht und Gewalt / Sonderlich in diesen letzten tgen / unterrichtung," in *Teufelbücher in Auswahl*, vol. 4, hrsg. Ria Stambaugh (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1977), 199.
[19] Martin Luther, "Of God's Works," in *Table Talk*, trans. by William Hazlitt, (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2004), 50.

translated as "detractor", "the one who obstructs", "slanderer" and its Greek translation "*διάβολος*" was borrowed into Latin and then found a place in many other languages.[20]

I will have to jump several centuries later and go straight to the period between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries that saw the rise of Scholasticism. Scholastic thought contributed immensely to the development of the image of Satan. As Jeffrey Burton Russell has put this period saw the rise of the devil's image as:

> "The Devil became a more colorful, immediate, and present figure in art, literature, sermons, and popular consciousness. This change was the result of Cathar dualism, monastic revival of the tales of the desert fathers, and a general tendency to solidify religious figures: both Christ and the Blessed Mother became more immediate, Mary becoming Satan's most vigorous opponent." [21]

At the same time the devil ceased to be an important figure in theological debates, as scholastic thinkers were far more interested in the concept of evil than in its immediate presence in the surrounding world. Famous theologians, for example St. Anselm, Peter Lombard, Abelard, and Aquinas, contributed to the development of the devil's image and at the same time diminished his significance in the development of the Holy History.

St. Anselm, for instance, proposed several important ideas that had influenced the views of Christian thinkers on the essence of evil. Firstly, he elaborated on the ontological state of the evil stating that it is merely a lack of goodness, a plain non-good.[22] This idea first emerged in the Old Testament[23] and was later restated by St. Augustine and Peter Lombard and became standard in Western Christianity.[24] It was also used to combat dualistic heresies

[20] Jeffrey B. Russell, *The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 28.
[21] Russell, *Lucifer*, 161.
[22] Anselm of Canterbury, "The Fall of the Devil," in *Complete Philosophical and Theological Treatises of Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. Jasper Hopkins and Herbert Richardson (Minneapolis: The Arthur J. Banning Press, 2000), 230-231.
[23] Russell, *The Prince of Darkness*, 43.
[24] Russell, *Lucifer*, 172; Augustine of Hippo, *St. Augustine's Confessions*, 7:12, vol. 1, trans. by William Watts, (London: William Heinemann; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912), 375-376.

that started spreading throughout Europe from the middle of the eleventh century. Anselm's other development was connected to the concept of salvation and served to clear the question of the devil's possession of mankind and God's power to save human beings. Anselm elaborated on the so-called satisfaction theory according to which Adam and Eve were fully responsible for disobeying God's command due to their free will. The devil, thus, played only a minor role in their downfall because he did not make the decision for them but only urged Eve to eat the forbidden fruit. The progenitors broke an "agreement" with their creator and had to answer before him and subsequently humanity had to atone for their sin in order to achieve salvation. The devil was left with a role of a guard who would watch over humankind but did not have a right to retain it.[25]

Another theory, which explained the relations between God, the devil, and humanity, was connected to the concept of paying a ransom. It was detailed by the school of Laon and focused more on the devil's role in the fall of humankind. According to this theory Adam and Eve became indebted to their creator by sinning and going against his will. In some versions of this theory they had also struck a deal with the devil by accepting his deceitful offer which gave him the right to possess humanity. This grave sin in the face of Lord could not be redeemed by any human being however pious they might be. Jesus Christ being the son of God born by a mortal mother shared two natures and thus could pay out the ransom for the humankind. His sacrifice as a human being was enhanced by his divine nature and he managed to repay humankind's debt as well as to snatch the believers out of the devil's claws.[26]

In the thirteenth century Thomas Aquinas elaborated on the theory of evil and stated that it can only exist as an addition to or rather a negation of something good as "blindness

[25] Russell, *Lucifer*, 170.
[26] Ibid., 177.

can exist only in the eye".[27] For Aquinas absolute evil was only a contemplative concept with no rooting in reality and he properly focused on the lack of goodness as a lack of a natural asset and the evil of sin. According to him, evil doings could hinder one's spiritual growth and ultimately salvation as it stopped the believers from reaching their potential for goodness. God let the evil exist as it was, first of all, the natural part of any life form on earth and, secondly, could be perceived as a virtue because it did not have an essence of its own (for example, one could see positive sides to one's suffering as it could strengthen the spirit and be seen as a sacrifice).[28] Accordingly, Aquinas' Lucifer could affect humankind only indirectly as he could not move people to sin without their free will and the devil's own sin happened within God's providence. More importantly, as Russell has summed up "Not the principle or the cause of evil, Satan is the focal point and unifying force of all evil".[29]

All of these ideas influenced both the *Satan's Trial* and *Theatrum Diabolorum*. However, Luther's take on the devil and the views of his followers differed quite drastically from the Late Medieval tradition. Russell has rightfully stated that in the period between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries the devil was often downgraded to a mere "caricature of a rhetoric or propaganda".[30] Nevertheless this statement can be applied to the Reformation understanding of Satan only partially, as I will show in chapter 2.

One last thing to consider here is the methodological approach that some of the researchers on the image of the devil have assumed in recent times. Mentioning it is important to justify the influence that this concept exercised on medieval and early modern understanding of the world. Both Jeffrey Russell and Lyndal Roper have analyzed the perception of the devil in the Middle Ages and Early Modern times from a psychoanalytical

[27] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* 1.104.1; Russell, *Lucifer*,194.
[28] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* 1.44.4; Russell, *Lucifer*, 198.
[29] Russell, *Lucifer*, 203.
[30] Ibid., 161.

point of view. As Russell puts it "An event occurring to a person whose mental universe has room for the Devil is likely to interpret such an event quite differently from a person with a differing mental universe".[31] Another researcher, Stuart Clark added another dimension to this discourse by assuming the linguistic approach in his analysis of witchcraft trials. Clark follows Sapir-Whorf's theory of linguistic relativity, which states that language structure shapes the way we perceive the world around us and make sense of it.[32] He argued that the witchcraft was a signifier with no reference to the real life but nevertheless it constructed its own reality.[33] The same can be stated about the devil himself whose presence in the real world was constructed and reiterated in the numerous writings about him. Finally, as Russell has put it "The devil is what the history of his concept is. Nothing else about him can be known".[34]

1.2 Literary Tradition of *Satan's Processes* and the Devil's Place in It

The devil was pictured as an overwhelming and almighty entity in *Theatrum Diabolorum*. Not a single human being could escape his claws and avoid his dreadful tortures and tricks. However, the treatises from the *Theatrum Diabolorum* compendium were not the first ones to analyze the concept of the devil's power over humanity. Here I will briefly recall the literary tradition, which preceded early modern Devil's Books, namely the tradition of *Satan's Processes* or *Satanprozesse*. These emerged as a popular literary genre in the middle of the thirteenth century and had enjoyed popularity well until the seventeenth century.[35] The main plot revolves around the case filed by the devil who decides that his right to possess humanity was taken from him illegally after Christ's Harrowing of Hell. The devil (or his

[31] Ibid., 183.
[32] Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 7.
[33] Ibid., 6.
[34] Russell, *Lucifer*, 23.
[35] Cardelle de Hartmann, *Lateinische Dialoge,* 306.

demonic representative) proceeds to the heavenly court where he has to debate over his right with humanity's attorney (this role was usually taken up by the Virgin Mary or Moses) in front of the supreme judge represented by Jesus Christ or God himself. After heated debates which usually involve numerous references to the Bible as well as Roman and Canon Law, the devil or his demonic servant returns to Hell defeated. The texts incorporate three main elements of medieval Western culture—scholastic theology, university jurisprudence and folk culture. The concept of the struggle between good and evil in grotesque debates goes back to medieval plays. Their theological motifs are associated with the images of Mary, Christ and Satan, who are the main actors of sacred Christian history. Finally, the references to Canon and Roman law directly connected some of the treatises based on the *Satan's Processes'* plot to the universities where they were used as guidebooks for law students.[36]

A German researcher, Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann divides the texts belonging to this tradition into three groups according to the author and the date of creation.[37] The first group consists of the *Advocacia* texts (*Advocacia-Fassung*) that were based on a plot created by the French bishop Guido de Collemedio in the end of the thirteenth century. The first printed text of this group was entitled *Processus satanae contra genus humanum*, and was published in Straßburg by Heinrich Eggestein around 1472-1474.[38] The texts of the second group received their name from the main antagonist, the demon Mascaron (*Mascaron-Fassung*). This version of the plot first appears in the work of the Dutch author Jacob van Maerlants and dates back to 1262 when *Boek van Merline* was created (however, it is unclear how old is the textual source that Maerlants used as an inspiration for his text).[39] The first printed version of this plot appeared in a treatise *ractatus quaestionis ventilatae coram*

[36] Beatrice Pasciuta, *Il Diavolo in Paradiso: Diritto, teologia e letterature nel Processus Satanae (sec. XIV)* (Rome: Viella, 2015), 61-65.
[37] Cardelle de Hartmann, *Lateinische Dialoge*, 306-307.
[38] Ibid., 309, 313.
[39] Ibid., 315.

domino nostro Jesu Christo inter virginem Mariam ex una parte et diabolum ex alia parte printed in 1473 in Augsburg by Günther Zainer. The third version of the *Satan's Process* is considered to be written by an Italian jurist and professor of law Bartolo of Sassoferrato (*Bartolo-Fassung*) and dates to Bartolo's lifetime (1313/4 - 1357). Here I will mostly focus on the texts of the Bartolo-Fassung type, specifically a small treatise, "Satan's Trial Against Humankind" (*Processus Satanae Contra Genus Humanum*) which was published ca. 1495 in Leipzig by printer Georg Boettiger. The decision to include this treatise into the present research was motivated by the fact that its scope was broader than that of the texts of *Advocacia-* and *Mascaron Fassungen*. It encompassed the themes of popular literature as well as included a detailed overview of Roman and Canon law and concurrent theological ideas hence entrenching popular perceptions of evil in a more learned and sophisticated backdrop of medieval universities.

Looking closer at the plot and characters of *Satan's Processes* is crucial for the present research for a number reasons. First of all, it features both the devil and the demon. The complex relations between them, humankind, and the saints were key to the treatise's plot. *Satan's Processes* explored and used such topics as the devil's might, the demon's cunningness and comical appearance, and Mary's role as the mediator between humanity and God. The same themes have been picked up by Reformist writers, who developed a whole new stance on the devil and his demons as well as their relation to humankind in their treatises. Secondly, the plot of *Satan's Processes* developed in close connection to religious theater especially the miracle plays or the so-called *contrasti*.[40] These plays were based on a simple yet engaging argument between two opposing characters (for example, heart and reason, heart and soul, saints and demons, etc.), one of whom represented the good and ultimately won the argument. *Theatrum Diabolorum* was also connected to the popular

[40] Diego Quaglioni, "La Vergine e il Diavolo. Letteratura e Diritto, Letteratura come Diritto," in *Laboratoire Italien: Politique et Societe* 5:(2004), 49.

theater, even its name promised the reader a vivid presentation of curious characters—although, it must be stated that many authors used the word *theatrum* in the titles of their works at this time, with one of the most notable examples being *Theatrum de Veneficis* – a compendium of treatises on witchcraft edited by Abraham Sawr and published in 1586.[41] And lastly, both *Satan's Trial* and the works of *Theatrum Diabolorum* were connected to larger traditions of *Satansprozesse* and *Teufelsbücher* (Devil's Books), respectively. It is important to note that these traditions did not overlap but rather went parallel to each other, with *Satan's Process* being a product of the Late Middle Ages and *Theatrum Diabolorum* a result of the Reformed and Lutheran ideas about the devil and his evil powers. A comparison of these two works can shed light on the roots of the *Devil's Books* tradition, and at the same time provide a background against which the unique traits of *Theatrum Diabolorum* can be highlighted. Thus, I will trace the cultural and literary connections between the two pieces of writing as well as highlight their differences and developments in *Theatrum Diabolorum.* Before proceeding to the analysis I shall briefly introduce the plot and main characters of *Satan's Trial* and focus on some of its most important features.

The plot of the *Satan's Trial* revolves around a heavenly court where the devil files a case against humanity, desiring to regain his right (*jus antiquus*) to possess it. The Virgin Mary comes to humanity's defense and the trial unfolds before the supreme judge Jesus Christ. The devil himself cannot leave his infernal realm and has to send a demon-representative to the court who becomes the voice and "embodiment" of his master. The demon and Satan are ultimately doomed to lose the case as the Virgin and Christ triumph over them and save the human race. However, Satan's image is more complex and mysterious than it seems to be at first glance. It reveals a great deal about popular late medieval perceptions of the devil and his demonic followers. The devil being a participant of a court

[41] Gerhild Scholz Williams, "Demonologies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America,* ed. Brian P. Levack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 82.

trial is fascinating too, as he uncovers some basic ideas that determined notions of justice and mercy.

The image of the devil presented in the treatise essentially entails three parts. The first one is the devil himself who presided in Hell and could not leave his realm. He was depicted as the ruler of Hell and the prince of this world or *princeps huius mundi* and as such could file a complaint to the heavenly court. The next one is the devil's representative, the demon chosen for his astuteness and cunning at the counsel of evil spirits in Hell. This counsel of infernal malice or *nequitie infernalis* can be considered to be the last part of the complex image of evil, a blend of all the malicious demons that could not be separated from Satan, the main source of the evil. Alexander Makhov calls this mix an Anti-Trinity, which parodied the Holy Trinity.[42] Indeed, this tripartite demonic entity donned some features of the Holy Trinity: it was omnipresent and powerful, and it could be seen as one and three different substances at the same time. However, the Anti-Trinity was a messy reflection of the Holy Trinity and was neither truly consubstantial nor co-equal. In the process of the trial the devil would overtake his representative's bodily form to appear in the court. This did not go past the Virgin Mary who called out the devil for breaking the rules of the court and she tried to appeal to Jesus Christ by stating that according to the law only one representative of the complainant can be present in the court: "It has also been stated in the claim that the demon called for a regular assistant and entered the court himself, as I have noted earlier, and came under his guise, thus, he should not be listened to anymore".[43]. Here, the demon becomes a physical vessel which can serve Satan's needs neatly when the master himself wants to show up at the hearing.

[42] Alexander Makhov, *Hortus Daemonum. Словарь Инфернальной Мифологии Средневековья и Возрождения* [*Hortus Daemonum. The Dictionary of Infernal Mythology of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*] (Moscow: Intrada, 2014). 247.

[43] *Sic autem est in proposito et fuit quod demon auxilium ordinarium intentavit et ipsum in iuditium deduxit ut supra tetigi et in eo succcubuit ergo amplius audiri non debet.* Bartolo da Sassoferrato, *Processus Satanae Contra Genus Humanum* (Leipzig: Gregor Boettiger, ca. 1495), 14.

These hellish characters differed in another respect: the demon had a body and his master, the ruler and the essence of infernal malice, did not. The demon's physical features included clenching jaws, burning eyes, and a big sack tied to his neck in which he held the document legitimizing his presence in court. The grotesque nature of the treatise was also tied to the demon's physicality. Displeased with Mary's appearance in court he grits his teeth but tries to stay calm and humble.[44] This character is not afraid to be rude to humanity's saintly attorney and to harsh rude phrases such as "Open up your ears, o, protectress of humankind…"[45] and "Today I hear about the miracles on the Sun, the Moon, and the stars, as the attorney of the world wants to become my own advocate… She, on the contrary, wants to be my tutoress and nurse and to equate me to children who do not know how to make a conclusion or the glosses of the law".[46] When the devil tries to speak through his representative he necessarily loses the authority of his power as the ruler of Hell – he can attend court only partially and support his own case.

This division between the devil and the demon served as a premise for the grotesque and often humorous nature of the treatise. While the devil could still keep up his terrifying image and stay in his hellish realm, the demon was more of a comical character, that served as a relief of tension and certainly could not be considered as the great enemy of humankind. His master, on the other hand, bore the titles of "Prince of This World" or "Eternal Enemy" which both connected his character to the Sacred History. As demonstrated below, this division would slowly diminish over the years and by the time of the Reformation the devil and his evil supporters will gain such power in the popular mind that there will be almost no place left for the comical representation of the lesser demons. They will mostly dissolve in the devil's image as omnipresent and omnipotent.

[44] Ibid., 12.
[45] *Aperies aures tuas o advocata humani generis et eudies ea que dicam tibi.* Ibid., 19.
[46] *Dixit demon: Ego audio hodie mirabilia in sole et luna et stellis quia advocate mundi vult esse mea advocata me invite… Vult enim esse mea tutrix et nutrix et facere de me sicut sit de pueris dui nesciunt punctare neque glose re.* Ibid., 19.

It must also be noted that even though humanity was at the center of the court hearing because its fate was at stake it could not possibly attend the heavenly trial for itself because of its mortal nature. The fact that it was fully bound to the earthly realm nearly resulted in *contumatia* or failing to being present at the hearing.[47] However, humanity's advocate was there to mediate between the human beings and Jesus Christ. Both Mary and Jesus Christ shared the trait of heavenly mercy, *misericordia*, and in the course of the trial the Virgin Mary would admonish her son to be more merciful to the pitiful human nature.[48] This will not be the case with the Lutheran writers who followed Luther's ideas about the unsurpassable and forbidding gap between the human beings and God. This notion will be elaborated in *Theatrum Diabolorum* where the immediacy of the devil would be heightened to an apocalyptic scale. Moreover, unlike the author of *Satan's Trial*, Lutheran preachers who contributed to the *Theatrum* collection would shift their attention to the sins of humankind that welcomed the devil on their own accord. Pious people still had an option of praying for their salvation and finding solace in the doctrine of *sola fide*, however, the message of *Theatrum* was definitely less positive than that of the *Satan's Trial.* In the late medieval treatise, the salvation was more or less reserved for everyone as Mary was well known to be the devil's worst enemy who could easily win in a struggle for human souls.[49] Jesus Christ the Judge was also presented as the source of divine justice that ultimately favored his creation rather than the devil. In this, his character resembled the image of an Almighty God of the Old Testament that would later be favored by the Lutheran preachers. However, it was the combination of the divine justice and Mary's merciful nature that saved humanity.

Overall, *Satan's Trial* was quite favorable towards humankind. Although the devil and his servant played important parts in the treatise, its author would incessantly underline

[47] Ibid., 8.
[48] Ibid., 13.
[49] Alexander Makhov, *Hostis Antiquus: Категории и Образы Средневековой Христианской Демонологии* [*Hostis Antiquus: Categories and Images of Medieval Christian Demonology*] (Moscow: Intrada, 2006), 121.

their pitiful and powerless position by making Mary and Jesus Christ recall the fall of Lucifer and the punishment which the demons have to undergo at every moment and in every place as he and his minions "stay condemned to eternal hellish tortures because of his pride".[50] This combined with the fact that the devil ultimately loses the case shows that there was still some hope left for the salvation of humankind even though the characters of the devil and his minion were greatly equipped to fight for their cause. As Beatrice Pasciuta argues, the treatise was most probably used to teach the university students who wanted to learn more about court proceedings.[51] The theatricality and grotesque spirit of the treatise served as a means of entertainment and of clear distinction between good and bad characters and hence good and bad behavior in court. The characters presented in the treatise were intrinsically connected to the popular belief about Mary being the mediator between God and humanity, Satan being unable to defeat her, and the lesser demons as comical even if sometimes they could pose dangers for human beings. These beliefs were based on the Catholic image of saints and demons.

However, with the beginning of the Reformation and the "growing Lutheran obsession with the diabolical"[52] the views on the devil became increasingly more serious. The image of the devil changed as it received more and more attention by Luther's followers who were more equipped to deliver their message about the evil in the world to the simple folk than their Catholic predecessors. Lutheran theological ideas included a subversion of Catholic ones. In order to assert new values, Lutheran propaganda had to place greater emphasis on the image of the pope as the Antichrist and depict Luther "as a saint", opposed to the institutional

[50] *...propter eius emmensem superbiam ad penam inferni perpetuem extitit condemnatus*. Bartolo da Sassoferrato, *Processus Satanae Contra Genus Humanum*, 3.
[51] Pasciuta, *Il Diavolo in Paradiso*, 65.
[52] Gary K. Waite, "Sixteenth-Century Religious Reform and the Witch-Hunts," in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed. Brian P. Levack, 494.

Catholic Church tainted by the devil and his followers.[53] Moreover, Scribner argues that the image of the pope as a servant of humankind's greatest enemy is incomplete without a juxtaposition to the image of the new saints and saviors of the true church. Popular culture did not follow complex theological ideas about the nature of the diabolical. In a world of clear-cut binaries, the good had to be countered by the evil and it gave the Reformers great propaganda opportunities. Lutheran writings moved away from the comical image of the lesser demons and instead propagated the figure of the mighty and frightening devil.

1.3 Luther's Views on the Devil

Martin Luther, the celebrated Father of the Reformation himself had exploited the image of the devil profusely in his writings and preaching. However, not only did he use this character in the invectives against the institutionalized Catholic Church but also genuinely believed in the devil's presence and his constant attacks on humanity. Growing up in a small mining town of Mansfeld he absorbed a lot of popular beliefs about the devil lurking in the shadows of mines and scaring the simple folk.[54] As Heiko Oberman states, studies on Luther's life and theology typically underestimate the impact that the devil had on the Reformer.[55] The anecdotal scene in which Luther threw an ink bottle at the bothersome devil who would not leave him in peace in his study might be the sole popular story of the Reformer's encounters with the frightening enemy. However, Luther elaborated on Christian ideas about the devil and put him closer to humanity than ever before.

In the conclusion of his Large Catechism Luther asks what the devil was. The reply to that question was

[53] Robert W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1987), 138.
[54] Heiko Oberman, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1989), 104.
[55] Oberman, *Luther*, 103.

> "Nothing else than what the Scriptures call him, a liar and murderer. A liar, to lead the heart astray from the Word of God, and to blind it, that you cannot feel your distress or come to Christ. A murderer, who cannot bear to see you live one single hour. If you could see how many knives, darts, and arrows are every moment aimed at you, you would be glad to come to the Sacrament as often as possible. But there is no reason why we walk so securely and heedlessly, except that we neither think nor believe that we are in the flesh, and in this wicked world or in the kingdom of the devil."[56]

This description was to be echoed by the Lutheran preachers in *Theatrum Diabolorum*, especially by Andreas Musculus who set out to trace the source of the devil's might and terror. By abolishing the possibility to achieve one's salvation by good deeds, and by adopting the doctrine of *sola fide* and *sola gratia* Luther exposed human beings to the devil's wrath and essentially left them without any means of protection against the evil. The logic behind the late medieval texts about the devil such as *Satan's Trial* was abandoned by the Reformers and humankind could no longer rely on Mary's protection against the great enemy in front of Jesus Christ.

Luther brought the devil in close proximity to human beings by stating that he was way closer than the believers used to think and that even the official Church itself was stricken by him as he perceived the pope to be the follower of Satan. For him the devil was to be blamed even for the bodily illnesses that he would experience from time to time.[57] Satan had a tangible presence in the world and tried to frighten the pious ones into meekness and to break their spirit by posing them with horrible hardships. To prove his point Luther and his followers would often evoke the story of Job. This Old Testament episode showed not only the terrifying power of the devil but also reassured the readers that he was not able to unleash his wrath without God's permission.

[56] Martin Luther, "The Large Catechism," in *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church*, trans. F. Beante, W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921). http://www.projectwittenberg.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/luther/catechism/web/cat-12.html (last accessed 16.05.2018).

[57] Lyndal Roper, *Martin Luther: Renegade and Prophet* (New York: Random House, 2016), 146-147.

However, Luther's take on Satan was still far from the ideas proposed by his later followers and expressed in *Theatrum Diabolorum*. He argued that the devil fears the name of Christ and is enraged by every prayer of the pious believers. He used scatological language profusely when talking about the devil[58]: "He was not merely trying to appeal to "the people" but the Devil himself…" by using obscene language. What Luther tried to do, according to Oberman, was to defile the Devil and uncover his evil deeds by using profanities which brought him closer to earth and stripped him of his awe-inspiring stature. This trope definitely connected Luther's understanding of the image of the devil to popular culture, especially its theatrical and carnivalesque representation of evil.[59]

Luther also came to associate the devil with the pope, institutionalized Catholic Church, and his own Catholic foes. For example, on his way to Worms Luther was prepared to meet the devils as numerous as tiles on roofs.[60] He repeatedly connected the pope to the devil or the Antichrist and said that he saw "the head of all wickedness and the seat of the Devil" while travelling to Rome.[61] In his Table Talks the readers can find the following statement: "He that best governs the world, as most worthy of it, is Satan, by his lieutenant the pope."[62] This connection had been made before Luther by the sects branded as heretical by the official Church. However, Luther and other Reformers managed to successfully demonize the pope by quickly spreading propaganda materials with the help of new printing processes and effective preaching outside of churches.[63] This narrative was strengthened by

[58] Oberman, *Luther,* 109.
[59] Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements,* 283.
[60] Roper, *Martin Luther,* 37; Oberman, *Luther,* 197-198.
[61] Roper, *Martin Luther,* 150.
[62] Martin Luther, "Of God's Word," in *Table Talk*, trans. by William Hazlitt, (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2004), 38.
[63] Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements,* 283.

the fact that Luther staunchly believed that the devil's incessant tortures signified one's piety.[64]

Luther's views on the image of the devil were still traditional and did not break away from the Catholic understanding of the powers of evil. However, he also heightened the sense of awareness of the devil's presence in the world. Luther urged his followers to be vigilant of the devil's tricks as well as to believe in God's sole power to save them.

1.4. The Devil's Image in Early Modern Literature: *Teufelsliteratur* Tradition

The Reformation period was indeed marked by the heightened sense of the evil presence in people's daily life. As a consequence, the sixteenth century saw a rise of the genre of *Teufelsliteratur* or *Teufelsbücher*, the *Devil's Books* – moralizing writings about this frightening enemy and the sins that he used to lead the pious ones astray. The emergence of *Theatrum Diabolorum* – a prominent example of such literature was a clear reaction to the popularity of the demonology theme. As has been said before, it was a large compendium of Lutheran works on various devils that ruled different vices and caused the suffering of humankind. The compilation was done by a famous printer and resident of Frankfurt Sigmund Feyerabend. Feyerabend hailed from Frankfurt am Main and specialized in printing Protestant pamphlets, exempla collections, historical books, and books of law. He was one of the two most important printers of the city and usually competed against Nicolaus Basse over the production of the *Teufelsliteratur* books.[65] In 1562 Feyerabend started a publishing company, together with another Frankfurt printer Georg Rab.[66] Before printing the first

[64] Roper, *Martin Luther*, 512.
[65] Baron, *Faustus on Trial*, 19, 78.
[66] Ibid., 22.

edition of *Theatrum* Feyerabend had already published a number of treatises, which would later become the core of the compendium.[67] Among the authors that had contributed their works to the collection were such renowned Lutheran authorities as Andreas Musculus–a successful Lutheran preacher and theology professor at Frankfurt am Oder university who was a member of Brandenburg delegation at the Formula of Concord drafting[68], Hermann Hamelmann–former catholic preacher of Münster and Kamen who later became a staunch Lutheran who took part in drafting the Formula of Concord[69]; Cyriakus Spangenberg–the son of Luther's friend Johannes Spangenberg and a prolific Lutheran theologian and biblical exegete who became a preacher in Luther's hometown Mansfeld and was exiled by Elector August of Saxony for his attacks against the Phillipists (another interesting detail about Spangenberg's teaching was his idea that the Original Sin tainted the essence of the human beings and the sinners were made in the image of Satan)[70]; Joachim Westphal–Lutheran pastor from Hamburg and a staunch opponent of Phillip Melanchton and his followers[71], and others. These writers produced a variety of treatises about a range of different devils – magic devil, marriage devil, drinking devil, the devils of dance, hunting, games, pestilence, Sabbath, melancholy, and even pants. All of these found their way into the *Theatrum* collection which served to increase their popularity by introducing these texts to university circles.[72]

By the second half of the sixteenth century when *Theatrum Diabolorum* reached its audience, the Lutherans had finished the first stage of the battle for their place in the sun and

[67] Ibid., 69.
[68] Robert Kolb, "Musculus, Andreas," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 103.
[69] Egbert Thiemann, "Hamelmann, Hermann," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie, Band 7* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1966), 585.
[70] Robert Kolb, "Spangenberg, Cyriakus," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 99-100.
[71] Derek Visser, "Westphal, Joachim," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 268.
[72] Verena Theile, "Early Modern Literary Engagements with Fear, Witchcraft, the Devil and that Damned Dr. Faustus," in *Staging the Suprestitions of Early Modern Europe*, ed. Verena Theile and Andrew McCarthy (London: Routledge, 2013), 75.

had to instill their own agenda against their opponents—the Catholic Church and other factions that sprung up after the Reformation. *Theatrum Diabolorum* played an important role in this process as it was one of the normative Lutheran works on the essence of the evil and human struggle against it. Its first edition proved to be extremely successful and welcomed two more prints.[73] As Frank Baron has stated "the devil was good business" for Frankfurt printers who were eager to print books and treatises connected to demonological theme.[74] Because of its popularity *Theatrum* caused a great argument between two prominent Frankfurt printers, Sigmund Feyerabend and Nikolas Basse, in 1582. Feyerabend asserted that Basse had illegally reprinted the books that were first published in his print.[75] It is interesting, though, that Basse had also printed a few treatises which were included into *Theatrum Diabolorum*, namely Andreas Musculus's *Wider den Fluchteufel*, Eusatcius Schild's *Spielteufel*, Mattheus Friedrich's *Wider den Saufteuffel* in 1561, Andreas Hoppenrod's *Wider den Huren Teufel* in 1565, Jodocus Hocker's *Der Teufel selbs* in 1568 and 1569, and some other writings of the same kind which did not become part of Feyerabend's collection.[76] This dispute does not add much to the analysis of the emergence of *Theatrum*, however, it sheds light onto the general attitude towards the Devil's Books which enjoyed such a level of popularity that the printmakers wanted to protect their rights to publish the works of this genre.

Theatrum Diabolorum was part of the Lutheran propaganda machine, which, however, by the second half of the sixteenth century became less explosive and raw than the pamphlets and images of the early Reformation but now spoke with an authoritative and normative tone. *Theatrum* was a collection of established authors in the field of demonology

[73] Kathleen Crowther "From Seven Sins to Lutheran Devils: Sin and Social Order in an Age of Confessionalization," in *La pathologie du pouvoir: vices, crimes et délits des gouvernants Antiquité, Moyen Âge, époque moderne*, ed. Patrick Gilli (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 487.
[74] Baron, *Faustus on Trial*, 60.
[75] Ibid., 69.
[76] Ibid., 18.

whose names only added to the popular appeal of the book.[77] Its tone was different from that of Luther as it did not try to expose the pope and the Church as the followers of Satan anymore, its message was a moral one and focused primarily on people's sins that welcomed the dark forces. In addition, many of *Theatrum*'s authors connected current worldly events to the rise of Satan which resulted in the overwhelming apocalyptic feeling that dominated the entire collection.

How can the exceeding popularity of the *Devil's Books* be explained? Which tools did the authors of *Theatrum Diabolorum* use in order to promote their message? And how did the image of the devil as presented in *Theatrum Diabolorum* differed from the one the readers could find in *Satan's Trial* or Luther's writings? Close assessment of Andreas Musculus's opening chapter to *Theatrum Diabolorum* entitled "Von des Teufels Tyranney Macht und Gewalt" (On the Devil's tyranny, might, and power) will give an answer to this question.

[77] Theile, "Early Modern Literary Engagements with Fear, Witchcraft, the Devil and that Damned Dr. Faustus," 75.

Chapter 2. *On Devil's Tyranny, Power, and Might*: Changes in Tradition

2.1 Andreas Musculus' *On the Devil's Tyranny, Power, and Might*: A Brief Overview

Andreas Musculus was an outstanding Lutheran preacher as well as one of the numerous contributors to the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection. He contributed the total of four treatises (*On the Marriage Devil, On the Devil of Swearing, On the Devil of Pants,* and *On the Devil's Tyranny, Power, and Might*) to the first edition of the compendium. Musculus was more than a mere writer on the devil as he was primarily known for participation in the Brandenburg committee of the Formula of Concord in 1576-1577 and a staunch propagator of Gnesio-Lutheran values.[78] His siding with the Lutherans in the polemic between Gnesio-Lutherans and Phillipists that unraveled after the death of both Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchton showed his theological understanding of the law and the value of good works. In Luther's view the law and the Gospel were two guiding principles in believers' lives. According to him the law was of earthly and human nature and was designed to explicate people's sins as well as to punish them for transgressions. The Gospel, on the other hand, was of divine nature and encompassed the earthly law. The believers could reach salvation only through God's grace and mercy which were expressed in the Gospel. Accordingly, Luther stated that the earthly law did not secure one's salvation. It, however, could show the way to salvation by punishing the vices and thus distinguishing the right from the wrong.[79] Following Luther, Musclulus expressed the same ideas about the law's accusing power in his

[78] Robert Kolb, "Musculus, Andreas," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 103.
[79] Karl-Heinz zur Mühlen, "Law: Theological Understanding of Law," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 404-408.

articles on various devils that were designed to condemn the sins of believers and remind them about God's grace.[80]

On the Devil's Tyranny, Power and Might was the second introductory chapter of *Theatrum*. In apocalyptic tone it portrayed the devil as an almighty entity which constantly surrounds every human being, young and old, poor and wealthy, and tries incessantly to snatch their souls and harm their bodies. This treatise was of a more general nature as opposed to most other writings of *Theatrum*. It warned its readers about Satan's tricks and deception, mentioned God's power over him and human beings' inability to challenge him or reach salvation on their own. I argue that this chapter (as well as the entire collection) was meant to be a normative Lutheran text which could give people an impression of the devil's power and the reasons behind his actions from the Lutheran point of view. Unlike Luther, his followers, especially Musculus, did not mention the Pope in connection to Satan in an attempt to denigrate official church. Nearly half a century separated the works of Luther and his first followers and the writers who contributed their treatises to the *Theatrum Diabolorum* compendium. These authors had other issues to tackle and subsequently made up other uses for the image of the devil.

Firstly, it is important to make a brief overview of the treatise's contents. The readers can clearly hear the author's voice – Andreas Musculus was quite eager to mention his role in producing the text. He began the treatise with venting about a disastrous current situation in his native Germany where the morals were extremely low and people sinned incessantly not paying attention to God's warnings.[81] However, it was not only the human beings who incited God's wrath – current times welcomed the powers of evil. The devil and his demons were on

[80] Kolb, "Musculus, Andreas,"103.
[81] Andreas Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 197.

the loose and were torturing humankind as never before.[82] Inspired by the Holy Spirit Musculus wanted to document this state of events by giving an account to the works of the evil spirits. He also strived to give some advice on how to persevere the devil's attacks and avoid God's wrath.[83]

Already in the beginning the readers could feel apocalyptic undertones that colored Musculus' treatise and made it more vivid. He stated that quite soon the earthly kingdom will fall and as for now the devil has "polluted every corner of the world with pride, indecency, and evilness".[84] Even the churches cannot save the believers as they too fell under the onslaught of the evil enemy. Moreover, Musculus warned his readers that "In this short time the devil has struck us with murder and constant assaults more than in many hundreds of years before and rendered us miserable".[85] Musculus opened his chapter with this quick escalation of awareness of the devil's presence as well as gave the premise to the entire collection. The devil's immediacy and crushing power were to be kept at bay only with the help of constant vigilance. Here the author referred to the fable of five foolish virgins for the first time, stating that the ones who let the lanterns of their faith burn out lost their way to Christ.[86] Only after highlighting the importance of the topic for the readers (among whom, presumably, the devil took his stand) he proceeded to briefly enumerating the subchapters of the treatise all of which had to deal with the evil spirits.

The first one was dedicated to the devil's omnipresence. Musculus stated that the devil has defiled every corner of earth with his presence and was especially fond of churches. The second subchapter narrated about the attraction that the devil feels towards the sinners.

[82] Ibid., 198.
[83] Ibid., 198.
[84] *Mit hoffart unzucht boszheit hat der Teufel alle winckel der welt also uberschüttet…* Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 199.
[85] *Mit mordt und verfolgung hat er mehr jammer und elend in dieser kurtzen zeit als zuvor in viel hundert jharen gestifft und angerichtet wie wir solchs zum theil erfaren.* Ibid.,199.
[86] Ibid., 202.

He pops up in every place where a vice has been committed. The third subchapter countered the notion of the devil's ubiquity as he could act only where God would permit him to. The fourth subchapter incorporated the warfare imagery as here Musculus argued that the devil posed outward and inward dangers to mankind and resided inside the walls of the entrenched cities. The fifth subchapter followed the ideas expressed in the fourth one and showed how the devil could spoil both the body and the soul. The sixth subchapter was fully dedicated to God's grace and His ability to stop the devil at any point. Musculus strived to show that the devil was in no way mightier than God and could act only when permitted to. The last two subchapters included guides for the believers on how to behave under Satan's attacks.

Right in the first subchapter Musculus stated the close proximity of the devil to humankind: "We want to prove thoroughly and irrefutably that the devil is … too close and closer than we let ourselves suspect or think".[87] He proceeds to retell the events of the history of mankind from the Old Testament. It was because of the devil that Adam and Eve first sinned, Cain killed his brother, the Great Flood happened, and Sodom and Gomorrah fell. Quoting St. Peter, Musculus describes the devil as a "roaring lion" that constantly searches for new prey, and uses this imagery persistently throughout the entire treatise. The devil has been spiting the Lord by making people sin since the beginning of the world and thus God would allow Satan to wreak havoc on earth to punish humankind.[88]

In the second subchapter the author states that God's words in Genesis 3:15 were the most evident sign of the devil's presence in this world. The enmity that the Lord set among the human beings was a prerequisite for the devil's own malicious schemes. Musculus gives a comprehensive description of devil's titles from the Bible stating that Christ called him a

[87] *Wöllen wir gründtlich und unwidersprechlich erweisen das der Teuffel nur mehr als zuviel sein nicht fern sondern uns allzu nahe und neher als wir vermuten oder düncken lassen.* Ibid., 204.
[88] Ibid., 206.

murderer, a liar, an adversary, and an enemy.[89] His other names include "diabolus", "sathana", "inimicus", and "malus". Musculus then proceeds to enumerate all the instances of the devil's appearances in the Bible and especially stresses the parts which highlighted Satan's subjection to God and his angels (The Book of Job, Zechariah 3, and Daniel 10). He ends the subchapter with fully referring to the First Epistle of Peter again portraying the devil as a roaring lion and admonishing his readers to "Be alert and of sober mind".

Musculus connected the historical presence of the devil to the concurrent times by stating that the stench of sulfur from the burnt cities of Sodom and Gomorrah could be felt even in his times. The devil now moved to Europe and was especially present in his native Germany.[90] However, no one in the present days wants to acknowledge the devil's presence as the Original Sin weakened people's bodies and spirit and now everyone is immensely scared of the evil spirits. Musculus strived to heighten this fear and in doing so finally open the eyes of the believers by presenting them with his treatise.[91]

However, the devil's tyranny would not exist if God did not allow it. As Musculus says in the third subchapter the devil is the mightiest when "God gives hands the sword to him".[92] Satan was called the god of this world not because he is an actual god but because he transmits the Lord's power. He is like a tyrant on earth that rules over an enormous army of the evil spirits. However, this part is interesting for another reason: Musculus's detailed description of a few devastating storms and floods which had happened in different parts of Germany in a span of thirty years. By addressing these stories Musculus strived to explicate the devil's presence in Germany and prove his immediacy to the readers. The first was the account of a Silesian town of Olse which the storm struck on the first of September (on St. Egidius day) in 1535. The sky changed its color and became strange and horrifying and

[89] Ibid., 211.
[90] Ibid., 206.
[91] Ibid., 209.
[92] Ibid., 214.

terrible wind broke out. Thunder rocked the earth as if an earthquake and putrid rain drowned the town. Many people lost their properties and even the town's main hall was severely damaged by the lightning and the wind. Moreover, a few people died killed by a fallen piece of a stone roof.[93] Another storm happened in Saxony in a town of Meissen on the fourteenth of August in 1559. There the water from Elbe flooded the city and the hale destroyed numerous houses. The last story narrated about the town Niederbobritzsch located close to Freiberg. The storm came there on the same day, uprooting trees and destroying houses. Musculus stated that God wanted to show how powerful the devil is on example of these towns.[94]

Of great interest is the fourth subchapter of the treatise. It is dedicated to the idea of the devil's two armies that attack humankind daily. Why two armies? Is not one army enough? Musculus gives an interesting answer to this question by evoking the Old Testament story found in the ninth chapter of the Book of Joshua. After securing the Promised Land and settling there the Israelites lost track of the seven hostile nations, which surrounded their territories. Musculus connected those nations to the seven sins by which humankind is tempted daily.[95] He did not forget that there was one more hidden enemy in the midst of the Israelites – the treacherous Jebusites who stayed in the Holy Land and worked insidiously against Joshua. The author connected this nation to weak human flesh, which is designed in such a way as to attract all sorts of vices and thus threaten the soul itself. The connection of seven nations to the seven sins had been already made in the Middle Ages and was represented, for example, in the images of *Lasterdarstellung* that I will discuss later in this chapter. Musculus went further in his assertions and made a parallel between the enemies of the Israelites and the vices that they symbolized. He also evoked the imagery of a military

[93] Ibid., 216-225.
[94] Ibid., 235.
[95] Ibid., 237.

camp of the pious which was constantly surrounded by the outer enemies as well as the inner ones and was too small to disrupt the devil's attacks.[96]

Musculus continued referring to the war imagery in the fifth chapter stating that the pious are only a "tiny flock" (*pusillum gregem*) against whom the devil has gathered great powers. Denied any chance of salvation and doomed for eternal damnation the devil was driven by his envy and hate towards the human beings and aspired to bring down every pious one. Musculus stated that so far the devil has been successful in his business. By deceiving people and affecting them physically Satan tries to strike the believers' bodies and souls. Great wealth, success, or learnedness attract him the most. Musculus preached humility as he argued that the ones who experienced maladies, poverty, and essentially did not enjoy their lives were more aware of the devil's presence than those who ate and drank a plenty.[97]

However, as has been stated before the devil cannot do any harm unless God allows him to. Musculus tried to clearly show the devil's submissive position as the devil thinks that he is much more important and powerful because of his pride.[98] In Job 40 God Himself states that the devil does not have any power over the pious who walk the path of God. The sixth subchapter was the most moralizing in its tone as Musculus warned the readers about the devil's will to seduce the most susceptible – the children.[99] As every human being was born into sin, parents and then teachers and preachers had to be especially careful with the children's upbringing so they can learn the ways of Christ and not fall prey to the devil. Accordingly, Musculus broke the believers into four groups that fight the devil. The first one comprised the parents who were the first ones to teach their children the right ways and warn them of the devil's tricks. The second included the schoolmasters who were responsible for

[96] Ibid., 239-242.
[97] Ibid., 245.
[98] Ibid., 246.
[99] Ibid., 239-250.

the children's education and proper social upbringing. Preachers comprised the third group and their function was the moral upbringing of young people that should study the Bible and be proper and pious. Finally, the fourth group included of earthly magistrates as God gave them the sword to rule the people on earth as was expressed in Paul's Epistle to Romans 13.

In the two final subchapters Musculus, somewhat anticlimactically, admonished his readers not to fear the devil. Here he once again refers to the Book of Job to show the readers that through the fear of the Lord, avoidance of sins, sacrifice, and rejection of other gods (basically, through following the Ten Commandments) one can save their soul from the devil's attacks.[100] The believers have to know their great foe ad be aware of his treacherous ways as well as be armed by God's words and faith to ward the devil off. However, it is important to stay humble and not to overestimate the powers of one's belief as the devil knows us from inside and out and can strike us at any moment. After warning the readers about their great sins Musculus gives them a chance of repentance as "where the sin is great, the grace is even greater".[101] He reassuringly states that the devil's torture only strengthen the true believers as they help them on their way to salvation.[102]

Musculus' message in the end is rather positive as he brings up the words of St. Paul from his Epistle to the Romans 8:38-39: "For I am convinced that neither death nor life, neither angels nor demons, neither the present nor the future, nor any powers, 39 neither height nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord". God is the hearer of our prayers and those who entrust themselves fully to His grace will be spared from the devil's attacks.

[100] Ibid., 257.
[101] Ibid., 264.
[102] Ibid., 262.

2.2 The Devil's Image in Musculus's Treatise

Musculus's devil was a frightening being that could plant a sense of paranoia in any reader. However, what exactly made him so intimidating and pervasive? The first thing to consider here are the titles of the devil received in the Holy Scripture that signified his different and frightening functions. Romy Brügemann has already exhaustingly described those titles, however, I will repeat them here too for the sake of clarity. Christ called the devil a murderer and a liar, "diabolus" or the great and treacherous enemy, "sathana" or an evil adversary of God's creation, "inimicus" or the one who conspires against humankind and constantly tries to hurt it, and lastly "malus" or the one who desires to do harm and destroy everything.[103] Brügemann argued that the amassment of these titles served to highlight the devil's evil nature and make his image as horrifying as possible.[104] Musculus referred to the ultimate authority of the Bible and Christ Himself to back up his statements about the devil's might.

Another answer can be found in the image of the devil as God's instrument. The devil was essentially presented as a tool of God's wrath and power. While he had a will of his own – he bore horrible hatred towards humankind because of his envy – he could not act on it unless God would permit him to. Thus, it was not the devil in the end but God Himself who should have inspired awe in the believers. As Kleinberg argued God's justice came into play once people have broken away from their Creator and the devil represented this punishing and ruthless power of the law.[105] Luther had propagated the immediacy and pervasiveness of Satan long before Andreas Musculus and for the Reformer the devil posed a far greater

[103] Ibid., 211; Brügemann, *Die Angst vor dem Bösen*, 173.
[104] Brügemann, *Die Angst vor dem Bösen*, 172.
[105] Aviad Kleinberg, *7 Deadly Sins: A Very Partial List*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 2008), 133; Mühlen, "Law," 404.

danger than for the people of the Middle Ages.[106] This function of the devil as a conduit of God's will was definitely inspired by the Lutheran distinction between the Law and the Gospel. Even though he stated that "the Law does not motivate good works in believers" he nevertheless saw it as a powerful reminder of God's wrath that the believers brought upon themselves.[107]

However, Musculus' account of the devil's works was quite ambiguous as he vacillated between stating that Satan was incredibly mighty and could strike the believers at his own accord and arguing that it was actually God who allowed the devil to do so.[108] He had to specifically state that even though Satan was called "the god of this world" he was not an actual god, but only an instrument of God's will.[109] Moreover, Musculus had to be very careful while writing about Satan's power as not to fall into a heresy. In the third subchapter he distinguished his ideas about the forces of good and evil from those of the "Manicheans": "But we do not want to impose the devil with such power and might as the Manicheans who had two gods–one good and one evil had done in the past".[110] In Musculus' case the will to break away from the Manichean or Cathar distinction between good and evil gods could signify his own acute awareness of the ambiguity of the nature of the devil's power as portrayed in the treatise. As Russell has stated scholastic developments in demonological studies were spurred by the rise of the alternative branches of Christian thought that were branded as heretical by the official Church.[111] The Cathars were the most well-known among those heretical sects. The ideas of Catharism are thought to stem from the Balkans and

[106] Brügemann, *Die Angst vor dem Bösen*, 158-159.
[107] Kolb, "Musculus, Andreas," 103.
[108] Brügemann, *Die Angst vor dem Bösen*, 167-168.
[109] Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 214.
[110] *Doch wöllen wir hie dem Teufel solche gewalt und macht nicht zumessen wie vor zeiten die Manicheer welche zween Götter machten Einen des guten den andern des bäsen*... Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 215.
[111] Russell, *Lucifer*, 161-162.

Bulgaria, where the heresy of Bogomils was on the rise in the 9-10th centuries.[112] Cathars shared several religious ideas with the said heresy. They both had the dualist view of the world – an old idea preached by the Manicheans and Gnostics. They believed that the earthly realm is inherently vile whereas the spiritual world is the *real* one, as the material world was created by the evil god (who in some versions was Lucifer himself) and populated with the souls (or fallen angels) trapped in material bodies.[113] Scholastic writers of the time strived to counter this dualistic understanding of the world order. Both St. Anselm and Thomas Aquinas described the evil as a lack of goodness thus keeping God's power over His creation unchallenged by the devil.[114] Musculus, however, definitely felt uneasy by appointing so much power to the devil. His efforts to resolve this situation resulted in an abrupt reference to the Manichean thought right in the middle of his treatise.

The two most recurrent and important metaphors for the devil in Musculus's treatise referred to his animalistic and warlike image. The first group comprises of the animalistic titles such as "a roaring lion", "a vulture", "the chicken snatcher", "the beast". The images of Leviathan and Behemoth belong to this group too as Musculus himself states that the devil is a "cruel, frightful, monstrous, powerful, and stout beast".[115] However, these metaphors do not give the reader a substantial visual representation of the devil as they referred to legendary beasts of the Bible which lacked clear definitions as they did not resemble any real animal. Musculus's most repetitive animalistic metaphor was *the roaring lion* that referred to St. Peter's words in 1 Peter 5:8: "Be alert and of sober mind. Your enemy the devil prowls around like a roaring lion looking for someone to devour". This animal had a long story in the Christian thought. According to Eva Kimminich, the tradition of symbolical representation of different vices through animalistic emblems hails back to the times of Early Christianity. The

[112] Walter Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 27.
[113] Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France*, 33.
[114] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* 1.14.10.
[115] Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 215.

image of a lion was first connected to wrath in *Physiologus* – a didactic text composed by an unknown author in the second century AD. There the lion also symbolized pride – the gravest sin for which the devil was thrown down from heaven.[116] St. Hildegard of Bingen also saw the lion in her vision of the five beast that will pave the way for the Antichrist, and the same beast appeared in Dante's forest as a symbol of pride. The sin of pride was the root of all other sins as it meant that one (an angel, a human being) claimed its autonomy and disconnected from its Creator. Augustine gave a precise definition of pride or *superbia* as a will to reach an "undue exaltation" that breaks the bond between the creation and its Creator.[117] Moreover, as Kleinberg stated that the love for oneself, or *amor sui*, according to Augustine was natural for all human beings whereas its opposite, the love for God, or *amor Dei*, had to be cultivated and had to replace one's pride. After the Fall humankind became irrevocably proud as "to be anything but what God originally meant us to be is sinful".[118] Thus, pride separates the believers from their God and puts them in a position where they have to reach for God's mercy and avoid his ruthless justice. Pride is a deceiving sin as it can hide under the semblance of virtue. Externally it can manifest as a will to gain more wealth, beauty, knowledge, reach higher positions in society. Inwardly it can turn into hidden envy or into a subverted piety when the believer would think that he or she is worthy of salvation because of his or her good works.[119] Thus, the pervasiveness of pride has marked human existence since the times of Original Sin and gave grounds for the devil to torture the believers and seek his vengeance.

The images of different animals and especially the lion became quite popular in moralization literature. For example, the vice of pride could be portrayed as a charioteer; an

[116] Eva Kimminich, *Des Teufels Werber: Mittelalterliche Lasterdarstellung und Gestaltungsformen der Fastnacht* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York: Verlag Peter Lang, 1986), 191-192.
[117] Carla Casagrande, Silvana Vecchio, *I Sette Vizi Cardinali: Storia dei Peccati nel Medioevo* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 2000), 11.
[118] Kleinberg, *7 Deadly Sins*, 137.
[119] Casagrande, Vecchio, *I Sette Vizi Cardinali*, 19-24.

image of a peacock embellished its helmet while an image of a lion was placed on its shield.[120] The idea of a symbolical representation of vices through the images of animals had inspired the intricate pictures of *Lasterdarstellung*. One interesting example comes from Austria: it is a colorful miniature from 1349-1351 that was designed to show the hierarchy and variety of vices by connecting them to different gestures, animals, plants and trees, bodily parts, devils, and the seven Biblical nations. Pride was depicted as the first sin – it was portrayed as a woman with a huge red crown on her head. The animal symbolizing this vice was the lion, the tree – the cedar, the bodily part – the head, the devil that ruled pride was Leviathan and the Biblical nation was the Girgashites (See fig. 1). As the sin of pride was the root of all the other evils, so the image of the roaring lion was the first among all the other symbolical representations of vices.[121] It is only understandable that its image becomes the most recurring in Musculus treatise as he strived to portray the devil's power as best as he could.

[120] Kimminich, *Des Teufels Werber*, 193.
[121] Ibid., 42; Kleinberg, *7 Deadly Sins,* 132.

Figure 1: Lasterdarstellung, ca. 1349-1351. Cod. 151 ; fol. 255v. Stiftsbibliothek. Lilienfeld, Österreich. Courtesy of the digital archive of images IMAREAL: http://tarvos.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/index2.html (last accessed 15.08.2018).

Another metaphor for the devil's attacks on humankind was the image of warfare. In Musculus' view it was God who gave Satan the sword to strike the sinful ones and humankind was under constant attacks of the devil. The devil was attacking the camp of the believers and besieged it from the inside and out. Moreover, the devil was presented as a tyrant, a prince or a regent of this world who ruled over an enormous army of evil spirits. Especially interesting was Musculus' division of Satan's two armies. This seems to be a new development in the devil's representation as usually the devil commanded only one army of demons. The two armies comprised of vices on one hand and the susceptible and weak human bodies that welcomed sin on the other. This idea essentially backed Luther's statements about the state of perpetual war between the devil and humanity and gave an example of the importance of constant vigilance. This peculiar approach to the imagery of the devil's army can be explained by the fact that Luther focused on the sinful nature of every human being that forbade any reconciliation with God. As Lyndal Roper has stated "The view of human

nature that characterizes the *Theologia deutsch* is also very unlike that of the later Luther who does not habitually distinguish between the inner and outer man; nor does he locate the spirit of God, still less the spirit of the Devil, within the individual".[122] In accordance with Luther's ideas, the devil's army in Musculus' treatise quite literally pervaded every corner of human existence, including believers' thoughts and bodies. Human beings cannot win in the struggle against the devil, but they can stay vigilant and aware of his attacks and find refuge by turning to the fear of God rather than the fear of Satan.

Both these metaphors were connected to a single and most important trait of the devil–his pride. This sin was influential for the humankind too as it was the wealthy and the learned who were the most pleasant for the devil.[123] The fact that Musculus again and again warned the readers of the roaring lion shows that he was concerned with this particular vice. Moreover, the only way to avoid it, according to the Lutheran preacher, was to walk in God's path and to "live in God's fear and pray that He shall protect us through His holy angels so we would not fall prey to the devil's claws".[124] As Kleinberg has stated the only way to reach God's mercy was to abandon all love of and hope for oneself and trust the Lord fully.[125] The devil, on the other hand, had no chance of salvation and thus gave way to envy and hatred towards the human beings who still had at least a semblance of hope for salvation as is evident by Luther's and Musculus' admonitions.

[122] Roper, *Martin Luther*, 238.
[123] Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 244.
[124] Ibid., 213.
[125] Kleinberg, *7 Deadly Sins*, 138-139.

2.3. *The Devil of the Satan's Trial* and the Devil of *On the Devil's Tyranny*: Differences and Similarities

What differs the image of the devil as found in Andreas Musculus' treatise from its medieval representation, especially from Satan's character portrayed in the *Satan's Trial*? There are several important distinguishing features that can tell the readers a lot about the development and changes of the devil's image.

First of all, Musculus's devil does not have a defined physical appearance at all. Whereas *Satan's Trial* presents its readers with a sneaky and dangerously smart demon-representative who can be physically present at the trial. He has angry eyes, sharp teeth, and wears a sack with the documents around his neck. His master, on the other hand, is a bodiless entity that is a sum of all the evil spirits or infernal malice. He cannot leave the realm of Hell and appear in the court. Musculus's devil, on the contrary, lacked any physical appearance and manifested only through devastating natural events, daily struggles, illnesses, and sinful actions and thoughts. Even though Musculus referred to the imagery of war and animalistic representation of sins those did not define the devil's appearance clearly but rather metaphorically referred to his vicious nature. The Lutheran devil as presented in Musculus' treatise was an abstract and terrifying force that Brügemann connected to the dogmatic Christian ideas that influenced the entire collection of treatises on the devil.[126]

However, the devil in *On the Devil's Tyranny and Might* was also way more tangible than the devil portrayed in the *Satan's Trial*. Whereas the devil of the *Satan's Trial* was put in a nearly fictional situation of a heavenly judgment that happens before the actual Second Coming and has to argue for his right to possess humankind in a comical and entertaining fashion he becomes far removed from the actual evil that infested the world. As Jörn

[126] Brügemann, *Die Angst vor dem Bösen*, 162.

Bockmann has stated ritualistic and literary reworking of the devil's image were "anthropological coping mechanisms of the diabolical: the devil can be banished in the ritual or be moved away by storytelling and staging in a fictionalized and thus relieving remoteness".[127] Jeffrey Russell had the same views on the development of the devil's image in scholastic thought as he stated that by trying to understand the devil's nature scholastic thinkers tended to generally overlook his presence in the real world and to diminish his significance.[128] On the other hand, the devil of Luther and subsequently the devil that was portrayed in *On the Devil's Tyranny and Might* was wreaking havoc on earth and striking the believers. Regardless The accounts of Satan's presence in the world, for example Luther's sickness or the episodes of devilish tricks hindering his preaching as well as Musculus' reports on the natural disasters the memories of which were still fresh in his readers minds, aimed to convince the believers that Satan was present everywhere.[129] Moreover, Musculus, following Luther's words, stated that the ones who do not fear the devil were asleep and oblivious to the obvious attacks of the great enemy.[130]

The devil in Musculus' treatise was not a comical character. If Musculus was to write a convincing moralization piece he could not possibly portray the devil – his main device for highlighting the virtues of piety and fear of God – as anything less that a dark and frightening entity. However, as Romy Brügemann has stated *Theatrum Diabolorum* has somewhat contributed to the trivialization of the devil's image. Sigmund Feyrabend, the editor of the collection, had definitely chosen the treatises that made their way into his depending on their lucrative potential.[131] However, it is difficult to paint all the treatises that

[127] Jörn Bockmann, "Der Teufel steckt in Detail. Zur Erforschung der mittelalterlichen "Teufelsliteratur" jenseits von Stoff-, Motiv- und Gattungsgeschichte (am Beispiel des Redentiner Osterspiels)," in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Paris 2005 Germanistik im Konflikt der Kulturen,* ed. Jean-Marie Valentin (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 170.
[128] Russell, *Lucifer,* 161.
[129] Roper, *Martin Luther,* 146-147; Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 216-235.
[130] Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 202.
[131] Brügemann, *Die Angst vor dem Bösen,* 180.

comprised the volumes of *Theatrum Diabolorum* as all of them portrayed the devil differently. Classen, for example, was of a different stance on this topic as for him the multiplication of all sorts of different devils in moralization literature implied in the period of "increasing scientific knowledge… it became extremely popular to identify anything extraordinary or seemingly superstitious with the highly vague and amorphous image of the devil".[132] He additionally stated that the actual disenchantment of the devil's image had begun with the rise of popularity of the Faustian legend.[133] Kathleen Crowther has also stated that the devils of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection reflected the fears of the omnipresent diabolical forces and of the impending Apocalypse in the sixteenth century.[134] I side with Classen and Crowther on this topic as Musculus seemed highly concerned with the outbreaks of demonic power in Germany and the people's sinful deeds welcoming his wrath. The fact that Musculus' other writings, for example his treatises of the "devil of pants" or the "devil of swearing" could contribute to the trivialization of the devil's image as they were essentially connected to such mundane topics as fashion and swearing does not necessarily mean that the same process happened to the devil in *On the Devil's Tyranny and Might*.

Finally, I should mention the question of demonic presence that played an important role in both texts. The world of the *Satan's Trial* was clearly separated into three distinctive and conventional parts – heaven, where the trial itself was held, the mortal world populated by human beings that could not reach heaven or hell while they were still alive, and hell – a grim realm to which the devil was bound. This distinction gets blurry with the Reformation and especially in Luther's writings as the devil and his demons seem to move out of hell into the human world where they incessantly torture every man and woman. While heaven becomes practically unreachable for the believers with the Virgin Mary ceasing to be the

[132] Classen, "The Devil in the Early Modern World and in Sixteenth-Century German Devil Literature," 266.
[133] Ibid., 273.
[134] Crowther "From Seven Sins to Lutheran Devils," 486-487.

mediatrix between humankind and Jesus Christ[135], hell becomes more immediate and apparent as Luther himself exclaiming "Oh, what mad, senseless fools are we that, while we must ever live and dwell among such mighty enemies as the devils are, we nevertheless despise our weapons and defense, and are too lazy to look at or think of them!"[136] Thus, the boundaries between hell and human world became less coherent in Luther's view as the devil became more furious and could be stopped only by God's grace. The same picture of the world order can be seen in the writings of Andreas Musculus who contended that the devil's presence was evident even in such small places as Olse and Freiberg. He saw Germany as a place where the devil's attacks could be seen and felt the most thus bestowing even more immediacy to the great enemy.

However, a few similarities can be traced between Musculus' devil and the devil of the *Satan's Trial*. These indicate that Musculus maintained a certain tradition of portraying Satan or at least was heavily influenced by the past ideas on the topic. First of all he constantly highlighted the fact that the devil and his army are ubiquitous and infiltrates every corner of the world of the living. The notion of demonic omnipresence already existed in the times of early Christianity and was elaborated by Gregory the Great among the others.[137] However, as Alexander Makhov has noted, for medieval thought the power to be present everywhere on earth was actually interpreted as a weakness, as after his expulsion from heaven, Lucifer and the renegade angels lost their dwelling and were bound to roam the lower

[135] For the representation of the Virgin Mary in the *Satan's Trial* see: Karl Shoemaker, "The Devil at Law in the Middle Ages," in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 228, No. 4, (2015): 567-586; Scott L. Taylor, "Reason, Rhetoric, and Redemption: The Teaching of Law and the Planctus Mariae in the Late Middle Ages," in *Medieval Education*, eds. Ronald B. Begley, Jospeh W. Koterski (New York, Bronx: Fordham University Press), 68-79. For the representation of the Virgin Mary in Protestantism see, for example: Heiko Oberman, "The Virgin Mary in Evangelical Perspective," in *The Impact of the Reformation: Essays* (Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1994), 225-252.

[136] Martin Luther, *The Large Catechism*, in *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church*, trans. F. Bente and W.H.T. Dan (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921). http://www.projectwittenberg.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/wittenberg-luther.html#sw-lc (last accessed 15.05.2018).

[137] Alexander Makhov, *Hostis Antiquus: Категории и Образы Средневековой Христианской Демонологии* [*Hostis Antiquus: Categories and Images of Medieval Christian Demonology*] (Moscow: Intrada, 2006), 251.

world.[138] This notion was taken up by Luther who contended that the devil and his demons constantly surround every human being. He saw this characteristic as a sign of the devil's power, as he could strike any pious man or woman at all times and everywhere. The author of the *Satan's Trial* in accord with the medieval tradition clearly states that the demons are tortured constantly and in every place thus showing that it their ubiquity cannot be seen as a power. Meanwhile, Andreas Musculus, following Luther's understanding of the devil, tried to show that the devil's omnipresence went only as far as the bodies and souls of the believers were concerned. The story of Job's suffering under the devil's attacks was meant to highlight the demonic might and warn the readers of the devil's constant attacks. Another similarity is connected with the image of Satan as the ruler of the hellish realm. While Musculus' devil was on the prowl in the human world and was not necessarily bound to Hell the devil of the *Satan's Trial* was less mobile and could not leave his dominion.

[138] Ibid., 252.

Chapter 3. Lutheran Devil and Contemporary World – Theater, Preaching, and the Weather

3.1. *Theatrum Diabolorum* and the Late Medieval Theater, Lutheran Sermons and Weather Accounts: Cultural and Theological Influences

3.1.1. Popular Theater

The *Satan's Trial* definitely drew directly on the tradition of popular theater, especially in putting an argument between the good and the evil characters in the center of its plot.[139] On the other hand, *On the Devil's Tyranny and Might*'s connection to the theatrical representation of the devil is less evident as Musculus held the Holy Scripture as the sole reference for his arguments. It seems that in order to show the devil's power in all its terrifying glory Musculus would hardly borrow any devices from the theater. However, as always, the devil is in the details.

I have already mentioned Bockmann's statement about the removal of the devil's presence and its disempowerment by his fictionalization[140]. Ursula Schulze in her exhaustive work on medieval plays also contended that the devil's image lost its threatening nature when turned into the character of a play. Schulze assesses certain Easter plays that made fun of the devil by showing him as a wailing fool who lost his dominion and had to ask Christ to give him at least some souls to fill Hell again.[141] The devil essentially loses his power and becomes a "stock character" and a laughing matter for the viewers of the plays.[142] The demon represented in the *Satan's Trial* was essentially a play on the comical side of the evil forces as the character of demon-representative was designed to entertain the readers and potential

[139] Pasciuta, *Il Diavolo in Paradiso*, 61-75.
[140] Bockmann, "Der Teufel steckt in Detail," 170.
[141] Ursula Schulze, *Geistliche Spiele im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit: Von der liturgischen Feier zum Schauspiel* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2012), 210-211.
[142] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 79.

viewers of a courtly play.[143] His ultimate defeat only added to his pathetic image. For some researchers such a treatment of the devil's image signified its desacralization and secularization.[144] However, John D. Cox has convincingly shown in his analysis of the stage devils in early modern English drama that these characters did not necessarily become ridiculed and thus secularized. Just as God Himself, the devil was an intrinsic part of the Christian worldview: "Between the beginning and the end of the Christian life, marked by the ordeals of baptism and dying, everyone ritually encountered the devil repeatedly as a frightening opponent in the course of an agrarian cycle that derived its ultimate meaning from the liturgy".[145] The devil had just as much power as any other participant of the Holy History and the fact that his image could be repurposed for theatrical performances does not necessarily mean that he lost his power in the minds of the viewers. This statement is especially relevant in connection to the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection as it drew on the tradition of medieval theatrical representation of the devil; however, it also presented him as a mighty entity that could not be mocked.

Although it is difficult to say that the collection and especially Andreas Musculus' treatise *On the Devil's Tyranny* were directly influenced by theatrical performances, they nevertheless shared some traits. The notion of theatricality comes in play here as it encompassed literary, visual, and performative arts highlighting their interconnections and influence on one another. According to Laura Weigert who studied French medieval and early modern theater and its influence on visual arts theatricality was an ability of pictures to "allow us to glimpse, however partially, and to put in words, however incompletely, the participatory experience these performances prompted… They preserve, in turn, the distinct

[143] Pasciuta, *Il Diavolo in Paradiso,* 75-76; Schulze, *Geistliche Spiele,* 211.
[144] John D. Cox, *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama, 1350-1642* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 8-10.
[145] Cox, *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama,* 14.

fictionality of the late medieval performance tradition in which they participated".[146] Moreover, in the introduction to her book Weigert quoted Paul Zumthor who contended that the theatricality of poetry was connected to the "…corporeal exchange between singer and audience, through which singing the poem materialized it".[147] This understanding of theatricality of a text can help to highlight important functions of *On the Devil's Tyranny* while also to establish its connection with the tradition of the late medieval theater.

Other scholars have already pointed out the close proximity of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection to the medieval and early modern theatrical traditions. Pettegree has provided a short overview of the three most important groups of plays: passion plays or paraliturgical performances that revolved around Jesus Christ's life and passions, miracle plays that were connected to the lives of saints, and, lastly morality plays that usually "presented the choices of the Christian life through allegorical representations that personified the virtues and vices".[148] Classen also saw the connection between the late medieval drama and the Devil's Books of the sixteenth century. For him it was the *Innsbrucker Osterspiel,* or the Easter plays that sprung up in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the *Judgment Day* plays that had the most effect on the development of the devil's image in early modern Germany.[149] Ursula Schulze has analyzed extensively a special and noteworthy group of medieval and early modern plays – the Endzeitspiele, or the Judgment Day plays. These plays were particularly concerned with the events of the Last Judgment and sins and virtues, which ultimately lead to one's salvation or damnation. The plays' didactic function manifested in the accounts of vices and virtues as well as the finality of God's judgment.[150] One of the subgroups of the Judgment Day plays was the so-called *Antichristspiele,* or Antichrist plays.

[146] Laura Weigert, *French Visual Culture and the Making of Medieval Theater* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 10.
[147] Ibid., 9.
[148] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 78.
[149] Classen, "The Devil in the Early Modern World and in Sixteenth-Century German Devil Literature," 263.
[150] Schulze, *Geistliche Spiele,* 164.

One example of this subgroup were the famous Antichrist plays that were staged in the city of Luzern in the sixteenth century conceived and staged by the local Zacharias Bletz. It also fell into the categories of both passion plays as it opposed the life of Antichrist to the life of Jesus Christ. The actor who played the Antichrist came on stage surrounded by a number of demons (or personified seven deadly sins) while other actors represented key characters or entities from the well-known events of Christian history: God and Magog, the visions of the prophets Elijah and Enoch, etc. In the final act God sends out Archangel Raphael who battles and destroys the Antichrist.[151]

However, it is the morality plays that, perhaps, played the most influential part in the context of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection. Schulze has defined morality plays as a group of plays that lacked any particular connection to the Biblical events unlike the passion or miracle plays. Rightfully, she stated that the historical accounts of the Bible lack morality and it is quite difficult to insert the events of the Old Testament into a didactic play. Rather morality plays incorporated some newly made characters (allegories and personifications) and an argument between the vices and the virtues. The earliest examples from England and the Netherlands date back to 1495 and 1509 respectively; however this type of plays appears to be much older.[152]

First of all, the readers had to consider *Theatrum Diabolorum*'s preoccupation with various vices and their respective demons. Although the tradition of evoking symbolical representations of sins did not develop solely in medieval theater plays it nevertheless went hand in hand with the representation of personified vices in morality plays. As I have already shown in the second chapter, *On the Devil's Tyranny* referred to the image of Satan as the roaring lion to signify his immense pride and wrath. Moreover, the account of the devil's

[151] Ibid., 173.
[152] Ibid., 197.

many names and titles mentioned in the Bible had to do with the different functions of evil forces. These functions found their theatrical expression in some passion plays where personifications of the seven deadly sins became the devil's servants.[153] Classen stated that "in order to reflect upon the seven deadly sins, people commonly referred to the demons with seven different names, as in the *Lantern of Light*. Lucifer stands for pride, Belzebub for envy, Sathanas for wrath, Abadon for sloth, Mammon for avarice, Belphegor for gluttony, and Asmodeus for lechery".[154]

Another detail that might have stemmed from the late medieval theater was Musculus' cleverly placed references to the events of the Old Testament. By recounting the devil's participation in Cain's murder of his brother, in urging the Great Flood, and in the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah Musculus gave a premise to the devil's position in sixteenth-century Germany. This trait resembles the opening scenes of some plays, especially those that fall into the category of passion and the Judgment Day plays.[155] What could have been realized in the decorations or expressed in the decorations or a prefacing explanation in a theater play had to be put into words by Musculus. He tried to place the devil's character into the backdrop (or the decorations) of the Sacred History as well as to show his power in the concurrent world to make his image more tangible, vivid, and awe-inspiring. This image also added to the emotionality and intensity of the text–a trait that was particularly important for the theater.[156]

[153] Classen, "The Devil in the Early Modern World and in Sixteenth-Century German Devil Literature," 264.
[154] Ibid., 263.
[155] Schulze, *Geistliche Spiele*, 166-167, 196.
[156] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 81.

3.1.2. Lutheran Sermons.

Although it is unclear whether *On the Devil's Tyranny* was meant to be read out loud it definitely experienced the influence of Lutheran sermons and hymnal singing. The treatise was definitely built in to the Lutheran system of preaching as it referenced both rhetorical devices used by Luther and also addressed a number of Psalms. Andreas Musculus himself was an avid Lutheran preacher who was well acquainted with the process of creating and delivering enticing sermons. So far this moment has been overlooked by the researchers of the *Theatrum Diabolorum*; for example, Romy Brügemann focused mainly on the functions of the devil's image in the collection but gave less attention to its roots. However, several points prove that the image of the devil in Musculus' treatise was inspired by more than the current fears of the devil and had more functions than a mere moralization tool.

First of all, it is important to establish the role of sermons and preaching in the Reformation world. Both Scribner and Pettegree agreed on the importance of the oral culture for the dissemination of the Reformation ideas.[157] However, whereas Scribner stated that preaching was particularly important for the first stages of the Reformation period, Pettegree went further in assessing the importance and ubiquity of the oral culture in the Reformation. Both researchers highlighted the scope of preaching and the boom of sermon writing and publishing as a key feature of Luther's agenda. Scribner pointed out the changes in preaching as it moved out from the church buildings into the streets, squares, and houses. The preachers themselves gained more importance as the success of one's speech depended on "the style, zeal and personality" of the individuals.[158] According to Scribner the texts of sermons printed at the time were produced with the thought of reading them out loud by anyone who wanted

[157] Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements*, 50-69; Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 10-40.
[158] Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements*, 52.

to do so.[159] In his view these cheap prints provided the poor with brief overviews of the latest theological debates and developments and thus spread the message of the Reformation among the masses. Pettegree challenged Scribner's argument about cheap and easily accessible sermon collections and woodcuts being the media for the unlearned or semi-learned. He contended that it was essentially the rich and the learned who could buy printed pamphlets and woodcuts as only they could read both the text and the illustrations which adorned it.[160] Unlike Scribner he put more emphasis on the Lutheran convergence of different performative and literary devices in preaching and the spontaneity of oral culture and performance arts of the Reformation ideas.

Preaching in Reformed Germany was quite different from the preaching traditions of today. It was a highly participatory event that shaped the minds of the people in the early modern times. Preachers received more freedom than their predecessors from the official Church clergy and could shape their preaching according to the needs of the congregation and their own liking. As Pettegree argued they essentially became performers often mixing emotive retelling of the Old Testament with moralization and singing. The key to a successful sermon lay in balancing out theological "theory" and performance: "The essential and necessarily somewhat dry Biblical exposition is balanced by the intense emotional engagement of the preacher, and the clear application of the Biblical precepts to the lives of the community".[161] And the image of the devil certainly served to make the sermons more emotionally loaded. Again, the notion of theatricality comes to play as the preachers had to become skilled performers in order to entice and attract the audiences (as Pettegree mentions,

[159] Ibid., 56.
[160] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 105.
[161] Ibid., 75.

they were painfully aware of the travelling actors who could easily steal the attention of the crowds from the preachers).[162]

Lutheran sermons had influenced another, and perhaps, as the most important feature of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection, the interiorization of sin. It is the key to understanding the main difference between the devil and his powers in the Late Middle Ages and in the times of the Reformation. Again, Stuart Clark has pointed out the Reformers' changing attitudes towards the connection between sin, virtues, and salvation. One of the great spiritual developments of the Reformation was the switch from the doctrine of the seven deadly sins to the norms of the Decalogue or the Ten Commandments. The basic shift in the understanding of the nature of sin was connected to the perception of transgression and the possibility of atonement. Kathleen Crowther has also noted this development in Lutheran thought that informed the treatises of *Theatrum*. According to her whereas "…for Lutherans, sin was doing that which God commanded one *not to do*. For Catholics, sin was not doing that which God commanded one *to do*".[163] If for Catholics sin could be perceived as an accidental failure to perform good works or be virtuous, Lutherans defined sin as a violation of God's will and often this disobedience was connected to human beings' will to be vicious. If one takes into account Luther's justification theory which was based solely on the doctrine of *sola fide* then the image of sin becomes more aggravating and dangerous than ever – the believers were constantly one step away from falling even deeper into the pit of vices. No saintly mediators could help the people now as even the Virgin Mary began to be perceived only as one of the believers who could not ask for forgiveness for humankind's "spiritual crimes" in front of Jesus Christ. She was seen as an example of a pious person who led her life according to the doctrine of *sola fide* and so she was justified in that way; however, Lutherans stopped emphasizing Mary's connection to her Son by blood and the element of

[162] Ibid., 76.
[163] Crowther, "From Seven Sins to Lutheran Devils," 488.

misericordia that stemmed from their relationship.[164] Now instead of performing good works and pleading to various saints to atone for their sins the believers had to constantly check on themselves in order to keep their sinful nature at bay.

Theatrum Diabolorum and particularly *On the Devil's Tyranny* had a strong didactical function as they belonged to the group of literature that, as Stuart Clark stated, "could be understood, even (it was said in some versions) by the simplest minds. At the same time, these were texts whose contents it was hoped to disseminate on a truly gigantic scale, directly or indirectly influencing every phase and level of the reforming process".[165] Thus, the devil of *On the Devil's Tyranny* played an important role in the process of the believers' education. He showed the terrifying power of God's justice on earth. It is important to quote Clark again who stated that the sermons became "an instrument for resolving 'offences and conflicts otherwise likely to disturb the peace of the community', it had become a vehicle for self-examination and personal instruction".[166]

Subsequently, the devil of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection became the paragon of all the vices that were described by the Lutheran preachers.[167] While his image stemmed from the previous morality and Judgment Day plays, his nature had clear connections to Lutheran theology expressed in preaching. With sins becoming internal transgressions against God's will the devil became internalized too–now he resided in the bodies, hearts, and thoughts of the believers. This is why it became so difficult to use the format of a play as a distancing device, a means of moving away from the devil and nullifying or mocking his power. Whereas Bockmann put the *Theatrum Diabolorum* treatises in the context of earlier

[164] Heiko Oberman, "The Virgin Mary in Evangelical Perspective," in idem, *The Impact of the Reformation: Essays* (Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1994), 240.
[165] Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 490.
[166] Ibid., 493.
[167] Crowther, "From Seven Sins to Lutheran Devils," 489-490.

plays which made fun of the devil and were positive in their assessment of the struggle between the forces of good and evil *On the Devil's Tyranny* proved that the devil's image did not lose its terror even when connected to the format of theater plays. The devil is so tangible there because he comes closer to the reader than ever before–he now resided in everyone's thoughts and hearts. The two armies that Musculus talks about are quite literally infesting human bodies and it is extremely difficult to even dream about any prospect of salvation in this situation.

However, Musculus, being a clever and prolific preacher, could not leave his readers completely paralyzed by the prospect of incessant attacks of the devil and not provide them with a speck of hope. He provided a promise of God's mercy by evoking the words of Psalms which usually dealt with the topics of *misericordia* and salvation. Luther valued music and hymnal singing as the only form of art that could calm and soothe one's soul.[168] Such an attitude towards music was not just a whim of the great Reformer but had an interesting explanation that Pettegree provided in his study following Christopher Brown's findings on the topic. Whereas sermons emphasized the strength of the law, hymns represented both God's grace and justice and thus could counter the grave message of Lutheran sermons.[169] By juxtaposing sermons and hymns preachers could achieve greater emotional response from their congregation as they went from accounts of God's threatening power to the songs which expressed his infinite grace. Musculus, for example, referred to Psalms 23, 34, 51, and 91. In regards to the positive message of salvation, Psalm 23 held the most importance as it promised God's mercy to all the believers who stay strong in their faith even if they are surrounded by countless enemies.[170] He also cited the entire Psalm 91 in order to highlight God's might as well as to urge his readers to be aware of the devil's presence and stand by the

[168] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 43-44.
[169] Ibid., 49.
[170] Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 260.

Lord: You will not fear the terror of night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that stalks in the darkness, nor the plague that destroys at midday.[171]

Another result of such a shift in the meaning of the devil's image was of a political nature. The interiorization of sin and the belief that Satan could penetrate and influence people's thoughts and urges were effectively used by the Lutheran preachers for their political agenda. As Brügemann argued Musculus used the devil's image to argue that the believers were too susceptible to the evil forces and could not fight the devil and his numerous demons on their own, thus, it was advisable for them to stick to their government which brought coercive power into daily life. And indeed, he describes the four social groups (parents, teachers, preachers, and earthly magistrates) that govern the people throughout their lives. The devil, so to say, was used to lay the ground for the state to come into the people's everyday life for their own good.[172]

The last small detail that could signify the connection of Musculus' treatise to the earlier sermon and pamphlet tradition was the scatological language that was a trademark of Luther's accounts of the devil. The last subchapter was marked by scatological references that cannot be found in any other place of *On the Devil's Tyranny*. Musculus stated that "the pious would not willingly and sinfully … lie in dirt and excrement" meaning, of course, mingling with the devil's followers and the great enemy himself.[173] This language definitely reminded the readers of Luther himself who used such phrases profusely and without any false modesty. It is quite interesting that this is the only occasion in the entire treatise when Musculus allowed himself to implement scatological imagery. His image of the devil was mostly devoid of its connections to the impurity of the gutters and seemed to be more of an

[171] Ibid., 248.
[172] Brügemann, *Die Angst vor dem Bösen*, 186-187.
[173] *…die Frommen gleich nicht mutwillig sündigen und sich frezwillig wie die Sew in den unflat und koth nein legen…* Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 238.

awe-inspiring apocalyptical being. However, the readers could sense his connection to the imagery used by Luther. As Oberman stated Luther seemed to use scatological language as a powerful weapon "with which Satan was challenged, by which his threat was exposed, the simple folk protected, and above all the coming of the last day accelerated". [174] However, whereas Luther provoked the devil himself with this language, Musculus uses the scatological imagery not in an invective against Satan but to raise the sense of disgust at the sight of sin and the demons associated with it. This might have been connected to the imagery of the popular pamphlets. According to Scribner, Lutheran propaganda writers and artists did not scorn scatological imagery and used it profusely in their jabs at the pope and official Church.[175] Thus, Musculus addressed the readers rather than tried to challenge the devil in a single but unmistakable allusion both to Luther's writings and popular pamphlets and preaching.

3.1.3. The Weather Accounts

There are a few questions about *On the Devil's Tyranny* that have been left unanswered so far but that could elucidate the importance of the devil's image for the readers and thus lead to the question of its audience. In the second chapter I gave a brief overview of the treatise and one part stood out starkly. It is the accounts of natural disasters that happened in different parts of Germany and that took up a vast space in the treatise. Musculus' description of local catastrophes that had happened just before he decided to write the treatise seemingly springs out of nowhere right in the middle of the treatise (I would even say, at its focal point). How did those stories fit into Musculus demonological narrative?

[174] Heiko Oberman, "Teufelsdreck: Eschatology and Scatology in the 'old' Luther," in idem, *The Impact of the Reformation: Essays* (Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1994), 68.
[175] Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements*, 277-300.

Musculus gave a thorough account of the floods enumerating properties demolished, cattle perished, and people injured. The floods devastated local town halls, marketplaces and churches. Musculus provided his readers with the accounts of bad weather from the common dwellers of the towns.[176] Interestingly, these thorough recollections of events alone seemed to be enough evidence of the devil's work. Musculus did not connect them specifically to any demons which could be accountable for the floods and storms but rather to the sinfulness of people. He stated that these events could be taken as a clear sign of God's discontent, which manifested in the increasing wrath of the devil.

Musculus did not cite non-biblical sources that he used in the process of the treatise writing. However, in his account of the natural disasters in Meissen region he referred to the writings of his contemporary M. Johann Schütz, who was a professor at Wittenberg and a preacher and a superintendent at Annaberg.[177] The treatise, which Musculus referred to was entitled *Vom Wunderzeichen und Wetter* (*On the wonderful signs and the weather*) which was published in a collection of treatises on natural disasters that happened in Freiberg.[178] I was able to find another source that influenced his recollection of the terrifying events that took place in Olse. It was a lengthy account of the miraculous storm written by Laurentius von Rosenroth, an offspring of a wealthy Silesian family and a representative of the Münsterberg duchy,[179] and entitled *Wie in Schlesien zur Olsen über die Stadt ain unerhört, wunderbarlich und grawsam ungewitter mit feür regnen und erschrocklichen wunderwürckenden wind kommen ist allen Gots förchtigen wol zuwissen* (*All the god-fearing well to be known how an unheard of, wonderful and grave storm with fiery rain and terrible miraculous wind came in*

[176] Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 132-133.
[177] Johann Nikolaus Anton, *Geschichte der Concordienformel der Evangelisch Lutherischen Kirche*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Schmickertschen Verlag, 1779), 161.
[178] Johannes Schütz, "Vom Wunderzeichen und Wetter," in *Wünderliche und unerhörte Geschicht, die sich zu Freybergk und in derselben Gegend in Meyssen zugetragen hat, den 13. Augusti, Im 1559. Jahr,* ed. by Hieronymus Weller (Görlitz: Rhambaws, 1559). The digitized version of the collection is available at: https://books.google.hu/books?id=n5dd9w9JbjcC&source=gbs_navlinks_s (last accessed 16.05.2018).
[179] Jakob Christoph Iselin, "Knorr und Rosenroth," in *Allgemeines historisches Lexikon*, vol. 3, ed. idem (Leipzig: Thomas Fritschens Verlag, 1731), 42.

Silesia to the city of Olse) that was published in 1536.[180] It seems that Musculus followed Schützäs and Rosenroth's treatises quite closely as he mentioned the names of the same unfortunate citizens whose properties were damaged in the storms. This reference to Rosenroth's' treatise characterizes Musculus as a well read author who was aware of the events that happened in his country and who did not hesitate to evoke the memories of recent devastations in his readers.

Where does the connection between the bad weather, Lutheran sermons, and the devil's figure truly lie? First of all, these accounts served as a grim reminder of the devil's presence on earth. As Pettegree stated the preachers had to maintain "a balance of comfort and terror" in their sermons, scaring the people with the prospect of God's wrath and countering it with the promise of mercy.[181] As Musculus aimed to write a lengthy and comprehensive treatise on the nature of the devil he had more space to elaborate on the natural catastrophes of his times that in a sermon would have been mentioned only in passing.

Wolfgang Behringer introduced an interesting concept of "sin economics", according to which the collective amount of human sins correlated directly to God's displeasure and subsequent punishment.[182] The idea of communal sins was connected directly to the interiorization of sin as even the natural disasters were seen as a manifestation of God's wrath and a tool of his just punishment. This idea of collective guilt was a great tool of instilling the virtue of self-correction among the believers. Additionally, as Behringer put it, "The sin economics of the time produced the key link between nature and culture: it was the mechanism that helped a meteorological event to acquire its social significance".[183] Thus, the

[180] This digitized treatise is available at: http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00049977/images/ (last accessed 14.03.2018).
[181] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 36.
[182] Wolfgang Behringer, *A Cultural History of Climate* (Cambridge, Oxford, Boston: Polity, 2009), 133.
[183] Ibid., 133-134.

connection between the weather conditions and one's sin yet again pointed to the violation of the Ten Commandments.

And there is some evidence for that. Musculus narrates a story of a wondrous salvation of a poor but pious family of one Greger Zimmerman whose house nearly collapsed in the Niederbobritsch storm. This man's wife hid in the family's house together with their four children and a maiden. The mother told the children that God was punishing them for their sins and started praying. Taking pity on her, God did not allow the devil to crash "… the house on the poor woman and her children", and thus the family was spared a horrible fate.[184] Brügemann explained the significance of this miracle by stating that: "The control over the objects that are churning and destroying the earth can be removed from the power of evil through prayer, because things thus fall back into the sphere of responsibility of God and the angels".[185] An earnest prayer aided by the declaration of one's sins becomes a link between God and his creation. By helping the poor believers he shows glimpses of grace while his wrath is manifested in the devil's attacks on earth. In Lutheran understanding people's internalized sins essentially signified a break away from God and automatically placed the sinners at the devil's "mercy". In the case of Musculus' treatise the inner workings of the "sin economics" becomes quite apparent as he holds the believers accountable for the weather conditions of the time by stating that it was the human susceptibility to sin that welcomed the hoards of demons to wreak havoc on earth. The devil tempted people bodily and spiritually, and local catastrophes could be read as both the devil's scheming and the consequence of people's sin.

[184] Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyranney," 231.
[185] Brügemann, *Die Angst vor dem Bösen*, 170.

3.2. The Audience of *On the Devil's Tyranny*

So, who was the audience of the treatise in question? And, more importantly, who was the audience that would enjoy buying the whole collection of *Theatrum Diabolorum*?

To answer those questions I will firstly have to consider the dissemination of *Theatrum Diabolorum* books. As already stated earlier, they enjoyed great popularity on the market. As Johannes Jannsen has reported, "Feyerabend alone, at the Lent and autumn fairs of 1568, sold about 1220 of the many devil-books which had appeared earlier in single volumes", and later in 1569 452 copies of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection were sold.[186] This is an impressive number of copies for such a hefty book, and it was possible that most of the sold copies went to the libraries of various universities.[187] The fact that *Theatrum* had three editions also adds to the argument of its immense popularity among the German buyers and readers. The only actual account of a treatise from the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection found in somebody's household was presented by Michael Hackenberg in a short article "Books in Artisan Homes of Sixteenth-Century Germany". Jost Rosenhagen, a goldsmith from Braunschweig who also served as a member of the city financial council, owned a total of twenty-seven books, one of which was Jodocus Hocker's treatise Der Teufel selbs (The Devil Himself). This treatise later became a part of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection and preceded Musculus' *On the Devil's Tyranny*.[188] This points to two facts–the urban spread of the books of the Devil's Literature tradition and the interest in the books of the *Teufelsliteratur* tradition expressed by people from the artisan and bureaucratic circles. However, it is important not to jump to conclusions as Rosenhagen seems to be one of the

[186] Johannes Jannsen, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, vol. 12, trans. A. M. Christie (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1907), 325.
[187] Baron, *Faustus on Trial*, 20.
[188] Michael Hackenberg, "Books in Artisan Homes of Sixteenth-Century Germany," *The Journal of Library History* 21, no. 1 (1986): 82-83.

only learned metalworkers who possessed more than twenty books and his additional status as a member of the financial council reveals his elevated position in Braunschweig society.

Pettegree argued that it was essentially the learned and the wealthy who could access the printed books on their own. Moreover, he stated that "Binding collections together was a way of making the object respectable: making it more like their concept of a book. … These recueils represent not just a convenient method of storage, but an attempt to organize the barrage of ideas created by the Reformation."[189] If we remember, for example, the production and circulation of the Devil's Books in Frankfurt it becomes quite clear that Feyerabend's intent, indeed, was that of compiling a comprehensive and authoritative collection on the image of the devil as a tool of moralization.[190]

However, it is highly unlikely that the owners of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* had the ability or time to read the entire books chapter to chapter. The fact that Feyerabend was successful at selling such a huge collection can already say something, as the production of smaller books was more lucrative and safe than the printing of a large folio.[191] The compendium was definitely purchased by the university libraries that collected the treatises on particular topics.[192] However, it also interested individual purchasers for a reason described by Pettegree. By combining multiple pamphlets or treatises on particular topics into a single volume the editors attempted to amplify their collective message. These books came to signify one's status as a person of wealth and knowledge but also "the superabundance, the cascade of titles, that created the impression of an overwhelming tide, an unstoppable movement of opinion".[193] By contributing their treatises to the compendium Musculus and all

[189] Ibid., 161.
[190] Baron, *Faustus on Trial*, 20.
[191] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 149-154.
[192] Theile, "Early Modern Literary Engagements with Fear, Witchcraft, the Devil and that Damned Dr. Faustus," 75.
[193] Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 163.

the other writers of *Teufelsliteratur* writings knew that the individual writings will enjoy even more popularity when included into a book that would be marked by their joint authority. This power of multitudes attracted both the authors and the purchasers as it represented the power of collective ideas shared by many authoritative figures rather than an individual voice.

Thus, the conclusion on the question of *On the Devil's Tyranny* and the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection is quite obvious but nevertheless important. *Theatrum Diabolorum* was a collection which was intended to be owned by the wealthy buyers from artisanal circles and university libraries. The expensiveness and heftiness of the book suggested that it was a collection which was meant to signify its owners' status as well as provide them with an overview of the most recent developments in Lutheran theology and demonology.

Conclusion

The fact that the *Satan's Trial* and *On the Devil's Tyranny* presented different images of the devil simultaneously both is and is not surprising. It is, of course, no wonder that a literary element undergoes changes over the time. However, the explanations for differences between the devil of the Late Middle Ages and that of Early Modern times are not at all obvious. These images can tell the attentive reader a lot about their cultural, theological, and social influences as well as their functions in their respective times.

By comparing the *Satan's Trial* to Andreas Musculus's entry for the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection a few distinctions arose. The devil of the *Satan's Trial* could be subjected to mockery from the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ and thus become a comical character. By fictionalizing the devil medieval authors could counter his frightening nature and turn him into an object of jokes. However, in the sixteenth century Satan did not have to go to court in order to stand up for his rights. Indeed, that would have been ridiculous, as he became the rightful prince of this world as Lutheran theologians tried to convince believers that the devil could penetrate even the most private thoughts and dreams. The devil of *On the Devil's Tyranny* moved out of his realm to rule his evil spirits on earth and rule and harass human beings in every way possible. Additionally, even the references to the biblical accounts of the devil's power, which were present in both treatises, had different implications in the light of their assessments of the devil's image. In the course of the *Satan's Trial* the demon-representative defined the elevated status of his master by referring to the Book of Revelation, where John calls the devil "the prince of this world".[194] The Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, on the contrary, reminded the devil about his fall, and other instances of his prideful and sinful behavior in the Scripture.[195] All these references were meant to show the

[194] Bartolo da Sassoferrato, *Processus Satanae Contra Genus Humanum*, 16.
[195] Ibid., 4.

readers the devil's deceitful and prideful nature and his pitiful position as an outcast who brought his own demise. *On the Devil's Tyranny* referred to the same (for example, the fall of Lucifer); however, the tone of the references differed from the *Satan's Process* significantly. Musculus strived to remind his readers of unspeakable horrors that had happened in the course of the Holy History, such as the fall of humankind, the Great Flood, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and to connect these events to the current situation in Germany, where natural disasters had destroyed several cities. He clearly endowed the devil with more power than the late medieval theologians did.[196]

Moreover, while comparing the two representations of the devil I have encountered an interesting paradox. The devil of the Late Middle Ages had a very precise description that connected him to his demonic followers: Lucifer is the ruler of Hell, bound to his realm, and does not have a specific form but encompasses all the forces of evil, while the demon looks somewhat regular and familiar with his pointy teeth, mischievously glistening eyes, and funny contorted gestures. Because of these vivid descriptions the readers could quite practically "see" these characters while reading the text. The devil of Lutheran thought differed drastically from his predecessor. It was a powerful and almighty entity, which at first glance was so ambiguous and indescribable, "a body politic" as Keith Thomas called it, that it is hardly imaginable that his figure could scare the believers.[197] However, the devil of Luther and his followers came unbearably close to people, as he was constantly present in the daily life of each believer, infiltrating the mind and the heart. The devil of the *Theatrum Diabolorum* collection entered the real world through the fierce and highly engaging Lutheran sermons, while the devil of the *Satan's Trial* was bound by its literary and theatrical representation. The moral message behind the two also differed. While the defeat of the devil in the *Satan's Trial* showed the importance of combining justice with mercifulness, the image

[196] Brügemann, *Die Angst vor dem Bösen,* 184-189.
[197] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 470.

of Satan's devastating power in *On the Devil's Tyranny* was meant to scare the believers into obedience to the doctrine of sola gratia. Such a frightening depiction of the devil's image became a powerful tool of persuasion and moralization.

Turning the devil's image into a didactic tool was not a new invention of the sixteenth-century *Teufelsliteratur* tradition. In the binary world of Christianity it was nearly impossible to escape the devil if one believed in God. His power was evident in the Bible and his image was used as a reminder for the people to abstain from sin and turn to God. However, with the changes in the understanding of sin in the sixteenth century and a concomitant rise of interest in demonology, the devil was personalized and interiorized, as he managed to penetrate the bodies, souls, and thoughts of the believers.[198] Such a frightening and intimate proximity implied that people could not believe themselves anymore, and that the only path to possible salvation lay in complete obedience to God's word and to earthly authorities appointed by the Lord. Luther himself was particularly harsh in his distinction between the real believers who walked in Christ's path and those who turned away from it. For him the world was shaped in binary oppositions meaning that those who did not side with Christ automatically became the followers of the devil: "If a man serve not God only, then surely he serves the devil; because no man can serve God, unless he have his Word and command..."[199] As Keith Thomas contended, people of the sixteenth century "saw the Devil in any manifestation of social wickedness or religious unorthodoxy".[200] The line between sin and virtue (if one could at all exist in such a frightening world) became incredibly thin. Paranoid perceptions of the devil's ubiquity were a great asset for Lutheran preachers and moralizers, as it made the believers question themselves and thus rely on the authority of the Lutheran Church.

[198] Ibid., 470-477.
[199] Luther, "Of God's Works," 23.
[200] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 477.

However, there is no Satan without God. Thus, the question of God's power arises, and Musculus tried his best to assure the believers that Satan is not as potent as one might think, as he essentially becomes a tool of the Lord's wrath. The figure of God had a didactic function too, as Musculus came up with a clever rhetorical trick. By ascribing the dirty job of performing God's justice and punishment on earth to Satan and his minions, Musculus managed to balance out the strictness of the law and mercifulness of the Gospel, thus providing his readers with an emotional carrot and stick. Even though he stated now and again that the believers were not supposed to fear the devil but only God, it is quite clear that the dreadful and ever-anticipated attacks of Satan on the believers inspired only terror and anxiety.

In light of this I want to finally address a statement made by Romy Brügemann, who argued that the image of the devil became subject to trivialization and subsequent secularization in *Theatrum Diabolorum*, especially in those treatises which dealt with the elements of daily life – drinking, wearing specific clothes, dancing, etc. The devil became merely a literary device that was used as a moralization tool to pacify and educate the youth.[201] However, Musculus's treatise defies this statement, as he succeeded in painting a rather grim picture of the world where the devil and human susceptibility to sin were to be blamed for the terrible catastrophes which devastated cities and villages. The inclusion of local news made it all the more believable that the "roaring lion" was currently on the prowl and could strike at any given moment. Classen argued that the later literary traditions of *Faust-* and *Wagnerbücher* have clear signs of the secularization of the *Devil's Literature* tradition, as they put more emphasis on the newest scientific developments and the curiosity

[201] Ibid.,147, 156.

of the human mind.[202] But for now the devil was still active, and eagerly awaited a chance to smite the believers and lead them away from the path of God's faith.

[202] Classen, "The Devil in the Early Modern World and in Sixteenth-Century German Devil Literature," 276.

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