

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO PAMPA

DIENIFER FEIJÓ VIEIRA

**SYMPATHY FOR THE DEVIL: REPRESENTATIONS OF SATAN VIEWED
THROUGH THE POLYSYSTEM APPROACH**

**Bagé
2021**

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Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso apresentado ao Curso de Letras, Línguas Adicionais (Inglês, Espanhol e Respectivas Literaturas) da Universidade Federal do Pampa, como requisito parcial para obtenção do Título de Licenciado em Letras.

Orientadora: Prof.^a Dr.^a Fabiane Lazzaris

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A gift to my history, to who I was and to
what I have become.

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I am also grateful to every human being that crossed my path, granting conditions which have transformed myself and forged who I am now. They have shown me the importance to remain strong and faithful to my true self.

The essence is always there. Revive. Rise. As Paulo Coelho once said "Do not fear the light within. May it ignite the Sacred Flame in your soul".

“Man is the cruelest animal”

Friedrich Nietzsche

RESUMO

Na Bíblia Sagrada, o anjo brilhante e lindo chamado Lúcifer se rebelou contra Deus e foi expulso do paraíso. Ele se tornou Satanás, a serpente ou dragão vermelho, como é descrito no livro sagrado cristão. No entanto, a imagem compartilhada coletivamente de Satanás é a de um demônio vermelho carregando um tridente com atribuições de animais, como chifres de cabra, asas, cascos e cauda, às vezes meio cabra e meio homem. Mas de onde vêm essas imagens internalizadas, considerando que essas características nunca foram mencionadas na Bíblia Sagrada? Responder essa pergunta através de um mapeamento é o objetivo principal desta pesquisa, à luz de fatos e evidências e em oposição a qualquer tipo de fanatismo. Como o imaginário de Satanás é uma reação de seu contexto histórico, para a metodologia são analisadas as primeiras obras de arte relevantes conhecidas da era medieval, obras literárias e seu contexto histórico, fornecendo referências bíblicas quando necessário. O padrão de relacionamento entre arte, contexto histórico, credos religiosos, filosofia e sociologia formula um sistema, referindo-se à coerência em vez de aleatoriedade. Portanto, esta pesquisa se baseia na teoria polissistêmica de investigação de Even-Zohar (2010) e Cattrysse (2014), também por considerar Satanás como uma imagem, e não a própria entidade. Ao descrever os objetos de análise trago à luz evidências que nos levam a crer que o Cristianismo usou as imagens de antigos deuses pagãos conhecidos para finalmente retratar o modelo conveniente para Satanás, ajudando a demonizar os deuses das religiões antigas com as quais ele estava praticamente em competição, também convertendo pessoas à sua causa.

Palavras-chave: Satanás. Imaginário. Teoria dos Polissistemas.

ABSTRACT

In the Holy Bible, the shining one, completely beautiful angel named Lucifer rebelled against God and was cast out of paradise. He became Satan, the serpent or red dragon, as it is depicted in the Christian sacred book. However, the collectively shared imagery of Satan is of a red demon carrying a pitchfork with animal attributions, as with goat horns, wings, hooves a tail, sometimes a half-goat creature. But where does such internalized imagery come from, considering those traits were never mentioned in the Holy Bible? Trying to clarify such issue through a mapping is the main objective of this research, in the light of facts and evidence and in opposition to any kind of fanaticism. Because Satan's imagery is a reaction of its historical context, for the methodology the first relevant visual arts known from the medieval era, literary works and their historical context are analyzed, providing biblical references when necessary. The pattern of relationship between art, historical context, religious beliefs and creeds, philosophy and sociology formulates a system, referring to coherence rather than randomness. Therefore, this research is based on the polysystem theory of investigation by Even-Zohar (2010) and Catrysse (2014), also for considering Satan as an imagery, not the entity itself. In describing the objects of analysis I bring to light evidence that leads us to believe that Christianity used the images of known ancient pagan gods to finally portray the convenient model for Satan, helping to demonize the gods of the ancient religions with which the Christian religion was practically in competition with, also converting people to their cause.

Keywords: Satan. Imaginary. Polysystem theory.

IMAGE LIST

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Image 2 “Set” by Christian Jegou

Image 3 - “Poseidon” statue in Copenhagen, Denmark (author unknown)

Image 4 - “Nike” stone carving at the ruins of the ancient Greek city of Ephesus, Turkey

Image 5 - “Cernunnos” on the Gundestrup Cauldron (II b.C.) at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen

Image 6 - “Pan and the goat” statue from the ancient Villa of the Papyri, Italy

Image 7 - “Hathor” from the Book of the Dead (XIII b.C.)

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Image 9 - “Hell” in *The Last Judgement* Mosaic (author unknown)

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Image 14 - “Satan” in Dante’s *Divine Comedy* by Gustavo Doré

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Image 16 - “Satan” in Milton’s *Paradise Lost* by Gustavo Doré

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1 INTRODUCTION

Searching for answers of whether God exists or not, Judeo-Christian morals, dogmas, religion and beliefs, has always been part of my journey, and, thanks to the unrestrained questioning nature I am part of, my research is on an issue that has been denied for years in all the layers of my life, but that, somehow, has always been pulsing inside me. What has prevented me from devouring books about such a controversial subject, fortunately, has lost its power over me. Years and years later, I found myself free to dive into a controversial and inadmissible subject, undesirable to those around me. I owed it to myself, to rescue my essence, to repair the ruptures throughout my journey and to feel a little more complete. Thus, I desire to research the complex and controversial figure of Satan, Lucifer, the Devil, Asmodeus or whatever you want to call him. But beware, dear reader, for the sake of the way you call him may reveal a lot about where you come from.

Judaism, Christianity and Islam are Abrahamic religions which have the same root, growing from Judaism of the ancient Israelites. In those religions, there is an entity that seduces humans into sin or falsehood. Its name is Satan. Satan has many other names, such as Lucifer, Asmodeus, Beelzebub, Belial and others (STANFORD, 2003, p. 23), as I mentioned before. If someone asked a person to picture Satan, he or she would probably imagine a red demon with a pitchfork in hand or with goat horns, hooves and a tail, half-goat and half man. Why do people have such an internalized imagery if, referring to Christianity, none of these characteristics appear in the Bible when referring to Satan? The only vibrant image is in the book of Revelation, the last book of the New Testament of the Bible “A red dragon with seven heads, 10 horns and seven crowns, with its angels, is thrown out of heaven by the Archangel Michael” (BIBLICA, Revelation 12, 3-9). But also, there is a serpent mentioned in Genesis, referring to Satan in the Garden of Eden, who possessed the body of the serpent to deceive Adam and Eve, making them believe that it was the animal talking to them, not the entity itself. Even so, we do not usually see Satan portrayed as a dragon, though he¹ does sometimes show up with snakes, which are grouped together with dragons, as happens in Revelation. Furthermore, we do not usually portray Satan as a serpent either, unlike it is portrayed in Genesis. However, Western

¹ In my research, Satan is addressed with the pronoun “he”, since the representation is male imagery, even though he is a neutral entity. The pronoun “it” could have been used though, in view of the zoomorphic representativeness.

Culture often relates the serpent as a symbol of corruption, temptation, cheating and with the seductive principle of women, who were also associated with the destruction of men (DELUMEAU, 1989).

That is the reason, dear reader, for I crave considering the imagery of Satan in the light of facts and evidence, by getting down the layers of each detail, symbol and characteristic attributed to this entity, in opposition to any kind of fanaticism. After all, where does Satan's imagery as a red demon carrying a pitchfork, with goat horns and a tail, half-goat and half man come from, if none of such characteristics appear in the Holy Bible?

My desire is to answer the prior question by making a historical path on Satan's imagery in the first visual arts and literature from the medieval era to the modern age, also providing theoretical references. However, the analyzed material does not correspond to the totality of pictorial representations of Satan at the time. I start my analysis on the visual arts "Hell" in The Last Judgement mosaic (author unknown) from the 11th century; "Hell" in The Last Judgement in Winchester Psalter manuscript (author unknown) from the 12th century; "Hell" in The Last Judgement mosaic by Coppo di Marcovaldo from the 13th century; "Hell" in The Last Judgement mosaic by Giotto di Bondone from the 14th century, moving to Dante Alighieri's Inferno in The Divine Comedy from the 14th century, then John Milton's Paradise Lost from the 17th century and to finish the chronological path, Goethe's Faust from the 19th century. I do not crave to detailly analyze the works of all these authors, but to seek references of what zoomorphically builds Satan's imagery, being such imagery an artistic reaction of its historical context.

Furthermore, I analyze the visual arts and literature as texts and not as the holy word of God. That also includes the Holy Bible, which is a sacred book for many, but for the purpose of this work it will be analyzed as literature, as it is a written product. In other words, referring to the bible as literature merely indicates that it will be analyzed as any other text would be: not devotionally.

2 THE DEVIL'S ENIGMA

In the Holy Bible, the shining one, son of the morning (BIBLICA, Isaiah, 14, 12) and the all-wise and completely beautiful angel named Lucifer (BIBLICA, Ezekiel, 28, 12) rebelled against God and was cast out of paradise. This way, Lucifer, the fallen angel, became Satan, meaning the adversary in Hebrew (ROCHA, 2014). Satan is depicted as a serpent, as in the Garden of Eden in Genesis (BIBLICA, Genesis, 3), and as a red dragon with seven heads, 10 horns and seven crowns, as in Revelation (BIBLICA, Revelation, 12, 3-9). However, we do not usually see or imagine Satan depicted or described as a beautiful angel, as a serpent or as a dragon. The common sense imaginarium, that is, the collectively shared imagery of Satan is with animal attributions, as with goat horns, wings, hooves and a tail, sometimes a half-goat creature.

Luther Link², when studying the representations of Satan in the visual arts, comments on the difficulty that artists had in defining the entity, in portraying it accurately, because there is a “discontinuity of the image of the Devil” and because “It is not a person. It may have many masks, but its essence is a faceless mask” (1998 *apud* ROCHA, 2014, p. 5). Moreover, Peter Stanford (2013) mentions that we cannot attribute a family tree to the Devil, but some of its ancestors are doubtless from Judaism, Islam and different gods. Therefore, this work is a historical literary consideration on the enigma: What helped to construct the zoomorphic imagery of Satan, the one with animal attributions that permeates the imaginary of society?

² LINK, Luther. *O Diabo – A máscara sem rosto*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 1998, p. 20. (translation mine)

3 METHODOLOGY: THE POLYSYSTEM APPROACH

It is from the middle ages that the Devil begins to acquire a popular image, because prior to this period, references to him were quite generic and without ever offering vivid and evident images (ECO, 2007). Such images of Satan are popular figures, and not of a dogmatic abstraction, although it was always in the minds of the faithful ones as a terrifying, omnipresent and grotesque character who embodied evil itself (STANFORD, 2013. p. 105). Furthermore, it is from the 11th century that Satan began to appear as a monster with a tail, animal ears, goatee beard, paws, goat legs and horns, also acquiring bat wings (ECO, 2007).

Studies on important literature and visual arts from the medieval to the modern age will be made. However, as previously mentioned, they do not correspond to the totality of pictorial representations of Satan at the time. The material analysis begins with the visual arts “Hell” in The Last Judgement mosaic (author unknown) from the 11th century, then “Hell” in The Last Judgement in Winchester Psalter manuscript (author unknown) from the 12th century, then again, “Hell” in The Last Judgement mosaic by Coppo di Marcovaldo from the 13th century, “Hell” in The Last Judgement mosaic by Giotto di Bondone from the 14th century, moving to written material: Dante Alighieri's *Inferno* of The Divine Comedy literature from the 14th century, then John Milton's *Paradise Lost* from the 17th century and to finish the chronological path, comes Goethe's *Faust* from the 19th century. These materials are analyzed in order to seek references of what zoomorphically builds Satan's imagery, being such imagery an artistic reaction of its historical context. Along with the visual arts and literature in which Satan's imagery is present, concepts from academic sources are cited throughout my research. The materials analyzed in which Satan's imagery is present, provide plenty of information that lead us to a chronological systematization of Satan's imagery transformation.

Plus, in consonance with Duran's ideas, art is one of the most revealing products of imaginative attitudes. In this case, the imagery of Satan reproduced in visual arts and textual materials constitutes the dialectical activity of the spirit of a group, of a country, of a state, nation or community (MAFFESOLI, 2001 *apud* ANAZ, AGUIAR, LEMOS, FREIRE, COSTA, p. 11) - a constituent reflection of all the processes of human thought from when the imagery was being consolidated.

Because the analysis is a systematization, being “system” a pattern of relationships between elements, referring to coherence rather than randomness (CATTRYSSSE, 2014, p. 54), this study relies on a polysystem theory of investigation.

Polysystem theory, created by the linguist, sociologist and critic Itamar Even-Zohar, is about relational thinking, helping to explain complex phenomena through a set of relations. It is a multiple system made of several other systems which work as a structured whole, since they have mutual intersections and interdependent components. Plus, the theory by Even-Zohar (2010) shows us that artworks are not isolated issues, but components of determined systems, and one of such systems is the culture of a people.

Then, Patrick Cattrysse, a professor at the Universiteit Antwerpen and the Université Libre de Bruxelles, continues researching on adaptation studies along with the polysystem theory. According to him, polysystem examines the systemic coherence between: the description of the adaptation process, *i.e.*, how the adaptation was made the way it was, eschewing value judgments and pointing out the facts (CATTRYSSSE, 2014, p. 52). Yet in his words “whether the analyst ‘likes’ or ‘dislikes’ the investigated adaptation is irrelevant”.

Polysystem also examines the position of sets of adaptations within their historical contexts, in other words, Satan’s adaptations in visual arts and literature through different historical contexts, and it also analyzes the function of the adapted, in this case, Satan, *i.e.*, how Satan is perceived and presented, thus constructing his imagery. Because polysystems are target-oriented, Satan’s imagery (the irreversible end product) is analyzed as the initial point of investigation, which is a phenomena perceived as adaptation in a particular space-time context (in this case, from the 11th to the 19th century).

In other words, the polysystem approach is important in this study because it considers a film as a motion picture, not a book; a novelization as a book, not a movie; a painting of a flower as a painting, not a flower and Satan as an imagery, not the entity (CATTRYSSSE, p. 53, 2014). The systematization of the selected literature and Satan’s depictions might reveal many sorts of relationships through time: temporal, thematic, associative, metaphorical and conventional.

4 THE CREATION OF EVIL

4.1 Satan as myth

Before I start answering why Satan's imagery is zoomorphically constructed considering its angelic depiction in the Bible, I find it is important to explicit how certain concepts are approached in my work by bringing terminologies and/or explanation. First of all, in spite of any theological or empirical issues, Satan is to be considered a myth based on the definition of the anthropologist and historian Mircea Eliade "A myth is an extremely complex cultural reality, which can be approached and interpreted through multiple and complementary perspectives" (1972 *apud* ROCHA, 2014, p. 4). Therefore, Satan is not an independent phenomenon, and he depends on historical and cultural conditions of a certain period of time to elaborate and evolve. Multiple perspectives of the myth Satan, such as those of selected visual arts and literature along with what history reveals us will be analyzed in the following chapters.

Secondly, as the etymology explains, the word "pagan" is from the Latin *paganus*, which probably meant "a person from a rural area". They often celebrate natural cycles and may be passionate environmentalists. Reverencing toward nature, being the body and the sexuality treated as sacred parts of it is also quintessential (KRAEMER, 2012).

Next, "g" capitalized (as in God) refers to the supreme being, creator and deity of the Christian faith (also used as a proper name); and "g" non capitalized as in "god" or "goddess" refer to multiple deities as members of the god class, as in the Greek, Roman, Celtic, Norse, Egyptian mythologies, for instance.

According to Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE, 2010), 86.8% of Brazilians are Christians, while worldwide 31.2% of the population of the planet belong to the same group and share the same belief, according to Pew Research Center (2015). Christianity, as hegemonic cultural discourse, helped to build Satan's imagery throughout the eras, along with visual arts and literature. However, it is important to consider the imagery of Satan in the light of facts and evidences, getting down the layers of each detail, symbol and characteristic attributed to Satan, in opposition to any kind of fanaticism. The horrendous monster, as Satan is commonly depicted, is a social construction and he gathers characteristics throughout time, becoming very popular in the society of each age. According to Baczko (1985 *apud* FERNANDES, 2012, p. 5), when something gets more publicized, it tends to become bigger and more powerful. When something is very present in the discourses of the layers that govern

society, it tends to become the thought of society, a fomentation of the imaginary through discourse³.

The imaginary is the collection of imaginative attitudes which result in the production and reproduction of symbols, images, myths and archetypes by the human being. The imaginary transforms its meanings into something comforting, leading society to a biopsychosocial equilibrium regarding its surroundings. Man creates the imaginary as a manner of balancing the world's tensions (DURAND, 1988 *apud* ANAZ, AGUIAR, LEMOS, FREIRE, COSTA, p. 8). Throughout the centuries and especially in the middle ages, extreme difficulties civilizations suffered such as war, poverty, freezing weather, famine, sickness, epidemics as the bubonic plague, rotting forgotten carcasses, human suffering, the tendency of humanity to contradict God's purposes, natural disasters and everything that may be incomprehensible and inexplicable, also created a strong allegory around the imagery of the antichrist, for dreadful moments in history tend to hold the devil as responsible (STANFORD, 2013).

Early Christianity assimilated, as well as disparaged concepts of paganism⁴, Eastern and Middle Eastern religions. Equal to any new creed and/or belief, there is a hybridization of adapted concepts adopted from other religions in Christianity. As it is a mixture of previous materials (cultural, spiritual and philosophical), such syncretism is one of the greatest reasons that every religion has always heterodox and heretics, because it represses some tradition that composes such religion (FERNANDES, 2012).

Borrowing and demonizing other beliefs are part of such syncretism. On the one hand, we have the image of Jesus Christ inspired by gods like Zeus and Apollo, and on the other, we have the image of Satan inspired by other pagan gods (BACCI, 2014). Good and evil became models for the deities and efforts were made to establish the relationship between the two poles.

³ “[...] quando algo é muito presente nos discursos das camadas que regem a sociedade, ele tende a se tornar o pensamento da sociedade, uma fomentação do imaginário através do discurso” (BACZKO, 1985 *apud* FERNANDES, 2012, p. 5, translation mine).

⁴ Defining what paganism presents certain patterns of beliefs. Among these patterns, there are some possibilities: one of them is polytheism, which means honouring multiple gods and goddesses as seeing them as aspects of a goddess and a god, or as archetypes of natural forces, or that the gods are unique and individual beings the same way humans are. There is also animism, which is seeing spirit or soul in all things. Besides, ritual practicing, as in celebrations, transitions, births, deaths and weddings is also taken into account as one of the patterns. Moreover, trusting in personal experiences as sources of divine knowledge (sometimes called *gnosis*) is frequent, as well as acknowledging the principles of the magic. Plus, valuing virtue ethics as community service, harmony, avoiding to harm others, honor, truth, courage and fidelity is also common. Additionally, pagans may believe in pluralism, as no one spiritual path can be right for everyone because people have different spiritual needs (KRAEMER, 2012).

In ancient Egypt, Canaan and Mesopotamia, deities were monistic and had good and evil in them. It was after Zoroastrianism that dualism flourished, as the good Zoroaster god Ahura Mazda was in conflict with the war god Ahriman. Monism persisted in Judaism, but it started to be corroded in the book of Job with great dilemmas and doubts that always afflicted humanity (STANFORD, 2003, p. 31). Dualism thrived in the last books of the Old Testament and when Jesus Christ lived. The people chosen by God suffered from social, religious and political factors and felt abandoned by their God, attributing the negative factors to Satan, the angel of darkness. In addition to this world of problems, another issue was the contradiction of an omniscient God, all-powerful and absolutely generous, but who also allowed the suffering of humanity (STANFORD, 2003, p. 33). Such stories served as the basis for the Devil's prominence in the New Testament and also in Christian minds. However, Christian churches have tried to circumvent this conflict by exploring concepts such as free will, Original Sin and the source of evil in the world. However, during the period of the inquisition and witch hunt, such dualism was reinforced by condemning those who would have made a pact with the devil (STANFORD, 2003, p. 34).

Christianity has its monotheistic basis, but it is possible to conclude that it obtains an intrinsic dualism in its structuring. God, being the personification of absolute goodness, would not have a rival being an absolute personification of evilness. According to Amaral (2011 *apud* FERNANDES, 2012, p. 423), the Church Fathers⁵ explain that evil is the absence of God, and thus, of good. Amaral also indicates that this idea comes from the classical tradition systematized by Plato, who, in his Republic, explained through Socrates in a dialogue with Adeimantus that what is bad is the absence of the essential and good reality:

“Then the good is not the cause of all things, but of things that are well it is the cause - of things that are ill it is blameless. Neither, then, could God, since he is good, be, as the multitude say, the cause of all things, but for mankind he is the cause of few things, but of many things not the cause. For good things are far fewer with us than evil, and for the good we must assume no other cause than God, but the cause of evil we must look for in other things and not in God.” (PLATO, 1937, p. 185).

However, society in the medieval era did not have access to theological and philosophical reflections of such level, or were not prepared for it. Evil was felt and experienced

⁵ A group of foundational members of the early Christian Church, whose writings explained the principles in the early Church. The most important Fathers were Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine of Hippo and Pope Gregory I.

all the time in the Dark Ages (HOW THE DEVIL..., 2017), and from all this, an evil being was born and filled the absence of good with its presence, making the Devil almost as absolute as God. However, since the monotheistic reality of the Bible had no explicit personification of bad, it remained a gap to be fulfilled by ancient religions (FARIA, 2016). Gods of antiquity known by Christianity (Egyptians, Greeks, Mesopotamians, Persians, Celts, Norse, etc) were regarded as false liars and were demonized.

During the fifth century while expanding the church in Europe, missionaries began to flaunt the Devil's evil role, gradually increasing his reputation as an enemy. This happened in the pulpits, in the mosaics, in the sculptures and illustrations, since these were the teaching instruments in an illiterate time and in missions in foreign lands (STANFORD, 2013, p. 106).

Besides, during Gregory's papacy, Christianity sent missionary efforts to northern Europe to spread the word of God. The Gregorian missionaries got to know about the Norse god Loki (the father figure of a dynasty of malevolent beings) and ended up merging the figures of Loki with Satan. It provided the recognition of the malevolent, evil Satan identical to the hated god Loki, and facilitated the acceptance of the good and all powerful Christian God, helping to convert the norsemen to Christianity (STANFORD, 2013, p. 111).

Therefore, it is quite clear that ancient religions' gods helped build Satan's imagery in people's minds. The imaginarium also goes beyond the individual and permeates the collective (or part of it), since the individual is influenced by the environment - thus, spreading Satan's imagery throughout medieval Europe, structured by contagion. It is a "social cement" for such society, endowed with meanings, emotions, fragments, traces, images, symbols and values (MAFFESOLI, 2001 *apud* ANAZ, AGUIAR, LEMOS, FREIRE, COSTA, p. 10). And just for the record, Michael Maffesoli, doctor in Sociology from the Université de Paris, classifies the imaginarium as fiction: something without consistency, opposing to what is real (MAFFESOLI, 2001 *apud* ANAZ, AGUIAR, LEMOS, FREIRE, COSTA, p. 11).

Arruda (2015) mentions the social imaginary, which refers to a network of significations, collectively shared and embodied by a given society. It is "social" because it is instituted and shared by an impersonal, anonymous collective. Social imaginary is the process of creating models, sets of images and beliefs individuals inherit from participation in society related to a period of time (ARRUDA, 2015, p. 3). Therefore, Satan's imagery is a social representation, an objectification, which gathers the thoughts of the European society in the medieval ages – an intolerant Christian world, that would not allow blasphemy or heresy, suffering with plagues, starvation, malnutrition, tuberculosis, smallpox, dysentery, influenza,

mumps, gastrointestinal infections, little ice ages and deluges (STANFORD, 2013). What was among people was Evil, not God.

4.2 The demonization of pagan gods

The demonization of pagan gods such as Cernunnos, Pan, Hathor, Bes and others were what gave concreteness to Satan's imagery, giving it a more accessible structure and becoming as tangible as an object. Satan, how it is monstrosly depicted, is an illustrated social representation, edited by individuals and groups – an objectified collective opinion by a given society (WAGNER and HAYES, 2005 *apud* ARRUDA, p. 6).

Suggested by Stanford (2003), the demonization of zoomorphic characteristics such as horns, hooves, tail, hair and paws begins to emerge in prehistory, since Neanderthals lived in conflict with horned animals, which escaped capture and were dangerous. The cave paintings show man in combat with such high-potential animals and also show the figure of the half-human beast called "the horned god of the north", which ended up influencing the Teutonic, Nordic, Celtic deities and finally, the Christian devil (STANFORD, 2013, p. 30).

Moreover, on his book *On Ugliness*, Umberto Eco mentions that

“Since ancient times, the enemy was always the Other, the foreigner. His features did not appear to correspond to our criteria of beauty and if he had different dietary habits then people were struck by his smell.” (ECO, 2007, p. 185).

The different, the Other, has always been seen as an enemy or inferior (ECO, 2007). We have several examples throughout the history of mankind, such as Greeks that considered barbarians (people who babble) those who did not speak the Greek language; Westerners who consider unacceptable the fact that the Chinese eat dogs; West's imperialist depiction of “The East” as in Orientalism⁶; Christians who condemned the heretics, since they did not follow the same Christian beliefs; the animal, which is not a human being; the white man's disgust at any other non-European ethnicity (such as Asians and Africans) as well as the rejection of albinism in African countries; the exclusion of people with special needs; the woman, that is not a man - who is the image of God (GRIFFIN, 1980, p. 16) and many other examples. The combination of pagans (the Others: foreigners), their gods (the Others: non-Christian), which had animal

⁶ See Orientalism by Edward Said (1978).

characteristics (the Other: non-human), formed an enemy product to Christianity, lending characteristics to the construction of the anti-Christ (the Other, non-Christ).

Still in Umberto Eco's words,

"To a Westerner an African ritual mask might seem hair-raising - while for a native it might represent a benevolent divinity. Conversely, believers in some non-European religion might be disgusted by the image of Christ scourged, bleeding and humiliated, while this apparent corporeal ugliness might arouse sympathy and emotion in a Christian" (ECO, 2007, p. 10).

In the Middle Ages, monks and priests taught Christians that Satan lived in pagan temples, and that they should be destroyed to build new altars. Everything related to paganism was associated with the Devil, in an attempt to destroy Other beliefs (STANFORD, 2013, p. 114). Besides, there is a great relationship with nature in paganism, in addition to the connection of the gods with it, such as Cernunnos with trees and fields and Thor with thunder. Soon, nature itself, its forests and fauna, was transformed by Christianity into something sinister and frightening (KRAEMER, 2012; STANFORD, 2013, p. 114).

Another example in which the Other became the enemy was in the Crusades⁷, that Christianity was concerned with the flourishing of Arabs in areas of the Near East, the Middle East and North Africa, while the church was in another part of the continent trying to convert the Slavs. Also, every analyzed aspect of the Quran that differed from the Christian creed was immediately identified as an attack on God. Plus, Muslims came to be directly and literally related to Satan, just as Muhammad came to be seen as the devil and his followers as servants of Satan. In other words, the Crusades were a fight against Satan and his Saracen⁸ army, and the variants of the demonization of Islam implemented by church leaders in that period still remain today (STANFORD, 2013, p. 139).

In addition to the socially constructed figure of Satan, Christian hell was also influenced by the Egyptian realm Duat, an underworld that houses the dead. Its leader is Anubis, half human and half beast, with tail and horns (see Image 1). Plus, terms found in the book of the dead gave nicknames to the devil, such as "lord of fire", "resident of hell" and "lord of the

⁷ The Crusades were aggressive missions with the purpose of installing a new Christian state, removing Islam and taking the holy land Jerusalem, with the promise of guaranteeing a place in paradise for those who would lose their lives when fighting for the Christian causes (STANFORD, 2013, p. 138).

⁸ Saracen means "Arab" in Greek. They were referred to as "Saracens" by Christian writers in Europe during the Middle Ages. According to Peter Stanford (2013, p. 137), such a term has become pejorative in medieval Christian Europe.

horns" (STANFORD, 2003, p. 9). Furthermore, Hades, the Greek god of the underworld, influenced the relationship of fire with the devil and hell. It inhabited the underground world, a scenario of suffering with the fire always burning, becoming an image familiar to later Christians.

Image 1 - "Anubis" from the tomb of Sennedjem



Source: Wikipedia, 2007. Available from:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anubis_attending_the_mummy_of_Sennedjem.jpg

. Access: 9 April 2021.

According to Stanford (2003), another interest is that the god Set is sometimes represented in red due to the Egyptian scalding sands (see image 2), which is why Jeffrey Burton Russel suggests that the redness helped in devil's composition when he comments in his book *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*.

Image 2 - “Set” by Christian Jegou



Source: Egypt Museum, 2018. Available from: <https://old.egypt-museum.com/post/180241774561/the-egyptian-god-seth>. Access: 9 April 2021.

Thanks to the gods of ancient religions Satan is sometimes depicted with a pitchfork. The Greek god, Poseidon (Neptune by the Romans) had a trident in his hands – which is more commonly what Satan is shown with rather than a four-tined pitchfork (see Image 3 below). Ancient Hebrews viewed the sea as a place of monsters, such as the Leviathan mentioned in the book of Job (BIBLICA, Job, 41, 1). Satan is associated with a monster, adopting one of its accessories on his hands when imagined or depicted. Also, according to the Holy Bible, “money”, “divorce” and “fun” are three aspects considered as the three sharp tips to devour the flock of the Lord that may be associated with the trident previously given to Satan’s hand (BIBLICA, 1 Timothy, 6, 10; Mark, 10, 9; James, 4, 4).

Image 3 - “Poseidon” statue in Copenhagen, Denmark



Source: Wikipedia, 2017. Available from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poseidon#/media/File:Poseidon_sculpture_Copenhagen_2005.jpg. Access in: 9 April 2021.

The bat wings of Satan were a medieval addition. At that time, angels like Michael were portrayed with feathered wings after Nike’s wings, the Greek goddess of victory (Image 4). Also, feathered wings resemble birds, creatures of the day. However, as creatures of the night, Satan and the fallen angels were portrayed with bat wings in Dante’s century classic “Inferno” and later illustrations of John Milton’s “Paradise Lost” (both works will be explored in a more detailed way). In addition, the Mayan god, Camazotz was depicted with bat wings and lived in the darkness through which the dead had to pass, representing that not only medieval European civilization depicted the evil with bat wings.

Image 4 - “Nike” stone carving at the ruins of the ancient Greek city of Ephesus, Turkey



Source: Wikipedia, 2009. Available from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nike_\(mythology\)#/media/File:Goddess_Nike_at_Ephesus,_Turkey.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nike_(mythology)#/media/File:Goddess_Nike_at_Ephesus,_Turkey.JPG). Access in 9 April 2021.

Cernunnos, a Celtic god, known as the horned god (Image 5), would be the great influence in the image of the Devil, lending him horns and some animal characteristics (that were also condemned in homilies and sermon literature), as well as Pan, a god very well known in Greek Mythology (Image 6). Furthermore, the Greek god Pan was the god of sexual desire, of creative force and was connected with spring. However, the bishop Augustine of Hippo⁹ condemned everything related to sex as evil or diabolical, which led to the demonization of Pan: a god also with horns, with the legs and feet of a goat and with a bestial appearance, influencing the lustful devil (STANFORD, 2013. p. 19).

The devil is also portrayed in green color, being related to hunting. The green color is derived from the god Cernunnos retranslated in it for being related to nature, animals, abundance and hunting. However, the devil is portrayed as a hunter, but of souls (HOW THE DEVIL..., 2017). Moreover, Hathor the cow-headed goddess, is an Egyptian deity that has horns (images 7 and 8), showing the devil with horns developed from images of pagan gods.

⁹ Also known as Saint Augustine, was also a philosopher and a theologian, who influenced Western Christianity and philosophy. Born in 354, he was also one of the Church Fathers who established the foundations of Christianity.

Image 5 - “Cernunnos” on the Gundestrup Cauldron (II b.C.) at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen



Source: Wikipedia, 2007. Available from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cernunnos#/media/File:Gundestrupkedlen-00054_\(cropped\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cernunnos#/media/File:Gundestrupkedlen-00054_(cropped).jpg). Access in: 9 April 2021.

Image 6 - “Pan and the goat” statue from the ancient Villa of the Papyri, Italy



Source: Wikipedia, 2011. Available from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan_\(god\)#/media/File:Pan_goat_MAN_Napoli_Inv27709_n01.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan_(god)#/media/File:Pan_goat_MAN_Napoli_Inv27709_n01.jpg). Access in: 9 April 2021.

Image 7 - “Hathor” from the Book of the Dead (XIII b.C.)



Source: Wikipedia, 2010. Available from:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hathor#/media/File:BD_Hathor_Mistress_of_the_West.jpg. Access in: 9 April 2021.

Image 8 - “Hathor welcoming Set I into the afterlife” (XIII b.C.) at Louvre Museum, France



Source: Wikipedia, 2013. Available from:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nuovo_regno_la_dea_hathor_accoglie_seth_I_dalla_valle_dei_re_1294-1279_ac_ca..JPG. Access in: 9 April 2021.

5 PORTRAYING THE DEVIL

5.1 Satan's depictions in visual arts from the 11th to the 14th century

In modern minds, red is the color of hell after the god Set, but in the VI century blue was the color associated with darkness and error. Blue is the color of the night and, therefore, the color of the angel of the night (see Image 9) (HOW THE DEVIL..., 2017). Seeing the devil as an angel is not surprising when you think about the theological context. There is a passage in the book of Isaiah (BIBLICA, 14, 12), suggesting that Lucifer, the most beautiful angel in heaven, has rebelled against God and been cast out of paradise. The fallen angel Lucifer has become Satan, the Devil. But that was all the modern artists had to go on.

Image 9 - "Hell" in *The Last Judgement* mosaic (author unknown)



Source: The Last Judgement. Available from: <https://br.pinterest.com/pin/424393964859071440/?lp=true>. Access in: 9 April 2021.

The blue Satan in the picture is part of the mosaic *The Last Judgement* from the 11th century, placed at the back of the The Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, a basilica church on the island of Torcello, Venice, northern Italy (Image 9). According to Dr. Sophie Lunn-Rockcliffe from King's College in the BBC documentary *How the Devil Got his Horns* (2017),

The need of the devil was theologically and philosophically important for the early Christians. Christians and not Christians faced the big philosophical question: where is the evil? How does bad come into a God created universe? The devil is incredibly important in answering those questions. In the ancient early Christian world, there really is

that sense that the devil is everywhere, either in himself or through his multiple minions, and that you can't trust the visible, tangible world because it is essentially deceptive. [...] Early Christians had a strong understanding that the pagan gods existed and that they were demons, were devil forces and you can see that from early Christian literature which refers to this world full of demons. There is a reference in Salmo's which Paul picks up on which says that the gods of the heathen are demons. It is something that is already very inscribed the association with demonic and things worshiped by pagans as being gods. It is a demonization of that which was once thought to be divine and that is an interesting inversion. And there is a competitive element of saying 'your gods are just little demons, our God is greater than all'. (HOW THE DEVIL..., 2017, my transcription).

In the first millennium, Christianity was still very much in competition with the ancient pagan religions. By demonizing gods and monsters of the ancient world, the church converted people to their cause, and it had also finally found the convenient model for Satan.

The Ashmolean Museum in Oxford has one of the finest collections of pagan artefacts in Britain. These are the remnants of ancient religions that once stretched all the way from northern Europe to the Nile, and included gods like the Egyptian deity Bes, from the first millennium b.C. that might provide some clues of why the devil looks what he looks like today. The Egyptian god Bes is the opposite of the devil, because it is a protective deity. So not only the early Christians appropriated the image of a pagan god like Bes, but they also completely thrashed his reputation: Bes, the lucky charm, the protector, became Bes, the grotesque monster (Image 10). They demonized it and other pagan gods suffered a similar fate. Christianity used the known imagery to create Christian images and new connotations.

Image 10 - “Bes” at the Dendera Temple, Egypt



Source: Wikipedia, 2006. Available from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bes#/media/File:S_F-E-CAMERON_EGYPT_2006_FEB_01385.JPG. Access in: 9 April 2021.

While Christianity is transforming itself, Satan's role and image is also ambiguous. But when the image of pagan gods like Bes and Pan is borrowed by the church, Satan not only gets a much more definite look, but also receives the characteristics Christianity wishes to reject or consider as morally dubious. This new devil is as much a human as a religious creation. He leaves the pages of the Bible and enters the control of the church, and that makes the devil and the church much more powerful.

The next important imagery (see Image 11 below) is shown in the *Winchester Psalter*, an illuminated manuscript psalter located in the British Library, probably made for use in Winchester, England. Most scholars agree that the most likely patron was Henry of Blois, brother of Stephen, King of England, and Bishop of Winchester from 1129 until his death in 1171 (HOW THE DEVIL..., 2017). The Winchester Psalter is one of the most memorable materials that survived from the middle ages.

Image 11 - “Hell” in *The Last Judgement* in *Winchester Psalter* manuscript (author unknown)



Source: The British Library, 1973. Available from: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_c_iv_f039r. Access in: 9 April 2021.

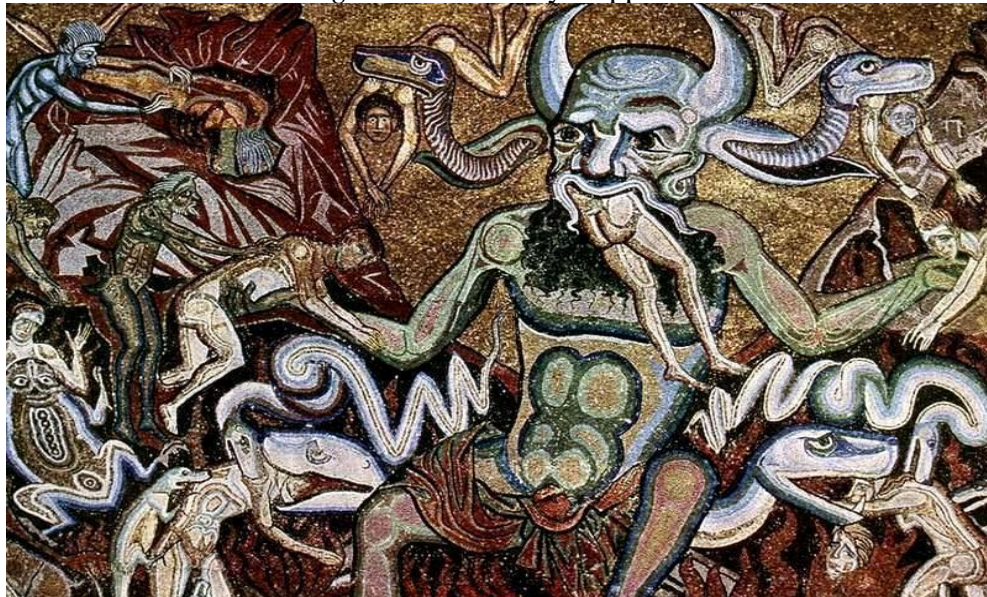
In the manuscript from the 12th century, *The Last Judgement*, is demonstrated in nine sections. The end of the world is presented in the last section of the manuscript, where the angel has cursed the old, wildly serpent known as Satan down to the bottomless pit of hell and he seals it so no one can escape (image 11). Inside of it, there are all of the poor sinners. In this painting, the devil is more powerful: he commands legions of demons, all helping him with his diabolical work. Some of the creatures have big beards that remind the Egyptian deity Bes, some with bestial hair on their bodies, few have horns, others do not, reminding the gods Hathor, Pan or Cernunnos. Created in the middle of the 12th century, this painting brings the real world to hell, with heretic monks, queens and kings. It is a big fantasy of what would happen in hell afterlife.

The next incarnation of the devil's appearance came not from priests, but from the terrified imagination of medieval lay people. The mystery plays had their height in the 13th and 14th centuries and they reinforced the image of Satan in people's minds: the all powerful source of evil, the ruler of hell and a tyrant, standing in opposition to God. This devil perfectly fit in a world where death could come quickly and horribly (HOW THE DEVIL..., 2017). Cities all over Europe were regularly savaged by the plague with devastating consequences. One of the

most vivid first personal accounts of this terror was written by the Italian Renaissance humanist Giovanni Boccaccio in *The Decameron* (14th century), "Few of those who got the plague recovered, and death usually came three days after the symptoms appeared. Some people died more rapidly than others. The stench of dead bodies, sickness and medicines seem to fully pollute all the atmosphere. With so much affliction and misery, all respect for the laws of God and men had broken down" (HOW THE DEVIL..., 2017). As death raided the continent, people saw the plague as nothing less than the work of the devil. The devil was much more present than God himself.

In many ways, the middle ages were a period of calamity and disgrace. War, poverty, pestilence, lack of clothes for cold weather and famine were present threats. Europe was blighted with one epidemic after another: the bubonic plague or the black death. In 1348, Tuscany suffered from the plague and half of the citizens living in Florence died. In Siena, 65% of the population were killed (HOW THE DEVIL..., 2017). Fevers, running sores, the stench of the rotting flesh and forgotten carcasses were common. It must have been a dreadful, precarious time to be alive. That dreadful dangerous nature life in medieval Europe, erupted in terrifying artistic visions of the Inferno.

Image 12 - "Hell" in *The Last Judgement* mosaic by Coppo di Marcovaldo



Source: Artsy, 2019. Available from: <https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-11-nightmarish-depictions-hell-art-history>. Access in: 9 April 2021.

The Hell mosaic (image 12) made by Italian artist Coppo di Marcovaldo created in the middle of the 13th century must have terrified many people in the Baptistery of St. John, one of the sacred churches in Florence, where it was installed. It shows Satan swallowing souls,

adorned with snakes and horns, or, again, Cernunnos', Hathor's or Pan's horns. In this period, the look of the devil starts to become crystallized. There are attributes that indicate he is devil. He is surrounded by animals, there are serpents on the throne, there are locusts, big reptiles; his head is horned, he is bald, blue, his torso is green, and he has a thick beard with snaking goat hair curls. This artwork was inspired by bestiaries, the anthologies and fabled magical animals loved by medieval readers. Coppo di Marcovaldo drew the ravages he saw around him to create this terrifying, grotesque devil.

Image 13 - "Hell" in *The Last Judgement* mosaic by Giotto di Bondone



Source: Wikipedia, 2011. Available from: <https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Giotto di Bondone - Last Judgment - WGA09228.jpg>. Access in: 9 April 2021.

The Florentine artist and architect Giotto di Bondone is often called the father of modern western art. He translated the art of painting from Greek to Latin, changing forever what art could achieve. Giotto created the quintessential medieval vision of the Inferno and the devil in the 14th century (Image 13). Satan is consuming and excreting sinners, influenced by Coppo di

Marcovaldo, and there are rivers of fire, influenced by Torcello. His artwork is in Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy. This Satan was not very surprising because Marcovaldo's influences (Image 12) were too present (HOW THE DEVIL..., 2017).

6 WRITING THE DEVIL: Satan's descriptions in literature from the 14th to the 19th century

6.1 Dante's Satan

Following the chronological systematization of Satan's imagery transformation, a Florentine who visited Arena Chapel rescued the image of Satan still in the 14th century. This Florentine is Dante Alighieri, a young poet. His projection of Satan wraps up the medieval visual arts moving us to literary works. By the beginning of the 14th century, Dante Alighieri began working on the trilogy of poems called "The Divine Comedy", and the most famous of these was "Inferno", with an astonishing set of infernal images bringing the countless temptations and pitfalls that the seducer never ceases to invent in order to have humans fall into temptation. Dante's Inferno is alleged as a reference of what Christian hell would be for all the images of torture, afflictions, punishments described in the Circles of Hell. He also recreates the medieval universe with all its social stratifications, criticizing or extolling them (ROCHA, 2014). The images constructed by the poet have populated our imagination for a long time, and consequently influenced various artistic and literary works, transforming the way they thought about Satan. Here I gather fragments of Canto XXXIV from Dante's Inferno that brings Satan's characteristics:

O, what a marvel it appeared to me,
When I beheld three faces on his head!
[...]
Underneath each came forth two mighty wings,
Such as befitting were so great a bird;
Sails of the sea I never saw so large.
No feathers had they, but as of a bat
Their fashion was; and he was waving them,
So that three winds proceeded forth therefrom.
Thereby Cocytus wholly was congealed.
With six eyes did he weep, and down three chins
Trickled the tear-drops and the bloody drivel.
[...]
To him in front the biting was as naught
Unto the clawing, for sometimes the spine
Utterly stripped of all the skin remained.
He laid fast hold upon the shaggy sides;
From fell to fell descended downward then
Between the thick hair and the frozen crust.
[...]
Turned round his head where he had had his legs,
And grappled to the hair, as one who mounts,
So that to Hell I thought we were returning. (ALIGHIERI, 2008, p. 232-234).

Satan in Dante's *Inferno* appears with three faces, batlike wings, six eyes and also brings his Bondone's inspiration: claws and hair. Satan with three faces and six eyes refers to a non-human creature, perhaps a monster. However, we can see animal characteristics when Dante brings shaggy thick hair all over its body, claws and bat wings. The hairy body and the claws refer to both nature gods: Cernunnos, the Celtic god, and Pan, the Greek god. The monstrous appearance is associated with the Egyptian god of protection Bes. In opposition of being portrayed with feathered wings like Nike's wings, the Greek goddess of victory, and birds, creatures of the day, Satan, as a fallen angel, is portrayed with bat wings, resembling creatures of the night and darkness.

Along with Satan's physical description in Dante's *Inferno*, the French artist Gustavo Doré¹⁰ illustrated Dante's Satan in 1868 (Image 14). Here, Satan is huge, portraying zoomorphic traits, such as bat wings, horns and animal fur. Those are the characteristics of the Other (ECO, 2007): animal attributions (the non-human) resembling pagan gods (the non-Christian).

Image 14 - "Satan" in Dante's *Divine Comedy* by Gustavo Doré



Source: The World of Dante. Available from: http://www.worldofdante.org/pop_up_query.php?dbid=I636&show=more. Access in: 9 May 2021.

¹⁰ Born in Strasbourg, France, the precursor of comics was a sculptor, a draftsman and worked with wood-engraving. Doré illustrated literature classics such as Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Cervantes's *Don Quixote* and others.

6.2 Milton's Satan

Dante's *Divine Comedy* directly influenced the English poet John Milton when he wrote *Paradise Lost* in the 17th century. We could not find his Satan in all of his grandeur without a conception of the devil which Dante offers, which moves us forward towards the modern world. The fascination that Milton's *Paradise Lost* had at the time is equivalent to that of the *Divine Comedy*, since many religious and non-religious people put Milton's work next to the Bible, as a kind of key to understanding some poorly explained pre-Christian myths.

In *Paradise Lost*'s book I, Satan shows himself with a large pair of wings, a zoomorphic characteristic on verse 225, page 49: "...then with expanded wings he steers his flight". Such characteristic appears in various verses, as in book II, verse 630:

Meanwhile the adversary of God and man,
Satan with thoughts inflamed of highest design,
Puts on swift wings, and toward the gates of hell
Explores his solitary flight[...]. (MILTON, 2016, p. 49).

The wings are like those of angels, influenced by the Greek goddess of victory Nike, who, as a creature of the day, portrays feathered wings. The fourth edition of *Paradise Lost* was the first illustrated version, made by John Baptist of Medina¹¹ in 1688.

The artist's interpretation drew Satan with bird wings, in reference to the Greek goddess of victory Nike, and with pointed ears, showing the demonization of elves, creatures of Norse Mythology and Scandinavian folklore (see image 15) (HALL, 2007, p. 54).

¹¹ Sir John Baptist Medina, born in 1659 was a Flemish-Spanish artist who worked in England and Scotland, mostly as a portrait painter, though he was also the first illustrator of *Paradise Lost* by John Milton, published in London by Jacob Tonson in 1688.

Image 15 - “Satan” by John Baptist of Medina

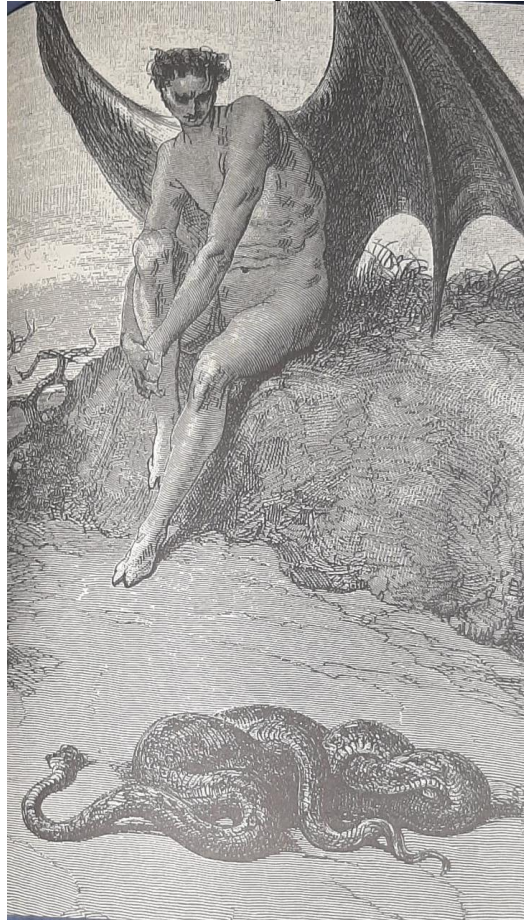


Source: Meisterdrucke. Available from: <https://www.meisterdrucke.pt/impressoes-artisticas-sofisticadas/John-Baptist-de-Medina/90031/Satan%20A1s,-ilustra%20A7%20A3o-de-&39;Paradise-Lost&39;-de-John-Milton,-quarta-edi%20A7%20A3o-1688.html>. Access in: 9 April 2021.

Later illustrations by the artist Gustave Doré¹² included in Milton’s *Paradise Lost* depict Satan with batlike wings, for the fallen angels are associated with the night, unlike daytime birds. The wings change from those of birds, with feathers and from daytime, to bats, nocturnals and with stretched membranes between elongated fingers. Moreover, Satan presents goat paws associated with the Greek god Pan, the celtic god Cernunnos and the Egyptian god Hathor (image 15). Satan is also described with “horrid hair” from which “shakes pestilence and war” (MILTON, 2016, p. 161).

¹² The illustrations in *Paradise Lost* were drawn in quill pen and ink and then engraved in wood in 1866.

Image 16 - “Satan” in Milton’s *Paradise Lost* by Gustavo Doré



Source: Milton, 2016, p. 601.

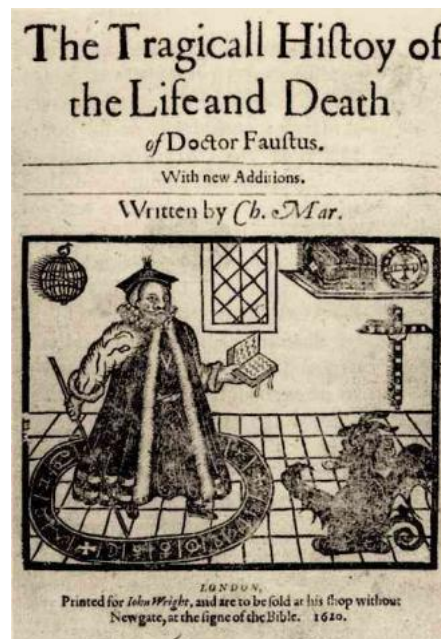
John Milton turns to the type of Satan which was the most beautiful and preferred angel in the heavens, who, in the course of poetry, as a cursed kind of beauty, is transformed into a monstrous figure (Image 16). Satan’s transformation into a monster can be associated with the ravaged reputation of the Egyptian god Bes, the protector: a depiction of those that end up being associated with evil (FARIA, 2016). Plus, Milton transforms the beautiful angel into the Other (ECO, 2007) making Satan's appearance like those of pagan gods, with zoomorphic characteristics.

6.3 Goethe's Satan

Faust was inspired in Dr. Johann Georg Faust, a German alchemist that lived around the 1500's, becoming a legend. Throughout his life, Georg Faust's reputation of being a genius and his notoriety grew so much that people fed rumors he might have done a pact with the devil in life. Such rumors grew even more when Georg Faust died torn to pieces inside his lab, since the devil would have forcibly tore his soul out of the body. In the book, Faust, the protagonist, seals a deal with Mephisto in exchange of favors, guaranteeing his soul as a payment. Mephisto becomes Faust's servant for twenty-four years and promises to help and solve his questions.

Georg Faust, the German alchemist, firstly inspired Christopher Marlowe, an English poet and playwright, born in 1564, that may have influenced Shakespeare. Marlowe wrote the play *The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* around 1590, that was published posthumously. Below, I bring the play's written frontispiece (Image 17), showing Faust conjuring Mephisto, in which we can see the devil portraying batlike wings, horns, a tail, animal fur and a goatee beard. Such characteristics are related to zoomorphic and pagan attributions: the non-human, non-Christian, demonizing the Other, those that are different (ECO, 2007).

Image 17 - "Doctor Faustus" in Marlowe's *The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*



Source: Shakespeare's Staging, 2005. Available from: <https://shakespeare.berkeley.edu/images/a-magician-title-page-from-marlowes-dr-faustus-1620>. Access in: 10 May 2021.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, a German writer considered to be the greatest German literary figure of the modern era (BOYLE, 2019), finished writing *Faust* in the 19th century, that is one of the greatest works of world literature, considered his *magnum opus*. Two hundred years later, Goethe gave Satan a new direction, bringing him closer to the Enlightenment of the time. The horns and tail do not appear on him, although the hoof cracks of its ancient remaining pieces are hidden within his shoes. In his words, Goethe indicates the decline of the devil in the Enlightenment period, as long as Satan could no longer be identified in the middle of the crowd, making evil more subtle and complex (STANFORD, 2013, p. 272). His tragic play brings another perspective of Satan as I bring in the fragments:

MEPHISTO:

For just this once you may get by,
For it has been some time, I don't deny,
Since I have come your way,
And culture which licks out at every stew
Extends now to the Devil, too:
Gone is the Nordic phantom that former ages saw;
You see no horns, no tail or claw.
And as regards the foot with which I can't dispense,
That does not look the least bit suave;
Like other young men nowadays, I hence
Prefer to pad my calves.

[...]

MEPHISTO:

I generally travel, without showing my station,
But on a gala day one show one's decoration.
I have no garter I could show,
But here the cloven foot is honored, as you know.
Do you perceive that snail? It comes, though it seems stiff;

[...]

ORTHODOX:

No claws or tail or satyr's fleecel
And yet you cannot cavil:
Just like the gods of ancient Greece,
He, too, must be a devil. (GOETHE, 1961, p. 247-391).

In addition to the zoomorphic characteristic cloven hoof (inferiorizing animals - the non-human), such attribution is also related to the images of the pagan gods Pan, Cernunnos and Hator. Moreover, the Orthodox compares the Devil with the gods of Ancient Greece, showing, again, the demonization of the Other's religion: that which is not Christian.

7 INTERPRETING THE DEVIL

Even though Christianity has its monist essence, such dreadful moments society was living made the Catholic Church lose some prestige and all the faithful felt abandoned by their God. The church tried to avoid Satan's popularity by exploring concepts such as free will, Original Sin and the source of evil in the world. However, as mentioned before, during the period of the inquisition and witch hunt, such dualism was reinforced when condemning those who would have made a pact with the devil, reinforcing the presence of Satan (STANFORD, 2003, p. 34).

To fulfill the gap of God's power when facing so much disgrace in medieval Europe, the Church placed Satan in charge of all these drastic events and saved itself from intellectual battles when questions about the omniscient, all-powerful and perfectly good God who allowed suffering in the world arose, as in the Epicurean paradox¹³. In addition to the evil dilemma in the world, the power of Satan discredited the monistic nature of Christianity making of him and God two rivals, since evil was present in people's lives.

According to Stanford (2013, p. 376), eventually, the Church made of Satan a tool of great use, using him to control the faithful and to avoid rebellions and disturbances, categories attributed to the prince of the darkness in the book of Isaiah (BIBLICA, Isaiah, 14, 12). Plus, in the face of the threat of Christianity, the Church leaders were facing the urgent need to identify the enemy as all the prayers had no effect against the circumstances: it is Satan who inspires pagan cults, who perverts heretics, who turns defenders of order away from their duties with feminine temptations. It is Satan who inhabits the hearts of the Jews and who makes the Turks go forward. It is Satan the chief of Muslims, he who disturbs everyday life through wizards, he who governs the barbarians. It is Satan's fault the existence of retrocedent diseases (pneumonia, bronchitis and tuberculosis) without the existence of effective remedies, him who brings the black plague that killed about 35 million people. It is Satan who causes wars, raises the level of crimes, mass deaths, infanticide and he who promotes episodes of cannibalism. It is Satan who permits the cold, droughts, floods and devastations caused by weather conditions and he who leads society to great periods of hunger and monoculture with bad harvests (DELUMEAU, 1989, p. 586).

¹³ Epicurean paradox: "Is God willing to prevent evil, but not able? Then he is not omnipotent. Is he able, but not willing? Then he is malevolent. Is he both able and willing? Then whence cometh evil? Is he neither able nor willing? Then why call him God?"

Multiple factors have helped the Christian religion to succeed. It began the transition to the dominant religion of the Roman Empire when Constantine I gave Christianity legal status in the Edict of Milan in 313 A.D. and when Theodosius I recognized Christianity as the Roman Empire's state religion in 380 A.D. It became the official religion of the meanest fighting force in the ancient world; the disciplined, organized, efficient and strategic; the builders, explorers, rulers and planners. The Roman Empire and missionaries carried Christianity with them: a non-polytheist religion that, because of its monistic essence, is inclined to fanaticism and disbelief in all other religions and gods (HARARI, 2017, p. 226). Plus, the Roman Empire territorial expansion took lands that were inhabited by pagans and destroyed their temples. Besides its power over the pagan primitive tribes that helped the empire's and its religious consolidation, Machiavelli declared that, when a culture, customs and languages are the same or at least similar, it is much easier to dominate a territory and govern it, because just then people understand each other and accommodate themselves. To dominate a territory and a people, it is also necessary to install colonies, displacing a part of the population. These, who are already homeless and poor, are in no danger of undermining authority, and those will remain in control, not wanting to go through the same (MACHIARELLI, 2014, p. 28).

Religion is part of culture, as it is a phenomenon that, at the same time, reflects the culture of a people (HEFNER, 2007). The consolidation of the Christian Roman Empire and of its colonies in various territories impacted on cultural aspects, helping to unify the religion. With a unified religion standardizing the culture of the colonized people, the power of the Roman Empire and of the Catholic Church grows easily since the population begins to cooperate with them (MACHIARELLI, 2014, p. 28).

According to Yuval Noah Harari, the first humans already had social instincts like those of chimps, that enabled our ancestors to form friendships, hierarchies and relationships with small intimate groups. However, larger groups resulted in social disorder, destabilization and band split (2017, p. 34). After the cognitive revolution and thanks to gossip (which allows making statements not based on concrete facts, as well as making it possible to disclose true facts of other people's lives without their consent), the sapiens managed to form larger groups. Even so, sociological research has shown that a group united by gossip must not exceed the mark of 150 individuals, since most of these individuals can neither intimately know each other nor gossip effectively, giving place to instability and rumor fomentation (HARARI, 2017, p. 35).

In order to maintain large-scale human cooperation as a modern state, an archaic tribe, an empire that ruled millions of individuals, a medieval church or people who do not know each

other to fight side by side in the crusades (event mentioned in chapter 4), it is necessary that these people share the same myths and beliefs, operating all under a collective imagination. This fiction consolidated in the collective imagination manages to make countless strangers cooperate in a versatile and flexible way, since they start to imagine things collectively and weave shared myths (HARARI, 2017, p. 36). Simple social instincts inherited from primates or the ability of gossiping after the cognitive revolution would not be enough.

Religion is a system of human norms and values based on a superhuman order, which succeeds in unifying society and ensuring social stability if there is an insistence on spreading this belief to all in a universal and missionary way (HARARI, 2017, p. 218). With the expansion of the Christian Roman Empire unifying culture and religion, the sharing of myths making strangers operate together under a collective imagination that has been passed from generation to generation, Christianity began to acquire an undeniable strength and dimension which exists until today. Moreover, along with the medieval Europe context, the doubts about the power and existence of God, the church's discredibility in the face of the misfortunes of the Middle Ages, the disbelief of the faithful, the disorder and the competition with pagan religions, Satan became a tool to be used in order to be blamed for all such events and evil. The church's fear of losing supremacy and the society's hatred for the Other and for what is different, helped to attribute the non-Christian, non-human and foreign characteristics to the one responsible for the misfortune in the world: Satan, the equally powerful - after Christianity lost its monism religion label - and now with a purpose, a responsibility taken from God and with a convenient model and role to validate the Christian faith and the Church.

8 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Satan's imagery is now exposed, supported by coexisted facts and evidence: a complex and connected hologram; an uncovered intertwined polysystem enigma, excluding fanaticism or imposed creeds. I have just legitimized my journey and who I am. It is not that simple, dear reader.

Satan is a myth that, from the Holy Bible to the miserable daily life in medieval Europe, was elaborated and shared in people's imagination. His new appearance, from angel, serpent and dragon, left the bible as a creature with zoomorphic characteristics. Such characteristics gathered the terrified imagination of the lay European society and what the Church wanted to demonize, making the antichrist be represented through chronological complex perspectives, generating some final products.

Some of these products are the visual arts of Coppo di Marcovaldo or Giotto di Bondone, parts of The Last Judgement mosaics in Italian churches and the poems by Dante, Milton and Goethe with Satan's characteristics that were brought here, which portraits the devil bringing distinct characteristics. They are all outputs of the fiction that hovered the collective imaginarium of medieval European people, revealing the spirit and atmosphere of such society. This is why the devil is monstrous, represented with goat horns, paws, fur, beard, claws, bat wings, with a pitchfork or elf ears, and such characteristics are not in the Bible. They were taken from what the church wanted to condemn, making Satan an elastic tool to help destroy the Other beliefs, the different, to convert people to Christianity, to keep the faithful and whom to blame for the calamities and misfortunes in the world. The pagan world and the east and middle-east religions traits were converted to the personification of every disgrace that happened in medieval Europe. Up to this point, Satan became powerful due to the presence of evil in the world. Eventually, monotheism was not a concern for the Church anymore: even though Satan's popularity led Christianity to a dualist religion, the devil ended up taking responsibility for the source of evil in a God created universe.

Plus, the devil often works in art as a fascinating character and has several sources of structuring, which give vitality to the entity. Perhaps, the zoomorphic characteristics, today, may no longer be taken seriously, but the name of the devil continues to be pronounced as the representation of evil, even though he could not be considered that medieval monster of yesteryear anymore. Today, such entity is as a faceless and maleficent representation, leaving the zoomorphic attributions behind and reaching the most human characteristics, such as Goethe's Mephisto.

Today, even with the trivialization of Satan's representativeness and the great knowledge of the human condition in the contemporary world, the various images and myths of the devil that served as a metaphor for evil, which permeate Christian society, still remain solid within us, as well as the value-judgment and Judeo-Christian morality.

The devil issue is present when terrifying crimes happen in the world, with the existence of incurable diseases and other facts that are considered meaningless, unfair or that happened for no justifiable reason. As long as we have no scientific justification for all the questions that do not allow the devil to end, and as long as everything that is brutal, unknown, or suffered causes terror in humanity, there will be the impossibility of eliminating the doubt of the presence of evil in the world related to Satan, allowing the myth to survive in minds stunned by the complexities of the world.

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