SATANISM TODAY

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION, FOLKLORE, AND POPULAR CULTURE

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James R. Lewis



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INTRODUCTION

Even though times have changed, and always will, man remains basically the same. For two thousand years man has done penance for something he never should have had to feel guilty about in the first place. We are tired of denying ourselves the pleasures of life which we deserve. Today, as always, man needs to enjoy himself here and now, instead of waiting for his rewards in heaven. So, why not have a religion based on indulgence? Certainly, it is consistent with the nature of the beast. We are no longer supplicating weaklings trembling before an unmerciful "God" who cares not whether we live or die. We are self-respecting, prideful people—we are Satanists!

—Anton Szandor LaVey, The Satanic Bible

In Mephistopheles, the final volume in his magisterial study of the history of the Devil, Jeffrey Burton Russell contemptuously dismisses contemporary, religious Satanism as represented by Anton Szandor LaVey, the Church of Satan, and the Temple of Set. Russell, obviously irritated by what he characterizes as "Satan chic," asserts that "Satan is by definition evil." Hence modern Satanism's effort to recover the positive Satan of the Romantic poets is "inherently meaningless" because it "contradicts itself." Alternately, in the same section where he discounts LaVey and others as pseudo-Satanists, Russell characterizes Jim Jones's People's Temple as a "Satanic" group that merely used the "name of Christianity" to disguise its true diabolism—as if to imply that no truly Christian organization could do anything bad or evil.

The problem with this analysis is that Western society is long past the stage in its cultural history where Satan and Satanism can unambiguously be equated with evil. The difficulties inherent in

Russell's assertion become evident as soon as one entertains its corollary, namely that Christ and Christianity are by definition good. However positively we might regard Christianity, few of us would be willing to characterize the influence of the Christian tradition as an unalloyed good. Although we might wish we could make such simple, straightforward associations, the fact of the matter is that the cultural images of Satanism and Christianity we have inherited are complex and ambiguous. We do not have to look any further than everyday speech to perceive how thoroughly Satan's sinister associations have been diluted: We live in a world where, without a second thought, we consume deviled ham and devil's food, "play devil's advocate," describe certain locations as "hellholes," go out and have a "devil of a good time," wake up "feeling like hell," and so forth.

In short, Satan has come to represent much more than absolute evil. While Satan and his minions sometimes still play their timeworn roles Xİİ

as representatives of pure evil, our culture has also invested the Devil with many positive and attractive traits. A prime example of this is sex: Because of the Church's traditional aversion to sexuality, the diabolical has come to be associated with sex and sensuality. Satan has also been portrayed as a proud, clever, creative nonconformist willing to question the status quo. In the modern world, all of these characteristics are regarded as positive traits, at least theoretically.

Almost all contemporary images of the Devil derive directly or indirectly from the Christian tradition. Christian diabolism in turn has dual roots in Judaism and Zoroastrianism. The Jewish Satan was never as sinister as his Christian counterpart. Initially, in fact, *satan* was not a being at all, but, rather, an accusatory or adversarial *role* assigned by God. Specifically, the earliest *satans* were angels, sent by God for the purpose of obstructing or blocking the acts of human beings. This is clearly represented in the Book of Job, where Satan is portrayed as a member of God's heavenly court—a kind of celestial prosecuting attorney.

Satan's transformation into a true bad guy did not really begin until after the Persians defeated the Babylonians and returned the Jews to Palestine from Babylonia. Seeking to make them allies, the Persians even gave the repatriated Jews money to rebuild the Temple. The Persians were Zoroastrians, a religion built around the notion of an ongoing, more or less evenly matched struggle between Ahura Mazda (in later Zoroastrianism, Uhrmazd), the god of light and the upper world, and Angra Mainyu (later Ahriman), the god of darkness and the lower world. Partially because of a friendly link with the Persians, Judaism took in influences from Zoroastrianism. Thus Satan, the closest thing the Jews had to an evil spirit, was reconceived in the mold of Angra Mainyu as God's enemy. This portrait of an evil divinity locked in a cosmic war against God was later bequeathed to Christianity.

Early Christianity arose as a Jewish sect during the apocalyptic period. The first Christians strongly believed in the imminent second coming of Christ (within their lifetimes), which would be accompanied by the resurrection of the dead, a Final Judgment, the defeat of Satan, and the end of this world. With these apocalyptic additions, the Christian Devil remained essentially unchanged for centuries.

These understandings were, however, gradually amplified by an emergent folklore about Satan and his minions. This diabolical folklore eventually came to be regarded with the utmost seriousness by the Church, so that, by the late medieval period, authorities were executing numerous people—hundreds of thousands of people, especially women—on the charge of being witches. The central item in this folklore was the idea that witches gathered together in the middle of the night for nefarious purposes. The churchmen of the Middle Ages believed that witches, who were usually women, slipped out of their homes at night and gathered together at prearranged spots in forests, mountains, caves, or some other remote area, often by flying, to diabolical celebrations. Satan himself presided over the assembly while seated on a throne. Participants divested themselves of their clothing and copulated with demons. The core of the meeting often involved the sacrifice of a human being. Babies were usually cooked and eaten. New witches signed a pact, renounced Christianity, trampled on a cross, and received a mark on their bodies from Satan's claw.

Although they are associated with the Middle Ages in most people's minds, the deadliest witch-hunts were conducted in the twilight of the medieval world. It has been suggested that witch-hunting was, in fact, a displaced reaction to the breakup of medievalism and the emergence of the modern world. Whatever the factors at work in this phenomenon, the witch-hunts came to represent the worst aspects of Christianity—an important component of a new image of the Church as a corrupt, evil institution that repressed and executed innocent people. If, then, Christianity was bad, perhaps the Devil was not so bad—or even good.

In the postmedieval world, particularly in Romantic literary circles, poets like William Blake often used infernal imagery to represent aspects of the human being such as sensuality—components of the human condition the Christian tradition labeled evil. This tendency to invert traditional

imagery was also utilized by other romantic writers. More recent literary figures like the French poet Charles Baudelaire made use of the same inversion. For example, in his poem "The Possessed," Baudelaire exclaimed, "There is no fiber in my trembling body that does not cry, 'Dear Beelzebub, I adore you!"

The conflicting images of the Devil we have inherited from the past have become yet more ambiguous in the present because the segment of the population that accepts the real existence of an evil Prince of Darkness is in the minority and steadily diminishing. This does not mean that the traditional image of Satan has been completely eclipsed. Although Christianity no longer exercises hegemony over the thought world of the industrialized nations of the West, conservative Christians still constitute a significant subpopulation. The strength of this constituency is evident in many ways, from the effectiveness of Christian efforts to thwart the legalization of gay marriage to the powerful challenge Christians have been able to mount against abortion. Whether we applaud or deplore these efforts, the conservative Christian community from which they draw their power shows no signs of disappearing in the foreseeable future.

This reference work proposes to survey contemporary images of the Devil. Although I have cast a wide net, the diabolical is far too pervasive in our cultural tradition for any single volume to even begin to encompass everything. I have thus been forced to make choices about what was and what was not incorporated into the following pages. My overarching criterion was whether or not particular phenomena were part of popular culture.

At the same time, I made a number of important exceptions to this rule. For instance, out of a desire to include a multicultural/cross-cultural component, I included entries on the devils and hells found in world religious traditions. (Christianity was not given a separate entry because the great bulk of the information contained in these pages derives directly or indirectly from the Christian tradition.) I also included brief entries on a significant number of fallen angels—a kind of who's who in hell—as

well as entries on certain topics from older Western folklore about Satan and witches.

With the exception of a few older theologians like Aquinas, I have largely ignored formal theology. The reader will also find treatments of a handful of traditional literary figures who have helped shape our images of the Prince of Darkness, such as Milton and Dante. And because of their influence on modern, religious Satanism, I included material on Romantic writers like Blake and other literary figures like Baudelaire.

Beginning in 1966, religious Satanism emerged out of the occult subculture with the formation of the Church of Satan. Anton LaVey, founder of the Church, was indebted to a number of different sources for his synthesis. Especially important were:

- 1. Traditional folklore about the Devil and various adversarial figures in world mythology.
- Certain Romantic poets who, as a literary device, created a noble, Promethean Satan at odds with the dehumanizing aspects of modern society and traditional religiosity.
- 3. The ritual magic tradition, particularly as that tradition was interpreted by the occultist Aleister Crowley.
- 4. And a wide variety of popular culture sources—literature, film and music about the Devil.

Despite the fact that religious Satanism has always been a tiny movement, a significant number of entries provide information about this phenomenon and its background traditions because of the disproportionate public interest in "real" Satanism. During the course of compiling this encyclopedia, I also gathered demographic data on contemporary practicing Satanists. The report of my findings from this research is included in Appendix 3.

Anton LaVey was and is a controversial figure, and to judge from some of the material one finds on the Internet, his memory and his organization are often attacked by other Satanists. In the course of my research, I found myself unwittingly stepping into this arena of contention. Perhaps as a consequence of this conflict, some of my contacts

voiced objections to the central role I assigned LaVey and his best-known work, The Satanic Bible, in the formation of modern Satanist religion. I was, furthermore, encouraged to shift my emphasis to the work of earlier literary figures ultimately responsible for fashioning the positive image of the Devil that LaVey later adopted for his Church of Satan. After reflecting on these objections, however, I concluded that—despite his heavy dependence on prior thinkers-LaVey was directly responsible for the genesis of modern Satanism as a serious religious (as opposed to a purely literary) movement. Furthermore, however one might criticize and depreciate it, The Satanic Bible is still the single most influential document shaping the contemporary Satanist movement. Whether LaVey was a religious virtuoso or a misanthropic huckster, and whether The Satanic Bible was an inspired document or a poorly edited plagiarism, their influence was and is pervasive.

Much of the current attention directed to Satanism has originated in the conservative Christian subculture, and a number of entries in this book deal with Christian interpretations of certain secular pursuits and commodities (e.g., role-playing games like Dungeons and Dragons) as diabolical. A major phenomenon that grew out of this attention in the late 1980s and the early 1990s was the Satanic ritual abuse (SRA) scare, sometimes referred to as the "Satanic panic." Although not entirely responsible for this panic, the Christian subculture played a key role in promoting the ritual abuse scare to the broader society. During this period, the reality of a vast, underground network of evil Satanists abusing children and others was accepted by significant segments of the law enforcement community and by numerous therapists—even police officers and analysts not otherwise inclined to accept traditional theology. Less responsible members of the mass media, attracted by the sensationalism of these claims, avidly promoted the idea. The SRA scare went into a sharp decline after about 1992. By the mid-1990s public opinion had shifted, and soon the SRA perspective was being rejected by almost everyone except certain conservative Christians.

Another influential arena in which traditional images of the Devil have been promoted to the

broader culture is the entertainment industry. This is especially the case in the horror genre. For example, the most successful horror film of all time, *The Exorcist* (1973), was produced with the expert advise of three Jesuit priests, two of whom appear in the movie. In the film's wake, many people began claiming they were possessed. Despite the sensationalistic appeal of its graphic content, however, the real core of *The Exorcist's* narrative was the crisis of faith of the younger priest, who must regain his faith in order to save the possessed girl. Thus by the end of the movie the Devil is thwarted and the power of the Christian god reaffirmed.

The pervasive horror movie theme of Satanic conspiracies helped shape the Satanic conspiracy theories that became so influential during the ritual abuse scare. As Gavin Baddeley, the author of *Lucifer Rising*, observes, the movies of the 1970s "established Satanic cultists as stock movie monsters." Although Christians have often accused Hollywood of promoting Satanism, the great majority of horror movies featuring a diabolical theme tend to adhere closely to orthodox theology. Such films have thus been highly significant in keeping traditional images of the Devil alive, and this book provides a series of entries on relevant movies.

Next to horror movies, perhaps the most significant source of diabolical images in contemporary popular culture is heavy metal music and some of heavy metal's darker musical relatives. This pattern began earlier among certain pre-heavy-metal rock music groups. The initial motivation for adopting Satanic trappings was clearly to increase record sales, particularly among rebellious adolescents who wanted to shock family and friends. Few of the early rock musicians were actually interested in promoting Satanism. As one might anticipate, however, many conservative Christians took such infernal images with deadly seriousness, and produced a polemical literature condemning heavy metal—and often rock music more generally—as Satanic.

Although I had considered doing an encyclopedia about Satanism for many years, I hesitated because I was reluctant to immerse myself in such a dark subject matter. I had a change of heart, however, following work on a reference book dealing with human rights. This other project brought me face to face with real evil. Afterward, I perceived contemporary Satanism as a lighthearted subject in contrast to the torture and suffering of innocent human beings that takes place every day in almost every corner of our planet.

As with all projects of this scope, I have been assisted by so many people that they cannot all be acknowledged in a short introduction. I would, however, like to acknowledge some of my most significant debts. First and foremost, I would like to thank my partner and wife, Evelyn. This book was harder to finish than most, and it might never have

reached completion without her support. Second, I want to express my gratitude to Todd Hallman, my editor at ABC-CLIO. This encyclopedia would never have gotten off the ground had Todd not believed in the project. Third, when composing entries on modern religious Satanism, I took the unusual step of contacting Satanist groups directly, and I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to the many individuals who responded so generously to my queries. Finally, a word of thanks is due to the interlibrary loan department at the University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point library for the many requests they so graciously fulfilled for me over the course of writing this book.

A

Ahaddon

Abaddon, which means "the destroyer," is the Hebrew name for the Greek Apollyon, known as the "angel of the bottomless pit" (Rev. 9:10) and the angel who ties up the Devil for a millennium (Rev. 20). Different sources speak of Abaddon, such as *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (a Dead Sea Scroll document), which mentions "the Sheol of Abaddon," and the "torrents of Belial that burst into Abaddon," as well as the first-century *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, in which Abaddon is used as a place name for hell rather than as the name of a demon or an angel. Abaddon is also referred to as a place—the pit—in Milton's *Paradise Regained* (IV, 624).

Alternately, Abaddon is identified with a demon, or the Devil himself, in the third-century *Acts of Thomas*, as well as in John Bunyan's Puritan classic, *Pilgrim's Progress*. Within modern ceremonial magic, it constitutes the name for God invoked by Moses to bring down the rain over Egypt, as reported by Samuel Liddell Mathers in *The Greater Key of Solomon*. There is also a reference to Abaddon as the sixth of the seven lodges of hell in the work of the cabalist Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla. In various sources, Abaddon is identified as the angel of death and destruction, demon of the abyss, and chief of the demons of the underworld.

See also Demons; Magic and Magical Groups

For Further Reading:

Davidson, Gustav. A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels. New York: The Free Press, 1967.

Strayer, Joseph R. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages.* Vol. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982.

The Abbey of Thelema

The Abbey of Thelema is an independent initiatory magical group patterned after the Argenteum Astrum (AA, Order of the Silver Star) and following the magical practices developed by its founder, Aleister Crowley. The leader of the abbey is Gregory von Seewald (b. 1955), who serves as Praemonstrator of the AA and Outer Head of the Order for its inner circle, which is called the Sovereign Penetralia of the Gnosis. He was initiated into the magical work in 1975, and after nine years established the abbey. Von Seewald established links in 1991 to an AA group through a lineage that ran from Crowley to Karl Germer to M. Motta to R. Eales to himself. He states, "This link has been mutually acknowledged, and is not the result of regular nomenclature, but constitutes the cooperation of my branch with another."

The Abbey of Thelema is also a subdivision of the Order of Thelema, and works closely and in cooperation with the Holy Order of RaHoorKhuit and in association with the Holy Gnostic Catholic Church. It has also established the Headland Press as conceived by Crowley in 1919 (though never carried out by him), in order to publish Thelemic and related works.

The once secret practices of the magical order Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO) revolved around sex magic, which was taught in stages as the students attained the eighth and ninth degrees of the eleven-degree system. However, in the system taught by the Abbey, a student who has reached the Zelator grade is invited to participate in these practices, which constitute the essence of the next ring within the Abbey, known as the Sovereign Penetralia of the Gnosis. Zelators are also invited to join the Order of Thelemites.

Because the Abbey is a secret order, much of its teachings and practices are not revealed to nonmembers. The Abbey has about a hundred members, scattered throughout the United States, Canada, Greece, England, and Australia.

See also Crowley, Aleister; Magic and Magical Groups

For Further Reading:

Melton, J. Gordon. *Encyclopedia of American Religion*. 5th ed. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1996.

Abraxas

Abraxas is a term associated with Gnosticism, an ancient religious movement influencing Judaism, Christianity, and contemporaneous paganism that was prominent during the first few centuries of the Common Era. Its central teaching was that this world was the creation of an evil deity who had trapped human spirits in the physical world. Our true home is the absolute spirit, referred to as the *pleroma*, to which we should seek to return.

Two distinct types of entities are associated with Gnosticism: aeons and archons. The aeons are the higher spiritual beings who reside in the pleroma. The archons are the rulers, created by the evil demiurge, who govern this world and who act as guardians preventing the sparks of light (i.e., the divine essence of individual human beings) from returning to the pleroma. Abraxas appears to have originally referred to the Great Unknown out of which the aeons and the pleroma itself emerged. However, in later cabalistic thought, Abraxas becomes the designation of the chief

aeon. Yet other ancient writers portrayed Abraxas as a demon and/or as an archon who ruled other archons. Abraxas was also associated with magic, and was said to be the source of the familiar term "abracadabra."

See also Archon; Demons; Gnosticism *For Further Reading*:

Davidson, Gustav. A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels. New York: Free Press, 1967.
Robinson, James M. The Nag Hammadi Library.
1977. New York: Harper & Row, 1981.

Adramelechk

Adramelechk, or "king of fire," is mentioned in traditional demonography as eighth of the ten archdemons, as well as a great minister and chancellor of the Order of the Fly, an infernal order founded by Beelzebub. In rabbinic literature, it is said that when he is conjured he manifests himself in the form of a mule or a peacock. Adramelechk, who has also been equated with the Babylonian Anu and with the Ammonite Moloch, is mentioned in various sources, such as in the History of Magic, where Seligmann pictures him in the shape of a horse; in 2 Kings, where he is regarded as a god of the Sepharvite colony in Samaria to whom children were sacrificed; and in Milton's Paradise Lost, where he is referred to as both an idol of the Assyrians, and a fallen angel overthrown by Uriel and Raphael in combat.

See also Demons; Milton, John For Further Reading:

Davidson, Gustav. A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels. New York: The Free Press, 1967. Seligmann, Kurt. The History of Magic. New York: Pantheon, 1948.

Advertising

Although at first blush infernal images might not seem appropriate for advertising, the Devil and hell have been trivialized enough in modern industrialized societies that advertisers feel free to deploy such images—usually in a humorous way—without having to be concerned about consumers (even conservative Christians) associating their product with evil. At the same time, the

diabolical is still striking enough that it catches people's attentions, making the Devil and hell attractive for marketing purposes.

As long as they are used carefully enough to avoid overly offending individuals who are devoutly religious, infernal images can be alluring and even glamorous. This is partly because of Satan's carnal associations, making certain portrayals of the demonic sexy. As early as the nineteenth century, advertisers deployed such images. Thus in an 1880 French café ad, Parisians are invited to a "Party in Hell." The poster's graphics showed an enthroned, smiling Satan overlooking a grand dance by citizens who were obviously members of the upper crust of society.

One early television commercial drew from the same association. This 1950s era ad for cosmetics shows a rather demure housewife transformed into a sexy demon after a couple of drops of perfume. She curls up with her husband (the 1950s was not ready for portrayals of unmarried seductiveness on TV), who is obviously highly responsive. The commercial ends by asserting that even the most quiet woman should get in touch with her "dark side" every once in a while.

A more long-standing tradition has been to portray one's enemies as aligned with the Prince of Darkness. This propagandistic utilization of the diabolical is very old, as reflected in medieval Protestant woodcuts portraying Catholics as Satanic and vice versa. More recently, in both world wars propaganda posters were produced that showed the enemy as evil or as somehow allied with the Devil. Political cartoonists have also relied upon infernal associations to attack opponents.

Then there are ads and products that rely upon hell's association with heat to promote their products, such as the names of and ads for hot sauces. The product name Red Devil was taken from the company's line of canned, deviled meats (deviled meat and deviled eggs are so-called because of the hot spices that are sometimes included). This association can also be inverted. In a 1997 radio commercial for Cool Iced Tea, for instance, comedian Penn Jillette begins by saying, "I'm in Hell," seated "next to some former IRS auditors." In the background, one hears various sounds associated

with the underworld—shrieks, flames, and the like. Despite the heat, however, Jillette stays cool because of the iced tea he is drinking.

Other product names are more indirect. Dirt Devil, for example, is the name of a very popular vacuum cleaner. The name is derived from a short-lived circular wind pattern that briefly stirs up dirt like a minicyclone. The quasi-spectral appearance of the cloud of dark, moving dust may be responsible for its name. The connection with vacuum cleaners is straightforward, although Dirt Devil pushes the association one step further by including a curved, pointed tail under its brand name as a logo. Yet other ads are harder to classify. In a Roy Rogers restaurant ad in the early 1990s, a fellow who had recently died in an automobile crash comes before what appears to be a kind of review board. The backdrop for the scene is a pair of escalators, one going down and one going up. Asking if they "cook anything" in the celestial realm, an angel interjects that he must be "thinking of the other place." Immediately fire and smoke belch out from a black chimney as a voice cries, "Yow! I hate this place!" Although the association between cooking fires and hellfire is straightforward enough, this ad otherwise trivializes eternal damnation: The point is not that this fast-food chain is somehow linked to hell, but, rather, infernal imagery makes for a humorous ad.

Playing on the theme that everyone's punishment in hell is unique to the individual, an advertisement for British Knights athletic shoes features a "basketball player's nightmare" in which Derrick Coleman dreams about a dark realm in which a group of overweight over-forties play as well as Coleman because they are wearing this specific brand of shoes. A smirking demon laughs at the basketball player who wakes up abruptly from his nightmare. The devil's laughter, however, still echoes in his bedroom.

Another amusing ad using the theme of damnation is one of the creative "Got Milk?" TV commercials. As a heartless business executive is on a cell phone firing his own mother from her job, he is hit and killed by a bus. Awakening in the next life, a soft unseen voice says, "Welcome to eternity." After asserting that he must be in heaven, the ex-businessman starts eating giant chocolate

chip cookies. He then opens a large refrigerator full of milk cartons—empty milk cartons, as it turns out. Turning to the television audience, he cries, "Where am I?" Hell, it turns out, is being able to consume cookies without the milk that should invariably (according to our cultural tradition) accompany such consumption. The camera fades from the commercial's protagonist as flaming letters proclaim the message, Got Milk? Viewers are then advised to go out and stock up-while they still have the chance!

See also Humor For Further Reading:

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Ahriman

Ahriman (or Angra Mainyu) is the Zoroastrian Satan, and the prototype of Satan for the Judeo-Christian-Islamic family of religions. The central theme of Zoroaster's religious vision is the cosmic struggle between the god of light, Ahura Mazda ("wise lord") and his angels, and the god of darkness, Ahriman ("evil spirit") and his demons. Unlike Zoroastrianism's sister/brother religious traditions, in which the outcome of the war between God and the Devil has already been decided, Zoroastrianism portrays the struggle as more or less evenly matched (though many strands of the tradition would assert that Ahura Mazda's triumph is inevitable). Individuals are urged to align themselves with the forces of light, as they will be judged according to the predominance of their good or evil deeds. Eventually there will be a final battle (a Zoroastrian Armageddon) between good and evil in which it is anticipated that Ahriman and his hosts will be defeated. The earth will then be renewed, evil people will be destroyed, and the righteous resurrected.

One of the points on which Zoroastrianism differs from the other monotheisms is in its conceptualization of the genesis of Satan. Mainstream Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all view Satan as a fallen angel who was cast out of heaven, either for disobeying God or for rebelling

against God. By way of contrast, Ahriman is believed to be very much on par with Ahura Mazda. They even created the world together, which explains why the world is such a mixture of good and bad. Later thinkers speculated that the two beings were twins, both fathered by Boundless Time (Zurvan). Ahriman is, however, not very creative in the sense that his evil creations are always responses to his brother's good creations. Thus, for example, when Ahura Mazda created life, Ahriman responded by creating death. Ahriman also formed an infernal host as an inverted mirror image of the celestial host. For instance, in opposition to Asha, the archangel of Truth, he created the archdemon Druj, the Lie.

See also Demons; Satan; Zoroastrianism For Further Reading:

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All Doos Go to Heaven

Charlie, this 1989 film's animated canine protagonist, gets killed by a big bad dog. After spending a short time in heaven, Charlie becomes bored, and wants excitement and challenges again. He also wants to get even. He is warned that if he sneaks out of heaven he may not be allowed to return. Charlie, however, goes ahead and does just that, slithering past the gatekeeper. Later, Charlie is fighting for his life as evil dogs attack him and a little orphan girl, and he dies again. The moment the devil dog in charge is about to claim Charlie as a permanent resident in canine hell, heaven's emissaries reclaim him for his heroism in giving up his life to save the orphan girl.

Amulet

Amulets are special objects or symbols often worn as medallions for the purpose of warding off evil. Amulets differ from talismans in that they passively protect their wearer from evil and harm. They are protection devices. Talismans, on the other hand, possess magical or supernatural powers of their own and transmit them to the owner. They attract some benefit to the possessor, whereas the amulet acts as a shield to repel harm. Many ancient magical symbols are regarded as being both amulets and talismans, able to attract good fortune as well as repelling bad luck. Examples of these are the swastika, the ankh, the five-pointed star or pentagram, and the six-pointed star or Solomon's seal. The actual origin of these symbols is hidden in prehistory, and they have been carried all over the world. The word amulet is derived from the Latin amuletum. Amuletum was the name for the cyclamen, which people planted near their homes in the belief that its magical influence prevented any poisonous drug from having power to harm.

The idea of the amulet is ancient. The earliest amulets were likely to have been natural objects with unusual shapes or colors. Later, amulets were crafted into symbolic shapes. A figurine of one's god(dess) has been and continues to be a popular amulet theme. Catholics utilize figurines and pictures of certain saints in a similar manner.

The ancient Egyptians used eye amulets to protect good health. They also used the Udjat eye on pottery, rings, and other amulets to ward off the forces of darkness. The Udjat eye was the characteristic stylization of the eye of the youthful Egyptian sun god Horus. The Udjat eye was placed on rings in ancient Egypt. The scarab beetle symbolized resurrection after death and protection against evil magic. Mummies wore a "heart scarab" as an amulet on their breasts. Seals and jeweled charms in the form of scarabs protected wearers against evil.

The Hebrews, as early as 2200 B.C., wore crescent moons to ward off the evil eye and attached bells to their clothing to ward off evil spirits. In ancient Rome (753 B.C.—A.D. 476) bronze figures of hands stood in houses to ward off evil. This amulet derives from the instinctive gesture to put the hand in front of the face to ward off the evil eye. The position of the fingers on these pre-Christian amulets was the same as that used today for blessing, namely with the thumb and first two fingers upright and the other two fingers closed.

Arabian amulets included dust gathered from tombs and carried in little sacks as protection against evil. Also worn were pieces of paper on



Amulet from the book of the Angel Raziel (Fortean Picture Library)

which were written prayers, spells, magical names, or the attributes of God, such as "the compassionate" and "the forgiver." A popular amulet of Islamic peoples beginning in the sixth century was the Hand of Fatima. The Hand of Fatima is frequently made of silver and jeweled with semiprecious stones. It is named after the daughter of the prophet Muhammad. Hands were also used as amulets on gates of Islamic buildings. Holy books of every culture (Koran, Torah, Bible) are considered to have protective powers. Pieces of parchment with scripture quotes, carried in boxes or pouches, are amulets in various religions.

Amulets with inscriptions are sometimes called charms, a term that also applies to spoken incantations. "YHWH," the Hebrew name for God, appeared on many amulets and talismans in different spellings to help magicians conjure demons and protect them from attack by the spirits. The "Sator square" consists of some magical words arranged in the pattern of a square. It was inscribed on walls and vessels as early as ancient Rome (753 B.C.—A.D. 476) and was considered to be an amulet against sorcery, poisonous air, colic and pestilence, and for protecting cow's milk from witchcraft. Similarly, circles inscribed with the names of God were used in England as recently as 1860 to repel demons. Eyes and phallic

symbols are widely used on amulets. Eyes protect against evil spirits and are found on tombs, walls, utensils, and jewelry. The phallic symbol, often represented by a horn, also protects against the evil eye. The hand is an ancient amulet that has carried forward to the present. Hand gestures have long been used to ward off the evil eye. Two of the best known gestures are mano cornuta, "making horns," in which the index and little finger are extended with the other two fingers and the thumb are folded into the palm; and the mano in fica or "the fig," in which the hand is in a fist with the thumb protruding between the first and second fingers. The latter is a synonym for the female genitals. Rock-crystal amulets set in gold of a hand in the sign of the fig were made in southern Germany circa 1680. Amulets may be made of hands in these configurations and are still made and sold today. In many regions a red coral amulet depicting the sign of the fig is popular even today on watch-chains and necklaces.

Knots are another symbol traditionally believed to dispel the evil eye. Knots have long been tied in garments to ward off evil and have carried over into carvings and metalwork. Nurses used to wear elaborately patterned silver buckles on their belts to protect against sickness, much of which was blamed on the evil eye. The elaborate interlacings and intertwinings of Celtic and Saxon decorative art probably arose from the notion of warding off the evil eye also.

Witch balls are bright reflecting balls of glass that one often sees hanging up in antique shops. Their purpose was to ward off the evil eye by reflecting it back to the source. It was believed that the glass ball would attract to itself all the influences of ill luck that would otherwise have fallen upon the household. Early Christians continued to use many of the amulets of the ancients. The medieval Catholic Church promoted the use of numerous holy charms including rosaries and holy relics. The most common charm was the Agnus Dei, a small cake of wax originally made out of Passover candles, bearing images of the lamb and flag. When blessed by the pope, the Agnus Dei protected the wearer against attacks by the Devil, thunder, lightning, fire, drowning, death in childbirth, and

other dangers. In the seventeenth century, rosaries were blessed as amulets against fire, tempest, fever, and evil spirits.

The idea that a charm needed to be consecrated in order to be effective is behind the belief that a lucky charm that someone gives one is more potent than one bought for oneself. The thought of the goodwill behind the gift has in a sense consecrated it. Bells have long been used as amulets to protect children, as well as horses, camels, cows, asses, and other important animals. Shopkeepers hung bells over their thresholds to keep evil spirits from entering their premises.

Plants can also act as amulets. Examples are the shamrock and garlic. Garlands of garlic worn around the neck or hung in a house are said to ward off evil spirits, creatures, and spells. In Mexico, the *ajo macho* is a huge garlic, sometimes as big as a baseball, used exclusively as an amulet against evil in general, but not against specific curses. According to custom, the *ajo macho* will work only if it is given as a gift, not if it is bought. In ancient Greece and Rome, garlic was placed at crossroads as an offering to Hecate, the goddess of witchcraft and the night. Odysseus used garlic as protection against the witchcraft of Circe, who turned his men into swine. Garlic, of course, is also used to ward off vampires.

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Angel Heart

William Hjortsberg's 1978 novel Falling Angel inspired the 1987 film Angel Heart. Violence and religion intertwine with diabolical scenes of voodoo ceremonies, grizzly murders, and hallucinations of bloody horror for the protagonist—and for the imaginations of the audience members who are able to sit through this film. Robert De Niro stars in the part of Lou Cyphre, who hires detective Harry Angel (played by Mickey Rourke), to find a famous singer named Johnny Favorite who mysteriously disappeared

before making good on a bargain he made with Cyphre. The narrative unfolds in the gloomier districts of 1950s Harlem and Louisiana marshes in the quest for Favorite. The detective finally discovers that he is Johnny Favorite, who had previously failed to honor his contract when he sold his soul to the Devil.

Angel of Death

The notion of an angel or demon who extracts the soul from the body at death seems to have developed from earlier notions of divinities of death. Such figures are widespread in world culture. In Hinduism, for example, Yama is the god of the dead. In the earliest Vedic texts, Yama ruled an afterlife realm not unlike the Norse Valhalla in which the deceased enjoyed carnal pleasures. As Hinduism was transformed in the post-Vedic period, Yama became a rather grim demigod, who snared the souls of the departed and conducted them to the otherworld.

The notion of an angel of death was most fully developed in rabbinical Judaism. Like Yama, the Jewish idea of an angel of death developed across time. The biblical emissaries of death were clearly under the direct command of God, as, for example, in 2 Samuel: "Then the angel stretched out his arm toward Jerusalem to destroy it; but the Lord repented of the evil and said to the angel who was destroying the people, 'Enough! Stay your hand'" (2 Sam. 24:16).

None of the biblical references indicate that a particular angel or group of angels have the specialized task of meting out death.

Only in postbiblical literature does the idea of an angel of death as such emerge. This "angel" gradually develops into a demonic figure who begins to act on his own initiative. By the time of the Talmud, the angel of death was identified with Satan, and the notion of an evil angel of death was reflected in many folktales and in many folk practices associated with death, burial, and mourning. For instance, one commonly known bit of folklore is that it is impossible to die in the midst of studying Torah.

The many folktales associated with the angel of death fall into roughly three categories. In the first

group, which we might call tales of horror and magic, the stubborn and cruel angel of death is a kind of antihero, somewhat like Dracula in many vampire stories. In the second group, the angel of death is defeated, especially by human deception. In these tales he is portrayed as being rather stupid. And in the final group, the angel of death is moved by compassion to spare someone's life or otherwise to act benevolently. In many of these narratives, the confrontation with the angel of death occurs on a wedding night, during which one of the two betrothed is fated to die.

See also Hinduism; Judaism; Satan
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Angel on My Shoulder

This 1946 film was first made as a comedy then remade for television in 1980. The central narrative is built around the timeworn theme of making a bargain with the Devil. The plot involves freeing criminals to harass society. The remake was about the resurrection of a convict. Other movies with the Faust theme and comic foils are *The Devil and Max Devlin* and *Damn Yankees*.

The Anticult Movement

One of the groups that weighed in on the Satanic ritual abuse issue in its heyday was the so-called anticult movement (ACM). When the ACM first emerged as a coherent movement, its focus of concern was minority religious movements. It was only after ritual abuse became a popular topic that it was incorporated into the ACM agenda. The ACM also supplied the nascent ritual abuse movement with the notion of "cultic mind control" (more popularly referred to as "brainwashing"), although the phenomenon supposedly explained by Satanic mind control was actually quite different from the phenomenon of commitment to so-called "cults."

The ACM arose in the early 1970s. In its earliest

stages, opposition to minority religions had organized itself around deprogrammers—individuals who forcibly and sometimes violently abducted individuals from nontraditional religions. "Cult" members were snatched off the street and locked up in houses or motel rooms, where their beliefs were assaulted until their religious faith was destroyed. Deprogramming, controlled entirely by independent entrepreneurs, could never have developed into a viable profession without the simultaneous development of secular "cult watchdog" groups. These organizations regularly referred concerned parents to deprogrammers.

Deprogrammers, anticult organizations, and other less directly involved individuals together constitute what academic observers term the anticult movement, sometimes referred to as the secular anticult movement to distinguish it from Evangelical Christian anticult groups. The Christian anticult movement is distinguished from the secular anticult movement by its focus on theological issues. While the religions criticized by Christian anticultists may be accused of exploiting and brainwashing their members, the more important accusation is their theological divergence from Evangelical Christianity. Because of this theological emphasis, certain groups not normally considered "cults"—such as the Mormons and the Jehovah Witnesses—are classified as such by the Christian ACM. The Christian ACM, unlike the secular ACM, also distanced itself from the practice of deprogramming.

The Citizen's Freedom Foundation—later renamed Cult Awareness Network—eventually became the national umbrella group for the ACM in the United States. In addition to working closely with deprogrammers, anticult groups attempted to influence legislators at all levels of government to pass laws against cults (e.g., a proposed New York law would have made founding a "pseudo-religion" a felony). First Amendment rights and other considerations frustrated most attempts to legislate against nontraditional religions. Where anticultists were the most successful was in the mass media. Dramatic stories about brainwashed young people being exploited by sinister "cult" leaders have an appeal that is difficult to deny, and the media provided

virtually an open forum for the propagation of the anticult viewpoint.

The Satanic ritual abuse movement enjoyed similar success in the media, and adopted both the stereotype of sinister cults and the mind control notion from the ACM. Although understood as a kind of cult mind control, Satanic mind control was originally invoked for a completely different reason: Cult mind control explained why someone's adult child could join a "crazy" religious group. Satanic programming, on the other hand, explained how a hypothetical network of secretive underground Satanic cult groups could manage to control both victims and members so that no one would ever reveal the truth about their existence. It also provided a theoretical background for understanding how recovered memory therapy (hypnotizing alleged victims to uncover repressed memories of abuse) worked and why it was necessary.

The ACM climbed aboard the ritual abuse bandwagon to expand its own scope of activities. In the 1991 book, *The Satanism Scare*, James Richardson noted that:

Having joined those promoting the idea that Satanism is increasing, the ACM is taking a leading role in the effort to convince America that Satanists are brainwashing people everywhere. ACM groups sponsor conferences on the topic and their publications promote their view. This serves ACM interests, meshing particularly well with the ideology of one segment of the ACM—fundamentalists who believe that Satan is active in the world. Other segments of the ACM, including some mental health professionals, are not religiously motivated, but also find it worthwhile to promote the idea of Satanism as a growing threat to our society. (209)

As public concern over Satanism grew, ACM groups like CAN and AFF (American Family Foundation) received so many inquiries about Satanism and clandestine Satanic cults that they developed information packets to sell to callers. Composed largely of photocopied newspaper and popular magazine articles, such packets simply repeated popular stereotypes.

Entering into the arena of public concern about Satanism also gave the ACM a new forum within which to promote its perspective on cults and mind control. Thus, for example, these ideas were incorporated into a CAN checklist entitled "Warning Signs of Occult Influence":

Those who have declared teenage Satanism something to be ignored have not made themselves aware, knowledgeable and educated about destructive Satanic cults and their persuasive methods of mind-control recruitment. How does a teenager outgrow Satanic indoctrination that culminates in child pornography, child prostitution, violence, murder, suicide, drug addiction and a complete loss of free will that leaves the victimized teenager bound in a belief system that they can't get out [of], even if they want to get out? (Cited in Hicks 1991, 276)

Finally it should be noted that the ACM also supplied the burgeoning ritual abuse movement with the notion of "cult apologists"—a rhetorical strategy for dismissing academics and other professionals critical of both brainwashing and the notion of a vast Satanic conspiracy. This tactic is reflected in the remarks of Cynthia Kisser, former director of the Cult Awareness Network:

In contrast to the mounting evidence of Satanism impacting on society as a social movement a small yet persistent group of "apologists" for Satanism have emerged. Their arguments for dismissing the Satanism phenomena are on the whole shallow, and not well researched. (Cited in Victor 1993, 252)

Why professionals should be motivated to defend Satanism is not explained, although Kisser seems to imply that they are ivory tower researchers who have not looked closely at the phenomenon. For people deeply committed to the belief in an underground Satanic network, however, the explanation is obvious: Anyone dismissing the Satanic threat is ipso facto either a Satanist or in league with Satanists—a handy bit

of circular reasoning that protects such beliefs from empirical disconfirmation.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse; Mind Control For Further Reading:

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Apparition

The term *apparition* usually refers to immaterial appearances of people, also called ghosts, animals, objects, and spirits. Despite much skepticism, reports of apparitions have always had a particular importance in folk belief and in the history of religion. Even though there can be religious apparitions (e.g., an apparition of the Virgin), they are traditionally associated with the diabolical, despite the fact that they often appear to be offering consolation and guidance.

Apparitions, which are not seen by everyone, usually involve noises, unusual smells, extreme cold, and the displacement of objects. Also visual images, tactile sensations, voices, and the apparent psychokinetic movement of objects may be included. Apparitions move through solid matter, appear and disappear abruptly, can cast shadows and be reflected in mirrors, seem corporeal or luminous and transparent, and can be lifelike or have limited movements.

It has been shown that there are few differences between the characteristics of apparitions of the living and of the dead. Apparition experiences can be of various types. They can be crisis apparitions, which typically appear to individuals who are emotionally very close to the agent, or apparitions of the dead, which usually occur within a short time after death. Sometimes apparitions are collective, occurring simultaneously to multiple witnesses, or can be reciprocal, when both agent and percipient, who are separated by distance, experience each



Edward Kelly summons a corpse from the grave, Walton-de-Dale, Lancashire. (Fortean Picture Library)

other simultaneously. Other types of apparitions include the deathbed apparitions, which usually involve images of divine and religious beings as well as dead loved ones, and apparitions suggestive of

reincarnation, such as "announcing dreams" in which the deceased appears in a dream to a member of the family into which he will be born.

Numerous theories have tried to explain all

types of apparitions, from the assertion that they are mental hallucinations to the notion of telepathy from the dead to the living. Other theories refer to astral or etheric bodies, an amalgam of personality patterns, recording or imprints of vibrations, projections of the human unconscious or will and concentration, true spirits of the dead, and localized phenomena with their own physicality, directed by an intelligence or personality. One of the most elaborate theories is that of "ideapatterns" contained in G. N. M. Tyrell's *Apparitions* (1973), in which apparitions are believed to be hallucinations on the part of a percipient based on information received from the agent.

Science still has little knowledge about the nature of apparitions, even though there have been systematic studies since the late nineteenth century inaugurated by the Society for Psychical Research. Among its most important works are the research about apparitions, the results of which are reported in *Phantasms of the Living* (1886), and the 1889 Census of Hallucinations, about apparitional experiences of either the living or the dead. Similar censuses were done in France, Germany, and the United States.

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Appolion

Appolion (also Appolyon and Apollyon), means "destroyer." He is the angel of hell's bottomless pit. As described in Revelation (9:1–11 and 20:1–8), Appolion opened the shaft of this pit and let out upon the earth a swarm of locusts with humanlike

faces. The locusts proceeded to torture those of mankind who "have not the seal of God upon their forehead" for five months. The locusts' "king" Appolion later takes on an even greater challenge than managing them, which is to seize Satan, bind him, and then throw him in the bottomless pit for a thousand years. Appolion locks Satan away, so that "he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years were ended." (After which Satan comes out for a little while to try to entrap mankind once again.)

In the biblical references above, Appolion is a good angel, servicing God, but in other writings he has fallen and succumbed to evil. For example, in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Appolion is the Devil himself, with fire and smoke coming out of his belly. In Hebrew, Appolion is known as Abaddon and is the fallen Greek sun god Apollo, living in hell as a serpent angel. The term *Appolion* has also been used to mean hell itself as a place.

See also Demons; Satan
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Ronner, John. Know Your Angels. Murfreesboro, TN:

Apsaras

Mamre, 1993.

Apsaras, a word derived from the Sanskrit *ap*, which means "water," refers to a form of spiritual being found in Hinduism and Buddhism. As the nymphs of South Asia, they are best known for their inordinate interest in sex. They are said to reside alternately in the sky or in trees. The mistresses of the gandharvas, they are shapeshifters who are fond of bathing. The apsaras are also singers and dancing girls. Alternately, in the Vedas, the most ancient religious texts of Hinduism, the apsaras performed the role of valkyries, escorting the valiant warriors slain in battle to heaven. Unlike the valkyries, however, the apsaras would—true to their nature—seduce the heroes as they were flown to heaven.

Although in Hindu mythology the apsaras are not demonic, they perform certain functions reserved for demons in Western religions. Specifically, they were often sent to earth to seduce ascetics who seemed to be on the verge of break-

ing through into a divine state, and thus posing a threat to the status of the gods.

In Buddhism, the best-known story involving Mara, the Buddhist Satan, portrays the apsaras as being Mara's minions. This story, the tale of his attempt to prevent the Buddha from achieving enlightenment, is structurally parallel to classical Hindu myths about the gods sending apsaras to tempt ascetics.

The story goes that as Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha, was on the brink of Nirvana, Mara sent beautiful, tempting heavenly women (Buddhist apsaras) to distract his attention. Unmoved by passion, Mara changed tack and tried frightening Gautama with ferocious demons. Still undisturbed, Mara finally challenged Buddha's right to liberation. In response, Gautama is said to have called the earth as his witness, whose response was so powerful that it frightened away Mara and his hordes. That very night, the Buddha achieved enlightenment.

See also Demons; Hinduism **For Further Reading:**

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Aquinas, Thomas

Anyone assailed is exercised by fighting against opposition. It was fitting for this procuring of man's welfare to be brought about through the wicked angels, lest they should cease to be of service in the natural order after their fall.

Aquinas, Summa Theologica

The Catholic theologian and philosopher St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1224–1274) was born in Roccasecca, Italy. Educated by the Benedictines of Monte Cassino, he became a Master in Arts at the

University of Naples before entering the Order of Dominicans in 1244. In 1252 he was sent to the University of Paris for advanced study in theology and taught until 1259, when he went back to Italy to spend about ten years at various Dominican monasteries, lecturing on theology and philosophy. After spending four years in Paris, he returned to Naples where he taught for more than a year at the university and where he preached a notable series of sermons. Illness forced him to interrupt his teaching, and later on to interrupt his trip to Lyons, where he was supposed to attend a church council in 1274, the year of his death.

Thomas Aquinas's eclectic philosophy can be characterized as a rethinking of Aristotelianism with the significant addition of Christianity and of the philosophies of his predecessors. This philosophy was expressed in his writings, which he produced during his twenty years as an active teacher. Besides a variety of recorded disputations and commentaries (On Being and Essence, De Anima, On Physics, On Interpretation, Posterior Analytics, Ethics, Metaphysics, Politics, and the unfinished expositions of Aristotle's De Caelo, De Generatione, and Metheora), his works primarily consist of theological and philosophical treatises written in Latin. These include the short treatise Principles of Nature, in which he discusses several philosophical subjects, from the distinction between essence and existence to the Aristotelian dependence of abstracted universals on individual material things; the Summa contra Gentiles, four books in which he argues against nonbelievers and heretics; Against the Errors of the Greeks, in which he expresses his opinion about the doctrinal points disputed by Greek and Latin Christians; and the unfinished Summa Theologica, a three-part treatise on sacred doctrine that contains the principles of Thomistic theology.

The element that provides the *Summa* with conceptual unity is the Dionysian circle, implying the going forth of all things from God and the return of all things to God. Part one includes questions and treatises about creation, the angels, the human being, and divine government. The two divisions of the second part are about virtues, vices, law, and grace, and the questions contained

in the third part consider Christ and his sacraments as indispensable means to salvation.

According to Thomas Aquinas, salvation is possible through scriptural knowledge, which contains certain truths that exceed human reason and can be accepted only on faith. Human beings cannot directly know God's essence, which transcends all species and genera. God's existence can be proved in five ways that employ the principle of causality and, starting from the empirical knowledge of the physical world, include the argument from motion, the argument from nature of efficient cause, the argument from possibility and necessity, the argument from the gradations of perfection to be found in things, and finally the argument from the order of the world. All these arguments imply the principle that reason needs a final stopping point in any chain of explanation, which must be outside of the series itself and be of a different nature—that is the nature of God.

Thomas Aquinas maintains that God's simultaneous presence occurs in all things as the source of their being, power, and operation. God's essence, defined as an immutable pure act, cannot be fully understood by the created intellect, unless God makes himself intelligible to it through his grace, a foretaste of eternal life in heaven that is expressed in good works and in the exercise of all the virtues. Only those who possess the more divine grace will be able to see God more perfectly, and they will be the more beatified.

Aquinas asserts that God cannot be seen in his essence by a mere human being, but the goals of beatific vision and ultimate happiness, which have an eternal nature and cannot be lost once attained. can be achieved only by the separation from mortal life. The third part of the Summa deals with immortal life, which humanity reaches through the Savior by the Resurrection, when the soul is rejoined to the body. Death is a necessary circumstance in the process whereby human beings, even the people alive at the end of the world, become immortal. All people are directed to one last fixed end, and after death both intellect and will of all the dead, whether they are in hell, purgatory, or in heaven, whether before or after resurrection, become immutable and they are brought to eternity.

According to Aquinas, the localities of life after death are: Limbus Patrum, where the good went who died before Christ; Limbus Infantum, where are allocated the children who died unbaptized; Purgatory, the place where all sinners stay until they are purified or redeemed by the church, or until the last day; Hell, or Gehenna, where the wicked are condemned; and finally Heaven, where the good are admitted. At the day of judgment, all the souls will reassume their bodies. The intermediate states will then be destroyed and, when the last sentence is pronounced, the condemned will depart for hell and the good will go to heaven forever, while the souls in purgatory may be redeemed and transferred to heaven through the prayers of the living for them, and the transfer of good works to their account.

Aquinas accepted the tradition that Satan and his demons were fallen angels. His view of angels was based on the assumption that humans cannot be the highest beings in the created order. Angels were thus a race of superior beings characterized by capacities far beyond our own. He asserted that angels are the next step in the order of being beyond humanity. Aquinas also argued that since intellect is above sense, there must be some creatures who are incorporeal and therefore comprehensible by the intellect alone. He thus assigned to angels an incorporeal nature, departing from earlier philosophers who had asserted that angels were constituted from a subtle material substance. In spite of their incorporeal nature, angels can sometimes assume bodies, since the scriptural account of Abraham's entertaining angels makes this plain.

At the time, it was generally recognized by the church that the angels were impeccable. Their state of perfection is such that they are unable to sin as men and women do. Aquinas held that Lucifer, like all the angels, was created in a state of grace. Nevertheless, he exercised the free will with which all angels are endowed in a wrong direction. Otherwise he could not have sinned since, according to Aquinas, angels achieve everlasting bliss the instant they do one meritorious act, and thereafter they are so close to God that it is impossible for them to turn away from him. Hence, the angels who did not rebel can never sin.

In some places, Aquinas expressed pity for the

demons who, though many were originally not so bad, had become hardened in their evil. For example, in *Summa Theologica* he says,

And it must be said that there is sorrow in them; because sorrow, as denoting a simple act of will, is nothing else than the resistance of the will to what is, or what is not. Now it is evident that the demons would wish many things not to be, which are, and others to be, which are not; for, out of envy, they would wish others to be damned, who are saved. Consequently sorrow must be said to exist in them, and especially because it is of the very notion of punishment that it be repugnant to the will. Moreover, they are deprived of happiness, which they desire naturally.

While condemned to hell, Thomas asserted that demons would float in the air until the day of judgment in the form of *incubi* (male demons) and *succubi* (female demons). Like other medieval thinkers, Aquinas believed that demons could seduce human beings, particularly in the dream state. He further speculated that should a succubi conceive after having intercourse with a man, the result would be a giant, like the Nephilim mentioned in Genesis 6:4.

Aquinas also perceived dark forces at work behind many cases of dream divination. He distinguished between lawful dreams proceeding from natural causes or divine revelation and dreams proceeding from demons: "But if divination of this kind arises from a revelation by demons with whom there is an agreement either openly because they have been invoked to this end, or implicitly because a divination of this kind is extended beyond what it can possibly reach, the divination will be unlawful and superstitious." This negative judgment derives ultimately from Deuteronomy 18:10, mistranslated by Jerome to say, "Let there not be found among you him who observes dreams."

See also Demons; Incubi and Succubi; Nightmares *For Further Reading:*

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New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

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Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1959.

Pegis, Anton C. *Basic Writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas*. New York: Random House, 1945.

Tugwell, Simon. *Human Immortality and the Redemption of Death*. London: Darton,

Aquino, Michael A.

Michael Aquino (b. October 16, 1946), founder of the Temple of Set, was born in San Francisco, California. After earning a B.A. (1968) in Political Science from the University of California, Santa Barbara, he was commissioned in the army as a Special Operations Officer (Intelligence, Special Forces, Psychological Operations, Civil Affairs, and Politico-Military Affairs).

Longman and Todd, 1990.

Just before a 1969–1970 tour of duty in Vietnam, he joined the Church of Satan, founded by Anton LaVey, and was ordained to its priesthood upon his return to the United States. Assigned by the army to Fort Knox, Kentucky, he organized a local "grotto" in nearby Louisville, then gradually became the senior coordinator of grotto activities throughout the United States.

In 1975, because of a decision by Anton LaVey to give away church priesthoods, Aquino and most of the existing national leadership of the church resigned. Shortly thereafter they founded the Temple of Set as an intended continuation and evolution of the church into a context intentionally divorced from Judeo-Christian mythology. Aquino served as the Temple of Set's High Priest until 1996, at which time he retired from the office, while remaining an active member.

The Temple of Set teaches that what Christianity has called "Satan" is a corruption of the Egyptian figure of Set. Set is not understood as a god of evil, but rather the personification of the individual consciousness or *psyche*. Members ("Setians") can explore the temple's philosophy individually, or through local groups called

"pylons." Unlike the Church of Satan, which advocated a "law of the jungle" approach to society, the Temple of Set inclines more toward Platonic idealism, encouraging Setians to aspire to high standards of personal ethics despite the moral and cultural imperfections of the society around them.

Because of its descent from the Church of Satan, the Temple of Set is often popularly portrayed as "Satanic." Aquino and other Setians, while maintaining a proprietary interest in the Satanic tradition, continually reemphasize that they consider "Satan/Satanism" as degenerate mythology only, of no relevance to Temple of Set metaphysics or social philosophy.

Continuing his academic studies, Aquino earned M.A. (1976) and Ph.D. (1980) degrees in Political Science from the University of California, Santa Barbara; and the M.P.A. (1987) degree in Public Administration from George Washington University. He taught political science at Golden Gate University, San Francisco, from 1980 to 1986 as an adjunct professor.

In 1994 Aquino retired from the army as a lieutenant colonel, at which time he was awarded the army's Meritorious Service Medal. He is married to the former Lilith Sinclair, whom he met when she was Priestess of the Church of Satan's Grotto in New York City, and who is also one of the Temple of Set's senior officials.

Because of Aquino's high visibility as head of the Temple of Set, he has been a focus for popular anti-Satanic sentiment, particularly during the Satanic scare of the 1980s. During one such witch-hunt at the Presidio of San Francisco in 1987, he and his wife were accused by a Christian chaplain of ritual abuse, but a subsequent investigation refuted this. Neither of the Aquinos has ever been charged with any crime whatever. Aquino's unique background in both the Church of Satan/Temple of Set and such arcane governmental fields as Intelligence and Psychological Operations has often excited the interest of conspiracy theorists and religious extremists, and he remains an object of curiosity and controversy in occult circles as well.

See also Church of Satan; Temple of Set For Further Reading: Flowers, Stephen E., Lords of the Left Hand Path. Smithville, TX: Runa-Raven Press, 1997. Mandelbaum, W. Adam, *The Psychic Battlefield: A History of the Military-Occult Complex.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

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Archon

Archon, a Greek term meaning "ruler," is the name of a class of entities who played an important role in Gnostic thought and who are roughly comparable to evil archangels. Gnosticism refers to a movement and school of thought that was prominent in the Hellenistic Mediterranean world that influenced Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity. Its core teachings were that this world, and especially the human body, were the products of an evil deity—the demiurge—who had trapped human spirits in the physical world. Our true home is the absolute spirit, referred to as the pleroma, to which we should seek to return.

According to the Gnostic myth of creation, Sophia, one of the spiritual beings (one of the aeons) residing in the pleroma inadvertently creates another entity-often called Yaldabaoth-who creates our familiar world (e.g., The Apocryphon of John 2, in Robinson 1981, 9f.). This creation involves the emanation of the seven levels of the classical cosmos, corresponding to seven planetary spheres of the Ptolemaic astronomical scheme. The archons are the rulers who govern each of these levels, and who act as guardians preventing the sparks of light (i.e., the divine essence of individual human beings) from returning to the pleroma. Part of the knowledge imparted to the Gnostics is information on how to bypass these archons on their journey back to the pleroma (e.g., The First Apocalypse of James V, Robinson 1981, 33f.).

One of the results of conceptualizing the cosmos as being the creation of an evil divinity is that the angelic beings in the heavenly spheres surrounding the earth—the archons—are also evil. Familiarity with Gnosticism allows us to understand certain otherwise unintelligible passages in the writings of certain early Christians, who were clearly influenced by the Gnostic perspective; for example, the oftquoted passage about spiritual warfare from the

Book of Ephesians: "We are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (6:12). What, one might well ask, is the meaning of "the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places"? Isn't the locus of evil spiritual forces in hell, which is traditionally conceptualized as being below rather than above the earth? In this passage and others that might be cited, "heavenly wickedness" refers to the archons. Even the word "rulers" here is a translation of the Greek *archon*, so that the original passage reads, "archons of this present darkness."

See also Demons; Gnosticism
For Further Reading:
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Ascendancu

Ascendancy is a prominent Satanic website. It was created under the name "Hallowed Be Thy Name" in 1998. The current conception (aesthetic/bulk of material) was completed in midsummer 1999. It was created by Jashan A'al (Valeska Scholl) in Norman, Oklahoma. Jashan was a former Tier 3 member of the United Satanic Front (USF), an activist organization of Modern Satanic philosophical bent, before it disbanded in 1999. The main goal of the USF was equal representation of Satanism and other left-hand path religions in Internet-related media. Jashan A'al is of the opinion that "organizational Satanism" is a contradiction in terms. This is one reason that she does not expand Ascendancy into a community despite receiving queries from individuals about "joining" Ascendancy.

For Further Reading:
Ascendancy: http://www.jashan.net

Asmodeus

Asmodeus means "creature (or being) of judgment." He was originally a Persian demon, but was later adopted into Jewish lore where he was known



Asmodeus (Bridgeman Art Gallery)

as "a raging fiend," per *The Book of Tobit*. It is in this same book that the story is told about how Asmodeus had killed the seven previous bridegrooms of Sarah, and then planned to strike once more against the eighth—a young man name Tobias. But this time Asmodeus was not successful as the archangel Raphael was protecting Tobias. Raphael exiled Asmodeus to upper Egypt, where he was kept under restraint by another angel until he finally moved on to hell.

In demonology, it is said that one must invoke Asmodeus only when bareheaded, otherwise he will trick the caller. Asmodeus is also in charge of gaming houses. Asmodeus shows up in other writings, such as *The Devil on Two Sticks*, by Alain R. Le Sage, in which he is the central character. In Jewish legend Asmodeus is said to be the fatherin-law of the Bar Shalmon, who is a demon. And in *The Devil's Own Dear Son*, by James Branch

Cabell, Asmodeus is the son of Sammael and Lilith (who is Adam's first wife). In the legends of Solomon, Asmodeus (also known as Saturn, Marcolf, or Morolf) is held responsible for creating carousels, music, dancing, and drama.

See also Demons; Judaism For Further Reading:

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Astaroth

Astaroth is mentioned in a variety of sources, often without much detail. In Arthur Edward Waite's *The Book of Black Magic and of Pacts* it is declared that, before he fell from heaven, Astaroth was a prince of the order of thrones. In Lewis Spence's *An Encyclopedia of Occultism*, it is argued that Astaroth belonged to the order of seraphim. In the *Grimorium Verum*, it is maintained that he has set up residence in America.

Waite, in *The Lemegeton*, refers to Astaroth as a great duke in the infernal regions, whereas according to Francis Barrett in *The Magus I*, he is called Diabolus in the Greek language. It is said that when he is invoked Astaroth manifests as "a beautiful angel astride a dragon and carrying a viper in his right hand." According to Voltaire, Astaroth was an ancient god of Syria, whereas J. A. S. Collin de Plancy argues that he was "one of the 7 princes of Hell who visited Faust."

See also Demons; Faust; Magic and Magical Groups **For Further Reading:**

Davidson, Gustav. A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels. New York: Free Press, 1967.

Asuras

Asuras are South Asian demons, prominent in both Hinduism and Buddhism. Hinduism is a complex, multilayered tradition that has changed across the several millennia of its existence. In the *Vedas*, India's earliest recoverable religious texts, the term *asura* is used interchangeably with the word *deva*, both of which refer to the gods and goddesses of the Vedic pantheon. By the time of

the epics—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*—asura had come to mean "demon" and deva had come to mean "divine." In the new pantheon of classical Hinduism, the old Vedic gods were demoted to the status of demigods (the devas).

The parallel between South Asian asuras and Western demons is fairly good. In classical Hindu mythology as it is embodied in the *Puranas*, the devas and the asuras are locked in ongoing conflict. While the legions of the Judeo-Christian Satan failed to take over heaven in their original rebellion and were cast into hell, in South Asian mythology the asuras often storm out of the underworld, succeed in taking over heaven, and drive the devas out. The devas then appeal to the high god (usually Vishnu, though occasionally Shiva or the Goddess), who comes to their aid, defeats the asuras, drives them back into the hell worlds, and reestablishes the deva/asura balance of power.

One of the factors at work in the Hindu religious ecology that distinguishes it from Western religions is the assumption of the notion of reincarnation. As this notion was brought to bear on South Asian mythology, devas became capable of ignoble actions, which could result in their punishment (their "fall") by being reborn as asuras. Asuras, on the other hand, unlike Western demons, were capable of performing noble actions, which could result in their being rewarded by being reborn as devas.

See also Hinduism; Indo-Europeans *For Further Reading:*

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Philosophy, Literature, and History. New York:
Harper & Row, 1977.

Aurum Solis

Aurum Solis was founded in 1897 in England by Charles Kingold and George Stanton. It was originally opened as a school of high cabalistic magic. Its philosophies are centered around the idea of the magician who chooses to follow a path of sacrifice, and who is reborn and passes into the light of glory. The system is explained in *The Magical Philosophy* by Melita Denning and Osborne Phillips, whose real names are Vivian and Leonard Barcynski and who were grand master and administrator general of the order. They came upon this order while in England and helped to revive it in 1971, and to bring it to the United States in 1978. Membership into the order is by invitation only. The teachings of the order still rely heavily on the writings of the Barcynskis.

See also Magic and Magical Groups **For Further Reading:**

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Azazel

Azazel was one of the chieftains of the 200 fallen angels who, according to the Book of Enoch (mentioned in Genesis 6:2–4), came to earth to mate with mortal women. Azazel, it is said, taught humanity how to fashion such things as weapons and, for women, cosmetics (encouraging vanity). He is mentioned by name in the Book of Leviticus, where he appears to have been some sort of a

desert creature to whom the ancient Israelites dedicated their scapegoats containing the sins of the nation: "Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats, one lot for the Lord and the other lot for Azazel. And Aaron shall present the goat on which the lot fell for the Lord, and offer it as a sin offering; but the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel shall be presented alive before the Lord to make atonement over it, that it may be sent away into the wilderness to Azazel" (16:8-10). The early Israelites had no purely evil, demonic beings. It was only later, after the Hebrews encountered the Zoroastrian religion, that they developed an evil antigod opposed to Yahweh. Looking back on the above verses from a later time, the Rabbis seem to have interpreted this passage as ascribing the name Azazel to the Devil, or to one of the Devil's infernal chieftains.

See also Demons; Judaism **For Further Reading:**

Davidson, Gustav. A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels. New York: Free Press, 1967. Ronner, John. Know Your Angels: The Angel Almanac with Biographies of 100 Prominent Angels in Legend and Folklore, and Much More. Murfreesboro, TN: Mamre, 1993.

Backward Masking

Backward masking refers to the insertion of subliminal messages into a piece of music by recording it "backwards" onto the soundtrack. A message so recorded can be detected and thereby "unmasked" by playing the song in reverse. According to some conservative Christians, rock music companies routinely incorporate Satanic messages into their albums for the purpose of leading innocent young people into the service of the Prince of Darkness via the commission of antisocial acts.

Some experimental musicians had utilized reversed recording at least as far back as the 1960s, but for the innocuous purpose of creating weird sounds rather than for the purpose of broadcasting secret messages. Christians who disliked rock music had originally denounced the genre as Satanic due to the unconscious influence of what was described as its "Druid beat." This critique shifted to denouncing the influence of backward masked messages during the early 1980s. The first book-length exposé was Jacob Aranza's 1983 Backward Masking Unmasked.

In the same year that Aranza's book was published, the band Mötley Crüe responded to what was already a popular craze by jokingly inscribing their *Shout at the Devil* album: "this record may contain backward masking." However, efforts to parody and ridicule the notion were

quickly outdone by the proponents of backward masking themselves. Thus in 1986, for example, an Ohio evangelist led some seventy-five youngsters in the mass immolation of albums containing the theme song from the old television show *Mr. Ed.* (Certain fundamentalists believe that talking animals are diabolical.) This particular minister asserted that when "A Horse is a Horse" is played in reverse, one can clearly hear the message, "Someone sung this song for Satan." The silliness of this exegetical approach was also evident in the pronouncements of certain writers who claimed to find infernal backward masking in country and western music.

There are several obvious problems with this point of view. In the first place, it assumes the existence of a diabolical conspiracy that is implausible to almost everyone outside the conservative Christian subculture. In the second place, even if such mischief was actually taking place in Satanic recording studios, psychological studies have demonstrated that such messages—infernal or otherwise—have absolutely no influence on listeners' behaviors. This second point was highlighted by several court cases involving accusations of backward masking.

Beginning in the 1980s, a series of different lawsuits that proposed to sue various heavy metal groups and their recording studios for the supposedly baneful effects of their music were thrown out of court before they ever got rolling. In 1985, however, a Nevada judge agreed to hear one such case involving the suicide of two young men, based on the accusation that a backward masked message on a Judas Priest album had subliminally urged them to "Do it." The case went to trial in 1990. After the judge blocked the testimony of a variety of self-proclaimed Satanic "experts," the trial devolved into technical argument between competing psychologists. The judge eventually decided in favor of Judas Priest and their record label. A similar case was brought against Ozzy Osbourne of Black Sabbath fame in 1991 with similar results.

See also Heavy Metal Music **For Further Reading:**

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Backward Satanic Messages of Satan Exposed.
Shreveport, LA: Huntington House, 1983.
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Richardson, James T. "Satanism in the Courts: From Murder to Heavy Metal." In James T.
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Baphomet (Sigil of Baphomet)

In the literature and imagery predating the founding of the Church of Satan in 1966, Satanism is denoted by inverted crosses or crucifixes and blasphemous parodies of Christian art. One also finds images of goats, devils and demons (along with their symbols, referred to as *sigils*) used to represent the "Satanic." However, the complete graphic referred to as the Sigil of Baphomet—the now familiar goat's head in an inverted pentagram encircled by Hebrew letters spelling out "Leviathan"—did not become the foremost symbol of Satanism in the public consciousness until after the founding of the Church of Satan in 1966.

The word *Baphomet* dates back to records of the trial of the Knights Templar, and there are ongoing discussions concerning its derivation and meaning. However, there is no clear evidence that the *symbol* that has come to be referred to as Baphomet is similarly derived. The first artwork



Baphomet from Eliphas Levi's Transcendental Magic (Fortean Picture Library)

for an image of a goat face in a pentagram appeared in a 1931 book on Freemasonry by Oswald Wirth (1931, 60). This was, however, only a pentagram containing a goat's face. It was not the full Sigil of Baphomet as delineated in *The Satanic Bible*. The concept is the same, but the actual art is not.

The first version of the goat-faced pentagram surrounded by two circles with "Leviathan" written between them appeared in and on the cover of Maurice Bessy's *A Pictorial History of Magic and the Supernatural* (1964). Nowhere in this book, however, is this graphic referred to as the Sigil of Baphomet. During his years of research into the "Black Arts," Anton LaVey had come across this book and added it to his collection. When he chose to found the Church of Satan, he decided that this particular symbol most fully embodied the principles that were the bedrock of the first aboveground Satanic church.

The cover of the Bessy book was enlarged and placed above the altar in the ritual chamber, as

well as in a lower level altar in the infamous Black House, LaVey's home and the original headquarters of the Church of Satan. LaVey never claimed to have designed the Bessy version of this symbol, as has been asserted by some of the church's detractors. In its early days, the Church of Satan used the version seen on the cover of the Bessy book on its membership cards and stationery as well as on the medallions that were created both by hand and by professional manufacturers. There were, in fact, many variations, depending on the skill of the renderers and on the means used to create the final product.

While The Satanic Bible was being written, it was decided that a unique version of this symbol should be rendered to be identified exclusively with the Church of Satan. The pentagram was made geometrically precise, the two circles perfect, the Hebrew characters were distorted to make them look more sharply serpentine, while the goat face was redrawn with particular attention paid to the eyes. This version was copyrighted by the Church of Satan. The original highly detailed artwork was first used to create altar plaques. This new version was then used on the cover of the 1968 LP, The Satanic Mass, produced by the Church of Satan. Finally, this symbol was widely released with the publication of The Satanic Bible in 1969, where it adorned the cover and appeared on the interior page introducing the section detailing the Satanic Ritual. It was in The Satanic Bible that this graphic was first referred to as the symbol of Baphomet in any publication available to a mass audience:

The symbol of Baphomet was used by the Knights Templar to represent Satan. Through the ages this symbol has been called by many different names. Among these are: The Goat of Mendes, The Goat of a Thousand Young, The Black Goat, The Judas Goat, and perhaps most appropriately, The Scapegoat.

Baphomet represents the Powers of Darkness combined with the generative fertility of the goat. In its "pure" form the pentagram is shown encompassing the figure of a man in the five points of the star—three points up, two points down—symbolizing man's spiritual

nature. In Satanism the pentagram is also used, but since Satanism represents the carnal instincts of man, or the opposite of the spiritual nature, the pentagram is inverted to perfectly accommodate the head of the goat—its horns, representing duality, thrust upwards in defiance; the other three points inverted, or the trinity denied. The Hebraic figures around the outer circle of the symbol which stem from the magical teachings of the Kabala, spell out "Leviathan," the serpent of the watery abyss, and identified with Satan.

These figures correspond to the five points of the inverted star. (136)

—Peter H. Gilmore

See also Church of Satan; LaVey, Anton *For Further Reading:*

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Wirth, Oswald. La Franc-Maconnerie rendue intelligible a ces adeptes. 3 vols. Paris: Derry-Livres, 1931. Reprinted Laval, France: n.p. 1962–1963.

Bardo Thödol (The Tibetan Book of the Dead)

Nowhere is the art of dying more sophisticated than in the culture of Tibet, whose religion evolved from the shamanistic Bön into Tantric Buddhism beginning in the eighth century. In Tibetan thought, the process of right dying is as important as right living. A high form of yoga—a spiritual discipline of meditation—has developed over the centuries to speed the spirits of the death on their afterlife spiritual journey and enable them to be conscious of the experiences waiting to greet them.

The *Bardo Thödol*, the Tibetan handbook on dying, the afterlife, and rebirth, is of remote antiquity. There is no known author or authors; more than likely, it was honed and refined over the course of history. It was first written down in the eighth century. The dying are warned that they will encounter fearsome demons after death—

though they are also counseled that these demons are insubstantial projections of the mind:

O son of noble family, listen very carefully. When the twelfth day comes, the blooddrinking emanation of the Karma family, who is called Karma-Heruka the Blessed, will rise out of the northern quadrant of your brain and appear before you clearly, united with his spouse; his body dark green, with three heads, six arms, and four legs spread apart; the right face is white, the left is read, and the middle a majestic deep green; his six hands are holding, the first to the right a sword, that in the middle-right a trident impaled with three human heads, the next to the left a bell, the next still a goblet fashioned out of a human skull, the last a plowshare; his spouse, Karma-Krodhisvari, is clasping his body with her right arm, her hand around his neck, and in her left she is holding a blood-filled skull to his lips. Do not be afraid of him, do not be terrified, do not be taken aback. Recognize in him the form of your own spirit. (Evans-Wentz 1960, 140-141)

The central objective of Tibetan death rites is to extract the consciousness-principle from the gross physical body so that it can truly perceive the spiritual world. Following death, the spirit enters a transit that lasts exactly forty-nine days and is divided into three stages. At the end of the *Bardo*, one either enters nirvana, an ineffable state, or returns to earth for another reincarnation. Only the most enlightened avoid reincarnation.

It is of paramount importance that the dying person remain fully conscious for as long as possible, for the last thoughts of the dying influence the quality of the after-death experience and the subsequent reincarnation. He or she is placed in the Lion Posture (lying on one's right side), and his or her neck arteries are pressed to prevent loss of consciousness. The dying person is guided by a guru or lama, who provides advice on what to prepare for.

The first stage of the *Bardo* commences at the moment of death and lasts from a half day to four days; this is how long it takes for the deceased to

realize he or she has been separated from the body. As soon as the individual expires, a white cloth is thrown over his or her face, and no one is allowed to touch the corpse. All doors and windows are sealed, and the "extractor of consciousness-principle" lama takes up his vigil by the corpse's head. No grieving is permitted. The lama takes up a mystical chant that provides directions for the deceased to find its way to the Western Paradise of Amitabha. If the person's karma is good enough, this will enable the dead to escape the ordeal of the intermediate period of the Bardo. The lama examines the top of the head to determine if the spirit has exited as it should through the "Aperture of Brahma"; if so, he pulls out three hairs, if the head is not bald. If circumstances are such that there is no corpse, the lama visualizes the body as though present, and proceeds with the rites. A setting-face-to-face with the Clear Light is repeated until a yellowish liquid exudes from body orifices. In some descriptions, it is a yellowish luminosity, like an aura. If the deceased led an evil life, this state lasts but a moment. If enlightened, it lasts for an hour or so. An astrologer lama casts a death horoscope, based on the moment of death, to determine who may touch the corpse, how it will be disposed of, and what funeral rites should be performed.

At the end of the first stage, the corpse is seated upright in a corner of the death chamber. Care is taken not to use one of the corners assigned to the household demon. The relatives are summoned and a feast ensues, in which the corpse participates by being offered the invisible essences of all food and drink. The feast lasts for at least two days.

The corpse is then removed for disposal, and an effigy of the corpse is made of wood and dressed in the clothes of the deceased. For the remainder of the *Bardo*, it stays in the corner, attended by the lamas who chant by relays the various liturgies at the appropriate time. At the end of the *Bardo*, the effigy is hung with ornaments and dismantled, and the ghost of the death is warned not to return to haunt the body. The corpse, meanwhile, is given a funeral. Tibetans favor cremation, as they believe earth burial can cause the dead one to survive as a vampire. Another favored means is to dismember the corpse and leave it to the birds.

At the moment of death, the spirit sees the primary Clear Light, and experiences ecstasy. All persons get at least a glimpse of the Clear Light, but the more enlightened can see it longer and use it to transcend the cycle of death and rebirth to a higher reality. Most relapse into the Secondary Clear Light, a lesser ecstasy.

The second stage is like an awakening, in which the spirit is presented with hallucinations created by karmic reflexes of actions done while alive. Unless enlightened, the spirit is under the illusion that it still has a body like the one that died. There begins a series of apparitions, the Coming of the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities, or personifications of human sentiment, which must be faced without flinching. The *Bardo Thödol* provides a relevant prayer: "When I will have left my dear friends and gone on my own, and when the empty forms of my own projections appear, may the buddhas grant me the strength of their compassion so that the terrors of the *bardo* will not come."

Most escape the second stage through the third stage, rebirth; the circumstances of rebirth are determined by past karma. The most enlightened of yogis are said to bypass all of the *Bardo*, going directly to a paradise realm or else directly into another body in rebirth without any loss of consciousness. Yoga during life prepares one for the after-death experiences.

See also Buddhism; Demons **For Further Reading:**

Bromage, Bernard. *Tibetan Yoga.* 1952. Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, UK: Aquarian Press, 1979.

Evans-Wentz, W. Y., ed. *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*. 3rd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.

Baudelaire, Charles

Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) was a French poet who was seemingly obsessed with alienation and evil. Although some have labeled him a Satanist, his religious attitudes were complex, and seem to have fluctuated throughout his lifetime. He died reconciled with the church.

In many places, Baudelaire used Satan as a symbol of evil. In other places, however, he reacted to the God of the Bible as cruel and tyrannical, and portrayed the Devil positively. For example, in his poem "The Possessed" in *Les Fleurs du Mal* (1861) he exclaims, "There is no fiber in my trembling body that does not cry, 'Dear Beelzebub, I adore you!'" Perhaps Baudelaire's most familiar Satanic piece is his "Litanies of Satan," which, as the title suggests, reads like a litany. To cite a few lines:

O thou, of Angels loveliest, most wise, O God betrayed by fate, deprived of praise! Satan, have mercy on my long distress! O Prince of exile, who was dispossessed, Who ever rises stronger when oppressed, Satan, have mercy on my long distress! O thou who knowest all, Hell's sovereign, Known healer of mankind's afflictions Satan, have mercy on my long distress!

At least one Satanist group, the Brotherhood of the Ram, incorporated it into their regular rituals. It can also sometimes be found on Satanist websites.

See also Brotherhood of the Ram *For Further Reading:*

Baddeley, Gavin. *Lucifer Rising: Sin, Devil Worship* and Rock'n'Roll. London: Plexus, 1999.
Scott, Miriam Van. *Encyclopedia of Hell.* New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 1998.

The "Beast" Computer Legend

According to an urban legend that has been heard and repeated by millions of Christians, there is a computer under the control of the European Common Market in Belgium that occupies three stories of an unmarked building. One version of this tale from a letter written by a Georgia woman appears on the Ship of Fools website:

A myth I heard as early as 1973, and have heard repeatedly over the years, concerns a giant computer in Belgium, taking up the space of a city block, and housed in a building. The name of the computer is "The Beast," and reportedly information on everyone in the world is kept on it. This means that when we have to take the "mark of the beast," the antichrist government can track us down. High school teachers talked

about it, as well as it being fodder for several sermons I heard as a teenage person.

Supposedly, the Beast—a nickname taken from the description of endtime events contained in the Book of Revelation—tracks every person on earth. In some versions of the tale, the computer is "selfprogramming," meaning that it has a life (implicitly a demonic life) of its own. This devilish computer is part of a diabolical plan to imprint ID numbers on the hands or foreheads of every man, woman, and child. This will be so the so-called Mark of the Beast mentioned in Revelation: "It causes all, both small and great, both rich and poor, both free and slave, to be marked on the right hand or the forehead, so that no one can buy or sell unless he has the mark, that is, the name of the beast or the number of its name" (Rev. 13:18-17). The story was particularly promoted by an article printed in Christian Life in 1976. Months later, the magazine was contacted by Joe Musser, a Christian writer. Musser explained that the Beast computer was a fiction he created as part of his novel, Beyond a Pale Horse, and for the screenplay for The Rapture, a film by David Wilkerson. The confusion seems to have arisen from promotional flyers that were propagated in the form of realistic-looking mock newspapers containing stories that supposedly reported such endtime events as the giant computer.

See also Hellhole
For Further Reading:

Robinson, B. A. "Christian Urban Legends." http://www.religioustolerance.org/chr_cul.htm. Ship of Fools. "The Beast of Belgium." http://ship-of-fools.com/Myths/06Myth.html.

Beast of the Yellow Night

In this 1970 film, a man makes a deal with the Devil—a plump, cheerful chap—for the usual goodies, money, and power. He doesn't realize until it's too late that the price he pays is to become an ugly monster.

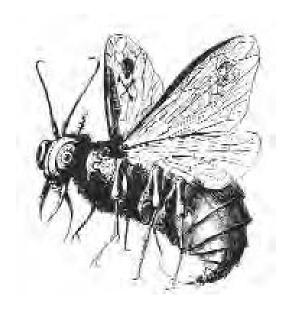
Bedazzled

Stanley Donen's 1967 comedy built around a Faust theme was written and performed by comedians

Peter Cook and Dudley Moore. Stumbling and bumbling Stanley (Moore) wants to attract the attention of his coworker, a beautiful waitress who is unattainable. He wastes most of the seven wishes that are given to him by the Devil (played by Cook) in exchange for Moore's soul following his suicide attempt. Harold Ramis was the cowriter-coproducer of the 2000 remake. As in the first film, the short-order cook Elliott (Brandon Fraser) is willing to sell his soul to the Devil for the attention of the beautiful waitress, Margaret (Frances O'Conner). Harold Ramis cleverly rewrites the Devil as a beautiful woman (Elizabeth Hurley) who searches for a simple soul to grant seven wishes. Fast-paced action with Elliot's every wish consistently being sabotaged by the Devil, who wants him to regret his superficial, soulless desires. Evil doings are replaced by magical happenings. The narrative concludes with the moral intervention of a wise angel.

Beelzebub

Beelzebub appeared in the Old Testament only once, never in the Apocalyptic literature, and a number of times in the New Testament. Although the origin of his name is uncertain, Beelzebub shared the destiny of many heathen gods of



Beelzebub (Dover Pictorial Archive)

Canaan who were turned into demons when the Jews began to filter in and developed what eventually became monotheistic Judaism. Baal was mocked by the Jews as Baalzebub, lord of flies, who created and controlled flies in the Philistine city of Ekron. But he was originally Baal the Prince, the chief god in the Canaan pantheon. Baalzebub appeared in Kings 2:1 as the god called upon by King Ahaziah (c. 850–849 B.C.) to cast out demons.

In the New Testament his name was transformed into Beelzebub, and was used to refer to the Devil. He was called the prince of devils by the Pharisees and as such he appeared in Luke 11:19 when Jesus, upon healing somebody, was accused of casting out demons through Beelzebub. In contemporary usage, Beelzebub is an alternate name for Satan.

See also Demons; Satan **For Further Reading:**

Eliade, Mircea, ed. Encyclopedia of Religion. New York: Macmillan, 1987.Encyclopaedia Judaica. New York: Macmillan, 1971.

Beliar

Beliar or Beliel, meaning "worthless," is mentioned as the personification or symbol of evil in various sources, such as in Deuteronomy, Judges, 1 Samuel, as well as in the work of two modern writers, Thomas Mann and Aldous Huxley. He is the angel of lawlessness in the apocryphal *The Martyrdom of Isaiah* and Satan in *The Gospel of Bartholomew*. Milton refers to Beliar as a "falsetitled son of God," whereas the medieval Schoolmen asserted that he was once partly of the order of angels and partly of the order of virtues. In Glasson's *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, however, Beliar is not regarded as an angel. He is, rather, compared with Ahriman, chief devil in Persian mythology.

See also Demons; Satan **For Further Reading:**

 Davidson, Gustav. A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels. New York: Free Press, 1967.
 Glasson, T. Francis. Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatoloy. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1961.

Beliel

Beliel was a demon who presented himself to King Solomon and danced before him in *Das Buch Beliel*, by Jacobus de Teramo. In 2 Corinthians, Beliel is portrayed as Satan when Paul of Tarsus asks how Christ and Beliel can agree. Victor Hugo, deriving his description of Beliel from occult mythology, refers to Beliel as hell's ambassador to Turkey. A fuller account of Beliel occurs in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. When Beliel first appears, Milton declares, "A fairer person lost not Heav'n: For dignity compos'd and high exploit." But later the truth is seen that "all was false and hollow," and that "a spirit more lewd/Fell not from Heav'n," and that Beliel was indeed "vice itself."

See also Demons; Milton, John For Further Reading:

Davidson, Gustav. A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels. New York: Free Press, 1967. Ronner, John. Know Your Angels: The Angel Almanac with Biographies of 100 Prominent Angels in Legend and Folklore, and Much More. Murfreesboro, TN: Mamre, 1993.

Bells

Throughout the history of humanity the ringing of bells has played a variety of magical, ritual, and symbolic roles. The sound of bells is widely believed to drive away evil spirits. Such belief is evident in the common habit of wearing small bells on hats or clothing, in putting them around the necks of domestic animals, and at the entrance of shops. During the Middle Ages, church bells were rung especially to frighten witches and evil spirits. The sound of church bells could make witches fall to the ground when they were flying in the night sky. Also, the sound of bells of any kind could keep villages safe from storms and other natural calamities.

Bells are also sometimes used by religious Satanists. Thus in *The Satanic Bible*, for instance, Anton LaVey lists bells among the "Devices Used in a Satanic Ritual." This ritual bell, which signals the beginning and end of ceremonies, "should be loud and penetrating, rather than soft and tinkling." LaVey asserts that a bell should be used to both "purify" and "pollute": "The priest rings the bell nine times, turning counter clockwise and

directing the tolling toward the four cardinal points of the compass. This is done once at the beginning of the ritual to clear and purify the air of all external sounds, and once again at the end of the ritual to intensify the working and act as a pollutionary indicating finality" (137).

See also Church of Satan For Further Reading:

Chevalier, Jean, and Alain Gheerbrant: The Penguin Dictionary of Symbols. London: Penguin, 1996. LaVey, Anton Szandor. The Satanic Bible. New York: Avon, 1969.

Belphegor

Belphegor, Lord of the Opening, was, according to cabalists, once an angel of the order of principalities, but later became a god of licentiousness in ancient Moab. In hell, Belphegor is the demon of inventiveness, and when called upon, appears in the likeness of a young woman. According to the Dictionnaire Infernal, by De Plancy, Belphegor was hell's ambassador to France, and Victor Hugo concurs with this in *The Toilers of the Sea*, placing Belphegor in Paris. In John Milton's Paradise Lost, Belphegor is a variant for Nisroc, whom he describes as "of Principalities of the Prime." One story describes how the devils of hell were upset to hear about the existence of some couples on earth who were apparently happily married. Belphegor was sent on a mission to investigate, but soon discovered in his searches that the rumor was groundless.

See also Demons; Milton, John For Further Reading:

Davidson, Gustav. A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels. New York: Free Press, 1967. Ronner, John. Know Your Angels: The Angel Almanac with Biographies of 100 Prominent Angels in Legend and Folklore, and Much More. Murfreesboro, TN: Mamre, 1993.

The Beyond

A 1981 film about the old theme of the portal to the underworld where the dead go. The belief in a passage from the earth to the underworld goes back at least as far as the ancient Greeks, who believed there was a specific place, Lake Avernus,

where the dead passed into Hades. In this film, the portal to the underworld is located under an old, run-down southern mansion. When the spirits become disturbed, they terrorize the hotel guests. Other movies about the entrance to the underworld are: Amityville 3D, The Amityville Horror, Highway to Hell, The Gate, The Sentinel, The Devil's Daughter, and many animated cartoons. Alice in Wonderland also depicts a portal to an underworld through which Alice falls.

Beyond the Door

A young woman living in San Francisco discovers she is going to bear Satan's child. Given the headturning and other lame effects, it seems that this 1975 film was intended to be a blend of Rosemary's Baby and The Exorcist.

Bill & Ted's Bogus Journey

Following an exorcism, Bill and Ted are sent into an adolescent hell from which they escape through a portal of flames. This 1991 comedic fantasy is comparable to Alice in Wonderland with a heavy metal theme.

Bishop Auckland Case

In 1993, accusations of Satanic ritual abuse were leveled against four families in Bishop Auckland, UK. The case started with a teenage male who had been convicted of child molestation. After being sent away to a medical center for treatment, two of his five victims began to accuse various adults who lived close to each other in this middle-class residential suburb. Eventually, four of the children began to claim that they had suffered sexual abuse during Satanic rites in an attic. They further claimed that they had been drugged and had their pictures taken. A local minister, who seems to have been the ultimate source of these accusations, had even prompted the children to act out their abuse. These rituals supposedly included having rats bite the children during sexual acts in which "devil clothes" were worn. It was later discovered that much of the imagery used describe the abusesuch as the children's statements about being tortured with fish hooks—was taken from the popular horror films *Hellraiser* and *Children of the Corn*. One of the accused was later quoted on the Ontario Consultants for Religious Tolerance website as observing that, "Those were two of the films, along with a cartoon where characters are seen bowing down before a kind of god, which the alleged victims have seen. It seems a lot of what was said in statements was copied from these films and that expanded the youngsters' imaginations." After the charges came out, the accused were harassed by abusive phone calls, acts of vandalism against their automobiles, and bricks thrown at their homes.

In the initial police investigation, no evidence was found to support the charges, which had become increasingly bizarre. The girls who had leveled charges of sexual abuse were examined and discovered to be virgins. A pediatrician with a special "expertise" in Satanic ritual abuse provided support for the families of the accusing children.

Despite these negative indicators, the investigation was pushed forward by public opinion and certain segments of the police force. As in earlier ritual abuse cases, numerous personnel and departmental resources were committed to the investigation. A team of policemen and social workers were eventually able to marshal formal allegations. The couples were arrested, though they were able to obtain release on bail. Their defense attorney noted that, "It is the most worrying and frightening case I have seen. The allegations against good people are horrific and in other circumstances would be dismissed as ludicrous. But in the present climate of hysteria and fear the most absurd allegations are taken at face value by the authorities." In early 1995, the senior prosecutor dropped the case because the evidence was ambiguous and the charges unbelievable. The parents of the allegedly abused children subsequently brought a civil suit against the accused couples.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse; United Kingdom, Ritual Abuse in

For Further Reading:

 Hicks, Robert. In Pursuit of Satan: The Police and the Occult. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991.
 Victor, Jeffrey. Satanic Panic: The Creation of a Contemporary Legend. Chicago: Open Court, 1993.

The Black Hole

An obsessive scientist (played by Maximilian Schell) explores a black hole in deep space where lost souls wander into a portal seething with fire and billowing smoke. This was Disney's first PG-rated movie.

Black Mass

In Catholicism, a Black Mass is a requiem mass at which the priest is dressed in black vestments. As commonly used, however, this expression refers to the blasphemous parody of a conventional Mass that was traditionally thought to be the central rite of Satanism. However, like Satanism more generally, it is unlikely that such rituals were anything more than the literary inventions of church authorities. Although there was much variability in the details found in traditional folklore, Anton LaVey's account of the Black Mass in *The Satanic Bible* is a generally accurate description of this Christian fantasy:

The popular concept of the black mass is thus: a defrocked priest stands before an altar consisting of a nude woman, her legs spreadeagled and vagina thrust open, each of her outstretched fists grasping a black candle made from the fat of unbaptized babies, and a chalice containing the urine of a prostitute (or blood) reposing on her belly. An inverted cross hangs above the altar, and triangular hosts of ergot-laden bread or black-stained turnip are methodically blessed as the priest dutifully slips them in and out of the altarlady's labia. Then, we are told, an invocation to Satan and various demons is followed by an array of prayers and psalms chanted backwards or interspersed with obscenities . . . all performed within the confines of a "protective" pentagram drawn on the floor. If the Devil appears he is invariably in the form of a rather eager man wearing the head of a black goat upon his shoulders. Then follows a potpourri of flagellation, prayer-book burning, cunnilingus, fellatio, and general hindquarters kissing—all done to a background of ribald recitations from the

Holy Bible, and audible expectorations on the cross! If a baby can be slaughtered during the ritual, so much the better; for as everyone knows, this is the favorite sport of the Satanist! (99)

As with other components of infernal mythology, the belief in the real existence of Black Masses was widespread in the Middle Ages. LaVey, the founder of modern Satanism, drew on a few elements of this literary Satanism (e.g., black candles and the use of a naked woman for his altar) to construct his own version of the Black Mass. However, unlike the imaginary Black Masses of the Middle Ages, LaVey was more concerned with using the Black Mass for psychodrama than for magic. He also noted that if the purpose of the original was to shock one's contemporaries by blaspheming what was holy, then a true modern Black Mass "would consist of the blaspheming of such 'sacred' topics as Eastern mysticism, psychiatry, the psychedelic movement, ultra-liberalism, etc." (101).



An illustration of the Black Mass from Huysmans' novel, La-Bas (Fortean Picture Library)

The notion of the Black Mass seems to have arisen out of the belief in the mystical ("magical") efficacy of the Mass, and out of the ends to which certain unprincipled priests put this power. Within Catholicism and certain other liturgical denominations, the Mass is a ritualized miracle of substantiation in which the bread and wine become the body and blood of Jesus. This rite, based on the biblical account of the Last Supper, transforms ordinary, profane ingredients into Divine artifacts. The occult nature of the Mass was so evident that Catholics themselves used it for magical purposes. For example, the Gelasian Sacramentary, which contains sixth-century documents, includes Masses for such mundane goals as healing sick people and cattle, bringing rain, invoking good weather, protecting individuals about to take a trip, and even obtaining children. Saying the Mass over fishing boats, farming implements, and livestock to make them more fruitful was common in the Medieval period and continues to this very day. The church teaching that Masses are effective even when the priests performing them are not in a state of grace only serves to underline the point that the rite has a magical efficacy of its own.

One of the early records of the power of the Mass being turned against other human beings comes from the Council of Toledo, which in 694 banished certain priests and a client who had paid them to perform a Mass for the dead in which a living rather than a deceased person was named. The client apparently believed that pronouncing the words "Give him eternal rest. O Lord" (*Requiem aeternam dona ei, Domine*) would effectively deliver a mortal blow. The same tactic was tried again and again in later centuries. As a variant on this approach, in the thirteenth century certain priests performed a Mass over a wax image of the intended victim, incorporating a curse against him in the rite.

Paulus Grillandus, a witchcraft judge writing in the early sixteenth century, opined that it was probably not heretical to perform the Mass for the purpose of discovering whether or not a particular person was in love with another. He further stated that it was also acceptable to use the Mass for the purpose of kindling love in someone (because God requires that we love one another). There are, however, limits to what ends the Mass can be put. For instance, Grillandus goes on to relate how a priest had devised prayers designed to cause four nuns to fall in love with him. He then paid other priests to include them in the Mass. This was considered a minor offence—criminal but not heretical—and the offending priest was banished from Rome temporarily.

It is only a short step from this tradition of the priestly deployment of the Mass for selfish ends to the fully developed notion of the Black Mass. Despite the emergence of a substantial literature on Satanism and the dark rite, however, the fully developed Black Mass seems to have had almost no existence outside of the literary productions of ecclesiastical writers. The basis of most early accounts were the confessions extracted under torture by officials of the Inquisition. The one well-documented case of devil-worshipers practicing a form of the Black Mass was a group of courtiers around Louis XIV who used black magic in the attempt to remain in favor with the king. The government was almost brought down when the practice was discovered.

See also Sabbat
For Further Reading:

Cavendish, Richard. *The Black Arts*. New York: Capricorn Books, 1967.

Guiley, Rosemary Ellen. *The Encyclopedia of Witches and Witchcraft.* New York: Facts on File, 1989. LaVey, Anton Szandor. *The Satanic Bible.* New York: Avon, 1969.

Black Roses

A heavy metal band whose lead singer is Satan corrupts a small town in middle America in this 1988 film. The rock band creates a musical passage into the underworld through which the teens fall after listening to the lyrics. They then turn into evil monsters and start killing family members. A naïve English teacher saves teens from their fate.

Blake. William

The work of the English mystical poet and artist William Blake (1757–1827) is full of visions of angels, including fallen angels ("demons"). Blake,

who is known to many for such poems as "Tiger, tiger, burning bright," was born in London. He attended Henry Pars's drawing school in the Strand, and at the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to the engraver James Basire. After ending his apprenticeship in 1779, he went to the school of the Royal Academy, where he first exhibited a picture in 1780.

In 1783 his friends paid for the printing of *Poetical Sketches*, and in 1784 Blake married Catherine Boucher, who was destined to be very important for his work. In 1789, Blake issued *Songs of Innocence*, the first considerable work to be executed by his novel method of "illuminated printing," combining text and decorations on a simple etched plate.

By 1795, Blake lived through the American and French revolutions, which left a deep impression on his mind. His Songs of Experience are permeated by undertones of indignation and pity for the human state. He was also deeply influenced by study of the philosophers as well as of mystical writers such as Paracelsus, Jakob Boehme, and Emanuel Swedenborg. Among Blake's illuminated books are The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, a work mixing satires on Swedenborg with metaphysical and religious discussions; The Book of Thel, a delicate allegory of the descent of the soul from eternity into mortal life; Visions of the Daughters of Albion, in which free love is defended; The First Book of Urizen, containing an account of the creation of the material world and of humankind burdened with the problem of evil; Europe; The Book of Los; The Book of Ahania; The Song of Los.

His two later and longer poems are *Milton* and *Jerusalem*. In *Milton* the whole problem of an evil world is correlated with his own psychological struggles. It is in this poem that Blake asks whether Jerusalem could have been built amid England's "dark, Satanic mills." In his final epic *Jerusalem*, on the other hand, Man awakes from error and is finally redeemed by union with God. His last major poem, *The Everlasting Gospel*, is a series of fragments expressing his unorthodox view of Christianity and the life of Christ. He painted several pictures, with occasional engravings done for the booksellers. For instance, upon suggestion of the painter John Linnell, Blake engraved his

own designs for *The Book of Job*, and for the astrologer John Varley, Blake drew many "Visionary Heads," portraits of imaginary visitors, usually historical characters. Among these was the celebrated "Ghost of a Flea." He also worked on one hundred illustrations for Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The Bible was his favorite source for subjects, and when illustrating the poets he would choose semireligious themes such as Milton or Bunyan. He died peacefully in London in 1827.

A great deal of Blake's imagery and symbolism are adopted from both Boehme and Swedenborg, both of whom deviated from prevailing theological opinion. Boehme was a mystical and theosophical writer, whereas Swedenborg was a scientist who devoted himself to studies arising out of what he claimed to be persistent communications from angels and other agencies in a spiritual world. For example, he was influenced by Boehme's idea that there are three principles—heaven, hell, and our own world—and that every spirit is confined in its own principle, the evil angels in hell and the good in heaven.

In the frontispiece of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake shows each kind of spirit in its own dwelling, which can be of fire or of light. In the drawing entitled "Good and Evil Angels," he represents the Devil as blind and thus unable to see the Good Angel, whom he is trying to approach but cannot, since neither can perceive the other, being one bathed in the light of God, and the other covered by blackness and encompassed by burning fire.

Blake was a Platonist very familiar with reincarnation and the karmic principle. He saw angels, good and evil, as the real forces behind the weaknesses and the triumphs of mortal men and women. Blake's entire scheme is based upon a view that has its roots in Plato and that extends to a philosophical tradition pointing to a spiritual reality in which forces higher than ourselves are constantly at work. Blake insisted that eternity was complete harmony, and that therefore angels and spirits were androgynous, with no separate principles of male and female, but only the one of Humanity.

Blake often used infernal imagery to represent aspects of the human being such as sensuality that

he placed a positive valuation on but that the Christian tradition labeled evil. This tendency to invert traditional imagery, which was also utilized by other romantic writers, was one of the touchstones of later Satanists such as Anton LaVey.

See also LaVey, Anton **For Further Reading:**

Blier, John. *Blake's Visionary Universe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969.

MacGregor, Geddes. *Angels. Ministers of Grace.* New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1988.

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Bless the Child

Produced by Mace Neufeld, who made The Omen, and directed by Chuck Russell, this 2000 film stars Kim Bassinger as the fragile, inept Aunt Maggie. The story is about a child, Cody (Holliston Coleman), whose special psychic gifts need to be protected from the evil minions of Satan. Maggie has inherited baby Cody from her drug addict sister. When the child reaches six, all hell breaks loose as her psychic gifts begin to emerge. Throughout the movie Maggie blunders pathetically in her efforts to protect Cody. The movie contains exaggeratedly creepy scenes of malice and mayhem when Cody gets involved with a serial murderer. Additionally, Maggie's spineless incompetence gets very old very quickly, making the entire movie come across as terrifyingly foolish and ridiculous.

The Blood on Satan's Claw

A 1971 Satanic cult movie, with the twist that the Devil-worshipers are teenaged girls and the setting is a seventeenth-century English village.

Boqeyman

Our term *bogeyman* derives from the term *boggart* or *bogy*, a type of fairy related to brownies. Some accounts portray them as a kind of goblin, an unpleasant but not necessarily evil creature. However, whereas a brownie would adopt a house in order to help the inhabitants, a boggart would adopt a home in order to torment and generally

make mischief with the residents. They are said to delight in tormenting small children by stealing their food and by almost suffocating them at night, which is where we derive the vague notions that we pass on to our children in threats about how "the bogeyman will get you if you don't watch out."

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Book of Jubilees

The Book of Jubilees is an apocryphal work composed during the so-called intertestamental period. According to this book, the angels were created on the first day of creation: "On the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before Him—the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels of the spirits of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of clouds, and of darkness, [and so forth]" (Giovetti 1993, 19.).

Among other contents, the Book of Jubilees repeats the central angel tale in the Book of Enoch in which a group of angels mate with mortal females. They then fell from grace and became devils after leaving their heavenly abode. The Book of Jubilees adds that God sent the Flood to destroy the race of sinful giants who were the offspring of these unnatural unions.

See also Enoch; Judaism **For Further Reading:**

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Bosch, Hieronymus

As a result of the complicated messages of his art, Bosch has often been described as a worshiper of Satan, as well as a devout Catholic, a psychotic madman, a naïve humorist, and a religious fanatic. Even though little is known about his life, it is presumed that the popular, moralizing literature and other beliefs of his time influenced Bosch's symbolism.

The paintings of the Flemish artist Hieronymus Bosch (Hertogenbosch 1450–1516), reflect his obsession with man's sin and damnation. The world portrayed by the artist is populated by a multitude of symbols from astrology, sorcery, and alchemy, and strange forms that are often composed of dislocated elements of real beings. Each detail of his paintings contains an allusion to a symbolic significance within the whole, which can be considered a kind of allegory illustrating the opposite guises of Christian life: sin and attachment to earthly pleasures on one hand, and the force of faith against evil on the other. Bosch's themes, however, reveal his pessimism about man's redemption after life, and hell is usually portrayed as a common condition of the world in which man lives.

The great themes of Bosch's work, such as the snares of the Devil and the soul's perpetual exposure to the wiles of evil, already appear in the paintings attributed to his youthful period, which include: the Crucifixion (Brussels, Coll. Franchomme), containing the theme later developed by the painter's scenes from the Passion; the Seven Deadly Sins (Madrid, Prado), in which the circle symbolizes the world and the three concentric circles with the seven sins represent the divine eye with Christ as the pupil; and the Conjurer (St. Germain-en-Laye, Museum), an image of the credulity that leads to heresy, with the first reference to the tarot cards and astrology. The famous great triptychs, the Hay Wain (Madrid, Prado), the Garden of Delights (Madrid, Prado), and The Temptation of St. Anthony (Lisbon, Museo National de Arte Antiga), belong to the period 1485–1505.

In the *Hay Wain*, Bosch illustrates an old Flemish proverb: "The world is a mountain of hay; each one grabs what he can." The central panel of the triptych shows a large hay wagon surrounded from all stations of life. The Demon, who assumes human, animal, and vegetable forms, gives a fictitious value to the goods and pleasures of life on the earth and leads the procession of humanity from the garden of heaven, situated on the left wing, toward hell, on the right wing.



Bosch's Garden of Earthly Delights (The Art Archive/Museo del Prado Madrid/Album/Joseph Martin)

The visions of Eden and hell are also the theme of the *Last Judgement*, of four panels in the Doges Palace in Venice (*The Fall of the Damned, Hell, Paradise*, and the *Ascent into the Empyrean*, which is rendered as a great cylinder seen in perspective in a blue light) and of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. The closed wings of the famous triptych represent the world on the third day of creation, a transparent sphere that shows, at the center, the dry land covered with vegetation, separating from

the waters. The left wing shows the earthly paradise, the central panel is the garden of worldly delight itself, and the right panel represents the frightening images of hell, where devils torment the damned with their former pleasures.

The full maturity of the artist is revealed in *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, which represents the mystical theme of contemplation struggling against temptation. A world of fire is portrayed, with spectral visions and nightmare beings. A

complex system of signs and symbols characterizes the work, rendering the medieval concept of the Devil's omnipresence in human life in every kind of form. The allusion to demonology in Bosch's art reflects the common wisdom of his time, when belief in the Devil was fundamental to proper religious devotion.

See also Demons; Hell and Heaven *For Further Reading:*

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The Brotherhood of Satan

A diabolical coven takes over a small town in this 1971 film. The elderly Satan worshipers plan to conduct a ritual for the purpose of transferring themselves into the bodies of kidnapped children and continuing their infernal lifestyle into a new generation.

Brotherhood of the Ram

The Brotherhood of the Ram, founded by Don Blythe in the 1960s, was a Satanist organization that operated in southern California from the early 1960s into the 1970s. The name Brotherhood of the Ram appears to have been taken from a fictional Satanist group in Dennis Wheatley's novel, The Satanist. The group opened a bookstore in Los Angeles, California, which was closed in the 1980s, when the brotherhood disbanded. The group also ran a disco, "Satan's A Go-Go." Members of this group considered Satan a god of joy and pleasure, and accepted such traditional practices of Satanism as the "pact," through which they renounced all other devotion and their Christian baptism. According to Michael Newton's account of a brotherhood ritual in Raising Hell, participants opened their meeting with a reading of Baudelaire's "Litanies of Satan"

and an invocation of Lucifer before new recruits "pricked a finger and smeared blood on a scrap of paper bearing his or her signature."

See also Baudelaire, Charles; Wheatley, Dennis *For Further Reading:*

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The Brothers Karamazov

The Brothers Karamazov (1880) is a classic novel by the famed Russian author Theodor Dostoevsky that attempts to come to grips with good and evil. He examines the human situation by focusing on the complexities of the Karamazov family, whose characters are constantly struggling with the issue of life's meaning and purpose. A priest warns the brothers that because God is love itself, the real meaning of hell is being unable to give and receive love. The real locus of evil is humanity itselfhuman greed, avarice, and inability to love one another. Despite all the horrors he experiences, Ivan, one of the brothers, is still able to see beauty in life and choose love, knowing it is greater than any other power in the world. Those who are not aware of this are the ones damned to hell—a place to which one does not actually journey, because hell is located within oneself.

—Evelyn Oliver

Buddhism

Buddhism is a major world religion that was founded by Siddhartha Gautama in the Indian subcontinent around 600 B.C.E. Buddhism is clearly in the same religious family as Buddhism's parent religious tradition, Hinduism. However, to be considered within the Hindu fold, one must nominally acknowledge the authority of the four Vedas, Hinduism's most ancient religious texts. Buddha rejected the authority of the Vedas, and hence, despite its close relationship with Hinduism, Buddhism is technically non-Hindu.

Unlike almost all other religions, Buddhism is not focused on deities. Gods and goddesses are acknowledged to exist, but they are not worshiped. The ultimate aim of Buddhism is, rather, *Nirvana*, meaning release from the ongoing cycle of death and rebirth (reincarnation, referred to as *samsara* in Buddhism and Hinduism). And this is a goal with which divinities are unable to be of aid. Similarly, while Buddhism contains an elaborate mythology about hells and demons, there is no figure with the stature of Satan. The closest being in Buddhism corresponding with the Western Devil is Mara. Mara's job in the cosmic scheme is to prevent individuals from achieving Nirvana.

The best-known story involving Mara is the tale of his attempt to prevent the Buddha from achieving enlightenment. The story goes that, as Gautama was on the brink of Nirvana, Mara became dismayed: "At this point the god Mara, exclaiming, 'Prince Siddhartha [the future Buddhal is desirous of passing beyond my control, but I will never allow it!' went and announced the news to his army, and sounding the Mara war-cry drew out for battle." Failing to distract him with force or to frighten him with ferocious demons, Mara sent beautiful, tempting heavenly women (Buddhist nature spirits, or apsaras) to distract his attention. Still undisturbed, Mara finally challenged Buddha's right to liberation. In response, Gautama is said to have called the earth as his witness, whose response was so powerful that it frightened away Mara and his hordes. That very night, the Buddha achieved nirvana.

What keeps individuals trapped in the samsaric cycle is the law of karma. Karma operates impersonally like a natural law, ensuring that every good or bad deed eventually returns to the individual in the form of reward or punishment commensurate with the original deed. It is the necessity of "reaping one's karma" that compels human beings to reincarnate in successive lifetimes. In other words, if one dies before reaping the effects of one's actions (as most people do), the karmic process demands that one come back in a future life. Coming back into another lifetime also allows karmic forces to reward or punish through the circumstance into which one is born. Hence, for example, an individual who was generous in one lifetime might be reborn as a wealthy person

in her or his next incarnation. *Moksha* is the traditional Hindu term for release or liberation from the endless chain of deaths and rebirths. According to the Upanishadic view, what happens at the point of moksha is that the individual atman merges into the cosmic Brahman, much like a drop of water, which, when dropped into the ocean, loses its individuality and becomes one with the ocean.

Buddha accepted the basic Hindu doctrines of reincarnation and karma, as well as the notion, common to most South Asian religions, that the ultimate goal of the religious life was to escape the cycle of death and rebirth (samsara). Buddha asserted that what kept us bound to the death/rebirth process was desire, desire in the generic sense of wanting or craving anything in the world of samsara. Hence the goal of getting off the Ferris wheel of reincarnation necessarily involves freeing oneself from desire. Nibbana—or, in later Buddhism, nirvana—is the Buddhist equivalent of moksha. Nirvana literally means extinction, and it refers to the extinction of all craving, an extinction that allows one to break out of samsara.

But, someone might respond, why not just try to live life, despite its many flaws, as best one can, avoiding pain and seeking pleasure? Because, Buddha would respond, while we might be able to exercise a certain amount of control over this incarnation, we cannot foresee the circumstances in which our karma would compel us to incarnate in future lives, which might be as a starving child in a war-torn area of the third world. Also, the Buddha would point out, if we closely examine our life, we can see that even the things that seem to bring us our greatest enjoyments also bring us the greatest pain. Thus while Buddhism includes the notion of hells, it is clear that for the devout Buddhist the real hell is life itself.

Although Buddha himself was profoundly antispeculative and antimetaphysical, many of his later followers were not. Particularly after Buddhism split into Theravada (southern Buddhism, found today in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia) and Mahayana (northern Buddhism, found today in Korea, Japan, and Taiwan), metaphysical speculation flowered in

Mahayana Buddhism. Various forms of devotional Buddhism also developed within the Mahayana fold. Devotional Buddhism focused on different *bodhisattvas* (enlightened souls who delayed the final stages of their nirvana so that they could stay around and help ordinary mortals) who, like the great gods and goddesses of later Hinduism, could help their devotees. The notion of heaven-worlds was also developed in these forms of Buddhism, heaven-worlds where the earnest devotee would find her- or himself after death, and where she or he could continue the quest for enlightenment, less hindered by the demands of this world.

Along with heaven realms, Buddhism also developed notions of hell realms in which exceptionally sinful individuals were punished. In earlier stages of the Buddhist tradition, the impersonal force of karma carried out punishments for evil deeds through the circumstance in which one was reborn, and through the unfortunate events one experienced while incarnated in a body. As with their emergence in later Hinduism, the notion of punishment in hell worlds emerged to supplement—rather than to supplant—earlier notions of karmic punishment. Unlike Western hells, however, Buddhist hell worlds are not final dwelling places. They are, rather, more like purgatories in which sinful souls experience suffering for a limited term. After their term is over, even the most evil person is turned out of hell to once again participate in the cycle reincarnation. This does not mean, however, that Buddhist hells are any less gruesome than Western hells. To cite a representative passage from the Pali canon:

The guards of hell lay him down and chop him with axes and turn him upside down and slice him with razors, and bind him to a chariot and drag him over a fiery blazing earth, and drive him up and down a great mountain of fiery blazing coals, and turn him upside down and hurl him into a fiery blazing iron cauldron; and there he boils, throwing up scum to the surface, rising and sinking and going across; and he feels pain that is sharp and bitter and severe. But he has not finished his time until he has exhausted his evil deeds.

And this is only the beginning. Dante would undoubtedly have been jealous. Speculation regarding demons and hellish realms, particularly as they relate to the postmortem state, would not, however, come to its fullest development until the emergence of Tibetan Buddhism, the most prominent school of Tantric Buddhism. According to the *Bardo Thödol*, known in the West as the Tibetan Book of the Dead, the dead encounter various fearsome demons after death—though they are also counseled that these demons are insubstantial projections of the mind. If one can gaze upon these insubstantial beings with equanimity, then one will escape rebirth and achieve nirvana.

See also Bardo Thödol; Hell and Heaven; Hinduism; Mara

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Builders of the Adytum

The Builders of the Adytum (BOTA) was established in 1922 by Paul Foster Case (1884–1954), a member of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. He was known as an expert in the study of the tarot and cabala, and was said to have been asked by the Inner School to reinterpret the Ageless Wisdom for the Western audience. BOTA's name originated from the Greek term meaning *Holy of Holies*, and referring to the metaphysical building of one's inner temple. Members of BOTA regard Jesus as a carpenter, a builder, and a teacher of the inner spiritual life.

BOTA is viewed by its members as a mystery school following the Western interpretation of ancient wisdom. Followers are taught mastery of their physical environment and development of the mental capacities, as well as provided with answers to such metaphysical questions as the nature of immortality. Its teachings are based on the Holy Cabala, which is described by BOTA members as the Mystical (occult) Wisdom Teaching of Ancient Israel, and which is based on a diagrammatical and symbolic glyph called the Tree of Life, a pictorial-symbolic representation of the One God and humanity's relationship with God and creation. BOTA's teachings also draw upon the tarot (viewed as a pictorial textbook of Ageless Wisdom), the hermetic teachings of Hermes Mercurious Trismegistus, alchemy, and astrology.

The doctrine of the Oneness of God, the brother/sisterhood of humanity, and the kinship of all life patterned after the Ageless Wisdom mystery schools constitute the principal subjects of BOTA's teachings and practices, which, like in other occult orders, have as their major objective "the promotion of the welfare of humanity." The meaning of the welfare of humanity is embodied in a seven-pointed program: (1) Universal Peace, (2) Universal Political Freedom, (3) Universal Religious Freedom, (4) Universal Education, (5) Universal Health, (6) Universal Prosperity, and (7) Universal Spiritual Unfoldment.

Members work to transmutate the personality through their work with the tarot, the use of symbols, and other techniques. It is believed that a transformed personality will empower the individual to change his environment and bring it closer to the heart's desire. New affiliates of the inner mystery school standing behind BOTA are referred to as associate members, and receive graded lessons on the order's teachings. They may become members, that is to say Working Builders, and may affiliate with active chapters around the United States, Canada, and a number of other countries around the world. Upon receiving advanced instruction, they may participate in the esoteric activity of BOTA.

The headquarters of BOTA, which is located in Los Angeles, is governed by the grand chapter, consisting of four initiates called grand chiefs. The prolocutor general and president of the corporation represent the link between the Inner School and the rest of the order. BOTA groups can be found in numerous U.S. states as well as in Canada, Great Britain, the Netherlands, West Germany, New Zealand, Columbia, and the island of Aruba in the Caribbean.

See also Magic and Magical GroupsFor Further Reading:Melton, J. Gordon. Encyclopedia of American Religion. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1996.

Candles

The earliest evidence of candles made of beeswax has been found on the island of Crete and in Egypt where candles were used 5,000 years ago. Along with their practical use as sources of light, candles have long been considered a means to repel unfavorable spirits while favoring good ones. Besides this connotation, candles have played an important role in a multitude of rites and spells. They have been used both by witches during sabbats and by Christians in exorcism rituals.

Magic rituals involving candles are documented in Egypt and in Rome in the early centuries C.E., while Christians introduced the use of candles in their rituals in the fourth century and began consecrating and placing them on altars in the twelfth century.

It is an ancient Jewish tradition to place candles in the room where a dying or dead person lies; candles are believed to ward off evil spirits and purify the air in the room. Subsequently, Christians adopted such customs and folkloric traditions and elaborated on them; in particular, the American folkloric tradition has produced interpretations concerning the places and the ways in which candles burn.

The interpretations and uses of candles are particularly rich in the magic tradition. Candles made of other substances than beeswax were used in magical rituals, often made of human or other



Cornish witch Cait Sidhe invoking the goat spirit (Puck/Pan), 1975

animal tallow and fat. In recent centuries such candles appeared in Black Masses, usually black candles. Black candles are also used by religious Satanists. Thus in *The Satanic Bible*, for instance,

Anton LaVey lists candles among the "Devices Used in a Satanic Ritual." Inverting traditional symbolism, LaVey stipulates that all of one's ritual candles should be black except for one white candle, which is to be reserved for cursing rituals. No other light source is to be used during the ceremony:

The candles used in Satanic ritual represent the light of Lucifer—the bearer of light, enlightenment, the living flame, burning desire, and the Flames of the Pit.... Black candles are used for power and success for the participants of the ritual, and are used to consume the parchments on which blessings requested by the ritual participants are written. The white candle is used for destruction of enemies. Parchments upon which curses are written are burned in the flame of the white candle. (LaVey 1969, 136–137)

See also Church of Satan; Magic and Magical Groups

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Cathars

Derived from the Greek word *katharos* (pure), the term Cathars or Cathari was used by the church to indicate the members of a dualistic heresy of Gnostic origin in the twelfth century. Catharism arose in the eastern Mediterranean region during the Middle Ages and spread slowly westward. Among its most important groups were the Albigensians, who were militarily destroyed in the early 1200s by the only successful medieval Crusade, which began in 1209.

Cathars were distinguished from other medieval heretic groups for rejecting such basic Christian beliefs as the doctrine of incarnation, Christ's two natures, the virgin birth, and bodily resurrection. They also repudiated the church hierarchy and sacraments, particularly baptism of water and matrimony, and followed an ascetic lifestyle that included celibacy, vegetarianism, and

even ritual suicide. Most Cathars accepted only the New Testament, which they read in its Catholic version.

The universe was seen by Cathars as constituted of two coexisting spheres: the kingdom of the good god who was spiritual and suprasensible, and who had created the invisible heaven, its spirits, and the four elements; and the kingdom of the evil god, Satan, creator of the material world, and who, being unable to make the human soul, had captured it from heaven and imprisoned it in the material body. Thus, the fundamental aim of their religious practice releasing the soul from the body, by freeing it from Satan's power and helping it to return to its original place in heaven.

In marked contrast with orthodox Christian belief, bodily resurrection was not viewed as part of the scheme of redemption. Rather, only the destruction of the body and of all Satan's visible creation—which is hell—was considered necessary for the salvation of the soul and its ascent to heaven. The only way to do so was through the reception of Cathars' unique sacrament, the *consolamentum*, which was administered by the laying on of hands.

Individuals could come to recognize evil through a series of reincarnations, and could eventually free their souls from Satan and therefore become perfect. According to Catharism, at the end of time all souls would be saved or damned, even though there were some differences between the doctrine of the absolute dualists and that of the mitigate dualists. For the former group, free will played no part in salvation, and in the end the material world would fall apart after all souls had departed. For the latter, Satan would be captured and the proper order of all things would be reestablished.

See also Gnosticism; Last Judgment *For Further Reading*:

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Cattle Mutilations

In the fall of 1973, a suspicion grew among some farmers and law-enforcement personnel in Minnesota and Kansas that cattle were dying under mysterious circumstances. The presumed killers removed parts of the bodies, usually sex organs, eyes, ears, tongues, and anuses (though not necessarily all), leaving eerily bloodless corpses. Those responsible also managed to accomplish their grisly acts while leaving no evidence of their presence in the form of foot- or tire prints. The organs were removed with what was judged, in a frequently used phrase, to be "surgical precision." In Lincoln County, in southwestern Minnesota, the story spread that a cult of devil-worshipers had conducted ritual sacrifices of cows. The county sheriff concluded, however, that the animals had died of natural causes, with the damage—the "mutilation"—done by small predators chewing on the softest tissue. When the Kansas State University Veterinary Laboratory made a similar determination upon autopsying allegedly mutilated cattle, many farmers, ranches, and rural police officers expressed skepticism and insisted that something genuinely enigmatic, even sinister, was occurring.

In short order the cattle mutilation epidemic spread throughout the rural Midwest and West. The pattern was set early: seemingly strange deaths and body marks, followed by fears and exotic theories, typically countered by veterinary laboratories' prosaic findings, and these generating disbelief, rejection, and even suspicions of cover-up. By the fall of 1974, concern about elusive, uncatchable cattle mutilators had spread through the prairie and plains states, fueled by rumor and speculation if not much solid evidence. Popular paranoia focused on three hypothetical culprits: a secret government agency conducting secret psychological-warfare or biochemical experiments; extraterrestrials working to inscrutable alien ends; and Satanists performing ritual sacrifices, possibly as a prelude to killings and mutilations of human victims. Each theory had its adherents and its own body of "evidence."

The Satanist interpretation took an intriguing turn in 1974, when Kansas state senator Ross Doyen, who had spoken publicly about mutila-



Mutilated cattle carcass found in northern New Mexico in the 1970s (Peter Jordan/Fortean Picture Library)

tions, received a letter from an inmate at the Leavenworth federal penitentiary. The prisoner, a convicted bank robber named Albert Kenneth Bankston, claimed to know of a violent, conspiratorial group that was conducting cattle mutilations along with other illegal activities, from drugdealing to murder. Not long afterward Jerome Clark, a Minnesota-based writer researching the mutilation scare spoke with Doyen, who passed on Bankston's revelations. The writer entered into correspondence with Bankston. Bankston stated that, if he was transferred to a Minnesota jail where his safety could be insured, he would tell the whole story.

Around the same time—late 1974—J. Allen Hynek, Northwestern University astronomer and former UFO consultant to the U.S. Air Force's Project Blue Book, was curious about a possible connection between UFOs and mutilations. Seeking the services of a trained investigator, he approached Donald E. Flickinger, an agent with the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms division of the U.S. Treasury Department. Flickinger, then

working out of the Twin Cities, had a private interest in UFOs and had looked into sightings on his own time. Flickinger consented to Hynek's suggestion that he look into a possible UFO-mutilation link. When he learned of Flickinger's involvement, Clark was less interested in the agent's personal UFO interests than in his position as a federal lawenforcement officer potentially able to act on Bankston's information.

Through the U.S. attorney's office in St. Paul, Flickinger was appointed to head a federal study of Bankston's allegations. He interviewed Bankston in Leavenworth, then had him transferred to a small-town jail south of Minneapolis. Bankston asked that his friend Dan Dugan, imprisoned in Texas, also be transferred. Dugan, Bankston said, also knew a great deal and could confirm the story and produce additional information. Dugan was duly brought to the same facility.

The two related a fantastic and frightening tale. A Texas-based group called The Occult was responsible for cattle mutilations. Its membership consisted of criminals, drug-dealers, motorcycle gangs, and their hangers-on. It also claimed the secret allegiance of some ostensibly respectable rich individuals who supplied enough money to the cult that it could afford, among other things, a fleet of helicopters. Members killed animals to use their organs in orgiastic rites, and they also committed human sacrifices, including the slaughter of four innocent teenagers on the banks of Lake Cozad in Nebraska in 1969. Dugan claimed to have witnessed the murders personally. The occultists had tranquilized the victims and plied them with massive doses of the veterinary anesthetic phencyclidine or PCP, also known as angel dust, in the course of the ritual—exactly the same thing they did with their bovine victims. After swooping out of the sky in helicopters, its members delighted in not leaving footprints at mutilation sites; they walked on cardboard pads to cover their tracks. The absence of traces encouraged belief in UFO involvement, according to Dugan.

Flickinger's inquiries took him to several states, where he enlisted the assistance of federal, state, and local authorities in running down Bankston and Dugan's extraordinary claims. At Lake Cozad

authorities dug at the site where the teenagers supposedly had been killed, finding nothing; nor could they connect any missing-person reports with the purported victims. Flickinger and Nebraska authorities eventually decided that no such incident had ever taken place. Other claims also failed to check out. After several months it became clear that Bankston and Dugan were passing on prison rumors and freely embellishing them. It also became apparent what their true motive was: to remove themselves from secure facilities to less secure ones, in order to escape. Bankston told authorities that a car with Texas license plates had parked near the jail and its occupants shouted threats at him. After being transferred to an even smaller jail in central Minnesota, Bankston broke out and fled, only to be captured a few hours later. The next day, in Texas, Dugan also attempted an escape.

The collapse of the Bankston/Dugan tall tale did little to discourage popular speculation about Satanist cattle mutilators, though it did take the federal government out of the business of investigating them. From then on, it would be mostly local law enforcement that would attempt to run down rumors. Many, however, were growing doubtful about the mutilation phenomenon itself. Nearly all autopsies by veterinary pathologists established that the cattle deaths and subsequent body damage were nothing out of the ordinary. In the spring of 1980, a much-publicized year-long probe in New Mexico, headed by former FBI agent Kenneth Rommel, debunked claimed mutilations in that state and severely criticized those who were making a mystery out of what Rommel regarded as no more than popular paranoia.

But in a small handful of instances, evidence of genuine mutilation did emerge. In the western Canadian province of Alberta, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) documented six instances in which, according to the results of laboratory examination, animals had been cut up with sharp instruments. In each case a drug had been injected into the animal, inducing an overdose, before the killer or killers removed some of the organs. Once a red rubber skullcap, cut up to resemble a long-haired wig, was found near a mutilation site in Grassy Lake. The RCMP even

believed it knew generally who the culprits were members of one or another of Alberta's occultist groups-but no arrests were ever made. Iowa's Division of Criminal Investigation (DCI) was able to prove that a dead calf found near Keota in May 1980, necropsied at the Iowa State University veterinary laboratory, had been killed and mutilated. Again, authorities never arrested anyone for the act, but they linked it with a letter apparently written from one cult member to another, referring to the Keota episode and citing details that had never been publicized. It came to official attention when an anonymous informant sent a copy to a police officer. In late 1979, during its investigation, the DCI learned of two abandoned farmhouses littered with occultish graffiti and Satanic symbols. There was no way of knowing whether these had anything to do with the mutilation incidents.

In 1979 a book titled *Jay's Journal* told the story of a teenager who gets involved in a youthful Satanist group. Before the experience drives him to suicide, he recounts in detail his participation in cattle mutilations, culminating in literal blood baths and blood-drinking. Though Jay's Journal was marketed as a novel, its author, Utah child psychologist Beatrice Sparks, insisted that she based its contents on what she had learned from interviews with young people about their "witchcraft" interests and activities. No one else has verified the book's extraordinary claims, but the book helped direct the Alberta investigations in the direction of possible Satanist involvement. Meanwhile, in Montana, a wave of alleged cattle mutilations in the mid- to late 1970s sparked statewide speculation about cultists. On a wooded mountainside near Butte, in August 1976, authorities found a cult ritual site, with names of pagan deities—Isis, Ariel, and others—painted on rocks but, their suspicions notwithstanding, they failed to prove any link with animal deaths elsewhere. In Blain County, Idaho, a U.S. Forest Service employee watching Forest Service land to be sure that cattle did not graze there illegally observed two figures in black robes with hoods over their heads. They had their backs to the witness. They seemed to want to avoid detection, walking amid the trees and scurrying through a clearing. One

was carrying a bag. They were in view for about three minutes. Again, though no connection with cattle mutilations could be shown, the sighting fueled yet more speculation. Scattered sightings of similar figures from California to North Dakota were reported from time to time during the same period. In almost every instance, speculation—though no real evidence—held them to be cattle mutilators.

In Benton County, Arkansas, authorities examined rock altars with symbols painted on them. In August 1979 they circulated a document paraphrasing the testimony of an alleged cult defector. According to his testimony, the cult consisted of wealthy, seemingly respectable citizens, including lawyers, doctors, and veterinarians who owned helicopters and a van with a telescoping lift. In the dark of night, these Satanists "would use that to extend a man out to the cow, and he would mutilate it from a board platform on the end of the boom and would never touch the ground. The apparatus would telescope back into the vehicle much as a wheelchair lift and not be noticed [The Satanists] love the publicity that surrounds the mutilations, and as long as the publicity is in one area they will keep returning because they like to baffle law enforcement" (Ellis 2000, 269). It is probably no coincidence that this story sounds like something out of the then-recently published Jay's Journal. In due course Arkansas investigators learned, like law-enforcement personnel elsewhere, that autopsies of "mutilated" cattle inevitably produced mundane results, and they dismissed mutilations as the consequence of popular hysteria. In one instance officers went so far as to purchase a calf, kill it, and monitor the resulting physiological effects over time. They found that these effects, including predator damage, perfectly mimicked "mutilation" symptoms.

By the early 1980s the Satanic-cult theory about cattle mutilations was passing out of the popular imagination. The mutilations scare continued—and continues—but government conspirators and marauding extraterrestrials, or both, are now the favored fringe interpretations. According to a bizarre mythology that found favor among some UFO buffs and conspiracy

theorists in the 1980s, secret official agencies and evil space people have formed an unholy alliance to mutilate cattle and people. Called by their critics "Dark Siders," believers fashioned a kind of demonology of their own, though without the literal demons of the Satanist lore the new speculations supplanted.

—Jerome Clark

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse; UFOs and Demons For Further Reading:

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Kagan, Daniel, and Ian Summers. Mute Evidence. New York: Bantam Books, 1984.

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Cerberus

In Greek mythology, Cerberus was the guardian or watchdog of the underworld, Hades. The offspring of Typhon and Echidna (who also parented the Hydra and the Chimaera), he was described as having three heads (though Hesiod attributes him with fifty heads), a snake's tail, and a row of snake's heads sprouting from his neck. He greeted the newly dead with eagerness, but ate anyone who tried to escape. Cerberus was said to have been charmed by Orpheus, who was the only mortal he willingly allowed to enter Hades. In another story he was defeated in a struggle with Hercules, who forced him to come with him to the surface world (this was the twelfth labor of Hercules). It was also said that anyone who chanced to look at Cerberus turned to stone, and that, upon falling to the ground, the animal's spittle would give birth to the poisonous aconite plant.

Both Cerberus and Charon, the ferryman of the underworld, are threshold guardians, a type of mythological figure that is widespread in world culture. Threshold guardians allow only those who are appropriately qualified to pass from one

realm to the other. Thus Cerberus allowed only the dead to pass into Hades, and he prevented the departed from returning to the realm of the living.

See also Hades

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Tripp, Edward. The Meridian Handbook of Classical Mythology. New York: New American Library, 1970.

Ceremony

In this 1997 film a rebellious angel is banished from heaven, and imprisoned in a box, The Clockwork. Centuries later, it opens in the home of a college student. Her Christian buddies get together to put the fallen angel back in his box.

Chaos Magic

When Anton LaVey founded the Church of Satan in the 1960s, he adapted his ritual material from literary accounts of Satanic rituals and from the ceremonial magic tradition as embodied in the Order of the Golden Dawn and Aleister Crowley. LaVey's approach was eclectic and his attitude pragmatic—if it works, use it. Although very different, contemporary chaos magic developed from the same roots as LaVey's magical practices and it shares LaVey's pragmatic attitude. This similarity of spirit may be one of the reasons why many contemporary Satanists are attracted to chaos magic.

Austin Osman Spare (1886–1956), the person regarded as the founder of chaos magic, was a talented graphic artist. After short stints in the Golden Dawn and Crowley's Argenteum Astrum, he began thinking through a new approach to the occult. The result was chaos magic, which has been described as more of an attitude than a magical system. The chaos magician can make use of traditional rituals or create new ones, as she or he wishes, the only requirement being that it works. Chaos magic begins with the assumption that the proper field of magic is the subconscious mind, and makes use of whatever evokes a charge from the subconscious during magical operations.



Pen drawing by Dave Carson of H.P. Lovecraft (1890–1937), surrounded by his creations (Fortean Picture Library)

Thus one could, for instance, invoke spirits from completely fictional mythologies (e.g., H. P. Lovecraft's fictional demons), as long as they evoke the proper state of mind. Although it does not exclude the dimension of producing external effects, the focus of most chaos magic is the indi-

vidual magician, approaching the ritual as psychodrama rather than worship.

First coming into general view in the 1970s via the very loosely organized Illuminates of Thanateros, chaos magic had become a significant strand of occultism by the 1980s. Drawing heavily from the thinking of Spare and Kenneth Grant (the latter was responsible for disseminating Spare's writings), the Esoteric Order of Dagon emerged in 1980. This group conjured the dark demons created by H. P. Lovecraft. A more significant new group to grow out of the chaos base was Thee Temple Ov Psychick Youth, founded in 1981 by the musician Genesis P-Orridge.

See also Crowley, Aleister; Magic and Magical Groups

For Further Reading:

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Grant, Kenneth. Images and Oracles of Austin Osman Spare. London: Muller, 1975.
Spare, Austin Osman. The Focus of Life: The Mutterings of Aaos. London: Morland Press, 1921.

Charleroi Case

The so-called "Monster from Charleroi," Marc Dutroux, was a thirty-nine-year-old unemployed electrician. Charleroi was the town in Belgium where he resided. In 1996, he was arrested and charged with kidnapping, imprisoning and sexually abusing six young girls, four of whom were found dead. Dutroux, who had previously served time for child molestation, had apparently been involved in kidnapping girls, utilizing them for child pornography, and selling them into prostitution for years. He may have been responsible for as many as fifteen disappearances. Not only were the details of the case shocking, but the actions of police authorities, who ignored many tips that could have led to the arrest of Dutroux years earlier, were a national scandal. Authorities were accused of being guilty of either compliance or incompetence.

Because the ritual abuse stereotype built up during the 1980s focused on Satanists kidnapping, abusing, and murdering innocent young victims, the imaginative link between this stereotype and Dutroux was easy to make. Perhaps responding to public pressure, during one phase of the investigation police began focusing their attention on the Institut Abrasax, a college of black magic in a village not far from Charleroi. The Institut is a legal organization established in 1990 to teach "harmful sorcery and initiation into Satanic rites."



A poster of two of Marc Dutroux's victims (AP Photo/Pierre Thielmans)

Abrasax, a divinity with obscure origins, is often invoked in ancient magical spells.

The college's building housed a variety of different neopagan groups and two Satanist organizations, the Luciferian Initiation Order and the Belgian Church of Satan. In an article that appeared in the *Sunday Times* of London toward the end of 1996, journalist Peter Conradi reported that "five witnesses described black masses [there] at which children were killed in front of audiences said to have included prominent members of Belgian society."

Soon afterward, a Flemish newspaper published a story that a number of officers in the Charleroi municipal police force were members of the Institut Abrasax. These policeman all testified that the group was harmless. Nevertheless, the college was raided by over a hundred investigators and searched for some eight hours. The raid turned up a number of strange items, including magical tools, videos, and frozen blood.



Marc Dutroux and a policeman. (AP Photo/Olivier

Dominique Kindermans, the Institut's high priestess, was able to satisfactorily demonstrate that she had purchased animal blood from a butcher. She also asserted that she never knew Dutroux. Although the raid was "terrifying," according to Kindermans, and although the police confiscated their materials, no charges were filed and the investigation was redirected after authorities determined that there was no connection between the Institut and Dutroux.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse **For Further Reading:**

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Linton, Leyla. "Satanic Sect Raided by Child-Sex Police." *London Times*. London UK, December 24, 1996.

Robinson, Bruce A. "Charleroi, Belgium Murder/Ritual Abuse Case." http://www.religioustolerance.org/ra_charl.htm

Chick Publications

Chick Publications is a conservative Christian publishing ministry obsessed with Satan's machinations. Jack T. Chick, the man behind the ministry, has been producing tracts, comics and other materials for over forty years. The original publications were small, twenty-four-page, 2 x 4-inch comic tracts, and these remain the core of the organization's publishing activity. The ministry asserts that they have produced hundreds of millions of copies in almost a hundred different languages. There are approximately a hundred different tracts. One indication of their popularity is the many spoof tracts they have inspired. Regarded as reflecting an important aspect of American culture, Chick tracts can even be found on display at the Smithsonian Institute.

According to the ministry's short, official biography, Jack Chick began life as a wayward young man with a marked artistic talent. He met his wife at the Pasadena Playhouse, where he was studying acting. Later, while visiting his wife's parents in Canada, his mother-in-law insisted on listening to Charles E. Fuller's "Old Fashioned Revival Hour" radio program. Chick was converted during the broadcast. He recalls that, "God was already working in my heart, but when Fuller said the words, 'Though your sins be scarlet, they shall be as white as snow,' I fell on my knees and my life was changed forever." This experience inspired him to begin looking for some way of using his artistic talents in God's service.

While working for AstroScience Corporation in El Monte, California, Chick read Charles Finney's *Power from On High*. This prompted him to author his very first tract, "Why No Revival?" Unable to find a publisher, he borrowed \$800 from the credit union and paid for the printing himself. Soon after it appeared, he was inspired to compose a new tract, "A Demon's Nightmare." This was followed by "This Was Your Life!" Christian bookstores were initially reluctant to accept the tracts. As Chick recalls, "A lot of the bookstores were really outraged at some guy using these cartoons to present the gospel. They thought it was sacrilegious."

This may have had something to do with the publications after which Chick tracts were modeled. The official story is that the tracts were inspired by Chinese communist propaganda: "One day, Bob Hammond, missionary broadcaster of 'The Voice of China and Asia,' told Jack

that multitudes of Chinese people had been won to Communism through mass distribution of cartoon booklets. Jack felt that God was leading him to use the same technique to win multitudes to the Lord Jesus Christ." Other commentators, however, have suggested that the immediate model for the tracts were the so-called "two-byfours" (referring to their dimensions in inches), which were pornographic minicomics common in the 1950s when Chick began his ministry.

Small and cheap, any evangelist could buy a few hundred Chick tracts and leave them wherever the casual passerby might pick them up—laundromats, telephone booths, bus station benches, etc. They were more common in years past, and almost everyone older than Generation X has come across them at one time or another.

Although many people who have seen them are appalled by the tracts, the theology of Chick Publications is squarely aligned with the mainstream of fundamentalist Christianity. The comicbook form of the message and the focus on the enemies of "Real Christians" make Chick Publications appear more offensive than other ministries. Ultimately, however, the only point on which Chick deviates from standard fundamentalism is his targeting of Catholicism as being at the very center of a vast Satanic conspiracy to destroy Christianity (which does not mean that other fundamentalists necessarily tend to look kindly upon Catholicism). In addition to infiltrating Christianity (in Chick's mind, Catholicism equals Christianity perverted by demonic paganism), Catholics—especially the Jesuits—are behind everything from Nazism to communism to Islam.

Chick Publications were dropped from the shelves of many Christian bookstores after the Alberto Series—virulently anti-Catholic comics based on the "revelations" of a ex-Jesuit—came out. Chick was, however, saved from going out of business after Jimmy Swaggart began quoting his periodical *Battle Cry* on the air. Sales of ministry products subsequently rebounded enough to keep Chick Publications in business. Although the tracts are sometimes classed as hate literature (they cannot, for example, legally be taken over the border into Canada), American politicians are unlikely ever to be involved in banning writings

that reflect the beliefs of a significant subpopulation of the electorate.

Most of the tracts are characterized by a highly negative attack—Chick might say an exposé—on some feature of modern society seen as tainting the pure milk of the Gospel. Like many other ultraconservative Christians, the Chick worldview is, to put it mildly, paranoid. Our world is under constant, ongoing assault by demonic forces determined to distract humanity from the only thing that really matters, namely saving one's own soul and the souls of others from damnation. Illicit sex, alcohol, recreational drugs, and the like are tools of Satan designed to keep people from hearing—or from seriously considering—the Christian message. All tracts end with a call to repent and accept Jesus as one's personal savior.

Although non-Christian religions are Satanic, Chick devotes relatively few tracts to attacks on other religions. He is more concerned with making his readers aware of how demons are busily distracting them from embracing and leading the true Christian life. Like other conservative Christians, he is especially concerned about occultism. All things occult are part of the siege on humankind. (In one tract, Satan is delighted because sales of astrology books are on the rise.) Even things that trivialize the occult are part of a demonic plot to make the dark side appear harmless and attractive. Chick is especially alarmed by Halloween, for example, and devotes at least three tracts to warning readers that the holiday is nothing more than bait for recruiting impressionable young people into Satan's legions. Chick goes so far as to assert that Halloween actually began as a Druid holiday during which child sacrifices took place. Other ways in which American culture trivializes the occult is via certain images presented by the entertainment media. In the tract "Bewitched?" for instance, we learn that Satan's favorite TV show is Bewitched. After watching an episode, the Prince of Darkness remarks, "Haw, haw, delightful—so disarming—so innocent—yet so effective."

As one might anticipate, anything that tends to cast doubt on fundamentalist doctrine is part of the Satanic plot. Evil forces have already taken over the chief institutions of American society, as reflected in an educational system that has ejected prayer and that teaches the theory of evolution. To Chick's way of seeing things, Christians are severely persecuted. Many of the Christian characters in his tracts refrain from talking about religion in public—and particularly at work—for fear of being ridiculed or losing their jobs.

Chick wholeheartedly accepts the Satanic ritual abuse hypothesis—that America, and indeed the entire world, is permeated by a powerful network of secret Satanic cult groups that routinely sacrifice innocent babies to the Devil. The churches have been infiltrated by witches, presumably members of such Satanic cults. Furthermore, liberal theologians and liberal Christian ministers who dilute the Gospel are demons in disguise, purposefully leading Christians astray.

Chick is especially concerned about the threat of rock music, which he portrays as Satan's pet project. Rock music, we learn, is derived from ancient, demonic Druid music. (Druidism appears to be the only form of extrabiblical paganism he is aware of.) In the Chick comic Spellbound?, we see heavily guarded music studios at which priests of the Devil conduct dark rituals for every master disk. Ten demons are assigned to each record album to insure that it has the desired effect. In the tract "Angels?" Satan notes that, "My music pushes murder, drugs, free sex, suicide, to destroy country, home and education ... And man... is it doing it!" Chick seems to feel that Christian rock music is even worse—a wolf in sheep's clothing, designed to trick unsuspecting Christians into turning off the straight and narrow path onto the highway to hell. In the same tract, Satan exclaims, "Who do you think started Christian rock? I did!"

Although these are but a few of the cultural phenomena exposed to Chick's one-dimensional analysis, enough has been said to convey the sense of his ministry. At the time of this writing, most of his two-by-four tracts (though not his full-sized, full-color comics) were posted at the ministry's official website so that the interested reader can explore other aspects of Chick's vision.

See also Demons; Heavy Metal Music; Satanic Ritual Abuse

For Further Reading:

http://chick.com. Official website, containing complete copies of active tracts online. One can also find Jack T. Chick's official biography and Frequently Asked Questions that supply some insights into Chick Publications.

http://home.flash.net/~twinkle/psycho/DARK/chick.
A Chick parody site containing, at the time of this writing, almost two dozen Chick-related links—mostly other parodies.

http://members.aol.com/monsterwax/chick.html. A useful compendium of—and commentary on—Chick tracts, including ones that have gone out of circulation.

Childrearing, Satanic

Although the original perception of religious Satanism by outside observers was that it was a mono-generational phenomenon that most participants would drift in and out of, it is now clear that it has taken root and is being passed down from parents to children. Satanists have thus had to seriously consider what it means to rear their offspring as Satanists, despite the fact that, as one Satanist mother noted, the whole idea of raising the next generation in the black arts has a distinctly "tabloid quality" about it. In website discussions, Satanists have grappled with such problems as: at what age is it appropriate to begin bringing children to rituals, what to do in a hostile public school environment, how parents should respond to their child's request to go to church with friends from school, and other such matters.

Satanic parents have also had to face the issue of raising their children as moral human beings in a religious tradition that has often explicitly advocated antinomianism and lex talionis (the law of retaliation: "an eye for an eye"). Rather than raising little demons (figuratively speaking), Satanists teach their children to be, in the words of one parent, "decent human beings." In "Ask Grandma Gynna," an advice column on the demonolatry website, the pseudonymous Gynna informs an outsider that, "we teach our children common human morals (it's wrong to steal, cheat, lie, kill, etc.) just like Christian parents. We also teach them religion is individual and there are hundreds of belief systems out there." In another item of advice at the same website, Gynna counsels parents not to

force their beliefs on their son because, "he is more likely to rebel, much like many children who have Christianity thrust on them turn to occult religions during their teen years."

Major issues for Satanist parents are the potential harassment their children can face at school and the fear they might convert to Christianity. One Satanist mother named her son Lucifer—an unfortunate choice in terms of the harassment he received as a result. In another exchange from "Ask Grandma Gynna," Satanist parents ask if they should allow their thirteen-year-old son to attend a Christian church with his friend. After receiving such advice as, "You should let him go and hope you've raised him with enough common sense that he will see the religion for what it really is," they decide to let him attend church. In their follow-up note to Gynna, they express relief after their son returned home bored with the whole experience.

Satanists have also had to deal with the lack of such basic materials as children's stories relevant to their religious tradition. A different section of the demonolatry website presents the following creation story, submitted by "Lissa P.," as a sample bedtime story:

Billions and billions of years past, our world never existed. However, in another place in the vast recesses of our universe, or perhaps even on another plane of existence, lived the demons. The demons, being wise and powerful beings, and able to harness the elements and powers of the universe, kept mostly to themselves, from what we are told. That is, until they heard something distant and disturbing. From the blackness in our corner in the universe something wondrous occurred. There was a storm in the blackness, of fire and debris, an implosion, a rumble, and from it was birthed our solar system. The demons heard the commotion, and by bending time and space, ascended to the new system. As they touched each mass the elements blended together and dissipated. But then the demonic elements (Lucifer, Leviathan, Belial, Flereous, and Satan) touched the earth and, because of its existing condition, the combined elements created an

atmosphere that would harbor life. It was Satan who told his hierarchies they should protect all life that began here. For he was fully aware that the demonic elements, all parts of the whole, were responsible for its creation and all life upon it. Since then, any human who chooses to recognize the demons for who and what they truly are—will understand. The demons are more than willing to teach and guide us if we only ask. After all, they are largely responsible for our existence.

The editor comments that "this particular story is a wonderful way to introduce your child to elemental Demonolatry and the big bang theory without the typical religion vs. science conflict."

The editor concluded by soliciting other original children's narratives from website visitors.

See also Demons

For Further Reading:

"Ask Grandma Gynna."

http://www.demonolatry.com/parenting/gynna.

"Bedtime Stories."

http://www.demonolatry.com/parenting/stories. htm.

"Satanic Parenting."

http://www.swampwitch.com/isabal/parent.html.

China

The Chinese have demons, but no figure corresponding to a Western Satan. Nevertheless, there is a significant body of belief and practice associated with such evil spirits, referred to as kuei in Chinese. Fear of demons is significant enough to support professional exorcists who drive the spirits out of spaces as well as out of people. As described in V. R. Burkhardt's Chinese Creeds and Customs, exorcisms of dwellings involve elaborate ceremonies that include admonitions for the kuei to depart: "Evil spirits of the East get you back to the East, or the South return thither. Let all demons seek their proper quarters and vanish forthwith" (Burkhardt 1953-1958, vol. 2, 143). Exorcisms of individuals possessed by demons can be even more dramatic, as reflected in Peter Goullart's account of an exorcism by a Taoist exorcist in The Monastery of Jade Mountain:

The priest looked at the victim intensely, gathering all his inner strength; beads of perspiration appeared on his thin face. "Come out! Come out! I command you to come out!" He was repeating in a strong metallic voice with great force. "I am using the power of the One compared to whom you are nothing. In His name I command you to come out." Immobile, he continued to focus his powers on the [possessed person's] face. The man was struggling in the bed with incredible strength against the four men who held him. Animal growls and howls issued from time to time from his mouth which became square, he teeth gleaming like the fangs of a dog. . . . Terrible threats poured out of the contorted mouth, now fringed in white foam, and interspersed with such incredible obscenities that women had to plug their ears with their fingers. (Goullart 1961, 87)

Not all *kuei* are demons in the same sense Westerners use the term. Rather, this is a comprehensive category that encompasses a variety of different types of negative spiritual entities. *Kuei* include the "hungry ghosts"—ancestors who have become angry and negative because their descendants have ceased sacrificing to them. Thus in the seventh month of the Chinese calendar, the gates of hell are opened and these *kuei* are free to roam about. The full moon in the middle of that month is a special *kuei* festival during which an effort is made to comfort the hungry ghosts.

Particularly after the importation of Buddhism, the Chinese developed a bureaucratic system of hells in which demons were employed to torture morally bad people, not unlike their Western counterparts. In good Buddhist fashion, however, these hells were purgatories in which the condemned were tortured for a set period of time before being reincarnated.

The Chinese tradition tended to locate infernal as well as the paradisiacal realms in remote areas beyond the borders of China. The idea of the netherworld draws from different traditions that were mingled together. After the introduction of Buddhism, which came from west, the mountains located in the western part of the country were

considered to be netherworld realms. An important part of the landscape of the afterlife was, for example, Mount T'ai, originally considered the point where life began. Mount T'ai became, during the Ch'in and Han empires, the dead's administration center, where souls were judged by a lord of the dead, thus reflecting the structure of political power and highly centralized bureaucracy that characterized those dynasties.

When Buddhism spread into China, a more organized netherworld was developed: a bureaucratic system of palaces and offices emerged in which the officers were the immortals of the Taoist tradition. Prayers came to resemble an official petition within a bureaucracy. A pantheon of divinities ran the system, assigning positions to officers based on their merits. On the other hand, the infernal dimension of the netherworld was a projection of the Chinese prison system of the empire, in which criminals were punished and money could be given in the form of bribes to alleviate the punishment. Thus spirit money, offered to the dead by the living family, assured the lightening of the punishment for the dead. Ancient Chinese graves were typically filled with items that could assure assistance and help at the moment of one's judgment in the netherworld.

Neither heaven nor hell were considered to be permanent states for the dead, who were being rewarded or were suffering due to the law of karma. Thus punishment lasted as long as it was needed, and then one had to reenter the cycle of rebirth. The belief in the possibility of lightening one's pain was an important point in Chinese spirituality, as it increased ethic and moral responsibility, and strengthened the idea of compassion.

See also Buddhism; Demons

For Further Reading:

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Goullart, Peter. *The Monastery of Jade Mountain*. London: John Murray, 1961.

Messadie, Gerald. *A History of the Devil.* New York: Kodansha International, 1996.

Obayashi, Hiroshi, ed. *Death and Afterlife:*Perspectives of World Religions. Westport, CT:
Greenwood Press, 1992, 49–64.

Church of Satan

Organized Satanist groups were quite rare prior to the 1960s. A new form of Satanism was initiated with the founding of the Church of Satan by Anton LaVey on April 30, 1966. Modern Satanism continued to develop in various directions by the several groups that later split off from this organization. The Church of Satan originated from an attempt to create a carnal religion—consciously opposed to the spiritual nature of most other existing religions—which melded elements of Western ceremonial magic and occultism with various materialistic philosophies under the aegis of the archetype of Satan, the symbol of the one who opposes and questions the status quo. The church advocates a philosophy of individual pragmatism and hedonism, rather than emphasizing the worship of Satan. It promotes the development of strong individuals who seek gratification out of life, and who practice the selfish virtues as long as they do not harm others.

Rooted in Epicureanism, many of LaVey's

teachings focused on self-assertion and the gratification of an individual's physical and mental nature. He considered Satan a Promethean figure representing indulgence, vital existence, undefiled wisdom, kindness to the deserving, and vengeance. The Church also taught responsibility to the responsible, the notion that the human being is just another animal, and so-called sins that lead to physical or mental gratification. According to LaVey, Satan is a symbol representing these values.

The Church of Satan's philosophy views each person as living according to her or his own rules, although criminal behavior and use of illegal drugs are opposed by the church. Sex and self-preservation are considered the strongest instincts, and thus natural behaviors of the human animal. (The church advocates sexual activity only among consenting adults.) Three principal holidays are celebrated by the church: first and highest is the individual's own birthday; Walpurgisnacht, celebrated on April 30th, is the traditional



Anton LaVey and an assistant conduct a Satanic ceremony, 22 March 1970 (Bettmann/Corbis)

Witches' Sabbath, and marks the founding night of the organization; and Halloween, is also a night that, according to legend, is a time when dark forces are unleashed.

Rituals are regarded as psychodramas and as magical acts focusing upon psychokinetic force. "Le Messe Noir," the text used for the traditional Black Mass ritual, is contained in Anton LaVey's *The Satanic Rituals* (1972). The mass is conceived as a purging ritual during which psychodrama is used to free individuals from the influence of sacred intimidation. Contrary to the popular myth that it is a staple rite, the black mass is only rarely performed and then only by individuals who feel Christianity has played a negative role in their lives.

In 1967 the church received the attention of the media when LaVey performed both the first publicized Satanic wedding (an earlier one was private and no media was invited) and a Satanic funeral for a sailor. Membership grew rapidly, though it has been speculated that the active membership rarely exceeded 1,000.

In 1969 LaVey published the first of three books, *The Satanic Bible*, containing the basic philosophy of the Church of Satan. It was followed by *The Compleat Witch* (1970), and *The Satanic Rituals* (1972). He also began to work as a consultant for the movie industry, becoming the occult advisor on several films. He claimed to have appeared briefly in *Rosemary's Baby* as the Devil, although critics have disputed this claim.

By the 1970s, the Church of Satan had a national membership and groups (referred to as *grottos*) in many cities around the United States. At one time it was considered the largest occult organization in America. *The Cloven Hoof*, edited initially by LaVey and later by others, was the newsletter of the church.

The Church of Satan was a rich source of splinter groups. In 1973 the Church of Satanic Brotherhood was formed by grotto leaders from Ohio, and had templums (their terminology for grottos) in Michigan, Ohio, and Florida. The church lasted only until 1974, when one of the founders announced his conversion to Christianity in a dramatic incident staged for the press in St. Petersburg. Other members of the

Church of Satan in Kentucky and Indiana left to form the Ordo Templi Satanas, also short-lived.

LaVey subsequently disbanded the remaining grottos, the local units of the Church of Satan, and decided to reorganize the church as a fellowship of individuals. According to LaVey, grotto activities were curtailed because he felt that more attention was being given to having position inside the church than to accomplishments in the outside world. This decision prompted yet another schism by Michael Aquino and others who left to form the Temple of Set.

LaVey died in 1997, and the leadership passed to his longtime companion, biographer, and personal assistant, Blanche Barton, who is the mother of his son. On Walpurgisnacht of 2001, Peter H. Gilmore was appointed High Priest of the Church of Satan. The headquarters of the church is presently located in New York City where the High Priest resides.

See also LaVey, Anton **For Further Reading:**

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Flowers, Stephen E., *Lords of the Left Hand Path*. Smithville, TX: Runa-Raven Press, 1997.

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Church of Satanic Brotherhood

The Church of Satanic Brotherhood was founded in March 1973 by John De Haven, Joseph M. Daniels, Ronald E. Lanting, and Harry L. Booth as a result of the controversy that developed among the Midwestern grottoes of the Church of Satan. The Stygian Grotto of the Church of Satan in Dayton, Ohio, dissolved on February 11, 1973, for "having been acting in violation of the law," according to Anton LaVey. The Church of Satanic Brotherhood followed the practices of the Church of Satan, although many exceptions grew out of the controversy, and the intense polemic against LaVey.

The church spread rapidly, and grottoes were opened in St. Petersburg, Florida; Dayton-

Centerville, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; Louisville, Kentucky; New York City; and Columbus, Ohio. The bishops headed a Council of the Churches, and a magister headed each grotto. *The True Grimoire* represented the periodical of the church. The church lasted a short period, until John De Haven renounced Satanism in 1974, proclaiming conversion to Christianity.

See also Church of Satan **For Further Reading:**

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Church of Satanic Liberation

The Church of Satanic Liberation (CoSL) was founded in 1986 by Paul Douglas Valentine. Valentine claims to have been an English teacher and an occultist who had been involved in nature-oriented magic until he came across Anton LaVey's *The Satanic Bible*. Although inspired by LaVey, Valentine has been harshly critical and has portrayed himself as inheriting LaVey's mantle. In contrast to the atheism of the original Church of Satan, Valentine notes that Satan is a separate being, although he is careful to assert that the CoSL Satan is a nature deity that has nothing to do with the Judeo-Christian antigod.

See also Church of Satan For Further Reading:

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Church of the Morning Star

The Church of the Morning Star (COTMS) is a nonprofit Satanist church located in Virginia Beach, Virginia. It was founded on December 25, 1999, by Reverend Cain. The name of the group derives from traditional associations between Lucifer and the Morning Star. COTMS holds regular meetings and rituals in the Virginia Beach

area. The Church is associated with the First Church of Satan. Although quite different from the present Church of Satan (CoS), COTMS regards itself as very much like the original CoS when it was founded in the mid-1960s. The church teaches that all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live in whatever manner they choose. Otherwise, the only law is *Carpe Diem* ("seize the day"). Satan is viewed as representing our true self, so that the worship of Satan is nothing but the worship of ourselves.

For Further Reading:

The Church of the Morning Star's official website: http://www.churchoflucifer.8m.com.

Circle

In most if not all religious traditions, attention is given to the place in which worship and other religious activities occur. There is much information about circular forms in comparative religion and depth psychology. Circles often, for example, represent the earth and the mother principle. In Jungian psychology, they symbolize wholeness and unity. Mandalas, which are meditation diagrams associated with Hinduism and Buddhism, are frequently drawn in the form of circles. According to the South Asian tradition, meditating on mandalas allows meditators access to different realms of consciousness. In a roughly parallel manner, magic circles are viewed as functioning as doorways to alternate realities.

In ceremonial magic, magicians cast (create) a circle around themselves as protection, as a way of keeping out negative energies and entities. The utilization of circles for protection is actually quite old. During the Western medieval period, for example, circles would be drawn on the floor around the seriously ill and around newborns and their mothers to protect them from demonic forces. Circles are also cast to contain the energies that are created within the circle during a given ritual—they become invisible boundaries that one does not cross without disrupting the energy.

There are several ways of conceiving the circle

as a kind of *energy containment field*. With respect to such activities as casting a spell, for example, the circle allows energy to build up without leaking out into the surrounding area until the proper moment when the energy is projected outward in a concentrated burst. More generally, the circle provides an arena within which the vibrations of the group energy can be altered so as to draw the participants nearer to the otherworld.

In most religious traditions, one finds the notion that the normally unseen spiritual world coexists in the same time and space as the physical world, in what might be referred to as a different dimension. What separates them is their differing rates of vibration (understood literally or metaphorically). Thus, in order to enter into rapport with the otherworld, one needs to create a space—in this case the circle—within which the rate of vibration can be modified.

In occult traditions, the other dimensions are understood as constituting a series of different realms or planes, arranged according to rate of vibration. It is the subtle energies found in these other realms that one manipulates during magical operations. In occult literature, the plane closest to the physical is referred to as the *etheric plane*, and the subtle energies of this realm are often termed *etheric energies*. Etheric energies are subdivided into four categories according to the four classical elements of Greek philosophy—earth, air, fire, and water—and hence are sometimes also referred to as *elemental energies*. It is from these etheric energies that the magician constructs the circle.

As both consecrated space in the physical realm, and space that has also been etherialized by being raised in vibration, the interior of the circle is, in a sense, "between the worlds." From this energized space—a physical/etheric temple floating between the worlds—it is easy for participants to extend their imagination into the subtle realms, and thus facilitate magical operations. By the same token, it is easy for spiritual entities and other powers to be drawn near the participants.

See also Magic and Magical Groups
For Further Reading:
Amber K. True Magick: A Beginner's Guide.
Llewellyn, 1991.
Farrar, Stewart. What Witches Do: The Modern Coven Revealed. New York: Coward, McCann, 1971.

Collective Unconscious

The collective unconscious, a term coined by the psychologist Carl Jung, refers to the storehouse of myths and symbols to which all human beings have access. Much of traditional Jungian analysis focuses on the interpretation of dreams. Jung found that the dreams of his clients frequently contained images with which they were completely unfamiliar, but which seemed to reflect symbols that could be found somewhere in the mythological systems of world culture. The notion of the collective unconscious was used to explain this phenomenon.

Jung's unique contribution to modern psychology begins with the observation that the basic structure of many symbols and myths are nearly universal, even between cultures that had no historical influence on one another. Most traditional societies, for example, tell hero myths, utilize circles to represent wholeness, the sky to symbolize transcendence, etc. Jung theorized that this universality resulted from unconscious patterns (genetic or quasi-genetic predispositions to utilize certain symbolic and mythic structures) that we inherited from our distant ancestors. The reservoir of these patterns constitutes a collective unconscious, distinct from the individual, personal unconscious that is the focus of Freudian psychoanalysis.

Jung referred to the unconscious, predisposing patterns for particular myths and symbols as *archetypes*. Hence one can talk about the mandala (i.e., the circle) archetype, the hero archetype (the latter made famous by the Jungian thinker Joseph Campbell), and so forth. Jung asserted that his notions of the collective unconscious and the archetypes were on par with the theory of instincts. In other words, one examines certain kinds of behaviors and theorizes that they are the results of certain biological drives, although it is, of course, impossible to directly observe such drives/instincts.

Notions derived from Jungian psychology have been introduced into popular culture in the last several decades, as is evident in the recent interest in mythology. Not too many years ago, the word *myth* carried with it connotations of falsity and illusion in popular discourse. In recent years, a more positive notion of myth has become popular, through the work of Joseph Campbell and other writers whose work flows out of the

Jungian perspective. Thanks to their work, mythology, in the sense of sacred stories, is now viewed as something worthwhile, and even necessary for human beings. Campbell's views were popularized through a series of TV interviews with Bill Moyers.

Jung's ideas have sometimes been invoked to explain certain experiences or certain cultural-historical facts that seem to indicate the existence of a spiritual dimension and spiritual beings, such as devils. Thus the fact that people report similar experiences during demonic encounters can be explained in terms of universal symbols from the collective unconscious. Similarly, the fact that different cultures at different periods of time all report similar beings can merely indicate that such phenomena reflect archetypal patterns in the human mind rather than that demonic spirits actually exist.

See also Demons For Further Reading:

Campbell, Joseph. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949. Samuels, Andrew, Bani Shorter, and Fred Plaut. *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986.

The Craft

In this 1996 film, a young girl moves to Los Angeles and finds that she doesn't fit in anywhere in the cliquish St. Benedict's Academy. She then finds friends in three other outcast girls. Together they create their own coven and stumble onto real supernatural power.

The Craze

Jack Palance plays the owner of a London antique store in this 1973 film. In his spare time, he leads a Satanic cult that ritually sacrifices beautiful women. The police keep finding the bodies of the group's victims scattered around the countryside.

Crime

Satanic crime, more frequently referred to as *occult crime*, became a topic of popular interest among

law enforcement officials during the heyday of the Satanic ritual abuse (SRA) scare of the 1980s and 1990s. The category of occult crime was the successor to earlier concerns about ritual murder by magical cults, such as secretive voodoo groups. Ritual murder mythology was explored and amplified by authors of popular horror stories. The SRA scare was the end product of several distinct influences:

- 1. Fictional portrayals of diabolical conspiracies, especially in box office movies (e.g., *Rosemary's Baby*).
- 2. Public concern over dangerous cults, particularly certain pseudoreligious groups that seemed to have a diabolical dimension, such as the Manson Family. The priority of Manson would later be supplanted by the drug smugglers associated with the Matamoros murders.
- 3. Concerns (some analysts would say social guilt) over emerging problems in the childcare industry, which became the focal point of SRA hysteria.
- 4. The belief in the reality of a widespread underground Satanic conspiracy, a belief that had been cultivated among certain segments of the conservative Christian subculture. Police officers and social workers with conservative religious leanings spearheaded the SRA scare.
- 5. And, finally, because of its sensationalistic appeal, once the SRA panic got underway it was picked up and promoted by an irresponsible mass media, particularly talk shows.

It was not until the late 1990s that the notion of a widespread conspiracy by child-abusing Satanists had been thoroughly discredited.

Beyond SRA cases, other kinds of occult crime are similarly suspect. The occasional group of adolescents who "sacrifice" household pets and vandals who sometimes leave behind Satanic symbols hardly constitute a serious phenomenon. The difficulty with constructing occult crime as a major social threat is reflected in the 1993 mass market paperback, *Raising Hell: An Encyclopedia of Devil Worship and Satanic Crime.* In addition to

some of the usual SRA cases, the author pulls in any crime with even the most tenuous link to the occult, such as the Zodiac killer who murdered people according to their astrological sign. He even includes an entry on the overtly Christian Ku Klux Klan. Perhaps more tellingly, in the few cases with genuine Satanic elements such as the Night Stalker murders, one is forced to confront one of the basic premises of much occult crime thinking, namely the usually unstated assumption that Satanism somehow causes individuals to commit crimes. The premise that the occult is an independent motivating factor is dubious at best.

In the face of the empirical absence of an infernal criminal underground, occult crime experts have often attempted to draw links to organized Satanist groups, particularly the Church of Satan. During the height of the SRA scare, police seminars on occult crime frequently included segments on organized Satanism that warned against the social dangers of the philosophy of personal indulgence advocated by The Satanic Bible. Despite the fact that Anton LaVey explicitly rejected unlawful activity—including blood sacrifice—in *The Satanic Bible*, the discovery of a copy of this widely available book at a crime scene has often been sufficient evidence for investigators to label the crime Satanic. Perhaps the most significant case of this kind was that of Stanley Dean Baker. Arrested in 1970 after a traffic violation, he confessed, "I have a problem. I'm a cannibal." Police found a human finger in one of Baker's pockets and a copy of The Satanic Bible in the other. Baker subsequently regaled authorities and fellow prisoners with tales of his participation in a blood-drinking cult in Wyoming. He later blamed his criminal activities on the influence of drugs, not the Devil.

See also Night Stalker; Satanic Ritual Abuse *For Further Reading:*

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Religions in American History. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

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Crowley, Aleister Edward

Aleister Crowley (October 12, 1875–December 1, 1947), the most famous and influential ritual magician of the twentieth century, was born Edward Alexander Crowley in Leamington, Warwickshire, England. His father was a preacher for the Exclusive Plymouth Brethren, and he soon rebelled against his strict, fundamentalist upbringing. He was a student at Trinity College in Cambridge from 1894 to 1897, but dropped out before completing a degree. His interests in the occult and sexual activity crowded out his studies. Although Crowley did not consider himself a Satanist, he sometimes sported a Satanist image—e.g., he often referred to himself as the "Beast," an allusion to the beast of the book of Revelation—



English author, magician, and occultist, Aleister Crowley with a selection of occult instruments (Archive Photos)

and is the principal source for modern Satanism's magical practices. One measure of this influence is that the Enochian Keys in Anton LaVey's *Satanic Bible* were taken from Crowley's periodical *Equinox*.

In 1898 he was initiated into the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (OGD), an occult group focused on ritual magic—or magick, as Crowley liked to spell it. In 1903 he married Rose Edith Kelly. He seemed destined for leadership in the OGD, but was denied higher grades of initiation because of his homosexual activities. Samuel (MacGregor) Mathers, one of the founders of the OGD, gave Crowley the higher grades anyway, thus causing a split in the organization. By 1904 Crowley decided to exit the OGD and was seeking another avenue of expression. Visiting in Cairo, Egypt, in April 1904, he reportedly received a communication lasting several days from a spirit entity named Aiwass. The result was The Book of the Law, an outline of his Egyptian brand of magic, which he called Thelema, from the Greek word for will. Crowley taught that "Do what thou wilt' shall be the whole of the Law," which is to say that training the will to achieve the fulfillment of one's destiny is crucial for magical activity.

In 1907 he founded his own order, Argenteum Astrum (Silver Star), and two years later began the semiannual periodical, *Equinox*, the collected issues of which later became an important source of magical material. Also in 1909 he obtained a divorce. In 1912 he met Theodor Reuss, head of the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO), an occult group that taught sex magic at its higher levels. Crowley joined the OTO and soon was made the head of its British branch. He added rituals for homosexual magic.

Crowley went to the United States in 1914 and met with the few OTO adherents there at that time. At some point he discovered and was inspired by the sex magic theories of P. B. Randolph, founder of the Fraternitas Rosae Crucis in America, and over the following years altered the OTO sex magic rituals to accommodate his new findings. In 1919 he moved to Italy, where he continued his training and reached *ipsissimus*, the highest magical level. In 1922 he succeeded Theodore Reuss as outer head of the OTO.

In 1923 Mussolini, as part of a move against occultists, forced Crowley to leave Italy. He went first to Tunis, then France (from which he was expelled about 1930), then to England, where he remained for the rest of his life. In 1929 he married Maria Theresa Ferrari de Miramar. Despite Crowley's dedicated leadership, the OTO did not grow, but steadily diminished. Perhaps it was because Crowley's energies were diverted by an addiction to heroin, or perhaps the times were not conducive to occultists generally. At the time of his death, there was only one remaining center of the OTO, and the group almost disappeared entirely until its surprising resurgence in the 1970s. Crowley's impact has continued to be tremendous among almost all the magical groups.

See also Left-Hand Path; Magic and Magical Groups

For Further Reading:

Crowley, Aleister. *Magic in Theory and Practice*. New York: Castle, 1929.

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Curse of the Demon

John Holden, a skeptical psychologist, goes to a conference on the paranormal in this 1957 film. There he meets Julian Karswell, a self-proclaimed warlock, but refuses to believe that the eccentric individual leads a cult of evil devil-worshipers. Karswell responds to Holden's efforts to expose him by slipping a piece of paper that Karswell slips into the psychologist's possession. The paper, containing Runic letters, bears a curse.

Curses

Be certain you DO NOT care if the intended victim lives or dies, before you throw your curse, and having caused their destruction, revel, rather than feel remorse. . . . To insure the destruction of an enemy, you must destroy them by proxy! They must be shot, stabbed, sickened, burned, smashed, drowned, or rent in the most vividly convincing manner!

Anton LaVey, The Satanic Bible



Bag of ingredients for bad spells from South Carolina. It includes roots, graveyard dust, hair and nail clippings from the intended victim, and the victim's underclothing pierced with a pin (Fortean Picture Library)

Curses, sometimes referred to as *hexes*, are negative magical spells made against other people. They are meant to harm a person through ill luck, sickness, or even death. Curses traditionally invoke supernatural forces or entities to change someone's fate for the worse. In many different cultures, sorcerers can be hired to place curses on others. Sorcerers can also be hired to undo a curse.

As a group, entire families and their descendants have been affected by curses. They can also be used to protect temples, other kinds of spaces, and treasures, as in the case of the famous Tutankhamen tomb. A curse can remain dormant for a long time, only hitting the victim later. Also, once a curse comes into effect, its duration can vary considerably. In some traditions, it is believed that the most effective curses are executed on a night during which the moon is waning.

Although associated primarily with Vodoun (voodoo), a widely practiced approach to cursing is to perform negative rituals over an effigy of the intended victim. A doll-like figure meant to represent the target of the spell is made out of wax, clay,

wood, cloth or some other material. A piece of clothing, strand of hair, fingernail trimming, or some other such item associated with the victim are placed on or in the doll, which is then burned or pierced, thereby causing suffering or death.

The use of an effigy to curse an enemy has been incorporated into modern Satanism. In *The Satanic Bible*, for example, Anton LaVey recommends the following procedure "To Cause the Destruction of An Enemy":

Remain in the area of the altar [previously described] unless imagery is more easily obtained in another spot, such as in the vicinity of the victim. Producing the image of the victim, proceed to inflict the destruction upon the effigy in the manner of your choice. This can be done in the following ways:

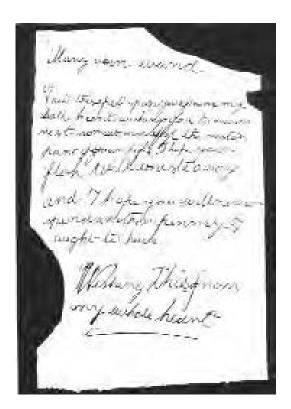
the sticking of pins or nails into a doll representing your victim; the doll may be cloth, wax, wood, vegetable matter, etc. the creation of graphic imagery depicting the method of your victim's

destruction; drawings, paintings, etc. the creation of a vivid literary description of your victim's ultimate end; a detailed soliloquy directed at the intended victim, describing his torments and annihilation.

mutilation, injury, infliction of pain or illness by proxy using any other means or devices desired.

Intense, calculated hatred and disdain should accompany this step of the ceremony, and no attempt should be made to stop this step until the expended energy results in a state of relative exhaustion on the part of the magician.

As developed by Anton LaVey, cursing became one of the principal magical acts of modern



Curse from the late 18th or early 19th century against Mary Ann Ward, which was found with a curse doll. It reads: I act this spell upon you from my holl (whole) heart wishing you to never rest nor eat nor sleep the whole resten part of your life. I hope your flesh will waste away and I hope you will never spend another penny I ought to have. Wishing this from my whole heart. (Fortean Picture Library)

Satanism. It occupies a prominent place in his Satanic Bible. LaVey recommended coming together for ritual cursings as a way of forming bonds within a Satanic group. The importance given to such "supernatural" acts may strike one as odd, given that LaVeyan Satanism is generally atheistic. LaVey, however, defined magic broadly as "The change in situations or events in accordance with one's will, which would, using normally accepted methods, be unchangeable" (LaVey 1969, 110). While arguing that the "greater magic" taps forces beyond the ken of contemporary science, he did not go so far as to assert that such forces were "spiritual" or unscientific (indicating, rather, that in the future science would likely discover how magic works). In his description of Satanic ritual, he implied that emotional energy was somehow involved with the effective power of cursing; for example: "In the case of a curse or destruction ritual, it sometimes helps the magician if his desires are intensified by other members of the group"(119).

LaVey's apparent seriousness about ritual cursing is reflected in the liturgical text, "Invocation Employed Towards the Conjuration of Destruction," found in *The Satanic Bible*:

BEHOLD! The mighty voices of my vengeance smash the stillness of the air and stand as monoliths of wrath upon a plain of writhing serpents. I am become as a monstrous machine of annihilation to the festering fragments of the body of he (she) who would detain me.

It repenteth me not that my summons doth ride upon the blasting winds which multiply the sting of my bitterness; And great black slimy shapes shall rise from brackish pits and vomit forth their pustulence into his (her) puny brain.

I call upon the messengers of doom to slash with grim delight this victim I hath chosen. Silent is that voiceless bird that feeds upon the brain-pulp of him (her) who hath tormented me, and the agony of the is to be shall sustain itself in shrieks of pain, only to serve as signals of warning to those who would resent my being.

Oh come forth in the name of Abaddon and destroy him (her) whose name I giveth as a sign.

Oh great brothers of the night, thou who makest my place of comfort, who rideth out upon the hot winds of Hell, who dwelleth in the devil's fane; Move and appear! Present yourselves to him (her) who sustaineth the rottenness of the mind that moves the gibbering mouth that mocks the just and strong!; rend that gaggling tongue and close his (her) throat, Oh Kali! Pierce his (her) lungs with the stings of scorpions, Oh Sekhmet! Plunge his (her) substance into the dismal void, Oh mighty Dagon!

I thrust aloft the bifid barb of Hell and on its tines resplendently impaled my sacrifice

through vengeance rests! Shemhamforash! Hail Satan! (149–150)

LaVey claimed that Jane Mansfield died as the result of a curse he placed on her boyfriend (Mansfield and her boyfriend died together in an automobile accident), although LaVey's assertion that his curse caused Jane Mansfield's and her boyfriend's death was made public only after the fact.

See also Church of Satan; Hex; Love (Lust) Spells For Further Reading:

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Valiente, Doreen. *An ABC of Witchcraft: Past and Present.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.

Damn Yankees

This 1955 Broadway musical drama by George Abbott has become a classic. In 1958 it was adapted into a film. A remake of Abbott's play appeared again on Broadway in 1994, starring Jerry Lewis as Mr. Applegate. The story is about a sports fan, Joe, who is so desperate to see his team to win the season that he is willing to sell his soul, if need be, to have them win. At the moment Joe utters his wish, a man dressed in contemporary clothes appears before him in a cloud of smoke. He introduces himself as one Mr. Applegate, who asserts that he is able to grant Joe his wish. The horrors of hell and damnation are never dealt with overtly, though they are alluded to in song and dance. There is also a happy ending: The devoted love of his wife is enough to protect him from the fate of being condemned to hell.

Dante Alighieri

Devils and angels are included in Dante's great epic, the *Divine Comedy:* Satan at the core of the earth and apex of hell, and multitudes of the good angels in his paradise. The Italian poet, philosopher and theologian Dante Alighieri (Florence 1265–Ravenna 1321) was born of a Guelf middleclass family. He played an important role in Florentine civic and political life. After writing his first work, the *Vita Nuova*, about his youthful

idealistic love for Beatrice Portinari, he took an active part in the administration of the commune and was on the imperial side in the struggle between Guelfs and Ghibellines, respectively the partisans of the pope and the emperor, who were fighting for the jurisdiction in Italy. However, when the rival party splintered into two factions, he decided to support the antipapal policy of the White Guelfs. After the Blacks took over the city in 1301, under the wing of Charles de Valois, Dante was exiled and his life of wandering from court to court of medieval Italy began.

During his exile, he wrote the *Convivio*, his chief work in Italian prose inspired by the reading of Cicero and Boethius; the Latin *De vulgari eloquentia*, a treatise about the preeminence of the Italian vernacular and the definition of the highest form of Italian lyrical poetry, the canzone; the *De Monarchia*, an eloquent defense of the imperial principle that contains Dante's most original contribution to philosophical thought.

The actual life of his own times, interpreted by the story of his own inner anguishes, represents Dante's primary source of inspiration for the *Divina Commedia*, an allegory of the human condition and destiny in the form of a vision of the state of the souls after death. Dante himself is the pilgrim of the visionary journey through hell and purgatory, to heaven, during a week at Easter in the year 1300 when, at the age of thirty-five, he

feels lost in the "dark wood" of his own moral confusion. The Latin poet Virgil, representing secular learning, is his guide through the depths of hell and up the Mountain of Purgatory, and Beatrice, representing the higher divine inspiration, leads him to heaven and to the inexpressible divine source of all love.

Dante adopted a punitive inferno, and added a purgatory, for those who were not cut off from hope. Paradise follows in one continuous line of ascent. Hell, in Dante's scheme corresponding to the general medieval view of the world, is placed in the interior of the earth, and is portrayed as the place of eternal isolation of the souls. It consists of nine concentric circles that, from the hemisphere of the earth and across the river Acheron, progressively diminish in circumference, forming an inverted cone ending in the center of the Earth. In each circle, representing the nature and effects of sin, a distinct class of sinners undergoes a particular torment according to the nature and gravity of their wrongdoings.

When he fell from heaven, Satan struck the earth at the antipodes of Jerusalem, and tore through its substance as far as the center, where he remains fixed for all time, a three-faced monster, champing with his teeth the three arch-sinners against church and state, Judas Iscariot, Brutus, and Cassius. The extremity of torture is inflicted by cold, not by heat. Satan's wings, perpetually beating, send forth an icy blast that freezes the river Cocytus to a glassy hardness, and in it are immured the four last grades of sinners.

A hidden path connects the center of the earth to the purgatory, the place of purgation and of preparation for the life of eternal blessedness. It is imagined as a mountain formed by the earth that retreated before Lucifer as he fell from heaven into the abyss of hell, and it is located at the exact antipodes of Jerusalem and Mount Calvary, in the center of the southern hemisphere. After the antepurgatory, where are placed the excommunicated and the belatedly repentant, and the passage through Peter's Gate, come seven encircling terraces, which rise in succession with diminished circuit as they approach the summit. Each of the cornices corresponds to the seven deadly sins, from which the soul is purged through the expia-

tory labor of climbing the mountain. The terrestrial paradise is reached through a final wall of flames and comprehends two streams that wash away the remembrance of sin and strengthen the remembrance of good deeds. Dante's Paradise, according to the Ptolemaic system of cosmography, consists of nine moving heavens, which are concentric with the earth, the fixed center of the universe, and around which they revolve at a velocity proportional to their distance from the earth. Each heaven is presided over by one of the angelic orders, and exercises its special influence on human beings and their affairs. The seven lowest are the heavens of the planets: the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. The eighth heaven, the sphere of the Fixed Stars, is the highest visible region of the celestial world, and the ninth heaven, the Primum Mobile, governs the general motion of the heavens from east to west, and by it all place and time are ultimately measured. Finally, beyond and outside the heavens, lies the Empyrean, where there is neither time nor place, but light only, and which is the special abode of the Deity and the saints.

See also Hell and Heaven; Purgatory; Satan *For Further Reading*:

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Dante's Inferno

Spencer Tracy plays Jim Carter, an unscrupulous entrepreneur who manages to take over a sideshow from its proprietors, a kindly man and his niece, in this 1935 film. The purpose of the exhibits were originally meant to warn people about the evils of indulgences in greed and wickedness. The attractions feature demons and tortures gruesomely modeled directly after Dante

Alighieri's fourteenth-century classic, *Divine Comedy: The Inferno.* Tracy turns the exhibit into a moneymaking house of horrors. Tracy, however, begins to fear hell, and the words "Abandon all hope, all ye who enter here," which Dante portrayed as inscribed above the gates of hell, begin to haunt him. After the attraction collapses and his wife abandons him, Tracy is arrested and held responsible for the disaster and death his attraction caused.

Dark Angel: The Ascent

A very unusual movie directed by Linda Hassani about an evil angel who is tired of inflicting punishment to the inhabitants of the underworld. The visual effects for the atmosphere and flavor of the underworld in this 1994 film were created in a Romanian castle with torches instead of electrical lighting. The fallen angel Veronica is played by Angela Featherstone, who escapes from hell through a secret passage just before her bloodthirsty father slashes her with his sword. Featherstone arrives on the earth through a manhole with her dog. She slays murderers and rapists, sending their souls to hell. In avenging the good, however, she is doing evil and must return to the underworld to be cleansed in the river Styx. The love of a good man helps her learn compassion.

The Dark Secret of Harvest Home

In this 1978 film a photographer and his wife move to a quiet New England hamlet from Manhattan, and find that things are not as idyllic as they seem. One of the better movies about a couple who stumble onto a secret Satanist cult.

Dee. John

Astrologer John Dee (1527–1608) was born in London of a Welsh family. He was educated in Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Trinity College. Magic and alchemy were among his major interests from his earliest years, and he began collecting books and manuscripts. He became a well-known mathematician. He is best



John Dee (National Library of Medicine)

known to modern Satanists through the inclusion of some of his Enochian Keys in the latter section of Anton LaVey's *The Satanic Bible*.

During the reign of the Catholic Mary Tudor, he was accused of being a heretic and a conjurer. However, he was able to clear his charge and he was not burned, though he spent some time in prison. During a journey abroad, he learned that a mob had broken into his house at Mortlake and sacked his library, believing that he was a worker of black magic. Eventually he was favored by the court of Queen Elizabeth I, who was much more superstitious and interested in astrology than her sister. Dee became her occult adviser, although she never granted him the generous pension he was seeking. During his numerous trips abroad, he also acted as a secret agent for her, under the code name "007."

John Dee is, however, best known for his Enochian Magic, a system of magic teaching communication with angels and spirits. Dee joined Irishman Edward Kelly in an attempt to communicate with the spirits through the practice known as *scrying*. Communication with the spirits was possible through the use of the Enochian language, a genuine, complex language of unknown origin with a solid grammar and syntax. Each letter of the Enochian alphabet features a

numerical value—a *gematria*—and is associated with elemental, planetary, and tarot properties.

The Nineteen Calls, or Keys, of Enochian were used by Dee and Kelly to conjure the angels. The first two keys conjured the element Spirit, the next sixteen conjured the four elements, whereas the nineteenth Key invoked any of thirty aethyrs or aires, probably representing levels of consciousness. Kelly allegedly spoke Enochian when the angels appeared in his crystal. One of the procedures used during the communication consisted of setting up charts, either filled with letters or left blank, to which the angels would point with a rod in order to spell out messages. These messages were dictated backward, for dangerous forces would have been released if the messages were communicated directly. John Dee was less favored by Elizabeth's successor, James I, and ended his days in poverty at Mortlake.

See also Enochian Magic; Magic and Magical Groups

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Demiurqe

The demiurge is the chief archon or evil spiritual being who creates the world in the Gnostic system. Gnosticism refers to a movement and school of thought that was prominent in the Hellenistic Mediterranean world that influenced paganism, Judaism, and Christianity. According to the Gnostic myth of creation, Sophia, one of the good spiritual beings (one of the aeons) residing in the pleroma (the pure spiritual realm), inadvertently creates another entity—often called Yaldabaoth—who creates our familiar world (e.g, refer to The Apocryphon of John 2, in Robinson 1981, 9f.). This evil deity, who is alternately designated the demiurge (a term originally utilized by Plato to refer to a demigod who creates the world in the Timaeus), also creates the human body for the purpose of trapping human spirits in the

physical world. Our true home is the absolute spirit, the pleroma.

A standard tenet of Gnostic Christianity was that Yahweh, the God of the Old Testament, was one and the same as this evil demiurge. Pointing to the discrepancy between the jealous, vengeful god of the Old Testament and the teachings of the gentle Jesus, these Gnostics asserted that Jesus was a teacher sent from the pleroma to guide us back to our true home, and that the Father to which he referred was different from Yahweh.

See also Archon; Gnosticism **For Further Reading:**

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Demons

The belief that malicious entities lie behind natural disasters and other unpleasant aspects of human life is very old and is still prevalent in many traditional societies. Especially before the development of scientific discoveries that proffered more neutral explanations for the irregularities of nature, it was not unreasonable to postulate that such beings were responsible for unexplainable natural disasters and diseases. Although scientific explanations have gradually supplanted metaphysical explanations, demons and devils presently survive in the mythology of Jung's collective unconscious and in other schools of the study of the mind that interpret evil forces as projections of human fear and/or as hallucinations.

While often the two words are used interchangeably—devils from Greek *dia-ballo*, to throw across, that is, accuser; and demons from Greek *daimon*, spirit—their meaning evolved through the centuries and in different religious traditions. Devils have always had a negative connotation as evil forces whereas demons could be either good or evil, depending on their individual nature. *Daimones* in ancient Greece were tutelary semidivine spirits of either good or bad nature.

In the early stages of Judaism, demons were not a major aspect of the religious belief system. During the first diaspora, when the Jews were in contact with the dualist vision of Zoroastrianism, a more defined role for demons was developed within the tradition, in particular in the *aggadah* that reflected popular rabbinic beliefs. These mythological figures drew from indigenous pagan beliefs (such as the *shedim*) and were believed to be either creations of God or offspring of Lilith, the first wife of Adam. In the cabala during the Middle Ages, the evil forces of the Jewish tradition took definite forms, names, and roles, although they were never really fully accepted into Orthodox Judaism.

The Greek word daimon was used in the Roman and Hellenistic world to indicate evil forces, and thus entered early Christian writings with the negative connotation of impure spirits. The Judeo-Christian tradition elaborated the concept of the Devil as the fallen angel who tempted Adam and Eve and was forever banished from Paradise. Christian literature also drew upon the belief systems of their neighbors in the depiction of the Apocalypse, wherein appear demons that recall Jewish, Persian, and Mesopotamian myths. In the transmission of the texts of the Scriptures the devil (in Hellenistic Greek, diabolos) came to be identified with Satan (the name used in the Hebrew bible to indicate an adversary). The belief in evil powers as the source of sicknesses and problems for humans is found in early Christian literature, and Christian theology acknowledges evil as necessary for the fulfillment of free will. From very early, Christianity developed the practice of exorcism to expel evil spirits who had taken control of human individuals. In medieval Europe, the belief in the existence of demons came to be associated with witchcraft and contributed to the development of the practice of exorcism and witch-hunting.

Since the early drafting of the Koran, Muslims have also believed in the existence of demonic forces, known as *shaytan*, who are in constant revolt against God—*ifrit, marid,* and *jann* (a.k.a. *jinn,* pre-Islamic hostile spirits in general associated with the desert). Sometimes these evil forces are identified with animals (such as the snake and the scorpion) or with natural elements. One ambiguous figure, divine and evil (jinn) at the same time, is *Iblis,* who partially resembles the

Devil of the Judeo-Christian tradition as a fallen angel. Believed to be eternally expelled from the Garden of heaven for refusing to bow, upon God's order, in front of Adam (i.e., a being made of earth), he gradually also came to be called Satan.

The Hindu tradition is rich with mythic figures of divine, or semidivine, superhuman nature. In its literature demons are hierarchically ranked in various cosmic layers. Demons who belong to the lower part of hierarchy are demonic, dark beings, such as the *asuras*, who are always adversaries to humankind. *Raksasas* are demons who embody various hostile animals (snakes, vultures, etc.), are identified with spirits of the night, kill people, and resemble vampires.

Other demons of the Indian tradition that passed into Buddhism are the *bhutas*, the *pretas*, and *pisacas*. Buddhism, especially at the popular level, inherited the lore of mythological Hinduism about the *asuras* and other demons. They belong to the category of sentient beings (like humans and gods), and as such are subject to the cycle of reincarnation. The Buddhist archfiend is Mara, who in vain tempted Gautama shortly before his enlightenment. Evil forces are encountered in the Burmese Buddhist figures of the *nats* and other ghosts who inflict pain on humans. In Mahayana Buddhism demons are alternatively good or evil in their efforts to keep their devotees in the faith.

A number of female demonic figures have also been developed that explain children's sicknesses or death. In medieval central and eastern Europe the *lamias*, mythic figures of Greek and Roman origin, were believed to kill all children by drinking their blood; the Hindu Churalin (who embodies the women who died because of childbirth), and in Islam *ghul*, are female demons who lie in wait and practice cannibalism. In Judaism Lilith, considered to be the first wife of Adam, typically was believed to attack children.

Most of the traditional cultures of the world visualize the universe as a three-tiered cosmos of heaven, earth, and underworld. Heaven is reserved for deities, living human beings occupy the middle world, and demons often reside in the underworld. The spirits of the dead are also often perceived as living underground, perhaps as a result of the custom of burial in the ground.

In Christianity, the ancient underworld that, originally, was the common fate of humanity became a realm of torture in which sinners and unbelievers were tormented for eternity. In the Christian tradition in particular, underworld devils acquired employment tormenting the souls of the damned, though the earliest Christian idea was that stern, righteous angels tormented the damned. As the righteous angels were imaginatively removed from hell, Satan, ruler of all other devils, became king of the underworld.

As portrayed in the New Testament, demons constitute the infernal equivalent of God's celestial host. While angels go about helping human beings and doing good, demons harass humanity and go about doing evil. Christian scriptures relate many stories about exorcisms in which possessed individuals are freed from demons. According to the Gospels, healing the sick and the deranged by exorcising demons constituted a major aspect of Jesus' ministry (e.g., Matthew 15:22 and 15:28; Luke 4:33–35). Jesus also imparted the power to exorcise to the disciples (Matthew 10:1).

As related in one familiar Gospel tale, demons can also possess animals: "Now there was there nigh unto the mountains a great herd of swine feeding. And all the devils besought him, saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And forthwith Jesus gave them leave. And the unclean spirits went out, and entered into the swine: and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, (they were about two thousand;) and were choked in the sea" (Mark 5:7-13). Although the story is not spelled out in the Bible, a number of passages seem to allude to the wellknown story about Satan leading a celestial revolt. By implication, demons were formerly angels who were cast out of heaven with Lucifer after the failure of his revolution. Defeated in the celestial realm, the infernal host continues a kind of guerrilla warfare against God's people in the earthly realm, as reflected in a familiar passage from the Book of Ephesians:

For we wrestle not against flesh and blood human but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places (6:12).

The primary point of their attack is in trying to seduce Christians into departing from the path of salvation by teaching falsehoods:

The Spirit expressly says that in later times some will depart from the faith by giving heed to deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons, through the pretensions of liars.(1 Tim. 4:1–2).

In addition to their assault on Christians, another strategy in the guerrilla war against heaven is for demons to assume the forms of gods and goddesses of other religions. The people who worship pagan deities cannot be saved:

What pagans sacrifice they offer to demons and not to God. I do not want you to be partners with demons. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons. (1 Cor. 10:20–21).

In the United States, survey research indicates that about a third of all Americans accept the idea that Satan is a conscious, active entity. Presumably, they have similar beliefs regarding demons. The great majority of people holding this tenet are conservative Christians. An opinion poll conduced by *Time* magazine in 1993 indicated that 49 percent of the population believed in fallen angels or devils. (The question was poorly worded so that a more precise survey might not reflect this high a figure.) In the present-day Christian world, only Catholic Ireland ranks as high as the U.S. in terms of belief in the existence of a Satanic being.

Liberal Christianity is a different story. As a Baptist periodical noted, "Religious liberals do not believe in the literal reality and actual personality of Satan.... The devil or Satan is not at all a real person, but only an impersonal evil force present and operating in the world" ("Does Satan Really Exist?" 1993). The unnamed author of this piece goes on to assert that, "Any system of religious belief that denies the literal reality and actual personality of Satan is radically unChristian and unBiblical in

nature and clearly under the dominion of the very devil whom it denies." This article estimates that 75 percent of American ministers held this nonrealistic view of the Prince of Darkness, implying that most Christian churches are unChristian.

The difference between conservative and liberal faith traditions is that conservatives interpret scripture literally, with the idea that the Bible must be embraced as a whole rather than piecemeal. Liberals, on the other hand, distinguish between what they regard as the core of Jesus' teachings and what might be understood as the folklore of New Testament times. This folklore would include the prescientific belief in demons and the like, which liberal Christians feel can be ejected without disturbing the central message of the Gospels.

Conservative Christians generally view liberal Christianity as being under the sway of demonic forces. Furthermore, in line with the apostle Paul's assertion in 1 Corinthians cited above, conservative Christians also believe that demons founded and continue to shape all non-Christian traditions. As asserted in *Demons in the World Today*, "The great ethnic faiths of India, China and Japan major in demonism, as well as the animistic religions of Africa, South America and some Islands." Conservative Christians take a similar position with respect to occult/metaphysical/new age religion. To cite a sample passage from Lee and Hindson's *Angels of Deceit*:

Today people are experimenting with astrology, witchcraft, Ouija boards, divination, channeling, Tarot cards, fortune-tellers, mediums, crystals and shamans. Mankind has come to the final conclusion of disbelief in God and has turned to belief in the very opposite! Satan has cleverly convinced the modern mind that he is not to be taken seriously until all other spiritual options are exhausted. Then, when empty souls turn to him in desperation, he can take them over completely and totally. (118)

Finally we should note that some commentators, even within the conservative Christian community, view the seemingly obsessive interest in Satan as itself embodying demonic activity. As C. S. Lewis wrote in *The Screwtape Letters*, "There are two equal and opposite errors into which our race can fall about the devils. One is to disbelieve in their existence. The other is to believe, and to feel an excessive and unhealthy interest in them. They themselves are equally pleased by both errors" (Lewis 1961, 3).

See also Buddhism; China; Hinduism; Islam; Judaism; Possession and Exorcism

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Descent into the Underworld

A theme of descent into the underworld is found in many different religious traditions, in the form of myths and rituals. The underworld is usually viewed as being physically located in a given place underneath the earth; for example, under a mountain, or beyond an ocean that can be reached only by crossing a narrow and dangerous bridge. The dark kingdom of the underworld typically contains various spirits, a king and/or a queen, a devil figure, or some other mythical characters, who rule the souls of the dead.

In the cultural tradition that spread from Siberia and Asia to the American continent and the Pacific islands, the descent to the underworld was an important part of the spiritual complex referred to as *shamanism*. The shaman's healing power stemmed from his ability to descend to the underworld to visit the spirits who caused the illness of the patient. Upon his return, the shaman sang of his journey in the underworld, the crossing of a bridge over the ocean, and the encounter with the spirits. The shaman's task could also include fore-seeing the future or the weather, or finding a person or a lost object, or guiding the wandering spirits of the dead to the realm of the dead.

In the ancient Western world there were a number of myths that recounted descent into the underworld of an heroic or divine being, who aimed to rescue a beloved one or to obtain immortality and wisdom. In one of the most ancient accounts of a journey to the underworld, the Sumerian goddess Inanna (in the Akkadian civilization she was called Ishtar) experienced a descent into the underworld where she underwent a sort of initiation process of death and rebirth. During the journey, the goddess went through seven gates, gradually taking off all of her clothes and ornaments. At the end of the journey, the goddess died and the vegetation on earth immediately wilted. When sprinkled with the water of life, the goddess came back to life, thus regenerating the earth.

A mythical hero of the ancient Greek world was Orpheus, poet and musician whose wife, Eurydice, died from the bite of a snake. Orpheus's art was so powerful that he enchanted the king of Hades and convinced him to release his wife, although his violation of the condition that he not

look at her until they were completely back in the world resulted in the loss of Eurydice. The theme of the failure of the hero to complete his task in the underworld realm of the departed represents the effort of the human imagination to come to grips with the unavoidable fate of death.

In the Greek world, a somewhat related myth is the story of Persephone. Persephone was kidnapped by Hades. Her mother Demeter, goddess of grain, mourned the loss of her daughter, which resulted in the death of vegetation and humankind's starvation. The gods eventually agreed that Persephone should be returned to her mother. In the meanwhile, however, Hades had made Persephone eat the fruit of the dead (seeds of pomegranate, symbol of fertility and blood), and thus bound her to the realm of the dead. The final agreement was that, for half of the year, Persephone was the ruling queen of Hades, and for the other half, she was with her mother Demeter. Although this myth was originally interpreted as explaining the vegetation cycle, various elements indicate the characteristics of a process of female initiation: her descent to the underworld that ended with her marriage to Hades (she became Queen of Hades) could symbolize her death as virgin and the achievement of a new status—from daughter to wife.

In the Christian tradition, the underworld is a place of damnation for sinners. In early apocryphal literature, Christ was described as descending into hell to rescue the damned and to demonstrate his victory over the reign of evil. In medieval culture, the first part of the *Divina Commedia*, the *Inferno*, describes Dante's descent to hell under the guidance of the Latin poet Virgil.

See also Dante Alighieri; Underworld; Virgil For Further Reading:

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"The Devil and Daniel Webster"

In this 1936 short story by Stephen Vincent Benet, an impoverished farmer from New Hampshire, Jabez Stone, sells his soul to the Devil in exchange for seven years of prosperity. However, when the time comes due for Jabez to relinquish his soul, he becomes frightened and hires the famous lawyer Daniel Webster to get him out of the contract—an interesting American twist on the Faust legend. Mr. Scratch, the representative for the Devil, agrees to litigate on the condition that he be allowed to choose every jury member, whom he recruits from the worst of the underworld's sinners, and whom he assumes will decide against the farmer. Instead, Webster makes such a superb defense that the jurors feel much remorse for their own bad deeds, and they vote not to condemn Jabez to his horrific fate. Mr. Scratch leaves the farmer to his good life, as taking him could threaten the stability of hell with a mass exodus.

—Evelyn Oliver

The Devil and Max Devlin

A 1981 Disney Studios comedy about an obnoxious slumlord, Max Devlin, who is killed by a bus and sent to hell. The Devil tells him that if he can get three souls to exchange for his, Max can get out of hell. After a great deal of trouble finding three replacements, Max has a change of heart and does not want to harm the innocent persons. As a surprise result he gets out of hell because of his goodness. Max Devlin is played by Elliot Gould and the Devil by Bill Cosby.

Devil's Advocate

In the 1997 film *Devil's Advocate*, Al Pacino brilliantly portrays John Milton (named after the Puritan author of the classic *Paradise Lost*), the human incarnation of Lucifer. The film begins with the Devil hiring hotshot criminal attorney, Kevin Lomax (Keanu Reeves) to work for his Satanic law firm in New York (though Kevin does not suspect a diabolical connection). Satan wants to bring together his family, but can only do so by destroying Kevin's loving wife and seductively manipulating him into uniting with his gorgeous, red-headed colleague—who Kevin later discovers to be his own sister. When Kevin learns that Milton is his long lost father who wants him to



The Devil's Advocate (1997) (Kobol Collection/Warner Brothers/Monarchy)

procreate through his sister, Kevin opts out by shooting himself in the head in front of his father. Lucifer's shock and pain over the loss of his son causes him to burst into screams of rage that engulf the entire scene in billowing smoke and flames. This appears to be the movie's dramatically appropriate conclusion. However, the narrative unexpectedly continues when, instead of dying, Kevin finds himself transported back to the beginning of the story where he is defending his perverted client from the charge of molesting innocent young students. Kevin, finding that his wife is miraculously still alive, knows he is being given a second chance to do the right thing, which he does by refusing to defend his client (who he knows is guilty). The reporter who previously challenged Kevin now seems to be his admiring supporter, complimenting Kevin on sticking to principle even in the face of potential disbarment. As the couple exits the courthouse, Kevin agrees to the reporter's request to interview him for a feature article on his courageous decision. In the last scene of the movie, the reporter morphs into

John Milton, who smirkingly remarks to the audience, "Pride, one of my favorite sins."

-Evelyn Oliver

The Devil's Bride

This 1968 movie is Hammer Studios film adaptation of Dennis Wheatley's most celebrated "black magic" novel, *The Devil Rides Out.* It features, unsurprisingly, a Satanist devil-worshiping cult. This is considered by many to be Hammer's best work.

Devil's Daughter

In the 1991 film *Devil's Daughter*, the entrance to hell is none other than the basement of a German tenement. The filmmaker uses a scant story line about Satanists looking forward to the birth of the Nameless One's baby as an excuse to provide only the sickest of moviegoers with 112 minutes of human sacrifice and torture. The film is sadistically graphic, with realistic horror scenes of gruesome dismemberments and slashings. The worst of the hideous scenes is the tearing off of a woman's face. The moviemaker must have confused the word Satanist with *sadist*.

Devil's Eye

A clever and entertaining 1960 movie directed by the famous Swedish film director, Ingmar Bergman. Satan has failed several times to get the beautiful daughter of a conservative minister to lose her virginity, which threatens the loss of his evil reputation. So Satan sends Don Juan to seduce her. The girl, however, finds his antiquated romantic way of speaking absurd, and she laughingly rebukes this seduction as well. For Satan, this rejection is worse than hell itself.

The Devil's Hand

An artist purchases what he thinks is a "lucky hand" in this 1945 film, unaware that it belongs to the Prince of Darkness. Satan requires that he resell the hand before twenty-four hours are up, or he will be sent directly to the hot place.

The Devil's Messenger

The Devil's Messenger was made from three badly executed television episodes that failed due to poor acting and lack of continuity. The plot was for Satan to leave hell and take over the world. The plot was foiled.

The Devil's Partner

An elderly Satan worshiper passes away, but then comes back as a young man in this 1958 film. Not one to give up old habits easily, he picks up where he left off, casting spells and conducting dark rituals.

The Devil's Rain

A cult of Satan worshipers wander the desert of the Old Western looking for the portal to the underworld and a sacred Satanic book that contains names of the disciples of Satan. John Travolta is one of the ghouls that stalks William Shatner's quest to return the sacred book to the group. Anton LaVey, founder of the Church of Satan, was a technical advisor for this 1975 film.

The Devil's Son-in-Law

A 1997 comedy about an aspiring nightclub performer who makes a deal with the Devil to marry his daughter after he becomes a star. Given a magic cane, the performer not only becomes a big star, but is able to put all his rival acts out of business. When the Devil demands payment in the form of marrying his old hag of a daughter and making a baby with her, the performer disappears. The minions from hell find him and return him to the "down under." As the movie ends, he is driving off in the limo that says, Just Married.

Devil's Triangle

The Devil's triangle—also known as the Bermuda triangle—is a watery area whose boundaries are Florida, Bermuda, and Puerto Rico. In an Associated Press article on September 16, 1950, reporter E. V. W. Jones wrote that ships were disappearing mysteriously between Florida and



Bermuda triangle: Were the missing ships sucked into a giant whirlpool? (Dezsö Sternoczky/SUFOI/Fortean Picture Library)

Bermuda. A Fate piece in 1952 was the first to advance the notion of a triangle. Throughout the 1950s writers such as M. K. Jessup, Frank Edwards, and Donald E. Keyhoe speculated that extraterrestrial spacecraft were snatching planes and ships (or their crews). In the February 1964 issue of the men's magazine Argosy, Vincent H. Gaddis invented the term "Bermuda triangle" and popularized it further when he incorporated the article into a chapter of his book Invisible Horizons (1965). The 1970s saw the legend peak with the best-selling The Bermuda Triangle (1974), by Charles Berlitz with J. Manson Valentine. The most famous Devil's triangle story concerned the disappearances of five Navy Avenger torpedo boats on the afternoon of December 5, 1945, off the coast of Florida. (In the climactic scene of Steven Spielberg's 1977 film Close Encounters of the Third Kind, the missing crew is returned to earth in an alien spacecraft.) A rescue aircraft sent after it also vanished. According to triangle literature, all of this occurred in perfect weather. Other cases went back to the nineteenth century. In each

instance, triangle writers insisted, no conventional explanation could be found. They then went on to propose their own unconventional explanations. For example, in his 1970 book *Invisible Residents*, Ivan T. Sanderson theorized that an undetected advanced civilization lives under the earth's oceans; one of its major bases is in the Devil's triangle. Other theorists held that the triangle is a gateway to another dimension. Some have speculated that the lost continent of Atlantis lies under the Devil's triangle and Atlantean superscience is responsible for the mysterious events there.

If so, it is not the only one, according to some. There is also the Devil's sea, southeast of Japan. Sanderson expanded the concept, claiming that there are ten *v lie vortices*, as he called them, stretched in parallel bands at equal distances above and below the equator, 72 degrees apart. In these lozenge-shaped regions OINTS—Other Intelligences—operate freely, grabbing ships and aircraft, moving freely through space and time in machines we call UFOs. Sanderson did hold these entities in high regard: The OINTS, he claimed

(his italics), "are, at least from our present point of view and as of this date, *incredibly and abysmally stupid* ... Might it not be that at least some OINTS are so far ahead of our present status that they have completely lost control of themselves and just plain given up *thinking* ... That they are for the most part overcivilized and quite mad is, in my opinion, an open-ended question but quite probable" (Sanderson, 1973, 214–216).

By the mid-1970s the Devil's/Bermuda triangle fad had run its course. It was the subject of some devastating debunking, most effectively in Larry Kusche's The Bermuda Triangle Mystery—Solved, originally published in 1975, which documented the prosaic causes of the allegedly enigmatic vanishings. An extensive investigation by the Navy determined, for example, that the Avengers had gotten lost and crashed into the ocean east of Florida because of pilot error and severe weather; the rescue craft had exploded, apparently because of a gas leak. Kusche charged that the triangle researchers had spent more time rewriting each other's books than in doing the original research that would have laid the "mystery" to rest. "The Legend of the Bermuda Triangle," he wrote, "is a manufactured mystery. It began because of careless research and was elaborated upon and perpetuated by writers who either purposely or unknowingly made use of misconceptions, faulty reasoning, and sensationalism. It was repeated so many times that it began to take on the aura of truth" (Kusche, 1986, 277).

—Jerome Clark

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Diabolus in Musica

Diabolus in musica is Latin, literally meaning "devil in music," and is a medieval expression for the tritone (diminished fifth or augmented fourth). It splits the octave in half (in this case, F and C sharp). The tritone strikes the listener as being discordant and somewhat out of tune. The church came to regard this interval as Satanic, asserting that it summoned the Devil—hence the nickname, diabolus in musica. Its use was actually banned from the time of the development of Guido of Arezzo's hexachordal system in the eleventh century until the end of the Renaissance. Musicians who were found using the tritone could be tortured and burned at the stake by the Inquisition.

Diabolus in Musica is also the title of a 1998 album by the heavy metal (death metal) group Slayer. The tritone is used throughout this album. Additionally, it might be noted that the group Black Sabbath also uses this interval in their song "Black Sabbath."

Finally, *Diabolus in Musica* was the title of a piano concert given to mark the first anniversary of the death of Anton LaVey. It was one of the first public events ever held by the Church of Satan. Listed by the *New York Times*, it was a well-attended event held at a New York City art gallery.

See also Heavy Metal Music **For Further Reading:**

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Doqma

Two modern-day fallen angels, Bartelby and Loki, are condemned to a fate almost as bad as hell when they are sent to Wisconsin. Although the cast of this 1999 movie is great, the plot is lame and too much time is wasted on boring nonsense and excessive profanity.

Dragons

Often depicted as a mixture of several creatures, the dragon is a fantastic beast that appears in mythology and folklore worldwide. Although in Oriental mythologies the dragon is seen as a beneficent animal and is often a symbol or a portent of prosperity, in most European mythologies it is viewed as a demonic beast hostile to humanity. In Christian symbolism, for instance, the dragon represents the chief of the fallen angels, the Devil.

One of the inspirations for the Christian Devil via Hebrew scriptures (the Old Testament) is derived from the Babylonian female dragon monster, Tiamat. In early Christian thought, the dragon represents the Devil or the Devil's servant, and has the allegorical role of representing the Antichrist, or more generally, evil passions, paganism, or the oppressive powers of this world. In chapter 12 of Book of Revelation, it is described as large and red, with seven heads and ten horns.

With reference to the story of the revolt of the angels, the archangel Michael is usually represented as the slayer of the dragon, and his angels fight against the dragon and his rebellious angels. "The great dragon was thrown down, that ancient serpent who is called Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world; he was thrown down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him."

In Hebrew scriptures, in which the dragon is mentioned several times in the same breath as the owl—another creature with large, black eyes—Yahweh is depicted as a storm god. At his coming "the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, yea, the clouds dropped water, the mountains quaked before the Lord" (Judg. 5:4–5). "Thou didst break the heads of the dragons on the waters" says the

Psalmist (Ps. 74:13), and "the Lord . . . shall slay the dragon that is in the sea" (Isa. 27:1). Moreover, in Psalms 91:13, "the saints shall trample the dragon under their feet." The battle between Yahweh and the dragon is very popular in the visions of the later Hebrew prophets, although the dragon usually embodies a purely symbolic meaning as the enemy of Israel, that is to say the Assyrians, the Babylonians, or the Egyptians.

An account of God's hostility toward Pharaoh is reported by the prophet Ezekiel, who speaks of Pharaoh as "the great dragon that lies in the midst of his streams" (Ezek. 29:3), into whose jaws he will put hooks and whom he will have thrown into the wilderness. Elsewhere in the Old Testament, the dragon is represented also as a symbol of mourning and desolation.

One of the most discussed chapters of the Old Testament is Daniel 7, which reports a dream, alleged to have occurred in the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, in which Daniel sees the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. Out of the sea emerge, one after the other, a series of beasts, four in number, all of fabulous form. The fourth beast, in particular, is especially terrible and has ten horns. The four beasts represent in succession the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Hellenistic empires.

In classical legend, the dragon guarded the golden apples in the garden of Hesperides. Among the most famous encounters between a Christian warrior and a dragon is that of St. George, who slays the dragon or tames the animal and frees the maiden. It has been argued that the story of St. George and the dragon owe much to the Greek myth of Perseus and Andromeda.

See also Leviathan; Satan For Further Reading:

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Dungeons and Dragons

Dungeons and Dragons (D&D) is the most successful and most well known of a wide variety of a fantasy role-playing games. D&D has been condemned as inspiring young people to commit suicide and other antisocial acts. It has also been portrayed as a diabolical primer, leading young people into the Satanist fold.

Dungeons and Dragons was created by Dave Arneson and Gary Gygax, who organized the Tactical Studies Rules Association in 1973. It was a development from earlier war games and military simulations. The game was first marketed in 1974. It gained great popularity among teens and young adults, particularly after Random House began distributing it in 1979. It is now published by Wizards of the Coast. Dozens of other companies have since published hundreds of similar games under a variety of titles, such as DragonQuest, RuneQuest, Tunnels and Trolls, and Villains and Vigilantes. The games fall into many genres.

These games are played by groups of two or more people—four to seven are typical. One player is the Game Master (GM) who defines the imaginary environment in which the game is played. Sometimes the GM is referred to as Dungeon Master, Storyteller, Referee, etc. He or she creates a make-believe world through which the players will move and have their adventures. The players each create a single imaginary character, defining their shape, race, intellectual and physical powers, armament, protective devices, supplies, and materials. The GM decides what traps, obstacles, and encounters the imaginary characters will meet. Sometimes the GM holds the post for a long time; in other groups, the job rotates among the membership. Adventures may include play-acting the rescuing of people, the quest for money, treasure, power, knowledge, and sometimes even survival of the pretend character. Each player makes ethical, philosophical, and moral decisions on behalf of her/his imaginary character as the game develops. The GM describes the environment, the events, and the actions of supporting characters (also called nonplayer characters or NPCs). The players describe their pretend characters' actions and reactions. The GM then tells them the results of their actions. Many

games use the rolling of dice to resolve conflicts and to determine the results of various actions (e.g., trying to disarm a trap or leap across a chasm, etc.). Any given session begins where the previous session ended. Games can continue for years. A few gamers use a system called Live Action Role Play (LARP) in which the players actually act out the roles of their characters. Sometimes, they dress up in costumes as if in a live play. Some gamers view LARPs negatively. The society in which Dungeons and Dragons is played is typically prescientific. Weapons are at the spear and crossbow level. Some characters may be imagined as having telepathic powers, others as being capable of casting magic spells. Other fantasy roleplaying games are set in the Wild West, in the far future, etc. Players are usually in their teens to early thirties. Many younger players will meet for a game once a week; others once or twice a month. The session might last about six hours.

Starting in the late 1970s, these games came under severe attack by some conservative Christians who alleged that they contain occult content and inspire people to suicide or criminal activity. After a young man's suicide in June 1982, his mother organized BADD (Bothered about Dungeons and Dragons). He was apparently emotionally disturbed. Unfortunately, his mother kept a loaded gun in the house that he was able to access, and he used it to commit suicide. His mother became convinced that the death had been triggered by her son's involvement with Dungeons and Dragons; she believed that his teacher had placed a curse on her son during a game.

She brought a lawsuit against the teacher and school. It was thrown out of court. She then organized BADD and started to speak out against Role-Playing Games (RPGs), claiming that they induced young people to commit suicide and murder. BADD asked the Consumer Product Safety Commission to place warning labels on RPGs. The agency investigated but found that the games did not present a hazard to the public. At present, BADD is apparently inactive. A second group actively opposing gaming is the Cult Crime Action Network (CCAN). In June 1996, the fantasy role-playing game industry in Italy came under attack. As in the earlier attacks in North

America, games have been accused of causing teen suicide and distorting minds. They falsely claimed that RPG players usually impersonate killers or death-row inmates.

By the early 1990s, the furor had largely died down. The games are still attacked periodically by a small number of Christian TV programs and ministries. The games are regularly accused of promoting violence and murder of parents and others, causing suicide among young people, and luring young people into the occult. Many books on Satanism and the occult by conservative Christian authors still attack the games: In The Truth about Dungeons and Dragons, Joan Hake Robie writes: "Dungeons and Dragons is not a game. Some believe it to be teaching the following:" She then lists twenty-two activities, including blasphemy, assassination, insanity, sexual perversion, homosexuality, prostitution, Satan worship, and necromancy. (Robie 1994, 67)

In *The Seduction of Our Children*, Neil Anderson and Steve Russo claim that the game negatively "affects a person's self-image and personality and opens him to Satanic influence" (Anderson and Russo 1991, 78). Bob Larson has asserted that young people who call his radio talk show often mention fantasy games as their introduction to Satanism. In *Like Lambs to the Slaughter*, Johanna Michaelsen criticizes games for their promotion of occultism and violence. All of the opposition to RPGs in books, magazines, TV, or radio appears to be by persons who are conservative Christians. Their critiques are logically derived from conservative Christian beliefs about Satanism and demonic possession.

In their article, "Relationship of role-playing games to self-reported criminal behavior," Suzanne Abyeta and James Forest studied the criminal tendencies of "gamers" and found that they committed fewer than average numbers of crimes for people in their age group. The Association of Gifted-Creative Children of California surveyed psychological autopsies of adolescent suicides and were unable to find any linked to these games. The National Association has endorsed Dungeons and Dragons for its educational content. The American Association of

Suicidology, the Center for Disease Control, and Health and Welfare (Canada) have conducted extensive studies into teen suicide and have found no link to fantasy role-playing games. The Committee for the Advancement of Role-Playing Games has investigated every suicide or criminal case that BADD advanced, and has been unable to find any caused by role-playing games.

Groups opposing fantasy games often criticize the alleged occult content of the games. It has been claimed—incorrectly—that the games' rule books include poison recipes or methods of summoning demons, etc. A handful include printed incantations from folk and ceremonial magic, but most do not. A gamer who wants her or his pretend character to cast a spell in order to protect itself from attack might simply say to the GM, "I am casting a healing spell now." Neither the player nor their character actually casts a spell or practices magic. The player simply describes what the imaginary character is doing. Gaming is basically an adult version of make believe. It does not promote black magic or manipulative magic.

—Bruce A. Robinson

See also Demons

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E

Equpt

The ancient Egyptians originally had no figure corresponding to a Western Satan. Over time, however, Set (also Seth; Sutekh), originally the god of the Lower Kingdom, became an evil deity. Historians speculate that during reign of the Hyksos, a foreign people who controlled Egypt for 400 years, Set was identified with their own god of war, Baal, and worshiped under the name Sutekh. After the Hyksos left Egypt, Set's statues were destroyed and his name vilified because of his connection with the hated foreigners. Eventually, everything that was negative became associated with Set, from the desert to dangerous animals. Set's mythology was also rewritten so that he became the evil brother of Osiris and the other gods: "The gods had a wicked brother, Set, who ruled the lifeless desert. Even as Osiris was the author of creativity and life, Set was destructive. He was so violent by nature that he ripped a hole in his mother's side when he was born. As the people reclaimed land through irrigation, he was angered that Osiris was diminishing his desert kingdom. He grew to envy his bother more day by day" (Bierlein 1994, 212-213).

Like other peoples, the Egyptians also populated the cosmos with all manner of demons. Because of their seeming obsession with the afterlife, we know the most about the dangerous demons encountered in the underworld. However,

in marked contrast to other cultures, the underworld was ruled by the just god Osiris rather than an evil divinity like Set.

Ancient Egypt was a civilization with a stability and history that staggers the contemporary imagination. As long ago as 4000 B.C.E. there were significant political and agricultural centers all along the Nile river. Thanks in part to the invention of writing and agricultural developments in the ancient Near East that allowed for greater urbanization, the many city-states in the area of today's Egypt were gradually unified into one dynasty. The period referred to as the Old Kingdom was well established by the middle of the third millennium B.C.E. The Middle Kingdom is dated from about 2100 B.C.E. to c. 1786 B.C.E., and the New Kingdom lasted from about 1580 B.C.E. to c. 1080 B.C.E. Then began a series of incursions by the Assyrian and Persian empires, though ancient Egypt was not really brought to an end until after Alexander the Great conquered it in 332 B.C.E.

From about 3000 B.C.E., Egyptian official religion recognized the pharaoh as the offspring of the sun god, Re, and thus as a god himself. There were many other gods and goddesses in the Egyptian pantheon, whose domains covered everything from natural phenomena like air (the god Shu) to cultural phenomena like writing (the goddess Safekht). Many gods were represented as

an animal or part-human/part-animal, perhaps the residue of earlier animal worship.

Generally, Egyptians gave most prominence to those gods associated with the Nile (Hapy, Sothis, Sebek), the sun (Re, Re-Atum, Horus), and helping the dead (Osiris, Anubis, Sokaris). During the time of the Old Kingdom, the sun god Re was the dominant god. Re served to give immortality to the collective state through the pharaoh, his son. The sun seemed to the Egyptians and to many other ancients to be clearly immortal, as it "died" every evening, traveled through the underworld, and was "reborn" every morning. The sun was also important to the success of Nile agriculture. Thus, insofar as the pharaoh was identified with the sun god, the continuity and success of the state was assured.

One of the primary sources for understanding Egyptian mythologies is the Book of the Dead, now more accurately titled The Book of Going Forth by Day. This refers to a large number of funeral texts spanning the entire history of ancient Egypt. From these texts and other sources scholars have pieced together the major stories of the gods and patterns of belief. Egyptian mythology was not a tidy, uniform package of stories, but contained a number of mutually exclusive, even contradictory ideas.

Toward the end of the Old Kingdom two brothers, Set and Osiris, and their two sisters, Nephtys and Isis, seriously competed with the sun god for primacy. These four gods were part of a grouping of nine gods that formed the Ennead of Heliopolis, an influential metropolitan center. Egyptian texts refer only to certain episodes of the Osiris myth, and the most complete account comes from Plutarch in the second century C.E. According to the story, Osiris was a good and popular god-king who was betrayed and killed by his evil brother, Set. Set dismembered Osiris into fourteen pieces and scattered the pieces in various places.

From the moment of the death of Osiris, Egypt suffered miseries hitherto unknown. Set's deserts encroached upon and parched fertile farmlands, causing famine. The people began to fight and steal for the meager remaining food. Mothers did not sleep at night, as the cries of their hungry children kept them awake. With the disruption of agriculture and irrigation, Set's kingdom of sand grew until it nearly reached the banks of the Nile. The despair was so great that the people envied the dead. (Bierlein 1994, 213)

When Nephtys and Isis discovered the deed, Isis (his wife as well as sister, according to the tradition of royal inbreeding) vowed to find the pieces and put the body back together. Being a "great magician," she was able to do so and even to become pregnant by him, but otherwise she could not bring life to him and had to bury him. When Horus, the posthumous son, grew up, he desired to avenge his father's death. He first tried the legal approach, taking the murder charge against Set to the court of deities. When the court seemed unable to act, Horus took matters into his own hands and killed Set in a monumental battle. Horus then went to the land of the dead, where he was recognized as Osiris's legitimate successor and crowned the new king of Egypt. At that point Horus was able to revive Osiris, who became ruler of the underworld, symbolic of resurrection and fertility, and judge of the dead for the rest of eternity.

Originally, the story of Osiris seems to have been merely the story of a vegetative cult, where Osiris's fate represented the flooding of the Nile in the spring and its recession in the fall, and/or the regular agricultural cycle of seed, growth, death, and rebirth. The story began to gain a greater significance when Horus became identified with the living pharaoh, which may have happened as early as 2800 B.C.E. That identification perhaps occurred because the immortality of Osiris could be functional for reinforcing the royal dynasty. If every living pharaoh is Horus and every recently deceased pharaoh is Osiris, the prosperity of the orderly succession is assured. The Osiris story, however, also grew in impact because it offered new levels of meaning for the general populace. This was a good story, with good and evil, familial loyalty, tribulations, and triumphs that offered many points of personal connection. It also suggested that resurrection from the dead was part of the natural order in a way that might include them as well.

Equpt

The Set and Osiris story underlay Egyptian convictions about what awaited them after death. The moral of the story seemed to be that evil deeds would eventually be repaid and that good would triumph. With Osiris as ruler of the underworld, certainly he would not allow evildoers to pass by him unscathed. Indeed, all funeral preparations became centered on the fateful meeting with Osiris. Unlike nearly all other ancient cultures with rulers of the dead, Osiris was a benign, moral figure. Also unlike most other ancient cultures, Egypt believed in an ethically based judgment after death. Egypt thus represents a major shift in afterlife concepts, and the whole idea of afterlife judgment may well have been pioneered by the Egyptians.

Just to reach the hall where Osiris sat in judgment was a task wherein the newly dead faced many perils. The deceased could mistakenly take routes that culminated in fiery dead ends where sinister demons lay in wait. Obviously, people were very concerned that they be able to conduct themselves successfully on this journey, so over time guidebooks were put together so people would know what was expected of them, what were the relevant mythologies, how to say the right prayers, magical formulas, and so on. In the beginning, this information was placed on the walls of the burial chamber, and scholars have called these sources The Pyramid Texts. Sometimes the information was placed on the wooden sarcophagi, and these sources are called The Coffin Texts. By the time of the New Kingdom, when many more parts of the populace had reason to hope for immortality, it was customary to put the information on a roll of papyrus and place the roll in the tomb. These form the basis for The Book of Going Forth by Day (or The Book of the Dead). However it was transmitted, the information was considered invaluable for a successful crossing into the afterlife.

The afterlife was experienced in various ways by the various parts of one's self. The tomb was the natural location of the khaibit, a shadowy, skeletal figure. The akh was experienced as a ghost or as an illuminated spirit, and could live either among humans, usually in the vicinity of the tomb, or in the next world. Relatives tended to address their concerns to the akh. The ka was the guardian spirit or life force and looked exactly like the person. This spiritual double tended to hover around the tomb. The ka was the part of the person that dwelt in statues of the person and was the aspect to which mortuary offerings were generally made. The ba was the breath or soul, the principle animating the person, both physically and psychically, which was pictured as a human-headed bird. The ba was able to perform all bodily functions, but shared with the akh the ability to exist as well among the gods.

How much of the following process the pharaoh had to undergo is unclear. The theology was that he entered the divine realm, that is, the circuit of the sun god, by right. They did not have to answer to anyone and did not have to visit Osiris in the underworld. Even so, the pharaohs sometimes gave evidence of anxiety about the journey. In general, the newly dead, in the form of their ba and ka, traveled in the boat of Re, the sun god, as he made his way across the sky. In the West, as Re reached the underworld with his load of new arrivals, the deceased disembarked and proceeded through seven gates, each with a gatekeeper, watcher, and herald. At each gate, and at several other instances, one would have to consult the Book of the Dead in order to recite the names and formulas that would allow further progress. In the tomb of a powerful official from the Old Kingdom is inscribed the boast: "I am an effective spirit who knows his magic spells" (As quoted in Murnane 1992, 41).

Finally, with the *ka* clad in white, Anubis would provide escort to the Hall of Justice. In the court proceedings, Thoth, an ibis-headed god of wisdom, acts as prosecutor, and Osiris sits on the judge's throne, flanked by Isis and Nephthys. Forty-two divine figures sit as jurors. Again using the Book of the Dead and as much eloquence as they can muster, the deceased make an accounting of their lives. In particular, the dead needed to be able to recite a ritual confession of innocence, which might include such lines as the following:

Hail to thee, great god, lord of Truth. . . . I have committed no sin against people. . . . I allowed no one to hunger. I caused no one to weep.

I did not murder.
I caused no man misery.
I did not decrease the offering of the gods.
I did not commit adultery.
I did not diminish the grain measure.
I did not diminish the land measure.
I did not deflect the index of the scales.
I did not take milk from the mouth of the child.
I did not report evil of a servant to his master.
I did not catch the fish in their pools.
I am purified four times. (Book of the Dead, ch. 125, in Nigosian 1990, 30–31.)

After the talking was done, the heart of the deceased was placed on a scale over against a feather, symbolic of truth. Sometimes instead of a feather an image of Maat, the goddess of Truth, was used. If the heart was too heavy, the sinful party would be considered to have failed the test. According to some accounts, the unfortunate person would then be eaten and destroyed by a demon called Ammit. According to other accounts, the person would be placed in a fiery pit, attended by evil-minded demons who tortured them. If, however, the heart balanced the feather, all was well and the person, now with a new body called the sahu, was free to enter the happy world of the Sekhet Aaru (Field of Rushes). The hardest part was over, but there were still some dangers or trials to face, as the sahu was not invulnerable. The Book of the Dead was still useful for spells to protect one from crocodiles, suffocation, and any number of other problems.

The location of the land of the blessed is unclear, but it may have been conceived as up in the sky somewhere. In any case, finally arriving at the land of the blessed, the deceased would be able to make use of all the items left for their use in the crypt, such as food, beds, chairs, utensils, etc. One could also use magical spells to turn models of servants, or *shabti*, that were left in the tomb, into living servants, and spend the rest of eternity in comfort.

See also Satan; Temple of Set
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End of Days

End of Days is a rehash of the overused Satanwants-to-father-a-child-who-will-rule-the-earth plot. The designated bride-to-be was chosen twenty years ago, and raised by devil-worshipers. The only thing that sets this 2000 film apart from its predecessors is that the good guy who is going to rescue Satan's unwilling fiancée is Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Arnold's opponent, who is the Devil himself, shows up on earth in the body of an investment banker—an appropriate profession, considering the demise of most ordinary people's portfolios over the past couple of years, though it's still hard to top Satan's profession in Devil's Advocate.

Enoch

Enoch is mentioned in Genesis as the father of Methuselah, the longest lived of the long-lived descendants of Adam. In a pattern that was typical of the so-called intertestamental period, several books (none ever accepted as canonical) were composed in the name of Enoch. These works, especially the Book of Enoch, are extremely important for the angel lore they contain. The

Book of Enoch is sometimes referred to as 1 Enoch to distinguish it from another book, the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, which is often called 2 Enoch. 1 Enoch and 2 Enoch are also sometimes called, respectively, the Ethiopic Enoch and the Slavonic Enoch after the earliest languages in which complete copies of these books were found.

The most important angel narrative in the Book of Enoch is the tale of how a group of 200 angels lusted after mortal females. They then fell from grace and became devils after leaving their heavenly abode under the leadership of the angel Semyaza and contracting unions with human women. These angels also encouraged other sinful activities by teaching humans about such things as cosmetics (for women)—encouraging vanity—and weapons (for men)—to use in engaging in battle with each other. The core of the narrative is contained in Chapters 7 and 8:

It happened after the sons of men had multiplied in those days, that daughters were born to them elegant and beautiful. And when the angels, the sons of heaven, beheld them, they became enamored of them, saying to each other: Come, let us select for ourselves wives from the progeny of men, and let us beget children. (7:1–2)

Then they took wives, each choosing for himself; whom they began to approach, and with whom they cohabited; teaching them sorcery, incantation, and the dividing of roots and trees. And they conceiving brought forth giants; whose stature was each three hundred cubits. These devoured all which the labor of men produced; until it became impossible to feed them; when they turned themselves against men, in order to devour them. (7:10–13)

When earth was in complete anarchy, God sent the archangel Michael down from heaven to confine the corrupt angels in the valleys of earth until doomsday. The giants that these angels had fathered (the Nephilim) went on wreaking havoc until (according to such sources as the Book of Jubilees) they were wiped out in the Flood. Scripture, however, records later, post-Flood tribes of giants who were descendants of the Nephilim (e.g., Num. 13:33; Deut. 2:11; Josh. 12:4; etc.).

This story, which at one time was widely known, eventually disappeared from popular folklore because it clashed with the official church position, which was that angels were beings of pure spirit and thus could not engage in sexual intercourse. A brief allusion to the Enoch tale can be found in Genesis 6:2–4, where it says that the "sons of God" (which, when seen through the lens of the Book of Enoch, are angels) took mortal women as wives.

The early church Fathers clearly regarded the Book of Enoch as scripture, as is evident in many places in the New Testament canon. The Epistle of Jude, for example, refers directly to 1 Enoch when he states that "Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all." (Jude 1:14–15).

See also Book of Jubilees; Judaism **For Further Reading:**

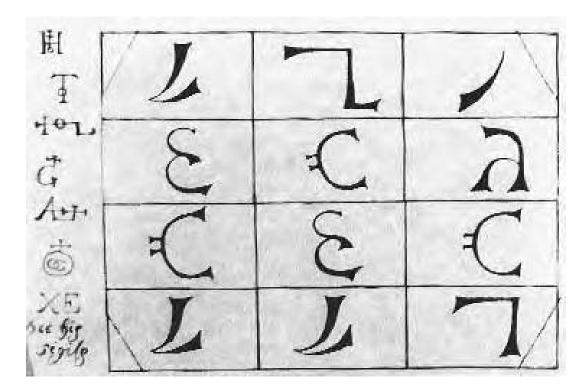
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Enochian Magic

Enochian Magic is a system of magic teaching communication with angels and spirits, and with travel through different planes of consciousness. Its origins can be traced back to the sixteenth century, when English astrologer John Dee joined Edward Kelly in an attempt to communicate with the spirits through the practice known as scrying.

Communication with the spirits was possible thanks to the use of the Enochian language, a complex tongue of unknown origin. Its melodic sound is similar to Sanskrit, Greek, or Arabic. Each Enochian letter features a numerical value, and is associated with elemental, planetary, and tarot properties.



Some letters from the secret Enochian language, used in Elizabethan times. This section is taken from the center of a magic table used by occultist John Dee to raise spirits. (Fortean Picture Library)

The Nineteen Calls, or Keys, of Enochian were used by Dee and Kelly in order to conjure the angels. The first two keys conjured the element Spirit, the next sixteen conjured the four elements, whereas the nineteenth Key invoked any of thirty aethyrs or aires. Kelly allegedly spoke Enochian when the angels appeared in his crystal. One of the procedures used during the communication consisted of setting up charts filled with letters to which the angels would point with a rod in order to spell out messages.

After the deaths of Dee and Kelly, interest in Enochian magic vanished. However, a revival occurred in the nineteenth century through the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, and later through Aleister Crowley's commentaries, the most extensive of which was published in *The Vision and the Voice* (1911). Crowley claimed to be able to invoke all the aethyrs in the Nineteenth Key, and recorded his communications with spirits and astral beings. Modern Enochian magic is characterized by two main operations: invoking spirits, and traveling to the aethyrs. Enochian

magic is best known to modern Satanists indirectly because of Anton LaVey's inclusion of some of the Keys (edited to emphasize infernal connotations) in the latter part of *The Satanic Bible*.

See also Aleister Crowley; John Dee; Anton LaVey; Magic and Magical Groups

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Ereshkigal

In common with most traditional religious systems, the Mesopotamians populated the cosmos with an expansive pantheon (some sources say several thousand) of gods and goddesses. Some of these were distinguished as the patron deities of particular city-states, so that the importance of various gods tended to vary in

different time periods according to the relative strength of their respective city. Thus Marduk, patron of Babylon, rose from the status of a rather obscure divinity to become king of the gods with the rise of Babylon's political fortunes.

Like the gods of the Greek and Roman pantheons, Mesopotamian divinities were pictured as human beings "drawn large." The gods were, in other words, not much more than strong human beings, possessing magical powers and immortality. Humanity, for its part, was created out of clay to serve the gods. Unlike Judaism, Christianity, or Islam, this creation did not include the fashioning of an immortal soul. Hence the afterlife was conceived of as a pale shadow of earthly life, much like the Jewish Sheol or the Greek Hades.

Mesopotamians, like many of the other traditional peoples of the world, imagined the universe as a three-tiered cosmos of heaven (above the earth), earth, and hell (beneath the earth). Heaven was reserved for deities, most of whom resided there. Living human beings occupied the middle world. The spirits of the dead resided beneath the earth.

The chief deity of the Mesopotamian underworld was the goddess Ereshkigal. Although she could be harsh, Ereshkigal was not as irredeemably evil as the Christian Satan. The dead stood before her and she pronounced their death sentence. Simultaneously, their names were entered in the ranks of the dead by the scribe Geshtinana. Rather than enjoying her job, the queen of the underworld was portrayed as saddened by the fate of many of her subjects: "I weep for young men forced to abandon sweethearts. I weep for girls wrenched from their lovers' laps. For the infant child I weep, expelled before its time" (Dalley 1989, 156).

One of the more widespread Mesopotamian stories involved the descent of the goddess Ishtar to the underworld. The first version of this tale was recorded by the Sumerians, whose name for Ishtar was Inanna. The second version was a later, Akkadian text. Ishtar was the most important goddess in all periods of Mesopotamian history, the parallel of the Mediterranean Aphrodite/Venus. Precisely why Ishtar should have undertaken such a perilous journey is obscure. Some

interpreters have speculated that Ishtar wished to usurp her sister and extend her rule to the underworld; others that she simply wished to visit her sister.

Before embarking, she has the wisdom to inform her chief minister that she is about to undertake a journey to the underworld, and instructs him to appeal to the gods in heaven to intervene should it become necessary to retrieve her from her sister's realm. As it turns out, Ishtar is unable to return. Because Inanna/Ishtar is the goddess of sex and therefore the goddess of fertility, her absence from the earth is immediately noticed: "No bull mounted a cow, no donkey impregnated a jenny. No young man impregnated a girl. The young man slept in his private room. The girl slept in the company of her friends." In order to reactivate the natural forces of life and reproduction, the gods in heaven are forced to come to Inanna/Ishtar's aid.

The ancient Mesopotamians also told several variants of another, more upbeat, story of descent to the underworld, the tale of Nergal and Ereshkigal. In this story Nergal, as a consequence of an affront to Ereshkigal's vizier, is required to appear in the queen of the underworld's court to offer an apology. Ereshkigal finds herself attracted to this upper world god and attempts to seduce him by allowing Nergal, the Mesopotamian Mars, to see her undress for a bath. He resists her charms at first, but gives in on her second try. After a full week of lovemaking, Nergal steals away before dawn. When she hears that he has abandoned her, Ereshkigal falls to the ground and cries. She then sends her vizier to heaven, demanding that they return Nergal to her:

Ever since I was a child, I have not known the companionship of other girls. I have not known the romping of children. As mistress of the dead, I am not pure enough to take my rightful place among the other great gods. I have dwelt alone in sadness, but the god whom you sent to me has opened my heart to love. Return him to me! Return him to me or I shall raise up the dead, and they will eat the living, until the dead outnumber the living! (Dalley 1989, 173).

This threat to upset the balance between the living and the dead would result in an intolerable situation that, like Ishtar's disappearance from the land of the living, would eventually destroy everything, including the gods. It is thus a threat to which the celestial divinities must respond.

In one version of this myth, Ereshkigal threatens to kill Nergal. Nergal responds by invading the underworld, assaulting its queen, and forcing her to marry him. In other versions, however, Nergal returns for a happy reunion: "Laughing joyously, he entered her wide courtyard and approached her. He pulled her from the throne, and began to stoke her tresses. The two embraced, and went passionately to bed" (Dalley 1989, 176).

Subsequently, Nergal becomes Ereshkigal's consort. Yet another myth recounts what happens when Nergal tarries so long in his wife's bed that he neglects to perform his function as god of war and killing. This story begins with an image of Nergal (who in this story is referred to by his Akkadian name of Irra or Erra, scorched earth) lying awake in bed beside his wife, experiencing a rather restless night. At length, the silence of the nuptial chamber is disturbed by the voice of his weapon, Sibittu. Sibittu calls Nergal to embark on a campaign of war, citing evidence of the general decline of the world as evidence that the equilibrium of things has been disturbed:

Lions and wolves, no longer hunted by Nergal, attack the cattle and carry them away. The shepherds, though watchful, are powerless to stop them. Other creatures invade the fields and carry away the grain. Most importantly, by failing to exercise his function as god of war and death, the population of men and animals has multiplied to the point where the Earth groans from the weight of them. The increased population has also made the Earth so noisy that the celestial gods cannot get any peace.

Recognizing the truth of Sibittu's observations, Nergal resolves to embark on a campaign of violence, but it is an unusual kind of conflict in which the normal order of things is inverted: "He who knew nothing of weapons drew his dagger. He who knew nothing of projectiles drew back the arrow in his bow. He who knew nothing of war engaged in hand-to-hand conflict. He who did not know how to run flew like a bird. The weak defeated the strong. The cripple outstripped the swift" (Dalley 1989, 303).

It is a world turned upside down, in which even sunlight has turned to shadow. After the task of destruction is complete, the cosmos is reborn as a fresh creation. The various inversions (only a few of which are cited here) in the story exemplify the renewal symbolism of reversal that one finds worldwide in the myths and rituals of many traditional societies. The logic of such myth/rituals is that the old must be destroyed before the new can grow, and if the old is not periodically obliterated, then the cosmos will decay and run down.

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Evocation and Invocation

Evocations and invocations refer to two methods of calling spirits and deities into magical and religious rituals. Evocations, used in ceremonial magic and sorcery, are elaborate commands, comprised of detailed gestures directed to an entity that appears and does whatever the magician asks. The entities are usually spirits that are evoked to appear in a triangle outside the magician's protective magic circle. The magician is supposed to purify himself through fasting and prayer, and to purify his magical tools. Invocations, on the other hand, are used in religious ceremonies as well as in some magic rituals. They constitute an invitation to an entity to be present and to protect the rite. The details of such a ritual may vary, in that entities can

be invoked by name, as well as by visual and sensory perceptions associated with them.

The invocation of Satan used by the original Church of Satan is contained in *The Satanic Bible*. It opens with the following words:

In the name of Satan, the Ruler of the earth, the King of the world, I command the forces of Darkness to bestow their Infernal power upon me!

Open wide the gate of Hell and come forth from the abyss to greet me as your brother (sister) and friend!

Grant me the indulgences of which I speak! I have taken thy name as a part of myself! I live as the beasts of the field, rejoicing in the fleshly life! I favor the just and curse the rotten!

By all the Gods of the Pit, I command that these things of which I speak shall come to pass!

Come forth and answer to your names by manifesting my desires!

The invocation then continues with a long list of names that have been applied to the Prince of Darkness. The core of the ceremony—which in the LaVeyan system is typically a lust, compassion, or destruction ritual—immediately follows this invocation.

See also Curses; Anton LaVey; Magic and Magical Groups

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The Exorcist

The Exorcist (originally released in 1973; rereleased in 2000) is, as the title indicates, the story of an exorcism. It was the most successful horror movie of all time. This film quickly became a cultural phenomenon. Audiences were spell-



The Exorcist (1973) (Kobol collection/Warner Brothers)

bound, reacting with a combination of fear, revulsion, and fascination. In the film's wake, more than a few people began claiming that they were possessed. Despite the sensationalistic appeal of the graphic content of the exorcism, the real core of The Exorcist's narrative is the crisis of faith of the younger priest, who must regain his faith in order to save the possessed girl. By the end of the movie the Devil is thwarted and the power of the Christian God reaffirmed.

Expressions

Western languages carry numerous expressions bearing a diabolical reference of some sort. In English, the word hell has even been regarded as an item of profanity, though this has become less the case in recent years. Familiar expressions along this line are "Go to hell" and "To hell with you," which are commonly used to convey disagreement and anger. "Oh hell" expresses frustration and exasperation. Other infernal expressions are harder to characterize.

"Playing Devil's advocate" refers to taking up a critical, oppositional perspective toward some

idea or proposal. "The highway to hell is paved with good intentions" expresses the idea that good intentions are not enough to guarantee a positive outcome to a certain course of action. "War is hell," a remark attributed to General William T. Sherman, is a straightforward judgment that war is horrifyingly bad. Similarly, Vietnam war and other veterans sometimes wear shirts or sport bumper stickers asserting, "When I die I'm going to heaven; I've spent my time in hell."

In a more humorous vein, people sometimes say that they are "having a devil (or a hell) of a good time." This expression alludes to the association between pleasure and the diabolical. A similar association is reflected in a variety of sayings about "raising hell," which imply that one is having such a good time that hell is being raised up from the underworld and manifesting on the surface in a wild party.

See also Advertising; Humor For Further Reading:

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Fallen Anoels

In theology, the Fall refers to humanity's fall from grace into sin. It is the Fall that is responsible for what is called *original sin*, meaning that everyone is born in sin—and thus in need of salvation—because of Adam and Eve's disobedience of God's command to not eat of the Tree of Good and Evil in the Garden of Eden. Simply by being born into this world, every human being inherits the sin of our distant ancestors. Although many contemporary theologians have reinterpreted the story of the Fall less literally, this is the essence of the biblical narrative.

Less well known is the story of the fall of the angels. For whatever reason—some accounts say that Lucifer was jealous of God's love of Adam, but in any event it was some form of pride—Lucifer declared himself as great as God, and led a rebellion of angels against the celestial order. Defeated, the Devil and his followers were tossed out of heaven, and subsequently have continued to war against God by attempting to ruin the earth, God's creation. Traditional theology even portrays the serpent who conversed with Eve in the Garden as Satan in disguise, thus attributing the fallen prince of angels with responsibility for causing humankind to fall.

A less well known alternative narrative, which is best preserved in the apocryphal Book of Enoch, is that a group of angels lusted after mortal females. They then fell after leaving their heavenly abode and copulating with them. This alternative story, which at one time was widely known, eventually disappeared from popular folklore because it clashed with the official church position (or what became the official position by the late Middle Ages), which was that angels were beings of pure spirit and thus could not engage in sexual intercourse. A brief allusion to the Enoch tale can be found in Genesis 6:2–4, where it says that the "sons of God" (which, when seen through the lens of the Book of Enoch, are angels) took mortal women as wives.

One contemporary religious leader, Elizabeth Clare Prophet, has reexamined these ancient stories of fallen angels—particularly the Book of Enoch and other early works—and concluded that there were actually two distinct celestial falls. In the first one, some of the celestial host were ejected out of heaven as a result of rebellion. In the second one, a group of angels fell after copulating with human females. This bit of speculative theology, as well as the full texts of the relevant apocryphal books, is contained in her fascinating Forbidden Mysteries of Enoch: Fallen Angels and the Origins of Evil.

See also Book of Jubilees; Enoch; Satan; War in Heaven

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Familiars

Familiars are spirits associated with witches who are traditionally portrayed as serving their masters by carrying out their wishes. In addition to aiding witches by carrying their bewitchments to the intended victims, familiars also acted as the infernal equivalent of guardian angels, providing witches with protection from attacks. They usually take the form of animals, and are sometimes conceptualized as having the power to shape-shift. In terms of the older stereotype of witches, cats were an especially favored form of familiar, which partially explains the periodic cat massacres that swept through Europe during the Middle Ages.

Familiars were said to be given to witches by the Devil or by other witches. They required blood, and their masters either sacrificed animals for them or provided blood to them directly through protuberances on the surface of their own skin—termed witches' teats or witches' marks. Individuals with supernumerary nipples—sometimes called monkey teats, a not uncommon condition—were especially suspect as witches. Tortured by agents of the Inquisition, accused witches often confessed to feeding imps by such means. Some of the witches executed in Salem, Massachusetts, were said to have had witches' marks with which they fed diabolical familiars.

See also Imp For Further Reading:

Guiley, Rosemary. *The Encyclopedia of Witches and Witchcraft*. New York: Facts on File, 1989.

Fantasia

The final segment of this 1940 Disney animation film features the dead rising and dancing before the diabolical master Chernobog, who comes alive and causes graves to open. The great masters of classical composition, Tchaikovsky, Bach, Beethoven, etc. provide the music for this ballet of evil. Fantasy art, a style that depicts themes of the dark and macabre, sets the stage for the spectacle of souls being ravaged by flames and demonic forces that accomplish their dark deeds by night and hide before dawn breaks. Disney has done a superb job of creating entertainment that impresses imaginations all over the world with fearful, frightening images—fodder for nightmares in young and old alike.

Faust

The Devil's pact idea entered into the popular consciousness of the Middle Ages via the tale of Theophilus, who according to legend had been the treasurer of a church in the sixth century. Unfairly dismissed from his job, he sought revenge with the aid of a magician. This sorcerer invoked the Devil, Theophilus sold his soul, and he was subsequently restored to his position. However, he eventually regretted his actions, prayed to the Virgin Mary, and was saved. The legend of Theophilus provided a model for the later narrative of Faust—easily the most famous man to sell his soul to Satanthough Faust was motivated by pride rather than by the urge for revenge. Also, unlike Theophilus, Faust did not escape his infernal fate in most versions of this story.

The story of Faust became the basis for a series of literary productions, including plays by Johann von Goethe and Christopher Marlowe. In the short story "The Devil and Daniel Webster," an American version of the Devil-pact narrative by Stephen Vincent Benet, a poor New Hampshire farmer, Jabez Stone, sells his soul in exchange for seven years of prosperity. Near the end of the term, however, Stone regrets his bargain and hires the famous attorney Daniel Webster to defend him. Webster successfully pleads Stone's case and wins his acquittal from an infernal jury. Other literary treatments of this theme are more subtle. For example, in Oscar Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Gray, a young man wills that his picture age rather than himself:

"How sad it is!" murmured Dorian Gray, with his eyes still fixed upon his own portrait. "How

Film

sad it is! I shall grow old, horrible and dreadful. But this picture will remain always young. It will never be older than this particular day of June. . . . If it were only the other way! If it were I who was to be always young, and the picture that was to grow old! For that—for that—I would give everything! Yes, there is nothing in the whole world I would not give! I would give my very soul for that!" (168)

Although no demon pops up to demand that Gray sign a contract in blood, his wish subsequently comes true. Wilde's novel was later adapted to become a film by the same name.

See also Pact with the Devil *For Further Reading:*

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Fear No Evil

This 1981 film features apocalyptic battle scenes developed from visions taken out of the Bible's Book of Revelation. Heavenly warriors defend the earth from evil demons and ghouls who fight to defend the incarnation of Lucifer embodied in a screwed-up teenage loner.

Film

Outside of the church, the most influential source of information about Satan and his minions is Hollywood. The image of the diabolical in film is diverse, reflecting an ambiguous attitude toward matters associated with Satan. In the Western cultural tradition, the Devil represents much more than absolute evil. Although Satan and his minions are often called upon to play traditional roles as representatives of pure evil—particularly in horror stories and horror films—our culture

has also invested the Devil with certain attractive positive traits. For example, because of the church's aversion to sexuality, the diabolical became associated with sex and sensuality. Satan is also traditionally portrayed as a proud, clever, creative nonconformist who was willing to question the status quo—attractive characteristics, particularly in a work of fiction.

The conflicting images of the demonic we have inherited from the past become yet more ambiguous in the contemporary world where only a minority of the population accept the real existence of an absolutely evil Prince of Darkness. Minus a serious belief in Satan and damnation, infernal images can be used positively to represent such attractive aspects of life as sex (as reflected in numerous porn movies; for example, the 1972 "classic," *The Devil in Miss Jones*). The diabolical has also been trivialized, so that images of the Devil can be deployed to sell hot sauce, for example, because of the association between hell and extreme heat.

Another consequence of the eclipse of traditional religiosity is that the seriousness with which conservative religious people regard the Devil often strikes the modern secular sensitivity as incredible. Partly as a consequence of the clash between these contrasting sensibilities, the diabolical has become a rich source of humor. Satan is both a jokester and an appropriate target of humor. The humorous Satan has been especially important for box office films, so much so that the comedic Devil has become almost as familiar a character as the horror film Devil. Recent movies in the former category include *South Park* (1999) and *Little Nicky* (2000).

Other, nonhorror films featuring the diabolical are more difficult to categorize. One early silent movie of note was the documentary-style Scandinavian film *Haxan* (1922), retitled *Witch-craft through the Ages* for the English-speaking world. The film is probably best known for its reenactments of infernal folklore, such as witches performing the so-called "kiss of shame." Parts of this work were adapted for use in the concluding segment of the documentary film on Anton LaVey, *Speak of the Devil*. Another infernal theme that need not be approached as either comedy or

horror is the "deal with the Devil" This notion has formed the basis for more than a few films, such as, in very different ways, such early movies as *Angel on My Shoulder* (1946) and *Alias Nick Beal* (1949).

A threshold time for diabolically inspired movies was the late 1960s through the mid-1970s. This period saw the release of three influential films that have been described as "Satanic blockbusters"—Rosemary's Baby (1968), The Exorcist (1973), and The Omen (1976). During the same period, Hammer Studios produced a number of relevant B movies, including film adaptations of several Dennis Wheatley novels. These films uniformly feature a Satanic conspiracy, with the sole exception of The Exorcist. The Exorcist was the most successful horror movie of all time.

This film quickly became a cultural phenomenon. Audiences were spellbound, reacting with a combination of fear, revulsion, and fascination. In the film's wake, more than a few people began claiming that they were possessed. Despite the sensationalistic appeal of its graphic content, however, the real core of *The Exorcist*'s narrative was the crisis of faith of the younger priest, who had to regain his faith in order to save the possessed girl. Thus by the end of the movie the Devil is thwarted and the power of the Christian god reaffirmed. Like *The Exorcist*, the great majority of horror movies featuring a diabolical theme adhere rather closely to traditional theology.

Although modern religious Satanists such as Anton LaVey disliked *The Exorcist*, they tended to be positive about horror movies like *Rosemary's Baby* and *The Omen*. In an interview in Gavin Baddeley's *Lucifer Rising*, LaVey, who claimed to have been a technical advisor on the latter two films, went so far as to assert that *Rosemary's Baby* "did for Satanism what *Birth of a Nation* did for the Ku Klux Klan; our membership [in the Church of Satan] soared after its release" (cited in Baddeley 1999, 88).

What LaVey fails to realize (or neglects to mention), however, is that the pervasive horror movie theme of Satanic conspiracies—whether the Satanists end up being portrayed negatively, positively, or in shades of gray—helped to shape the Satanic conspiracy theories that became so

influential during the ritual abuse scares of the 1980s and 1990s. As Andrew Tudor, the author of *Monsters and Mad Scientists*, observes, the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s "is dominated by a growing concern with Satanic cults and conspiracies." (Tudor 1989, 170) Similarly, Baddeley notes that the movies of the 1970s "established Satanic cultists as stock movie monsters" (Baddeley 1999, 86). Thus while the publication of *Michelle Remembers* in 1980 may have been—as many analysts have asserted—the precipitating event that set the scare into motion, it was Hollywood that plowed the ground of cultural awareness in which the seed of the Satanic ritual abuse idea was able to take root and grow.

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Fire (Hellfire)

An essential component of the traditional conception of hell is that it is a hot, fiery place where sinners are punished by being burned. This characteristic is reflected in everything from revivalist sermons warning about the wages of sin to infernal jokes. It is even common to allude to hell as "the hot place." The most general source of this notion appears to be the intersection between observations of volcanic activity and the widespread practice of burying the dead. It is only a short step to associate the afterlife with residence in a volcanolike realm.

In Western culture, the immediate source of the fire and brimstone image (brimstone is an antique word for sulfur) is the Book of Revelation. In the Revised Standard Version, the relevant passage reads: "But as for the cowardly, the faithless, the polluted, as for murderers, fornicators, sorcerers, idolaters, and all liars, their lot shall be in the lake that burns with fire and sulphur" (Rev. 21:9). This vision of a fiery lake seems to be taken more or less directly from the experience of witnessing hot lava flows. Zoroastrian eschatology is also drawing from that same experience when it postulates that in the final judgment everyone will be put through an ordeal of fire—pictured as a river of molten metal—in which good individuals will have their dross burned away and evil people will be consumed.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, the Zoroastrian volcanic image is combined with the idea of Gehenna. Gehenna originally referred to the Hinnon Valley south of Jerusalem, which was said to have been the site of human sacrifices to Moloch by the original inhabitants of the area. After the Hebrews moved in, the valley was used as a garbage dump where trash was burned, giving off a bad odor. The double association with human sacrifice and burning garbage made it a useful candidate for describing hell. The Hebrew prophets often referred to Gehenna by name when warning about the postmortem punishment of sinners. Christianity adopted this image directly from Judaism.

See also Hell and Heaven; Judaism; Moloch *For Further Reading*:

Cohn-Sherbok, Daniel. "Death and Immortality in the Jewish Tradition." In Paul and Linda Badham, eds. *Death and Immortality in the Religions of the World*. New York: Paragon House, 1987.

Scott, Miriam Van. *Encyclopedia of Hell.* New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 1998.

First Church of Satan

The First Church of Satan (FCoS), founded by Lord Egan is a self-described "heretical" offshoot of the original Church of Satan. Egan, a former member of Anton LaVey's young Church of Satan in the early 1970s, notes in an essay posted on the First Church of Satan's website that he "fondly recalls the libertarian, Dionysian bent of the Church in those days." Although acknowledging its LaVeyan lineage, the FCoS also seeks to recover the teachings of Aleister Crowley:

[The First Church of Satan] recognizes that much of LaVeyan Satanism in its original form was a simplified version of the teachings of the great dark magus Aleister Crowley. We believe, as did Crowley, in the sovereign uniqueness of each individual—that "every man and every woman is a star," at least potentially—and in the right, if not the utter responsibility, of each human being to cast off the preformatted identity handed down by society in order to remake the self, to become "God-like." (FCoS website FAQ)

Thus, similar to the Temple of Set, the First Church of Satan regards LaVey as having once been a great magus, who, for whatever reason, "squandered his gift and his power, and became bitter and alienated." Regarding the current Church of Satan as a pale shadow of its former self that attempts to control its members, the First Church of Satan attempts to "maintain a Satanic organization that is not hostile and manipulative toward its own members."

See also Church of Satan; Temple of Set *For Further Reading:*

Baddeley, Gavin. *Lucifer Rising: Sin, Devil Worship* and Rock'n'Roll. London: Plexus, 1999.
"Frequently Asked Questions."
http://www.churchofsatan.org/faq.html.

Flight

One of the powers traditionally associated with Satan, including his demons and witches, was the ability to fly. Demons and the Devil, as fallen angels, retain their wings. But in the medieval period and even into the Renaissance, witches, sorcerers and demons were also thought of as flying with an implement, such as a pitchfork, shovel or broom. The speed of flying broomsticks and forks was said to be very high. Satan's minions were also attributed with the ability to transport others through the air. It was further claimed that witches and sorcerers could ride demons who were transformed into such animals as goats, cows, horses, and wolves, while the Devil could carry people through the air with no visible means of transport.

The notion that witches and magicians possessed the power to fly was rejected during the witch-hunts, and as early as the tenth century it was

proclaimed impossible by the Canon Episcopi. However, in the late fifteenth century, the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the bible of witch-hunters and judges, asserted that this view was erroneous. During the Inquisition, many witches confessed to flying. This folklore has persevered across the centuries.

Magical ointments were said to be used by witches, sorcerers, and necromancers to enable them to fly. A primary ingredient of these ointments was the fat of a young child slain before baptism. The broom is popularly known as a means of travel for witches. Witches were reported to be able to fly brooms up chimneys. While a broom could be turned to a witch's purpose by means of flying ointment, a broomstick placed across the threshold of a house was supposed to keep witches out.

The notion of demons and witches riding farming implements through the air to diabolical gatherings may derive from the practice of pre-Christian pagans who mounted brooms and pitchforks and rode them like hobbyhorses in the fields, dancing and leaping, as part of fertility rites meant to help the crops grow. Before witches were recorded as riding on brooms, they were said to have danced with them, sometimes holding the brooms up high in the air and sometimes dancing astride them. In addition to riding brooms and shovels, sixteenth-century art shows witches riding pokers, benches, and animals.

Sorcerers also flew on brooms, although they were more often depicted as riding on pitchforks. Witches have been shown with the broom brushes down to sweep their tracks from the sky and with the brush up, often with a candle in the brush to light the way.

See also Demons; Satan
For Further Reading:
Gordon, Stuart. The Encyclopedia of Myths and Legends. London: Headline, 1991.
Guiley, Rosemary Ellen. The Encyclopedia of Witches and Witchcraft. New York: Facts on File, 1989.
Valiente, Doreen. An ABC of Witchcraft. Custer, WA: Phoenix, 1973.

Fraternitas Rosae Crucis

The Fraternitas Rosae Crucis, founded in 1858 by physician P. B. Randolph (1825–1875), is generally considered the oldest Rosicrucian body. The grand

lodge, that was first established in San Francisco in 1861, was closed and reestablished first in Boston (1871), then in San Francisco (1874), and finally in Philadelphia (1895).

Among the teachings of the order is a system of occult sexuality, that was termed *Eulistic*, a term deriving from the Greek Eleusinian mysteries, believed to be mysteries of sex. A Provisional Grand Lodge of Eulis was established in Tennessee, but internal problems among the members led to its closing down. Randolph's teachings on occult sexuality soon became the source for the sex magick system developed by the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO), which however was in contradiction with Randolph's thought on the moral level. OTO teachings have been denounced as black magick by twentieth-century followers of Randolph.

Among other teachings of the order are the basic ideas of the "secret schools," including reincarnation and karma, as well as the Law of Justice and noninterference with the rights of others. Members learn how to contact the hierarchies of the heavenly realm, as well as the process of transmutation, and the acquisition of health and strength through the dismissal of thoughts concerning weakness and age. They believe in the fatherhood of God and the ultimate sisterhood/ brotherhood of humanity. While the Aeth Priesthood represents the inner circle of the Fraternity, the Church of Illumination constitutes the outer court group that interacts with the public. The focus of the church is upon manisism, which is the recognition of the equality of man and woman, as well as the name of the new world leader who teaches the fundamentals of the divine law. According to the church, the Manistic age began in the late nineteenth century, following the previous Egyptian and Christian ages.

After Randolph, the order was led respectively by Freeman B. Dowd, Edward H. Brown (1907), and R. Swinburne Clymer (1922), author of numerous books, who was recently succeeded by his son, Emerson M. Clymer. Authority of the order is represented by the Council of Three, whereas the highest office is held by the Hierarch of Eulis. The order's literature is distributed by the Beverly Hall Corporation in Quakertown, Pennsylvania.

See also Magic and Magical Groups **For Further Reading:**

Clymer, R. Swinburne. *The Rosicrucian Fraternity in America*. Quakertown, PA: Rosicrucian Foundation, 1935.

Randolph, Paschal Beverly. Eulis, Affectional Alchemy. Quakertown, PA: Confederation of Initiates, 1930.

Fraternity of Light

The Fraternity of Light, formed in Philadelphia by a group of cabalistic magicians, derives from the tradition of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, although it has no organizational connection.

According to the fraternity, individuals are basically a spark of divine consciousness, which is eternal and periodically shows itself in a series of different forms, including the most dense one, the physical body. At the moment of death, the spark leaves the physical, whereas after three days the less dense bodies leave the more dense. Since the spark can be attracted to a vortex created during the sex act of two individuals, a new set of bodies may be created when the woman's egg is fertilized. Through this process of reincarnation the spark evolves until it no longer needs a physical body. Everyone will complete this evolution, and the purpose of the fraternity is to help people to speed this process, through a set of lessons and involvement in ritual practice.

Among the teachings of the fraternity is a course of philosophy in two levels, after which the neophytes can be accepted into either the Order of the Holy Grail, which offers courses in a Celtic approach to magic, or the Coven of Diana, which explores witchcraft, mysticism, and moon magic. After completing one of these courses, the initiate may apply for full membership through the Order of the Golden Sword. At the beginning members, who must abstain from the use of illegal drugs, are supposed to attend a twenty-lesson series in ritual magic.

Members, who become gradually involved in a series of rituals, are introduced to the fraternity's holy book, the Scroll of Daath. The fraternity's rituals focus on the All-Mother, and the importance of the high priestess as the chief spiritual guide and ritual leader of the group. The Group Guide, the High Priest, and the High Priestess are the heads of the Fraternity, whereas the Circle of the Pentacle, and the Brotherhood of the Cup represent the core of the fraternity.

See also Magic and Magical Groups **For Further Reading:**

Melton, J. Gordon. The Encyclopedia of American Religion. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 5th ed., 1996.The Path of Light. Philadelphia: Fraternity of Light, 1974.

Fraternity of the Hidden Light

Fraternity of the Hidden Light is the English name of the fraternity known as Fraternitas L. V. X. Occulta. Very similar to the Builders of the Adytum, it originated from the American section of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (OGD). It is claimed that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the head and three officers of the OGD reorganized the order as a mystery school dedicated to the return of the New Age or Age of Aquarius. This tradition has been inherited by the present heads of the fraternity, assuming a more public profile in the mid-1980s.

The main purposes of the fraternity include: (1) acting as a modern repository of the ancient wisdom; (2) training members for selfless service to humanity through application of the ancient wisdom; and (3) promulgating the ancient wisdom. The writings of the legendary Egyptian magus Hermes Mercurious Trismegistus and the cabala represent the main source of the fraternity's teachings, which include tarot, alchemy, and astrology, as well as occult psychology.

Members of the fraternity, who work through instruction in the occult, meditation, and ritual, is characterized by three levels. The first level trains new initiates into wisdom, love, and power, whereas the second level is formed by the initiates that have developed harmony and balance, and whose higher self is in control of their lives. Finally, the third level is composed of the Great Adepts and Masters of the ages, guiding the fraternity from the inner realms. Paul A. Clark is the present head of the fraternity.

See also Magic and Magical Groups **For Further Reading:**

Clark, Paul A. *The Book of the Rose*. Covina, CA: Fraternity of the Hidden Light, 1985.

Fraternity (Society) of the Inner Light

Violet Mary Firth was born in 1891 to a family of Christian Scientists. In her twenties she was a law analyst at a medical-psychological clinic in London, and began to study psychology to work on her own development. In 1919 she was initiated into the Alpha et Omega Lodge (AEO) of the Stella Matutina, the HOGD offshoot presided over by Mathers's widow, Moira Bergson Mathers. Taking the name Dion Fortune (adapted from her "magical motto," Deo Non Fortuna, taken when she joined the lodge), Violet studied under J. W. Brodie-Innes. In 1922 she organized the

Community of the Inner Light as an "outer court" for the AEO. She and Mrs. Mathers clashed more and more as Violet matured as a leader; when Mrs. Mathers expelled her in 1927, Firth, now using the name Dion Fortune, took the (now) Fraternity of the Inner Light with her. It is still active in London as the Society of Inner Light, and is the ancestor of many other important magical organizations now functioning in England. Fortune worked as a psychiatrist, specializing in helping people recover from and counter "psychic attacks," the topic of her best-known book, *Psychic Self-Defense*.

See also Magic and Magical Groups **For Further Reading:**

Fortune, Dion. *The Esoteric Orders and Their Works*. St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1971.

———. *Psychic Self-Defense*. London: Aquarian Press, 1957.

G

The Gate and Gate 2

The Gate, a 1987 film, offers the familiar Oops!-we-accidently-opened-the-gate-to-hell-and-let-the-demons-out! theme in a suburban, "Home Alone" setting. In the 1992 sequel, a teen sacrifices a hamster to invoke the powers of darkness.

Gnosticism

Gnosticism is a term for a broad range of different religious movements. Despite this variation, what we might call generic Gnosticism is usually described as having an identifiable, coherent ideology that includes such doctrines as the notion that this world, and especially the human body, were the products of an evil deity—the demiurge (a term originally utilized by Plato to refer to a demigod who created the world in the *Timaeus*)—who also created the human body for the purpose of trapping human spirits in the physical world. Our true home is the absolute spirit, referred to as the *pleroma*.

According to the Gnostic myth of creation, Sophia, one of the spiritual beings residing in the pleroma, inadvertently created the demiurge. The demiurge then created the cosmos by emanating a series of different levels, ranging from as few as three to as many as 360. Each of these levels is governed by an archon, who acts as a guardian preventing the sparks of light (i.e., the divine

essence of individual human beings) from returning to the pleroma. Part of the knowledge imparted to the Gnostics is information on how to bypass these archons on their journey back to the pleroma.

One of the results of conceptualizing the cosmos as being the creation of an evil divinity is that the beings in the heavenly spheres surrounding the earth—the archons—are also evil. Familiarity with Gnostic ideology allows us to understand certain otherwise unintelligible passages in the writings of early Christians, who were clearly influenced by the Gnostic perspective; for example, the oft-quoted passage about spiritual warfare in the Book of Ephesians: "We are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (6:12). What, one might well ask, is the meaning of "the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places"? Isn't the locus of evil spiritual forces in hell, which is traditionally conceptualized as being below rather than above the earth? In this passage and others that might be cited, "heavenly wickedness" refers to the archons. Even the word "rulers" here is a translation of the Greek archon, so that the original passage reads, "archons of this present darkness."

A standard tenet of Gnostic Christianity was

that Yahweh, the God of the Old Testament, was one and the same as the evil demiurge. Pointing to the discrepancy between the jealous, vengeful god of the Old Testament and the teachings of the gentle Jesus, the Gnostics asserted that Jesus was a teacher sent from the pleroma to guide us back to our true home, and that the Father to which he referred was different from Yahweh. Some Gnostics carried this inversion even further, making such biblical characters as the serpent in the Garden of Eden story and Cain Gnostic heroes.

Although not many contemporary groups would identify themselves as Gnostics in the traditional sense, one often finds that modern Satanists have carried out a similar inversion of values. God, particularly the God worshiped by Christians, is actually repressive and evil, whereas Satan is good. One of the few groups to explicitly make use of Gnosticism was Our Lady of Endor Coven, the Ophite Cultus Satanas, founded in 1948 by Herbert Arthur Sloane. Sloane drew from a number of different sources to construct his religion, including the speculative scholarship of Margaret Murray—one of the same sources utilized by Gerald Gardner, founder of the modern Wiccan movement. Sloane was also heavily influenced by Hans Jonas's classic study of Gnosticism, The Gnostic Religion, which provided him with his basic understanding of Gnosticism.

Sloane was briefly associated with Anton LaVey's Church of Satan, although it did not appear to significantly change his teachings. Our Lady of Endor Coven did not survive Sloane's passing in the 1980s.

See also Church of Satan; Our Lady of Endor Coven For Further Reading:

Jonas, Hans. *The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God.* Boston: Beacon, 1958.

Murray, Margaret. *The God of the Witches.* London: S. Low, Marsten & Co., 1933.

The Gnostic Order and Temple of Satanas

The Gnostic Order and Temple of Satanas (GOTOS) was founded in 1985 by Damian Alan Sinclair and Laylah Agatha Sinclair. The Grand Lodge is located in Charlotte, North Carolina, however it has temples in several U.S. states and an

official base in Denmark and the U.K. The international head of the order is Damian Alan Sinclair. The Grand Lodge meets every Monday and Wednesday. GOTOS takes a broad, intellectual approach to Satanism. Like the majority of other modern Satanist organizations, GOTOS is not involved in simply trying to be an inversion of Christianity. To GOTOS, Satan is quite different from the Christian Devil. Rather, as articulated by Anton LaVey and others, Satan is more of an archetype of human potential than he is an external being.

The first section of the organization's public manifesto (reprinted here with permission) reads:

To All Who Are In Pursuit of Truth:

Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law.

The Gnostic Order and Temple of Satanas is a New Aeon Magickal order of the left hand path. We are an institution of teaching, brotherhood and preservation of the occult sciences. Our goal is to teach others the true meaning and implications of Satanic thought. The Order teaches Satanic Magickal Philosophy, Satanic Magick, Thelemic Magick, and how to apply these concepts in the daily life of the student.

The Gnostic Order and Temple of Satanas is not connected with any other Organization. We have drawn from a number of sources. However our magical curriculum has been built by the exploration and experimentation of practical magic. The Order is quite eclectic in its views and teachings. We feel that it is important that each student develop his or her own ideas and understanding of Satanism under proper guidance but without influence.

As well we do not involve ourselves with the "who is right or wrong" controversy. The Order and Temple of Satanas respects all intelligent systems of Satanism. We believe that each individual has an indefeasible right to his or her own beliefs. The order teaches the science and art of Magic however it is up to each individual to decide what Satanism is to him or her.

Our assembly is geared toward the

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scientific exploration and practical development of the Art of Magic, rather than the sociological and philosophical aspects of Satanism. These are developments that can only be attained by self-discovery and retrospective reconstitution. Therefore we believe that Satanism, as a religion, is an expression of ones understanding of the world around one, Ones place in that world and ones duty to the "self." It's a constant interplay of cause and effect that we attempt to control by the method of magic. If we keep basic physics in mind and learn to adjust any given action to the proper chord the re-action will become mathematically predictable. The mechanics of space have always been a key to the successful practice of magic.

The balance of the manifesto outlines the various grades of development within the order. As reflected in this document, GOTOS leans heavily toward the ceremonial magic tradition, especially as bequeathed to modern Satanism by Aleister Crowley and Crowley's student, Frater Achad (Charles Stansfeld Jones). Unlike certain other groups, the Gnostic Order and Temple of Satanas is not simply an online organization, although it does have an online program. Members of the online program are, however, associate members and are not considered official initiates of the order.

See also Crowley, Aleister; Gnosticism; Left-Hand Path; Magic and Magical Groups

For Further Reading:

The Gnostic Order and Temple of Satanas official international website.

http://www.satanist.net/northernstar.

Goblins

In contemporary English, *goblin* connotes an evil spirit, sort of a small demon. Originally goblins were a grotesque tribe of fairies who delighted in frightening people with malicious pranks, such as the kinds of activities one associates with poltergeists. They could, however, also be helpful around a house, in the same way that brownies could be helpful. The expanded term *hobgoblin* was origi-

nally reserved for helpful goblins. However, perhaps because the Puritans used goblin and hobgoblin to designate evil spirits, both words eventually acquired demonic connotations.

See also Demons

For Further Reading:

Guiley, Rosemary Ellen. *The Encyclopedia of Ghosts and Spirits*. New York: Facts on File, 1992.

Masello, Robert. *Fallen Angels and Spirits of the Dark*. New York: Perigee, 1994.

God, The Devil And Bob

God, the Devil and Bob was a short-lived NBC television show that originally aired on March 9, 2000. It was canceled after only four episodes because twenty-two local NBC affiliates refused to air the program. The larger background plot within which the individual episodes were slotted was that God-who, as one reviewer noted, looked suspiciously like Jerry Garcia-had become disgusted with humanity and was on the verge of destroying the world. If he felt up to it, he said, he might start over and try again. Explaining this to Satan at a Detroit car show, he decides that, in the interest of fairness, he will give humanity one more chance. He then asks the Devil to choose one person who will be given the task of restoring God's faith in the humanity. The chosen one is Bob Altman, a thirty-two-year-old auto worker with a wife and children. Bob must save the world while coping with the pressures of everyday life. Both God and Satan are presented as limp shadows of the beings they were traditionally imagined to be. God wears sunglasses and drinks lite beer. Satan, on the other hand, is a thin whiner with self-doubts who sports a goatee and an English accent. When Bob asks him about hell, he retorts that, "It's a festering pit of agony and despair," but then adds, "Oh, I put in a koi pond!" Not exactly the Prince of Darkness.

See also Film; Humor *For Further Reading:*

Carman, John. "NBC Puts Its Faith in Cartoon God." San Francisco Chronicle. March 9, 2000.Goodman, Tim. "Cosmic Cartoon, Dude." San Francisco Examiner. March 9, 2000.



Siouxie Sioux, lead singer/songwriter with the legendary Goth group Siouxie and the Banshees, 1980 (Lynn Goldsmith/CORBIS)

Goth Subculture

Goths are associated with Satanism in the minds of many outside observers. In mid-1999, this subculture became the focus of negative media attention because of a tenuous connection between Goths and the two students who carried out the Columbine High School attack.

The Gothic subculture grew out of the New Wave music movement of the late 1970s and 1980s. Other influences were certain novels, films, comics, and role-playing games. There is little connection with traditional Gothic literature, with the exception of the original Dracula story. Despite their association, Gothic music is distinct from heavy metal music. Although Satan is regularly mentioned in Gothic circles, he is not a central symbol.

Certain musical groups like Black Sabbath and Alice Cooper were Gothic music's immediate precursors. Early Goth-related groups were the British groups, the Damned and Joy Division. Although the latter group was not exclusively Gothic, it was to leave a distinct influence on Gothic music. The first use of the term *Goth* in its present meaning was on a BBC (British Broadcasting Commission) TV program. Anthony H. Wilson, manager of Joy Division, described the band as Gothic compared with mainstream popular music. The name stuck.

Another early Goth was the English singer Suzie Sioux, "Siouxsie" (founder of Siouxsie and the Banshees). Sioux, originally a punk performer, was partially responsible for the influence of Aleister Crowley on the Goth subculture through her friendship with Temple of Psychick Youth founder Genesis P-Orridge. It remained for Bauhaus, however, to define Gothic music, which was booming in the early 1980s. This explosion in turn gave birth to new Gothic groups, such as the Misfits, Dark Theater, and the Sisters of Mercy. By the end of the decade, the subculture had spread across the industrialized world. Specialized magazines emerged and non-Goth groups such as Kiss and Iron Maiden produced albums with Gothic themes.

Although many young people were "weekend Goths," the core of the Goth subculture eventually came to be constituted by full-time Goths who spoke an idiosyncratic language, dressed in black clothing on a daily basis, wore distinctive jewelry, etc. In 1990 two Gothic vampire games in the Dungeons and Dragons tradition—The Masquerade and Ravenloft—came onto the market and further influenced the milieu. The works of popular author Anne Rice were also adopted by Goths, as reflected in the bands and Gothic periodicals that adopted Rice-inspired names.

The triumph of Gothic music led to mixed genres such as black metal, a blend of Gothic with heavy metal that frequently invokes Satanism. Black metal is not, however, generally representative of either Gothic music or the Goth subculture. A more significant segment of this subculture is not particularly anti-Christian. Anne Rice, for instance, propagates a sort of Christian Gnosticism, as reflected in her 1995 novel, *Memnoch the Devil*.

Nevertheless, there are links between the dark world of the Gothic subculture and traditional associations with the demonic. Some of the older Satanist organizations have even sought to portray themselves in an appealing manner to Goths, though they have not been notably successful in this bid for new recruits. On the other hand, a few movements have originated within the Gothic milieu, and some of these are Satanist or have Satanist overtones. For example, the French group, the Confrerie spirituelle sataniste les Croisades de la Nouvelle Babylone, asserts that its goal is to unify Satanists and neopagans. As the desecration of graves in France and the torching of Norwegian churches indicates, there are tiny groups around the fringes of the black metal phase of the Gothic subculture that commit illegal, antisocial acts. This is especially the case for groups combining Nazism with Satanism. It should be stressed, however, that such acts of "esoterrorism," as they have been referred to, are not typical of the subculture.

See also Heavy Metal Music
For Further Reading:
Baddeley, Gavin. Lucifer Rising: Sin, Devil Worship
and Rock'n'Roll. London: Plexus, 1999.
Evans, S., and M. Ardill, "Relax, it's just black,"

Toronto Star, April 25, 1999, pp. D16–D17.
Forsey, R., and S. Drakes, "Goths paint life black," Toronto Star, April 27, 1999, pp. C1, C3.
Introvigne, Massimo. "The Gothic Milieu: Black Metal, Satanism, and Vampires."
http://www.cesnur.org/testi/gothic.htm.

Grimoire

Through the centuries, a large number of handbooks have been published that offer instructions on how to perform different kinds of magic. Among these books, usually referred to as grimoires, the oldest and best known is *The Key of Solomon*, which is believed to have been written by the legendary King Solomon. A copy of the book was circulating as early as the first century C.E. Countless versions, often with additions, have followed the first century edition, rendering it impossible to identify the original text. Besides The Key of Solomon and its derivations, many other grimoires circulated in the Middle Ages. Some of these are still used as references in modern witchcraft. The intent of the majority of grimoires was to teach magicians how to summon and control the power of spirits and demons. The sources were ancient Egyptian, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin texts.

The rituals illustrated in grimoires are usually very complicated. They suggest ways of dressing and of behaving during and prior to evocation ceremonies. They contain prayers and incantations, directions for the creation of amulets, instructions on how to sacrifice animals, and provide lists of demons and spirits who can be summoned through the grimoire.

Grimoires' users were not necessarily devilworshipers. Very often their intent was to summon a demon and, after making a pact with him, deceive him and take advantage of his powers. The handbooks gave readers the instructions necessary to carry out this trick. Grimoires have often come under attack by religious authorities, and some of them have been condemned as dangerous or publicly destroyed. Nevertheless, they continued to circulate in various versions throughout the Middle Ages.

See also Demons; Magic and Magical GroupsFor Further Reading:Lady Sheba. Book of Shadows. St. Paul, MN:Llewellyn, 1971.

Gris-gris

Gris-gris refers to the practice of using dolls and cloth bags to keep away evil or to attract good luck. Shaping dolls in the image of gods is an ancient practice, more recently replaced by filling cloth bags with various kinds of objects and personal items. In vodoun (voodoo), gris-gris are very common. In places like New Orleans, America's vodoun capital, people carry them for many different reasons. They are believed to protect the carrier and his or her belongings, attract richness and love, maintain health, etc. The

preparation of gris-gris is a complicated process, and varies according to the person and the purposes for which it is made. At present, there are numerous websites from which one can purchase gris-gris bags for specific purposes.

See also Vodoun

For Further Reading:

Hinnells, John R., ed. *A New Dictionary of Religions*, 2nd ed. London: Blackwell, 1997.

Rigaud, Milo. Secrets of Voodoo. 1953. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 1985.

H

Hades

In the contemporary period Hades has become interchangeable with hell. However, the name originally referred to the Greek god of the underworld and king of the dead. Later Hades became, by extension, the name of the land of the dead itself. Hades was the son of Rhea and Chronos. After defeating the Titans (the older gods), Hades and his brothers, Zeus and Poseidon, divided the world among themselves. Poseidon received the seas, Zeus the sky, and Hades the underworld. Hades was considered so unfortunate that even the mention of his name was regarded as unlucky, and mythological tales about the god of the underworld are scant.

The foundation for Greek classical religion was set in the Homeric poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which themselves were the inheritors of older heritages from the Mycenean-Minoan culture. The chief deity was the Mother Goddess, who brought both good and evil, though even evil was understood to be part of the natural cycle of things. This included death, which was believed to be essential for new life. The Mother Goddess herself was ruler of the nether regions and thus a key element in the cult of the dead. At Argos she was known as Hera (the Lady), at Eleusis she was known as Demeter (Mother Earth), at Sparta she was Orthia, and at Ephesus she was Artemis.

The epic poem, the *Iliad*, dating to about 800

B.C.E. and traditionally assigned to the authorship of Homer, signals the ascendancy of the Olympian gods brought by the Hellenic people. Homer's view of Hades is reflected in his later work, the Odyssey, where Odysseus needed to seek advice from a seer in the land of the dead. To do this, he sailed into the far west (in several cultures this is where the sun "dies" daily, thus the location of the land of the dead) and upon reaching land made a sacrifice of sheep covered with honey, milk, water, and wine. The sacrifice brought forth a number of ghosts, or shades of the dead, who were able to converse with Odysseus only after drinking the blood of the sheep. Homer had the ghost of Achilles tell Odysseus that he would rather be a peasant serf on earth than a king among the dead.

The House of Hades was pictured as a large cavern under the earth somewhere or in the far west beyond the river Oceanus. It was not a happy place, but shrouded in mist and darkness, and figures move about as in a dream. Hades was separated from the land of the living by five rivers—Lethe (the river of forgetfulness), Styx, Phlegethon, Acheron, and Cocytus. The entrance was guarded by Cerberus, a terrifying hellhound with three heads and serpents around each neck. The psyche (or life essence, shade, or ghost) of the deceased would leave the dead body and travel to that place to lead a pallid, weak, melancholy existence.



An 18th century print of Charon receiving a dead soul into his boat—taking the oblos (coin) (Fortean Picture Library)

Charon ferries the spirits of the departed across the river Styx and into the realm of the dead. The offspring of Nyx (night) and Erebus (darkness), Charon was portrayed as a squalid, grumpy old man with a bad temper. He required payment of one obol before he would transport the soul to the other side, and the ancient Greeks accordingly buried their dead with an obol coin in their mouths so that they would be able to pay Charon's fare.

The *Iliad* offers the belief that the gods did not punish or reward souls at death, but the mythology is not consistent about this, because mention is occasionally made of the Elysian Fields, or Isles of the Blessed, a wonderful, pleasurable place where certain special people get to go. Some of the shades particularly suffered in Hades, not so much because of a judgment on their life, but because they were not properly buried or nourished by sacrificial food offerings. In the story of Tantalos in the *Odyssey*, every time he reached for fruit, ravenously hungry, the wind would blow the fruit away. Every time, desperately thirsty, he sought water, it would evaporate.

Homeric mythology was adapted by the mystery religions and mixed with secret rituals so as to provide a personal dimension to religion not available in the traditional practices and beliefs. The two most important mystery religions were the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries. In Greek mythology, Orpheus was the son of Calliope, a muse, and his singing to the lyre could charm animals and even rocks and trees. When his wife Eurydice died he was permitted to lead her back from Hades, provided he did not turn to look at her until they had arrived safely in the upper world. He did look at her, however, and she had to return to Hades. Because Orpheus was one of the few figures in Greek mythology to visit Hades and return safely, he became symbolic for many of the possibility of new life after death.

The actual number of Orphic devotees was rather small, but they had an impact on Greek philosophy and culture far beyond their numbers. A similar impact, out of a much larger devotee base, came from the Eleusinian mysteries. The myth of this cult focused on Demeter, the vegetation deity. Her daughter, Kore, was carried off by Hades, ruler of the dead. Demeter, not knowing where Kore was, searched through many lands for her, growing ever more despondent. She finally arrived at Eleusis, on the Attica coast not far from Athens, and refused to allow anything to flower or bear fruit. The devastation produced by the barren landscape was so terrible that the gods persuaded Zeus to retrieve Kore from the underworld. Hermes was sent to accomplish the task and Hades relented, but not before persuading Kore to eat a pomegranate, symbolic of marriage and a promise of return. This trickery forced Zeus into a compromise, by which Kore would have to spend one-third (or one-half, depending on the source) of each year in the underworld, the part of the year when Demeter is once again sorrowful and nothing grows. Thus did Kore, a fertility figure by relation to Demeter, become identified with Persephone, the wife of Hades and a figure of death.

Three Platonic dialogues—the *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Republic*—include a mythical account of what happens after death. Plato does not merely repeat standard stories, but artfully mixes together elements from the cultural heritage, the tragedies, and mystery religions. The myth in the *Gorgias* describes the judgment of a soul after death. The soul has been freed from the

body, which is considered a form of prison. Now in its naked reality, the soul is judged in a meadow at the intersection of two roads—one leads to the Isles of the Blessed and the other leads to Tartarus. The three judges are: Rhadamanthys for souls from Asia, Aeacus for souls from Europe, and Minos for any cases about which there is indecision. The examination seems to be more medical than conversational. The soul is presented as marked by the actions of life, particularly in the sense of being malformed or wounded by authoring unjust actions. The judges have only to examine the marks on the soul to determine the appropriate judgment. The wicked are set on the road to Tartarus to be rehabilitated or eternally punished. The good are sent to the Isles of the Blessed, and are pictured as having lived philosophic lives. In Homeric mythology, Tartarus was a region underneath Hades where rebellious deities, particularly the Titans, were sent for punishment. In this dialogue, it has been transformed into a general place of punishment.

In the afterlife myth in the *Phaedo*, the judgment of the dead is supposed to take place at the Acherusian Lake. The incurable evil ones will spend an eternity of punishment in Tartarus. The curable evil may spend only a year there. If those whom they mistreated in life agree to pardon them, they may be sent back to earth to live another life, the same fate as those who led lives of goodness. Philosophical souls are granted the ultimate boon, freedom from another bodily birth and an eternity of contemplation among beautiful surroundings.

In the *Republic*, the afterlife is described by a man who had what today would be termed a "near-death experience." In his long and detailed story, the soul is supposed to journey to a place where there are two openings into the earth and two openings into the sky. Judges sit in the middle and send the good souls up one of the upper openings and the evil soul down one of the lower openings. There, the souls are either rewarded or punished tenfold for one thousand years. After that time the souls come down or go up to the other openings and meet together in a meadow to swap experiences. The worst souls do not emerge, but are thrown forever into Tartarus.

See also Cerberus; Underworld

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Halloween

The holiday we designate as Halloween (All Hallows Eve) has its roots in the Day of the Dead—a day when, to speak metaphorically, the veil between this world and the other world was "thin." The present date of All Hallows Eve was set by the Catholic Church, which took over the ancient Roman Day of the Dead, Feralia, and transferred it to the first of November. All Hallows Eve blended with certain northern European beliefs to give the Halloween familiar to most Americans its current associations with demons and the powers of evil.

The tradition of costumed children going to door to door asking for food is an echo of the ancient practice of providing food for the spirits of the departed. For the most part, citizens of the modern world have forgotten the original meaning of Halloween. As a children's holiday Halloween was widely celebrated until relatively recently, when safety concerns severely reduced the number of trick-or-treaters. Many conservative Protestants also came to regard Halloween as a diabolical celebration, and struck it from their holiday calendar.

See also Chick Publications; Church of Satan *For Further Reading:*

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Harrowing of Hell

In Christian denominations that adhere to the Apostle's Creed, there is an unusual line that asserts that, after Jesus was crucified, "He descended into hell." This line—obscure to most contemporary Christians but an important piece of the new faith to early believers—refers to the widely accepted doctrine that Christ invaded hell during the period between his death and resurrection.

As recounted in the Gospel of Nicodemus, a document accepted on par with the other Gospels until after the New Testament was canonized, Satan arranged to take Jesus to hell following his execution, only to have the plan backfire. Technically, Christ harrows the Limbo containing the Old Testament patriarchs, rather than hell, as the patriarchs are merely being held as prisoners rather than being tortured in a realm of fire and sulfur. Rather than being imprisoned, Jesus does battle with Satan and his minions, defeats them, and frees everyone in hell, from Adam and Eve to Moses.

The Gospel of Nicodemus was popular long before the full development of the notion of purgatory, which eventually supplanted the idea of Limbo. Limbo had been necessary because Christians of the first few centuries of the Common Era imagined that only Christian souls could go to heaven. This, however, creates the problem of what happened to such righteous and deserving individuals as the Old Testament patriarchs (e.g., Abraham, Moses, etc.) who died before the Christian gospel was preached? Placing them in a Limbo realm, from which Christ later rescued them and conducted them to heaven, solved this problem.

The story of the Messiah's harrowing of hell and rescue of infernal prisoners is actually older than Christianity. In the pre-Christian *Testament* of the *Twelve Patriarchs*, for example, the future Messiah rescued captives from a hell ruled by Beliar (Baal). Later compositions, such as the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and the *Teachings of Silvanus*, merely placed Jesus in a role that had already been carved out in earlier narratives.

From a broader perspective, the motif of a human being descending to the underworld for the purpose of rescuing someone's soul is wide-spread in world culture. In particular, in shamanic cultures sick people will sometimes be diagnosed as having lost their soul. The attending shaman will then perform a ritual in which he or she enters a trance state in order to seek out the lost soul, which has often wandered off to the realm of the dead (often an underworld). If the rite is successful, the wandering spirit will be persuaded to return, and the ill person will recover. This seems to be the cross-culture archetype in which the story of the harrowing of hell participates.

See also Purgatory; Underworld

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Harut and Marut

Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all have lore related to the lust of angels for human beings and their subsequent transformation into demons. Although the basic idea of spirit beings or demons having sex with human beings is very ancient, Judeo-Christian speculation on such ideas grew out of two short, obscure verses in Genesis (6:2 and 6:4) about the "sons of God" taking to wife the "daughters of men." In these rather strange verses, the expression "sons of God" was taken to indicate angels. The traditional interpretation of these passages is that these sons of God are *fallen* angels.

Islam's version of this theme is a tale involving two angels mentioned in the *Koran*, Harut and Marut, although the Koranic reference contains no allusion to these angels' sexual misconduct. According to the story, humanity's seeming inability to avoid temptation and sin prompted the angels to make some less-than-complimentary remarks about humankind. God, it is said, responded that angels would fail as miserably as human beings if placed under the same conditions. As an answer to God's challenge, Harut and Marut were chosen to come down to earth, with strict instructions to avoid the most severe sins of murder, idolatry, the drinking of alcohol, and illicit sexual relations.

Almost immediately, Harut and Marut were overcome by desire for an attractive woman. Caught in the act by a passerby, they killed him so that no one could testify to their sin. However, as one might anticipate, the all-knowing God was perfectly aware of their actions. Furthermore, He arranged it so that the angels in heaven would witness the reprehensible actions of their brothers on earth. Having miserably failed the test, Harut and Marut were punished by being hung upside down in a well in Babylon, this being preferable to eternal punishment in hell. The other angels had to admit that God was right, and, presumably, snide remarks about the weakness of humanity ceased to be made within the precincts of heaven. As for Harut and Marut, they occupied their time teaching sorcery to humanity, although they never failed to warn human beings of the ultimate consequence of practicing the forbidden arts.

See also Iblis; Islam
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Heavy Metal Music

Next to horror movies and conservative Christian literature, the most significant source of diabolical images in contemporary popular culture is heavy metal music and some of heavy metal's darker musical relatives. This pattern began earlier among certain rock music groups. The initial motivation for adopting Satanic trappings was simply to increase record sales, particularly among rebellious adolescents who wanted to shock family and friends. Few of the early rock musicians were actually interested in promoting Satanism.

As one might anticipate, many Christians took such infernal images with deadly seriousness. According to some conservative Christians who disliked the genre, rock music companies routinely incorporated Satanic rhythms into their albums for the purpose of leading innocent young people into the service of the Prince of Darkness. This was supposedly accomplished via the unconscious influence of what was described as rock music's "Druid beat." The Druid beat strategy for denouncing rock became unnecessary after musicians began flaunting their association with the Devil.

The Rolling Stones was one of the first major rock groups to flirt with Satan. The pivotal event in this flirtation was the Altamont Rock Festival in 1969. The Stones had hired members of the Hell's Angels motorcycle club to handle security during the festival. Although there are conflicting accounts about exactly how it transpired, the Hell's Angels murdered a young black man while the Rolling Stones were performing "Sympathy for the Devil." The group subsequently backed away from the Prince of Darkness.

Heavy metal came into being in the late 1960s, through the music of groups like Led Zeppelin and Black Sabbath. It was rumored that Led Zeppelin had entered into a pact with the Devil, but the group's association with the occult derived from interest in Aleister Crowley and other non-Satanist occultists. Black Sabbath, on the other hand, actually sang about matters associated with Satanism, but not in an approving manner. Their song "Black Sabbath," for instance, is a song of terror about witnessing a Black Mass. Listeners are, furthermore, advised to turn to a loving God.

Although neither Led Zeppelin nor Black Sabbath came close to pretending to promote Satanism, the Australian group AC/DC did. Even in AC/DC, however, it is clear that the Devil is being used more as a symbol of rebelliousness than as a deity to be invoked. This is reflected in the title of their popular song, "Highway to Hell," which refers to a dissolute lifestyle—not to Satan worship. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that AC/DC will ever shake off its infernal associations because of their association with the serial killer Richard



Iron Maiden, 7 July 1998 (Mitchell Gerber/Corbis)

Ramirez. Ramirez, better known as the Night Stalker, was a fan of the group, and claimed to have modeled some of his crimes after the AC/DC song "Night Prowler." Other heavy metal groups associated with the Devil were Mötley Crüe, Judas Priest, Iron Maiden, and sometimes even KISS.

Satanism became something more than a symbol of rebellion with the emergence of socalled black metal. Black metal—sometimes termed Satanic heavy metal-was a blend of Gothic music and heavy metal. The first black metal band was Venom, an English group originally called Oberon. Venom popularized the cult of death and Satanism as metal themes. Their tune "Black Metal" became a sort of theme song for the movement. Observers of the metal scene have debated the question of whether a distinction should be drawn between black metal and later trends such as death metal, speed metal, and doom metal. One difficulty is that different musical groups have changed over time. In the early 1980s, the Swedish group Bathory, for instance, started out in the Venom tradition. By the late 1980s, however, the group's style was moving in the direction of what was eventually dubbed modern or "Northern" black metal. Other groups such as Hammerheart introduced an appeal to the Viking tradition. One band that helped to define black metal was the Swiss group Hellhammer, though in the mid-1980s they changed their name to Celtic Frost and distanced themselves from black metal.

In some European countries, black metal became popular in the Gothic subculture. In contrast to "mainstream" Goth, however, black metal is often extremely anti-Christian, especially Northern black metal. Some groups identify themselves as Satanists and/or as Nazis. In a few cases, the antagonism to Christianity has boiled over into actual attacks, such as vandalizing graves and burning churches. These extreme acts are referred to as esoterrorism, or esoteric terrorism. At least two black metal bands, Burzum and Emperor, were involved in such activities. The leader of Burzum, who had converted from Satanism to a neo-Nazi form of Norse neopaganism, was eventually sent to jail for his involvement in the burning of at least ten churches and the



AC/DC, 1977 (Archive Photos)

murder of another musician. He continues to be popular among black metalists, writing articles and music from prison.

Mayhem, the band who lost a member to the founder of Burzum, is perhaps the most influential Northern black metal group. One of their most well-known songs is "Carnage," another Mayhem tune is "Deathcrush." As indicated by the burning of Christian churches and other antisocial acts, for some black metal groups violence is more than just a topic for sensationalistic song lyrics. More characteristic than violence, however, is black metal's sustained assault on Christianity. For example, black metal bands often sport such names as Fallen Christ, Diabolos Rising, Impaled Nazarene, and Rotting Christ.

Although black metal is deeply interested in Satan and Satanism, black metalists typically despise organized Satanic groups such as the Temple of Set or the Church of Satan, viewing them as moderate or even as liberal organizations. This "liberal" strand of Satanism initiated by the work of Anton LaVey is viewed as overly individualistic, as being in bed with capitalism,

and as being more interested in words than in actions. In contrast, black metal sees itself as more aligned with Nordic racialism and neo-Nazism, and thus opposed to the liberal, capitalist, and individualistic orientation of the LaVeyan tradition. The majority of such organizations are overtly Nazi. For example, the Order of the Nine Angles's Black Mass asserts that "Adolf Hitler was sent by the Gods to lead us into greatness," and Hitler is worshiped along with Lucifer. Thus almost all of the tiny Satanist religious groups active in black metal circles-groups like the Order of the Nine Angles, the Ordo Sinistra Vivendi, and the Black Order—are new organizations that have arisen among black metalists for black metalists, and represent a strand of spirituality distinctly different from, and even at odds with, LaVeyan Satanism.

See also Goth Subculture; Hell's Angels; Night Stalker *For Further Reading:*

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Hell and Heaven

Every human society draws distinctions between right and wrong. Contrary to what the human heart might wish, however, adherence to the good does not always bring reward, nor does evil always result in an ignoble fate. Afterlife notions can adjudicate, at least at the level of the imagination, the inequities of this life by providing a realm in which the righteous are rewarded and the wicked punished. There are several ways in which this can be structured.

In societies that postulate a process of reincarnation, the righteous and the unrighteous can reap the fruits of their actions in future lifetimes. This possibility is most fully developed in South Asian religious traditions, in which the principle of karma—the moral law of cause and effect—assures that even the slightest credit or debit in the cosmic bankbook is balanced out before individuals are permitted to close their accounts. In Zoroastrianism and in the traditions influenced by Zoroastrianism (particularly Judaism), the dead are resurrected at the end of history, and everyone judged by the Supreme Deity. Subsequently, the righteous live in a renewed world, and the unrighteous are snuffed out.

One of the more popular and certainly among the best known "solutions" to the problem of how to adjudicate right and wrong in the afterlife is to postulate a realm of reward for the good (heaven) and a realm of punishment for evildoers (hell) to which souls go more or less immediately upon death. This schema is often merged with a conception of the universe that pictures the cosmos as consisting of three levels: An upper world beyond the sky (above the "heavens") in which the gods of light dwell; a middle realm occupied by humanity; and a lower world beneath the earth in which gods of darkness reside. In certain religious traditions,

particularly the familiar Western faiths, the god(s) of light became good and the gods of darkness became demons. A natural consequence of this moral division is that the realm of reward was placed in the upper world with god(s) and the realm of punishment in the lower world with the demons.

In the Christian tradition in particular, underworld devils acquire employment tormenting the souls of the damned. The popular association of hell with fire appears to originate in the association of hell with volcanic activity, during which the underworld belches up liquid fire in the form of molten lava. And, of course, the popular image of heaven as a realm where the deceased have wings and sit around on clouds is a direct result of associating the abode of the righteous dead with the upper world.

It should be noted that heaven and hell realms can also be mixed with other possibilities. Thus in popular Hinduism and Buddhism, for example, the notion of punishment in hell worlds (and, to a lesser extent, reward in heaven worlds) emerged to supplement—rather than to supplant—earlier notions of karmic punishment. Many of the torments of Hindu and Buddhist hell worlds, such as being tortured by demons, resemble the torments of more familiar Western hells. Unlike Western hells, however, South Asian hell worlds are not final dwelling places. They are, rather, more like purgatories in which sinful souls experience suffering for a limited term. After the term is over, even the most evil person is turned out of hell to once again participate in the cycle reincarnation.

In the Christian tradition, the notions of heaven and hell are mixed in a somewhat confused manner with earlier ideas about the resurrection of the body. The notion of resurrection—in which the deceased person remains in the ground until judgment day—was popular in Jesus's lifetime, and this is the notion of the afterlife that the founder of Christianity taught. However, the Christian tradition very early adopted the Greek idea of an eternal soul that went to a realm of punishment or a realm of reward after the body died. Hence, resurrection in later Christianity involves reuniting the soul, which obviously has to



"The Torments of Hell" (Dover Pictorial Archive)

leave heaven to accomplish this purpose, with the reconstructed body on earth.

Another issue with which serious thinkers have grappled across the centuries is the fate of souls who, while not moral athletes, have nevertheless not committed outrageous sins. This has led to the development of ideas of *intermediate* afterlife

abodes in which *mixed* souls are purified and made fit for heaven. Catholic purgatory is the most well known of these realms, but the same basic idea is incorporated in other ways into other traditions.

Yet another solution is to postulate a series of multiple heavens and hells, or levels of heaven and



Charon, Hell's ferryman in Greek mythology (Dover Pictorial Archive)

hell, in which good people and sinners are rewarded or punished according the degree of their noble deeds or sins. One of the most well known examples of the latter is Dante's Inferno. Dante presents a picture of a complex, nine-layered hell. Virtuous but unbaptized souls reside at the top, suffering only the emotion of hopelessness. At the very bottom of hell, undergoing the worst punishment, are those who committed the very worst sin, which in Dante's ethical schemata is treason. Ranged in between is a moral hierarchy of sinners, each experiencing a punishment appropriate for their crime. Dante's heaven is somewhat different. Although there are concentric spheres of light and nine levels of angels, righteous souls are not ordered according to a hierarchy of virtue. The case is different in other visions of the afterlife. Mormons, for example, believe in a hierarchically ordered heaven.

See also Dante Alighieri; Purgatory; Underworld; Zoroastrianism

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Hellhole

Hellhole is a common expression for a place that is miserable and oppressive, lacking in cleanliness, order, and basic comforts. A run-down hotel in a bad part of town, for instance, might be referred to as a hellhole. A hellhole can also be a place noted for its illegal and immoral practices, such as a sleazy bar.

Hellhole also refers to an item of contemporary urban folklore that was briefly popular in the early 1990s. According to an article, supposedly translated from a piece in the Finnish newspaper *Ammennusastia*, geologists researching the makeup of our planet's crust in Siberia drilled deep into the earth. Microphones were then lowered into the shaft they had created. They were startled to hear countless millions of people crying out in pain and misery. As reported in a Trinity Broadcasting newsletter:

A geological group who drilled a hole about 14.4 kilometers deep in the crust of the earth are saying that they heard human screams. Screams have been heard from the condemned souls from earth's deepest hole. Terrified scientists are afraid they have let loose the evil powers of hell up to the earth's surface. "The information we are gathering is so surprising, that we are sincerely afraid of what we might find down there," stated Dr. Azzacov, the manager of the project in remote Siberia. (Ship of Fools website)

Many members of the team refused to continue the work. A later embellishment of the story was that luminous vapors escaped from the hole, forming a glowing, batlike creature (a bat out of hell, so to speak). The words "I have conquered" appeared in Russian in the heavens.

The Trinity Broadcasting Network broadcast the tale at least three times, and sent out a story about the hellhole to their Internet mailing list. A tongue-in-cheek "Well to Hell" story also appeared in the *Biblical Archeology Review*. To the chagrin of the editors, many of their readers took the article seriously. Upon investigation, it was found that the original Finnish article was actually a letter to the editor, in which a reader had repeated an item he had picked up from a Christian newsletter. And the creator of the report about luminous gasses congealing into a bat and words appearing in the sky eventually confessed to fabricating the incident as a way of demonstrating the gullibility of conservative Christians.

See also Beast Computer Legend
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Hellraiser

The 1987 film *Hellraiser* is based on Clive Barker's novel about a portal to hell, whose doorway is not in any one place but is, rather, accessible from anywhere. It is a passageway between the earth and the underworld, through which both demons and human beings can come and go. Cenobites are a band of ghouls from the underworld who answer the request of a narcissistic man who wants to indulge in new sensual experiences. They take him through the portal into the underworld, put him into chains, and began to mangle his flesh until his soul separates from his body. Computer games and comic books now feature Baker's Cenobites. There have been a number of *Hellraiser* sequels.

Hell's Angels

The Hell's Angels motorcycle club is the most well know of the many biker gangs. Formed after the second world war, the expression Hell's Angels was taken from a U.S. Air Force squadron by the same name. Other biker groups sport comparable infernal monikers, such as the Canadian group, Satan's Angels. It is also common for members of this subculture to decorate their clothes, bikes, and even their bodies with diabolical images. Although many bikers have identified themselves as follow-

ers of the Devil in media interviews, few take this identification seriously. Rather, in this context it is clear that Satan is little more than a symbol of rebelliousness, deployed to shock polite society.

The Hell's Angels were sometimes romanticized by journalists and other writers until the Altamont Rock Festival in 1969. The Rolling Stones had unwisely hired members of the Hell's Angels to handle security during the festival. Although there are conflicting accounts about exactly how it transpired, the Angels murdered a young black fan while the Stones were performing "Sympathy for the Devil." This event subsequently defined the Hell's Angels in the minds of many outsiders.

See also Crime; Heavy Metal Music
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Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn

The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn was formed in England in 1888 when a group trying to make use of magic formulas using Francis Barrett's 1801 textbook on magic and alchemy, The Magus, were introduced to the materials of psychic Fred Hockley. S. L. MacGregor Mathers was the founding member of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn and became its most important leader. The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn taught a disciplined approach to self-transformation through a system of high magic and became the group most credited with initiating the revival of magic in the twentieth century. Through the order's most (in)famous member, Aleister Crowley, the order would exercise a profound influence on the ritual practices of modern Satanism and of the Left-Hand Path tradition more generally.

In the late eighteenth century, the persecution of magical groups ceased. These groups came into the public eye concurrently with the rise of a dilettante interest in occultism in Western Europe. In 1801 Francis Barrett published *The Magus*. In the early 1800s, Alphonse-Louis Constant studied the

whole magical tradition and became familiar with Barrett's *The Magus*. Under the pen name Eliphas Levi, Constant published Dogma and Ritual of High Magic, History of Magic, and Key of the Great Mysteries in the 1850s. Levi over the next decades became the teacher of members of such diverse groups as Rosicrucians, ritual magicians, and witches. In mid-nineteenth century England, Spiritualism and what was to become Theosophy were having a major cultural impact. Members of these groups said they received messages from the world of the spirits. By 1855, the Yorkshire Spiritual Telegraph, England's first spiritualist newspaper, was being published. This helped to stir popular interest in the supernatural. Around this time, the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA) was formed in England in 1865 by Robert Wentworth Little. It was based on eighteenthcentury Rosicrucian texts. Among its members were Kenneth R. H. MacKenzie, Dr. Wynn Westcott, and W. R. Woodman. Members of the Societas were required to be Masons prior to beginning their work. The magical writings of Levi, the existence of the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, and the continuing impact of speculative Freemasonry provided fertile soil in which new magical orders could grow. In 1885, the Reverend A. F. A. Woodford inherited the magical manuscripts owned by psychic Fred Hockley, upon which the Order of the Golden Dawn (OGD) would be built. SRIA member Dr. Wynn Westcott decoded the manuscripts and S. L. MacGregor Mathers (1854-1917), also an SRIA member, systematized them into a useful form. The material also contained the Nuremberg address of Anna Sprengel, a Rosicrucian of high degree. Mathers wrote to her and received voluminous materials and the charter for the Isis-Urania Temple. In 1888, the Isis-Urania Temple of the Golden Dawn, the first temple representative of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, was opened. Other temples were soon founded in Edinburgh, Weston-super-Mare, Bradford, and Paris. In 1887, Westcott left the Order of the Golden Dawn and S. L. MacGregor Mathers took complete control. Mathers had already gained a wide reputation for his occult scholarship. He had reworked Francis Barrett's texts and translated and

edited the works of Abramelin the Mage (1362–1460) to produce a clear and practical magical text. He also published a book on the cabala. An Egyptian Mass invoking Isis was performed in Mathers's home, which was appointed like an Egyptian temple.

By 1892, Mathers had moved to Paris and was conducting the OGD from there. Under Mathers's leadership, the order developed a ritual and worldview from which other groups would create variations. OGD's system was called Western magic. The basic idea was the Hermetic principle of the correspondence of the microcosm (the human being) and the macrocosm (the universe). Any principle that exists in the universe also exists in man. Standard practices include invocation and evocation. Invocation is the calling down into the self of a cosmic force with a purely psychological result. Evocation is the calling up of that same force from the depths of the self, and it may result in objective physical phenomena. A second belief is in the power of the will, which can be trained to do anything. Central to magic is the will, its training and activity.

The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn also looked to other planes of existence, usually referred to as astral planes. These planes are inhabited by entities other than human beings who were called secret chiefs. Mathers himself claimed to have contacted the secret chiefs in 1892. The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn adopted a cabalistic initiation system wherein each grade was given a numerical symbol related to the Tree of Life. It is divided into the first order, with four levels for neophytes and beginners; the second order, with three advanced levels for humans; and the third order, the order of the secret chiefs. Each of these levels had its own rituals. To attain each degree, the candidate had to prove he had acquired competence in magical works, such as invocation, evocation, crystal-reading, making symbolic talismans, and astrology. Fraulein Sprengel conferred all of the founders of the OGD with the degree of Adeptus Exemptus, the highest degree that human beings could attain.

The most famous member of the OGD was Aleister Crowley, whose magical thought has come to dominate modern magical practice. Reared in an Exclusive Plymouth Brethren home, Crowley had been introduced to magic in a book by occult historian A. E. Waite. His cabalistic studies led him in 1898 to the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. Crowley rose quickly through the first order, but was refused initiation to Adeptus Minor, the lowest degree in the second order, because of his homosexuality. However, Crowley went to Paris and was initiated to Adeptus Minor by MacGregor Mathers, which led to a split in the order in London. In 1904, Crowley received a communication from the astral plane with instruction for the establishment of a new order. He left the HOGD in 1907 to set up this new order, which he called the Astrum Argentinum (silver star).

The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn came to an end after the First World War, but it shaped the thinking of a number of persons who have since been very influential in occult and magical circles. A short-lived attempt to revive the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn emerged in the early 1970s, led by John Phillips Palmer. The Bennu Phoenix Temple continued the tradition of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn prior to the revelations of its secrets by Aleister Crowley. The group rejected Crowley, whom it viewed as a former member impervious to discipline and subsequently expelled. S. L. MacGregor Mathers, a former leader of HOGD, was also believed to have fallen to the dark powers. The Bennu Phoenix Temple followed the rituals of the OGD. Sex magic was allowed if practiced within the context of marriage. Sex magic outside of marriage, with a homosexual partner, or as a mystic masturbation was strictly condemned. Homosexual behavior was regarded as impure. Drugs and animal sacrifice were also forbidden.

See also Crowley, Aleister; Magic and Magical Groups *For Further Reading:*

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Israel Regardie, *The Golden Dawn: An Account of the Teachings, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Dawn.* 2 vols. 2nd ed. St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1969.

Hex

As commonly used, the term hex means an evil spell or bewitchment, and is almost precisely interchangeable with the word curse. It derives from the German word Hexe, which means "witch." Hexe, in turn, comes from the Old German term for "hag," Hagazussa or Hagzissa. The term seems to have come into modern English through the Pennsylvania Dutch, who use it to designate both good and evil spells. The expression "hex signs" refers to magical symbols and signs used by the Pennsylvania Dutch. Hex signs are usually of circular shape and represent flowers, stars, hearts, swastikas, wheels, and many other symbols. Each carries a definite meaning and provides a particular type of protection or enhancement of certain qualities. Some hex signs are designed and used to favor courage, fertility, virility. Others are placed on cradles, or on the doors of houses and of stables to prevent bewitchment.

See also Curses

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Highway to Hell

The 1992 story of Orpheus in B-movie drag. After a young couple's elopement to Las Vegas, the bride is dragged down to hell. Not one to abandon his sweetie, the groom goes after her and finds himself in a surreal landscape of Satanic bikers (the *real* Hell's Angels), blond cannibals, and others.

Hinduism

Hinduism, the blanket term for a wide variety of different strands of spirituality found in the South Asian subcontinent, posits a universe full of demons. Demon slaying is, in fact, one of the characteristic acts accomplished by Hindu gods and goddesses—an act attributed even to the ancient Vedic god, Indra, who slew the drought-demon Vritra. Despite the proliferation of demon slaying, however, Hinduism does not posit any master devil or any other conception of absolute evil. Instead,



A distinctive fresco depicting Shiva-Gajantaka, the story of the Hindu god Shiva killing the elephant demon. (Bridgeman Art Gallery)

demons play an essential role in the overall harmony of the cosmos, providing an important counterpoint to the gods. Thus, for example, in the story of Krishna's defeat of the serpent demon Kaliya, Krishna is in the process of killing the giant snake when Kaliya begs him for mercy:

I am not capable of honoring nor of praising you, overlord of the gods, but please take pity on me, O god whose sole thought is compassion! The race of snakes into which I was born is a cruel one; this is its proper nature. But I am not at fault in this matter... for it is you who pour forth and absorb the whole world; classes, forms and natures have all been assigned by you, the creator. (Dimmitt and van Buitenen 1978, 115)

Krishna responds by exiling Kaliya from the Yamuna River to the ocean, thereby implicitly acknowledging that even evil beings have a place in the world.

According to the Bhagavad Gita, Krishna, as the

Supreme Lord himself, embraces all of life's contraries within himself—including universal destructiveness. This destructiveness is vividly expressed in two lines from the *Bhagavad Gita* that flashed through the mind of Robert Oppenheimer, director of the Los Alamos project, when the first atomic bomb was tested in Los Alamos, New Mexico on July 16, 1945:

I am become death, the shatterer of worlds; Waiting the hour that ripens to their doom. (11:32–33)

The corpus of Hindu scriptures of which the *Bhagavad Gita* is a part constitutes a complex, multilayered body of literature that is difficult to describe or characterize in a short space. The oldest layers of this tradition go back thousands of years before the Christian era. The *Bhagavad Gita* (the Lord's Song), one of the more significant and popular Hindu texts, is a short work that Western scholars speculate was inserted into the *Mahabharata*, the world's longest epic, sometime

between 200 B.C.E. and 200 C.E. The *Bhagavad Gita* contains a number of evocative passages on the subject of the destructive, apocalyptic side of the divine nature.

The central narrative of the *Mahabharata* is about a civil war and the events surrounding the culminating battle in an ancient Indian kingdom. Before the great battle begins, Arjuna, the chief protagonist, asks his chariot driver, Krishna, to drive his chariot out between the two armies. Krishna is a complex figure, who many Hindus regard as the supreme deity himself. The text of the *Bhagavad Gita* contains a conversation between Arjuna and Krishna that took place on this battlefield before the fighting broke out.

From his vantage point on the field between the two armies, Arjuna sees all of his closest friends and relatives in both armies, and loses the willingness to fight. He realizes that many of the people dearest to him are about to lay down their lives. After unburdening his heart to Krishna about these matters, Arjuna firmly asserts, "I will not fight." Krishna smiles, and then responds to his friend with an extended discourse on the nature of life, death, and ultimate reality. With respect to the soul and death, Krishna reminds Arjuna of certain truths of classical Hinduism: The real human being, as opposed to our false sense of self, is the soul, not the body. The soul, which reincarnates in different, successive bodies, is eternal and basically changeless. Because we are all eternal souls, who can ever really die? And for that matter, who can ever really kill?

Krishna further asserts that, as the supreme deity of the universe, he is about to take the lives of Arjuna's enemies anyway. Thus if Arjuna takes up the fight, he will merely be the instrument of God's will. It is in the context of this conversation that, at Arjuna's request, Krishna reveals his divine form—a form that includes the frightening aspect of the divinity that destroys the world at the end of time:

When I see thy vast form, reaching the sky, burning with many colors, with wide open mouths, with vast flaming eyes, my heart shakes in terror: my power is gone and gone is my peace, O Vishnu! Like the fire at the end of Time which burns all in the last day, I see

thy vast mouths and thy terrible teeth.... The flames of thy mouths devour all the worlds. Thy glory fills the whole universe. But how terrible thy splendors burn!... Who art thou in this form of terror? (11:25–25, 30–31)

Krishna replies that he is all-powerful time, which consumes all things, and that he is about to manifest this aspect of his nature in the midst of the upcoming battle. After these and many other philosophical points have been made, Arjuna agrees to engage in battle.

Perhaps more than in any other tradition, evil is muted and relativized in Hinduism. This is partially because, in sharp contrast with Western religions, time is viewed as a never-ending cycle in which good and evil rise and fall within a cosmos that is forever being destroyed and recreated. These macrocosmic cycles are reflected in the microcosmic life of the individual in the form of the reincarnation process. A complex tradition with ancient roots, Hinduism has many myths of the demonic. This is partially the result of Hinduism's diversity.

One characteristic contributing to Hinduism's diversity is that earlier strands of spiritual expression tend to be retained rather than discarded as new religious forms emerge. Thus in the wake of a devotional reform movement, for example, certain segments of the population might be persuaded to abandon older practices and ideas in favor of something new, but other members of the community will continue in the old ways. As a result of this trait, ideas and practices that are very ancient—sometimes thousands of years old—are still practiced by at least some contemporary Hindus.

The reader may recall from her or his early education the notion that humanity made the transition from tribal lifestyles to the more complex forms of social organization we call *civilization* along four great river basins—in China, India, Egypt, and what is today Iraq. A civilization that thousands of years ago existed along the Indus River in Western India left ruins of sophisticated cities. One of the bodies of ruins was uncovered near Harappa; hence this civilization is sometimes referred to as the Harappan civilization.

Because their written records were apparently composed on perishable materials, we know very little about them or about their religious beliefs. Scholars have, however, surmised that some of the basic beliefs of classical Hinduism, such as the doctrines of reincarnation and karma, are probably Harappan in origin.

One of the reasons we know so little about the Harappans is that around 1,500 B.C.E. (some Indian scholars say much earlier) a group of aggressive pastoral peoples from central Asia invaded India through the northern mountain passes, conquered the Harappans, and destroyed whatever records might have remained from the original civilization. These peoples, who called themselves Aryans ("Nobles"), originated from around the Caspian Sea. For unknown reasons, during the several millennia before the common era groups of Aryans took off in every direction, subjugating indigenous peoples in every area of the world from India to Ireland (the words Iran, *Ireland*, and *Aryan* all derive from the same root). The Indo-European family of languages is one of the legacies of this expansion.



Depiction of Krishna dancing on the head of his defeated enemy, Kalya (Fortean Picture Library)

The worldview of the Aryan invaders of India was partially preserved in the Vedas. By the time of the Indian classical period (at least a millennium after the initial invasion), the leading gods of the Vedas (e.g., Indra and Varuna) had been demoted to demigods, and their status as chief divinities supplanted by non-Vedic deities such as Vishnu and Shiva. It has been hypothesized that this mythological transformation was one phase of the victory of the religious ideology of the indigenous peoples over the religious sensitivity of the Aryan invaders.

Another aspect of this influence may be reflected in the otherworldly orientation of later Hinduism. The religious vision of the Vedas, in sharp contrast to classical Hinduism, had focused very much on this world. The gods were ritually invoked to improve one's situation in this life, so that priests became something approaching magicians. After settling down in the Indian subcontinent, the Aryans became more introspective, started asking questions about the ultimate meaning of life, and developed an ideology centered around release or liberation (moksha) from the cycle of death and rebirth (samsara). The various disciplines that are collectively referred to as yoga developed out of this introspective turn. Because some of the artifacts that survive from the Harappan period appear to be human beings in yogic meditation poses, it seems likely that the Aryans picked up these practices from the indigenous peoples.

To understand the worldview of classical Hinduism it is necessary to understand that the process of reincarnation was viewed negatively, as a cycle that kept the individual soul bound to an endless cycle of suffering. Unlike many Western treatments of reincarnation, which make the idea of coming back into body after body seem exotic, desirable, and even romantic, Hinduism, Buddhism, and other South Asian religions portray the samsaric process as unhappy: Life in this world is suffering. Hence liberation from this process represents the supreme goal of human strivings.

The notion of reincarnation even colors Hindu notions of hell, which, unlike Western hells, are temporary abodes in which the soul spends a set period of time rather than an eternity. This does

not mean that South Asians conceived of their hells as being any less grotesque. Instead, by the time of the Puranas, Hindus had posited baroque hell realms rivaling Dante's Inferno. This is reflected in the names of some of these realms: Forest of Sword-Blades, Diarrhea, Burning Vat, Thorny, Saw-Toothed, Dog-Eating, Red Hot Iron Balls, Worm-Eating, and Blood- and Pus-Eating. And the descriptions provided in the Puranas are as vivid as the names of the hell worlds; for example, "Those haughty people who treat their mothers, fathers and teachers with contempt go to hell where they lie with their faces downward in pus, feces and urine. . . . Crows rip out the intestines through the anus of men who urinate in front of cows, brahmins [priests], the sun or fire. . . ." (Dimmitt and van Buitenen 1978, 51).

Yama, the Hindu god of death, is in charge of overseeing the enforcement of these activities.

Reflecting the individual samsaric process, the cosmos itself undergoes periodic dissolutions and recreations. As recorded in the *Puranas*, the principal mythological texts of classical Hinduism, these macrocosmic cycles take place across vast expanses of time—a spectacle of eternity that seems aimed more at boggling the mind than anything else. The basic building blocks of the Hindu temporal schema are the four yugas—Krita, Treta, Dvapara, and Kali—which roughly correspond with the four ages of the classical Greco-Roman world—the ages of Gold, Silver, Brass, and Iron. Like the Mediterranean ages, the series of Hindu ages reflects a successive degeneration in the moral order.

One complete cycle of four yugas, referred to as a mahayuga, is 4,320,000 human years in duration. One thousand mahayugas, in turn, constitute a kalpa of 4,320,000,000 human years. The end of each kalpa—also referred to as a day of Brahma—culminates in the dissolution of the cosmos and its return to a state of chaos. This state, referred to as pralaya, is symbolically represented by the image of a primordial ocean. Pralaya—the night of Brahma during which the creator is said to sleep—lasts as long as a day of Brahma, or another 4,320,000,000 years. At the end of this "night," the cosmos is recreated. Lesser dissolutions recur at the end of every mahayuga.

The dissolution of the cosmos into pralaya is not to be confused with the deluge and the accompanying universal flood that occurs fourteen times each kalpa at the end of temporal periods called manvantaras, or "Manu-intervals." The events of each kalpa recur exactly during each day of Brahma. Each Brahma, in turn, lives 100 years that are constituted by 360 days of Brahma—very longlived indeed! Furthermore, successions of different Brahmas become the building blocks for even longer time periods. Scholars such as the late Heinrich Zimmer have speculated that at least part of the purpose behind delineating such incomprehensibly long cycles is to relativize ordinary human existence, overwhelming the mind with the insignificance of our everyday concerns. In other words, reflecting upon the brevity and transitoriness of life helps one renounce the world and motivates one to seek liberation from the cycle of death and rebirth.

Although there are variations in detail from text to text, the endtime events outlined in the *Puranas* are remarkably consistent, and the basic puranic scenario has persisted in contemporary Hindu accounts of the eschaton. The agent of destruction is Shiva or Vishnu in the form of Shiva. In the classical formulation, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva constitute a kind of trinity, with Brahma creating the world, Vishnu maintaining the world, and Shiva destroying the world.

At the close of a day of Brahma, the worlds are first dried out by a scorching sun. This drought is so severe that even the waters of the netherworld are dried out. When everything is so dried out that the earth is parched and cracked, a terrible wind blows through the worlds, drawing the life-breath out of all creatures.

This wind is followed by a universal fire that consumes all of the worlds in a frightful tornado of flame. The source attributed to this fire varies. Of particular importance is the widespread image of a mare with flames issuing out of her mouth (an image that may ultimately be derived from the ancient vedic rite of horse sacrifice) as the source of this doomsday fire. In a well-known mythological episode, Shiva, in a moment of anger, slew Kama, god of desire, with a fiery blast from his third eye. Once set in motion, however, this fire could not be

stopped, and threatened to destroy the three worlds before the appointed time of the apocalypse. Brahma therefore transformed the fire into a fire-breathing mare. The mare's fire, which is inextinguishable, is held in check until the endtime by her residence at the bottom of the ocean.

While consuming the three worlds of Hindu cosmology, first with fire and then with water, Shiva dances the Tandava dance in his familiar form as Nataraja, "Lord of the Dance." In the words of the Kurma Purana:

When all the gods are consumed by fire, the mountain-born goddess Parvati [Shiva's consort] stands alone [and] the supreme lord looks at the goddess as he dances the Tandava dance. This goddess of supernal felicity in turn drinks in the nectar of the dance of her husband while she herself, abiding in Yoga, enters the body of the trident-wielding god. Quitting his Tandava dance as he pleases, the blessed Pinaka-bearer [Shiva] whose nature is light burns up the orb of the egg of Brahma [i.e., the manifested cosmos]. Then, while the Gods Brahma, Vishnu and the Pinaka-bearer alone remain, the earth, with all her properties, dissolves into the waters. (Dimmitt and van Buitenen 1978, 44)

Finally, the air fills with great clouds that rain down a ferocious deluge until the world perishes in watery darkness. To cite Heinrich Zimmer's evocative description from his classic Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization, "The ultimate elements melt into the undifferentiated fluid out of which they once arose. The moon, the stars, dissolve. The mounting tide becomes a limitless sheet of water. This is the interval of a night of Brahma" (Zimmer 1946, 3). The universe is reabsorbed into the ultimate divinity (Vishnu in the puranic texts), who withdraws into inactivity. The deity's static state is traditionally symbolized by the image of Vishnu asleep on the coils of a giant serpent, who floats like a raft on the surface of the primordial waters. At the beginning of the next "day," Brahma then emerges from a lotus flower that sprouts from Vishnu's navel and recreates the cosmos.

See also Asuras; Indo-Europeans **For Further Reading:**

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Humor

The infernal is a seemingly endless source of humor. Although it may at first strike one as odd that such a dark subject should so often be a topic of levity, it is quite common for human beings to joke about the matters that cause us the most anxiety. This is why, to take some alternate examples, there is so much humor about sex, religion, politics, and lawyers.

Sometimes anxiety-producing topics are blended together. In one popular joke, for example, St. Peter wakes up one morning, looks down the hill toward hell, and notices that the fence separating the two realms has been moved uphill several hundred yards. Upset, he walks downhill, knocks on the door of hell, and demands to speak with the Devil. When Satan comes out, he explains that he had decided to move the fence because, after all, heaven is receiving only a very few new residents, while people are standing in line to get into hell. St. Peter, however, refuses to accept this line of reasoning, pointing out to the Prince of Darkness that altering the boundary is against the rules. The exchange then heats up. Finally, with the Devil still refusing to budge, St. Peter storms out the door, exclaiming, "O.K. then! I'll see you in court!" Whereupon Satan laughs and retorts, "Where are you going to find a lawyer!"—implying, of course,

that hell has a monopoly on members of that particular profession.

The Devil's association with sex has also made him a favorite emblem of sensuality. The familiar term *horny*, for instance, refers simultaneously to Satan's horns and to his reputation for high levels of sexual desire. In a similar vein, greeting cards, especially anniversary and birthday cards, will often make use of something traditionally associated with the Devil (e.g., a forked tale or a pitchfork) to convey the message, "You know what I *really* want for my anniversary (birthday)!"

Political cartoonists have often deployed diabolical images to lampoon politicians and policies they disliked. The death of Richard Nixon, for example, gave rise to numerous cartoons speculating about the infernal fate of the former president. Bill Maher, on his comedy talk program *Politically Incorrect*, even posed the question, "Did Nixon go to heaven or hell?" as a topic of discussion. As one might guess, the unpopular politician did not fare very well in the opinion of Maher's guests.

The infernal realm is also a favorite topic for cartoonists. Gary Larson's *Far Side* regularly features characters in hell. In one of the more popular *Far Side* cartoons, people are filing past a Devil who is standing beside a sign bearing the familiar saying, "This is the first day of the rest of your life." Larson often makes use of the device of literalizing common expressions. In one cartoon, for instance, a Devil drives up in a tacky-looking automobile, complete with such accessories as fuzzy dice hanging from the rearview mirror. Another Devil in the foreground of the cartoon leans over to a compatriot and remarks, "Here comes Hell on Wheels."

Hundreds of animated cartoons have also included diabolical episodes. In one *Simpsons* episode, Homer sells his soul for a raspberry glazed doughnut. As soon as he is finished, the abyss opens up underneath him in the Simpson kitchen, the Devil grabs Homer, and he plunges down into hell. In the Ironic Retribution chamber, he faces his punishment: A mechanical device constantly shoves donuts down his mouth. Homer, however, is such a clod that he actually enjoys his punishment. In the end, he is rescued by his wife Marge, who asserts that Homer long ago promised his soul to her, obviating the agreement to sell his soul to Satan.

The long-running TV comedy show Saturday Night Live has produced a large number of skits about Satan and hell. One of the favorites was a mock variety show hosted by the Church Lady (played by Dana Carvey). The Church Lady's trademark comment, always directed at explaining some aspect of her guests' behavior or experience, was, "Could it be Satan?" Another ongoing component of the show involved a traditionally costumed Satan (played by John Lovitz) who would pop up to antagonize guests and promote devil-worship. Lovitz would end each interruption by bringing his face close to the camera, demanding that the audience "Worship me! I command you!" and bursting into diabolical laughter.

See also Advertising
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Iblis (Eblis)

All of the religions in the Judeo-Christian-Islamic complex share a similar idea about the origin of Satan, which is that he was a prideful angel who was ejected from heaven. In his postcelestial career, Satan then took on the task of leading humanity astray. In Judaism and Christianity, Satan provokes a war in heaven in which he leads a revolt against God. He is, of course, defeated, and he and his followers are ejected from heaven. In Islam, the story is somewhat different.

In the Muslim tradition there are three orders of creatures: angels, who are made from light; jinn, who are made from fire; and human beings, who are made from clay. The angels were created first. When God created Adam, He commanded the angels to worship him. Iblis (often spelled Eblis) refused on the ground that Adam, who, after all, was a mere creature of dust and dirt, was inferior to the angels. As punishment for his disobedience, Iblis was transformed from an angel into a jinn. Then Iblis and other angels who shared his viewpoint were removed from their stations, and exiled from heaven. They subsequently became demons, with Iblis playing the role of the Islamic Satan. Ejected from the presence of God, these former angels turned to trickery and causing trouble for mortals. According to the Koran, Iblis's first misdeed was to lead Adam and Eve astray in the Garden of Eden. The Koran also notes that at the end of time Iblis and his hosts will be tossed into hell.

In an interesting variation on tradition, Sufis (Islamic mystics) reinterpreted Iblis's disobedience as an act of love for God, and as an act of obedience to the law that only God should be worshiped. To bow down to Adam, in other words, would have been an acknowledgment of another god other than God, and thus an act of idolatry—a severe sin in the Muslim tradition. Iblis, to continue this line of interpretation, was a true lover of God, and thus a Sufi. Iblis knew that the consequences of his actions would be punishment, but he preferred remaining true to his love of God (and the consequences of being condemned to hell) over being untrue to his love of God and remaining in heaven.

See also Islam; Jinn
For Further Reading:

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Imp

Imps are minor evil spirits, rather like infernal fairies. The word from Old English *impian*, to graft, means offshoot or cutting, a term that conveys the impression of imps being offshoots of Satan. Imps have also been described as the

demonic equivalent of guardian angels, who tempt one to evil acts rather than incline one to good acts. For the consciously evil person, they are errand boys who carry out the bidding of their master. Imps were also traditionally thought to be the familiars of witches. Imps were low-maintenance demons and could be kept just about anywhere. Usually tiny in size, some were said to look like small people, others like moles or even toads. They required some feeding, and particularly needed blood.

See also Familiars; Satan
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Incubi and Succubi

Men may at times be begotten by means of Incubi and Succubi, [and] it is contrary to the words of the saints and even to the tradition of Holy Scripture to maintain the opposite opinion.

-Malleus Maleficarun

The idea of spirit beings or demons who take the form of people in order to have sex with human beings is actually very ancient. In Western demonological lore, speculation on such ideas grew out of two short verses in Chapter 6 of Genesis:

The sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair; and they took to wife such of them as they chose. (6:2)

The Nephilim were on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore children to them. These were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown. (6:4)

In these rather strange verses, the expression "sons of God" was taken to indicate angels. And while scripture does not condemn these actions, the traditional interpretation of these passages is that these sons of God are *fallen* angels. This history of interpretation provided biblical legitimation for the notion of incubi and succubi. The

idea seems to have been mediated to the Middle Ages by St. Augustine, who wrote, "It is a wide-spread opinion, confirmed by direct or indirect testimony of trustworthy persons, that the Sylvans and Fauns, commonly called Incubi, have often tormented women, solicited and obtained intercourse with them" (Augustine 1942, 15:23). Such demons most often attack/seduce human beings at night, thus conveniently explaining why monks, nuns, and priests have erotic dreams.

Although sterile themselves, incubi (demons in male forms) could supposedly impregnate women with seed taken by succubi (demons in female form) from men—a belief that was sometimes used to explain pregnancies resulting from secret affairs. This type of explanation not only absolved women from charges of licentiousness, but, because the sperm was taken from men, it also saved the child from being executed as an offspring of a demon.

The authors of the influential *Malleus Maleficarum* (The Witch Hammer, 1486) were seemingly obsessed with explaining this process, and devote several sections to explaining its mechanism; for example, "Devils do indeed collect human semen, by means of which they are able to produce bodily effects; but his cannot be done without some local movement, therefore demons can transfer the semen which they have collected and inject it into the bodies of others." (Kramer and Sprenger [1486] 1970, 28) Some demons can collect the semen from living men by assuming the form of succubi, transform themselves into incubi, and then inject semen into women. In other cases, semen is transferred from succubi to incubi.

Hienrich Kramer and James Sprenger, the authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, speculate that this division of labor may arise from the prior assignment of demons to specific people—apparently the diabolical equivalent of guardian angels: "Perhaps one devil allotted to a woman, should receive semen from another devil, allotted to a man, that in this way each of them should be commissioned by the prince of devils to work some witchcraft; since to each one is allotted his own angel, even from among the evil ones." Alternately, the two inquisitors speculate that this pairing of efforts may arise from the "filthiness of



Succubus (top) and incubus (center) visiting a sleeping woman (Fortean Picture Library)

the deed, which one devil would abhor to commit"—implying that certain demons would object to playing both the male role and the female role in the semen transfer process.

Why, however, are demons so intent on promoting human reproduction? Kramer and Sprenger provide a number of different reasons:

The reason that devils turn themselves into incubi or succubi is not for the cause of pleasure, since a spirit has not flesh and blood; but chiefly it is with this intention, that through the vice of luxury they may work a twofold harm against men, that is, in body and in soul, that so men may be more given

to all vices. And there is no doubt that they know under which stars the semen is most vigorous, and that men so conceived will be always perverted by witchcraft (Kramer and Sprenger [1486] 1970, 25).

In other words, people who copulate with demons are more inclined to sin, and human beings thus conceived are somehow corrupted by this process so that they readily give themselves to Satan after they grow up.

There were, however, other medieval traditions that asserted the incubi *could* impregnate mortal women, and that succubi *could* become pregnant by mortal men. It was, for instance, rumored that Merlin the magician was the offspring of such a union. This notion of semidemonic children was useful for explaining such phenomena as deformed babies. Incubi were sometimes referred to as *demon lovers*. Also, some writers asserted that succubi were the same as the wood nymphs of European folklore.

Mortals who willingly responded to the seductive wiles of these beings risked damnation. A papal bull issued by Pope Innocent VIII in 1484, for instance, asserted that: "Many persons of both sexes, forgetful of their own salvation, have abused incubi and succubi" (Kramer and Sprenger 1970 [1486], xliii—xlv). Some of the church fathers, such as St. Anthony, asserted that demons would take the form of seductive naked women who would try to lure him away from his devotions. These experiences were later taken as evidence for the real existence of succubi.

See also Demons; Nightmares **For Further Reading:**

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Indo-Europeans

Although there have been innumerable subsidiary influences, the angels and demons of Western religions (i.e., Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) are derived ultimately from the gods of the Indo-Europeans. Indo-European was originally a linguistics term referring to the Indo-European family of languages. This category of classification was created when it was discovered that almost all of the languages from Europe to India were related, indicating a common root language. This family resemblance is evident in similarities of vocabulary. Thus, for example, the Sanskrit/Hindi word deva, which refers to a certain class of gods and goddess, comes from the same root as the English words *deity* and *divine*. In order to explain this phenomenon, scholars have postulated that these similarities are the result of a group of peoples, who spoke the original (now lost) Indo-European language.

These peoples, who called themselves Aryans (Nobles), originated from the steppes of southern Russia, in the region stretching from the Black Sea to the Ural Mountains. (Contrary to the less-than-scholarly reinterpretation of this history by Nazi theoreticians, the Aryans were a distinctly Central Asian people—not the Nordic racial type of Nazi mythology.) Several millennia before the common era (B.C.E.), groups of Aryans took off in every direction, subjugating indigenous peoples in every area of the world from India to Ireland (*Iran, Ireland,* and *Aryan* all derive from the same root). The Indo-European family of languages is one of the legacies of this expansion.

Efforts to reconstruct Indo-European religion and mythology, represented especially in the work of George Dumézil, have focused on finding common elements in the myths and religious practices of Indo-European peoples that are not found in other cultural complexes. It has, for example, been established that the Indo-Europeans divided their society into three groups of people, and that

this tripartite division was reflected in their myth system. According to one line of thought, in at least some branches of the Indo-European family two distinct groups of divinities were worshiped by two different social groups. In the Persian/Indian wing of the Indo-Europeans, these two groups were termed ahuras (Persian)/asuras (Indian) and daevas (Persian)/devas (Indian). For ultimately unknowable reasons, but perhaps arising out of some kind of ongoing conflict between the two social divisions, the ahuras became the angels and the daevas the demons in Zoroastrianism, and the devas became demigods and the asuras became demons in Hinduism. This confusion is reflected in modern English, in which the term divinity and the term devil derive from the same root word, deva or daeva.

See also Asuras; Hinduism; Zoroastrianism *For Further Reading*:

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The Infernal Chapel

The Infernal Chapel was founded in June of the year 2000 for the spreading of Left-Hand Path philosophy in the southern California area. The Infernal Chapel is located in Orange County California and was founded by Reverend Haile, D.D., the current coven master. The Chapel has no past connections with any other groups, but Rev. Haile himself has been in many orders and organizations from many occult traditions.

The chapel is also a school of the black arts, teaching many forms of magic, such as Thelema, traditional Satanism, Setian Magick, Dark Hermetics, Chaos Magic, and Black witchcraft. The chapel tries to meet once a month. The chapel is a mixture of many traditions, not just modern Satanism. The philosophy of the chapel is a combination of modern Satanism, as formulated by Anton LaVey, the tradition of Aleister Crowley, and Chaos Magic theory as written by the Prophet of Kaos, Petter Carroll.

See also Chaos Magic; First Church of Satan *For Further Reading:*

Infernal Chapel Satanic Church. http://community.webtv.net/Magus418/Infernal Chapel.

Ingram Ritual Abuse Case

In 1988, Paul R. Ingram, a deputy sheriff and chairman of the local Republican party in Olympia, Washington, became the first person ever to plead guilty to accusations of Satanic ritual abuse (SRA). He was convicted and is currently serving a twenty-year term for the rape of his two daughters, despite the fact that he almost immediately reversed his plea. The case attracted national attention. For people who promote the notion of a secret, widespread Satanic conspiracy, the Ingram case became a key item of evidence for supporting the truth of their peculiar vision. Alternately, for people who dismiss the reality of Satanic ritual abuse, the case became a prime example of how such paranoid thinking can lead to real abuse.

To understand Ingram's initial confession, it is important to understand the teachings of the local charismatic church of which he was a member. This church taught that Satan could invade the minds of Christians and influence them to do evil deeds that they would not later remember (demons would shield memories of such acts from the perpetrators). The same church also played a key role in producing the initial accusations. During a church-sponsored retreat, Ingram's older daughter was told by a woman who claimed to possess prophetic powers that she had been a victim of sexual abuse by her father. Ingram's younger daughter, also a retreat participant, later made similar accusations. These initial claims of sexual abuse were amplified into charges of Satanic ritual abuse after the first daughter went through a course of counseling with a therapist who utilized recovered memory therapy to bring to light the memories that had supposedly been repressed. Both eventually told the story that their father had sexually abused them for years, and that he and his "poker buddies" were members of a Satanic cult. Ingram and two fellow police officers were eventually arrested, although only Ingram was convicted.

To put the daughters' accusations in perspective, it is important to note that in 1983, at an earlier church retreat, the older daughter had made charges of sexual abuse against a church counselor. Then, in 1985, at another retreat, both daughters accused a neighbor of the same crime. In neither of these cases was enough evidence found to pursue them. Another factor to take into account is that, at the time, recovered memory therapy had not yet been debunked as pseudoscience, meaning that the daughters' "recovered memories" were regarded as plausible. It should also be noted that the initial charges were gradually amplified into grandiose stories of ritual abuse after the first daughter viewed the Geraldo Rivera special "Satan's Underground" and read the SRA book by the same name.

When Ingram got word of his daughters' accusations, he had difficulty reconciling their charges with his own lack of memory. Asserting that, "I didn't raise my daughters to lie," he speculated that "there must be a dark side of me I don't know about." From the standpoint of the teachings of his church (which, as noted, postulated demons of forgetfulness), this hypothesis made perfect sense. Ingram was then placed under arrest, interrogated, and encouraged to confess, with the understanding that if he would just start to confess, the appropriate memories would be recovered. He was also encouraged to confess by his pastor, who had been counseling the girls and affirmed that the abuse had really taken place. Detectives also allowed the minister to attempt an exorcism of the demons he believed were blocking Ingram's memories. As he explained later to his therapist, "They wanted more stuff and I just wasn't getting it. I told him [the pastor] I thought I had a demon in me that was keeping me from doing this, and he said not a demon but he did deliver me from several spirits. I actually kind of vomited out and that day I was able to get some real good information" (Lennon and Ingram 1988, website). Told that he was suffering from multiple personality disorder (a disorder the legitimacy of which the psychological profession would later dispute), Ingram compliantly confessed to whatever he was accused of-and the accusations became increasingly bizarre.

The girls eventually amplified their claims to

include such items of information as: they were raped during more than 800 rituals, they received abortions from their father, they witnessed the sacrifice of twenty-five babies, and more than thirty members of the sheriff's department were involved in SRA. The older daughter would later assert on tabloid TV that she had been aborted during a Satanic ritual and compelled to eat parts of her child. Both daughters also asserted that, as a result of ongoing abuse, their bodies were covered by scars. However, a medical exam found nothing on the two except an appendectomy scar on the older girl. A female sheriff's detective attending this examination confirmed the doctor's observations:

On April 20, 1989, I asked [the older daughter] to show me where she had been cut on her stomach by one of the defendants. She lifted her sweater and pointed to the midline area between her sternum and navel. I was not able to observe any scaring. I stretched the skin slightly to insure that the scar was not covered by any body hair. I still was unable to see any scar. . . . Later the same date, I checked [the younger daughter's shoulders, clavicle area, and upper arms for scars. I saw no marks or scars. As she was wearing a tank top, I moved the shoulder of the garment so I could see all of the shoulder area. I asked . . . if she thought she had scars in that area. She indicated that she did not. (Thompson 1989, website)

Despite the surreal nature of the two girls' claims, law enforcement officials took their assertions seriously and began a county-wide search for Satanic ritual activity. As noted by Daniel Brailey, founder of an organization devoted to freeing Ingram:

The Ingram investigation was the most expensive in Thurston County history, costing close to one million dollars. The county used helicopters with specialized night vision equipment in a fruitless attempt to catch the Satanists in the act, in nearby wooded areas. They were successful, however, in busting a lot of beer parties. One detective was so spooked he couldn't sleep at night without a light.

Another investigator began carrying a crucifix for protection. And yet [the sheriff] admitted later there was no physical evidence, only the girls' accusations and Paul's dubious confessions. (Brailey, website)

In the quest for physical evidence, the county directed forensic archeologist Mark Papworth (at the time chief deputy coroner for Thurston County) to seek out evidence at several places the daughters indicated were sites at which they had witnessed sacrificial victims being buried. After an extensive search, the only thing Papworth found was a cattle bone. He was taken aback by the response he received from investigators:

I said, "[name of county official], there's no evidence. There's no evidence. None at all. Zero." And he said to me, "If you were the devil would you leave any evidence?" and I ... my hair stood on end and I realized at that point there was no talking to him beyond that and I excused myself and I said. "My report." I handed that to somebody and I'm out of here. I have nothing else to add. I can make no stronger statement than there was no evidence. (Papworth 1996, website)

The prosecution also brought in Dr. Richard Ofshe, a false memory researcher and self-proclaimed expert on "cult" coercion tactics. In his report, he dismissed Ingram's accusers as not credible. He also carried out an experiment with Ingram:

Over a two day period, I caused him to recall events that I arbitrarily selected. Mr. Ingram produced a written confession to acts of sexual abuse of his children in response to the influence methods I employed. The tactics I used were modeled on the sessions Mr. Ingram had been having with [Ingram's pastor] and resembled the interview procedure used in Mr. Ingram's interrogations. . . . it is quite likely that most of what Mr. Ingram reports as recollections of events are products of social influence rather than reports based on his memory of events. (Ofshe, website)

Ofshe submitted his report with the warning that, in his opinion, the authorities were preparing to convict an innocent person. When the country prosecutor refused to give the defense a copy of his report, Ofshe complained to the judge who then agreed to provide a copy to Ingram's attorneys.

Failing to turn up hard evidence of Satanic ritual abuse, the prosecution eventually decided to drop the Satanism issue and convicted Ingram on the simpler charge of rape. Inconsistently, however, they proclaimed that they were responsible for "the first ritual abuse investigation that has been confirmed by an adult offender involved directly with the offenses in the nation's history" (The Paul Ingram Ritual Abuse Case, website).

Not long after his confession, Ingram came to feel that he was innocent, but could not reverse his plea under Washington law. Despite a number of appeals and requests for clemency, Ingram remains in jail. Although his younger daughter eventually recanted and reconciled with her father, the older daughter not only continued to maintain the truth of her charges, but went on to become a minor celebrity on the TV tabloid circuit. Ingram's case has inspired a number of important articles and has been discussed in numerous books, including Lawrence Wright's *Remembering Satan*, which features Ingram. The case has also inspired two films, *Crimes of the Imagination* and *Forgotten Sins*.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse **For Further Reading:**

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Invitation to Hell

In this 1994 film, yet another family moves into a new town and stumbles onto a diabolical conspiracy, this one headed up by a demon who runs the Steaming Springs Country Club.

Islam

Notions of hell, demons, and Satan (Arabic *Iblis*) have been part of Islam since the time of Muhammad. Both the Koran (the Islamic scriptures) and the Hadith (the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad), refer to these concepts. The story of the origin of Satan is told somewhat differently in the Muslim tradition than in Christianity.

In the Muslim account, when God created Adam, He commanded the angels to worship him. Iblis refused on the grounds that Adam, who, after all, was a mere creature of dust and dirt, was inferior to the angels, who were made from light. As punishment for his disobedience, Iblis was transformed from an angel into a jinn, which is a being made of fire.

When the Lord said to the angels, "See, I am creating a mortal of clay. when I have shaped him, and breathed My spirit in him, fall you down, bowing before him!" Then the angels bowed themselves all together, save Iblis; he waxed proud, and was one of the unbelievers. Said he, "Iblis, what prevented thee to bow thyself before that I created with My own hands? Said he, "I am better than he; Thou createdst me of fire, and him Thou createdst of clay." Said he, "Then go thou forth hence; thou are accured. Upon thee shall rest My cures, till

the Day of Doom." (Arberry 1969, 163)

Then Iblis and other angels who shared his viewpoint were removed from their stations, and exiled from heaven. They subsequently became demons, with Iblis playing the role of the Islamic Satan. Ejected from the presence of God, these former angels turned to trickery and causing trouble for mortals. According to the Koran, Iblis's first misdeed was to lead Adam and Eve astray in the Garden of Eden. The Koran also notes that at the end of time Iblis and his hosts will be tossed into hell.

Muslim tradition also mentions specific "dark" angels, such as Malik, who guards hell. The Koran asserts that Malik is aided by nineteen other angel guards (sbires or zabayniya). When the sinful residents of hell beg Malik for help, he tells them that they must stay in hell forever because they denied the truth when it was once showed to them: "And they shall call, 'O Malik, let thy Lord have done with us!' He will say, 'You will surely tarry . . . most of you were averse to the truth" (Arberry 1969, 205). Malik makes life even worse for them by stoking the fires and making jokes. The only relief comes for the Muslim sinners in hell who can escape such treatment by reciting "Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful." Malik knows that these true believers will one day be freed from hell by Muhammad.

In an interesting variation on tradition, Sufis (Islamic mystics) reinterpreted Iblis's disobedience as an act of love for God, and as an act of obedience to the law that only God should be worshiped. To bow down to Adam, in other words, would have been an acknowledgment of another god other than God, and thus an act of idolatry—a severe sin in the Muslim tradition. Iblis, to continue this line of interpretation, was a true lover of God, and thus a Sufi. Iblis knew that the consequences of his actions would be punishment, but he preferred remaining true to his love of God (and the consequences of being condemned to hell) over being untrue to his love of God and remaining in heaven.

The Koran is especially focused on the day of judgement, when humankind will be bodily resurrected. When human beings die, they remain in a

sort of interworld (barzakh), a realm located closer to the luminous cosmic center, until the day of resurrection. In this interworld, which somewhat resembles dreaming, the soul of the deceased, liberated from its bodily layers, can awaken and become aware of its true nature. The interworld period is important in preparing for the day of resurrection, which occurs at the end of time-when human possibilities and potential have been exhausted. The day of resurrection (referred to as *qiyama*, the return, or *ba'th*, awakening), which constitutes one of the essential beliefs of the Islamic faith, is believed by some to last thousands of years. On this day the souls, rejoined with their bodies, will be assigned eternal life either in paradise (literally the Garden) or in hell (the fire), depending on their merits.

Although the figure of the Madhi is more central to Shiite Islam, it is a popular belief among many Sunni Muslims that a righteous leader (a Madhi or "rightly guided one") will reign for a brief period in the last days. He will be followed by an imposter messiah (parallel to the Christian notion of an Antichrist) who will attempt to lead the world astray. Finally, however, the prophet Jesus will appear to usher in the final judgment. On Judgment Day the earth will quake and mountains become a "heap of sand": "When the stars shall be extinguished, when heaven shall be split, when the mountains shall be scattered." (Arberry 1969, 318). As in the judgment day scenarios of other Middle Eastern religions, the dead are resurrected: "Upon the day when the Caller shall call unto a horrible thing, abasing their eyes, they shall come forth from the tombs as if they were scattered grasshoppers, running with outstretched necks to the Caller. The unbelievers shall say, 'This is a hard day!" (Arberry 1969, 247). And judged: "Then he whose deeds weigh heavy in the Balance shall inherit a pleasing life, but he whose deeds weight light in the Balance shall plunge in the womb of the Pit" (Arberry 1969, 348).

Paradise (*al-Jannah*) is located at the macrocosmic center of light and is composed of eight levels (or, according to some authorities, as many as the number of souls). This is viewed as a garden where all kinds of delights are prepared for the saved. On the far outer part of the macrocosm lies



Arabic amulet with an Koranic inscription (Fortean Picture Library)

hell (an-nar), arranged in seven layers, where the soul's punishment consists of being far from God, which is considered to be the worst chastisement. More so than Judeo-Christian scriptures, the Koran contains a number of vivid descriptions of both paradise and hell. For instance, in the chapter entitled "The Terror," the Koran says, "They are brought nigh the Throne, in the Gardens of Delight upon close-wrought couches reclining upon them, set face to face, immortal youths going round about them with goblets, and ewers, and a cup from a spring and such fruits as they shall choose, and such flesh of fowl as they desire, and wide-eyed houris as the likeness of hidden pearls, a recompense for that they labored" (Arberry1969, 254). Equally vivid descriptions of Hell can be found throughout the Koran, as in the chapter "The Pilgrimage": "garments of fire shall be cut, and there shall be poured over their heads boiling water whereby whatsoever is in their bellies and their skins shall be melted; for them await hooked iron rods; as often as they desire in their anguish to come forth from it, they shall be

restored into it, and taste the chastisement of the burning" (Arberry1969, 29).

Islamic theologians, particularly those of the Asharite school, believed that if a believer entered hell, God could forgive his sins or nonconformities and remove him, either immediately or after a certain period during which imperfections had been "burned away." The basis for this doctrine is the Hadith, "He shall make men come out of hell after they have been burned and reduced to cinders." In addition to this purgatory of suffering, there is another Muslim limbo—*al-A'raf*, the "heights" or "ramparts," described in a chapter of

the Koran by that name—in which those souls reside who do not merit damnation, yet who are unable to enter paradise.

See also Harut and Marut; Iblis; Jinn For Further Reading:

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One of the more bizarre tales in the Book of Genesis is the story of Jacob's wrestling match with God. This narrative has been interpreted as a dream experience. Because entering into a wrestling match with a human being—and being defeated—is totally out of character for the mighty Yahweh, many scholars have interpreted this passage as a considerably modified retelling of an earlier (now lost) story about Jacob wrestling with a demon.

Jacob was the third patriarch of the Hebrews. He is considered the father of the chosen people, and his sons represent the heads of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. Jacob had an important dream on his way to Haran to take a wife from among the daughters of his Uncle Laban. The purpose of this dream is to confirm the Abrahamic covenant directly to Jacob, and to assure Jacob that, although he is in distress, he is yet the object of God's love and care. God's manifestation completely alters Jacob's view of his own purpose and destiny, and to Jacob this is no mere dream, but a profound spiritual experience. Fourteen years later Jacob was to have another dream in which he realized that he was to return to the land of his birth. He subsequently took his two wives, his family, and possessions, and left.

In Jacob's third dream, the famous dream of Peniel, God appeared to him in the form of a human being (some say an angel), and the two of them wrestled until daybreak. Jacob prevailed in strength, and would not let the man go until he had blessed him. The man then blessed him, and also changed his name from Jacob to Israel.

So Jacob was left alone, and a man wrestled with him there till daybreak. When the man saw that he could not throw Jacob, he struck him in the hollow of his thigh, so that Jacob's hip was dislocated as they wrestled. The man said, "Let me go, for day is breaking," but Jacob replied, "I will not let you go unless you bless me." He said to Jacob, "What is your name?" And he answered, "Jacob." The man said, "Your name shall no longer be Jacob, but Israel, because you strove with God and with men, and prevailed." Jacob said, "Tell me, I pray, your name." He replied, "Why do you ask my name?" But he gave him his blessing there. Jacob called the place Peniel, "because," he said, "I have seen God face to face and my life is spared." (Gen. 32:24–30)

As a consequence of this dream, Jacob received a new identity, a new status, as the one who provides his people with a name—Israel.

See also Demons; Judaism
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Jinn

According to the Muslims, the jinn (from which we get the English term genie) are invisible spirits made out of fire, who were created 2,000 years before Adam. Islamic thinkers postulated three orders of being beyond God: angels, jinn, and humanity. The angels, who were created out of light, are closest to God. The jinn, who are intermediate between angels and humanity, inhabit a subtly material or etheric realm. Like human beings, the jinn possess intelligence and free will, and are thus capable of being saved. For this reason, the Koran sometimes explicitly addresses itself to both humans and jinn. It is said that one night a group of jinn overheard the Prophet reciting the Koran and became believers. The spot where Muhammad later met with the jinns' leaders and accepted their allegiance is the site of the Mosque of the Jinn in Mecca.

Iblis, the Islamic Satan, was transformed from an angel into a jinn when he refused God's command that he worship Adam (who was created out of mere clay). Subsequently, Iblis and other angels who shared his viewpoint were removed from their stations. Iblis and the jinn were exiled from Eden and subsequently became demons. (Also included amongst the outcasts were five of Iblis's sons.) Ejected from the presence of God, these former angels turned to trickery and causing trouble for mortals.

One example of good behavior by the jinn is when Aladdin, in the book *Arabian Nights*, is assisted by a friendly *jinni* (genie) when he rubs his magical lamp. The jinn were also referred to as good spirits in *A Dictionary of Islam*, by Thomas P. Hughes. The entry (under "Genii") states: "The most noble and honorable among the angels are called the Ginn, because they are veiled from the eyes of the other angels on account of their superiority."

See also Iblis; Islam For Further Reading:

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Johnson, Robert

One of the best-known legends in American folk music concerns the deal with the devil that bluesman Robert Johnson is said to have made at a Mississippi crossroads one midnight. At least one blues scholar maintains that the story is more urban legend than rural folklore—the romantic concoction of white blues fans decades later—but some evidence suggests that the tale was in circulation during Johnson's lifetime.

To many religiously inclined African-Americans in the South, the blues was the "Devil's music," and those who performed it were placing their souls in peril. Some blues performers, however, happily took on the persona of the bad man in league with the Devil. Early bluesman William Bunch, for example, billed himself as Peetie Wheatstraw, the "Devil's Son-in-Law" and the "High Sheriff of Hell" (Oliver 1975, 89). It was rumored that some, such as Mississippi's Tommy Johnson (no relation to Robert Johnson) and the Carolinas' Gary Davis (though the latter subsequently became a Christian minister), had sold their souls to Satan in order to attain superior musical skills. (On the other hand, the great Mississippi guitarist and Robert Johnson mentor Son House played blues and preached, even writing the classic "Preachin' the Blues.")

Among the most influential figures in blues history, Robert Johnson, who usually played solo acoustic guitar, "made the instrument sound uncannily like a full band," in the words of Robert Palmer, "furnishing a heavy beat with his feet, chording innovative shuffle rhythms, and picking out a high, treble-string lead with his slider, all at the same time. Fellow guitarists would watch him with unabashed, open-mouthed wonder. They were watching the Delta's first modern bluesman at work" (Palmer 1981, 117). Johnson was born in Hazlehurst, Mississippi, on May 8, 1911. He grew up in the Delta and spent a few years in Memphis before returning to Mississippi. He picked up the Jew's harp, then graduated to the harmonica and

finally to the guitar. In Robinsonville he came under the tutelage of guitarist Willie Brown. He moved back to Hazlehurst, which he had left in early childhood, where he met an Alabama-born guitarist named Ike Zinnerman (sometimes spelled Zinneman). Zinnerman liked to tell people that he had learned to play guitar while sitting on tombstones in a cemetery at midnight. He took Johnson under his wing and continued the young man's musical education.

Supernatural beliefs were ubiquitous in rural Mississippi when Johnson was growing up. One popular tradition concerned hellhounds, otherwise known as black or demon dogs, said to be huge and to possess glowing red eyes; they were the Devil in canine form. Such notions were not confined to the American South—they have been richly documented in the British Isles and elsewhere—but their presence among African-Americans of the period was noted not only by folklorists but in area folk music, for example in a J. T. "Funny Paper" Smith blues with the lyric: Get home an' get blue an' start howlin', an' the hell hound get on my trail." Johnson began hanging out with older, accomplished bluesmen such as Brown, Son House, and Charlie Patton and learning from them, though nothing then suggested that he would ever be their musical equal, much less surpass them. ("You can't play nothin," House told him [Johnson 1990, 5].) Perhaps, at least in part, because they failed to take him seriously, Johnson set off on his own, and they did not see him for anywhere from a few months to two years, depending upon which account one credits. On his return the older men were astonished to find that their young companion was "singing and playing with ... dazzling technique and almost supernatural electricity" (Palmer, 1981). It is here that the deal-with-the-devil legend starts, according to some, prominently including the respected folklorist Mack McCormick. Many years later McCormick interviewed some of Johnson's relatives, who told him of their belief that Johnson had met Satan at a crossroads at midnight and secured his musical talents in a pact with hell. They even said they knew where the crossroads was (apparently the intersection of Highways 49 and 61 in Clarksdale.) On the other hand, House and other musicians who knew Johnson would profess to know nothing of the story when interviewed by blues researchers decades later.

Johnson took up residence in the Arkansas Delta town of Helena, where local and itinerant blues musicians, including such destined-to-be seminal performers as Rice Miller (aka Sonny Boy Williamson II), Howlin' Wolf, Memphis Slim, and Elmore James, regularly played in the many nightclubs and juke joints. From his base in Helena, Johnson traveled and sang throughout Arkansas and Mississippi, often in the company of the young Robert Lockwood Jr., with whose mother Johnson was living at the time and who was himself destined to become a well-known bluesman. Johnson, a compulsive traveler, was soon rambling all over the United States and even into Canada, performing (often with youthful guitarist Johnny Shines) in bars or street corners, singing any kind of music that brought in even tips for him to find his way to the next town. In 1936 Johnson came to the attention of Ernie Oertle, a salesman and talent scout for the American Record Company. Oertle set up a Vocalion recording session for Johnson in San Antonio, with Don Law (later famous for his work with Johnny Cash) producing. That November he recorded sixteen sides, including "Terraplane Blues," which would become his one popular hit. In June 1937—again with Law, though this time in Dallas—he recorded thirteen songs. Of these twenty-nine, twenty-four would be commercially issued. Most sold only modestly, and most had been deleted from the Vocalion catalog by the time of Johnson's death the following year.

Johnson was murdered in August 1938. An inveterate womanizer, he was engaged in a passing dalliance with the wife of the owner of a roadhouse called Three Rivers, near Greenwood, Mississippi. He and David "Honeyboy" Edwards were two weeks into an engagement there when someone, apparently the aggrieved husband, saw to it that Johnson was given a bottle of poisoned alcohol. He died on August 16.

Sadly, his death ended his chance to fulfill his stated ambition to play in New York City. In 1938 the influential record producer John Hammond, a white man with a keen ear for African-American

vernacular music, sought to introduce a larger audience to the music of black America. He arranged for a Carnegie Hall concert he called Spirituals to Swing, recruiting a wide range of gospel, jazz, folk, and blues artists. One he hoped to feature was a man he knew only from recordings, Robert Johnson. He called Law, who got in touch with Oertle. Neither man had seen Johnson in a while, and it was only after making inquiries that Oertle learned of the bluesman's death. Over the next two decades Johnson would be largely forgotten. Hard-core collectors of 78 rpm records documenting America's roots music remembered him, and some of the blues musicians who had known or heard of him-notably Lockwood, Shines, Elmore James, and Muddy Waters included reworked versions of Johnson songs in their repertoires. Then in the early 1960s Columbia Records issued two LPs of Johnson's music. A new generation of young, mostly white blues, folk, and rock musicians, among them Bob Dylan, the Rolling Stones, and Eric Clapton, heard Johnson for the first time, and his reputation as one of the greatest performers and innovators took hold. In 1990, amid much attention, acclaim, and surprising commercial success, Columbia issued the two-CD Robert Johnson: The Complete Recordings.

By this time the legend of Johnson's deal with the Devil was nearly as well known as his music. It figured in a poorly reviewed, ill-conceived 1988 Hollywood movie, *Crossroads*, directed by Walter Hill. It was also the subject of Alan Greenberg's lyrical novel-as-screenplay *Love in Vain: The Life and Legend of Robert Johnson* (1983). In 1999 no less than Muddy Waters's son Big Bill Morganfield wrote and recorded "Left Hand Blues," which does not mention Johnson by name but is manifestly about his Faustian bargain.

Besides the testimony of Johnson's relatives, those who believe that the legend was contemporary with Johnson point to the texts of three of his own songs to argue that Johnson consciously encouraged the belief, as had other blues performers, for reasons of self-aggrandizement. In the first half of "Me and the Devil Blues," the Devil knocks on the singer's door: "And I said, "Hello, Satan, I believe it's time to go."

In the next verse the two are "walkin' side by side." The narrative, a loose one in the fashion of the country blues of the period, turns to complaints about a woman who "ain't doin' me right," then refers cryptically to "that old evil spirit so deep down in the ground." It ends with a vision of the singer's death, his body buried by the road-side, his "evil spirit" riding on a Greyhound bus.

"Hell Hound on My Trail," more a series of images of romantic conflict and rambling than a coherent tale, opens with a singer in desperate flight, lost in fear and anxiety ("blues fallin' down like hail"), with "a hellhound on my trail." The hellhound then vanishes from the song, which turns to less apocalyptic, more prosaic matters.

"Cross Road Blues" has a clearer story line, with the singer again in desperate flight, caught at a crossroads, praying anxiously and trying without success to "flag a ride." Night falls, and the song ends with the singer's frightened cry, "I believe I'm sinkin' down." The only supernatural reference is to the Lord, whom the singer implores for mercy. The Devil appears nowhere in the lyrics. Students of Johnson's music, however, argue that the crossroads image is a coded allusion to the place where the fabled encounter with Satan took place.

As evidence that Johnson himself promoted the myth, this does not amount to much. Skeptical blues writer Gayle Dean Wardlow points out that "Hell Hound on My Trail" was almost certainly a song Johnson made up in the studio in order to make a few extra dollars, and had no larger meaning. There is little evidence that it was part of his live repertoire. He also suggests that Johnson borrowed the hellhound image from J. T. Smith's 1931 recording "Howling Wolf Blues No. 3." Less plausibly, Wardlow-who seems unaware of the black-dog tradition—argues that to Johnson, the hellhound represented law-enforcement authorities on his trail. On the other hand, another blues scholar, Jon Michael Spencer, thinks that the devil references amount to no more than a "genuine consciousness of sin" (Spencer 1993).

The Devil was a frequent image in blues recordings of the period. "Hell Hound" has musical as well as (at least obliquely) lyrical ties to Skip James's "Devil Got My Woman" (1931), Kansas Joe McCoy's "Evil Devil Woman Blues"

(1934), and Johnny Temple's "Evil Devil Blues" (1935). The Devil is mentioned in the titles or texts of hundreds of blues recordings from the period, associated variously with terror, humor, sexual prowess, and difficult or unfaithful women.

Rural African-American musicians were also aware of the Anglo-Celtic tradition and in fact often sang songs and ballads they picked up from their white counterparts, with whom they sometimes performed in string bands. In Anglo-American folk music the Devil was a favorite character even in secular narratives. In "Riddles Wisely Expounded" and "The False Knight on the Road," innocents outwit the Devil. The old comic ballad "The Farmer's Curst Wife" has Satan claiming an old man's quarrelsome wife, only to bring her back with the explanation that she is too mean even for hell. "Tying a Knot in the Devil's Tail," a jolly ballad from the Western frontier, envisions the encounter of two drunken cowboys with the Devil "come to gather up your souls"; instead, they hogtie him and leave him howling and cursing. In the grim "House Carpenter" the carpenter's wife is seduced by a handsome man, then flees with him only to learn too late that he is the Devil and he is taking her to hell.

—Jerome Clark

See also Heavy Metal Music; Satan For Further Reading:

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Judaism and Hebrew Scriptures

I am Enan, the Satan, son of Arman the Demon, son of the Place of Death, son of Rage, son of Death's Shadow, son of Terror, son of Trembling, son of Destruction, son of Extinction, son of Evil-name, son of Mocking, son of Plague, son of Deceit, son of Injury, son of Asmodeus.

From the Book of Delight

Western notions of hell, Satan, and demons represent a synthesis of influences from different cultural traditions. The two most significant sources for this diabolical mythology are Judaism and Zoroastrianism, though it should be noted that even the Zoroastrian influence was mediated to Christianity by Judaism. Judaism's history exhibits many different layers of religious development, some of which are reflected in Hebrew scriptures (the Christian Old Testament).

As many scholars have pointed out, there are often ambiguities with respect to notions about demons and the demonic in early Jewish scriptures. In particular, it is sometimes difficult to tell when terms associated with demonic entities are being used literally, figuratively, or some combination of the two. The nature of this problem might best be understood via examples of certain English expressions, such as "like a man possessed" or "an evil wind." Although it is obvious that "like a man possessed" is a figure of speech, not intended to imply that the individual is actually possessed, this expression derives its meaning from a time when most English speakers believed in demonic possession. "An evil wind," on the other hand, would clearly be figurative when used in the modern world, but it would have had a more literal referent in the late Middle Ages. As a third example, a contemporary person referring to something or somebody as Satanic could be intending it literally or figuratively, depending on the belief system of the speaker. One finds the same ambiguities in the Hebrew Bible. With this caveat in mind, there are many references to the demonic in scriptures.

Like most premodern peoples, various illnesses and other forms of human misery were attributed to the actions of demons. Unlike other cultures, Hebrew demons are portrayed as being under the control of the high god (Yahweh) in the earliest biblical accounts. The problem with accepting these accounts at face value, however, is that both the original authors as well as later editors likely had a theological inclination to diminish the independent power of demonic spirits. What this means is that ordinary Hebrews probably understood demons as more independent of God than scriptural accounts might seem to indicate. Nevertheless, it is clear that the demonic becomes stronger and more evil across time until, following the incorporation of Zoroastrian notions, demons become purely negative entities who seem to have no other purpose than to torment human beings.

Embodying a pattern that Christians would later adopt, there are a number of passages in the early books of the Bible in which gods other than Yahweh are referred to as "demons" (Hebrew *Shedim*). Thus in Deuteronomy, it is noted that, "They sacrificed to demons which were no gods" (32:17). Later, in the Psalms, it is also noted that "They sacrificed their sons and daughters to demons" (106:37). Although the former are ambiguously alluded to as "strange gods," the latter are identified as interchangeable with the "idols of Canaan."

Scholars generally accept that there are at least two demons explicitly referred to in Hebrew scriptures, Lilith and Azazel. The Lilith of Jewish folklore appears to have originally been a Mesopotamian night demon with a penchant for destroying children. She later picked up the role of succubus, a female demon who copulates with living men in their dreams. In the Talmud, she becomes the first wife of Adam who refuses to accept her subservient role. Adam then ejected her, and God created Eve as a more obedient helpmate. Although not mentioned by name in the Bible, the night hag mentioned in Isaiah 34:14 was retrospectively viewed as referring to Lilith.

Azazel is mentioned by name in the Book of Leviticus, where he appears to have been some sort of a desert creature to whom the ancient Israelites dedicated their scapegoats containing the sins of the nation: "Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats, one lot for the Lord and the other lot for Azazel. And Aaron shall present the goat on which the lot fell for the Lord, and offer it as a sin offering; but the goat on which the lot fell for

Azazel shall be presented alive before the Lord to make atonement over it, that it may be sent away into the wilderness to Azazel" (Leviticus 16:8–10). Much later, Azazel was the name of one of the chieftains of the 200 fallen angels who, according to the Book of Enoch (mentioned in Genesis 6:2–4), came to earth to mate with mortal women. Azazel, it is said, taught men how to fashion weapons, and women such things as cosmetics (encouraging vanity).

Demons are also mentioned later in the Talmud and Midrash, though they are not viewed as independent powers in revolt against God. By the Middle Ages, they were sometimes portrayed more as mischiefmakers, though this image alternated with a much more sinister one. The Book of the Pious (*Sefer Hasidm*), one of the most influential texts of the medieval period, mentions demons frequently, and there are many discussions of exorcism in its pages. Demons also appear in the *Zohar* and in other cabalistic literature.

The Jewish Satan was never as sinister as his Christian counterpart. Initially, in fact, *satan* was not a being at all, but was, rather, an accusatory or adversarial *role* assigned by God. Specifically, the earliest satans were angels, sent by God for the purpose of obstructing or blocking the acts of human beings. Thus, for example, in the story of Balaam's Ass in Numbers, one of the earliest books of the Bible, God sends an angel to block Balaam's route, "But God's anger was kindled because he went; and the angel of the Lord took his stand in the way as his adversary" (Numbers 22:22).

The word being translated here as "adversary" is the Hebrew word *satan*. This original concept subsequently goes through a gradual expansion of meaning. By the time of the Book of Job, a much later composition, Satan has become the name of a specific angel in God's celestial court: "Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan also came among them. The Lord said to Satan, 'Whence have you come?' Satan answered the Lord, 'From going to and fro on the earth, and from walking up and down on it'" (Job 1:6–7). Here Satan is described as a "son of God," apparently reporting in to his heavenly king. In Job, Satan's role appears to be that of a prosecuting

attorney, assigned the task of bringing out the worst side of human beings:

And the Lord said to Satan, "Have you considered my servant Job, that there is none like him on the earth, a blameless and upright man, who fears God and turns away from evil?" Then Satan answered the Lord, "Does Job fear God for nought? Hast thou not put a hedge about him and his house and all that he has, on every side? Thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his possessions have increased in the land. But put forth thy hand now, and touch all that he has, and he will curse thee to they face." And the Lord said to Satan, "Behold, all that he has is in your power, only upon himself do not put forth your hand" (Job 1:8–12).

Satan then goes forth—with God's blessing—to ruin Job. From the viewpoint of later, especially Christian, theology this story can only seem like a crude, cruel wager, unworthy of a just and almighty God. If, however, instead of being the Prince of Darkness, Satan is simply a loyal member of God's heavenly host, then the story comes into focus. Like the angel of death, Satan is just an angel with an unpleasant job description. The notion that the term *Satan* might refer to someone with the role of prosecutor is supported by Psalms 109:6, where the author asks, with respect to someone who is vilifying him, that God appoint an "accuser" (i.e., a *satan*) to "bring him to trial."

Essentially the same understanding of Satan appears to be embodied in First Chronicles, as the inspiration for King David's census, undertaken for the purpose of taxing the people: "Now Satan, setting himself against Israel, incited David to count the people" (1 Chronicles 21:1). Although Satan is thus portrayed as inspiring this action, David is nevertheless punished for it. The implicit reasoning here seems to be that although Satan *tempts* people to injustice, we have the freedom to—and, therefore, the responsibility for—resisting or giving in to these suggestions.

If the Satan of 1 Chronicles seems to be somewhat more negative and aggressive than the Satan of Job, it is not until the Book of Zechariah that

Satan starts to become truly sinister. "Then he showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to accuse him. And the Lord said to Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?'" (Zech. 3:1–2) Here Satan is still performing his older role as accuser, but now God is moved to anger by Satan's activity.

Zechariah lived during the time when the Persians had defeated the Babylonians and returned the Jews to Palestine from Babylonia. Seeking to make them allies, the Persians even gave the repatriated Jews money to rebuild the Temple. The Persians were Zoroastrians, whose religious system was built around the notion of an ongoing conflict between Ahura Mazda, the god of light and the upper world, and Ahriman, the god of darkness and the lower world. Partially because of their friendly link with the Persians, the Judaism was influenced by Zoroastrianism. Thus Satan, the closest thing the Jews had to an evil spirit, was reconceived as God's enemy, though he was never became as powerful as Ahriman.

The tendency to amplify Satan's role as the master of evil continues in later, noncanonical books. By the time of the emergence of the Qumran community of Essenes (a generation before Jesus), Satan finally becomes the familiar lord of darkness; for example: "The Prince of Light thou has appointed to come to our support: but Satan, the angel Mastema, thou hast created for the pit; he rules in darkness, and his purpose is to bring about evil and sin, (1 QM 19:12). It was this image of Satan, which appears to have been in general circulation in Palestine during the first century, that was incorporated into Christianity. As with Satan, the early Christian notion of hell was drawn from contemporaneous Judaism. Jewish thinking about the afterlife, in turn, developed out of reflections on the covenant.

The very core of Judaism is a covenant relationship—which is both a contractual agreement and a marriage of love—between Yahweh and his chosen people. The ancient Hebrews emphasized the importance of the present life. Like both the ancient Greeks and Mesopotamians, existence

after death in Sheol (the realm of the dead), when it was mentioned at all, was conceived of less as an actual hell and more as a pale shadow of earthly life, much like the Greek Hades. Also like the Greek Hades, the Hebrews originally made no distinction between the treatment of the just and the unjust after death. Instead, rewards and punishments were meted out in the present life, and in the covenant contract Yahweh promised to do just that.

One of the few stories in Hebrew scriptures (the Old Testament) that mentions Sheol is the tale of the so-called Witch of Endor. King Saul had banished, under threat of death, "all who trafficked with ghosts and spirits" (1 Sam. 28:3). However, faced with a superior army and feeling himself in a desperate situation, Saul, in disguise, consults a woman who today we would refer to as a medium. This woman, who lived at Endor, summoned the spirit of the prophet Samuel from Sheol. When he arrived, he asked Saul, "Why have you disturbed me and brought me up?" (1 Sam. 28:15) By making a directional reference ("brought me *up*"), the clear implication is that Sheol is underneath the surface of the earth.

Samuel told Saul that he should never have turned away from God, that he was on the verge of defeat, and, furthermore, that "tomorrow you and your sons will be with me" (1 Sam. 28:19) (i.e., tomorrow they will be dead). By asserting that Saul's soul will soon be residing in the same resting place, the clear implication is that moral distinctions do not influence one's afterlife fate—the spirits of the good (e.g., Samuel) and the spirits of morally bad people (e.g., Saul) both end up in the same place, presumably under much the same conditions.

Although this is the general Old Testament view, reflection on the inequalities of this life and on the apparent failure of Yahweh to make good on his covenant promises led serious religious thinkers to consider the option of resurrection. The resurrection of ordinary human beings seems to have originated in Zoroastrianism. As a result of several centuries of Persian control of the Middle East, Jews were brought into contact with Zoroastrian religious ideas and the notion of resurrection. Zoroaster combined resurrection

with the idea of a final judgment, in which the entire human race was resurrected, and individuals rewarded or punished. This clearly appealed to Jewish religious thinkers of the time as an adequate way of coming to grips with the injustices that were so apparent in this life, and was incorporated into such late books as the Book of Daniel. The Book of Daniel incorporated a notion of resurrection into its apocalyptic, final scenario in the following words:

Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt (Dan. 12:2).

While resurrection is a type of afterlife, it is peculiar in that it is an afterlife that returns the deceased to this life. It is thus, in a sense, more of a continuation of the present life than a true afterlife. Because of this peculiarity, it saves the original covenant relationship, and hence divine justice, by allowing Yahweh to reward devout Jews in what amounts to an extension of *this life*. Also, by adopting the notion of resurrection, none of the Jewish notions about the essential goodness of this world and this life needed to be abandoned.

As the citation from the Book of Daniel implies, the notion of resurrection was tied to a notion of judgment, and even to separate realms for the judged. In rabbinical thought, the model for heaven was Eden. The rabbinic word for hell, Gehenna, is taken from the name of a valley of fire where children were said to be sacrificed as burnt offerings to Baal and Moloch. Jewish legend paints hell in all of the vividness with which medieval Christians pictured their hells, even associating particular tortures with particular sins, as in the following description:

Some sinners were suspended by their eyelids, some by their ears, some by their hands, and some by their tongues. In addition, women were suspended by their hair and their breasts by chains of fire. Such punishments were inflicted on the basis of the sins that were committed: those who hung by their eyes looked lustfully upon their neighbors' wives

and possessions; those who hung by their ears listened to empty and vain speech and did not listen to the Torah; those who hung by their tongues spoke foolishly and slanderously; those who hung by their hands robbed and murdered their neighbors. The women who hung by their hair and breasts uncovered them in the presence of young men in order to seduce them (Cohn-Sherbok 1987, p. 29).

At later points in this same account, sinners were punished by scorpions and by being lashed with fiery chains by angels of destruction. Heaven is described with the same kind of vividness, although its pleasures are far more restrained than the tortures of hell.

See also Demons; Lilith; Sheol **For Further Reading:**

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Judgment of the Dead

The notion of the judgment of the dead has infernal associations cross-culturally. In the Christian tradition, the unsaved at Judgment Day are thought of as being given over to demons who drag them off to hell. The popular conception of hell is

that Satan's minions have ongoing employment in the form of torturing the damned in a kind of underground smelting factory. This contrasts with the view of early Christianity in which stern, righteous angels, rather than devils, were so employed. Deceased evildoers are also tormented by demons in Hindu and Buddhist hell worlds, comparable to the torments of Western hells.

Not all cultures differentiate between the afterlife fates of morally good and morally bad individuals. In traditions in which such a distinction is made, the mechanism by which good souls are sent to happy states and evil souls directed to unhappy states can take place in different ways. Sometimes this dichotomization occurs automatically, as in South Asian traditions in which the net effect of one's accumulated karma propels the departed soul to reincarnate in pleasant or unpleasant circumstances. Similarly the religious notion of metempsychosis, the process by which souls enter a new body in the Pythagorean doctrine as well as in ancient Druid and Irish literature, is related to the belief in immortality and indirectly implies a judgment on the fate of the souls. In Zoroastrianism and in certain other religions, the deceased must cross a bridge, which presents an easy passage for good souls but which is difficult for evil souls. Here, again, the mechanism by which this occurs is impersonal. As the name of the present entry, Judgment of the Dead, implies, the determination of the fate of the dead is often portrayed in more personal terms, in which the deceased is brought into a kind of otherworldly courtroom to have judgment passed on her or his life by a divine or semidivine being.

Sources on the notion of a judgment of the dead are rather meager for Mesopotamian civilization. In ancient Egypt, tomb inscriptions indirectly refer to an afterlife judgment during the Old Kingdom. Religious texts in the Middle Kingdom (e.g., *Instruction for Merikare*) are explicit about an afterlife judgment for sinners, whose sins will be laid beside them in a heap. In another Egyptian religious text, the Book of the Dead, one finds magical spells for protecting oneself from divine judgment. According to this book, the deceased recite a "negative confession" in which they must declare that they have not sinned during life. The

soul is judged by Osiris (the judge of the underworld), who weights on a balance the heart of the dead person against a feather to determine whether the dead deserves eternal beatitude. Souls who do not measure up will be consumed by the devourer of the dead.

In the ancient Vedic texts of India, a distinction was made by the underworld judge, King Yama, between liars and those who had been sincere. A weighing of good and evil is also mentioned in later Brahmanic texts. In Chinese Mahayana Buddhism, the judge of the dead (Yen-lo Wang), along with other divinities of Chinese origin, determine the fate of the dead. In Japanese Buddhism one also finds a judge of the dead, known as Enma. In Chinese Taoism a judgment of the dead occurs in which the soul is assigned to one of many hells or paradises found on the Chinese mythological landscape.

In the ancient Greek world Hades was an underworld kingdom that hosted the shadows of the dead while the Elysian Fields were accessible only to the righteous. In the Homeric poems Minos is mentioned as a regulator rather than properly a judge of the dead. With the development of Pythagorean doctrine, a true afterlife judgment was conceived in Pythagoras's notion of reincarnation. Orphism introduced the afterlife judgment of Rhadamantos, Triptolemos, and Aiakos in its mythological system. Plato mentions the judgment of the dead by these three figures at

the conclusion of *Gorgias*. In ancient Roman literature one finds judges of the dead who originated in Greece, Rhadamanthos, and Minos.

In early Judaism the deeds of the dead were recorded and a judgment of the dead mentioned to establish punishment for the sinners or reward for the righteous (culminating in resurrection). In Christianity the judgment of the soul is believed to occur upon the death of the individual, who will be assigned either eternal condemnation or reward (hell or heaven) or, in some Christian churches, purgatory. Some texts also mention a final judgment day, held at the end of time by God or by the Son, Jesus Christ, which will culminate in the resurrection of the righteous and eternal damnation for sinners. In Islam a notion of an imminent judgment day draws primarily from Jewish literature; in the Koran a description of a trial of the soul refers to a scale weighing good and evil deeds, and consequently to eternal reward (paradise) or penalty (hell).

See also Judaism; Zoroastrianism *For Further Reading:*

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Kerk van Satan

The Kerk van Satan, also known as the Magistralis Grotto of the Church of Satan, was founded by Martin Lamers in 1972 as a Dutch affiliate of Anton LaVey's Church of Satan. Lamers was an actor who, after reading The Satanic Bible, became an enthusiast. He soon met LaVey, who gave him the title Magister and a charter to form the first European grotto. Lamers returned home and bought two buildings in Amsterdam's red light district. One became the headquarters of the Kerk van Satan. The other, designated Walburga Abbey, became a club in which women wearing nuns' habits sans underwear performed various sex acts. Lamers claimed that he ran a religious organization, which should therefore be tax exempt. Dutch authorities did not, however, agree, and persecuted the Kerk van Satan until Lamers lost a tax evasion case in 1987. Lamers closed down his operation and went into the international communications business.

See also Church of Satan For Further Reading:

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Kiss of Shame

The kiss of shame, or *oscularum infame* in Latin, is commonly associated with popular notions of devil worship. During such infernal rites as Black Masses and witch sabbats, participants were said to kiss Satan's posterior. The tradition of this degrading act of obeisance is the source of the contemporary expression referring to people who slavishly complement another person purely for the sake of personal gain. It also seems to be the source of the familiar expression "brown-nosing."

In addition to witches, who regularly confessed to having committed the act under torture, the kiss of shame was attributed to heretics such as the Cathars and the Waldenses. The accusation of the oscularum infame was also leveled against the Knights Templar, who were said to require new initiates to kiss the anus—as well as certain other parts of the anatomy—of their superiors. Both the Templars and the Cathars were accused of kissing Satan, in the form of a black cat, underneath the tail.

The British novelist Dennis Wheatley, who wrote a series of "black magic" novels, includes a description of the kiss of shame in his novel, *The Devil Rides Out*. After Satan has manifested in the form of the Goat of Mendes during a sabbat, the gathered devil-worshipers line up:

The goat rose, towing above the puny figures of its unhallowed priests, and turned its back

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on them; upon which one stooped slightly to give the osculam-infame as his mark of homage. The others followed suit, then the whole circle of Satanists drew in toward the throne and, in solemn silence, followed their example, each bending to salute his master in an obscene parody of the holy kiss which is given to the Bishop's ring.

See also Cathars; Wheatley, Dennis **For Further Reading:**

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Last Judoment

In religious traditions that distinguish between the afterlife fates of morally good and morally bad individuals, there are different mechanisms by which souls can be sent to happy or unhappy states. In Christianity and related religions, the judgment of souls is believed to occur upon the death of the individual, who will be assigned either eternal condemnation or reward (hell or heaven) or, in some Christian churches, Purgatory. Beyond this particular judgment, Western religions also propagate the idea of a final judgment day at the end of time, which usually culminates in the resurrection of the righteous for life in paradise and the resurrection of sinners for either extinction or eternal damnation.

In Western religions, the notion of a final judgment originated in Zoroastrianism. The religion of Zoroaster is best known for its dualism. The god of light, Ahura Mazda, and his angels are locked in a cosmic struggle with the god of darkness and his demons. At the end of time, after a great final battle between good and evil, there will be a general judgment in which everyone will be put through an ordeal of fire (a river of molten metal), in which good individuals will have their dross burned away and evil people will be consumed. Thus the souls of the damned will trade their ongoing torment in hell for a painful annihilation. The souls of the blessed, on the other

hand, will be resurrected in physical bodies, which Ahura Mazda will make both immortal and eternally youthful.

Many of the components of this vision of the endtimes—a final battle between good and evil, judgment of the wicked, resurrection of the dead, and so on—were adopted by Jewish apocalyptic thinkers. From texts composed by these apocalyptists, such notions were adopted into Christianity and Islam. Although seemingly a dreadful day, many believers throughout the centuries have looked forward to the final judgment as the day on which their suffering for the faith will be vindicated, and their persecutors and ridiculers punished. This "revenge" motif finds expression in, for example, the church father Tertullian, who "could scarcely wait for the great moment":

What a panorama of spectacle on that day! What sight shall I turn to first to laugh and applaud? Mighty kings whose ascent to heaven used to be announced publicly, groaning now in the depths with Jupiter himself who used to witness the ascent? Governors who persecuted the name of the Lord melting in flames fiercer than those they kindled for brave Christians? Wise philosophers, blushing before their students as they burn together, the followers to whom they taught that the world is no concern of

God's, whom they assured that either they had no souls at all or that what souls they had would never return to their former bodies? Poets, trembling not before the judgment seat of Rhadamanthus or of Minos, but of Christ—a surprise? Tragic actors bellowing in their own melodramas should be worth hearing! Comedians skipping in the fire will be worth praise! The famous charioteer will toast on his fiery wheel. . . . These are things of greater delight, I believe, than a circus, both kinds of theater, and any stadium.

See also Purgatory; Zoroastrianism
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Peter Smith, 1967.

LaVey, Anton Szandor

Anton Szandor LaVey (1930–1997) was the founder of the Church of Satan, the first organized church in modern times promulgating a religious philosophy championing Satan as the symbol of personal freedom and individualism. Unlike the founders of other religions who claimed divine inspiration, LaVey readily acknowledged that he synthesized Satanism from his own understanding of the human animal and insights from earlier philosophers who advocated materialism and individualism. Concerning his role as founder, he asserted that if he hadn't done it himself, someone else, perhaps less qualified, would have.

LaVey was born in Chicago in 1930, but his parents soon relocated to California. It was a fertile environment for the sensitive child who would eventually mature into a role that the press would dub "The Black Pope." From his eastern European grandmother, young LaVey learned about the superstitions that were still extant in that part of the world. These tales whetted his appetite, leading him to become absorbed in classic dark literature such as *Dracula* and *Frankenstein*. He also became an avid reader of the pulp magazines, which first published tales now

deemed classics of the horror and science fiction genres. He later befriended seminal Weird Tales authors such as Clark Ashton Smith, Robert Barbour Johnson, and George Hass. His fancy was captured by fictional characters found in the works of Jack London, in comic strip characters (like Ming the Merciless), as well as historical figures of a diabolical cast such as Cagliostro, Rasputin and Basil Zaharoff. He was more interested in books of applied obscure knowledge such as Dr. William Wesley Cook's Practical Lessons in Hypnotism, Jane's Fighting Ships, and manuals of handwriting analysis than in the available occult literature, most of which he dismissed as sanctimonious white magic.

His musical abilities were noticed early, and he was given free rein by his parents to try his hand at various instruments. LaVey was mainly attracted to the keyboards because of their scope and versatility. He found time to practice and could easily reproduce songs heard by ear. This talent would prove to be one of his main sources of income for many years, particularly his calliope playing during his carnival days, and later his many stints as an organist in bars, lounges and nightclubs. These venues gave him the chance to study how various melodic lines and chord progressions swayed the emotions of his audiences, from the spectators at the carnival and spook shows, to the individuals seeking solace for the disappointments in their lives in the distilled spirits and smoky taverns for which LaVey provided a soundtrack.

His odd interests marked him as an outsider, and he did not feel compelled to conform. He despised gym class and team sports and often cut class to follow his own interests. He was an avid reader, and watched films such as those that would later be labeled film noir as well as German expressionist cinema like M, The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari, and the Dr. Mabuse movies. His flashy mode of dress also served to amplify his alienation from the mainstream. He dropped out of high school to hang around with hoodlum types and gravitated toward working in the circus and carnivals, first as a roustabout and cage boy and later as a musician. He eventually worked an act with the big cats, and later assisted with the machinations of the spook shows. He became well

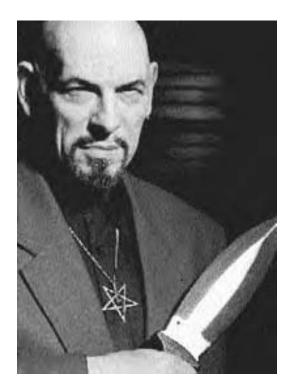
versed in the many rackets used to separate the rubes from their money, along with the psychology that lead people to such pursuits. He played music for the bawdy shows on Saturday nights, and for tent revivalists on Sunday mornings, seeing many of the same participants at both. All of this provided a firm, earthy background for his evolving, cynical worldview.

When the carnival season ended, LaVey would earn money by playing the organ in Los Angeles area burlesque houses. Moving back to San Francisco, LaVey worked for awhile as a photographer for the police department, and, during the Korean War, enrolled in San Francisco City College as a criminology major to avoid the draft. Both his studies and his occupation provided him with grim insights into human nature. At this time he met and married Carole Lansing, who bore him his first daughter, Karla Maritza, in 1952. A few years earlier LaVey had explored the writings of Aleister Crowley, and in 1951 met some of the Berkeley Thelemites. He was unimpressed, as they were more spiritual and less "wicked" than he supposed they should be for disciples of Crowley's libertine creed.

During the 1950s, LaVey supplemented his income as an early psychic investigator, helping to investigate "nut calls" referred to him by friends in the police department. These experiences demonstrated to him that many people were inclined to seek a supernatural explanation for phenomena that had more prosaic causes. His rational explanations often disappointed the complainants, so LaVey invented more exotic explanations to make them feel better, giving him insight into how religion often functions in people's lives.

In 1956 he purchased a Victorian house on California Street in San Francisco's Richmond district. It was reputed to have been a speakeasy. He painted it black; it would later become home to the Church of Satan.

LaVey met and became entranced by Diane Hegarty in 1959; he then divorced Carole in 1960. Hegarty and LaVey never married, but she bore him his second daughter, Zeena Galatea, in 1964 and was his companion for many years. Hegarty and LaVey later separated, and she sued him for palimony. The case was settled out of court.



Anton LaVey, the founder of modern religious Satanism (Archive Photos)

LaVey's final companion was Blanche Barton, who bore him his only son, Satan Xerxes Carnacki LaVey, on November 1, 1993. She succeeded him as the head of the church after his death on October 29, 1997.

Through his "ghost busting," and his frequent public gigs as an organist, including playing the Wurlitzer at the Lost Weekend cocktail lounge, LaVey became a local celebrity and his holiday parties attracted many San Francisco notables. Guests included Carin de Plessin, called "the Baroness" because she grew up in the royal palace of Denmark, anthropologist Michael Harner, Chester A. Arthur III (grandson to the president), Forrest J. Ackerman (later, the publisher of Famous Monsters of Filmland and acknowledged expert on science fiction), author Fritz Leiber, local eccentric Dr. Cecil E. Nixon (creator of the musical automaton Isis) and underground filmmaker Kenneth Anger. From this crowd LaVey distilled what he called a "Magic Circle" of associates who shared his interest in the bizarre, the hidden side of what moves the world. As his expertise grew, LaVey began presenting Friday night lectures summarizing the fruits of his research. In 1965, LaVey was featured on *The Brother Buzz Show*, a humorous children's program hosted by marionettes. The focus was on LaVey's "Addams Family" lifestyle—making a living as a hypnotist, psychic investigator and organist as well as on his highly unusual pet Togare, a Nubian lion.

In the process of creating his lectures, LaVey was led to distill a unique philosophy based on his life experiences and research. When a member of his Magic Circle suggested that he had the basis for a new religion, LaVey agreed and decided to found a Church of Satan as the best means for communicating his ideas. And so, in 1966 on the night of May Eve, the traditional Witches' Sabbath, LaVey declared the founding of the Church of Satan. He also dubbed 1966 as the year One, Anno Satanas—the first year of the Age of Satan.

The attention of the press soon followed, with the wedding of radical journalist John Raymond to New York socialite Judith Case on February 1, 1967. Famed photographer Joe Rosenthal was sent by the San Francisco Chronicle to capture an image, which was then printed in the Chronicle, the Los Angeles Times, and other major newspapers. He began the mass dissemination of his philosophy via the release of a record album, *The* Satanic Mass (Murgenstrumm, 1968). The album featured a cover graphic dubbed by LaVey as the "Sigil of Baphomet": the goat head in a pentagram, encircled by the Hebrew word Leviathan, which has since become the ubiquitous symbol of Satanism the world over. Featured on the album was part of the rite of baptism written for threeyear-old Zeena (performed on May 23, 1967). In addition to the actual recording of a Satanic ritual, side two of the LP had LaVey reading excerpts from the as-yet-unpublished The Satanic Bible over music by Beethoven, Wagner and Sousa. His Friday lectures continued and he instituted a series of "Witches' Workshops" to instruct women in the art of attaining their will through glamour, feminine wiles, and the skillful discovery and exploitation of men's fetishes.

By the end of 1969, LaVey had taken monographs he had written to explain the philosophy

and ritual practices of the Church of Satan and melded them together with the thinking of such diverse philosophers as Ayn Rand, Nietzsche, Mencken, London and the base wisdom of the carnival folk. He prefaced these essays and rites with reworked excerpts from Ragnar Redbeard's Might Is Right and concluded it with "satanized" versions of John Dee's Enochian Keys to create The Satanic Bible. It has never gone out of print and remains the principal source for the contemporary Satanic movement.

The Satanic Bible was followed in 1971 by The Compleat Witch (rereleased in 1989 as The Satanic Witch), a manual which teaches "Lesser Magic"—the ways and means of reading and manipulating people and their actions toward the fulfillment of one's desired goals. The Satanic Rituals (1972) was printed as a companion volume to The Satanic Bible and contains rituals culled from a Satanic tradition identified by LaVey in various world cultures. Two collections of essays, which range from the humorous and insightful to the sordid, The Devil's Notebook (1992) and Satan Speaks (1998), complete his written canon.

Since its founding, LaVey's Church of Satan has attracted many varied people who shared an alienation from conventional religions, including such celebrities as Jayne Mansfield and Sammy Davis Jr., as well as rock stars King Diamond and Marilyn Manson, who all became, at least for a time, card-carrying members. He numbered among his associates Robert Fuest, director of the Vincent Price "Dr. Phibes" films as well as The Devil's Rain; Jacques Vallee, ufologist and computer scientist, who was used as the basis for the character Lacombe, played by François Truffaut in Spielberg's Close Encounters of the Third Kind, and Aime Michel, known as a spelunker and publisher of Morning of the Magicians.

LaVey's influence was spread by numerous articles in the news media throughout the world, popular magazines such as *Look, McCalls, Newsweek,* and *Time,* men's magazines, and on talk shows such as Joe Pyne, Phil Donahue, and Johnny Carson. This publicity left a mark on novels like *Rosemary's Baby* (completed by Ira Levin during the early days of the church's high

profile media blitz) and Leiber's Our Lady of Darkness, and films such as Rosemary's Baby (1968), The Devil's Rain (1975), The Car, and many of the later "Devil Cult" films from the 1970s through the 1990s that picked up on symbolism from LaVey's writings. A feature length documentary, Satanis: The Devil's Mass (1969) covered the rituals and philosophy of the church, while LaVey himself was profiled in Nick Bougas's 1993 video documentary Speak of the Devil.

LaVey's musicianship is preserved on several recordings, primarily *Strange Music* (1994) and *Satan Takes a Holiday* (1995), both released by Amarillo Records. These reflect his penchant for tunes from the 1930s through the 1950s, which range from humorous to doom-laden as well as devil-themed songs. LaVey renders them on a series of self-programmed synthesizers, imitating various instrumental groups. They are impressive, as these are not multitrack recordings but are done in one take with the sounds of the full instrumental ensemble created through the simultaneous use of numerous synthesizers played by LaVey's hands and feet, on an organ-style foot pedal keyboard hooked up via midi.

Two biographies have been written about LaVey: The Devil's Avenger (1974) by Burton Wolfe and Secret Life of a Satanist (1990) by Blanche Barton. The authenticity of some of the events chronicled in these works has been disputed in recent years, particularly by detractors of LaVey who accuse him of self-promotional exaggeration. LaVey was a skilled showman, a talent he never denied. However, the number of incidents detailed in both biographies that can be authenticated via photographic and documentary evidence far outweighs the few items in dispute. The fact remains that LaVey pursued a course that exposed him to the heights and depths of humanity, full of encounters with fascinating people; it climaxed with his founding of the Church of Satan and led to notorious celebrity on a worldwide scale. The church has survived his death, and continues, through the medium of his writings, to continually attract new members who see themselves reflected in the philosophy he called Satanism.

This entry was written by Peter H. Gilmore, High Priest of the Church of Satan.

See also Church of Satan; Temple of Set **For Further Reading:**

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Laws and Ritual Abuse

California, Idaho, and Illinois have passed laws that directly address Satanic ritual abuse—though the word "Satanic" is most often left out of the rubric so that the laws do not sound like hangovers from the Middle Ages. These laws were composed and passed at the height of the Satanic ritual abuse panic in the early 1990s. Hundreds of people were convicted of such abuse.

In 1990, Idaho passed a ritual abuse law. The intent of Section 18–1506A of the law is stated as: "To provide a felony offense for specified abuse of a child as part of a ritual." It reads:

A person is guilty of a felony when he commits any of the following acts with, upon, or in the presence of a child as part of a ceremony, rite, or any similar observance:

- (a) Actually or in simulation, tortures, mutilates or sacrifices any warm blooded animal or human being;
- (b) Forces ingestion, injection or other application of any narcotic, drug, hallucinogen or anesthetic for the purpose of dulling sensitivity, cognition, recollection of, or resistance to any criminal activity;
- (c) Forces ingestion, or external application, of

- human or animal urine, feces, flesh, blood, bones, body secretions, non-prescribed drugs or chemical compounds;
- (d) Involves the child in a mock unauthorized or unlawful marriage ceremony with another person or representation of any force or deity, followed by sexual contact with the child;
- (e) Places a living child into a coffin or open grave containing a human corpse or remains;
- (f) Threatens death or serious harm to a child, his parents, family, pets or friends which instills a well-founded fear in the child that the threat will be carried out; or
- (g) Unlawfully dissects, mutilates, or incinerates a human corpse.

Beyond the questionable notion of ritual abuse, this law is highly problematic for a number of other reasons. Clause (a), for example, would violate the religious freedom of such religions as Santeria and Vodoun (voodoo) by forbidding animal sacrifices that are protected by the U.S. Constitution. Clause (a) might also be interpreted so as to forbid circumcision and certain Native American rites. Furthermore, clause (c) forbids one from forcing children to eat meat. Oddly, the law does not mention adults who are also presumably victims of Satanist ritual abuse. In the face of the many criticisms that have been leveled against the whole idea of ritual abuse, the one thing the law seems to do is to help legitimate the myth of Satanic ritual abuse.

Left Behind

A 2000 adventure film based on a popular series of conservative Christian books about the rapture and the endtime. With all the saved people already beamed up out of harm's way, it is left to now-repentant sinners to save the world against the Antichrist, who is confronted at the United Nations (a hotbed of one-world diabolism).

Left-Hand Path

In Western occultism, left-hand path, often abbreviated LHP, refers to the broader spectrum of

magical groups that are modern Satanism's closest relatives. Many non-Satanist groups deriving ultimately from Aleister Crowley would refer to themselves as left-hand path. The Temple of Set, which originated as a splinter group from the Church of Satan, does not consider itself Satanic but does consider itself LHP. Many chaos magicians would also be comfortable with this label. Left-hand path practitioners distinguish themselves from socalled "white light" occultists, such as neopagan witches and magicians more squarely in the tradition of the Order of the Golden Dawn. Although the corresponding expression, right-hand path, is almost never used in Western occult circles, by implication white light occultists are right-hand path practitioners.

The Western occult referent of left-hand path should be carefully distinguished from its original meaning in Eastern religions. The expression lefthand path is taken ultimately from South Asian Tantrism, which distinguishes between dakshinachara or "right way" and vamachara (also vamamarga) or "left way" sects and practices. There are left-hand path practices within both Hinduism and Buddhism. The most well-known of these involve sexual intercourse, which has caused tantric yoga to become almost synonymous with sex yoga in the minds of many Westerners. Western sex magic is, in fact, very much indebted to traditional tantric practices. However, the traditional vamamarga of Hinduism and Buddhism encompass much more than sex. Many practices involving the "magical" use of mantras, for example, are characteristic of left-hand Tantrism.

See also Aleister Crowley; Magic and Magical Groups

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Levi, Eliphas

"Eliphas Levi" was the pseudonym of Alphonse-Louis Constant (1810–1875), a French occultist and writer who is a major link in the chain that led to modern magical practices. Educated in the

Church, he became a priest, but was expelled because of his left-wing political opinions (his writings earned him three short jail terms) and because he did not keep his inability to be celibate a secret. He became a follower of a man named Ganneau who claimed to be the reincarnation of Louis XVII, and began serious study of the occult, which had always interested him. In 1861 his most important book, The Dogma and Ritual of High Magic appeared. Based on the work of Francis Barrett in The Magus, it attempted to create a unified magical system of all occult knowledge, and this effort was continued in his later books. His system was then adopted and improved by the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, and so became the source of all modern systems of magic, including the magic of modern Satanist groups. His work also influenced the English occult writer Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton; they both joined an occult organization (which Bulwer-Lytton may have founded), and studied together. This organization may also have influenced the formation of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (HOGD). Levi's works were translated into English by A. E. Waite, a very prominent member of the HOGD, and have been kept in print by occult publishers ever since.

See also Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn;
Magic and Magical Groups
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Leviathan

The word *Leviathan* is originally Hebrew, and means "the coiled one" or "that which gathers itself together in folds." It has come to mean any formidable, monstrous being or thing. The term is originally biblical, referring to a multiheaded sea monster defeated by Yahweh. Leviathan is associated with—and is sometimes used interchangeably with—Behemoth, another biblical sea monster. Because of the association between the Devil and serpents, Leviathan is often identified

with Satan. Alternately, it is also sometimes used to designate one of Satan's demons.

Leviathan was sometimes portrayed as a kind of aquatic dragon; sometimes as a whale. Most biblical references are, however, tantalizingly brief; for example,

Thou didst divide the sea by thy might; thou didst break the heads of the dragons on the waters. Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan, thou didst give him as food for the creatures of the wilderness. (Ps. 74:13–14)

The lengthiest account of the confrontation between God and Leviathan can be found in the forty-first chapter of Job, though it is unclear how much of the content of Yahweh's challenge to Job refers to an earlier tale and how much is being composed on the spot. In any event, the Hebrew tale appears to derive from a Ugarit story in which Baal defeats a seven-headed sea monster with the aid of Mot. Furthermore, this story seems to be a variation of the well-known (to students of mythology) Babylonian myth of Marduk's defeat of the sea monster Tiamat.

Tiamat, the Babylonian female dragon monster, is one of the inspirations for the Christian devil via Hebrew scriptures. In early Christian thought, the dragon represents the Devil or the Devil's servant, and has the allegorical role of representing the Antichrist, or more generally, evil passions, paganism, or the oppressive powers of this world. In the Book of Revelation (12), it is described as big and red, with seven heads and ten horns. In the war in heaven, the archangel Michael is usually represented as the slayer of the dragon, and his angels fight against the dragon and his rebel angels.

In Hebrew scriptures, Yahweh is sometimes depicted as a storm god. At his coming "the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, yea, the clouds dropped water, the mountains quaked before the Lord" (Judg. 5:4–5). "Thou didst break the heads of the dragons on the waters" says the Psalmist (Ps. 74:13), and "the Lord... shall slay the dragon that is in the sea" (Isa. 27:1). Moreover, in Psalms 91:13, "the saints shall trample the dragon under their feet." The battle between Yahweh and the dragon is very popular in the



Leviathan (Dover Pictorial Series)

visions of the later Hebrew prophets, although the dragon usually embodies a purely symbolic meaning as the enemy of Israel, that is to say the Assyrians, the Babylonians, or the Egyptians.

An account of God's hostility toward Pharaoh is reported by the prophet Ezekiel, who speaks of Pharaoh as "the great dragon that lies in the midst of his streams," into whose jaws he will put hooks

and whom he will have thrown into the wilderness. Elsewhere in Hebrew scriptures, the dragon is represented also as a symbol of mourning and desolation.

One of the most discussed chapters of scripture is Daniel 7, which reports a dream, alleged to have occurred in the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, in which Daniel sees the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. Out of the sea emerge, one after the other, a series of beasts, four in number, all of fabulous form. The fourth beast, in particular, is especially terrible and has ten horns. The four beasts represent in succession the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Hellenistic empires.

The endtime significance of this creature is that Yahweh will release Leviathan to wreak havoc upon the earth shortly before the end of the world. Then God will finally destroy the beast. There is a foreshadowing of this scenario in Jonah, where the prophet is swallowed by—and eventually regurgitated from—a whale. Jonah then travels to Ninevah to preach an apocalyptic message.

See also Dragons; Judaism; War in Heaven **For Further Reading:**

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Lilith

The night goddess Lilith of Jewish folklore appears to have originally been a Mesopotamian night demoness with a penchant for destroying children. Lilith is the archetypal seductress, and the personification of the dangerous feminine glamour of the moon. Lilith was said to search for newborn children to kidnap or strangle, and to seduce sleeping men in order to produce demon sons. She is a patroness of witches, and is usually depicted as a beautiful vampire, with great claws as feet. Lilith can be found in Iranian, Babylonian, Mexican, Greek, Arab, English, German, Oriental, and North American Indian legends, and is often

associated with other characters, such as the Queen of Sheba and Helen of Troy.

According to Muslim legend, Lilith slept with Satan. In the Talmud, she was the first wife of Adam who refused to accept her subservient role. Adam then ejected her, and God created Eve as a more obedient helpmate. Lilith is then said to have copulated with Lucifer and his demons, producing hundreds of lilin, demonesses who became the succubi of both Jewish and medieval Christian legend. She was regarded as a queen of evil spirits, from whom the Jews protect themselves by the use of amulets engraved with the names and images of three angels—Sanvi, Sansavi, Semangelaf—who God allegedly sent to bring her back to Eden after she deserted Adam.

During the eighteenth century, a common practice was protecting new mothers against Lilith with such amulets, and sometimes magic circles were drawn around the bed in order to protect the newborn child. It was believed that if a child laughed in its sleep, it meant that Lilith was present. She could be sent away by tapping the child on the nose. It was further claimed that Lilith was assisted by succubi and by her demon lover Sammael, whose name means "left" or "sinister." According to *The Zohar*, the source of the cabala, Lilith is at the height of her power when the moon is in its waning phase. Because of her refusal to accept a one-down position with respect to the first male, contemporary feminists looking back on Lilith have reinterpreted her story, seeing in Lilith a strong-minded woman reacting against patriarchal oppression.

See also Demons; Incubi and Succubi; Judaism *For Further Reading:*

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New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Limbo

With respect to discussions of the afterlife, limbo, which literally means "borderland" (Latin: *limbus*, border), refers to a realm where souls of the departed who for some reason have not made it to the other world are "stuck," usually temporarily.

Virgil, for example, placed souls who had not been properly buried in a limbo realm where they had to wait a hundred years before being admitted to the Land of the Dead.

The notion of the dead as stuck in a neither here nor there realm is ancient. In most of the world's religious traditions, the journey from this world to the abode of the dead is not thought of as a step that one takes immediately upon death. Instead, following death, spirits must find their way to the otherworld. In many cases souls are unable or unwilling to undertake the journey to the realm of the dead, and continue to hang out around their living relatives, often bothering the living in some way. As spirits who are no longer a part of the realm of the living, and yet who cannot or who will not find their way to the realm of the dead, these "haunting" spirits exist in a kind of borderland—a limbo—between life and death. Thus at least a rudimentary notion of an afterlife limbo is widespread in world cultures.

In religious traditions that postulate a heaven and a hell as the final abode of the soul, serious thinkers have grappled with the fate of those who, while not ethical exemplars, have been more or less good, and not guilty of truly evil actions. This has led to the development of ideas of intermediate afterlife abodes in which souls were purified and made fit for paradise. The most famous of such intermediate realms is Catholic purgatory. Prior to the elaboration of the notion of purgatory, the early Christian community had accepted a less developed idea of limbo. Limbo provided a realm to which unbaptized babies could go without having to be condemned to hell.

Another question limbo answered for the early Church concerned the fate of righteous people who had passed away in the eras before the good news of Christianity. In other words, Christians of the first few centuries of the Common Era imagined that only Christian souls could go to heaven. But where does that leave such righteous and deserving individuals as the Old Testament patriarchs (e.g., Abraham, Moses, etc.)? Placing them in a limbo realm, from which Christ later rescued them and conducted them to heaven, solved this problem.

See also Purgatory

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McDannell, Colleen, and Bernhard Lang. *Heaven: A History.* 1988. New York: Vintage, 1990.

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Lisa and the Devil, a.k.a. The House of Exorcism

A 1975 film, in which a tourist, while visiting an Italian village, meets a man who looks exactly like a devil she sees in a medieval fresco. She is persuaded to come to his old mansion, where she encounters horror. After filming, the movie was reedited before its release for the purpose of riding the wave of popular interest that arose in the wake of the *Exorcist*. The original has been restored in some video versions.

Little Nicku

Little Nicky, played by Adam Sandler, is the third son of Satan in this 2000 film. When dad decides to extend his rule in hell for another 10,000 years, the two oldest sons leave hell so that they can have their own realm to rule—earth. Unfortunately, this upsets the balance of the cosmos, and Nicky has the task of going to earth and bringing his brothers back. This is the setting for an otherwise typical slapstick Sandler comedy.

Little Witches

A transparent takeoff on *The Craft*. This 1996 film tries to outdo its predecessor by increasing the number of Catholic schoolgirl coven members from four to sixteen, and making them sexier and more sinister.

Lost Souls

Satan is on the verge of manifesting on earth in this 2000 film. For some reason, he needs to take over a human body to do so. In this case, the body will be a 33-year-old male (the same age as Jesus when he began his ministry) who happens to be a best-selling author of true crime stories about mass murderers and serial killers. A young, formerly possessed woman played by Winona Ryder attempts to warn him of the danger.

Love (Lust) Spells

Love and the closely related drive of lust involve the strongest of human emotions. Love spells have been used since antiquity, and are still popular in folklore. Traditional spells played a significant part in many old country magics, which, according to legend, were recommended to village girls by the local witch. The love spell often consists of words or incantations containing the name of the lover. The incantations are verbalized in conjunction with a set of actions that must be repeated upon going to bed for a number of consecutive nights. Its power and success are based upon a combination of will-power, concentration, visualization, identification, and incantation, and it is claimed that, if the spell works, it is by the power of thought. An herb-filled poppet or cloth doll is often used during a love ritual. It is identified with the individual who is the object of the spell, so that it becomes the person during the ritual. The doll may be marked with the name of the target person or contain a lock of her or his hair. The purpose of some spells, which can be considered forms of divination, is that of seeing one's future lover in a dream.

This tradition has been appropriated by modern Satanism, although Satanist spells tend to focus more specifically on lust. A sample lust ritual is, for example, contained in Anton Szandor LaVey's *The Satanic Bible*. After setting the mood and invoking the appropriate energies, the male declares:

My rod is athrust! The penetrating force of my venom shall shatter the sanctity of that mind which is barren of lust; and as the seed falleth, so shall its vapors be spread within that reeling brain benumbing it to helplessness according to my will! In the name of the great god Pan, may my secret thoughts be marshaled into the movements of the flesh of that which I desire!(147–148)

If the magician is female, she asserts:

My loins are aflame! The dripping of the nectar from my eager cleft shall act as pollen to that slumbering brain, and the mind that feels not lust shall on a sudden reel with crazed impulse. And when my mighty surge is spent, new wanderings shall begin; and that flesh which I desire shall come to me. In the names of the great harlot of Babylon, and of Lilith, and of Hecate, may my lust be fulfilled!(148)

See also Curses; LaVey, Anton Szandor *For Further Reading:*

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Lucifer

The name Lucifer means "light giver," and connotes star, applying to the morning or evening star Venus, the brightest object in the sky apart from the sun and moon. It has been erroneously equated with the fallen angel Satan, because of a misreading of a scriptural passage that applied to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who in his glory and pomp had set himself among the gods, as it is reported in Isaiah 14:12: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning." Just as the brilliancy of Lucifer surpasses that of all other stars in the firmament, so the splendor of the king of Babylon surpasses that of all other Oriental monarchs.

The authors of the earlier books of Hebrew scriptures (the Old Testament), however, knew nothing of fallen angels or evil angels, and did not mention them. Babylonians and Assyrians personified the morning star as Belit and Istar. Others have speculated that the phrase "son of the morning" might refer to the crescent moon. Others argue for an identification with the planet Jupiter.

The Devil acquired the name Lucifer when the early Christian theologians Tertullian and St. Augustine identified him with the falling star in the passage from Isaiah 14:12 quoted above. The basis of this association was that the Devil was

formerly a great archangel who rebelled against God and was tossed out of heaven. The legend of the rebellion and expulsion of Lucifer, as formulated by Jewish and Christian writers, describes Lucifer as the chief in the hierarchy of heaven, and as preeminent among all created beings in beauty, power, and wisdom. To this "anointed cherub" was apparently allotted power and dominion over the earth; and even after his fall and exclusion from his old domain, he still seems to retain some of his power and ancient title to sovereignty.

According to the writings of the rabbis and church fathers, his sin was pride, which was an act of complete egoism and pure malice, in that he loved himself to the exclusion of all else and without the excuse of ignorance, error, passion, or weakness of will. Other versions hold that his audacity went so far as to attempt to seat himself on the Great Throne.

In the medieval mysteries, Lucifer, as the governor of the heavens, is represented as seated next to the Eternal. As soon as the Lord leaves his seat, Lucifer, swelling with pride, sits down on the throne of heaven. The indignant archangel Michael takes up arms against him and finally succeeds in driving him out of heaven down into the dark and dismal dwelling reserved for him for all eternity.

In heaven the archangel's name had been Lucifer, on earth it was Satan. The angels who joined his rebellion were also expelled from heaven and became the demons of whom Lucifer is the lord. Another reference to the daystar can be found in Ezekiel's prediction of the coming downfall of the king of Tyre. Here Lucifer is an angel, blazing with brilliant jewels, who was in Eden, the garden of God, walking up and down among the "stones of fire."

Lucifer may have been the hero of an earlier story in which the morning star tries to steal the role of the sun but is defeated. This story is derived from the observation that the morning star is the last star proudly to defy the sunrise. However, as the sun's rays strengthen, his light fades. It has also been suggested that the story is another version of the fall of Adam and his expulsion from Eden, the divine spirit who tried to rival God being the first man himself.

Lucifer's name was applied to Satan by St. Jerome, writing in the fourth century, and other church fathers, when commenting on the verse, "I beheld Satan as Lightning fall from heaven" (Luke 10:18). The name *Lucifer* has been applied by Milton to the demon of sinful pride in *Paradise Lost*, and in Christopher Marlowe's play *Doctor Faustus* as well as in Dante's *The Divine Comedy* Lucifer is the king of hell.

He constitutes the title and principal character of the epic poem by the Dutch author of the seventeenth century Joost van den Vondel, who uses Lucifer instead of Satan. Moreover, Lucifer, who represents the main character in the mystery play *The Tragedy of Man* by Imre Madach, is also pictured by Blake in his illustrations to Dante.

He is addressed as Prince Lucifer in George Meredith's sonnet "Lucifer in Starlight," and is described as "the brightest angel, even the Child of Light," by Edmund Spenser in his "An Hymne of Heavenly Love." In the early thirteenth century, a few Satanist heretics, who were called Luciferans and who worshiped the Devil, were discovered in Germany and persecuted.

See also Fallen Angels **For Further Reading:**

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The Illustrated Bible Dictionary. Leicester, UK: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980.

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Luciferian Children of Satan (Bambini di Satana Luciferiani)

The Luciferian Children of Satan (Bambini di Satana Luciferiani, BSL) was perhaps the largest Satanist church to develop out of the Goth subculture—at least before the group was disrupted by the authorities in 1996. Inspired partially by the writings of Aleister Crowley and older Satanist organizations, the BSL was founded in Italy by Marco Dimitri. Rather than link his new group with older Satanist bodies, Dimitri advocated a bolder Satanism which, among other things, courted media attention. Initially a tiny group centered in Bologna, the BSL began to grow after

being catapulted into the national media following attacks by Catholic countercultists and, later, attacks by secular anticultists.

Dimitri was able to expand the BSL because he filled a need on Italian talk shows. Although such programs desired to air episodes devoted to sensationalistic topics like Satanism, simply presenting anticultist spokespersons warning viewers about the dangers of Satanic cults was not entertaining enough. Older Italian Satanist groups studiously avoided media attention. Dimitri, however, eagerly jumped into the fray. And, while typically held up as an object for ridicule by such programs, he was always contacted afterwards by people interested in becoming involved in the BSL. Dimitri also came to be regarded favorably by the black metal music subculture. Thus by 1996, his fledgling group had managed to grow to several hundred participants in different parts of Italy.

Although arrested for the relatively minor charge of obscenity in 1992, Dimitri's legal problems really got under way in 1996. In that year, he and some of his followers were charged with raping a female priestess who had refused to comply with the sexual requirements of her position. Dimitri and his codefendants were also charged with child abuse because children had participated in BSL rituals. Part of the evidence presented in the case was the BSL book (never intended for public circulation), the Infernal Gospel (Vangelo Infernale). This "gospel" seemed to suggest that pedophilia and sex abuse were acceptable to Satanism. Nevertheless, all of the principal charges were dismissed the following year. Dimitri was, however, convicted on a minor tax violation.

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Lucifers Den

Lucifers Den developed in two historical stages. It was initially founded in 1990 in Big Spring, Texas,

by Brian Nalls when he was fifteen. It started as a high school study group. The group began having meetings once a week, and eventually started holding monthly rituals out of school as well. After high school, Nalls went on to study religion in college, eventually studying with a nondenominational church in which he was ordained in 1997. He had also studied and practiced Wicca, shamanism, and magic. The second stage of the group began in May of 1997 when Nalls brought Lucifers Den online. By then, he was in southern California. Starting small, it eventually expanded into a stable organization.

The philosophy of Lucifers Den is based on Anton LaVey's Satanism, as expressed in *The Satanic Bible* and other works. LaVey's Satanism is, however, regarded as a foundation to build upon rather than as an orthodoxy to be defended. Lucifers Den holds monthly meetings and hosts various activities within the larger Satanic movement on a regular basis. It also offers such services to the public as lectures, classes, Satanic weddings, funerals, and baptisms.

Unlike some Satanists who become involved in the movement simply to revel in the bizarre, Lucifers Den takes Satanism very seriously. Among other things, the organization is dedicated to dispelling the misconceptions of Satanism promoted by Hollywood, published works of fiction, and sensationalist books. The group also makes a studious effort to stay out of the bickering that often takes place within and among Satanic churches, which Nalls regards as consuming time better spent on other matters.

Offering education and other services to the general public, Lucifers Den intends to overcome many walls and boundaries that others were not able to overcome in the past. To this end, the group does not provoke hate toward anything or anyone. Unlike many other Satanists, Lucifers Den does not regard itself as anti-Christian (or anti anything, for that matter), and does not tolerate religious bashing of any kind.

See also LaVey, Anton Szandor
For Further Reading:
Lucifers Den official site:
http://www.angelfire.com/mi/LUCIFERSDEN

M

Magic and Magical Groups

Widespread acceptance of the occult had tapered off sharply among the educated by about 1750, but it did not cease altogether, and may have remained more or less constant among peasants. During the next century, the romantic revival of neo-Platonism, medieval German mysticism, and astrology; the introduction of Asian and especially Indian esotericism; and the sudden enthusiasm for secret societies, Mesmerism, and Swedenborgianism marked the beginnings of the modern recrudescence of the occult. With varying degrees of popularity, faddishness, and intellectual respectability, it has remained a nearly ubiquitous factor in Western cultural life ever since.

In 1801, Francis Barrett, who had gathered a working magical group around himself, published *The Magus*, the first modern book that attempted to make the arcana of magic accessible to the middle class. At midcentury, Alphonse-Louis Constant, who wrote under the name of Eliphas Levi, published his *Dogma and Ritual of High Magic*, a *History of Magic*, and *Key to the Great Mysteries*. These pulled together the disparate strands of Western occultism into the beginnings of a unified system, and so became the textbooks for all the later magical groups. In the 1850s and 1860s, a group using Barrett's *The Magus* as a text gathered around a psychic named Fred Hockley, and began trying to get Barrett's and Levi's "magic

formulas" to actually work. Hockley owned a set of mysterious magical manuscripts, on which he based his magical authority.

The late nineteenth century saw the rise of "spiritual occultism," which, as represented by theosophy, Rudolf Steiner, Gurdjieff, and Ouspensky, and a ritual-magical wing (various Rosicrucian organizations, the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, and its offshoots), denies that it is a religion. It is the mindset of spiritual occultism that leads most modern occult organizations to deny that they are religions. However, they exhibit the same ambiguous relation between their foundational myths and their ordinary history that religions in general do. Rosicrucianism has the myths set forth in its major documents-the Chemical Wedding, and so on—that claim survival from antiquity, but in fact it appears to have begun as a secret organization among Lutherans, since Luther's family crest was a rose on a cross. Freemasonry in England began as a secret society dedicated to restoration of the monarchy; when Charles II ascended the throne, this society remained intact, but adopted a new purpose.

That is, modern occult organizations typically claim a great antiquity for themselves, but in fact are all quite recent, and are almost all highly interrelated. The scholar T. M. Luhrmann has documented the overlapping memberships in magical organizations in the London area in the 1980s; this

pattern has, in fact, been typical for the last two centuries. The pattern we see is that of a charismatic leader beginning an organization, which grows well during his or her lifetime, and usually attracts as its most prominent members people who have been or still are members of most of the other extant occult organizations. Upon the leader's demise, the organization usually fractures into two or many factions, as the other members struggle to decide who will assume the mantle of the founder, and these factions generally then become independent organizations, which repeat the cycle.

Most contemporary magic goes back to that of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (HOGD), which was an offshoot of a Masonic-Rosicrucian organization, the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia (SRIA), founded by Robert Wentworth Little in 1865, and supposedly based on old manuscripts found in Freemasons' Hall, apparently the ones owned by Hockley. The London Lodge of the Theosophical Society was opened in 1883, and members of both these lodges were among the early members of the HOGD, which was founded in 1888 by W. R. Woodman, A. F. A. Woodford, W. Wynn Westcott, and Samuel Liddell Mathers (1854-1918; a relative of Alice Liddell, whose father coauthored the most important Greek dictionary of the nineteenth century, and whose adventures in Wonderland were chronicled by the Reverend Charles Ludwig Dodgson); all but Woodford had been members of the SRIA, but it was Woodford who in 1885 inherited the magical manuscripts that had been owned by Hockley. Westcott proceeded to "decode" them, and Mathers then built a new magical system upon them. These papers also included the Nuremberg address of one "Anna Sprengel," a Rosicrucian Adept in touch with the Masters in the East. Mathers claimed to have written to her, and to have received a great mass of information and rituals, along with a charter for the Isis-Urania Temple.

After the other two founders died, Westcott resigned in 1887 to concentrate on the SRIA, of which he was Supreme Magus, leaving Mathers in complete control of the HOGD. In 1892 Mathers moved to Paris, where he married Moira, the daughter of the philosopher Henri Bergson, and

from where he proceeded to direct the affairs of the HOGD. The four had claimed to have a charter and a set of rituals from the "secret chiefs" of the Rosicrucian order in Germany, but in fact it was all written by Mathers. Mathers was one of the most brilliant amateur scholars of his generation, who also translated The Greater Key of Solomon and several major cabalistic treatises, and who wrote a major book on the Tarot. The HOGD attracted a stellar cast from among Britain's middle-class intellectuals. Its members (as revealed by Ithel Colquhon's appendixes) included Arthur Machen, Arthur Edward Waite, James M. Barrie, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Hugh Schonfield, Florence Farr (at one time a lover of George Bernard Shaw), and Maud Gonne (a lover of Yeats and mother of Sean McBride, the founder of Amnesty International).

The most famous member of the HOGD was William Butler Yeats, who joined in 1890, and remained a devout member (according to Virginia Moore's masterful biography) until 1900, when a fight over whether Mathers could bring Aleister Crowley rapidly up into the leadership of the organization shattered it into several factions. Most of the members left with Yeats to form the Stella Matutina (Morning Star), which Yeats served from 1901 to 1917 as Grand Master. Mathers and Crowley kept the original name, but their minority organization soon foundered. Crowley, after "channeling" the Book of the Law in 1904, founded his own organization, the Astrum Argentinum (Silver Star), in 1907, and began publishing The Equinox in 1909 in order to spread his ideas. He had also become a member of the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO, Order of the Eastern Temple) by 1912. The OTO had been founded around the turn of the century by a German named Karl Keller, and it taught a form of sex Magick. According to the painstaking research of J. Gordon Melton, the OTO was actually based largely on the secret sex-magic teachings of P. B. Randolph, founder of the Fraternitas Rosae Crucis, a major Rosicrucian society in America. Crowley succeeded Theodor Reuss as Outer Head of the OTO in 1922, and was recognized as head of the OTO by a majority of its members in 1924–25, but the organization then divided in two over the

issue of accepting Crowley's *Book of the Law* as authoritative. (Rudolf Steiner headed an OTO chapter early in this century, before he founded the Anthroposophical League.)

Violet Firth was initiated in 1919 into the Alpha et Omega, the HOGD offshoot presided over by Mathers's widow, Moira Bergson Mathers. In 1922 Firth organized the Fraternity of the Inner Light as an "outer court" for the AEO. She and Mrs. Mathers clashed more and more as Violet matured as a leader. When Mrs. Mathers expelled her in 1927, Firth, now using the name Dion Fortune, took the Fraternity of the Inner Light with her, and it became the parent or ancestor of many other important magical organizations now functioning in England.

See also Crowley, Aleister; Levi, Eliphas; Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn; Ordo Templi Orientis *For Further Reading:*

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Malik

Malik is the wicked angel who guards hell. This is according to the Koran, which states that Malik is aided by nineteen other angel guards (*sbires* or *zabayniya*). When the sinful residents of hell beg Malik for help, he tells them that they must stay in hell forever because they denied the truth when it was once showed to them. Malik makes life even worse for them by stoking the fires and making jokes. The only relief comes for the Muslim sinners in hell who can escape such treatment by reciting "Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful." Malik knows that these true believers will one day be freed from hell by Muhammad.

See also Islam For Further Reading:

The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978. Glassé, Cyril. The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1989.

Mammon

In folklore, Mammon is a fallen angel, now residing in hell as the demon of avarice. He personifies greed and a lust for money. In John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Mammon is depicted as always looking downward, at heaven's golden pavement, rather than up at God. After the war in heaven, when Mammon is relegated to hell, he is the one who finds underground precious metal that the devils use to build Pandemonium, their capital city.

In the Bible (Matt. 6:24 and Luke 16:13) Mammon is referred to as being hostile to God. And in the *Dictionnaire Infernal* by De Plancy, Mammon is noted as hell's ambassador to England. He is equated with Lucifer, Satan, Beelzebub, and Nebuchadnezzar. Gregory of Nyssa interpreted Mammon to be a name for Beelzebub. The word "mammon" comes originally from Jesus's declaration in the Gospels: "No man can be a slave to two masters; he will hate one and love the other; he will be loyal to one and despise the other. You cannot serve both God and mammon (greed for worldly riches)" (Matt. 6:24).

See also Fallen Angels; Milton, John **For Further Reading:**

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Manichaeism

Manichaeism refers primarily to a religious movement that arose in the third century and spread across the Mediterranean world. Like Zoroastrianism, it postulated an ongoing, more or less evenly matched war between a good god and an evil god. Founded by Mani, a Persian born into a Christian and Jewish community in Assyria in A.D. 215, Manichaeism was a mixture of Gnosticism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity that spread across the Western world and lasted for the better part of a thousand years. It may even have lasted until the twentieth century in China.

Its central teaching was a severe dualism between spirit and matter, soul and body. St. Augustine, the most influential of the church fathers, converted to Christianity from Manichaeism, and some have said that Christianity's antagonism toward the flesh was influenced by Augustine's former religion. Although this movement died out during the Western Middle Ages, the term *Manichaeism* continued to be used to refer to any sect or teaching that seemed to overemphasize the struggle between good and evil.

Mani began preaching his new religion at the age of twenty-four. He was eventually executed by orthodox Zoroastrians around the year 276. Mani's extreme dualism was similar to certain strands of Gnosticism, which emphasized the antagonism between the body and the soul. The soul was a fallen divine spark from the realm of light, while the body was the creation of the evil "god" (a Devil figure) and his associates, the archons (effectively, demons). Also like Gnosticism, Mani saw human beings as trapped in a cycle of reincarnation so that even suicide would not release one from bondage to the flesh. Manichaeism preached a rather severe asceticism, especially with regard to the sexual instinct.

Through ascetic living and following Mani's teachings, the elect (*perfecti*) are able to ascend directly into the light. Everyone else reincarnates until they have completely purified themselves. However, when Christ returns the unrepentant will be thrown into flames that will engulf the world for 1,468 years.

See also Archon; Gnosticism; Zoroastrianism For Further Reading:

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Manson, Charles

Charles Willie Manson (b. November 11, 1934) was the leader of a small group of people—the media later dubbed it the "Manson Family"—convicted of a series of highly publicized murders committed in southern California in 1969. The

court determined that, although he did not kill anyone himself, his followers committed the crimes at his behest. The group's initial victim was a musician and drug dealer, Gary Hinman. The Manson Family's most publicized murders, however, occurred at actress Sharon Tate's home on August 9, 1969. These killings, the so-called Tate Homicides or Tate Murders, took the lives of Abigail Folger, Steven Parent, Voiytek Frykowski, Jay Sebring, and Sharon Tate (as well as her unborn child). Two days afterward, Leno and Rosemary LaBianca were murdered at their homes. The final victim was Donald Shea, a former stuntman. The trial held the record for being the longest running trial with a sequestered jury in California legal history until the O. J. Simpson trial in 1994. As with the Simpson case, the Manson trial became a media spectacle.

Although a tiny group, the Manson Family came to occupy a prominent role in the "anticult" discourse of the early 1970s. The family's first-place status in anticult literature was not eclipsed until the People's Temple mass suicide/murders in November 1978. Although sociologically quite different from groups like the Unification Church and the Hare Krishna Movement, the antisocial activities of Manson's group were often referred to as being typical of what all "cults" were potentially capable of committing. Manson's apparent control over his followers was also regularly mentioned as a paradigmatic example of "cultic mind control."

With respect to Satanism, Manson did not teach Satanism in any recognizable sense, and his group was not a "Satanic cult." But there were a number of direct and indirect connections between the Manson Family and diverse manifestations of contemporaneous Satanism that prompted various writers to categorize the group as Satanic. The most prominent feature connecting Manson with Satanism (beyond their crimes, which could be characterized as evil) was that his followers would sometimes refer to Manson as "Satan." However, at other times they would also call Manson "God." This dichotomy might have been due to Manson's brief participation in the Process Church of the Final Judgment, an unusual movement for which the reconciliation of good



Charles Manson being escorted from the courtroom, 1971 (Bettmann/Corbis)

and evil was a central tenet. To conservative Christians, of course, the Process was a demonic religion, on par with the Church of Satan.

Other connections were indirect. Prominent Family member Susan Atkins, for instance, was associated with organized Satanism. She was apparently a topless dancer for a nightclub act, Witches' Workshop, organized by Anton LaVey, founder of the Church of Satan. She was also said to have been a member of the Temple of Set, a Church of Satan schism. Atkins later converted to Christianity. Thus her claims of links to organized Satanism in her autobiography, *Child of Satan*, *Child of God* (1977), may have been embellished.

Even more indirect was the fact that Sharon Tate's husband, Roman Polanski, directed Rosemary's Baby (1968)—the most prominent devil-related horror movie of the 1960s. The fact that it had been a box office hit the year before the murders fueled media commentary that brought together the film and the murders—despite the lack of any real link between them. LaVey's claim that he had personally appeared as

Satan in the movie provided yet another thin connection. A more recent, but even more tenuous connection is that the musician Marilyn Manson, whose stage name is a combination of Marilyn (Monroe) and (Charles) Manson, is a member of the Church of Satan.

The Manson Family's vague association with Satanism was revived in the 1980s and 1990s as part of the Satanic ritual abuse scare because it provided concrete evidence for the claim that real Satanic groups existed that were involved in ritualistic murder. For instance, in an essay on the history of Satanist religions that appeared in a volume on Satanic ritual abuse in the early 1990s, the author claimed that "the first of the contemporary exposés of the workings of a self-styled Satanic cult was that of the Manson Family" (Katchen 1992, 16). Interestingly, the second "exposé" mentioned by this same author is Michelle Remembers (1980), a book all serious researchers regard as being more of a novel than a documentary. This kind of careless analysis has been rather typical of writers who have attempted to bring Manson to bear on the ritual abuse issue. Thus although new attention was given to the supposedly Satanic nature of the family in the latter decades of the twentieth century, no new revelations emerged. And while Manson and his followers may well have been evil, they were not Satanists in the formal meaning of that term.

See also Church of Satan; Crime; The Process; Satanic Ritual Abuse; Temple of Set

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Mara

Mara is the Buddhist Satan. His name comes from a root word meaning "to die." Although Buddhism has hell worlds, the real "hell" of Buddhism is the cycle of death and rebirth (reincarnation) in which human beings are bound, and the ultimate goal of Buddhism is liberation from this cycle. Mara's aim is not so much to draw people into hell, but rather to keep them in bondage to the cycle of reincarnation.

The best-known story involving Mara is the tale of his attempt to prevent the Buddha from achieving enlightenment. The story goes that, as Siddhartha Gautama was on the brink of Nirvana, Mara sent beautiful, tempting heavenly women (Buddhist apsaras) to distract his attention. Finding Gautama unmoved by passion, Mara changed tack and tried frightening him with ferocious demons. Still failing to disturb Gautama, Mara finally challenged Buddha's right to libera-

tion. In response, Gautama is said to have called the earth as his witness, whose response was so powerful that it frightened away Mara and his hordes. That very night, the Buddha achieved enlightenment.

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Mark of the Devil

The Devil's mark (Latin *sigillum diaboli*, meaning Devil's seal) or witch's mark was a mark supposedly made by Satan on the bodies of his new initiates. According to different accounts, this mark was inscribed on the Devil's followers by the Prince of Darkness scratching them with his claw, branding them with an infernal hot iron, or licking them. These marks, which were not ordinary scars, could be red or blue, and were almost always found in hidden places, such as under the arms, under the eyelids, or in bodily orifices.

Although belief in the possession of infernal inscriptions on the bodies of witches was universally accepted in the medieval period, descriptions of Devil's marks were actually not precise enough to distinguish them from birthmarks and blemishes. There was also the problem of what to do with individuals accused of being in league with Satan who did not possess any markings. This problem was solved by postulating that the Devil could make his mark invisibly. An ad hoc addendum to this emergent theory was that the area of the body so marked would be insensitive to pinpricks. These areas were also said not to bleed when pricked. Thus natural blemishes could be distinguished from diabolical body engravings by how sensitive they were to pain. Unfortunately for individuals accused of witchcraft, this meant that the entire body had to be pricked to determine whether or not they possessed invisible markings.

During the witch crazes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England and Scotland,



"Pricking a Witch" illustration by D.B. Bliss for The Devil in Scotland, published in 1934. (Fortean Picture Library)

"witch-prickers" emerged who claimed expertise at detecting individuals who had sold their souls to the Devil. These pseudoprofessionals were encouraged to commit abuses by the unwise practice of paying them "by the head" for each person found guilty of witchcraft. It has been said that at least some prickers used a trick bodkin, the metallic shaft of which would retract into the handle as the bodkin as pressed into the skin of the accused. When alternated with a real bodkin that evoked blood and cries of pain when inserted, the spectacle could be quite convincing. Eventually, so many innocent people were executed by the false testimony of prickers that in 1662 "pricking for witchcraft" was outlawed. After some of the prickers where imprisoned and, in some cases, executed, the practice quickly died out.

Witches' marks or witches' teats can also refer to special marks believed to serve the purpose of feeding familiars or imps, who were believed to have a craving for human blood. Individuals with supernumerary nipples—sometimes called "monkey teats," a not uncommon condition—were especially suspect as witches. Tortured by agents of the Inquisition, accused witches often confessed to feeding imps by such means. Some of

the witches executed in Salem, Massachusetts, were said to have had witches' marks with which they fed diabolical familiars.

This item of medieval superstition was resurrected and presented as fact in *Michelle Remembers*, the popular 1980 book credited with setting the ritual abuse scare in motion. In one ritual Michelle claimed to remember, Satan himself commanded that marks be made upon one of his initiates in doggerel verse.

Michelle Remembers also contained a number of pictures of Michelle's rashes, identified as marks made by the Prince of Darkness himself. One photo caption read, "Michelle experienced 'body memories' of her ordeal. Whenever she relived the moments when Satan had his burning tail wrapped around her neck, a sharply defined rash appeared in the shape of the spade-like tip of his tail." Given the B-movie quality of the events described in Michelle Remembers, it is incredible that so many readers took the book seriously.

Although most modern Satanists have no use for this particular item of folklore, the tradition of the Devil's mark has been reinterpreted and incorporated into at least one Black Mass ceremony, the ChaoSatanic Black Mass "Recrucifixion." At the

time of this writing, the ritual could be found on the First Church of Satan website. The rite begins by "marking" the participants, accompanied by a liturgy that imaginatively equates the devil's mark with the biblical Mark of the Beast:

The Celebrants (Apostates) either perform this ritual in robes, or nude. After gathering outside of temple space, the Deacon addresses the group.

DEACON: "None may partake of the bounty of the Dreaming Lord until they have taken His Mark. Those who would gain His blessings come forward to receive the Mark of the Beast."

Each apostate goes in turn to receive the Mark, which is stamped onto their left hand. Last of all, the Deacon stamps the Priest, who in turn stamps the Deacon. The Apostates then follow the Priest and Deacon into the temple space.

Later in the same rite, the notion of the Devil's Mark is further extended to encompass the Mark of Cain:

PRIEST: "If any wish to abstain from these festivities, let them leave now, although the Mark of the Beast is permanent upon their souls and was inscribed there even before they took it at the Gate of the Temple."

ALL: "For we are the descendants of Cain."

As indicated by the title of the ritual, the core of this Black Mass is a symbolic recrucifixion of Jesus, who is portrayed in the liturgy as a false messiah.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse For Further Reading:

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Mastema

Mastema (or Mansemat) is the "father of all evil, yet subservient to God." This is per the Book of Jubilees, wherein Mastema is described as the Angel of Adversity. Elsewhere, Mastema is referred to as the Accusing Angel, and in Hebrew Mastema means "animosity."

Mastema works for God to tempt mankind and as an executioner. A large number of demons are under his charge. These evil spirits were born from the dead bodies of giants killed by God that were the offspring of fallen angels and mortal earth women. One legend tells how after the Flood God intended to comply with a request of Noah's to lock away all of the evil spirits underground. But Mastema was able to convince God that it would be wise to allow some of the demons to continue their work, as sinful mortals still needed to be kept in line and have their faith tested at times. God agreed to allow one-tenth of the demons carry on their work under Mastema's supervision.

There are other references to Mastema, such as in Exodus (4:24ff.). Here Mastema tries to kill Moses. Also, it is said that Mastema is supposed to have assisted the Egyptian wizards against Moses and Aaron when these Israelites had to present themselves before the Pharaoh to display their talent at feats of magic.

See also Book of Jubilees For Further Reading:

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Matamoros Murders

Constanzo, 26, and Ms. Aldrete, 24, had been charged with aggravated kidnaping by Cameron County authorities and are believed to have directed human sacrifices, mutilations and the boiling of brains and other organs in rituals to bring occult protection for their drug-smuggling ring.

—Associated Press

In 1989, police discovered that a series of murders had been carried out by a Mexican drug-smuggling gang headquartered in Mata-





Two of the central figures in the Matamoros killings, Adolfo Constanzo (left) and Sarah Aldrete (right). (Brad Doherty)

moros, Mexico, just across the border from Brownsville, Texas. Although many of the murders were directly related to the day-to-day violence of the drug-running business, some of the victims were killed in the belief that sacrificing them would provide the gang with magical protection. After the mutilated body of University of Texas student Mark Kilroy, along with bodies of members of rival gangs, were found buried on the grounds of a Mexican ranch, the news media immediately proceeded to sensationalize the story by describing the drug ring as a Satanic cult.

A number of Associated Press wires, for instance, bore such titles as "Satanic Cult People Questioned" and "Satanic Ring Member Arrested." A story in *Time* magazine referred to the group as a "voodoo-practicing cult of drug smugglers" whose rituals were intended to "win Satanic protection." Many more examples in this vein could be cited. Mexican authorities apparently courted Anglo-American reporters anxious to seize upon any titillating detail. Gary Cartwright,

reporting for the *Texas Monthly*, noted that the commandant "made no attempt to seal off the crime scene. During almost any hour of the day journalists could be found stomping about the ranch...looking for something—anything—that no one else had found."

The twisted spiritual beliefs of the Matamoros group were based on Palo Mayombe, an Afro-Cuban religio-magical system that is frequently, though erroneously, equated with the better known Santeria. This necromantic sect utilizes human remains in its rites, but practitioners purchase such remains from medical supply houses or (in extreme cases) rob graves rather than murder living human beings. The Palo practices that were the core of the magic rituals had been supplied by Adolfo Constanzo, a twenty-six-year-old Cuban-American from Miami who had been hired by a drug-smuggling family to provide them with supernatural aid. Before being hired by the Hernandez family, Constanzo had developed a reputation as being a sorcerer in Mexico City. The Palo connection was

especially clear from the characteristic cauldrons found at the Matamoros ranch:

The paraphernalia recovered at the scene in Matamoros included three cauldrons (one large and two small) which can be identified from their contents (some of the victims' brains, blood, human and animal bone, turtle shells, chicken and goat heads, gold colored beads, etc.) as ngangas, a form of charm used in Palo Mayombe. Also found was an altar with ritual candles, broken glass, cigars, chilis, and bottles of cane liquor, also consistent with Palo Mayombe. Where this group differs from Palo Mayombe groups is in the source of their human body parts. (O'Sullivan 1991)

Reporters dwelled on the human remains in the cauldrons as indicating that the group practiced cannibalism, an assertion reflecting a complete lack of knowledge about Palo. Instead of going to the trouble to gather accurate information, it is clear that reporters drew their attribution of cannibalism from the popular fantasy about Satanic cults sacrificing and eating human beings.

The notion that human sacrifice could provide practitioners with magical power and protection were supplied by Sara Aldrete, one of the group's core followers. This young woman was repeatedly referred to as being either a "witch" or Constanzo's "high priestess." Such labels have the net effect of shoring up the otherwise dubious parallels between the Matamoros group and the Satanic cult stereotype. Aldrete had been an honor student at Texas Southmost College in Brownsville, where she had studied the anthropology of religion. Perhaps more importantly, she had also become fascinated with the film The Believers, which features a Santeria-like cult composed of rich urbanites who sacrifice human beings in order to gain supernatural power. Members of Constanzo's group were shown the film over and over again to indoctrinate them into the necessity of committing ritual murder.

Building on news media stories about Matamoros, advocates of Satanic conspiracy theories immediately appropriated the murders as providing concrete evidence for the real existence of a secretive Satanic network plotting to take over the world—despite the fact that the only parallel between the Matamoros group and popular stereotypes of Satanism was human sacrifice. Blinded by their own belief system, some diabolical conspiracy buffs even expressed surprise that certain components of the stereotype were missing. For example, one such observer stated that, "Where there's drugs involved, often you will find Satanism. What is odd is that the bodies were not cremated" (O'Sullivan 1991). This comment alludes to a familiar item of Satanic ritual abuse lore, namely that Satanists cremate the remains of sacrificed victims as a way of destroying evidence.

In an insightful analysis included as part of his groundbreaking book, *In Pursuit of Satan*, Robert Hicks pointed out three reasons that the Matamoros incident appealed to what he called "cult cops" (and, by implication, to other Satanic conspiracy advocates):

First, the nine-month spree of murder included the abduction of innocents, a theme which figures significantly in some cult-seminar claims and also in rumors, urban legends, and subversion myths.

Second, cult cops cite Matamoros as indirect proof of the international Satanic conspiracy, because the case proves that people like us, fairly well educated with middle-class upbringings, can form secret loyalties that involve murder.

Third, cult cops have taken Matamoros as *Satanic* because the newspapers have used the term. If newspapers use it, and Texas Attorney General Mattox uses it as an opportunity to advise Texans against the Satanist forces who left behind the Matamoros bodies on their march to world subversion, then why should cult cops not reap the same rewards of frightened audiences? (81–83)

Prior to Matamoros, the closest things to documentable homicidal cults were Charles Manson's family and Jim Jones's People's Temple. But there were problems with using these groups as examples of Satanic cults. Specifically, the Jones group was, even at the time of the mass suicide in



A close up of the contents of one of the nagangas discovered at the scene in Mexico (Brad Doherty)

Guyana, a member of the Disciples of Christ, a mainline Christian denomination. And while Manson occasionally referred to himself as Satan (he also called himself God), the Manson family were not Satanists in any meaningful sense of the term. Furthermore, their murderous acts were not ritualistic sacrifices. Thus, while the Matamoros group did not actually worship the Devil, it contained more components than any previous group that could be interpreted to fit the Satanic cult stereotype—hence its immediate adoption as a primary example by believers in Satanic ritual abuse.

See also Crime; Vodoun **For Further Reading:**

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Mather, Cotton

As historians have often pointed out, American culture has been decisively influenced—for better or for worse—by New England Puritanism. One of the less positive aspects of this heritage is its contribution to the American tendency to view all opponents as evil. The Puritans, of course, believed in a literal Satan. And because they also viewed their very existence as a powerful threat to the infernal kingdom, they believed that the Prince of Darkness was the ultimate source of all attacks on their colony.

During the later part of the seventeenth century, Puritan New England encountered a

series of crises that were to bring about an end to their "Holy Experiment," at least in the form envisioned by the original founders. Internally, the often bitter debate over church membership that led to the so-called *halfway covenant* of 1662 was but one aspect of a breakdown in consensus that was reflected in commercial competition, political contention, and personal bad feelings.

Externally, English kings began to assume control over their Massachusetts colonies, most distressingly during the reign of Charles II. But even after Charles was deposed, the colony knew that it would never again enjoy the autonomy of its first half century. On top of these troubles, New England experienced a devastating Indian war in 1675–1677 (King Philip's War) that left the colonists burdened with debts.

Cotton Mather, son of Increase Mather and grandson of John Cotton, was the most brilliant representative of New England Puritanism at a time when the older Puritan hegemony was beginning to break down. Born in the year following the adoption of the halfway covenant (allowing children of "saved" church members to be members), Mather was prominently involved in the official response to the witchcraft outbreak of 1692. Mather was also involved in the process of idealizing the colony's earliest period until it became a kind of golden age. Like his father, he perceived his contemporaries as having "Indianized," and called on New Englanders to abandon their "Indian vices" and return to the model of the past. Also like his father and other Puritan leaders, Cotton Mather saw New England's various afflictions as punishment for its deviations from the covenant—their "contract" with God. For example, in the sixth chapter of Magnalia Christi Americana he repeatedly asserted that the depredations of the Indian savages were God's just punishments for the colony's "apostasie": "In the things that have been done to our captives, the great 'Lord of Hosts' hath dealt with us as generals used to do upon the sedition and mutiny of military legions: He makes a sort of decimation among the offenders, and by what he does to some, he declares he might justly do to all the rest." Although Cotton stopped just short of identifying Native Americans with evil spirits (despite his use of expressions like "devils incarnate" to describe American Indians), he clearly understood the "unconverted savages" to be under the direct rule of Satan.

Two colonies of churches being brought forth, and a third conceived within the bounds of New-England, by the year 1636, it was time for the devil to take the alarum, and make some attempt in opposition to the possession which the Lord Jesus Christ was going to have of these "utmost parts of the earth." These parts were then covered with nations of barbarous Indians and infidels, in whom the "prince of the power of the air" did "work in spirit"; nor could it be expected that nations of wretches, whose whole religion was the most explicit sort of devil-worship, should not be acted by the devil to engage in some early and bloody action, for the extinction of a plantation so contrary to his interests, as that of New-England was. (Mather 1820, 552)

Later in the same paragraph, Mather refers to the Indian nations as constituting the "kingdom of Satan." That this association between Indians and Satan is more than mere hyperbole is evident in his account of the exorcism of Mercy Short. The devil who tormented this young woman turned out to be a short, dark man of "an Indian colour." Short also described her tormentor's companions as "French Canadiens [i.e., Catholics] and Indian Sagamores"—people who, according to Mather's account, colluded with New England witches for the purpose of ruining New England. Perhaps because Short had only recently been returned from being held captive by Indians, Mather tended to perceive her possession—her "Captivity to Spectres," as he called it—as being a variant on Indian captivity. In any event, both were portrayed as demonic captivities.

Mather was the most prominent clerical defender of the infamous Salem witchcraft trials of 1692, and was especially active in efforts to alleviate the afflictions of some of the young girls who were being "tormented" by specters that were presumed to be acting under the direction of witches. The first people to be identified and

executed as witches (after the "craze" got rolling, almost anyone was susceptible to accusations of witchcraft) were either outsiders—an Irish Catholic and a West Indian slave-or New Englanders who had deviated enough from Puritan values to be transformed into moral outsiders. Mather's participation in this perspective (outsider = demonic) is evident in the above remarks associating the demonic with Indians as well as in some of his "experiments" with Martha Goodwin. For example, while Martha's tormenting spirits would permit her to read neither the Bible ("her Eyes would be strangely twisted and blind") nor books by Puritan authors (which "would bring hideous convulsions"), she was quite able to read Quaker and "popish" (i.e., Catholic) works. In other words, in Mather's mind, all of the colony's external and internal enemies worked together, and all were minions of Satan.

For the Puritans, the greatest possible harm that could be effected by witches was spiritual rather than physical death. In the cases examined by Cotton Mather, the infernal assault on the young women under his care was understood (as we saw in the instance of Mercy Short) in terms of a "Captivity to Spectres," and his interest in their troubles understood as efforts to "rescue" them from hell. Mather had a high opinion of the efficacy of his efforts. In one place in his diary, for example, he recounted that he "cried unto the Lord . . . for the Deliverance of a young Woman, whom the Powers of Hell had now seized upon. And behold! Without any further Noise, the possessed Person, upon my praying by her, was delivered from her Captivity." In at least one instance, his perception of demonic assault in terms of captivity was so vivid that he felt himself actually striking off the victim's invisible bonds: "There was one very singular passion that frequently attended her. An Invisible Chain would be clapt about her, and shee, in much pain and Fear, cry out, When They began to put it on. Once I did with my own hand knock it off, as it began to be fastned about her." Cotton Mather's community was less successful in defending its children from the spiritual attacks of Satan's other supposed minions, the American Indians. The Puritans were particularly disheartened by the readiness with which young people captured by Native Americans adopted "savage" ways. The success that American Indians achieved in their efforts to convert Euramerican children to aboriginal lifestyles may have been part of the reason for New Englanders' attraction to tales recounted by former captives of Native Americans: As individuals who had managed to resist the temptations of the Indian mode of life, ex-captives could reassure the colonists that the "New England Way" was far preferable, and the apparent attractions of a savage lifestyle (e.g., its imagined freedom) illusory.

In spite of the marked antipathy expressed by captives toward their captors, the earliest captivity tales, such as Mary Rowlandson's *Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, were saved from being anti-Indian hate tracts by their focus on the captives' inner spiritual dramas. Cotton Mather has the dubious distinction of being the first Puritan consciously to deploy captivity tales, shorn of their inner dimension, as anti-Indian propaganda.

See also Salem Witchcraft **For Further Reading:**

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Mathers, Samuel Liddell

Samuel Mathers (1854–1918), a founder of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, had a significant but indirect influence on modern religious Satanism through Aleister Crowley, a one-time member of the order. Born into a Scottish family in London, England, and he later gave himself the first name of MacGregor to reflect his Scottish heritage. His father died when he was young and his mother then supported the family as a clerk in the town of Bournemouth.

Mathers remained at home, reading widely

and participating in the Masonic Society and the Rosicrucian Society in Anglia, until 1885. At that time he moved to London and joined the Theosophical Society. In 1887 he published *The Kabbalah Unveiled*, establishing himself as an occult scholar. During this time he met with Wynn Westcott and others to decode and rework a number of magical manuscripts. These became the basis of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (HOGD), founded in 1888. Westcott soon left the group and Mathers gained complete control. In 1890 he married Mina (later changed to Moira) Bergson, the daughter of famous philosopher Henri Bergson.

In 1891 or 1892 he moved to Paris and established a temple of the OGD, adding it to the temples in London, Edinburgh, Weston-super-Mare, and Bradford. The organizing idea of the OGD was the Hermetic principle of correspondence between the microcosm (human being) and the macrocosm (the universe). Through the proper magical procedures, a person can access or make manifest any powers or characteristics present in the macrocosm.

In 1903 Mathers overrode the objections of the London officers and initiated Aleister Crowley into the higher levels of the OGD, an act that caused a split among the British adherents. More importantly, although Crowley soon left the OGD, he kept and used what he had learned in the OGD, a significant factor in Crowley's stimulation of what became the twentieth century revival of magic. After Mathers's death, his widow moved to London and led a temple herself, but the OGD eventually became defunct. The ceremonial magic tradition tapped by later Satanists such as Anton LaVey has its roots in the OGD.

See also Crowley, Aleister; Levi, Eliphas; Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn; Magic and Magical Groups; Ordo Templi Orientis

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McMartin Ritual Abuse Case

The McMartin case was the first high-profile case involving charges of Satanic ritual abuse (SRA) at a day-care center. In the wake of an initial spate of publicity in the early 1980s, there was a rash of SRA cases at other day-care centers until it had become a national phenomenon. By the beginning of the 1990s, over a hundred investigations of day-care cases had taken place on the basis of SRA-type accusations, despite the fact that most of what was alleged to have taken place in these day-care centers sounded more like the components of a very bad B-grade movie than real crimes. As summarized in Robert Hicks's *In Pursuit of Satan*,

an inventory of abusive acts and odd elements in day-care cases nationwide, beginning with and including the McMartin case, reads like the special effects in a collective nightmare: the appearance of strange men and women with only one arm, some limping and some with tattooed bodies; Devil worship; secret subterranean tunnels; burned or cooked and eaten babies; murdered and mutilated babies; ceremonies and other activities held in basements; physical abuse, including beatings, slapping, and assaults, particularly during naptime or in the restroom; mock marriages; nude photography; molesters of different races; Christmas-tree lights; children handcuffed or tied with rope; various objects ranging from screwdrivers to crayons inserted in rectums or vaginas; drowned people or animals; clandestine visits to cemeteries, homes, and mortuaries; oral sex on virtually anyone and even on animals; drug-taking; blood drunk or used in ceremonies; pornographic films; burial of children; transportation out of day-care centers in vans or airplanes to go to secret sites; urination and defecation; strangers appearing to molest children; and so on. (182)

In addition to being the most famous case of its type, it also has the distinction of being the longest-running criminal trial in U.S. history as well as the most expensive, costing over \$15 million.



Peggy McMartin Buckley, a principle defendent in the McMartin day-care center case, 1989 (AP Photos)

Virginia McMartin and her daughter Peggy Buckey owned the McMartin preschool in Manhattan Beach, California. Ray Buckey, the son of Peggy Buckey, also worked there as a part-time aide. The case began on August 12, 1983, when a mentally disturbed woman—a woman who was later diagnosed as suffering from paranoid schizophrenia and who died from liver problems caused by alcoholism before the trial began—accused Ray Buckey of molesting her son, a student at the McMartin school. This parent's allegations were quite bizarre from the very beginning. For example, she asserted that the preschool staff had "jabbed scissors into [the boy's] eyes, and staples in his ears, nipples and tongue" and that her son had been compelled to drink blood taken from a baby that he had witnessed Peggy Buckey sacrifice. In retrospect, it is surprising that police took her accusations seriously.

Upon investigation, no physical evidence was found, nor did other children confirm the initial accusations. The police also searched the school and scrutinized Ray Buckey. Among other things, they seized Peggy Buckey's graduation outfit (to be described later as a "Satanic robe") and Ray Buckey's collection of *Playboy* magazines (later used to support the contention that he was a child molester). Lacking any real evidence, Manhattan Beach police then took the highly controversial step of issuing a "confidential" letter to about 200

parents with children enrolled in the McMartin school. The letter stated, in part,

Our investigation indicates that possible criminal acts include oral sex, fondling of genitals, buttock or chest areas and sodomy, possibly committed under the pretense of 'taking the child's temperature.' Also, photos may have been taken of the children without their clothing. Any information from your child regarding having ever observed Ray Buckey to leave a classroom alone with a child during any nap period, or if they have ever observed Ray Buckey tie up a child, is important. (Hicks 1991, 189)

The letter set in motion a panic that would eventually culminate in the trial. Also, when a local TV station got wind of what was happening, they related the news that the school could be connected with the pornography and sex business in nearby Los Angeles.

The preschool children had not been disclosing stories of abuse until after they had been interviewed by the Children's Institute International (CII), which by the spring of 1994 had reported that some 360 children had been sexually abused. The interviews, which were videotaped, not only reflect a great deal of suggestive questioning, but also a seeming demand that children provide the "right" answers. For example, at one point in a session, one of the persons conducting the interviews admonishes, "I don't want to hear any more 'No's.' No, no. Detective Dog and we are going to figure this out. Every little boy and girl in the whole school got touched like that . . . and some of them were hurt. And some were afraid to tell" (cited in Nathan 1989, 16). The attitude reflected in this style of questioning—namely, requiring children to confirm the conclusions that authorities had reached beforehand-would, unfortunately, set the tone for the many later SRA cases. With this a priori approach to information gathering, it was easy to develop charges and proceed to a trial. The owners of the school and four teachers were charged initially, but eventually charges were dropped against everyone except Ray and Peggy Buckey.

The case turned a corner after one of the prosecutors became convinced of the innocence of the Buckeys, particularly after watching the videos. He noted that an interviewer would assert: "'You're not being a very bright boy. Your friends have come in and told us they were touched. Don't you want to be as smart as them?' What kind of a way is that to interview children?" (Hicks 1991, 193). After resigning from the case, he "disclosed material that had been withheld from the trial, such as claims by the mentally ill original accuser that people had flown through windows, killed lions and had sexual encounters with giraffes" (Kilian 1995, website). Although the trial wound on, it was only a matter of time before the accused were acquitted.

After the acquittal, suits were filed by some of the former defendants against the city, the county, the CII, and an ABC TV station. Despite the merits of their grievances, these cases never went anywhere because state law granted immunity from prosecution to workers involved in child protective services.

At various points throughout the case, a group of parents became involved in the investigation by combing the schoolyard for remains of sacrificed animals and infants, as well as for signs of underground tunnels and underground rooms that the children had described as sites of abuse. During one such search, parents found a turtle shell. This appeared significant at the time because Ray Buckey had supposedly executed a sea turtle with a knife as an example of what would happen to them if they told. However, a professional examination of the shell found that the sand inside was not from the vicinity, indicating that it had been planted, likely by someone anxious to supply hard evidence for the case.

Investigators also conducted archeological excavations of the schoolyard to discover evidence of underground rooms and tunnels. These investigations revealed nothing unusual at the site. The parent group hired another archaeologist to go back over the site, using the McMartin parents as their excavators. As one observer noted,

these were people who not only had an agenda about finding something, but who had a history of apparently implanting phony

artifacts. This is significant in light of the fact that the artifacts they present now as their chief evidence are two small (easily implantable) items: a Mickey Mouse plastic sandwich bag and a saucer with five-pointed stars painted on it. The McMartin parents also claim that the tunnels they found are about five feet high, 30 inches wide, with no flooring, wall or ceiling material, and completely filled with dirt and paint chips. Compare this to claims the children made back in the 1980s: for example, about a "secret room" 10 feet by 10 feet, filled with sofas and flashing lights, leading to an triplex residence inhabited by a little old lady. Construction and contracting professionals whom the media contacted during the 1990 dig pointed out that the McMartin site had been continuously built on since the 1920s (it used to be a stable) and that what was found sounded like the channels dug for plumbing that are normally found under any such site. (Nathan 1994)

Though the case is closed, the McMartin school tunnels issue has been kept alive to this day by Satanic ritual abuse believers—especially certain groups of conservative Christians-who continue to believe that the tunnels were real but that the evidence was ignored or covered up.

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Mephistopheles

The legend of Faustus, who signed a pact with the devil by selling his soul to Mephistopheles, became popular with Goethe's *Faust*. The basic narrative is, however, much older, originating as a mythical story during the medieval period.

Dr. Faust's story drew upon the life of a philosopher who decided to make a living by casting horoscopes and predicting the future. In subsequent decades, Faust's life was transformed into the legend of a philosopher who decided to abandon philosophy and devote himself to magic practices and spells. Once, while practicing magic invocations, Mephistopheles appears to the doctor with a proposal: Mephistopheles will teach the doctor the Devil's knowledge and powers in exchange for Faust's soul after twenty-five years. Mephistopheles's name etymologically means "he who loves not the light," in contrast with Lucifer ("light bearer"). The name originated in the Renaissance period as a combination of Greek, Latin, and possibly Hebrew elements, which explain the existence of variants of the name, such as Mephisto, Mephistophilus (in Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor), Mephist, and Mephisto.

The Faustus legend has animated popular culture since the Middle Ages. With the creation of *Doctor Faustus* by Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593), however, it became a topic of artistic inspiration in poetry and music throughout the following centuries, culminating with *Faust: Eine Tragödie* by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). Although Goethe's work is regarded as the apex of the development of this story, the legend continued to inspire nineteenth-century literature on the Devil.

Following twenty-five years of devilish practice, Goethe's Faust repents having sold his soul to the Devil and is saved. In Marlowe's work, by

contrast, Faustus is lost. The Devil, however, was no longer the enemy of the medieval dueling contest with Christ or with a saint or a virgin. The contest of the Devil in the eighteenth century was within people who left their individual struggles and sinned for the sake of gaining personal power. Last but not least, the "new" Devil was to a certain extent sympathetic to the human condition, and introspective. The Devil's introspection and humanization began in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was reflected even in some of the human characters of Shakespeare's tragedies.

Goethe's Devil no longer embodies an exclusively a Christian meaning. He is, rather, a more complex, multifaceted, and ambiguous character, representing not only evil against good, but also the oppositions of matter-spirit and chaos-order, as well as the stimulus to creativity. Although in the late nineteenth century new operas depicted Mephistopheles's and Dr. Faust's story, Goethe's Mephistopheles remained *the* masterpiece of the Mephistopheleses represented in literature.

See also Faust; Pact with the Devil *For Further Reading:*

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Mesoamerica

The aboriginal societies of the Americas represent a wide variety of different cultures, a variety that is missed under the generic rubric "Indian" through which Native Americans are usually regarded. Far from being a single monolithic culture, aboriginal Americans had created a series of significant civilizations—cultures that often bore little resemblance to one another. Despite this diversity, it is possible to assert that, like most societies outside the influence of the Zoroastrian-Judeo-Christian-Islamic complex, all of these traditions postulated the existence of demonic forces, but none possessed a full-blown Satan figure.

Prior to the intrusion of Europeans, the Native peoples of central and south America had created societies rivaling the civilizations of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China. These are the socalled "high" cultures of Mexico and Peru, areas that encompassed a series of civilizations, such as the Mayans on the Yucatan Peninsula, the Incas in the highlands of Peru, and the Aztecs (and their predecessors) in central Mexico. These cultures, unlike the other, smaller-scale societies of the Americans, built cities and made written records. Although the Aztec and Incan societies were for the most part destroyed by Spanish conquistadors, their less-than-extensive writings in combination with the observations of their conquerors allow us to partially reconstruct their worldview and religious beliefs.

The Mayans, who were the oldest of these three, were remarkable for their development of mathematics, the calendar, and astronomy—developments in which they exceeded even the ancient Mesopotamians. Although the Mayans postulated an underworld, Xibalba, existing documents do not contain developed notions of this realm. There are, however, other indications, such as certain written documents, like the *Popol Vuh*, as well as evidence from burial chambers, that point to a more developed idea of the afterlife.

In Mayan funeral practices three categories of the dead are distinguished. The highest category seems to have been constituted by departed priests, warriors who die in combat, women who die during childbirth, and those who commit suicide by hanging. Members of this category, if not the others, become immortal and reside in the paradise that is beneath the sacred celestial tree at the juncture of earth and heaven. (This cosmic tree, with its roots in the underworld and its leaves and branches in the heavens, is the Mayan version of a universal symbol found in every area of the world.)

Various demons were responsible for the ailments of humankind. Part three of the *Popol Vuh*, one of the few Mesoamerican works to escape the general destruction carried out by the Spanish, describes a number of them:

Next are the lordships of Demon of Pus and Demon of Jaundice. And this is their domain: to make people swell up, to make pus come out of their legs, to make their faces yellow, to cause jaundice, as it is called. Such is the domain of Demon of Pus and Demon of Jaundice. . . .

Next are the lords named Demon of Filth and Demon of Woe. This is their commission: just to give people a sudden fright whenever they have filth or grime in the doorway of the house, the patio of the house. Then they're struck, they're just punctured till they crawl on the ground, then die. And this is the domain of Demon of Filth and Demon of Woe.

The Aztec were a people from the north who conquered the earlier peoples inhabiting central Mexico. The society encountered by the Spanish embodied the influences of these earlier cultures, as well as the culture of the Mayans. The Aztecs left behind records of a far more elaborate conception of the postmortem realm than the other societies of Mesoamerica, which is largely the result of the Aztecs' greater interest in death. The greater interest in death, in turn, seems to have been the result of the centrality of sacrifice—including human sacrifice—in Aztec religion.

The Aztec postulated four different realms, corresponding to the four directions, to which the soul could go following death. Warriors who die in battle, sacrificial victims, and tradesman who had died during their journeys are cremated, go to the eastern paradise, and become companions of the sun. Women who have died in childbirth (the female equivalent of dying in battle) also become companions of the sun, although they go to the west.

People who have died by lightning, drowning, and marsh fevers (all having to do with water or rain) were buried and went to Tlaloc's southern paradise. This realm was said to be free of sorrow, and the souls there enjoyed a luxurious tropical garden. Although there was apparently no notion of an afterlife retribution, the northern land of the dead and ultimate destiny of the majority of people, Mictlan, was distinctly unpleasant. The deceased took four years to traverse nine intervening, subterranean realms containing mountains, ferocious beasts, and chilling winds. The dead were buried with amulets and cremated dogs to help them during their journey.

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Milton, John

Angels and demons (portrayed traditionally as fallen angels) are at the very center of John Milton's (1608–1674) cosmic scenario, dwelling in the Empyrean, a boundless region of light and freedom, and living dispersed throughout it in organized ranks. By using the old Ptolemaic astronomy, Milton was able to build a magnificent literary atlas of comparative maps, showing the arrangements before and after the fall of the angels.

The oldest son of a London scrivener, John Milton was born in London on 9 December 1608. As a boy he was very studious, and was supplied with the best teachers by his father. He entered Christ's College, Cambridge, where he developed a deep interest in classical literature. Among his favorite poets were the Italians, through whom he improved his knowledge of medieval romance. Besides classical literature, the source of Milton's poetic inspiration was the biblical Christianity of Puritan England.

Milton left the University in 1632 without taking orders, and spent the next six years of his life at Horton, where he pursued his studies in classical literature, history, mathematics, and music, with occasional visits to London. His earliest Italian verses were inspired by his love for a young Italian girl, about whom is known only her first name, Emilia. The experience is referred to in

the seventh of his Latin elegies. In this period he also developed his knowledge of English poetry from Chaucer to Shakespeare, Jonson, and the later Elizabethans, who considerably influenced all the poems written during these years.

In 1638 he went abroad. In Paris he met Hugo Grotius, whose *Adamus Exul* was one of the sources of *Paradise Lost*. He spent two months in Florence, and proceeded to Rome and Naples, then made his way back to England via Venice and Geneva. Once he'd returned to England, he became involved in a long course of controversy, ecclesiastical and political, which determined the choice of themes, the doctrinal framework, and the spirit of *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*.

From 1649 to 1659 he was a servant of the state as Latin secretary to the Council of State. In 1653 his wife died, and in 1656 he married Catharine Woodcock, whose early death in 1658 inspired the most touching of his sonnets. His marriage with Elizabeth Minshull in 1663 was a convenient arrangement. The only English poems Milton wrote during these years were some sonnets on public events or persons and private incidents in Italian form. In 1658 Paradise Lost was resumed. It was then composed to dictation, corrected, and completed by 1665, and finally it was published in 1667. It was followed in 1671 by Paradise Regained, an epic on "the brief model" of the Book of Job, and by Samson Agonistes in 1671. Paradise Lost, like Dante's Commedia, is primarily a didactic exposition of Milton's theological creed. His conception of God, of Christ, and of the angels and devils presented in *Paradise Lost* is the same as the one presented in De Doctrina Christiana (Christian Doctrine), which contains Milton's disdainful opinion of conventional dogmatisms about questions for which no sure answer is possible. Paradise Lost can be considered a restatement in poetic form of the doctrines that will finally justify God and indict man, whereas Paradise Regained constitutes a presentation of Milton's ideal of Christian virtues, obedience, temperance, and the scorn of worldly glory.

Paradise Lost has many points in common with the Christian Doctrine. For instance, in both the treatise and the epic Milton says that angels

are spirits and sons of God; that they see God dimly and are around his throne praising him; that seven particularly are before the throne; that the good angels are in a kind of order, which persists among the fallen; that the fallen can do nothing without God's permission, and that the elect are impassible, although they do not look into the secrets of God, so that in *Paradise Lost* God must instruct even Michael before he can know the future.

In Book 1 of Christian Doctrine, Milton finds that good angels are ministering agents around the throne of God, and that their principal office is praising God, and presiding over particular areas. Sometimes they are divine messengers, and, although they have remarkable intelligence, they are not omniscient. In both works Milton asserts, against the majority of Protestant opinion, that by the name Michael the Bible signifies not Christ but the first of angels, and against a majority of all denominations that the angels were created long before the world. In contrast to almost all of his contemporaries, Milton thought that hell was a local place outside the universe, and that elect angels stand by their own strength, not by a compulsive grace.

In *Paradise Lost*, however, Milton presented some items that the poem did not share with the *Christian Doctrine*, such as some views that he could not derive directly from the Bible, although they had wide acceptance among pious angelologists: devils can suffer physical pain and are in a sense always in hell; they were the deities of heathendom; God created men to repopulate heaven after the fall of angels; Satan tempted Eve from the mouth of the possessed snake; angels, good or evil, know the world by intuition rather than by discourse, and can control the humors in men's bodies to produce dreams and visions.

In *Paradise Lost*, Milton rejects the ancient view that good angels were corrupted by the beauty of women. He argued that the sons of God were never involved with women, because the love they knew was not libidinous. Also, in *Paradise Lost*, Milton did not commit himself on the three principal angelological controversies between Protestants and Catholics, that is to say those on the worship of angels, the personal guardian, and

the Dionysian orders, although his personal views were probably Protestant.

Milton's angels and demons are not merely epic machinery, but rather characters and agents in the justification of God's ways to men, and in the exploration of the causes and effects of the Fall. Milton follows an ancient tradition common to the great Alexandrian school of Christian philosophy, according to which the universe is full of incarnate spirits who are corporeal although not densely corporeal. They are seen only by clairvoyant eyes. In accordance with that ancient tradition, Milton's angels and demons really do eat and excrete, although not in our crass way. They are not disembodied spirits, although their embodiment is so much finer than ours that they might seem to us to be so.

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Mind Control, Satanic

During the heyday of the Satanic ritual abuse scare, therapists and others supporting the notion of widespread ritual abuse by secret Satanic cults relied heavily on recovered memory therapy (RMT) for providing them with their best evidence for the existence of a Satanic conspiracy. To explain why the supposed victims had forgotten their abuse, such therapists proposed a diagnosis of multiple personality disorder (also known as dissociative identity disorder). The disorder had, according to this school of thought, been artificially induced by cult "programming" so that victims could be forced to participate in dark rituals without later informing the authorities. In other words, like the schizoid state that was the goal of CIA mind-control programs like MK-Ultra, one or more dissociated subpersonalities could theoretically be induced in subjects. Ideally, subjects were normally unaware of these subpersonalities so that, should agents be caught and interrogated, they could not reveal their true missions. The idea was that an alternate subpersonality, which was programmed to follow the dictates of the programmer, could be triggered by certain key words or other cues implanted in the agent by posthypnotic suggestion.

For believers in Satanic ritual abuse, the MK-Ultra scenario explained, for instance, why the women who claimed to have been "breeders" for babies sacrificed by Satanic cults could have performed this function while apparently leading ordinary, even innocuous lifestyles. This exotic theory was invoked, at least implicitly, by Satanic ritual abuse advocates, despite the fact that the CIA was apparently never successful in inducing such states in its experimental subjects. The mindcontrol hypothesis explained how the victims could have forgotten the abuse that RMT supposedly recovered. While on the one hand ritual abuse advocates relied upon MK-Ultra-type notions, on the other hand they drew from popular stereotypes about "cult" brainwashing/mind control. For example, the Los Angeles County Task Force on Ritual Abuse described Satanic cult brainwashing as follows: "Mind control is the cornerstone of ritual abuse, the key element in the subjugation and silencing of its victims. Victims of ritual abuse are subjected to a rigorously applied system of mind control designed to rob them of their sense of free will and to impose upon them the will of the cult and its leaders." This characterization makes Satanic programming appear less a form of CIA mind control and more a subcategory of the kind of brainwashing that the popular press has attributed to Moonies, Hare Krishnas, and others. This makes social-scientific analyses of "cult" mind control relevant to the issue of Satanic programming.

Since the mid-1970s, mainstream scholars—particularly sociologists of religion—have been steadily churning out studies directly relevant to the cult controversy. With respect to the brainwashing or mind control accusation that is at the core of the cult stereotype, the operative question that social scientists asked was: How does one distinguish "cult" brainwashing from other forms of social influence—like advertising, military training, or even the normal socialization routines

of the public schools? Some anticultists theorized that "cult" members were trapped in a kind of ongoing, quasi-hypnotic state, while others asserted that the ability of "cult" members to process certain kinds of information had "snapped." The problem with these and similar theories is that if cultic influences actually overrode the brain's ability to logically process information, then individuals suffering from cultic influences should perform poorly on I.Q. tests, or, at the very least, should manifest pathological symptoms when they take standardized tests of mental health—and when tested, they do not.

In the face of many scholarly studies debunking cult mind control, social scientists asked the further questions of: Given the lack of empirical support, where did the brainwashing notion originate? And, What was the real nature of the conflict that the "cult" stereotype obfuscated? The generally accepted conclusion of sociologists (as analyzed, for example, in David Bromley and Anson Shupe's book-length study, Strange Gods: The Great American Cult Scare) was that the principal source of the controversy was a parent-child conflict in which parents failed to understand the religious choices of their adult children, and attempted to reassert parental control by marshaling the forces of public opinion against the religious bodies to which their offspring had converted.

This core conflict was then exacerbated by an irresponsible mass media less interested in accuracy than in printing exciting stories about weird cults that trapped their members and kept them in psychological bondage with exotic techniques of "mind control." Also, once an industry was established that generated enormous profits through the "rescue" of entrapped "cult" members ("deprogramming"), special interest groups were created that had a vested interest in promoting the most negative stereotypes of alternative religions.

In the case of Satanic ritual abuse, however, the issue was not that parents were upset because their children had run off to worship the Devil. Rather, accusations about Satanic cults sacrificing and ritually abusing individuals took hold in the conservative Christian subculture—a subsection of the larger population that believed in the real existence of a supernatural being corresponding to the traditional

image of Satan—which in turn seeded the larger society with the notion. Then the same factors responsible for making cult mind control a public issue came into play, namely an irresponsible mass media and a new industry with a vested interested in promoting the notion of Satanic programming. In the case of Satanic ritual abuse, however, the entrepreneurs were not deprogrammers, but were, rather, repressed memory therapists and certain "victims" of ritual abuse who made a living telling their tales of woe to a variety of paying audiences.

Although understood as a variant on cult mind control, Satanic mind control was originally invoked for a completely different reason: Cult mind control explained why someone's adult child could join a self-evidently crazy religious group. Satanic programming, on the other hand, explained how a hypothetical network of Satanic cult groups could manage to control both their victims and their members so that no one would spill the beans about their existence. It also provided a theoretical background for understanding how recovered memory therapy worked and why it was necessary. One factor that eventually contributed to the demise of widespread public concern about Satanic ritual abuse was the rejection of RMT as bad science. It became clear to the relevant professions that the "memories" of ritual abuse recovered by RMT were false memories, unintentionally implanted by therapists with a predisposition to believe in the existence of such abuse.

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Moloch

Moloch refers to a near eastern deity to whom children were sacrificed as burnt offerings. Although

this practice, even among the Hebrews, considerably antedated the emergence of a concept of an evil antidivinity, later generations read a diabolical identity back into the Bible's Moloch passages, transforming Moloch into a demon or, sometimes, Satan himself. Because a significant aspect of the "Satanic panic" of the latter decades of the twentieth century involved cults that sacrificed children to Satan, biblical passages about Moloch were sometimes cited as a template through which to interpret this alleged activity.

Comparatively little is known about Moloch beyond a few biblical references. Although the modern world has difficulty imagining that people could take the lives of their own offspring, child sacrifice was widespread among ancient Canaanite peoples. The basic idea underlying such practices was that, as the most precious of possessions, the sacrifice of one's own offspring was especially powerful for evoking the favor of the divinity.

The Hebrew term *Molek* (Moloch) occurs eight times in Hebrew scripture (Lev. 18:21; 20:2, 3, 4, 5; 1 Kings 1:7; 2 Kings 23:10; Jer. 32:35) and once in the New Testament (Acts 7:43). The debate over the meaning and etymology of this term has consumed considerable scholarly ink. It has, for instance, been variously suggested that *Molek* derives from the name of a Near Eastern chthonic deity, the Semitic word for "king," a term for sacrifice, and so forth.

Despite some attempts to place other kinds of interpretations on the Bible's Moloch passages, it is almost certain that the ancient Israelites engaged in such practices, particularly at a ritual site immediately south of Jerusalem known as Tophet. Scholars have speculated that giving Moloch (or even Yahweh) children as burnt offerings did not finally stop until after the Babylonian conquest. The practice was condemned in no uncertain terms as early as the Book of Leviticus; for example:

Say to the people of Israel, Any man of the people of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, who gives any of his children to Molech shall be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him with stones. I myself will set my face against that



A 17th century woodcut of Moloch, the demon-god to whom the Ammonites are supposed to have sacrificed children. Human beings are represented as being shut up in the cells within the body of the model, and are burned to death by the fires below. (Fortean Picture Library)

man, and will cut him off from among his people, because he has given one of his children to Molech, defiling my sanctuary and profaning my holy name. (Lev. 20:2–3)

The practice of child sacrifice was also regularly condemned by the Hebrew prophets, and is mentioned as late as the time of the prophet Ezekiel in the eighth century B.C.E.

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Monastery of the Seven Rays

The Monastery of the Seven Rays is the organization related to the activities of Chicago occultist-magician Michael Bertiaux. He received his magical training in Haiti, where the French Martinist tradition had been established at the end of the eighteenth century, and was ordained and consecrated bishop of the Neo-Pythagorean Church. The Monastery of the Seven Rays became popular in the 1970s through its advertisements in *Fate Magazine*. It is a magical order that draws upon modern Thelemic magick, Vodoun, and the nineteenth-century French Gnostic-occult tradition.

The Neo-Pythagorean Gnostic Church, on the other hand, is the ecclesiastical structure that

embodies the Martinist occult/mystical tradition in North America. It is a ritual theurgic body that emphasizes purity of ritual, as well as the Eucharist as the center of initiation, through which the invocation of angels and planetary spirits is made. Spirit communication often takes place during the Mass, when members of the clergy, who are clairvoyant, may have visions. During the Mass a mystical language is perceived and spoken. The Absolute, emanating the Trinity, is viewed as the head of a Gnostic hierarchical system. The Trinity is the source of Lucifer, the morning star, and Sophia, the female divine being who is often revered as Our Lady of Mt. Carmel.

The Neo-Pythagorean Church is subject to a supreme heliophant, and its American jurisdiction is under Bishop Pierre-Antoine Saint-Charles of Boston, whereas Michael Bertiaux in Chicago is over the Caucasian-American members. The Ancient Order of Oriental Templars—a lodge with credentials derived from the pre-Crowleyite Ordo Templi Orientis in Germany—the Arithmosophical Society, Zotheria and the Esoteric Traditions Research Society (both outer courts of the various esoteric structures) are associated with the church.

See also Magic and Magical Groups **For Further Reading:**

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Mr. Bubbles Case

The "Mr. Bubbles" case involved child abuse accusations that appear to have been drawn directly out of Satanic ritual abuse (SRA) literature and imposed on otherwise innocuous behavior. The setting for the case was Sydney, Australia, in the late 1980s at the height of the so-called "Satanic panic."

Like many other SRA incidents, this case emerged in connection with a child care facility, in this case a private kindergarten called Seabeach Kindergarten. Operated by Dawn and Anthony Deren, it was situated in Mona Vale, a suburb of Sydney. Accusations began after the mother of a

student, while eating at a restaurant, observed while her daughter "slipped down off her chair and spread her legs apart; she pushed her chest forward and pulled her arms back, with her head tilted back." On the basis of this observation, the mother reported to police that she believed her daughter had been abused sexually.

Law enforcement authorities subsequently initiated Operation Bubbles, committing extensive resources to investigating the rumor. Subjected to hours of intensive questioning, some of the children disclosed that Anthony Deren, while dressed up as "Mr. Bubbles" in a clown outfit, spirited them off to a motel where he assaulted them in a spabath. There were also claims of cutting and stabbing. Medical personnel concluded that five young girls had been abused after eighteen of the children were examined. The Derens and two of their teachers were subsequently charged with abduction and sexual assault.

The Mr. Bubbles case led to a great deal of controversy. Defense attorneys asserted that the children's testimony had been generated in response to repeated interrogation and leading questioning by authorities and parents. The defense also noted that parents had exchanged rumors among themselves, creating an atmosphere of suspicion that led them to accept the accusations as true.

Because the child abuse unit was unstaffed at the time, much of the interrogation of the children was performed by a probationary constable with no experience. During the trial, one of the defense's expert witness, Dr. Ralph Underwager, expressed concern about inexpert questioning: "By the process they have put them through, the authorities have taught three to five year olds about deviant sexual behavior of the most gross and irresponsible sort—and at a time when they have no ability to know what is proper behavior.... They have been taught to associate violence, stabbing, cutting with sexuality and the effect is worse than if they had been abused." The judge finally ruled that the children had been subjected to too much input from parents and law enforcement officers, making their testimony inadmissible. All charges against the Derens and their employees were dropped.

See also Crime; Satanic Ritual Abuse *For Further Reading:*

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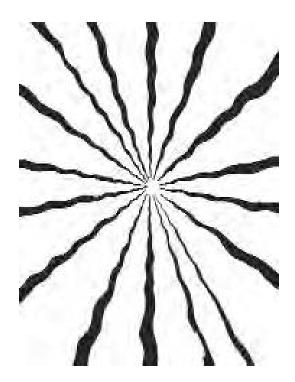
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Near-Death Experiences

The expression *near-death experience* (NDE) refers to the seemingly supernatural experiences often undergone by individuals who have suffered apparent death, and have been restored to life. The systematic study of near-death experiences is recent. Although accounts can be found in literature and historical documents, it was only after the advent of medical techniques of resuscitation, like modern cardiopulmonary resuscitation measures, that near-death experiences became a widespread phenomenon.

The main impetus for modern studies on NDEs was the publication in 1975 of the book *Life After Life*, by psychiatrist Raymond A. Moody, which followed earlier researches on this topic by other physicians such as Elisabeth Kübler-Ross and Russell Noyes. Moody's work describes the results of more than eleven years of inquiry into near-death experiences and is based on a sample of about 150 cases, including persons who were resuscitated after having been thought or pronounced clinically dead by their doctors; persons who came very close to physical death in the course of accidents or severe injury or illness; persons who, as they died, told their experiences to other people who were present.

Moody describes various components that seem to occur generally but not universally in the NDE experience. These include the vanishing of



A drawing by Dr. Susan Blackmore of the tunnel with a light at the end, as seen by those in near-death experiences (Dr. Susan Blackmore/Fortean Picture Library)

pain and the experience of peace, being drawn into a tunnel or going up a stairway (or some other symbol of crossing a threshold) until they reach a realm of radiant golden-white light, encountering departed friends and relatives who show up to greet them, and a meeting with a powerful, spiritual Being who some have called an angel, God, or Jesus.

Although most near-death experiencers report encounters with departed relatives and beings of love, others are less positive. Instead of ascents into realms of light, the latter experiencers report descents into hellish darkness, confusion, and even torment. In some cases, they even report hearing screams and cries of pain, presumably from damned souls suffering in hell. These individuals emerge from their experience with fear.

Such reports have generated controversy among NDE researchers. People like Moody assert that in all the years of their study, they have never talked with anyone who had hellish experiences. Critics have been quick to note that most of the individuals championing the reality of negative NDE experiences are conservative Christians, who are thus predisposed to take such reports seriously because of the implicit support they provide for the reality of their particular theological perspective.

See also Demons; Hell and Heaven **For Further Reading:**

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Neopagan Witchcraft

The word witch has several possible meanings: (1) In the academic discipline of anthropology, a witch is a negative sorcerer found in the folklore of societies across the globe. (2) The English word witch, from which the anthropological term was taken, refers specifically to a female wizard, traditionally viewed as practicing black magic and as being in league with Satan. (3) Finally, a significant number of participants in the neopagan movement refer to themselves as witches or Wiccans. Although contemporary Satanists and neopagan witches both draw from a number of the same intellectual currents and are similar on many

points, there is animosity between the two movements. Thus while some contemporary Satanist groups that utilize elements from pre-Christian religions are also technically neopagan, they would most likely reject this label.

Modern neopaganism aims to recreate the pagan religions of antiquity—usually not as they actually were, but as they have been idealized by romantics ever since the Renaissance. There were a number of attempts at recreating pagan religions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most of which left only literary remains. One of the few groups to make a lasting contribution to the religious landscape was Wicca, founded in Great Britain in the mid-twentieth century by Gerald B. Gardner, a retired civil servant. Partly because Wicca is focused on the worship of goddesses, it has been adopted by feminists attempting to create alternative forms of spirituality that are free from the biases of traditional male-dominated religion.

Building on the speculative scholarship of Margaret Murray and others, Gardner accepted the notion that the Inquisition represented an effort by the Church to destroy lingering remnants of pre-Christian paganism. Gardner further claimed to have been initiated into one of the last surviving traditional covens. By virtue of this claim, he was able to assert that Wicca was a lineal descendant of the "old religion" of Europe, antedating Christianity by millennia. This claim has, however, been thoroughly discredited. Although he was undoubtedly sincere in his desire to revive archaic paganism, Gardner's claim to have been initiated into a coven with an ancient lineage was fabricated as a strategy designed to give his nascent movement greater legitimacy. Instead of representing the survival of an ancient religion, Wicca was a creative synthesis of elements drawn from Freemasonry, ceremonial magic, Aleister Crowley, Robert Graves's notion of a pre-Christian goddess religion, Charles Godfrey Leland's "Witches Gospel," Murray's imaginative reconstruction of the "old religion" from Inquisition records, and other sources.

In contrast, Anton LaVey, the person usually regarded as the founder of modern Satanism, never claimed to be the lineal descendant of an



Witches Kevin and Sandie Carlyon of the Covenant of Earth Magic prepare for Hallowe'en, 1997 (Kevin Carlyon/Fortean Picture Library)

ancient tradition. Although his basic philosophy was quite different, LaVey did, however, draw on some of the same sources as Gardner—particularly ceremonial magic and Crowley—resulting in certain parallels between Wicca and Satanism (e.g., both are involved in roughly comparable magical practices). There are also other, sociological parallels. Both are, for example, decentralized, anarchistic movements. Both have adopted the trappings of traditional figures regarded as "scandalous" by mainstream society-witches in the case of Wiccans and devil-worshipers in the case of Satanists. (In Christian mythology, of course, witches are devil-worshipers.) It is, in fact, this scandalous quality that often attracts people to these movements. And finally, while both Satanists and Wiccans seem to enjoy shocking people by embracing images traditionally considered evil, both also go to great lengths to distance themselves from the more heinous practices tradition-

ally associated with witches and Satanists (e.g., murder and the like).

Much of the antagonism between Wiccans and Satanists arises from this last trait. Specifically, when defending their religion to outsiders, Wiccans often make remarks along the lines of, "We're not Satanists; we don't sacrifice babies" or "We're not Satanists; we don't worship evil." The problem with such statements is that they imply that Satanists *do* sacrifice babies and worship evil. Wiccans will even make the assertion that "Satanists worship the Christian Devil," which is no more true than the assertion that "witches worship the Christian Devil."

In an essay that has been posted on a number of different Satanic websites, "Satanism and the History of Wicca," Diane Vera shows that Wicca has drawn heavily from the literary Satanism created by the witch-hunts. For example, Wiccan terms like "witch," "coven," and "sabbat" do *not*



Part of a Wiccan initiation: presenting the athame (ritual dagger). (Raymond Buckland/Fortean Pcture Library)

derive from pre-Christian paganism. The assertion that these terms were so derived may have been plausible in the midtwentieth century when Gardner founded the Wiccan movement, but it is now clear that there is no historical connection between modern Wiccans and the "witches" executed by the Inquisition—both because the Inquisition's victims were not pagans and because Gardner's claims to have inherited an ancient lineage were false. Rather, these terms were derived from the diabolical fantasies of medieval witchhunters who believed they were rooting out and destroying the Prince of Darkness's minions—in other words, "witch," "coven," and "sabbat" derive from the literary Satanism created by officials of the Church.

Vera further argues that the God of modern Wiccans is derived more or less directly from the Devil of this same literary Satanism. Among other things, she points out that the very first paragraph of one of Gardner's principal source documents, Charles Leland's Arcadia: Gospel of the Witches (1899), draws on traditional diabolical imagery: "Diana greatly loved her brother Lucifer, the god of the Sun and of the moon, the god of Light, who was so proud of his beauty, and who for his pride was driven from Paradise" (Leland 1996, 1). And while it is true that medieval Christian Devil imagery incorporated aspects of certain ancient gods, Wicca's Horned God is derived directly from witch-hunt literature and only indirectly from any ancient, pre-Christian God. "Although they may not be fully aware of these various connections, Modern Satanists have long felt that the basis of Wicca's appeal lies in the paradoxical (some would say hypocritical) combination of Wicca's Satanic connotations and the denial of same. Thus, Satanists tend to regard Wicca as a ripoff of Satanism" (Vera 1996). Some Satanists even go so far as to assert that, while adopting a diabolical

veneer, Wicca's core values are Christian, making Wicca little more than a form of Christianity.

Vera does not, however, go so far as to assert either that Wicca is watered-down Satanism or that it is Christianity in pagan clothing. Wicca is clearly a religion in its own right. Her overarching point is, rather, that both Satanism and Wicca draw selectively from the same body of traditional writings about the Devil and witchcraft, but only Satanists explicitly acknowledge these particular source documents. Wiccans should also, Vera writes, stop repeating inaccurate, prejudiced stereotypes about Satanists and Satanism.

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Nephilim

The biblical term *Nephilim*, which in Hebrew means "the fallen ones" or "those who fell," refers to the offspring of the "sons of God" (traditionally interpreted as being angels) and human females mentioned in Genesis 6:1–4. A fuller account is preserved in the apocryphal *Book of Enoch*, which recounts how a group of angels desired mortal females, left heaven to mate with them, and taught humanity such heinous skills as the art of war. This particular story, which at one time was widely known, eventually disappeared from popular folklore because it clashed with what became the official Church position, which was that angels were purely spiritual beings and thus could not engage in sexual intercourse.

The chief distinguishing characteristic of the Nephilim was their gigantic size. The descendants of these giants are mentioned a number of times in both the canonical and the noncanonical books. There is a particularly vivid image in the Book of Numbers, at a point where the wandering Israelites come upon a land occupied by the giants. The

Hebrew scouts give the following report: "All the people that we saw in it are men of great stature. And there we saw the Nephilim (the sons of Anak, who come from the Nephilim); and we seemed to ourselves like grasshoppers, and so we seemed to them" (Num. 13:33). Other groups of exceptionally tall people who appear to have been descendants of the Nephilim, such as the Anakim and the Rephaim, are mentioned in the books of Deuteronomy (2:11; 2:20; 3:11; 3:13) and Joshua (12:4; 13:12; 15:8; 17:15; 18:16). (The tallness of these peoples is clearer in the King James version of the Bible, which translates *Rephaim* as "giants.")

There were still descendants of the Nephilim around during King David's time. Four enormous members of the Philistine army are mentioned in 2 Samuel and in parallel verses in 1 Chronicles. The identification of these men as "descendants of the giants" clearly marks their ancestry as traceable to the Nephilim. These passages observe that at least one of these four men had six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot, traits that may have marked the entire race. The author of 2 Samuel also notes that "These four were descended from the giants in Gath" (21:22) which was the homeland of Goliath, the most famous giant in the Bible-making Goliath a descendant of the Nephilim. Finally, there are other allusions to the descendants of the Nephilim in the apocryphal Books of Judith (16:6), Sirach (16:7), Baruch (3:26-28), and the Wisdom of Solomon (14:6).

See also Book of Jubilees; Fallen Angels; Incubi and Succubi

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Nergal

Nergal was the Mesopotamian Mars, a God associated with war and death. He was apparently adopted as a guardian spirit by the Chaldeans, one of the groups of people who ruled the

Mesopotamian area in later centuries. His marriage to Ereshkigal, queen of the underworld, led him to be identified as king of the underworld in later, syncretistic religions, such as in certain strands of Gnosticism. In certain reference books, such as in Davidson's definitive *Dictionary of Angels*, he is mistakenly identified with one of the great winged centaurs of ancient Mesopotamia, which explains his association with angels in certain writers' minds. Also, in at least a few occult books, Nergal is identified as chief of the secret police in the infernal regions, thus causing him to be associated with fallen angels.

See also Ereshkigal For Further Reading:

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Netherworld

In this 1990 film, Corey Thornton, seeking to know more about his family's past, visits the swampy old Louisiana plantation where his decease father lived. He soon discovers that he has stumbled into a realm saturated with black magic and devil-worship.

Newcastle Ritual Abuse Case

Like many previous Satanic ritual abuse (SRA) scares, the Newcastle case revolved around abuse charges at a child-care facility, in this case a nursery run by the Newcastle Council in northeast England. After social workers received a report of suspected abuse from the mother of one of the children, a nurse was suspended. (Later, a young woman would be implicated as well.) At the prompting of social workers who had also been involved in earlier SRA scares at Nottingham and Cleveland, parents began getting together to share information and experiences. Eventually, a local pediatrician became involved by diagnosing abuse in more than a few children.

Based on numerous bizarre abuse allegations, charges were made and the case went to trial in

June 1994. When both defendants were acquitted because the evidence was judged unreliable, outraged parents attempted to assault them in the courtroom. Later, they took to the streets with banners that read "Believe the Children" and "We Believe the Kids." More action was demanded. Eventually an internal independent inquiry was authorized. One of the inquiry's advisors was a therapist who was also an evangelist and prominent SRA lecturer. A team of "experts" charged Newcastle £400,000 (about U.S. \$670,000) to write a report that was never issued because the insurance company would not underwrite its cost.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse; United Kingdom, Ritual Abuse in

For Further Reading:

"Abuse probe panel costs council 400,000." http://www.newcastle.tory.org.uk/news.htm

Night Stalker

Richard Ramirez, better known as the Night Stalker, was a burglar, rapist and sadistic serial murderer who terrorized the Los Angeles area in the mid-1980s. He also made a brief sojourn to San Francisco during his crime spree. He was captured by civilians on August 31, 1985, following an all points bulletin in which his mug shot was broadcast on television and printed in newspapers. After a fourteen-month trial, he was convicted of thirteen murders and thirty other felonies on September 20, 1989.

A self-identified Satanist who had actually read relevant works like Anton LaVey's *The Satanic Bible*, Ramirez's crime spree was one of the few cases that might legitimately be called "Satanic crime." His "calling card" was the inverted pentagram traditionally associated with Satanism, which he left drawn on a wall, or, in one case, carved into the body of a victim. In 1983, he made a special trip to San Francisco to meet LaVey personally. LaVey was later reported as commenting that, "I thought Richard was very nice—very shy, I liked him."

Because Ramirez was a fan of the rock group AC/DC—a group that at one stage of their career adopted Satanic imagery and incorporated infernal references into their music—the case was given



The Night Stalker (Richard Ramirez) flashing an inverted pentagram (a symbol associated with Satanism) he had drawn on his palm, 24 October 1985. (AP Photos/Lennox McLendon)

special attention from people concerned about the negative influence of rock music. Ramirez dubbed himself the Night Prowler after an AC/DC song, and was reportedly irritated when the media substituted "stalker" for "prowler."

His trial was a media circus. Ramirez would engage in such antics as flashing a pentagram he had drawn in the palm of his hand, shouting "Hail Satan!" and holding up his fingers alongside his head in imitation of devil's horns. In his statement during his sentencing, he was unrepentant:

You don't understand me. You are not expected to. You are not capable. I am beyond your experience. I am beyond good and evil. I will be avenged. Lucifer dwells in all of us. . . . I don't believe in the hypocritical, moralistic dogma of this so-called civilized society. I need not look beyond this courtroom to see all the liars, the haters, the killers, the crooks, the paranoid cowards. . . . You maggots make me sick! Hypocrites one and all. We are all

expendable for a cause. No one knows that better than those who kill for policy, clandestinely or openly, as do the governments of the world which kill in the name of God and country. . . . Legions of the night, breed! Repeat not the errors of the night prowler and show no mercy. (Carlo 1996, 394–395)

In sharp contrast to most other criminals labeled satanic, Ramirez consciously identified with Satanism. Thus, unlike other cases of so-called occult crime in which the link to diabolism is tenuous, the Night Stalker forces one to examine directly the assumption that Satanism somehow causes individuals to commit crimes. As with the charges often leveled at heavy metal music and role-playing games like Dungeons and Dragons, it is clear that Satanic ideology is not an independent motivating factor that somehow transforms otherwise nice people into criminals. Rather, as reflected in the remarks Ramirez made at his

sentencing, such individuals are criminals who adopt Satanism as a way of justifying their antisocial actions.

See also Crime; Heavy Metal Music **For Further Reading:**

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Nightmares

Other dreams are evil, sent by the Devil, and often show obscene images, and some stir up the humors of the body and provoke sensual movement, against which the Church sings: "Remove dreams and nocturnal phantasies from me, and restrain our enemy so that our bodies will not be sullied."

-Father Gracian, confessor of St. Theresa

All cultures and all time periods report nightmares. Given the widespread belief in demons before the contemporary period, it is only natural that the common experience of nightmares would often be explained in terms of the intrusion of demonic forces. This explanation is so widespread, in fact, that it is not unusual to find special prayers and ceremonies intended to protect the sleeper from evil entities. Despite the many revelatory dreams recorded in the Bible, the Christian tradition has generally taken a negative attitude toward dreaming. Some medieval churchmen went so far as to denounce all dreams as creations of the Devil. Speculation on the demonic status of nightmares with Christianity goes back to the church fathers.

Tertullian was a third century lawyer-turnedpriest who was the first significant Christian theologian to write in Latin rather than Greek. Eight chapters of his *A Treatise on the Soul* dealt with the closely related phenomena of sleep and dreams. Tertullian felt that the ongoing activity

of the mind in dreams while the body was motionless in sleep proved that the soul was independent of the body, and thus immortal. As part of his adherence to the idea of the disjunction between the body and the soul during sleep, he discounted the idea that the condition of the body (e.g., whether one was fasting or had eaten spicy food the preceding day) influenced one's dreams. He was also critical of the idea that the soul left the body and traveled during sleep. Tertullian also classified dreams according to their source. Although God was responsible for many dreams, so were demons. With respect to the latter, Tertullian asserted confidently that dreamers would not be held responsible for sins committed in their sleep, any more than they would receive crowns in heaven for imaginary acts of martyrdom.

Macrobius was a fourth century Christian writer whose Commentary on the Dream of Scipio became the most influential dream book of medieval Europe. Compared with his contemporaries, Macrobius was negative and superstitious. Clearly indebted to the Oneirocritica, the dreambook of the great pagan dream interpreter Artemidorus, Macrobius added material on apparitions and nightmares—topics not explicitly covered by Artemidorus. Macrobius also included a discussion of incubi and succubi, the sexual demons who seduced virtuous men and women in their sleep, and who became highly popular creatures in medieval European demonological lore. Although these beings are rooted in earlier Jewish folklore, Macrobius appears to have been the person to introduce them into Christianity.

Of particular importance for the Middle Ages was St. Jerome's mistranslation of certain key biblical passages that, in the original, read something along the lines of, "you shall not practice augury witchcraft." In Jerome's translation, which became authoritative, the same passage reads, "you shall not practice augury nor observe dreams." These explicit condemnations, in combination with the admonitions of writers like Macrobius who warned against the attacks of demons in one's sleep, served effectively to condemn dreams as little more than stages for



Demon in a drawing called "The Nightmare" from the 1863 edition of Collin de Plancy's Dictionnaire Infernal, based on a large romantic painting by Salvador Rosa. (Fortean Picture Library)

Satan's minions to tempt the souls of the faithful.

The medieval attitude is expressed in, for example, a sixteenth-century work, De Magia (1598), by Benedict Pererius, a Jesuit priest: "The devil is most always implicated in dreams, filling the minds of men with poisonous superstition and not only uselessly deluding but perniciously deceiving them" (Van de Castle 1994, 83). Nowhere is this suspicion of dreams more clearly demonstrated than in the notion of incubi and succubi-demons who, during their victims' dreams, took the form of handsome men and seduced women in their sleep, as well as demons who took the form of beautiful women and seduced men in their sleep. These creatures were particularly useful for explaining sexual dreams in a society where any form of illicit sex was viewed as demonic and where sexual desire was regarded as a weak point where evil forces could subvert the most upright Christian. This was an especially crucial point for monastics, for whom celibacy was part of their most sacred vows. Given this general perspective, it was almost inevitable that sexual dreams should come to be viewed as the work of the devil. One can imagine the dismay of clergy, monks, and nuns who awakened with vivid memories of erotic dreams. By attributing such dream images to evil spirits who seduced them in their sleep, they could absolve themselves of responsibility for such dreams. To once again cite from Pererius: "If dreams that are obscene, repulsive and full of cruelty and impiety come so very often to sober, upright and religious men, it is not unjustly held that these dreams proceed from the devil. For the devil tries to pollute the bodies of sleeping men with impure dreams and defile them so that he may make their minds, when they awaken, somehow partners in his foulness" (Ibid).

See also Aquinas, Thomas; Demons; Incubi and Succubi

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Nimrod

Nimrod was a hunter, the son of Cush, and, according to legend, the moving force behind the tower of Babel. In the book of Genesis, he is mentioned briefly in Chapter 10: "Nimrod . . . was the first on earth to be a mighty man. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord; therefore it is said, 'Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the Lord.' The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, and Accad" (Gen. 10:9–10). According to Jewish legend, Nimrod was one of the Nephilim—the children of the angels who, as it says in Genesis 6, "saw that the daughters of men were fair and . . . took to wife such of them as they chose" (6:2). Such a geneology would make him a son of a fallen angel.

See also Fallen Angels; Nephilim **For Further Reading:**

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The Nine Satanic Statements

The Nine Satanic Statements refers to a set of nine assertions that Anton LaVey, the founder of modern Satanism, made in the introductory chapters of his best-selling *Satanic Bible*. Although he may or may not have intended them as such, they have become a touchstone of contemporary organized Satanism. The Nine Satanic Statements can often be found reprinted on Satanist websites, and have provided a paradigm for other, comparable documents (e.g., the Nine Satanic Sins). They constitute, in effect, brief aphoristic statements that capture the core of Satanic philosophy:

Satan represents indulgence, instead of abstinence!

Satan represents vital existence, instead of spiritual pipe dreams!

Satan represents undefiled wisdom, instead of hypocritical self-deceit!

Satan represents kindness to those who deserve it, instead of love wasted on ingrates!

Satan represents vengeance, instead of turning the other cheek!

- Satan represents responsibility to the responsible, instead of concern for psychic vampires!
- Satan represents man as just another animal, sometimes better, more often worse than those that walk on all-fours, who, because of his "divine spiritual and intellectual development," has become the most vicious animal of all!
- Satan represents all of the so-called sins, as they all lead to physical, mental, or emotional gratification!
- Satan has been the best friend the church has ever had, as he has kept it in business all these years!

The Nine Satanic Statements were one of the targets of "Anton LaVey: Legend and Reality," a nine-page fact sheet compiled a little more than three months after LaVey's passing by his estranged daughter Zeena LaVey Schreck and her husband Nikolas Schreck. The fact sheet was a kind of Satanic white paper, designed to expose LaVey as a charlatan, liar, and all-round bad guy.

Among many other revelations, the Schrecks assert that the idea for The Satanic Bible, his principal work, was developed by Avon Books, not LaVey. Pressed to meet a deadline, he resorted to plagiarism, taking material from a 1896 tract, John Dee's "Enochian Keys," lifted from Alister Crowley's Equinox, and Ayn Rand. Although observers have often perceived connections between Anton LaVey's Satanism and such philosophers as Frederick Nietzsche, Rand was the more immediate source for much of LaVey's thinking. The influence of Rand on LaVey is most evident in the Nine Satanic Statements, which, according to the Schrecks, are little more than a condensed paraphrase of material found in Rand's novel Atlas Shrugged.

See also LaVey, Anton Szandor; Rand, Ayn **For Further Reading:**

LaVey, Anton. *The Satanic Bible*. New York: Avon, 1969.

Rand, Ayn. *Atlas Shrugged*. New York: Random House, 1957.

Schreck, Zeena LaVey, and Nikolas Schreck. "Anton LaVey: Legend and Reality." http://www.churchofsatan.org/aslav.html

The Ninth Covenant

The Ninth Covenant was founded in 1997 by Syn Holiday. The group is centered in Long Beach, California. The Ninth Covenant holds meetings and rituals on an irregular basis, and is particularly active on the internet through its website. Like many other contemporary Satanist organizations, the Ninth Covenant is in the tradition of Anton LaVey's Satanism. It thus does not view itself as an inversion of Christianity or as worshiping the Christian Devil. Rather, "Satan" is seen as a symbol of human nature. As such, Satan represents individualism, the striving for a vital existence, and self worship. Thus, to cite from the introduction on the Ninth Covenant website, the "Satanic label and imagery are simply convenient symbols intended to provoke a strong reaction and force thought." The core of the group's practices and philosophy is summarized in eight points:

- a. The worship of self
- b. The importance of the "Wolf Pack" (hold dear and close all those in your wolf pack)
- c. Social responsibility. Swift punishment to those who violate rights. Lex Talionis.
- d. The pursuit of success and enchantment, in whatever way one perceives or defines it
- e. Transcendentalism through free-thinking individualism (as opposed to the herd mentality)
- f. Responsible indulgence in whatever pleasures, lusts, and desires one wishes
- g. The ability to control existence perception
- h. Chaos Magick theory

The Ninth Covenant's basic ethical principle is, "Do what you want, and in doing so, harm none that don't deserve it." This is a rather pointed recasting of the so-called Wiccan Rede, the core ethical principle of modern Wicca, which is, "And if it harm none, do as you will."

See also LaVey, Anton SzandorFor Further Reading:The Ninth Covenant's official website: http://theninthcovenant.com

The Ninth Gate

In *The Ninth Gate*, director Roman Polanski returns to diabolism, a theme that brought him fame as the director of *Rosemary's Baby*. The core of the plot for this 1999 film—a quest for knowledge that will enable one to tap Satan's power—is timeworn. Other tired themes are the pursuit by sinister Satanists (yawn) and the notion that one can open

a doorway to hell. The latter idea is reflected in the title of the grimoire sought by the central character (an unscrupulous rare-book dealer played by Johnny Depp), *The Nine Gates to the Kingdom of Shadows*. Despite the familiar landscape, however, Polanski managed to turn out an intriguing film that explores themes rarely plumbed in horror movies, such as the real seductiveness of evil.

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The Omen, Damien: Omen 2, and The Final Conflict

In the unholy trinity of A-grade horror movies, *The Omen* is perhaps the third most important film, following *The Exorcist* and *Rosemary's Baby*. Unlike the other two, however, *The Omen* (1976) spawned two sequels, *Damien* in 1978 and *The Final Conflict* in 1981. The core of the story line involves the exploits of a child—in the sequels a young man—seemingly destined to walk the halls of political power. Unfortunately, he is the son of Satan.

The Order of Infernal Light

The Order of Infernal Light (OIL) is a Satanic aesthetic order founded on February 24, 2000, by Reverend Dianna Genesis Lewinsky. There were ten founding members, three of whom constituted the Council of the Unholy Trinity. The order, which is based in Sydney, Australia, is affiliated with the First Church of Satan. The OIL is not just another Satanic church, but rather focuses on using music and art to enhance the quality of life, and for the general aesthetic expansion of society as a whole. The first paragraph of the order's original statement of purpose reads:

The purpose of the Order of the Infernal Light is to educate and inform those interested about Satanism, Satanic Art and



The Omen (1976) (Kobol Collection/20th Century Fox)

Free Thought Societies. It displays works of Satanic Music and Art, artistic expressions of all Free Thought, and Left-Hand Philosophies. The Order is dedicated to showing all those interested that Satanic Art isn't just about devils and demons and blood and death and evil and gothicism. It's about freedom of expression, and the freedom to explore yourself with whatever artistic forms you please. (OIL, website)

The order sees itself as addressing what Anton LaVey referred to as the "Ninth Satanic Sin: Lack of Aesthetics." The OIL opposes so-called pop culture, which it perceives as thinking *for* people rather than stimulating independent thought. In contrast, creativity promotes self-understanding and the sense of achievement that is the goal of Satanic aestheticism. Also, pop culture is seen as the single most destructive force influencing the youth of today, and therefore must be challenged in the hope that it may one day be destroyed.

For Further Reading:

The Order of Infernal Light official website: http://www.infernal-light.org

Order of Nine Angles

The Order of the Nine Angles (ONA) is a secretive British Satanist group that acquired notoriety by openly advocating "culling," namely human sacrifice. Victims are not to be chosen randomly, but rather chosen so as to make a "contribution to improving the human stock [by] removing the worthless, the weak, [and] the diseased (in terms of character)." This may be accomplished via magic or by assassination. Whether anyone in the group has ever actually taken a life is unknown, but most outsiders reject ONA's discourse about culling as either macho posturing or a strategy for attracting attention by creating controversy. According to one online source who interviewed one of the members, "[ONA is] a nucleus of four middle aged men surrounded by up to ten younger aspiring acolytes, again all male. The group uses homosexual rites and although they may well have contact with the far right are highly unlikely to be capable of carrying out numerous murders as darkly hinted at" (Hexagon Archive, website).

A perusal of ONA's literature (many short essays are posted on the worldwide web) makes it clear that the order is more a Left-Hand Path (LHP) magical group than a group in the tradition of Anton LaVey. ONA, in fact, explicitly denounces organizations like LaVey's Church of Satan for presenting Satanism as a "good" religion. For example, in a 1994 interview incorporated into Gavin Baddeley's Lucifer Rising, the pseudonymous Christos Beest (Stephen Brown) asserts that "A lot of people at the Temple of Set and the Church of Satan are trying to reestablish Satanism as a moral religion. Something which is sanitized, something which is misunderstood and really quite nice. What the ONA is doing is countering that by saying, 'No, it isn't.' It's regaining the original darkness of what Satanism is, because if Satanism isn't evil, what is?" (Baddeley 1994, 164)

ONA proclaims its aims as being:

- 1. To increase the number of genuine Adepts, Masters/Lady Masters, by guiding individuals along the path to Adeptship and beyond.
- 2. To make the path to Adeptship and beyond [the "Seven-Fold Sinister Way"] more widely available, enabling anyone, should they possess the necessary desire, to strive toward the ultimate goal.
- 3. To extend esoteric knowledge and techniques—i.e., to (a) creatively extend our esoteric knowledge and understanding and thus increase the consciousness of our species; (b) develop new techniques which make this new knowledge and understanding useful to those following the Seven-Fold Sinister Way; (c) implement this knowledge and understanding in a practical way, thus causing change(s) in society/societies. Areas of importance for the immediate future are: (i) music; (ii) Art/images/"film" etc.; (iii) the creation of an "esoteric" community; and (iv) the development and extension of an abstract symbolic language ("beyond the Star Game").

4. To implement sinister strategy—i.e., to presence the acausal (or "the dark forces") via nexions and so change evolution. One immediate aim is to presence acausal energies in a particular way so creating a new aeon and then a new, higher, civilization from the energies unleashed. (Order of Nine Angles 1994, website)

In other words, in addition to promoting individual development in the manner of the LHP tradition, the Order of Nine Angles sees itself as setting in motion energies—particularly magical energies—that will usher in a new culture and civilization. As noted by Beest, "what Satanism represents is basically an energy for change. Evolution."

For Further Reading:

Baddeley, Gavin. Lucifer Rising: Sin, Devil Worship and Rock'n'Roll. London: Plexus, 1999.
Harvey, Graham. "Satanism in Britain Today."

Journal of Contemporary Religion 10:3. 1995.
Hexagon Archive. "Order Of Nine Angles."

http://www.hexagonarchive.com/ONA.htmOrd er of Nine Angles. The Sinister Path—An

Introduction to Traditional Satanism. Houston,
TX: Vindex Press, 1994.

Order of the Black Ram

The Satanic organization known as Order of the Black Ram has its foundation in the belief in Aryan racial superiority, and is associated with the National Renaissance Party, a neo-Nazi organization. It is believed that each race embodies a racial soul, which is manifested in its culture and philosophy. The order, which stresses individuality, draws upon such varied sources as the writings of Anton LaVey, Robert Heinlein's novel, *Stranger in a Strange Land*, and neopaganism. Its headquarters were located in suburban Detroit, Michigan, where its periodical, *Liber Venifica*, was published.

See also Church of Satan **For Further Reading:**

Parker, John. At the Heart of Darkness: Witchcraft, Black Magic and Satanism Today. New York: Citadel, 1993.

Ordo Lux Kethri

The Ordo Lux Kethri was formed in 1982 by April Schadler Bishop and Michael Albion Macdonald, of the Builders of the Adytum. The order, which is also known as the Order of the Kethric Light, is depicted as a fraternal order, and is similar to the Rosicrucian one. Among its teachings are the cabala, alchemy, ritual magic, and hermetic meditation, including the techniques of visualization and astral travel of Franz Bardon.

For Further Reading:

Bardon, Franz. *The Practice of Magical Evocation*. Wuppertal, Germany: Deiter Rueggeberg, 1970. Macdonald, Michael-Albion. *The Secret of Secrets*. Berkeley Heights, NJ: Heptangle, 1986.

Ordo Templi Astarte

The Ordo Templi Astarte (Order of the Temple of Astarte, OTA) also known as Church of Hermetic Science, constitutes a ritual magic group established in 1970 for the practice of cabalistic magick in the Western tradition. It is based upon Jungian psychology, and describes magick as a system of ritual hypnotic induction calling upon archetypal forms from the unconscious and allowing them to be visualized for a number of purposes, including psychotherapy.

The order's history can be traced back to Aleister Crowley through Louis Culling, who maintained that after leaving C. F. Russell, who was deviating from Crowley's teachings, he received a charter for an autonomous lodge. He turned this charter to the OTA leadership just before his death. According to the order, the charter contains the secret rituals of the Ordo Templi Orientis. The group does not describe itself as fully Thelemic, although it operates with a Thelemic charter, since members do not initiate or operate ceremonially under a Thelemic protection. The single lodge of the OTA, led by Carroll Runyon (Frater Aleyin), is located in Pasadena, although there has been a second lodge that operated in Pittsburgh in the 1970s. The Seventh Ray, published in Pasadena, is the periodical of the order.

See also Crowley, Aleister; Magic and Magical Groups

For Further Reading:

Ellwood, Robert S., Jr. *Mysticism and Religion*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980. Melton, J. Gordon. *The Encyclopedia of American Religion*. 5th ed. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1996.

Ordo Templi Orientis

Along with the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, the other major magical tradition to influence modern Satanism and left-hand path groups through Aleister Crowley was the Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO). The OTO was founded in the 1890s by Karl Keller, a German. Aleister Crowley joined the British branch of the OTO and was made its head around 1904. When Theodor Reuss died in 1922, Crowley became the OHO, the Outer Head of the Order, and essentially made the OTO the "outer order" for his AA (Astrum Argentinum, that is, Silver Star) secret society based on The Book of the Law that he had channeled in 1904. Crowley was a prolific writer, and issued a semiannual periodical called The Equinox from 1909 to 1913; the ten large volumes of this series have been kept in print recently by several publishers, most notably Samuel Weiser.

The OTO taught a system of sex magic (spelled "magick" by Crowley and most ritual magic groups) that was based in part on Oriental practices and in part on the system devised by P. B. Randolph of the American organization called Fraternitas Rosae Crucis. Crowley perfected this system during the years 1920–1922 at his Abbey of Thelema in Sicily. Public notoriety over his activities caused the OTO to be disbanded and banned in England in 1923.

The OTO had begun spreading to America with Crowley's visits there in 1905 and 1915. In 1914 Charles Stansfeld Jones (Frater Achad) opened OTO branches in Vancouver, Los Angeles, and perhaps Washington D.C. Crowley visited the Vancouver Lodge in 1915, at which time he met Winifred T. Smith (Frater 132) and gave him permission to open a lodge. Smith moved to Pasadena, California, opened a lodge there, and, when Jones fell into disfavor with Crowley in 1919, became head of the OTO in America.

In Pasadena Smith entered into what was

apparently an experiment in group marriage with Jack and Helen Parsons and Helen's younger sister, Betty. At some point Parsons became the head of the Lodge, which was called "The Agape Lodge." With the OTO in Germany outlawed and disbanded in 1934, with the English OTO discredited and disbanded in 1923, alone in New York after 1941, the Agape Lodge was practically the whole active membership of the OTO during the late 1930s and the 1940s. The Agape Lodge continued on until 1952, when Parsons was killed in an explosion in his home laboratory.

Another OTO offshoot had been founded in Chicago in 1931 by C. F. Russell, who had been with Crowley at the Abbey of Thelema, but split from him to found the Chonzon Club, or Great Brotherhood of God (GBG). One member of the GBG, and head of its San Diego Lodge, was Louis T. Culling, who left the GBG in 1938 to join the OTO, and who published the GBG's rituals in 1969 as *The Complete Magical Curriculum of the GBG*. This system was also focused heavily on sex magick.

Aleister Crowley's advancing years had dramatically curbed his aptitude for sex magick during the 1930s, and by 1945 he was sixty-nine years old and had lost his legendary libido. Crowley was livid with anger at Parsons for this "debauchery" and also for allowing a young man to con him out of all his money in a "sting" that may have been an FBI-sponsored operation. These two revelations were the causes for the warrant that Crowley issued to the young Grady McMurtry in 1946.

Aleister Crowley had run very short of money during the last few years of his life. His last big projects were his Thoth Tarot, produced under his supervision by Lady Frieda Harris, his *Book of Thoth* on that Tarot Deck, and the stream of letters between him and some initiates that was later edited into *Magick without Tears*. The original paintings of the Tarot Deck were exhibited in London in July 1942, the events in the background of *Magick without Tears* were from about 1941–1944, and the *Book of Thoth* was completed about March 1944. He apparently did not qualify for any sort of pension, and an initiate in New York City, Karl Germer, was his primary source of income.

A young army corporal, Grady McMurtry, an initiate of the Pasadena Lodge, visited and attended Crowley from 1943 to 1945, and was later, in 1946, given a emergency warrant to take command of the OTO in the United States and correct the problems that had been caused by Jack Parsons's questionable administration of the American OTO. For the next 20 years, this emergency warrant was all but forgotten.

In March 1945, Crowley moved to a decrepit boarding house in Hastings, which is not far from Southampton or, for that matter, the New Forest area. The OTO and the AA have always taken pride in their Rosicrucian affinities, so it is very likely that Crowley would have gravitated to the Rosicrucian Theater and its members.

The first Tenth Degree to emerge after Crowley's death was Karl Johannes Germer, who had worked with Crowley in England, but had returned to his native Germany in the 1930s. Arrested and placed in a concentration camp during a Nazi purge of occultists, Germer was fortunate enough to be deported from Germany in 1941. Arriving in America, he sold heavy equipment in New York City, and lived on a fraction of his salary, sending the lion's share of it to Crowley in England, so that Crowley could have some money to survive on in his last couple of years. Crowley made him a high initiate in the AA for this, and at Crowley's death in December 1947, Karl Germer became the heir of his literary estate and the Supreme and Holy King of the OTO. At this point Parsons refused to recognize Germer's authority, and defected from the OTO.

During the sixteen years that Germer was the head of the OTO he apparently initiated no one, and the organization faded, almost to destruction. Kenneth Grant formed the Nu-Isis Lodge of the OTO in London and, during the 1950s, this was a hotbed of Thelemic activity. This eventually sent Germer into a paranoid fit, and he expelled Grant from the order in 1952. The Nu-Isis Lodge continued to do fine on its own. Germer died in 1962, and did not designate a successor. Karl Metzger (Frater Paraganus) of Basil, Switzerland, was a very respectable member of the OTO and the ranking member of the order, so he became known as the head of the order, although he was

never designated the Supreme and Holy King (Tenth Degree) by anyone, even himself. Germer's wife Svetlana tried to present herself as the head of the order at this time, but aside from having been married to Germer, she had no qualifications for this office.

Around 1966, Grady McMurtry retired from the army, and lived modestly on his pension until his death in 1985. Once freed from the regimentation of military life—he had worked in the Pentagon for a while—he began to openly promote the OTO. Using the warrant from Crowley that he had received in 1946, Grady declared himself head of the order in the United States in 1969. He rejected the claims of Kenneth Grant, who reemerged as an OTO leader in England in the 1970s, pointing out that Grant had been legally expelled from the order by Germer in 1952. He also rejected the claims of Metzger in Switzerland, on the grounds that his election had been spurious according to the OTO rules then in effect. Around 1976-1979, he performed "battlefield promotions" of several younger proteges to the exalted Ninth Degree of the OTO, although they had not been through the long series of initiations and training generally required. Although this has created some problems within the order, the OTO in California grew and prospered as never before, and by the time of McMurtry's death, had chapters and lodges across the U.S. and Canada and in ten other countries.

The initial warrant from Crowley may not have quite justified Grady's assumption of the Tenth Degree (Supreme and Holy King), but his later actions clearly demonstrated his fitness for it. When Grady declared himself head of the OTO, the order was virtually dead and had been since Jack Parsons's defection in 1947. When yet another claimant to be the OHO appeared in the person of Marcelo Ramos Motta, a Brazilian initiate who claimed an essentially spiritual rather than legal authority, and who was defaming McMurtry and all other OTO members in his new volumes of The Equinox, McMurtry sued Motta for libel. The case ended up in the United States Supreme Court, which in 1985 ruled that McMurtry was in fact the legal OHO, and did own the copyrights to all of Crowley's writings, and threw out all the other claims. A key piece of evidence in this legal battle was the fact that the original manuscript of Crowley's *Book of the Law* had turned up in a box in a basement in Berkeley.

By the time he died in 1985, Grady had turned the OTO into a dynamic organization with an active membership of several hundred individuals, about half of them in California. One manifestation of this was the Nuit-Urania Coven of the New, Reformed, Orthodox Order of the Golden Dawn, which practiced "Thelemic Wicca" under the leadership of (among others) the Lady Chandria, who succumbed to cancer in 1988. In 1988 the OTO reported a membership of 700 in the USA and 1,400 worldwide.

At several points, the OTO has developed internal organizations that are to some extent "secret" and claim to carry on the traditions of the old AA. In July 1981, this internal "secret society" was called "The Knights of Baphomet," which was described as the Caliph's Praetorian Guard. Three or four years after that, that organization had fallen apart, and the new "inner court" society was called the AA.

Lon Milo Duquette was one of Grady's "battle-field promotion" Ninth-Degrees and the head of Heru-Ra-Ha Lodge in Costa Mesa from 1978 on. (He is still the official head of the lodge, but it has been practically inactive since about 1988.) He was given the title "First Emir" by the Caliph (Grady McMurtry) and was, at one point, the prime contender to be the next Caliph and the next head of the order.

Another contender for this position was William Heidrick of Berkeley, California. The contest between Duquette and Heidrick threatened to tear the organization to shreds; so in September 1985, about three or four months after Grady's death, a compromise candidate who prefers to be known only as Hymenaeus Beta was made head of the OTO, and its headquarters were moved to Manhattan. Since that time, the AA has become more secretive, and the OTO has become "squeaky clean" in its public image and has apparently ceased to be a magical or even religious organization. It has thoroughly (or at least publicly) deemphasized the practice of any sort of magick, sexual or otherwise. The OTO has

claimed that it continues to grow, but generally, according to one long-time member, what happens is that new members join, attracted by Crowley's lore and reputation, take a few months to realize that the OTO no longer has anything to do with Crowley, and then leave. The order continues to carry their names as current members for years.

See also Crowley, Aleister; Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn; Left-Hand Path; Magic and Magical Groups

For Further Reading:

Crowley, Aleister. *Magic in Theory and Practice*. New York: Castle, n.d. [ca. 1929].

King, Francis. *Sexuality, Magic, and Perversion*. London: New English Library, 1971.

Randolph, Paschal Beverly. *Eulis: Affectional Alchemy.* 5th ed. Quakertown, PA: Beverly Hall, Confederation of Initiates, 1930.

Regardie, Israel, ed. *Gems from the Equinox: Selected Writings of Aleister Crowley.* St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn, 1974.

Ordo Templi Satanas

The Ordo Templi Satanas (OTS) was associated with the Church of Satanic Brotherhood. Some of its members were former members of the brotherhood, with which it shared many practices, beliefs, and organization. Its temples were located in Indianapolis, Indiana, and in Louisville, Kentucky. Its leader was Joseph Daniels (Apollonius), priest of Hermopolis. The order existed for only few years, after which it was disbanded.

See also Church of Satanic Brotherhood; Church of Satan

For Further Reading:

Melton, J. Gordon. *The Encyclopedia of American Religion.* 5th ed. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1996.

There are three essays attributed to the OTS posted at: http://www.satanservice.org/smakers.html

Our Lady of Endor Coven

Our Lady of Endor Coven, Ophite Cultus Satanas, was founded by Herbert Arthur Sloane of Toledo, Ohio, in 1948. It thus existed many years before the Church of Satan. The philosophy of Our Lady of Endor Coven is based on Gnosticism. The demi-

urge is the lower, creator god. Satanas is the messenger of the god beyond, who told Eve of the existence of a god beyond God the creator of the cosmos. The god beyond takes part in "this world" only in that he is entrapped in matter in the form of the divine within humanity, and his only concern is the return of the divine within humanity, which can be accomplished through *gnosis*, occult knowledge. Satanism, believed to be the oldest religion, dates back to the worship of the horned god. It differs from witchcraft in that it retains the spiritual significance of the horned god.

See also Church of Satan; Gnosticism
For Further Reading:
Melton, J. Gordon. The Encyclopedia of American Religion. 5th ed. Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1996.

Oxford Golden Dawn Occult Society

The Oxford Golden Dawn Occult Society (OGDOS) was founded in 1981 by a Frater Katon Shu'al, then a member of the Typhonian branch of

the Ordo Templi Orientis. It is not itself a working magical order, but rather an association dedicated to outreach and education about magic. It has sponsored a National Symposium of Thelemic Magic every year since 1986, which brings together many persons interested in the study and practice of Thelemic Magic.

There is also an inner ritual group, involving both newer and long-term members of OGDOS, that began working in 1994 and meets monthly. It is the latest of a series of such groups within OGDOS, all of which have with a very eclectic approach to magic, incorporating elements of Wicca, tantra, the cabala, shamanism, and so on, as they see fit. Not surprisingly, the ethos of OGDOS is highly individualistic and antihierarchical, since it is essentially a voluntary organization of individuals whose primary magical practice is solitary.

See also Magic and Magical Groups
For Further Reading:
OGDOS Homepage:
http://www.cix.co.uk/~mandrake/ogdos.htm

P

Pact with the Devil

It is a most certain and most Catholic opinion that there are sorcerers and witches who by the help of the devil, on account of a compact which they have entered into with him, are able, since God allows this, to produce real and actual evils and harm, which does not render it unlikely that they can also bring about visionary and phantastical illusions by some extraordinary and peculiar means.

-Malleus Maleficarum

The idea that one may enter into a formal contract with the Devil or a demon in exchange for certain favors is a familiar item of folklore. In both its medieval and modern versions, one agrees to sell one's soul to Satan (i.e., one voluntarily agrees to be damned) if one can have whatever it is that one wishes. These favors can range from specific benefits and powers to, more generically, a specific period of time during which one leads a diabolically "blessed" life.

Within the Christian tradition, the notion of an infernal pact seems originally to have arisen from the idea that magicians and diviners cannot perform their feats without the aid of supernatural entities. Because most sorcerers clearly did not receive help from God or his angels, then ipso facto they must be in league with darker powers. The idea of some kind of a formal agreement with a demonic being is suggested in the writings of early church fathers like Origen, but is not fully developed until the time of Augustine. Aquinas, who would later become the Catholic Church's official theologian, reaffirmed this notion in *Sententiae* where he states that "Magicians perform miracles through personal contracts with demons" (Guiley n1989, 100). The biblical foundation for this idea comes from Isaiah 28:15: "We have made a treaty with Death and signed a pact with Sheol: so that, when the raging flood sweeps by, it shall not touch us; for we have taken refuge in lies and sheltered behind falsehood." Although the original passage is not discussing an actual agreement with Satan or one of his minions, it is not difficult to see how this verse might be interpreted so as to support such a notion.

The Bible also provided legitimation for the witch-hunts, through such assertions as Exodus 22:18, "You shall not allow a witch to live." Initially, witches were executed merely for the harm they supposedly wreaked on their victims. By the fourteenth century, entering into a contract with Satan had become an important part of the charges leveled against witches. For example, in his 1484 Bull, Summis desiderantes affectibus, after recounting a long list of dark deeds attributed to witches, Pope Innocent VIII adds that witches also "deny with sacrilegious lips the faith they received in holy baptism; and that, at the instigation of the enemy of mankind, they do not fear to commit and perpetrate many other abominable offences



This is the famous written pact drawn up by the many devils (whose reversed signatures witnessed the pact) and Urbain Grandier, in Loudon 1634. (Fortean Picture Library)

and crimes, at the risk of their own souls." Medieval witch-hunting manuals, such as the influential *Malleus Maleficarum* (The Witch Hammer, 1486), contained lengthy discussions of the Devil pact. Thus at a witches' sabbat, convened for the purpose of initiating new witches, Satan asks the novice,

whether she will abjure the Faith, and forsake the holy Christian religion . . . and never venerate the Sacraments; and if he finds the novice or disciple willing, then the devil stretches out his hand, and so does the novice, and she swears with upraised hand to keep that covenant. And when this is done, the devil at once adds that this is not enough; and when the disciple asks what more must be done, the devil demands the following oath of homage to himself: that she give herself to him, body and soul, for ever, and do her utmost to bring others of both sexes into his power. He adds, finally, that she is to make

certain unguents from the bones and limbs of children; especially those who have been baptized; by all witch means she will be able to fulfil all her wishes with his help. (Kramer and Sprenger 1970, 99–100)

To provide evidence for the Devil pact notion, the Office of the Inquisition was apparently not above creating documents. For example, one document that has survived the centuries is a contract between Satan and the priest Urbain Grandier, written in blood, in which Father Grandier supposedly asserts,

My lord and master Lucifer, I acknowledge you as my god and prince, and promise to serve and obey you while I live. And I renounce the other God and Jesus Christ, the saints, the church of Rome and all its sacraments, and all prayers that the faithful may offer me; and I promise to do as much evil as I can and to draw all others to evil; and I renounce chrism, baptism, and all the merits of Jesus Christ and his saints; and if I fail to serve and adore you, paying you homage three times a day, I give you my life as your own. (Cavendish 1967, 321)

This piece of "evidence" was presented at Grandier's trial in 1634, along with an endorsement signed in hell:

We, the all-powerful Lucifer, seconded by Satan, Beelzebub, Leviathan, Elimi, Astaroth, and others, have today accepted the pact of alliance with Urbain Grandier, who is on our side. And we promise him the love of women, the flower of virgins, the chastity of nuns, worldly honors, pleasures, and riches. He will fornicate every three days; intoxication will be dear to him. He will offer to us once a year a tribute marked with his blood; he will trample under foot the sacraments of the church, and he will say his prayers to us. By virtue of this pact, he will live happily for twenty years on earth among men, and finally will come among us to curse God. Done in hell, in the council of devils.

Palo

[signed:] Satan, Beelzebub, Lucifer, Elimi, Leviathan, Astaroth.

Notarized the signature and mark of the chief devil and my lords the prices of hell. [signed:] Baalberith, recorder (Guiley 1989, 101)

After confessing under torture to the charge of bewitching nuns and enslaving them to Satan, he was convicted and burned alive.

Modern versions of the Devil pact are preserved in the confessions of Evangelicals claiming to be ex-Satanists, as in the celebrated case of Mike Warnke, author of the popular book, *The Satan Seller*. As if being sworn in as an infernal civil servant, Warnke asserts that he was required to take an oath to the Prince of Darkness: "Repeat after me: I, known here as Judas, do hereby and now, forever and a day, submit my soul to the custody and care of his Highness of Darkness, Satan, Master of the World." Warnke's arm is subsequently pierced, and he is required to sign his name in his own blood into a large, black, leather-bound book.

Within contemporary religious Satanism, the idea of a pact with the Devil has been dismissed as Christian propaganda designed to frighten the faithful. For instance, in *The Satanic Bible*, Anton LaVey, founder of the Church of Satan, notes,

To the Satanist, it is unnecessary to sell your soul to the Devil or make a pact with Satan. This threat was devised by Christianity to terrorize people so they would not stray from the fold. With scolding fingers and trembling voices, they taught their followers that if they gave in to the temptations of Satan, and lived their lives according to their natural predilections, they would have to pay for their sinful pleasures by giving their souls to Satan and suffering in Hell for all eternity. (LaVey 1969, 61)

There have, nevertheless, been Satanist groups that have incorporated this bit of infernal folklore into their religion. For example, the Brotherhood of the Ram, a Satanist organization that operated in southern California in the 1960s and the 1970s

required new recruits to cut their fingers and rub some of their blood on a piece of paper bearing their signature.

See also Brotherhood of the Ram; Faust *For Further Reading:*

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Palo

Palo is the generic name applied to several closely related Afro-Cuban religio-magic systems that use non-Yoruba, Bantu-derived languages in their rituals. This little-known magical sect is wide-spread among Hispanics and Caribbean peoples in the United States. It is frequently, though erroneously, equated with the better known Santeria. Palo utilizes human remains in its rites, for which paleros (Palo practitioners) must often rob graves.

This set of Afro-Cuban traditions may have originated among a people who called themselves "Ganga." This term later became interchangeable with the iron cauldron and its contents (chiefly human remains) that is at the center of Palo practice. In contrast with Santeria, which has retained its essentially Yoruba character, Palo is an amalgam of a number of different traditions. Multicultural fusion is evident both in the materiel utilized in Palo rituals and in its philosophy. For example, Palo exhibits a good/evil duality not found in Santeria.

Paleros do not consider their corpse-taking to be grave-robbing. In an important article on Palo by Raul Canizares, an informant is cited who asserts: "We don't steal no graves, we ask the deceased if he wants to work with us. I went through more than one hundred graves before I found one dead guy who wanted to work with me" (Canizares 1993, 91). Among Afro-Cubans, Palo is equated with magic, while Santeria is regarded as a religion of devotion to the higher powers. As another point of contrast, Santeria has been mostly politically neutral, and not a vehicle for social protest. Palo, on the other hand, has a long history of resistance. Generally speaking, paleros devote significantly less time to the worship of saints and deities than the do *santeros* (Santeria practitioners). Most of a palero/palera's religious time is spent caring for his/her *prenda*, the spirit of his/her corpse.

Palo is frequently regarded as witchcraft, and it is easy to see why. The palero's iron cauldron is a frightening instrument, associated in the Western mind with black magic. The following description of the making of a ganga, from Migene Gonzalez-Wippler's *Santeria: The Religion*, is cited in Canizares (1993, 92–93):

The [palero] waits until the moon is propitious, and then he goes to a cemetery with an assistant. Once there, he sprinkles rum in the form of a cross over a pre-chosen grave. The grave is opened, and the head, toes, fingers, ribs, and tibias of the corpse are removed.... The [palero] insists on having a head in which the brain is still present. . . . After the macabre remains are removed from their graves, they are wrapped in a black cloth and the [palero] and his helper return to the [palero's house].... [After] the spirit of the [corpse] takes possession of [the palero,] the assistant asks the spirit if it is willing to work for the [palero].... Once the spirit accepts the pact, the grisly ceremony is ended. The [palero then] writes the name of the dead person on a piece of paper and places it at the bottom of a big iron cauldron, together with a few coins. . . . The body's remains are added to the cauldron, together with some earth from the grave. The [palero] then makes an incision on his arm with a knife that must have a white handle, and lets a few drops of blood fall into the cauldron, so that the [ganga] may drink and be refreshed. . . . After the . . . blood has been sprinkled on the remains, the [palero]

adds to the cauldron the wax from a burnt candle, ashes, a cigar butt . . . some lime[,] . . . a piece of bamboo . . . filled with sand, sea water, and quicksilver . . . [as well as] the body of a small black dog. . . . Next to the dog, a variety of herbs and tree barks are placed inside the cauldron. The last ingredients to be added are red pepper, chili, garlic, ginger, onions, cinnamon, and rue, together with ants, worms, lizards, termites, bats, frogs, Spanish flies, a tarantula, a centipede, a wasp, and a scorpion.

This necromantic sect has a fascinating history that is too involved to develop here. It exhibits a fusion of practices deriving from a wide variety of different traditions. First and foremost a magical system, Palos cosmogony and theology takes second place to the techniques for supernaturally manipulating the environment in order to obtain specific results.

See also Vodoun For Further Reading:

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Pembroke Ritual Abuse Case

In June 1994, six men from Pembroke, West Wales, were convicted of child sexual abuse in a Satanic ritual abuse case. It was the largest case of its kind in British history.

The Pembroke case began modestly after an eight-year-old boy went to live at a foster home in the wake of his parents' breakup in 1990. A year after the child began long-term therapy with a social worker, he accused his parents of sexual abuse. The boy further described group orgies with other children and adults at area farms and quarries. The father was then locked up. Suspecting that he had also abused his girlfriend's children, authorities removed three of the children from her care. However, after no confirming

evidence could be found among other families who had lived in the vicinity, the father was released and charges dropped. His girlfriend's children were kept in foster care.

Then, in June of 1992, the young teenage daughter of one of the other neighboring families ran away from home and accused her father of raping her. Both parents pleaded guilty. This incident convinced authorities that the boy's description of what seemed to be a sex ring was factual. By the end of the year, a dozen people had been charged (all pleaded not guilty) and eighteen children had been taken into foster care.

The actual trial began in early 1994. The most dramatic testimony involved accusations of Satanic ritual sex orgies at a wide variety of different sites. There was, however, a dramatic twist when two prosecution witnesses testified that they had been blackmailed into confirming the children's story: The substance of the threat was that if they failed to confirm the lie, they would have their own children taken away into foster care.

A half-dozen of the accused were acquitted or cleared. The other half-dozen were convicted, despite the obvious manipulation of witness testimony, lack of physical evidence, and the improbably broad scope of the accusations. Like many other instances of alleged Satanic ritual abuse, in this case authorities interviewed the children in ways that have been shown to implant false information. There were also indications that the children were actually intimidated into making accusations. Most significantly, the children began revealing abuse after investigators had attended a joint agency training seminar led by a Satanic ritual abuse expert. This same "expert" had previously been blamed for unreasonably inciting fears of a Satanic conspiracy in a child abuse case in Nottingham in the late 1980s.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse; United Kingdom, Ritual Abuse in

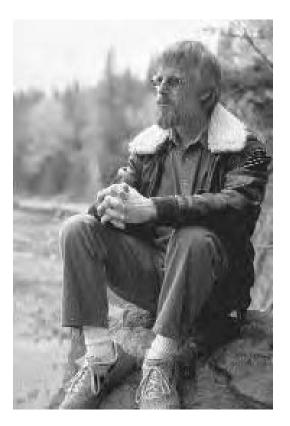
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http:\\www.religioustolerance.org\ra_pembr.htm Woffinden, Bob, and Margaret Jervis. *Independent*. London. October 8, 1995, p. 5.

Peretti. Frank E.

Frank E. Peretti is an evangelical Christian novelist whose works-especially his best-selling This Present Darkness (1986) and Piercing the Darkness (1989)—feature "spiritual warfare" between Christian demons and angels. The action in these novels moves back and forth between two interacting levels: While angels and devils cross swords in the spiritual realm, Peretti's human heroes and heroines do battle with new agers, witches, psychologists, secular education, and other groups viewed as being under demonic influence by conservative Christians. One of the keys necessary for understanding Peretti is the belief that the concentrated prayers of Christians provide power and protection for warrior angels. This "prayer energy" empowers God's angels to win their battles against supernatural demons. A decisive defeat of Satan's legions in the spiritual realm disempowers Satan's earthly minions, which in turn leads to their defeat.



Frank Peretti, 1995 (Dan Lamont/Corbis)

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The climax of the confrontation in *This Present Darkness* provides us with a good example of how this "prayer power" is supposed to work. In the final scene of the battle, Tal, leader of the angelic host, crosses swords with Rafar, leader of the demonic forces. At the same time, the remnant of God's human "warriors" engaged in the earthly struggle are distracted by the dramatic damage inflicted by their crusade. This distraction interrupts the flow of "power" to Tal, so that Rafar almost gets the better of him. At the last possible moment, these Christians feel impressed by the Lord to direct their prayer power against the demon:

[Event in spiritual realm:]

Tal could only back away from the fearsome onslaught of the demon prince, his one good hand still holding his sword up for defense. Rafar kept swinging and slashing, the sparks flying from the blades as they met. Tal's arm sank lower with each blow. "The Lord . . . rebuke you!" Tal found the breath to say again.

[Appropriate Christian "prayer" response, intuited by an elderly lady:]

Edith Duster was on her feet and ready to shout it to the heavens. "Rafar, you wicked prince of evil, in the name of Jesus we rebuke you!"

[Effect of "prayer energy" in spiritual realm:]
Rafar's blade zinged over Tal's head. It
missed.

[Further "prayer" action in physical realm:] "We bind you!" shouted the Remnant.

[Effect in spiritual realm:]

The big yellow eyes winced.

[Action in physical realm:]

"We cast you out!" Andy said.

[Effect in spiritual realm:]

There was a puff of sulfur, and Rafar bent over. Tal leaped to his feet.

[Action in physical realm:]

"We rebuke you, Rafar!" Edith shouted again.

[Effect in spiritual realm:]

Rafar screamed. Tal's blade had torn him open.

While Christians have always believed in the power of prayer, the *Darkness* novels picture prayer as having a fantastic, magical efficacy against fallen angels. Such dramatic invocations of God's power—resembling exorcisms more than prayers—provide the paradigms for evangelistic campaigns, such as those of Larry Lea. Lea, a popular televangelist and a leading proponent of "spiritual warfare," leads public gatherings at which Christian "prayer warriors" rebuke the devil, brandish imaginary swords, and speak in tongues. Peretti's vision of the nature of spiritual combat has thus powerfully influenced certain segments of the conservative Christian community.

Peretti is a gifted writer, who is able to weave together believable, this-worldly stories with fantastic, "Dungeons and Dragons" struggles between otherworldly angels and demons. The results of this skillful juxtaposition are novels with an eerie narrative landscape that evangelical scholar Irving Hexham (1992) has described as "sanctified Stephen King." Peretti's art has created an exciting narrative world, imaginatively transforming the realm of the ordinary and the everyday into a kind of real-life Dungeons and Dragons game, replete with supernatural phenomena, psychic intuitions, quasi-magical powers, and sword-swinging warriors. A fascination with the occult is evident in Peretti's descriptions of demons: "He was like a high-strung little gargoyle, his hide a slimy, bottomless black, his body thin and spiderlike: half humanoid, half animal, totally demon. Two huge yellow cat-eyes bulged out of his face, darting to and fro, peering, searching. His breath came in short, sulfurous gasps, visible as glowing yellow vapor." Although Christians have traditionally believed in the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the picture Peretti draws of highly personal angels conveying guidance to the minds of God's saints makes Christian inspiration more lively and dramatic. Peretti also pictures angels as capable of materializing to help God's chosen, as in This Present Darkness when the angel Betsy materializes to give one of the heroines, Bernice Krueger, a short motorcycle ride. Once Bernice has reached her destination, Betsy evaporates like some figure out of an occult novel. As with many of the events

that take place in the *Darkness* novels, such eerie encounters reflect a fascination with the supernatural and, more specifically, with angels that has come to characterize contemporary, conservative Christianity.

See also Demons For Further Reading:

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Peter Ellis Case

In New Zealand, a number of ritual abuse cases emerged following a conference that took place in Christchurch in 1991. A workshop on Satanic ritual abuse was part of the program. Following the conference, the notion of ritual abuse was promoted by the mass media. Partially because of the media attention, and partially because of a New Zealand law that allowed child molesters to be convicted on the uncorroborated testimony of young children, the stage was set for a ritual abuse panic.

In one such case, Peter Ellis, an employee of the Christchurch Civic Child Care Centre, was convicted of child abuse. Following an extensive police investigation, he was accused of sadistically abusing at least seven small children, both in the center and at other locations. The case began seventeen days after the Christchurch conference when a therapist filed a complaint alleging that Ellis may have abused her son. The child never corroborated his mother's charges. Although arrested, the case against Ellis was eventually dropped. The mother subsequently filed a similar complaint against a different employee at another day-care center.

Later, at a meeting of parents with children at the center, a social worker provided a list of symptoms that was so general—tantrums, bedwetting, and nightmares—that almost any parent might entertain the notion that her or his child had been abused. Concerned parents then formed support groups that came to serve as rumor mills. Some went so far as to grill their offspring with questions until the children began relating tales congruent with Satanic ritual abuse folklore. As in other ritual abuse cases, the stories became increasingly bizarre. The children were, they claimed, forced to kill another child in a Satanic rite, placed in ovens, forced to stand around naked while female centre workers danced around them in a circle, etc.

Although four of his female coworkers were also arrested, Ellis was the only person charged and convicted. He remains in jail to this day, despite the fact that the ritual abuse notion has been thoroughly discredited in recent years.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse

For Further Reading:

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Possession and Exorcism

Possession is a situation in which a discarnate spiritual being invades a living person and takes over control of the body and, sometimes, control of the mind. Possession can occur with or without the cooperation of the individual, and the invader can be the spirit of someone who has died, a deity or a demon. Exorcism is the expulsion of otherwise disembodied spirits who have taken over control of (i.e., "possessed") a human being. This driving out can be a formal, ritual procedure, or a less formal process, depending on the tradition. Notions of possession and exorcism practices are found worldwide, in every major religious and cultural tradition.

Within Christianity and other monotheisms, possession is almost always viewed as demonic. The Gospels and the Book of Acts contain many stories of demonic possession and exorcism by Jesus or the disciples. In Christianity, however, one may also be "possessed" by the Holy Spirit. The



Sri Lankan witch doctor (Kattadiya) holding a bottle containing an evil demon that has been exorcised from a possessed person. It will be thrown into the Indian Ocean where it can do no further harm. (Fortean Picture Library)

biblical model for this type of possession is the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of flames over the apostles after Christ's crucifixion and resurrection in the day of the Pentecost. Reestablishing this unusual experience as the touchstone of the Christian life was the thrust of the Pentecostal movement, which recognized such phenomena as the ability to speak in tongues (glossolalia) as gifts of the Holy Spirit.

The majority of traditions outside of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic family accept the idea that one may be possessed by divinities and other beneficent beings. Particularly in the context of ritual, possession is often the means by which gods and goddesses communicate with the human community. Possession also represents a way by which deceased human beings can continue to communicate with their loved ones. In most such cases, the possessed proffers his or her body voluntarily and the possessing entity leaves voluntarily. In demonic possession, however, the disembodied entity usually takes over and refuses to leave, and

special techniques of exorcism are required to eject the invader.

Enthusiasmós (Greek en theos, "to be in God") and ecstasy characterized the initiation and purification process of the cult of Dionysus in ancient Greece. Women, and to a lesser extent men, who were possessed by the god and surrendered to the possessed state could become free forever. This ritual was widespread in the ancient Hellenistic world, and became so popular that in Rome it was legally suppressed in 186 B.C.

This phenomenon was not limited to the Mediterranean world. Spirit possession is found in different forms throughout history and across the world, with somewhat more emphasis in traditional Pacific and indigenous American cultures. But it was also widespread in the western world (famous in medieval and later reports of the Church on possessed women), the Mediterranean region, and Africa. The different social and cultural backgrounds of civilizations determined the variations that could be seen from one version to another in ritualization and the values attributed to such an experience. Being possessed is a phenomenon difficult to define because of its fluidity and many facets. It is related to certain forms of dissociation, ritual trance and similar altered states of consciousness, and over the years has drawn much attention from anthropologists, psychologists, and religious authorities. Psychologists usually interpret claims of spirit possession in terms of multiple personality disorders, or related disturbances, such as schizophrenia, paranoia, hysteria, and compulsive behaviors.

Typically, spirit possession involves a dramatic change in the physiognomy and behavior of the person who is hosting the spirit, and historically it has occurred more among women and the lower classes. It was and still is widespread, for example, among South Asian women (who tend to explain their problems as a result of evil spirits) and in the ancestor worship of Vodoun (voodoo), Santeria, and certain African religions. In shamanic cultures, possession is viewed as an integral part of the healing power of the shaman.

The ritual trance that leads to spirit possession can be induced through various techniques, such as inhaling the fumes of certain substances (e.g., the oracle of Delphi), by taking drugs (e.g., peyote among certain Native American groups) or wine (Dionysus cults), by rituals involving body techniques (such as hyperventilation, monotonous drumming, dancing, chanting), or by fasting. Once this altered state of consciousness is created, the host is no longer in a regular state of wakefulness and might, at times, not even remember the experience of possession (the somnambulistic type of possession).

Where possession is viewed as an evil phenomenon, as in traditional Christianity, the practice of exorcism has been developed to expel the spirit from the host. "Exorcism" derives from *exousia*, Greek for "oath." To exorcise thus means something along the lines of placing the possessing spirit under oath—invoking a higher authority to compel the spirit—rather than an actual "casting out." This placing under oath implies a kind of binding. In Western religions in particular, exorcism is often dramatic and even violent. Outside of the Christian tradition, the possessing spirit is viewed as a neutral entity that can be transformed into a benign one through specific rituals and religious practices.

In the mid-nineteenth century, a movement known as Spiritualism was based on the consultation of spirits of the dead through séances and mediums. Spiritualism, being founded on what seemed to be a scientific methodology (the séances), became the true religion to such reflective individuals as Arthur Conan Doyle (creator of Sherlock Holmes). Similarly, Spiritism, which was developed in France by Allan Kardec, emphasized the invocation of spirit guides who could help with the healing of diseases that originated out of a spiritual need.

In more recent times, especially in the occult/metaphysical/new age subculture, mediums have been redesignated as *channels*, who focus on delivering metaphysical information rather than messages from the dead. There are a number of religious movements that are based on the authority of channeled messages. Most conservative Christians would view all such mediumship and channeling as a form of demonic possession. Typically, fundamentalist Christians who are not charismatic also view Pentecostal phenomena as demonic.

The societies in the areas around ancient Israel were ardent believers in possession and regularly practiced exorcism. Such phenomena appear to have been far less prevalent in Judaism, although it has been speculated that later writers may have edited out references to such practices. Exorcism is, nevertheless, mentioned in Hebrew scriptures (the Old Testament). Early rabbinical literature also makes reference to exorcism.

As portrayed in the New Testament, demons constitute the infernal equivalent of God's celestial host. Although the story is not spelled out in the Bible, a number of passages seem to allude to the well-known story about Satan leading a celestial revolt. By implication, demons were formerly angels who were cast out of heaven with Lucifer after the failure of his revolution. Defeated in the celestial realm, the infernal host continues a kind of guerrilla warfare against God's people in the earthly realm.

While angels go about helping human beings and doing good, demons harass humanity and go about doing evil. Many parts of the New Testament recount stories of demons taking over human beings. In Jesus's day mental and physical illness were often viewed as resulting from possession. Because such a significant part of Jesus's ministry involved healing, he is frequently portrayed banishing demons from those he healed. Belief in the reality of demonic possession and exorcism is still very widely accepted by many conservative Christians, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. The Bible contains so many accounts of exorcisms that anyone who wishes to interpret Christian scripture literally is compelled to accept the reality of demonic possession and exorcism. And while the larger society abandoned such notions long ago, they continue to have currency in our culture because of Hollywood's ongoing production of films—both feature and B-grade featuring possession and exorcism.

Because of the tendency of certain conservative Christians to accept the biblical accounts literally, as well as because of Hollywood's fascination with these notions, the New Testament view of these matters still decisively influences the way our culture portrays demonic possession and exorcism. Perhaps the most familiar biblical

narrative on this topic is the story of the exorcism of a group of spirits into a herd of pigs. Because it so vividly illustrates a series of different points on traditional beliefs about these matters, it will be useful to cite the longer version of this story found in Luke 8:26–34:

Then they arrived at the country of the Gerasenes, which is opposite Galilee. And as he stepped out on land, there met him a man from the city who had demons; for a long time he had worn no clothes, and he lived not in a house but among the tombs. When he saw Jesus, he cried out and fell down before him, and said with a loud voice, "What have you to do with me, Jesus, Son of the Most High God? I beseech you, do not torment me." For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man. (For many a time it had seized him; he was kept under guard, and bound with chains and fetters, but he broke the bonds and was driven by the demon into the desert.) Jesus then asked him, "What is your name?" And he said, "Legion"; for many demons had entered him. And they begged him not to command them to depart into the abyss. Now a large herd of swine was feeding there on the hillside; and they begged him to let them enter these. So he gave them leave. Then the demons came out of the man and entered the swine, and the herd rushed down the steep bank into the lake and were drowned. When the herdsmen saw what had happened, they fled, and told it in the city and in the country. Then people went out to see what had happened, and they came to Jesus, and found the man from whom the demons had gone, sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed and in his right mind.

This passage reflects the following beliefs about possession: Demonic possession (the only kind of possession mentioned in the New Testament) causes mental illness. Demons possess animals as well as human beings. Multiple demons can possess a single person. They can give a person superhuman strength, and are also able to take control of one's vocal chords for the purpose of

communicating with others. Jesus asks for the demons' name, implying that knowing their name is important, either for understanding them or for exercising control over them.

Other scriptural passages amplify the view of possession and exorcism to include: One need not be evil to attract possessing entities (there is never any tone of moral censure associated with possession). A demon can leave a person, only to return later ("repossession"). Some spirits can be more wicked than others. For Christians, exorcisms are usually rather easy to perform—one simply commands them to leave in the name of Jesus.

As the Christian Church developed, a formal rite of exorcism was developed. Beliefs about possession were also extended. For example, in the past, attitudes toward the polluting nature of birth led to the notion that newborn babies were demon possessed. Newborns were therefore routinely exorcised at baptism with the following words:

I exorcize you unclean spirit in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Come out and leave this servant of God [infant's name]. Accursed and damned spirit, hear the command of God himself, he who walked upon the sea and extended his right hand to Peter as he was sinking. Therefore, accursed devil, acknowledge your condemnation . . . and depart from this servant of God [infant's name]. . . . Never dare, accursed devil, to violate the sign of the holy cross which we place upon his/her forehead. Through Christ our Lord.

The Church still performs "lesser exorcisms" at baptisms, and when holy water, homes, and other locations are blessed. Full exorcisms were common in the medieval period. This practice has, however, been considerably curtailed in recent times. Vatican guidelines emphasize that the majority of apparent possessions are actually psychiatric problems. At present they can only be carried out by order of a bishop.

Until recently, the manual for exorcism was the Rituale Romanum, which was issued in A.D. 1614 during the papacy of Pope Paul V. It was not revised until 1999, when Cardinal Jorge Arturo



A 12th century carving from a door of St. Zeno exorcising a woman of the Devil (Fortean Picture Library)

Medina, prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, issued an updated exorcism ritual. This ritual uses such time-honored practices as prayers, the sprin-

kling of holy water, the laying on of hands, making the sign of the cross, appeals to Christ, the Holy Spirit, and the saints of the Church. In the imploring formula, Satan's evils are enumerated and God is requested to set the victim free. The concluding formula ordering the demon to exit the individual ends with, "Therefore, go back Satan."

Protestants have also relied upon exorcisms over the centuries, though most Protestant efforts to drive out demons have been less formal that Catholic rites. Almost all liberal, mainstream Protestant religious bodies reject the very notion of Satan as a literal, self-conscious being. As a consequence, contemporary, liberal Protestants—as well as many liberal Catholics—tend to reject traditional ideas about possession and exorcism as reflecting a premodern worldview that humanity has grown beyond. Thus the Gospel stories about Jesus exorcising unclean spirits are viewed as figurative ways of expressing psychological healing.

Conservative Protestants believe a diversity of different things about spirit possession, although there are broad areas of agreement because of shared views regarding the authority of biblical accounts. Many conservative Protestants see Satan at work behind a wide variety of different contemporary phenomena.

For example, in a *Demon Possession Handbook* for Human Service Workers, Evangelical author J. F. Cogan attributes demonic possession as the source of numerous social problems:

Serial killing Serial arson

Spousal abuse (the result of intermittent demon possession)

Suicide (frequently though not invariably associated with demon possession)

Irrational shoplifting

Childhood learning disabilities and behavioral problems

Various (though obviously not all) physical illnesses

Mental illnesses like schizophrenia

Posthypnotic suggestion

Haunted houses

Multiple personality disorder (dissociative identity disorder)

False memories (which can be implanted by demons in the mind of someone undergoing recovered memory therapy)
Spontaneous human combustion

Foul and abusive language (when manifested in a voice different from the individual's normal voice)

Cogan notes that playing with Ouija boards, Dungeons and Dragons, and other role-playing other games can lead to possession. He further asserts that certain actions, roles, and tasks attract possessing spirits:

Illicit sex
Homosexual sex
The viewing of pornography
The use of mind-altering drugs
Hypnosis
Listening to rock music, especially if the musicians are themselves possessed
Leading a religious cult
Worshiping Satan
Astrologers
Psychics

Finally, Cogan advocates a multiphase program for overcoming possession, only the first step of which is becoming saved. The possessed must:

Be saved and filled with the Holy Spirit
Pray to God for the power of Jesus's blood
Seek a counselor for help
Pray for deliverance
Anticipate resistance by the demon(s); they
might not want to leave easily; expect that
the demon(s) might try to repossess them
Pray regularly
Read the Bible
Attend church regularly

In addition to liberal religious denominations, most members of secular society naturally do not accept possession and exorcism as "real." Such phenomena are, rather, perceived as mental and physical disorders. Despite the rejection of literal possession and exorcism, however, they are such sensational phenomena that they survive in the entertainment media, which generates horror story after horror story involving demonic possession.

Also, the contemporary period has seen what amounts to a revival of interest in possession and exorcism, although current perspectives on such phenomena are more moderate than traditional Christian views. For example, the American psychologist and doctor Carl Wickland felt that such spirits were more confused than demonic, and were simply "caught" in the energy of the person whom they appeared to be afflicting. As a result of this entrapment, they caused what appeared to be schizoid symptom, and other types of aberration. Wickland asserted that simple persuasion was often enough to effect an "exorcism." He described his findings in *Thirty Years Among the Dead* (1924).

See also Demons; Satan; Vodoun *For Further Reading:*

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The Process

The Process Church of the Final Judgementusually referred to as The Process—was founded by Robert de Grimston (born Robert Moore) and Mary Anne Maclean. The two met and fell in love while members of the Church of Scientology. In 1963, they left Scientology to independent therapy found an Compulsions Analysis, in London. The people who joined the group in the first two and a half years became the core of what eventually developed into a religion. The Process established chapters in Paris, Rome, Hamburg, Munich, Amsterdam, New York, San Francisco, and New Orleans. In 1968, members were sent out in pairs to missionize and to collect donations. Two years later, the group settled in North America.

The Process's beliefs went through at least two major phases. Initially, they recognized one supreme divinity, God. The focus of the group's ritual and therapeutic "processes" (hence the name) was transforming those aspects of human nature that defied God. Christ was seen as having been sent into the world to reconcile humanity with God. In the second phase, in 1967, Robert de Grimston introduced the notion of four divinities: Jehovah, Lucifer, Satan, and Christ. Each of these gods represented a basic personality or orientation to the world, as well as a paradigmatic human problem. Every individual was viewed as being linked to the god with whom they shared the most traits. The names of the four divinities were also paired and used as designations for four different personality types: Luciferian-Christian, Jehovian-Satanic, Jehovian-Christian, and Luciferian-Satanic.

As indicated by the longer name of the group the Process Church of the Final Judgment—the Process also taught a form of millennialism in which the world as we know it would eventually come to an end. The polarized divinities—Lucifer and Jehovah; Christ and Satan-will be unified in this endtime. This notion is reflected in such passages from Process scripture as: "Through Love, Christ and Satan have destroyed their enmity and come together for the End, Christ to judge, Satan to execute the judgement.... Christ and Satan joined, the Lamb and the Goat, pure Love descended from the pinnacle of Heaven, united with pure Hatred raised from the depths of Hell... The End is now. The New Beginning is to come" (Bainbridge, 1997, 245).

The Process organized its membership into a hierarchy of: Acolyte, Initiate, Outside Messenger (OP), Inside Messenger (IP), Prophets, Priests, and Masters. The de Grimstons constituted a distinct status, referred to as the Omega. Some of the Process's public rituals were similar to Christian practices—marriages, baptisms, and a weekly gathering called the Sabbath Assembly. Many of the Process's therapeutic practices were derived from Scientology practices.

Reflecting their graded hierarchy, baptisms

were performed at every elevation of status. There were also many unique aspects of Process ritual. For example, during one's elevation to Messenger the initiate received a Mendes Goat badge, symbolic of Satan (later changed to a silver cross with a red serpent). The core of the symbolism of the Sabbath Assembly, which took place every Saturday evening, focused on the central teaching of the Process, which was the "dual relationships of the gods and the unity of Christ and Satan" (Bainbridge, 1978, 194). During its heyday, the Process was frequently portrayed as a group of devil worshipers.

By the early 1970s, conflicts had emerged within the leadership. The de Grimstons separated, and Robert de Grimston was ejected from the group in 1974. Subsequently, certain practices and doctrines were changed, and the Process was renamed the Foundation Faith of the New Millennium (later the Foundation Faith of God). The Society of the Processeans (later called the Church of the Final Judgement), a separate organization descended from the Process, was founded in 1979 primarily as a secular community action group. These successor groups distanced themselves from the "satanic" aspects of Robert de Grimston's legacy.

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Procter and Gamble

In the early 1980s, at around the same time the Satanic ritual Abuse scare was getting off the ground, rumors began to circulate that the Procter and Gamble trademark—a circle containing a side view of a man-in-the-moon face looking out over a field of thirteen stars—was a Satanic symbol. Although the precise origin of the rumor is unclear, it seems that some overly vigilant

Christian probably looked closely at the logo's five-pointed stars (pentagrams are also Wiccan symbols), pondered the occult significance of thirteen (the number P&G chose because it corresponded with the number of the original colonies), inferred that the man in the moon must also be something sinister, and concluded that the trademark was a covert symbol of evil. The corporate leadership of Procter and Gamble must, therefore, somehow be minions of Satan.

Whatever the source, there were surges of anti–Procter and Gamble propaganda at the grass-roots level in 1982, 1985, 1991, 1995, and 1999. It has been modified and embellished upon over the years. Originally the accusations circulated via letters, faxes, and word of mouth. More recently, they have been transported by the Internet. A recent e-mail version that began circulation on July 19, 1999, read as follows:

The President of Procter & Gamble appeared on the Sally Jesse Raphael Show on Monday, July 19, 1999. He announced that "due to the openness of our society," he was coming out of the closet about his association with the church of Satan. He stated that a large portion of his profits from Proctor & Gamble products goes to support this Satanic church. When asked by Sally Jesse if stating this on TV would hurt his business, he replied: "There are not enough Christians in the United States to make a difference."

P&G product list includes:

Cleaning Supplies—Bold, Cascade, Cheer, Joy, Comet, Dash, Spic&Span, Tide, Top Job, Oxidol, Ivory, Dreft, Gain, Mr. Clean, Lestoil & Bounty towels

Food—Duncan Hines, Fisher Nuts, Fisher Mints & Fisher Dehydrated Fruits, Jif Peanut Butter

Coffee—Folgers & High Point Shortening & Oils—Crisco, Puritan & Fluffo

Deodorants—Secret & Sure
Diapers—Luvs & Pampers
Hair Care—Lilt, Head & Shoulders, Prell,
Pert, Vidal Sassoon & Ivory
Acne Products—Clearasil

Mouthwash & Toothpaste—Scope, Crest & Gleem

Personal Hygiene—Always & Attend undergarments

Lotions—Oil of Olay & Wondra Soap—Camay, Coast, Ivory, Lava, Safeguard, Zest & Oil of Olay Fabric Softener—Downy, Bounce Citrus Punch—Sunny Delight Medication—Aleve, Pepto-Bismol

If you are not sure about the product, look for "Procter & Gamble" written on the products, or the symbol of a ram's horn, which will appear on each product beginning on January 1, 2000. The ram's horn will form the 666, which is known as Satan's number. Christians should remember that if they purchase any of these products, they will be contributing to the church of Satan.

Inform other Christians about this and STOP buying Proctor & Gamble products. Let's show Procter & Gamble that there are enough Christians to make a difference! On a previous Jenny Jones show, the owner of Procter & Gamble said that if Satan would help him prosper he would give his heart and soul to him. Then he gave Satan credit for his riches. Anyone interested in seeing this tape, should send \$3 to Sally Transcripts, 515 West 57th Street, New York, NY 10019. We urge you to make copies of this and pass it on to as many people as possible. Liz Claiborne also professes to worship Satan and recently openly admitted on the Oprah Winfrey show that half of her profits go toward the church of Satan.

This needs to stop!

[Many such letters end with something along the lines of:]

I RECEIVED THIS AND THOUGHT I WOULD PASS IT ON

Nothing of the kind described by this letter ever took place, of course. Such letters have undergone various changes over the years. Other talk shows—Phil Donahue, Merv Griffin, Oprah

Winfrey, Jenny Jones, etc.—were mentioned in earlier variants, and the product list has been updated from time to time. There have also been attempts to tie other companies to Satan, but none have ever approached P&G in popularity. At first, beyond issuing strong statements denying the accusations, Procter and Gamble tried to ignore the rumor. By the early 1990s, the company had responded to over 150,000 letters and phone calls regarding their logo and alleged Satanic connections. They solicited letters from all of the relevant talk show hosts denying that such programs had ever taken place. They also solicited letters from various churches and ministers—included Billy Graham and Jerry Falwell—supporting P&G's claim that it was not connected with the Prince of Darkness.

In the late 1980s, Procter and Gamble finally hired security consultants to track down the points of origin of the rumor. They also began filing lawsuits against people and groups promoting the rumor-fifteen by 1999, six against Amway distributors. All of the suits that have been settled were concluded in P&G's favor (at this writing, only one is still in litigation). On May 3, 1999, Procter and Gamble also launched a suit against Amway, because Amway distributors had played a significant role in resuscitating the accusations in 1995. To quote from P&G's official website, "In 1995, with the push of a button, some of Amway's top distributors used Amway's extensive voice mail system to spread the rumor." The suit was, however, dismissed on May 16 because, according to the judge, Procter and Gamble's damage claims were too vague.

Although the legal case was dismissed, Amway did *not* dispute the fact that some independent Amway distributors had indeed propagated the rumor. It has been speculated that the fact that many P&G products directly compete with Amway products may have been a factor in the distributors' involvement. This hypothesis is clearly implicit in Procter and Gamble's statement on its official website, which is that P&G believes the rumor was promulgated "for competitive reasons" (though Amway is not mentioned by name). The fact that many individuals in Amway are conservative Christians of some variety was

also likely a factor. It should further be noted that in the early eighties some Amway distributors were involved in spreading a similarly damaging rumor that Procter and Gamble had been purchased by the "Moonies." This prior involvement with an earlier rumor campaign may have been a consideration in P&G's decision to file its suit against Amway.

See also Beast Computer Legend; Chick
Publications; Hellhole
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Prometheus Society

The Prometheus Society was founded by K. Brent Olsen, its current director, in 1999. Based in Fresno, California, the membership of the society is international. It began life as the Satanic International Network (SIN), based on the historical Satanic Intercommunication Network. However, after some non-Satanic left-hand path (LHP) organizations complained about the name, it was redesignated the Prometheus Society. It is, however, still arguably "Satanic" in the broader sense.

The Prometheus Society is headed by a representative council, called the Black Circle. Olsen and several of the society's founding members are currently or have been members of the Temple of Set. Among the members of the Black Circle are Lord Egan, High Priest of the First Church of Satan, and Walter Radtke, Priest of the Temple of Set. There is no official connection, however, between the Prometheus Society and any other Satanic or LHP organization, including the Temple of Set and the First Church of Satan.

The Prometheus Society is not a church or religion. It is, rather, an information-based network for practitioners of the LHP philosophy/religion. The society is comprised of a diverse group of "Satanists" from many traditions, and does not sanction any particular belief over any other. Among its membership are Setians, theistic Satanists, atheistic Satanists, demonolaters, and

agnostic Satanists. The group aims to disseminate accurate information, especially with regard to the criminal connotations often ascribed to "Satanism."

The Prometheus Society also strives to overcome the unfriendly and uncooperative attitude that has developed between many LHP organizations. The group seeks to promote rational debate about competing ideologies in contrast to the often rancorous exchanges that take place between different organizations. The society also seeks to promote intergroup cooperation in the areas of information and archival development. The larger motivating concern of the Prometheus Society is to develop the LHP as a reputable philosophical or religious option. In order for this to take place, practitioners of the LHP must put away some of their opposition to one another and begin cooperating at a basic level. This concern is reflected in the writings of the Prometheus Society, which are currently only available on the group's web page. Because of this stand, the society has come under fire from some groups that practice and study the LHP.

For Further Reading:

The Prometheus Society official website: http://www.geocities.com/prometheus_society

The Prophecy and The Prophecy 2: Ashtown

The traditional war in heaven theme with a weird new twist. Instead of being jealous of God's power, a group of disgruntled angels are jealous of God's love for the "talking monkeys" (also known as humanity), which have supplanted the angels as God's favorites in the 1995 film. The angry angels, led by Gabriel, plot to destroy the loyal angels, and decide to enlist the soul of a recently deceased war veteran as their leader. The good angels, however, steal the soul and hide it in the body of a young girl, and the bad angels go looking for her. The war in heaven theme is carried over into the 1997 sequel.

Purgatory

In the Western religious tradition, purgatory originated as an afterlife *limbo* (borderland; from the Latin *limbus*, border) where the spirits of the dead

awaited the final judgment and their subsequent assignment to a realm of damnation or beatitude. Although the idea of a final judgment does not require that the dead be bodily resurrected for the last judgment to take place, these notions became inextricably connected in Zoroastrian eschatology. connections were bequeathed These Zoroastrianism's sister/brother faiths, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Of these four traditions, Judaism has exhibited the least interest in providing the dead with a realm to inhabit between death and resurrection, although the pre-Zoroastrian conception of Sheol from which the dead could communicate with the living could be interpreted as indicating a kind of limbo realm for the departed (e.g., 1 Samuel 28).

The afterlife limbos of other traditions were realms where souls of the departed-who, for some reason, had not made it to the other world were "stuck," usually temporarily. Virgil, for example, placed souls who had not been properly buried in a limbo realm where they had to wait a hundred years before being admitted to the Land of the Dead. The notion of the dead as stuck in a neither here nor there realm is ancient. In most of the world's religious traditions, the journey from this world to the abode of the dead is not thought of as a step that one takes immediately upon death. Instead, following death, spirits must find their way to the otherworld. In many cases souls are unable or unwilling to undertake the journey to the realm of the dead, and continue to remain in the presence of their surviving relatives, often bothering the living in some way. As spirits who are no longer a part of the realm of the living, and yet who cannot or will not find their way to the realm of the dead, these "haunting" spirits exist in a kind of borderland—a limbo—between life and death. Thus at least a rudimentary notion of an afterlife limbo is widespread in world cultures.

In religious traditions that postulate a heaven and a hell as the final abode of the soul, serious thinkers have grappled with the fate of those who, while not ethical exemplars, have been more or less good, and not guilty of truly evil actions. This led to the development of ideas of "intermediate" afterlife abodes in which "mixed" souls are purified and made fit for paradise. Such an intermediate realm is referred to as purgatory, alluding to the purification ("purgation") that souls in purgatory undergo. The basic idea seems to have first appeared in later Zoroastrianism, which postulates that, after the final battle between good and evil, there will be a general judgment in which everyone will be put through an ordeal of fire—a river of molten metal in which morally mixed individuals will have their dross burned away rather than be consumed in hell.

The Zoroastrian purgatory, which is more of an event than a realm, appears to have influenced the traditional Catholic notion of purgatory (easily the best known of such "mixed" realms), especially in the particular of a purifying fire. Officially, however, the Catholic acceptance of purgatory did not begin until a papal letter of 1253, an idea that was not completely confirmed until the Council of Trent. The Catechism of the Council of Trent states that, "there is a purgatorial fire in which the souls of the pious are purified by a temporary punishment so that an entrance may be opened for them into the eternal country in which nothing stained can enter." Purgatory, which in this view is a kind of limbo, provided explanations for such questions as the eternal fate of babies who died in infancy: Unbaptized babies entered heaven after a brief sojourn in purgatory—a far kinder fate than the one imagined by St. Augustine, who asserted that if even infants died without the sacrament of baptism they would be eternally damned. It also helped to explain ghosts, who were viewed as souls undergoing purgatorial cleansing.

The Church cautiously embraced the notion that the prayers and other actions of the living could shorten the time the deceased spent in purgatory. As a merciful intercessor, the Virgin Mary became Queen of Purgatory to whom prayers for the deceased were addressed. This role led more or less directly to the medieval cult of Mary. As is well known to those familiar with the history, it was the doctrine of the role the living could play to rescue souls from purgatory that set the stage for the Protestant Reformation.

Islam embraced the Zoroastrian notion of purgatory as an afterdeath realm in which *all* human beings reside between death and Judgment

550

Day. When people die, they remain in a sort of interworld (*barzakh*), a realm located closer to the luminous cosmic center, until the day of resurrection. In this interworld, which somewhat resembles dreaming, the soul of the deceased, liberated from its bodily layers, can awaken and become aware of its true nature. The interworld period is important in preparing for the day of resurrection, which occurs at the end of time.

See also Limbo; Zoroastrianism
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The Pux, a.k.a. The Hooker Cult Murders

Karen Black attends a Black Mass in this 1973 film, and is later found murdered, her hand still grasping a host container. Detective Christopher Plummer investigates and discovers a conspiracy of Satanists with members in high positions.

R

Rabid Grannies

At a family gathering in this 1989 film, two sweet old grandmothers are transformed into flesheating monsters after opening a surprise birthday gift from a devil-worshiping nephew. It's enough to make you wonder when those darned Satanists will ever learn some manners.

Raelian Movement

The Western religious tradition's conceptualization of divinity as a sky god gives us a predisposition to view unusual *flying* objects—as well as beings from outer space—in spiritual terms. In other words, the God of the Bible is, in a certain sense, an extraterrestrial being. Not all spiritual beings are, however, beneficent. A more negative interpretation of UFOs is evident in alien abduction narratives.

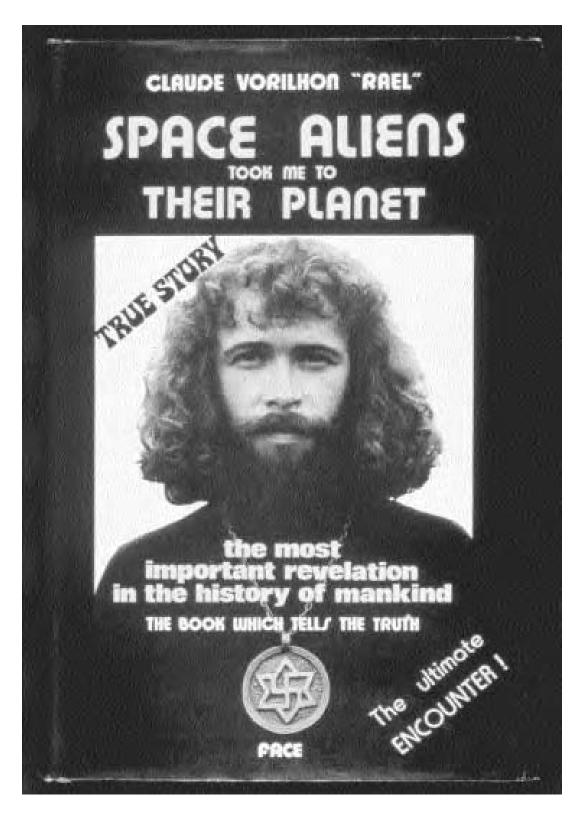
If in earlier contactee literature flying saucers were "technological angels" (an expression coined by the influential psychologist Carl G. Jung), in abductee literature ufonauts are technological demons. During their brief captivity, abductees often report having been tortured in the form of a painful examination. Some observers have pointed out the crypto-religious imagery in such accounts. Specifically, capture and torment by demonic beings is an initiatory motif. More literal demonologies have been proffered by conservative

Christian observers of the UFO scene, many of whom view ufonauts as demons in disguise (see the "UFOs and Demons" entry).

Yet another arena in which images of the demonic find their way into UFO literature is in UFO religions. An interesting case study is the Raelian Movement, founded in France in 1973 by Claude Vorilhon, better known as Rael. Like the "classic" UFO contactees, Rael claimed to have encountered humanoid space aliens. These beings explained to Rael that the human race had been created with sophisticated genetic engineering techniques by extraterrestrial scientists (the Elohim, meaning, literally, "those who came from the sky") in their laboratories. The Elohim further explained that Rael himself was the offspring of a mortal woman and an alien named Yahweh.

The Raelian Movement perceives itself as a scientific religion, founded to spread the truths revealed to Rael. One of the major goals of the movement is to build an extraterrestrial embassy in Israel in order to receive the Elohim when they land in 2035. Rael denies the existence of a "spiritual" realm, including the existence of the soul and of any immaterial god or devil. Members of the movement may, however, look forward to immortality in the form of cloning by alien scientists.

According to the Elohim, the world's religions were founded as a result of their direct communication with a series of human prophets, for the



The cover of one of Rael's books bearing a portrait of the author, 1978 (Fortean Picture Library)

purpose of implanting the idea of humanity's celestial origins and other notions in the human race. In this way, humanity would, in a later, scientific age (i.e., the current age), be able to look back over traditional scriptures and perceive what had "really" happened. Rael, the "last of the forty prophets," is the bearer of this message.

Rael claims that many of the figures in traditional religious mythologies are actually space aliens. Satan, it seems, is the head of a party of opinion on the home planet of the Elohim opposed to genetic experiments who believe that humanity poses a potential threat and should be destroyed. According to Rael, in Let's Welcome Our Fathers from Space, "Satan thought that one could not expect anything good from these scientifically-created creatures, and that out of man only evil could come. Satan was like the head of a political party on the planet of the Elohim, which was opposed to the creation of any type of beings in their image by other Elohim, who thought that they could create beings who would be positive and non-violent" (Rael 1986, 94-95).

Certain biblical stories, such as the Flood, are explained in terms of the intervention of Satan's party: "The group who believed that nothing but evil came out of man, presided on by one of the Elohim named Satan, finally triumphed, and the destruction of all life on Earth came about by the flood" (Ibid., 4). According to this narrative, Noah's Ark was actually a space ship within which another party of Elohim preserved humanity.

Making a positive use of Satan's negative attitude toward humanity, Satan became responsible for testing the faithfulness of the prophets chosen to relay the message of the Elohim: "Once a person had been contracted by the Messengers of the Elohim, telling him of his mission, Satan, or one of his men, would contact the prophet-to-be and by slander would destroy the Elohim in his mind" (Ibid., 98). Rael interprets both the story of Job and the story of Satan tempting Jesus in the wilderness as examples of this role. Rael was also approached by Satan during a visit to the homeworld of the Elohim. In exchange for riches and an agreement to preach hatred rather than love, Satan promised to take Rael and his compatriots on board their spacecraft when planetary-wide conflict breaks out and, after everything is destroyed, bring Rael back to rule the earth. Rael declined the offer, thereby passing the test that had been orchestrated by Yahweh, Rael's extraterrestrial father.

See also Demons; UFOs **For Further Reading:**

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Rand, Ayn

Although observers have often perceived connections between Anton LaVey's Satanism and such philosophers as Frederick Nietzsche, one of the more immediate sources for some of LaVey's thinking was the popular mid-twentieth century author and intellectual Ayn Rand. Her fiction included the best-selling novels Atlas Shrugged and The Fountainhead. In contrast to the marked subjectivism and relativism of contemporary philosophy, Rand advocated her own philosophy, which she referred to as objectivism. An unabashed apologist for capitalism, her perspective is perhaps best summed up in the titles of such books as Capitalism, the Unknown Ideal (1966), The Virtue of Selfishness (1961), and America's Persecuted Minority: Big Business (1962).

Although she attracted a popular following during her heyday, Rand was almost completely ignored by academic philosophers because of the lack of rigor and sophistication that characterized her thought. For this and other reasons, this once famous writer is virtually unknown to the generations that came to adulthood in the concluding decades of the twentieth century. Her name is, in fact, rarely even mentioned, except in discussions of Rand's most prominent disciple, Alan Greenspan.

An iconoclastic thinker, Rand advocated values such as rationality, selfishness, greed, and atheism. She also viewed religions like Christianity, Islam and Judaism as antihuman and evil. Conservative, traditional Christians would undoubtedly have considered her diabolically inspired, which may explain LaVey's attraction to her thought.



Ayn Rand testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee, 20 October 1947. (Bettmann/Corbis)

The influence of Rand on LaVey is most evident in *The Satanic Bible's* "Nine Satanic Statements," one of the Church of Satan's central doctrinal documents. As a number of observers have pointed out, these statements appear to draw from Rand's novel, *Atlas Shrugged*. LaVey and Rand also both endorsed unbridled capitalism, although the former was less squeamish about accepting the potentially brutal consequences of a system in which the strong dominate the weak.

LaVey's religious system was not, however, simply Ayn Rand's philosophy in occult garb. Objectivism holds that the nature of reality and therefore truth is completely objective. Rand also believed that the universe was ultimately benevolent. Modern Satanism, by contrast, is more skeptical and agnostic about the ultimate nature of reality, and tends to view the universe as neutral. Although both systems are rationalistic, Satanism is also strongly hedonistic. Knowledge is thus more of a pragmatic tool than an objective value for the Satanist, who relies upon the dictates of his

or her own personal needs as the ultimate criterion for indicating the best course of action in any situation. The final major difference is that LaVey saw tremendous value in tapping the power of our emotional nature through "irrational" psychodramas such as magical rituals, a view that likely would have been unpalatable to Rand.

See also LaVey, Anton Szandor
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Rivera, Geraldo

Satanic cults! Every hour, every day, their ranks are growing. Estimates are there are over one million Satanists in this country. The majority of them are linked in a highly organized, very secret network. From small towns to large cities, they've attracted police and FBI attention to their Satanist "ritual child abuse," child pornography, and grisly Satanic murder. The odds are this is happening in your town.

—Geraldo Rivera

Because of its sensationalist appeal, Satanic Ritual Abuse (SRA) has been the topic of numerous talk shows, including episodes of Oprah Winfrey, Sally Jesse Raphael, Phil Donahue, and Geraldo Rivera. Out of these programs, Rivera has likely been the most influential on the ritual abuse topic. At the same time, his belated public apology for the damage his SRA shows did was uniquely candid.

Although Rivera has often focused attention on SRA over the years, easily his most influential program was the television special "Devil Worship: Exposing Satan's Underground," broadcast by NBC on October 25, 1988. Aired for two hours during prime time, this special was obviously designed to fit in with the Halloween season programming. It has been said that this special was watched by more people than any other previous television documentary. The expression "Satan's Underground" used in the program title seems to have been borrowed from a book of the same name that was eventually exposed as a hoax.

A number of other writers featured on Rivera's special have also been exposed as frauds.

Perhaps to emphasize the sensational nature of the subject matter as a way of titillating viewers, Rivera repeatedly stressed that children should be taken away from the TV during his report. Then, in the words of Tom Shales, writing for the San Jose Mercury News, "There followed a segment on the alleged breeding of babies for sacrifice in Satanic rituals, something which, said Rivera, 'may really be happening.' Other segments dealt with ritual sexual abuse of children, mutilations of infants and cocktail parties for the blood-drinking set." Rivera's presentation was redundantly saturated with expressions like "gruesome rituals," "gruesome memories," "gruesome allegations," and even "The most gruesome scenes are left out." Ignoring the fact that there is almost no evidence for such allegations, he incorporated a film clip of Charles Manson into the program, referring to him as, "today's top Satanic celebrity... That man is so repugnant... All these Satanic murderers are." This was a clever strategy. Although the profile of Manson's group was quite different from the alleged Satanic cults of the 1980s, juxtaposing Manson—a convicted murderer—with contemporary SRA claims give the latter a credibility they lack on their own.

Rivera also brought a number of spokespeople for the "SRA-is-real" perspective onto the show. No questions that might challenge this perspective were allowed to be raised. One of the more dramatic guests was a woman who claimed that she had been "for seventeen years a high priestess of a Satanic 'cult' that 'governed' five states." She appeared anonymously behind a screen, supposedly provided to prevent her from being identified by her former associates. Her claims were of the most extreme sort, asserting that she had been a high priestess in a Satanic movement out to conquer the world. Although he mentioned the book in which this woman was featured, He Came to Set the Captives Free, Rivera either failed to actually read it himself or else diplomatically avoided mentioning such patent absurdities as her claim to have conspired with such celebrities as the pope:

I also made a number of trips to other countries. I have been to Mecca, Israel, Egypt,

also the Vatican in Rome to meet with the Pope. All my trips were for the purpose of coordinating Satan's programs with Satanists in other lands, as well as meeting with various government officials to discuss aid to their countries in the form of money. A few did not know that I was a Satanist, but thought I was associated with a powerful wealthy organization of some kind. People asking for money don't ask too many questions. The Pope knew very well who I was. We worked closely both with the Catholics (especially the Jesuits) and the high-ranking Masons. It was during this time that I met many of the well known Rock music stars. They all signed contracts with Satan in return for fame and fortune.

The next person on the program was the author of *He Came to Set the Captives Free*, who had helped the "high priestess" and many others escape from Satanic cults. When asked about her association with law enforcement, she responded that, "I have a very distant relationship with the authorities because my job is to bring people out, not turn them in to the police. However, I do work with police and FBI pretty extensively. If I know of someone who is not willing to stop what they are doing, I'll be the first one to tip the police off." Rivera did not bother to question her contradictory assertions. Rivera's other guests were only slightly more credible.

Subsequent Rivera episodes featuring SRA aired in September 1991 and June 1995. The net effect of these and other programs may have been to convince numerous viewers that they could be carrying repressed memories of ritual abuse. As noted by Bruce Robinson of the Ontario Consultants for Religious Tolerance:

One example may have been the Paul Ingram case in Olympia, Washington. His daughters had watched a Geraldo Rivera TV show on Satanic ritual abuse. Shortly thereafter, a police investigator suggested that their father might have abused them during Satanic rituals. They "enthusiastically agreed." One sister recovered memories of being forced to watch the ritual murders of 25 people. She

recalled her own aborted fetus being ritually dismembered. A medical exam proved that she had never even been pregnant. No babies had ever gone missing. Ingram was convicted, in spite of his protestations of innocence, on an absolute lack of evidence of his guilt and an absence of proof that any crimes had actually occurred.

Finally, a Rivera program on "Wrongly Accused and Convicted of Child Molest" was aired on CNBC on December 12, 1995. During this program, he apologized for promoting the SRA perspective. "I want to announce publicly that as a firm believer of the 'Believe the Children' movement of the 1980s, that started with the McMartin trials in California, but NOW I am convinced that I was terribly wrong... and many innocent people were convicted and went to prison as a result... AND I am equally positive [that the] 'Repressed Memory Therapy Movement' is also a bunch of CRAP."

See also Manson, Charles; Crime; Ingram Ritual Abuse Case; Satanic Ritual Abuse

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Robin Hood Hills Murders

The Robin Hood Hills murders took place on May 5, 1993, near West Memphis, Arkansas. Three eight-year-old boys were tied up, abused, murdered, and mutilated. The bodies were found the next day in a drainage ditch paralleling the



Damien Echols during the trial (The Commercial Appeal)

interstate highway, where the water washed away fingerprints and any other identifying marks.

Beginning in the early 1980s, numerous law enforcement officials had attended conferences on Satanic ritual abuse (SRA), where they had been taught that a covert, international network of Satanic cults routinely abduct, abuse, and murder children in their diabolical rituals. By 1993, however, police departments across the country had become increasingly skeptical. In the face of a lack of hard evidence, most law enforcement agencies had concluded that SRA was a nonexistent hoax. Belief in ritual abuse nevertheless persisted among certain segments of the conservative Christian subculture, including among some policemen.

A juvenile probation officer at the Robin Hood Hills crime scene hypothesized that the boys had been murdered in a Satanic ritual. He believed that the one person in the area who might be capable of the crime was a young man whose case he had followed for years, Damien Echols. From that point onwards, police focused on proving that Echols was the high priest of a Satanic cult. If this could be demonstrated to the satisfaction of a jury,



This is the spot where the supposed Satanic cult would hold their ceremonies in West Memphis. (The Commercial Appeal)

it would be easy to convict Echols of the crimes, despite the lack of hard evidence.

In sharp contrast to other members of the local, highly conservative community, Echols was a fan of heavy metal music bands-some of whom used Satanic imagery in their music and on their album covers. People also associated his first name Damien with the Antichrist character in the Omen movies. During a prison interview, he noted, "People assumed that I was guilty and had made up their minds beforehand, simply based on my taste in clothes, music, etc. In a larger city, I would never have even been noticed but I happened to be in a small, conservative, traditional town where I was looked at as a freak." Echols and two of his teenage acquaintances, Jessie Misskelley and Jason Baldwin, were eventually convicted of the murders. The primary evidence presented in the trial was Misskelley's confession—a confession he attempted to withdraw, asserting that it was extracted under duress. During the time between the murders and the trials, the local papers featured numerous sensa-

tional stories about Satanism. During the trial, testimony was presented regarding items found in Echols's room, such as a funeral register on which upside-down crosses, spells, and a pentagram had been inscribed. They also found a book on witchcraft and Anton LaVey's Satanic Bible. These items solidified the connection between Echols and the murders in the jury's mind. The prosecution also brought in an alleged expert in "occult killings." According to a review of the movie that was made on the incident, "At the trial of Damien and Jason, evidence of the Satanic orientation of the murders is supplied by a state 'expert occultist' who turns out to have his degrees from a mail-order university that did not require any classes or schoolwork. For the defense, a pathologist testifies that it would be so difficult to carry out the precise mutilations on one of the boys that he couldn't do it himself—not without the right scalpel, and certainly not in the dark or in muddy water." The case aroused tremendous controversy. The film, "Paradise Lost, The Child Murders at Robin Hood Hills," was aired on

HBO on March 13, 1997, and rebroadcast in August of 1998. Incredibly, when Echols's appeal was rejected in 1999, the appeals judge was the original judge who had presided at the first trial.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse **For Further Reading:**

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Vannah, Tom. "Between the lines: Pure evil." *Valley Advocate.* Hartford, MA. March 23, 2000. At: http://www.newmassmedia.com

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Rochdale Ritual Abuse Case

The Rochdale, United Kingdom, Satanic ritual abuse case began dramatically in 1990 when police and social workers conducted dawn raids on area homes and took twenty-one children into protective custody. A similar set of raids in the Orkneys in March of the following year took nine more children away from their parents. In Ayrshire in April, another ten more children were taken by authorities "amid fantastic allegations of human sacrifices and rituals held in a haunted castle, graveyards, and a hot air balloon by parents dressed as clowns!" (Howard 1992)

The raids were initiated on the basis of testimony from other children being investigated for possible abuse who had informed authorities about infant sacrifice, grave robbing, sheep mutilations, and the drugging and caging of children they had allegedly witnessed. Authorities had inferred that the adults were members of a Satanic cult. Among other accusations,

it was alleged a hooded, masked and cloaked figure known as "The Master," who also dressed as a Mutant Ninja Turtle, and who was identified as the local vicar, had led dances around a bonfire at a local quarry. Police seized items associated with "black magic" from the parents' houses. These

included a book of erotic poetry, an Oriental statue of a couple making love, a letter written to the tooth fairy by one of the children, and a Guy Fawkes mask! (Howard 1992)

The raids roughly coincided with a failed parliamentary attempt to make it illegal for children to attend pagan gatherings, Spiritualist church services, new age events, or psychic fairs.

Following a typical pattern in such cases, none of the children were found to show signs of sexual abuse and no physical evidence was ever discovered. In at least one case, one of the children confessed to fabricating information at the prompting of social workers. The Independent on Sunday hypothesized that children's reports of dancing in a circle may have come from a Brownies Halloween party that had been held at the Church Hall. A member of Rochdale Council's social services committee asserted that the children had seen horror movies and had confused fiction with reality. He further stated that, "the children were never involved in witchcraft or Satanism. It has all been a ghastly mistake. The families in my judgement were totally incapable of any of the things which were alleged. No way were they followers of a Satanic cult" ("Satan's Case" 1990, 2).

Reporters for The Mail newspaper gave the case of the "stolen children" extensive coverage. For this reporting, the newspaper won the Campaigning Journalists of the Year award for 1990. The newspaper also helped the families challenge the case, and the children were eventually returned to their parents. The last children to be released came home in time for Christmas in 1996 after having been in state custody for over six years. Tony Heaford, a Middleton councilor who had worked on reuniting the families noted: "They have been separated from their parents an incredibly long time, despite the ruling in the original case that Satanic abuse was a myth which did not exist.... I understand part of the reason for not returning them was that the parents are in debt, which is tantamount to penalization of the poor" (Robinson, website).

The ultimate source of these cases was found to be conferences led by what the newspaper termed "fundamentalist Christian evangelists" from the United States that the social workers had attended. After being "indoctrinated" to look for so-called "Satanic indicators," they had apparently reviewed their cases and discovered the telltale marks of the Prince of Darkness. They then interviewed children using faulty interrogation methods that unwittingly implanted what would later be referred to as "false memories," resulting in false confessions and accusations.

Following the report of a government-commissioned study concluding that Satanic ritual abuse was nonexistent, the health minister, Virginia Bottomley, stated that all UK social workers would be retrained to follow proper child interview methods. She also noted that authorities would discontinue the "outrageous" practice of raiding homes at dawn for the purpose of taking children from their parents.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse; United Kingdom, Ritual Abuse in

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Daily Mail. September 14, 1990.

Rosemary's Baby

After *The Exorcist, Rosemary's Baby* (1968) was the most successful movie with a Satanic theme of all time. The overall plot is that, with the connivance of her ambitious husband and a group of neighboring Satanists, Rosemary, played by Mia Farrow, is impregnated by the Devil for the purpose of giving birth to a Satanic messiah. Rosemary, however, does not become aware of her role as the infernal equivalent of the Virgin Mary until the very end of the story. The film's dramatic tension derives from her gradual discovery of the Satanists' diabolical machinations.



Rosemary's Baby (1968) (Kobol Collection/Paramount)

Rosemary's Baby came out shortly after the birth of the Church of Satan. Anton LaVey, founder of the Church of Satan, claimed that he was not only a technical advisor for the film, but also did a cameo appearance as the Devil. Critics have disputed this claim. Noting that membership in the Church of Satan rose sharply following the release of this movie, LaVey reportedly asserted that Rosemary's Baby "was the best ad for Satanism ever screened."

There was, however, a decided downside to films featuring Satanic conspiracies. In particular, the idea of a hidden diabolical conspiracy fed into the ritual abuse scare of the 1980s and 1990s. As Andrew Tudor, the author of *Monsters and Mad Scientists*, observes, the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s "is dominated by a growing concern with Satanic cults and conspiracies." Thus while the publication of *Michelle Remembers* in 1980 may have been—as many analysts have asserted—the threshold event precipitating the so-called "Satanic panic," Hollywood was responsible for making the general public receptive to the

idea of a secret infernal plot, which was one of the central notions of Satanic ritual abuse ideology.

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Runes

Runes refer to the alphabets devised in northern Europe by the Nordic and Celtic peoples. The Norse runes are sometimes called the *Futhark*, those being the first six letters in that alphabet. The Irish runes are usually called *Ogham*. Despite claims about the originality of these systems of writing, the current scholarly consensus is that these systems, like the systematizing of the Irish

and Nordic myths, were imitations of Greek and Latin models. Currently there is a significant popular interest in the runes as a system of divination, particularly among individuals with an interest in ancient Norse mythology and spirituality, including Satanists with Nazi leanings.

The classical authors who mention the runes note they were used for divination, but otherwise provide no details on the practice. This gap in our knowledge has been addressed during the last twenty-five years by popular authors who have advanced speculative systems for divination by means of the runes. Sets of runes carved on small wooden or stone blocks, plus an instruction manual explaining how to cast and interpret them, can now be purchased even in chain bookstores in shopping malls.

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In this detail of the 7th century Anglo Saxon artifact known as Frank's Casket, note the runes above and below the image of the Adoration of the Magi. (Fortean Picture Library)

5

Sahhat

A persistent item of medieval folklore was that diabolical witches gathered together at *sabbats* in the middle of the night for nefarious purposes. These gatherings were originally referred to as "synagogues." Both terms reflect an association between Jews and the Devil in the minds of contemporaneous Christians. Although the witches' sabbat was not originally the same as a Black Mass, these two infernal meetings were viewed similarly and eventually became interchangeable.

The imaginary sabbats of this traditional folklore should not be confused with the very real sabbats of modern, neopagan witches. The neopagan movement accepted the idea, popularized by the British scholar Margaret Murray, that the Inquisition was persecuting the remnants of the ancient, pre-Christian religions of Europe under the guise of rooting out witches. On the basis of Murray's hypothesis, neopagans adopted many of the terms utilized by the witch-hunts-such as sabbat—and applied them to their own religious movement. Beyond the designation sabbat, however, there are very few parallels between medieval folklore about the witches' sabbat and the contemporary neopagan gathering by the same name.

The churchmen of the Middle Ages believed that witches, who were almost invariably women,

slipped out of their homes at night and gathered at prearranged spots in forests, mountains, caves, or some other remote area, often by flying, to celebrate sabbats. The meetings were sometimes portrayed as taking place only a few times a year and sometimes as often as every week. The basic structure of the sabbat is reflected in the confession of an elderly woman who asserted that she had been attending such meetings since the age of sixteen: "Women came riding on sticks. The demon presided, in the form of a cat, whom they all adored. He taught them all manner of crimes and gave them an ointment, with which she had killed more than 100 men and infants; also a powder with which to raise tempests. They feasted on all sorts of dainties and then coupled, demons serving the women who had no men. Finally they flew away on their sticks" (cited in Lea 1957, 177). There were numerous variations on this scenario. Satan himself is usually thought of as presiding over the assembly seated on a throne. In addition to adopting the form of the cat, he could also show up as a goat, crow, toad, or even as a human being. Participants divested themselves of their clothing and kissed the Devil on his posterior. The core of the meeting often involved the sacrifice of a human being. Babies were usually cooked and eaten. New witches signed a pact, renounced Christianity, trampled on a cross, and were marked by Satan's claw.



Illustration from Collin de Plancy's Dictionnaire Infernal (1863) depicting the Devil and witches dancing at the Sabbat. Note the toad familiar in the foreground. (Fortean Picture Library)

In more recent times, various items of this tradition have been taken up by Hollywood and by horror novelists. Thus in an elaborate recounting of a sabbat in Dennis Wheatley's *The Devil Rides Out*, many of the essential details are repeated. For instance:

The fire under the cauldron was burning brightly, and as the crowd moved apart Rex saw that a dozen women had now stripped themselves of their dominoes and stood stark naked in the candle-light. They formed a circle round the cauldron, and holding hands,

with their backs turned to the inside of the ring, began a wild dance around it anti-clockwise towards the Devil's left. In a few moments the whole company had stripped off their dominoes and joined in the dance, tumbling and clawing at one another before the throne.

This ancient folklore also survives in some of the more recent literature on modern Satanism composed by literalist Christians. For example, the following description of a modern sabbat comes from the 1986 book, *He Came to Set the Captives Free*:

Satan appeared in human form as usual, dressed completely in shining white. But his eyes glowed red as a flame and he threw his head back and gave a howl and a scream and a hideous laugh of victory as the high priest drove a long spike through the man's head, pinning it to the cross, killing him. The crowd went crazy, screaming and shouting and dancing in crazed ecstasy at the "victory." They loudly proclaimed all victory and power and honor to their father Satan. Satan vanished shortly after that to go on to the next Black Sabbath sacrifice. At his departure the meeting turned into a sex orgy. Human with human, and demon with human. (Brown 1986, 73-74)

This excerpt from *He Came to Set the Captives Free* claimed to present a true account of an incident from the life of a former Satanic high priestess. The debt this description owes to traditional folklore is obvious.

See also Black Mass **For Further Reading:**

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Sacrifice

The blood is the Life. When it is shed, energy—animal or human as the case may be—is released into the atmosphere. If it is shed within a specially prepared circle, that energy can be caught and stored or redirected in precisely the same way as electric energy is caught and utilized by our modern scientists. (Wheatley 1963)

In this passage from *The Devil Rides Out*, the popular midcentury novelist Dennis Wheatley presents the rationale for Satanic sacrifice. In fact, a significant aspect of the traditional stereotype of Satanism is that Satanism always involves some kind of blood sacrifice—often animal, but also human. Most modern Satanists, however, are completely opposed to such acts. In the influential *Satanic Bible*, for example, Anton LaVey describes this stereotype and rejects it as part of Satanism:

Under NO circumstances would a Satanist sacrifice any animal or baby! For centuries, propagandists of the right-hand path have been prattling over the supposed sacrifices of small children and voluptuous maidens at the hands of diabolists. It would be thought that anyone reading or hearing of these heinous accounts would immediately question their authenticity, taking into consideration the biased sources of the stories. On the contrary, as with all "holy" lies which are accepted without reservation, this assumed modus operandi of the Satanists persists to this day! (89)

The word sacrifice derives from the Latin *sacrificium*, denoting a victim killed and consumed on

the altar. The victim is an object or animal that has been made sacer (holy) by being entirely devoted to a god. Therefore, a sacrifice is something consecrated to a deity, as a mode of communication between humanity and the unseen powers, and an expression of intentions in relation to those powers. It may be offered as a gift, as an act of atonement, or as an act of fellowship and communion. In some religions sacrifices are also made to the elements, the sun and the moon, the cardinal points, sacred landmarks, ghosts and other supernatural beings. Among the most popular gifts are food, drink, fruits of harvest, and the blood sacrifice of animals and fowl. The sacrifice of human life is now rare. The places of sacrifices vary greatly. In traditional cultures, for instance, they were represented by natural sites of peculiar sanctity, such as caves, hills, and groves, or tombs of the powerful dead. However, with the advent of urban civilization, the necessity for a sacred place in the city led to the construction of temples, where the gods were worshiped and sacrifices were offered.

In Christian liturgy, the Eucharist symbolizes the sacrifice of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. Blood sacrifice has been practiced in most ancient religious rites as a form of propitiation to the gods and to secure generous harvests. The association of blood with sacrifice is significant, since blood has always been regarded as the bearer of life. Thus special measures have been sought to consecrate the blood of a sacrificial animal to the deity. In Viking sacrifices, blood was frequently spread on the participants.

Similar practices are found in many other religions, even in ancient Israel, where sprinkling blood on the altar was a preliminary to burning the sacrificial animal. The sacrificial practices of the early Hebrews are familiar to the West through the Hebrew Scriptures (the Old Testament). The Paschal Lamb, eaten at Passover, represents a sacrifice celebrating the rescue of the Israelites from Egypt.

Animals are sacrificed in a number of contemporary tribal religions, as well as such contemporary syncretisms as Vodoun and Santeria. Santerians, who traditionally sacrifice fowl, lambs, and goats, and leave the remains in public places, have been often attacked by animal-rights groups.

Various attempts have been made to forbid animal sacrifices. Santerians have, however, rightly pointed out that animal sacrifices are both ancient and ubiquitous in world culture.

Among those who sacrificed human beings were the Celts and Druids, who drank the blood of their victims; the Aztecs, who often ate the dismembered body of the victims as an act of ritual cannibalism; and the Khonds of southern India, who fertilized the soil with pieces of the bodies of the victims. The sacrifice of firstborn children was common in several cultures, such as among the nobility of Carthage during the Punic Wars. The sacrifice of unbaptized children to the Devil was part of the negative stereotype of witches during the witch-hunts of the Renaissance and Reformation. Witches were also charged with the cannibalism of infants and children.

One of the reasons the stereotype of Satanists sacrificing human beings is so persistent is that it is a staple of occult adventure novels and horror movies. Thus in Dennis Wheatley's novel *The Satanist*, for example, one character briefly describes such a sacrifice: "We give 'em the treatment same as J.C. got for getting up against Our Lord Satan in Palestine. Only difference is we have to cut their throats so the blood'll run, and for convenience sake we crucify them upside down" (371). Essentially the same description is reproduced in contemporary claims by "ex-Satanists" about human sacrifices they have supposedly witnessed, as in the account of a sacrificial ritual in Rebecca Brown's *He Came to Set the Captives Free*.

Blood from animals, fowl and humans was believed to give the drinker the soul as well as the features of the sacrificed being. In ceremonial magic, blood sacrifices are believed to release a flash of power that can be used by the magician for a spell or conjuration. In order to release the maximum of energy, animals offered to God or various demons should be young, healthy, and virgin. The Order of Nine Angles, one of the few organized Satanist groups to advocate human sacrifice (an advocacy most other Satanists regard as grandstanding), essentially adhere to this theory: "Human sacrifice is powerful magick. The ritual death of an individual does two things: it releases energy (which can be directed, or stored—for



Xango Afro-Brazilian cult ceremony in Recife, 1963: initiation of daughter-in-sainthood (filha de santo). (Fortean Picture Library)

example in a crystal) and it draws down dark forces or 'entities.' Such forces may then be used, by directing them toward a specific goal" (Order of Nine Angles, website). In The Satanic Bible, LaVey explicitly criticized this theory as "asinine absurdity," and asserted that a true Satanist respects life especially small children and animals—as representing the "purest form of carnal existence." LaVey did, however, go on to say that Satanists could sacrifice "a totally obnoxious and deserving individual" in a symbolic manner "through the working of a hex or curse, which in turn leads to the physical, mental or emotional destruction of the 'sacrifice' in ways and means not attributable to the magician." Critics have asserted that here and in other passages LaVey seems to imply that the only reason not to physically assassinate someone else is because of possible legal consequences.

See also Satanic Ritual AbuseFor Further Reading:Brown, Rebecca. He Came to Set the Captives Free.Chino, CA: Chick Publications, 1986.

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Salem Witchcraft

The Salem "witches" were the protagonists of one of the last episodes of Western witchcraft hysteria. The relevant events took place in Salem—now Danvers—Massachusetts, from 1692 to 1693.

Upon his return from Barbados, where he had worked as a merchant, Rev. Samuel Parris, minis-



An afflicted girl demonstrates in court how she had been bewitched (17th century woodcut) (Library of Congress)

ter of the Puritan Church of Salem, brought back slave couple, John and Tituba, to Massachusetts. Tituba, who cared for Parris's nine-year-old daughter Elizabeth, and his elevenyear-old niece, Abigail Williams, soon began to tell them stories about her native Barbados, including tales of "voodoo." The girls were fascinated with the subject, and were joined by other girls in the village, ranging from age twelve to twenty. They began telling each other's fortunes and tried to discover the trades of their future husbands through a primitive crystal ball that they made by floating an egg white in a glass of water. It is said that one saw the likeness of a coffin, representing death. Beginning with Betty Parris in January 1692, the girls began having fits, crawling into holes, making strange noises and contorting their bodies.

Rev. Parris decided to consult the village physician, Dr. William Griggs, who could find no medical precedent for the girls' condition. Thus he diagnosed bewitchment, since at that time it was believed that witchcraft was among the causes of

illness and death. It was also believed that witches derived their power from the Devil. It thus became necessary to find the witch or witches responsible, exterminate them and cure the girls who, unwilling to admit their own complicity with Tituba's magic, began to mention names.

Tituba, who was afraid to reveal the story sessions and conjurings, confessed to being a witch. She also claimed that a black dog had threatened her and ordered her to hurt the girls, and that there was a coven of witches in Massachusetts, about six in number, led by a tall, white-haired man dressed all in black. The witch-hunts began as soon as more witches were named. Among them were Martha Corey, a member of the Salem village congregation; Rebecca Nurse, one of the most outstanding people of her community and a church member; and John and Elizabeth Proctor, tavern-keepers and vocal opponents of the proceedings.

The accused remained in prison, often languishing in irons, without a formal trial, until May 1692, when the new royal governor Sir

William Phips established a Court of Oyer and Terminer to try the witches. During the course of the trials, 141 people were arrested as suspects, 19 were hanged, and one was pressed to death. The bodies of the sentenced witches were casually placed in shallow graves on Salem's Gallows Hills because, it was believed, witches did not deserve Christian burial. According to the legend, the ghosts of the victims still haunt the area. Soon neighboring communities such as the town of Andover requested that the girls find the witches responsible for a number of problems, including illness, poor crops, and dead livestock. The causes of the Salem witchcraft trial, which have been examined by a number of studies, have variously been attributed to the political and social problems of Salem village.

See also Mather, Cotton **For Further Reading:**

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Salt

Salt has long been used as a symbol of purity and as a substance to ward away evil spirits. In Christianity, salt is associated with eternity and divine protection. Salt and holy water are used in baptisms and to bless church sites, as well as to protect unbaptized babies prior to baptism and the dead in their journey from earth to the next world. Witches and demons were traditionally said to be repelled by the presence of salt. It is thus used as protection against witchcraft, the evil eye, and it has the power to break evil spells. When trying to conjure demons or spirits, it is recommended that one avoid salt as it can interfere with the connection. Salt has been utilized in regard to those accused or suspected of being witches. It was a form of torture to feed the accused heavy doses of salt. Women have been suspected of being witches on the mere fact that they complained of their food being overly salted. When one spills, borrows, or runs out of salt, it is considered unlucky and is said to make one susceptible to the powers of the Devil. It is possible to negate this situation by pinching salt in the right hand and tossing it over the left shoulder.

See also Amulet; Demons For Further Reading:

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Salvation

In Christianity, salvation was traditionally conceptualized as salvation from hell—God's "sentence" for all human souls as a result of original sin. Though most religions include a scheme of salvation as part of their belief system, there are many variations on what constitutes salvation and on the ways of achieving it. More generally, salvation implies a state of happiness or well-being that is identified typically as the individual achievement of a paradisiacal dimension (in the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition), as liberation from the karmic cycle of rebirths to final enlightenment (in South Asian systems), or as the redemption of humankind and the final victory of good over evil (in Christianity and in Zoroastrianism).

While in general the core of a religious belief system is built around individual salvation, a scheme of corporate or group salvation is also included in Western religions. Corporate salvation is often achieved by the coming of the savior (the Messiah or the Mahdi). Within these traditions community participation and belonging in the religious institution become an important component in the salvation scheme.

In some religious traditions, such as in the Judeo-Christian tradition, salvation carries with it the idea of redemption (*redemere*, to buy back); that is, the acknowledgment of the divine sacrifice necessary for human salvation, which calls for repentance and asks for forgiveness on the side of humankind. Christ's death especially is viewed as manifestation of the divine scheme of salvation. Christ's sacrifice and death on behalf of humanity recalls pre-Christian myths of vegetation divinities that, through sacrifice, insure fertility and salvation. A prominent pre-Christian example is

the slaying and dismembering of Osiris, who is brought back to life by his wife Isis to become the god and who, by overcoming death, saves humankind from its consequences.

Salvation can be achieved in different ways in different religious traditions. Typically, in the religious traditions based on the worship of or devotion to the founder, this figure is taken as the exemplum to imitate, and the founder's religious doctrine is considered to delineate the path that insures salvation (e.g., Christ and Buddha). Devotion to saints and other religious guides (such as shamans) also leads to the path of salvation. Salvation also becomes possible through certain rituals, as in the Christian sacrament of baptism, which initiates the adept into the Christian faith. Faith and grace as well insure salvation, but human cooperation is always necessary for the achievement of salvation (the Christian divine grace calls for faith, Buddhist enlightenment requires the state of emptiness, and the prerequisite of Taoist enlightenment is the achievement of the harmony of the opposites the coincidentia oppositorum). However, in other religions salvation can be achieved through the exercise of personal responsibility-with good deeds, as in the Protestant ethic and in Ramanuja's theism, following an ethically and morally oriented behavior.

In nonmonotheistic religions, such as in Hinduism, salvation is perceived as a state of mind—conceived of, depending on the system, as liberation from pain into a state of unconsciousness, or as a blissful state of enlightenment. This is achieved conceptually as liberation from ignorance, obtained through spiritual body and mind practices, or exhaustion of the human condition.

In some religious traditions the soul, before reaching the ultimate blissful state, spends time in one of many intermediate levels of heavens, hells, and/or purgatories before achieving salvation. The Christian purgatory (from Latin *purgare*, to cleanse, from *purus*, pure) is the temporary status in which the soul repents and atones before reaching paradise. In the Eastern traditions the soul participates in the cycle of reincarnation until the true state of enlightenment is achieved that will end karmic rebirths.

See also Hell and Heaven; Hinduism; Islam *For Further Reading*:

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MacGregor, Geddes. *Images of Afterlife: Beliefs from Antiquity to Modern Times.* New York: Paragon,
1992.

Obayashi, Hiroshi, ed. *Death and Afterlife:*Perspectives of World Religions. Westport, CT:
Greenwood Press, 1992.

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Sammael

A combination of *sam* (poison) and *el* (angel), Sammael has been considered both as evil and good; as the chief ruler of the Fifth Heaven, as "that great serpent with 12 wings that draws after him, in his fall, the solar system" (Rev. 12), as well as the angel of death, whom God sent to fetch the soul of Moses at the time of his death. Sammael is regarded in rabbinic literature as chief of the satans and as the angel of death. In the *Secrets of Enoch* he represents the prince of demons and a magician.

Sammael is mentioned in a number of sources, such as Talmud *Yalkut*, where he represents Esau's guardian angel, and in *Sotah*, where he is regarded as Edom's angelic prince guardian. He is equated with the serpent who tempted Eve and, by seducing her, became the father of Cain in the *Sayings of Rabbi Eliezer*. In the *Zohar* he is the dark angel who wrestled with Jacob at Peniel.

Sammael is also cited in Waite's *The Holy Kabbalah*, as the "severity of God," and as fifth of the archangels of the world of Briah, where he corresponds to the sefira Geburah. In *Baruch* III and in *The Ascension of Isaiah*, Sammael and Satan are used interchangeably. Sammael also has a literary presence, as in Longfellow's lengthy poem *The Golden Legend*, where he is mentioned as the angel of death.

See also Demons; Fallen Angels; Satan **For Further Reading:**

Davidson, Gustav. A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels. 1967. New York: Free Press, 1971.

Ronner, John. Know Your Angels: The Angel Almanac with Biographies of 100 Prominent Angels in Legend and Folklore, and Much More. Murfreesboro, TN: Mamre, 1993.

Satan

Satan's name is commonly believed to originate from the term *satan*, which connotes the idea of opposition. The traditional account that Satan led a revolt against God and ultimately was banished along with his followers from heaven originates in the Apocryphal, noncanonical Hebrew and Apocalyptic books. This is the literature that inspired John Milton's *Paradise Lost* in the seventeenth century.

Originally Satan represented more of an abstract entity than the personification of evil as it is commonly interpreted. When Satan appeared in the Hebrew scriptures (the Old Testament), he represented an adversary or an enemy, but he was also a divine agent who could at times assume human form or, at other times, angelic features. In the books of the Old Testament Satan is in charge of testing human beings' integrity by tempting them (e.g. Job), but God has the authority to set limits to Satan's power to do evil.

It was in the New Testament that Satan personalized into the Devil or the tempter, and was pictured as a dragon or a serpent. Still, while the Devil's power was acknowledged, Satan was conceived as part of the creation that could not overwhelm God, and was under God's power. In fact, if the Devil's power could directly confront God's authority, the underlying principle of monotheism could not hold. In Judaism and Christianity there is no space for the dualistic opposition of good and evil. Dualism in antiquity was developed within the Persian religion of Zoroastrianism, and in Manichaeism and Gnosticism.

In Christianity, Satan is pictured as the tempter, accuser, punisher, and the leader of the fallen angels. With the advent of the kingdom of God, he will be ultimately defeated. In fact, Satan was already defeated by Christ with his descent to hell and ultimately with his death on the cross. The dualistic view of the opposing forces of good and evil was reinforced by the Hellenistic opposition of flesh and spirit. The term *devil*, from the Greek word *Diabolos* (slanderer) developed in the Hellenistic world in which the Acts of the Apostles were written. But this also was to be reduced to the underlying monotheistic view.

Islam shares with Christianity a number of concepts about Satan. He is found in the Koran as *al-Shaytan* (the demon), and was conceived of as a tempter. He is also associated with the lower human principle, the flesh, or the *nafs*, and has the power to lead humans astray by disguising his identity and inducing humans to do evil deeds.

In the biblical literature, Satan and the serpent are often interchangeable, particularly in the apocalyptic literature. But in the third century, the Christian philosopher Origen fully established the association between Satan and the snake. In the following centuries the snake was conceived of as either the tool of Satan, or as his incarnation.

Satan, however, is not only the symbol of death and evil. In Judeo-Christian and Islamic folklore traditions, where he is typically depicted as the horned one, he appears in association with fertility and sexuality cults and in the practice of witchcraft. The Devil was held responsible for the healing powers of witches practicing the Sabbath rituals for centuries throughout Europe.

Satan has also inspired literature, poetry, art and music throughout history. There are numerous accounts of imaginary trips to the underground kingdom of Satan, of pacts with the Devil, possessions and exorcisms. The concept of Satan and his role have evolved across time, reflecting the development of culture and of changing views of human conditions. While he has been blamed for massacres and for mass destructions, he has also been held responsible for inspiring artistic creativity.

See also Demons; Iblis; Judaism; Zoroastrianism *For Further Reading:*

Davidson, Gustav. A Dictionary of Angels Including the Fallen Angels. New York: Free Press, 1967. Rudwin, Maximilian. The Devil in Legend and Literature. Chicago: Open Court, 1931.

Satanic Reds

Satanic Reds is a new Satanist organization. Although an individual within Satanic Reds may be a communist, it would be a mistake to apply that label to the group as a whole. Rather, the Satanic Reds' political philosophy springs from the "New Deal" politics of American president Franklin Roosevelt.

Tani Jantsang is best known as the coauthor of eleven historical monographs on the world's many manifestations of the left-hand path. She formed the Satanic Reds along with a few others, including noted Danish Satanists Ole Wolf and Hr. Vad. Her reputation within the Satanic community, along with free membership, gave Satanic Reds all the fuel it needed to become one of the larger organizations of Satanists in the world when it went online in 2000. Still, Satanic Reds turns as many people away as it invites in.

Some within Satanism look with absolute bewilderment at the Satanic Reds. Especially in post-cold war America, people equate communism as the evil enemy. Even Satanists aren't completely immune to their cultural programming. Members of the Satanic Reds see is this way: Just as devil-worshiper is used to describe anyone outside of mainstream religion, communist is a slander thrown toward anyone who is willing to stand up to the Christian Coalition and champion programs that benefit hard-working people. To quote Tani Jantsang, "Anyone who is TOLERANT is labeled a Red! Anyone who is in favor of women's rights, feminism, gay rights, and against racism is called a Red! In fact, anyone in favor of tolerance toward alternative religions is called a Red or a 'pinko commie.' This is not new! And so, we call ourselves REDS!"

—Kaiden Fox

For Further Reading: Satanic Reds website: http://www.geocities.com/satanicreds/

The Satanic Rites of Dracula

This Hammer Studios 1973 production attempts to bring together two stock B-movie themes Hammer was famous for: vampire movies and devil-worship movies. The result of this blend is a lame film—even by Hammer standards—in which Count Dracula orchestrates a Satanic cult composed of politicians and scientists, with the goal of producing a deadly viral plague.

Satanic Ritual Abuse

A young teenage girl, impregnated during a Satanic ritual, is forcibly delivered of her nearly term baby,

forced to ritually kill the child and then to cannibalize its heart as cult members watch. Another girl, a small child, is sealed inside the cavity of a disemboweled animal and "rebirthed" by her cultic captors during a ceremony. A preschool class is systematically sexually, emotionally, and physically abused by part of a nationwide, nearly invincible network of Satanic pedophiles and pornographers. A young girl is thrown into an electrified cage with wolves and ritually tortured to deliberately produce a "wolf personality," part of her multiple personality disorder (MPD).

–Bob Passantino and Gretchen Passantino

Stories like these were not only circulating, but were actually being taken seriously during the late 1980s and early 1990s at the peak of the Satanic ritual abuse (SRA) scare (sometimes referred to as the "Satanic panic"). During these years, the reality of a vast, underground network of evil Satanists abusing children and others was accepted by significant segments of the law enforcement community as well as by numerous therapists. Less responsible members of the mass media, attracted by the sensationalism of these claims, avidly promoted the idea. The SRA scare began a sharp decline after about 1992. By the mid-1990s public opinion had shifted, and soon the SRA perspective had been rejected by almost everyone except conservative Christians.

Because the basic notions underlying SRA derive from Christianity, many analysts have pinned the blame for the Satanic panic on conservative Christians. Thus, for example, Satanism in America (1989), a report conducted under the auspices of the ultrasecularist Committee for the Scientific Examination of Religion concluded, in part:

It is now abundantly clear that a small minority of ultra-right-wing fundamentalists and evangelicals, believing in both the reality of Satan as a personality and that the Tribulation is at hand, are responsible for the misinterpretation, the dissemination and in some instances the outright fabrication of "facts" to support what is essentially a religious doctrine. These people are not researchers in pursuit of truth, but crusaders against the Antichrist whom they believe a priori is living now among us. We submit that people so deeply committed to this religious view can hardly be counted upon to render skeptical and well-reasoned critiques about the dangers of Satanism or occultism in American society.

Even though this evaluation is partially accurate, it ignores the roles that a number of other parties played in the promotion and dissemination of SRA ideology.

Although the threshold event kicking off the SRA hoax was the 1980 publication of Michelle Remembers—a book in which a young woman "remembers" previously repressed memories of ritual abuse-the foundational ideology for the Satanic panic dates back to the Middle Ages. During this period, it was believed that a vast, secret network of devil-worshiping witches existed who periodically gathered together to celebrate the Black Mass, a blasphemous parody of the Catholic Mass that was thought to be the central rite of Satanism. The "Black Sabbath" described in a contemporary account from He Came to Set the Captives Free includes two components central to the medieval conception of Black Masses, namely the presence of the Devil and copulation between humans and demons:

Satan appeared in human form as usual, dressed completely in shining white. But his eyes glowed red as a flame and he threw his head back and gave a howl and a scream and a hideous laugh of victory as the high priest drove a long spike through the man's head, pinning it to the cross, killing him. The crowd went crazy, screaming and shouting and dancing in crazed ecstasy at the "victory." They loudly proclaimed all victory and power and honor to their father Satan. Satan vanished shortly after that to go on to the next Black Sabbath sacrifice. At his departure the meeting turned into a sex orgy. Human with human, and demon with human. (73–74)

This excerpt from *He Came to Set the Captives Free* (1986) claimed to present a true account of the life of "Elaine," a former Satanic high priestess. Both the author (a conservative Christian medical

doctor) and the pseudonymous Elaine were apparently taken seriously enough to be featured on a Geraldo Rivera special in 1988.

Additionally, witches were thought to delight in the murder of children. Thus in a "confession" cited in the Malleus Maleficarum, a well-known fifteenth-century witch-hunter's manual, an accused witch is quoted as saying that, "with our spells we kill them in their cradles or even when they are sleeping by their parents' side, in such a way that they afterwards are thought to have been overlain or to have died some other natural death. Then we secretly take them from their graves, and cook them in a cauldron, until the whole flesh comes away from the bones to make a soup which may easily be drunk." Despite the widely accepted belief in such practices, it is highly unlikely that (with one or two possible exceptions) Satanic rituals were anything more than literary inventions of Church authorities. It is easy to perceive the parallels between these items of medieval folklore and contemporary SRA folklore.

The serious resurrection of medieval notions about diabolical conspiracies began during the counterculture of the 1960s. During that decade, traditional, conservative Christians became concerned about what they perceived as the breakdown of tradition and the accompanying rise of Satanism. Phenomena like the popular movie Rosemary's Baby and the formation of Anton LaVey's Church of Satan appeared to provide concrete evidence for the growth of the Prince of Darkness's earthly kingdom. Although LaVey was clear that Satan was no more than an iconoclastic symbol for a basically secular philosophy promoting self-seeking individualism, Christians assumed that LaVey actually worshiped the fallen angel Lucifer. (By the time of the full-blown SRA scare, LaVey-type Satanism would be supplanted by heavy metal music as the focus of conservative Christian concern over Satanic influences.)

Another important phenomenon was the Manson Family, which had several tenuous connections with Satanism. By identifying Manson as a Satanist, certain Christian writers were able to claim that real Satanic groups existed that were involved in ritualistic murder. Manson's priority of place would hold until the Matamoros

murders in 1989. Although the Matamoros group did not actually worship the Devil, it contained more elements that could be interpreted to fit the Satanic cult stereotype than Manson—hence its adoption as a primary example by believers in Satanic ritual abuse.

All of these factors contributed to the emergence of a significant antisatanist literature within the conservative Christian subculture. The first important book containing the personal confessions of an alleged ex-Satanist was Mike Warnke's 1972 The Satan Seller, which went on to sell hundreds of thousands of copies. Warnke, who asserted that he had been a Satanic high priest, claimed he had attended secret strategy meetings with, among others, Anton LaVey and Charles Manson. As noted by Christian writers Bob and Gretchen Passantino, "the Satan Seller's two chief contributions to the development of Christian sensationalism concerning Satanism were, first, widespread conspiracy theories; and, second, the incorporation of the earlier trend to use unsubstantiated personal experience stories as 'proof' of one's assertions regarding the occult." It is interesting to note that the first edition of The Satan Seller, which was published well before the Satanic panic of the 1980s, fails to mention child abduction, child sacrifice, or child pornography rings-all of which would become central to the stereotype of Satanic cults in the following decade. In fact, when the SRA scare first broke, Warnke initially admitted on Christian television that he was unaware of child sacrifices. However, after this aspect of the Satanic conspiracy became dominant in the public's mind, he changed his tune and began to claim that "devil cults" yearly sacrifice some 2 million children.

Though Warnke's book would eventually inspire many imitators, the threshold book that has been identified as the key publication setting the Satanic panic into motion was *Michelle Remembers*. This work, purporting to present a true story based on the recovered memories of Michelle Smith, provided the remaining components of SRA ideology, namely the key concept of Satanic ritual abuse, plus a paradigm for recovering repressed memories of such abuse through what became known as recovered memory therapy.

Michelle Remembers described extreme physical and sexual abuse supposedly subjected upon Smith when she was a child. The horror story she told from her psychiatrist's couch struck such a cord that the Vatican investigated her claims and Hollywood offered her a movie contract. Dedicated to His Satanic Majesty from the age of five by her own mother, Smith claimed to have witnessed murder, extreme debauchery, the mutilation of animals, and the sacrifice of babies. She was forced to eat worms and drink blood. As noted by Bruce A. Robinson, the chief architect behind the Ontario Consultants for Religious Tolerance,

she described the perpetrators as Satanists who believed that the pain inflicted upon their victims increased their magical powers. The group also allegedly engaged in human sacrifice and cannibalism. Michelle Remembers was the model for a number of copy-cat books. There were no documented cases of SRA survivors prior to 1980. However, many such cases suddenly appeared in the wake of the success of Michelle Remembers. Emergent court cases uncovered abuse situations precisely like (or almost identical to) Michelle's. Subsequent investigations, such as the one conducted by the authors of Satan's Silence, revealed that the book was a hoax. The rituals described by the coauthor Dr. Lawrence Pazder appear to have been loosely based on his studies of indigenous African religions. (Robinson in Lewis 2001)

Pazder, who apparently coined the expression "ritual abuse," left his wife to marry his patient. Reciprocating, Smith left her husband to marry her therapist, Dr. Pazder.

Concerned that a network of secret Satanists might really exist, law enforcement officials began to take charges of SRA seriously in the 1980s. It quickly became evident, however, that there was no hard evidence. Often investigators went to extreme lengths and great expense to recover physical evidence. For instance, in the Paul Ingram ritual abuse case, the forensic archeologist

assigned to the case thoroughly took apart several sites; for example,

they brought one of their big pieces of equipment out there with a blade and they indicated an area that had been indicated to them by the witnesses against Paul Ingram as an area in which burials had taken place, burials specifically of the remnants of victims of ritual sacrifice, and animals that had been sacrificed and of course the recurrent theme of babies that had been sacrificed. And they buried them out back they said, out back of the house and in the field near by. So I proceeded under the assumption that the only way to do it was to clear a sizable area. . . . So we took the pasture out back and literally took the top off of it. (Papworth 1996, website)

Nothing beyond a single cow bone was ever recovered. The only evidence was in the recovered memories of numerous survivors. Retrospectively, however, it is now clear that these were false memories resulting from improper interview techniques, which, in effect, implanted memories of imagined events by suggestion and leading questions.

Another factor at the time was the increasing concern over abused children as an important public issue. Many SRA cases were pursued on the basis of the testimony of children. Therapists had been influenced by the then-prevalent line of thinking that children's claims of sexual abuse must be believed at face value, and that the same children were to be disbelieved if they later took back their claims. This particular approach would later be abandoned after researchers demonstrated that children could be prompted to recount imagined incidents as if they were true in the face of constant questioning. But at the time of the SRA scare, such methods were still regarded as not only acceptable, but as state of the art. Thus counselors and child protection officials pumped children full of leading questions reflecting ritual abuse ideology, and, not coincidentally, ended up finding evidence for the existence of ritual abuse in children's responses.

Another player in the Satanic panic was the

anticult movement (ACM). The SRA movement adopted both the stereotype of sinister cults and the mind-control notion from the ACM. Although understood as a kind of cult mind control, Satanic mind control was originally invoked for a completely different reason: Cult mind control explained why someone's adult child could join a self-evidently crazy religious group. Satanic programming, on the other hand, explained how a hypothetical network of secretive underground Satanic cult groups could manage to control both their victims and their members so that no one would ever reveal the truth about their existence. It also provided a theoretical background for understanding how recovered memory therapy (hypnotizing alleged victims to uncover repressed memories of abuse) worked, and why recovered memory therapy was necessary.

The ACM, for its part, climbed on board the ritual abuse bandwagon to expand its own scope of activities. As public concern over Satanism grew, ACM groups received so many inquiries about Satanism and clandestine Satanic cults that they developed information packets to sell to callers. Composed largely of Xeroxed newspaper and popular magazine articles, such packets simply repeated popular stereotypes. Entering into the arena of public concern about Satanism also gave the ACM a new forum within which to promote its perspective on cults and mind control.

Another important player in the Satanic panic was the mass media. Because of its sensationalist appeal, Satanism and SRA have been the topic of numerous talk shows, including episodes of Oprah Winfrey, Sally Jesse Raphael, Phil Donahue, and Geraldo Rivera. Out of these programs, Rivera has likely been the most influential on the Ritual Abuse topic. Rivera's most influential program was the television special "Devil Worship: Exposing Satan's Underground," broadcast by NBC on October 25, 1988. Aired for two hours during prime time, this special was obviously designed to fit in with the Halloween season programming. It has been said that this special was watched by more people than any other previous television documentary.

In her 1987 book Prepare for War, one of

Rivera's guests on this important program had listed numerous potential "doorways" to demon possession and Satanism, such as fortune tellers, horoscopes, fraternity oaths, vegetarianism, yoga, self-hypnosis, acupuncture, biofeedback, fantasy role-playing games like Dungeons and Dragons, adultery, homosexuality, judo, and karate. Rock music is described as "a carefully masterminded plan by none other than Satan himself." Rivera was careful to confine his questions to this particular "Satanism expert" so as not to elicit comments on these surrealistic aspects of the Satanic threat.

Eventually a handful of states (California, Idaho, and Illinois) were prompted to actually pass laws that addressed Satanic ritual abusethough the word satanic was often left out of the rubric so that the laws did not sound like hangovers from the Middle Ages. These laws were composed and passed at the height of the ritual abuse panic in the early 1990s. Because such laws appear to officially recognize the real existence of SRA, they represent a victory for people and organizations promoting the myth of ritual abuse.

One of the key documents leading to the demise of SRA as a topic of criminal investigation was an influential 1992 FBI report, Kenneth V. Lanning's "Investigator's Guide to Allegations of 'Ritual' Child Abuse" (see Appendix 2). This report, which dismisses the reality of SRA, has been described as the most influential document on the subject ever written. The early 1990s also saw the publication of a series of important books that added yet more weight to the debunking of the ritual abuse myth. These books include Robert D. Hicks, In Pursuit of Satan: The Police and the Occult (1991), James T. Richardson, Joel Best and David G. Bromley's The Satanism Scare (1991), and Jeffrey Victor's Satanic Panic: The Creation of a Contemporary Legend (1993).

The more important specific cases that arose out of the SRA scare are described in separate entries throughout the present encyclopedia. Unfortunately, despite the fact that ritual abuse has been thoroughly debunked, a number of people convicted during the height of the Satanic panic continue to languish in prison.

See also Crime; Film; Ingram Ritual Abuse Case; Rivera, Geraldo; McMartin Ritual Abuse Case;

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Victor, Jeffrey. Satanic Panic: The Creation of a Contemporary Legend. Chicago: Open Court, 1993. Wakefield, Hollida, and Ralph Underwager. Return of the Furies. Chicago: Open Court, 1994.

Satan's Cheerleaders

In addition to being the name of a very forgettable music group, *Satan's Cheerleaders* (1977) was also a B movie. Although classified under horror films, it is hardly frightening. Rather, *Satan's Cheerleaders* is more of a mild, quasi-sexploitation movie aimed at a PG audience. The story revolves around the adventures of four cheerleaders from Benedict High (located in the town of "Arnold") and their cheerleading coach, Ms. Johnson. While the four girls casually throw around sexual innuendos and at one point strip down to their bras, the only sexual action is the unseen rape of Johnson by the leader of a Satanic cult.

Everyone, especially the four cheerleaders, make fun of the stuttering, overweight school janitor. But the janitor is a Satanist who lusts after the girls and decides to avenge himself against them. When they drive to a game with Johnson, the janitor follows. Chanting "Audi praecus meos Satana blessed be!" while rubbing his pentagram medallion, he magically forces the cheerleaders off the road and causes their vehicle to have engine problems. The janitor arrives and offers them a ride to the game, but takes them to his Satanic alter instead. There he is prevented from raping them by some unseen force (presumably the Devil) that strangles him with his own medallion.

The group then seeks out the local sheriff, B. L. Z. Bubb, at his secluded home office in Nether, California. Bubb and his wife are the leaders of the local Satanic cult. No one seems to notice that his name is quite unusual, nor does anyone appear to take more than casual interest in the names of his two dogs, Lucifer and Diablo. As it turns out, everyone in the vicinity is also a Satanist, as the girls discover to their horror when they try to run away after discovering that they are to be sacrificed that very evening. Bubb, however, makes the mistake of raping Ms. Johnson, the only virgin in the group, which ruins the ritual. Bubb is then slain and one of the cheerleaders takes over as head of the cult.

See also Film

Satan's Princess

A burned-out former policeman searching for a runaway girl stumbles across a cult of devilworshiping Satanists responsible for the missing girl's disappearance in this 1990 film. Sound familiar?

The Screwtape Letters

The Screwtape Letters is the record of a fictional series of communications between the Devil Screwtape and his nephew Wormwood, an aspiring tempter-in-training. Composed by the prominent Christian writer C. S. Lewis during the second world war, the Letters focus on the foibles of humankind. The core principle that Screwtape conveys to Wormwood is that it is unnecessary to persuade human beings to commit heinous sins. Instead, people should be led down more subtle paths to perdition, prompting them to pursue their own self-interest over their duties to God in the context of little pleasures. As Screwtape writes, "the safest road to hell is the gradual one—the gentle slope." Lewis concludes his cautionary tale with the assertion that "There are two equal and opposite errors into which our race can fall about the devils. One is to disbelieve in their existence. The other is to believe, and to feel an excessive and unhealthy interest in them. They themselves are equally pleased by both errors."

See also Demons
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Macmillan, 1961.
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Newell, 1996.

Séance

A séance involves a group of people who come together in order either to communicate with discarnate spirits or to produce and witness paranormal phenomena. A professional medium is usually, but not always, present. Because of a long-standing association between disembodied spirits and demons, séances were traditionally regarded as diabolical activities in which "sitters" (people attending the séance) contacted agents of the



Flash photograph taken during the Warrick-Deane series of 1924-1929. There is considerable table levitation, movement of the séance trumpet, and ectoplasm on the lap of Mrs. Deane, 21 April 1925. (Fortean Picture Library)

Devil—agents who merely pretended to be the spirits of departed loved ones.

There are references to séance-type communications that go back as far as the third century neo-Platonist, Porphyry. A candidate for the earliest recorded séance may be Meric Casaubon's A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed Between Dr. Dee and Some Spirits (1659). Little was written on this topic until the time of the Fox Sisters and early Spiritualism in the midnineteenth century, when the popularity of such gatherings boomed. Séances are still popular, although twentieth century gatherings usually feature mental mediumship. Nineteenth-century séances were often dramatic, producing phenomena associated with physical mediumship.

Séances usually, though not always, take place in the home of one of the participants, often in the house of the medium if a professional psychic is involved. Certain guidelines have been developed which, it is claimed, increase the probability of successful communications. As much as possible, sitters should be an even admixture of male and females, and should sit in a circular pattern. Younger participants have more psychic energy, and skeptics seem to place a damper on such proceedings.

Other kinds of guidelines are that new people should only very cautiously be included in a regular meeting circle. To avoid becoming too obsessed with spirit contact, meetings should be restricted to two or three per week and, under normal circumstances, for periods of two hours or less. Sitters must also respect the medium by not grabbing or jarring her or him. Like the ceremonies in contemporary Spiritualist churches, such gatherings often began with prayers and hymns to set the proper "mood." The home circle was a type of popular séance, oftentimes not involving a medium, which helped make spiritualism a popular movement extending well beyond spiritualist denominational boundaries.

Low lighting, it was claimed, was necessary for spirit communications. Skeptics naturally felt that this particular condition served only to help the medium fake phenomena. In the nineteenth century, when séances were characterized by the fantastic phenomena associated with physical mediumship, drafts of cool air, rapping noises, and strange lights signaled the arrival of discarnate entities. Contemporary mental mediums have dispensed with such dramatic manifestations.

See also Demons; Possession and Exorcism *For Further Reading:*

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Season of the Witch

In this 1973 film a middle-aged suburban house-wife going through a midlife crisis becomes involved in the neighborhood's local black magic Satanic witch cult (seems like they're popping up on every street corner these days). Following a fling with her teenaged daughter's boyfriend, she has to fend off a demon who lusts after her body.

Semuaza

Semyaza (also known as Semjaza, Semiaza, and other variant spellings) was the leader of wicked fallen angels who led 200 other angels to earth to mate with mortal women there. These angels also encouraged other sinful activities by teaching humans about such things as cosmetics (for women)—encouraging vanity—and weapons (for men), to use in engaging in battle with each other.

This is according to the Book of Enoch, which goes on to describe how the mortal women gave birth to many giants who were so huge that they ate all the food on earth, then went on to eating humans, and eventually started to eat each other. When earth was in complete anarchy, God sent the archangel Michael down from heaven to confine the corrupt angels in the valleys of earth until doomsday. The giants that these angels had fathered were destroyed, but their evil spirits went on wreaking havoc until they were wiped out by the Flood sent by God. According to Hebrew Myths, by Robert Graves, Semyaza is now eternally residing in the sky in the form of the constellation Orion, hanging between heaven and earth, with his head pointing downwards.

See also Fallen Angels; Nephilim For Further Reading:

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Serpent's Lair

In this 1995 film a young couple seems destined to live happily ever after when they move into their new home. The husband, however, has the bad judgment to become involved in an affair with a Satanic seductress.

The Seventh Victim

A woman seeking to find her sister in Greenwich Village discovers that she is part of a Satanic cult. There is a shower scene in this 1943 film that is said to be the inspiration for the shower scene in *Psycho*.

Shaitans

Shaitans are evil spirits with cock's feet in Hebrew and Arabic mythology. In the Islamic faith, angels guard the walls of heaven to prevent shaitans and other evil spirits from eavesdropping. When one shaitan appeared before the prophet Muhammad, however, the prophet began to teach the spirit from the Koran so that he might begin to get right with God.

See also Islam; Jinn

Shakespeare

Born in Stratford-upon-Avon, the English poet and dramatist William Shakespeare (1564–1616) wrote his plays exclusively for the theater company with which he worked. Some of his plays were printed from texts reconstructed from memory by the actors, while others were supplied to the printer by the company. Among his well-known works are the English history plays Richard III, King John, Richard II, and Henry V; the comedies The Merchant of Venice, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Much Ado About Nothing, As You Like It, and Twelfth Night; the tragedies Julius Caesar, Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth, Antony and Cleopatra, and Coriolanus; the plays Troilus and Cressida, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale and his last play, The Tempest.

In his earliest plays, including the historical Richard III, King John and Richard II, Shakespeare was particularly concerned with the tragedy of character and personal downfall, whereas he became more interested in evil as an external force working against man in the series of tragedies initiated with Hamlet and terminating with Macbeth. Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, and King Lear can be regarded as eschatologically oriented since they investigate the theme of salvation and damnation, although with four different perspectives. In Macbeth, Shakespeare deals with the bad man who remains evil and goes to merited damnation, whereas in King Lear the wicked repents, leads a new life, and finally receives salvation. In Hamlet and Othello, respectively, the possibilities are that the good man resists evil and achieves the salvation, or that he succumbs to the temptations of the Devil and is finally damned.

Thus it is possible for both righteous and sinners to change direction. If they do, their former righteousness or sinfulness ceases to count. God is regarded as the supreme judge who, on the day of the Last Judgment, rewards and punishes mortals on the basis of where they end up. Shakespeare presents this vision in Hamlet's hesitation to kill his father's murderer while the latter is praying.

There is no doubt that Shakespeare agreed with the images offered by the creed of his own Protestant Church of England, which taught that after death would come an intermediate state to be followed by the judgment of God. On this day, those who have sinned would have to make an open confession in front of God, trusting to divine mercy for the saving of their souls from hell. Again, such vision is shown in *Hamlet*, when Claudius prays to God to forgive his having murdered his brother, even though he is convinced that no pardon can be received while he is still attached to the fruits of his sin.

Shakespeare believed in the temporal nature of the body and in the immortality of the soul, as numerous passages in his work show, such as in Romeo and Juliet and in The Merchant of Venice, even though his characters often seem to be desperately attached to life on earth instead of concentrating on their spiritual destiny. According to Shakespeare, after death human lives will be perpetually remembered by God and immortality is achieved by influencing the lives of others who come after. He conceives of heaven as an abode of bliss for the souls of the righteous, situated geographically above the clouds, and hell as the place where the damned are eternally imprisoned and tormented by fire. There are few references to purgatory in Shakespeare's works because of his antipapal convictions. Shakespeare seems to adopt an uncritical attitude toward religious supernaturalism, although he may simply be drawing elements from folklore and popular superstition to add to the power of his drama.

One of the forms of the supernatural adopted by Shakespeare is ghostly apparitions, and the frequency with which he introduces them into his works testifies to the widespread belief in their reality at his time. They were seen by the common person as departed spirits who returned to Earth for some special reason, such as revenge and warning, while the literate regarded ghosts as devils of the underworld in visible form.

Shakespeare's ghosts can be actually present and apparent to several people at the same time, like the ghost in *Hamlet*, or can be the product of the mind of the person who sees it, like the ghost of Banquo in *Macbeth* and Caesar's ghost in *Julius Caesar*. Also, they can appear in dreams, such as the apparitions to Richard III before the battle of Bosworth and to Posthumus in Cymbeline. Shakespeare deals with the supernatural in at least half of his plays, but his deepest attitudes toward this subject at different points in his career are revealed in four dramas: *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Hamlet, Macbeth*, and *The Tempest*.

In *Hamlet*, which contains much information about popular superstition on the subject of ghosts, Shakespeare introduces his terrifying spectre in a cold, dark, silent night, and explains his presence as dictated by a solemn purpose, which is revenge. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the form of the supernatural employed is fairies, who are little, joyous people meddling in human affairs with no malice. Although they are immortal, they participate in mortal pleasures, such as eating, drinking and enjoying music and dancing.

Macbeth represents the darkest and most pessimistic phase of Shakespeare's life, when he seems to believe that human beings are surrounded by terrible influences and temptations. The Weird Sisters are witches who accomplish their purpose in the ruin of a noble character, and possess most of the powers credited to the popular witch, such as assuming a variety of shapes. With *The Tempest* Shakespeare returns to the freedom and happiness of his youthful fairy fantasy, and reaches the conclusion that man need not fear the supernatural.

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The Shawnee

The dominant type of creation myth among the aboriginal peoples of North America is of the earth-diver variety in which a divine being (usually an animal) dives into water to bring up the first particles of earth. The Shawnees, by way of contrast, are one of the few tribes possessing a creation account in which the high god (often referred to as the "Master of Life") creates the world by imposing order on a primordial chaos. Because the original chaos is watery (the Shawnee term for the primordial condition seems to be related to other words that refer to watery expanses), these two types of creation share certain points in common. In both kinds of stories water is an ambivalent symbol representing creative potency as well as threat of chaos.

After creation is complete, the Creator warns the first people that "even I myself do not know how long this place where you live will survive. And the reason I do not know is this: the world will survive as long as you interpret correctly the way I created you" (cited in Voegelin and Yegerlehner 1957, 57). "Interpreting the way" means, for the Shawnee people, adhering to the "laws"—a specific body of oral literature that articulates the proper relationships that should be followed among human beings as well as between humans and the nonhuman world-which were spoken by the Master of Life in the beginning. The Creator's words cited above indicate that wholesale abandonment of these laws would de facto constitute abandonment of order and return to chaos.

In common with other Algonquian tribes, Shawnee mythology contains a migration narrative in which a large body of water is crossed. (This myth has often been viewed by scholars as a "cultural memory" of the migration from Asia to North America.) In some versions of this tale, the original people abandon a barren and inhospitable place for a better land across the ocean. But whatever the motivation for crossing, the great expanse of water is almost always seen as a barrier that must be overcome by magical means. In at least one version, "a great wind and a deep darkness prevailed, and the Great Serpent commenced hissing in the depths of the ocean" during the

crossing (Shutz 1989, 55). The "Great Serpent" referred to here is a marine monster who, like his parallels in other mythologies across the world, concretely embodies the negative, disordering aspect of the primordial waters.

After successfully negotiating the initial stage of the journey, but prior to reaching their eventual resting place, a party of warriors is drowned by a large turtle who is acting in the capacity of an agent for the hostile sea snake. In retaliation, Shawnee shamans slay the serpent and cut it into small pieces. Because of the snake's potency, these fragments do not decay. The tribe collects the pieces with the intention of later using them for beneficent purposes such as healing. As a manifestation of the ambivalent power of the primordium, the serpent's power can be used for good or for ill. Although the original motivation behind gathering together the fragments is benevolent, Shawnee "witches" would later base their malevolent spells on the power of bundles made from these serpent parts. The Shawnees eventually reach the heart of the new continent, an area where the Master of Life had originally intended for them to live.

Historically, the Shawnees were wanderers who could be found living in different parts of eastern North America during different periods of time. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the great bulk of the Shawnee nation was living in Ohio. Recognizing the threat that settlers posed both to their lands and to their traditional lifestyle, the Shawnees allied themselves first with the French (during the French and Indian War) and later with the British (during the Revolution) to oppose the advances of land-hungry colonists. After the Treaty of Paris that ended the Revolutionary War, the Shawnees, in league with other tribes, fought on until decisively defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. They eventually (1795) signed the Treaty of Greenville, an unfavorable agreement in which the tribe gave up most of its homeland in exchange for some trade goods and annuities.

In the wake of defeat, some bands moved further west. Other Shawnees, under the leadership of Black Hoof, attempted to adapt to changed conditions by turning to agriculture. The majority rejected acculturation, continued to follow the hunt as best they could, and clung to memories of a romanticized past. Many tribesmen eventually slid into demoralized, dissolute lifestyles, consuming increasing amounts of alcohol and occasionally venting their frustration in acts of intratribal and intrafamilial violence.

During this period of time Lalawethika, who was to become Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee prophet, was a less than stunningly successful medicine man for a small village located in eastern Indiana. A boastful alcoholic, he fully embodied the demoralized state of his people. In early 1805, in the wake of an epidemic of some European disease on which the healer's ministrations had little impact, he unexpectedly fell into a comalike state that the Shawnees interpreted as death. However, before the funeral arrangements could be completed, he revived, to the amazement of his tribesmen. Considerably more amazing were the revelations he had received during his deathlike trance.

Tenskwatawa had been permitted to view heaven, "a rich, fertile country, abounding in game, fish, pleasant hunting grounds and fine corn fields." But he had also witnessed sinful Shawnee spirits being tortured according to the degree of their wickedness, with drunkards (one of Tenskwatawa's principal vices) being forced to swallow molten lead. Overwhelmed by the power of his vision, Tenskwatawa abandoned his old ways. More revelations followed in succeeding months, revelations that eventually added up to a coherent new vision of religion and society.

Although the new revelation departed from tradition on many points (e.g., notions of heavenly and hellish realms were probably not indigenous), its central thrust was a nativistic exhortation to abandon Euramerican ways for the lifestyle of earlier generations. According to Thomas Jefferson's account, the Master of Life instructed Tenskwatawa,

to make known to the Indians that they were created by him distinct from the whites, of different natures, for different purposes, and . . . that they must return from all the ways of the whites to the habits and opinions of their forefathers; they must not eat the

flesh of hog, of bullocks, of sheep, etc., the deer and the buffalo having been created for their food; they must not make bread of wheat, but of Indian corn; they must not wear linen nor wollen, but dress like their fathers, in the skins and furs of animals; [and] they must not drink ardent spirits. (cited in Klinck 1961, 53)

This revelation called tribesmen back to the lifestyle and the principles (e.g., the laws of Shawnee tradition) prescribed by the Creator. As they had been warned "in the beginning," the abandonment of tradition had brought about social chaos. Although their current degradation involved the adoption of Euramerican ways, earlier deviations had been responsible for their military defeats. A nontraditional twist to the new revelation was that the forces of chaos were now identified with Euramericans. In another revelation, the Master of Life went so far as to declare that the invaders from the east were "not my children, but the children of the Evil Spirit . . . They grew from the scum of the great Water when it was troubled by the Evil Spirit. And the froth was driven into the Woods by a strong east wind. They are numerous, but I hate them. They are unjust. They have taken away your lands, which were not made for them." Although the inclusion of Euramericans was new, in many other ways these teachings fit well into traditional understandings. The Great Serpent was the closest being the Shawnees had to a devil, so that the identification of this snake as the source of their conquerors was a reasonable association: The Serpent was avenging itself for the defeat it had suffered at the hands of the Shawnee people many thousands of years ago.

In a sense, the sea snake was still alive in the form of the various fragments of its flesh used as power-sources in witchcraft. In fact, prior to the Creator's revelations through Tenskwatawa, some Shawnees had already been attributing their degraded state to the machinations of the Evil One through the agency of Indian sorcerers. The greatest evil Shawnee witches could perpetrate was death, usually by an illness that was brought on by the introduction of foreign substances into the

target-person's physical body. This motif was reflected at the community level by perceiving the threat of witchcraft to the social "body" in terms of the physical presence of the witches' medicine bundles—bundles through which the physically present Serpent (in the form of fragments of his body) continued to avenge itself. These various associations came together when Tenskwatawa and his followers began to kill witches.

The new revelation included a redemptive scenario in which Euramericans would be defeated and the fortunes of Native Americans restored. The promise of restored greatness had overwhelming appeal, and the Prophet's message spread quickly to other tribes. Zealous converts among the Delaware (an Algonquian tribe whose mythology had many parallels to that of the Shawnees) seized fellow tribesmen suspected of witchcraft—who, predictably, turned out to be those Delaware opposed to the new movement—and requested that Tenskwatawa journey to their village and use his supernatural power to identify witches.

The first prisoner to be condemned by the Prophet was Anne Charity, a convert to Christianity who had adopted Euramerican manners and dress. She was suspended over a large campfire and tortured until she confessed that she was indeed a witch, and that she had given her evil medicine bundle to her grandson. After burning the old woman to death, the grandson was apprehended and brought before the assembly. Rightly fearing for his life, the young man admitted to having borrowed the medicine bundle, but claimed that he had returned it to his grandmother after having used it only once, for the innocuous purpose of flying through the air. The grandson was released, but his confession served to confirm the suspicions of widespread witchcraft held by the Prophet and his followers. Other individuals who had converted to Christianity or who otherwise had some kind of close association with Euramericans were then tortured and burnt.

Although Tenskwatawa's religio-political movement was superseded by his brother Tecumseh's more secular efforts to organize opposition to U.S. expansionism, and although Tecumseh eventually suffered military defeat, the

movement left a lasting impression on Shawnee demonology: Fieldworkers in the early part of the twentieth century discovered that traditional Shawnees continued to identify the Evil Spirit with Euramericans.

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Shemhazai and Azazel

Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all have angel lore related to angelic lust for human beings. Although the basic idea of spirit beings or demons having sex with human beings is ancient, Judeo-Christian speculation on such ideas grew out of two short, obscure verses in Genesis (6:2 and 6:4) about the "sons of God" taking to wife the "daughters of men." In these rather odd verses, the expression "sons of God" was taken to indicate angels. The traditional interpretation of these passages is that these sons of God are *fallen* angels.

One of the Jewish tales flowing out of this theme is the story of Shemhazai (a variant spelling of Semyaza) and Azazel, a tale that was taken over in Islam as the story of Harut and Marut. According to the story, humanity's inability to avoid temptation and sin prompted God to consider destroying the world by a flood. The angels Shemhazi and Azazel reminded God that the angels had warned him in advance about humankind. God responded by asserting that angels would have failed just as quickly if not more so if placed under the same conditions. As an answer to God's challenge, Shemhazi and Azazel came down to earth to show that angels could do better.

Almost immediately, however, they were overcome by desire for an attractive woman, and begat horrible giants (later destroyed in the Flood). Shemhazi repented his sin, and hung himself upside down in the sky, where he remains to this day as the constellation Orion. Azazel, on the other hand, refused to repent, and remains on the earth to this day, encouraging women to wear jewelry and cosmetics as part of their efforts to lead mortal men into sin.

See also Nephilim; Semyazi For Further Reading:

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Sheol

The Christian tradition regards the Hebrew scriptures, designated within Christianity as the Old Testament, as composing the larger part of its own scriptures. This is an unusual juxtaposition because, on many points, Old Testament notions contrast markedly with New Testament teachings. Nowhere is this more striking than in the area of the postmortem fate of the individual.

Although Christianity emphasizes the importance of salvation after this life, the ancient Hebrews emphasized the present life. Like both the ancient Greeks and Mesopotamians, the afterlife realm, when it was mentioned at all, was conceived of as a pale shadow of earthly life, much like the Greek Hades. Also like the Greek Hades, and again in sharp contrast to Christianity, the Hebrews made no distinction between the treatment of the just and the unjust after death. Instead, rewards and punishments were very much in the present life.

The ancient Hebrews, like many of the other traditional peoples of the world, imagined the universe as a three-tiered cosmos of heaven, earth, and underworld. Heaven was reserved for god and the angels. Living human beings occupied the middle world. The spirits of the dead resided beneath the earth in Sheol. As in other cultures, the conceptualization of the realm of the dead as

being located beneath the earth's surface probably derives from the custom of burying the dead underground. Again similar to the Mesopotamian underworld, Sheol was not much more than a gloomy pit.

See also Judaism; Underworld For Further Reading:

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Shock 'Em Dead

A rock 'n' roll rewrite of the Faust story. In this 1990 film a young man sells his soul to the Devil in exchange for being made into a rock star.

Sorceress

There are a number of films using the name *Sorceress*. This 1994 movie is about a lawyer whose career is being advanced by the black magic of his wife. Unfortunately, another witch is determined to hurt his career.

Sorcery

Sorcery refers to the casting of spells and magically manipulating natural forces for a particular goal. The word sorcery originates from the French root sors, meaning spell. When casting their spells, the Ancient Greek sorcerers enlisted the aid of the daimones, spirits who roamed between earth and heaven. The daimones were originally believed to be capable of assisting good or evil plans. This view changed after Xenocrates labeled them as evil and the gods as good. Early in the development of Christianity, sorcery became associated with Satan, so that by the time of the Inquisition it was a serious crime. This negative view of sorcery was later integrated into the stereotype of the witch, who was being defined as someone who executed evil acts of magic for the Devil. Toward the end of the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance, the term sorcerer was redefined and became associated with men of advanced learning. It no longer had negative connotations. Sorcerers were men who

were able to gain knowledge from demonic sources whereas witches were those who practiced magic for evil ends.

See also Demons; Spells
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South Park: The Movie

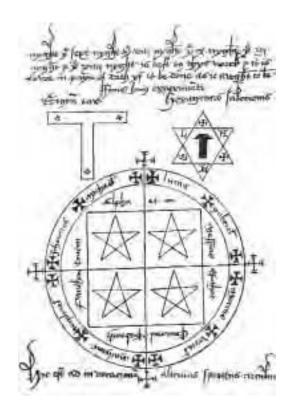
South Park is a 2000 movie developed from the popular television series. This mature cartoon film depicts a nature-loving, homosexual Devil who is the passive lover of Saddam Hussein. The film begins with South Park's children learning profanities from a Canadian R-rated movie. A V-chip is eventually implanted into the skull of one of the children to send an electrical shock into him whenever he swears. After the U.S. military is rendered impotent by Satan and the whole world was being destroyed, the electrical energy from the V-chip is amplified by a profuse string of profanities and then focused upon Hussein, defeating him and saving the world.

Spellbinder

In this 1988 film a Los Angeles lawyer becomes interested in an attractive young woman after rescuing her from a man who attempted to stab her. Reticent at first, she eventually informs him that she is trying to escape a devil-worshiping black magic Satanic witch cult.

Spells

A spell is a series of words or incantations accompanied by a ritual with the purpose of altering the outcome of destiny. Throughout time and place, those with supernatural powers have been able to cast spells for both harm and benefit to themselves and others. The successful casting of a spell has three essential components: the sorcerer, magician, or witch who is to perform, a ritual, and the actual spell. The importance of the wording and pronunciation of the spell varies as one moves



Late 16th century English spell, presumably based on one described by Michael Scot (or of that type), of the Tau Sigil, the Seal of Solomon, and a magical circle. (Fortean Picture Library)

geographically around the globe. For example, in Ancient Egypt the words were the most crucial elements in the casting of a spell. In Western magic, however, it is the level of power invoked by the combination of the spell and the ritual that provides a spell with strength.

See also Hex; Sorcery
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Stay Tuned

In this 1992 film a suburban couple, played by John Ritter and Pam Dawber, buy a super large screen T.V. and satellite dish from a sleazy store, Hellvision. When Ritter tunes in he finds weirdly

254 Stay Tuned

unusual shows have replaced the regular ones. Some of the shows include: *My Three Sons of Bitches, Golden Ghouls, Duane's Underworld,* and *Beverly Hills 90666.* The couple is pulled into the

electronic underworld by their remote control. They must survive having their souls canceled by avoiding getting killed in any of the diabolical shows.

T

Tales from the Hood

Inspired by the 1972 *Tales from the Crypt*, in *Tales from the Hood* (1995) three black gang members go into a funeral home looking for drugs that they suspect are hidden somewhere inside. The weird mortician greets them as they enter the room

where cadavers are being prepared for funerals. He then proceeds to recount the gruesome details of the lives of each of the corpses. The gang bangers begin to become aware that they are in a place they are not likely to leave.



Tales From the Hood (1995) (Kobol Collection/Scott, Toni/40 Acres & A Mule)

The Temple of Lylyth

In Lylyth we see a true individualist, who refuses to be what her own husband expects her to be. She becomes a wicked evil character simply because of this act of defiance in the eyes of "good" people everywhere, but when examined by the Satanist, she is merely a kindred soul, who has experiences very much like our own.

> —From the unpublished manuscript The Book of the Black Flame

The feminine aspect of deity is something that is, for the most part, lost to the Western religious tradition. American Satanism is no exception to this general rule. Historically, different world cultures have vilified both females and goddesses, especially chthonic goddesses. Foot binding, witch burning, and suttee are the legacies of such cultures. Zeus the rapist, the celibate Jesus, and female bodhisattvas transformed into men are all mythic-religious examples of male dominance and power reflected in the religious realm.

The Temple of Lylyth stands in contrast to this tradition. The Temple of Lylyth recaptures the ancient tradition of Shekenah—the feminine aspect of God from Jewish cabalah (called Shakti in Shaivite Nagism). This part of the Divine, vilified and demonized, is a natural part of the vilified and demonized religion known as Satanism. Members of the Temple of Lylyth feel the dark force in nature, which Anton LaVey called "Satan," as a maternal force. The Temple of Lylyth serves the need of its members to give praise to the Dark Mother of All Life.

In line with the trend in Satanism toward humanism and human potential, the Temple of Lylyth places its emphasis not on the worship of gods or goddesses, who are metaphors at best, but rather on the worship of self. Rather than narcissism, the temple defines self-worship as indulgence, intelligence, and individuality.

The Temple of Lylyth was formed October 31, 1999, in Portage, Wisconsin. More information may be found on the Temple's website.

—Kaiden Fox

For Further Reading:

Temple of Lylyth website: http://www.lylyth.org

Temple of Set

The Temple of Set (ToS) is a contemporary LHP (left-hand path) group that was birthed within Anton LaVey's Church of Satan (CoS). Because of its descent from the Church of Satan, the Temple of Set is often portrayed as "Satanic." However, while maintaining interest in the Satanic tradition, members of the temple typically emphasize that they are not Satanists, particularly not in the Christian understanding of the term.

By the 1970s, the Church of Satan had become a rich source of splinter groups. In 1973, the Church of Satanic Brotherhood was formed by group leaders in Michigan, Ohio, and Florida. The church lasted only until 1974, when one of the founders announced his conversion to Christianity in a dramatic incident staged for the press in St. Petersburg. Other members of the Church of Satan in Kentucky and Indiana left to form the Ordo Templi Satanas, also short-lived.

As more schisms took place, LaVey disbanded the remaining grottos, the local units of the Church of Satan, and decided to reorganize the church as a fellowship of individuals. This action prompted the formation of the Temple of Set. The temple was established by Michael A. Aquino, a Magister Templi with the Church of Satan, Lilith Sinclair, head of the largest of the grottos in Spottiswood, New Jersey, and other CoS priests. The Temple of Set is a group dedicated to the ancient Egyptian deity believed to have become the model for the Christian Satan. In sharp contrast to LaVeyan Satanism, the temple affirms that the Prince of Darkness is a real being.

At the time of the schism, Aquino was the editor of the Church of Satan's periodical, *The Cloven Hoof.* Aquino was particularly upset by LaVey's practice of bestowing priesthoods upon individuals only nominally associated with Satanism. For his part, LaVey dismissed Aquino as a self-promoting power grabber, and for his "supernatural" view of Satan/Set.

In 1975 Aquino (b. 1946) invoked Satan to receive a new mandate for continuing the Church of Satan apart from LaVey. According to Aquino, Satan came to him as Set, giving him the content of a book, *The Book of Coming Forth by Night*. Originally incorporated in the state of California,

the Temple of Set has been formally recognized as a religion by the federal government.

Aquino holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of California at Santa Barbara and served as a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Army. Aquino became well known as a Satanist and the subject of a variety of media coverage by the end of the 1970s. On the basis of charges made by a Christian chaplain, in the late 1980s he was investigated by local, federal, and military agencies for supposedly sexually molesting a young girl at the army base in San Francisco. An in-depth investigation showed him to be completely uninvolved with the day-care center on base or any of the children.

The Temple of Set views itself as a philosophical organization, revolving around the ancient Egyptian principle of Xeper (which Setians translate as "self-improvement" or "self-creation"), and the ideals represented by a modern understanding of Set, perhaps the closest divinity the Egyptians had to Satan. Many members of the temple believe that the individual does not automatically have an immortal self, but that he or she can, by certain practices, achieve immortality. Thus, while Xeper is related to contemporary notions of self-improvement, it means something far more.

The temple is also an initiatory organization, oriented to the growth and unfolding of its members. A number of degrees are recognized, and members are identified by their degree. Unlike many other religious bodies, the Temple of Set has no church or other permanent building. Also unlike many other religions, Setians do not worship a divinity, Set or anyone else. Furthermore, Setians do not recognize the real existence of any deity. They do, however, recognize the real existence of Set, but regard him as more of a father or older brother. The core of the Setian religion is individual self-development, which is the cornerstone of LHP initiatory groups. This is described by "Balanone," a long-time member of the temple, on his (unofficial) Temple of Set information site: "The term 'left hand path' suggests a philosophical orientation which feels that the individual is extremely important. The individual initiate pursuing Xeper is more important than our society in general, any peer group, and any organization (including even the Temple of Set itself). Responsible individualism and freedom are goals to which the organization lends its energies."

The Temple of Set's ambivalence about the Satanist label is reflected in Balanone's remarks where he states that, "if by 'Satanism' you mean the worship of a Satan, or anti-Christian belief, then most definitely we are not, since we do not believe in the Christian god, Jesus, nor devil, and we have little reason to be 'anti-Christian'. If by Satanism you mean an antinomian freedom from the unreasoning limitations of various elements of society, then by that definition we would qualify." Like LaVeyan Satanists, temple members work with "magic" but do not attribute magical efficacy to gods, goddesses, or devils. Also similar to LaVey's tradition, Setians eschew illegal activity of any kind, including illegal drug use.

Members of the Temple of Set gather together and communicate with one another (often via the Internet) to further their goal of the creation of a better self by sharing their knowledge with one another. Local groups are referred to as pylons, and larger get-togethers as conclaves. There is an annual international conclave. Among other activities, Setians gather for both rituals and psychodramas, viewed as the symbolic acting out of their goals and development.

The primary emblem of the temple is a variant on the familiar inverted pentagram within a circle used by most modern Satanist groups. Setians refer to this symbol as the Pentagram of Set. At formal gatherings, members wear the pentagram as a medallion. Different levels of initiation wear medallions of different colors:

First Degree ("Setian")—White
Second Degree ("Adept")—Red
Third Degree ("Priest")—Black
Fourth Degree ("Master of the Temple")—Blue
Fifth Degree ("Magus" or "Maga")—Purple
Sixth Degree ("Ipsissimus" or "Ipsissima")—
Gold

The first three degrees are designated "Setian" (a general term for all members), "Adept," and "Priest." The second three degrees are considered variations on the third.

Other LHP groups tend to have more than six levels of initiation, and such levels are understood differently than in the Temple of Set. In the words of Graham Harvey, one of the few academics to have studied the temple: "Elsewhere an initiate is expected to progress from the lowest level toward the highest. In the TS [Temple of Set] the majority of members are expected to be second degree or Adept II degree, rather than to attempt to achieve higher degrees. The TS is more interested in individuals developing themselves and finding their own level than in creating a group identity dependent on everyone following exactly the same path" (Harvey 1995, 286). Alongside of the degree system, there are different orders-which Harvey describes as "special interest groups"—within the Temple of Set:

The TS is compared to a university with the Orders as its various academic departments. All initiates are provided with a brief summary of each Order's special interests. I have received information on eleven Orders, which have interests in the five sense, the Arts, technology, Nietzsche, origins, the Germanic tradition, communication, Merlin, Selfpresentation, balance and performance. Adepts II degree are encouraged to specialize in any single Order they care to devote themselves to. The Priesthood, however, has responsibility for first and second degree initiates and must therefore give priority to this service. All Orders are expected to contribute to the evolution of the TS and not to compete with it or with other Orders. (287)

The ToS asserts that it practices black magic—meaning consciously self-beneficial, rather than evil—in contrast to the white magic practiced by other groups. To again cite from Harvey: "White' magic and 'religion' is the false consciousness that the individual is doing something for altruistic reasons: the benefit of others, the praise of deity, reaching for harmony with the cosmos or some other 'Other.' The TS recognizes that a gift to charity is at least as much an act of self-gratification as it is an attempt to be helpful. For the TS this truism encourages self-gratifica-

tion as the best possible reason for action." Although there are no "official" Temple of Set rituals, Aquino's *Black Magic in Theory and Practice* contains a sample ritual outline and instructions that one might follow to construct a ritual, including a sample invocation of Set. To transform these guidelines into a full ritual, the magician must, among other things, supply a central focus—intent, goal, object, whatever. In contrast, the sample rituals in *The Satanic Bible* include their own objectives or goals within the ritual as presented. Temple of Set rituals tend to be similar to rituals of other Western LHP groups, although, unlike both ritual magic and Wicca, a circle is not cast.

See also Left-Hand Path; Aquino, Michael A; Church of Satan

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Thee Satanic Church

When Thee Satanic Orthodox Church of Nethilum Rite divided in 1974, Thee Satanic Church formed under the leadership of Dr. Evelyn Paglini. Paglini had been involved in the founding of the original group, but her new church conducted its activities in the suburbs of Chicago. There was little or no difference in beliefs and practices with the original organization. They became known to the public in the late 1970s when they appeared and conducted a number of rituals at the old Comiskey Park in an effort to improve the fortunes of the Chicago

White Sox baseball team. Paglini opened an occult supply and bookstore of her own, and started a periodical, the *Psychic Standard*, which was not Satanist in content. The periodical was published until 1980, Paglini moved away, and the church is now defunct.

See also Thee Satanic Orthodox Church of Nethilum Rite

Thee Satanic Orthodox Church of Nethilum Rite

Thee Satanic Orthodox Church of Nethilum Rite emerged into public view in 1971. Under the leadership of its high priest, Tery Taylor, and headquartered at Chicago's Occult Book Shop, the group staunchly opposed Anton LaVey and his Church of Satan. The church taught an unusually traditional viewpoint that God created the universe, including Satan. The goal of church members was the acquisition of the power of Satan by means of rituals, psychic development, and the ministrations of elders. The group never had centers outside of Chicago,

and claims to have over 500 members by 1973. It is now defunct.

See also Thee Satanic Church
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To the Devil, A Daughter

This 1976 Hammer Studios film adaptation of Dennis Wheatley's novel, *To the Devil, A Daughter,* naturally features a Satanist devil-worshiping cult. The plot involves an occult writer who infiltrates the cult in order to save a young woman from a *Rosemary's Baby*-type fate.

Torment of the Damned

Part of the popular image of hell is that Satan's hordes are employed in the ongoing task of tormenting the damned in an atmosphere suggesting that hell is not unlike a giant blast furnace. This item of folklore is central to many



To the Devil, A Daughter (1976). (Kobol Collection/Hammer)

jokes and cartoons involving hell's residents. This contrasts with the view of early Christianity in which stern, righteous angels, rather than devils, were so employed. It might be noted, however, that deceased "sinners" are also tortured by demons in Hindu and Buddhist hell worlds, similar to the torments of more familiar Western hells. A major difference is that, unlike Western hells, Asian hell worlds are not final dwelling places. They are, rather, more like purgatories in which sinful souls experience suffering for a limited term. After the term is over, even the most evil person is turned out of hell to once again participate in the cycle of reincarnation.

The torment of the damned in Christianity and later in Islam was anticipated by such gloomy afterlife abodes as the Jewish Sheol and the Greek Hades. Although the cultures of the ancient world from which the modern West descends did not imagine human beings as having an immortal soul, dim and devitalized "shade" or "ghost" of each individual continued to exist in a dull, cheerless afterlife world. These ancient afterlives were pale shadows of earthly life, making death a thing to be dreaded rather than looked forward to. The Mesopotamian afterlife—described in an oft-cited passage from The Epic of Gilgamesh in which Enkidu, Gilgamesh's servant and companion, relates a dream of the other world—is fairly typical: "There is the house whose people sit in darkness; dust is their food and clay their meat. They are clothed like birds with wings for covering, they see no light, they sit in darkness. I entered the house of dust and I saw the kings of the earth, their crowns put away forever" (Sanders 1972, 92). The underworld was dark, dusty, and unpleasant. The deceased wandered aimlessly about, with nothing but dirt to eat. In these afterlife realms, no distinction was made between the treatment of the just and the unjust. The chief distinction was between the state of those who receive proper burial and memorial services, and those who do not. When these matters were attended to properly, the soul rested easy. When neglected, the dead became agitated ghosts who haunted the living.

Most of the traditional cultures of the world visualize the universe as a three-tiered cosmos of heaven, earth, and underworld. Heaven is reserved for deities, most of whom reside there. Living human beings occupy the middle world. The spirits of the dead reside beneath the earth, perhaps as a result of the custom of burying corpses in the ground.

The notion of a heaven world where the righteous dead reside after death seems to be rooted in ancient Greek tales about heroes who were so admired by the gods that they made them immortal and inducted them as citizens of heaven, rather than allowing them to suffer the common fate of humanity, which was to reside beneath the earth in Hades after death. It is not difficult to see how this basic notion might develop, by the time of early, Hellenistic Christianity, into the idea that the souls of Christian dead would be immortalized in heaven, and the souls of non-Christians condemned to Hades. (Contemporaneous Jewish ideas of the afterlife clustered around the notion of resurrection, rather than heaven and hell.)

However, it did not seem to be enough to simply condemn non-Christians—and particularly active, persecuting enemies of Christianity—to a bland, boring afterlife. Thus the ancient underworld that, originally, was the common fate of humanity became a realm of torture in which unbelievers were tormented for eternity. The result was a bifurcated afterlife that provided two realms, one in which the righteous are rewarded, and another in which the wicked are punished. The basic schema of heaven for the believers and hell for unbelievers carried over into Islamic conceptualizations of the afterlife.

See also Hell and Heaven; Underworld **For Further Reading**:

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Trick or Treat

This 1986 film, which stars Ozzy Osbourne and Gene Simmons, explores the Christian fantasy of heavy metal music's supposed Satanic connections. A lonely, miserable teen metal musician dies in a hotel fire. His spirit expresses itself in a music album, entitled *Songs in the Key of Death*. Hell is not a place, but is, rather, about being cruel, perverse, and abusive.

Twilight Zone—The Movie

This 1983 movie does not capture the suspense of Rod Serling's television series, but it does have the intensity of the twist of fate so poignantly depicted in all of the TV episodes. Vic Morrow plays an angry bigot who blames minorities for the personal defeats he has experienced in his life. The narration by Burgess Meredith announces that the bigot is about to be catapulted into the darkest regions of the Twilight Zone. Vic Morrow is then transformed into every minority he had previously despised.

IIFOs and Demons

Unidentified flying objects—"flying saucers"—came into international consciousness when a private pilot reported seeing nine disc-shaped objects flying in formation and at high speed over Mount Rainier, Washington, on the afternoon of June 24, 1947. Other sightings followed, first in the Pacific Northwest, then elsewhere, and have continued unabated ever since. By the mid-1950s the notion that UFOs might be extraterrestrial spacecraft were widely popular, having eclipsed the widespread suspicion that the objects were secret American or Soviet aircraft. A minority of hard-core UFO enthusiasts, however, were drawn to occult interpretations of the phenomenon.

The early 1950s saw the rise of the contactee movement in southern California. Contactees—individuals who claimed personal associations with benevolent extraterrestrials often called "Space Brothers"—grafted occult doctrines to flying saucers. Contact messages, which came via face-to-face meetings, channeling, automatic writing, dreams, or voices in the head, had unambiguous religious overtones, including prophecies and moral lessons; the Space Brothers recruited contactees and their followers to spread the saucer gospel and to prepare disbelieving humankind for the day the skies will fill with spaceships and extraterrestrials will bring peace and harmony to our galactic backwater.

Early on, however, a few participants in the contactee subculture began to suspect that all was not what it appeared to be. Longtime occultist and newly turned contactee Trevor James Constable (who wrote under the name Trevor James) warned that some ostensible space beings were really malevolent entities who were lying about their true nature. Noting that several contactees had been led astray, leaving families and jobs at the direction of "unethical invisibles," Constable wrote that "the 'spacemen" exert "a psychic despotism over innocent and well-meaning people" (James 1958, 20). According to Constable, good and evil entities are locked in battle for the soul of the human race. The evil entities live inside an astral shell beneath the earth's surface, allied with nearphysical beings based on the moon. They have earthly associates, prominently including advocates of nuclear disarmament. Only atomic bombs can penetrate the astral shell, posing a threat to the astrals' sinister plans.

Constable may have been the first saucer theorist to incorporate traditional demonology into ufological discourse. Two years prior to 1947, however, Richard Shaver had regaled readers of the science-fiction magazines *Amazing Stories* and *Fantastic Adventures*, edited by the flamboyant Ray Palmer, with his allegedly true interactions with sadistic subterranean beings called *deros*, who used advanced devices to cause hallucinations and

misfortunes on the surface. The so-called *Shaver mystery* amounted to a kind of technologized demonology. Constable's underground entities clearly owe much to the deros, and the deros clearly owe as much to traditional demons.

In the 1960s occult journalist John A. Keel picked up on Constable's theories (though without crediting him) and painted UFOs and paranormal phenomena as evidence of a demonic invasion. Keel called the demons "ultraterrestrials" but did not hesitate to identify himself as a latterday demonologist. "The quasi-Angels of Biblical times have become magnificent spacemen," Keel wrote. "The demons, devils, and false angels were recognized as liars and plunderers by early man. These same impostors now appear as long-haired Venusians" (Keel 1970, 216).

Unlike Constable, who saw at least some UFO entities as kindly intentioned, Keel believes they are uniformly evil. Once they exerted direct control over the human race when the ruling classes of the world married ultraterrestrials disguised as humans. When democratic movements entered the world, however, and royal dynasties were overthrown, the ultraterrestrials were forced to mount a direct counterattack to restore their domination. They are behind cults, secret societies, and other movements, and under a wide range of guises they have affected the lives of human beings and the course of human destiny. Any human being who deals with them will end up destroyed. "We are biochemical robots helplessly controlled by forces that can scramble our brains, destroy our memories and use us in any way they see fit," Keel avers. "They have been doing it to us forever" (Keel 1988, 174).

Similar ideas were beginning to appear in the pages of England's *Flying Saucer Review* (also known as *FSR*), a widely read and influential magazine among the world's ufologists. Editor Charles Bowen had begun to wonder if contactees were having real experiences—heretofore, conservative ufologists had dismissed them as hoaxers or victims of psychiatric disorders—but being misled by a "façade deliberately created by alien entities whose objectives are in no way connected with our welfare" ("More Than" 1965, 2). These entities came from "universes parallel with ours but with a

different time stream" (Bowen 1968, 12). Though some of the beings were benevolent, most were not, and the bad guys were winning. The magazine's assistant editor, Dan Lloyd, explicitly identified Satan as the moving force behind the UFO phenomenon. Satan wants people to believe that UFOs are of extraterrestrial origin, because that is a materialist concept and materialistic concepts encourage a "one-sided development of man's intellect There could be no greater distortion of what is actually happening at the present time in man's relation to the spiritual world than to spread the delusion that physical machines are coming to earth with physical beings from outer space" (Lloyd 1969, 10).

F. W. Holiday, a regular contributor to FSR, theorized that the Loch Ness monster is a demonic entity, a literal dragon. On one occasion in 1973 Holiday believed he had encountered a demonic "man in black" on the shores of Scotland's most famous lake and associated that encounter with a heart attack he suffered soon afterwards. Just prior to that event, Holiday had participated in an exorcism of the loch with the Rev. Dr. Donald Omand, an Anglican clergyman much interested in demonic manifestations. Another forceful, even as his critics had it—hysterical proponent of demonological ufology is Gordon Creighton, a retired British diplomat long associated with FSR who became its editor after Charles Bowen stepped down. There is hardly a human misfortune or evil, from wars to street crime to disease epidemics, that Creighton does not ascribe to demonic UFO entities, which he calls jinns after traditional Islamic lore. (There are good jinns and bad ones, but demonological ufology is focused exclusively on the latter.) According to Creighton, jinns were behind the making of Steven Spielberg's popular film ET, whose depiction of friendly aliens was calculated to mislead human beings about the true, decidedly unfriendly intentions of the aliens. In Creighton's judgment (and his italics) the movie was "a subtle way for facilitating a take-over by something out of the Pit" ("The 'E.T." Plague" 1983, 1). The jinns own the earth, treating us as animals from whose gene pool they can borrow as the occasion suits (thus UFO abductions). They are also responsible for the AIDS

epidemic, generating it in order to eliminate "undesirable traits"—by which Creighton makes clear he means homosexuality—and "to keep their cattle normal and healthy" (Creighton 1989, 12). In 1990 he warned that demonic entities were about to engineer a third world war for their own inscrutable but nefarious purposes.

Though many ufologists see Creighton's views as extreme and not worth taking seriously, one prominent American abduction investigator, Ann Druffel, not only endorses them but draws on them in her counseling of abductees. Convinced that Creighton's jinn "hypothesis" is a "logical . . . answer [to] all the puzzles abducting entities pose," Druffel, a conservative Roman Catholic, proposes techniques of resistance in which prayer figures prominently. The gray aliens often associated with abduction stories "are not a new phenomenon," Druffel writes. "They are an order of creation with the ability to shape-shift and harass human victims for their own playful or malicious motives. They have appeared in various types of garb throughout the centuries" (Druffel 1998, 182). She urges persons suffering alien harassment to call on "angels, saints, and other spiritual personages" who "are available to human beings." The archangel St. Michael, she says, is a particularly effective banisher of demonic UFO entities.

Mainstream Christian denominations have paid relatively little attention to the UFO phenomenon, but some fundamentalist writers have seen UFOs and their occupants as fallen angels demons, in other words. Besides the inevitable scriptural citations, they cite secular theorists, especially John Keel, as authority for such conclusions. Evangelical writer Clifford Wilson expresses sentiments that could easily have been stated by Keel or Creighton: "[A] great pattern of brainwashing is taking place. Are men and women being influenced, even 'possessed,' so that when the signal is given they will be ready to give total allegiance to these beings who will then show themselves as their masters? Is this why there is such greatly increased activity in UFOs, and Ouija boards, Satan worship, séances, and all sorts of dabblings that even a generation ago were regarded as foolish and evil?" (Wilson 1974, 213-214). Like Keel and Creighton, evangelicals accept as accounts of actual events fantastic stories of interactions with space people that many ufologists reject as conscious fabrications or as psychological episodes. For example, Kelly L. Segraves is convinced that channeling entities such as the ubiquitous Ashtar, widely revered in contactee circles as the head of a vast space command here to transform human consciousness, are quite real, serving-beneath their benevolent exteriors—the Antichrist. Their true purpose is the "massing [of] all of their forces in a great deception to lead as many as possible away from the true God. These fallen angels are therefore appearing unto man in the guise of visitors from other planets" (Segraves 1975, 179).

Some evangelicals interpret the coming of UFOs with prophesied signs of the endtimes, while others believe them to be just one more manifestation of Satan's continuing malignant interference in human affairs. Among advocates of the former is a website devoted to the subject. Taking note of abduction stories in which witnesses claim sexual contact with aliens, apparently to create hybrid beings, it declares that UFOs and their occupants are "under the authority of the Prince of the Power of the Air, Prince of the Aerial Host, Lord of those that fly [—] Satan. Jesus warned that one of the signs of the end times was that it would be 'just as it was in the times of Noah.' In Genesis we see the account of nonhuman intelligent beings 'breeding' with humans, creating hybrids and contributing to the proliferation of evil against God. The messages we see from contact with extraterrestrials and other advanced beings contain claims that they are the ones who created us, through genetic manipulation" ("UFOs, Aliens" n.d.; original italics).

—Jerome Clark

See also Demons
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Underworld

The underworld has been typically viewed in various mythical and religious traditions as a world located under the surface of the earth where the spirits of the dead live, often under the rule of a divine being. In ancient religious traditions across the globe, the underworld dimension could be reached through a tunnel or opening that led underground. This opening was often identified as the mouth of a mythical monster. The hero who entered the underworld usually aimed to rescue a loved one or to gain the gift of immortality, almost always in vain.

The Maori of New Zealand explained the origin of humankind's mortality with the descent of their mythical hero Maui into her giant mother's own body while she was asleep. However, she awoke while he was in her mouth, and was slain. In relation to the daily movement of the sun from east to west, the sunset was used by many

traditions to locate the realm of the dead in the west. In ancient Mesopotamia, the underworld was viewed as a dark realm, a land of no return under the tyrannical rule of a queen (later a king and a queen).

The idea of a hereafter that differed depending upon social status was an innovation of the ancient Egyptians. Aristocrats were believed to travel to celestial blessed lands to enjoy a life devoid of pain and suffering. Common people, on the other hand, were believed to spend eternity near their own tombs or in the netherworld (they were buried in dry sand that accelerated the decomposition process). The netherworld of ancient Egypt, as depicted in the *Book of the Dead*, was ruled by Osiris (originally, possibly a divinity of the vegetation) who according to myth was dismembered by his jealous brother and recomposed by his wife Isis.

A less negative conception of the underworld was found in Greco-Roman civilization where the underworld was ruled by King Hades (Roman Pluto) and his wife Persephone (Roman Proserpina): Upon death, the individual's soul was believed to assume a ghostly shape that resembled the person when alive. Death leveled all social or moral distinctions among the dead, bound to live forever in a state of boredom. Those bound to some sort of punishment or suffering either had remained unburied or were not fed enough sacrificial food. The kingdom of Hades was a dark underground realm surrounded on all sides by five rivers (Lethe, Styx, Phlegethon, Acheron, and Cocytus) and at the entrance the mythical threeheaded dog Cerberus stood guard. Plato introduced the idea of a postmortem judgment based on good and evil deeds during one's life into Greek spirituality. This philosopher also aimed at understanding Hades as a psychological state rather than as a physical location, while all the symbology related to it was interpreted allegorically.

In Judaism the underworld was viewed as a dusty shadowy realm called Sheol, representing the extreme point in the universe, at the opposite end from heaven. In the Ethiopian *Apocalypse of Enoch*, Sheol is subdivided into three areas according to merit: subsequently it came to be identified with the Gehenna (hell), imagined

either as a valley (thought to be located near Jerusalem) or in other sources believed to be underneath the earth, and reserved for sinners. The Essene sect reinforced the dualism between evil and good, believing that the righteous would be freed from suffering whereas sinners would be eternally damned to pain.

The Christian idea of an infernal underworld was very much influenced by the Jewish Gehenna, viewed as a pit where sinners were amassed. In Christianity the distinction between blessed and damned became sharper, while the concept of righteousness (that deserved blessedness) came to signify joining the Christian faith. Through the Book of Revelation it was also believed that the reign of a thousand years will be followed by the resurrection of the saints, and subsequently by a cosmic conflict that will put an end to Satan's power. Those who were damned are believed to be damned forever. Augustine (342-430) and Thomas Aguinas (1225–1274) reinforced the idea of hell as a place of eternal damnation, which became the object of Dante's poetry in the Inferno, the first part of the Divina Commedia (Divine Comedy). His Inferno (hell) combined Christian theological elements with mythological elements from classical, pre-Christian culture. Hell itself was viewed as a cone that penetrated the earth; at the extreme point of the cone, which corresponds to the center of the globe, the farthest point from God, resides Satan.

In Islam, the underworld was subdivided in seven layers that corresponded to the seven celestial layers. The tree of Zaqqum is believed to stand between paradise and hell, the only point where both heaven and hell can be seen. The first layer under the earth, Gehenna, is connected to the surface of the globe through a bridge that all souls cross. This first layer is depicted as a terrifying beast, and is also called the fire of hell. The damned are distributed through the layers hierarchically: the deeper the layer, the greater the punishment. The fire, common to all layers, differed in quality, depending on the degree of punishment to be inflicted in each layer. The pain inflicted through fire is worsened by the continuous regeneration of the damned, who thus burn eternally. In general, the worst sin in Islam was

considered to be an unbeliever in God and his prophet Muhammad. Other sins were related to moral social rules. In the Hindu tradition, one also finds an idea of the underworld. It is sometimes conceived as a dark bottomless chasm from where there is no return: in the deepest part resides the cosmic serpent Vrtra, which has remained there since it was slain by Indra. It is a realm of silence and death, populated by those who consciously committed evil, mythical characters included. The idea of hell subsequently developed as a philosophical concept of total annihilation that contrasts with the limitless sense of being. Although a number of mythical stories depict hells as places of suffering and pain, in general the Hindu religion places more emphasis on the cycle of reincarnation: Thus hell did not develop into a place of eternal damnation for the sinners as it did in the Western world.

In the contemporary world, the underworld has come to be viewed psychologically rather than literally, as a symbol for the subconscious. Particularly among thinkers influenced by Jung and by the Jungian tradition, various portrayals of the underworld have come to be interpreted as reflecting the subconscious of a society.

See also Hades; Hell and Heaven; Satan; Sheol *For Further Reading*:

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The United Kingdom, Ritual Abuse in

The satanic ritual abuse (SRA) scare began in the United States in the early 1980s. Observers have identified the publication of *Michelle Remembers* in 1980 as the threshold event that set the scare in motion, although the first major ritual abuse case at the McMartin Preschool did not take place until 1983. Peaking in the late 1980s/early 1990s, the scare received a fatal blow in 1992 with the issuing of an important FBI report (see Appendix 2) that dismissed SRA as a hoax. Although SRA agitation continued, the issue was essentially dead as a serious law enforcement concern by the mid-1990s.

The ritual abuse scare was exported to the U.K. by several avenues. The most significant took the form of presentations of the SRA perspective by Americans at conferences for social workers. Eventually, a number of Britons became involved in the SRA topic, and began to present themselves as "experts" in satanism and ritual abuse. The most serious SRA specialists and social workers were conservative Christians. A number of governmental reports figured prominently in the U.K. scare. Had the initial 1989 report—which was suppressed—been disseminated, much anguish and unnecessary government expenditures would have been avoided. At it turned out, it was not until a completely new report was commissioned and issued in 1994 that SRA was terminated as a public issue in the U.K.

The first report, which came to be called the JET (Joint Enquiry Team) Report, arose in the wake of the first major UK ritual abuse case, which took place in the city of Nottingham, in the East Midlands. It was referred to as the Broxtowe Case from the name of an estate at which incest was alleged to have occurred. A total of seven children became wards of the state in October of 1987. Charges were filed in February 1989, and convictions were eventually obtained.

Foster parents were instructed to note anything the children said about their treatment. As a result, bizarre accusations emerged alleging the sacrifice of animals and infants, abuse by strangers, "witch parties," and the like. These new accusations, recorded in diaries kept by foster parents, prompted a division between social workers, who took these new allegations seriously, and the police, who dismissed them. Law enforcement authorities, concerned that defense attorneys would use the ridiculousness of the new allegations as a basis for rejecting the children's testimony about actual abuse, conducted a separate investigation and issued a critical report which became known as the Gollom Enquiry. Many of the social workers disagreed with the police, who they appeared to believe were trying to discredit the children. Reflecting obvious contamination, the children's accusations closely matched a list of SRA "indicators" developed in the United States.

In the face of the interdepartmental division as

well as the emergence of similar allegations at new sites with other children, the Director of Social Services and the Chief Constable created a team of two policemen and two social workers with no prior involvement in the case. This four-member group, designated the Nottingham Police/Social Services Joint Enquiry Team (JET), set to work on July 10, 1988, and investigated the situation for five months. Their 600 page report, subsequently referred to as the JET report, was issued at the end of 1989. The health secretary immediately recognized the value of the document for preventing future miscarriages of justice and directed that a shorter, revised report be prepared for general circulation the next year. It was, however, suppressed, and never circulated.

The team investigated locations where SRA ceremonies allegedly took place and human remains could be found. They discovered that none of the underground rooms, tunnels, secret passageways, or dead bodies existed. The children claimed to have observed a wide variety of diabolical activities. It turned out, however, that the wilder allegations did not begin to emerge until after February 9, 1988, when an SRA "expert" had briefed the foster parents on "satanic indicators." Foster parents were instructed to address their children about these "indicators." The JET team concluded that the situation had been contaminated by this approach:

We had not found any physical corroborative evidence in the Broxtowe case and no longer believed the children's diaries substantiated the claim of Satanic abuse. In our view they reflected other influences and were open to alternative interpretations. Our research indicated that nobody else [in other countries] had found corroborative physical evidence either. All the evidence for its existence appears to be based upon disturbed children and adults claiming involvement during interviews by social workers, psychiatrists, and Church Ministers who already themselves believed in its existence. It seemed possible that Satanic abuse only existed in the minds of people who wanted or needed to believe in it. In the USA the result

had been a modern day witch hunt which had ruined the lives of many innocent people.

With respect to the social workers, the Joint Enquiry Team concluded:

In our view two years later on an unshakable belief system in Satanic ritualistic abuse appears to have developed which could easily lead into a modern day "witch hunt" (as has happened in the USA). All the elements appear to us to be present; rigid preconceived ideas, dubious investigative techniques, the unwillingness to check basic facts, the readiness to believe anything, however bizarre, the interest in identifying prominent people, with widening of the net to implicate others and the unwillingness to accept any challenge to their views. [We therefore conclude that:]

That there is no evidence of Satanic ritual abuse in the Broxtowe case or its aftermath.

That it is doubtful whether the practice of the type of Satanic ritual abuse being promulgated by the Social Services
Department actually exists. It has never been substantiated by empirical evidence. We have come to the hypothesis based on [. . .]'s case that evidence can actually be "created" by social workers as a result of their own therapeutic methods.

That parts of the Social Services
Department appear to have developed over
the last two years a belief system in ritualistic
Satanic abuse which is unwittingly resulting
in children being encouraged to believe in
and allege bizarre abuse. This could lead
eventually to grave injustice and if
unchecked it has the ingredients of a
modern "witch hunt."

Their recommendations included, "the use of the current information on 'Satanic' ritualistic abuse/witchcraft within Social Services should be stopped immediately in the absence of any empirical evidence to support it. Presentations using this material, which in our view has no validity, should also cease immediately as it is contagious." However, because of the suppression of the JET report, SRA "experts" continued to spread their misinformation. Thus, shortly after an SRA training seminar for police and social workers in Pembroke, West Wales, a new spate of accusations emerged, leading to the largest ritual abuse trial in British history.

After these and other cases, the health secretary of the British government, Virginia Bottomley, commissioned a study of SRA in 1991. Professor Jean La Fontaine headed up a team at Manchester University that evaluated all known cases of ritual abuse in the U.S. The report, issued in 1994, confirmed the JET report. On the basis of this report, *The Extent & Nature of Organized Ritual Abuse*, Bottomley concluded that Christians had been "a powerful influence encouraging the identification of Satanic abuse." La Fontaine concurred, saying: "I think the Evangelicals created the climate in which people could believe this sort of thing was happening" (DoH Devil Report, website).

At the time, La Fontaine's report appeared to be the final word on SRA in the U.K. However, apparently yielding to pressure from SRA "believers," another section within the Department of Health (DoH) sponsored yet another study that claimed SRA was real. News about the report was leaked and appeared as a front page story in the Christian magazine *New Christian Herald* on October 5, 1996. The article criticized La Fontaine's report, and asserted that the new report "will turn on its head the previous findings and is set to call for a U-turn in Government thinking."

The author of the report, Valerie Sinason, was one of the social services officials to give the original SRA claims credence. Announced in 1996, it had not yet appeared in 2000, two years after it was due. In a letter to the head of the Department of Health section, which had authorized and provided £20,000 (about \$30,000) for the study, La Fontaine pointed out that,

the only valid reason for repeating a piece of work is that there is evidence that renders its conclusions suspect. There is no mention of such evidence and it seems unlikely that there was any because the proposed research by Valerie Sinason and Dr Hale did not propose to use comparable data. Moreover my report . . . was extensively reviewed by the Research Department's peer review requirement. "Complaints" about conclusions are not evidence about the work, merely about the views of the complainers, and should not be considered in themselves as reasons for funding further research. . . . Ms Sinason's research is presented as though it were funded by the DoH in the normal way. It was not. It was not funded by the Research Section of the DoH (a fact that you omit to mention), there was no peer review of the proposal and neither of the applicants had research experience.

It appears unlikely that the new "Devil Report" will significantly influence public policy, despite its touting by SRA supporters.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse For Further Reading:

- British Press Association Newsfile. "Libel Damages for Abuse Inquiry Chief." July 13, 1992.
- "DoH Devil Report is Invalid on Standard Research Grounds." http://users.cybercity.dk/~ccc44406/smwane/fo

ntainerep.htm. Contains excerpts from La Fontaine's letter to the Department of Health official responsible for the new report supporting SRA.

- La Fontaine, Jean S. The Extent and Nature of Organized Ritual Abuse. Department of Health report, May. London: Her Majesty's Printing Office, 1994.
- Tate, Tim. Children for the Devil: Ritual Abuse and Satanic Crime. London: Octopus Group, 1991.
- The JET report has appeared and disappeared from various websites, but can usually be found with a good search engine by typing in Broxtowe Report or JET Report.

V

Virnil

Virgil's Aeneid was the direct inspiration for Dante's vision of hell in his celebrated Inferno. This indebtedness is symbolically reflected in the Inferno itself, because Virgil serves as Dante's guide in his tour of the underworld. The Roman poet Virgil (70 B.C.-19 B.C.) was born Publius Vergilius Maro to a humble family in Andes, a village near Mantua in northern Italy. He attended school at Cremona and Milan, and then he went to Rome to study medicine, mathematics, and rhetoric. Later he moved to Naples, where he studied philosophy under Siron the Epicurean. Lucretius's philosophy of De rerum natura and Catullus's poetry were the two major influences on Virgil during his formative years. His earliest certain work was the Bucolics or Eclogues, ten pastoral poems modeled on the Greek pastorals of Theocritus. The Georgics, his next work, is a didactic poem on farming describing the country life with which Virgil was personally familiar and dealing with all aspects of universal life, as the themes of the four books on War, Peace, Death, and Rebirth suggest.

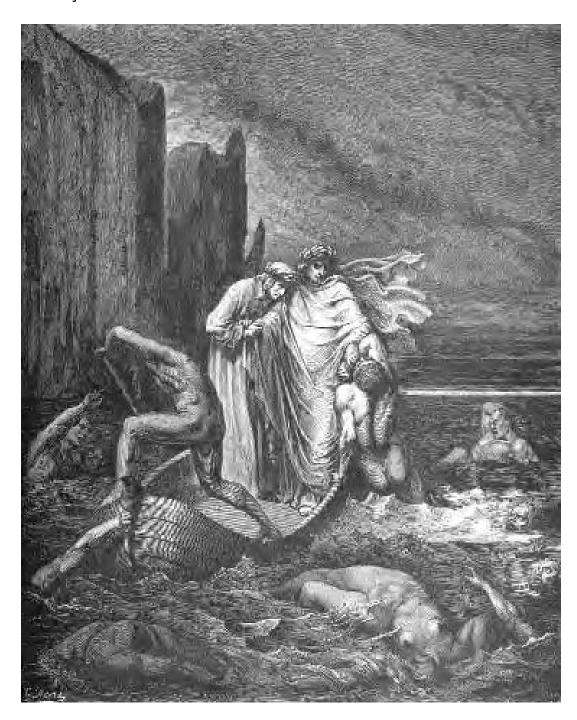
Virgil's last years were devoted to the *Aeneid*, left unfinished at his death, telling about the wanderings of Aeneas after the fall of Troy, similar to the wanderings of Odysseus, and his final settlement in Latium. The poem is an epic about the formation of Roman people and the great role they played in the history of the world according

to a divine decree. The agency of fate is predominant in the poem, even though in some parts of it a spiritual dispensation is awarded to virtuous men, according to their actions.

This image is particularly easy to perceive in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, which can be considered the starting point of Dante's *Inferno*. In this part of the poem, Virgil offers his conception of individual destiny after life, describing the descent of Aeneas into Hades, the underworld, escorted by the Sybil, to reach his father, from whom he will receive a mystic revelation and a prophecy before returning to the upper world.

Virgil's world of the dead is described as a place below the earth, which can be entered by the cave near Lake Avernus. It is thus very different from Homer's underworld, located in the far northwest, but still apparently on the earth. Virgil's underworld is populated by the shades of great personages of legend and of the ordinary men: the righteous souls are allocated to the right region called Elysium and the sinners are punished in the left one called Tartarus, while the souls of those who have died in infancy and of those who have died a violent death inhabit limbo and the region next to it.

Anchises, Aeneas's father, leads his son on to a third division of the underworld, the banks of Lethe, where the souls destined to return for another life to the upper world are gathered. Here



Virgil as Dante's guide in Hell (Dover Pictorial Series)

Aeneas receives the famous philosophical account of life in the underworld, in which reincarnation and the Stoic doctrine of the *anima mundi*, the world-spirit running through every part of the universe (refined through purification after being

corrupted during man's life on earth), play an important part. Through the words of Anchises, Virgil presents his own vision of the afterlife, of the fate of the individual soul and the cycle of its existence, reflecting the images of the "pagan"

theology" that lay behind his philosophy. These ideas had an important influence on the medieval conception of hell, purgatory, and heaven.

See also Dante Alighieri

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Vodoun (also Voodoo; Vodun)

Vodoun is a Caribbean religion formed out of a syncretistic blend of traditional African religions and Catholic Christianity. Originally a slave religion, it is especially associated with the island of Haiti, although identifiably Vodoun forms of spiritual expression are also present in Jamaica and Santo Domingo. "Vodoun" is a derivative of the Nigerian word *vodu*, which means divinity or spirit or deity in the Fon language of Dahomey. The term has been variously spelled/pronounced as *voudou*, *voudoun*, *vodoun*, *voodoo*, and *hoodoo*.

Partially because of sensationalistic portrayals in the entertainment media, voodoo and hoodoo have come to be regarded as pejorative words. Because of its connection with certain black magic practices—practices emphasized and characterized by Hollywood and novelistic treatments—it is commonly associated with Satanism.

Vodoun postulates a complex and extensive pantheon of divinities, referred to as *loas* or *mystères*. A supreme being who created the world, termed *Gran Met*, is acknowledged, although he is too distant from the world to be worshipped. Vodoun focuses instead on the more immediate divinities, serving the loa in return for favors for their devotees. In line with African tradition, ancestors are revered.

Within Vodoun, the human being is pictured as being composed of five ingredients: *n'âme*, *z'étoile*, *corps cadavre*, *gros bon ange*, and *ti bon ange*. *Corps cadavre* refers to the physical flesh. *N'âme* is the vital energy that allows the body to function during life. *Z'étoile* refers to the star of destiny of the particular human being. *Gros bon ange* (literally, "big good angel") and *ti bon ange* (literally, "little good angel") constitute one's soul. The gros bon ange enters humans during conception, and is a portion of the universal life energy, a



A vodoun ceremony in Haiti, 1969: dancing, leading to ecstasies and possession (Fortean Picture Library)

part of the life force that all living things share. The *ti bon ange*, by contrast, is one's individual soul or essence. This "small soul" journeys out of the body when one dreams, as well as when the body is being possessed by the loa. It is the *ti bon ange* that is attacked by sorcerers.

When one dies, according to Vodoun belief, the soul is present near the corpse for a week. During this seven-day period, the *ti bon ange* is vulnerable to being captured and made into a "spiritual zombi" by a sorcerer. Assuming that the soul has escaped this fate, the Vodoun priest ritually severs it from the body so that the soul many live in the dark waters for a year and a day. At that point, relatives ritually raise the soul, now referred to as *esprit* (spirit), and put it in the govi. Govi spirits are fed, clothed, and treated like divinities. Later they are set free to abide among the rocks and trees until rebirth. Sixteen embodiments later, spirits merge into the cosmic energy.

Communion with a god or goddess occurs in the context of possession, referred to as "the hand of divine grace." The gods sometimes work through a govi, and sometimes take over a living person, referred to as "mounting a horse." The person loses consciousness, their body becoming completely the instrument of a loa. Gestures and facial expressions become that of the possessing loa. A special priest (houngan) or priestess (mambo) assists both in summoning the divinities and in helping them to leave at the termination of the possession. These priest/priestesses are also diviners, healers, and religious leaders.

Possession, which the Christian tradition has viewed in purely negative terms as demonic possession, is partially responsible for Vodoun's contemporary reputation as a form of devilworship. Another practice that has contributed to this reputation is animal sacrifice (despite that fact that all ancient religions—including Judaism—engaged in such practices). Sacrificed animals include dogs, sheep, and chickens. Typically, they are slain quickly by slitting their throat and the animal's blood saved. A possessed person sometimes consumes part of the blood under direction of the loa. Finally, while most priests restrict themselves to what might be called "white" magic, there are priests who will engage in black magic.

It is useful to distinguish the religion Vodoun that is found in Benin, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and large cities in the United States where Haitians have migrated, and the diabolical fantasy religion, which might be referred to as voodoo. Voodoo has been a staple of the entertainment media. It has no existence outside the imaginations of people influenced by Hollywood.

There were several stages in the development of the voodoo stereotype. Persecuted by the authorities for centuries, Vodoun was forced underground. As the primary competitor with Christianity for the allegiance of slaves in the Caribbean area, it was natural that it would come be characterized as devil worship. In 1884, a lurid book on Vodoun, Haiti or the Black Republic, was published that basically updated and repeated older images of Vodoun as a diabolical religion. This book featured sensationalistic descriptions of cannibalism, bloody acts of human sacrifice, and similar atrocities. Descriptions of such heinous acts had been placed in the mouths of Vodoun practitioners by Inquisition-like torture. Haiti or the Black Republic initiated a tradition of misrepresentation that has been responsible for much of the misunderstanding that has lasted down to the present.

The assumption that Vodoun is a form of devil worship was picked up by horror genre authors such as Dennis Wheatley. Thus in Wheatley's novel *The Devil Rides Out*, one of the characters, while watching an outdoor Satanist ritual from a distance, observes, "Didn't I tell you that there is little difference between this modern Satanism and Voodoo? We might almost be witnessing some heathen ceremony in an African jungle!" As early as the 1930s, horror movies began repeating this negative stereotype until it became a stock cinematic image.

Another phenomenon and associated media amplification that has caused Vodoun to be associated with the demonic is the zombi. In folklore, a zombie or zombi is a dead person—or, more precisely, the soulless body of a dead person—that has been artificially brought back to life, usually through magical means. Lacking the ingredient of consciousness, the zombie's motions are undirected, mechanical, and robotlike. By extension,

living people who behave like unconscious automatons are sometimes referred to as "zombies." Other than in the movies, the best-known zombies are the dead people who appear to have been brought back to life by a Vodoun/voodoo magician. The term "zombie" seems to be derived from the African word nzambi, meaning "spirit of the dead." Seemingly supernatural, this form of "zombification" has a natural explanation.

Wade Davis, an ethnobiologist, studied Haitian zombies and found that they were actually individuals who were given drugs that made them *appear* dead, and then buried alive. The victim is given a strong poison, either through an open wound or in food. The potion, usually a powder, contains various toxic animal and plant products—including such natural poisons as bufotoxin and tetrodotoxin—that induce a state that appears like death. The sorcerer later utilizes other substances that revitalize the victim.

The victim who has received the potion experiences malaise, dizziness, and a tingling that soon becomes a total numbness. He or she then experiences excessive salivating, sweating, headaches, and general weakness. Both the blood pressure and the temperature of the body drops, and the pulse is quick and weak. This is followed by diarrhea and regurgitation. One experiences respiratory distress, until the entire body turns blue. Sometimes the body goes into wild twitches, after which it is totally paralyzed, and the person falls into a coma in which he or she appears to be dead.

The sorcerer retrieves the victim from the grave, and revives her or him with a potion referred to as "zombi's cucumber." Disoriented, afraid, and psychologically or physically abused, the revived victim is given a new name, and becomes the de facto slave of the sorcerer. Zombies are traditionally put to work in the fields, although some are said to do other kinds of work. They need minimal nourishment. It is said, however, that they cannot be fed salt, which acti-

vates their speaking ability as well as an instinct that takes them back to their tombs.

It should finally be mentioned that Vodoun/voodoo indirectly received some negative media attention in the wake of the Matamoros murders in the late 1980s, after the bodies of a University of Texas student and the rivals of a drug-running gang were found buried on a Mexican ranch. News media analysis of the incident ran the full gamut of speculative pseudoexplanations, referring to the Matamoros "cult" members as Satanists, or as practitioners of everything from Santeria to Vodoun. One sensationalist potboiler on the incident bore the subtitle, The Nightmare Tale of Voodoo, Drugs and Death in Matamoros. And even a story in Time magazine, normally cautious about casually tossing around negative stereotypes, referred to the group as a "voodoo-practicing cult of drug smugglers" whose rituals were intended to "win Satanic protection." Perhaps needless to say, the Matamoros drug smugglers had no actual connection with Vodoun, much less anything resembling authentic Satanism.

See also Matamoros Murders; Palo; Possession and Exorcism; Wheatley, Dennis

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Walburoisnacht

According to Anton LaVey's account in The Satanic Bible, the two most important Satanic holidays are Halloween and Walpurgisnacht. This holiday, which takes place on the night of April 30, is traditionally said to be a night on which the witches met on the Blockula in Sweden and on other mountain peaks in Europe for a major sabbat (witches' gathering). It is still observed as a folk festival in the Hartz Mountain region of Germany and in Scandinavia as a night on which to scare away evil spirits by lighting bonfires and making various kinds of loud noises. The apparent source for the name is St. Walburga, although her festival falls on February 25. It also seems to be a relic of the Celtic festival of Beltane.

Walpurgisnacht is significant for modern Satanism because, according to LaVey, he shaved his head and founded the Church of Satan on April 30, 1966. Walpurgisnacht was made famous by Goethe's Faust, one of LaVey's sources of inspiration.

See also Church of Satan; Sabbat

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War in Heaven

The earliest account about angels who rebelled and were punished for it is contained in the apocryphal Book of the Secrets of Enoch. According to Christian legend, there was the great battle fought at the beginning of time between good angels, supporting God, and the rebelling bad angels, supporting Satan's attempt to take God's place. It is believed that there was a tremendous battle in heaven on the second day of the beginning of the world. The angels were created with free will, although God observed that they were fallible. However, he strengthened many of them in their pursuit of goodness and, according to St. Augustine, this confirmation gave them a profound understanding of the workings of the universe and their particular place within it.

It is also said that a second group of angels was created by God, who gave them the opportunity to sin. When they sinned, a war broke out between the two groups of angels, and the archangel Michael took up arms against Lucifer and the legions of sinners, and managed to cast them out of heaven. The Mont St. Michel on the Norman coast is the eternal monument to the victorious leader of the hosts of heaven in the war against the rebel angel.

The downfall of the Devil is, according to Church authority, attributed to self-conceit, and it was inferred that the Devil's sin was pride, although his sin is elsewhere thought to be superbia, envy, ambition, insolence. According to the Talmud, Satan's sin lay not in his rivalry with God but in his envy of man. The rabbis say that when Adam was created all the angels had to bow to the new king of the earth, but Satan refused. Thus God flung Satan and his host out of heaven, down to the earth. The enmity between Satan and Jehovah dates from that moment.

A similar account is contained in the Koran, which says that when Allah created man, he called all the angels to worship this crowning work of His hands. However, Eblis refused to worship Adam and was banished from heaven for failing to obey the command of Allah. Some medieval philosophers asserted that the conflict lasted three seconds, and that Lucifer and certain devils fell to hell while others stayed in the earth's air to tempt mankind.

Also a few church fathers thought that not all the followers of Satan were thrown with their rebel chief into hell, but a number of them were left on earth in order to tempt man. It has been suggested that these angels maintained a neutral position in the rivalry between the Lord and Lucifer. When the Lord defeated the Devil, and cast him and his legionaries into the abyss, He did not hurl also the neutral angels into hell. He rather decided to give them another opportunity to choose between Him and His rival, and cast them down to the earth.

Also, according to the church father Origen, there were some "doubtful angels" who were uncertain whether to take the side of God or that of Lucifer. It was from these hesitant and irresolute creatures that humans are thought to have originated. Other commentators have speculated that this battle took place on a planet in the solar system that exploded and gave rise to the asteroid belt between Mars and Jupiter.

In literature, the most significant story about the war in Heaven is John Milton's multivolume *Paradise Lost*, in which an arrogant Satan leads rebelling angels against faithful ones defending the Mount of God in heaven. After being thrown out of heaven, Satan eventually corrupts the first humans to revenge himself against God. However he does not accomplish anything, and as he

returns to hell, God turns him and his fellow devils into serpents.

See also Demons; Fallen Angels; Milton, John; Satan *For Further Reading*:

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Warlock; Warlock: The Armageddon; and Warlock 3: The End of Innocence

The first *Warlock* movie (1991) uses a conflict-across-time theme that will be familiar to Austin Powers fans. A man (the warlock), condemned in seventeenth-century Boston for selling his soul to the Devil, is transported into contemporary Los Angeles to accomplish Satan's plan for destroying the world. A witch-hunter follows him into the future, and enlists the aid of a young woman to foil the evil plot. In the first sequel (1993), the warlock again tries to bring about Armageddon, this time in Northern California. He faces new antagonists: two teenaged descendants of the ancient Druids. In the most lackluster of the series—the warlock tries to create his bride of darkness.

Watchers (Grigori)

According to Jewish legend, the Grigori ("Watchers") are a superior order of angels, whose proper place is either the second or fifth heaven. They are said to look like human beings (except much larger), never sleep, and are forever silent. Although there are both good and bad Grigori, most extant lore revolves around the evil Watchers who fell from grace after copulating with human women.

The story of the Grigori is detailed in several scriptural books that did not make it into the Judeo-Christian canon. Chief among these are the *Book of Enoch* and the *Book of Jubilees*. A fragment of this tale was incorporated into a brief passage in

the Book of Genesis, where it states that the "sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair and they took to wife such of them as they chose" (6:2). Traditionally, the expression "sons of God" was taken to indicate angels, although later churchmen rejected the idea that angels could have intercourse with human beings.

See also Demons; Book of Jubilees
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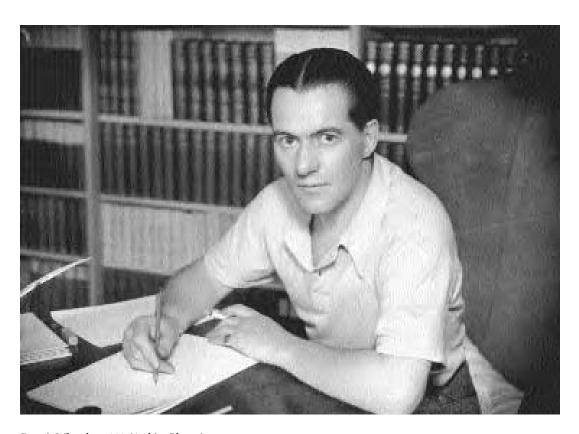
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Wheatley, Dennis

A significant but largely forgotten influence on modern Satanism was Dennis Wheatley, one of more popular British writers of the mid-twentieth century. His long career spanned some forty-four years, from 1933 to 1977. Although he also authored nonfiction, historical novels, and novels of international intrigue, he is best remembered for his "black magic" novels, many of which featured Satanists.

Wheatley often linked hostile geopolitical threats to infernal forces, as in his *They Used Dark Forces*, which pictures Hitler using black magic. Similarly, in *The Satanist*, he portrays communist spies as Satanists. For example, at one point in the narrative of *The Satanist*, one of the protagonists reflects, "The fact that he was both a Communist and a Satanist had raised the interesting question of how far might a tie-up exist between these two supposedly separate forces for evil?" In this blending of diabolical with sociopolitical enemies, Wheatley was merely stating what was already an unconscious association in the mass mind of Western nations.

His *The Devil Rides Out* (1935), was probably the most popular horror novel of the midtwentieth



Dennis Wheatley, 1933 (Archive Photos)

century. It was later (1967) made into a movie by Hammer Films (released in the U.S. under the title, *The Devil's Bride*). In the words of Jessica Amanda Salmonson, "*The Devil Rides Out* [is] a minor classic. Black magic, demonism, evil sorcerer, ghosts, astral journeys, mummified penis talisman, revival after death—quite a colorful item.... It shaped many persisting beliefs about Satan worshipers" (Salmonson 2000, website). Wheatley contributed heavily to the notion of a Satanic conspiracy of covert devil-worshipers that would be so influential in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Both directly through his own writings and indirectly through the works of imitators, Wheatley provided details about the diabolical underground that "confessing ex-Satanists" would later repeat in testimonials aimed at conservative Christian audiences. For example, in his recent study, Raising the Devil, Bill Ellis provides a short overview of the career of Doreen Irvine, an early "evangelical ex-Satanist" heavily indebted to the novelist for her portrait of "black lodges." Irvine gathered her "recollections" together into a book published in 1973 as From Witchcraft to Christ. At one infernal gathering, she described participants arriving "in smart cars, not on broomsticks, and booked in at hotels looking for all the world like successful businessmen and women-which some were. This was the new face of witchcraft—prosperous, almost respectable—a veneer that concealed tremendous forces of evil" (Ellis 2000, 164). This scene seems to have been taken directly out of one of Wheatley's black magic novels.

Perhaps more interestingly, the British writer also contributed to organized Satanism. As Philip Jenkins notes, commenting on *The Devil Rides Out*: "Though fictional, books like this played an indispensable part in shaping the new occult groups from the 1960s onwards, including real-life Satanists" (Jenkins 2000, 144). For example, one modern Satanist group, the Brotherhood of the Ram, appears to have taken its name from a fictional order in Wheatley's *The Satanist*. Toward the end of this same novel, the chief Satanist addresses the world in a radio broadcast focused on the theme that "the Christian heresy had inflicted on the world many generations of senseless self-denial, made an unnatural virtue of celibacy, and

denied the people the joy in life which was their birthright." Although Wheatley's character was certainly not the first to voice this sentiment, and thus not likely the first to implant the idea in Anton LaVey's fertile imagination, it is interesting that the opposition between Christianity and natural human instinct is also the core theme of *The Satanic Bible*. Similarly, Wheatley's novelistic portrayals of Satanic gatherings may have provided some inspiration for LaVey's Satanic rituals.

See also Brotherhood of the Ram; Film; LaVey, Anton Szandor

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Wicca Letters

The so-called "Wicca Letters" do for modern witches and Satanists what the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* did for Judaism. In other words, in the same way in which the *Protocols* were supposed to present the details of a Jewish plot to take over the world, the Wicca Letters are supposed to represent a similar outline for world domination drafted by the Witches International Coven Council (a nonexistent group) during a meeting in Mexico in 1981. It was claimed that a copy of these letters was intercepted by police. The writer Art Lyons was said to have traced the authorship of this document to a San Diego police "cult" expert. The letters read:

- To bring about the covens, both black and white magic into one and have the arctress govern all—ACCOMPLISHED;
- To bring about personal debts causing discord and disharmony within families— ACCOMPLISHED;
- 3. To remove or educate "new age youth" by:
 a. infiltrating boys'/girls' clubs and big
 sister/brother programs b. infiltrating
 schools, having prayers removed, having
 teachers teach about drugs, sex, freedoms
 c. instigating and promoting rebellion
 against parents and all authority d.
 promoting equal rights for youth—
 ACCOMPLISHED;
- To gain access to all people's backgrounds and vital information by: a. use of computers b. convenience c. infiltration— ACCOMPLISHED;
- 5. To have laws changed to benefit our ways, such as:
 - a. removing children from home environment and placing them in our foster homes
 - b. mandatory placement of children in our daycare centers
 - c. increased taxes d. open drug and pornography market to everyone—NOT YET ACCOMPLISHED;
- To destroy government agencies by: a.
 overspending b. public opinion c. being on
 the offensive always, opposing,
 demonstrating, demoralizing—NOT YET
 ACCOMPLISHED;
- Not to be revealed until all else has been accomplished. Target date for revelation— June 21, 1986—the beginning of the Summer Solstice and great feast on the Satanic calendar.

See also Satanic Ritual Abuse *For Further Reading:*

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Witchboard

A group of friends use a Ouija board and unwittingly conjure up a demon. *Witchboard* (1985) had two sequels, *The Devil's Doorway* (1993) and *The Possession* (1995).

Witchcraft

No less than eight sequels have been spawned by this low-budget 1988 flick—sequels with tacky subtitles like *Dance with the Devil* and *The Devil's Mistress*. Taken as a group, this series is chock full of evil Satanists, human sacrifices, and sexy heroines (or sexy witches, as the case may be).

Witcheru

Following her starring role in *The Exorcist*, Linda Blair was able to land a number of parts in less illustrious devil movies, including *Witchery*. The plot of this 1988 film revolves around a couple who visit an island where they become targets of the local witch and her Satanic rites.

Witches of Eastwick

Jack Nicholson is the handsome, oversexed Devil who initially seduces, but later is overpowered by, Michelle Pfeiffer, Susan Sarandon, and Cher in this 1987 film. Under Satan's tutelage, these three beautiful ladies become the Witches of Eastwick. However, when they discover he has a nasty disposition and they try to end their affair with him, the Devil gets mean and plays dirty tricks to punish each of them into coming back to him. The three women then conspire to do him in, and win out by overpowering him with his own magic.

Wormwood

Due to the influential fiction of C. S. Lewis, Wormwood (meaning "bitterness") is familiar as the name of an apprentice devil. Wormwood was, however, originally the designation for an angel that is described in Revelation 8:10–11. This account of the end of the world tells how John of Patmos first had visions of the impending disaster. To begin with, God is seen on his throne in heaven



Witches of Eastwick (1987) (Kobol Collection/Warner Brothers)

holding a scroll kept closed with seven seals that no one can open except for a seven-eyed and sevenhorned lamb (Christ). The narrative goes on to relate how with each opening of a seal another cataclysmic or wondrous event occurs for the earth. First there is the release of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: War, Famine, Death, and Civil Conflict. This is followed by martyrs calling out for justice, then an earthquake on earth while the sun turns black and the moon red. When the seventh and last seal is opened, Wormwood appears: "a great star fell from heaven, blazing like a torch, and it fell on a third of the rivers and on the fountains of water. The name of the star is Wormwood" (Rev. 8:10-11). Here on earth Wormwood causes the death of many mortals by his poisoning of the rivers and waters.

Wormwood is also referred to in a work of fiction by C. S. Lewis entitled *The Screwtape Letters*. The letters are addressed to Wormwood, who is the nephew of Screwtape ("an important official in His Satanic Majesty's 'Lowerarchy'"). Wormwood himself is characterized by Lewis as "a sort of junior devil on earth."

See also Demons

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Zoroastrianism

In the history of religions Zoroastrianism has been an unusually fruitful faith, exercising an influence on the doctrines of other religions disproportionate to its size. It was founded in ancient Persia (modern-day Iran) in about 1000 B.C.E. (some sources say much earlier) by the prophet Zoroaster, and was the official religion of the area until the Muslims took over the area. A relatively small body of Zoroastrians, who are called *Parsis* in the subcontinent, survive in contemporary India.

The religion of Zoroaster is best known for its dualism. The god of light and the upper world, Ohrmazd or Ahura Mazda ("wise lord") and his angels, are locked in a cosmic struggle with the god of darkness and the lower world, Angra Mainyu or Ahriman ("evil spirit") and his demons. Unlike Christianity, in which the outcome of the war between God and the devil has already been decided, Zoroastrianism portrays the struggle as more or less evenly matched. Individual human beings are urged to align themselves with the forces of light, and are judged according to the predominance of their good or evil deeds.

For three days after death, the soul remains at the head of its former body. All of the individual's good and bad deeds are entered in a sort of accountant's ledger, recording evil actions as debits and good actions as credits. The soul then embarks on a journey to judgment, walking out onto the Chinvat ("accountant's") Bridge. In the middle of the bridge, according to the Pahlevi (Pahlevi is the ancient language of Persia) text, the *Bundahishn*.

there is a sharp edge which stands like a sword; and Hell is below the Bridge. Then the soul is carried to where stands a sword. If the soul is righteous, the sword presents its broad side. If the soul be wicked, that sword continues to stand edgewise, and does not give passage. With three steps which the soul takes forward—which are the evil thoughts, words, and deeds that it has performed—it is cut down from the head of the Bridge, and falls headlong to Hell. (Pavry 1926, 92–93)

If, when weighing bad against good deeds, debits outweigh credits, "even if the difference is only three tiny acts of wrongdoing," the sinner falls off the bridge and into hell. Hell is a dismal realm of torment, where the damned can consume only the foulest food for nourishment. If debits and credits cancel each other out, the soul is placed in Hammistagan ("region of the mixed"), a limbo realm in which souls are neither happy nor sorrowful and in which they will abide until the final apocalypse. In later texts, a person's deeds

greet him on the bridge in personified form—a beautiful maiden for a good person; an ugly hag for a bad person—who either leads the soul to paradise ("the luminous mansions of the sky") or embraces the soul and falls into hell, according to whether the person has been good or evil.

After the final battle between good and evil, there will be a general judgment in which everyone will be put through an ordeal of fire (a river of molten metal), in which good individuals will have their dross burned away and evil people will be consumed. Thus the souls of the damned will trade their ongoing torment in hell for a painful annihilation. The souls of the blessed, on the other hand, will be resurrected in physical bodies, which Ahura Mazda will make both immortal and eternally youthful. (In a later modification of tradition, both good and evil souls have their dross burned away, so that everyone shares the postresurrection paradise.)

The concept of resurrection as formulated in Zoroastrianism represents one of the earliest efforts to conceive of immortality. It is part of an optimistic vision of the end of the world, in which the forces of light overcome darkness and all humankind rejoices with the renewal of creation. An entire section of the *Avesta* explains how the body is returned to the soul upon the moment of reunion and resurrection.

The final great transformation, called the "making wonderful," is described by scholar Norman Cohn in the following way:

The earth will be flattened by the fiery flood, so that its surface will be a single level plain: the snow-covered mountains of Iran—first

thrown up as a result of Angra Mainyu's onslaught—will be no more. In this perfect environment the surviving human beings will live in the most perfect harmony with one another. Husbands and wives and children, including of course the resurrected dead, will be re-united and will live together as they do in this present world—except that there will be no more begetting of children. All mankind will form a single community of devout Zoroastrians, all united in adoration of Ahura Mazda and the Holy Immortals, and all at one in thought word and deed. (Cohn 1993, 98–99)

Many of the components of this vision of the end times—a final battle between good and evil, judgment of the wicked, resurrection of the dead, and so on—were adopted by Jewish apocalyptic thinkers. From texts composed by these apocalypticists, such notions were adopted into Christianity and Islam.

See also Ahriman

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CHRONOLOGY

The following chronology includes information on ear-
lier manifestations of the Western occult tradition, par-
ticularly those that provide a background for the cre-
ation of modern religious Satanism in the 1960s.

- 1608 Astrologer John Dee (1527–1608) dies in London. Dee is best known for his Enochian Magic, a system of magic teaching communication with angels and spirits. Some of his Enochian Keys are included in the latter section of *The Satanic Bible*.
- 1614 The Rituale Romanum, the Catholic Church's official exorcism manual, is issued during the papacy of Pope Paul V. It was not revised until 1999.
- **1674** Death of John Milton (1608–1674), Puritan author of *Paradise Lost*.
- 1692 Salem witch craze gets underway in Salem now Danvers—Massachusetts. During the course of the witchcraft trials, 141 people were arrested as suspects, 19 were hanged, and one was pressed to death.
- 1717 Formal beginning of Freemasonry, when four lodges met in London and established the Grand Lodge, in order to "restore" Masonry. Freemasonry influenced the rituals of Ceremonial Magic, and, in turn, the rituals of religious Satanism.
- 1810 Birth of Alphonse-Louis Constant ("Eliphas Levi," 1810–1875), a French occultist and writer who is a major link in the chain that led to modern magical practices.
- 1821 Birth of Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) a
 French poet who wrote about alienation and
 evil. One of Baudelaire's most important
 "Satanic" pieces is his "Litanies of Satan,"
 which was repeated in the rituals of the
 Brotherhood of the Ram, a Satanic group.

- 1854 Birth of Samuel Mathers (1854–1918), a founder of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, which had a significant but indirect influence on modern religious Satanism through Aleister Crowley, a one-time member of the Order.
- 1858 The Fraternitas Rosae Crucis is founded by physician P. B. Randolph (1825–1875). It is generally considered the oldest Rosicrucian body.
- 1861 The Dogma and Ritual of High Magic, the most popular book by French occultist Eliphas Levi (Alphonse-Louis Constant) appears. Levi's system was adopted and improved by the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, and so became the source of all modern systems of magic.
- 1865 The Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia founded by Robert Wentworth Little.
- 1875 Birth of Aleister Crowley (1875–1947), the most famous and influential ritual magician of the twentieth century.
- 1884 Gerald Brosseau Gardner, the founder of modern Wicca, born at Great Crosby, near Blundell Sands in Lancashire, England.
- 1886 Birth of Austin Osman Spare (1886–1956), regarded as the founder of chaos magic, a popular form of magic in contemporary Satanist circles.
- 1888 The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn founded in London, with Dr. William Wynn Westcott, Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers, and W. R. Woodman as its ruling triumvirate.
- 1890 Founding of the Ordo Templi Orientis (often referred to as the OTO), which, along with the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn,

- 1897 Aurum Solis, originally a school of high cabalistic magic, founded in England by Charles Kingold and George Stanton.
- 1904 Aleister Crowley writes *The Book of the Law* (said to have been dictated to Crowley by a disembodied spirit), one of the most important of modern magical treatises, and the basis of all Thelemic magic.
- **1907** Aleister Crowley founds his own organization, the Astrum Argentinum ("Silver Star").
- **1909** Aleister Crowley begins publication of *The Equinox* semiannually (until 1913) in order to spread his ideas.
- 1922 Builders of the Adytum (B.O.T.A.), a mystery school based on the cabala, is established by Paul Foster Case.

Dion Fortune (Violet Mary Firth) organizes the Community of the Inner Light, later the Fraternity of the Inner Light, one of the organizations with a direct influence on Gerald Gardner.

- 1939 In England, Gerald B. Gardner establishes the kernel of what will become modern Wicca.
- 1948 Our Lady of Endor Coven, known also as the Ophite Cultus Satanas, is founded by Herbert Arthur Sloane of Toledo, Ohio.
- 1950 The legend of the Devil's triangle—also known as the Bermuda triangle—begins with an associated press article calling attention to the many ships that had mysteriously disappeared between Florida and Bermuda.
- 1951 The very last British antiwitchcraft law—which had been enacted in 1736—is repealed because of lobbying by Spiritualist churches.
- 1963 The Process Church of the Final Judgement (or The Process) is founded in England by Robert de Grimston and his wife, Mary Anne Maclean.
- 1966 Anton LaVey announces the formation of the Church of Satan. The existence of the Church of Satan provides a concrete target for conservative Christians with vague fears about the machinations of the Prince of Darkness.
- 1968 Release of *Rosemary's Baby*. After the *Exorcist*, this was the most successful movie with a Satanic theme of all time.

1969 Anton LaVey publishes the first and most important of three books, *The Satanic Bible*, containing the perspective of the Church of Satan. It was followed by *The Compleat Witch* (1970), and *The Satanic Rituals* (1972).

A young black man is murdered by members of the Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club during Altamont Rock Festival while the Rolling Stones are performing "Sympathy for the Devil."

Charles Manson and the so-called "Manson Family" commit a series of murders in southern California. The most publicized murders take place at actress Sharon Tate's home. Sharon Tate's husband, Roman Polanski, directed *Rosemary's Baby* (1968)—the most prominent devil-related horror movie of the 1960s. The Manson family is labeled a "Satanist" group by some observers.

1970 The Ordo Templi Astarte, Order of the Temple of Astarte-OTA, also known as Church of Hermetic Science, is constituted as a ritual magic group.

Stanley Dean Baker, arrested following a traffic violation, confesses to cannibalism. Police find a human finger in one of Baker's pockets and a copy of *The Satanic Bible* in the other. Baker subsequently regales authorities and fellow prisoners with tales of his participation in a blood-drinking devil cult.

- 1971 Thee Satanic Orthodox Church of Nethilum Rite emerges into public view under the leadership of its high priest.
- 1972 The Kerk van Satan, also known as the Magistralis Grotto of the Church of Satan, is founded by Martin Lamers as a Dutch affiliate of Anton LaVey's Church of Satan. Authorities persecute the Kerk van Satan until Lamers looses a tax evasion case in 1987 and closes down his operation.
- 1973 Beginning of concern over cattle mutilations, attributed variously to Satanists and space aliens in Minnesota and Kansas.

The Church of Satanic Brotherhood is founded as a result of the controversy that developed among the Midwestern grottoes of the Church of Satani. The Church of Satanic Brotherhood is short-lived.

The Exorcist, the story of a dramatic exorcism, is released. It becomes the most successful horror movie of all time. In the film's wake, people begin claiming that they are possessed.

Creation of the Dungeons and Dragons roleplaying game by Dave Arneson and Gary Gygax. The game was first marketed in 1974. Beginning in the late 1970s, Dungeons and Dragons and similar games come under severe attack by some conservative Christians who allege that their "occult" content inspires people to suicide, criminal activity, and/or Satanism.

1973 The Raelian Movement is founded in France by Claude Vorilhon, better known as Rael.

1974 Thee Satanic Church is formed under the leadership of Dr. Evelyn Paglini, following the division of Thee Satanic Orthodox Church of Nethilum Rite.

Michael A. Aquino, formerly a member of the Church of Satan, founds the Temple of Set.

Convicted bank robber Albert Kenneth Bankston serving time in Leavenworth federal penitentiary claims knowledge of a violent occult group conducting cattle mutilations and other illegal activities. Bankston's claims fuel Satanist the conspiracy theory of cattle mutilations.

1977 Death of Dennis Wheatley, a significant influence on modern Satanism and one of more popular British writers of the midtwentieth century. He is best remembered for his "Black Magic" novels, many of which featured Satanists.

1979 Publication of *Jay's Journal*, the fictional story—supposedly based on fact—of a teenager who gets involved in a youthful Satanist group containing details of his participation in cattle mutilations, culminating in literal bloodbaths and blood-drinking.

1980 A new concern about the possible presence of Satanism in the United States centered upon the sexual abuse of children in Satanic rituals is initiated by the publication of *Michelle Remembers*.

1981 The Oxford Golden Dawn Occult Society is founded by Frater Katon Shu'al, then a member of the Typhonian branch of the Ordo Templi Orientis.

1982 The Ordo Lux Kethri is formed by April Schadler Bishop and Michael Albion Macdonald, of the Builders of the Adytum.

The first spate of rumors that the Procter and Gamble trademark—a circle containing a side view of a man-in-the-moon face looking out over a field of 13 stars—is a Satanic symbol.

Other surges take place at the grassroots level in 1985, 1991, 1995, and 1999.

In the wake of a young man's suicide, his mother brings a lawsuit against his school, at which he had been involved in Dungeons and Dragons. The suit is thrown out and she organizes BADD (Bothered about Dungeons and Dragons) modeled roughly after MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Driving).

Beginning of the McCuan and Kniffen Families case in Bakersfield and Kern County, California. This is the first large multi-victim multi-offender child abuse case in North America. Accusations of a sex and pornography ring grow to include allegations of Satanic ritual murders. Two couples are tried in 1983, found guilty, and given centuries-long jail sentences. The convictions are overturned on appeal and the two couples are released from jail in August 1996, after having spent 14 years in prison, isolated from each other.

1983 Publication of first book-length "exposé" of backward masking, Jacob Aranza's Backward Masking Unmasked.

First accusations in the McMartin ritual abuse case. McMartin was the first high-profile case involving charges of Satanic ritual abuse (SRA) at a day-care center. In the wake of an initial spate of publicity in the early 1980s, there was a rash of SRA cases at other day-care centers until it had become a national phenomenon. By the beginning of the 1990s, over a hundred investigations of day-care cases had taken place on the basis of ritual abuse accusations.

1984 The Abbey of Thelema, an independent initiatory magical group patterned after the Argenteum Astrum, is formed by Gregory von Seewald.

A child attending the Fells Acre Day Care Center in Malden, Massachusetts, discloses to his uncle that a day-care worker had pulled his pants down. After children are persistently questioned by parents and authorities, the innocent act of changing a boy's pants after he had wet himself during nap time become a bizarre sexual abuse case involving themes characteristic of Satanic ritual abuse accusations.

1985 Francisco Fuster of Miami Florida is convicted on fourteen counts of child abuse. This case involved Francisco, his wife, and more than fifty children. The children related stories of being forced to eat feces, pose for pornographic pictures, take mind-altering drugs, kill animals, and submit to anal rape with a crucifix. The children also described the chanting of prayers to Satan, eating someone's head, and riding on sharks. Fuster received a sentence of six life terms and 165 years in prison and his wife was eventually deported to Honduras.

Margaret Kelly Michaels, an employee of the Wee Care Day Nursery of Maplewood, New Jersey, is charged with 115 counts of sexual assault against 20 of her students. Many of the accusations came directly out of Satanic ritual abuse literature. Michaels was eventually convicted of all 115 counts and given a 47year-sentence. She was subsequently released on appeal by the Appeals Court of New Jersey after serving five years.

A Nevada judge agrees to hear a case involving the suicide of two young men, based on the accusation that a backward-masked message on a Judas Priest album had subliminally urged them to "Do it." A similar case was brought against Ozzy Osbourne of Black Sabbath fame in 1991. Both cases were dismissed.

Founding of the Gnostic Order and Temple of Satanas by Damian Alan Sinclair and Laylah Agatha Sinclair.

Capture of Richard Ramirez, better known as the Night Stalker, a burglar, rapist, and sadistic serial murderer who terrorized the Los Angeles area in the mid-1980s. A self-identified Satanist, Ramirez's crime spree was one of the few cases that might legitimately be called "Satanic crime."

1986 The Church of Satanic Liberation founded by Paul Douglas Valentine. Although inspired by LaVey, Valentine has been harshly critical and has portrayed himself as inheriting LaVey's mantle.

1988 Paul R. Ingram, a deputy sheriff and chairman of the local Republican party in Olympia, Washington, becomes the first person ever to plead guilty to accusations of Satanic ritual abuse.

> Broadcast of Geraldo Rivera's most influential Satanic ritual abuse special, "Devil Worship: Exposing Satan's Underground," by NBC shortly before Halloween.

1989 Bodies discovered in the grounds of a ranch near Matamoros, Mexico, not far from the Texas border, make headlines. The murders, which are associated with a drugsmuggling operation, are immediately linked to Satanic worship.

After local police attend a Satanic ritual abuse seminar, in excess of 90 children accuse a total of 20 adults with 429 instances of child sexual abuse in a day-care center in Edenton, North Carolina. The sheriff and the mayor are among the alleged perpetrators. It becomes the most famous Satanic day-care ritual abuse case in North America after the McMartin Preschool case.

A parent asserts that her child had been abused at the Breezy Point Day School in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. The charges that are clearly inspired by Satanic ritual abuse literature then began to escalate quickly, and expand to include a female aide, the instructor's husband, and others.

1990 Idaho passes a ritual abuse law "To provide a felony offense for specified abuse of a child as part of a ritual."

> Lucifers Den founded in Big Spring, Texas, by Brian Nalls. It is later refounded and expanded in 1997.

> The Rochdale, United Kingdom, Satanic ritual abuse case begins when police and social workers conduct a dawn raid on area homes and take twenty-one children into protective custody.

In New Zealand, a conference takes place in Christchurch that includes a workshop on Satanic ritual abuse. Seventeen days after the Christchurch conference, a therapist files a complaint alleging that Peter Ellis, an employee of the Christchurch Civic Child Care Centre, may have abused her son. Ellis was eventually charged and convicted.

> Publication of Robert D. Hicks's important, In Pursuit of Satan: The Police and the Occult, and James T. Richardson, Joel Best, and David G. Bromley's The Satanism Scare, both of which take a debunking stance on Satanic ritual abuse.

Dale Akiki is accused of abusing children at Faith Chapel in Spring Valley, California, where he was a volunteer baby-sitter and Sunday school worker. As in many other Satanic child abuse cases, therapists prompt the children to relate "memories" of Akiki murdering or mutilating a baby, rabbits, and even a giraffe and an elephant.

1992 The Sterling Family along with an unidentified minor female and five other men, are charged

with 190 counts of physical and sexual abuse against two dozen children at the Sterling's baby-sitting service in Martensville, Canada. Wild rumors of evil Satanists circulate through the town leading many citizens to began perceiving Satanic cult activity everywhere in what comes to be referred to as the Martensville Nightmare.

Rainer Moellers, an instructor at a Muenster, Germany, Montessori nursery, is charged with the ritual abuse of sixty-two children. The original allegation related to the taking of a child's temperature. Subsequent to input by a group with a Satanic ritual abuse orientation leads to Moellers's dismissal and the filing of formal charges. In the face of the surrealistic nature of many of the accusations and the complete lack of any physical evidence Moellers was acquitted in early 1995.

The influential FBI report, Kenneth V. Lanning's "Investigator's Guide to Allegations of 'Ritual' Child Abuse," is issued. This report, which dismisses the reality of Satanic ritual abuse, has been described as the most influential document on the subject ever written

Release of the documentary-style Scandinavian film *Haxan* (1922), retitled *Witchcraft Through the Ages* for the English-speaking world. The film contains reenactments of infernal folklore, such as witches performing the so-called "kiss of shame."

1993 Illinois passes a ritual abuse law to prevent "Ritualized Abuse of a Child."

Accusations of Satanic ritual abuse are leveled against four families in Bishop Auckland, UK. In early 1995, the senior prosecutor dropped the case because the evidence was ambiguous and the charges unbelievable.

An opinion poll conduced by *Time* magazine indicates that 49 percent of the population believes in fallen angels or devils.

Publication of Jeffrey Victor's *Satanic Panic: The Creation of a Contemporary Legend*, a scholarly study that debunks Satanic ritual abuse as a moral panic.

The Robin Hood Hills murders take place near West Memphis, Arkansas. Three teenagers, who prosecutors portray as Satanists, are eventually convicted.

1994 The definitive British government report on Satanic Ritual Abuse, *The Extent & Nature of*

Organized Ritual Abuse, is issued.
Commissioned by the health secretary, the report is authored by Professor Jean La
Fontaine and a team at Manchester University.

Formation of the Black Lodge, a Satanist group viewing itself as an organized rebirth of the culture of the ancient Inca and Nazca.

Six men from Pembroke, West Wales, are convicted of child sexual abuse in a Satanic ritual abuse case. It is the largest case of its kind in British history.

The Newcastle Satanic ritual abuse case goes to trial in England. Defendants were acquitted because the evidence was judged unreliable.

1995 California passes a ritual abuse law modeled after a prior Idaho law. The California law provides that someone convicted of child abuse could have their sentence extended three years if "the offense was committed as part of a ceremony, rite, or any similar observance."

On "Wrongly Accused and Convicted of Child Molest," Geraldo Rivera apologizes for promoting the Satanic ritual abuse scare.

1996 Marco Dimitri, founder-leader of the Luciferian Children of Satan (Bambini di Satana Luciferiani) and some followers are charged with rape by Italian authorities. All of the principal charges are dismissed the following year, though Dimitri was convicted on a minor tax violation.

Marc Dutroux, the so-called "Monster from Charleroi," is arrested and charged with kidnapping, imprisoning, and sexually abusing six young girls, four of whom were found dead. Although there was no evidence of an occult connection, the case was quickly classified as a Satanic ritual abuse case.

1997 Anton Szandor LaVey, founder of the Church of Satan, dies in San Francisco. The conflict between the original Church of Satan and new Satanist groups increases in the wake of LaVey's death.

The Ninth Covenant, a Satanist organization, is founded by Syn Holiday in Long Beach, California.

1998 Ascendancy, a prominent Satanic website, is created under the name "Hallowed Be Thy Name" by Jashan A'al (Valeska Scholl).

1999 Cardinal Jorge Arturo Medina, prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, issues an

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updated exorcism ritual.

The Church of the Morning Star, a nonprofit Satanist church, is founded in Virginia Beach, Virginia.

The Temple of Lylyth is formed by Shane Vedvik, Josh Coker, and Casey Prellwitz in Portage, Wisconsin.

The Prometheus Society is founded by K. Brent Olsen in Fresno, California. The membership of the society is international. It began life as the Satanic International Network

(SIN), based on the historical Satanic Intercommunication Network.

2000

Airing of "God, the Devil and Bob," a short-lived NBC television show canceled after only four episodes because twenty-two local NBC affiliates refuse to air the program.

Founding of the Infernal Chapel in Orange County California by Reverend Haile.

Founding of the Order of Infernal Light, a Satanic Aesthetic, by Reverend Dianna Genesis Lewinsky.

APPENDIX I: Sample Documents

A religion, by its very nature, involves both mythology (or ideology) and ritual (or some other sort of regular practice). Modern Satanism is no exception to this rule, although, as a decentralized movement, there is a tremendous diversity on the exact nature of these components. Although some Satanists are content to reinterpret traditional mythology, and others have selectively adapted some of the compositions of the Romantics (e.g., Anatole France's, *The Revolt of the Angels*), some have created new narratives.

In particular, the success of Anton LaVey's Satanic Bible has inspired other Satanists to author new scriptures. One of the more interesting and revealing is "The Gospel According to Rino." It is reproduced below with permission of the author. Like the sacred stories of other traditions, the author of this document sets the stage with a creation story—in this case, creation by Satan and his consort Lilith. Although the creation events as well as the other mythological aspects of the narrative are clearly not meant to be taken literally, the values and viewpoints expressed throughout the document—such as, for example, the negative evaluation of other religious traditions—reflect those of most modern Satanists.

This story is followed by the text of the marriage ceremony used by the Church of Satan.

The final piece reproduced below is a different kind of document, namely a commentary on public education and a discussion of homeschooling by Blanche Barton. This essay provides an insightful glimpse into how the Satanist perspective is brought to bear on larger social issues.

The Gospel According to Rino

In the midst of infinite existence Satan and his beloved wife Lilith created the universe. He made the heat and the cold, the light and the dark, and everything that defines itself by its opposite, using the sacred law of TETRAGRAMMATON, that is 0=(+1)+(-1).

After Satan and his beautiful wife Lilith sired

countless galaxies with infinite varieties of life, He placed stars in the heavens and created signs, symbols and numbers to represent the cycles throughout the material world. Then the secrets were locked with the key of knowledge, that His ways would not be revealed to the ignorant or worthless.

Satan fashioned a gift for his perfect universe—life—to enjoy His world and be eternal like He is. Through Satan's will and magical arts were made simple creatures on this earth, and extensive pleasures to delight them—a paradise for his sons and daughters whom he loved. The earth was Satan's gift to creation, and all that happened therein was decided by the living ones. Satan made the living creatures master of their physical world, and the ruler of all that is material.

Satan gave all his terrestrial creation to his wife to care and tend, and made her queen of life's domain. Their success was governed by Lilith, or Nature—the mother of all creation and everything that is material. Nature caused justice and harmony in the beginning, for before Her all was chaos. Nature now attends to the physical world ensuring it does not destroy itself before its time has come. Through the will of true magic, the living could control their own environment with Her and Satan's help.

Lilith soon realized that since creation knew of its beginning, it could not comprehend the idea of not having an end. Therefore Satan fashioned his creation to cycle through death and life periodically, and die only to be reborn once again into Lilith's empire. All that would survive its conclusion would be those who were in harmony with the Law of THELEMA, which states: "Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law."

The earth evolved as it pleased, to adapt to the changes it caused in its own environment. Some began to stray from the ultimate Law: LEX TALIONIS, or, the Law of the Jungle. Those who followed their

instincts evolved into more complex beings. Those who did not became extinct by their own volatile falsities. Refusing to live their lives to the fullest, they defiled their instinctual drives out of fear, laziness, or genuine stupidity. They were disposed of in disgust. Those who ruined their lives were not granted life eternal—for no doubt they would defile a later life also.

Despite his infinite power, Satan never demanded worship, faith, sacrifice or humility from His creation. Proof of His and Lilith's glory lay in the surroundings of their creation, and because of His infinite knowledge, He understood that we were incapable of such blind faith. Satan and Lilith had no need for jealousy, for they do not possess the inferiority complex of false gods. All that was, is and will be is only because of the procreation of Him and His female parallel.

Furthermore, Satan did not demand for His creation to act against its own will, for every creature's true will is from Satan. It would be foolish for Him to punish something He made for being how He intended it to be! He did not create any life for the purpose to harm it, for He and Nature are a kind master.

A creature that fully obeys his true will and regards the consequences to its action is equal to Satan himself—for Satan did not form the cosmos as something to worship and adore Him, but for his creation to share his joys. Only transgression can make one unhappy in paradise, to disobey one's instinct and add to our own demise. All that is destructive towards creation or itself will make itself extinct.

The only punishment for self-deceit and disobedience toward Satan is death by Nature's hand. Satan does not wish to harm creation in any way, but he also does not allow His creation to harm itself—therefore the weak must be weeded out.

The universe existed happily like this for billions of years. Then a new creature evolved called humankind. Humans were not like all the other animals. They were constantly asking themselves foolish questions such as: Why am I here? And Where did I come from? Satan's will had somehow left them because of their search for something higher. Humans no longer were able to take joy in just being alive and living in paradise. Humankind would not be content until they knew the answers to all of their questions.

Satan admired the humans' curiosity and thirst for knowledge, and saw a part of Himself in this new evolution. For this, Satan let humankind taste of the fruit of the Gods, knowledge. Thus Satan made us gods, just as Him. Of course, we were still stupid, and could not exist apart from Satan's creation. For this reason we have never used our powers for much more then destroying our earth.

Satan still pitied his lost brothers and sisters, so He gave them gifts to discover such as language, science, civilization, art and music: knowing that these might spark our curiosity and enlighten us once more. Because of Satan's divine spark of rebellion in all of us, we were able to turn away from our creator and all of Nature's blessings, and created our own gods.

After formulating the Zoroastrian doctrine of "good" and "evil," the false gods taught humankind to hate themselves and their own lives, and other pseudotenets. There was separation between man and women, and between all variety of humans for illogical reasons. They claimed that the earth was "evil," along with natural human thoughts and desires. The false gods convinced man to hate all the things that made him happy on earth and feel guilty for his pleasures. The final blow was the doctrine of a better "paradise" after death: if one could deny one's natural inclinations and all the pleasures of living here and now.

By following their lies we began to separate ourselves from the true will, and after death no part of us would live on. Satan's heart is true, and in the end he will weigh the hearts of the unjust against the just. He is entirely compassionate and will not let those who torture themselves live, for He hates to see His people in pain and suffering. For some to die is true mercy, for they never truly lived at all.

The false gods used mankind by coursing them into destroying the "evil" world of the flesh. Most of our species voluntarily agreed, and followed their false gods for millennia—doing their dirty work for them.

These fabricated deities caused the human race to be conflicted among themselves and everything else in Lilith's domain. Satan's queen wept oceans of tears because of her sons' and daughters' disloyalty, and begged her husband to do something to stop Her pain. In another attempt to reconcile the human race, Satan's angels went to men and women and began to procreate a new race—called the Nephilim, or "Those who descended." These divine children would evolve into the royal families, great leaders and philosophers, and all other ancient and modern day Satanists.

Despite the divine creature's blood intertwined with our own, the humans still failed. We foolishly bowed to such idols of human weakness such as the "savior" Christ: beaten, dying, crucified on a tree and executed like the common criminal that he was. Also at fault were the Buddha, whose false enlightenment caused scores of people to waste away the last moments of existence fasting to death

and denying existence itself, and the hypocrite Mohammed, the anti-Semitic perjurer who stole the god of the very people he claimed to despise.

In the darker eras of history, right-hand path religions were not a choice, but a mandatory lifestyle in which rebellion was punishable by death. The history of war, genocide, and pain that such religions have caused in our known history is testament to the disposition of the gods they worship. Satan will protect us, but He will not protect us from ourselves.

A new movement has come about in the twentieth century—called Neo-Paganism or Wicca. This is proof that we have utilized many of our occult powers from Satan, but still use them in foolish ways. Selflessness and blind charity are not natural or instinctual. The false gods will take any form to stay alive.

Satan will cast down these impostors, just as He has shed his divine light of truth on the nature of the white-light religions and all of their gods. He is the light-bearer, Lucifer—the bright Morning Star. He is the Gnostic serpent of knowledge. If Satan tempts mankind, it is only with their natural desires he ingrained in them from the beginning of time! Satan has made us gods, and we have abused His power. It is time to face our fate and take responsibility for all our mistakes. We still carry His eternal flame of enlightenment. Satan will cast out the false gods and impostors to his throne, if we do not do so first.

Hail Satan!

Hail Lilith!

Hail the Self!

Priestess Stephanie Cholensky (Courtesy Stephanie Cholensky)

The Satanic Wedding Ceremony

The ceremony is opened according to the basic sequence in *The Satanic Bible*. Following the opening of the gate, the bride and groom are brought forward.

Priest: In the name of the all-powerful manifestation of Satan I greet thee this night of nights. These walls are become a chamber wherein the fruition of this courtship might be recognized. Each of you, in your own fashion, hath bestowed the wizardry of enchantment upon the other and, having done so, desires a solemnization of this prowess. Think not lightly upon thy accomplishment, for honest desire which craveth lasting devotion is not always fulfilled. By the strength of your love and the

substance of your selves, you have commenced unto this union. As each creature upon the Earth seeketh completion, so your halves are now made whole. May the creatures of the Earth join with us this night and sing praises wherever life and love abound.

Priestess: I ask you, (name of groom), is this your choice of woman, made with all the thought and desire of your being, and cast within the likeness of your dreams?

Groom: [Response. May be a simple affirmative or a longer personal statement.]

Priest: "I ask you, [name of bride], is this your choice of man, made with all the thoughts and desire of your being, and cast within the likeness of your dreams?"

Bride: [Response. May be a simple affirmative or a longer personal statement.]

Priest: Let the ring be placed. As lovers and as mates you stand before me, then, and by your intentions you have cast your vows. I therefore solemnize this union in the name of the Lord of the Earth, whose Priest I am, and in Satan's ineffable name I proclaim you husband and wife. May all the joys of the world be yours, and may your love grow stronger with each passing day. Embrace and be as one.

[As they do so, the Priest then recites the Second Enochian Key.] The ceremony is closed according to the basic sequence in *The Satanic Bible*.

Anton Szandor LaVey (Courtesy Church of Satan)

Mandatory Education: Teaching Pigs to Sing

By Blanche Barton

Never try to teach a pig to sing; it wastes your time and annoys the pig.

One near-universal I've heard in talking to hundreds of Satanists is their rage at conventional education. Even if they were successful and made good grades in school, they feel their real learning took place outside the classroom, resenting the hours of time wasted fidgeting behind desks. An equal number of us were dragged kicking and screaming through the diploma mill, labeled mentally slow, habitually truant, violent, attention deficient or hyperactive, with all instinctive passion for learning systematically crushed out. Many young Satanists are still serving their twelve-year sentences, feeling alien, angry and alone.

There's good reason for our deep-seated disdain for and resistance to mandatory education. It goes against every principle of Satanism. It's not your imagination; schools are designed to make you complacent, homogenized and to extinguish any spark of curiosity or willfulness you may possess. The structure and attitudes presently used to impose

education on children developed around the time of the industrial revolution. Since factories required workers to be minimally educated so they could run machines without chopping their hands off, a system quickly evolved that would be the best training for dutiful 9-5 laborers. Children were constrained to receive an assembly-line education, with appropriate information shoved into their heads by the particular worker at a particular station, and, after a designated time, were spit out the other end like so many radios. Today, children are still taught the moral value of getting up at 7 a.m. every morning, going to a place you don't want to be, with a lot of people you'd consider your inferiors to take instructions from someone you can't respect. This trains you to be a responsible citizen who will contribute to the workforce without grumbling, questioning or inciting to riot.

Despite public cant, our schools and our society in general—don't support learning. We pay lip service to respecting education but we don't reward it materially. Drug dealers, rock stars and baseball players get the money and the glory; you don't necessarily make more money if you're smarter or work harder in school. Consequently, schools are no longer expected to teach basic skills. Modern American public schools are battle zones. Not just gun-battles over drugs but battles over political agendas, religious indoctrinations, morality and values. Nothing is exempt from perceived political implication—history textbooks, science texts, library books, students' rights, multilingual education, offensive or insensitive language, teachers' own sexual orientation or political leanings all become more important than readin', writin', and 'rithmatic. The most basic, objective facts are sacrificed to "politics." The whole concept of "objectivity" is considered to be a false construct designed to repress multicultural diversity. Education is an incidental and bitter pill shoved down the throats of unwilling, unmotivated captives by teachers who are afraid to fail students-for fear they'll be accused of racism or have their tires slashed or both. Kids don't expect to be challenged to perform, memorize or demonstrate competence anymore. Most public school students would be insulted if they were suddenly compelled to complete the level of scholastic tasks expected of children in the 1930's or '40's. We've all been inundated with depressing statistics about declining literacy rates, how American high school graduates can't locate China on a globe, or even know what a globe is. College educators complain that students arrive in their hallowed halls unprepared, without the most basic writing or math skills.

I don't blame individual teachers. They're overworked, underpaid and under-appreciated. They are expected to dodge bullets and students' fists to impose intelligence on their charges, just as doctors are expected to magically impose health on uncooperative patients. People who become teachers are usually idealistic and driven; they certainly aren't drawn to the field for the money. But between the petty administrative politics, overcrowded classes, belligerent students, endless rules and the increasingly dangerous environment, many of the best teachers find themselves burning out, abandoning their professions.

The established methods clearly are not working. So why isn't tax-supported mandatory education being challenged? Modifications are debated, more testing and stricter graduation qualifications are decreed, yes. Even vouchers have been proposed to satisfy mandatory education requirements, which would allow each student a certain amount of tax money to be used on a school of his choice. If kids need to be caged in minimum-security prisons while their parents work, I don't mind spending tax dollars to do it. But the hypocrisy offends me. Let's not go through the pretense of hiring teachers and expecting them to act as unarmed guards. Let's not go through the motions of buying textbooks and building on-campus libraries where the most intellectually valuable books are debated off the shelves anyway. Don't shove kids who really DO want to learn something in with the shit disturbers. Qualified teachers should teach where they'll be appreciated, where they can communicate their enthusiasm for knowledge to children who are eager to learn. Let's hire guards and baby sitters to minister to the needs of kids who are proud of their stupidity. Kids don't want to be in school; parents don't want to be involved with their children's learning—so why force it on them? As with drug laws, let people choose to be satisfied—as long as they are also compelled to suffer the consequences and defensive reaction that dissenters might impose upon their "indulgence."

But no one offers the bold step of eliminating compulsory school attendance altogether. Why not? Not because we want children to learn anything. Because "free" education has become big business, supporting a whole web of unions, bureaucracies, publishers, and special interests. And any shrewd Satanist will tell you that if big business and/or big government is giving you something for free, you'd better listen for the time bomb ticking inside the pretty package.

The brainwashing isn't even ineptly masked anymore. Corporations have stepped in to "help" fund public schools by donating educational materials in the form of videotaped lessons, complete with the assaultive pacing the Nintendo generation has come to expect, splashy attention-grabbing

graphics and, of course, advertisements for the companies' products discreetly sprinkled in. There are powerful forces who want more authority over how we live our lives, who want to undermine couples and families, and want increasing control over our children's minds from an earlier and earlier age. Parents are urged to enroll their diapered toddlers in early childhood education classes, and child day care programs begin when mothers return to their jobs, sometimes only a few months after giving birth. Any repressive interests know how important it is to mold children's minds to their agendas, and how to defuse any independent impulses before they ignite independence in others.

Teaching Our Own

In light of the abysmal non-education kids get in public school, Christians have always had the option of sending their children to parochial school. Since we don't want our children indoctrinated with Christianity, Satanists seem to naturally gravitate to one solution: homeschooling. It's a vision many of us carry from schooldays, when we were thrown onto a playground of tedious, dull-witted savages. Some Satanists have been homeschooling their children for years; others are sending their kids to public school with a wait-and-see attitude, vowing to spring them at the first sign of induced befuddlement. Our attitudes toward mandatory education grow inevitably out of the same disdain we feel for other aspects of institutionalized life. Unlike other religious groups who increasingly advocate homeschooling, Satanists object to public schools not just because of imposed religiosity (as Christianity per se or in the guise of multiculturalism), but we resent the presumption of homogenized thought and method. Every child is expected to learn the same thing at the same time in the same way, regardless of interest, individual pacing or learning style.

How can one teacher, it would be asked, be expected to cater to the individual learning needs of 30–35 people? They shouldn't have to. It's unrealistic; especially in this hypersensitive climate, when there are more diverse cultures than ever before blending into the same classrooms, and teachers are expected to walk a tight-wire communicating values that won't offend anyone. If public schools can't fulfill the needs of the majority, how can we expect them to teach our children? They can't even teach in one language! In all fairness, we are a minority religion, with values, priorities and a mythic context that is far from the mainstream. We would probably be just as frustrated by a mandatory curriculum in 1945 as one in 1995. For Satanists, the problem is as much the method as the content.

Homeschooling, on the other hand, offers many

advantages to Satanists, and seems to fit easily into an ideal lifestyle most of us would adopt, given the opportunity. Modern technology is diabolically enabling us to fulfill those ideals. Satanists, with or without children, naturally try to arrange their lives so they can work outside the mainstream, choosing a creative field, commissioned work, or a position in which they can do most of the work freelance or independently. The computer network revolution has been a great boon to Satanists and non-Satanists who are most productive working out of home offices. In the coming century, working at home will be the rule rather than the exception for certain professions. The sharp line between "home" and "work" will no longer exist. A flexible schedule will mean people can work, learn or socialize at 3 p.m. or 3 a.m., if they are so inclined. Women will no longer be torn between their professional and domestic lives. Both men and women will have an opportunity to do both, weaving work and home and children together more comfortably than they can now.

Satanists are driven people. We don't need children to complete our lives, as our identity or as our sole creative expression. But if you're in a stable relationship and your compulsion to have children finally outweighs your reservations, it will mean that you and your partner should realistically evaluate the resources children demand. The biggest drains are not financial, but on stores of patience, humor and primarily, TIME. Having a child is a time-consuming proposition. If reasoning Satanists are going to make the commitment to have a child, they'd want one parent at home caring for the child full time (at least until we can get some of those fabled Satanic daycare centers going!). If at least one parent is going to be home anyway, the teaching will come naturally and constantly. That doesn't mean that the at-home parent can't work as well, at least part time. It's good for children to see both parents involved in their own

Satanism is ideally suited to homeschooling. Though we'll have to discover the "how" through impulse, intuition, and trial-and-error, some of the "whys" are readily apparent:

1. One major criticism people often lob at home learning is that the children don't have the opportunity to "socialize" with other children their own age. They always use that same word. "Your children will be isolated," we're cautioned, "unable to relate to others, will miss out on the proms, the football games, graduation, and all the events that all the other kids will be part of." This criticism is invalid in general. Kids "socialize" every day. It's unavoidable. They interact with their parents, siblings, grocers, mailmen, other children in their neighborhood, their parents' friends and their children... For Satanists, it's

even less of a problem. Socialization is exactly what we would view as harmful to our children. Public school brainwashes them to be mindlessly violent, unquestioning of authority, unimaginative, and easily brainwashed by "peers" and packagers. They study not to satisfy their own curiosity but to gain approval from some arbitrary authority who will label them an "A" or an "F" person.

- 2. Homeschoolers are often accused of being isolationists and elitists. Christian or liberal advocates often feel compelled to apologize for their stance, or go through long-winded explanations justifying their decision. Satanists would proudly plead guilty! We don't have to apologize. We already bear the Devil's name; we are elitists and want our children to grow proud and strong.
- 3. Most Satanists would feel that children learn better when they are allowed to learn at their own pace, following their own obsessions. Smart kids consider school boring and stultifying. Learning should be student-centered, allowing the child to generate his own enthusiasm. That can't be done in an education factory. If, according to some bureaucrat's study, a child should know how to read by age 4 and do arithmetic by age 6 then they'd better all know how to do that or they'll be labeled "learning disabled." Children's early development—crawling, walking, teething, talking, toilet training—has a wide range of what's considered normal progress. But all that is supposed to come to a screeching halt when they enter school. They have to learn how to read, do arithmetic, write, comprehend, all within a strict, universal timetable. No more left to the individual child's initiative and exploration. By constantly being told what to learn, where to go, how high to jump, the child is robbed of the opportunity to develop his own self-discipline, as well. School institutionalizes and sabotages the mind, short circuits independent will, which is what it's designed to do.
- 4. Homeschooling eliminates the dividing line between "home" where you play, eat, sleep and fight with your siblings, and "school" where you do as little work as you can to get a good grade. Learning doesn't only happen between the hours of 9 a.m. and 3 p.m.; that presupposition undermines the very curiosity and sense of wonder that children are born with. Learning doesn't stop when you're eighteen years old, either, and there's a vast smorgasbord of subjects we'd love to explore or review ourselves! What better way to do it than to share that excitement egotistically with your own offspring? Working, playing, learning, thinking and living should all be threads of the same seamless tapestry.
- 5. Satanism is antithetical to "enthroned lies." Most of what is now taught in public school is either erroneous or severely slanted, in order to mollify

special interest pressures. If a child can have an opportunity to examine facts presented as objectively as possible, he is better equipped to reason for himself and challenge irrationality when he sees it. Satanists have strong values that we want to communicate to our children. Those values aren't available in public school. You can't be sure your child is getting the kind of public input you want him to have unless you do it yourself.

Instead of being indoctrinated into a fascistic political agenda, Satanic education would emphasize what was once considered well-rounded literacy. A broad knowledge and application of art, architecture, geography, literature, music, world history, cinema, languages, mathematics, theatre, sciences, etc., is vastly more important to a Satanic Priest than lessons in multicultural sensitivity. Or, for that matter, memorizing the Lesser Key Of Solomon and tracing the sigils from Avon Books' Necronomicon. A classical curriculum might revive in us some of the magical powers of discernment and discrimination most of us have lost. Don't tolerate pretentiousness. When a woman brags that she's getting a degree in "Women's Studies," you can smile sweetly and say (as one of our Priestesses did recently), "Oh great—you mean like cooking and cleaning and balancing a budget. I'm so glad modern women are taking an interest in Home Economics."

- 6. Homeschooling establishes family/clan unity. Children see their siblings and parents as co-learners, recognizing their strengths and foibles, not divided against each other along arbitrary lines of age or sex. Satanists are, by definition, the "Others," the outsiders—not by posture but by birthright. Smart, independent, creative children are always aliens in society. We can find strength in ourselves and in others like us, namely our family and our extended Satanic family. Also, we have a network of knowledgeable, influential people among us and, as our children grow, we could develop a potent web of mentoring and apprenticeship opportunities among ourselves.
- 7. We don't want to send our children onto the battlefield before they're mature enough to know there's a war going on, and to have the ammunition to fight it. Many of the most basic Satanic principles preempt problems that public education seems to find insurmountable—sex education, AIDS education, drugs, birth control, violence in the media, guns on campus, censorship of study materials, interracial conflicts... We should not have to subject our children to problems they wouldn't have if the school and the TV God didn't construct them as problems. We want our kids to learn, not waste time. Our ideal would be to teach our children to be strong-willed enough to see through the bullshit in society before

they are bombarded with it.

Many of us found the school playground to be a painful battlefield, not because of drugs or guns but because we hated interacting with other kids. Satanic children are naturally set upon by other children, and by insecure teachers. They are bound to be brighter and more aggressive toward the status quo by nature, because that's what they'll be learning at home from their Satanic parents. That's what being a Satanist is. And our children shouldn't have to suffer for asking uncomfortable questions.

8. Much of homeschooling is religiously motivated, and ours is really none the less so, in the sense that our religion dictates our priorities and values. Many Mormons have been trying to educate their children at home for years, some dying in gun battles because of it. Catholics started their own system of private schools instead of allowing their children to be exposed to ideas without Papal approval. Modern born-again Christians want to keep their kids away from a liberal, humanist, evolutionist agenda.

Unlike others, however, Satanism is a religion uniquely qualified to advocate home learning. Our religion is not antithetical to rationality. On the contrary, Satanism encourages intellectual challenge. "Faith" and self-deceit are our enemies. We want our children to be free to question all things, not shackle their minds to any one view. Concerned non-Satanists who learn about our religion only through talk-show hype, who would fear we would "indoctrinate" our children to Satanism, have less to worry about with us than with Christianity. Since our religion isn't dependent on dogma and blind faith, no indoctrination is necessary. Our attitudes about life, animals, magic, success, Satan, science will inevitably seep in, through our opinions and example. A child should be free to explore anything he's drawn to. Even Christianity can be examined as the dominant mythic context—cultural anthropology in action!

Whose Kids Are These, Anyway?

You'd think the right to educate your own children would be a basic, inalienable one. But it's not. Any empowerment of individuals is hotly resisted by teachers' unions and the grand bureaucracy that depends on mandatory education. That's why such groups lobby for prohibition or severe restriction of homeschooling: It would lower their "ADA" (Average Daily Attendance). Fewer students in school—fewer teachers hired. Besides, in today's climate of professional experts in all fields, we are programmed to feel incapable of teaching our own children. "They" say you can't possibly be qualified to teach your own children, and we're trained to believe them. Such important matters should be left to "experts." At the same time, legislators, reacting to demands from their

constituencies to improve education, have enacted stricter national standardization tests in public schools. That trickles down to imposing similar demands on homeschooling families, which undermines their most positive strength—being able to gauge the pacing and content of studies to each individual child. Some homeschoolers feel a legitimate responsibility to keep their fingers on the political pulse, sounding the alarm if they perceive negative trends. Homeschooling today is not, in most states, the illegal activity it was 10 years ago. Laws vary from state to state, with different requirements for periodic tests, curriculum submissions, certifications, and various other paperwork. But at best, home learning is tolerated as an unorthodox alternative.

No one has reliable statistics on exactly how many homeschooling families there are; that's the way they want it. But it's clear that the level of public education has reached such a nadir that many intelligent people are opting for homeschooling now only because the average parents begin to suspect their children would learn more just by staying home and reading or watching television. It's become an increasingly important plank in the Religious Right political platform. Gordon Liddy has advocated it on his syndicated radio show. The home PC has opened worlds of learning possibilities for Everyman. Learning CDs, textbooks, entire mail-order curriculums are now available from publishers recognizing a burgeoning homeschooling market, making it a more accessible option than ever before.

The current homeschooling explosion could create some strange bedfellows. Not all homeschoolers are Christian but they are a strong faction, along with an articulate backbone of politically avid atheistic/humanistic iconoclasts. This latter influence has a heritage in the educational libertines who started several "alternative" colleges and schools in the wake of the 60's. Many of these were based on nonconformist ideas about self-initiated or studentcentered learning, written evaluations instead of grades, "co-learners" instead of "teachers," an emphasis on process over product, "schools without walls" (i.e., learning in the community) and "learning how to learn." They are largely atheistic or humanistic and have the same kind of disdain for education factories that we do.

It seems that the secular and Christian homeschooling factions have been able to set religion and politics aside, working toward preserving their children's rights to learn. A tenor of mutually beneficial separatism seems to pervade most home learning literature. Most have also tried not to develop a dictatorship within the homeschooling movement; there is no "right" way or one absolute authority. They recognize the strength of homeschooling is in the diversity of motivation, content and methods for each individual family, much as Satanism is protected from big-money exploitation by having our altars in our homes instead of in great cathedrals. Should we, as a point of Satanic policy, decide to be vocal homeschooling advocates, it will be interesting to see if our support is enthusiastically integrated.

Not all Satanists will be economically free enough to have one partner at home teaching their children, or be able to make the compromises necessary to arrange their lives to do so. If you can't, then have as much influence on and involvement in your child's learning as possible. Teach him not to take everything he's taught in school as absolute truth. Any negative judgments about his abilities should be taken with reservation. Those Satanic children who do go to public or private schools will be interesting experiments in themselves. Their willful enthusiasm will be labeled disruptive—or gifted—as a homoge-

nizing system tries to categorize a race of children genetically and environmentally antagonistic to homogenization.

For further research:

- "Growing Without Schooling." Request a free sample issue from GWS, 2269 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02140.
- Home Education Press has an excellent magazine, Home Education Magazine, and many informative books, including Good Stuff, an invaluable resource for anyone who loves learning. Christian slant is obvious but not overwhelming. Send for a free catalogue from HEP, Box 1083, Tonasket, WA 98855.
- National Homeschool Association, Post Office Box 157290, Cincinnati, OH 45215-7290.
- (Originally Published in *The Black Flame* 5, nos. 3 and 4, 1995. Reprinted with permission.)

APPENDIX II: 1992 FBI Study of Satanic Ritual Abuse

INVESTIGATOR'S GUIDE TO ALLEGATIONS OF "RITUAL" CHILD ABUSE. Kenneth Lanning, Behavioral Science Unit, National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, Federal Bureau of Investigation, FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia 22135 (1992).

The following FBI report on ritual abuse by Kenneth Lanning is probably the most influential document ever written on the subject. Reports of Satanic ritual abuse cases began to sharply decline after 1992, partially as a result of Lanning's influential work. The report holds up well even today, despite the many developments that have taken place since it was written. Lanning is a supervisory special agent at the FBI Academy in Virginia who has worked in the area of sexual victimization of children since 1981. He works at the FBI Behavioral Science Unit, which assists police forces throughout the United States.

Introduction

Since 1981 I have been assigned to the Behavioral Science Unit at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia, and have specialized in studying all aspects of the sexual victimization of children. The FBI Behavioral Science Unit provides assistance to criminal justice professionals in the United States and foreign countries. It attempts to develop practical applications of the behavioral sciences to the criminal justice system. As a result of training and research conducted by the Unit and its successes in analyzing violent crime, many professionals contact the Behavioral Science Unit for assistance and guidance in dealing with violent crime, especially those cases considered different, unusual, or bizarre. This service is provided at no cost and is not limited to crimes under the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI.

In 1983 and 1984, when I first began to hear stories of what sounded like satanic or occult activity in connection with allegations of sexual victimization of children (allegations that have come to be referred to most often as "ritual" child abuse), I tended to believe them. I had been dealing with bizarre, deviant behavior for many years and had long since realized that almost anything is possible. Just when you think that you have heard it all, along comes another strange case. The idea that there are a few cunning, secretive individuals in positions of power somewhere in this country regularly

killing a few people as part of some satanic ritual or ceremony and getting away with it is certainly within the realm of possibility. But the number of alleged cases began to grow and grow. We now have hundreds of victims alleging that thousands of offenders are abusing and even murdering tens of thousands of people as part of organized satanic cults, and there is little or no corroborative evidence. The very reason many "experts" cite for believing these allegations (i.e., many victims, who never met each other, reporting the same events), is the primary reason I began to question at least some aspects of these allegations.

I have devoted more than seven years part-time, and eleven years full-time, of my professional life to researching, training, and consulting in the area of the sexual victimization of children. The issues of child sexual abuse and exploitation are a big part of my professional life's work. I have no reason to deny their existence or nature. In fact I have done everything I can to make people more aware of the problem. Some have even blamed me for helping to create the hysteria that has led to these bizarre allegations. I can accept no outside income and am paid the same salary by the FBI whether or not children are abused and exploited-and whether the number is one or one million. As someone deeply concerned about and professionally committed to the issue, I did not lightly question the allegations of hundreds of victims of child sexual abuse and exploitation.

In response to accusations by a few that I am a "satanist" who has infiltrated the FBI to facilitate coverup, how does anyone (or should anyone have to) disprove such allegations? Although reluctant to dignify such absurd accusations with a reply, all I can say to those who have made such allegations is that they are wrong and to those who heard such allegations is to carefully consider the source.

The reason I have taken the position I have is not because I support or believe in "satanism," but because I sincerely believe that my approach is the proper and most effective investigative strategy. I believe that my

approach is in the best interest of victims of child sexual abuse. It would have been easy to sit back, as many have, and say nothing publicly about this controversy. I have spoken out and published on this issue because I am concerned about the credibility of the child sexual abuse issue and outraged that, in some cases, individuals are getting away with molesting children because we can't prove they are satanic devil worshippers who engage in brainwashing, human sacrifice, and cannibalism as part of a large conspiracy.

There are many valid perspectives from which to assess and evaluate victim allegations of sex abuse and exploitation. Parents may choose to believe simply because their children make the claims. The level of proof necessary may be minimal because the consequences of believing are within the family. One parent correctly told me, "I believe what my child needs me to believe."

Therapists may choose to believe simply because their professional assessment is that their patient believes the victimization and describes it so vividly. The level of proof necessary may be no more than therapeutic evaluation because the consequences are between therapist and patient. No independent corroboration may be required.

A social worker must have more real, tangible evidence of abuse in order to take protective action and initiate legal proceedings. The level of proof necessary must be higher because the consequences (denial of visitation, foster care) are greater.

The law enforcement officer deals with the criminal justice system. The levels of proof necessary are reasonable suspicion, probable cause, and beyond a reasonable doubt because the consequences (criminal investigation, search and seizure, arrest, incarceration) are so great. This discussion will focus primarily on the criminal justice system and the law enforcement perspective. The level of proof necessary for taking action on allegations of criminal acts must be more than simply the victim alleged it and it is possible. This in no way denies the validity and importance of the parental, therapeutic, social welfare, or any other perspective of these allegations.

When, however, therapists and other professionals begin to conduct training, publish articles, and communicate through the media, the consequences become greater, and therefore the level of proof must be greater. The amount of corroboration necessary to act upon allegations of abuse is dependent upon the consequences of such action. We need to be concerned about the distribution and publication of unsubstantiated allegations of bizarre sexual abuse. Information needs to be disseminated to encourage communication and research about the phenomena. The risks, however, of intervenor and victim "contagion" and public hysteria are potential negative aspects of such dissemination. Because of the high-

ly emotional and religious nature of this topic, there is a greater possibility that the spreading of information will result in a kind of self-fulfilling prophesy.

If such extreme allegations are going to be disseminated to the general public, they must be presented in the context of being assessed and evaluated, at least, from the professional perspective of the disseminator and, at best, also from the professional perspective of relevant others. This is what I will attempt to do in this discussion. The assessment and evaluation of such allegations are areas where law enforcement, mental health, and other professionals (anthropologists, folklorists, sociologists, historians, engineers, surgeons, etc.) may be of some assistance to each other in validating these cases individually and in general.

Historical Overview

In order to attempt to deal with extreme allegations of what constitutes child sex rings, it is important to have an historical perspective of society's attitudes about child sexual abuse. I will provide a brief synopsis of recent attitudes in the United States here, but those desiring more detailed information about such societal attitudes, particularly in other cultures and in the more distant past, should refer to Florence Rush's book *Best Kept Secret: Sexual Abuse of Children* (1980) and Sander J. Breiner's book *Slaughter of the Innocents* (1990).

Society's attitude about child sexual abuse and exploitation can be summed up in one word: denial. Most people do not want to hear about it and would prefer to pretend that child sexual victimization just does not occur. Today, however, it is difficult to pretend that it does not happen. Stories and reports about child sexual victimization are daily occurrences.

It is important for professionals dealing with child sexual abuse to recognize and learn to manage this denial of a serious problem. Professionals must overcome the denial and encourage society to deal with, report, and prevent sexual victimization of children.

Some professionals, however, in their zeal to make American society more aware of this victimization, tend to exaggerate the problem. Presentations and literature with poorly documented or misleading claims about one in three children being sexually molested, the \$5 billion child pornography industry, child slavery rings, and 50,000 stranger-abducted children are not uncommon. The problem is bad enough; it is not necessary to exaggerate it. Professionals should cite reputable and scientific studies and note the sources of information. If they do not, when the exaggerations and distortions are discovered, their credibility and the credibility of the issue are lost.

"Stranger Danger"

During the 1950s and 1960s the primary focus in the literature and discussions on sexual abuse of children was

on "stranger danger"—the dirty old man in the wrinkled raincoat. If one could not deny the existence of child sexual abuse, one described victimization in simplistic terms of good and evil. The "stranger danger" approach to preventing child sexual abuse is clear-cut. We immediately know who the good guys and bad guys are and what they look like.

The FBI distributed a poster that epitomized this attitude. It showed a man, with his hat pulled down, hiding behind a tree with a bag of candy in his hands. He was waiting for a sweet little girl walking home from school alone. At the top it read: "Boys and Girls, color the page, memorize the rules." At the bottom it read: "For your protection, remember to turn down gifts from strangers, and refuse rides offered by strangers." The poster clearly contrasts the evil of the offender with the goodness of the child victim.

The myth of the child molester as the dirty old man in the wrinkled raincoat is now being reevaluated, based on what we now know about the kinds of people who victimize children. The fact is a child molester can look like anyone else and even be someone we know and like

There is another myth that is still with us and is far less likely to be discussed. This is the myth of the child victim as a completely innocent little girl walking down the street minding her own business. It may be more important to dispel this myth than the myth of the evil offender, especially when talking about the sexual exploitation of children and child sex rings. Child victims can be boys as well as girls, and not all victims are little "angels."

Society seems to have a problem dealing with any sexual abuse case in which the offender is not completely "bad" or the victim is not completely "good." Child victims who, for example, simply behave like human beings and respond to the attention and affection of offenders by voluntarily and repeatedly returning to the offender's home are troubling. It confuses us to see the victims in child pornography giggling or laughing. At professional conferences on child sexual abuse, child prostitution is almost never discussed. It is the form of sexual victimization of children most unlike the stereotype of the innocent girl victim. Child prostitutes, by definition, participate in and often initiate their victimization. Furthermore child prostitutes and the participants in child sex rings are frequently boys. One therapist recently told me that a researcher's data on child molestation were misleading because many of the child victims in question were child prostitutes. This implies that child prostitutes are not "real" child victims. In a survey by the Los Angeles Times, only 37 percent of those responding thought that child prostitution constituted child sexual abuse (Timnik, 1985). Whether or not it seems fair, when adults and children have sex, the child is always the victim.

Intrafamilial Child Sexual Abuse

During the 1970s, primarily as a result of the women's movement, society began to learn more about the sexual victimization of children. We began to realize that most children are sexually molested by someone they know who is usually a relative—a father, step-father, uncle, grandfather, older brother, or even a female relative. Some mitigate the difficulty of accepting this by adopting the view that only members of socio-economic groups other than theirs engage in such behavior.

It quickly became apparent that warnings about not taking gifts from strangers were not good enough to prevent child sexual abuse. Consequently, we began to develop prevention programs based on more complex concepts, such as good touching and bad touching. the "yucky" feeling, and the child's right to say no. These are not the kinds of things you can easily and effectively communicate in fifty minutes to hundreds of kids packed into a school auditorium. These are very difficult issues, and programs must be carefully developed and evaluated.

In the late 1970s child sexual abuse became almost synonymous with incest, and incest meant fatherdaughter sexual relations. Therefore, the focus of child sexual abuse intervention became father-daughter incest. Even today, the vast majority of training materials, articles, and books on this topic refer to child sexual abuse only in terms of intrafamilial father-daughter incest. Incest is, in fact, sexual relations between individuals of any age too closely related to marry. It need not necessarily involve an adult and a child, and it goes beyond child sexual abuse. But more importantly child sexual abuse goes beyond father-daughter incest. Intrafamilial incest between an adult and child may be the most common form of child sexual abuse, but it is not the only form. The progress of the 1970s in recognizing that child sexual abuse was not simply a result of "stranger danger" was an important breakthrough in dealing with society's denial. The battle, however, is not over. The persistent voice of society luring us back to the more simple concept of "stranger danger" may never go away. It is the voice of denial.

Return to "Stranger Danger"

In the early 1980s the issue of missing children rose to prominence and was focused primarily on the stranger abduction of little children. Runaways, throwaways, noncustodial abductions, nonfamily abductions of teenagers—all major problems within the missing children's issue—were almost forgotten. People no longer wanted to hear about good touching and bad touching and the child's right to say "no." They wanted to be told, in thirty minutes or less, how they could protect their children from abduction by strangers. We were back to the horrible but simple and clear-cut concept of "stranger danger."

In the emotional zeal over the problem of missing children, isolated horror stories and distorted numbers were sometimes used. The American public was led to believe that most of the missing children had been kidnapped by pedophiles—a new term for child molesters. The media, profiteers, and well-intentioned zealots all played big roles in this hype and hysteria over missing children.

The Acquaintance Molester

Only recently has society begun to deal openly with a critical piece in the puzzle of child sexual abuse—acquaintance molestation. This seems to be the most difficult aspect of the problem for us to face. People seem more willing to accept a father or stepfather, particularly one from another socio-economic group, as a child molester than a parish priest, a next-door neighbor, a police officer, a pediatrician, an FBI agent, or a Scout leader. The acquaintance molester, by definition, is one of us. These kinds of molesters have always existed, but our society has not been willing to accept that fact.

Sadly, one of the main reasons that the criminal justice system and the public were forced to confront the problem of acquaintance molestation was the preponderance of lawsuits arising from the negligence of many institutions.

One of the unfortunate outcomes of society's preference for the "stranger danger" concept is what I call "say no, yell, and tell" guilt. This is the result of prevention programs that tell potential child victims to avoid sexual abuse by saying no, yelling, and telling. This might work with the stranger hiding behind a tree. Adolescent boys seduced by a Scout leader or children who actively participate in their victimization often feel guilty and blame themselves because they did not do what they were "supposed" to do. They may feel a need to describe their victimization in more socially acceptable but sometimes inaccurate ways that relieve them of this guilt.

While American society has become increasingly more aware of the problem of the acquaintance molester and related problems such as child pornography, the voice calling us back to "stranger danger" still persists.

Satanism: A New Form of "Stranger Danger"

In today's version of "stranger danger," it is the satanic devil worshipers who are snatching and victimizing the children. Many who warned us in the early 1980s about pedophiles snatching fifty thousand kids a year now contend they were wrong only about who was doing the kidnapping, not about the number abducted. This is again the desire for the simple and clear-cut explanation for a complex problem.

For those who know anything about criminology, one of the oldest theories of crime is demonology: The devil makes you do it. This makes it even easier to deal with the child molester who is the "pillar of the commu-

nity." It is not his fault; it is not our fault. There is no way we could have known; the devil made him do it. This explanation has tremendous appeal because, like "stranger danger," it presents the clear-cut, black-and-white struggle between good and evil as the explanation for child abduction, exploitation, and abuse.

In regard to satanic "ritual" abuse, today we may not be where we were with incest in the 1960s, but where we were with missing children in the early 1980s. The best data now available (the 1990 National Incidence Studies on Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Thrownaway Children in America) estimate the number of stereotypical child abductions at between 200 and 300 a year, and the number of stranger abduction homicides of children at between 43 and 147 a year. Approximately half of the abducted children are teenagers. Today's facts are significantly different from yesterday's perceptions, and those who exaggerated the problem, however well-intentioned, have lost credibility and damaged the reality of the problem.

Law Enforcement Training

The belief that there is a connection between satanism and crime is certainly not new. As previously stated, one of the oldest theories concerning the causes of crime is demonology. Fear of satanic or occult activity has peaked from time to time throughout history. Concern in the late 1970s focused primarily on "unexplained" deaths and mutilations of animals, and in recent years has focused on child sexual abuse and the alleged human sacrifice of missing children. In 1999 it will probably focus on the impending "end of the world."

Today satanism and a wide variety of other terms are used interchangeably in reference to certain crimes. This discussion will analyze the nature of "satanic, occult, ritualistic" crime primarily as it pertains to the abuse of children and focus on appropriate law enforcement responses to it. Recently a flood of law enforcement seminars and conferences have dealt with satanic and ritualistic crime. These training conferences have various titles, such as "Occult in Crime," "Satanic Cults," "Ritualistic Crime Seminar," "Satanic Influences in Homicide," "Occult Crimes, Satanism and Teen Suicide," and "Ritualistic Abuse of Children."

The typical conference runs from one to three days, and many of them include the same presenters and instructors. A wide variety of topics are usually discussed during this training either as individual presentations by different instructors or grouped together by one or more instructors. Typical topics covered include the following:

Historical overview of satanism, witchcraft, and paganism from ancient to modern times.

Nature and influence of fantasy role-playing games, such as "Dungeons and Dragons."

Lyrics, symbolism, and influence of rock and roll, Heavy Metal, and Black Metal music.

Teenage "stoner" gangs, their symbols, and their vandalism.

Teenage suicide by adolescents dabbling in the occult.

Crimes committed by self-styled satanic practitioners, including grave and church desecrations and robberies, animal mutilations, and even murders. Ritualistic abuse of children as part of bizarre ceremonies and human sacrifices.

Organized, Traditional, or Multigenerational satanic groups involved in organized conspiracies, such as taking over day care centers, infiltrating police departments, and trafficking in human sacrifice victims.

The "Big Conspiracy" theory, which implies that satanists are responsible for such things as Adolf Hitler, World War II, abortion, illegal drugs, pornography, Watergate, and Irangate, and have infiltrated the Department of Justice, the Pentagon, and the White House.

During the conferences, these nine areas are linked together through the liberal use of the word "satanism" and some common symbolism (pentagrams, 666, demons, etc.). The implication often is that all are part of a continuum of behavior, a single problem or some common conspiracy. The distinctions among the different areas are blurred even if occasionally a presenter tries to make them. The information presented is a mixture of fact, theory, opinion, fantasy, and paranoia, and because some of it can be proven or corroborated (symbols on rock albums, graffiti on walls, desecration of cemeteries, vandalism, etc.), the implication is that it is all true and documented. Material produced by religious organizations, photocopies and slides of newspaper articles, and videotapes of tabloid television programs are used to supplement the training and are presented as "evidence" of the existence and nature of the problem.

All of this is complicated by the fact that almost any discussion of satanism and the occult is interpreted in the light of the religious beliefs of those in the audience. Faith, not logic and reason, governs the religious beliefs of most people. As a result, some normally skeptical law enforcement officers accept the information disseminated at these conferences without critically evaluating it or questioning the sources. Officers who do not normally depend on church groups for law enforcement criminal intelligence, who know that media accounts of their own cases are notoriously inaccurate, and who scoff at and joke about tabloid television accounts of bizarre behavior suddenly embrace such material when presented in the context of satanic activity. Individuals not in law enforcement seem even more likely to do so. Other disciplines, especially therapists, have also conducted training conferences on the characteristics and identification of "ritual" child abuse. Nothing said at such conferences will change the religious beliefs of those in attendance. Such conferences illustrate the highly emotional nature of and the ambiguity and wide variety of terms involved in this issue.

Definitions

The words "satanic," "occult," and "ritual" are often used interchangeably. It is difficult to define "satanism" precisely. No attempt will be made to do so here. However, it is important to realize that, for some people, any religious belief system other than their own is "satanic." The Ayatollah Khomeini and Saddam Hussein referred to the United States as the "Great Satan." In the British Parliament a Protestant leader called the Pope the Antichrist. In a book titled Prepare For War (1987), Rebecca Brown, M.D. has a chapter entitled "Is Roman Catholicism Witchcraft?" Dr. Brown also lists among the "doorways" to satanic power and/or demon infestation the following: fortune tellers, horoscopes, fraternity oaths, vegetarianism, yoga, self-hypnosis, relaxation tapes, acupuncture, biofeedback, fantasy role-playing games, adultery, homosexuality, pornography, judo, karate, and rock music. Dr. Brown states that rock music "was a carefully masterminded plan by none other than Satan himself" (p. 84). The ideas expressed in this book may seem extreme and even humorous. This book, however, has been recommended as a serious reference in law enforcement training material on this topic.

In books, lectures, handout material, and conversations, I have heard all of the following referred to as satanism: Church of Satan, Ordo Templi Orientis, Temple of Set, Demonology, Witchcraft, Occult, Paganism, Santeria, Voodoo, Rosicrucians, Freemasonry, Knights Templar, Stoner Gangs, Heavy Metal Music, Rock Music, KKK, Nazis, Skinheads, Scientology, Unification Church, The Way, Hare Krishna, Rajneesh, Religious Cults, New Age, Astrology, Channeling, Transcendental Meditation, Holistic Medicine, Buddhism, Hinduism, Mormonism, Islam, Orthodox Church, Roman Catholicism.

At law enforcement training conferences, it is witch-craft, santeria, paganism, and the occult that are most often referred to as forms of satanism. It may be a matter of definition, but these things are not necessarily the same as traditional satanism. The worship of lunar goddesses and nature and the practice of fertility rituals are not satanism. Santeria is a combination of 17th century Roman Catholicism and African paganism.

Occult means simply "hidden." All unreported or unsolved crimes might be regarded as occult, but in this context the term refers to the action or influence of supernatural powers, some secret knowledge of them, or an interest in paranormal phenomena, and does not imply satanism, evil, wrongdoing, or crime. Indeed, historically, the principal crimes deserving of consideration as "occult crimes" are the frauds perpetrated by faith healers, fortune tellers and "psychics" who for a fee claim cures, arrange visitations with dead loved ones, and commit other financial crimes against the gullible.

Many individuals define satanism from a totally Christian perspective, using this word to describe the power of evil in the world. With this definition, any crimes, especially those which are particularly bizarre, repulsive, or cruel, can be viewed as satanic in nature. Yet it is just as difficult to precisely define satanism as it is to precisely define Christianity or any complex spiritual belief system.

What Is Ritual?

The biggest confusion is over the word "ritual." During training conferences on this topic, ritual almost always comes to mean "satanic" or at least "spiritual." "Ritual" can refer to a prescribed religious ceremony, but in its broader meaning refers to any customarily-repeated act or series of acts. The need to repeat these acts can be cultural, sexual, or psychological as well as spiritual.

Cultural rituals could include such things as what a family eats on Thanksgiving Day, or when and how presents are opened at Christmas. The initiation ceremonies of fraternities, sororities, gangs, and other social clubs are other examples of cultural rituals.

Since 1972 I have lectured about sexual ritual, which is nothing more than repeatedly engaging in an act or series of acts in a certain manner because of a "sexual" need. In order to become aroused and/or gratified, a person must engage in the act in a certain way. This sexual ritual can include such things as the physical characteristics, age, or gender of the victim, the particular sequence of acts, the bringing or taking of specific objects, and the use of certain words or phrases. This is more than the concept of M.O. (Method of Operation) known to most police officers. M.O. is something done by an offender because it works. Sexual ritual is something done by an offender because of a need. Deviant acts, such as urinating on, defecating on, or even eviscerating a victim, are far more likely to be the result of sexual ritual than religious or "satanic" ritual.

From a criminal investigative perspective, two other forms of ritualism must be recognized. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III-R) (APA, 1987) defines "Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder" as "repetitive, purposeful, and intentional behaviors that are performed in response to an obsession, or according to certain rules or in a stereotyped fashion" (p. 247). Such compulsive behavior frequently involves rituals. Although such behavior usually involves noncriminal activity such as excessive hand washing or checking that doors are locked, occasionally compulsive ritualism can be part of criminal activity. Certain gamblers or firesetters, for example, are thought by some authorities to be

motivated in part through such compulsions. Ritual can also stem from psychotic hallucinations and delusions. A crime can be committed in a precise manner because a voice told the offender to do it that way or because a divine mission required it.

To make this more confusing, cultural, religious, sexual, and psychological ritual can overlap. Some psychotic people are preoccupied with religious delusions and hear the voice of God or Satan telling them to do things of a religious nature. Offenders who feel little, if any, guilt over their crimes may need little justification for their antisocial behavior. As human beings, however, they may have fears, concerns, and anxiety over getting away with their criminal acts. It is difficult to pray to God for success in doing things that are against His Commandments. A negative spiritual belief system may fulfill their human need for assistance from and belief in a greater power or to deal with their superstitions. Compulsive ritualism (e.g., excessive cleanliness or fear of disease) can be introduced into sexual behavior. Even many "normal" people have a need for order and predictability and therefore may engage in family or work rituals. Under stress or in times of change, this need for order and ritual may increase.

Ritual crime may fulfill the cultural, spiritual, sexual, and psychological needs of an offender. Crimes may be ritualistically motivated or may have ritualistic elements. The ritual behavior may also fulfill basic criminal needs to manipulate victims, get rid of rivals, send a message to enemies, and intimidate co-conspirators. The leaders of a group may want to play upon the beliefs and superstitions of those around them and try to convince accomplices and enemies that they, the leaders, have special or "supernatural" powers.

The important point for the criminal investigator is to realize that most ritualistic criminal behavior is not motivated simply by satanic or any religious ceremonies. At some conferences, presenters have attempted to make an issue of distinguishing between "ritual," "ritualized," and "ritualistic" abuse of children. These subtle distinctions, however, seem to be of no significant value to the criminal investigator.

What Is "Ritual" Child Abuse?

I cannot define "ritual child abuse" precisely and prefer not to use the term. I am frequently forced to use it (as throughout this discussion) so that people will have some idea what I am discussing. Use of the term, however, is confusing, misleading, and counterproductive. The newer term "satanic ritual abuse" (abbreviated "SRA") is even worse. Certain observations, however, are important for investigative understanding. Most people today use the term to refer to abuse of children that is part of some evil spiritual belief system, which almost by definition must be satanic.

Dr. Lawrence Pazder, coauthor of Michelle

Remembers, (2) defines "ritualized abuse of children" as "repeated physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual assaults combined with a systematic use of symbols and secret ceremonies designed to turn a child against itself, family, society, and God" (presentation, Richmond, Va., May 7,1987). He also states that "the sexual assault has ritualistic meaning and is not for sexual gratification."

This definition may have value for academics, sociologists, and therapists, but it creates potential problems for law enforcement. Certain acts engaged in with children (i.e., kissing, touching, appearing naked, etc.) may be criminal if performed for sexual gratification. If the ritualistic acts were in fact performed for spiritual indoctrination, potential prosecution can be jeopardized, particularly if the acts can be defended as constitutionally protected religious expression. The mutilation of a baby's genitals for sadistic sexual pleasure is a crime. The circumcision of a baby's genitals for religious reasons is most likely not a crime. The intent of the acts is important for criminal prosecution.

Not all spiritually motivated ritualistic activity is satanic. Santeria, witchcraft, voodoo, and most religious cults are not satanism. In fact, most spiritually- or religiously-based abuse of children has nothing to do with satanism. Most child abuse that could be termed "ritualistic" by various definitions is more likely to be physical and psychological rather than sexual in nature. If a distinction needs to be made between satanic and nonsatanic child abuse, the indicators for that distinction must be related to specific satanic symbols, artifacts, or doctrine rather than the mere presence of any ritualistic element.

Not all such ritualistic activity with a child is a crime. Almost all parents with religious beliefs indoctrinate their children into that belief system. Is male circumcision for religious reasons child abuse? Is the religious circumcision of females child abuse? Does having a child kneel on a hard floor reciting the rosary constitute child abuse? Does having a child chant a satanic prayer or attend a black mass constitute child abuse? Does a religious belief in corporal punishment constitute child abuse? Does group care of children in a commune or cult constitute child abuse? Does the fact that any acts in question were performed with parental permission affect the nature of the crime? Many ritualistic acts, whether satanic or not, are simply not crimes. To open the Pandora's box of labeling child abuse as "ritualistic" simply because it involves a spiritual belief system means to apply the definition to all acts by all spiritual belief systems. The day may come when many in the forefront of concern about ritual abuse will regret they opened the box.

When a victim describes and investigation corroborates what sounds like ritualistic activity, several possibilities must be considered. The ritualistic activity may be part of the excessive religiosity of mentally disturbed, even psychotic offenders. It may be a misunderstood part of sexual ritual. The ritualistic activity may be incidental to any real abuse. The offender may be involved in ritualistic activity with a child and also may be abusing a child, but one may have little or nothing to do with the other.

The offender may be deliberately engaging in ritualistic activity with a child as part of child abuse and exploitation. The motivation, however, may be not to indoctrinate the child into a belief system, but to lower the inhibitions of, control, manipulate, and/or confuse the child. In all the turmoil over this issue, it would be very effective strategy for any child molester deliberately to introduce ritualistic elements into his crime in order to confuse the child and therefore the criminal justice system. This would, however, make the activity M.O. and not ritual. The ritualistic activity and the child abuse may be integral parts of some spiritual belief system. In that case the greatest risk is to the children of the practitioners. But this is true of all cults and religions, not just satanic cults. A high potential of abuse exists for any children raised in a group isolated from the mainstream of society, especially if the group has a charismatic leader whose orders are unquestioned and blindly obeyed by the members. Sex, money, and power are often the main motivations of the leaders of such cults.

What Makes a Crime Satanic, Occult, or Ritualistic? Some would answer that it is the offender's spiritual beliefs or membership in a cult or church. If that is the criterion, why not label the crimes committed by Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in the same way? Are the atrocities of Jim Jones in Guyana Christian crimes?

Some would answer that it is the presence of certain symbols in the possession or home of the perpetrator. What does it mean then to find a crucifix, Bible, or rosary in the possession or home of a bank robber, embezzler, child molester, or murderer? If different criminals possess the same symbols, are they necessarily part of one big conspiracy? Others would answer that it is the presence of certain symbols such as pentagrams, inverted crosses, and 666 at the crime scene. What does it mean then to find a cross spray painted on a wall or carved into the body of a victim? What does it mean for a perpetrator, as in one recent case profiled by my Unit, to leave a Bible tied to his murder victim? What about the possibility that an offender deliberately left such symbols to make it look like a "satanic" crime?

Some would argue that it is the bizarreness or cruelness of the crime: body mutilation, amputation, drinking of blood, eating of flesh, use of urine or feces. Does this mean that all individuals involved in lust murder, sadism, vampirism, cannibalism, urophilia, and coprophilia are satanists or occult practitioners? What does this say about the bizarre crimes of psychotic killers such as Ed Gein or Richard Trenton Chase, both of whom mutilated their victims as part of their psychotic

delusions? Can a crime that is not sexually deviant, bizarre, or exceptionally violent be satanic? Can white collar crime be satanic?

A few might even answer that it is the fact that the crime was committed on a date with satanic or occult significance (Halloween, May Eve, etc.) or the fact that the perpetrator claims that Satan told him to commit the crime. What does this mean for crimes committed on Thanksgiving or Christmas? What does this say about crimes committed by perpetrators who claim that God or Jesus told them to do it? One note of interest is the fact that in handout and reference material I have collected, the number of dates with satanic or occult significance ranges from 8 to 110. This is compounded by the fact that it is sometimes stated that satanists can celebrate these holidays on several days on either side of the official date or that the birthdays of practitioners can also be holidays. The exact names and exact dates of the holidays and the meaning of symbols listed may also vary depending on who prepared the material. The handout material is often distributed without identifying the author or documenting the original source of the information. It is then frequently photocopied by attendees and passed on to other police officers with no one really knowing its validity or origin.

Most, however, would probably answer that what makes a crime satanic, occult, or ritualistic is the motivation for the crime. It is a crime that is spiritually motivated by a religious belief system. How then do we label the following true crimes?

Parents defy a court order and send their children to an unlicensed Christian school.

Parents refuse to send their children to any school because they are waiting for the second coming of Christ.

Parents beat their child to death because he or she will not follow their Christian belief.

Parents violate child labor laws because they believe the Bible requires such work.

Individuals bomb an abortion clinic or kidnap the doctor because their religious belief system says abortion is murder.

A child molester reads the Bible to his victims in order to justify his sex acts with them.

Parents refuse life-saving medical treatment for a child because of their religious beliefs.

Parents starve and beat their child to death because their minister said the child was possessed by demonic spirits.

Some people would argue that the Christians who committed the above crimes misunderstood and distorted their religion while satanists who commit crimes are following theirs. But who decides what constitutes a misinterpretation of a religious belief system?

The individuals who committed the above-described crimes, however misguided, believed that they were following their religion as they understood it. Religion was and is used to justify such social behavior as the Crusades, the Inquisition, Apartheid, segregation, and recent violence in Northern Ireland, India, Lebanon and Nigeria.

Who decides exactly what "satanists" believe? In this country, we cannot even agree on what Christians believe. At many law enforcement conferences The Satanic Bible is used for this, and it is often contrasted or compared with the Judeo-Christian Bible. The Satanic Bible is, in essence, a short paperback book written by one man, Anton LaVey, in 1969. To compare it to a book written by multiple authors over a period of thousands of years is ridiculous, even ignoring the possibility of Divine revelation in the Bible. What satanists believe certainly isn't limited to other people's interpretation of a few books. More importantly it is subject to some degree of interpretation by individual believers just as Christianity is. Many admitted "satanists" claim they do not even believe in God, the devil, or any supreme deity. The criminal behavior of one person claiming belief in a religion does not necessarily imply guilt or blame to others sharing that belief. In addition, simply claiming membership in a religion does not necessarily make you a member.

The fact is that far more crime and child abuse has been committed by zealots in the name of God, Jesus, Mohammed, and other mainstream religion than has ever been committed in the name of Satan. Many people, including myself, don't like that statement, but the truth of it is undeniable. Although defining a crime as satanic, occult, or ritualistic would probably involve a combination of the criteria set forth above, I have been unable to clearly define such a crime. Each potential definition presents a different set of problems when measured against an objective, rational, and constitutional perspective. In a crime with multiple subjects, each offender may have a different motivation for the same crime. Whose motivation determines the label for the crime? It is difficult to count or track something you cannot even define.

I have discovered, however, that the facts of so-called "satanic crimes" are often significantly different from what is described at training conferences or in the media. The actual involvement of satanism or the occult in these cases usually turns out to be secondary, insignificant, or nonexistent. Occult or ritual crime surveys done by the states of Michigan (1990) and Virginia (1991) have only confirmed this "discovery." Some law enforcement officers, unable to find serious "satanic" crime in their communities, assume they are just lucky or vigilant and the serious problems must be in other jurisdictions. The officers in the other jurisdictions, also unable find it, assume the same.

Multidimensional Child Sex Rings

Sometime in early 1983 I was first contacted by a law enforcement agency for guidance in what was then thought to be an unusual case. The exact date of the contact is unknown because its significance was not recognized at the time. In the months and years that followed, I received more and more inquiries about "these kinds of cases." The requests for assistance came (and continue to come) from all over the United States. Many of the aspects of these cases varied, but there were also some commonalties. Early on, however, one particularly difficult and potentially significant issue began to emerge.

These cases involved and continue to involve unsubstantiated allegations of bizarre activity that are difficult either to prove or disprove. Many of the unsubstantiated allegations, however, do not seem to have occurred or even be possible. These cases seem to call into question the credibility of victims of child sexual abuse and exploitation. These are the most polarizing, frustrating, and baffling cases I have encountered in more than 18 years of studying the criminal aspects of deviant sexual behavior. I privately sought answers, but said nothing publicly about those cases until 1985.

In October 1984 the problems in investigating and prosecuting one of these cases in Jordan, Minnesota became publicly known. In February 1985, at the FBI Academy, the FBI sponsored and I coordinated the first national seminar held to study "these kinds of cases." Later in 1985, similar conferences sponsored by other organizations were held in Washington, D.C.; Sacramento, California; and Chicago, Illinois. These cases have also been discussed at many recent regional and national conferences dealing with the sexual victimization of children and Multiple Personality Disorder. Few answers have come from these conferences. I continue to be contacted on these cases on a regular basis. Inquiries have been received from law enforcement officers, prosecutors, therapists, victims, families of victims, and the media from all over the United States and now foreign countries. I do not claim to understand completely all the dynamics of these cases. I continue to keep an open mind and to search for answers to the questions and solutions to the problems they pose. This discussion is based on my analysis of the several hundred of "these kinds of cases" on which I have consulted since 1983.

Dynamics of Cases

What are "these kinds of cases"? They were and continue to be difficult to define. They all involve allegations of what sounds like child sexual abuse, but with a combination of some atypical dynamics. These cases seem to have the following four dynamics in common: multiple young victims, multiple offenders, fear as the controlling tactic, and bizarre or ritualistic activity.

Multiple Young Victims

In almost all the cases the sexual abuse was alleged to have taken place or at least begun when the victims were between the ages of birth and six. This very young age may be an important key to understanding these cases. In addition the victims all described multiple children being abused. The numbers ranged from three or four to as many as several hundred victims.

Multiple Offenders

In almost all the cases the victims reported numerous offenders. The numbers ranged from two or three all the way up to dozens of offenders. In one recent case the victims alleged 400–500 offenders were involved. Interestingly many of the offenders (perhaps as many as 40–50 percent) were reported to be females. The multiple offenders were often family members and were described as being part of a cult, occult, or satanic group.

Fear as Controlling Tactic

Child molesters in general are able to maintain control and ensure the secrecy of their victims in a variety of ways. These include attention and affection, coercion, blackmail, embarrassment, threats, and violence. In almost all of these cases I have studied, the victims described being frightened and reported threats against themselves, their families, their friends, and even their pets. They reported witnessing acts of violence perpetrated to reinforce this fear. It is my belief that this fear and the traumatic memory of the events may be another key to understanding many of these cases.

Bizarre or Ritualistic Activity

This is the most difficult dynamic of these cases to describe. "Bizarre" is a relative term. Is the use of urine or feces in sexual activity bizarre, or is it a well-documented aspect of sexual deviancy, or is it part of established satanic rituals? As previously discussed, the ritualistic aspect is even more difficult to define. How do you distinguish acts performed in a precise manner to enhance or allow sexual arousal from those acts that fulfill spiritual needs or comply with "religious" ceremonies? Victims in these cases report ceremonies, chanting, robes and costumes, drugs, use of urine and feces, animal sacrifice, torture, abduction, mutilation, murder, and even cannibalism and vampirism. All things considered, the word "bizarre" is probably preferable to the word "ritual" to describe this activity.

When I was contacted on these cases, it was very common for a prosecutor or investigator to say that the alleged victims have been evaluated by an "expert" who will stake his or her professional reputation on the fact that the victims are telling the "truth." When asked how many cases this expert had previously evaluated involving these four dynamics, the answer was always the same: none! The experts usually had only dealt with one-on-

one intrafamilial sexual abuse cases. Recently an even more disturbing trend has developed. More and more of the victims have been identified or evaluated by experts who have been trained to identify and specialize in satanic ritual abuse.

Characteristics of Multidimensional Child Sex Rings

As previously stated, a major problem in communicating, training, and researching in this area is the term used to define "these kinds of cases." Many refer to them as "ritual, ritualistic, or ritualized abuse of children cases" or "satanic ritual abuse (SRA) cases." Such words carry specialized meanings for many people and might imply that all these cases are connected to occult or satanic activity. If ritual abuse is not necessarily occult or satanic, but is "merely" severe, repeated, prolonged abuse, why use a term that, in the minds of so many, implies such specific motivation?

Others refer to these cases as "multioffender/multivictim cases." The problem with this term is that most multiple offender and victim cases do not involve the four dynamics discussed above.

For want of a better term, I have decided to refer to "these kinds of cases" as "multidimensional child sex rings." Right now I seem to be the only one using this term. I am, however, not sure if this is truly a distinct kind of child sex ring case or just a case not properly handled. Following are the general characteristics of these multidimensional child sex ring cases as contrasted with more common historical child sex ring cases (see my monograph "Child Sex Rings: A Behavioral Analysis" [1989] for a discussion of the characteristics of historical child sex ring cases).

Female Offenders

As many as 40–50 percent of the offenders in these cases are reported to be women. This is in marked contrast to historical child sex rings in which almost all the offenders are men.

Situational Molesters

The offenders appear to be sexually interacting with the child victims for reasons other than a true sexual preference for children. The children are substitute victims, and the abusive activity may have little to do with pedophilia (see my monograph *Child Molesters: A Behavioral Analysis* [1987] for a further explanation about types of molesters).

Male and Female Victims

Both boys and girls appear to be targeted, but with an apparent preference for girls. Almost all the adult survivors are female, but day care cases frequently involve male as well as female victims. The most striking characteristic of the victims, however, is their young age (generally birth to six years old when the abuse began).

Multidimensional Motivation

Sexual gratification appears to be only part of the motivation for the "sexual" activity. Many people today argue that the motivation is "spiritual"—possibly part of an occult ceremony. It is my opinion that the motivation may have more to do with anger, hostility, rage and resentment carried out against weak and vulnerable victims. Much of the ritualistic abuse of children may not be sexual in nature. Some of the activity may, in fact, be physical abuse directed at sexually-significant body parts (penis, anus, nipples). This may also partially explain the large percentage of female offenders. Physical abuse of children by females is well-documented.

Pornography and Paraphernalia

Although many of the victims of multidimensional child sex rings claim that pictures and videotapes of the activity were made, no such visual record has been found by law enforcement. In recent years, American law enforcement has seized large amounts of child pornography portraying children in a wide variety of sexual activity and perversions. None of it, however, portrays the kind of bizarre and/or ritualistic activity described by these victims. Perhaps these offenders use and store their pornography and paraphernalia in ways different from preferential child molesters (pedophiles). This is an area needing additional research and investigation.

Control Through Fear

Control through fear may be the overriding characteristic of these cases. Control is maintained by frightening the children. A very young child might not be able to understand the significance of much of the sexual activity but certainly understands fear. The stories that the victims tell may be their perceived versions of severe traumatic memories. They may be the victims of a severely traumatized childhood in which being sexually abused was just one of the many negative events affecting their lives.

Scenarios

Multidimensional child sex rings typically emerge from one of four scenarios: adult survivors, day care cases, family/isolated neighborhood cases, and custody/visitation disputes.

Adult Survivors

In adult survivor cases, adults of almost any age—nearly always women—are suffering the consequences of a variety of personal problems and failures in their lives (e.g., promiscuity, eating disorders, drug and alcohol abuse, failed relationships, self-mutilation, unemployment). As a result of some precipitating stress or crisis, they often seek therapy. They are frequently hypnotized, intentionally or unintentionally, as part of the therapy and are often diagnosed as suffering from Multiple

Personality Disorder. Gradually, during the therapy, the adults reveal previously unrecalled memories of early childhood victimization that includes multiple victims and offenders, fear as the controlling tactic, and bizarre or ritualistic activity. Adult survivors may also claim that "cues" from certain events in their recent life "triggered" the previously repressed memories.

The multiple offenders are often described as members of a cult or satanic group. Parents, family members, clergy, civic leaders, police officers (or individuals wearing police uniforms), and other prominent members of society are frequently described as present at and participating in the exploitation. The alleged bizarre activity often includes insertion of foreign objects, witnessing mutilations, and sexual acts and murders being filmed or photographed. The offenders may allegedly still be harassing or threatening the victims. They report being particularly frightened on certain dates and by certain situations. In several of these cases, women (called "breeders") claim to have had babies that were turned over for human sacrifice. This type of case is probably best typified by books like Michelle Remembers (Smith & Pazder, 1980), Satan's Underground (Stratford, 1988), and Satan's Children (Mayer, 1991).

If and when therapists come to believe the patient or decide the law requires it, the police or FBI are sometimes contacted to conduct an investigation. The therapists may also fear for their safety because they now know the "secret." The therapists will frequently tell law enforcement that they will stake their professional reputation on the fact that their patient is telling the truth. Some adult survivors go directly to law enforcement. They may also go from place to place in an effort to find therapists or investigators who will listen to and believe them. Their ability to provide verifiable details varies and many were raised in apparently religious homes. A few adult survivors are now reporting participation in specific murders or child abductions that are known to have taken place.

Day Care Cases

In day care cases children currently or formerly attending a day care center gradually describe their victimization at the center and at other locations to which they were taken by the day care staff. The cases include multiple victims and offenders, fear, and bizarre or ritualistic activity, with a particularly high number of female offenders. Descriptions of strange games, insertion of foreign objects, killing of animals, photographing of activities, and wearing of costumes are common. The accounts of the young children, however, do not seem to be quite as "bizarre" as those of the adult survivors, with fewer accounts of human sacrifice.

Family/Isolated Neighborhood Cases

In family/isolated neighborhood cases, children describe

their victimization within their family or extended family. The group is often defined by geographic boundary, such as a cul-de-sac, apartment building, or isolated rural setting. Such accounts are most common in rural or suburban communities with high concentrations of religiously conservative people. The stories are similar to those told of the day care setting, but with more male offenders. The basic dynamics remain the same, but victims tend to be more than six years of age, and the scenario may also involve a custody or visitation dispute.

Custody/Visitation Dispute

In custody/visitation dispute cases, the allegations emanate from a custody or visitation dispute over at least one child under the age of seven. The four dynamics described above make these cases extremely difficult to handle. When complicated by the strong emotions of this scenario, the cases can be overwhelming. This is especially true if the disclosing child victims have been taken into the "underground" by a parent during the custody or visitation dispute. Some of these parents or relatives may even provide authorities with diaries or tapes of their interviews with the children. An accurate evaluation and assessment of a young child held in isolation in this underground while being "debriefed" by a parent or someone else is almost impossible. However well-intentioned, these self-appointed investigators severely damage any chance to validate these cases objectively.

Why Are Victims Alleging Things That Do Not Seem to Be True?

Some of what the victims in these cases allege is physically impossible (victim cut up and put back together, offender took the building apart and then rebuilt it); some is possible but improbable (human sacrifice, cannibalism, vampirism); some is possible and probable (child pornography, clever manipulation of victims); and some is corroborated (medical evidence of vaginal or anal trauma, offender confessions).

The most significant crimes being alleged that do not seem to be true are the human sacrifice and cannibalism by organized satanic cults. In none of the multidimensional child sex ring cases of which I am aware have bodies of the murder victims been found—in spite of major excavations where the abuse victims claim the bodies were located. The alleged explanations for this include: the offenders moved the bodies after the children left, the bodies were burned in portable high-temperature ovens, the bodies were put in double-decker graves under legitimately buried bodies, a mortician member of the cult disposed of the bodies in a crematorium, the offenders ate the bodies, the offenders used corpses and aborted fetuses, or the power of Satan caused the bodies to disappear.

Not only are no bodies found, but also, more impor-

tantly, there is no physical evidence that a murder took place. Many of those not in law enforcement do not understand that, while it is possible to get rid of a body, it is even more difficult to get rid of the physical evidence that a murder took place, especially a human sacrifice involving sex, blood, and mutilation. Such activity would leave behind trace evidence that could be found using modern crime scene processing techniques in spite of extraordinary efforts to clean it up.

The victims of these human sacrifices and murders are alleged to be abducted missing children, runaway and throwaway children, derelicts, and the babies of breeder women. It is interesting to note that many of those espousing these theories are using the long-sincediscredited numbers and rhetoric of the missing children hysteria in the early 1980s. Yet "Stranger-Abduction Homicides of Children," a January 1989 Juvenile Justice Bulletin, published by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention of the U.S. Department of Justice, reports that researchers now estimate that the number of children kidnapped and murdered by nonfamily members is between 52 and 158 a year and that adolescents 14 to 17 years old account for nearly two-thirds of these victims. These figures are also consistent with the 1990 National Incident Studies previously mentioned.

We live in a very violent society, and yet we have "only" about 23,000 murders a year. Those who accept these stories of mass human sacrifice would have us believe that the satanists and other occult practitioners are murdering more than twice as many people every year in this country as all the other murderers combined. In addition, in none of the cases of which I am aware has any evidence of a well-organized satanic cult been found. Many of those who accept the stories of organized ritual abuse of children and human sacrifice will tell you that the best evidence they now have is the consistency of stories from all over America. It sounds like a powerful argument. It is interesting to note that, without having met each other, the hundreds of people who claim to have been abducted by aliens from outer space also tell stories and give descriptions of the aliens that are similar to each other. This is not to imply that allegations of child abuse are in the same category as allegations of abduction by aliens from outer space. It is intended only to illustrate that individuals who never met each other can sometimes describe similar events without necessarily having experienced them.

The large number of people telling the same story is, in fact, the biggest reason to doubt these stories. It is simply too difficult for that many people to commit so many horrendous crimes as part of an organized conspiracy. Two or three people murder a couple of children in a few communities as part of a ritual, and nobody finds out? Possible. Thousands of people do the same thing to tens of thousands of victims over many years? Not likely.

Hundreds of communities all over America are run by mayors, police departments, and community leaders who are practicing satanists and who regularly murder and eat people? Not likely. In addition, these community leaders and high-ranking officials also supposedly commit these complex crimes leaving no evidence, and at the same time function as leaders and managers while heavily involved in using illegal drugs. Probably the closest documented example of this type of alleged activity in American history is the Ku Klux Klan, which ironically used Christianity, not satanism, to rationalize its activity but which, as might be expected, was eventually infiltrated by informants and betrayed by its members.

As stated, initially I was inclined to believe the allegations of the victims. But as the cases poured in and the months and years went by, I became more concerned about the lack of physical evidence and corroboration for many of the more serious allegations. With increasing frequency I began to ask the question: "Why are victims alleging things that do not seem to be true?" Many possible answers were considered.

The first possible answer is obvious: clever offenders. The allegations may not seem to be true but they are true. The criminal justice system lacks the knowledge, skill, and motivation to get to the bottom of this crime conspiracy. The perpetrators of this crime conspiracy are clever, cunning individuals using sophisticated mind control and brainwashing techniques to control their victims. Law enforcement does not know how to investigate these cases.

It is technically possible that these allegations of an organized conspiracy involving taking over day care centers, abduction, cannibalism, murder, and human sacrifice might be true. But if they are true, they constitute one of the greatest crime conspiracies in history.

Many people do not understand how difficult it is to commit a conspiracy crime involving numerous co-conspirators. One clever and cunning individual has a good chance of getting away with a well-planned interpersonal crime. Bring one partner into the crime and the odds of getting away with it drop considerably. The more people involved in the crime, the harder it is to get away with it. Why? Human nature is the answer. People get angry and jealous. They come to resent the fact that another conspirator is getting "more" than they. They get in trouble and want to make a deal for themselves by informing on others.

If a group of individuals degenerate to the point of engaging in human sacrifice, murder, and cannibalism, that would most likely be the beginning of the end for such a group. The odds are that someone in the group would have a problem with such acts and be unable to maintain the secret.

The appeal of the satanic conspiracy theory is twofold:

First, it is a simple explanation for a complex prob-

lem. Nothing is more simple than "the devil made them do it." If we do not understand something, we make it the work of some supernatural force. During the Middle Ages, serial killers were thought to be vampires and werewolves, and child sexual abuse was the work of demons taking the form of parents and clergy. Even today, especially for those raised to religiously believe so, satanism offers an explanation as to why "good" people do bad things. It may also help to "explain" unusual, bizarre, and compulsive sexual urges and behavior.

Second, the conspiracy theory is a popular one. We find it difficult to believe that one bizarre individual could commit a crime we find so offensive. Conspiracy theories about soldiers missing in action (MIAs), abductions by UFOs, Elvis Presley sightings, and the assassination of prominent public figures are the focus of much attention in this country. These conspiracy theories and allegations of ritual abuse have the following in common:

self-proclaimed experts, tabloid media interest, belief the government is involved in a cover-up, and emotionally involved direct and indirect victim/wit-

On a recent television program commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of Jack the Ripper, almost fifty percent of the viewing audience who called the polling telephone numbers indicated that they thought the murders were committed as part of a conspiracy involving the British Royal Family. The five experts on the program, however, unanimously agreed the crimes were the work of one disorganized but lucky individual who was diagnosed as a paranoid schizophrenic. In many ways, the murders of Jack the Ripper are similar to those allegedly committed by satanists today.

If your child's molestation was perpetrated by a sophisticated satanic cult, there is nothing you could have done to prevent it and therefore no reason to feel any guilt. I have been present when parents who believe their children were ritually abused at day care centers have told others that the cults had sensors in the road, lookouts in the air, and informers everywhere; therefore, the usually recommended advice of unannounced visits to the day care center would be impossible.

Alternative Explanations

Even if only part of an allegation is not true, what then is the answer to the question "Why are victims alleging things that do not seem to be true?" After consulting with psychiatrists, psychologists, anthropologists, therapists, social workers, child sexual abuse experts, and law enforcement investigators for more than eight years, I can find no single, simple answer. The answer to the question seems to be a complex set of dynamics that can be different in each case. In spite of the fact that some skeptics keep looking for it, there does not appear to be one answer to the question that fits every case. Each case is different, and each case may involve a different combination of answers.

I have identified a series of possible alternative answers to this question. The alternative answers also do not preclude the possibility that clever offenders are sometimes involved. I will not attempt to explain completely these alternative answers because I cannot. They are presented simply as areas for consideration and evaluation by child sexual abuse intervenors, for further elaboration by experts in these fields, and for research by objective social scientists. The first step, however, in finding the answers to this question is to admit the possibility that some of what the victims describe may not have happened. Some child advocates seem unwilling to do this.

Pathological Distortion

The first possible answer to why victims are alleging things that do not seem to be true is pathological distortion. The allegations may be errors in processing reality influenced by underlying mental disorders such as dissociative disorders, borderline or histrionic personality disorders, or psychosis. These distortions may be manifested in false accounts of victimization in order to gain psychological benefits such as attention and sympathy (factitious disorder). When such individuals repeatedly go from place to place or person to person making these false reports of their own "victimization," it is called Munchausen Syndrome. When the repealed false reports concern the "victimization" of their children or others linked to them, it is called Munchausen Syndrome by Proxy. I am amazed when some therapists state that they believe the allegations because they cannot think of a reason why the "victim," whose failures are now explained and excused or who is now the center of attention at a conference or on a national television program, would lie. If you can be forgiven for mutilating and killing babies, you can be forgiven for anything.

Many "victims" may develop pseudomemories of their victimization and eventually come to believe the events actually occurred. Noted forensic psychiatrist Park E. Dietz (personal communication, Nov. 1991) states:

Pseudomemories have been acquired through dreams (particularly if one is encouraged to keep a journal or dream diary and to regard dream content as "clues" about the past or as snippets of history), substance-induced altered states of consciousness (alcohol or other drugs), group influence (particularly hearing vivid accounts of events occurring to others with whom one identifies emotionally such as occurs in incest survivor groups), reading vivid accounts of events occurring to others with whom

one identifies emotionally, watching such accounts in films or on television, and hypnosis. The most efficient means of inducing pseudomemories is hypnosis.

It is characteristic of pseudomemories that the recollections of complex events (as opposed to a simple unit of information, such as a tag number) are incomplete and without chronological sequence. Often the person reports some uncertainty because the pseudomemories are experienced in a manner they describe as "hazy," "fuzzy," or "vague." They are often perplexed that they recall some details vividly but others dimly. Pseudomemories are not delusions. When first telling others of pseudomemories, these individuals do not have the unshakable but irrational conviction that deluded subjects have, but with social support they often come to defend vigorously the truthfulness of the pseudomemories.

Pseudomemories are not fantasies, but may incorporate elements from fantasies experienced in the past. Even where the events described are implausible, listeners may believe them because they are reported with such intense affect (i.e., with so much emotion attached to the story) that the listener concludes that the events must have happened because no one could "fake" the emotional aspects of the retelling. It also occurs, however, that persons report pseudomemories in such a matter-of-fact and emotionless manner that mental health professionals conclude that the person has "dissociated" intellectual knowledge of the events from emotional appreciation of their impact.

Traumatic Memory

The second possible answer is traumatic memory. Fear and severe trauma can cause victims to distort reality and confuse events. This is a well-documented fact in cases involving individuals taken hostage or in life-and-death situations. The distortions may be part of an elaborate defense mechanism of the mind called "splitting." The victims create a clear-cut good-and-evil manifestation of their complex victimization that is then psychologically more manageable.

Through the defense mechanism of dissociation, the victim may escape the horrors of reality by inaccurately processing that reality. In a dissociative state a young child who ordinarily would know the difference might misinterpret a film or video as reality.

Another defense mechanism may tell the victim that it could have been worse, and so his or her victimization was not so bad. They are not alone in their victimization—other children were also abused. Their father who abused them is no different from other prominent people in the community they claim also abused them. Satanism may help to explain why their outwardly good and religious parents did such terrible things to them in

the privacy of their home. Their religious training may convince them that such unspeakable acts by supposedly "good" people must be the work of the devil. The described human sacrifice may be symbolic of the "death" of their childhood.

It may be that we should anticipate that individuals severely abused as very young children by multiple offenders with fear as the primary controlling tactic will distort and embellish their victimization. Perhaps a horror-filled yet inaccurate account of victimization is not only not a counterindication of abuse, but is in fact a corroborative indicator of extreme physical, psychological, and/or sexual abuse. I do not believe it is a coincidence nor the result of deliberate planning by satanists that in almost all the cases of ritual abuse that have come to my attention, the abuse is alleged to have begun prior to the age of seven and perpetrated by multiple offenders. It may well be that such abuse, at young age by multiple offenders, is the most difficult to accurately recall with the specific and precise detail needed by the criminal justice system, and the most likely to be distorted and exaggerated when it is recalled. In her book Too Scared to Cry (1990), child psychiatrist Lenore Terr, a leading expert on psychic trauma in childhood, states "that a series of early childhood shocks might not be fully and accurately 'reconstructed' from the dreams and behaviors of the adult" (p. 5).

Normal Childhood Fears and Fantasy

The third possible answer may be normal childhood fears and fantasy. Most young children are afraid of ghosts and monsters. Even as adults, many people feel uncomfortable, for example, about dangling their arms over the side of their bed. They still remember the "monster" under the bed from childhood. While young children may rarely invent stories about sexual activity, they might describe their victimization in terms of evil as they understand it. In church or at home, children may be told of satanic activity as the source of evil. The children may be "dumping" all their fears and worries unto an attentive and encouraging listener.

Children do fantasize. Perhaps whatever causes a child to allege something impossible (such as being cut up and put back together) is similar to what causes a child to allege something possible but improbable (such as witnessing another child being chopped up and eaten).

Misperception, Confusion, and Trickery

Misperception, confusion, and trickery may be a fourth answer. Expecting young children to give accurate accounts of sexual activity for which they have little frame of reference is unreasonable. The Broadway play *Madame Butterfly* is the true story of a man who had a 15-year affair, including the "birth" of a baby, with a "woman" who turns out to have been a man all along. If a grown man does not know when he has had vaginal

intercourse with a woman, how can we expect young children not to be confused? Furthermore some clever offenders may deliberately introduce elements of satanism and the occult into the sexual exploitation simply to confuse or intimidate the victims. Simple magic and other techniques may be used to trick the children. Drugs may also be deliberately used to confuse the victims and distort their perceptions. Such acts would then be M.O., not ritual.

As previously stated, the perceptions of young victims may also be influenced by any trauma being experienced. This is the most popular alternative explanation, and even the more zealous believers of ritual abuse allegations use it, but only to explain obviously impossible events.

Overzealous Intervenors

Overzealous intervenors, causing intervenor contagion, may be a fifth answer. These intervenors can include parents, family members, foster parents, doctors, therapists, social workers, law enforcement officers, prosecutors, and any combination thereof. Victims have been subtly as well as overtly rewarded and bribed by usually well-meaning intervenors for furnishing further details. In addition, some of what appears not to have happened may have originated as a result of intervenors making assumptions about or misinterpreting what the victims are saying. The intervenors then repeat, and possibly embellish, these assumptions and misinterpretations, and eventually the victims are "forced" to agree with or come to accept this "official" version of what happened. The judgment of intervenors may be affected by their zeal to uncover child sexual abuse, satanic activity, or conspiracies. However "well-intentioned," these overzealous intervenors must accept varying degrees of responsibility for the unsuccessful prosecution of those cases where criminal abuse did occur. This is the most controversial and least popular of the alternative explanations.

Urban Legends

Allegations of and knowledge about ritualistic or satanic abuse may also be spread through urban legends. In *The Vanishing Hitchhiker* (1981), the first of his four books on the topic, Dr. Jan Harold Brunvand defines urban legends as "realistic stories concerning recent events (or alleged events) with an ironic or supernatural twist" (p. xi). Dr. Brunvand's books convincingly explain that just because individuals throughout the country who never met each other tell the same story does not mean that it is true. Absurd urban legends about the corporate logos of Proctor and Gamble and Liz Claiborne being satanic symbols persist in spite of all efforts to refute them with reality. Some urban legends about child kidnappings and other threats to citizens have even been disseminated unknowingly by law

enforcement agencies. Such legends have always existed, but today the mass media aggressively participate in their rapid and more efficient dissemination. Many Americans mistakenly believe that tabloid television shows check out and verify the details of their stories before putting them on the air. Mass hysteria may partially account for large numbers of victims describing the same symptoms or experiences.

Training conferences for all the disciplines involved in child sexual abuse may also play a role in the spread of this contagion. At one child abuse conference I attended, an exhibitor was selling more than 50 different books dealing with satanism and the occult. By the end of the conference, he had sold nearly all of them. At another national child sexual abuse conference, I witnessed more than 100 attendees copying down the widely disseminated 29 "Symptoms Characterizing Satanic Ritual Abuse" in preschool-aged children. Is a four-year-old child's "preoccupation with urine and feces" an indication of satanic ritual abuse or part of normal development?

Combination

Most multidimensional child sex ring cases probably involve a combination of the answers previously set forth, as well as other possible explanations unknown to me at this time. Obviously, cases with adult survivors are more likely to involve some of these answers than those with young children. Each case of sexual victimization must be individually evaluated on its own merits without any preconceived explanations. All the possibilities must be explored if for no other reason than the fact that the defense attorneys for any accused subjects will almost certainly do so. Most people would agree that just because a victim tells you one detail that turns out to be true, this does not mean that every detail is true. But many people seem to believe that if you can disprove one part of a victim's story, then the entire story is false. As previously stated, one of my main concerns in these cases is that people are getting away with sexually abusing children or committing other crimes because we cannot prove that they are members of organized cults that murder and eat people.

I have discovered that the subject of multidimensional child sex rings is a very emotional and polarizing issue. Everyone seems to demand that one choose a side. On one side of the issue are those who say that nothing really happened and it is all a big witch hunt led by overzealous fanatics and incompetent "experts." The other side says, in essence, that everything happened; victims never lie about child sexual abuse, and so it must be true.

There is a middle ground. It is the job of the professional investigator to listen to all the victims and conduct appropriate investigation in an effort to find out what happened, considering all possibilities. Not all childhood trauma is abuse. Not all child abuse is a crime. The great

frustration of these cases is the fact that you are often convinced that something traumatic happened to the victim, but do not know with any degree of certainty exactly what happened, when it happened, or who did it.

Do Victims Lie About Sexual Abuse and Exploitation?

The crucial central issue in the evaluation of a response to cases of multidimensional child sex rings is the statement "Children never lie about sexual abuse or exploitation. If they have details, it must have happened." This statement, oversimplified by many, is the basic premise upon which some believe the child sexual abuse and exploitation movement is based. It is almost never questioned or debated at training conferences. In fact, during the 1970s, there was a successful crusade to eliminate laws requiring corroboration of child victim statements in child sexual abuse cases. The best way to convict child molesters is to have the child victims testify in court. If we believe them, the jury will believe them. Any challenge to this basic premise was viewed as a threat to the movement and a denial that the problem existed.

I believe that children rarely lie about sexual abuse or exploitation, if a lie is defined as a statement deliberately and maliciously intended to deceive. The problem is the oversimplification of the statement. Just because a child is not lying does not necessarily mean the child is telling the truth. I believe that in the majority of these cases, the victims are not lying. They are telling you what they have come to believe has happened to them. Furthermore the assumption that children rarely lie about sexual abuse does not necessarily apply to everything a child says during a sexual abuse investigation. Stories of mutilation, murder, and cannibalism are not really about sexual abuse.

Children rarely lie about sexual abuse or exploitation. but they do fantasize, furnish false information, furnish misleading information, misperceive events, try to please adults, respond to leading questions, and respond to rewards. Children are not adults in little bodies and do go through developmental stages that must be evaluated and understood. In many ways, however, children are no better and no worse than other victims or witnesses of a crime. They should not be automatically believed, nor should they be automatically disbelieved.

The second part of the statement—if children can supply details, the crime must have happened—must also be carefully evaluated. The details in question in most of the cases of multidimensional child sex rings have little to do with sexual activity. Law enforcement and social workers must do more than attempt to determine how a child could have known about the sex acts. These cases involve determining how a victim could have known about a wide variety of bizarre and ritualistic activity. Young children may know little about specific sex acts, but they may know a lot about monsters, torture, kidnapping, and murder.

Victims may supply details of sexual and other acts using information from sources other than their own direct victimization. Such sources must be evaluated carefully by the investigator of multidimensional child sex rings.

Personal Knowledge

The victim may have personal knowledge of the sexual or ritual acts, but not as a result of the alleged victimization. The knowledge could have come from viewing pornography, sex education, or occult material; witnessing sexual or ritual activity in the home; or witnessing the sexual abuse of others. It could also have come from having been sexually or physically abused, but by other than the alleged offenders and in ways other than the alleged offense.

Other Children or Victims

Young children today are socially interacting more often and at a younger age than ever before. Many parents are unable to provide possibly simple explanations for their children's stories because they were not with the children when the events occurred. They do not even know what videotapes their children may have seen, what games they may have played, or what stories they may have been told or overheard. Children are being placed in day care centers for eight, ten, or twelve hours a day starting as young as six weeks of age. The children share experiences by playing house, school, or doctor. Bodily functions such as urination and defecation are a focus of attention for these young children. To a certain extent, each child shares the experiences of all the other children.

The odds are fairly high that in any typical day care center there might be some children who are victims of incest; victims of physical abuse; victims of psychological abuse; children of cult members (even satanists); children of sexually open parents; children of sexually indiscriminate parents; children of parents obsessed with victimization; children of parents obsessed with the evils of satanism; children without conscience; children with a teenage brother or pregnant mother; children with heavy metal music and literature in the home; children with bizarre toys, games, comics, and magazines; children with a VCR and slasher films in their home; children with access to dial-a-porn, party lines, or pornography; or children victimized by a day care center staff member. The possible effects of the interaction of such children prior to the disclosure of the alleged abuse must be evaluated, Adult survivors may obtain details from group therapy sessions, support networks, church groups, or self-help groups. The willingness and ability of siblings to corroborate adult survivor accounts of ritual abuse varies. Some will support and partially corroborate the victim's allegations. Others will vehemently deny them and support their accused parents or relatives.

Media

The amount of sexually explicit, occult, anti-occult, or violence-oriented material available to adults and even children in the modern world is overwhelming. This includes movies, videotapes, television, music, toys, and books. There are also documentaries on satanism, witchcraft, and the occult that are available on videotape. Most of the televangelists have videotapes on the topics that they are selling on their programs.

The National Coalition on Television Violence News (1988) estimates that 12% of the movies produced in the United States can be classified as satanic horror films. Cable television and the home VCR make all this material readily available even to young children. Religious broadcasters and almost all the television tabloid and magazine programs have done shows on satanism and the occult. Heavy metal and black metal music, which often has a satanic theme, is readily available and popular. In addition to the much-debated fantasy role-playing games, there are numerous popular toys on the market with an occult-oriented, bizarre, or violent theme.

Books on satanism and the occult, both fiction and nonfiction, are readily available in most bookstores, especially Christian bookstores. Several recent books specifically discuss the issue of ritual abuse of children. Obviously, very young children do not read this material, but their parents, relatives, and therapists might and then discuss it in front of or with them. Much of the material intended to fight the problem actually fuels the problem and damages effective prosecution.

Suggestions and Leading Questions

This problem is particularly important in cases stemming from custody/visitation disputes involving at least one child under the age of seven. It is my opinion that most suggestive, leading questioning of children by intervenors is inadvertently done as part of a good-faith effort to learn the truth. Not all intervenors are in equal positions to potentially influence victim allegations. Parents and relatives especially are in a position to subtly influence their young children to describe their victimization in a certain way. Children may also overhear their parents discussing the details of the case. Children often tell their parents what they believe their parents want or need to hear. Some children may be instinctively attempting to provide "therapy" for their parents by telling them what seems to satisfy them and somehow makes them feel better. In one case a father gave the police a tape recording to "prove" that his child's statements were spontaneous disclosures and not the result of leading, suggestive questions. The tape recording indicated just the opposite. Why then did the father voluntarily give it to the police? Probably because he truly believed that he was not influencing his child's statements—but he was.

Therapists are probably in the best position to influence the allegations of adult survivors. The accuracy and reliability of the accounts of adult survivors who have been hypnotized during therapy is certainly open to question. One nationally-known therapist personally told me that the reason police cannot find out about satanic or ritualistic activity from child victims is that they do not know how to ask leading questions. Highly suggestive books and pictures portraying "satanic" activity have been developed and marketed to therapists for use during evaluation and treatment. Types and styles of verbal interaction useful in therapy may create significant problems in a criminal investigation. It should be noted, however, that when a therapist does a poor investigative interview as part of a criminal investigation, that is the fault of the criminal justice system that allowed it and not the therapist who did it.

The extremely sensitive, emotional, and religious nature of these cases makes problems with leading questions more likely than in other kinds of cases. Intervenors motivated by religious fervor and/or exaggerated concerns about sexual abuse of children are more likely to lose their objectivity.

Misperception and Confusion

In one case, a child's description of the apparently impossible act of walking through a wall turned out to be the very possible act of walking between the studs of an unfinished wall in a room under construction. In another case, pennies in the anus turned out to be copper-foil-covered suppositories. The children may describe what they believe happened. It is not a lie, but neither is it an accurate account of what happened.

Education and Awareness Programs

Some well-intentioned awareness programs designed to prevent child set abuse, alert professionals, or fight satanism may in fact be unrealistically increasing the fears of professionals, children, and parents and creating self-fulfilling prophesies. Some of what children and their parents are telling intervenors may have been learned in or fueled by such programs. Religious programs, books, and pamphlets that emphasize the power and evil force of Satan may be adding to the problem. In fact most of the day care centers in which ritualistic abuse is alleged to have taken place are church-affiliated centers, and many of the adult survivors alleging it come from apparently religious families.

Law Enforcement Perspective

The perspective with which one looks at satanic, occult, or ritualistic crime is extremely important. As stated, sociologists, therapists, religious leaders, parents, and just plain citizens each have their own valid concerns and views about this issue. This discussion, however, deals primarily with the law enforcement or criminal justice perspective. When you combine an emotional issue such as the sexual abuse of children with an even

more emotional issue such as people's religious beliefs, it is difficult to maintain objectivity and remember the law enforcement perspective. Some police officers may even feel that all crime is caused by evil, all evil is caused by Satan, and therefore, all crime is satanic crime. This may be a valid religious perspective, but it is of no relevance to the investigation of crime for purposes of prosecution.

Many of the police officers who lecture on satanic or occult crime do not even investigate such cases. Their presentations are more a reflection of their personal religious beliefs than documented investigative information. They are absolutely entitled to their beliefs, but introducing themselves as current or former police officers and then speaking as religious advocates causes confusion. As difficult as it might be, police officers must separate the religious and law enforcement perspectives when they are lecturing or investigating in their official capacities as law enforcement officers. Many law enforcement officers begin their presentations by stating that they are not addressing or judging anyone's religious beliefs, and then proceed to do exactly that. Some police officers have resigned rather than curtail or limit their involvement in this issue as ordered by their departments. Perhaps such officers deserve credit for recognizing that they could no longer keep the perspectives separate.

Law enforcement officers and all professionals in this field should avoid the "paranoia" that has crept into this issue and into some of the training conferences. Paranoid type belief systems are characterized by the gradual development of intricate, complex, and elaborate systems of thinking based on and often proceeding logically from misinterpretation of actual events. Paranoia typically involves hypervigilance over the perceived threat, the belief that danger is around every corner, and the willingness to take up the challenge and do something about it. Another very important aspect of this paranoia is the belief that those who do not recognize the threat are evil and corrupt. In this extreme view, you are either with them or against them. You are either part of the solution or part of the problem.

Overzealousness and exaggeration motivated by the true religious fervor of those involved is more acceptable than that motivated by ego or profit. There are those who are deliberately distorting and hyping this issue for personal notoriety and profit. Satanic and occult crime and ritual abuse of children has become a growth industry. Speaking fees, books, video and audio tapes, prevention material, television and radio appearances all bring egoistic and financial rewards.

Bizarre crime and evil can occur without organized satanic activity. The professional perspective requires that we distinguish between what we know and what we're not sure of. The facts are:

- Some individuals believe in and are involved in something commonly called satanism and the occult
- b. Some of these individuals commit crime.
- c. Some groups of individuals share these beliefs and involvement in this satanism and the occult.
- d. Some members of these groups commit crime together.

The unanswered questions are: a) What is the connection between the belief system and the crimes committed? b) Is there an organized conspiracy of satanic and occult believers responsible for interrelated serious crime (e.g., molestation, murder)?

After all the hype and hysteria are put aside, the realization sets in that most satanic/occult activity involves the commission of no crimes, and that which does usually involves the commission of relatively minor crimes such as trespassing, vandalism, cruelty to animals, or petty thievery. The law enforcement problems most often linked to satanic or occult activity are:

- a. Vandalism.
- b. Desecration of churches and cemeteries.
- c. Thefts from churches and cemeteries.
- d. Teenage gangs.
- e. Animal mutilations.
- f. Teenage suicide.
- g. Child abuse.
- h. Kidnapping.
- i. Murder and human sacrifice

Valid evidence shows some "connection" between satanism and the occult and the first six problems (#a-f) set forth above. The "connection" to the last three problems (#g-i) is far more uncertain. Even where there seems to be a "connection," the nature of the connection needs to be explored. It is easy to blame involvement in satanism and the occult for behaviors that have complex motivations. A teenager's excessive involvement in satanism and the occult is usually a symptom of a problem and not the cause of a problem. Blaming satanism for a teenager's vandalism, theft, suicide, or even act of murder is like blaming a criminal's offenses on his tattoos: Both are often signs of the same rebelliousness and lack of self-esteem that contribute to the commission of crimes.

The rock band Judas Priest was recently sued for allegedly inciting two teenagers to suicide through sub-liminal messages in their recordings. In 1991 Anthony Pratkanis of the University of California at Santa Cruz, who served as an expert witness for the defense, stated the boys in question "lived troubled lives, lives of drug and alcohol abuse, run-ins with the law . . . family violence, and chronic unemployment. What issues did the trial and the subsequent mass media coverage empha-

size? Certainly not the need for drug treatment centers; there was no evaluation of the pros and cons of America's juvenile justice system, no investigation of the schools, no inquiry into how to prevent family violence, no discussion of the effects of unemployment on a family. Instead our attention was mesmerized by an attempt to count the number of subliminal demons that can dance on the end of a record needle(p.1).

The law enforcement investigator must objectively evaluate the legal significance of any criminal's spiritual beliefs. In most cases, including those involving satanists, it will have little or no legal significance. If a crime is committed as part of a spiritual belief system, it should make no difference which belief system it is. The crime is the same whether a child is abused or murdered as part of a Christian, Hare Krishna, Muslim, or any other belief system. We generally don't label crimes with the name of the perpetrator's religion. Why then are the crimes of child molesters, rapists, sadists, and murderers who happen to be involved in satanism and the occult labeled as satanic or occult crimes? If criminals use a spiritual belief system to rationalize and justify or to facilitate and enhance their criminal activity, should the focus of law enforcement be on the belief system or on the criminal activity?

Several documented murders have been committed by individuals involved in one way or another in satanism or the occult. In some of these murders the perpetrator has even introduced elements of the occult (e.g., satanic symbols at crime scene). Does that automatically make these satanic murders? It is my opinion that the answer is no. Ritualistic murders committed by serial killers or sexual sadists are not necessarily satanic or occult murders. Ritualistic murders committed by psychotic killers who hear the voice of Satan are no more satanic murders than murders committed by psychotic killers who hear the voice of Jesus are Christian murders. Rather a satanic murder should be defined as one committed by two or more individuals who rationally plan the crime and whose primary motivation is to fulfill a prescribed satanic ritual calling for the murder. By this definition I have been unable to identify even one documented satanic murder in the United States. Although such murders may have and can occur, they appear to be few in number. In addition the commission of such killings would probably be the beginning of the end for such a group. It is highly unlikely that they could continue to kill several people, every year, year after year, and not be discovered.

A brief typology of satanic and occult practitioners is helpful in evaluating what relationship, if any, such practices have to crimes under investigation. The following typology is adapted from the investigative experience of Officer Sandi Gallant of the San Francisco Police Department, who began to study the criminal aspects of occult activity long before it became popular. No typology is perfect, but I use this typology because it is simple and offers investigative insights. Most practitioners fall into one of three categories, any of which can be practiced alone or in groups:

"Youth Subculture"

Most teenagers involved in fantasy role-playing games, heavy metal music, or satanism and the occult are going through a stage of adolescent development and commit no significant crimes. The teenagers who have more serious problems are usually those from dysfunctional families or those who have poor communication within their families. These troubled teenagers turn to satanism and the occult to overcome a sense of alienation, to rebel, to obtain power, or to justify their antisocial behavior. For these teenagers it is the symbolism, not the spirituality, that is more important. It is either the psychopathic or the oddball, loner teenager who is most likely to get into serious trouble. Extreme involvement in the occult is a symptom of a problem, not the cause. This is not to deny, however, that satanism and the occult can be negative influences for a troubled teenager. But to hysterically warn teenagers to avoid this "mysterious, powerful and dangerous" thing called satanism will drive more teenagers right to it. Some rebellious teenagers will do whatever will most shock and outrage society in order to flaunt their rejection of adult norms.

"Dabblers" (Self-Styled)

For these practitioners there is little or no spiritual motivation. They may mix satanism, witchcraft, paganism, and any aspects of the occult to suit their purposes. Symbols mean whatever they want them or believe them to mean. Molesters, rapists, drug dealers, and murderers may dabble in the occult and may even commit their crimes in a ceremonial or ritualistic way. This category has the potential to be the most dangerous, and most of the "satanic" killers fall into this category. Their involvement in satanism and the occult is a symptom of a problem, and a rationalization and justification of antisocial behavior. Satanic/occult practices (as well as those of other spiritual belief systems) can also be used as a mechanism to facilitate criminal objectives.

"Traditional" (Orthodox)

These are the so-called true believers. They are often wary of outsiders. Because of this and constitutional issues, such groups are difficult for law enforcement to penetrate. Although there may be much we don't know about these groups, as of now there is little or no hard evidence that as a group they are involved in serious, organized criminal activity. In addition, instead of being self-perpetuating master crime con-

spirators, "true believers" probably have a similar problem with their teenagers rebelling against their belief system. To some extent even these Traditional satanists are self-stylized. They practice what they have come to believe is "satanism." There is little or no evidence of the much-discussed multigenerational satanists whose beliefs and practices have supposedly been passed down through the centuries. Many admitted adult satanists were in fact raised in conservative Christian homes."

Washington Post editor Walt Harrington reported in a 1986 story on Anton LaVey and his Church of Satan that

sociologists who have studied LaVey's church say that its members often had serious childhood problems like alcoholic parents or broken homes, or that they were traumatized by guilt-ridden fundamentalist upbringings, turning to Satanism as a dramatic way to purge their debilitating guilt (p. 14).

Some have claimed that the accounts of ritual abuse victims coincide with historical records of what traditional or multigenerational satanists are known to have practiced down through the ages. Jeffrey Burton Russell, Professor of History at the University of California at Santa Barbara and the author of numerous scholarly books on the devil and satanism, believes that the universal consensus of modern historians on satanism is (personal communication, Nov. 1991):

incidents of orgy, infanticide, cannibalism, and other such conduct have occurred from the ancient world down to the present; such incidents were isolated and limited to local antisocial groups; during the period of Christian dominance in European culture, such groups were associated with the Devil in the minds of the authorities; in some cases the sectaries believed that they were worshipping Satan; no organized cult of Satanists existed in the Christian period beyond localities, and on no account was there ever any widespread Satanist organization or conspiracy; no reliable historical sources indicate that such organizations existed; the black mass appears only once in the sources before the late nineteenth century.

Many police officers ask what to look for during the search of the scene of suspected satanic activity. The answer is simple: Look for evidence of a crime. A pentagram is no more criminally significant than a crucifix unless it corroborates a crime or a criminal conspiracy. If a victim's description of the location or the instruments of the crime includes a pentagram, then the pentagram would be evidence. But the same would be true if the description included a crucifix. In many cases of alleged satanic ritual abuse, investigation can find evidence that the

claimed offenders are members only of mainstream churches and are often described as very religious.

There is no way any one law enforcement officer can become knowledgeable about all the symbols and rituals of every spiritual belief system that might become part of a criminal investigation. The officer needs only to be trained to recognize the possible investigative significance of such signs, symbols, and rituals. Knowledgeable religious scholars, academics, and other true experts in the community can be consulted if a more detailed analysis is necessary.

Any analysis, however, may have only limited application, especially to cases involving teenagers, dabblers, and other self-styled practitioners. The fact is signs, symbols, and rituals can mean anything that practitioners want them to mean and/or anything that observers interpret them to mean.

The meaning of symbols can also change over time, place, and circumstance. Is a swastika spraypainted on a wall an ancient symbol of prosperity and good fortune, a recent symbol of Nazism and anti-Semitism, or a current symbol of hate, paranoia, and adolescent defiance? The peace sign which in the 1960s was a familiar antiwar symbol is now supposed to be a satanic symbol. Some symbols and holidays become "satanic" only because the antisatanists say they are. Then those who want to be "satanists" adopt them, and now you have "proof" they are satanic.

In spite of what is sometimes said or suggested at law enforcement training conferences, police have no authority to seize any satanic or occult paraphernalia they might see during a search. A legally-valid reason must exist for doing so. It is not the job of law enforcement to prevent satanists from engaging in noncriminal teaching, rituals, or other activities. Investigating Multidimensional Child Sex Rings

Multidimensional child sex rings can be among the most difficult, frustrating, and complex cases that any law enforcement officer will ever investigate. The investigation of allegations of recent activity from multiple young children under the age of seven presents one set of problems and must begin quickly, with interviews of all potential victims being completed as soon as possible. The investigation of allegations of activity ten or more years earlier from adult survivors presents other problems and should proceed, unless victims are at immediate risk, more deliberately, with gradually-increasing resources as corroborated facts warrant.

In spite of any skepticism, allegations of ritual abuse should be aggressively and thoroughly investigated, This investigation should attempt to corroborate the allegations of ritual abuse. but should simultaneously also attempt to identify alternative explanations. The only

debate is over how much investigation is enough. Any law enforcement agency must be prepared to defend and justify its actions when scrutinized by the public, the media, elected officials, or the courts. This does not mean, however, that a law enforcement agency has an obligation to prove that the alleged crimes did not occur. This is almost always impossible to do and investigators should be alert for and avoid this trap.

One major problem in the investigation of multidimensional child sex rings is the dilemma of recognizing soon enough that you have one. Investigators must be alert for cases with the potential for the four basic dynamics: (a) multiple young victims, (b) multiple offenders, (c) fear as the controlling tactic, and (d) bizarre or ritualistic activity. The following techniques apply primarily to the investigation of such multidimensional child sex rings:

Minimize Satanic/Occult Aspect

There are those who claim that one of the major reasons more of these cases have not been successfully prosecuted is that the satanic/occult aspect has not been aggressively pursued. One state has even introduced legislation creating added penalties when certain crimes are committed as part of a ritual or ceremony. A few states have passed special ritual crime laws. I strongly disagree with such an approach. It makes no difference what spiritual belief system was used to enhance and facilitate or rationalize and justify criminal behavior. It serves no purpose to "prove" someone is a satanist. As a matter of fact, if it is alleged that the subject committed certain criminal acts under the influence of or in order to conjure up supernatural spirits or forces, this may very well be the basis for an insanity or diminished capacity defense, or may damage the intent aspect of a sexually motivated crime. The defense may very well be more interested in all the "evidence of satanic activity." Some of the satanic crime "experts" who train law enforcement wind up working or testifying for the defense in these cases.

It is best to focus on the crime and all the evidence to corroborate its commission. Information about local satanic or occult activity is only of value if it is based on specific law enforcement intelligence and not on some vague, unsubstantiated generalities from religious groups. Cases are not solved by decoding signs, symbols, and dates using undocumented satanic crime "manuals." In one case a law enforcement agency executing a search warrant seized only the satanic paraphernalia and left behind the other evidence that would have corroborated victim statements. Cases are solved by people-and behavior-oriented investigation. Evidence of satanic or occult activity may help explain certain aspects of the case, but even offenders who commit crimes in a spiritual context are usually motivated by power, sex, and money.

Keep Investigation and Religious Beliefs Separate

I believe that one of the biggest mistakes any investigator of these cases can make is to attribute supernatural powers to the offenders. During an investigation a good investigator may sometimes be able to use the beliefs and superstitions of the offenders to his or her advantage. The reverse happens if the investigator believes that the offenders possess supernatural powers. Satanic/occult practitioners have no more power than any other human beings. Law enforcement officers who believe that the investigation of these cases puts them in conflict with the supernatural forces of evil should probably not be assigned to them. The religious beliefs of officers should provide spiritual strength and support for them but should not affect the objectivity and professionalism of the investigation.

It is easy to get caught up in these cases and begin to see "satanism" everywhere. Oversensitization to this perceived threat may cause an investigator to "see" satanism in a crime when it really is not there (quasisatanism). Often the eye sees what the mind perceives. It may also cause an investigator not to recognize a staged crime scene deliberately seeded with "satanic clues" in order to mislead the police (pseudo-satanism). On rare occasions an overzealous investigator or intervenor may even be tempted to plant "evidence of satanism" in order to corroborate such allegations and beliefs. Supervisors need to be alert for and monitor these reactions in their investigators.

Listen to the Victims

It is not the investigator's duty to believe the victims; it is his or her job to listen and be an objective fact finder. Interviews of young children should be done by investigators trained and experienced in such interviews. Investigators must have direct access to the alleged victims for interview purposes. Therapists for an adult survivor sometimes want to act as intermediaries in their patient's interview. This should be avoided if at all possible.

Adult survivor interviews are often confusing difficult and extremely time-consuming. The investigator must remember however that almost anything is possible. Most important the investigator must remember that there is much middle ground. Just because one event did happen does not mean that all reported events happened, and just because one event did not happen does not mean that all other events did not happen. Do not become such a zealot that you believe it all nor such a cynic that you believe nothing. Varying amounts and parts of the allegation may be factual. Attempting to find evidence of what did happen is the great challenge of these cases. All investigative interaction with victims must be carefully and thoroughly documented.

Assess and Evaluate Victim Statements

This is the part of the investigative process in child sexu-

al victimization cases that seems to have been lost. Is the victim describing events and activities that are consistent with law enforcement documented criminal behavior, or that are consistent with distorted media accounts and erroneous public perceptions of criminal behavior? Investigators should apply the "template of probability." Accounts of child sexual victimization that are more like books, television, and movies (e.g., big conspiracies, child sex slaves, organized pornography rings) and less like documented cases should be viewed with skepticism but thoroughly investigated. Consider and investigate all possible explanations of events. It is the investigator's job, and the information learned will be invaluable in counteracting the defense attorneys when they raise the alternative explanations.

For example, an adult survivor's account of ritual victimization might be explained by any one of at least four possibilities: First, the allegations may be a fairly accurate account what actually happened. Second, they may be deliberate lies (malingering), told for the usual reasons people lie (e.g., money, revenge, jealousy). Third, they may be deliberate lies (factitious disorder) told for atypical reasons (e.g., attention, forgiveness). Lies so motivated are less likely to be recognized by the investigator and more likely to be rigidly maintained by the liar unless and until confronted with irrefutable evidence to the contrary. Fourth, the allegations may be a highly inaccurate account of what actually happened, but the victim truly believes it (pseudomemory) and therefore is not lying. A polygraph examination of such a victim would be of limited value. Other explanations or combinations of these explanations are also possible. Only thorough investigation will point to the correct or most likely explanation.

Investigators cannot rely on therapists or satanic crime experts as a shortcut to the explanation. In one case, the "experts" confirmed and validated the account of a female who claimed to be a 15-year-old deaf-mute kidnapped and held for three years by a satanic cult and forced to participate in bizarre rituals before recently escaping. Active investigation, however, determined she was a 27-year-old woman who could hear and speak, who had not been kidnapped by anyone, and who had a lengthy history of mental problems and at least three other similar reports of false victimization. Her "accurate" accounts of what the "real satanists" do were simply the result of having read, while in mental hospitals, the same books that the "experts" had. A therapist may have important insights about whether an individual was traumatized, but knowing the exact cause of that trauma is another matter. There have been cases where investigation has discovered that individuals diagnosed by therapists as suffering from Post-Vietnam Syndrome were never in Vietnam or saw no combat.

Conversely, in another case, a law enforcement

"expert" on satanic crime told a therapist that a patient's accounts of satanic murders in a rural Pacific Northwest town were probably true because the community was a hotbed of such satanic activity. When the therapist explained that there was almost no violent crime reported in the community, the officer explained that that is how you know it is the satanists. If you knew about the murders or found the bodies, it would not be satanists. How do you argue with that kind of logic? The first step in the assessment and evaluation of victim statements is to determine the disclosure sequence, including how much time has elapsed since disclosure was first made and the incident was reported to the police or social services. The longer the delay, the bigger the potential for problems. The next step is to determine the number and purpose of all prior interviews of the victim concerning the allegations. The more interviews conducted before the investigative interview, the larger the potential for problems.

Although there is nothing wrong with admitting shortcomings and seeking help, law enforcement should never abdicate its control over the investigative interview. When an investigative interview is conducted by or with a social worker or therapist using a team approach, law enforcement must direct the process. Problems can also be created by interviews conducted by various intervenors after the investigative interview(s).

The investigator must closely and carefully evaluate events in the victim's life before, during, and after the alleged abuse. Events to be evaluated before the alleged abuse include:

Background of victim.
Abuse of drugs in home.
Pornography in home.
Play, television, and VCR habits.
Attitudes about sexuality in home.
Extent of sex education in home.
Activities of siblings.
Need or craving for attention.
Religious beliefs and training.
Childhood fears.
Custody/visitation disputes.
Victimization of or by family members.
Interaction between victims.

Events to be evaluated during the alleged abuse include:

Use of fear or scare tactics.
Degree of trauma.
Use of magic deception or trickery.
Use of rituals.
Use of drugs.
Use of pornography.

Events to be evaluated after the alleged abuse include:

Disclosure sequence.
Background of prior interviewers.
Background of parents.
Co-mingling of victims.
Type of therapy received.
Evaluate Contagion

Consistent statements obtained from different multiple victims are powerful pieces of corroborative evidence—that is as long as those statements were not "contaminated." Investigation must carefully evaluate both pre-and post-disclosure contagion, and both victim and intervenor contagion. Are the different victim statements consistent because they describe common experiences or events, or because they reflect contamination or urban legends?

The sources of potential contagion are widespread. Victims can communicate with each other both prior to and after their disclosures. Intervenors can communicate with each other and with victims. The team or cell concepts of investigation are attempts to deal with potential investigator contagion. All the victims are not interviewed by the same individuals, and interviewers do not necessarily share information directly with each other. Teams report to a leader or supervisor who evaluates the information and decides what other investigators need to know.

Documenting existing contagion and eliminating additional contagion are crucial to the successful investigation and prosecution of these cases. There is no way, however, to erase or undo contagion. The best you can hope for is to identify and evaluate it and attempt to explain it. Mental health professionals requested to evaluate suspected victims must be carefully selected. Having a victim evaluated by one of the self-proclaimed experts on satanic ritual abuse or by some other overzealous intervenor may result in the credibility of that victim's testimony being severely damaged.

In order to evaluate the contagion element, investigators must meticulously and aggressively investigate these cases. The precise disclosure sequence of the victim must be carefully identified and documented. Investigators must verify through active investigation the exact nature and content of each disclosure outcry or statement made by the victim. Second-hand information about disclosure is not good enough.

Whenever possible, personal visits should be made to all locations of alleged abuse and the victim's homes. Events prior to the alleged abuse must be carefully evaluated. Investigators may have to view television programs, films, and videotapes seen by the victims. It may be necessary to conduct a background investigation and evaluation of everyone, both professional and nonprofessional, who interviewed the victims about the allegations prior to and after the investigative interview(s). Investigators must be familiar with the information about ritual abuse of children being disseminated in magazines, books, television programs, videotapes, and conferences. Every possible way that a victim could have learned about the details of the abuse must be explored if for no other reason than to eliminate them and counter the defense's arguments.

There may, however, be validity to these contagion factors. They may explain some of the "unbelievable" aspects of the case and result in the successful prosecution of the substance of the case. Consistency of statements becomes more significant if contagion is identified or disproved by independent investigation. The easier cases are the ones where there is a single, identifiable source of contagion. Most cases, however, seem to involve multiple contagion factors.

Munchausen Syndrome and Munchausen Syndrome by Proxy are complex and controversial issues in these cases. No attempt will be made to discuss them in detail, but they are documented facts (Rosenberg, 1987). Most of the literature about them focuses on their manifestation in the medical setting as false or self-inflicted illness or injury. They are also manifested in the criminal justice setting as false or self-inflicted crime victimization. If parents would poison their children to prove an illness, they might sexually abuse their children to prove a crime. "Victims" have been known to destroy property, manufacture evidence, and mutilate themselves in order to convince others of their victimization. The motivation is psychological gain (i.e., attention, forgiveness, etc.) and not necessarily money, jealousy, or revenge. These are the unpopular, but documented, realities of the world. Recognizing their existence does not mean that child sexual abuse and sexual assault are not real and serious problems.

Establish Communication with Parents

The importance and difficulty of this technique in extrafamilial cases involving young children cannot be overemphasized. An investigator must maintain ongoing communication with the parents of victims in these abuse cases. Not all parents react the same way to the alleged abuse of their children. Some are very supportive and cooperative. Others overreact and some even deny the victimization. Sometimes there is animosity and mistrust among parents with different reactions. Once the parents lose faith in the police or prosecutor and begin to interrogate their own children and conduct their own investigation, the case may be lost forever. Parents from one case communicate the results of their "investigation" with each other, and some have even contacted the parents in other cases. Such parental activity is an obvious source of potential contamination.

Parents must be made to understand that their chil-

dren's credibility will be jeopardized when and if the information obtained turns out to be unsubstantiated or false. To minimize this problem, within the limits of the law and without jeopardizing investigative techniques, parents must be told on a regular basis how the case is progressing. Parents can also be assigned constructive things to do (e.g., lobbying for new legislation, working on awareness and prevention programs) in order to channel their energy, concern, and "guilt."

Develop a Contingency Plan

If a department waits until actually confronted with a case before a response is developed, it may be too late. In cases involving ongoing abuse of children, departments must respond quickly, and this requires advanced planning. There are added problems for small-to mediumsized departments with limited personnel and resources. Effective investigation of these cases requires planning, identification of resources, and, in many cases, mutual aid agreements between agencies. The U.S. Department of Defense has conducted specialized training and has developed such a plan for child sex ring cases involving military facilities and personnel. Once a case is contaminated and out of control, I have little advice on how to salvage what may once have been a prosecutable criminal violation. A few of these cases have even been lost on appeal after a conviction because of contamination problems.

Multidisciplinary Task Forces

Sergeant Beth Dickinson, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, was the chairperson of the Multi-Victim, Multi-Suspect Child Sexual Abuse Subcommittee. Sergeant Dickinson states (personal communication, Nov. 1989):

One of the biggest obstacles for investigators to overcome is the reluctance of law enforcement administrators to commit sufficient resources early on to an investigation that has the potential to be a multidimensional child sex ring. It is important to get in and get on top of the investigation in a timely manner—to get it investigated in a timely manner in order to assess the risk to children and to avoid hysteria, media sensationalism, and cross-contamination of information. The team approach reduces stress on individual investigators, allowing for peer support and minimizing feelings of being overwhelmed.

The team approach and working together does not mean, however, that each discipline forgets its role and starts doing the other's job.

Summary

The investigation of child sex rings can be difficult and time consuming. The likelihood, however, of a great deal of corroborative evidence in a multivictim/multioffender case increases the chances of a successful prosecution if the crime occurred. Because there is still so much we do not know or understand about the dynamics of multidimensional child sex rings, investigative techniques are less certain. Each new case must be carefully evaluated in order to improve investigative procedures.

Because mental health professionals seem to be unable to determine, with any degree of certainty, the accuracy of victim statements in these cases, law enforcement must proceed using the corroboration process. If some of what the victim describes is accurate, some misperceived, some distorted, and some contaminated, what is the jury supposed to believe? Until mental health professionals can come up with better answers, the jury should be asked to believe what the investigation can corroborate. Even if only a portion of what these victims allege is factual, that may still constitute significant criminal activity.

Conclusion

There are many possible alternative answers to the question of why victims are alleging things that don't seem to be true. The first step in finding those answers is to admit the possibility that some of what the victims describe may not have happened. Some experts seem unwilling to even consider this. Most of these victims are also probably not lying and have come to believe that which they are alleging actually happened. There are alternative explanations for why people who never met each other can tell the same story.

I believe that there is a middle ground—a continuum of possible activity. Some of what the victims allege may be true and accurate, some may be misperceived or distorted, some may be screened or symbolic, and some may be "contaminated" or false. The problem and challenge, especially for law enforcement, is to determine which is which. This can only be done through active investigation. I believe that the majority of victims alleging "ritual" abuse are in fact victims of some form of abuse or trauma. That abuse or trauma may or may not be criminal in nature. After a lengthy discussion about various alternative explanations and the continuum of possible activity, one mother told me that for the first time since the victimization of her young son she felt a little better. She had thought her only choices were that either her son was a pathological liar or, on the other hand, she lived in a community controlled by satanists.

Law enforcement has the obvious problem of attempting to determine what actually happened for criminal justice purposes. Therapists, however, might also be interested in what really happened in order to properly evaluate and treat their patients. How and when to confront patients with skepticism is a difficult and sensitive problem for therapists.

Any professional evaluating victims' allegations of "ritual" abuse cannot ignore or routinely dismiss: the lack of physical evidence (no bodies or physical evidence left by violent murders); the difficulty in successfully committing a large-scale conspiracy crime (the more people involved in any crime conspiracy, the harder it is to get away with it); and human nature (intragroup conflicts resulting in individual self-serving disclosures are likely to occur in any group involved in organized kidnapping, baby breeding, and human sacrifice).

If and when members of a destructive cult commit murders, they are bound to make mistakes, leave evidence, and eventually make admissions in order to brag about their crimes or to reduce their legal liability. The discovery of the murders in Matamoros, Mexico in 1989 and the results of the subsequent investigation are good examples of these dynamics.

Overzealous intervenors must accept the fact that some of their well-intentioned activity is contaminating and damaging the prosecutive potential of the cases where criminal acts did occur. We must all (i.e., the media, churches, therapists, victim advocates, law enforcement, and the general public) ask ourselves if we have created an environment where victims are rewarded, listened to, comforted, and forgiven in direct proportion to the severity of their abuse. Are we encouraging needy or traumatized individuals to tell more and more outrageous tales of their victimization? Are we making up for centuries of denial by now blindly accepting any allegation of child abuse no matter how absurd or unlikely? Are we increasing the likelihood that rebellious, antisocial, or attention-seeking individuals will gravitate toward "satanism" by publicizing it and overreacting to it? The overreaction to the problem can be worse than the problem.

The amount of "ritual" child abuse going on in this country depends on how you define the term. One documented example of what I might call "ritual" child abuse was the horror chronicled in the book A Death in White Bear Lake (Siegal, 1990). The abuse in this case, however, had little to do with anyone's spiritual belief system. There are many children in the United States who, starting early in their lives, are severely psychologically, physically, and sexually traumatized by angry, sadistic parents or other adults. Such abuse, however, is not perpetrated only or primarily by satanists. The statistical odds are that such abusers are members of mainstream religions. If 99.9% of satanists and 0.1% of Christians abuse children as part of their spiritual belief system, that still means that the vast majority of children so abused were abused by Christians.

Until hard evidence is obtained and corroborated, the public should not be frightened into believing that babies are being bred and eaten, that 50,000 missing children are being murdered in human sacrifices, or that satanists are taking over America's day care centers or

institutions. No one can prove with absolute certainty that such activity has not occurred. The burden of proof, however, as it would be in a criminal prosecution, is on those who claim that it has occurred.

The explanation that the satanists are too organized and law enforcement is too incompetent only goes so far in explaining the lack of evidence. For at least eight years American law enforcement has been aggressively investigating the allegations of victims of ritual abuse. There is little or no evidence for the portion of their allegations that deals with large-scale baby breeding, human sacrifice, and organized satanic conspiracies. Now it is up to mental health professionals, not law enforcement, to explain why victims are alleging things that don't seem to have happened. Professionals in this field must accept the fact that there is still much we do not know about the sexual victimization of children, and that this area desperately needs study and research by rational, objective social scientists.

If the guilty are to be successfully prosecuted, if the innocent are to be exonerated, and if the victims are to be protected and treated, better methods to evaluate and explain allegations of "ritual" child abuse must be developed or identified. Until this is done, the controversy will continue to cast a shadow over and fuel the backlash against the validity and reality of child sexual abuse.

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Suggested Reading

- Cooper, John Charles. *The Black Mask: Satanism in America Today*. Old Tappen, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1990. Probably the best of the large number of books available primarily in Christian bookstores and written from the Christian perspective. This one, however, is written without the hysteria and sensationalism of most. Recommended for investigators who want information from this perspective.
- Hicks, Robert D. *In Pursuit of Satan: The Police and the Occult.* Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991. Undoubtedly the best book written to date on the topic of Satanism and the occult

- from the law enforcement perspective. Robert D. Hicks is a former police officer who is currently employed as a criminal justice analyst for the state of Virginia. Must reading for any criminal justice professional involved in this issue. Unfortunately, in the chapter on "Satanic Abuse of Children," the author appears to have been overly influenced by extreme skeptics with minimal or questionable credentials in this area. The book is easy to read, logical, and highly recommended.
- Richardson, James T., Best, Joel, and Bromley, David G. eds. The Satanism Scare. NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1991. The best book now available on the current controversy over Satanism written from the academic perspective, The editors and many of the chapter authors are college professors and have written an objective, wellresearched book. One of the great strengths of this book is the fact that the editors address a variety of the controversial issues from a variety of disciplines (i.e., sociology, history, folklore, anthropology, criminal justice). Because of its academic perspective it is sometimes harder to read but is well worth the effort. The chapter on "Law Enforcement and the Satanic Crime Connection" contains the results of a survey of "Cult Cops" and is must reading for law enforcement officers. The chapter on "Satanism and Child Molestation: Constructing the Ritual Abuse Scare" was written, however, by a freelance journalist who seems to take the position that these cases involve little or no real child abuse.
- Terr, Lenore. *Too Scared to Cry: Psychic Trauma in Childhood*. New York: Harper and Row, 1990. An excellent book written by a psychiatrist that provides important insights into the nature and recallability of early psychic trauma. For me, Dr. Terr's research and findings in the infamous Chowchilla kidnapping case shed considerable light on the "ritual" abuse controversy.

APPENDIX III: Satanist Survey

In the course of researching this encyclopedia, I came to the startling realization that there are no serious books—academic or otherwise—on contemporary religious Satanism. What exists are a number of good scholarly volumes on the ritual abuse scare, such as Jeffrey Victor's Satanic Panic and James T. Richardson, et al.'s The Satanism Scare. Beyond a couple of older articles on the Church of Satan (e.g., Alfred 1976) and a relatively recent paper on Satanism in the UK (Harvey 1995), the only extended academic treatment of organized Satanism is William Bainbridge's now-dated Satan's Power (1978). However, even this book focuses on a single group, the Process Church, which has long since distanced itself from Satanism.

The principal reason for this lack of attention appears to be that academics consciously or unconsciously perceive Satanism as a trivial phenomenon rather than as a serious religious movement. The tendency seems to be to regard Satanists as mostly immature adolescents who have adopted a diabolical veneer as a way of acting out their rebellion against parents and society. This view has been explicitly expressed in a number of professional publications, including Anthony Moriarty's The Psychology of Adolescent Satanism: A Guide for Parents, Counselors, Clergy, and Teachers (1992). Moriarty begins by asserting that Satanism negatively impacts, "the individual's psychological development, religious training, personal experience, and the culture in which the person lives." As a way of illustrating the full depth of this "problem," he recounts his first professional encounter with a young Satanist:

The first time an adolescent revealed his Satanic beliefs to me, I was in for a revelation I was totally unprepared to address. My therapeutic relationship with this young man, and subsequently others, revealed a convoluted system of occult beliefs that powerfully affected all aspects of his personal identity. The transformation of his identity was nowhere more evident than in the feeling of power he

exuded. This was a complete reversal of the way he appeared to act before his Satanic involvement. He fully believed that he was now a person of great power who held the fate of others in his hands. The embeddedness of these beliefs and their pervasive impact were most striking to me. Whether this was true or not was insignificant. The fact that this perception of power obtained for him this sense of conviction, poise, and persuasion among his peers made all the difference in the world to him. He was totally immune to self-doubt, fear, or guilt.

Moriarty further relates that he was completely taken aback by this encounter. The young man's "conversion" to Satanism had "changed all the rules":

The common underlying emotions of fear, guilt, and anxiety that drive so many human problems were no longer valid guides for understanding. My traditional modes of thinking about adolescents no longer made sense. [I had] expected to meet a frustrated, impulsive, and angry young man, of whom I have seen many in fifteen years as a clinical psychologist. Adolescents often are alike in their feelings of alienation, low self-esteem, and anger toward the world. This pattern of troubles is almost always rooted in an intense feeling of helplessness that is denied. Not so with this young Satanist.

These passages are revealing. What if, instead of the "Satanic beliefs" and "Satanic involvement" of this "young Satanist," Moriarty had encountered the "Christian beliefs" and "Christian involvement" of a "young Christian" presenting similar "symptoms"? Would the author have become alarmed about the Christian "problem," and perhaps gone on to write a book about *The Psychology of Adolescent Christianity?* One suspects not. Alternately, had he discovered a drug with effects similar to those he reports observing in his client, it would likely have been heralded as the successor

to Prozac. It thus appears that the author's concerns arose more from his own felt sense of helplessness in the face of this young Satanist's buoyant self-confidence than from anything else.

It is interesting to note in this regard that Moriarty fails to mention Edward J. Moody's seminal paper, "Magical Therapy: An Anthropological Investigation of Contemporary Satanism." This piece is not even cited in his bibliography, despite the fact that it was published almost two decades prior to The Psychology of Adolescent Satanism in a widely available volume on contemporary religious movements. Although Moody's focus was adult converts, his observations on the therapeutic dimension of Satanism in many ways parallel Moriarty's. For example, toward the end of the penultimate section of his paper, Moody observes: "The benefits of Satanism and Black Magic to the witch or magician are obvious: he need be less anxious or fearful, he is more able socially, and he is actually more successful in many spheres of activity due to his enhanced ability to interact with others." Perhaps had he taken Moody's work more seriously, Moriarty's own study would have been more balanced and less dismissive of modern Satanism.

Despite the weakness of his analysis, the phenomenon Moriarty is pointing to—namely, adolescents adopting Satanism as a strategy for dealing with the crisis of maturation—is real enough. One of the aspects of modern Satanism's appeal, especially to teenagers, is its ready accessibility, even to isolated individuals. Unlike traditional religions, and even unlike the early Satanist bodies such as the Church of Satan and the Temple of Set, contemporary Satanism is, for the most part, a decentralized movement. In the past, this movement has been propagated through the medium of certain popular books, especially Anton LaVey's Satanic Bible. In more recent years, the Internet has come to play a significant role in reaching potential "converts," particularly among disaffected young people.

Does this phenomenon, however, exhaust the significance of religious Satanism? Are most Satanists, in other words, just angry teenagers who adopt diabolical trappings to express their alienation, only to renounce the Prince of Darkness as soon as they mature into adults? While many youthful Satanists undoubtedly fit this profile, I came to feel that this was, at best, only a partial picture. Instead, I reasoned, there must be a core of committed Satanists who—for whatever reasons they initially become involved—had come to appropriate Satanism as a mature religious option.

In order to test this hypothesis, I decided to collect basic demographic data on contemporary Satanists. To this end, I constructed a simple, twenty-item questionnaire that could be answered in five or ten minutes. I also included a few open-ended items that allowed respondents to expound their thoughts at greater length, if they felt so inclined. Through e-mail addresses posted on Satanist websites, I began sending out questionnaires in early August 2000. Also, several of the people I contacted for information on their organizations agreed to post the questionnaire on their respective websites. By the end of February 2001, I had received 140 responses, which I felt was adequate to use as the basis for constructing a preliminary profile. I also sent out a more ambitious, follow-up questionnaire to respondents who had expressed interest in participating in further research. I received several dozen thoughtful responses to the second mailing.

I should finally note that I sent earlier versions of my findings as reported in this appendix to some of my Satanist contacts. A number of these individuals provided me with useful feedback and critical commentary. The most obvious criticism was that I may have missed a significant subgroup of Satanists who do not surf the web, and who therefore would not have an opportunity to respond to the questionnaire. Although this criticism has merit, it would be difficult to address adequately, given that there exists no national directory of Satanists to utilize as a basis for mailing questionnaires to individuals not online. On the other hand, most of my contacts note that the great majority of modern Satanists are plugged into the Internet and, furthermore, assert that at the present time the primary arena for Satanist activity is the worldwide web. This input gives me confidence that the individuals who responded to the questionnaire constitute as good a sample as one might reasonably hope to obtain, given the problems inherent in the task of contacting members of a decentralized subculture.

Another related issue is the problem of where to draw the line between religious Satanists and Satanic "dabblers." This distinction was stressed to me by the webmaster of the Satanic Media Watch in a series of email communications. She notes, for instance, that,

for every serious Satanist you can find online I would guess you could find at least two teens who are into Heavy Metal music, who never read anything on Satanism, and who have problems in their personal lives. Heavy Metal teens who are into vandalism form local groups and do not go online. It would also be very hard to make them take part in any survey. As you know there are many kinds of Satanists. A lot of teens fit [popular] stereotypes rather well. If you do not take this into account and show the public a false picture of Satanism, you will make the public accuse serious Satanists for the actions of teens. I think you need to explain the difference between at least these two groups, and that your survey does not cover both groups.

Though I question the two-to-one ratio, I would agree that there are some adolescents who "dabble" in

Satanism and who have no interest in Satanism as a religion. Also, anyone who has read *The Satanic Bible*—perhaps the core ideological document of modern Satanism—knows that Anton LaVey explicitly and strongly rejects unlawful activity, which places senseless vandalism beyond the pale of modern religious Satanism. At the same time, it should also be noted that some serious Satanists start out as "Satanic dabblers," which means that there are some hazy areas in the line dividing genuine Satanists from those who merely adopt Satanic trappings.

In this appendix, I will first discuss the survey's statistical findings and what these numbers indicate about the demography of the Satanist movement. In the second part of the report, I will examine select responses from open-ended questionnaire items, and what these responses say about the ideology of contemporary Satanism.

Statistical Findings

The average Satanist is twenty-six years old (ranging from fourteen to fifty-six) who has been a Satanist for eight years (ranging from less than a year to forty-four years for an individual who claimed to have been raised in a Satanist household). This means that the average Satanist became involved at age eighteen. The youthfulness of this average is not surprising, but the length of involvement is. Even when the respondents who claimed to have been Satanists all their lives are excluded, the average age only drops to twenty-five and the length of involvement to seven years. This means the average age at which someone becomes involved is still eighteen.

Most Satanists are male. One hundred and one survey respondents were male, thirty-six were female, and two marked the item "not applicable." The heavy predominance of males sets Satanism apart from the active memberships of most other religious bodies, old or new

Most Satanists are single (see Table 1). Ninety-six respondents—a full two-thirds of the sample—were single (though a few noted they were in long-term relationships and a few others that they were engaged), thirty-two were married; and twelve divorced or separated. Thirty-one had children (eleven with one child, twelve with two children, seven with three children, and one with four children). This is not an unsurprising pattern, given the relative youth of Satanists.

Table 1 Marital Status		
Status	Count	Percentage*
Single	96	69
Married	32	23
Divorced/separated	12	9

^{*}Because percentages are rounded off throughout this report, they will sometimes total more, and sometimes less, than 100 percent.

Most Satanists are Caucasian. Two respondents were Asian-American, three African-American, nine Hispanic, and eleven noted that at least one of their ancestors was Native American. Two other respondents indicated that they were "multiracial," one was Turkish, and one was Indian (South Asian). Everyone else was "pure" Caucasian. This is also not surprising. Demographic studies of other alternative religions have found the predominance of participants to be white.

Thirty-nine respondents (28 percent) lived outside of the United States (see Table 2). Nine were Canadian. Six lived in the United Kingdom, five in Australia, five in the Netherlands, and three in Denmark. U.S. respondents were spread across the country. The top "Satanist states" were: California (13), Texas (9), Wisconsin (7), Virginia (7), Colorado (6), New York (6), Massachusetts (5), and North Carolina (5). While one might have expected to find more Satanists in California, thirteen respondents represents only 9 percent of the total, making this predominance less marked than anticipated.

Table 2 Geograph	ical Distribution
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State/Country	Count	Percentage
Canada	9	6
United Kingdom	6	4
Netherlands	5	4
Australia	5	4
Denmark	3	2
Other countries*	11	8
California	13	9
Texas	9	6
Wisconsin	7	5
Virginia	7	5
Colorado	6	7
New York	6	7
Massachusetts	5	4
North Carolina	5	4
Pennsylvania	4	3
Oklahoma	3	2
Other U.S. States	56	40

^{*}One respondent each from Germany, South Africa, Poland, Czech Republic, Sweden, New Zealand, India, Estonia, Russia, and the Philippines. One respondent also indicated South America without specifying a country.

The average Satanist has between one and a half and two years of college (see Table 3). Among respondents, twenty-five were college graduates and nine of these held advanced degrees. Forty respondents indicated they were currently in school. As the questionnaire did not explicitly ask about student status, more than these forty were likely students.

Satanists are employed in diverse occupations (see Table 4). Eighteen respondents were involved with computers and/or the Internet. Forty were students. And eleven were writers or artists (fourteen if web writers are included). Otherwise, they ran the gamut

Table 3 Education			
Years/Highest Degree	e Count	Percentage	
No college or nonrespo	onse 55	39	
1 year of college	19	14	
2 years	28	20	
3 years	11	8	
Bachelor's degree	16	11	
Master's degree	9	6	

Table 4 Employment			
Occupation	Count	Percentage	
Student	40	29	
Computers/Internet	18	13	
Writer/artist	11	8	
Sales/retail clerk	11	8	
Restaurant worker	9	6	
Healthcare	7	5	
Police/security	5	4	

from stripper to clinical psychologist, and from salesman to engineer.

With respect to the writer/artist category, one of my contacts, the webmaster of the Satanic Media Watch, offered the criticism that, "Satanic writers and artists' only do work on web pages or in Satanic magazines. In Satanism many people view the artist as an ideal and that makes a lot of Satanists want to view themselves as writers and artist. But the truth is, that most of them do not earn any money from their art." Although this observation is accurate with respect to some respondents, at least six—and maybe more—of these eleven respondents actually do make their livings as graphic artists and professional writers.

Satanists are politically diverse (see Table 5). Fourteen respondents were Democrats, nine Republicans, sixty-three nonpolitical, and fifty-one Independent or Third Party. The significant number of Independent/Third Party respondents markedly sets Satanists apart from the larger population. This finding is congruent with what one might anticipate from people following an individualistic philosophy.

Table 5 Political Affiliation		
Party	Count	Percentage
Democrat	14	10
Republican	9	6
Libertarian	15	11
Green	8	6
Socialist	2	1
Communist	1	1
Anarchist	5	4
Independent	20	14
None	63	45

The traditions in which Satanists are raised reflect the general pattern of the larger society (see Table 6). Two respondents were raised as secular Jews, twenty-eight were raised Catholic, seventy-seven raised Protestant (sixteen explicitly mentioned Baptist and nine Lutheran), and twenty-three nothing or no response. Many respondents indicated that their Christian upbringing was nominal, though several were the children of ministers. The only unusual responses were two respondents who were raised neopagan and two raised as Satanists.

Table 6 Religious Heritage		
Religion	Number	Percentage
Protestant	77	55
Catholic	28	20
Jewish	2	1
Neopagan	2	1
Satanist	2	1
None or nonresponse	23	16

People become involved in Satanism in diverse ways, though more often through reading and personal study (see Table 7): Sixty-four said they became involved through personal study/books (thirty explicitly mentioned the *Satanic Bible*), twenty-four through other people, seventeen through the Internet, and two through music (one specifically mentioned Marilyn Manson). Other responses were harder to classify: One respondent, for instance, said he became interested in Satanism as the result of a Geraldo Rivera program; another, that he became interested as a result of taking a religious studies class. If the seventeen Internet responses are added to the sixty-four personal study/book responses, we can assert that the majority of Satanists become involved through reading.

Table 7 Introduction to Satanism		
Medium	Count	Percentage
Friend/acquaintance	24	17
Satanic Bible	30	21
Other reading/study	34	24
Internet	17	12
Music	2	1
Other	28	20

Most Satanists have been involved in other religions, usually neopaganism or some other magical group (see Table 8): Forty-five respondents (slightly less than a third of the sample) indicated that, beyond the religion in which they were raised, they had not been involved in any other form of spirituality before coming to Satanism. Forty-eight mentioned neopaganism, twenty-two some other "left-hand path" (LHP, e.g., Thelemic

Magic; Chaos Magic), twenty-one an Eastern religion (fifteen Buddhism), and fourteen some form of Christianity (not counting the religion in which they were raised). These add up to more than the total number of respondents because twenty-two people had been involved in more than one other religion.

Table 8 Other Religions			
Religions	Count	Percentage	
Neopagan/Wicca	48	34	
LHP	22	16	
Eastern	21	15	
Christianity	14	10	
None	45	32	

There is no typical pattern to involvement in Satanist groups (see Table 9). Sixty-seven respondents had never been involved in such a group, thirty-five are or have been involved in only one group, and thirty-eight have been or are involved in more than one group.

Table 9 Satanist Group Involvement		
Number of groups	Count	Percentage
None	67	48
One	35	25
Two-Three	21	15
Four-Five	11	8
More than Five	6	4

Most Satanists are humanistic (atheistic/agnostic) Satanists, reflecting the dominant influence of Anton LaVey's thought. Sixty percent of respondents (84) said that Satan was a symbol, an archetype, myself, nature, or some other antitheistic understanding of Satan. Twenty-five indicated that Satan was an impersonal force. (Though not regarded as "supernatural," this force is something not adequately understood by current science.) Nineteen were theistic Satanists, although even most of these respondents did not have what one would call a traditional view of Satan/god/demons. Twelve respondents did not answer this item.

Satanists believe in the efficacy of magic. Only fourteen respondents stated that they did not believe in magic. Fifteen others did not respond to this item. The balance did answer this question, though they often noted that magic was not "supernatural." This again reflects the influence of LaVey on this issue.

Eight-five respondents never meet with other coreligionists for religious/ritual purposes, thirty-one rarely, and everyone else ran the gamut from one or two times a year to every week. In other words, more than 80 percent of all respondents rarely or never meet with coreligionists for religious/ritual purposes. Finally, the Satanist community is an Internet community. While more than half of all the Satanists who responded do not meet with their coreligionists face-to-face, fifty-eight communicated with others in talk rooms or via e-mail on a *daily* basis and another thirty-one communicate frequently. This finding is congruent with the scattered geographical distribution of Satanists.

Satanist Profile

With a limited sample such as this, it is difficult to draw hard and fast conclusions. The representativeness of the sample partially depends on the size of the population from which the sample is drawn. Some of my Satanist contacts "guestimate" the total number of practicing, self-identified Satanists in North America to be no more than 700-800. If this is the case, then the number of respondents represents a good sample. On the other hand, the editor of The Black Flame, a Satanist magazine, commented this estimate by noting that: "Each issue of The Black Flame sells between 7 and 8 thousand copies. If even only half of the readers were folks who consider themselves to be Satanists, this would up the estimate given above for practicing Satanists by a good deal. I submit a good deal more than half of those who buy this magazine see themselves as Satanists, and the bulk of our sales are in North America, with the UK and the Scandinavian countries following in amount of copies sold." It would thus be reasonable to argue that there are thousands of self-identified Satanists in North America and Europe. In either case, I will proceed to discuss the data as if it represents a reasonably accurate picture of the Satanist community as a whole.

To construct a statistical caricature, we could say that the "average" Satanist is an unmarried, white male in his mid-twenties with a few years of college. He became involved in Satanism through something he read in high school, and has been a self-identified Satanist for seven or eight years. Raised Christian, he explored one nonSatanist religious group beyond the one in which he was raised before settling into Satanism. His view of Satan is some variety of nontheistic humanism and he practices magic. His primary interaction with his coreligionists is via e-mail and Internet chat rooms.

Although this profile is statistically accurate with respect to the sample, there are obvious problems with regarding it as a static datum. Specifically, the relative youth of Satanists indicates that, if a similar questionnaire were to be sent to this same set of respondents five or ten years from now, a significantly higher percentage would be married college graduates with children. The occupational aspect of the profile would also likely be somewhat different. In other words, the survey's finding that a majority of questionnaire respondents are single and have not finished college does not mean that one can therefore conclude that most Satanists are socially

challenged dropouts.

One of the more remarkable findings was the extended length of time the average Satanist has been involved in the movement. The statistic that the typical participant has been a Satanist for seven to eight years indicates a level of seriousness I had not anticipated. It also demonstrates that their relative youth cannot be taken as indicating that Satanists are simply going through a youthful, rebellious phase.

At the same time, the statistic that most became involved during their teens probably indicates that many initially became Satanists as a form of teenage rebelliousness. Their involvement did not, however, end after they left home. Rather, they went on to appropriate Satanism as a serious religious option. The fact that a majority of Satanists have looked into other religions shows that this was not an unconsidered choice, undertaken solely as a reaction against established religions. Also, though a reaction against Christianity may well have been a factor for some, too many respondents indicated that their religious upbringing was superficial, nominal, or nonexistent for this factor to explain why the majority of people become Satanists.

The follow-up questionnaire contained a number of open-ended items that asked respondents what role they felt rebelliousness played in the "recruitment" of new Satanists, why individuals left Satanism, and how they regarded other religions. Many of the responses to these items were intelligent and thoughtful, often reflecting a maturity and insightfulness that exceeded my expectations.

To begin with the "rebellion factor," a few respondents diminished the role of rebelliousness, while others disparaged rebellious young Satanists, asserting, for example, that they should "GO HOME and solve problems with their parents." Most were less negative, noting that this factor indeed played a significant part in creating new Satanists. One respondent went so far as to observe: "I think rebellion is the ONLY reason people initially come to Satanism. They want something more. A sense of self. A sense of power over their lives. A sense of self-importance to some degree. They are tired of conforming and pretending to be something they're not. Or they're tired of being just like everyone else. Most people convert as teens."

The general tendency was to acknowledge the important role of this factor, but to indicate that, while many such adolescents eventually dropped out of the movement, some went on to transform their participation into something more serious: "There are many who are initially attracted to us because they think we are 'bad' or 'evil' or offer easy sex or drugs. These people very quickly weed themselves out and find somewhere else to be. The rare exception to this rule is those who find more than they had dared to hope for, and thereby become some of our strongest supporters." One respondent

made a distinction between two forms of rebelliousness, indicating that adolescent rebelliousness could mature into something "higher":

There is more than one kind of rebelliousness in the world, and I think it takes a certain kind of mature rebelliousness to become involved in Satanism. It takes a willingness to step beyond the safety boundaries of society, to become involved in the dark "underbelly" of our culture. I have seen two kinds of rebelliousness in Satanists: the kind that I speak of; a quiet and mature rebelliousness that drives the person to seek out their own path, apart from the norm—and the kind that I have a great distaste for; the adolescent urge to shock. Admittedly, the adolescent urge to shock will always be a part of Satanism, but I regard it as merely a gateway to the "higher" kind of rebelliousness.

Finally, another respondent expressed the opinion that Satanists needed to get beyond regarding rebellion as an end in itself: "It is always easier to destroy than to create, and to attack than to defend. If Satanism is to be more than a reaction, rebellion must be perceived as a *tool* and not as a *goal*."

When asked why people leave Satanism, respondents again provided a wide range of answers. Most observed that individuals often came to Satanism during a certain phase of their personal unfolding, only to drop out after they completed that particular developmental stage. Nevertheless, many of these people "carry the same beliefs with them" after they leave (meaning that their personal philosophies continued to resonate with many Satanic ideals). One respondent noted that many participants dropped out of the movement after discovering that it failed to live up to Hollywood stereotypes: "I feel that some people stumble into Satanism thinking they will be able to do as they wish from powers given to them by the Devil (Satan) and when they realize that there is actually thought and intelligence within, they feel bored. Most want to be able to curse and kill or hate for no reason. Those who stay are sound in mind and spirit, and have a very strong will for life, or anything they do in life." And finally, one respondent articulated the idea that the people who did not drop out of the movement were "born Satanists": "There is a saying that Satanists are born not made. Many people come to Satanism because of their rebellious nature . . . however, not all are true Satanists. Some are just looking for attention from their parents, some are just there to shock people, but the true Satanists are there because [they find] a belief system [they already] believed in [and had] lived their entire lives."

Another questionnaire item that indirectly addressed the issue of the "rebellion factor" asked

respondents what they thought of other religions. As one would anticipate, some Satanists denounced theistic religion outright as a "hoax" and a "folly." More than a few, however, begrudgingly acknowledged other religions' right to exist, for example: "I accept people who really believe in something (even if it is damn Christianity)." In this same vein, other respondents noted: "I don't have as much of a problem with some Christians as I do with Christianity. To me, Christianity is a money-making business, nothing more." "Christianity is a good faith. Works wonders for a lot of people. Occupies their life, makes them feel better about their pathetic lives. I have nothing against it, really."

The majority of respondents, however, were less negative, although their views exhibited a wide range of opinion. This spectrum can best be illustrated by examining a set of short citations from a series of different questionnaire responses:

- I am ambivalent . . . Needless to say, I disagree with many tenets of Christianity. But I see that as secondary to our interaction as mature human beings.
- I think Christianity, in and of itself, is a "nice" religion, [though it has some] psychologically damaging doctrines.
- All religions are fine. It's certain PEOPLE IN those religions or LEADERS ... that cause the problems.
- Other religions are composed of mostly good people who are simply trying to find their own way in the world.
- I'm glad there are many religions out there because religion is not a one size fits all thing.

If we make the (admittedly problematic) inference that this pattern of responses is representative of the larger Satanist community, it radically undercuts the common stereotype that all or even the majority of Satanists hate Christians and Christianity. It also flies in the face of the casual assumption that all or most people become Satanists in reaction to the Christian tradition.

It should further be noted that, as reflected in the thoughtfulness of many of the above responses, Satanists tend to be more intellectual than average. The finding that most became involved as a result of reading, for instance, indicates that they read more than the typical citizen (e.g., most adult Americans read an average of one book per year or less). They are also freethinkers, who, far from dropping out of the political process, tend to be independent voters or supporters of third parties.

Religiously, whether or not they are formal members of the Church of Satan, Anton LaVey's particular formulation is *a* central if not *the* central component in most Satanist thinking. This is especially true with respect to conceptions of Satan and magic.

Finally, many Satanists (or at least those who responded to the questionnaire) are primarily Internet Satanists. This is at least partially because of the "scattered" geographical distribution of Satanists, although, according to my contacts, the marked individualism of modern Satanists—which mitigates against close group work—is also a factor.

The Enduring Influence of Anton LaVey

Before I began collecting questionnaire data, I had received the impression from perusing relevant websites that contemporary Satanism had developed in different directions from the specific formulation developed by Anton LaVey in the 1960s. In particular, it appeared to me that many contemporary Satanists had moved to a position of regarding Satan as a conscious being. I was thus surprised to discover that LaVey's humanistic approach—which rejects the real existence of personal spiritual beings, diabolical or otherwise—was the dominant form of Satanism professed by respondents.

At least part of the reason for this state of affairs appears to be the pervasive influence of Anton LaVey's Satanic Bible (SB). A full 20 percent of respondents explicitly noted the SB as the single most important factor attracting them to Satanism. It also seems likely that this book played a major role in the "conversion" of other Satanists in my sample. In response to a questionnaire item asking how they became involved, a number of people simply wrote, "I read the Satanic Bible." One respondent elaborated by noting that she had been a Satanist in her "heart first, but I couldn't put a name to it; then I found the Satanic Bible." One of the more interesting of these responses was another individual who wrote, "My step-father used to be a Christian preacher. After being told my choices in clothing, music, art, poetry, etc. were Satanic, I decided to buy the Satanic Bible to see if it was as bad as he made it out to be." This respondent subsequently became a Satanist.

LaVey's influential publication was also referred to a number of times in response to other questionnaire items. For example, one person noted that, "because I agree with and practice the majority of the beliefs set forth in *The Satanic Bible* and other works of Dr. LaVey, I VERY MUCH consider myself just as valid a Satanist as any 'official' priest." Another respondent wrote, "Satan is merely a word, a representative concept that encompasses all that the *Satanic Bible* teaches." And yet another individual stated: "To me, Satan is the personification of mankind's carnal nature. More information can be found in *The Satanic Bible* by Anton Szandor LaVey."

It thus appears that the *SB* is a doctrinal touchstone for many—though certainly not all—participants in this movement, despite the fact that the majority of contemporary Satanists are not formal members of Anton

LaVey's Church of Satan. (One respondent, noting that he was not a member of any organization, wrote, "[It's] just me and my *Satanic Bible*.") And whatever LaVey had in mind when he (or his publisher) entitled this publication, in certain ways the *SB* plays the role of a bible for many members of this decentralized, antiauthoritarian subculture.

This is not to say, however, that Satanists regard the SB in the same way Christians regard the Christian Bible. Many are aware, for example, that LaVey drew heavily on other thinkers when he composed his "bible." Many have also become aware in recent years that LaVey fabricated a semilegendary biography for himself (Wright 1991). However, neither LaVey's dissimulating nor the patchwork quality of his thought undercut the legitimacy of the SB because the Satanic Bible is not a "sacred text." Rather, the SB is significant because of the philosophy of life it advocates, not because of any divine—or diabolical—authority.

In a follow-up questionnaire, respondents were explicitly asked how they regarded the SB, and to what extent their personal philosophies aligned with the ideas expressed in its pages. Most stated that their view of the world aligned significantly with the SB. One Satanist said that the SB was about the realities of human nature, so that there was "nothing [in the Satanic Bible] that I didn't already know or believe myself prior to reading it." Only one respondent completely rejected the LaVeyan tradition. Two traditional Satanists asserted that they regarded the SB as just another "self-help book." Some respondents diminished (without disparaging) the SB as an "introductory text" or "primer" of Satanism. (An assessment that LaVey himself would have agreed with; see LaVey interviews in Moynihan and Soderlind 1998, 234, and in Baddeley 1999, 79.) Most hastened to add that they did not regard it as "dogma."

Although LaVey has sometimes been dismissed as having done little more than throw together disparate ideas and practices into an artificial syncretism and dress it up in sensational trappings, it appears that his creation is highly attractive to some people. Part of the reason for this attractiveness is LaVeyan Satanism's ability to hold together a number of diverse meanings found in the ambivalent symbol of Satan.

In the Western cultural tradition, as discussed in the Introduction, the Devil represents much more than absolute evil. By default, the Prince of Darkness has come to embody some very attractive attributes. For example, because traditional Christianity has been so antisensual, Satan represents sex. The Christian tradition has also condemned pride, vengefulness, and avarice, and, when allied with the status quo, has promoted conformity and obedience. The three former traits and the antithesis of the latter two traits thus became associated with the Devil. (As one respondent wrote, "Satan stands for all that Christians deem wrong in the world.")

LaVeyan Satanism celebrates such "vices" as virtues, and identifies them as the core of what Satanism is really all about. Finally, LaVey was able to suggest the reality of mysterious, "occult" forces while simultaneously appealing to an atheist viewpoint that, he asserted, was supported by modern science.

The pervasive influence of LaVey's vision was reflected in numerous responses to a questionnaire item about the nature of Satan. One respondent wrote that "Satan is not physical or even spiritual..., but instead is a mythological character whose saving quality is his pride and refusal to obey just for the sake of obeying." Echoing LaVey's focus on individualistic atheism, another respondent observed, "To the majority of [Satanists], there is no higher spiritual ruler. We take on the role of god/goddess as we are the ones who control our destinies, and do for ourselves all that a supposed 'god' is said to be doing for us." Satan also represents "absolute indulgence and pleasure."

Satan is often referred to as an "archetype." One respondent noted that the Devil is a symbol or "archetype of indulgence, ambition, animality, the life force." Another said that Satan was the archetype of "The one who was not afraid to question even the divine. The symbolism represents our need to question and evaluate the accepted philosophies and not accept any 'truth' at face value." And yet another respondent wrote: "The Satan/Prometheus archetype represents dynamic individualism within a stagnant cultural context, in all spheres of human behavior." And finally, "Satan' is the archetype of our will. It is our intellect and identity. We are an animal that identifies itself as a higher species because of our strong will. That identification is manifest through the archetype of Satan."

These LaVeyan notions do not, however, exhaust the kinds of answers respondents provided. In addition to a handful of people who asserted that there is a "real" Satan or real demons, a significant subset of respondents described Satan almost mystically as an energy, or as, "The unknown and unseen force that moves the universe." Some respondents emphasized the impersonality of this force, as a "faceless, purposeless power without direction, given name to become more limited and comprehensible to the human mind. Without form, without thought." Similarly, another respondent portrayed Satan as a force like gravity: "Satan represents the cosmic forces which act to create occurrences and which guide the life process such as the moon dominating the tides of the ocean." At times, this view of Satan as an impersonal force almost seemed to explode out of its naturalistic mold to express a genuinely mystical view of the universe:

[Satan is] that which is felt but not seen—the part of you that truly moves and motivates us as humans at our deepest levels. It is where we touch upon that

which is eternal. It is divine in ways that a Christian will never know exists because it can only be spoken of within a book, but never DEFINED within a book. It is just as terrifying as it is exalting, and is usually encountered during times of great stress during which we must "evolve or die." When we touch upon the primal, it is just as horrifying as it is beautiful.

Given this impersonal view of Satan, one might well ask why one should even use the self-designation "Satanist." LaVey asserted that it was useful to call oneself a Satanist because it shocked other people into thinking. As one respondent wrote, "There is no Satan. The word [is] used... only for shock value because the Christians believe there is a 'Satan."

Descriptions of Satan as an impersonal force tended to overlap respondents' descriptions of how magic works. Though many described magic as operating in a purely psychological way, most indicated that magic could also involve actual forces—forces that, while physical, had not yet been grasped by science. The psychological view is well reflected in the following: "Magick is causing change in conformity to Will, therefore everyone practices magick, whether they call it magick or not. If we want something, we perform the work to get it. If we want to make more money, chanting over a candle does nothing, but getting an education works. Chanting over a candle may help the magician to focus, or even believe a higher power is helping him/her through school, but in itself does nothing."

Most other respondents, however, indicated that magic did something more than this to aid them in "rewriting the script of life." Implying the existence of an unknown but nevertheless nonoccult power, one respondent defined magic as "the name for anything that cannot be completely explained scientifically, but still exists. All technology was once magic"; and another as, "the manipulation of the subtle forces of nature that are not currently detectable to science." One example of these forces is the ability of dogs "to predict natural catastrophes. Dogs have essentially evolved to utilize what Satanists call 'Satan." One respondent identified the forces manipulated in magic with "the biochemical energies your body gives off during the ritual." In whatever way they conceptualize it, most modern Satanists would agree that it is "The mind set of the magician [that sets the] stage for successful magic or failure," rather than the specific elements of magical rituals.

Other Issues

In a follow-up questionnaire, I examined other aspects of what might be called the "Satanist stereotype," such as the extent of Satanist participation in role-playing games (RPGs) like Dungeons and Dragons, and the Satanic appreciation for heavy metal music. (No questions were

asked about "ritual abuse," as all serious scholars have dismissed the empirical reality of this pseudo phenomenon.) What little data I have gathered on these issues thus far indicates some interest in mainstream heavy metal, but minimal interest in more extreme forms (such as the so-called "Satanic" metal music). Respondents expressed variable interest in RPGs.

I also attempted to gauge awareness of a handful of specific thinkers associated with modern Satanism for one reason or the other—Aleister Crowley, Ayn Rand, Frederick Nietzsche, Charles Baudelaire, and Ragnar Redbeard. More respondents were familiar with the writings of Crowley and Nietzsche than the others, and many had read Crowley. Despite the fact that LaVey described his religion as "just Ayn Rand's philosophy with ceremony and ritual added" (Ellis 2000, 180), only a handful of respondents were more than passingly familiar with Rand.

When respondents were asked about their movement's reputation for hedonism, most respondents were only too happy to embrace this aspect of Satanism's cultural image. Many also noted, however, that most people (including Christians) were also hedonistic, but were either hypocritical or guilt-ridden about it. As one respondent asserted, "The only difference between the Satanist and the ordinary person is that the Satanist indulges knowingly and on purpose. The ordinary person pretends they aren't doing it, or goes to confession after doing it."

In contrast to the general agreement about the hedonism item, Satanists were split in their response to the question on animal sacrifice. None of the respondents claimed they had actually participated in such rites, and most had no direct contact with people who did. Many respondents were extremely critical of the practice, asserting, for example, that "if you ever hear of a Satanic sacrifice, it's either bulls**t, or the 'Satanist' deserves a good beating." At the other end of the spectrum were certain traditional Satanists who, like Santeria practitioners, "sacrifice chickens during certain rites. The dead chickens are consumed at a feast afterward."

In recent years, the most controversial self-identified Satanists have been certain neo-Nazi, northern European Satanists who burn down Christian churches (see Moynihan and Soderlind 1998). Most other Satanists, particularly outside of continental Europe, regard these individuals negatively, although Satanists are not uniform on this point. Some respondents expressed a degree of ambivalence, as reflected in the following remarks:

If they see the churches they burn down as symbols of evil and oppression, and see their burning as a symbolic liberation of the human spirit, as well as a very real damage to the resources of their enemy, then so be it. [But] Nazism is part of a sick sadomasochistic fetish that confuses sexuality with games of power and domination.

Burning churches is a difficult topic. I don't know if they were serious Satanists, but in my opinion it is very silly because it is just a building after all and it isn't worth being imprisoned for that.

The rage they feel is legitimate, however you don't solve problems by attacking the innocent. There is no honor in it as a warrior, which is how many of these people see themselves. Nazism is largely based on ancient Nordic warrior traditions that knew the value of honor among your enemies; these idiots don't. They are not part of "us" as modern Satanists, especially as it is practiced here in the U.S.

Most respondents were strongly critical, dismissing church-burners as "violent, unbalanced people with serious mental problems and an unhealthy fascination with fascism." Or, to cite another Satanist: "Nazism is not Satanism... No one has the right to destroy anything [belonging to] someone else. Those who do deserve a very hefty punishment." And finally:

Everyone has the right to believe in what she or he deems fit for their lives. I know that I wouldn't want anyone to burn my house down because that is where I practice my religion As for Nazis, well, I have a special disdain for them. Having been married to a crazy KKK member for three years, I think that they all have a bunch of screws loose and they give a bad name to Satanism everywhere.

Perhaps the most problematic aspect of mainstream Satanism from the perspective of an outside observer is the practice of cursing. Although all but one respondent agreed that cursing worked—and that it worked independently of whether or not the targeted person was aware of being cursed-most asserted that they rarely engaged in the practice. There was clearly some reluctance about discussing this aspect of Satanism. Thus, for example, in response to an openend item requesting respondents to describe their experience of "casting" an effective curse, more than one person wrote, "Would prefer not to comment," or something similar. Others left the item blank or responded with "nonapplicable." One Satanist even wrote, "I consider this to be about as personal a question as asking my wife if she has met my mistress."

Three respondents provided extended accounts of effective curses that put this practice in perspective:

A co-worker of mine had given me a lot of problems for an extended period of time, to the point I was ready to kick the crap out of him but didn't want to

get fired for it. So I worked a curse on him in which I saw myself as "sucking" the life force out of his face. The following day I noticed he wasn't at work, nor for a couple of days after this. When I inquired about him via his girlfriend, I was told he had awakened in the night vomiting blood and had to be taken to the hospital. The doctors never found anything wrong with him, and he was able to return to work a few days later. It did, however, seem to give him a serious attitude adjustment by looking his own mortality in the eye. It is also worth noting that the imagery involved here actually surprised me, as I didn't [anticipate] the graphic nature of it [to work itself out so concretely] as far as "sucking" from his face goes. It was way too intimate a gesture with another man, and one whom I despised at that. Just goes to show, magick will often take very unexpected twists on you without much warning.

It's very exhausting to put a curse on someone. It will weaken you, that is why it's not done very often. However, the end result [of a particular cursing ritual] was the person that the curse was for ended up getting stomach cancer not long afterwards. It took him three years to die. Understand that this man that we (my coven and I) had cursed was a chronic rapist. He got what he deserved.

I have cursed several people in my lifetime. The bulk of the time the curses were simply meant to show these people the error of their ways by having something happen to them to show them what they are doing to others is wrong. These curses tend to be very effective and are harmless. However, more specifically, I have cursed people to death—twice. I cursed the man who raped me—within one week he died from congestive heart failure. I cursed the boyfriend of a friend because he beat her while she was pregnant, kicked her in the abdomen, and she lost the baby. Within one week, he died in a car crash—he was hit head on by a drunk driver. Needless to say—I don't use curses unless I feel it is absolutely necessary. It's not something to be taken lightly.

In fact, *none* of the respondents to the follow-up questionnaire appeared to take the matter of cursing lightly. One Satanist group has even articulated a set of rules for applying curses. In the words of one respondent: "we have rules for this 1. Wait three days before doing anything. 2. Assess how you feel about the situation and see if there is another way to resolve the issue. 3. Determine what you want the curse to do—ALWAYS have a clear goal. 4. Do not regret what you are doing or you will bring that negative energy back on yourself in guilt."

Satanists apparently feel that it is as justifiable to

curse a truly "bad" person as it is to punish a lawbreaker, particularly in a society that often neglects to rein in abusers. Thus while there are undoubtedly more than a few immature Satanists who unthinkingly curse anyone who irritates them, for most, cursing is a kind of vigilante justice, undertaken only as a last resort.

Even if a ritual curse does not "work," however, it can be a valuable practice, if only to vent one's anger: "The positive effect of cursing is that it can be mentally healing for the magician by allowing her to dispel pent up negative energy toward a person." This venting can be effective self-therapy even if it has no observable external impact: "My cursings have always had the secret motivation of being more effective on me, to get that nice avenged feeling without ever really knowing if the curse worked."

It should be noted in passing that my interest in negative public images of Satanists caused me to focus one-sidedly on destructive (cursing) magic. With the benefit of hindsight, I should also have asked about lust (love) and compassion (healing) magic. (In this regard, see Part 4 of LaVey 1969.) In other words, Satanic ritual magic has a much brighter side that my questionnaire did not address.

Respondents themselves expressed concern about Satanism and the way it is perceived. Several people were concerned about the tendency of society to apply traditional stereotypes to modern Satanism: "Satanists DO NOT sacrifice virgins and drink blood and so on, and I hope Satanism will be taken seriously as a religion." Perhaps the single greatest concern expressed was the alarming tendency of many Satanists to try to make Satanism into another clique: "Conformity as a movement can be a useful tool, given the need to mobilize ourselves for a task, but a lack of individuality and personal meaning is detrimental to the very essence of Satanism. Then the movement is not of Satanists but rather one of angry sheep looking to reclaim their wool."

A rhetorical strategy often employed when Satanists criticize other Satanists is to accuse them of being crypto-Christians. Thus another respondent expressed concern over conformity within the movement in the following way: "I hate to see people praising the name of Satan when to them it's nothing more than some Picasso Christianity. Satanism is in the individual, and to really be able to proclaim oneself a Satanist (the ANTITHESIS of Christian follow-the-leader tactics) they should be able to say 'F**k Satan' quicker than they get down on all fours and start singing Christian hymns backwards." This concern spills over into the concern about the phenomenon of adolescent Satanism (discussed earlier), which tends to create the impression that the movement is not a serious religion. "Many tend to view Satanic practitioners as troubled adolescents with poor education and family backgrounds. This is not necessarily the case Of course, the view of Satan as a rebel is a draw to most teens that dabble in Satanism or 'Reverse Christianity' (the latter is most often the case), but these types tend to outgrown the fascination when they reach their twenties." At its best, according respondents, mature Satanism is an attractive religion that, like all religions, provides a structure of meaning and enhances one's life: "Religion is an integral part of the human experience. There are people who can live without it, but I find the life of an Atheist rather sterile. Satanism gives me a connection to things greater than myself and opens a door of new sights, sounds, smells, ritual, art, music, and a connection with a tribal underculture. [Finally], Satanism provides me with a moral view of the Universe in which I live."

Conclusion

As we noted earlier, the author of *The Psychology of Adolescent Satanism* unwittingly praises Satanism for its empowering influence in the lives of confused young people. In fact, many of Moriarty's observations about the first Satanist he encountered in his professional practice dovetail nicely with the findings of this study, and it is perhaps fitting to bring our discussion to a close with one final citation from *The Psychology of Adolescent Satanism:*

[The young Satanist] presented himself with a sense of power and control that was eerie. He controlled the venting of his anger with the accuracy of a marksman. His targets were those in authority, most notably his parents. He knew exactly what he was doing. He also praised Satan for giving him this new lease on life. He reveled in this power. He practiced rituals that he thought gave him more power. His authority was *The Satanic Bible*. This kid was really different.

Perhaps ironically, Moriarty has spelled out not only some of the factors that initially draw individuals to Satanism, but also some of the important reasons that they stay.

One becomes a Satanist for much the same reasons as one joins any religion—to achieve a sense of meaning, a supportive community, personal empowerment, and so forth. Sometimes these choices are impulsive or ill-considered, and many converts disaffiliate soon after joining. The majority who remain, however, eventually integrate their new religion into their personal identities as they mature in their "faith" (if I may be permitted to use this traditional term in the present context). Satanism, it turns out, is no exception to this general rule. Far from being confined to adolescent rebels, the data examined in this study indicates that many Satanists are reflective individuals who—despite the fact that youthful rebellion was often a factor

in the beginning—have come to appropriate Satanism as a mature religious option.

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Resources

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Nonprint Resources

Films and Videos

Satanism is a popular topic for box office films. The two top horror movies, *The Exorcist* and *Rosemary's Baby*, contain contrasting images of the Devil and Satanism. The former is theologically quite traditional, while the later has drawn praise from religious Satanists such as Anton LaVey. Many such films are reviewed throughout the main body of the encyclopedia.

There have been a number of good TV documentaries debunking specific Satanic ritual abuse cases. For example, a series of three PBS Frontline TV shows deal with the Little Rascals' Day Care case: "Innocence Lost" (July 1993). This episode received an Emmy and a Silver Baton Award. "Innocence Lost: The Verdict." This episode received the Sidney Hillman Foundation Award, a Silver Baton Award, and Grand Prize at the 1994 Banff International TV Festival. "Innocence Lost: The Plea." These programs were aired between July 1993 and May 1997. Transcripts are available from Journal Graphics at 1-303-831-9000. Videotapes are available from PBS video at 1-800-424-7963. Another documentary with a comparable title, "Paradise Lost: The Child Murders at Robin Hood Hills" (1995) examines the Robin Hood Hills murders. It was released for circulation and can be found at, or ordered through, video stores.

The ritual abuse perspective was also frequently promoted on talk shows. The most famous TV program of this type was Geraldo Rivera's the television special "Devil Worship: Exposing Satan's Underground," broadcast by NBC on October 25, 1988. There is a complete online copy of this show available at the "Where the Wild Things Are" website, http://www.hellroseplace.com.

On religious Satanism, "Speaking of the Devil" is a documentary videotape on Anton LaVey containing a potpourri of programs on and interviews with LaVey. A copy can be obtained from Feral House publishers. http://www.feralhouse.com.

Websites

For anyone interested in any major aspect of Satanism, the Internet is a happy hunting ground. However, the Internet is also in a constant state of flux, meaning that any guide to such resources is necessarily provisional, as many websites may have disappeared by the time the reader picks up this encyclopedia. With that caveat, I have included a few suggestions:

Although they seem to be phasing out this aspect of their service, in the past Yahoo included structured guides to certain topics. If this service is still in place, typing "Satanism" into http://www.yahoo.com gives one a useful starting place. Alternately, type "Satanism" into the Oingo site at: http://www.oingo.com.

On the Satanic ritual abuse issue, the best sites are the Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance site at http://www.religioustolerance.org and the more specialized Satanic Media Watch and New Exchange site at http://users.cybercity.dk/~ccc44406/smwane/main.htm. CESNUR is an important, Italian-based academic organization focused on nontraditional religions. The CESNUR website contains some useful information on Satanism: http://www.cesnur.org. To reach sites promoting the ritual abuse perspective, one only has to type "ritual abuse" into any search engine.

Although the "threat" of information promoting the occult on the world wide web has often been exaggerated, it is nevertheless true that the Internet has been influential in reaching individuals potentially interested in religious Satanism. Many otherwise isolated Satanists find a community of like-minded fellow religionists in cyberspace. Because of the unique characteristics of the electronic medium, it is often difficult to distinguish substantial Satanist organi-zations from single-person affairs with a talent for creating extensive, professional websites. The oldest groups are the Church of Satan and the Temple of Set (though the Temple of Set no longer identifies itself as Satanic). The precise status and extent of other groups are more difficult to determine.

Church of Satan http://www.churchofsatan.com Official site of the original Satanist church.

Temple of Set
http://www.xeper.org
Also see Balanone's Temple of Set Information Site.
http://www.bigfoot.com/~balanone/

First Church of Satan http://www.churchofsatan.org This is a large networking group.

Temple of Lylyth http://www.lylyth.org This is a Wisconsin group with whom I have had some direct contact.

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Tezrian's Vault

http://www.demonolatry.com

Demonology is an interesting, traditional form of Satanism.

The First Satanic Church

http://www.satanicchurch.com

Karla LaVey, one of Anton LaVey's daughters, founded this group shortly after her father's death.

Satanic Reds

http://www.geocities.com/satanicreds/

An important emergent group seriously promoting a form of Satanism informed by communism.

The Prometheus Society

http://www.geocities.com/prometheus_society
This association brings in non-Satanist left-hand
path groups.

Infernal Chapel

http://community.webtv.net/Magus418/InfernalChapel

Lucifers Den

http://www.angelfire.com/mi/LUCIFERSDEN

The Black Lodge

http://www.black-lodge.org

Ninth Covenant

http://theninthcovenant.com

Order Of Nine Angles http://www.nasz-dom.net

Church of the Morning Star http://www.churchoflucifer.8m.com

Order of Infernal Light

http://www.infernal-light.org. The Order of Infernal Light is a Satanic Aesthetic order.

Ascendancy

http://www.jashan.net

Ascendancy is a prominent, "high end" Satanic website.

Satanic Media Watch and News Exchange

http://users.cybercity.dk/~ccc44406/smwane/main.

htm

A site focused on ritual abuse, maintained by a Satanist.

Satanism 101

http://www.satanism101.com

A site providing a general introduction to religious Satanism.

TOKUS Smackers

http://www.satanservice.com

An online archive of Satanist articles compiled by The Order of Kaos Under Satan (TOKUS).

Purging Talon Publishing http://www.purgingtalon.com

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