PUTTING THE DEVIL ON THE MAP: DEMONOLOGY AND COSMOGRAPHY IN THE RENAISSANCE

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Abstract

This chapter explores the conceptions and representations of space in early modern demonology, focusing on the contribution brought by cosmographical knowledge to demonology in the Renaissance. I start by examining the conception of the devil as an inhabitant of the air, free to invade the world of the living: a fundamentally mobile creature, the devil possessed a mastery of the sublunar world that made him akin to cosmographers. I then assess the extent to which demonologists incorporated geographical information into their treatises, and in particular material related to the new worlds discovered overseas. I argue that the publication of Olaus Magnus's *Description of the Northern Peoples* (1555) marked a critical moment in the construction of this "cosmography of the devil," and analyse one of its most striking examples: Le Loyer's *Discours et histoires des spectres* (1605). The diabolical world map outlined by demonologists was a dynamic one, across which demons moved according to the flow of history. It expressed an anxiety beyond that of the fear of witchcraft: what is at work here is the idea of Europe being contaminated by the New World.

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The question that I propose to examine is that of the geography of witchcraft, but approached here from a rather unusual angle: not from the point of view of witchcraft historians (Where did the witch-hunts take place?), but from the point of view of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century "demonologists." How did specialists on witchcraft and demonism in the Renaissance map the activity of the devil in the world? Where did they situate demons within geographical space? To ask this question is to explore to a certain extent the wider question of the conceptions and representations of space in early modern demonology. It is also a means of bringing together demonological and geographical literature, two bodies of writing that correspond to two major upheavals in the history and culture of the period. Geographical literature, as we know, flourished in the Renaissance alongside the European exploration and colonization of newly discovered lands, and the emergence of a new geographical concept of the inhabited Earth.[1] The sixteenth century – and more precisely the later sixteenth century – witnessed an increase in the publication of travel accounts, geographical treatises and atlases,

[1] See Lestringant 1994; Besse 2003.

and a growing interest, among European readers, in material related to the new worlds encountered overseas.

But if the Renaissance was the Age of Discovery, it was also the Age of Demonology. Indeed, without being a direct product of the persecution of witches, nor its essential cause, demonological literature developed and prospered at the time of the great European witch-hunt: roughly, from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Deeply rooted in classical and medieval thought, demonology was an extensive network of theoretical discourses found in treatises, tracts, pamphlets and even literature, whose object were the related (but not necessarily linked) topics of demons, witchcraft, magic, ghosts and spirits. It was a composite and cross-disciplinary field of knowledge, touching on theology, law, medicine, history, natural philosophy – and, as this chapter argues, cosmography. In spite of these uncertain boundaries, it may be said that the "science of demons" affirmed itself in the Renaissance as an identifiable shared discursive field, whose importance in the intellectual history of the period has been fully demonstrated by Stuart Clark's magisterial study, *Thinking with Demons* (1997).[2]

In the Renaissance, the exchange between demonologists on the one hand, and cosmographers and travellers on the other, operated in both directions. This chapter, however, is largely concerned with one particular pathway in this interaction: the contribution brought by cosmographical knowledge to demonological discourse. As such, the inverse flow – for example, the way that demonology influenced how European travellers of the Renaissance perceived the territories, societies and beliefs that they encountered – will not be examined in any detail here.[3] Rather, I will embark upon on a reconstruction of representations of the presence of the devil in geographical space, as they occur in early modern demonological treatises. This involves an assessment not only of the extent to which demonologists incorporated geographical information into their treatises, but above all, an examination of the way in which the revival of this knowledge, in an age of "cosmographic revolution,"[4] changed the way that demonologists thought about the devil and his powers, and about the nature of his interactions with mankind. This approach also lends itself to an evaluation of the revitalising impact of geographical knowledge upon demonological *writing* itself, notably in the emergence, within this vast and complex discursive field, of a category that may be referred to as the "cosmography of the devil."[5]

And finally, a third figure must yet be introduced into this exchange: that of the humanist. For, if the Renaissance was the golden age of the devil, and of cosmographers, it was also – primarily – the age of the humanist. What, then, do we learn about humanism in discussing demonological discourse on the cosmography of the devil? To ask this question, in a way, is to reexamine the classic tricolon which characterized for sixteenth-century humanists themselves the age in which they were living: namely, the gunpowder, the nautical compass

[2] On the uncertain boundaries of the demonological corpus, and the arguable connection established by social historians between demonology and witch-hunting, see also Chesters 2007, and Machielsen 2015, 5–8. For general presentations of this corpus, see Clark 2006; Williams 2013.
[3] On this question, see Shapiro 1987; Bernand and Gruzinski 1988; MacCormack 1991; Cervantes 1994; Mello e Souza 2003; Holtz and Maus de Rolley 2008; Holtz 2010.
[4] Lestringant 1994, 59.
[5] I owe the phrase (and much more) to Chester's stimulating pages on Le Loyer's "cosmography of the spectre." See Chesters 2008 and Chesters 2011, 154–63.

and the printing press.[6] Gunpowder, according to Rabelais and others, is the diabolical element amongst the three.[7] What I would like to show, through this exploration of the Renaissance diabolical *mappa mundi*, is that the devil may also lurk in the compass (in the "discovery" of the New World), as well as in the printing press (in the "rediscovery" of Antiquity).

I. THE DEVIL, PRINCE OF THIS WORLD

In the Renaissance, the devil and his demons were not cloistered in hell. Far from being secluded in an Other World on the margins of our own, evil spirits were believed capable of invading the world of humans and moving through it as they wished. This was precisely what made them so disturbing for the living. According to Alain Boureau, the emergence of a Christian science of the devil in the medieval West corresponded to a "liberation of demons" into earthly realms.[8] The "demonological turning point" that Boureau dates to the early 14th century, during the pontificate of John XXII (1316–1334), mainly consisted, he argues, in a release of demons from the "tight prison" constructed by Thomas Aquinas. Let loose from the subterranean or supralunar spaces where they had previously been confined, demons could henceforth make contact with men, conclude pacts with them, tempt and hassle them, creep inside them, and even physically transport them from one point in space to another. This conception of the devil was further reinforced in following centuries by the crystallisation, in the first half of the fifteenth century, of the stereotype of satanic witchcraft. In other words, by the emergence of the belief in the existence of a conspiratorial sect of witches, who would gather at night in huge assemblies (the sabbat), in order to worship the devil and perform a series of diabolical rites.[9] For a good two centuries, hell was unleashed upon the earth. If early modern demonologists are to be believed, there was no need to venture into the bowels of the earth to find the devil. It was enough to simply apply ointment, mount a broomstick and let oneself go, up the chimney and out into the air, until one reached the witches' sabbat. What's more, whether it was far or near, across the oceans or on the outskirts of a village, the sabbat was an outpost of hell very much belonging to this world. Held on the same ground and under the same sky as our own, it occupied a tangible geographical place.

Demonologists were, for that matter, not particularly interested in hell. Or, more precisely, they were not concerned with discussing the exact location, nature, structure or organisation of the underworld. Early modern demonology did

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[6] The presentation of these three inventions as emblems of modernity can be found in Rabelais (1532), Fernel (1542), Cardano (1551), Bodin (1566), Le Roy (1576), Frobisher (1578), etc. See Wolper 1970.

[7] Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532), chap. 8: "Printing likewise is now in use, so elegant, and so correct that better cannot be imagined, although it was found out but in my time by divine inspiration, as by a diabolical suggestion on the other side was the invention of Ordnance." (Rabelais 2005, 161) This opposition between the 'divinely inspired' printing press and the 'diabolical' art of artillery is also a humanist commonplace: see Hale 1966.

[8] Boureau 2006, 93–118.

[9] On the emergence of this "cumulative concept of witchcraft," see Levack 2006, 32–51. For early fifteenth-century representations of the sabbat, see Ostorero 1999. Although absent from early treatises such as Kramer's influential *Malleus maleficarum* (1486/7), the sabbat becomes a central feature of demonology a century later. Even then, however, exists a body of demonological writing indifferent to the subject of witchcraft, and thus to the sabbat: see Chesters 2011.

not offer visions of the Other World, or accounts of journeys to infernal realms: the reader would find no means of getting there in thought alone. In this way, the demonologist parts company with a Dante, or a Faust. We know that Faust was presented from the beginning – that is, from the anonymous *Historia von D. Johann Fausten,* which appeared in Frankfurt in 1587, onwards – as a personification of curiosity.[10] A sort of Menippus reborn, Faust plagues Mephistopheles with questions, particularly about hell, until the magician finally demands to see it for himself, after eight years of fruitless theological debate. As Walter Stephens notes in his discussion of Marlowe's version of the legend, "Faustus' ideal is a round-trip ticket to hell."[11] The interest of demonologists centred rather on the sabbat, a hell on earth just as terrifying but, in appearance at least, more accessible. That is not to say that hell is absent from their works. But the subject (or even the word itself) appears only in passing, for example when discussing ghosts, or the possibility of souls returning to earth after death: thus, in relation to the scope for communication between this world and the next.[12] There is greater concern with hell in texts dealing with demonic possession, particularly in the accounts of exorcisms. The exorcist, after all, shared with Faust a rare privilege: the ability to commune with the devil, using the demoniac as sole intermediary, thus gaining access to the mysteries of the great beyond. This was, in any case, a selling point of published accounts of exorcisms: they reveal many "otherwordly things" ("choses de l'autre monde"), advertises Jean Le Normant in his book on the Lille possession cases of 1613.[13] However, if demons happened to shed light upon the tortures endured in hell, descriptions by demoniacs of visionary journeys to the Other World comparable to those experienced by divinely possessed mystics remain rare.[14] A subject as composite as demonological discourse hardly invites generalisation. Nonetheless it may be said that the greatest preoccupation of early modern demonologists (and particularly those concerned with the witches' sabbat) was the question of the presence and actions of the devil within the earthly realm: how he entered into interaction with man ("the association of spirits and men" to use Jean Bodin's phrase[15]), how he intervened in the natural world, and how he threatened church and state.

The reason for the demonologists' lack of interest in the Other World also lies in the fact that subterranean hell (hell as "underworld") was not necessarily understood as the home of demons and their only, or even principal, residence. Indeed, in Renaissance as in medieval conceptions of hell, the abyss was in competition with the atmosphere. Certainly the location of hell in the bowels of the earth was largely accepted by medieval theologians, despite the theoretical difficulties posed by the association of a physical space with spiritual beings.[16] However, the devil was also conceived as the "Prince of the Air," following

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[10] On Faust and curiosity in the first printed versions of the legend, see Maus de Rolley 2011, 510–23.

[11] Stephens 2002, 353.

[12] On this important question and its theological implications, see Chesters 2011, and Lecercle 2011.

[13] Le Normant 1623, 303.

[14] For a description of the punishments of hell, see the exorcism of Louise Capeau on 14 December 1611 in Michaëlis 1614, 72–4. In the account of her demonic possession (published 1586), Jeanne Féry briefly narrates a visionary journey to hell (Buisseret 1586, f. 46 v°). For a similar account in a case of divine possession, see Thérèse d'Avila 1601, chap. XXXII.

[15] Bodin 1580, f. 7 r°.

[16] Vacant 1903–50, IV, 1, col. 28–120; Baschet 1993, 33–59.

St. Paul in his letter to the Ephesians (Ephesians 2:2 and 6:12). St. Paul identifies the aerial region – between the earth and the heavens, in the cosmological system inherited from Ptolemy and Aristotle – with the realm of darkness to which, according to the Old Testament, the legions of Satan had been relegated after their uprising against God. The Church Fathers picked up on this placing of demons in the atmosphere. Indeed, similar discussion can be found in Tertullian, St. Hilary, St. Jerome, and above all in St. Augustine: "The devil was expelled, along with his angels, from the lofty abode of the angels, and was cast into darkness, that is to say into our atmosphere, as into a prison."[17] In presenting demons as "sky-birds" (*volatilia caeli*) or "aerial powers" *(aereas potestates*), the Church Fathers christianized the Platonic image of the demon developed in the works of Apuleius or Plutarch, since Platonic *daimones* were, as we know, intermediary powers for good or for evil, placed in the air as mediators between heaven and earth, between gods and men.[18] Despite the growing distinction made in the Middle Ages between celestial, divine space on the one hand, and the infernal underworld on the other, this doctrine was largely accepted by later theologians. Not universally accepted, however, was Augustine's contention that demons would be thrown into hell only at the Last Judgement, until which point they would remain at large in the air so as to better tempt and torment mankind. As far as the Venerable Bede, Honorus of Autun and Thomas Aquinas were concerned, some demons were in hell already, torturing condemned souls and being tortured themselves.[19]

Demonologists of the late Renaissance occasionally returned to these debates about the fate of demons after the Fall, including Sébastien Michaëlis (1587), Noël Taillepied (1588), Juan Maldonado (1607) and Pierre de Lancre (1612), to mention but a few.[20] In any case, the aerial location of demons was brought up again and again in treatises of the time, though not as a matter for real debate, even when the author sought to reconcile it with the popular taxonomy of spirits established by the Byzantine Michael Psellus in his *Dialogue on the Operations of Demons* (*Peri energeias daimonon dialogos*), translated into Latin by Marsilio Ficino in 1497.[21] Psellus/Ficino filled the elementary world with swarms of spirits, divided into hierarchical categories: igneous, aerial, aquatic, earthly and subterranean. (The sixth category, the dreadful *lucifugus*, was defined by fear of light rather than by habitat.) In the eyes of early modern demonologists, this Neoplatonic extension of the domains of demons merely enriched the Christian idea of the devil as an inhabitant of the air, without undermining it. According to the demonological doxa, therefore, the majority of demons, if not all, could be found in the air, or more precisely in its middle region, where clouds, wind, rain and storms were supposed to take formation. This middle region was, effectively, the sky's obscure zone, as Pierre Crespet explained in his *Deux livres de la hayne de Satan* (1590), following St. Jerome: the sun's rays pass through it without encountering any solid matter which could reflect light.[22] This aerial location of demons gave them unequalled mastery of sublunar space. The devil could, quite literally, bring rain or shine to the earth. Occupying the centre of

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[17] Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmum CXLVIII*, cited in Cohn 1975, 66.
[18] On Platonic demonology, see Timotin 2010. On the confusion between *daimones* and demons, see Boureau 2006, 131.
[19] Vacant 1903–50, IV, 1, col. 321–409.
[20] See Michaëlis 1587, 65–8; Taillepied 1588, 200–2; Maldonado 1607, ff. 82 v°–92 v°; Lancre 1612, 15.
[21] On this work and its influence on late Renaissance demonology, see Chesters 2011, 175–85.
[22] Crespet 1590, f. 15 v°.

winds and clouds, demons were imbued with the power to summon rain and storms, a power which underpinned that of weather magicians and witches. Above all, demons could appear almost instantaneously in any place. Despite the Fall, they effectively retained their angelic qualities: power, agility, speed. As such, as Tertullian had it in a passage of his *Apology* (XXII, 18) much glossed by Renaissance demonologists: "In a moment, they are everywhere. To them the whole world is one place." As Pierre Le Loyer wrote in his *Discours et histoires des spectres* (1605), no place was forbidden to them: "The particular places that these Spirits enjoy and look for are almost infinite, for no sublunar place is inaccessible to them. Demons are aerial spirits, and the air is diffuse everywhere in the inferior world: thus they are everywhere in the lower universe."[23] Demons were no more restricted to their aerial realm than they were imprisoned in the underworld. Before the Last Judgement and their final, total liberation, God would allow them to go forth unfettered into the world, in order to bait and torment mankind. In a sermon of 1332, John XXII emphasised the freedom of demons before the Last Judgement: "Indeed, the damned, that is, demons, could not tempt us if they were secluded in hell. That is why one must not say they reside in hell, but in fact in the entire zone of dark air, whence the path is open to them to tempt us."[24] Or, as Marlowe's Mephistopheles puts it: "Hell hath not limit, nor is circumscrib'd / In one self place, for where we are is hell / And where hell is there we must ever be." (*Doctor Faustus*, II, 1)

For Le Loyer, the devil was therefore in constant motion: "The devil never stops running and wheeling across the whole earth, and circles it endlessly […] to seek out the sinner his prey, to take him unawares, swallow him up and devour him."[25] Le Loyer explained, however, that the devil's earthly freewheeling was not entirely born of his duty to hound human souls. It was also because he found a paradoxical respite in motion. The devil's ceaseless movement was perpetual suffering; but he took pleasure in this torment nonetheless, to the extent that he was enraged by the magicians who, in summoning him, wrenched him from his wandering:

> That is his rest, his daily pastime, his mobile base, his shifting, turning bedstead, his coach, his litter, his carriage, where he is shifted and shaken ceaselessly, and from which he would never willingly be wrested. And he is angered when the magician disturbs and assails him with his charms and importunate words, and forces him away from his delightful business by conjuring him up and tearing him from the place in which he was settling down to work.[26]

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[23] Le Loyer 1605, 340: "Et pour les lieux particuliers que ces mesmes Esprits aiment & cherchent, ils sont presque infinis, pour n'estre les Demons exclus de lieu quelconque qui soit sous le cercle Lunaire. Aussi qu'ils sont Esprits de l'air, & comme au monde inferieur l'air est diffus par tout, de mesme les Demons sont diffus par le bas univers."

[24] Cited in Boureau 2006, 25.

[25] Le Loyer 1605, 786: "Le diable ne cesse de tracasser et courir par toute la terre, et circuit icelle […] afin de chercher sa proye, qui est le pêcheur, le surprendre au despourveu, l'engloutir et devorer."

[26] Le Loyer 1605, 786: "C'est son repos que cela, c'est son exercice coustumier, c'est la place mouvante, son lict branlant et tournoyant, son coche, sa litiere, son carrosse où il est branlé et agité dans cesse, et dont il ne voudroit estre osté, et se fasche contre le Magicien qui par ses charmes et paroles importunes le trouble et travaille, ce luy semble, en luy faisant quitter son travail qui est delectable, et l'excitant et arrachant du lieu où il estoit occupé."

The same image of the devil encircling the earth in flight is found in Pierre de Lancre, where he appears as a bird of prey, keen eyes fixed on his next victim: "[The world] is the globe and ring that this bloody beast keeps circling, in a ceaseless quest to fill this hell which never says 'enough'."[27] Besides this, Lancre indicated that if demons had a horror of returning to hell, though this was their "principal residence" ("principal manoir"), that was precisely because it entailed the loss of their "freedom to roam" ("liberté de vaguer").[28] Sébastien Michaëlis confirmed this: as a result of their spiritual nature, demons were fundamentally mobile creatures who could not bear to be restricted to one place – when thus, they suffered as birds trapped in a cage.[29] His extreme mobility clearly made the devil dangerous: because his hunting ground was as wide as the earth itself, and he circled it unrelentingly; because he could sweep up humans while in flight, paying mind to neither obstacles nor distances; because he could also breach the threshold of exterior and interior space by creeping inside a body and possessing it. In the latter case, the devil's territory was less the world map, so much as that other "diabolic atlas" (as Michel de Certeau put it) that is, the very body of the demoniac.[30]

But if the devil's mobility made him dangerous, this was also because it gave him access to knowledge of the world far superior to that of man. Demons, Lancre noted, knew the elementary world as no one else could. In a passage that echoed humanist discourses praising the limitless powers of the human mind, Lancre evoked how demons were free to come and go as they pleased, across the surface of the globe, through the clouds, or in the depths of the earth: "These spirits roam above and below our hemisphere; they go to the centre of the Earth, searching all its corners and bowels; they climb up to the clouds, raise thunderstorms, tempests and rain – and all by natural means, with the permission of God."[31] The devil, in particular, was able to explore territories still unknown to men, or at least to Europeans. I will return to this point below, but offer one example in the interim: that of Robert Anglicus's *Commentary* on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco (1271). Here, we learn how an Englishman in the know could get ripe figs in every season thanks to an obliging demon who picked them for him in the equatorial region, well beyond the limits of the *oikoumene*.[32] This amusing anecdote reappears in the 1587 German *Faustbook* and its first translations, where it enters Faust's repertoire of tricks; it is also present in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (IV, 3). However, in Robertus Anglicus's *Commentary*, the anecdote does more than merely divert the reader: it also permits the commentator to argue that the torrid zone is inhabitable. Here, then, the devil's travels helped overcome

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[27] Lancre 1612, 13: "C'est [= le monde] le Globe & le cerne que ceste beste sanglante va tournoyant estant tousjours en queste dequoy elle pourra remplir cest Enfer qui ne dict jamais (c'est assez)."

[28] Lancre 1612, 20.

[29] Michaëlis 1587, 68.

[30] I do not develop here these two questions of demonic possession and demonic 'transvection' (i.e., the devil's ability to transport bodies across space). For the former, see Certeau 2000; Caciola 2003; Ferber 2004; Levack 2013. For the latter, see Stephens 2002, 125–44; Maus de Rolley 2011, 412–539.

[31] Lancre 1612, 278: "Ces Esprits courent par tout au dessus & au dessous nostre Hemisphere, vont au centre de la terre, fouillent tous les coings & entrailles d'icelle, montent aux nues, font foudroyer, tempester & plouvoir, le tout par les agents naturels, ainsi que Dieu le permet." Compare with the praises of astronomy and cosmography quoted in Maus de Rolley 2011, 101–6.

[32] Sacrobosco 1949, 239–40.

lacunae in geographical knowledge. Moreover, this mobility, alongside the ability to observe the world from an aerial vantage point, gave the devil a kind of ersatz omniscience, an all-seeing, all-powerful gaze, not dissimilar to that of the cosmographer.[33] The devil was therefore able to anticipate future terrestrial events and so pass himself off as a soothsayer. Sébastien Michaëlis illustrated this in his *Pneumalogie* (1587):

> Noticing that it is already raining in the Indies, and that the weather is likely to carry those clouds towards Egypt, the devil informs his oracles that it will soon rain in Egypt; and when he sees that a great amount of snow melted on the mountains, or has started to melt, he predicts, too, that the Nile or another great river will soon overflow its banks, so that he tells nothing but what he sees.[34]

Thus we imagine the devil leaning over the world, tracking depressions and anticyclones, preparing forecasts on behalf of soothsayers: a devil who is as much meteorologist as cosmographer. This figure of the devil as cosmographer appears elsewhere, in fictions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: in the German *Faustbook* and in Kepler's *Somnium* (posthumous, 1634) it was the devil – or at least, in Kepler's case, a demonic figure – who enabled the hero, and thus the reader, to gain the cosmographer's vantage point, and so access a vision of the earth as seen from the sky.[35]

II. NEW HORIZONS

The devil, then, could be everywhere in cosmographical space. This must be understood in the sense that he could go anywhere on the globe, not that he was considered present everywhere at all times. The devil in fact occupied a determined point in space – or rather, the devil and his numerous but finite legions of demons occupied determined points in space. The devil did not have the gift of ubiquity, a miracle reserved for God alone, just as he could not cause two bodies to occupy the same place.[36] That would go against the fundamental laws of nature to which, according to the overwhelming majority of demonologists, the devil remained subject.[37] If the devil could, in theory, be located in space, this raises the question of where early modern demonologists placed him on the world map. In their view, were demons always in motion and incapable of staying fixed in a precise place, or did they have favourite lodgings, or predilections for certain

[33] On the cosmographer's "all-powerful gaze" ("regard tout-puissant"), see Lestringant 1994, 19–26.

[34] Michaëlis 1587, 84: "Comme voyans qu'il pleut desja aux Indes, et que le temps est disposé pour porter les nuees vers les quartiers d'Egypte, [le diable] fait sçavoir à ses oracles qu'il pleuvra en bref en Egypte, et quand il voit que grande abondance de neige a fondu aux montagnes, ou commencé à fondre, il predit aussi que le Nil, ou autre grosse rivière débordera, mais il ne dit sinon ce qu'il voit."

[35] For a reading of these demonic voyages, see Maus de Rolley 2011, 510–39.

[36] For an example of these discussions, see Weyer 1998, 201–2.

[37] For virtually all demonologists, true miracles were reserved to God alone. The devil could not overrule the laws of nature, and achieved most of his wonders by manipulating nature and its occult properties. His domain was not that of the supernatural, but of the preternatural, i.e., the realm of deviant and prodigious phenomena that were yet within nature. See Clark 1997, 151–78.

territories? And what was the influence of the geographical knowledge brought by the Age of Discovery and the cosmographical revolution on this cartography of the devil's dominions?

Demons, as Pierre Le Loyer explained, settled in specific "lands, regions and countries" ("pays, régions & contrées"). But before that, they were attached to "particular places" ("lieux particuliers"), in other words, particular kinds of spaces and environments, rather than geographical places as such.[38] These were wild, deserted, uncivilised places marked by death or the idea of wandering: crossroads, cemeteries, forests, deserts, mountains, ruins and abandoned mines. This proposition of Le Loyer's was not especially original. In any number of treatises, in fact, one can trace a fairly homogenous "poetics of diabolical space" (in Bachelardian terms[39]) that contains little unexpected material, being strongly rooted in a well-established literary and cultural tradition. The diabolical landscapes outlined by demonologists did not always correspond with those emerging from testimonies gathered in trials and inquisition tribunals, where the accused often pointed to nearby, familiar spaces, on the outskirts of the village, rather than to far-flung places, on mountaintops or in the depths of the desert.[40] But the landscapes described, both in treatises and in trials, were overwhelmingly rural. Lancre explained that one had to venture into the countryside in order to run into the devil: it was necessary, then, to *travel*. In a passage that recalls the diatribes of those travellers to the New World pillorying the armchair adventurers who sensibly stayed in their comfortable libraries, the judge-demonologist similarly attacked the "delicate mind" ("esprit délicat") who

> has never left his town, has seen nothing but what is seen in large companies, and knows about demons only what can be found in books. […] It is not amidst the pleasures of a great and mighty city that demons can be seen, or their presence been felt: the infinite multitude of people, the churches, devotion and conversation usually chase them out.[41]

Lancre's remark is somewhat at odds with the accounts of mass demonic possessions that started to flourish in France in the years of the publication of his treatise, or even those that could already be found in earlier works, such as Weyer's *De praestigiis*.[42] These events showed that demons could sometimes

[38] Le Loyer 1586, 485.

[39] I am thinking here of Bachelard's "Poetics of Space" (*Poétique de l'espace*, 1957).

[40] The fact is noted by Lancre (1612, 68–9) but also by modern historians. See Roper 2004, 109: "At the height of the witch craze, when accused witches described the dances, the sites they described were often tucked away locally, by the mill perhaps, a place associated with boundaries between the wild and the settled, and situated usually on an isolated area or at the edge of habitation; or in the woods." See also Roper's remarks on the "narrowness of [village witches'] geographical imagination" in sixteenth-century Germany: Roper 2013, 6.

[41] Lancre 1622, 629–30: "l'esprit délicat qui n'a jamais bougé d'une grosse ville, et n'a jamais rien veu, que ce qui se voit à grosses troupes, qui n'a rien ouy des Demons, que ce qu'il en a peu apprendre dans les livres. […] Ce n'est pas dans les delices d'une grosse et puissante Cité où les Demons se font voir ou sentir : la multitude infinie du Peuple, les Eglises, la devotion, la conversation, chassent ordinairement tout cela." Compare for instance with Léry 1992, 21. For a reading of Lancre's *Tableau de l'inconstance* as a narrative of discovery, similar to those written by travellers back from the New World, see Jacques-Lefèvre 2008.

[42] Moshe Sluhovsky has demonstrated that the outburst of mass possessions cases in seventeenth-century France and Europe had a rich 'pre-history'. Most of the sixteenth-century cases, though, remained "cloaked in silence," some of them being known to us only from a list compiled by

desert their moors and mountains to creep into convent walls, in the heart of towns, before invading the bodies of young nuns. However, in the dramatic seventeenth-century French cases, the sabbat remained often at the centre of the exorcists' preoccupations and writings: the "affaire Gaufridy" (Aix-en-Provence, 1611), in particular, reinforced the myth of the sabbat and the representations of diabolical space commonly attached to it.[43] The landscape, for demonologists such as Lancre or Le Loyer, was also a factor in explaining sorcery, in the sense that the presence and activity of devils and witches could be understood via the nature of the spaces in which they were found. This kind of geographical determinism is developed in Le Loyer's discussion on Endor, where a medium (the Witch of Endor) conjured up the ghost of the prophet Samuel at the request of King Saul (I Samuel 28). That land of moors, prairies and hills, Le Loyer argued, could not but attract witches, and the devil too.[44] Lancre similarly explained the abundance of witches in Labourd – the part of the Basque region where he launched a brutal witch-hunt in the summer of 1609 – by the geographical characteristics of the place ("la situation du lieu"): a poor, rural country between sea and mountain, a liminal land at the intersection of three kingdoms (France, Spain, and Navarre).[45]

Beyond the question of the devil's *places*, what did demonological treatises say about his favorite *regions*, to take Le Loyer's distinction between the two? Here, a diachronic approach is useful. Before 1550, demonological literature only rarely made reference to a diabolical "elsewhere," by which I understand far-flung, exotic lands believed to be under the devil's mastery. The crimes of the devil and of witches, and in particular the holding of sabbats, took place in a circumscribed, familiar geographical frame – one that was most often part of the world to which the authors and their sources belonged. Anecdotes reported by early witchcraft theorists were, in fact, often based on information gathered from trials held in their own region, or on the testimony of local informants. For example, the stories reported by the Dominican Jean Nider in Book Five of his *Formicarius*, or 'Anthill' (composed 1436–37, and published in Cologne around 1480), largely took place in the region of Bern and Lausanne, although events in Basel, Strasbourg, Colmar, Nuremberg, Cologne and Vienna were also mentioned; these were either the home towns of his informants, or were visited by Nider over the course of his career.[46] Similarly, the anecdotes in inquisitor Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus maleficarum* (*The Hammer of Witches*, 1486) map contemporary witchcraft, broadly speaking, onto southern Germany: an area stretching from Alsace to the Tyrol, via the Rhineland Palatinate and Bavaria, with nods to Rome or Cologne on the way.[47] Another example of this tendency is

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Weyer in the 1568 edition of his treatise. See Sluhovsky 2002, in particular 1385–6. On the possession at Aix-en-Provence, see Ferber 2004, 71–88.

[43] See Michaëlis 1614 and Ferber 2004, 70–88.

[44] Le Loyer 1605, 702: "En ce cartier d'Endor ou Fribolet y avoit force bois, force landes et pastures, force collines, outre les monts Tabor et Gelboé, qui en estoient proches. Et cecy je ne le dis point pour neant, parce qu'aux femmes simples qui gardent leurs bestes és pastures et colines, et aux pasteurs et bouviers des champs les Diables s'insinuent plus facilement qu'à d'autres qui ont plus de ruse et se sçavent mieux garder des embusches Diaboliques. Davantage parmy les landes, prairies, collines, montagnes, pastures, forests y a plus de Sorciers et Sorcieres qu'és villes et villages, esquels hantent et frequentent les hommes."

[45] Lancre 1612, 31. On Lancre's imagination of space, see Houdard 1992, 161–226.

[46] On the imagination of space in Nider's *Formicarius*, see Céard 2008.

[47] See the maps in Kramer 2009, viii.

the Italian demonologists of the early sixteenth-century whose sources had a strongly Italian weighting: Girolamo Visconti (1490), Bernardo Rategno da Como (1505–10), Prierias (1521), Bartolomeo Spina (1523) and Paolo Grillando (1536).[48] It should be noted that in general, geographical indications are rare in these early treatises: the sabbat, for example, is described as near or far, usually without more precise location. This is not to say that precise locations are never given. Among the Italians, for instance, there is frequent mention of the "Noce di Benevento," the Benevento walnut tree near Naples, that these works contributed to establish in the demonological imagination as a hot spot of satanic witchcraft.[49] (There are other examples of similar places in the period, such as the Venusberg evoked by Nider, or, later, the German Blocksberg.)[50] For the readers of these early treatises, then, witchcraft was fundamentally a European phenomenon. It was Europe that was under the sway of the devil, and witches in flight, supposedly travelling (according to commonplace formulas) "across great distances" or "to faraway, foreign lands" actually rarely seemed to venture beyond Christendom.[51] Rather, witches travelled, as Martin le Franc (author of *Le Champion des Dames,* c. 1440) wrote, "From Rome to Metz, from Britanny to Lombardy" ("De Rome à Metz / Ou de Bretagne en Lombardie").[52] Even if a few exceptions could be found, it remained unusual, overall, to find precise references to contemporary witchcraft outside Europe in the treatises published up to 1550.[53]

I emphasise this point to demonstrate the extent to which Olaus Magnus's *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (*The Description of the Northern Peoples*) constituted a striking novelty for demonologists upon its publication in 1555. Archbishop of Uppsala, Olaus Magnus was driven from Sweden by the Reformation, so it was from exile in Rome that he published this monumental natural and moral history of the Nordic territories and peoples, accompanied by illustrations from the *Carta Marina*, a map of Scandinavia that he had previously published in Venice in 1539. The work was a great success, quickly translated, often in abridged form, into vernacular languages (Italian, German, French, Dutch, English).[54] In 1555, the Far North (the "Septentrion") very much represented a new world for the inhabitants of more southerly climes: a *terra incognita*, or at least a fairly unknown territory.[55] And the land revealed to continental Europe in Olaus Magnus's work was to a considerable extent a diabolical one. In Book II (II, 23), the reader learnt, for instance, that Mount Hekla in Iceland was one of the gates of hell, and that witches were in the habit of taking themselves to the peak of another mountain, on a Baltic island (the isle of Jungfrun, also known as Blåkulla) to worship the devil and cast malevolent spells.

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[48] Most of these treatises have been compiled in Abbiati et al. 1984.

[49] See Bonomo 1985; Portone 1990.

[50] On the Venusberg, see Zika 2007, 103–6. On the Blocksberg (or Brocken), known in the seventeenth century as the setting for the Walpurgis Night, see Becker 2006, and Roper 2012, 40–3.

[51] See for instance Castañega 1529, 22: "Tierras remotas y estrañas." These stereotyped formulas recall the mention, in the famous *Canon Episcopi* (10th century), of the "great spaces of earth" (*multa terrarum spatia*) supposedly traversed "in the silence of the dead of night" by the wicked women seduced by the illusions of Satan. (Translation and presentation in Kors and Peters 2001, 60–3.)

[52] Le Franc 1999, IV, vv. 17842–3.

[53] The most notable exception would be Castañega's reference to idolatrous cults in New Spain: Castañega 1529, 26–7.

[54] For a presentation of Olaus Magnus and his work, see Foote 1996; Johanneson 1991.

[55] Lestringant 2004, 45.

In Book III, "On the superstitious worship of demons by the people of the North" (a demonological work in the true sense, then) Olaus Magnus evoked idolatrous cults; human sacrifices; the nocturnal dance of the elves where ghosts and witches came together; magicians who harnessed and controlled the winds; witches capable of bodily metamorphosis; magicians who fell into a cataleptic trance and travelled in spirit form; ghosts and revenants; a magician bound by a spell to the depths of a chasm, like Satan in the pit of hell, etc. Finally, in Book XVIII, three chapters were dedicated to lycanthropy and the werewolves who, according to Olaus Magnus, abounded across Prussia, Lithuania and Livonia.

For the "southern" European readership, this was much of a revelation, even if some elements were already known thanks to Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum* (13th century) or Albert Krantz's *Chronica regnorum aquilonarium* (1546). It was also a confirmation of demonological theory. Readers believed that the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* contained evidence of practices and beliefs similar to those that had been described in demonological treatises for a good century, especially concerning nocturnal assemblies of elves and witches. As such, Bodin made reference to the "assemblies and ordinary dances of sorcerers" described by Olaus Magnus, and Le Loyer explicitly related the Nordic dance of the elves to the witches' sabbat ("infernal dances held at night, like the sabbats of the witches").[56] The diabolization (and thus christianization) of Nordic beliefs was not the doing of the demonologists alone. It was greatly facilitated by Olaus Magnus himself, who emphasised the role played by the devil in these varied wonders. He associated Nordic witches with contemporary European ones, and scattered numerous clear visual references to witchcraft as it was recognised elsewhere in Europe in the illustrations of his work: witches' cauldrons, winged demons, and witches lifted into the air by the devil.[57] Olaus Magnus did not explicitly cite demonological works, but we cannot rule out his having some knowledge thereof. Besides, it would seem that certain of these Nordic beliefs were well and truly indebted to European conceptions of witchcraft. The nocturnal assemblies of Blåkulla, in particular, might in this way be read as the product of a meeting between native traditions and the sabbat as it was developed in the continental European imagination.[58] The "assimilation" of satanic witchcraft and Nordic sorcery, practised by demonologists or by Olaus Magnus himself, might not, therefore, have been entirely without foundation.

It should be noted, however, that the many demonologists who cited Olaus Magnus's works during the second half of the century did not pay particular attention to the parts of the text dealing most explicitly with the witches' sabbat, such as Blåkulla and the conventicles of devil-worshipping witches. In general, what they took from the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, and especially from Book III, were the descriptions of idolatrous worship, the marvels effected by Nordic magicians, weather magic, werewolves, and the ecstatic journeys of Lappish sorcerers. Above all, the fundamental idea taken from Olaus Magnus, recurring in treatise upon treatise, was that the Septentrion was infested by devils and sorcerers. The Far North was the "primary residence of demons" wrote

[56] Bodin 1580, f. E1 v°: "assemblées et danses ordinaires des sorciers." Le Loyer 1605, 328: "danses infernales qui se font principalement de nuit, comme les Sabaths des Sorciers."
[57] Zika 2007, 224–6.
[58] Mitchell 1997.

Antonio de Torquemada (1570), among others.[59] In the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, many found confirmation of biblical prophecies of the devil reigning over the Septentrion (Isaiah 14:13; Jeremiah 1:13). But in doing so, the demonologists were actually breaking faith with Olaus Magnus, who was attempting to refute these very prophecies.[60] Olaus Magnus was, in fact, mostly writing about the past, and the practices he described were presented as those of a bygone era: the return of the devil was certainly an ever-present threat (I will return to this in a moment), but demons had been triumphantly driven from most places by Christian evangelization.[61] And yet, few were the authors, with the possible exception of Weyer, who did not substitute the present tense for the past when quoting the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, and who did not consider the phenomena recalled from the ancient past by Olaus Magnus as part of a contemporary reality.[62]

The *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* put a new continent on the demonologists' diabolical map of the world. I would suggest that this therefore marked a critical moment in the construction of a "cosmography of the devil" in the Renaissance, and so in the evolution of demonological writing. As is demonstrated by the regularity with which his work was cited by later demonologists, Olaus Magnus made a decisive contribution to the conception of the devil and witches as being active elsewhere, on the edges of the world map. This in turn contributed to the opening of demonology to new horizons. Olaus Magnus was not, of course, the first to point to the presence of the devil on Europe's peripheries, and the extension of the diabolical world map in the second half of the century was also a consequence of the increase of publications on the New World, and the interest that travellers and cosmographers themselves took in the devil, in idolatry, and more generally in religions and beliefs of newly discovered people who, moreover, they themselves frequently identified as diabolical practices and beliefs.[63] This new knowledge made progressive incursions into demonology: in the second half of the century, especially from 1580, references to geographical literature and travel writing became more numerous. In 1563, Johannes Weyer makes comparative little use of it, referring only – and usually briefly – to Cortez, Varthema, André Thevet, Leo Africanus

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[59] Torquemada 1982, 444: "la principal habitacion de los demonios." Torquemada's *Jardín de flores curiosas* (1570) is a miscellaneous book in six treatises (hence its French title, *Hexaméron*) which could hardly be described as a demonological work as a whole; however, its third treatise, on demons and ghosts, is a demonological discourse in the true sense. Besides, demons, ghosts and witches reappear in parts V and VI, two cosmographical treatises on the Far North heavily indebted to Olaus Magnus. As such, Torquemada's *Jardín* plays an important part in the diffusion of Olaus Magnus's discourse on Nordic superstitious beliefs, especially in France, where Gabriel Chappuys translates it in 1579.

[60] Foote 1996, xxxviii–xxxix; Johanneson 1991, 178.

[61] See for instance Olaus Magnus 1996, III, Preface, 147: "I must tell how the malignity and craft of the devil have for so many past centuries held that country [Lithuania] in frightful delusions (as indeed ever other nation), until in recent years it has been summoned to the communion of the Catholic faith. […] [Lithuania is] freed now from the worship of demons." Lestringant argues that Olaus Magnus's discourse is somewhat more ambivalent, caught between the desire to exalt the marvels of the Far North and the necessity to denounce the progress of evil in those regions (Lestringant 2004, 51).

[62] See for instance Bodin 1580, f. 90 v°; Le Loyer 1586, 495; Le Loyer 1605, 327; Crespet 1590, f. 32 r°.

[63] I do not develop here the question of the influence of demonological thought on early modern travellers and, more generally, on the European perception of the New World. For elements of analysis, see the references listed above in note 3.

and Pierre Belon. Bodin, whose particular interest in cosmography is well-known,[64] cites similarly few such sources in his *Démonomanie des sorciers* (1580): Olaus Magnus provided the majority of his cosmographical material, topped up by a certain "History of the West Indies" (probably Lopez de Gomara's, translated into French in 1569), and allusions to Thevet. In 1599, Martín Del Río presents some exotic *exempla* found in Jesuit letters from the New World.[65] But it was in the work of Pierre Le Loyer more than anyone else that travel narratives and cosmography became a major source of demonological information. In the 1586 edition of his treatise (*Quatre livres des spectres*) they were still in short supply: Leo Africanus, Pomponius Mela, Marco Polo and Olaus Magnus rub shoulders with Fernández de Oviedo, Ca' da Mosto, Ludovico Varthema and André Thevet. But in the expanded edition of 1605 (*Discours et histoires des spectres*), Le Loyer's frame of geographical reference took on a whole new dimension. In this later work, the following names (by no means an exhaustive list) were added to those mentioned above: Pierre Martyr, López de Gómara, Antonio Pigafetta, Nicolò de' Conti, Giovanni Maffei, Giovanni da Verrazzano, Thomas Harriot, José de Acosta, Vasco de Gama, Thomas Lopez, Guillaume Postel, Jacques Cartier, Laudonnière and Jean de Léry. Other French demonologists followed Le Loyer's example, such as Pierre Crespet (1590) who, moreover, shamelessly plagiarised the *Quatre livres des spectres*. Following this, Jude Serclier (1609) and Pierre de Lancre in his second demonological treatise, *L'incrédulité ou mescreance du sortilege* (1622), also engaged with this cosmography of the devil.

III. ANALOGIES

For these authors, the West and East Indies competed with the Septentrion, and perhaps even supplanted it as the devil's chosen lands. More fundamentally, it was in their works that the cosmography of the devil truly became a discernable category within demonological discourse. In order to demonstrate the universal presence of the devil on earth, these demonologists-turned-cosmographers compiled and compared information provided by geographical literature regarding religious belief and practice of the peoples of the world. In this way, these demonological treatises may be considered important vehicles for the development of comparative ethnography in the Renaissance. But their contribution entailed an approach that entirely excluded any cultural relativism, and flattened the singularity of those exotic belief systems without a second thought. After all, these authors were invested in demonstrating that the apparent diversity of religious belief and practice across the world was no more than a diabolical decoy. The many names of the pagan divinities were simply pseudonyms adopted by the devil as a means of concealing the extent of his hold on the world; their varying appearances were only masks hiding the true face of Satan with various levels of success; the worship of such gods, in its many guises, was nothing but a blasphemous parody of Christian worship, just like the sabbat.

Even if his ethnographical references remained limited, Weyer nonetheless devoted a whole chapter to the discussion of "One and the same form of worship

[64] See Lestringant 1985.
[65] Machielsen 2015, 255.

of the devil in the most widely separated regions" (I, 9).[66] For his part, the supremely erudite Le Loyer demonstrated an impressive capacity to track the mark of the devil across the entire known world, along with a review of the beliefs of Ancient and New World societies concerning ghosts, angels, ecstasies, the immortality of the soul, and the practice of ritual sacrifice. Crespet, Serclier and Lancre, who made liberal use of José de Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590, translated into French in 1595) in turn emphasised the parodic elements of pagan worship. The devil, puppet-master of the pagan cults, merely aped the rituals and mysteries of Christian worship (baptism, confession, Communion, charity, the existence of a clergy, the belief in paradise, in the Trinity and the Virgin Mary, etc.)[67] Demonologists, as Grégoire Holtz puts it, were effectively possessed by the "demon of analogy," as were many travellers of the time, themselves influenced by demonological discourse.[68] By reducing the unknown to the already known, analogies made it possible to "translate alterity;" but the analogies drawn in these writings between Catholic and idolatrous cults were above all a means to denounce the evil nature of the latter. It should be noted that this "demon of analogy" operated not only on a horizontal axis (that is, in space) but also on a vertical axis: in chronology and in history. Demonologists weaved a web of analogies between the modern and ancient world, between contemporary witchcraft (whether from Europe or the New World) and ancient paganism. The demonologists, who were also often humanists of note (one thinks of Le Loyer, or Bodin), launched a veritable diabolization of antiquity, particularly of Greek and Roman antiquity, which they populated, post hoc, with devils and sorcerers. It is tempting to see in this process the expression of a certain (paradoxical?) anxiety among humanists about ancient texts and knowledge. In a way, the demons who troubled the demonologists were as much the classical ones being resurrected thanks to the printing press, as the contemporaneous demons that one might encounter at the sabbat or that haunted the New World. This discourse is already discernable in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's *Strix* (published 1523), which underlined the fundamentally demonic essence of the ancient gods, and expressed a corresponding mistrust of a certain humanistic paganism.[69] It can also be found in the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, when Olaus Magnus aligns, for example, Nordic elves with the fauns, satyrs and nymphs of antiquity, with reference to Virgil, Ovid, Horace and Pomponius Mela – although in this case one can see more an attempt to present the Nordic peoples in a more distinguished light, than a concerted diabolization of antiquity or a simple strategy for explaining the unknown by reference to the known. The people of the Far North might have been idol-worshippers, but after all, so had the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, "the most judicious men of all"…[70] This marriage of antique paganism and contemporaneous witchcraft was widely reinforced by demonologists of the second half of the century who developed a concomitant interest in the manifestations of the devil across space and historical time. But the principle was always the same. It was necessary to

[66] Weyer 1998, 22.
[67] For detailed lists of these parodic elements, see Lancre 1622, 460–1; Serclier 1609, 511–3 and 525–31. On these demonic analogies between Christianity and heathen religions, see also Ossa-Richardson 2013, 65–73.
[68] Holtz 2008.
[69] See Perifano 2007, 24–7.
[70] Olaus Magnus 1996, 155.

show that the devil was *everywhere* and *always* the same: "Since the creation of the world, Satan has always remained similar to himself, and the same as he is today," wrote Lambert Daneau.[71] This is also why one can characterise Weyer and Bodin's approach as cosmographical, despite the rarity of their references to geographical literature. Weyer's aim, in the first part of his treatise – and this aim was truly original – was to sketch a history of the devil, and locate this within a history of idolatry and pagan beliefs. The central idea of this first book was very much that, for *all time,* up to the present day, "the Devil contrived that one and the same form of worship of him should be observed in the most widely separated parts of the whole world."[72] The same is true of his rival and opponent, Jean Bodin, for whom the demonologist's vocation was to bring the universal consistency of witness testimony into relief, across the centuries as well as through space.[73] In this way, his aim was that of "universal," or "cosmographical" history: a history which "took into account all known societies, past and present."[74]

I now wish to look in closer detail at a few particular moments where the demonologist turned cosmographer. As it happens, these moments occur in two chapters of the *Discours et histoires des spectres*, Pierre Le Loyer's 1605 reworking of his earlier treatise. In Book IV, Le Loyer devoted a whole chapter to the question of diabolical geography, in other words to mapping the devil's chosen haunts, or, as the title of the chapter puts it, "Of the lands and regions haunted and visited by the devils, and where they make themselves visible" ("Des païs & regions où hantent & frequentent les Diables, & se monstrent visibles," IV, 11).[75] Le Loyer reminded his readers that the devil could be anywhere and everywhere, with no place on earth foreign or unreachable for him. However, he had his favourite spots: regions where he preferred to exercise his tyrannical powers, or where he could do so more easily. In fifteen particularly dense pages, this chapter presented an overview of all the devil's earthly dominions. They were divided into three: firstly the Septentrion, explored from west to east, from Scotland to Tartar lands via Scandinavia, Poland and Russia; then the East and West Indies; and finally Africa. Christian Europe, then, was not discussed, but much space was given to the world opened up by the Age of Discovery – territories that would comprise the section *Tabulae modernae* in a sixteenth-century atlas. Throughout this long tour of the world map, Le Loyer adopts the rhetoric of cosmographers and periegetes, mimicking the journeys described, and inviting the reader to cross the seas in company with him: "But enough about Scotland: let us now cross the sea, and enter the lands of Denmark and Norway"; "Now that we have talked about the East and West Indies, let us turn sail towards our hemisphere, cross the Atlantic and reach Africa, leaving the Cape of Good Hope behind"; "I shall now depart from Africa, and crossing the Gibraltar strait, rest a moment on the island of Cephalonia, like I first did on the island of

[71] Daneau 1579, 26: "Car Satan a de tout temps depuis le monde creé, esté semblable à soy-mesme, & tel qu'il est aujourd'huy."
[72] Weyer 1998, 22.
[73] Bodin 1580, f. E^4 v°: "Je deduiray en son lieu la convenance et accord perpétuel d'histoires semblables des peuples divers, et en divers siecles rapportées aux actions des Sorcieres, et à leurs confessions."
[74] Lestringant 1985, 140. On Bodin's conception of "universal history," see also Couzinet 1996, 146 *sq*.
[75] Le Loyer 1605, 326–40.

Scotland."[76] The lesson in demonology thus became a geography lesson as well, bringing into disturbing communion the figures of cosmographer, demonologist… and the devil. For what this chapter shows is that all three shared the same vantage point over the globe, and the same power to transport themselves across the map, paying no mind to distances or obstacles. Just as, in the words of Tertullian, the devil experienced the world as "one place" easy to explore and possess, so in fact did the cosmographer who could look across the whole world and soar above it on the wings of his mind, and so too did the demonologist who borrowed the cosmographer's knowledge. Thanks to cosmography, then, it was possible to beat the devil at his own game. Demons might well go freewheeling around the globe, but the demonologist-cosmographer, endowed with the same powers of flight, could chase them in turn.[77]

This cosmographical method is employed in several other chapters in which Le Loyer tried his hand at comparative ethnography, and attempted to show the universal presence of the devil within apparently diverse beliefs and practices. As such, in a chapter concerning the various names of demons ("Of demons and their names in diverse languages," III, 5),[78] Le Loyer started by noting the infinite diversity of diabolical names, equal to the diversity of peoples, nations and languages. And the chapter is, in fact, a formidable inventory of demons' names: ancient Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Hebrew demons alongside demons from the New World and demons among the "European peoples." These diabolical names appear alongside the equally exotic names of people and places that cascade across the page:

> East Indians have their own devils, Goya, Permal, Haminant, Muthiam. Japanese name their human-shaped devils Goquis, and in the West Indies, those living in Santa Cruz, near Peru and Paraguay, have their devil Toboroccoce, Peruvians have their Xixarama and Noachah, Floridians have their Aignan, the Tupinamba their Kagerre or Forest Demon, Caribs and Cannibals their Chiappan, those in Canada and Hochelaga their Gougou and their Cudruagny, who they represent, according to Jacques Cartier, exactly as we draw demons here, with a pair of horns on their forehead.[79]

[76] Le Loyer 1605: "C'est assez parlé de l'Ecosse, passons la mer, et entrons au pays de Dannemarch et de Norvège" (328); "Mais ayans parlé des Indes Orientales et Occidentales, tournons voile vers nostre Hemisphere, et dessus l'Ocean et Mer Atlantique, voguons jusques en l'Afrique, laissans derriere nous le Cap de Bonne Esperance" (338); "Je laisseray l'Afrique, & passant le destroict de Gibraltar, je me reposeray en l'Isle de Cephalenie, comme j'ay commencé par l'Isle d'Escosse" (339). On the rhetorics of the *periegesis*, see Jacob 1981.

[77] On the figure of the cosmographer as aerial traveller, see Maus de Rolley 2011, 371–408.

[78] Le Loyer 1605, 194: "Des Demons, et de leurs noms et appellations, qui se remarquent en diverses langues."

[79] Le Loyer 1605, 207: "Les autres Indiens Orientaux ont leurs Diables, Goya, Permal, Haminant, Muthiam. Les Japonais appellent du nom de Goquis les Diables qui leur apparaissent en forme humaine : Et en l'Inde Occidentale, ceux de la province de Saincte Croix, voisine du Peru & Paragay ont leur diable Toboroccoce, les Peruviens leur Xixarama, & Noachah, les Floridiens ont leur Aignan, les Taopinambaux, leur kagerre ou Demon Forestier, les Caribbes ou Canibales leur Chiappan, les habitans de Canada, & Hochelaga leur Gougou, Diable femme & une autre Lamie, & leur Cudruagny, qu'ils peignent, ce dit Jacques Cartier, ni plus ni moins que nous peignons les Diables avecques deux cornes en teste."

The impact of such an accumulation suffices in itself to convey the omnipresence of the devil, the breadth of his dominion, and his capacity for metamorphosis which entailed not only constantly changing his name, but also his appearance. The devil – "The Ape of God," according to the commonplace expression – could take the form of man, cockerel, wolf, snake or dragon, depending on where he was; and sometimes all these at once. These pages paint a portrait of a devil whose constant shape shifting made him impossible to catch. Impossible for everyone, that is, except the demonologist, who was able to carefully gather these deliberately fragmented forms on a single page, along with the many local and singular beliefs that would otherwise operate in isolation. For these demons were in fact nothing more than the multiple guises of a single character, the devil: not *our* demon or *their* demon ("*their* Xixarama," "*their* Aignan," "*their* kagerre," etc.), but *the* devil, one and unique. In short, the demonologist collected and unified everything that the devil had taken care to divide and dissipate across historical time and geographical space. While one cannot help but think that Le Loyer was himself in a way bewitched by this incredible diversity, and took a certain scholarly pleasure in competing with the devil by bringing it to life on the page, his work nonetheless consisted of thoroughly weaving a thread that the devil had tried to unravel; of elucidating analogies that the devil had wanted to camouflage.

The devil betrayed himself by his appearance: for example, the Iroquois Cudruagny had "two horns on its head" which, through kinship with Christian representations, signalled its diabolical nature. There were also hidden links in the names themselves. In his reading of Varthema's much-commented description of a cult practised in Calicut,[80] Le Loyer did not have to try hard to reveal the devil behind the terrifying hindu deity with three crowns. For a start, the disguise fooled no one; and furthermore the name of this god, "Deumo" was a clumsy anagram of the word "Demon," as their simple juxtaposition made clear ("Deumo, or Demon"). Within a letter of each other, *Deumo* or *Demon* were the same thing. Equally, as far as Le Loyer was concerned, *Tuira*, the name of a spirit who spoke to the Cuna-Cueva of Urabà (in modern-day Panama), came directly from the Hebrew word *Saïrim*, via a simple "swapping of letters" ("échange de lettres").[81] The inquiry into the names of demons was thus conducted on an etymological basis: not only did *Tuira* come from Hebrew, but the name Cemis (or *Zemis*) given to the idols venerated by the Taino in the Caribbean could "derive" – wrote Le Loyer – from an Arabic word meaning "angel, or minister," just like those of the Javanese divinities Sutanaoch and Settam.[82] For Le Loyer, this was no coincidence. Rather, the linguistic analogies allowed genealogies to come to light. Le Loyer considered that if exotic names could be read as corrupted versions of semitic divinities, this was because all pagan gods, whether ancient or modern, from the New or the Old World, had a common origin. Just as the Greek gods were derived from their Egyptian counterparts, the New World deities, spawned in the cradle of the Mediterranean, had been displaced over the course of history with the migration of both peoples and the devil. We know that this hypothesis, based on the then widely held idea that the New World peoples had European ancestry, was being put forward at the same time by the mythographer Lorenzo

[80] For other demonological readings of this episode, see Holtz 2008, 172–7.
[81] Le Loyer 1605, 207.
[82] Le Loyer 1605, 207.

Pignoria in his work on Mexican and Japanese gods.[83] It was therefore the history of the devil that demonologists were recalibrating in this way: a devil who had started out under the name of Pan, worshipped by ancient Brahmins, and who would later reappear as the Deumo venerated by the Zamorins of Calicut.[84]

IV. DEMONS ON THE MOVE

What is clear to the reader of these chapters of Le Loyer's *Discours des spectres* is that the devil's dominion was an empire in motion. The diabolical world map outlined by demonologists was in no way static: it was dynamic, always subject to change, a map across which demons moved according to the flow of history. The devil might in theory have been able to be in any place at any time, but demonologists were in broad agreement that his inhabiting of the earth was not necessarily balanced or uniform. This is certainly something that came across strongly in Olaus Magnus's *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*. We have noted that, as far as Olaus Magnus was concerned, the Septentrion had largely been purged of the devil by the propagation of the Catholic faith. Of course, at the time he was writing, the devil was regaining lost territory, but for centuries Satan had nonetheless been well and truly driven out of the majority of the land.[85] The presence of the devil in the Far North thus depended on historical circumstance. Here, then, was an apologetic discourse that must be understood in the context of a struggle with a religious adversary: the demons that came and went were evidently Lutherans, those devils in disguise. But the idea of the devil migrating across the map occurred beyond the framework of confessional polemic. Jean Bodin, for example, suggested in his *Démonomanie des sorciers* that the New World had served as a refuge for the devil after the coming of Christ. As Bodin reminded his readers, the coming of Christ was thought to have considerably weakened Satan's power.[86] But this was only the case in Christian Europe: the devil, wrote Bodin, had been able to "maintain" ("entretenir") idolatry in the New World, at least until the Spanish conquest.[87] In short, the devil was able to pursue in the Americas the crimes he had committed in the ancient world before the establishment of Christianity (idolatrous worship, human sacrifice, oracular practice, etc.). Bodin's numerous analogies between Ancient and New World religions, like those of many travellers, reinforced the idea that there had been a kind of diabolical *translatio* to the New World at the start of the Christian era. José de Acosta made just this point ten years later, at the start of the fifth chapter of his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590) which discussed Indian customs and beliefs: "Once idolatry was rooted out of the best and noblest part of the world, the devil retired to the most remote places and reigned in that other part of the world [= the Indies], which, although it is very inferior in nobility, is not in size and breadth."[88] As such, the New World, as the devil's territory, offered a glimpse of what Europe would have become without Christ. The discovery of the

[83] Mac Cormack 1995, 87–8.
[84] Le Loyer 1605, 207.
[85] Lestringant 2004, 53.
[86] Bodin 1580, f. 120 r°: "La publication de la Loi divine a bien fort diminué la puissance de Satan."
[87] *Ibid*., f. 14 v°.
[88] Acosta 2002, 254.

Americas was therefore another kind of rediscovery of the ancient world; an ancient world, however, from whence the demons had not been driven; an antiquity that had stayed pagan, and where the devil had flourished.

But the devil was, in any case, winging his way back to Europe. According to many demonologists, the fact that modern times had witnessed a resurgence of witchcraft in Europe and the disunity of the Church was a sign that battalions of demons were returning to Europe from the New World. The lawyer Pierre Massé wrote in 1579 that: "Chased away by the predication and reception of the Gospel, the devils flee the new lands where they were staying, and come back to these lands from where they had in times past been driven out."[89] The devil, he added, "returns [in Europe] as if *postliminium*" (the right to recover a vessel or property that has fallen into foreign hands).[90] Pierre Crespet confirmed this: "the devil thrust himself freely into France from the very moment faith was planted in these new and foreign lands."[91] Moreover, the devil himself had said it: Crespet actually cited, without specifying his exact source, a possessed man from Soissons ("un démoniaque de Soissons") according to whom more than fifteen thousand demons driven out of the Indies were seeking refuge in France.[92] Crespet actually discovered this "revelation" in the account of the exorcism of one Nicolas Facquier, exorcised in Soissons on the 15th of June, 1582. Cramoisy, the demon who had possessed the unfortunate Facquier, introduced himself as one of the hordes who had returned from America: "We are fifteen thousand and eighteen hundred that went out of the Indies, and four hundred here by the command of God."[93] Thirty years after that exorcism, in a famous passage of his *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons* (1612), Pierre de Lancre evoked in turn the transatlantic migration of the devil: English and Scottish travellers whom he had encountered in Bordeaux declared that they had seen "large troups of demons in the guise of dreadful men cross over to France."[94] The *Tableau de l'inconstance* actually ended with an epic and dramatic account of the progression of the devil's army across southern France. After invading Provence, Guyenne and Labourt, the devil, announced Lancre, had laid siege to Bayonne, conquered the moorlands of Bordeaux, crossed the Garonne and sent his werewolves up through the North Dordogne.[95] The devil would soon reach Paris…

Once again, it is possible to place this discourse within the framework of religious polemic. For the Catholics Massé and Crespet, these migrations were at once proof of the efficacy of Jesuit missions to the New World, and a sign that Christianity was weakened in its heartlands by protestant heresy. Parallels between the threats of witchcraft and heresy were often established by Counter-

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[89] Massé 1579, f. 49 v°: "Les diables fuient des terres neuves où ils estoient, chassés par la prédication et réception de l'Evangile et reviennent en ces terres ici dont ils avoient esté autrefois chassés."

[90] Massé 1579, f. 49 v°: "[le diable] retourne [en Europe] comme *post liminium*, c'est-à-dire par droit de recouvrance."

[91] Crespet 1590, f. 194 v°: "[le diable] s'est venu fourrer parmy la France dés lors que la foi a esté plantée és terres neuves, & pays estranges."

[92] *Ibid*.

[93] Blendecq 1582, f. 102 r°: "Nous sommes quinze mille dix huict cens qui sommes sortis des Indes, dont les quatre cens sont en ce pays par le commandement de Dieu."

[94] Lancre 1612, 80: "de grandes troupes de démons en forme d'hommes épouvantables passer en France."

[95] Lancre 1612, 569–70.

Reformation demonologists.[96] There was also an eschatological angle: the return of the devil (once and for all?) to the centre of the Christian world could be understood, both from Catholic and Protestant viewpoints, as a sign of the end times approaching, and the imminent triumph of the Antichrist.[97] But this discourse, as I suggested in relation to Bodin, exceeds the category of religious controversies, which were in truth of minor importance to authors such as Bodin, Pierre Le Loyer, and even Pierre de Lancre. Descriptions of demons crossing the oceans to return to Europe undoubtedly expressed a profound anxiety about the dangers posed by witchcraft and heresy to Christianity. However, they also betray a further anxiety, this time prompted by geographical discoveries: what is at work here, I would argue, is the idea of Europe being contaminated by the New World. This contagion anxiety surfaced at other moments of the treatises, in the way in which, for example, witches and heretics were sometimes presented as "European Indians,"[98] domestic savages who had to be confronted just like the inhabitants of the Indies,[99] and who furthermore owed their cruelty in some cases to the contact that they had had with the New World. The most striking example of this would be the Basque witches interrogated by Pierre de Lancre, who, according to the demonologist, would swoop across the Atlantic to Newfoundland to be reunited with their husbands who had gone whaling and cod fishing.[100] But one may also refer to Pierre Massé's discussion of the way that Europeans, under the influence of demons returning from the Americas, became contaminated by cannibalistic violence ("the cruelty of man-eating cannibals is transferred [into atheists]," wrote he[101]), or to the (more anecdotal) account cited by Michel de Certeau of a possessed woman suddenly speaking Tupinambá, as though she had been possessed by a "americanized" demon, just back from Brazil.[102]

The question thus raised by the demonologists was this: had the discovery of the New World not set the devil free to roam once more among Europeans? And in doing so had it not in fact ensured their own downfall? In short, demonological discourse on the "cosmography of the devil," and particularly the narrative that they built of the devil's past and present colonization of the world, expressed an anxiety beyond that of the fear of witchcraft for its own sake. Rather, it put into question the elements that, for the humanists themselves, defined the age in which they lived: the compass, that opened the path to the New World, and – as we have seen – the printing press, which resuscitated ancient texts. By discovering the New World, early modern Europeans had probably released the devil once again, as they had resurrected the devil by resurrecting Antiquity. In other words: because of the Renaissance, Europe had been contaminated, once again, by the devil. "Where is the devil?" Perhaps he was lurking, all along, in the heart of humanism itself.

Acknowledgments

[96] Machielsen 2015, 214–5. On heresy and witchcraft, see also Clark 1997, 526–46.
[97] On demonology and eschatology, see Clark 1997, 335–45.
[98] The phrase is used by a "Spanish Catholic theologian" quoted by Lyndal Roper (Roper 2004, 27).
[99] On this point, and more particularly on "the conflation of witchcraft with Amerindian cannibalism," see Zika 2007, 219.
[100] Lancre 1612, 99, 129 and 136.
[101] Massé 1579, f. 49 v°: "La cruauté des Canibales mang'hommes se transfere."
[102] Certeau 1990, 179.

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