

# SAINTS AND THE DEMONIACS: EXORCISTIC RITES IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE (11th – 13th CENTURY)

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In medieval society one of the main functions of a saint was healing people. Similarly to Christ, whose contemporaries were awed by his ability to cure the sick, the medieval saint was expected to have an ability to perform miraculous healings. Hagiographic literature clearly indicates that health was the most called for miracle: people turned to saints not as much for the blessing of soul but because of physical ailments (Vauchez 1998: 46–47; Sigal 1985: 227–264).

Exorcising the demoniac played a significant role among the remedial procedures of a saint. Firstly, it was the most spectacular evidence of the saint's magical powers: in medieval times exorcism was the *conditio sine qua non* of sanctity. Secondly, as I will indicate below, those demoniacs at an early age were regarded as reliable witnesses of the presence of sanctity: demon, who was forced by the saint to affirm his powers through the voice of the possessed, was an influential authority to a medieval man.

In practising exorcism a saint was also involved in the general struggle against Satan. The body of a possessed formed a sort of a battlefield between the forces of heaven and hell. Every single act of exorcism performed by a saint was a part of the eternal struggle between Satan and God (Dinzelbacher 1989: 669–675).<sup>1</sup>

Following the tradition of Gospels, the earliest life stories of saints (*vitae*) discuss numerous incidents of exorcism. In the Life of St. Anthony, written down by Athanasius († 373), the Egyptian saint freed many possessed from under the Satan's malignant influence,<sup>2</sup> Sulpitius Severus († ca 420) describes three episodes of exorcism in his *Vita sancti Martini*,<sup>3</sup> and finally, Pope Gregory the Great († 604) in his *Dialogi* accounts numerous stories of exorcism, which we will encounter in recent hagiographic and sermonic literature.<sup>4</sup>

The *vitae* of the 12th–13th century saints were therefore no exception to this tradition: there hardly existed a hagiographic text from

this period that did not mention exorcism. Main changes occurred on the narrative level: in the second half of the 12th century the descriptions of exorcistic episodes became more detailed, which was very rarely the case in earlier periods (cf. Newman 1998, Caciola 2003).

Typologically, the exorcism performed by the saints was known as charismatic exorcism. While clerics used solely liturgical formulae to expel evil spirits (the sc. liturgical type of exorcism), then a saint conquered demon with its charismatic powers (Latin *virtus*) (Goddu: 1980: 543). In the present article I will briefly introduce the main characteristics of charismatic exorcism in the High Middle Ages.

### SATAN AS THE PROOF OF SANCTITY

In medieval times the relations between the saints and demons were often depicted as very personal: each saint had his own demon with whom he constantly contended. A very well known *topos* in hagiographic literature is demon's unwillingness to leave the body of the possessed before a certain saint is summoned. Hagiographers attached great importance to demon's such preference: this is a supernatural evidence of a certain saint's authority over the forces of evil. This approach was definitely derived from the New Testament, where the demons were often considered the first who acknowledged Christ as the Son of God (Mark 3:11, Luke 4:41). Demon's personal preferences among the exorcists were known already in the Early Middle Ages;<sup>5</sup> in the High Middle Ages it became even more widespread.<sup>6</sup> An illustrative example is accounted in the 12th century *Vita Erminoldi abbatis Pruveningensis*. After the priest's vain attempts to adjure demon, the latter stated through the victim: "I am not moved by your words or your chatter; I will save my exit for Erminold, for he has the powers to expel me." People are very surprised at this statement and ask demon: "Who is this Erminold? We don't know him." But there is also someone at the church who thinks he knows who demon is talking about and tells the others about the miraculous powers of St. Erminold. In response, demon confirms: "He is the one I was talking about."<sup>7</sup>

The motif appears most frequently in the wondrous post-mortem deeds of saints. A demon's recognition played an important role in

the strenuous efforts of hagiographers to promote a given saint's burial place. *Vita S. Anastasii* (ca 1100–1120), for example, relates about a virgin maiden possessed by several demons, who “was taken to the graves of many saints, so that she could regain her health. But one of the demons then said that they will not leave the maiden's body until it is taken on the grave of St. Anastasius the Confessor.” When the possessed was then taken to the Anastasius' grave, the demons began ailing, thus demonstrating proof about the mightiness of the saint:

*Why do you burn us, Anastasius? Stop torturing us and we will leave; stop flogging us and we will let the possessed body be. We have been taken to the remains of many saints, but nowhere have we been flogged like that; only you burn us, only you torture us, only you hurt us.*<sup>8</sup>

Michael Goodich has demonstrated on the example of St. Joachim Piccolimini the significant role of demon's recognition in the posthumous career of a saint. St. Joachim's tomb had fallen into the oblivion, because no miracles took place. On Pentecost in 1310 a woman possessed by demon entered the cloister, where Joachim's grave was situated, and through her mouth demon shouted: “The time has now come for me to exit, and for Christianella's liberation.” When the priest asked demon why other saints had not expelled him, the demoniac approached Joachim's tomb, saying: “Because God has reserved this miracle for this saint.” Largely owing to the described event, St. Joachim's tomb became a popular destination for pilgrimages (Goodich 1995: 75).

## **EXORCISTIC RITUALS**

Unlike liturgical exorcism that was already regulated in the 7th–8th century (Franz 1909: 532; Kelly 1977: 115), charismatic exorcism was largely based on improvisation all through the Middle Ages. Medieval saints, however, were not expected to invent new methods for exorcism; it sufficed to imitate the gestures of Christ. All incidents of exorcism in medieval hagiography are clearly reducible to Christ: the saints adjured demons by His name and following His example.



Figure 1. A demoniac is healed with the holy water used in washing the dead body of St. Cuthbert. Oxford, University College. Ms. 165, fol. 115. Bede, Vita S. Guthberti, ca 1100–1120.

Figure 2. St. Leo IX frees a possessed old man from evil spirits. Cologne, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Ms. cod. Bodmer 127, fol. 191v. Passional, ca 1200, Weissenau.





*Figure 3. St. Radegunde frees a possessed woman from evil spirits. Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 250, fol. 37r. Venantius Fortunatus, Vita S. Radegundis, late 11th century.*

*Figure 4. St. Radegunde frees a possessed woman of evil spirits. Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 250, fol. 34v. Venantius Fortunatus, Vita S. Radegundis, late 11th century.*



In their fight against demons the saints mainly used three most common means of miraculous healing: the cross, the prayer and, less commonly, laying of hands on the victim. In addition, they used holy water, wine or bread (Sigal 1985: 23–29). On single occasions some more drastic means were used, such as beating the demoniac, whereas the blows were of course addressed to the demon.<sup>9</sup> We should also mention that the adjuring formula played an important role in exorcism as a form of verbal therapy.

The cross sign was one of the most common and convenient means of expelling the demon. In addition to written reports it is mentioned in several iconographic sources. The illustrated *vitae* of saints from the 11th–13th century often depict a saint freeing possessed soul from the demon with a cross sign. The illustrated manuscript of *Vita S. Radegondis* by Fortunatus († 610)<sup>10</sup> describes four incidents of exorcism, where St. Radegund used a cross sign against demon on all four occasions (Figures 3 and 4). An excellent example demonstrating the power of the cross sign can be found in an illustrated passion (ca 1200)<sup>11</sup> from Weissenau, depicting the freeing of an old possessed man by St. Leo IX (Figure 2). Beside other things this illustration is noteworthy because of the saint's dignified and static posture opposing to the imbalance and dynamics of the possessed. This behavioural dichotomy is clearly intended for emphasising the saint's superiority over his opponent.

Holy water was another common means in fighting against demons. Every saint used it to the best of his abilities. The most common method was to sprinkle the water on the possessed; St. Bernard of Clairvaux († 1153)<sup>12</sup>, for example, used to drip the holy water on the victims' lips. Sometimes, however, the possessed was immersed in holy water. The acts of canonisation of St. Ivo († 1303)<sup>13</sup> reveal that a demon had left the possessed after the latter had spent the night in the saint's bed that had been previously sprinkled with holy water.

*Vita S. Cuthberti* (ca 721) written by the Venerable Bede († 735) mediates a story about a boy who was possessed by a devil and was cured by the dirt taken from the place where the water in which St. Cuthbert's corpse had been washed had been thrown.<sup>14</sup> In the early 12th century illustrated manuscript of *Vita S. Cuthberti*<sup>15</sup> this episode is depicted in an miniature (Figure 1). Here we should note

the original iconography of demon: in this illustration the humanized demon is not depicted as a traditional little demon exiting through the mouth of the possessed but has left its victim as if carried away by an invisible force.

While salt was one of the important components of liturgical exorcism (Dölger 1909: 92–100; Böcher 1970: 235–238; Schneider 1987: 348–353), the saints hardly ever used it. An interesting example of salt usage can be found in the *vita* of Pope Leo IX (ca 1050–1060). Once, when Leo was praying, a local peasant, whose daughter had been taken over by demon, came to him and addressed him. On the peasant's intense request the Pope agreed to heal the girl. He found a grain of salt nearby, blessed it and put it in the girl's mouth: at this very moment the girl's mouth started to bleed and she was freed of demon.<sup>16</sup>

As mentioned above, exorcism is first and foremost a form of verbal therapy. Ever since the New Testament texts<sup>17</sup> the exorcistic ritual centres on the dialogue with demon, who speaks through the possessed. Demon's words are dialogical words.<sup>18</sup> The main purpose of exorcism, especially in the Early Middle Ages, was to question the demon about who it was, where it came from, why it had entered the human, etc. (Brown 1981: 109; Grässlin 1991: 9–10; Boulhol 1994: 274–276). During the ritual “the language is both the weapon and the battlefield,” writes Michel de Certeau (Certeau 1970: 64).

The most important verbal means of exorcism was the word of a saint: a magic formula, which forced the demon out of the possessed body. As we have learned, the first formulae of liturgical exorcism were known in the 7th–8th century. These were somewhat lengthy addressings during which the demon was recited most of the life and activities of Christ (Franz 1909: 559–574; Dölger 1909: 46–48; Kelly 1977: 115–116). In charismatic exorcism the formulae are short, usually consisting of one sentence. The saints, as a rule, ordered the demons in the name of Christ, not in the name of themselves. Of course, there are exceptions: Hildegard of Bingen († 1179), for instance, ordered the demons to leave in the following words: “Leave, Satan, the body of this woman and make room for the Holy Spirit!”<sup>19</sup>

Traditionally, the exorcistic formula consisted of four components: the declaration, the address, the invocation and the instruction. On

some occasions the last component may have been omitted. As Richard Kieckhefer (1997, cf. 1990: 166–167) has pointed out, the addressing formula of an exorcist is largely similar to that of a necromancer, the only difference being that while the exorcist intends to expel the demon, the necromancer wishes to summon one.

Another important means in the verbal plane was the recital of the Gospels over the possessed body. Saints often used this means of liturgical exorcism: the name and example of Christ was complemented by His word.

## PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE RITUAL

Among the healing practices of the saints, exorcism, no doubt, was the most strenuous and time-consuming. Although hagiographers hardly ever mention any failed incidents of exorcism, for obvious reasons, they frequently describe the vigorous resistance of the demon (Goddu 1980; Sigal 1985: 73–78). Demon rarely left the possessed body on the saint's first order. When it happened, however, the saint himself might have taken it as a surprise. Thomas of Celano describes analogous incident about St. Francis († 1226) in his *Vita prima* (ca 1228–1229). In the small town of San Geminiano St. Francis was asked to free a possessed woman from demon. St. Francis prayed and ordered demon to leave the woman. Thomas writes, “He had not finished his prayer when the ranting and raving demon left the demoniac in such hurry that St. Francis felt he had been deceived; he hurriedly left the town in shame.”<sup>20</sup>

Demon's counteraction manifested in various ways. He could, for example, ridicule the saint's exorcistic methods. The anonymous *Vita S. Norberti* (12th century) describes how demon expressed his arrogance towards the practices of St. Norbert († 1134):

*When Norbert had placed some blessed salt on the possessed man's mouth, it spat in his face, saying. “You have suggested that I be placed in water and beaten with harsh whips. Your efforts are in vain. Your whips do not harm me, your threats do not frighten me, death does not torture me.”*<sup>21</sup>

Sometimes the victims were possessed by more than just one demon. In this case the ritual might have become very complicated and long: when one demon had been expelled and another one was being exorcised, then the first sometimes returned and the ritual had to be started all over again.<sup>22</sup> In the medieval times the presence of the demon in the body was depicted often very figuratively: the demon was almost tangible foreign matter. During many exorcistic rituals the demon was hunted around in the possessed body until it exited through the victim's mouth or rectum (cf. Caciola 2000: 283; 2003: 47, 237–238). Gerald of Wales († 1223) tells a story of a possessed woman, in the body of whom a demon was hunted down with the gospel and relics of the saints.<sup>23</sup> Thomas of Cantimpré († ca 1270) relates an interesting incident about a twelve-year-old boy, who hunted the demon around with the cross-sign<sup>24</sup>.

The hunting might have taken other forms. St. Bernard of Clairvaux tells the following story in his work *Vita S. Malachiae episcopi*:

*In the town of Coleraine there was a possessed woman. St. Malachy was summoned and he prayed for the woman and threatened it who had taken over her body. On that the demon left her body, but his evil was not done: he possessed a woman standing nearby. Malachy then told: "I did not repel you so you could settle in another body. Leave her body too." The demon followed his order, but possessed the first woman. And so it pestered them for a long time: left one to settle in another. Then the angry saint summoned all his powers and, trembling inside, attacked the enemy with all his might and expelled the demon from both women, whom it had treated this way.<sup>25</sup>*

One of the major problems the saints had to encounter during exorcism was how to prevent the expelled demon from re-entering the victim's body. This was specially emphasised in the exorcising formula by giving instructions (about fasting and behaviour) to the possessed. Hagiographers, however, have mediated several incidents where the demon had returned to its victim soon after the saint had departed. St. Bernard of Clairvaux was one of the saints who had to experience it. His hagiographer Arnaud of Bonneval describes how St. Bernard had managed to free a woman from possession, but as soon as she had reached home the demon had possessed her again. Her husband had to take her back to St. Bernard. The saint

performed another successful séance, but to prevent the demon from returning he attached a small piece of leather to the woman's collar with the following words written on it: "In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ I shall order you, Satan, not to touch this woman in any way."<sup>26</sup>

According to the logic of hagiographic stories, the counteraction of the demon served the interests of the saint: the harder the fight, the better the result. The arrogant and superior behaviour of the demon was opposed to the humbleness and modesty of the saint; the former got strength from itself, the latter from his belief in God.

## POST MORTEM EXORCISM

Most of the incidents of charismatic exorcism accounted in hagiographic texts took place after the saint's death. The belief in the miraculous powers of relics originates in the Early Middle Ages and was dominant all through the Middle Ages (Angenendt 1994). From early on one of the most important powers attributed to relics was exorcism (Delehaye 1933: 118).

Hagiographic texts quite clearly outline the following scene of post-humous exorcism: a bound demoniac is taken by the friends and relatives to the saint's tomb; (s)he is then left there, sometimes for days, until full recovery (Finucane 1977: 91–93). In some cases the possessed was left to the mercy of passing travellers, with a hope to make life in the victim's body unbearable for the demon.<sup>27</sup> Certainly, the presence of the demoniac was a nuisance to the church visitors: the devilish screaming and vehement gesturing interfered with the sermon and hindered the pilgrims. *Miracula S. Frideswidae* (12th century) colourfully describes the mess a possessed had caused in the church.<sup>28</sup>

In order to influence the saint's decision in favour of freeing the possessed, his/her relatives brought various gifts to the saint. According to different sources, one of the most surprising gifts was a donkey promised to St. Fides by a mother, who had lost all hope to her daughter's recovery. *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis* (11th cen-

ture) explains this offering as follows: “A despicable animal was used to drive away a creature thousand times as despicable.”<sup>29</sup>

Another intriguing category in the posthumous charismatic exorcism was the freeing of a demoniac in apparition. Medieval hagiographers describe several incidents of recovery: the demoniac is sleeping at saint’s tomb and in his/her sleep sees an apparition of the saint, who expels the demon from its victim’s body with a cross-sign or an exorcistic formula. When the demoniac wakes up, (s)he is cured.<sup>30</sup>

Considering the condition of the demoniac, as it often excluded the taking of the victim to the relics of a saint, the evil spirits were sometimes chased off with portable relics. The idea was to direct the demon out of the possessed body, which, as mentioned above, often turned into the scene of hunting the demon within the body. The most common practice was to place the relics at the victim’s head or mouth, sometimes also in the mouth cavity (Sigal 1985: 44). Hagiographers mediate numerous accounts where the demoniac was exorcised with the hair or the beard hair of the saint,<sup>31</sup> the saint’s stole,<sup>32</sup> his tooth,<sup>33</sup> etc.

## CONCLUSION

In the Middle Ages exorcistic rituals were an inseparable part of a saint’s life. This Christian ritual *par excellence* was propagated by the first hagiographers (St. Athanasius, Sulpitius Severus, St. Gregory the Great, etc.); the 12th century saw a rise in the numbers and versatility of the accounts about exorcistic rituals.

For a saint the healing of the demoniac primarily meant a fight with a demon. The victim was as if a battlefield to the divine and infernal forces. Exorcism, however, served a much more practical purpose for a saint: statements uttered by the demon during exorcism played an important role in his “career”. All the exertion and trouble he had to go through during the ritual was well worth it: successful performance helped to increase his fame (Latin *fama*) and credibility.

Translated from Estonian by Kait Tamm, revised by the author.

## Comments

<sup>1</sup> In his *Dialogi* Gregory the Great illustrates this point figuratively with the example of St. Fortunatus: When the parents of a possessed turned to the saint for help, the latter “started to pray even more fervently, as he encountered a legion of demons in a single human body”. (Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, I, 10, 5, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, Paris (SC 260), 1979, p. 97)

<sup>2</sup> Athanasius, *Vie de saint Antoine*, 48, 1–3; 63, 1–3; 64, 1–5; 71, 1–3, ed. G. J. M. Bartelin, Paris (SC 400), 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Sulpitius Severus, *Vita S. Martini*, 17, 1–4; 17, 4–7; 18, 1–2, ed. Jacques Fontaine, Paris (SC 133), 1967

<sup>4</sup> Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, I, 4, 7; I, 4, 21; I, 10, 1–6; II, 4, 2–3; II, 16, 1; III, 14, 3; III, 21, 2–3, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, III, 14, 3, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 305:

*But then an evil spirit took possession of a maid, threw her in front of Isac and screamed: “Isac is expelling me! Isac is expelling me!” None around her knew the name of this foreigner, but the demon revealed it, shouting out the name of the saint who could exorcise it.*

<sup>6</sup> Among others we can find examples in the famous hagiographic compendium by Jacob of Voragine (*obiit* 1298) *Legenda aurea*, ch. 77 and 112, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggini, Florence, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 530 and 751.

<sup>7</sup> *Vita Erminoldi abbatis Pruveningensis*, II, 35, ed. Ph. Jaffé, MGH SS XII, Hannover, 1855, p. 497. Cf. *Miracula S. Winnoci*, XXX, ed. in AASS, Oct. I, p. 282.

<sup>8</sup> *Vita S. Anastasii*, XI, ed. in AASS, Oct. VII, pp. 1138–1139. Cf. *Liber miraculorum S. Aegidii*, 30, ed. in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 9, 1890, p. 422; *Vita B. Petri Gonzales*, III, 33, ed. in AASS, April II, p. 399; *Miracula S. Martialis*, IV, 37, ed. in AASS, June I, p. 560. *Miracula S. Virgilii* (II, ed. in MGH SS XI, Hannover, 1854, p. 89) relates a story how the clerics were singing the Litany of Saints in the company of a possessed soul, and as soon as they had reached the name of St. Virgil, the possessed started to convulse:

*Cum in ipsis letaniae precibus nomen sancti Virgilii inculcaretur, malignus ille inhabitator qui vas illud possederat, auditum sancti nominis non sustinens, fremens et dentibus horribiliter stridens, rugitum deterrimum emittebat, iuvenemque miserrimum crudeliter cerpebat.*

<sup>9</sup> The first saint to beat the possessed with a stick was probably St. Benedict, see Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, II, 4, 2–3, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

<sup>10</sup> Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 250, fol. 21–43. The facsimile copy of the manuscript, see Favreau 1995. The iconographic analysis of the manuscript, see Carrasco 1990; Skubiszewski 1995.

<sup>11</sup> Cologne, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Ms. cod. 127. The facsimile copy of the manuscript with commentaries, see Michon 1990.

<sup>12</sup> Arnaud of Bonneval, *Vita prima S. Bernardi*, II, 2, PL 185, col. 275.

<sup>13</sup> *Processus de vita et miraculis Sancti Yvonis formatus anno XXVI a morte sancti*, ed. A. de La Borderie, *Monuments originaux de l'histoire de saint Yves*, Saint-Brieuc 1887, p. 168.

<sup>14</sup> Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, 41, ed. Bertram Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert. A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940, pp. 288–291. Cf. *Vitae S. Cuthberti anonymae*, IV, 15, ed. Bertram Colgrave, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–135.

<sup>15</sup> Oxford, University College, Ms. 165. The iconographic analysis of the manuscript, see Baker 1978. See also Kaufmann 1975: 66–7; 1984: 92.

<sup>16</sup> *Vita Leonis noni*, XXIII [XIII], ed. Michel Parisse, *La vie du pape Léon IX (Brunon, évêque de Toul)*, Paris, 1997, p. 119. See also *Vita S. Norberti*, III, 14, ed. R. Wilmans, MGH SS XII, Hannover, 1856, p. 690, where the saint allowed the possessed to eat nothing but food mixed with the blessed salt and water for nine days.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. Matt. 8:29 and 31; Mark 1:24; 3:11; 5:7 and 9, Luke 4:34 and 41; 8:28 and 30, Acts 19:15. These parts of the Scriptures have been mentioned already in the Middle Ages. Balduinus de Forda († 1190), for example, quotes most of them in his treatise *De commendatione fidei*, LXXI, 1–3, ed. D. N. Bell, CCCM 99, 1991, pp. 416–417). On the speaking of Satan in New Testament see also Frieden 1990.

<sup>18</sup> Since the late 12th century the dialogues between an priest or a saint and Satan may have turned into lengthy protocols about the secrets of this and the other world, see e.g. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, V, 29, ed. J. Strange, Cologne, Bonn, Brussels, vol. 1, pp. 312–314. Laurence Moulinier has recently discovered a 12th century manuscript, which includes a long dialogue (more than 120 questions) between a demon speaking through the possessed and the priest (Moulinier 1998).

<sup>19</sup> *Vita S. Hildegardis*, III, 22, ed. M. Klaus, CCCM 126, 1993, p. 64. This *vita* describes some vivid incidents of exorcism in great detail, which makes it a very valuable source for a researcher of exorcistic rites (see Schipperges 1972: 87–91; Dronke 1981: 118–123; Gouguenheim 1995: 170–176; Moulinier 1997; 1998; Caciola 2003: 232–233).

<sup>20</sup> Thomas of Celano, *Vita prima S. Francisci*, I, 25, 69, ed. in *Analecta Franciscana*, X, Florence 1970, p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> *Vita S. Norberti*, III, 14, ed. R. Wilmans, *op. cit.*, p. 688.

<sup>22</sup> A good example of such troubles is given in *Vitae Berengeri et Wirtonis*, PL 194, col. 1437–40.

<sup>23</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, I, XII, ed. James F. Dimock, in *Giraldi Cambrensi Opera*, vol. VI, London, 1868 (*Rerum Britannicorum Medii Aevi, Scriptorum*), p. 94:

*Cum autem liber evangelicos, vel sanctorum reliquiae, super os obsessae quandoque ponerentur, ad inferiorem gutturis partem fugiebat: et cum ibi ponerentur, in ventrem descendebat. Apparebat autem per inflationes quasdam et commotiones partium illarum quas possidebat: et cum iterum ponerentur reliquiae ad partes inferiores in quibus apparebat, statim redibat ad superiores.*

Some time later the same story appears in *Liber exemplorum ad usum predicantium*, no. 17, ed. A. G. Little, Aberdeen 1908, p. 9. Cf. Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua*, III, 20, ed. Edmond-René Labande, Paris 1981, p. 462 (here the relic is used to hunt down a spherical illness symbolising the demon).

<sup>24</sup> Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, II, 36, 4, ed. G. Colvenarus, Douai 1627, p. 387. Cf. Arnold of Liège, *Alphabetum narrationum*, no. 171: *Celebrante sancto Lanfranco Cantuariensi archiepiscopo missam, quidam monachus iuuenis qui in ipsa missa euangelium legerat ibidem, post euangelium arreptus a demone ita ut demon per uentrum eius tanquam canis paruulus curreret, nunc uersus os nunc uersus interiora*. Ed. by Colette Ribaucourt, soon released by Brepols, Turnhout (I would hereby like to thank Mrs. Ribaucourt [Paris, EHESS], who offered me an opportunity to read the manuscript copy).

<sup>25</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Vita S. Malachiae episcopi*, XX, 45, ed. A. Gwynn, Paris (SC 367), 1990, p. 293.

<sup>26</sup> Arnaud of Bonneval, *Vita prima S. Bernardi*, IV, 21, *op. cit.*, col. 281. Cf. *Vita Erminoldi*, II, 35, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

<sup>27</sup> Jonathan Sumption (1975: 80) quotes an incident in *Miracula S. Wulfstani* (13th cent.), where the possessed victim bound to the altar was subjected to beating by passers-by.

<sup>28</sup> *Miracula S. Frideswidae*, 25, ed. in AASS, Oct. VII, p. 573: *Nam et lignorum maxima robora circa ipsum posita sine aliqua difficultate a se rejiciebat, et horrendis gestibus turbam circumstantem arcebat, quandoque etiam ab ecclesia expellabat: nullus etenim vel expectare eum audebat vel contingere. Cogit furoris rabies terribiles vocem emittere, clamoribus ecclesiam implere, nec Creatorem a creatura sinit agnoscere, talis ac tanti mali vehementia.*

<sup>29</sup> *Liber miraculorum sancte Fides*, ed. A. Bouillet, L. Servières, *Sainte Foy, vierge et martyre*, Rodez, 1900, p. 595.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. *Miracula S. Benedicti*, IX, 2, ed. E. de Certain, *Les miracles de saint Benoît*, Paris 1858, p. 361; *Miracula S. Thomae Cantilupe*, V, 78, ed. in AASS, Oct. I, p. 673; Thomas of Celano, *Vita prima*, III, 138, *op. cit.*, p. 109 (cf. Thomas of Celano, *Tractatus de miraculis b. Francisci*, 151, ed. in *Analecta Franciscana*, X, *op. cit.*, p. 318).

<sup>31</sup> Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita prima S. Bernardi*, Liber IV, IV, 27, PL 185, col. 336; Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium magnum Cisterciense sive Narratio de initio Cisterciensis Ordinis*, II, 20, ed. Bruno Griesser, Rome 1961, pp. 117–118.

<sup>32</sup> Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Vita prima S. Bernardi*, Liber IV, I, 7, *op. cit.*, col. 325.

<sup>33</sup> *Vita S. Wilhelmi abbatis Ebelholtensis*, 6, ed. in AASS, April I, p. 622. A 12th century account written down by an anonymous monk from Soissons relates a story, where the demon agreed to leave the body of a possessed only in the presence of a tooth of Christ the Saviour (*nullomodo se recessurum nisi presentia dentis Christi salvatoris*). When the demon was asked, where the tooth was it replied: *Suessionis ad Sanctum Medardum*. There it turned out that the demon was telling the truth. See *Anonymi Suessionensis narratio*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, in Guibert of Nogent, *Que ordine sermo fieri debeat*, etc., CCCM 127, 1993, pp. 186–187.

## Abbreviations

AASS – *Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a Catholicis Scriptoribus celebrantur*. Brussels and Antwerp 1863–1887, 68 vols.

CCCM – *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio medievalis*. Turnhout.

MGH SS – *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Series Scriptorum*. Hannover-Berlin, since 1826.

PL – *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris 1841–1866, 221 vols.

SC – *Sources chrétiennes*. Paris, since 1942.

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