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Until, therefore, the theory of demonic possession can make a more respectable case for itself, the exorcist seems as much out of place in a sickroom or mental asylum as a witchdoctor. For while the latter could no doubt effect the same kind of cures on patients of certain conditioned mentalities as exorcists have done in the past, a safer and more enlightened method would be to attempt to disabuse the victims of their fixations of possession by normal therapeutic methods.

7 The Case of the exorcist

The suggestive power of the concept of demonic possession is demonstrated by the popularity of William Peter Blatty's *The Exorcist*. One priest-authority has noted many cases of alleged possession traceable to the book alone; and his prediction of an even greater number of cases in the wake of the filmed version has proven true.⁵⁷ But the story of *The Exorcist* manifests a diabolical mythomania (to use De Tonquédec's phrase) on other levels as well. First, the documentary aspect of the story is highly exaggerated. Secondly, the facts of the 1949 case of alleged possession upon which the story is based have been greatly distorted. And thirdly, the possession that supposedly occurred in 1949 seems to have been a pseudo-possession induced by the rite of exorcism itself.

My information about the 1949 episode, which concerned a fourteen-year-old boy from the Washington, D.C., area, comes chiefly from the exorcist himself, William S. Bowdern, S.J., who at the time of his involvement in the affair was pastor of St. Francis Xavier Collegiate Church, attached to St. Louis University in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1960, when first beginning my researches for this book, I interviewed Father Bowdern and two other Jesuit priests who had assisted him in the exorcisms. Because of Bowdern's request for confidentiality, I did not publish the details of the case in the first edition of the book in 1968.⁵⁸ But after the release of the filmed version of *The Exorcist* in December 1973, I felt that it was essential to publicize the fact of the matter, for it had become a test case for the reality of demonic possession.⁵⁹

⁶⁷ Richard J. Woods, "The Possession Problem: or Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Exorcism but Were Afraid to Ask," *Chicago Studies* 12.1 (Spring 1973) 93.

⁵⁸ I did give a short general description of it in an article, "Death of the Devil?" Commonweal 93.6 (6 Nov. 1970) 148.

⁵⁰ I present some of the details in a cassette entitled *Exorcism: The Devil, Demons,* and *Possession,* produced by Thesis and distributed by Harper and Row (March 1974). As a member of the St. Louis University Jesuit community myself, I had heard, from seemingly reliable sources, two stories of remarkable events that occurred during the exorcisms, which inclined me to believe in the demonic reality of the possession. In the first instance, a professor of philosophy at the university had been assured by the Alexian Brothers who cared for the afflicted boy that the boy was able to understand the Latin questions of the exorcist and to respond in Latin.⁶⁰ Secondly, the exorcist's brother, also a Jesuit priest, told me that when the exorcist attempted to give the boy Holy Communion, the eucharistic host would often fly violently out of his hand and swirl about the room, but would always fall back eventually on the gold paten in the priest's other hand. This activity was taken as evidence of divine as well as diabolic intervention; for, as my informant told me, "Our Lord would not permit his sacred body to fall on the floor."

When I put these stories to the exorcist, he immediately rejected them as untrue. The boy could speak only one word of Latin, namely, *Dominus*, which he could easily have picked up from the phrase *Dominus vobiscum* used in the rite of exorcism and the Mass. As for the tale of the flying host, it did have a basis in fact, but it was a very prosaic kind of fact. When Father Bowdern attempted to give the boy Communion, the boy would sometimes lapse into unconsciousness and spit the host onto the paten. Bowdern was dismayed that such stories were getting about, but he was not really surprised; for he recognized a strong myth-making tendency even in himself. If he did not record the events of each session of exorcism as soon as possible after it occurred, he declared, he found the details changing in his mind, becoming more "impressive."

What then were the signs of possession that persuaded the ecclesiastical authorities in St. Louis to resort to exorcism? Father Bowdern's answer was quite straightforward and simple: There had been no reported or observed signs of diabolical possession nor even of "natural" possession before the exorcisms began. There had been no seizures, no trances, no speaking in altered voices. There were certainly none of the more "miraculous" signs that appear in the film of *The Exorcist:* no knowledge of unknown

⁶⁰ A similar story of the boy's ability to speak fluent Latin is told by Eugene B. Gallagher, S.J., as reported in the *National Enquirer*, 17 March 1974, p. 3. His informant was a Father O'Hara, who allegedly assisted Father Bowdern in the exorcisms. His claim extended to other foreign languages as well: "'Father O'Hara, who was present then, told me that no matter what language they spoke to him in, he would answer fluently in the same language," Father Gallagher said."

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or private events, no ability to speak English backwards, no levitation, no projectile vomiting, no hideous lesions or bloating, no improbable neck turnings or incredible whitening of the countenance, no inexplicable cold spells, no neck breakings or manifestations of extraordinary strength.⁶¹

What, then, led to the exorcisms? The facts, as they were reported to Father Bowdern and as he recollected them to me eleven years later, were these: The boy became the center of strange events, of the sort that are often called "poltergeist phenomena" that is, unexplained noises, coats flying through the air, furniture moving about, beds shaking, and so on. Doctors had declared the boy normal, and his Lutheran pastor could provide or suggest no remedy.

One night, the boy's parents entered his bedroom and found written on his thigh in red welts the words GO ST LOUIS. They took it as a directive to be followed and went to St. Louis, where the boy's uncle was living. The uncle was acquainted with a Jesuit priest named Raymond Bishop, and he was consulted on the matter. Father Bishop wrote up a report of the events and sent it to the diocesan chancery. Thereupon, Archbishop Ritter, without further investigation, decided that exorcism was called for. He desired to have a Jesuit for the office; and since Father Bowdern as a parish priest was the only Jesuit under his jurisdiction, he was chosen and ordered to begin the rite at once.

This action was clearly premature. Even if the poltergeist activities had been witnessed by a priest assigned to the case (they were not so witnessed), it would have been proper first of all to consider the possibility that they were not of an evil, and, specifically, diabolical nature. There seems to be no doubt that such phenomena have occurred in the past, as demonstrated by the researches of the Jesuit historian Herbert Thurston.⁶² They are often to be found in the presence of a boy or girl at the onset of puberty, and it has been suggested that they are caused by psychic energy released by this "change of life." However convinc-

ously published essays, edited by his colleague J. H. Crehan (London 1953).

ing or unconvincing this or other explanations might be, the phenomena are usually not malicious in nature, but rather playful or even mindless. Certainly they are not indicative of a supernatural intelligence at work.

If however a judgment of diabolical presence were made, as it was in fact made by Archbishop Ritter, it should have been taken as a case not of possession (internal demonic control of the body) but of obsession or infestation (external harassment). The prudent remedy, as I shall repeat in the next chapter, would have been to resort to prayers against the devil in private, out of the company of the boy, in order to guard against the danger of bringing on a state of pseudo-possession by the power of suggestion.

The order to exorcise came to Father Bowdern like a bolt from the blue. He obediently got out his *Roman Ritual*, went with some attendants to where the boy was staying, and started to perform the rite. But as soon as the exorcisms began, the boy started to have violent convulsions and to experience spells of unconsciousness. Bowdern assumed that the devil had changed his assault from obsession to possession. In his inexperience, he did not consider the possibility that the boy's reactions were merely pathological, and at no time during the thirty-five days over which the exorcisms were performed was the boy examined by physicians.

As for the poltergeist events, they had apparently ceased. Perhaps they had run their natural course, or it may be that the exorcisms brought them to an end. Father Thurston remarked in 1935, "Experience has shown that the exorcism and comminatory rites of the Church are not always, or indeed generally, effective in putting an end to poltergeist disturbances though they sometimes produce a temporary mitigation. On the other hand, I have come across a few cases in which a special novena or the saying of Mass seems definitely to have got rid of the nuisance."⁶³ At all events, Father Bowdern witnessed no such occurrences while the boy was under his supervision. He heard of a table-moving incident that allegedly took place while the boy was in St. Louis, but his efforts to authenticate it met with no response.

Even during the course of the exorcisms, while the boy was in his "possessive" phase, there was no occurrence of any of the specific examples of possibly diabolical manifestations mentioned in the *Roman Ritual*. I have already said that there was no knowledge of previously unknown languages; there was no levitation,

^{es} Thurston 203.

⁶¹ On the Merv Griffin television show no. 483, which aired on Los Angeles station KTTV on 1 February 1974, Blatty maintained that all of the paranormal events of the film had occurred in the 1949 case, from what his investigations had been able to uncover. He was later quoted (by Kenneth L. Woodward, Newsweek, 11 February 1974, p. 64) as insisting that his novel took few liberties with the essential facts of the case, admitting, however, that he added from other exorcism stories the sequence in which young Regan's head twists 180 degrees on her neck. ⁶⁹ Herbert Thurston, Ghosts and Poltergeists, a posthumous collection of previ-

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no manifestation of unusual strength, or of knowledge that would be beyond the boy's normal powers. To be sure, he did break the nose of one of the Jesuit seminarians attending upon the exorcist, and he did speak unwonted obscenities during his convulsive periods. On one occasion, after reverting to his normal personality, he said that he had seen one big red devil and nine little devils; and after his last attack he described St. Michael the Archangel in a legionary uniform, and said that the devils were driven off at his command.

But none of this, in Father Bowdern's opinion, could be taken as a preternatural sign of demonic activity. The only really striking phenomenon that he observed was the sudden appearance on the boy's body of red welts, resembling claw marks, which would remain for about half an hour and then disappear. Often it would occur while the boy was in his rational periods, while reciting the "Hail Mary." When he would come to the word "Jesus," he would scream, and the marks would appear on his chest. And once, the exorcist said, the marks spelled out the word HELL.

It was this event that was convincing proof for Father Bowdern that the devil was really at work. In his subsequent investigations of recorded cases of possession, he encountered a similar episode. But in the opinion of one of the other priest attendants of Father Bowdern whom I interviewed, namely William A. Van Roo, this phenomenon could be explained naturally as dermatography, that is, hysterically or hypnotically induced skin writing.⁶⁴ According to Father Van Roo, who is professor of dogmatic theology at the Jesuits' Gregorian University in Rome, nothing occurred during the course of these exorcisms which would warrant the conclusion of demonic or diabolical possession. One could tell from his eyes that something was wrong with the boy, he said; he would telegraph his movements before he made his lunges. But he seemed to be simply sick.

⁴⁴ Blatty does not describe an incident of skin writing that appears before the eyes of witnesses, but makes use only of the sort of incident described above, when the inscription GO ST LOUIS appeared on the boy's thigh. The words HELP ME are found to have appeared on Regan's chest, and Father Karras meditates upon the event in these terms: "The skin stigmata that Chris had described had indeed been reported in Regan's file. But it had also been noted that Regan had hyperreactive skin and could herself have produced the mysterious letters merely by tracing them on her flesh with a finger a short time prior to their appearance. Dermatographia." William Peter Blatty, *The Exorcist* (New York 1971) 252. I have been told by Roderic Gorney, adjunct associate professor of psychiatry at U.C.L.A., that he himself has produced not just single words or phrases but whole sentences upon the bodies of subjects by hypnotic suggestion, with no digital manipulation of any sort.

Van Roo refrained from stating his judgment publicly so as not to hurt the feelings of Father Bowdern. But Bowdern's assessment of the case was honestly come by; and, given the unfortunate circumstances of his original involvement in it, his conduct of the matter was beyond all reproach. His concern for privacy and the avoidance of notoriety was exemplary, and his determination to hold to the facts manifests a rare virtue in this area.

The experience was a harrowing one for Bowdern, but he bore it with courage and perseverance. "I was driven from pillar to post," he said, in his attempts to obtain outside assistance. After performing the ritual for some days without success, he came to the conclusion that it might be more successful if the boy embraced the Catholic faith. With the approval of his parents, after a period of instruction, he did so (as did the rest of his family in due time); but when the exorcisms still had no beneficial effect, Bowdern wondered whether the responsibility for the case should not be transferred to the diocesan authorities of his home area. Accordingly, he took the boy on the train to Washington, and experienced great difficulties in keeping him under control on the way. When he arrived in Washington, he attempted to lodge the boy in a Catholic mental hospital, but he was refused, on the grounds that their mission was to care for the mentally ill, not the diabolically possessed, of whom they wanted no part. He obtained no greater satisfaction from the ecclesiastical authorities, and so had to take another horrendous train ride with the boy back to St. Louis. Once returned, he persuaded the Alexian Brothers to house the boy in their hospital, and it was there that the final exorcisms were conducted. After the last session, he reverted to normality, and has been normal ever since.

Once the facts of this case have been brought out into the open, one would hope that Blatty will reconsider his conviction that the episode demonstrates the reality of demonic possession. At all events, once the factual claims for his book are de-escalated, it can be highly recommended for its treatment of the subjects of possession and exorcism. He is quite right to dismiss the theological objections that have been made against it.⁶⁵ One might legitimately object to the traditional theology of demonology, as I do in this book, but that is another question. In terms of that theology, Blatty need not hedge even on the point of diabolical as op-

 $^{\rm ev}$ For instance, in an interview Blatty gave to Nellie Blagden, People 1.1 (4 March 1974) 46-47.

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posed to demonic possession, for the devil can possess people quite as easily as demons, and has often been said to do so. The Fathers of the Church converted both devil and demons into fallen angels of roughly the same nature and functions.

Blatty's treatment of the way in which a suspected case of possession should be investigated, both medically and ecclesiastically, is excellent, especially in his presentation of the possible natural causes for the extraordinary phenomena. His account of these phenomena is also valuable, if it is kept in mind that they are merely the *sort of things* that has been said to occur in cases of possession over the centuries.

In the book, the arguments for and against the reality of Regan's demonic possession are presented rather evenly, so that the question on the dust jacket "Was Regan possessed?" admits of a negative response. In the film, the doubt is removed, and only an affirmative answer seems possible; the theological mystery story has become a horror story. It is a gripping defense of the reality of demonic possession, but even on this level it would be legitimate once it were admitted that the decisive preternatural events it portrays are based on fiction or on reported facts from various historical cases, at least some of which are of dubious authenticity.

One such case is that which occurred in Earling, Iowa, in 1928, and since one account of it has received a good deal of notoriety, let me say a few words of caution about it. The account in question is the pamphlet Begone Satan! A Soul-Stirring Account of Diabolical Possession in Iowa, written by a German priest, Carl Vogl, and translated into English by Celestine Kapsner, O.S.B. (Collegeville, Minn., 1935).⁶⁶ It is based on the account of Joseph Steiger, pastor of the parish church of Earling, who was a witness of the series of exorcisms performed there by a Capuchin friar named Theophilus Riesinger. I have read another account based on the German notes of Father Riesinger himself, compiled by F. J. Bunse, S.J., and entitled The Earling Possession Case, an Exposition of the Exorcism of "Mary," a Demoniac, and Certain Marvelous Revelations Foretelling the Near Advent of Antichrist and the Coming Persecution of the Church in the Years 1952–1955. It was mimeo-

graphed in Buffalo, N.Y., in 1934, after Father Bunse's death in the previous year.

Both accounts record preternatural signs of demonic possession, but their testimonies do not agree. On the crucial question of foreign languages, Vogl says: "Father Theophilus addressed the devil in English, German, and again in Latin. And the devil, Beelzebub, and all the other devils replied correctly in the very same tongues in which they were addressed. Apparently they would have understood any language spoken today and would have answered in it." Bunse says: "Besides her German and English, which she had acquired in early childhood, she *understood* Latin and Hebrew, the Italian, Polish, and other Slavonic languages which she had not studied." He does not say how it was established that she had such understanding; but it is noteworthy that no claim is made for her ability to speak any language that she did not know.

According to Bunse, Mary was possessed or at least visited by Jesus and other good spirits (angels and saints) as well as by devils and the souls of the damned. "The heavenly visitors who speak to Mary always use the German language; the evil spirits who talk to the exorcist always employ the vernacular English." Mary was a forty-year-old woman of German origin from Milwaukee, and the prophecies she uttered are remarkably similar to the apocalyptic forecasts that developed in medieval Germany.⁶⁷ The Antichrist was already born, some years before; he was possessed from the first by the soul of Judas (the earlier such tales say Satan); he was the son of an apostate nun of Jewish blood and an Orthodox, i.e., schismatic, bishop; his reign of terror would begin at the age of thirty and would last three years, hence Bunse's dates of 1952-1955; and he would finally be defeated by the Grand Monarch, whom Bunse identified as Otto Habsburg. The revelation received the blessing of Teresa Neumann of Konnersreuth, and was found to correspond to Our Lady's revelations at La Salette. Vogl, however, far from accepting the predictions as true and good, considered them to have been uttered by the devil.

According to Vogl, the exorcisms lasted twenty-three days; he gives the impression that they were without interruption, and that the woman was completely cured at the end. The Supplement to *Begone Satan* specifies that the exorcisms were conducted for only a week at a time, in August, September, and December of 1928,

^{er} Detailed in Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, ed. 2 (New York 1970).

⁶⁸ The version reprinted by Martin Ebon in *Exorcism: Fact Not Fiction* (New York 1974) 212-45 does not contain the Supplement, which was perhaps written by Father Kapsner later; it contains some important and contradictory details. The pamphlet without the Supplement was the subject or basis of a novel by Ray Russell, *The Case Against Satan* (New York 1962); for an account of it, see Richard Woods, *The Devil* (Chicago 1973) 24-27.

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and states that "there were still later possessions but of a milder nature." Bunse confirms this picture: Mary's possessions began anew in 1929, and she continued to be possessed until the time of Bunse's writing. But Jesus prophesied that she would one day be completely free.

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Five

Demonic Temptation

Later theologians have often assumed that the devil and his demons persecute mankind in two radically different ways. One of these ways, demonic possession and the corporal affliction of individuals, is assumed to make extraordinary demands upon a demon's resources, apart from the fact that it is only very rarely permitted by God. The other way, temptation, is, we are assured, the demons' ordinary mode of operation; here they are supposedly able to function with a great deal of freedom. It is on this premise that F. X. Maquart, for instance, bases his study of possession and exorcism in the essay cited in the last chapter. He believes that possession is preternatural—that it involves diabolical marvels —whereas temptation can be caused by the evil spirits without resorting to the miraculous.¹

This distinction, however, has little or no basis in patristic or scholastic theology. Specifically, as we shall see, it is not found in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, upon whom Maquart professes to rely philosophically and theologically.

The distinction may have originated partially as a result of the Protestant reevaluation of the function of evil spirits. We saw that Reginald Scot completely denied the ability of evil spirits to act upon the bodies of men, since it would be a kind of miracle surpassing the capabilities of the spiritual nature of demons. He did, however, admit that they could act upon men spiritually by the invisible and imperceptible communication of evil suggestions, in the way, for instance, that Satan tempted Eve by "creeping into her consciousness."

1 Early Theories

The New Testament also provides a very clear distinction between possession and temptation, since, as we have had occasion to em-

¹ Maquart, "Exorcism and Diabolical Manifestation" 178.

Belief in the devil and other evil spirits of the Christian tradition is a topic that has been widely discussed in recent years. Since the release of movies such as *Rosemary's Baby* and *The Exorcist*, more people are wondering, "Is Satan really dead?" "Is there such a phenomenon as obsession or possession?" In *The Devil*, *Demonology, and Witchcraft*, Henry Ansgar Kelly postulates his belief that the existence of evil spirits is not probable and suggests that Christians would be better off acting on the assumption that they do not exist.

To prove his claim, the author sets forth a history and analysis of the impact of demonological traditions developed within Judaism and Christianity over the centuries. He then considers the incorporation of these notions into early Christian teaching with the resulting demonological doctrines of witchcraft, possession, and temptation. Kelly's conclusion is that Satan is "dead," and demonology should be eliminated from Christian dogma since, according to his thesis, these manifestations in the Bible reflect the beliefs of local cultures and not divine revelation.

The present edition has been substantially revised and updated by the author to include an evaluation and critique of *The Exorcist*, wherein Kelly challenges William Peter Blatty's facts of the alleged possession in 1949 on which *The Exorcist* is based.

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This reprinting (2004) of the second edition of 1974 contains a new Appendix.

Cover Design by Matthew Stock

WIPF and STOCK Publishers Eugene, Oregon • www.wipfandstock.com



The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft

The Development of Christian Beliefs In Evil Spirits

Henry Ansgar Kelly

Abbreviations

- ANF The Ante-Nicene Fathers. New York 1890.
- CSEL Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum. ES Heinrich Denziger, Enchiridion symbolorum. Ed. A. Schönmetzer. Bar-
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte.
- Loeb The Loeb Classical Library.
- LTK Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. 2 ed. Freiburg 1957ff.
- NPNF A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Grand Rapids 1955-56.
- PG J. P. Migne, Patrologia graeca.
- PL J. P. Migne, Patrologia latina.

By the Same Author:

"The Devil in the Desert" Catholic Biblical Quarterly 26 (1964) 190-220
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"Satan the Old Enemy: A Cosmic J. Edgar Hoover" Journal of American Folklore 103 (1990) 77-84

(Response to Forsyth's reply)

Inquisitions and Other Trial Procedures in the Medieval West

Ashgate, 2001

Satan: A Biography

Cambridge, 2005

The Devil, Demonology and Witchcraft

The Development of Christian Beliefs In Evil Spirits

Revised Edition

Henry Ansgar Kelly

<u>Wipf</u> & Stock PUBLISHE Eugene, Oregon

The citations from the Bible for the most part follow the Revised Standard Version.

Some of the material in the present book appeared earlier in "Demonology and Diabolical Temptation," *Thought* 40 (1965) 165-94, and "Death of the Devil?" *Commonweal* 93.6 (6 November 1970) 146-49.

The Appendix is a translation of "Teufel, V: Kirchengeschichtlich," TRE (Theologische Realenzyklopädie) 33(2001) 124-34.

Wipf and Stock Publishers 199 West 8th Avenue, Suite 3 Eugene, Oregon 97401

The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft Christian Beliefs in Evil Spirits By Kelly, Henry A. Copyright©1974 by Kelly, Henry Ansgar ISBN: 1-59244-531-4 Publication date 1/30/2004 Previously published by Doubleday & Company, 1974

This is a reprint of the 2nd American edition, 1974 First edition, 1968 British edition, 1968: Towards the Death of Satan (Chapman) Italian edition, 1969: La morte de Satana (Bompiani) French edition (rev. of 1974 ed.), 1977: Le Diable et ses démons (Cerf)

Corrigenda

p. 27 par. 4 line 2: for "directer" read "director"
p. 55 line 3: for "the forged canon" read "Episcopi corumque"
p. 71 par. 4 last line: for "Mk 8, 38-39" read "Mk 9, 38-39"
p. 85 par. 4 line 3: for "Solomon" read "Salomon"
p. 137, under Mark: for "8, 38-39" read "9, 38-39"

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