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The Devil's Party: Satanism in Modernity

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CHAPTER

11 Luciferian Witchcraft: At the Crossroads between Paganism and Satanism

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Abstract

This chapter discusses Luciferian Witchcraft, which is to a great extent a spin-off from the Wicca movement, but with a satanic twist. While Wicca has created a "medium tension" towards society, by utilizing the negative witch figure as its central metaphor, Satanism has generated a stronger such tension by focusing on the strongly negative figure Satan. Both, however, are part of a larger movement where partly similar renegotiations of cultural symbols are being conducted. The interpretation of Lucifer is of central interest, as Lucifer can be seen to act as a crossover deity that appears with different meanings both within non-satanic as well as satanic interpretations of witchcraft. The chapter concludes that Luciferian Witchcraft can be seen as an example of the typological difficulties of positioning Satanism as an autonomous milieu within the larger Dark Magical subculture.

Keywords: Satanism, Wicca, Paganism, Luciferian Witchcraft, Lucifer, typology, Charles Godfrey Leland, Robert Cochrane, Andrew Chumbley, Michael Ford

Subject: History of Religion, East Asian Religions, Sociology and Anthropology of Religion, Alternative Belief Systems

Introduction

The concept of witchcraft has historically been one of the more visible and powerful images of satanic activities in Christian culture. The witch has been an archetypal representation of the outcast; the person ostracized by the larger community; the scapegoat for the failure of crops and other ills that befell man. In the fourteenth century, witchcraft was increasingly combined with ideas about a satanic conspiracy that was a threat to the soul of man. The image of the sabbath that developed in the wake of the witch trials held between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries was one of blasphemy and terror, combining folk magical images of flying witches with ecclesiastical descriptions of heresy that included allegiance to the Devil (Hanegraaff 1995: 214). While witch trials, during the Enlightenment, came to be considered a manifestation of superstition and religious bigotry, the cultural image of the witch would remain negative as the witch entered popular culture, despite the fact that few believed in the existence of witches. Their new use was as a means for suspense in fiction rather than a reference to an actual social and spiritual threat. An example is the folk tales popularized by the Grimm brothers (Hanegraaff 1995: 216–17).

Since the 1900s, the image of the witch has changed. While a slow cultural process, the negative portrayal has gradually been complemented by positive images of witchcraft in mainstream media, although the
p. 230 negative image still remains strong. A significant reason for this development has to ↳ do with the popularity of neopagan witchcraft and its developing hegemony over the definition of witchcraft as a pagan, ecological, and feminist religion. Particularly in the United States, witchcraft became a part of the counterculture of the 1960s, where the image was used by both religious and nonreligious groups as a symbol of opposition towards the establishment (Clifton 2006: 98ff). In the 1970s, Anton LaVey wrote:

> We are living in the only period in history in which it is considered fashionable to be a witch. Given this complete public acceptance, an understandable tendency towards faddism develops. The once-stigmatized label of 'witch' has become a title of positive intrigue and has attained a status never before realized. (LaVey 1989: 1)

LaVey's attempt to make his mark on this new discourse of witchcraft was a project doomed to fail from the start. Both Satanism and the modern witchcraft movement were based on reinterpretations of images, symbols, and names considered diabolical by mainstream culture, but the modern witchcraft movement was more successful in that they created a counternarrative that liberated their witchcraft completely from the stigma of Satanism, while still maintaining many of its tropes. Witchcraft, as it is known in the West after the fourteenth century, is, after all, based on Christian diabolic concepts where a pact with Satan is seen as central. Rather than being separate movements, it can be argued that Satanism and witchcraft are both part of a larger movement where renegotiations of cultural symbols are being conducted (see e.g., Hanegraaff 1995: 214–15; Partridge 2004: 78–84).

While the topic is still controversial, the following chapter will show how diabolical concepts are being used in modern witchcraft. The interpretation of Lucifer has been of central interest, because Lucifer can be seen to act as a crossover deity that appears with different meanings both within nonsatanic and satanic interpretations of witchcraft.

Some notes on terminology

To understand the role of diabolic imagery in contemporary witchcraft and the recurring role Lucifer plays in traditions that cannot be regarded as satanic, I have opted to use the term 'Luciferian' rather than satanic in describing movements and traditions where Lucifer plays a positive and significant role but where the conceptions of Lucifer, although based on the Christian legend, are placed in a radically different context.
p. 231 While this is ↳ also the case for modern Satanism, one difference is that Luciferianism, as the term is used here, places Lucifer in a more clearly non-Christian setting, often incorporating him into new mythological and religious structures. This, it should be noted, is an ideal type used to find a language to analyse the role Lucifer has in modern witchcraft, rather than reference to an actual self-aware 'tradition'. One should also note that nearly all types of contemporary Satanism are based on a post-Christian interpretation of Satan, though it could be argued that in Luciferian witchcraft the figure is more obviously placed in a new and often pagan context (cf. Petersen 2009; Granholm 2009). Still, there is no way to make a clear division between Luciferianism and Satanism. In this chapter, 'Satanism' and 'satanic' are used to describe groups that define themselves as such, like the Church of Satan. In parallel, 'witchcraft' refers to those who use the term as an emic definition of their own practice or belief system. I will not discuss the present meaning of witchcraft or the history of the concept, because we are dealing with new religious movements and their use of the term.

Lucifer and *Aradia*

While it is difficult to find evidence of a movement that applies the label witchcraft to themselves before the 1940s, we do find the ideological foundation in texts produced in the late nineteenth century. One of these foundational books of contemporary witchcraft is Charles Godfrey Leland's *Aradia: Or the Gospel of the Witches* from 1899. The origins of the book are disputed. Leland, who was an amateur folklorist, claimed that the book is based on ancient teachings found among witches in Tuscany, Italy. Most of the information is based on the reports of Leland's associate, a woman called Maddalena, who according to Leland was a witch. It is evident that Maddalena was a real person who worked with Leland when he wrote *Aradia*, but most other details are open to dispute (Hutton 1999: 142–43).

One of the main areas of conflict, often between scholars and believers in the authenticity of the text, is the question of whether the text is a genuine reflection of folklore in Tuscany or the invention of Leland or Maddalena. The British historian Ronald Hutton has summarized three different positions in regards to the authenticity of the text. The first position is that it is an authentic document of a previously unknown religion; second, that it was a forgery by Maddalena who wrote the text without Leland's help; third, that Leland wrote the text himself (Hutton 1999: 145ff). The first position is particularly problematic because no
p. 232 trace of the particular religious myths and beliefs that we encounter in *Aradia* has been ↳ found. Whatever the origins of the text, the early witchcraft movement in England considered the document authentic, and Gardner quoted several passages in his rituals.

Aradia presents a religion far from the benign version that Gardner would later propagate as witchcraft. Rather than following karmic laws, there are several rituals oriented towards cursing, and Aradia, daughter of Diana, is presented as a demigoddess who came to the world to teach witchcraft to help the poor against the rich and powerful. In the beginning of the text, before Diana sends her daughter to the world, she makes a long proclamation regarding the purpose of Aradia's descent:

> And thou shalt be the first of witches known;
> And thou shalt be the first of all i' the world;
> And thou shalt teach the art of poisoning,

> Of poisoning those who are great lords of all;
> Yea, thou shalt make them die in their palaces;
> And thou shalt bind the oppressor's soul (with power);
> And when ye find a peasant who is rich,
> Then ye shall teach the witch, your pupil, how
> To ruin all his crops with tempests dire,
> With lightning and with thunder (terrible). (Leland 1996: 4)

One group particularly singled out is priests but also the Christian religion. 'Your God, The Father and Maria are Three Devils' (Leland 1996:5). It is easy to see parallels between *Aradia* and Jules Michelets *La Sorciére* (1862) because both present the idea of an underground counterreligion in opposition to the powerful and wealthy. Also, both Leland and Michelet have a tendency to romanticize the 'people' and the oppressed.

The text contains elements that are rather particular, such as the references to Cain's daughters and the invocations to Cain who is imprisoned in the sun (Leland 1996:12). Leland sees the reference to Cain's imprisonment in the sun as probably a mistake; it should be the moon. The text does not use purely pagan imagery and is often mingled with images from Western diabolism. Lucifer appears as Diana's brother, the god of both the sun and the moon. In later interpretations of the text, this has been used to see Lucifer as a pagan solar-deity. Still, the presentation of Lucifer has not completely divorced itself from the Christian background. In the first chapter, we find references to Lucifer's exile from paradise because of his pride (Leland 1996:1). Also, Lucifer is the father of Aradia, and later in the text we find an invocation that further identifies the Lucifer of *Aradia* not with a pagan deity but with the Christian Devil:

p. 233

> Aradia! my Aradia!
> Thou who art daughter unto him who was
> Most evil of all spirits, who of old
> Once reigned in hell when driven away from heaven,
> Who by his sister did thy sire become,
> But as thy mother did repent her fault,
> And wished to mate thee to a spirit who
> Should be benevolent,
> And not malevolent! (Leland 1996:16–17)

The invocation displays a surprisingly negative view of Lucifer in the context of the book, and indicates that Diana had regrets in regards to her union with her brother. This view is starkly contrasted in chapter 3, which deals with the union between Diana and Lucifer. Here Diana is first, and Lucifer is created from her as both her twin brother and as her reflection. Diana grows with lust for her brother and both descend to earth. While the story has little to do with the Christian legend of Lucifer, we still find references to Lucifer's fall due to his pride (Leland 1996: 18–19). After chasing her brother and finally managing to charm him, Lucifer and Diana appear to become a pair of deities controlling the fate of mankind:

> So *Diana* with her wiles of witchcraft so charmed him that he yielded to her love. This was the first fascination, she hummed the song, it was as the buzzing of bees (or a top spinning round), a spinning-wheel spinning life. She spun the lives of all men; all things were spun from the wheel of *Diana*. Lucifer turned the wheel. (Leland 1996: 19)

There are several discrepancies in the text. Cain is both imprisoned in the moon and the sun. Lucifer is not only the sun but sometimes also the moon, and it would be hard to make a clear theological system of the text. That Leland did not seem aware of this could be an indication that the text was not wholly his creation. Leland identifies Lucifer with Apollo, making him more of a pagan deity than the actual text indicates. Aradia is identified with Herodia, whom Leland sees as a form of Lilith (102).

Even though Lucifer plays a small but significant role in the text, it is clear that *Aradia* was inspired by the same social and religious critique that we find among some writers that are considered examples of Romantic Satanism (Faxneld 2006: 88ff). The text can be read as an example of the reinterpretation of diabolical imagery and symbols that the modern witchcraft movement is a part of *Aradia* was regarded as an authentic text in the early phases of the development of Wicca and is still a central foundational text for the
p. 234 religion. ↳ The influential Wiccan author Doreen Valiente (1922–1999) considered quotes from *Aradia* traditional when she began rewriting Gardner's *Book of Shadows* in the 1950s, and the legend of Diana and Lucifer became a part of early Wiccan lore (Valiente 1989: 61). Still, the more diabolic aspects of Lucifer were ignored, and he was considered a wholly pagan deity—a manifestation of the god of their duoteistic system (Valiente 1989: 22; Farrar 1989: 198).

While most Wiccans would focus on other names than Lucifer for their god, like Cernunnos, Lucifer has remained. In the lectures of Wiccan leader Alex Sanders (1926–1988) Lucifer is given a central role as the horned god, and Sanders elaborates the myth of Aradia by making Lucifer the god of the shadows. Here Aradia descends to the netherworld to meet Lucifer:

> Naked and bound she was brought before the lord of shadows, who was Lucifer, his light shrouded in darkness. He recognized her and desired her for his queen would have laid down his might and dominion for her, yet she would not have him. She, the most beautiful of all created things saw only ugliness in his dark face. Thus it was that she was taken and made to kneel to death's scourge. This scene may be seen depicted in the paintings of the villa of the mysteries of Pompeii. The pain of this chastisement opened her eyes to the truth and she knew the hidden wisdom. She perceived the veil that covered the radiance of Lucifer, and seeing him to be that which she sought, they made love and were one. (Sanders 1984: 72)

The interpretation of Lucifer as a primarily pagan, often Roman, deity is not only found in Wiccan literature but also in satanic writings. As we see in the following quote, Anton LaVey would make similar claims about Lucifer in *The Satanic Bible* to those found in *Aradia* and in the subsequent elaboration, making the distinction between nonsatanic and satanic interpretations of Lucifer less than clear cut:

> The Roman god, Lucifer, was the bearer of light, the spirit of the air, the personification of enlightenment. In Christian mythology he became synonymous with evil, which was only to have been expected from a religion whose very existence is perpetuated by clouded definitions and bogus values! (LaVey 1969: 39)

Gerald Gardner and Wicca

Despite claims among different witchcraft groups that their traditions or ideas about the 'craft' are older than Wicca, there is very little concrete evidence of any systematic attempt to create a self-defined version
p. 235 of witchcraft before Gerald Gardner (1884–1964) (Hutton 1999: 287–308). While it is not ↳ unlikely that someone besides Gardner tried to do it in a systematic manner—reinventing ideas about witchcraft was somewhat in vogue during the early decades of the last century—the evidence we have usually points only to theoretical ideas or personal systems of magic, such as those found in the writings of Jack Parsons, Austin Osman Spare, and Rosaleen Norton. While all are significant people in the history of modern witchcraft, none of them generated a continuing movement comparable to Gardner's.

Gardner was, of course, not the only person to have read the writings of Margaret Murray or Charles Leland's *Aradia*. Ideas about what witchcraft might have been were abundant. Following Gardner's public announcement about the existence of witchcraft, with his publication of *Witchcraft Today* in 1954, others

who claimed to be witches—more authentic witches than Gardner and his tradition—emerged. As Ronald Hutton has shown, most of these other traditions of witchcraft were clearly based on the writings of Gardner—sometimes on stolen or copied versions of his *Book of Shadows* (Hutton 1999). Rather than marginalizing Wicca, these groups and individuals made Wiccan ideas more prominent because they rarely questioned the ideological foundation of Wicca. This is important in order to understand the context of the following non-Wiccan ideas about witchcraft. Despite the negative view of Wicca that we generally encounter among practitioners of Luciferian witchcraft, they must deal with the highly dominant position held by Wicca today, just as the competing 'traditional witches' during Gardner's time, and has been, in a similar manner, unable to escape its impact.

It was Gardner who brought the concept of witchcraft from the field of speculation among scholars and esoteric writers and made it an actual initiatory tradition that would become one of the most successful new religious movements of the twentieth century. While most data indicates a certain stabilization and possibly even a decline in some countries, Wicca remains one of the most important and quantitatively significant new religions to have emerged in the twentieth century (for an example of this see Lewis 2009: 124–25). While this is not the place to delve into a deeper discussion about why Wicca has become as successful, there are some aspects of the Wiccan religion that are of interest as it relates to Luciferianism.

Even if there is nothing in Wicca that can be considered Satanism as such, it is undeniable that Wicca made use of images and ideas that historically have been regarded as satanic (Hanegraaf 1995: 214–15). First of all, calling oneself a witch connects one's identity with sinister imagery and a focus on nocturnal rituals. The horned god of Wicca is also, from an iconographic perspective, based on the Devil, even more so than it
p. 236 is based upon Pan. However, what Gardner and later Wiccans did was reinterpret ↳ the meanings of these symbols. Based on the writings of Egyptologist Margaret Murray, witchcraft was reinterpreted as an old fertility religion, but the focus on human sacrifice that is prominent in Murray's writings was discarded together with other controversial aspects relating to sacrificial practices (see, for example, Murray 1962: 152). Following Murray's reasoning, the Devil of the sabbath was transformed into an ancient pagan deity, sometimes a universal deity that was man's oldest image of the divine (Valiente 1986: 181ff; Buckland 1995: 3–4). Gardner did not deny that witches in earlier periods would have called their god Satan or the Devil but only as a name used when dealing with hostile outsiders:

> I trust I have made myself clear. The Devil is, or rather was, an invention of the Church. Witches found that the popular view that Satan was one of them added to their power, and rather adopted it, though they never called him by that name except, perhaps, on the rack; and even then, as Dr. Murray has pointed out, sometimes a confession made under torture would name him as their god, but a transcript produced in court would substitute the word DEVIL. (Gardner 1954: 132)

However, the god was for all intents and purposes not Satan, and Wicca thus cleansed itself of the name of the Devil and the identity of the religion as satanic but without giving up the oppositional imagery. If we use the ideas from Rodney Stark, as developed by James Lewis, we can argue that this created a medium tension towards the rest of society (Lewis 2009: 131–32). Using oppositional imagery gave Wiccans a sense of being apart from society, but having made these images nonsatanic gave them a way of defending themselves against accusations of being practitioners of evil, furthering the sense of moral legitimacy.

While there are several other reasons why Wicca became as prominent as it did, I would argue that the use and reinterpretation of diabolical imagery is a factor that has yet to be studied in regards to Wicca's development. Without the same secularization process of religious symbols in the Western world that would make a phenomenon like romantic Satanism possible, Wicca could not have emerged. Just as the belief in the Devil had to become more relativistic so did popular ideas about magic and witchcraft.

Cochrane and Tubal-Cain

While Gardner's construction of witchcraft was the most successful, he was not the only one to assert knowledge of witchcraft, and soon the esoteric scene in Britain was filled with competitors all claiming to
p. 237 represent ↳ the most authentic tradition. Many were clearly inspired by Gardner's writings, but some were more original. One of the more vocal opponents of Gardner was Robert Cochrane (1931–1966). It was probably, according to Doreen Valiente, Cochrane who coined the term 'Gardnerian', as an insult towards those following Gardner's line (Valiente 1989: 122). Little is known about Cochrane, and in the opinion of Doreen Valiente, who worked with him for a while, he had a loose relationship with the truth (121). What is known is that he was raised in a Methodist family and came from a fairly poor background. At the time he led his coven he was working as a typeface designer. Cochrane himself, however, claimed that he came from a hereditary line of witches. Regardless of the truth of the statement, Cochrane developed a tradition of witchcraft that was partially based on Wicca but in many ways different.

Cochrane's approach was more shamanistic and the rituals less formal. The coven worshipped, as in Wicca, a triple goddess, called the White Goddess, and a horned god, but the god was related to only fire and the goddess to the other elements. Like in Wicca, the god was one of fertility and death. From the union between the goddess and the god sprang the Horn Child, an element that is lacking in Wicca (Howard in Cochrane and Jones 2001: 17). Cochrane called his coven the Clan of Tubal-Cain, referring to the son of Cain in the Bible who was considered the first blacksmith. This indicated another difference, as Cochrane's tradition was more focused on folklore and local magical traditions—in this instance lore surrounding the craft of the blacksmith. Further, Cochrane does not appear to have shared the focus on ethics found in Gardnerian Wicca; Cochrane's system was generally darker in its focus and practice.

To call Cochrane's version of witchcraft a complete magical system would be wrong. He wrote little, and apart from letters and a few articles not much is known about his thoughts. In 1966 he committed suicide. The reasons are disputed. In Doreen Valiente's view, the whole thing may have been a mistake. Rather than wanting to kill himself, it might have been an attempt to get attention (Valiente 1989: 134–35). After his death, the tradition he founded would become more and more divided. Different groups developed his teachings that were more or less connected to Cochrane. One of the most important was the '1734' tradition founded by Joseph Wilson (1942–2004). 1734 is a reference to a numerological symbol for the goddess and the mysteries of the tradition (Howard in Cochrane and Jones 2001: 14). Wilson, who was American, never met Cochrane, but they exchanged letters between 1964 and 1966 and these formed the basis of the tradition.

p. 238 Another tradition is based on the work of Evan John Jones (1937–2003), who worked in Cochrane's coven. Jones would continue to lead one line of the Clan of Tubal-Cain until he retired in 1999 or 2000. After his retirement and later death in 2003, there were controversies around who held the rights to lead the Clan of Tubal-Cain. Today there are three different lineages: Two British, one being lead by Carol Stuart Jones and the other by Shani Oates; and an American linage, lead by Ann and David Finnin, which also goes by the name the Ancient Keltic Church. The latter Jones's and Finnin's traditions are oriented towards Celtic Paganism and have little interest in Lucifer; nevertheless, there are internal conflicts regarding who is considered the most authentic Clan of Tubal-Cain. Among these three, the one lead by Shani Oates and Robin the Dart seems to be the clearest continuation of E. J. Jones's linage, because Jones made Shani Oates the new leader or Maid of Tubal-Cain (Oates 2010: 11). Interestingly, in the writings of Oates we find a focus on Lucifer that we do not find in other lineages of Tubal-Cain.

Cochrane does not mention Lucifer by name in his correspondence, and while it is possible that Lucet—a name used by Cochrane—might be the same as Lucifer, this is an interpretation by Michael Howard and one should be careful not to draw to any certain conclusions (Cochrane 2002: 164, 167). Cochrane generally

seems more interested in the goddess than in her male counterpart. It is possible that references to Lucifer were there early on but were not made public until later. The American pagan writer Ann Finnin, who leads of one of the other lineages of the Clan of Tubal-Cain together with her husband, also mentions Lucet as a name for Lucifer. She interprets this as being partly an influence from freemasonry and decided to discontinue use of the name (Finnin 2008: 43). The reference does however substantiate the hypothesis that the Lucet-Lucifer connection was part of the Cochrane system during its development, even if it was not made public.

Shani Oates is clearer in her use of Lucifer and Luciferianism. In *Tubelo´s Green Fire* from 2010, several references to Lucifer are found, and she also uses the term 'Luciferianism' regarding her system. To what degree this derives from Cochrane is hard to tell. Oates considers herself part of his linage, though one can also see inspiration from Michael Howard and Andrew Chumbley (discussed later). While dismissing the Christian interpretation of Lucifer as Satan, their image of Lucifer is clearly based on myths found in Christianity. Lucifer is 'a composite form, an archetypical figure of pre-and non-Christian prominence based on an amalgam of Middle Eastern myths and beliefs concerning the "fallen" angels' (Oates 2010: 19).

p. 239 Of central importance is the 'fall of the angels' that is seen as a universal myth. Using a quote from W. E. Liddell, author of the controversial *The Pickingill Papers—George Pickingill & the Origins of Modern Wicca* (1994) as foundation, the fall of the angels is interpreted as a symbol of the incarnation of divinity in carnal flesh (Oates 2010: 18). This is further connected to the Grail myths and other legends. Lucifer becomes an intelligence guiding the evolution of man, an aspect correlated to the role of Cain (Oates 2010: 22). This is not only related to the role of the evolution of mankind and the bringing of culture and 'the hidden light and Gnostic principle of pleromic transformation' (Oates 2010: 29). It is also connected to the transference of authority within the traditional forms of witchcraft in Oates's view. She writes, again in reference to Liddell: 'The allegiance to Lucifer as the indwelling mechanism of evolution and the sole transfer of Virtue to a chosen successor and spiritual heir … distinguish Traditional Craft practices from those of Wicca' (246–47). What effects her writings will have on the larger witchcraft scene remains to be seen as the book is still new as of this writing (2010), but it has generally received positive reviews.

The witches' Devil in the United States

Despite that fact that most people interested in non-Wiccan versions of witchcraft look to Europe, and particularly England, for inspiration, it is in the United States where we find some of the more important new interpretations of witchcraft. After Gardner became increasingly public in the 1950s and 1960s, and following the later public stunts of Alex Sanders, the self-proclaimed 'King of the Witches', there was a growing interest in witchcraft. In the 1960s, with the development of the countercultural movement, this interest grew, but few if any books on the subject were available, and Wicca had not come to the dominant position it would later have in defining witchcraft. What became popular was the image of the witch—often, it seems, in a sexual context (Clifton 2006: 95). Because of this, there were a number of books produced and sold under titles like *Naked Witch* that, as Clifton puts it, were 'bringing the *Cosmo* girl spirit to how-to occult books' (102). Most of these were about different kinds of manipulation or basic spell-casting, mainly for women, and few had any theological or metaphysical ideas.

One prominent exception in early non-Wiccan literature about witchcraft was Paul Huson's *Mastering Witchcraft* from 1970. While important in its time, the book was forgotten for years but has gained a new
p. 240 following ↳ due to the increasing interest in alternative interpretations of witchcraft. Most of the book has a Wiccan feel, and Huson refers to Margaret Murray, Gerald Gardner, and Doreen Valiente among others. Some aspects of it, however, are significantly different. Among the more controversial ideas found in the book are a ritual of self-initiation based on reading the Lord's Prayer backwards (Huson 1980: 20–21).

Huson also constructed a type of theology based on a mixture of *Aradia: Gospel of the Witches* and the fall of the angels. In the introduction, he writes, after a description of the introductory myth in *Aradia* regarding the relationship between Diana and Lucifer:

> In this legend of Diana with its Gnostic overtones, there are reflections of the Cabalistic tradition of Naamah, the seductress of the Fallen Angel Azael. Naamah is synonymous with Babylonian Lilith, and Azael is none other than Babylonian Shamash, the Sun God in his underworld aspect as Lord of the Riches and Artificer of Metals. In fact he is the alter ego of Tubal Cain himself, Naamah's own brother. Azael or Azazel, is in fact one of the modern witches' gods. (1980: 9–10)

The quote and the following description of the role of the fallen angels will recur in later non-Wiccan witchcraft and the use of the name Tubal Cain indicates an inspiration from Robert Cochrane that Clifton also mentions (Clifton 2006: 96). Even though it would be easy to suggest that the book was primarily written to satisfy the commercial need for how-to occult books—Huson was working as a screenwriter at this time—he did have a background in different esoteric, but hardly satanic, groups like Dion Fortune's Christian order Servants of the Light and was further familiar with Gardnerian Wicca and the traditions of Cochrane (Clifton 2006: 96). The ideas expressed by Huson were later integrated into Luciferian ideas about witchcraft, and the book must be seen as having a stronger influence on the Luciferian witchcraft milieu than the openly satanic book by Anton LaVey, *The Compleat Witch* from 1971, that rather belongs to the same category as *Naked Witch*. Still, considering the impact LaVey had on most parts of Satanism a short presentation of his ideas on witchcraft is necessary.

LaVey's writings contain several negative references to Wiccans based on their rejection of witchcraft as being a part of Satanism (LaVey 1969: 50ff). However, there is hardly any attempt by LaVey to create ideas about witchcraft that go deeper than a type of lesser magic. The term 'witch' was often used by LaVey as synonymous with a female Satanist. The second degree in the Church of Satan is, for example, called 'witch' for women. According to Michael Aquino, one of the books that inspired LaVey and the ↳ Church of Satan was Elliot Rose's *A Razor for a Goat* (1962)—a book that opposed Margaret Murray's ideas about witchcraft being pagan and rather looked on it as a manifestation of popular Satanism opposed to the ruling classes similar in a sense to Michelet and Leland (Aquino 2010: 376; cf. Rose 2003). In an editorial for the *Cloven Hoof* in 1970 called 'The Shame of the New Witch Cult', LaVey addressed the issue of the new witches denying the name for whom their forbearers where tortured and killed, adding 'Satan's name will not be denied! Let no man shun or mock His Name who plays His winning game—or Despair, Depletion and Destruction await!!' (Aquino 2009: 69). Considering the elitist view of what a Satanist should be, it is hardly surprising that ideas like those of Rose, while accepted and embraced because they gave a type of authenticity, did not become a prominent part of LaVey's Satanism. It did however create a basis for condemnation of the growing Wiccan movement.

p. 241

Following the 1970s and the 1980s, the satanic idea about witchcraft seems to become further marginalized. While Wicca experienced problems in the wake of the 'Satanic panic', it had emerged as an increasingly stable new religious movement. A substantial increase of followers of Wicca seems to have occurred in the 1990s and the early years of the twenty-first century (Berger 2003). At the same time, Satanism remained a marginal movement, and the fact that Wiccans, from time to time, used rhetoric to defend themselves against accusations of Satanism that included indictments against Satanism also further created hostility from Satanist groups towards Wicca (Vera 2011). As a general rule, within satanic groups, opinions about Wicca have been negative and authors often show signs of irritation when writing about it.

Andrew Chumbley

The single most significant author to popularize ideas about a traditional dark way of witchcraft in the new millennium was the British occult author and founder of the Cultus Sabbati, Andrew Chumbley (1967–2004). Chumbley claimed to have been initiated into a traditional witchcraft group and his small network called Cultus Sabbati was, in a way, following this. Chumbley produced several articles in different British occult and pagan periodicals, most notably in *The Cauldron*, edited by fellow Cultus Sabati member Michael Howard (discussed later). Most important was his book *Azoetia* (1992), which has become something of a modern classic in esoteric circles.

Chumbley presents himself as a follower of traditional witchcraft, also called 'the sabbatic craft', and
p. 242 positions himself against the modern ↳ Wicca-religion. His ideas are highly eclectic and mix traditional folk magic with modern chaos magic, Western esotericism and Western Orientalist ideas about Sufism and Yezidism. His main source for the latter two appears to have been the eccentric writer Idres Shah (1924–1996), who, ironically, was a close friend of Gerald Gardner and the author of Gardner's first biography *Gerald Gardner: A Witch* (1960); though the author was presented as Jack Bracelin. A representative example of Chumbley's reasoning is found in his book *Qutub* (1995):

> The Daemon, as Shaitan, is literally 'the Adversary'—the Reverse One. He is the Image of the First God, manifest in double-form, as both the Black Man standing at the Crossroads of all Existence and as Melek Ta'us—the Peacock Angel, Sovereign of the World's Djinn. As the 'Black Man' he is the anthropomorphic 'Body' of Darkness, the Lord of the Sabbat, the Overseer of the Primal Rite of Magick. In this form he embodies Death as the Gateway to the *Other*. In assuming the god-form of *Al-Aswad*—the Man-in-Black—the Adept places himself upon the interstitial 'Point' of the crossroads and thus within 'Death': the singular *inbetweenness* 'twixt every Stasis of Being. He thus becomes the embodiment of the Gate at the centre of the cross-roads, the Portal where-by Power has ingress to the World of Manifestation and through which the Seeker must pass in order to transcend the 'Form' of the Manifest. (Chumbley 1995: 44)

Still, ideas about witchcraft as a duoteistic cult where the male is balanced by the female can be found in the writings of Chumbley as well, and the quote is later followed by a description of Lilith as the bride of the lord of the Black Man.

It is difficult to create a clear description of Chumbley's work. While Chumbley claimed to have been part of an older witchcraft tradition, it is easier to recognize contemporary sources like Austin Osman Spare, Kenneth Grant, Robert Cochrane, Idres Shah, and Chaos Magic. Despite the rather modern flair of Chumbley's writings, Ronald Hutton has argued in favour of some of his claims to authenticity (Hutton 1999: 306–07). Chumbley's ideas cannot be considered pure Luciferianism, but it would be wrong not to acknowledge a strong Luciferian element in his works. Among those that have attempted to create a traditional way of witchcraft, Chumbley is by far the most respected, and after his death his books have become highly sought-after collectors' items. The difficulty in acquiring his books makes the mystery around him all the stronger.

Among the most important ideas we find in Chumbley's works are the assertion that there is a more authentic version of witchcraft clearly articulated in his tradition, the rejection of the fertility aspect and
p. 243 more a focus ↳ on the spiritual and, finally, witchcraft as a dark magical system based on ideas about the adversary. Many of these ideas, with the exception of the last point, are also found in the writings of Robert Cochrane.

Michael Howard and the fallen angels

The boundary between Luciferian witchcraft and Wicca becomes blurred when we encounter people like Michael Howard and his writing partner Nigel Jackson. In their most famous joint book *The Pillars of Tubal-Cain* (2000), as well as in Jackson's *Masks of Misrule* (1996) and *The Call of the Horned Piper* (1994) and Howard's *Book of Fallen Angels* (2004), we find ideas that cross the boundaries between neopaganism and Luciferianism. To what extent Howard's ideas in his published books are the result of his interaction with Chumbley is difficult to ascertain. Chumbley is, however, quoted continuously. Both Howard and Jackson have a background in Gardnerian Wicca and have published traditional Wiccan books. In the 1960s, Howard was also a member of Madeline Montalban's Order of the Morning Star, a group whose ideas are also interpreted as Luciferian by Howard (Howard 2009: 4).

In the aforementioned writings, the focus shifted towards a Luciferian interpretation of witchcraft. Howard, in particular, focused on the role of Lucifer in both his books and articles, sometimes making the claim that Lucifer reflects an older deity called Lumiel (Howard 2004: 18). The main theme of Howard's books is the fall of the angels and the role of the Nephilim, indicating ideas that go back to the *Book of Enoch*. These ideas are also found in Huson's work, and Howard does acknowledge that Huson is used as a reference (Howard 2004: 192). Similar ideas are also found in the writings of Chumbley. One of the most important deities, apart from Lucifer, is Azazel, the leader of the rebel angels in the *Book of Enoch*. He appears as the primary witch-god in both Howard's and Jackson's writings, just as he did in Huson's. They also give a central role to Cain, which is, as we have seen, a recurring theme. In their joint collaboration *The Pillars of Tubal-Cain* they write, in a section called 'The Gospel of Cain':

> When the Great Serpent, Lucifer-Zamael, the Father of all Witcheries, begot Cain upon Eve, the Mother of All Living bare a serpent-eyed child, a kinsman of the Nephilim. And Naamah, the sweet kinswoman of owls, was born also; from their incest are [*sic*] the Children of the Dark Angel sprang. (Howard and Jackson 2000: 269–70)

p. 244 What is of interest is not only the ideas that we find in the writings of Howard and Jackson but also the setting within which they are presented. Most of their books are published by the British independent publisher Capall Bann, which primarily prints books about Wicca, Arthurian mysteries, Celtic druidism, and so forth. The very notion that a primarily pagan publisher would publish books that by many definitions are if not satanic then at least close, do indicate a change in attitude in the pagan community in Britain since the early 1990s. The works of Howard and Jackson are also interesting because the idea of a clear-cut border between the so-called traditional witchcraft and Wicca hardly exists even in the personal sense. Still, it should be noted that Howard describes how he remained silent about his Luciferian beliefs due to the Wiccan communities' hostile attitude (Howard 2004: 13). Apart from representing their own ideas, Jackson and Howard have been important in furthering an interest in the writings of Robert Cochrane and Madeline Montalban.

Michael Ford

The above mentioned groups belong to what we can interpret as Luciferian witchcraft. Still, there are openly satanic interpretations of witchcraft. It is difficult to state when ideas about witchcraft became more prominent within satanic and Left-Hand Path groups, but it does seem to have happened during the 1990s and early 2000s. As a hypothesis, I could say that the development of satanic witchcraft seems to coincide with the development of esoteric and spiritually oriented interpretations of Satanism and Left-Hand Path traditions, who rather than looking at the Devil as merely a symbol, like LaVey did, started to see a spiritual aspect of Satanism (cf. Petersen 2009; Granholm 2009). While LaVey had abandoned public rituals and the traditional tropes of magic, this new, small, heterogeneous movement shifted towards practice. With the use of the Internet and web communities, people from different orders and solitary practitioners could interact in more direct and informal ways.

Among those who have written on the subject of Luciferian witchcraft, and who could be said to belong to the satanic milieu, the American Michael Ford is a prominent name. His book *Luciferian Witchcraft* (2005) is one of the more famous books dealing with the topic. Despite that he doesn't hold the same position as Chumbley and has been criticized by other followers of Luciferian witchcraft, it is most likely the quantity
p. 245 and availability of Ford's material that makes him equally, if not ↳ more, important as an ideologist. Ford is the leader of a magical order called the Order of Phosphorus that describes itself as:

> an initiatory guild dedicated to empowerment of the individual through willed activation of the Luciferian Path. Accomplishment on the Luciferian Path creates an opportunity for Prospective initiates to join the Black Order of the Dragon, a companion initiatory organization propagating Adversarial Magick and Vampyrism. There are numerous sub-orders within TOPH including 'The Order of Set-Aapep' [*sic*], exploring Adversarial Egyptian and Luciferian Magick, 'Ordo Azariel', a Vampyric-Qlippothic guild, 'Ordo Algol', a Satanic-Chaos inspired magickal order and many others.[1]

The Order has an eclectic approach, not only to the different traditions they work with but also to the ideas about the forces of darkness, as they try to embrace those both with a spiritual goal and with a material one. Ford calls his system the path of the adversary, recalling Chumbley's ideas, and, as in most similar groups, the goal is self-deification (Granholm 2009).

In contrast to many other forms of esoteric Luciferianism, Ford maintains a more symbolic attitude towards Lucifer. In a comment posted on the Order of Phospohorus mailing list he wrote:

> A Luciferian recognizes self-divinity and strives to become more. You approach a wide variety of deific masks based on your inner instinctual approach and affinity. You don't believe in 'Lucifer' per say [*sic*], that relates to power and energy as adaptable and experience oriented specific to the initiate.[2]

The ideas used by Ford are diverse, but some ideologists are clearly recognizable like Anton LaVey, the Temple of Set, Aleister Crowley, Andrew Chumbley, ONA, and Dragon Rouge.

Ford's Church of the Adversarial Light was founded in 2007. To what degree any of these groups and/or subgroups exists in an actual sense is beyond the scope of this chapter. What we do have is an ideology that has probably been more influential outside his order, and Ford does seem to be one of the most important and influential Luciferian authors at present. The Yahoo group of the Order of Phosphorus has a little bit
p. 246 over 1,100 members and is fairly active at the time of this writing (2012). While Ford ↳ claims to have been a practitioner of magic for over sixteen years, it is primarily in the new millennium that he has been a very busy author. During this period he has produced fourteen books and a Luciferian tarot deck. Before he

started to produce books he printed smaller pamphlets, most of which are centred on the same themes as his later works. Most of his books follow themes relating to Luciferian magic and the path of the adversary. Two deal directly with witchcraft, although the ideas are present in most of his other books and there does not seem to be a clear border between witchcraft and other forms of magic.

Among the most important of his books is the aforementioned *Luciferian Witchcraft* that originally seems to have been printed in 2005. While it is difficult to extract what is witchcraft and what represents other types of magic, it seems clear that witchcraft represents a magic oriented towards balance between a male force and a female force (for example Lucifer and Lilith). In addition to these forces, Cain is introduced as a son to the primary forces. Ford uses a diverse system of names to describe his system, and it is not always clear what he means or if there is any actual structure involved. Cain is both the son of the Lord of the sabbath and the Lord of the sabbath himself.

Rather than trying to force Ford's ideas into a coherent structure, what is of interest is the use of Cain as a god of witchcraft. This seems to be one of the more novel ideas that we find in the Luciferian witchcraft scene, not only in the writings of Ford but also in the writings of Chumbley, Howard, Oates, and others. While the idea of a divine pair is older than Wicca in itself, the idea of a strong connection of witchcraft with a male/female pair of divinities is clearly Wiccan. Ford recently republished an older essay on his Yahoo group that provides some interesting insight into his early thinking and proves his continued adherence to similar ideas. In the essay, titled *Black Witchcraft*, Ford wrote:

> The nature of 'Skir-hand' Witchcraft in the ancient and modern world is of anti-nature, or rather the word 'Antinomian' is a greek form meaning 'against the law'. This word makes reference to rebellion from a structure or spiritual design of the masses, the majority and whatever the current ideological mainstream may be at that time. Witchcraft, no matter for what intent or form, has always stood outside any conventional acceptance within society—either by the religious hierarchy (even though it keeps their organizations called Church together and making money) or even governmental ones.[3]

p. 247 Still, witchcraft is only an aspect of the Luciferian path we find in this context, not the core. This approach is typical of the occult traditions and practitioners active today, where there is a large flexibility as to what type of system one is working within. Usually what unites the different strands is some trope. In Ford's case, the trope is the adversary, in Wicca the trope would be witchcraft. Thus, we can in this example see one of the reasons why witchcraft seems to be a weaker signifier in Satanism than it is in Wicca. In the former it is an aspect, but in the latter it is central to the practitioner's identity.

Conclusions

The submilieu of Luciferian witchcraft can be said to be a good example of the problem of positioning Satanism as an autonomous milieu within the larger dark magical subculture and one of the reasons for using the term 'Luciferian' rather than satanic in this chapter. Few of the groups or authors found here have ideas that can be considered completely satanic, but equally true is that few, if any of them, can be seen as nonsatanic in their conception of Lucifer. In many ways, the idea of witchcraft as intimately connected to Satan is quite logical with regards to the history of the image of the witch in Christian cultures. This would, in a sense, make the argument for a pure satanic witchcraft as traditional somewhat valid. However, when using witchcraft, Satanism—just like Wicca—makes a reinterpretation of the available symbolic structure to make it fit into its contemporary ideology.

Still, as a product on a spiritual commodity market, it does have its limits, and in relation to the Wiccan community the satanic witchcraft scene is marginal. Neither is there any indication of whether modern

satanic witchcraft will grow to become a central part of satanic practice or if it will become a marginal part even in that area, but considering the potency of the image of the witch in our culture it may well have a significant part to play.

It is also interesting to see how dominating Wicca has been regarding the idea of what witchcraft is. While most Luciferians reject the moral orientation of Wicca, many of the basic premises—like the theology of a horned god and a goddess, and the focus on the moon—remain. Rather than challenging the structure of Wicca, Luciferian witchcraft often reinforces it. It also has an impact on it. Wicca today can hardly be described as the white-light variety that is presented in many Satanist publications, and the individuals considered predecessors by Luciferian witches are often significant within Wicca as well, like Spare, Cochrane, and Chumbley.

In many ways, the ideas about Wicca found in the darker traditions of witchcraft are based on a rather shallow understanding of Wicca. While there is nothing satanic in contemporary Wicca, it is still undeniable that the movement used and reinterpreted symbols and cultural narratives that were originally seen as satanic, but did so in a manner that made it possible to approach these symbols in a way that made it seem empowering and morally justifiable rather than evil. They thus managed to take demonic images and transform them into benign pagan divinities. As such, Wicca's use of satanic imagery deserves more study and might prove to be a fruitful path to understanding the changing role religious symbols play in society.

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Notes

1. Order of Phosphoros. http://www.luciferianwitchcraft.com/toph.htm (now defunct). Accessed August 8, 2010.
2. Ford, post on the message board psychonaut 75, January 30, 2006.
3. Ford, post on the message board psychonaut 75, January 18, 2010.