EARLY MODERN SUPERNATURAL

THE DARK SIDE OF EUROPEAN CULTURE, 1400-1700

JANE P. DAVIDSON

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Introduction

The period between 1400 and 1700 was one of tremendous changes and innovations in European technology and culture. To use a modern term, one could say that some of these changes were quantum. New continents were being opened for exploration; the planets were seen for the first time with a telescope; advances in all branches of the natural and geologic sciences took place; the social, political, and religious fabric of European society was rent apart; and public knowledge about all these changes was made much more accessible to everyone because of the printing press and the increased use of the vernacular in printed materials. We are accustomed to thinking about parts of this period as the "Renaissance." We tend to think of it as a time when comparative science, rationality, and realism took over not only learned discourse and writing but the fine and other arts as well. The Renaissance developed over a long period of time, and some of its aspects, including the widespread interest in the supernatural, evolved in part from the concepts that were held in the preceding centuries. One of my professors in graduate school put it aptly: "No one looked out a window in Florence one morning in 1400 and said, oh my! Here comes the Renaissance." This period that we now broadly label Early Modern is one in which the "dark side" of culture remained vigorous, and in some aspects, such as the witch hunts of the 16th and 17th centuries, flourished. Beliefs in evil or demonic supernatural entities and events were a large component of European art and literature. Many books were written on the dark side subjects of devils, witches, ghosts, possession, exorcism, and black magic. There were even a small number of books on werewolves, although in most cases that topic was

incorporated into larger studies of witchcraft and demonology. The dark side permeated science and, of course, religious literature and discourse. It found its way into the theater, popular lore and literature, and the fine arts. Christianity had a profound impact on Early Modern Europe but so did its dark side.

The Reformation made little impact on the dark side of European culture until the 17th century. I think it is fair to say that for the most part, Catholic and Protestant demonology was much the same. By this I mean that Protestants and Catholics essentially believed the same things when it came to devils, ghosts, witches, werewolves, and the like. In the 17th century, there are a few nuanced distinctions between some Protestant and Catholic beliefs. For example, the 17th century saw a divergence between the two branches of Christianity on ghosts and apparitions of the dead. As time passed, some Protestant writers, and also some Catholic ones, began to be more open with their questions and their attitudes toward the topic of witchcraft. More frequently one would read that a person who was thought to be a witch or possessed was in actuality just physically or mentally ill. While concepts of witchcraft changed somewhat, Europeans did not modify their beliefs in the Devil for the most part. Even after 1700 there were still many Europeans who thought that witches, and certainly devils, were real. The interest in such topics persisted as is indicated by a very large number of books on the supernatural that were printed in the 18th century. There are literally hundreds, if not thousands of them. As the Renaissance did not pop into existence one morning, neither did the dark side just disappear. It slowly faded into obscurity and became the province of folklore and romantic literature and art.

This book deals with the dark side of Early Modern Europe. Herein we will discuss a selection of supernatural themes as they appeared in various aspects of culture and folklore between 1400 and 1700. We will discuss the supernatural in both northern and southern Europe. Some aspects of the supernatural dark side were more predominant in northern European countries than in southern European ones. For example, there are not nearly as many studies of witchcraft in Italy or Spain as there are in Germany and France. Inquisition manuals and books of exorcism, on the other hand, are more frequently published south of the Alps. Everywhere, we see an interest in devils, especially as they are described as tempters or denizens of Hell who were at work tormenting the damned. Italian Renaissance art is filled with images of Satan and his devils in Hell, engaged

in tempting saints or Christ and carting off the damned at the Last Judgment. Giotto's famous series of frescoes executed in the Arena Chapel in Padua about 1320 contains all these elements. The entire back wall of the chapel is filled with a fresco of the resurrection of the dead, the Last Judgment, and Satan in his Hell. Over 200 years later, Michelangelo would depict the very same motifs on the wall behind the altar in the Sistine Chapel. Ghosts and apparitions were not as frequently shown as devils and witches, but they do make their appearances in book illustrations. Similarly, there were far fewer books that dealt specifically with themes of ghosts and apparitions. Werewolves are more commonly written about in mountainous regions and other areas where there were wolves. While there are some instances of Italian werewolves, these creatures are generally more popular in the north. The werewolf seems to be for the most part a leftover from folklore, although there were some old literary sources that suggested the possibility of lycanthropy.

An exception to the geographic segregation of dark side themes can be found in the nature of topics used by the early book publishing industry. Some very significant northern European books (i.e., written by northern European scholars or clergy) were published in Italy. Conversely, the works of some Italian experts in demonology were printed in places like Lyons, France. There was some Italian art that portrayed witches and their activities, although it is not as commonplace as it was in the north. Most Italian witchcraft themes in art date from the 17th or even the 18th century. These motifs were far more popular in northern Europe; yet the *Compendium Maleficarum*, which was one of the most extensively illustrated books on witchcraft, was printed in Milan. Suffice it to say, the dark side was a major component of European culture between 1400 and 1700. It was almost as important a component of culture as was Christianity. And the dark side was subject to the practices of the newly emerging science of the time. To demonstrate the conjunction of science and occult beliefs, let us consider the example of "shark teeth."

SHARK TEETH

Scientists such as the Swiss naturalist Konrad Gesner (1516–1656) presented as many aspects of information as possible in their works. Gesner's famous *Historiae Animalium Liber* (History of Animals, 1551–1558) was a massive set of four folio volumes devoted to natural history. The

volumes run to a combined several thousand pages. In these books, Gesner wrote about fish, quadrupeds, birds, and "stinging animals," which included things like insects and scorpions. With these divisions he followed the traditional thought of Aristotle in classifying the animal kingdom; however, Gesner took Aristotle's observations much further to include not only typical European specimens but also some from Africa and the New World as well. These books were profusely illustrated with woodcuts. The illustrations vary in quality and detail and were not all executed by the same artist. But in general, they are realistic enough to provide the reader with a reasonably accurate image of the animal under discussion. It is clear that the author worked with his printers and illustrators to achieve the best and most realistic possible images. The Gesner volumes were beautifully bound and must have cost the purchaser a considerable amount. Gesner also wrote a treatise on fossils. His *De Re Fossilium* (1565) included many illustrations of what we would consider today as legitimate fossils, petrified organic remains. But it also included a number of mineral specimens. The word "fossil" did not have the meaning we use today. A fossil in Latin was some rock or mineral that had been literally collected, "picked up." One also finds the term "formed stones" being used to describe fossils. Gesner wrote about "lapidus figuram," a figured or formed stone. Some items that Gesner called fossils were rocks that seemed to look like organic remains but were not. Gesner described all these formed stones as well his mineral specimens and presented them as he had his animals so that the reader might observe and draw conclusions about what these things were. Among the unknown fossils that Gesner described and illustrated were ammonites. Ammonites are extinct marine cephalopoda that today are thought to be close to the nautilus. In the 16th century, scientists could not find any living marine animal that resembled ammonites closely enough to make assumptions as to what these fossils were. Some even postulated that they were petrified snakes. Regardless of his lack of solid knowledge about fossils like ammonites, Gesner nonetheless presented them for his colleagues' attention and analysis.

Gesner's illustration is probably the first printed illustration of an example of a fossil shark tooth. He had no idea what that fossil was, but he noticed that it resembled shark teeth. So, he included in his discussion an image of an extant shark. This was part of the fledgling scientific method of the Renaissance. Scholars were intent on giving their colleagues real-

istic pictorial and written descriptions. They invited the reader to see the item for himself and to draw conclusions based on observation, if possible, or at least from the printed materials. In the new scientific climate of the 16th century, observation of details was critical. That practice was the very essence of northern Renaissance painting and printmaking. Observed realism was also quite important in Italian art at this time. One need only look at the astonishing anatomical drawings of Leonardo da Vinci to realize this. It was logical then that the mindset of careful observation and record was a part of the study of the supernatural as well. Because the dark side was real, its manifestations needed the same scientific analysis.

Gesner's encyclopedic study of animals was so popular that it was essentially reissued with some additions but few modifications in the 17th century in another set of volumes by Edward Topsell (c. 1572–1625). Topsell's translations into English helped make Gesner more accessible to a greater number of readers. Topsell's *History of the Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents* (1658) occasionally touches upon the supernatural as where he discusses shark teeth.

Sometimes the term "lamia" was applied in science to refer to sharks as well as it was used in demonological literature to refer to witches and other supernatural creatures. There were 16th- and 17th-century accounts of the petrified teeth of sharks actually being the teeth of witches. Witches supposedly used these special stone teeth to suck blood from young children. Ulisse Aldrovandi (c. 1522–1605), who was also quite influenced by Gesner, noted this identification of fossil shark teeth in his *Museum Metallicum* (1648). Topsell commented shortly after this that there was, in fact, a race of supernatural creatures called Laminae who lived in Africa. These monsters had "a woman's face . . . [animal bodies] and no other voice but hissing like serpents." Topsell went on to state that they had scales and women's breasts, but also male genitalia. These creatures were not specifically witches or demons as far as Topsell was concerned, but he named them lamia just the same. They seem more to resemble the Greco-Roman harpies.[1] Aldrovandi also discussed the Laminae in a book on monsters, published as late as 1696; *Monstrum historia* contains an illustration of a Lamina.

In 1667 the Danish scientist Nicolas Steno (Niels Stensen, 1638–1686) published a short treatise on fossil shark teeth. This work became a landmark in the very young science of geology and the discipline of

paleontology, the latter of which only existed in most rudimentary forms and had yet to develop into a full-fledged branch of science. In this study, Steno compared actual examples of teeth from extant sharks with the fossilized teeth, then commonly known as *glossopetri* or "tongue stones." Folklore held the tongue stones to be powerful amulets that were useful for a number of medical purposes. Much learned discussion had been given to the nature of these odd stones during the 16th and 17th centuries. Some scientists felt that these were petrified tongues of fish or snakes. Others suggested that they were mere natural artifacts and had no connection at all with living forms. They maintained that the seemingly organic shape of the tongue stone was a mere coincidence. Steno concluded that on the basis of comparative morphology, he could state emphatically that tongue stones were in fact petrified shark teeth. He worked with a carcass of a great white shark from the Mediterranean Sea. He compared the teeth of the animal to the tongue stones. In doing this he also sought to leave an accurate visual record of the fossils as well as the shape of modern shark teeth. The carcass rotted away (one can only imagine the stench). Because of this, Steno could not give it to his printer for the illustrations. Instead, Steno turned to an older image of the head of a great white shark for the visual image in his treatise.[2] Although Steno wrote for the scientific community of his day, he wrote a type of popular science in that his works were meant to enlighten anyone who might read them. Perhaps this was in keeping with the taste of his patrons, the Medici family, but it also may have reflected his varied scholarly interests and background. Steno studied geology and mineralogy but also medicine and anatomy. Steno, who had been born into a Lutheran family, converted to Catholicism the same year he published his study on shark teeth. He eventually took Holy Orders and was later consecrated as a bishop. He spent much of his later life in Germany, serving the church. In his scientific works, Steno utilized a careful and detailed method of observation and recording to reach and disseminate his conclusions. He was seeking truth. He presented his data to the reader with the intent that he or she study his work, perhaps even look at actual specimens and then draw his own conclusions. These could be shared with others to further advance science. In these respects, Steno did precisely what other scholars were doing in various other fields, including the study of what we would today consider occult or supernatural themes.

The authors and artists of Early Modern Europe turned the same type of careful observation and description to the study of the dark side. In this method, the study of occult themes was exactly the same thing as the study of birds, fish, or fossils. Writers and artists, who depicted aspects of observable "reality" such as witches, ghosts, or werewolves, worked no differently than Gesner or Steno. The studies of the demonologists were also an instance of the newly evolving scientific method. That statement may seem preposterous to modern readers, but one needs to remember that even as late as the 17th century, many still had questions as to the nature of the supernatural world, just as they also still had many questions about natural phenomena. This period mirrors modern times quite well in that 21st-century writers also seek to use scientific comparative methods and observed reality to study many topics ranging from the nature of the universe to the possible existence of ghosts in haunted buildings. The 16th and 17th centuries were periods of intellectual conflict between new technologies, expanding knowledge about the world and older ideas and beliefs that seemed to be diminished by the new frontiers of knowledge. At the same time, while whole new continents were being explored and Galileo's new telescope was opening the universe, some people still had a taste for the beliefs of the past and enjoyed the fantastic as a form of entertainment, just as some do today. Then, just as now, enjoying some aspect of the dark side—for example, werewolves—did not need to be predicated on belief.

Two years after the publication of Steno's treatise, a large multititle volume that dealt with the occult was published in Lyons, France. This book contained a copy of the *Malleus Maleficarum* along with a number of other important titles in the fields of demonology and exorcism. This was an extensive encyclopedia of works that were still considered to be valuable references. It is known among historians today as the *Malleus Omnibus*. Printed by Claude Bourgeat, The *Malleus Omnibus* is a large book measuring 8 x 10 x 5 inches and weighing 6.5 pounds. It runs to thousands of pages and contains 19 individual works by various well-known Catholic authors. Some were contemporary writers; others produced their treatises as early as the beginning of the 15th century. Some copies of the *Malleus Omnibus* were bound in elegant blind-stamped pigskin and made to look rather old fashioned and perhaps more venerable by the addition of metal clasps. At first glance, such a binding makes the book seem to be a hundred years older than it actually is.[3] This large volume

was the last printing of the *Malleus Maleficarum* until relatively modern times. Among the titles included in the *Malleus Omnibus* were Nider's *Formicarius*, the *Malleus Maleficarum*, Molitor's *De Lamiis*, (all from the 15th century), several manuals on exorcism, and a number of other works on witchcraft and demonology by prominent Catholic writers of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Johannes Nider (1380–1438), a German Dominican, wrote his book, *Formicarius*, or The Ant Hill, by hand between 1437–1438, prior to the use of printing in Europe.[4] When it was printed in 1475, it became one of the earliest printed books. Such works are known to historians and rare books librarians as incunabula, or works "in diapers." The term, *incunabula*, is usually applied to printed books that date no later than 1500. In the *Formicarius*, Nider discusses a number of theological points as well as witches and demons. His book was an important reference for the writers of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. *Formicarius* is thought to be only the second book on witchcraft to be printed. Nider only considered witchcraft as a component of his book so that the *Formicarius* was not entirely about witches, but it provided a foundation for later works that were exclusively about witchcraft, such as the *Malleus Maleficarum*.

Ulrich Molitor (flourished 1470–1501), author of the 1488 book entitled *De lamiis et phitonicis mulieribus* (Concerning Demons and Witches) was included in the *Malleus Omnibus*. Molitor was a German canon lawyer. This work was published right after the *Malleus Maleficarum* as a direct response to that book. It is the first printed book on witchcraft to have illustrations. The German translation of this book, *Von den Hexen und Unholden*, printed in 1493 was also illustrated. Other important authors included in the *Malleus Omnibus* were theologians such as Johannes Gerson (1368–1429); Girolamo Menghi, whose *Flagellum Demonum* (The Scourge of Demons) was a book on exorcism; Pietro Stampa, who was an author of another manual on exorcism; Thomas Murner (1475–1537) who was a fierce opponent of Protestants; and Paul Grillandus, a papal judge.

The *Malleus Omnibus* presents a nice parallel to secular scientific works such as those of Konrad Gesner, Edward Topsell, and Nicolas Steno. It was a scientific work dealing with the supernatural. In the *Malleus Omnibus*, the publisher compiled a large collection of important and useful evidence on witches and demons that reflected the points of view of Catholic theologians and demonologists. He presented these for ref-

erence and convenience of study. Like Steno, he was saying in effect, here are the data, study them for yourselves. Works such as the *Malleus Omnibus* and Steno's treatise on fossil shark teeth cited authorities. This was not new (the Schoolmen—scholars who followed the logic system of St. Thomas Aquinas—had cited authorities) but the use of earlier works to bolster one's points was typical of the Renaissance, just as it remains typical today. In addition, the data presented in these two volumes referred to material obtained through empirical observation. Whether the modern reader still thinks that witches and devils are "real," is moot. What is significant here is the fact that the process of observation and record keeping was the same. Steno held a position in the church; this lent additional authenticity to his science. After all, what he was positing was still rather radical and certainly controversial in 1669. Could petrified animal remains be part of a discussion of the faith? Of course they could. One had to somehow account for their origin, and perhaps that origin was the Great Flood of Noah. Or perhaps devils made fossils inside the earth.

THIS BOOK

My present study presents various aspects of the supernatural as parts of learned and popular culture in Europe between 1400 and 1700. Ghosts, poltergeists, witches, devils, and werewolves were real to many Europeans during these centuries. Scientists, lawyers, and churchmen (Catholic and Protestant) tried to analyze and study such things by using the same scientific methods that were coming into vogue among other learned disciplines. Their counterparts in the fine and performing arts and literature tried as well to present such subjects in realistic ways that corresponded to the learned and popular beliefs.

Early Modern Europe is a period of time that contained amazing conflations of many new and astonishing things. It was a time when the "real world" was literally expanding with new voyages of discovery and exploration. Entirely new cultures and races had been found. The very nature of the universe and its creation came under increasingly sophisticated scrutiny with the inventions of the telescope and microscope. Advances in medicine, anatomy, and natural and physical sciences were coming thick and fast. Thanks to the printing press, with its additional ability

to render printed images as well as words, people found it easier to keep up with this torrent of new information, theories, and challenging ideas. In all of this, writers and their reading public felt it important to have data, including imagery, presented faithfully so that these might then be further discussed and proved or disproved by others. The activities of the denizens of the dark side were part of this torrent of data.

The supernatural can indeed be seen as part of the material studied by the new "scientific method" of Early Modern Europe. But, as we have noted, the dark side was also part of popular culture, folklore, and entertainment, and one did not always have to take a serious approach to the supernatural. Thus, folktales have a part in my book as well as do other aspects of culture such as works of art and literature. The supernatural found its way into works by some of Europe's most significant modern artists in the period. Men like Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung, Lucas Cranach, Hieronymus Bosch, Pieter Brueghel the Elder, David Teniers the Younger, and Salvator Rosa presented supernatural themes in their works. Further, the supernatural found its place in works by literary masters such as the meistersingers: Hans Sachs, Ben Jonson, Thomas Middleton, Robert Herrick, and William Shakespeare. It is easy today to forget that these authors wrote not only for the learned but also for the common people. On the art side, it is certainly true that an artist like Dürer or Bosch had noble, even royal, clientele, but there were a number of lesser followers of artists such as these who produced cheaper, more readily available paintings, engravings, woodcuts, and broadside prints for prospective owners who might be among an upper level of well-off peasants. It is the purpose of this book to lead the reader into that other side of the Renaissance, the dark side that was such a considerable component of Early Modern European culture. The term Renaissance meant rebirth, that is, the rebirth of the ancient world of Greece and Rome. The presence of the dark side in European culture was in part a continuation of what Renaissance literati called a middle age, a gothic (barbarian) period, between the ancient world and the modern world. Nevertheless, the dark side was not set adrift as something vestigial from the past in Early Modern Europe. On the contrary, it blossomed.

Some years ago I spoke at a conference on Netherlandish history where my topic was 16th- and 17th-century Netherlandish art that depicted witches killing children and practicing cannibalism on their re-

mains. After my talk a colleague spoke with me and commented that I was "terribly laid back about such awful things." I replied well, yes, I suppose one gets used to it after many years of study of the iconography of witchcraft. He also wondered how I had gotten interested in supernatural topics such and witches and demons in the first place. I have always thought these topics interesting. When I was a child, my favorite holiday was Halloween. It still is. In graduate school I read Summers's translation of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Then I read Robbins's *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* and Ewen's *Witchcraft and Demonianism*. These fueled my scholarly interest in the dark side. I wrote my dissertation on the religious and mythological paintings of David Teniers II. Teniers was one of a small number of 17th-century baroque artists who frequently chose themes from the supernatural. Many of his works contained images of witches, alchemists, and devils. It is fair to say that once I embarked on this journey into the supernatural and paranormal, I have never looked back and have spent my professional career, at least in part, with the dark side of European culture in the Early Modern period. This book is designed to encourage the reader's own journey through the dark side.

There are two premises to this study. The first is that the supernatural was a huge, very diversified, and quite viable component of Renaissance and 17th-century European culture. The second premise is that, because most of the aspects of the supernatural, like devils, witches, ghosts, and werewolves were thought to be real; these aspects were subjects for study using the developing scientific method. No distinction was to be made, for example, in studying the Devil or studying a West Indian iguana. Both were to be carefully analyzed and depicted with great detail in writing and in imagery.

The new scientific methodology of Early Modern Europe may have eventually helped to extinguish some of these supernatural beliefs, but this happened very slowly. People still believed in witches as late as the 18th century in some parts of Europe, and as we noted, these beliefs eventually evolved into romantic lore and fiction as well as art and folkloric studies. Most Europeans never stopped believing in the Devil. The stamp of authenticity, given to many aspects of the dark side, came literally from the fact that people thought this was a matter of religious orthodoxy. Devils and witches were as real to these Christians as were Jesus and Mary. Martin Luther could revolt against the church and state that the pope

was the Antichrist, but he still believed in the Devil. And he thought witches existed.

This book begins with a chapter on the Devil and devils. This seemed the logical point at which to begin because so much of the dark side is concerned with the Devil in his permutations and with what they did. The next several chapters deal with witches, diabolic possession and exorcism, and demonology. All these topics are interrelated as one could not have witches without the Devil; nor could one have need for exorcisms unless individuals were possessed by devils. And naturally one could not have a formal study of the Devil unless people thought he was real. In these chapters, I wish to present a number of examples of beliefs about the activities of witches and devils in some detail. The intent here is in accordance with the premises of the book. These things were real, or at least people thought they were real, and they were a huge component of everyday life in Early Modern Europe. The chapters on possession and exorcism and demonology will take the reader to a somewhat closer examination of the old books themselves. Naturally, there are some examples of art depicting the possessed and innumerable examples of art that showed devils. The anonymous author of the medieval book entitled *The Cloud of Unknowing* wrote: "The clergy read the books; the lay people read the clergy when they listen to them preaching." This is the essence of what manuals on exorcism or studies of demonology did. They were designed for the edification of the clergy or others in the religious life. They did not necessarily come into the hands of the lay reader, although they could have done so. The interface between these subjects and the public came more from accounts of witchcraft trials; just general gossip and, of course, the sermons that they heard.

Black magic is treated here as a particular chapter topic in which I will discuss the activities of evil magicians who may not necessarily have been witches. Black magic is magic that does harm. One could manipulate the supernatural to achieve harm to a person or that person's property or animals and not be a witch. Witchcraft is a Christian apostasy. One eschewed Christianity and became a worshipper of Satan instead of Jesus and the Trinity. Thus, non-Christians, Jews, or Muslims could be magicians and perform black magic.

This book continues with a special component of the supernatural, the phenomena of ghosts, specters, and poltergeists. Some attitudes toward these phenomena are similar to attitudes of today, while others vary

considerably. Spirits and ghosts were a commonplace theme throughout the period and were found in a wide variety of literature as well as art. It is somewhat more difficult to discern how widely spread were the folk beliefs about ghosts; yet one can safely assume that this also was a very large component of folklore.

The topic of werewolves is a most fascinating anomaly in the study of the supernatural, thus requiring its own chapter. Although werewolves could be witches, they need not be. Werewolves were thought to have achieved their state by a pact of some sort with the Devil. Having done this, they could achieve the status of werewolf by magical charms, ointments or amulets, such as wolf pelts, that might be provided by the Devil. Werewolves did not necessarily have to renounce Christianity. If you were bitten by a werewolf, you did not become one: you probably just bled out and died. Our modern cinema is responsible for the notion that werewolves infected others with lycanthropy. Virtually every study written about witches or devils contained some section on werewolves; it seemed almost obligatory to include something about them. Most of the experts did not really believe in werewolves and provided various explanations for what people thought they had been or had seen. This skepticism permeated religious, medical, and legal treatises that discussed lycanthropy. Early Modern European werewolves were the criminally insane of their times. And some writers went so far as to say just that.

One of the last segments of this book is an account of some of the artists who depicted various aspects of the dark side. This appendix will provide more detailed art historical comments on these artists. Some of the most important painters and printmakers of the Renaissance and the 17th century depicted the dark side in their works. Just as there were major literary figures who wrote about these topics, the works of these fine artists also show how enormously significant the dark side was as a part of European culture between 1400 and 1700. Finally, I have included a set of brief biographies of the persons discussed in this book.

EARLY PRINTING AND BOOKS

Throughout this book I discuss paintings, prints, and book illustrations. Almost all the books that are described herein were mechanically printed. I do make some references to early editions of certain printed books that were originally in manuscript form. A manuscript was, of

course, written entirely by hand; when such a book had illustrations, it is referred to as an illuminated manuscript or illuminated codex. Normally illustrations in manuscripts were executed in water colors. Gold leaf might be used to adorn and highlight pages. When the first mechanically printed books appeared in Europe, some were illuminated by hand. Opening initials, called incipits, might have small illustrations, normally printed with the text itself. These are known as historiated initials. Historiated initials also were used in manuscripts, wherein all the work was done by hand. Some readers may be unfamiliar with the process of printing books in this period. Type was hand cast in lead. The individual letters or characters were placed in wooden rows surrounded by wooden frames, inked, and impressed on paper. Each set of pages would have its own set of rows and frames; normally more than one page was printed in the given frame. If a book were large enough, the individual page might be placed in only one frame. The type for these printed works was placed in reverse and mirror image, one piece of type at a time. When one considers the size of some of these books, and the tiny typefaces used, this is astonishingly hard to do. Even with literally thousands of individual pieces of type, there are surprisingly few mistakes in the texts. Type was set for Latin and Greek and modern European languages with each piece place in backward; a mirror image as it were, with each word spelled backward and running from right to left instead of from left to right. If one did not do everything backward, one obtained a reversed and unreadable image when the frame was run through the printing press. Similarly, illustrations, whether woodcut (made from a carved wood block), or engravings on copper plates, or later etchings (engravings treated with acid solutions to achieve gradations and shading) had to be carved or incised in reverse from the drawings that served as their templates. Sometimes drawings were used as literal templates and thus most likely destroyed in the process. Other drawings for prints survived. We have the complete set of preliminary drawings for Pieter Brueghel the Elder's *Seven Deadly Sins*. Many other plates survived as well. A large number of Albrecht Dürer's copper plates still exist.

Once the pages were printed they would be folded into signatures, just as books are arranged today, and then the signatures were literally compressed in a vise-like press and sewn together. This book would then be ready for its cover. Early printed books often had bindings called book boards. They were just that, pieces of board. Book boards were

generally covered by leather although they could be covered in fabric. The boards were tied to the binding stitches with additional cord or thread, or even leather straps. The strap or cord would be inserted into slits in the board or other binding material and be held in place with what book conservators call "mud." I inquired of a conservator what mud meant. He said, "mud." It was literally clay. Books also had leather covers without boards, and there were paperback covers as well. By the 16th century there were a number of books that had what were essentially cardboard "boards" covered in leather. Many of the books from this period look strikingly modern in their bindings. Book bindings are a special world of scholarship as one has to have a wide experience of training to know which work is older and which book imitates an older technique. Some 15th-century books were encased in leather book bags known as "book chemises." These were usually covers for very expensive illuminated manuscripts, although a printed book could certainly have been covered with a chemise. The boards were covered with larger pieces of leather that were then wrapped like a burrito around the boards. Book chemises sometimes had straps so that one could carry them on a belt. Other books had metal clasps to hold them shut or leather straps that could be tied to hold the book shut. The paper on which these books were printed was rag paper. Rag paper was literally made from rags. It was not a wood pulp paper as later books use. Rag paper has the great advantage of being very durable. Insect larvae may nibble on it, but it is not susceptible to physical deterioration like books made of wood pulp paper. My students tend to cringe when I tell them where those rags came from. They cringe especially if they see a book printed in the 1660s in London, and I mention that those rags might have touched someone with the plague. On very rare occasions, printed books might be made of vellum, animal skin (literally calf skin), rather than paper. Most printed books were created from rag paper. If vellum were used, it might be in a special luxury item such as a book of hours; and the vellum was employed to make the book seem more antique and expensive. Vellum binding, however, is not uncommon.

Some prints were hand colored much as books had been. Others were printed in more than one run and with different colors of ink. This was a question of taste with the artist and the printer, not to mention the expense. Similarly, historiated initials in printed books might be hand colored or left in ink.

THE MEDIA AND PROCESSES OF PAINTING

Paintings in Early Modern Europe were executed with various media and techniques. Frescoes were painted either on a dry plaster wall; or, in a more complicated procedure, the plastered wall was wet and received its paint, and the two dried out together. Paintings as such were normally executed in tempera or, later, oils. The original supports for these in the 15th and parts of the 16th and 17th centuries were wood panels, usually oak planks. A panel painting might be made up of one plank or many that were seamed together with linen strips (like wall board). The boards were sanded (literally) with sand. One did not run to a store for sandpaper. And then when the desired smooth finish was ready, the panel was sealed with gesso. Gesso is a plaster of Paris, calcium carbonate solution. Again, one had to obtain some of this mineral and grind it and then mix it with water and apply it to the panel. This layer was also sanded. A given painting might have many, even dozens of layers of gesso. Such laborious preparations were the work of the apprentices. Finally, a sketch in charcoal was applied, and if any gold leaf were to be placed on the panel, that was glued on. After all this, paints were applied. There were two kinds of paints used. Tempera was made of chicken egg, water, and pigment. Pigments were handmade as well, being derived from mineral or plant sources. By the 1420s, some artists in what is today Belgium and the Netherlands began to paint in oils. Again the oil (linseed) had to be prepared, pigments had to be made and then applied to the gesso surface. Some panel paintings were even done on copper, as copper was very expensive. By the end of the 15th century, some artists began to abandon panels and paint on canvases. But panels were a commonplace means of support all through our period and even into the 15th century. Normally tempera was not used on canvas, only oils were.

THE DARK SIDE IN MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

The 17th-century author Thomas Ady wrote a book about the possibility of witchcraft that he entitled *A Candle in the Dark*. His title alluded to his skepticism. He did not believe in many of the aspects of the dark side and thought them superstitions or delusions instigated by the clergy, even aspects of madness. The candle was to enlighten the reader and dispel the darkness of the dark side.

Henry Charles Lea (1825–1909), Andrew Dickson White (1832–1918), and Rossell Hope Robbins (1912–1990) were our "candles in the dark." No journey through the dark side of Early Modern Europe would be as easy had it not been for these earlier researchers in the history of witchcraft and demonology. These men were historians whose interests included church history, the Inquisition, and witchcraft. White and Lea led the way, and Robbins followed them at the mid-20th century with more detailed studies of additional aspects of the supernatural. Robbins helped researchers become familiar with the treasure trove of primary materials that White had amassed at Cornell, what Robbins called "a Devil's plenty." White personally gathered much of the vast collection of primary sources at Cornell University. Lea established a similar collection at the University of Pennsylvania when he donated his own rare books to the university. Lea's vast notes for a proposed history of witchcraft were published posthumously. They are a key to the holdings at Penn, but they are also indispensable to the researcher as a scholarly reference tool. Robbins helped modern scholars find their way through the Cornell collections but caught the attention of both the general and scholarly readers with his *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*. Without these three, and earlier scholars like the German Hansen, and C. L'Estrange Ewen, the study of the occult would be far more difficult and laborious.

It is the author's hope that this book will be a small taper in the darkness and that it will encourage the reader to go onward into the dark side. I have attempted to present the subjects without rehashing, too much, the ideas of earlier writers. In this respect, I have tried to present my two premises: that the dark side was very important in Early Modern Europe and that it was studied scientifically as reality, by providing the reader with various examples that he or she may not know. This approach of stating the premises and then providing examples, or even popular tales, that explain those premises is part and parcel of what the writers of Early Modern Europe did themselves when they discussed the supernatural. We have come far—and not yet very far at all. Enjoy your journey into the dark side. Take up your taper and go forth. Should you meet a devil or a witch or a ghost, or even a werewolf, when you finish this volume, you will know what and who they are and what to do about them. You have with you many expert guides to follow as you travel into the world of the supernatural. Have a good time.

I wish to express my thanks to Raymond Waddington for his excellent editing and to Mike Eadington, High Mountain Imagery, Reno, Nevada, for preparing the images for this book.

JPD

In Memory
Henry Charles Lea
Andrew Dickson White
Rossell Hope Robbins

CHAPTER 1

The Devil and Devils

But it may be argued that devils take their part [in human procreation] in this generation not as the essential cause but as a secondary and artificial cause since they busy themselves by interfering with the process of normal copulation and conception by obtaining human semen and themselves transferring it. . . . Moreover, to beget a child is the act of a living body, but devils cannot bestow life upon the bodies which they assume; because life formally only proceeds from the soul.

We may say therefore that just as there are five ways in which devils by them, without witches, can injure and possess men, so they can also do so in all those ways at the instance of witches; since then God is the more offended and greater power of molesting men is allowed to the devil through witches.

—Heinrich Institoris, *Malleus Maleficarum* (The Hammer of Witches), 1487.

The Devil is also called evil because although we have never injured him, he wages perpetual war against us and pursues us with mortal hatred.

—*Catechism of the Council of Trent*, commentary on the Lord's Prayer, "deliver us from evil," 1566.

Abominable and nefarious spirits, you who with your obstinate rebellion never cease to occupy and molest this creature of God [name] I command you by the Father, by the Son, and by the Holy Spirit . . . and everything that in the name of Jesus Christ can force you to obey, and I order you to come out and flee from this body

formed by God. Do not dare offend either this creature or me or any other person.

—Girolamo Menghi, *Flagellum Daemonum* (The Devil's Scourge), 1576.

Sprenger writes that the Germans, who have more experience with witches, for they had had them since earliest times and in greater number than in other countries, believe that from such copulation [between devil and human] sometimes children result which they call Vechselkind or changelings which are very much heavier than others, but are always thin and would dry up three nurses without getting fat. These are devils in the form of children who copulate with their witch nurses and often one does not know what they become.

—Jean Bodin, De *la daemonomanie des sorciers* (On the Demon-Mania of Witches), 1580.

Demons are not merely a debased mental condition in men . . . but are essential spirits . . . they are no mere empty phantoms of the fancy.

—Nicolas Remi, *Daemonolatreia Libri Tres* (Three Books on Demonology), 1595.

The pride and malice of God's enemies are increasing. They have a thousand ways of doing harm and use innumerable weapons against humanity, of which magic is the most deadly. . . . Evil spirits are on the loose seeking to take possession of the foolish and deluded souls. Never before have there been as many witches as there are today. . . . Once the Gospel is received however, such errors and heresies disappear. Witness the Muslims in Africa and Asia, the heretics of Germany, France and Britain, and the apathetic Catholics . . . in Italy . . . we have [still] seen heresy flourishing in Belgium and we see swarms of witches laying waste to the whole of the North, like locusts . . . [the struggle continues] This book is a weapon in that war.

—Martin del Rio, *Disquisitionem magicarum* (Investigations into Magic), 1599.

It is not meet to joke with devils.

—Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum* (Compendium of Witchcraft), 1608.

> God enlists children and counts them among his faithful, as does the Devil. God attracts them and calls them, as does the Devil. . . . God establishes his praise in the words of children, as does the Devil. . . . He seeks out children as they are most easily won over. He preys on their fears. . . . The Devil uses salves, fats and unctions in imitation of our Lord, who gave us the holy sacrament of baptism and that of holy unction . . . this ointment does nothing to allow them [witches] to travel to the Sabbath for even if someone who was not a witch rubbed himself with it and had been at the Sabbath this would only happen if God . . . permitted it.
>
> —Pierre de l'Ancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons* (Tableau of the Inconstancy of the Bad Angels and Demons), 1612.

> Once upon a time Satan addressed an audience of worldly-minded Christians. [He said while holding a branch with both good and wormy fruits] "I appear to you this day to teach you the truth regarding the results of sin. You have heard it said that all sin is harmful. A little sin becomes stimulating and works to a good end. . . . [The branch] has been attacked by little worms until their marks of destruction are plainly visible all over it. Yet this has only stimulated the life of the branch so that it has borne fruit abundantly. The best fruit in life is borne in sin, therefore I would urge you not to be afraid of certain small sins."
>
> —W. S. Harris, *Sermons by The Devil*, 1904.

Francesco Maria Guazzo noted toward the end of his *Compendium Maleficarum* that it was not at all wise to joke with devils. To prove that one needed to be serious at all times when dealing with devils—as if one needed to be told that—he recounted a story originally published in Johann Nider's *Formicarus* (The Ant Hill). (We will discuss Nider and the impact of his book in a later chapter.) One does have to question what possessed Guazzo to repeat this tale of the monk who was flippant with a devil at the end of what is a very lurid and serious discussion of witches and demonology. Nider told of a monk from Cologne who was famous for his powers as an exorcist but who also had a rough tongue. He cast out a demon from a person who had come to the monastery seeking help. When he did this, the devil asked the monk where he should then go, since he had left the person. The monk

"Witch Carried Off to Hell." O. Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, 1555. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

told him to go to his privy (outhouse), so the devil left and went there. When the monk showed up later to relieve himself, "the demon attacked him so fiercely in the privy that he escaped with difficulty with his life. Therefore the casting out of demons is a sacred matter and should be undertaken reverently." It is a wonderful and hilarious tale. But what was Guazzo thinking?[1] Had Guazzo for a moment or two put down his laborious task of discussing the Devil and let in a little levity? It seems unlikely. The Devil and his minions were serious subjects in Christianity throughout the entire period of 1400–1700 and well beyond. It almost seems as though the Devil got his wish in the sense of wanting to be as important as God. And yet on very rare occasions, the Devil would be the subject of a smile or two on the part of a reader or a viewer of a work of art. The whole notion of what European Christianity was like would be completely unrecognizable if the Devil and his followers were removed from the discussion. The study of the dark side in Early Modern Europe logically begins with the Devil and his evil angel followers. This entire book is in many respects about the Devil and his interactions with humanity. All works on witchcraft and demonology, of necessity, deal with the Devil in many capacities. His origins, his activities against God, and his subsequent attacks on

and hatred of humanity are almost always included. In this chapter, I will confine the discussion to Satan and devils in general, with a special emphasis on the more popular and folkloric ideas of him. Most of these ideas came directly from the learned culture; and conversely, learned writers also borrowed from popular and folkloric sources.

Without the Devil, there would have been virtually none of the other aspects of the dark side in learned or popular culture. If there had not been the Devil, there would have been no witches. Witchcraft was considered to be a specific Christian apostasy; witches were fallen Christians, just as devils were fallen angels. They gave up on God and followed Satan. Other aspects of the dark side also involved devils. If one were a magician—a person who knew how to perform rites in order to manipulate the spiritual and material world—one needed the assistance of a supernatural entity to do this. A magus (magician) summoned a devil or sometimes a good angel to assist him in his manipulations. Without such entities, there could not have been these types of magicians. The modern world thinks of this kind of manipulative magic as possibly involving only the strength of the human mind. In the 16th and 17th centuries, no one thought that. No magus was strong enough in mind to work without paranormal, supernatural aides. If one did harmful magic—black magic—then one also needed the assistance of the Devil. Magicians tried to foretell the future and diagnose illnesses. They also used the services of spiritual entities such as angels or devils to do this. They might even summon devils to help them perform a séance, as related in the legend of Solomon and the demon, Belial, who went into the underworld to find the ghost of Moses.

Werewolves were a special case of diabolical involvement and association with the lives of humans. A werewolf could not become such a creature without the help of magic, and that magic had to come about through the assistance of a devil. Werewolves normally made pacts with the Devil, just as witches did. The difference was that the werewolf did not have to abandon Christ in order to be transformed. In essence, he or she worked magic on themselves, effecting the transformation of its own body. Other paranormal aspects of Early Modern Culture such as ghosts, poltergeists, and apparitions of the dead were generally believed to involve the presence or the assistance of the Devil as well. A poltergeist or an apparition of a dead person, for example, was thought to be most likely a devil's trick and not at all real.

SATAN: THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL

From this brief outline, one can easily see that the Devil and his follower devils were tremendously important in Early Modern European learned culture and folklore as everything began with him. I will try to confine my discussion to what Satan and devils were thought to be like in Early Modern Europe. Most Christians during this time saw the Devil as Satan, or Lucifer, the leader of the rebel angels who had turned against God and for their heretical sin had been banished into eternal Hell. The Devil thus became the enemy not only of God and the good angels but of humanity as well. It was him in the form of a serpent, so commentators believed, that tempted Eve and Adam and brought their downfall, as well as the host of sorrows and sufferings that the human race inherited from these first parents. Most believed that Hell was an eternal situation from which there was no release. Learned theologians thought that this Hell was the literal absence of God from the soul, or the spirit in the case of devils. Yet most of them also thought that there was a place of physical torment as well as this heinous spiritual suffering. Humans who went to Hell were stuck there forever, just as the devils were. Was Hell a literal place and not just a spiritual state of the soul? It was thought by the theologians to be both; so if you were in Hell, you did not need to be sequestered in the physical area of it. Hell was wherever you were, physically and spiritually. In general, the laity (nonclerical) probably did not understand this concept too well, and most seemed to have thought of Hell more as an actual locality in which devils tormented the damned.

As the Middle Ages progressed, the church came up with what I like to refer to as the "suburbs" of Hell. Limbo and Purgatory were places under the control, or perhaps it would be better stated, the administration of Hell. But they were places from which there would be eventual release. Limbo housed those who were not sinful enough for Hell but who were also not baptized Christians through no fault of their own. Moses was in Limbo, but it was not his fault that he was not a Christian. Purgatory was hellish and filled with torments—both physical and spiritual—but its residents had hope. God was still in the souls of those in Purgatory. Eventually it would be time for a soul in Purgatory to go to Heaven. Because of this, the souls in Purgatory could pray for the living, and the living could pray for them. This was part of what the church calls the "communion of Saints." Limbo had been a place of eventual release as well. It was thought that when Jesus left Earth during his three days after the

Crucifixion, he went to Limbo and emptied it out and took those waiting there into Heaven. After that time, Limbo became a repository for pious pagans, if one could find any, and for the souls of unbaptized infants. At the end of time, those souls would go to Heaven as well.

These concepts of the divisions of the afterlife were made immortal in medieval literature by Dante in his *Divine Comedy*. They were very well-established parts of Catholic thinking by the Renaissance and 17th century. Purgatory and Limbo would be modified during the Protestant Reformation, so that the suburbs of Hell were not something that the Lutherans or Calvinists wanted to include any longer in their supernatural cosmology. If one were Catholic, Heaven, Hell, Limbo, and Purgatory remained. The concept of Purgatory gave rise to the notorious practice of selling indulgences, passes out of some punishment time for one's sins—and which practice was much of the impetus for the Reformation. It also gave rise to the wonderful apocryphal tale of the papal official whom Michelangelo put in Hell in his *Last Judgment* fresco in the Sistine Chapel. The story goes that the man was horrified and offended when he saw himself in Hell and went right to the pope and demanded that he be removed from that part of the painting. Pope Julius II is supposed to have replied that there was absolutely nothing he could do. "He put you in Hell, you are there forever. If he had only put you in Purgatory, I could have got you out." We have no evidence of Julius II's having ever said anything like that, but the legend points to the enduring nature of what the church thought about the Devil and Hell.

Bosch himself depicted Hell more than once and that one, now lost, belonged at one point to King Philip II of Spain, who owned a number of Bosch's paintings. Various followers of Hieronymus Bosch painted what is termed the "harrowing of Hell" (i.e., the emptying out of Limbo). Bosch and his followers meant to show Limbo as a part of Hell as there are many devils included in the scene. In the background, one sees what appears to be dark sulfur-colored smoke rising from a number of fires. In this work there is a typical Bosch dark, fantastical landscape.[2] The devils in Limbo are numerous but for the most part do not seem to molest the souls (shown nude) therein. Christ is literally breaking down the doors. This particular painting has some religious anomalies. A few devils are shown tormenting the souls. That is of course wrong. Souls in Limbo were not harmed by devils. Evidently in this case, the artist did not adhere to the correct teaching about Limbo but let his imagination run free. A painting by the Italian master Mantegna (1431–1506) shows the risen *Christ*

Entering Limbo to bring forth the souls within. This painting does not emphasize Limbo as a suburb of Hell, rather, it is more a landscape. Christ is entering what appears to be the opening of a big cavern.

There were certainly beliefs in evil spirits and entities in religious and popular culture prior to Christianity, although these seem to be different than the Christian devil. The Bible is rather quiet on the topic of the Devil, with some exceptions such as the story of the temptations of Christ. The Old Testament is particularly quiet once one gets past the stories about the temptation of Adam and Eve and the rebellion of Satan (Lucifer) and his followers against God. The tempting serpent of Genesis is not specifically labeled as the Devil; the identification with Satan is extra biblical. Judaism did not assign much importance to devils in the sense that they tempted and tormented humanity. The devil is termed "Satan" (the adversary) in First Chronicles and plays this role of accuser, tormentor, and tempter in Job 1 and 2.[3]

The Devil as we think of him in Early Modern Europe was most definitely a Christian construct and one which was very much molded by medieval Christianity. The writings of the church fathers provided outlines of the Devil's activities against God and humans, but these did not provide much iconographic information about the Devil. Medieval Christians derived their iconographic ideas of the Devil from later writers such as St. Thomas Aquinas and from artistic forms that became traditional. The Devil was not depicted frequently in art or literary descriptions until about the year 1000. At this time, artists showed the Devil as a zoomorphic creature. Some images of the Devil, such as that of a large black goat, may have been derived in part from ancient images of satyrs. Other medieval images of the Devil depicted him as part animal and part human. The goat image remained popular, but one might also see the Devil with bat wings, bird talons, and other animal components mixed with human forms. The medieval Devil generally was not shown wearing human clothing. As the Middle Ages progressed, he might be depicted as a zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figure dressed as a man. The iconography of the Devil in Early Modern Europe remained generally consistent with this medieval prototype. The motif of the Devil as a large black goat remained very popular in art, and the Devil was described thus in the writings of various 16th and 17th-century demonologists. The continued popularity of this iconography was due to the fact that people had come to think that such images and descriptions were realistic.

"Witches' Sabbath." P. de L'Ancre, *Tableau de l'Inconstance des Mauvais et Demons*. Paris, Nicolas Buon,

Some demonologists had ideas about the origins and activities of the Devil that might sound a little surprising to the reader. Obviously there was some room for diversity in thought. Jean Bodin (1530–1596), writing in 1580, went into considerable detail in outlining a preliminary history of the Devil. In his introductory remarks to *On the Demon-Mania of Witches,* Bodin talked about Greek and Roman concepts of the supernatural, including evil entities. He also discussed what the Gauls (i.e., the early Germans and French) thought about evil spirits. Naturally, Bodin referred to the church fathers and other medieval theologians, but he also came up with some philosophical concepts that were not quite in the norm of most demonologists and experts on witchcraft. He commented that God needed the Devil:

> Nevertheless it seems that God created this great Satan whom Scripture calls "Behemoth" and "Leviathan" at the beginning of the world . . . and to show that he was not created in grace we cite the passage in Isaiah, where God speaks thus, "I have made and formed Satan in order to spoil, waste, and destroy". . . . For just as the Creator, Father and Progenitor is necessary for creation and generation, so also is the Corruptor necessary to the successive corruption in this elemental world. . . . As for the evil spirits, they also serve the glory of God as executors and executioners of His high justice and so do nothing except by the just permission of God. And since evil spirits never do good except by accident or in order that a greater evil might come of it when for example they cure a sick person to attract him to their devotion, it is then entirely certain that God would never permit any evil to be done unless it was to result in a greater good, as Saint Augustine has well stated.[4]

The passage Bodin quoted from Isaiah states that God has made the Devil as a spoiler and a destroyer. It does not necessarily follow that God needed a devil in order to do harm to humanity. Augustine's comment that God permits evil to take place does not necessarily mean that God needed a devil.

If we then accept that the Devil and devils of Early Modern Europe are the archetypes that were derived from the church fathers and the theologians of the medieval church, then our discussion must turn to what this actually meant to Europeans in this period of history. Obviously, Satan

and his followers were those who defied God and went out thereafter from their eternal home in Hell to tempt and harm humanity.

Satan was also associated with a number of supernatural or paranormal entities that were not actually fallen angels. Thus, some folklore held that entities such as fairies, elves, gnomes, and kobolds were actually devils in disguise as these creatures, or illusions created by devils. This was an extremely common belief when it came to kobolds, entities that lived in mines. They were especially common in German folklore that held that they could both help and harm miners (see further, Chapter 5). Whereas, while some thought that kobolds were creatures similar to elves, others believed that they were indeed devils: followers of Satan. Martin Luther stated point blank that they were devils, as did Luther's contemporary, Georgius Agricola (Georg Bauer, 1494–1555) in his treatise on mining and mining engineering, *De Re Metallica* (Concerning Metals). Agricola stated that kobolds were devils, but his description of them seemed to imply that they might be gnomes; kobolds were about two feet tall and wore a filleted garment with a leather apron so that they resembled the miners themselves. Herbert Hoover, who produced an excellent English translation of *De Re Metallica* (1912), noted that "The presence of demons or gnomes in the mines was so general a belief that Agricola fully accepted it."[5]

"Kobolds and Devils Assisting Witches." O. Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*. Rome, Johannem Mariam De Viottis, 1555. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

HONORARY DEVILS, DECORATIVE DEVILS, AND THE ANTICHRIST

Other fantastic beings that might be devils included serras, mermaids and mermen, and the creature known as Melusine. Serras appear all throughout art in the 16th and 17th centuries. They are flying fish that seem to be transmuted devils. Serras were found in many of the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch.[6] They appear in the *Garden of Earthly Delights*, the *Temptations of St. Anthony* (Lisbon), and other works. They may look similar to normal fish but fly though the air in obvious defiance of what fish normally do. Many followers of Bosch such as Pieter Brueghel the Elder and David Teniers the Younger also included serras in their paintings of witchcraft or demonic subjects. Teniers's serras do not precisely look like normal fish and often spew flames from their mouths, clearly indicating that these are no mere fish. Teniers used the visual concept of the serra as a type of devil. Many of his demon fish are readily identifiable as perfectly normal, with the exception of the flames they spout. He included everyday fish like sturgeons in his bestiary of serras.[7]

Serras and kobolds are probably good examples of folkloric creatures that were eventually transformed into devils of a more traditional Christian stripe. There were other creatures that perhaps did not make quite such a smooth transition from pagan culture. Mermaids and mermen, creatures that were part fish and part human appear in art and in literature, as with the character of Melusine. Sometimes these creatures were assimilated to devils, and other times they remained more within the scope of other paranormals such as fairies. Mermen and mermaids are found in the garden scene of Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*. There they represent sin, especially sexual sin. They occupy an iconographic position similar to the various animals and birds that Bosch included in the painting. Bears, owls, deer, woodpeckers, storks, various other birds, clams, and the like are everywhere in the painting. They refer to various sins and are metaphors for the evils of humanity. They are not necessarily devils, but they might be transmuted ones. It was all up to the viewer. I think that Bosch's mermaids and mermen are the same types of metaphors as the animals in the painting. They allude to sin, but they could also be visual metaphors for transmuted devils. This is especially the case since they are not quite human, nor quite animal in form.

The story of Melusine is a special case. Melusine was a creature: part human and part fish or serpent (depending on whom you read, or which

image you see). Her legend was quite popular in medieval Europe. This legendary woman/fish may have been derived from stories of pagan water spirits. By the late 1300s the story of Melusine had entered French literature as a romantic fantasy that was probably first composed for Jean, Duke of Berry. The version of her story written by Jean d'Arras in the late 1380s or 1390s told of her love for and marriage to a human man and their adventures. Melusine had the ability to appear as a normally formed human woman, but one day of the week—Saturday—she would revert to her part animal shape. Melusine appears in very early printed books wherein she is shown as part human. Visually she is very similar to a mermaid. This legend was well known and was even translated into languages other than its original French. The story of Melusine persisted in European literature through the 18th century. There was an edition printed in German in the second half of the 18th century that has several illustrations of Melusine looking very much like a mermaid. She has a fish tail and is shown playing a harp. This little book was also profusely illustrated with woodcuts that told the story of Melusine and her human husband and their various adventures. Melusine was not usually thought of as a devil, yet some accounts of her story imply that she was indeed a one. Her legend was even recounted by Sir Walter Scott.[8]

At times, devils are used in illustration or art in ways less than typical of the Early Modern preoccupation with veracity and correct reportage. Devils were not figures of fun, but they could be decorative elements. We also see this on very rare occasions with images of witches. Since theologians stated that devils were always meant to be taken seriously, the use of an image of a devil for a strictly decorative purpose is in analogous to the use of a devil found in *Melusine*. Decorative motifs of devils usually were not frightening and were not examples of visual realism. I will cite two examples from the 17th century in which devils were used as decorative motifs in books. The title page of Nathaniel Crouch's 1668 *The Kingdom of Darkness* shows several vignettes of various stories told by Crouch in his work. This book was meant to entertain the reader, much like some of today's reality "ghost hunting" television programs. But, there is evidence that Crouch still believed in some of the supernatural aspects about which he wrote. The title of this book is placed on its illustrated frontispiece and it is emblazoned on a banner held aloft by a grinning devil. That devil is the iconographic relative of various figures that hold up banners with titles in 17th-century publications. That the devil is made to be purely decorative is clear. A second use of a devil as


Wunderbare Geſchichte
von der edlen und ſchönen
Melusina,
welche
Eine Tochter des Königs Helmas
und ein Meerwunder geweſen iſt;
wie ſolche
auf dem Berge Awelon in Frankreich ge-
kommen iſt, und was für wunderbare Zufälle
ſich mit ihr begeben haben.
Anjetzo aufs neue überſehen, und mit
ſchönen Figuren gezieret.
Gedruckt in dieſem Jahre. (10

"Melusine." Anon, 18th century, *Wunderbare Geschichte von dem eblen und schonen Melusina*. (Private Collection.)

a decorative motif is found in Henning Grosse's *De Spectris*, printed in 1656. The divisions of the book are headed by a marginal illustration that is made up of cornucopia, foliage, fruits, and a horned devil in its center. There is no question that this image is a devil and that this one is a decorative element.

"Witch." H. Grosse, *Magia de Spectris*. Leiden, Franciscum Hackium, 1656. (Private Collection.)

Decorative devils could show up in rather unexpected places. One might not expect to see them, of instance, in a book of exorcism. Yet the 1605 Venice edition of Pietro Antonio Stampa's *Fuga Satanae* (Begone Satan) contains a number of small decorative inserts that show devils. Devil motifs are also used in historiated initials in this book. One cannot help wondering why the printer Sebastiano de Combis put so many little devils in this serious book of rites. Perhaps he included them to remind his exorcists that this was a very serious business that they were about, and the Devil might just pop up anywhere. One would have thought an exorcist would have had the Hell scared out of him often enough not to need any reminders. He did not insert them to entice buyers to purchase the book as it was not really intended for a general readership.

One aspect of decorative art that has sometimes been mistaken for representations of devils is the image of a foliage-faced human known as the

"Decorative Devil." P. Stampa, *Fuga Satanae,* Venice, Sebastian De Combis, 1605. (Private Collection.)

Green Man. Green Men (some were female faces) are a part of European art that probably extend back into prehistory. They appear throughout the Middle Ages in many instances in architectural decorations, book illustrations, and even paintings. These images seem to derive from pagan concepts of the fertility of the earth, although their exact historical meaning is lost in time. They abound in ecclesiastical art and decoration and have absolutely nothing to do with the Devil, although sometimes various historians will state that they are devils in a decorative sense. Green Men were used through the entire period of Early Modern Europe and continued as decorative items into modern times. In this author's office there is a Green Man hanging on the wall. Just as Green Men were not devils in disguise, they also were not put on churches or in psalters by "closet" pagans. That is simply silly. The church would not have permitted a pagan deity to have a place in its architecture or books. I think that the Green Man motif was an innocuous "it could not hurt" vestige from a past religious culture. Green Men seem to have survived from the pagan past as both decorative and simple magical devices, much like the "beware of dog" sign that many use today. That motif seems to come from ancient Rome where dog images and the legendary "cave canem" (beware this dog), were incorporated in door posts and on entry passages as tiled decorations. Those dog signs serve today as a type of magic: they ward off burglars, unless of course one has a sign like mine that reads "beware the Shih tzu."

Gargoyles also seem to have survived in medieval and Early Modern decoration as a vestige from the pagan cultures. They may have been used to represent devils on a few occasions, but again one has to assume that the church would not have covered its temples with devils as a decorative motif any more than it would have used pagan fertility images. Gargoyles definitely would have reminded the faithful that the Devil could assume fantastic shapes; still, it is not logical to think that a gargoyle that served as a rainspout on a cathedral was meant to be satanic. Nevertheless, this interpretation of gargoyles was commonplace in the history of art for the last two centuries.

An additional example of the near diabolic in 16th and 17th-century European culture was the notion of the Antichrist. The concept of the Antichrist has origins in the First and Second Letters of St. John, Thessalonians, and the Apocalypse. The Antichrist was also mentioned in various apocryphal books of the Bible; it was a well-known concept in the

medieval church. Church fathers, such as Irenaeus (125–202), and many later medieval theologians elaborated on the Antichrist.[9] A rich literary and visual tradition surrounded the Antichrist in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and 17th century. Many of these sources were versions of the Apocalypse.[10] Bernard McGinn has described the period of 1335 to 1500 as "the great era of Antichrist application rather than innovation."[11] He presents a rich tableau of late medieval literary and visual sources with the theme of the Antichrist. These continued past the Reformation.

The concept was that this individual was not the Devil as such, but his great representative on Earth, and that it was the role of the Antichrist to eventually try to overthrow the rule of Jesus as humankind approached the end of time. The Antichrist was not a devil; he was a human being. At times, Martin Luther stated flatly that the Antichrist was the pope. Other Protestants shared this belief. This gave rise to various works of art in which one sees devils whispering in the pope's ear as if to influence him.[12] This motif appeared in works by Protestant artists but also in works by Catholics.

Most people thought that the Antichrist was something almost like a devil. Throughout the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and 17th century, he was depicted in art as human, devil-like, or a combination of both. This iconography was not impacted by the Reformation. He was often identified with the "beast" of the Apocalypse. This creature with seven heads (probably a parallel to the Seven Deadly Sins in later thought) was seen in art as a personification of the Devil. The woman who conquers the seven-headed beast became identified with the Virgin Mary. This motif was extremely commonplace in art. Albrecht Dürer depicted the woman of the Apocalypse as Mary in a splendid woodcut in his 1498 *Apocalypse*. She is shown along with baby Jesus who is being tossed heavenward on a blanket by a group of angels. Nearby cowers the beast. Dürer also depicted the female counterpart of the Antichrist in this book. She appears as a human woman but is known as the Whore of Babylon. She appears with the beast but is its partner and not its enemy. Again as with the Antichrist and indeed even the woman, there were blurry lines of identification and symbolism in these motifs. People with stronger theological backgrounds might look at a work like Dürer's woodcut *Apocalypse* and see symbolic concepts of followers and enemies of the Devil. Others might look at the pictures and just see Mary; Jesus; the Devil as beast and the Whore as a female devil, a succubus. The point is that Antichrist and his colleagues

were sometimes thought of as devils much as were fairies and mermen. As such intermediary figures, they should be included in a discussion of the iconography of the Devil.

THE DEVIL INTERACTING WITH PEOPLE

Both learned and popular discussions of the nature of the Devil often centered on what he did. Everyone accepted the notion that there was a Devil and that he had innumerable demonic followers and many human followers; therefore the principal concerns were to know what the Devil did to harm humanity and defy God. One of the most significant questions concerns how and in what forms devils could appear to humans. It was held, of course, that devils were noncorporeal. Thus it was a necessity for them to do something in order to make themselves seen by people. Internal spiritual visions might happen for some who were skilled in meditation, but even in these the devils would show themselves to the visionary in some zoomorphic or anthropomorphic form. For mundane appearances such as at a crossroads, in a monk's cell, or a witches' sabbat, devils had to assume or seem to assume forms. All the demonologists and experts on witchcraft wrote about this. One could produce an immense volume just on the topic of how the Devil looked when humans saw him. In general, the Devil normally took one of these two forms just noted. He was either zoomorphic (animal forms) or anthropomorphic (human forms). But he could blend these together and appear as a hybrid thing comprised of animal and human anatomical parts. As remarked above, in some cases of folkloric appearances of entities that might be considered devils, they then took on the aspects of fairies, mermen, elves, and the like. Devils could look precisely like animals without any bizarre physical components. The lore as well as learned discourse is full of descriptions of witches' "familiars," devils who kept witches company and who usually looked like normal animals—dogs, cats, mice, birds, snails, toads, and so on. Just about any animal one could think of might have been a familiar in disguise. Variety in shapes of domestic animals was not confined to familiars. Guazzo tells a story of a Jesuit priest who was up late one night engaged in performing a penance when his room was overrun by cats, mice, and other beasts—black in color and of a terrible appearance—so numerous that they seemed to fill the whole bedroom. The priest cried out loud to God for assistance before an image of Jesus. When he did that,

"all the animals suddenly vanished with such a commotion and shrieking and outcry that it seemed as if the house would fall down." While Guazzo used this story to illustrate the power of prayer against the attack of the Devil, it also illustrates what sorts of shapes that devils could assume.[13]

Guazzo was an Italian priest who belonged to the order of Saints Ambrose, Nemus, and Barnabas. He wrote the *Compendium* in 1605 while serving at the German court of John, Duke of Cleves in Julich. This court had been the patron of Johann Weyer whose works were among the very few publications that argued for reason and skeptical scrutiny of witchcraft cases. Guazzo was an exorcist and had been called to this court to deal with a number of witchcraft cases. This book compiles a now-typical collection of stories and cases on witchcraft and blends these with numerous references to earlier writers. Henry Charles Lea and Rossell Hope Robbins counted the citations in the *Compendium* and came up with an astonishing number of 322 authorities.

In England the idea of the witches' familiar was a major component of lore and learned writings. Witches had all kinds of familiars, similar to those mentioned by Guazzo and others on the continent, but the British witches had an even wider variety, called imps. The familiars, imps, came to witches in the forms of animals but also of insects or arachnids, (spiders are mentioned) and even in the forms of children. This last one is not commonplace elsewhere. Trial accounts from Suffolk in 1646 recorded a witch, Elizabeth Hobert, who had three male imps named by themselves as Thomas, Richard, and Hobb. They appeared to her "in the likeness of children . . . [and] asked her to deny God, Christ and all his works . . . and she should want nothing." These familiars drew blood from the witch's back to make the pact official and then suckled her frequently from various marks they made on her body. Such an account makes one pause to wonder about the mental state of this witch. Or perhaps she and others who had children familiars were just pederasts.[14]

British witches not only had a vast experience with familiars, these devils appeared to and suckled both men and women. There are trial accounts in which the person who has used familiars to do black magic and who has suckled them was a man. Where trial accounts were printed with illustrations in the form of chapbooks (pamphlets), there might be images of the various familiars of the witch. Frequently these look like normal animals, though some might take on anthropomorphic or zoomorphic fantasy forms. For example, Nathanial Crouch wrote about the witch

Ann Bodenham who was executed in the latter part of the 16th century. At her trial it was reported that she summoned devils that looked like "great shaggy boys." One of the Crouch illustrations shows Ann conjuring her devil friends, and they are just that: a visual blend of human and goat components that makes them look almost like satyrs.

The theological concept that the devils could not make exact replicas of human or animal forms seems to stem from the church fathers. St. Augustine commented on this by noting that only God could make a human as there had to be a soul in the body to create one. The Devil could not do that, nor could the Devil make perfect forms of anything, again because that was the province of God. The Devil could not be God. All this was repeated by medieval theologians such as St. Thomas Aquinas and was deeply ingrained in Catholic theology long before the 15th century. This concept, along with human imagination, gave rise to the splendid variety of awful looking creatures that were medieval and later representations of devils. The artist or the writer for that matter could let his imagination go wild. At the same time, there are instances in book illustration and art from the period wherein one sees familiars that look like normal animals. Yet the fantastic creatures occupy the imagination far more than those mundane familiars do. Mention the word devil to people, and it is unlikely that they would think of a dog or cat. They would visualize a monstrous creature with horns, cloven hoofs, a tail, bat wings, and an ugly human face. At the beginning of this chapter I included a quotation from an early 20th-century Protestant text called *Sermons by the Devil*. The Devil in this little book is shown wearing the garb you would expect a Protestant minister to wear. But he has a tail, bat wings, and a very ugly countenance. These motifs from the past persist.

The imagery of devils in art and book illustrations remained fairly constant between 1400 and 1700. There were always zoomorphic or anthropomorphic devils. Some seem cruder than others, but one cannot really go by this as a characteristic of a particular century. For instance, there are crude hybrid devils in illustrations in the incunabulum entitled *Das Buch Belial* (The Book of Belial), 1479. These do not look substantially different from similar crude-looking devils found 80 years later in Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Story of the Northern People) from 1555. Other devils that are quite similar, although perhaps better drawn, are found in the illustrations of Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum* (Compendium of Witchcraft), 1608. There is a sort of generalized

quality of crudeness in draughtsmanship in artistic renderings of devils prior to 1500. But one has to be a bit careful with this generalization as there are some motifs elegantly drawn and not the least crude looking. For example, Dürer's print, *The Witch*, about 1500, shows an elderly female witch riding astride a goat devil. The goat is beautifully drawn and does not seem in the least crude in appearance; and its face looks more like that of a Pekingese than a goat. It "flies" along through the sky so rapidly that its hindquarters are blurred as if with great speed. So, while one can extrapolate a date for a work of art on the basis of how devils look, one just has to be careful. As with many aspects of the dark side in culture, the iconography of devils became quite entrenched and had a lasting impact on future art. If one thinks of a "devil" today, one probably brings up a mental image of a devil that would look quite at home in an Early Modern European setting.

Some devils who tempt men to sexual sins as succubi (devils looking like human females) appear at first observation to be human, often beautiful young girls. Yet in many cases, especially in the 17th century, if one looks more closely at the succubus, one sees that she has bird claws for feet or perhaps a scaly serpent's tail hanging out from under her skirt. She is not quite human in appearance if one pays close attention. Such succubi were commonplace in paintings of the theme of the *Temptations of St. Anthony*. While tempting demons could also appear to be human males, known as incubi, these are less common in art and book illustration. We see a rare example in Ulrich Molitor's 1489 *De Lamiis et Phitonicis Mulieribus* (Concerning Demons and Witches). This incubus looks part human and part animal and is giving a witch a hug and kiss. Most of the time, however, the tempting devils are shown as succubi.

Some of the demonologists commented on exactly how they thought the devils achieved their illusions of appearing in human or animal form. Nicolas Remy (c. 1530–1612), a French demonologist and theologian noted in his *Daemonolatreia Libri Tres* (Three Books on Demonology), 1595, that the devils assumed what appeared to be human or animal forms by what he termed a process of "condensation":

> Demons are by nature incorporeal, but . . . they can for a time assume and make use of a body condensed out of the air or from some grosser matter; and St. Augustine . . . does not deny that he is of the same opinion. . . . Demons take upon themselves just that kind of concrete

"Witch and Familiar." U. Molitor, *De Lamiis et Phitonicis Mulieribus*. Strassburg, Jacob Prüss, 1489. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

> body which answers the particular purpose which they have in view; and their different shapes and appearances may be said to be as limitless . . . [as the purposes] . . . they will confine themselves within the very smallest of bodies, and now dilate themselves into monstrous size; sometimes they appear as men, sometimes as women; they will roar like lions, leap like panthers, or bark like dogs; and at times will transform themselves into the shape of a wine-skin or some other vessel.[15]

One can just imagine someone who had too much to drink making note of the devil in the wine-skin. Francesco Maria Guazzo would write in very similar terms in 1608 when he reprised what Remi had said. Guazzo wrote about how demons and even werewolves (whom he thought were all witches) assumed aerial bodies about themselves in the likeness of whatever they wanted to represent. While this illusory creature could seem fairly normal in the shape of an animal or a human, Remi also commented that the Devil made mistakes. His illusory creatures would be "of

a low and depraved countenance and always with their hands and feet hooked and bent like birds of prey."[16] This last image is exactly how the devils are shown in the various vignettes that were printed in Guazzo. The devils there all have hideous faces and claws on their feet and "hands."

While devils could assume just about any illusory form or combination of forms, one of the most popular was that of a goat, which may have derived from the earlier visual motifs of satyrs and fauns. We see goats as devils in medieval art, and by the 15th century, this is a very commonplace motif. The classic literature of witchcraft and demonology describes the Devil frequently appearing as a great black goat. Normally this goat smells bad. Goats can smell bad, but then it was also thought that devils did too, making for an apt analogy. Remi noted that devils would first appear to humans in a human form so as not to frighten them as much. Later they might take forms of animals, such as dogs or goats. He also commented that the goat was the favorite guise of the Devil when he attended the witches' sabbats.[17] Among the most odious aspects of the interactions between devils and witches at the sabbat was what was known as the "infamous kiss." Supposedly the witches kissed the devil in his guise as a male goat, but they did this by kissing his hind quarters. This was a parody of the acts of fealty performed by subjects who kissed the king's hand or by clerics who kissed the pope's ring. Even today those who are appointed to positions by Queen Elizabeth II undergo a ceremony known as the "kissing hands" of the Queen although this is not literally done any longer.

This motif of the infamous kiss is found everywhere in art and book illustrations in the 16th and 17th centuries. Some of the images and ideas associated with the Devil and his witches are almost incomprehensible now to the modern researcher. One can only wonder how people believed these things and speculate about how a concept like the infamous kiss could have come about in the popular and learned consciousness. We will discuss the behaviors at the sabbat and their images further in chapter 2.

One interesting anatomical feature of such artistically conceived devils is the treatment that artists gave to the devil's genitalia. This goes back well into the Middle Ages, and one finds devils with most peculiar genitals in illuminations or frescoes, as well as in stained glass or sculptures. Normally the actual genital area is not shown in any way that seems anatomically correct. There is no penis, no scrotum on a male demon. Sometimes female devil genitalia are shown as toads; more commonly, a female

demon modestly places a paw or hand near the pubic area and so covers it. Male devil genitalia are shown as fantastic animals, horrible faces, flames, and even normal looking animals like toads. One sees such genitalia in, for example, the scene of Hell and the Last Judgment in Giotto's Arena Chapel frescos, which date about 1320. By that point, the imagery was no longer novel. This usage of odd looking parts has to do with two motifs in the lore of devils. First, it shows an instance where a devil cannot get it right, so to speak, and it also shows the depravity of the devil to tempt humans into sexual sin or to engage in sexual acts with humans. If we put ourselves in the position of those who believed all this, when we look at a devil with a monstrous bird or bat face where its genitals should be, it would make us shudder with horror and imagine what a sexual encounter with such an awful creature might be like. It might also provide a prurient thrill. Devils like these with astonishingly inventive anatomical components are perfectly typical throughout all the art of Early Modern Europe. They remain perfectly typical today in the visual arts. These exposed male devils should not be confused with the concept of the devils as incubi. Incubi or succubi are shown directly involved with humans and are depicted hugging the human, dancing with him or her, or engaged in more overt sexual acts. Some succubi can be determined from the context of the work of art, such as those in the *Temptations of St. Anthony,* because that is the story of the saint. He was tempted but never gave in.

The Devil and his minions were of course far more than just components of art or literature. They were important parts of folklore as well. Some of this popularity is still evidenced by various folkloric names and ideas about the Devil that were part of Early Modern Europe and are retained in modern language or folklore. The hellish permeates modern languages. We have a devil of a time finding good pumpernickel ("farting devil" in German) bread. We are bedeviled by the fact that our sandwich won't be as good as it could be. Our favorite delicatessen is out of the bread, and we silently wish the baker could go to the devil. So we decide to compromise—give the devil his due and settle for devil's food cake.

From a less frivolous perspective there are instances in Europe and elsewhere of what we can call "geologic folklore." For example, there are fossil trackways that are locally known as "devil's footprints." Some are fossil human tracks in volcanic flows that had cooled sufficiently for a man to walk on them. Others are fossil trackways made by bipedal dinosaurs. In the case of the dinosaur prints, these are found at Baltow

in south east Poland. There the legend holds that the Devil and an angel made a wager as to who could leap over the Kamienna River Valley. The Devil leaped the entire valley but hit the ground so hard that he made everlasting footprints. Other folklore holds that prints like these were made by a devil known as a "cacodemon" that is, a noise making devil. The cacodemon is a typical manifestation of devils and was so well known that there was even an image of one printed in Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Monstrum Historia* (Story of Monsters) in 1696. It has claws and spurs on its hind legs, perfect for making what we now would say was the trackway of a bipedal dinosaur. Other instances of folklore's impacts on geological names include various fossil bones spoken of as devil bones. The "devil's toenails" are fossil oysters. There is even "devil's dung." This latter is not a fossil dropping, a coprolite, but a gum resin derived from the Asafoetida plant. (Asafoetida smells awful. It is a folkloric medicinal herb, and it was also used in suffumigations in the 16th century to assist exorcists). The name is given to some types of greenish flint.[18] Everyone in the United States is familiar with the Devil's Tower, the weathered pipe of lava that congealed inside a volcano in eastern Wyoming. This is but one example of many such geological formations or place names that have something to do with the Devil.

Nicolas Remi noted that some contemporary folklore held that a tree, wall, or roof that had been struck by lightning might be said to have been marked by the devils' claws rather than the bolt. This according to Remi led people to think that the Devil might be generating lightning in order to do harm. "Some say that [these marks mean] that it is caused by the Demon who hands are supposed to be hooked like talons. But others laugh at this as an old woman's tale and maintain that it is due solely to natural causes." He then suggests that, since devils can mimic all kinds of forms, perhaps they sometimes appear as lightning bolts. He was not ready to "entirely set aside the opinions of those who believe that in such matters there is some other influence at work besides that which can be made to conform with the normal sequence of natural causes."[19]

Much of the lore of the Devil, and devils naturally, has to do with what they were about as they interacted with human beings. The Devil wanted to turn people from God, but he also wanted to trouble and harm humans, in body as well as soul. These evils the Devil did by the permission of God, and depending on the theology, through the human's free will to choose to commit sin or do maleficia. The Devil could be made to serve humans through magic, but even if the magician was trying to do

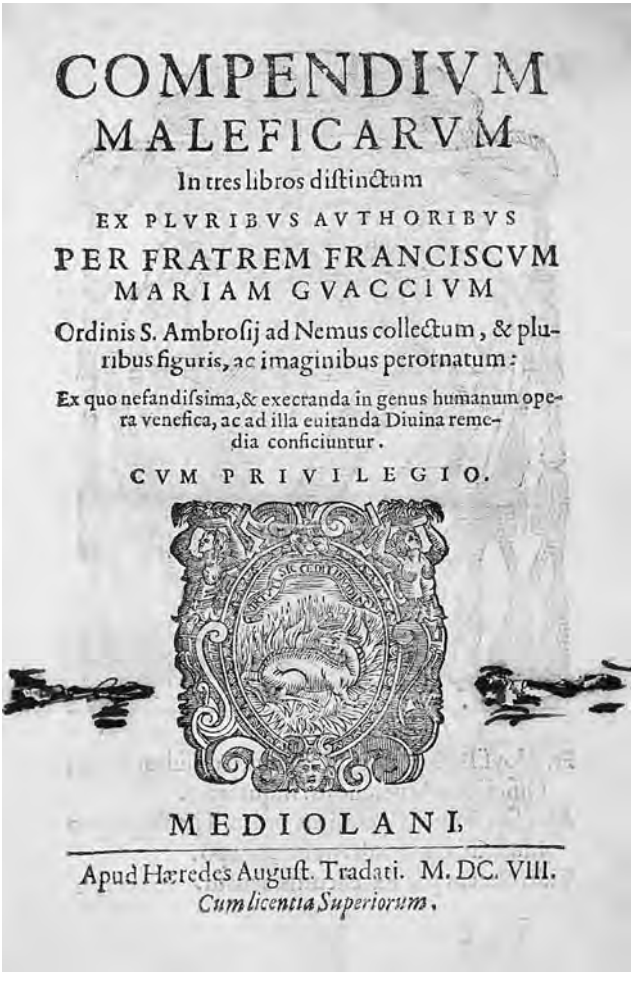
good—such as consult a demon in a crystal about the future or the nature of someone's illness—the devil in question always had a nefarious ulterior motive. The classic tale of Dr. Faustus points out what happened when a magician made a pact with the devil.

The devils were called upon by witches, werewolves, and magicians to assist them in doing black magic. Black magic, which we discuss in more detail in a later chapter, involved injuring humans or animals or adversely affecting the weather, crops, or other aspects of nature. Black magic could be brought to bear in causing persons to fall ill, fail to procreate, or even die. The same could be said for animals. Werewolves did not use black magic per se to kill or injure people; they just did that on their own in their guise of wolves. But werewolves could also harm people's property. Olaus Magnus, the Swedish bishop, wrote about werewolves who broke into houses and then went into the cellars and drank up all the alcoholic beverages they could locate. They could break in through magic in order to do so unnoticed by the householder. This sort of drunken raid on the cellar was also a commonplace activity of gnomes and elves; again the activity of werewolves may have come from earlier folklore.

Just about any negative situation in which people found themselves could be attributed to black magic. And with witches' maleficia, that was the case. Witches were even thought to be able to use black magic and the devils' assistance to set buildings on fire. Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum,* 1608, shows a scene of a town burning while witches watch from a safe distance. It seems that devils had as much interest and entertainment from harming humans in physical ways as they did in harming humans by contesting for their souls.

While the devils who worked against humans generally appeared to them in the types of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic forms we have discussed here, there were other kinds of devils who did not assume mundane forms to appear to men and interact with them. Guazzo discusses these devils, some of which he termed "apparitions and spectres." This was a slightly different usage from that of most 17th-century demonologists. He called things spectres that others would not have so categorized. Works such as Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum* reveal the complexity and variety of beliefs and the enormous position occupied in Early Modern thought by devils.

Guazzo said that there were "many kinds of demons differing among themselves by fixed degrees." He almost lines up his devils as others would assemble angels into various hierarchies, like cherubim and seraphim.


COMPENDIVM
MALEFICARVM
In tres libros distinctum
EX PLVRIBVS AVTHORIBVS
PER FRATREM FRANCISCVM
MARIAM GVACCIVM
Ordinis S. Ambrosij ad Nemus collectum, & pluribus figuris, ac imaginibus perornatum:
Ex quo nefandissima, & execranda in genus humanum opera venefica, ac ad illa euitanda Diuina remedia conficiuntur.
CVM PRIVILEGIO.
MEDIOLANI.
Apud Hæredes August. Tradati. M. DC. VIII.
Cum licentia Superiorum.

Title Page. F. M. Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*. Milan, Heirs of Augusto, Tradati, 1608. (Private Collection.)

Guazzo enumerates at least six different types of devils. Some dealt with humanity, and others could not be bothered to do that. His first group of devils is called "firey, because they dwell in the upper air and will never sink to the lower regions until the Day of Judgment and these have no dealings on earth with men."[20] These firey devils are not the same as aerial devils that live in the air humans breathe and can take on atmospheric forms (a favorite notion with Guazzo on how a devil could manifest).

These could appear to humans, but they were also responsible for bad weather, "for they all conspire together for the ruin of the human race." Terrestrial devils live in woods and forests, fields, hidden places and caverns, and some "delight to live in secret with men." They, like the aerial devils, do their own particular brands of maleficia such as bad weather, hurting hunters and farmers. Storms at sea and drownings were caused by the fourth group, the water devils. These live under water in "rivers and lakes and are full of wrath, turbulent, unquiet and fraudulent." All these groups of demons begin to sound very suspiciously like various entities that pagans thought lived within the world around them. They saw their world as animistic, and evidently Guazzo saw his demons in much the same way. Whereas deity might not be in all things, anti-deity certainly could. We see here Guazzo's debt to pagan religions that lingered in folklore in his own time. Water devils like to appear as female humans, but if the water devil lives in water in an arid region, it would appear as a man. The fifth type of devils was those who live under the earth. They inhabit caves in the mountains according to Guazzo. Here he refers to what most others called kobolds, devils who bothered miners; however, these subterranean devils could also cause windstorms, fires, and earthquakes. The sixth type of devil is "Lucifugous," "because they chiefly abhor and detest the light and never appear by day, nor can they assume a bodily form except at night." These are nasty devils, "shaken with icy passions, malicious, restless, and perturbed . . . they violently oppress men (at night) and can even kill humans by mere touch or breathing on them." Poor Guazzo must have been afraid to open his door and go outside, even to his outhouse, in such a grim and phantom-ridden world.

Guazzo believed that while there were these general divisions of devils, devils also appeared as animals and humans. We noted that this was more typical of his demonology than the list of types. Whereas devils could manifest as "many various forms of spectres, such as dogs, cats, goats, oxen, men, women, or a horned owl," God would never allow them to appear as "doves, lambs, sheep" because these animals were metaphors for the Holy Spirit and for Christ and because they were "without guile and do no harm."[21]

The credulous Guazzo took a more gentle approach to persons bothered by what he called "false apparitions and false revelations." He did not deny that there could be revelations or visions, but for the most part, it was very important to carefully scrutinize these. Such visions of the

future, for example, might come from the Devil or from heretics, but they might also just be the product of a disturbed mind. Thus those he called "the proud and ambitious, the impatient, the carnally minded, drunkards, those who cherish anger or stir up hatred or spread dissent, or those who defame others; . . . hypocrites" were people not to be believed or trusted. If the person with the visions was in ill health, was overly tired or hungry, and had not had enough sleep, then that person was under a delusion of a physical nature. Age and gender had to be considered as well. "Demons used to love to utter their oracles through children's mouths as being more adapted to their work. And as to the female sex, it is agreed that this must be regarded with the greater suspicion. . . . The feminine sex is more foolish and more apt to mistake natural or demoniacal suggestions for ones of Divine origin." None of these mitigating circumstances necessarily meant that the visionary was not evil, yet his position is similar to what Johann Weyer had written about witchcraft. Most visions and revelations were probably just the product of human frailty of body or mind and should be dismissed out of hand. Women, who were by their nature far more evil than men, were less to be trusted. They indeed might be uttering false prophecies that had not come at all from any legitimate source. "Further since women are lascivious, luxurious and avaricious in their manner of life . . . it must be noted whether such prophetesses are particularly garrulous, of a roaming disposition, evil-does, greedy of praise, passionate . . . for women of this sort not only deceive themselves but drag even learned men to destruction when these place too much credence in them."[22]

One manifestation of the Devil that Guazzo did not seem to concern himself about was a water creature known as a basilisk. Basilisks are found in medieval art and literature and have given their name to a particular species of West Indian lizard (*Basiliscus plumifrons*). These devilish creatures were a special case of a mating between a domestic fowl of some sort: chicken, duck, goose, and a devil. Like the belief that devils could "mate" after a fashion with a manifested form and stolen sperm, the basilisk arrived in one's barnyard when a devil mated a bird, probably much in the same way as it mated a human. Since there would have been no need for the devil to manifest before a hen, it could have just gone about its nefarious business; and once this happened, the basilisk appeared. Basilisks were poisonous. If they got into your well or water trough, they would kill anything that drank from it. Again one must assume that the basilisk

arose from folklore as a means to explain contaminated water. Not knowing about the typhoid or cholera bacilli, people just called them basilisks instead.

In one of the more unusual aspects of how devils interacted with humans, the Devil was said to require witches to sign their names in a book in order to cement their pact with him. Again, this may be a parody of certain religious who were expected to sign a copy of their vows upon profession. Some religious orders of men or women still do this today; Carmelites sign their vows, as do Benedictines. These devils' books are sometimes called "black books" or "grimoires" although that term is also used to describe books of evil magical procedures that the witches used to do harm and which they might be given by the Devil. English witchcraft literature is filled with stories of witches who sign their names in their own blood in such books, and similar accounts occur in various continental works. This motif may be represented in contemporary art; however, the books are generally thought to be those which contain charms and magic spells.

While much of the lore both popular and learned that concerns the Devil is derived from the teachings of the church, clearly some of them were taken from folklore. Some "devils" seem far more to be leftovers from the animistic religions of the pagans. This connection may be seen in some concepts of how to summon a devil to do the witch's or magician's will. Many books stated that various devils would require an offering of some sort—a gift, like a rock perhaps—in order to appear. Given devils might be more easily summoned on particular days of the week or hours of the day. Materials like these were ingrained in folklore but also found in magic books such as those written by Agrippa von Nettesheim and Della Porta, whom we will discuss later. Occasionally one will see this sort of procedure in works of art. One early painting by David Teniers the Younger shows a witch summoning demons from inside a magic circle. In that circle there is a rock. That is her "gift" for a devil she wishes to summon.

In some respects, these earlier folk beliefs may be retained in the various remedies for assisting those who were possessed or for just dismissing the Devil in general. Of course there were formal processes of exorcism, but more informal measures might be quite efficacious. One might simply pray very hard as the Jesuit priest mentioned by Guazzo had done when his cell was overrun by demons. St. Teresa of Avila tried that when beset

by a devil; it did not work, so she threw holy water on him. While these are within the scope of the Catholic Church's use of what it calls sacramentals, (rosaries, Holy Water, relics, and the like) they also can be seen to have earlier roots in non-Christian sources. Water is always a cleanser. Even the ancient cultures of the Middle East used water for trials by ordeal. The Code of Hammurabi mentions tossing possible criminals into the river to see whether the river will receive or reject them. The river and its god were so pure and sacred that they served as a judge of guilt. Similarly, many cultures used fire or incenses (smudging) to eradicate unwanted forces. These things must also have arisen from various sources in Middle Eastern cultures of the ancient past.

In the theology and folklore of Early Modern Europe, the Devil and his minions are eternally consigned to Hell; but there were on occasions some theologians who considered that perhaps at the end of time, Hell might be emptied as well. This was of course a heresy. Decades ago this author heard a talk on Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* fresco given by the late Frederick Hartt. Hartt was one of the world's premiere experts on Michelangelo. The painting in the Sistine Chapel is famous for its motif of Jesus who seems to be raising his hand in anger to forever drive the devils and the condemned to Hell. Hartt asked his audience to consider that possibly this painting might have actually represented a heresy from the 16th century, and Jesus was raising his hand as if to say "come on up to Heaven" rather than sending the devils and souls to Hell. The audience was rather stunned to say the least. It was a memorable lecture.

If we generally accept the orthodox Christian view of the Devil and Hell, we still can consider what the impact of Calvin's concept of predestination might mean in the light of an eternal Hell. Were Satan and the evil angels predestined to commit their defiance of God, thus going to Hell and never returning? Everyone accepted that angels and humans had free will; yet that concept ran into metaphysical speed bumps when it was considered with predestination. Predestination seemed to negate the idea of free will. Calvin did not seem to think that the Devil was any different than his Catholic or Lutheran contemporaries made him. The Devil was God's evil agent and designed to try to harm humanity. Calvin commented that "the Devil is said to have undisputed possession of this world until he is dispossessed by Christ."[23] This rather odd sentence seems to indicate that the Devil was acting as God's agent. At the same time, if the Devil had this "job" from God, did that mean that Satan had

been predestined to this role by God? Why would God need something to torment humanity? The orthodox belief was that God allowed humans to be tormented and tempted because of the sin of Adam and Eve. Even then, the first parents made their own decision to defy God's prohibition on the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Although Calvin denied that God was the creator of evil, the question of the role of the Devil in God's plans and preplanning got far more complex with the theology of John Calvin.

From this discussion it will be evident that the Devil was an integral part of Christian thinking in Early Modern Europe. I sometimes invite my students to try to consider what art would have been like in the Renaissance and 17th century if it had not been for Christianity. This consideration includes the Devil. He and his followers, whether they were spirits or humans, comprised a large segment of not only Christianity but Western culture in this period. The students cannot really visualize what European art would have been like. The ensuing chapters in this book will consider in more detail the various roles of the Devil and his own with the intent of demonstrating what a huge factor the dark side was in Early Modern Europe. People devoted their entire lives to the study of the Devil. This interest transcended any number of geopolitical or linguistic boundaries. It permeated the arts and letters, to say nothing of theology and demonology, places where one would naturally expect the Devil to be important.

One question that is something that historians probably cannot really answer deals with how actually afraid that people may have been of the Devil. When we read the literature we find that the Devil was, as Guazzo put it, something to fear and not to take lightly. But one does wonder what the average person thought about these things. Did they live their day-to-day lives in a state of paranoia? Their brothers and sisters in the religious orders probably did just that. It was part of their mind-set and whole rationale for existing. They had to be perfect, and the Devil stood squarely in their way as they tried to do that. But did farmers, tradesmen, haus fraus, and professionals like doctors and book binders think this way? They did not necessarily have to be perfect like monks and nuns. Were the laity also preoccupied with the Devil? In a sense the preoccupation with the Devil and his followers, like witches, seems to have been almost like that of the people watching the proverbial train wreck. They know what is coming, it is awful, but they cannot look away. It is why people

watch live news coverage of car chases on television. There has to have been some element of simple fascination with the horrible or hideous that entered into reactions toward stories, sermons, or art concerning the Devil. This fascination might have been different for those in religious life, but human nature being what it is, some people must have been intrigued with the devilish. We have some insight into this by taking note of the books published in the 16th and 17th centuries that dealt with "monsters." There are many such works. Odd and misshapen animals or persons were discussed in medical books, popular broadsides, and even examples of the fine arts. Dürer made an engraving of a deformed swine, for example. All these items fit in with the emerging scientific method of Early Modern Europe. Monsters, devils, and people from other continents were all treated with curiosity and discussed or shown with realism. That is not to say that the average plowman or fisherman was using the scientific method; yet it does point to the fact that those who were not among the "learned" were still being influenced by the new science of the times.

Were there national variations on what ordinary lay people thought about the Devil? Was the average German as scared of Satan as the average Italian? A review of some additional aspects of the dark side can give us some insights into questions like these. We can see, to a certain degree, what learned or folk concepts were and how these impacted on life, arts, and letters. In some cases these vary from one national area to another. Thus witches are thought to behave in certain ways with more or less frequency depending on where they live. English witches were extremely involved with familiar devils. German and French witches had familiars, but did not seem as dependent on them as the English were.

We really cannot answer these questions concerning what the laity thought to any great degree. We come closer to being able to posit what the religious or other learned persons might have thought. But, as we continue to examine the dark side of Early Modern Europe, we can slowly increase our understanding of what people thought about Satan a little more, and we most certainly can see how important he and his followers were in culture.

In the following chapters of this book, I will examine in more detail the activities or perceived activities of some of the Devil's favorites. Witches, ghosts, and werewolves all associated with the Devil. Those who wrote about them and studied their behaviors, the demonologists, and the exorcists occupy a special place in the Devil's "outbox." To the modern

reader it may seem almost incredible that the dark side was so enormously important between 1400 and 1700. But this should not really surprise the reader, given the parallels between the dark side of the past and the great interest in such topics in our times. We are the inheritors of the Early Modern World in many ways; the dark side is one large component of this legacy.

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CHAPTER 2

WITCHES

[The kinds of witches are] magicians . . . soothsaying wizards . . . divinators . . . jugglers . . . enchanters and charmers . . . witch or hag is she [who] being deluded by a league made with the devil . . . thinketh that she can design what manner of evil things soever [*sic*] . . . as to shake the air with lightenings and thunder, to cause hail and tempests, to remove green corn or trees to another place, to be carried of her familiar . . . into some mountain far distant . . . and sometimes to fly upon a staff or fork or some other instrument and to spend all the night after with her [devil] sweetheart.

—William West, *Simboleograhy,* 1594.

[A witch is] an old weather-beaten crone, having her chin and knees meeting for age, walking like a bow, leaning on a staff, hollow-eyed, un-toothed, furrowed, having her limbs trembling with palsy, going mumbling in the streets; one that hath forgotten her paternoster, yet hath a shrewd tongue to call a drab a drab.

—Samuel Harsnett, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures,* 1603.

Witches, that brood of hellish vipers, do not only by their devilish work inflame souls, but set fire to bodies, houses and whole towns, wherefor they are manifestly fuel for the eternal fire.

—Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum* (Compendium of Witchcraft), 1608.

This makes me believe that after the devotion and good instruction of so many devout religious figures chased the demons and evil

angels from the Indies, Japan and other places, they were unleashed on Christendom in large numbers. And having found both the people and the terrain here [in the Basque lands of France] are well disposed, they have made it their principal abode.

Another witch in Bayonne had a child of her own who was given away out of charity and put to nurse at the home of an honest woman beyond reproach. Several days later the child was found in the middle of a bedroom with his brain and his buttocks eaten. Is this a fantasy? Was this anything but the remains of some sabbath feast?

—Pierre de l'Ancre, *Tableau de L'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 1612.

Cause I am poor, deformed and ignorant, and like a bow buckled and bent together. . . . Some call me witch and being ignorant of myself they go about to teach me how to be one, urging that my bad tongue by their bad usage made so, forspeaks their cattle, doth bewitch their corn, themselves, their servants and their babes at nurse. . . . I am shunned and hated like a sickness . . . tis all one, to be a witch as to be counted one.

—William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, and John Ford, *The Witch of Edmonton*, 1658.

No witches! Why I have hanged above fourscore. Read Bodin, Remigius, Delrio, Nider, Institor, Sprenger, Godelman and More and Malleus Maleficarum, a great author that writes sweetly about witches, very sweetly.

—Thomas Shadwell, *The Lancashire Witches and Tegue O'Divelly The Irish Priest*, 1682.

Witchcraft means different things to different people . . . for the two centuries of the imposition of the witchcraft delusion on the religious and intellectual life of Europe the word had a precise meaning, one generally recognized and frequently spelled out.

—Rossell Hope Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, 1959.

The witch was a hybrid figure. Before 1400, each of her activities had been attributed to a different group of outcast or marginal persons.

—Walter Stevens, *Demon Lovers*, 2002.

WHO WERE THE WITCHES AND WHAT DID THEY DO?

Beliefs in witches and witchcraft are enormous components of most European cultures between 1400 and 1700. Despite what Robbins wrote in his 1959 *Encyclopedia of Demonology and Witchcraft*, the concepts of what a witch was—and what witches' acts were—did change and vary from place to place during the time of Early Modern Europe. As we can see from the above quotation by William West, some authors thought that stage magicians and fortune-tellers were witches. Although they could have been witches, most people would have thought that first it was necessary to make a formal pact with the Devil or, at the least, to have foresworn Christianity. To be a witch was to be a Christian apostate. For this discussion, I will generally adhere to the definition given by West as the old "hag" with her familiars. This seems to have been the most common image. Of course there were male witches as well. The importance the belief in witches held did not disappear with the coming of the 18th century, although it did diminish variously in parts of Europe. How much the beliefs diminished depended on what part of Europe one lived in. Thus the believers in witchcraft waned faster in the Netherlands and England than they did in Germany and in parts of France.

Witches existed in all levels of society. They were not always easy to spot. The witch might be your neighbor who was perhaps just a little odd or unpleasant. He or she might have some physical or mental disability. He or she might have a "bad tongue" and be prone to using foul language. But these sorts of indications of a possible witch living next door were not always apparent. A witch might have none of these features.

Our stereotype of the witch today is an elderly woman with facial warts and a big nose. She has scraggly hair and a pointed hat and goes around on a broom. Likely as not, her face is green. (This last feature is due to the famous green makeup worn by the Wicked Witch of the West in the motion picture *The Wizard of Oz*). She probably dresses in black robes. She has a black cat for a familiar. Witches in Early Modern Europe did not look like anything that for the most part, judging by the evidence from the visual arts. Witches were seen as far more diverse. They were male and female, young and old, and some were quite beautiful, voluptuous women. Youthful and even attractive witches were actually quite typical in art in the 16th and 17th centuries. Many witches were depicted

"Witches Dancing on the Blocksberg." N. Remi, *Daemonolatreia*. Hamburg, T. von Wiering, 1693. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

naked, but if they wore clothes, they dressed like ordinary people. Some were dressed as peasants or tradespersons, but others wore clothing that indicated they were wealthy or members of the noble classes. Some few wore pointed hats but only if they happened to be late 16th- or early 17th-century English women who customarily wore hats like that.

"Witches of Various Ages." F. M. Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*. Milan, Heirs of Augusto, Tradati, 1608. (Private Collection.)

By definition, a witch—a Christian who had eschewed God and become a worshipper of the Devil—could not be a Jew or a Muslim. At the vanguard of European incursion into the Americas, the Spanish held that the various indigenous groups they met were worshippers of the Devil. But they could not have been witches per se. The only way for a Native American to have been a witch would have been if that person converted and then left Christianity and returned to his pagan ways, tantamount to going over to the side of the Devil.

Witches were thought to be a virulent menace not only to the Christian faith but also to the orderly progress of society and humanity itself. To make the phenomenon all the more horrifying, they were, as we noted, the people down the street. The witch was your spouse, your clergyman, your teacher, your doctor, your cousin the nun, or even your child. There

are good reasons why historians speak of "witch crazes" or "witch hysteria." We use the term "witch hunt" today to describe frenzied and systematic persecutions of those who are seen as menaces to society. While there were most definitely not millions of people persecuted as witches in Early Modern Europe, there were thousands of them. There is little evidence to indicate that there really were organized groups of Christian apostates who worshipped the Devil, but the perception was a reality in the public mind. Even if there were almost no "real" witches, there were thousands of people who thought that other thousands of people were indeed witches.

While there were times in Europe during which hysteria and witch hunting prevailed and hundreds died, these cases should not suggest that witch hunters and experts were always acting out of blind impulses. On the contrary, the lore of what constituted a witch and how to deal with one had been carefully, indeed, tediously reasoned out and printed literally hundreds of times during the 16th and 17th centuries. Witchcraft books from the classical period of these two centuries are rare books now because few copies of any individual volume survive. Perhaps this scarcity indicates that the books were much read and used. Nonetheless, there were hundreds of such books. The massive collection of rare books and manuscripts in the Kroch Library of rare witchcraft books at Cornell University numbers into the thousands. Those are just the volumes printed prior to the 18th century. Books printed later increase the total by additional thousands of primary witchcraft sources.

The witch normally became a follower of Satan by literally renouncing Christianity and electing to worship Satan instead. Many witches made formal pacts with the Devil, and there are even a few surviving examples of documents that are supposed to have been actual pacts signed by the witch and sometimes demonic witnesses as well. Some child witches were initiated into the cult or dedicated to the Devil by their parents, mimicking the Christian rite of baptism. Francesco Maria Guazzo commented in 1608 that the pact between witches and the Devil was "either expressed or tacit." He noted that the expressed pact was "a solemn vow of fidelity and homage made in the presence of witnesses to the devil visibly present in some bodily form." The tacit pact, on the other hand, "involves the offering of a written petition to the devil and may be done by proxy through a witch or some third person when the contracting party is afraid to see or have speech with the devil." He wrote of a woman who

jumped backward out of her bath and said, "as far as I thus leap away from Christ, so much nearer may I come to the devil." That for Guazzo was an expressed pact. Once a witch made a pact, the Devil would then perform a mock baptism in which she gave up her old name and took a new devilish name. Then the Devil sometimes inscribed their names in a roll book of witches. He might also give them a "mark" which was usually a mole or scar or birthmark. Normally women received such marks on the breast or in the genital areas.[1] Such ideas led to numerous cases of molestation and rapes of female prisoners. While these women were supposed to be examined by "honest matrons," that was probably much more a fiction than a fact, and in most cases the jailors did the "looking" for witches' marks.

Guazzo's contemporary, the French witch-hunter Pierre de l'Ancre became infamous for his persecutions and executions of witches in the Basque lands of France. De l'Ancre published accounts of what he had learned from these witch hunts and trials in his 1612 *Tableau de L'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons* (Tableau of the Inconstancy of the Bad Angels and Demons). De l'Ancre too wrote about tacit and expressed pacts between witches and the Devil. Like Guazzo, he commented that a witch could make a written pact and gave several examples of such written or explicit pacts. One included a pact in which the witch had promised half his foot to the Devil. De l'Ancre noted that implicit or nonwritten pacts might be made on behalf of child witches by adults. The little witches would then make pacts of their own when they reached puberty.[2]

While not many of the demonologists wrote about child witches, they certainly thought, like de l'Ancre, that children could become followers of Satan. De l'Ancre went to considerable lengths to discuss child witches. Some of his statements make a modern reader wonder about his sanity or perhaps whether he had some prurient predilection for children. For instance, he described a testimony of a 15-year-old witch as to whether young children had to kiss the Devil on its posterior at the witches' sabbat. She replied that small children did not do this; on the contrary, the Devil would kiss them on their backsides. This young witch also said she had kissed other small children herself. Elsewhere de l'Ancre explained at what age the Devil would decide to take the virginity of a girl. His book is crammed with details like this. He also felt that children could behave so heinously as to warrant execution. He included

children among those likely to be seduced by the Devil, such as adults with lessened intellectual abilities, old age, or infirmities. They were all easy prey: "He acts to seduce, destroy and not to spare anyone on account of age, or sex, or idiocy, or illness in order to force a person into evil. Satan spies on despair and sadness. . . . He seeks out children [and] he wins over more women than men because of their feeble minds."[3] Rather than dedicated or self-initiated into witchcraft, some children wound up victims of witchcraft as constituents of brews and flying ointments.

Once one became a witch, there were various activities common to all members of this society. One worshipped the Devil, defiled the relics and paraphernalia of Christianity, engaged in all kinds of sexual license including bestiality, homosexual acts, and sexual acts with children, and took part in various organized adventures and rites. Witches anointed themselves or some vehicle of transport with magic ointments and then flew to their rites, which were commonly known as Sabbaths. Witches used goats or everyday utensils such as pitchforks, sticks, and brooms as their vehicles.

"Witches Riding a Forked Stick." U. Molitor, *De Lamiis et Phitonicis Mulieribus,* 1489. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

The supposed use of these items was deeply ingrained in the lore. Some of the earliest accounts of the Waldensian heretics spoke of their riding on sticks and brooms. These heretics, such as the women described in Martin le Franc's 15th-century poem, *Le Champion des Dames* (The Champion of Ladies) were not satanic followers; yet there they are, riding on sticks and brooms. The *Malleus Maleficarum* comments that witches can even ride on articles of furniture or mill stones. An illustration in Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg's 1517 book, *Die Emeis* (The Ant Hill) actually shows a witch riding an enchanted stool. A witch could also ride to the sabbath on a demon who had taken on the form of some animal, such as a goat. Witches defiled the dead; they made poisons; they killed and injured humans and domestic animals; they created storms and blasted crops; and they interfered with conjugal acts. All witches did things like this regardless of whether they had been Catholics or Protestants. Their life activity was called in Latin "maleficia." Today we generally translate that word to mean "witchcraft," but in reality it means "doing evil."

Witches provided explanations for the occurrence and excuses for many common human conditions and problems. If your crops failed, or

"Witch Milking Axe Handle." J. Geiler von Kaisersberg, *Die Emeis*. Strassburg, Johannes Grienniger, 1517. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

your cows threw stillborn calves, if your house burnt down or your spouse was sexually unresponsive, if you were very sick, sterile, or worse yet, if you gave birth to a deformed baby, these events could be explained by pointing to the activities of witches. Witches could be responsible for illnesses and calamities of many sorts. They could kill as well. Some demonologists postulated that witches could command devils to possess individuals, although some theologians did not agree with this.

Witches were thought to be capable of interfering with normal relations between husband and wife. The *Malleus* discusses this in detail as did everyone else. Again, this sort of maleficia could be seen as a convenient explanation for sexual dysfunction. The German physician Johann Weyer, who must have encountered such problems firsthand in his medical practice, discussed what might be done to help bewitched persons who were impotent. He did not completely disagree that a person might have been bewitched, but he does provide a slightly less than serious discussion. Weyer repeated what Ulrich Molitor had said in his *De Lamiis* a hundred years earlier. If there was a legal dispute [perhaps grounds for annulment?] arising from a husband's "being incapable of intercourse," then the first thing to do was to have the husband undergo a good medical examination. After that, if no physical problem was found, the couple should go on living together for a three-year period of probation to see if the problem would go away. Weyer thought these comments were advice. Couples should not resort to magic or amulets for their problems in the bedroom. A woman whose family he knew found that her husband was impotent. She made a wax penis and placed it on the altar of St. Anthony in her church. Later it was found by a priest while he was saying Mass. He was supposed to have been so startled (one can just imagine) that he shouted, "get that demon out of here." Something worked, Weyer stated, writing with sarcasm, that he knew this woman's children and had heard the story from them.[4]

After the Reformation there were many witches who were Protestants. Labeling a person a witch by accusing him was a convenient means to get rid of one's adversaries. Thus, Catholics sometimes found witches among the Lutherans and the Calvinists whereas Protestants found witches in the Roman Church. Should you want to rid yourself of someone who, for example, stood in the way of your gaining money, you could always accuse him of witchcraft. Should you want someone's spouse, you could accuse his or her mate of witchcraft.

As the witch persecutions began to flourish, the types of tortures that accused witches suffered point to another means of spreading the beliefs about them. The tortures of the time were particularly heinous. These were combined with physical isolation in dungeons and lack of sleep and food. Additional psychological torture included terrifying the suspects by showing them all the instruments of torture that were about to be used on them. Then the torture would proceed. If someone was stretching you on the rack, or burning all your body hair and then raping you, you might just confess to practically anything. There were lists of questions to be put to the witch under torture. If the tortured was being asked, for example, did she poison the neighbor's cattle, she might just say in effect, "yes, I did, now leave me alone." It was a vicious circle. The confessions were taken as fact, and the means of forcing confessions was formulaic. All these reinforced the truth of what people thought witches did. The use of torture was part of the juridical system, and its use was by no means confined to those accused of witchcraft. Because it was commonly held that witches had secret devils' marks or hidden magical amulets to keep them from feeling pain, the torturers felt it quite acceptable to engage in such acts. All witches' marks were supposedly insensitive to pain. This gave rise to the practice known in English as "pricking." The mole or birthmark would be pierced sometimes with rather large lancet-like devices, and this would show that the witch who supposedly felt no pain or did not bleed from such a wound was actually marked by the Devil.

These magic tokens or marks could be hidden in hair, so it made sense to use the sadistic practice of setting the hair ablaze. The tokens could be hidden in body cavities; sexual attacks inflicted on women or on men easily followed. Possibly even children suspected of witchcraft underwent such torments. Needless tortures inflicted on innocent people are nonetheless parts of the whole etiology of the dark side.

The 1599 *Disquisitiones Magicarum* (Investigations into Magic) written by the Jesuit linguist and theologian, Martin del Rio, provides an excellent example of the trial formulas. Del Rio devotes a chapter to what the confessor or trial judge should ask in questioning a witch. In essence, the procedure was to be the same, whether one was trying to shrive or condemn the witch. He suggests that the confessor ask the witches what books of magic they had. Had the witch made a pact with the Devil and been re-baptized? Had the witch done physical dishonor to religious

articles such as crucifixes by spitting on them or dragging them in the dirt? The confessor was then to ask if the witches had enchanted animals and how had they done that. Had they had sexual contact with animals (bestiality was thought to be a favorite act of witches)? Had they had sex with a devil? Had they any belief in lycanthropy? Del Rio wanted the judge to inquire whether the witch thought of himself as a werewolf.

Del Rio then discusses the seal of confession by which priests were sworn never to reveal what they heard, even if it meant their own deaths. He thought that this seal should hold for confessions of witches but with some exceptions. The question of the seal of confession was important because trial inquisitors in Roman Catholic territories were frequently priests rather than the civil authorities who performed this in Protestant territories. If the penitent were to give the priest permission to reveal the confession, that was an exception. If the priest had heard the information elsewhere and not via the confessional, he could reveal it. This exception would have had the effect of totally obliterating the seal of confession.[5]

Descriptions of what sexual activities witches did with others or with demons migrated from trial reports to literature and art, becoming ve-

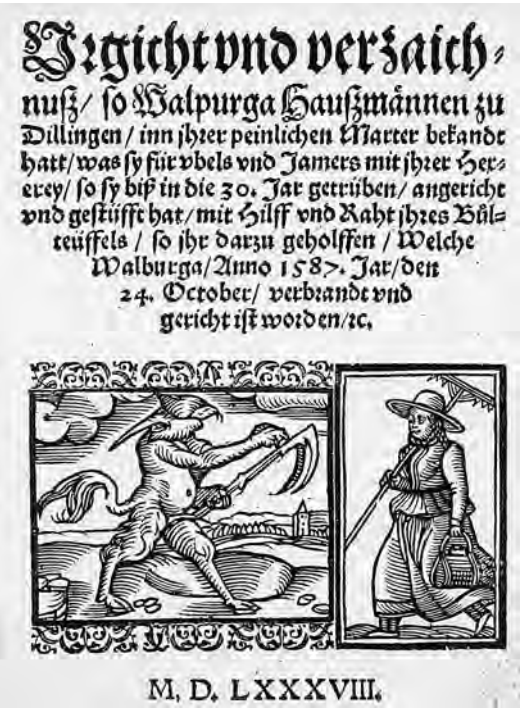
"Witches' Sabbath." J. Geiler von Kaisersberg, *Die Emeis*. Strassburg, Johannes Grienniger, 1517. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

hicles for a type of pornography. At best, the nude witch might represent the Renaissance concept of the beauty of the human form. Often there were less-noble purposes for the artist who chose to show "witches" in his art. Pornographic literary and artistic descriptions were read and viewed by lay persons but also by the clergy, monks, and nuns and later Protestant clergy. The process provides insights into just how complex a role the themes of witchcraft played in culture.

Witches were more than threatening components of society; they were topics in literature and in art. They could even be comedic figures, such as the mean old witch who figured in the poem of the meistersinger (mastersinger) of Nuremberg, Hans Sachs (1494–1576). Sachs wrote about his most formidable and yet funny witch figure in his poem, *Der Teufel mit dem Alten Weib* (The Devil and the Old Woman), 1545. She was so vicious that the Devil himself was scared of her. Witches are found in popular lore and beliefs and in every cranny of religious, legal, medical, and demonological scholarship. While a witch could be an amusing figure, such as Sachs's old woman or the bumbling peasant witch in a painting by David Teniers the Younger (c. 1638), she was nonetheless perceived as a real person to be avoided and feared. They were as real as the pope, the local magistrate, the parish priest, or one's domestic livestock. Thus, when we examine witchcraft themes in Early Modern Europe we are almost always looking at instances of reportage.

While there were always some few people who doubted that witches existed or did the dreadful things of which they were accused, most people believed in witches. One should not take this too far, however. We can take note of the books and pronouncements of those who had some doubts; these are generally fascinating in that their authors went so contrary to the tide. But these books notwithstanding, it is quite accurate to operate from the premise that the witch was believed to be real. This was certainly the case until the 17th century, when belief began to wane. More gave up their beliefs in witches in the 18th century, but they did not stop believing in the Devil.

Feminist historians posited that those persecuted and condemned as witches were mostly women who were folk healers or midwives. Institoris did speak about midwives in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, but these women were not always female healers in any sort of "professional" sense. They were the neighborhood women or family members who helped with birthing. The theory was that witch persecutions of women healers occurred


Vrgicht vnd verzaich-
nuß/ ſo Walpurga Hauſzmännen zu
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teüffels/ ſo jhr darzu geholffen/ Welche
Walburga/ Anno 1587. Jar/ den
24. October/ verbrandt vnd
gericht iſt worden/ ꝛc.
M. D. LXXXVIII.

"Trial of Walpurga Hausmannen." German Pamphlet, Dillengen, 1588. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

as a part of a vast male-dominated medical establishment drive to destroy women who might try to compete with men in the healing arts. This is not true. The data to support this sort of statement does not exist. On the contrary, there are an increasing number of studies that show that women were involved in professions in Early Modern Europe and that very few women whose occupations were listed in witch trial accounts were healers or midwives. There was no need for a male medical establishment to keep women down. The women were not a threat. There are some cases of women midwives who were accused of witchcraft; but there was nothing like the scenario depicted by various feminist historians. Similarly, some of these historians held that literally millions of people, mostly women, were executed as witches. That is not true either. We have any number of scrupulous accounts from periods of trials in France and Germany in which one can count the witches executed. These accounts are substantiated by what is again an increasing amount of primary research that does not show the loss of millions of lives.

Most of the information that historians have concerning beliefs in witches comes from extant literary and art sources. Books, plays, poems, book illustrations, and works of art provide a picture of just how important the belief in witches and devils was in Early Modern Europe. What these sources can point to, but not really provide in detail, is the nature of beliefs that were held by the average person. We hear about ordinary people in the course of reading trial accounts or plays and poems; however, can we really know what the average person thought? This presupposes that there was such a thing as an average person in Early Modern Europe. More likely there were various average people, depending on which area of Europe or what time frame one is examining. We encompass a period of several hundred years of beliefs in witches and devils, as well as a number of geopolitical units and areas. There are also demographic differences. Do we consider the average European a tradesman, a farmer, an elderly peasant, a soldier, or a member of a religious order? Was that person male or female? In general, we can speak of our average person as a Christian, since witchcraft was a Christian apostasy, but we have to assume that Jews knew about witches and perhaps even believed in some of their activities of black magic. For part of the period under discussion, the average European Christian would have been Catholic, but after the Reformation we must factor in Protestantism. National identities were not as well established as they are today, so it is probably not too productive to speak of what, for example, 16th-century Englishmen or 17th-century Germans thought about witches. We are safer in speaking about what people in various cities or provinces might have thought.

As national identities began to evolve, there is some evidence that ideas about the dark side that were typical in certain geographical areas evolved as well. For instance, we see far more folkloric and learned beliefs about werewolves in parts of Europe where there were wolves in abundance. As the Reformation progressed there were changes in what people thought about witches. Beliefs began to wane in the Netherlands and England before those in Germany and France. Since the Reformation began in Germany, this may seem strange. The effects of Protestantism become highly specific to the type of Protestantism being practiced. Northern Germans clung to beliefs in witches in some areas into the 18th century. What one cannot say is that the beliefs in witches went into decline with the Reformation. That is simply not true; in fact, the instances of trials increased.

A part of what makes the study of the dark side so fascinating is this great complexity. There was not a clear-cut, single set of concepts in Early Modern Europe. If one is interested in the history of medicine or the history of printing or folklore, one can study all these in the light of the history of witchcraft. Economic demographics could be categories for examination in some cases. We might, for example, be able to understand what a noble woman who was educated and became a nun thought about witches from reading the sorts of books or sermons that she might have read or heard. Would she have the same opinions that the daughter of a printer had, or perhaps the daughter of a swineherd held? It is almost impossible to know. These women might well have heard the same sermons that the nun read. They might be conversant with aspects of folklore about witches that were unknown to the aristocratic nun. In short, we cannot really speak of an average European during the period of classical witchcraft persecutions (16th and 17th centuries) except in rather general terms. The cultural artifacts that survive indicate that the dark side was of considerable consequence, but they do not really tell us what people thought, with the exception that most of them believed in witches and devils.

EARLY PRINTED ACCOUNTS

The rise of printing in Europe helped to fuel the interest in witches. This factor is of considerable importance in that it made the promulgation of ideas much easier. And the use of printed books and pamphlets helped to give a more international character to the beliefs in witchcraft. The rise of the scientific method similarly helped to shape beliefs about witches since they were a part of the reality of the world that needed careful description and examination. Witchcraft was also a component of dogma in Christianity, regardless of whether one was a Protestant or Catholic. These factors helped shape what people thought about witches in Early Modern Europe, but they do not necessarily help the historian understand what the person in the street might have thought. Perhaps that is just lost.

As we begin to examine in more detail the witches of Early Modern Europe, a logical question to ask is where did this belief in witches come from? This is a simple and logical question with no simple answers. It is far easier to see how the belief flourished from the combination of

people thinking witches were real, their existence an article of religious faith, and the impact of the printing press. But how people came to explicate the acts of witches is much less readily obvious. Students sometimes react saying, "It is so fantastic, it does not seem possible that people really believed it. Did they really believe this stuff?"

The historian today is on safer grounds to state at which point in history that witches begin to appear. Yet why this set of beliefs about witches devolved from late medieval accusations concerning the deeds of various Christian heretics into something like the *Malleus Maleficarum* is much less clear. Once the phenomenon of witch persecution began in earnest in the late 1400s, it flourished and fed on itself for many centuries to come.

The authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum* were traditionally thought to have been two Dominican inquisitors who were working in what is today parts of Switzerland and extreme southern Germany. Heinrich Institoris (1430–1505) and possibly Jacob Sprenger (c. 1436–1495) had received an official papal approbation from Innocent VIII in 1484 to conduct their searches and trials of witches. Out of this activity they produced the manual entitled the *Malleus Maleficarum*. The pope's official Bull, "Summis desiderentes affectibus" (Desiring with supreme order), reinforced their work in this area and was printed along with the text of the *Malleus* as its stamp of approval.[6] We now know, in the light of modern research, that Institoris actually wrote almost all of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Sprenger had only a minor role in its creation.

The 1487 *Malleus Maleficarum* (The Hammer of Witches) did not begin the witch craze. But it fueled it considerably by providing a very extensive and detailed set of guidelines as to what witches were and how to spot them, and what to do about them when one did. The book is not exactly easy reading as it is a schoolman's (scholar's) format of numerous references and arguments presented so that the reader may draw his or her own conclusions. The authors have points to make, but the reader arrives at these through a dialogue process. In some respects the *Malleus* was a last literary gasp of the Middle Ages. At the same time, it also used the newer ideas of presenting evidence for the consideration of the reader. The reader could then try to locate similar instances in the realms of everyday experiences. The *Malleus* did have many descriptions and vignettes of actual events that were written plainly in a lively, descriptive style. These are interspersed with the more scholarly presentations.

These descriptions helped establish in the popular mind, as well as in the minds of theologians or artists, just what to look for in a witch. The *Malleus* was written out of a fierce misogyny. This is one reason why some historians felt that the witch persecutions were established by men to keep women in their place. But the *Malleus* is not the beginning of the witch phenomenon.

Aspects of what people came to believe about the deeds of witches can be found in medieval texts in which authors might be describing the vile activities of various pagans. An example would be the use of magic to influence another's love for the witch or to injure a person. The notion of "night riders" or nocturnal pagan conventicles is another example. Additional supernatural concepts became more familiar with the recovery and printing of classical texts, such as Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (Golden Ass). Hebrew beliefs about supernatural figures made their way into the

"Incendiary Witchcraft." F.M. Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*. Milan, Heirs of Augusto, Tradati, 1608. (Private Collection.)

writings of the church fathers and others, and these concepts sometimes appeared later in the "standard" of what a witch was. Witches as they became popularized at the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* had begun to make their appearances at least by the early 15th century.

Among the first 15th-century works to define heretics with activities that later became "witchcraft" were two manuscripts that dealt with the Waldensian (also known as the Vaudois) heretics. In an illuminated manuscript of Martin le Franc's *Le Champion des Dames* (produced about 1440, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris), two female heretics are shown riding along the page margin; one rides a broom and the other a stick. The text speaks of these Vaudois as women who "*marieé au dyable*," that is, they have sexual intercourse with the Devil. Another group of manuscripts of Johann Tinctoris's *Contra Sectum Valdensium* (Against the Waldensian Sect), which date from the mid-15th century show the heretics kissing a goat-devil's rump and riding on demon beasts. The manuscript from the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, also shows witches honoring the goat devil with lighted candles. Heretics and demonic animals are flying about in the sky. Some heretics ride pitchforks, others ride the animal-demons. A second illuminated copy of this work, owned by the Bodleian Library, has the same vignette of devil worship. Other scenes show devils instructing the heretics to kiss a cat and an ape. These are zoomorphic devils. Various copies of another manuscript entitled *Errores Gazariorum* (c. 1430) told of the sexual excesses of the Waldensians. These books were later issued in printed editions. We cannot be sure whether Institoris and Sprenger knew these particular works as the *Malleus Maleficarum* was being written, but the presence of such scenes in these three manuscripts demonstrates well the connection between what was thought to be typical acts of earlier heretics and typical acts of the *Malleus*'s witches.[7]

There are a small group of trial accounts from Switzerland in the first half of the 15th century that discuss witches who charm animals such as wolves and who ride them. The earliest trial account appears to be from 1423 and concerned a female witch from an area near Basel. She was seen riding an enchanted wolf. There are several other extant trial accounts from this area that were no doubt familiar to Molitor. Again and again, witches rode enchanted wolves. Some of these Swiss witches were thought to have been responsible for various Alpine avalanches, according to the trial accounts.[8]

"Witch Riding Wolf." U. Molitor, *De Lamiis et Phitonicis Mulieribus*, 1489. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

Johannes Nider (1380–1438) wrote about evil deeds such as heretics and witches having the ability to produce storms, concoct magic ointments from baby corpses, and consort with incubi and succubi. Nider's *Formicarius* (The Ant Hill) would have been known by Institoris and Sprenger, either in manuscript, printed, or both. They would probably have known Alphonsus de Spina's treatise on heretics entitled *Fortalitium Fidei* (The Fortress of Faith). This book denounces female heretics who went on night rides, adore the Devil in the form of a boar, and kill children.[9] We do know that Institoris read Nider as he refers to it frequently.

Once the *Malleus* was published, its popularity and its easy availability from printing made concepts like these well known among the reading public. That public included clergy, physicians, lawyers and judges, and an unknown number of literate members of the general public. The illiterate public would have been conversant with the perceived deeds of witches because these were being discussed in trials and were a part of popular folklore. Since the learned believed what they read to be true,

reported by authoritative writers, the expansion in numbers of printed books about witchcraft helped to cement the notion of a witch in the public consciousness.

The *Malleus Maleficarum* was a blueprint or outline (although a big one) for what witches were, who they were, how to find them, what they did, and what to do with one for punishment after you found her. Virtually every aspect of the traditional beliefs about witches was discussed in the *Malleus*. Institoris helped to establish the literary concept of telling stories by giving examples of his points. He would describe how a witch might kill a baby or cause a man to become impotent, by recounting "authentic examples" of such events. He used scholarly references to support his concepts. This blend of scholarly notes from authorities, with the popular lore of the time, became a feature in nearly all major works on witchcraft that were written later in the 16th and 17th centuries. It became the standard for such a book. For the modern researcher, the use of folk tales or popular accounts of the acts of witches is invaluable. Without this, our ideas of folk beliefs or even of what the ordinary people thought about witches would be drastically limited. The researcher could read Nider for himself, but to have stories that were being commonly circulated and used as examples of witchcraft is far more helpful. These are the kinds of ephemeral data that would have been lost had not Institoris and his fellow demonologists used them in their books and sermons.

Those interested in studying witchcraft and demonology from Early Modern Europe are assisted today by an increasing number of translations of the classic texts. Most of these were written in Latin, although in keeping with the Renaissance's interest in fostering literature in the vernacular, there were always books on witches written in German, French, Italian, and English. The *Malleus Maleficarum* itself was first printed in Latin but became an international publication with editions being printed in Germany and France. There were 13 editions prior to 1520 and another 16 or so printed between 1574 and 1669.

While Institoris provided literally graphic accounts of the deeds of witches, the book was not illustrated. In fact, it was never illustrated with scenes of witches in the classic periods from its publication through the 17th and 18th centuries. Some editions had title page decorations; a French edition of about 1497 shows devils tormenting a male in Hell. It is not obvious that the man had been a witch. The *Malleus* was routinely

printed until 1669; after that date, there was a pause in publishing. This was of little significance since there were so many editions available, to say nothing of hundreds of books in which the *Malleus* was cited. Even today if students ask for something that provides a concise and detailed account of the witch craze, one sends them to the *Malleus* as a good place to begin. Although the *Malleus* itself was not printed in illustrated editions, the authors' descriptions could be quite detailed and would certainly have fired up imaginations.

Institoris described witches' preparation of flying ointments in this way:

> As was explained in the foregoing, they have to make a paste from the limbs of children, especially those killed by them before Baptism, and by the Demon's instructions they smear it on some seat or piece of wood. When this has been done, they are immediately carried into the air, whether by day or night and visibly or (if they wish) invisibly according to whether the demon and a screen provided by some object are able to conceal a second object as was explained. . . . For the most part the demon uses the practice involving such paste for the purpose of depriving babies of the Grace of Baptism.[10]

Reading the *Malleus* or hearing it preached must have had the effect of scaring the wits out of the average person.

After the publication of the *Malleus* a virtual torrent of books dealing with witchcraft were printed. Among the earliest was a small volume printed in 1489 (there may also be a 1488 edition, but this date is uncertain) entitled *De lamiis et phitonicis mulieribus*. The title translates into Concerning Demons and Witches, which was how the author himself translated it into German in 1494. The German title is *Von den Hexen und Unholden* (Concerning Witches and Demons).[11] The author of *De lamiis* was Ulrich Molitor (c. 1442–1597), a priest and canon lawyer, an expert on ecclesiastical law. *De lamiis* was written in the form of a dialogue of questions and answers supposedly directed to Molitor by his patron, Duke Sigismund. The duke ruled an area around present-day Basel, Switzerland, the very area in which witch hunts fueled by Institoris and Sprenger were underway. This book is a most remarkable tome in that Molitor evinced some doubts about beliefs concerning witches that

were promulgated in the *Malleus*. That in itself was quite daring. Molitor covered himself against being accused of not believing in witches by commenting again and again that "God could permit such activities by witches and devils, but these probably did not happen very frequently in reality."

The book was even more significant from the standpoint of history because it was illustrated. *De lamiis* contained full-page woodcuts approximately 5 x 8 inches keyed to the text. These woodcuts show a number of very interesting aspects of witchcraft, including both female and male witches. Witches are shown causing storms; flying; transmuting themselves into animal forms; and in one astonishing vignette, one male witch rides on an enchanted wolf. This illustrates an actual trial account from 1474 that Molitor had attended himself. The witch claimed he was no witch but rather the victim of another witch. He and the poor wolf were enchanted, and he wound up riding the wolf. The man was convicted of witchcraft and burnt. There is no record of what happened to the wolf. Molitor did not believe such things could have happened. He felt the man was deluded or perhaps just fooled by the Devil. Another

"Witches' Activities." P. Binsfeld, *Tractat von Bekanntnis der Zauberer und Hexen*. Munich, Adam Berg, 1591. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

vignette of *De lamiis* showed a witch shooting magical arrows at the feet of a man. We know that her arrows are magic means to harm this man because a firey "power" emanates from the ends of the arrows. In all cases the witches are shown as normal men and women, except of course when they transmute to animals. These witches are neither old nor disfigured. They are youthful, your neighbors and your friends. One of the Molitor vignettes shows a witch being embraced by her demon lover. He appears dressed like a normal man, but one notices at once that this is no human being. He has the face of an ape, a long tail, bird legs, and feet in place of human hands and feet. This motif must have been alarming at the time of its printing. It is an early example of a genre of book illustrations and works of art that would show far more salacious contents as time passed.

WITCHES IN ART AND LITERATURE

At the beginning of the 16th century, a number of works of art contained rather risqué depictions of witches. These were in many cases works by very important masters such as Dürer, Bosch, Hans Baldung, and others. Many were prints or paintings from Germany or the Netherlands provinces. Such imagery even appeared at times in book illustrations. Why this happened at this point and in this area of northern Europe is unclear. We can explain part of the artists' impetus as their having used witches to depict the human nude. Showing the human form was important to the German masters as they emulated the Italians, but merely creating a work of art that was a nude per se was still a little beyond the societal pale. It helped to label the nude as Eve or Venus (like the many nudes of Lucas Cranach) or as a witch. That accounts in part for the use of nudes; it does not account for the pornography. Evidently people liked pornography, then just as now. Some of the Baldung prints, as well as some attributed to him, are strikingly pornographic. An image of a demonic monster engaged in cunnilingus with a female witch is porn by anyone's definition.[12]

If one merely explained the art as showing a witch in a realistic manner, this may have been the 16th-century equivalent of reading *Playboy* "for the fine and well-written articles." The flurry of "reality art" was in part as an outgrowth of the Northern Renaissance. Northern masters considered extreme realism in great detail a major feature of their style. Artists in the 17th century continued to depict witches in erotic poses and

varying stages of nudity. Again it seems that these motifs serve dual purposes. They are meant to inform yet also to entertain. Baroque artists delighted in painting human flesh because it gave them a means to use the technique of impasto to create extremely realistic looking images. Impasto painting used many layers of superimposed oils; these layers varied in thickness, adding a physical texture to the work. This technique made it possible to paint details such as tendons and veins in the hand to look like an actual human hand. When artists such as David Teniers the Younger or Salvator Rosa depicted nude witches, they were able to make full use of the potential of the impasto technique as well as titillating the viewer.

A rather early account of a witch's trial combined the two elements of a sensual witch with infanticide. Walpurga Haussmannin was burnt at the stake in September, 1587. Her case is interesting because she was a midwife. Part of her maleficia involved the accusation of killing infants (one documented case to support the feminist theory of female healers being persecuted). She was also charged with killing domestic animals, chiefly cattle, and engaging in a long period of sexual relations with a devil. More recent scholarship, such as Walter Stephens's *Demon Lovers*, emphasizes Walpurga's sexual transgressions over her other deeds. A pamphlet, printed shortly after her death, recounted the trial and her deeds and was illustrated with an image of Walpurga and her demon lover. In this image she is shown as a young woman whereas she was executed when she was quite elderly. Her story was true and supposedly recorded in a faithful manner in the printed pamphlet.[13]

While the salacious acts of witches were horrifying and alarming, they could be and were components of popular entertainment. A witch on the stage could say things that might affront polite society and get away with them. She and her devils no doubt provided amusement along lines similar to modern comedians who use foul language or make sexually graphic comments. The deeds of witches found their way into several forms of popular literature. In 1624, Thomas Heywood (c. 1570s–1641) published an account of women entitled *Gynaikeion: Nine Books of Various History Concerning Women*, devoting one book to witches.[14] A decade later, Heywood would write a play about witchcraft that was co-authored with Richard Brome. Heywood is better remembered for his plays such as *A Woman Killed With Kindness*, but his 1634 play, *The Late Lancashire Witches*, demonstrates his continuing interest in witchcraft as a literary

subject. Heywood was an actor and author. *The Nine Books of Various History Concerning Women* shows a good acquaintance with various contemporary demonological writers. Heywood cites Bodin, Weyer, and Olaus Magnus among others, and describes some "contemporary" cases of witchcraft as well as giving the historical background of enchantresses such as Medea and Circe. This content is nothing particularly unusual; however, what makes this book so interesting is that Heywood elected to include these evil women with examples of many types of virtuous or heroic females. This is a book about types of women, and in this respect, a kind of Renaissance scientific treatise. The book is lively in its descriptions of what witches do. This characteristic surely enhanced its popularity with the ordinary reader. Although this is not meant to be a scholarly tome, Heywood has a section that discusses transvection: "Of witches transported from one place to another by the Devil"; a section on the powers that witches may have to transmute themselves or other humans into animal forms; and commentaries on lycanthropy and other maleficia. In Book Nine, Heywood discusses the punishments or rewards of various kinds of women, including witches. One account immediately brings to mind the musical *Sweeney Todd*.

"A witch of Auvergne was burnt alive for killing young infants and salting their flesh and putting them into pies and baking them for public sale."[15] Were such incidents included to enhance the retail potential of the book? This is entirely possible; after all, Heywood was used to writing for the stage.

The bawdy and unruly witch could frighten the reader or the theater audience, or she could also be a figure of humor. Robert Herrick (1591–1674) was an Anglican priest who wrote many short poems. Herrick's *Hesperides* (1648) contains two poems entitled "The Hagg." One poem narrates a witch's activity of the sort commonly shown in contemporary art in the works of followers of Pieter Brueghel the Elder, such as Frans Francken II and David Teniers the Younger. All of these artists showed witches flying up chimneys while being observed by other witches and devil goats. The witches frequently were seen to pass wind. Herrick possibly had such works of art in mind as he wrote:

> The staff is now greas'd and very well pleas'd,
> She cockes out her arse at the parting to an old ram goat
> that rattles in th'throat,
> Half choakt with the stink of her farting.

Postquam conuenerunt hæc Diaboli membra, ibi vt plurimum habent ignem accensum, tetrum, & horridum: ibi Dæmon est conuentus Præses, in solio sedet forma terrifica, vt plurimum hirci, vel canis, ad illum accedunt adorandi gratia, non eodem semper modo, sed interdum complicatis genibus supplices, interdum obuerso tergo stantes, interdum cruribus etiam in altum iactis, nec capite in anteriorem partem prono, sed resupinato, adeo vt mentum ad cœlum feratur.

Tum

"Honoring the Devil and the 'Infamous Kiss.'" F. M. Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*. Milan, Heirs of Augusto, Tradati, 1608. (Private Collection.)

The second poem describes a witch in flight with her devil companion:

> The Hag is astride
> This night for to ride;
> The Devil and she together
> The storm will arise,
> And trouble the skies this night

The imagery in Herrick's poems makes clear that he knew well the iconography and lore of witches. While the second poem is not as bawdy, it could have had an equally chilling impact on the reader.

Witches were characters in Ben Jonson's (c. 1573–1637), The *Masque of Queenes,* 1609; and in William Shakespeare's *Macbeth* with the infamous three witches who continue to absorb audiences to this day. A witch appeared as a main character of *The Witch* (performed c. 1613) of Thomas Middleton (c. 1570–1627). Thomas Dekker (1570?–1641), William Rowley (1585?–1642), and John Ford (c. 1586–1640) wrote *The Witch of Edmonton,* which was first performed in 1621 and published in 1658. And Thomas Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches and Tegue O'Divelly The Irish Priest,* 1682, is a later example of a play in which there are witches and devils. The witches in these plays are heinous and bawdy ladies, although Dekker, Ford, and Rowley's characterization of Elizabeth Sawyer, the witch of Edmonton, is more sympathetic. Elizabeth Sawyer was a real person whose story was dramatized from her trial accounts. The Devil caught her cursing, after he appeared to her in the form of a big, black dog. In the play, the character, Dog, woos her into more evil: "Ho! I have found thee cursing? Now thou art mine own. . . . Come do not fear, I love thee much to well to hurt or fright thee [I] come out of my love to give thee just revenge against they foes. . . . Do any mischief unto man or beast and I'll effect it, on condition that, uncompelled, thou make a deed of gift of soul and body to me."[16]

Dog the Devil eventually serves as Elizabeth Sawyer's familiar and perhaps as an incubus. At least that is the implication. Witches were believed to have additional teats (most likely these were moles), and familiars frequently sucked at these. This act was very popular in English witch lore and in its representations in the theatre. In act 4, scene 1, Dog arrives in Elizabeth's presence for this very activity. Elizabeth sees him and calls to him, "My dear Tom-boy, welcome! . . . Comfort me; thou shalt

have a teat anon." Dog replies, "Bow, wow! I'll have it now!" To which she replies in a suggestive passage, "Stand on thy hind-legs up. Kiss me, my Tommy, and rub away some wrinkles on my brow by making my old ribs to shrug for joy of thy fine tricks. What hast thou done? Let's tickle." One can almost hear the audience giggling and laughing at what must have ensued on stage.[17] While this play may strike the modern reader as containing a plot similar to the motion picture, *Ghostbusters*, with its combination of fun, fantasy, and sex, it is well to remember that this is only true up to a point. The Jacobean audiences contained many who still believed in witches, and just about everyone believed in the Devil. Mother Sawyer was, after all, a real person. So the element of fantasy takes on a very different quality in *The Witch of Edmonton*. The playwrights knew a good story line when they saw one, but they would not have thought of this play as a mere entertainment without aspects of reportage and factual contents.

A considerable part of Thomas Middleton's play, *The Witch*, is devoted to the acts of witches and their devil friends. Such materials were, as we noted, sometimes based on factual accounts from contemporary trials or on what the author had read or heard about in demonological texts. The intent was to spice up the play. *The Witch* has several protagonists whose chief witch and leader is Hecate. Hecate and her associates engage in long dialogues with various devils who are their familiars. Some of the material was, again, raunchy and suggestive. The material could also be alarming. In act 2, scene 1, Hecate and the others are making up a witches' brew.

Hecate: "There take this unbaptised brat; Boil it well; preserve the fat. You know 'tis precious to transfer our 'nointed flesh into the air. . . . What young man can we wish to pleasure us but we enjoy him in an incubus?" Hecate considers various poisonous herbs used in the brew to season the dead baby: "aconitum, pentaphyllon, the blood of a flitter-mouse [a bat] and solanum somnificum." Middleton was well versed on what items should constitute a flying ointment.

Later in the cooking process, Hecate and her son Firestone make arrangements for the evening's sexual adventures. Firestone asks his mother, "I pray give me leave to ramble abroad tonight with the Nightmare; for I have a great mind to overlay a fat parson's daughter." Hecate objects, "And who shall lie with me then?" Witches supposedly engaged in incest as well as bestiality and homosexuality. Firestone has a ready reply,

"Witches Eating a Baby and Harvesting Parts of Corpses." F. M. Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*. Milan, Heirs of Augusto, Tradati, 1608. (Private Collection.)

"The great cat. For one night mother. 'Tis but a night. Make shift with him for once." She then observes that all young men are the same. "You would rather hunt after strange women still, than lie with your own mothers." Again, it is easy to imagine how the audience would have reacted to such lines. In *The Masque of Queenes* (which was printed with elaborate footnotes to contemporary demonological writers), and such plays as *The Witch* and *The Witch of Edmonton*, witches were figures of entertainment and horror but also comedy. It takes little imagination to see Elizabeth Sawyer cavorting with Dog even when one reads the play.

WITCHES IN LATER PUBLICATIONS

While an entertaining image of the witch began to appear at least by the 16th century, with works by people like Hans Sachs, there continued

to be a strong market for more academic books concerning witches. The *Malleus* had not said it all, it would seem. Writers, Catholic or Protestant, continued to provide exposés of the deeds of witches and devils. Books were written by clergy, physicians, and even lawyers involved with the process of hunting and trying witches. Unless the work was designed as an outright refutation of the standard beliefs outlined in the *Malleus*; or more likely, a careful set of subtle suggestions that some of the orthodoxy might not be correct, the book would follow a format of exemplars and case histories much like that used in the *Malleus*. In this, while the later 16th- and 17th-century writers were adhering to the concept of using "authorities," they also were simply following a blueprint for such volumes. Most were printed in northern Europe, although there were some notable works, such as Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Description of the Northern Peoples), which was actually printed in Rome, 1555. Later editions of this very popular book were printed in a number of European languages and cities including editions from Venice in 1561, 1565, and 1568. As one would expect, many of the Catholic manuals of exorcism were printed in Italy.

Other important works on demonology and witchcraft were published in Italy as well. For example, Jean Bodin's famous *De la daemonomanie des sorciers* (The Demon Mania of Witches) was originally printed in Paris, 1580. Bodin (1530–1596) had been a Carmelite monk but gave up this vocation and became a lawyer. He is famous in the political history of 16th-century France for his works on politics, economics, and governance and much better known for his *Six Books of the Commonwealth* (1576) than for his writings on witchcraft. Bodin's *Daemonomanie des sorciers*, was an extremely successful publication, much as Olaus Magnus's book had been. There were at least 23 editions. One modern translator calls it "the most published work of the era on the subject of demons and witches." Translations appeared in German, Italian, and Latin in the 16th and 17th centuries.[18] The first Italian translation of Bodin was printed in 1589, and again in 1592, in Venice by the famous Aldine Press.

Jean Bodin followed the format of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, although he also included discussions of prophecies, various means of divination, and magic. Magic here is to be understood as manipulation of the outside world, usually through the agency of a spirit, good or evil. While he was somewhat more tolerant than some of his French contemporaries in his

Sextò, præſtant Dæmoni iuramentum ſuper circulo in terram ſculpto, fortaſſe, quia cum circulus ſit ſymbolum Diuinitatis, & terra ſcabellum Dei, ſic certè vellet eos credere eum eſſe Dominum cœli, & terræ.

Septimò, petunt à Dæmone ſe deleri de libro vitæ, & ſcribi in libro mortis, & ſic legimus Magos Auinionēſes inſcriptos libro nigerrimo.

Octauò, pollicentur ſacrificia, & quædam ſtriges promittunt ſe ſingulis menſibus, vel quindenis vnum infantulum ſtrigando, i. exſugendo, occiſuras, vt refert Bartholomæus Spineus.

q. de ſtrigib. c. 2.

do,

"Witch Dedicating Child to the Devil." F. M. Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*. Milan, Heirs of Augusto, Tradati, 1608. (Private Collection.)

legal and political views, this did not seem to be the case with his attitudes on witches or magicians. Bodin commented that a witch was a person who "knowingly tries to accomplish something by diabolical means." That is also his definition of a magician, and it is not precisely the same thing as the conventional idea that a witch was someone who made a pact with Satan. Bodin explained that his definition of "diabolical means" was the evil that Satan taught humans to do in order to condemn their souls to Hell and "superstitions and impieties" that the Devil invented.[19] Bodin is famous for his attacks on the German Cornelius Agrippa von Nettisheim whom he accused of black magic. Agrippa was well known for his *On Occult Philosophy*, 1531. This was a study of magic and "natural magic," which Bodin found to be evil. Much of Bodin's book is about satanic witches, although he also included a chapter about werewolves (Book 2, Chapter 8).

Bodin's *Daemonomanie des sorciers* was so well known that at times it was even bound together with works by other authors, not all of them Catholics. For example, a volume of Bodin that was bound together with a 1574 edition of Lambert Daneau's *De Veneficiis* (Concerning Witches). Daneau (c. 1530–1590) was a Calvinist theologian of considerable stature. His book is in the form of catechetical questions and answers and appears to have been written in response to a series of witchcraft trials in Savoy. Daneau lived in France and later taught theology at Leiden.[20] In this work, Daneau asserts his belief in witches and maintains that they should indeed be vigorously punished. He comments briefly on lycanthropy, in which he does not believe. Daneaus's thoughts on witches are thoroughly mainstream: there is a sabbat, witches use poisons, they make pacts with the Devil, and they honor him at the sabbat. Nothing here is doctrinally different from the Catholics, although, in not thinking lycanthropy was real, Daneau differed from Bodin. Bodin was not typical in his belief in the reality of werewolves.

The turn of the 17th century saw the publication of a number of interesting books on witchcraft, many north of the Alps, but some important works in Italy. Among these is Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum* (Compendium of Witchcraft) that was printed in Milan. What makes the *Compendium* special is not the number of Guazzo's references but that it was illustrated. This book is probably better known today than it was in its own time, at least if we judge its popularity from the number of editions (only two as compared to two dozen of Bodin). Nevertheless, the

two editions printed in Milan make clear that the Italian publishing market and its reading public were interested in witchcraft. This is a serious religious tome, albeit written in a lively and anecdotal style. The images would have seemed to make it all the more likely to sell. That is certainly the case with modern translations today that contain the images. Copies of either edition are quite rare today and fetch substantial prices at auction or in private sales. This author knows of one instance in which a buyer living in the United States spent upward of an hour on the phone negotiating with a European dealer for a copy of the first edition. These things can sell for the price of a small automobile. What would Guazzo think about that if he were aware of how expensive his books became?[21]

The *Compendium Maleficarum* illustrations are set into the page alongside texts that match the images. These are rather small woodcuts, measuring about 4 by 2.5 inches, and sometimes two on the same page. The illustrations are quite interesting not only for the variety of witchcraft acts they show but also for the fact that they depict witches of both sexes as well as child witches. They are well dressed in clothing that suggests all were members of the upper classes or even the nobility. One does not see elderly misshapen women here. Guazzo's illustrations show witches poisoning a woman, exhuming the dead to make brews, basting an infant over a slow fire (I refer to this as "barbequed baby" with my students), flying on goat demons, making storms, defiling the cross, banqueting at the sabbat, honoring the Devil in various ways including kissing his posterior, making pacts, dedicating their children to the devil, and even undergoing a reverse baptism. In all these vignettes the witches are elegant men and women. They seem to personify the members of the duke's court. The devils are zoomorphic and rather old-fashioned looking creatures that resemble artistic renderings of devils from 100 years earlier. The illustrator also included two vignettes of a witch-werewolf who is accompanied by a witch-snail and a witch-rat. The *Compendium* illustrations are so well known today that one sees them frequently on book covers and throughout the Internet. At the end of his book, Guazzo wrote a lengthy formula of exorcism. There are very small illustrations that accompany the exorcism, but these are quite crude and not really successful as descriptive elements. Since Guazzo was an exorcist, this exorcism is most likely one that he used in his work.

While it seems fairly certain that Guazzo did not intend his book to be entertaining rather than an educational treatise, the *Compendium Maleficarum* could have served this role for some of its readers since the descriptions and images were very lively. In this respect it resembles some of the contemporary plays and poems about witchcraft.

Here is a sampling of his descriptions. "Further I hold it to be very true that sometimes witches are really transported from place to place by the devil, who in the shape of a goat or some other fantastic animal, both carries them bodily to the Sabbat and himself is present at its obscenities." Before witches went to the sabbat they needed flying ointment to assist them and their devil steeds. "But it must be known that before they go to the Sabbat they anoint themselves upon some part of their bodies with an unguent made from various foul and filthy ingredients, but chiefly from murdered children." On the "infamous kiss": "Then they offer him pitch black candles or infants' navel cords; and kiss him upon the buttocks as a sign of homage."[22] In Book 1, Chapter 10, Guazzo discusses copulations between the Devil and witches and whether these could produce offspring: "I add that a child can be born of such copulation with an Incubus devil." Of course this was accomplished by the Devil's having obtained somewhere a sample of actual human sperm since the Devil himself had no real generative powers.[23] Only God could create humans.

Guazzo's *Compendium* was liberally sprinkled with references to the *Daemonolatreia* (1695) of Nicolas Remy (1525–1612). Guazzo agreed with Remy's premises concerning the nature of the Devil and the deeds of witches. Remy was a magistrate and witch hunter who had extensive experience in trying witches. His *Daemonolatreia* presented many examples and stories supposedly drawn from his own experiences as a magistrate and those of others. Because Guazzo was so impressed with Remy's book (he probably used it as a reference in his own witch hunting), these two works are often compared. The scholarly references of Guazzo reveal the difference in education from the priest to the lawyer. Still, Remy was himself an interesting writer. Book 2, Chapter 8, describes various poisons and various items that witches used to harm people. Remy felt that most of these were in themselves not toxic; the Devil's work made them dangerous. "It is sufficiently clear that there is in the things so used by them [witches] no inherent or natural power either of hurting or of healing but that whatever prodigious results are effected it is all done by the

Demons." In describing just what sorts of harm a witch could do, he wrote, "Catharina Latomia . . . in the same way put a herb given her by the Demon upon the threshold of the house of Jean Antoine, with the result that after his wife had come out that way the milk in her breasts dried up and in consequence the child to whom she was then giving suck died; this being what the witch had chiefly desired to happen."[24]

While most writers held firm beliefs in witchcraft, there were a few who dared to dissent, among them the German physician Johann Weyer (1515–1588) and Reginald Scot. Scot (c. 1538–1599) wrote his *Discoverie of Witchcraft,* 1584, as a refutation of a number of contemporary authors whom he termed "lewd inquisitors and peevish witchmongers." One could learn much about what people thought witches did by reading Scot's lively and argumentative book; however, his thesis was that in most cases witches did not exist. Their deeds were illusions of the Devil or of those peevish witchmongers or the delusions of persons who were elderly or ill. In this, he followed Weyer. At the same time, if Scot were the only book on witchcraft one had read, he would provide a good idea of the whole phenomenon. Scot discusses aspects of what we would term today stage magic, such as how to seem to thrust a knife through one's hand or to make it appear that a person has been beheaded. He decries all manner of conjuration and divination as superstitious thinking or outright chicanery on the part of the person who claimed to know the future or summon a spirit. Scot devotes much of his attention and his ire to Jean Bodin. He cites Bodin and the *Malleus* frequently as sources. Then Scot comments that Bodin's references to eyewitness accounts of events such as a sabbat were confirmed "with a hundred and odd lies."

Scot took note of Bodin's animosity toward Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim with sarcastic remarks such as this: "It appeareth throughout all Bodins booke, that he is sore offended with Cornelius Agrippa and the rather (as I suppose) because the said Agrippa recanted that which Bodin mainteineth [*sic*]." Scot even commented on Agrippa's famous big black dog whom Bodin thought was a familiar in the guise of a canine.

"I am certain that his tale is a fond fable."[25]

While Scot was intent on refuting Jean Bodin, he also was reacting with his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* to events that were unfolding in the British Isles. Witchcraft cases were erupting in England and Scotland, and these had caught the attention of the Scottish king, James VI (the future James I of England), who later wrote his own book on witchcraft, *Dae-*

monlogie, 1595. Scot was courageous in that his book was in opposition to the kinds of traditional beliefs held by King James VI. He got away with it. Perhaps it helped his cause that Scot was in England and not in Scotland, and that he had attacked the Catholic Jean Bodin.

John Webster (1611–1685), a physician and Protestant minister, published *A Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* in 1677, the same year that Robert Plot, the keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, wrote his seminal *The Natural History of Oxfordshire*. This last book became one of the first publications to deal extensively with the nature of the origins of fossils, remembered as a landmark in the history of what was then a very fledgling science of paleontology. Webster's book actually has something in common with Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*. Webster brought the topic of witchcraft under the same type of scientific scrutiny as Plot used to investigate natural history and geology.

> Webster was largely unconvinced of the truth of witchcraft. He makes this immediately clear in the full title of his book: Wherein is affirmed that they are many sorts of deceivers and imposters and divers persons under a passive delusion of melancholy and fancy, but that there is a corporeal league made betwixt the Devil and the witch, or that he sucks on the witches body, has carnal copulation or that witches are turned into cats, dogs, raise tempests or the like is utterly denied and disproved.

Webster is famous in the history of English witchcraft for his controversy with another Protestant clergyman and writer, Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680). Unlike Webster, Glanvill was more credulous about witches. But Glanvill too wished to employ investigative logic to his study of witchcraft and other supernatural phenomena like poltergeists. He believed that denying the existence of evil spirits was tantamount to denying the existence of all spirits, and he was unwilling to deny that good spirits existed. Thus, Glanvill tried to employ scientific means to explain what poltergeists might be. Glanvill is best remembered for *Sadducismus Triumphatus* (Sadducism Triumphant), 1688. Webster spared no one. He castigated Glanvill; he wrote critically about King James's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*; he termed earlier demonologists such as Martin del Rio, Jean Bodin, Institoris, and Remy as "pitiful lying Witchmongers"; and wrote of Glanvill's thinking as "Platonical whimseys."[26] At this point, Webster

was attacking Glanvill's earlier book entitled *A Blow at Modern Sadducism* (1681). The term "Sadducism" referred to the heresy of thinking that witches did not exist. Webster commented, "Mr. Glanvill is so confident [of his opinions] . . . that he styled his book A blow at modern Sadducism which I confess is so weak a blow and so blindly leveled and so improperly directed that I am sure it will kill or hurt no body."[27]

Works like these are useful today to the historian in that they tell us once again, from a different perspective certainly, what some 17th-century Englishmen were thinking. They confirm for us that at least at this point in the late century, some writers and thinkers, and possibly the reading public were dubious about witches.

While most of the witches who were tried in Early Modern Europe were women, as we have seen, there were also male witches. Here the lines may blur a little in that some male followers of the devil may have engaged in other magical and supernatural activities. When William West noted that jugglers and magicians were witches, he was most likely referring to men. These men could have been satanic followers as well. To fit our definition of "witch," they had to be such apostates. They existed, these male Satanists. We read in Molitor's early book about the male who rode on a wolf. He was tired and burnt as a witch. Sixteenth-century book illustrations often showed male witches consorting at sabbats with devils and with female witches. English trial accounts and popular lore from the 16th and 17th centuries is filled with numerous stories of men who were witches. Most of them even had familiars who sucked their blood. One account gave the story of a nine-year-old little boy who was a witch. "He suckled an imp and commanded it to do mischief, such as killing the chickens of a man who had chided him."[28]

The *Compendium Maleficarum* illustrations contain a number of scenes in which male witches are shown. There are child witches of both sexes. Scenes that accompany Book 2, Chapter 2, which concerns witches' use of the remains of the dead, show a male and a female witch exhuming a corpse. In the background a male witch removes a corpse from a gallows, in the center of the scene a dinner is taking place in which the food is a dead baby. One of the diners is a little boy. There is a second scene in this chapter that shows a male and female witch basting a child on a spit over a fire.

John Lambe was tried as a witch. Lambe was a London physician. Although called Dr. Lambe, he may have been a folk healer, not a trained

doctor. He began his career as a children's tutor. Ewen spoke of Lambe as "a typical wise man or wizard, helping people to find lost goods, advising them in family troubles and foretelling the future." He might have been able to "read thoughts," and he was known as a juggler. In short, Lambe was all those things that one might ascribe to a witch, but he was also the sort of person Reginald Scot, his contemporary, would have called a fraud. Sometime between 1608 and 1610, he was arrested and indicted for various crimes, including witchcraft. The testimony noted that Lambe kept an angel in a crystal glass set into a hat he wore. He supposedly could bewitch men, poison people, and keep men from procreating. Other than his angel, he kept four other spirits in his crystal. All that sounds more like a black magician than a witch, but another witness used the "W word." His testimony caused the court recorder to write "It manifestly appears that Dr. Lambe was an absolute witch, a sorcerer, a juggling person given over to lewd, wicked and diabolical courses, an invocator and adorer of impious and wicked spirits." That last accusation was enough to satisfy the claim that Lambe was a witch. He worshipped devils. At a later arrest, Lambe was accused of rape. He was released from this charge. Eventually, in 1628, Lambe was attacked by a mob and beaten to death. A pamphlet from that year shows him trying to escape the mob who is throwing stones at him and attacking him with swords. He has on his famous hat, which supposedly had the crystal; it appears very similar to a Papal tiara or perhaps a bishop's miter.

Lambe had a serving woman named Ann Bodenham who was also a notorious witch. Her story was retold in Nathaniel Crouch's *The Kingdom of Darkness* as well as in other accounts and small books.[29] Ann Bodenham was tried at the age of 80. She had been the servant of Dr. Lambe and worked as a folk healer, a "cunning woman," and a teacher of children. Various trial records of Bodenham recounted her working in magic circles and summoning devils whom she referred to as "Beelzebub, Tormentor, Lucifer and Satan." Mistress Bodenham seemingly went straight to the top of the devilish list for her help. She was said to be able to turn herself into a large black cat. She did all kinds of maleficia and after her conviction for witchcraft, was executed. The story goes that, as was customary, the hangman asked her to forgive him. She cursed him instead and was sent to eternity unrepentant and evil to the last. A close examination of Ann's story indicates that she must have learned some of her supposed supernatural activities and even her folk

medicine from Dr. Lambe. Despite how fantastic their stories sound, these were real people, who lived, were accused of witchcraft and died because of those accusations. Both were obviously literate and possibly in the case of Lambe, educated. They would have been in a social station today approximating middle class. They were neither peasants nor the underprivileged, nor mentally deranged. Ann Bodenham was elderly when she was arraigned and tried. She was no Elizabeth Sawyer who was an elderly, poor peasant woman. Ann was married and had lived a relatively comfortable life. Yet she and Dr. Lambe were called witches. At first glance, it might seem that John Lambe and Ann Bodenham were exceptional witches from the standpoint of their socioeconomic status. Even so, witchcraft permeated all ranks of society; anyone might be termed a witch. As Mother Sawyer said, it was all the same, to be a witch or be accounted one.

These stories do illustrate that there were some regional and national variations in what the general public thought witches were like. The English frequently consorted with familiar demons and were very involved with medical maleficia. Many English witches seemed to have been folk healers. At the same time, English female healers like Ann Bodenham were not under attack from the male medical establishment any more than were their continental sisters. Dr. Lambe was Ann's friend and employer.

English witches did not seem to be as fond of riding broomsticks and other means of conveyance as did the witches of Germany, France, and the Netherlands. They did go to sabbats, but one does not have the rich literary tradition of their riding skyward to get there. These ideas were known in England because the learned experts had most certainly read about them often enough in many demonological works. Yet, to the popular mind, this was not so important. Or at least that seems to be the case we can deduce from the trial accounts. When Walter Scott wrote his study of witchcraft in 1830 he noted the stories of witches riding on broomsticks or sailing across the ocean in sieves. These are supernatural means of travel that were even illustrated by George Cruikshank. The English and the Scots were well versed in all the aspects of the stories of witches, even if their "witches" did not always use them.

It goes without saying that the British believed in the reality of witches and devils. Their beliefs seemed to have begun to weaken faster than those of many on the Continent. While this may be in fact the case, this

weakening of beliefs must be measured against the literally hundreds of trials in the 16th and 17th century, and against the writings of people like King James I and John Glanvill. Witches were real in this part of Early Modern Europe, too.

Where then does a discussion of Early Modern European witchcraft leave the modern reader or researcher? Are we charmed by these stories because that they are quaint vestiges from the past? Do we find them fascinating, or perhaps do we see some of the witches in art as actually glamorous? If we consider witches in any of these ways, we are still under their sway. Our very modern language contains references to the old magic and its practitioners. We are "charmed"? We find someone or some thing "charming" because it entrances us in some way. If we think of the witches as "fascinating," it is important to remember that fascination was another word for bewitching someone. "Glamours" were acts of fascination or bewitchment. Today we use these words in different ways, but we still use them. Our witches from the past may have stepped away from their everyday acts of evil and devil worship in our minds in that we don't believe they were real. We continually have to remind ourselves that this was the world view in the 16th and 17th centuries. Witchcraft and demons and their associates in the dark side were so actual that they were the subjects of scientific study and analysis. We may discount the fact that their contemporaries thought them factual, but we cannot escape the hold they have on us even if we are only held through literature and art. A glance around us is enough to make us realize that the dark side has never ceased to fascinate.

It has not been my intention with this chapter to bury the reader in many detailed accounts of what witches did. I do not wish to be like Institoris, Bodin, Guazzo, and Scot. Yet, as this study proceeds, the reader will find that the witch is frequently as integral a part of the dark side as the Devil himself. Some of the witches' deeds have receded into the past and taken their place as historical artifacts for the most part. Modern Europeans and Americans probably do not think that witches really fly on broomsticks or that they barbeque babies. We don't believe that they can render a man impotent or have sex with a devil. At the same time, we delight in fantasy stories about witches, and we enjoy their images largely unchanged from those of centuries ago. All we need do to see this long-standing influence on our culture is to think of the Harry Potter novels and motion pictures. Witches good and evil abound and do magic and

have familiars. They are not in the league with Satan anymore in these stories. But they are still there, boys and girls, men and women on broomsticks. I have tried to demonstrate with this book that modern people are very much influenced by the Early Modern period. Part of that influence comes from the dark side and its denizens.

CHAPTER 3

Demonology, Possession, and Exorcism

It is a meditation on Hell.

—St. Ignatius of Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises,* 1548.

It becomes us to remember that Satan has his miracles which although they are tricks rather than true wonders, are still such as to delude the ignorant and unwary.

—John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* 1560.

But this business of demons is involved in such inextricable labyrinths that one can scarcely get out himself.

—Johannes Weyer, *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (The Devil's Illusions), 1583.

Grave fathers, he's possessed. Again, I say possessed, nay if there be possession and obsession, he has both . . . see, see, see, see, he vomits crooked pins.

—Ben Jonson, *Volpone,* 1606.

For a time both Catholic and Protestant countries were disturbed by the strange beliefs and the strange doings of real or supposed professors of the black arts and by the credulous and cruel persecutors who sought to suppress them.

—*Catholic Encyclopedia,* "Demonology," 1911.

The demonologists constructed the myth of witchcraft, repeating each other as if repetition could establish veracity.

—Rossell Hope Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Demonology and Witchcraft,* 1959.

> The *Compendium* [*Maleficarum*] was learned but not in the least original.
>
> —P. G. Maxwell-Stewart, *ABC-CLIO Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*, 2006.

CATHOLIC DEMONOLOGISTS

Rossell Hope Robbins commented in his *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* that demonology as a defined term was closely connected to the study of witchcraft. In fact, he noted that "after the early writers on witchcraft . . . had established the main features of the heresy of witchcraft and their principles had filtered down to local judges, the theory was refined and deepened from about 1580 to 1620 by various writers of voluminous handbooks. These demonologists might better be called 'witch-ologists' for they were more concerned with the crimes of witches than with the wiles of devils."[1] Demonology, Robbins noted dryly, was not the antithesis of theology, which was the study of God. For the period of 1400 to 1700, his characterization of demonology is essentially correct. In general, I will use the term demonologist to refer to a writer who was an expert on witchcraft. Still, there were some writers who discussed the devils almost exclusively and who did not preoccupy themselves much with witches; and one must consider those demonologists as well. I suggest here that demonology in Early Modern Europe was more complex than merely repetitive rehearsals of the nefarious deeds of witches and their associates, the devils. I also offer the premise for the reader's consideration that some types of demonology were not printed scholarly works. There was demonological folklore—poems such as Milton's *Paradise Lost*—and various plays dealing with the subject of witchcraft that could loosely be called studies of demons, or demonological works of literature.

The theological writers of the late Middle Ages had much to say concerning devils and their activities in their works, often without discussing the witch in significant ways. We now are so conditioned to thinking about the term demonologist as being roughly equivalent to an expert on witchcraft that it might be useful to mention some writers who exclusively dealt with devils.

Jacobus de Teramo's *Das Buch Belial* can easily be described as a demonological work that had nothing to do with witchcraft. This book had been

originally written prior to the rise of mechanical printing in Europe. It became a very early example of printing when it was eventually published in that format. This book is, without question, a demonological study; and it was extremely popular as a printed book. The 1479 German version had illustrations of Belial and other devils. We know for a fact that these images depicted what is stated here because they were captioned. There is no mistaking what the printer and the illustrator intended the vignettes to represent. Printed editions are known to date back as far as 1472, Augsburg, and there are about 20 known printed editions in several modern languages as well as Latin. German, French, and Dutch editions are also known to exist.[2]

Jacobus (Italian bishop and canon lawyer, 1349–1417) writes about devils such as Belial and acts of magic performed with the help of devils. He does not really speak to the concept of a witch as a person who eschewed God and Christianity and became a follower of Satan. *Das Buch Belial* is concerned with the very nature of devils and how they can interact with humans. It is also a book about magic. Jacobus was less concerned with discussing demonic temptations.

The great French theologian Johannes (Jean) Gerson (1363–1429) was among, other things, the chancellor of the University of Paris. Gerson was famous for his extensive contributions to late medieval theology; these include demonological writings. Again, the originals were written by hand, no doubt dictated by Gerson to his scribes; printed editions are important incunabula. Gerson wrote two works for the guidance of monks concerning the temptations the Devil might employ against men in the religious life. One treatise was entitled *De Pollutione Noctrurna Monachorum* (Concerning the Nighttime Pollutions of Monks); the other was *De Pollutione Diurna Monachorum* (Concerning the Daytime Pollutions of Monks). These works are found in his *Opera Omnia*. Gerson discusses the magic arts from the standpoint of demonology. For his time, Gerson was remarkably thoughtful and understanding of human nature. He noted that beautiful women who might happen to come to a monastery could indeed pose a temptation to his monks to commit the sin of lust. These were human women and not succubi, demons appearing as women. He describes them in the *Daytime Pollutions* as pretty girls: "puellae pulchrae." Still, these women might be unwitting agents of temptation. The study of "nighttime pollutions," erotic dreams or night emissions of semen, explained that these were not sinful in themselves because the monk had

not invited such events and really could not help something that had happened to him in his sleep.

There are a number of printed editions of Gerson's works that include these two treatises. The earliest I know dates to about 1466. At least 15 incunabula editions of Gerson's works that include the two treatises on monastic pollutions survive. The collection of Gerson's works used here was printed in 1494.[3] It contains marginal indications that the reader should pay careful attention to the passage on nighttime pollutions. Many sentences in this part of the essay are underlined. Some are marked in the margin with "N.B." This abbreviation stands for the Latin "note well." And some passages have little marginal drawings of hands, known as manicules, with a pointed index finger. These ancient ancestors of the modern mouse cursor were placed at strategic points, such as the sentence where Gerson said it was no mortal sin to have an erotic dream.

One cannot help imagining the sense of relief, or perhaps of confusion, that some monk had when he read and annotated these passages. Discussions of such temptations are a part of demonology in that they come under the category of the sorts of harm the Devil can try to do to humans. Medieval theologians taught that an erotic dream was a sin, indeed a mortal one. Such a dream was a ticket to Hell. Gerson was quite out of step with most of his contemporaries within the church when he wrote that this was in no way the monk's fault because he could not control what happened in his sleep; and these events were not the work of the Devil at all but merely dreams. Because of his considerable stature in the French Church, Gerson was able to get away with this departure from standard orthodoxy. His moderation shows that even as early as the 15th century, there were some thaws in the ice jam of the Catholic demonologists' teachings on sin and temptation.

In the 15th century, there were some authors who wrote more particularly about devils. The demonologists all had in common the belief in the reality of the Devil and his spirit followers. The Swabian (German) Johannes Nider (1380–1438) wrote mostly about the Devil. However, he also described activities of heretics who honored him. These activities were later applied to the descriptions of witchcraft.

Jean Vincent was another theologian who devoted his study to demonology. His *Liber adversus Magicas Artes* (Book of Adverse Magical Arts) was written about 1475. At least one manuscript still exists and was stud-

ied by Lea. Although Vincent does discuss witches or evil magicians to a certain extent, he mostly outlines the activities of the Devil in duping people into thinking they are witches. He thought that devils could foretell the future and that persons could employ charms and various incantations to do evil; he ascribed these deeds to the demon's intervention and not particularly to the witch's powers.[4]

Alphonsus de Spina (d. 1469) wrote a massive text entitled *Fortalitium Fidei* (The Fortress of Faith) that dealt with three mortal enemies of Christianity—the Devil and his devils, the Jews, and the Muslims. The *Fortalitium Fidei* became one of the earliest printed books. It is a big folio-sized book, and one can only imagine what a huge stack of pages the manuscript version must have been. De Spina touches briefly on human followers of the Devil, whose deeds sound much like what would come to be typical of witches only a short time later. His book, no doubt, had an impact on Institoris and Sprenger's *Malleus Maleficarum*. Yet de Spina was not particularly interested in witchcraft. His demonology is just that: a treatise on the Devil. He went to great lengths to provide lively outlines of what devils can do, where they stay when they are not in Hell per se, and supplies a history of Satan's fall. He also enumerates various types of devils who have particular specialties in their work of tormenting or frightening humans. He writes about familiars who stayed with people to do their bidding. Besides the Devil, de Spina explains the evils done to Christianity by Muslims and Jews. Eventually De Spina does write about witches, describing a witch's sabbat replete with the infamous kiss as an honor to the Devil. An edition of about the year 1500 contains a small illustration (approximately 3 x 2 inches) showing a tower (i.e., the fortress beset by a devil), a Jew, and a Muslim.

Not surprisingly, the outstanding demonologists of the 15th century were Institoris and Sprenger. Not only does the *Malleus Maleficarum* (originally printed in 1487) go to great lengths to tell what witches did, it also is packed full of detailed descriptions of what devils' interactions with witches. The impact of this book cannot be overestimated. To paraphrase P. G. Maxwell, Stewart's comment on Guazzo, Institoris, and Sprenger themselves were not the least original in what they said. They are just verbose and lurid in their explanations. They hammer home with their "witches' hammer" the absolute theological validity and reality of not only witches but of the Devil himself. This was no pagan superstition, such as had been suggested by de Spina and Nider.[5] The Devil was real.

"Fortress of Faith Beset by a Devil, a Jew and a Muslim." A. de Spina, *Fortalitium Fidei*. Lyons, G. Balsarin, 1487. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

The *Malleus* helped to establish the concept that it was part of the clergy's duty to carefully study the Devil and understand his ways as best as they could in order to stymie him if at all possible.

There were hundreds of later demonological/witchcraft studies printed after the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Included among this extensive literature are books on witchcraft that are titled with some variant of the word demonology. Nicolas Remi (1530–1612) entitled his 1596 work, *Daemonolatreia*. The worship of the Devil or at the very least a preoccupation with him was implied in that title, although Remi's book was more specifically about witchcraft. Similarly Jean Bodin's *Daemonomania des sorciers* (The Demon Mania of Witches), 1580, addresses both topics but is essentially a work on witches. Bodin's book was highly influential and a best seller in the area of demonology. It has been described by one modern historian as "an extremely important and blood curdling book."[6]

Can we speak of writers like Bodin and Remi as demonologists? Certainly they were just that. King James I of England (James VI of Scotland) wrote in *Daemonologie*, 1597, a detailed account of witches as he felt he had witnessed them in Scotland and England. This too is a hybrid publication of information about both devils and witches. It would seem from such examples that even the scholarly experts of this period did not make much distinction between a demonologist as expert on devils and the demonologist as expert on witchcraft.


MALLEVS
MALEFICARVM,
MALEFICAS ET EARVM
hæresim frameâ conterens,
EX VARIIS AVCTORIBVS COMPILATVS,
& in quatuor Tomos iustè distributus,
QVORVM DVO PRIORES VANAS DÆMONVM
versutias, præstigiosas eorum deliusiones, superstitiosas Strigimagarum
cæremonias, horrendos etiam cum illis congressus; exactam denique
tam pestiferæ sectæ disquisitionem, & punitionem complectuntur.
Tertius praxim Exorcistarum ad Dæmonum, & Strigimagarum male-
ficia de Christi fidelibus pellenda; Quartus verò Artem Doctrinalem,
Benedictionalem, & Exorcismalem continet.
TOMVS PRIMVS.
Indices Auctorum, capitum, rerumque non desunt.
Editio nouissima, infinitis penè mendis expurgata; cuique accessit fuga
Dæmonum & Complementum artis exorcisticæ.
Vir siue mulier, in quibus Pythonicus, vel diuinationis fuerit spiritus, morte moriatur
Leuitici cap. 10.
LVGDVNI,
Sumptibus CLAVDII BOVRGEAT, sub signo Mercurij Galli.
M. DC. LXIX.
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

Title Page, *Malleus Omnibus. Malleus Maleficarum ex variis auctoribus compilatus*. Lyons, Claudii Bourgeat, 1669. (Private Collection.)

Some works on demonology concern magic or with the effects that a magician or devil might have on matters of health. A little-known work entitled *Daemones an sint*, written by Giano M. Durastante in 1567 and published in Venice, is strictly a work on the nature of devils. Francesco Torreblanca Villalpando's *Daemonologia sive de magia naturali* (1677) concerns the use of devils in working magic but not necessarily in working black magic. The decade of the 1670s saw the publication of several diverse works that dealt in part with demonology. Thomas Heywood's book on women was printed in 1677, and "Malleus Omnibus" appeared in 1669. Peter Thyraeus's 1627 *Daemonici cum Locis Infesta* (Demons With the Places They Infest) was not about witchcraft. The title of Nathaniel Homes's *Daemonologie and Theologie: The First the Malady . . . The Second the Remedy* (1650) speaks for itself. Again the author was not really writing in particular about witchcraft or witches' commanding demons, but about diseases and physical complaints brought on by devils.

Who were the demonologists of Early Modern Europe? Is it possible to characterize a demonologist? It would be quite difficult to create an archetype of a demonologist from the Renaissance or 17th century. It would seem evident from even a brief review of demonologists that they came from all walks of life and professions. They were men and women, such as St. Teresa of Avila. They were born and worked in many different countries and provinces. Some were kings; others were clergy, lawyers, literary figures, or physicians. Some were Catholics, others Protestants. Some demonologists wrote about the Devil's acts in order to facilitate the guidance and spiritual growth of their fellow monks or nuns. This is what Nider and Gerson were doing. In a sense, De Spina was also writing for his colleagues in the religious professions. Institoris and Sprenger were of course Dominican inquisitors. De Spina was a Spanish theologian and inquisitor who is thought to have been a converted Jew. Jean Bodin was a historian, philosopher, statesman, and legal scholar. In French history he is most often mentioned as a philosopher who wrote on the ideas of how to construct and govern a modern state. In some respects his work resembled that of Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527).

Ulrich Molitor, whose *De Lamiis et Phitonicis Mulieribus* was written in response to the *Malleus Maleficarum*, may also be considered a demonologist. His little book on witches contained much information of what his contemporaries believed about the Devil At the end of the book, Molitor goes through an entire list of what the Devil cannot do. As such this list

informs us of what many thought the Devil could do to harm humanity. Molitor states that the Devil cannot affect the weather, harm people or animals, cause impotence, or do any such black magic unless God lets it happen. The Devil unknowingly acts an agent of God and has no supernatural powers unless God permits it. The Devil cannot fool people into thinking they fly to sabbats. He cannot make people into animals, he cannot procreate with humans, he cannot foretell the future. If God permits these things to happen, or seem to happen, as in the case of transmutation into animals, then it is once again God who allows the Devil to achieve this. Devils have no powers at all, states Molitor. That came close to heresy because he was stating in effect that there was no such thing as witchcraft. He managed again to get by with this very wild set of statements because he always couched his comments in the premise that a thing could happen if God wished or permitted it to happen. A witch could summon a devil or just encounter one and get the devil to do his or her black magic, but these things were very rare and almost never really happened, according to Molitor. Because Molitor emphasized the Devil's inherent lack of power, his book is possibly better thought of as a demonological study than a witchcraft tome. It remains one of the very tiny number of books in the field of witchcraft studies in which the author dared to doubt. Some of the great classics of European religion were written in part as demonology.

St. Ignatius of Loyola's (1491–1556) *Spiritual Exercises* were created for the direction of the men who were joining his new Jesuit Order. Part of their formative training was to undergo the entire program of the *Exercises*. Jesuits continue to this day to use the *Exercises* in preparing to take their vows, as well as for further religious refreshment. St. Ignatius compiled these exercises between 1522 and 1524, and they were published in 1548. This work was designed as a series of what we would now call "directed meditations." Ignatius encouraged his novices to picture themselves in Hell. They were to experience with their imaginations all the painful and horrible experiences of the senses that beset the damned. They were also to imagine themselves in imagination into the state of complete despair that the Devil felt upon losing God forever. This procedure reflects the impact that a sermon might have on the listener. Indeed, these exercises were, and still are, used as sources for retreat sermons. After the Reformation, the church emphasized the concepts of using the arts to fire up the imagination and to instill piety. St. Ignatius's writings fitted perfectly into this charge.

The Fifth Exercise for the First Week of the regime was called a meditation on Hell. St. Ignatius instructs the religious to ask for an "interior sense of the pain which the damned suffer." Then they were to proceed "to see with the sight of the imagination the great fires, and the souls as bodies of fire . . . to hear with the ears wailings, howlings, cries, blasphemies against Christ our Lord and all His Saints . . . [they were then to proceed] to smell with the [sense of] smell smoke, sulphur, dregs and putrid things . . . to taste with the [sense of taste] bitter things, like tears, sadness and the worm of conscience . . . to touch [with the sense of touch] how the fires touch and burn the souls."[7]

St. Teresa of Avila (1515–1582), who reformed the Carmelite Order, discussed things similar to the scenes of Hell evoked by St. Ignatius, and she presented vivid imagery of the Devil and of Hell in her writings. This is especially evident in her *Autobiography*. Here she describes various visions she had from time to time. One such vision of an angel who pierced her "heart" with a flaming arrow was immortalized in Gianlorenzo Bernini's altarpiece of the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa*. This is one of the finest examples of baroque art and also of the artist's adherence to the teachings of the Council of Trent to use art to inspire the viewer with piety. Not all of Teresa's visions were pleasant or ecstatic. Teresa tells in her *Autobiography* of seeing herself in Hell. She may well have known the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius, for she describes Hell as being a terrible confined space, almost like the inside of an intestine, in which there are awful smells and sounds creating a clear sense of despair.

St. Teresa believed that her vision of Hell was a gift from Jesus Christ: "I understood it was our Lord's will I should see the place which the devils kept in readiness for me and which I had deserved by my sins." This vision so horrified her that she would never forget it, and the mere recall of it made her very afraid and uncomfortable. Her description reminds one of the dungeons of the 16th century. Had St. Teresa seen such a dungeon? Perhaps she had just recalled someone's sermon.

> The entrance seemed to be by a long narrow pass, like a furnace, very low, dark and close. The ground seemed to be saturated with water, mere mud, exceedingly foul, sending forth pestilential odors, and covered with loathsome vermin. At the end was a hollow place in the wall, like a closet, and in that I saw myself confined. All this was even pleasant to behold in comparison with what I felt there.

She describes experiencing extreme physical pain and spiritual torment. "I felt a fire in my soul. . . . My bodily sufferings were unendurable. . . . These sufferings were nothing in comparison with the anguish of my soul . . . it is the soul that is tearing itself to pieces." One cannot not escape the sense that Teresa was meditating on a dungeon. "Left in that pestilential place. . . . I could neither sit nor lie down: there was no room. I was placed as it were in a hole in the wall. . . . I could not breathe. There was no light."

St. Teresa's description of her vision of Hell is found in Chapter 32. In the preceding chapter, she tells how the Devil looked when he appeared to her. Here one can see both the influence of contemporary demonological writings and sermons on Teresa as well has her own additions to the discipline of demonology. In what has become one of the most famous passages in her *Autobiography*, Teresa explained,

> I was once in an oratory, when Satan, in an abominable shape, appeared on my left hand. I looked at his mouth in particular because he spoke, and it was horrible. A huge flame seemed to issue out of his body, perfectly bright, without any shadow. He spoke in a fearful way and said to me that, though I had escaped out of his hands, he would yet lay hold of me again. I was in great terror."[8]

She made the Sign of the Cross and Satan left, but then immediately returned two more times. Finally she used holy water. "I took some and threw it in the direction of the figure and then Satan never returned." Holy water was a powerful amulet. "I know by frequent experience that there is nothing which puts devils to flight like holy water . . . "[the devils flee at the Sign of the Cross and then return, but not if one uses holy water as she did against Satan]. St. Teresa then rather surprisingly notes that she made careful, almost scientific, observations of her rather frequent mystical experiences. "This is no fancy . . . I have watched it very carefully."[9]

These two important Catholic saints, whose reforms and works are features of the Counter Reformation, both display in their writings the common beliefs of what Hell would be like as well as the more educated notion that Hell was really the loss of God by the soul. St. Teresa and St. Ignatius believed in the physical torments of the damned, but they also held a more sophisticated notion of the Devil. Their thoughts

reflected what they had heard at home or at church as young persons, as well as what they learned from their own studies or conversations with other clergy or religious. Teresa and Ignatius wrote about the Devil but did not concern themselves with witches. They saw the Devil as a danger to themselves and the members of their orders, and that was something which they made clear.

PROTESTANT DEMONOLOGISTS

Prominent reformers such as Martin Luther and John Calvin considered the Devil in the light of their proposed changes in Christianity. While they spoke of the traditional repertoire of the Devil's acts, they also emphasize his ability to delude humanity—perhaps more than his power to tempt humankind. They can also be included in our broader definition of demonologists. When Calvin commented that the Devil was a "magician," he had in mind the Devil's interest in keeping people under the sway of the Roman Church. If people could be made to believe in superstitious practices, such as amulets or the working of black magic, these would keep them from being good Protestants. The Roman Church was seen by Luther and Calvin as a bastion of superstitious, almost pagan activities, and the Devil was in the thick of this morass of improper acts.

Martin Luther openly accused the pope of being the Antichrist. This put the pope and his church squarely in the Devil's camp as Antichrist was on Earth to combat Jesus. Luther made critical remarks about the pope that were recorded in the collection of his comments known as *The Table Talk*. Chapter 326 records Luther saying flatly that "Antichrist is the pope and the Turk; a beast full of life must have a body and a soul; the spirit or soul of Antichrist is the pope, his flesh or body the Turk. The Pope is the last blaze in the lamp, which will go out and ere long be extinguished, the last instrument of the Devil. . . . Pope, cardinals, bishops, not a soul of them has read the Bible, tis a book unknown to them." While the pope was not the Devil himself, according to Luther, he was without question an agent of the Devil's plans. In Chapter 570 he comments that devils are everywhere yet reaffirms that the Devil cannot harm humankind unless by God's permission. "Many devils are in woods, in waters, in wildernesses, and in dark pooly places ready to hurt and prejudice people; some are also in the thick black clouds, which cause hail, lightenings and thunders, and poison the air, the pastures and grounds." He comments on

kobolds, demons who inhabit mines; and he discusses witches and their associations with devils. In a conversation in 1538, Chapter 577, Luther remarks on witches "who spoil milk, eggs and butter in farm yards." Luther felt such witches should be burnt. Yet he said that those who try to "counteract" these witches find themselves "tormented by their master, the Devil."[10]

What can be seen from these brief accounts of the thoughts of Luther and Calvin is that, while they were reformers, their demonological thinking was not really different from that of the Catholics. This is likely because Luther and Calvin and their theological predecessors had read their Bibles, just as they claimed the pope had not. All these men derived their theology; and that included their demonology, from earlier writers and thinkers within the Christian Church. To blame the Devil for the pope was not really any different from what later writers, such as Reginald Scot or King James I, would do when they blamed the superstitious Roman Church for fostering beliefs in various acts of witches.

As the 16th century proceeded, various other prominent figures of the Reformation made their contributions to demonology. Caspar Peucer (1525–1602), a theologian, university professor, and physician from Wittenberg wrote a rather interesting compilation of data on magic, divination, astrology, palmistry, medicine, and various occult topics including the Devil and witchcraft. Peucer was married to the daughter of Philip Melanchthon, who helped establish the Lutheran reforms in Northern Germany. Peucer's 1553 *Commentarius de Praecipuis Generibus Divinationum* (Commentary Chiefly on the Types of Divination) was printed in several editions in the 16th century. While this is not a book about the Devil per se, it contains information about his possible roles in divination and in causing disease. This book can be included in the category of "natural magic," much like the writings of della Porta or Agrippa von Nettesheim. Peucer believed that magic involving demons was possible, whether black or good "white" magic; nonetheless, this was a dangerous practice as it arose from the Devil. By natural magic, I mean Peucer's interest in astrology and various other types of divination as well as his interest in "divining" the causes of illness. Peucer even comments on lycanthropy, which he considered to be totally impossible. If someone thought he had seen a werewolf, he was merely under the Devil's delusions. Again, it is rather difficult to select one set of criteria with which to describe what a typical demonologist might have been.

The broad definition of demonology used here can include not only writers but fine artists as well. These artists were as much demonologists as anyone. They provided means for the viewer to expand his or her ideas of what the Devil looked like and what he did. While the theologians could discuss almost endlessly whether Satan and his devils could indeed take the form of humans or animals, the artists merely had to show the popular concept of what devils looked like. They did not have to trouble themselves with caveats about the zoomorphic or anthropomorphic devils being an illusion that was a trick to the eye. They did not have to worry over whether an image of a wolf showed the reality of a werewolf or a witch transmuting into a wolf or a demon masquerading as one. The illustration of a werewolf in the 1608 *Compendium Maleficarum* simply shows a wolf standing outside a door. The text tells the reader that this is a witch who has performed magic to become a werewolf. It explains that this is an illusory form of magic provided for the witch by a devil and that there is no literal transformation. Martin del Rio wrote of such transformations that the Devil made an "aerial" (an illusory) imitation of, for example, the wolf's limbs and made the imitation hide the actual human limbs from view. He did not bother to explain where a werewolf might have obtained his tail.

Artists gave everyone, including the writers, the chance to "see" what the supernatural was like. I am not certain we can say that artists followed the folklore more closely than they followed the learned opinions; their works are a blend of both sources of information. If we had only the large number of representations of devils and Satan in art from this period and no literature, we would still be able to say that the dark side of Early Modern European culture was very significant. Images of devils took on their own authenticity, just as did written descriptions. We find many examples of book illustrations that are repeated for hundreds of years. The same holds true for images in paintings or prints. Part of this continuity has to do with images that were attractive to the prospective book buyer, or with images that were popular with an artist whose imitators wanted to share in his success. Yet it was not always just a matter of one printer borrowing an image or a lesser artist trying to look like an important master. These images of devils and witches, of any supernatural entity for that matter, took on a reality of their own. When a reader or art patron looked at these images, he thought that this was what devils or witches were like. Certainly some viewers were sophisticated enough to understand such imagery as artistic interpretations, but I suggest that a large number of

people who saw these merely thought them accurate. If they were to meet a devil on the road, they would have expected it to look like a devil from a book or a painting. When they meditated on a sermon or some passage they read, they visualized devils as they had seen them in art. We know this happened because we have accounts, such as the story of St. Teresa of Avila and her encounter with the Devil, that clearly indicate the powerful impact of "realistic" art on the imagination. In that regard the artists and illustrators were demonologists too.

Roman Catholic and Protestant demonologists agreed on the reality of demons. They held similar beliefs in demons' hatred of God and their deleterious effects on the soul. The Devil himself did not intervene in the human world as frequently as did his subordinates. Skeptics, whether Catholic or Protestant, thought that superstitious acts, such as using amulets, were the Devil's delusions. Some differences existed in how Catholics and Protestants viewed the possessed. Protestants were more likely to question the reality of possession and offer alternative explanations, such as madness, for odd behaviors.

POSSESSION AND EXORCISM: DIVINE AND DEMONIC

The medieval church taught that a person might be possessed by either good or evil spirits. Those "divinely" possessed by an angel or God demonstrated some behaviors similar to those possessed by evil spirits. The possessed fell into trances, went without food, or worked miracles. Saint Catherine of Siena is seen by some as an example of "divine possession." She told of a mystical marriage with Jesus who inhabited her body and soul. Saint Catherine is thought to have starved herself to death as she routinely eschewed almost any food offered to her.[11] The individual might be mad instead of possessed. The initial role of the exorcist was to determine if the person was possessed and by what sort of spirit. Fifteenth-century manuals of exorcism contained instructions on how to determine the nature of the possession. This was called "discerning spirits."[12] By this time, the notion of divine possession had largely given way to the idea that possession was the work of the Devil.[13] But it was still important for the exorcist to discern what sort of possession he witnessed.

Demons were closely associated with possession and its cure, exorcism. If the person became possessed, that is, his soul was taken over by a devil or devils who had physically entered the person in some way, then

that individual would be in need of a ritual cleansing. The literature and its representations in art and popular lore are a little unclear as to the exact nature of the devil's act of possession. While the devil might enter the soul in the theological sense, it was usually thought that the person was inhabited in some way as well by the actual presence of the devil. Thus, we see illustrated manuals of exorcism in which the devil is shown actually leaving the person's body. A person who has been exorcised might be vomiting. This may indicate that the person was bewitched and became possessed instead of having invited the devils in himself. As with other aspects of the supernatural, there is often some confusion in this; however, most people thought that a devil was literally inside the body of the possessed. Medieval lore taught that a devil could enter into a person's body if one yawned or sneezed. Such concepts are found in the writing of early theologians like Caesarius of Heisterbach. This is why, to this very day, we cover our mouths when we yawn. It has nothing to do with being polite and everything to do with keeping the devils out. When we say "bless you" or "your health" to someone who sneezes, we are engaged in the same type of preventative magic. We want the devils to stay at bay. Also we do not wish the person to blow out his soul; medieval theologians thought that if one sneezed, one could force the soul out of the body. In many medieval representations of the story of the *Death of the Miser* (in our period Bosch created such a work, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art), we see the soul of the dying man exiting through his mouth. Given these concepts, it is entirely understandable that a scene depicting exorcism should show a devil being forced out of a man's mouth.

The literature of possession and exorcism is a unique part of demonology. Materials on possession and exorcism comprised some sections of witchcraft books, particularly on the question of whether a witch could actually compel a devil to possess someone. Possession and exorcism treatises were combined with other disciplines, such as medicine or even law. Demonic possession and exorcism would seem at first to go hand in hand, although not every individual who was possessed received the cleansing rite of the church. As we noted in the first chapter, some persons who were possessed might be rid of their demons by the use of lesser rites, such as prayers, or by the use of sacramentals, such as Holy Water, the Agnus Dei, or even the Sign of the Cross. A sacramental is an object that may have been blessed but primarily a means to enhance prayer or a religious

experience. The Sign of the Cross is a special case, because its force is doubled in that it was both a prayer and a sacramental.

In Early Modern Europe those who were believed to be possessed by evil spirits fell into two categories. There were persons who might have been literally taken over by a devil. If they had in some way invited this possession, then they were considered differently than persons who had been assaulted by a devil. Those who were complicit needed prayers, sacramentals, and even the sacrament of confession: an obvious step toward clearing the soul of sin and the Devil. Others found themselves in this dreadful state through no fault or volition of their own. Saints, for example, the famous Anthony of Egypt, were physically harassed by devils but continued to resist their temptations and attacks [and so were spoken of in the contemporary literature as "obsessed"]. Possessed persons in some fashion had to "let in" the devil. A person who seemed possessed might also just be simply mentally or physically ill. Such a person could indeed have invited in a devil but not be to blame. The symptoms of possession could mimic those of madness or even of an epileptic seizure had been. The question of what exactly was wrong with a possessed person was already addressed in much older church literature. Some medieval penitentials describe persons ill with what we could term today as depression or madness as possessed. The priest was directed both to consider sources of the person's odd behavior and try to determine whether he or she had literally been taken over by a devil. The *Penitential of Theodore* (sometime between 668 and 690) contained such instructions and comparisons to madness or illness.[14] Abbot Caesarius (1170–1240) of Heisterbach (near Cologne, Germany) wrote about madness and possession in similar comparative terms. He most certainly accepted the reality of devils and of possession. Caesarius recounted the belief that what seem to be specks of dust floating in sunlight could in fact be devils flying about the monastery looking for the religious to trouble. Still, he felt that symptoms of illness could explain some examples.[15]

The Renaissance's lore of possession held that many victims were indeed members of the religious orders. The Devil delighted in taking over monks, nuns, and priests. Nuns were frequent targets. By the 17th century, there were many notorious accounts of various convents that became overrun by devils. A number of these were described in contemporary witchcraft and demonological literature, and many made their way into later publications. Most readers will be at least somewhat familiar

with the story of the nuns at Loudon (1634) and their chaplain Urban Grandier, who supposedly contributed to their possession. Equally as notorious is the story of the nuns at Louviers (1642) who were similarly possessed. There were many such events reported from other European countries during the 17th century. People behaved in totally irrational ways, barked like dogs, defiled the sacramental wafer, and acted lewdly. If any of these accounts had some basis in fact, they would appear to result from mass hysteria and the powers of suggestion taking hold of the nuns, rather than the Devil's taking hold of them. The sisters had spent their whole lives hearing about possession and being told that the Devil especially liked to steal away God's own chosen men and women who were under vows. They were conditioned to think that anything aberrant was probably a sign of something demonic at work. Just as the lay populace thought that odd situations or peculiar people might well be witches, nuns and monks could scarcely help wondering if the Devil was lurking in their colleagues. One question that interested demonologists was whether a human could cause a devil to possess another human. Did the Devil act alone in taking over someone? Or was it possible that a witch, or even a magus, could command a devil to possess his or her victims? Most of the theologians agreed that the Devil could possess humans, but witches or others did not have the power to cause a devil to possess someone. This is in accord with the orthodox position that neither witches or devils had power unless God permitted it. Contemporary inquisitors and fellow religious thought that some religious were apparently "possessed" through the agencies of priests or superiors working in league with devils. This was a delicate theological subject. Some writers within the church disagreed and thought that in fact human agents could achieve "possessions" of other humans. Being possessed was not the same as being "bewitched." That meant that the witch had harmed you, with the help of a devil; it did not mean that the witch had commanded a devil to take over your body or soul. This theological complexity, along with the obvious similarities between instances of possession and instances of illness or madness, makes for a murky area of study. Moreover, the bewitched could also exhibit similar symptoms to those of the possessed.

I prefer to give some account of other manifestations of the beliefs in possession rather than to review a number of very well-known cases. The stories of convents gone wild are so familiar that it seems redundant to

rehearse them yet again. Suffice it to say that one fairly commonplace aspect of convent possessions was the intervention of humans in assisting the Devil's work. The trial accounts abound with stories of evil priests or mothers superior who became possessed deliberately and then proceeded to recruit others, or at least to send the devils into their colleagues' souls. Again, the theology at times strayed into the realms of obscurity.

Signs that a person was possessed were collected and published, just as signs or *indicia* of someone's being a witch were collated and printed. Thus, possessed persons might devour unusual items such as nails, rocks, snakes or toads, which then would be vomited out during an exorcism. Equally, such actions might be a sign of mental illness. Confusingly, a bewitched person might also vomit up bizarre items. Many trial accounts or records of popular tales contain such information. British witchcraft lore is crammed with stories of witches or bewitched persons, or even the possessed who vomited unnatural fare.[16]

The possessed might make unusual sounds or utterances (obviously these could have resulted from many physical conditions as well), or they might convulse. They could seem detached from reality. They might even understand themselves to be possessed and in need of help. Conversely, the possessed person might also deny that he or she was under the Devil's control. They might think of suicide as a way out of their maladies. There was a continuing discussion about the nature of possession among the theologians, physicians, and demonologists. Many seemed to think that possession was real and could happen, but the nature of specific cases might be subject to inquiry or even debunking. Again the new scientific method might be used to examine something as esoteric as a possible possession. Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus* recounted his attempts to discern the natures of several cases of supposed possession or demonic obsession. In these cases, he sought empirical evidence to "debunk" the supernatural if possible. Careful observation of the *indicia* displayed by the "possessed" can be seen as a type of scientific data gathering. Johann Weyer's work is filled with such many examples of his own observations of those thought bewitched.

Just as witchcraft and black magic were sometimes posited as the causes of strange behaviors, possession might also be cited in an attempt to understand or to rationalize what the physician or clergyman was beholding. Lea noted that in the 16th century there were few differences in what Protestants and Catholics thought about possession or its signs. This leads

to the tantalizing thought that while Protestant ministers would not have resorted to the use of sacramentals for exorcism, or as they put it, "dispossession," they might have still have used Catholic manuals of exorcism as references.

There was also a thriving phenomenon of fraudulent exorcists. Many demonologists commented on these people as well as on the legitimate use of exorcism by priests.[17] By the 17th century itinerant "healers" known as *Teufels-Banners* in Northern Europe, went from place to place to rid people of their possessing devils. These fake healers used many means of divination, which was often considered as part of medicine at this time. Even fairly well-educated physicians would at times use divinatory techniques. These were probably no more mysterious to the sick person of the 17th century than an MRI is to a sick person now. Nevertheless, the divination of illness could lead to all manner of chicanery, as could the possible divination of someone's possession. Like anything else deemed to give false information, divination could come right from the Devil and thus not be a trustworthy medical procedure. A late 17th-century book published in France on the uses of a divining rod contains information on various uses of such a rod by what we would call now "water witches": those looking for sites of wells; others used a divining rod to seek out treasures, to discover criminals or murderers, or to diagnose an illness. The author thought that these purposes were mostly fraudulent or, at the very best, the acts of ignorant people; he related divination to the Devil's ability to fool people.[18]

Regardless of whether the victim of possession was a layman or a religious, he or she would need an exorcism. By the late 1400s such rites were readily available in printed books and pamphlets. A rather large number of exorcism incunabula have survived, many printed prior to 1500. Most examples that survive were printed in Venice or Rome.[19] Some of these were small enough to be placed beneath the priest's scapular and carried anywhere with ease. Some early manuals were illustrated. One such incunabulum (about 1495, possibly printed in Venice by M. de Bonellis) was printed in precisely this convenient format. The little manual was entitled *Coniuratio Malignorum Spiritum* (Conjuration of an Evil Spirit) and is the size of a modern postcard, or about 3 x 5 inches. This booklet contains an illustration that depicts a priest exorcising a devil from a possessed man. The spritely devil is shown leaving the man's mouth while the man writhes on the floor. The man seems to be having a seizure. His

legs and arms appear to move in a convulsive manner. The priest achieves his exorcism by virtue presumably of the formula in the pamphlet. He holds a manual of conjuration (no doubt meant to be the very one in which the illustration appears) in one hand and a magic wand in the other. He performs his exorcism by reaching out toward the convulsing man with the wand and with open mouth, reciting the prayers aloud. A puff of supernatural "smoke" issues from the end of the wand.

The use of a wand may seem peculiar to the modern observer, but such gestures with wands were not at all unknown in Christian iconography. The catacombs of Rome contain vignettes of Jesus raising his cousin Lazarus from the dead by calling back Lazarus while pointing toward him with a wand. This is an ancient gesture for a work of a supernatural nature. Its origins are lost in prehistory. The "wand" is the hammer of Thor, the staff

"Scene of Exorcist at Work." *Coniuratio Malignorum Spiritum*. Venice, Manfredis de Bonellis, c. 1495. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

of the Egyptian deities and pharaohs, the thunderbolt of Zeus, and the trident of Poseidon. Wands have biblical analogies with such stories as Moses's stretching out his rod that then turned into a serpent and terrified Pharaoh. The priest exorcising the man with a manual of exorcism and a wand very likely represents how 15th-century priests indeed performed such a procedure. Magic wands as visual metaphors (and possibly actual paraphernalia) are quite commonly seen in illustrations in 17th-century books. Witches wield wands. A magus, or magician, with a wand appears on the title page illustration of Giovanni della Porta's *Magia Naturalis* (Natural Magic), Amsterdam, 1664. The magus points his wand toward a mirror from which he is conjuring a spirit to assist in his magic. The appearance of the wand signifies something supernatural is taking place in all these illustrations. It did not necessarily mean that something evil or satanic was taking place. However, witches also used magic wands. An illustration from Olaus Magnus's *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Story of the Northern People) depicts a witch using a wand to cause a storm.

Johannes Weyer devoted several chapters to the nature of and instances of possession in his *De Praestigiis daemonen* (The Devil's Illusions). He thought that cases of demonic possession might be confused with instances of persons having been bewitched. In many cases he merely dismisses the phenomena as illusory or the products of mental illness. In some he commented that these beliefs are similar to folkloric ideas about such things as mandrake roots with mysterious and deadly properties. Weyer explains how some people prepare mandrake roots to look like human torsos and limbs, and this fuels the belief that these roots were generated at the foot of the gallows by fluids lost from a hanged man.[20]

A number of exorcism rites were printed in small portable formats. An edition of Pietro Antonio Stampa's *Fuga Satanae* (Begone Satan), printed in 1605 by Sebastian de Combis of Venice, is a good example of a very small book that could easily be tucked into a scapular, a small book bag, or even a pocket. This tiny book also measures the size of a postcard; it is 3 x 5 inches. Stampa was a well-known exorcist whose book would be included among the set of powerful exorcisms printed in the Malleus Omnibus editions later in the century. This small volume contains complete exorcisms despite its size and is the same as that printed later in the large format books. It contains blessings and consecrations to be used in preparing sacramentals for the rite. Later Stampa editions include a list of various titles and names for the Devil, his minions, and an index of particular

"Magician Conjuring a Demon." G. della Porta, *Magie Naturalis*. Amsterdam, E. Weyerstraten, 1664. (Private Collection.)

passages from Scripture and other sources that could be used to address various devils. The 1605 book is extensively decorated with a number of historiated initials and small engravings included at the beginning or end of various sections. They were decorative motifs that also served as memory aids to the task at hand.

A number of manuals of exorcism were printed in the 1669 Malleus Omnibus volume. Their presence testifies to their continuing popularity and demonstrates that possession was still something on the official mind of the church. Among the works printed in the Malleus Omnibus was Girolamo Menghi's *Flagellum Daemonum* (The Devil's Scourge), originally published in Venice in 1576. This was a collection of seven rites of exorcism with detailed instructions on the preparation of the priest and the victim and what sorts of gestures or paraphernalia the priest should employ. No magic wands are mentioned, but the priest could make the Sign of the Cross with great frequency and drape the victim with his stole. He could use his book of exorcism, holy water, fire, or images of the devil. Various herbs or minerals burnt in smudges could help drive out the devil. Various sacramentals had to be specially blessed—in essence, purified to make sure they had no diabolic residue—and there are rites of blessing given in this manual as well:[21] "Then he [the exorcist] sprinkles the fire with holy water. After the blessing is over, sulfur, galbanum, asafetida, birthwort, great St. John's wort and herb of grace (rue) must be taken, each one blessed with its own formula and then cast into the fire. Then the exorcist holding over the fire the image of the devil painted and marked with its name shall read the following exorcism." Menghi then proceeds to enumerate what he called "insults against the evil spirits."[22] The specified herbs smelled awful. The theory was that such unpleasant suffumigations would help chase away the devils. Since it was generally believed that devils emitted nasty smells anyway, one wonders what effect these would have had on someone who was physically ill and thought to be possessed.[23]

Several exorcism manuals written by Girolamo Menghi were printed in the Malleus Omnibus editions, the last in 1669. Other than the *Flagellum Daemonem*, there is a manual with a similar title: the *Fustis Daemonem* (Club of Devils). Further, the Omnibus has what amounts to several slightly different editions of *Flagellum Daemonem*. Finally, the Omnibus volume contains a very large complex work on exorcism called *Complementum Artis Exorcisticae* (The Art of Exorcism Expanded), which has not

only rites but sections on demonology and witchcraft. This study by Zaccaria Visconti rounds out the set of rites and closes the Malleus Omnibus.

Associations between possession and illness or madness continues to be a common theme in religious and medical literature throughout the 17th and 18th centuries and continues to the present. Modern clergy routinely advise a person suspected of being possessed or the family first

"Witches' Activities and Possession." G. A. Mercklin, *Tractatus Pysico Medicus*. Nuremburg, Johann F. Rudigeri, 1715. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

to see a psychiatrist in order to eliminate the possibility of illnesses. Georg Abraham Mercklin's *Tractatus Pysico Medicus* (Treatise on Physical Medicine), Nuremberg, 1715, contains an illustration of various possessed individuals being treated by medical personnel. One vomits out snakes and toads, others seem to be suffering seizures, and one is being bled. The sufferings of these individuals are associated with witchcraft as well as with demonic possession and medical conditions. Part of the vignette depicts a witch conjuring demons and others who parade around the Blocksberg. This 18th-century book demonstrates that such beliefs were still prevalent and a cause of concern.

The nature of demonic possession remained fairly constant from the earlier works of the 15th century forward. This material was somewhat diminished in importance and, of course, in utility by the Reformation. Protestants and Catholics generally agreed on the reality of demonic possession, but they did not necessarily agree on divine possession. Nor did they concur on what sorts of remedies to be used in exorcism or, as the Protestants put it, dispossession. Catholics resorted to the use of sacramentals and formal rituals conducted by a priest; however, some Catholics feared that such rituals were a form of magic and should be avoided. Protestants, convinced that Catholic exorcisms were magic or even fraudulent, preferred to rely on prayer, repentance of the "possessed," and Bible readings. Nevertheless, Europeans continued to believe that possession could take place and that there were metaphysical means to assist the possessed. In some respects, the rites of exorcism were just simply magic. The exorcists, Catholic or Protestant, relied on God to help them dispel devils. Catholic exorcists also called upon persons such as the Virgin Mary for help. The acts of ritual cleansing of his spirit by the priest and the aids employed contain procedures very like those supposedly employed by magicians in conjurations of spirits. The whole rite of exorcism was a supreme set of commands to the Devil to "Begone Satan." In this most complex period, it is difficult to say with any certainty that the given exorcist did not think he was working a form of good magic when he sent the devils on their way.

CHAPTER 4

Black Magic

> These madmen believe that they can inflict injury upon a person if they fashion an image for new virgin wax in the name of the man whom they desire to harm, and place a swallow's heart beneath the right armpit and the swallow's liver beneath the left. . . . To win a woman's love an image is made from virgin wax at the hour of Venus in the name of the beloved. . . . There is a rather similar and monstrous charm to insure that someone will obey you in all matters.
>
> —Johannes Weyer, De *Praestigiis daemonum*, 1583.

> When you will have any spirit, you must know his name and office; you must also fast and be clean from all pollution . . . then you make a circle and call up the spirit with great intention and holding a ring in your hand rehearse in your own name and your companions . . . this prayer following and so no spirit shall annoy you . . . and note how this agrees with popish charms and conjurations . . . What wonderful force conjurers do believe consists in these forged names of Christ.
>
> —Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584.

THE NATURE OF MAGIC

There is a vast literature on magic in the Renaissance. An extremely detailed discussion of the bibliography of Renaissance magic is well beyond the scope of this book. Those who wish to do further reading and study on this topic will find themselves nearly overwhelmed with the variety of books and articles that deal with both "good" and "evil" aspects of magic in this period. Here we will confine our discussion to aspects of evil or black magic, activities that were considered to be part of the reality

of daily life. While there were manuals of magic formulae and whole books written on the topic, magic did not have to be an activity confined to the learned. One might be a magus, magician (the term *sorcerer* is also used), or one might be a simple peasant and still practice magic. Magic was a part of folklore and popular culture as well.

Magic can be defined as the manipulation of the exterior world, especially if the magus (i.e., the magician) was able to effect this manipulation through the agencies of spirits. The spirits evoked could be angels or devils, and the acts of the magus could be for either good or evil purposes. An angel was summoned through formulae, the use of magic circles, crystals, basins of water, mirrors, and burning herbs; the magician asked the angel for assistance in seeing the spirit of a deceased person. That need not be evil. A magician may have been interested in divination for good purposes, such as to discover the cause of an illness or obtain important information. The magician may have wished to see into the future out of curiosity or to obtain an answer to a client's questions. He or she worked with an angel, or possibly a devil, to achieve these ends. It was thought to be more dangerous to summon a devil to do one's bidding as devils were inherently not to be trusted. Yet we see cases of magic like this in the Bible, as when Saul consulted with the "witch" of Endor, who had contacts with spirits, in order to seek the advice of Samuel. The 15th-century book called *Das Buch Belial* (The Book of Belial) told the story of Solomon's summoning the devil Belial from Hell so that Belial could go back into the underworld of Limbo and bring the ghost of Moses to assist Solomon. What made magic good or evil was the intention of the magus and also the actual deed he compelled the spirit to do. Doing magic was merely another part of Renaissance life.

Spiritual entities were thought to be as real as the humans who attempted to command them. Many books were written to assist a magus, authored by persons who were, and still are, considered serious-minded men of science, such as Della Porta or Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim. Magic was just another means to understand and utilize the surrounding world.

Magic could involve stagecraft, although normally when a magus engaged in stage tricks, it was to be assumed that this person was a fraud. Writers as far back as the church fathers decried such frauds as working to fool the public, or worse yet, as engaging in pagan rites. They might even be in league with the Devil in an evil way if they were doing magic tricks

such as pretending to capture devils in crystals or seeing spirits in containers of water. Hippolytus of Rome (c. 200) wrote at length about the types of stage tricks some pagan "heretics" were using to summon demons or to foretell the future. In his *Refutation of All Heresies* (see especially Chapters 23, 33, and 35 of Book 4), Hippolytus spoke of tricksters who might try to summon demons using cauldrons in which fires were lit. One could call upon the pagan deity Hecate, for example, and pretend to see the future or other information in the smoke that arose from the cauldron. It is an ancient example of the use of flash powder.

Centuries later, Reginald Scot would expose all manner of stage magic tricks in his 1584 *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. Writing as a Protestant, he did not call them pagan, but "Popish." The implication was the same; there were many fraudulent magicians and sorcerers abroad in the land, and one needed to be wary of them. Scot's work is an excellent source of information on the sorts of illusions a stage magician might have used in the 16th century to convince his audience that he could work magic. His book has illustrations such as a knife with an area hollowed out so that one could appear to pierce a nose with it and not do any harm. Scot describes how one could supposedly raise the dead by working in a magic circle; he also explains how to hold a spirit in a crystal (Chapter 15). He decries those whom he calls "witchmongers" for encouraging superstitious beliefs in the activities witches pretended to achieve by working with the Devil. Naturally, he ranted against the Roman Church. Writing about supposed visions of ghosts or devils that people may have reported, Scot noted, "In all ages monks and priests have abused and bewitched the world with counterfeit visions" (Book 15, Chapter 39).

Scot's exposures of tricks notwithstanding, a Renaissance magician might well use amulets or charms. Indeed the magician probably did. He or she would also have used incantations or magical sayings and formulae. The real aspect of the magic being performed was a spiritual activity on the part of both the magician and the entity that was summoned or commanded to perform. Definitions of what constituted evil or black magic differed over time, but in general the degree of evil rested with the intention of the human. Rossell Hope Robbins commented that some 15th- and 16th-century theologians felt that certain deeds were "within the Devil's province." Activities such as love magic designed to compel someone's love for another were not necessarily evil but were deeds that God let the Devil do.[1] That does not mean precisely that such acts were

not inherently evil or forbidden by the church, but they were just not blasphemous in the sense of placing the Devil ahead of God. The sin could also arise in how the request was made of the Devil. To order an act was magic; to implore the Devil to do something (i.e., to pray to the Devil),was apostasy. Again, even if a magic act was apostasy, it might not be black magic.

BLACK MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT

I use the term "black magic" to signify harmful deeds achieved through a human's manipulation of a spirit. Normally that spirit was a devil but not always. Witches practiced black magic and were especially prone to certain harmful deeds. The theologians taught that the witch could not achieve any supernatural act of manipulation, such as causing a hail storm, without the assistance of devils. Moreover, the devils could not achieve a thing without the express permission of God. It gives one pause. The question arises now and was also considered then as to why God would permit evil and harm to others. The answer to that lay, of course, in the theological "fact" that God allowed humans, devils, and angels to have free will. Each had the ability given by God to do good or harm and reap the consequences of the deed. Because of this, magic in itself was not necessarily black or evil; and anybody, regardless of his or her religious beliefs, could practice magic. Jews, Muslims, pagans, and Christians were all engaged in magic. Whether the human believed in the Christian Devil, or for that matter the Judeo-Christian-Islamic God, was irrelevant when it came to magic. Early Modern European magic did not entail the use of the magician's own mental prowess to manipulate a spirit. Unlike the "magick" of today that is practiced by some Neo-pagans, Wiccans, and others, magic was achieved through the power of God via the spiritual entity and by the command or intercession of the magus. The magus did not have to formulate mental energy in any way. In essence the magical energy was God's.

One may assume that the lore of black magic practiced by witches or evil magicians was as widespread as the lore of witchcraft itself. People thought they understood what black magic was and how it was practiced. They felt themselves to be the victims of another's evil intent. The power of suggestion worked well here so that if a person thought that there was the possibility of a witch's working black magic against him, say to cause

"Frontispiece with Witches' Deeds." P. Goldschmidt. *Vervorffner Hexen und Zauberer Advocat.* Hamburg, G. Liebernickel, 1705. (Private Collection.)

him to fall ill, he might indeed fall ill or think himself ill just out of the trepidation inherent to the situation. There is evidence for this in the classic literature, such as the extensive discussion of various acts of black magic performed by witches in Martin del Rio's *Disquisitiones magicarum*, 1599. Del Rio states that witches are magicians and vice versa. His text explains various types of maleficia that witches do on a routine basis. He

comments that witches use poisonous powders that they apply to a person's clothing put on his body, or in food and drink. Some poisons make the person ill whereas others are lethal; Del Rio explains that the color of the powder indicates how poisonous it is. He also discusses how a witch might use a piece of straw or an herb to be tossed into the path of the victim, as well as the normal evil charms. Stepping on the straw would cause illness or even death. Witches might also put such poisons on their hands so that they are always ready to harm someone by mere touch. Worse than that, they could breathe on you and harm you. The witch might not even employ such items as powders or herbs: only pronounce an incantation to perform maleficia. He then describes how witches kill children to get their bodies for such concoctions. "They suffocate very small children during the night by smothering them with a mattress [a description of sudden infant death syndrome?] . . . they snatch children from the cradle and rend them in pieces; or they use them to make their ointments . . . and they eat them, a food they find very pleasing . . . sometimes too they suck out their blood."[2]

Black magic was like witchcraft; indeed maleficia is in large part black magic, in the sense that it was used as a means of explaining natural disasters, outbreaks of disease among humans and domestic animals, unexplained deaths, and fires. If a man lost his ability to achieve an erection, he may well have thought that a witch had placed an evil spell on him so that he could not engage in sex—or, worse yet, that a witch had sent a spirit to steal his penis. The classic literature is filled with lengthy discussions about what could happen to a "male member." If a woman had a stillbirth or gave birth to a deformed child, she and her partner felt grief, disbelief, and guilt, just as they would now. However, there was a ready explanation: they had been bewitched through black magic. Others might say the woman had consorted with a devil sexually and given birth to an offspring less than human. Naturally enough, if someone accused you of the latter, you would have immediately said, in effect, "no I did not have sex with a devil, but I have been bewitched through black magic by another. My real child is gone, taken away for a sabbat meal or to make flying ointment. This offspring is a changeling, it is not real and it is most assuredly not mine. The midwife switched the child at birth. A witch placed a stone under my doorstep so that when I walked through the door I and my child were cursed." This is why modern men in the West have adopted the custom of carrying their brides over the threshold. It began as a means to prevent the effects of evil magic.

A woman might explain that a witch threw a rock at her or sprinkled her clothes or food with some poison and caused a miscarriage or a deformity. There is something deeply tragic about the plight of men and women who had to search for some way to explain problem births. Not only did they have to deal with normal human emotions, they had to cope with the fear of someone outside their home and even with the fear that others might think that they themselves were the witches. These pitiful explanations reach across time—they were the DNA tests of Early Modern Europe. Blaming a witch was the equivalent of saying that it could not have been the fault of the wife's life or family history; it must have been something on the husband's side. The test would discern which it was. Sometimes people might even believe that they had found an amulet or a rock that had been left by a malevolent witch. Physical evidence was not necessary; the witch next door might be blamed without it. As witches harmed human offspring, so they also were frequently accused of working black magic against domestic animals. Cattle were a favorite target of black magic. This could involve the use of a poison. If it did, then the witch had sent for a devil to give her the poison or take it and place it where the cow would get it. There was still supernatural agency involved. Early in the 17th century, the Dutch painter Roleant Savery (c. 1576–1635) created a small oil entitled *The Cowshed* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) in which he showed a woman milking inside a cow barn. In the doorway a man plays a flute to keep her company; around the edges of the scene are four female witches. They are there to do maleficia against the cattle. Three witches ride astride demon beasts, and one rides a broomstick. They are all middle-aged women dressed as peasants and are clearly working black magic. The witch in the upper left corner rides a goat demon whose rump is the face and mouth of another demon and spews magical evil flames. She carries a pitchfork on which there is a chamber pot with flaming contents. That visual motif was common in the depiction of witches making bad weather, and this witch might also have a storm brewing. (The origins of the modern expression "a storm is brewing" is self-evident.) In the upper right corner, a witch blows smoke and flames from her mouth as does her demon steed. The witch in the lower left does the same and exposes her backside to the viewer. The last witch at the lower right has raised her skirt to expose herself. She may be urinating, again with the idea of creating bad weather that could harm crops or animals. Urine was a frequently used component of weather magic.

Witches frequently harmed cattle, as we noted. The literature is filled with descriptions of this type of black magic. The *Compendium Maleficarum* was printed about the same time that Savery painted *The Cowshed*. Guazzo states that witches had to give a summary of their recent black magic at their sabbats. Among the things he mentions that are of particular delight to the Devil are "bewitching cattle or casting a spell on the crops." Guazzo remarks that the Devil takes pains to make sure all the cattle that the witch wants to harm are indeed harmed.[3] The witch Elizabeth Sawyer who is memorialized in Middleton's *The Witch of Edmonton* (1658) complains that people believe she has harmed their cattle as well as their children. As late as mid-17th century, this was a most serious concern, for cattle were very valuable.

Magicians and witches were thought to use books of charms and rituals to effect their magic. Bear in mind that there were actually such books, a few of which survive, and that magicians really tried to perform these rituals. Magic, after all, was not inherently evil. Rites could be used to obtain wealth, a horse, knowledge, or the love of a woman. There were even spells to obtain knowledge of the liberal arts, something today's college students might find useful. These rites were not necessarily harmful. One could also employ rites to do evil things such as making a person lose his senses or cause friends to become enemies. Magic was used for divination as well. One existing manual of magic from the 15th century contains rituals to facilitate all these things. It also contains tables to be used to determine which spirit should be consulted on a given day or a certain hour. It has rituals in which the names of devils are given as those spirits to whom one should call. Some of the names are Lucifer, Satan, and Belial. Certainly those are not the names of good angels.[4]

Whether "witches" did such things to conjure devils or to help work their black magic is debatable. Students often ask if there were any people who were indeed satanic witches and who tried to do the things of which they were accused. One can assume that, human nature being what it is, there must have been some witches. Most of the poisons and flying ointments that witches supposedly concocted and used contained various herbs that could produce hallucinations if ingested or if the drug passed through the mucous membranes into the bloodstream. This could be achieved in various ways such as placing the ointment on a broomstick and straddling it to "ride" to the sabbat. People certainly knew how to get high. They knew about various soporific drugs and plants such as opium

poppies. Again, one can assume that some people tried out various herbs or other chemical concoctions. Did they render down baby fat? Probably not, unless someone was a mad person.

The book of magical formulae and recipes has come to be known as a "grimoire." This is a modern word that was not in use in Early Modern Europe but which is understood today. When reading the word "grimoire," one usually assumes it refers to an actual surviving example of a book of magic or to a spurious book. Today we also use the term "black book" to refer to such works. Books of magic are normally seen in art that depicts witches at work. There are fewer illustrations that show magicians working, but these too can include the magic book. Rembrandt placed a black book in his etching called *Faust*. An Amsterdam, 1664, edition of Giovanni Baptista della Porta's *Magia Naturalis* (Natural Magic) contains a title page illustration of a magician working with a wand directed toward a mirror. While he is not reciting from a book, there are books in the nearby shelves. Paintings and prints of witches' activities (this genre is usually given the generic term "witches' sabbat" or "preparation for a sabbat") almost always contain books from which the witches work. Many of these have inscriptions or figures in them that look "magical," as though they represent real books. To my knowledge, these inscriptions are not actual images of materials from real black books, books of magic. We can assume from this that the given artists had simply not seen such a thing occur in reality; similarly, imitative inscriptions on "magic circles" are drawn on the floor in such works of art.

The idea was that the witch or the magician should create a safe space in which to work so that the conjured devils could not do any harm. This concept was so prevalent a part of the magic lore that the circles appear everywhere. We see examples of these in 16th-century book illustrations, such as from Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, Rome, 1555 (Description of the Northern People) in which a male witch is shown dancing in a circle with a group of demons. A similar illustration of a circle with witches and devils was created by Master C.G. for the title page of Herman Witekind's Basel 1593 book entitled *Christliche Bedencken und Erinnerung von Zauberey* (Christian Thoughts and Memories on Witchcraft). C.G., the printmaker, must have known Magnus's book because his is based on it. This little book is one of the very few 16th-century works on witches that actually is quite moderate.

"Witches and Devils Dancing." O. Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*. Rome, Johannem Mariam De Viottis, 1555. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

Magic circles appeared in 17th-century art in both northern Europe and Italy. Rembrandt's *Dr. Faustus* (also called The Magician) from the middle of the 17th century depicts a magus working with a circle that is inscribed with imitations of magical formulae and the names of God. He has evidently conjured a spirit guide of some sort in the form of a human hand. The iconography of the work is both misunderstood by the artist and unclear to the modern viewer. Rembrandt did not use correctly spelled names for the Deity in his magic circle. Yet it can be said with certainty that Rembrandt was dealing with the ideas of magic. There is absolutely no reason to give this etching the customary title of Faust; that is a modern appellation most likely given to the work in the 19th century. One may see Rembrandt's print as a straightforward depiction of reality. We have no idea what Rembrandt might have thought about magic or witchcraft since he left no records of any opinions; however, we can be sure that he knew something about the popular or even learned ideas of what a magician might do.

Magic circles are frequently seen in works by Pieter Brueghel the Elder and his various followers. They are quite common in the witchcraft paintings of David Teniers the Younger. Nathanial Crouch's book, *The Kingdom of Darkness*, 1688, has two vignettes that show a actual witch, Ann Bodenham (a 16th-century Englishwoman who was tried and executed

"Ann Bodenham and Devils." N. Crouch, *The Kingdom of Darkness*. London, Printed for N. Crouch, 1688. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

for witchcraft), working with devils whom she has conjured using a magic circle. There is an illustration of a shepherd visiting a soothsayer in a 1665 edition of Jacob Cats's *Alle de Werken* (Combined Works of Jacob Cats) that actually shows the soothsayer as though she were a satanic witch, complete with a magic circle. In this case, the shepherd takes no chances, and he is the one in the circle, not the witch. Cats was not really writing about satanic witches. For that matter, he may not have even believed in them, but the engraver used a traditional witch and black magic vignette in this part of Cats's book.

One typical kind of black magic practiced by witches was the summoning of devils to get them to make dreadful storms. These were frequently shown in art as hailstorms, or gales at sea that cause shipwrecks. Weather magic extended to causing avalanches or rock slides in mountainous areas.

"Fortune Teller." J. Cats, *Alle de Werken*. Amsterdam, Jan. J. Schipper, 1655. (Courtesy of the Division of Rare Books and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

Some early trials from 15th-century Switzerland recorded witches who went into the Alps and raised terrible snowstorms that, in turn, caused avalanches.[5] Witches' storms ruined crops and harmed animals as well as humans, and the contemporary literature is filled with stories of these events. Art as well showed witches making bad weather. Ulrich Molitor's *De Lamiis* from 1489 covered both aspects. The text discusses whether witches could make hailstorms, and a vignette shows witches flying into such a storm. The hailstones are often shown at this time as very large, and the implication from the lore is that they are flaming stones as well. Albrecht Dürer created an engraving about the year 1500 depicting a witch flying in front of a storm with huge hailstones. This print is directly influenced by that in the Molitor book. Hans Baldung Grien, who was a student of Dürer, painted a small oil on panel (Frankfort, Staedelisches Kunstinstitut) that displays two voluptuous and seductive female witches

making a terrible storm. The painting is entirely executed in tones of yellows and oranges, clearly an implication that this is no ordinary storm. There are even devil assistants in the scene.

A witch needed the help of the devil to perform this black magic of weather making. She or he needed various items to work the spell. It was important to have human urine. Much of the literature, even as far back as the *Malleus*, indicated that the witch took urine and tossed it into the sky in the magic rite. Some works of art show grain sieves lying about since a witch could carry urine in a sieve. Baldung's *Weather Witches* have a flask of liquid the color of which makes it entirely obvious that it is urine. Further, the urine in the flask looks slightly viscous, thus making the painting more realistic. The flask has a stopper, which is a good thing because this flask also contains a devil. This little black zoomorphic character seems to be jumping up and down in the flask as though it cannot wait to get out and help create an awful storm.

Among the most lurid and, at the same time, interesting item of witches' paraphernalia was the pickled hand of a corpse, known as the "Hand of Glory." This item was to be harvested from a condemned, executed criminal and was used for various witches' black magic deeds. The witch would then take the hand (some witches used the arm or even the shoulder as well) and literally pickle it. The recipes usually included vinegar and various spices or herbs, just as one would make pickles from cucumbers. Usually the Hand of Glory was employed as an aid in heinous activities such as causing the death of an individual. Some writers like Guazzo and Remy thought that the Hand of Glory could be used to help the witch enchant victims so that their houses might be robbed or other maleficia done to them. Others thought the Hand of Glory was such a supernatural candle that it could be set on fire and not consumed by flames. Many 16th- and 17th-century artists used the Hand of Glory as a decorative device that illuminated rooms in which witches worked black magic or prepared to leave for a sabbat by flying up a chimney on their brooms, animal-devils, or other conveyances. We probably see more examples of hands of glory in art than we find in the contemporary demonological literature. This popularity demonstrates that the Hand of Glory and the very horrible black magic that accompanied it were well entrenched in the popular consciousness. When it came to the Hand of Glory, Guazzo asserted that witches liked to use the hands of unbaptized children in preference over the usual hand of a condemned criminal.[6]

A painting entitled *A Witches' Kitchen* (1606, Victoria and Albert Museum) by Frans Francken the Younger shows witches at work in an interior, partially lit by a Hand of Glory glowing on the mantelpiece. These witches also employ a magic circle inscribed on the floor, although they are outside the circle and a demonic is inside it, perhaps to keep the devils at bay. Francken included a number of books in the scene. These are grimoires from one of which a witch is reading, and another book is open to a page on which we see an illustration of a hand. It that a Hand of Glory? Possibly. Brueghel, Teniers, Francken, and their various followers frequently painted witches scenes that include a Hand of Glory. A similar hand is seen in a drawing from 1604 by the Dutch artist Jacques de Gheyn II. The drawing is entitled *Witches at Work Under an Arched Vault* (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum). In this example, the hand is not lighted. An entire human corpse as well as the carcass of a toad, several animal skulls, bones, and a rotting human skull are strewn about the room. The corpse is most fascinating in that its abdomen and thorax are opened as they would be for a medical dissection. Organs are visible, including the lungs, heart, and intestines. The toad is pinned to the floor with nails, much as one would pin down a toad today for a biology class dissection. Perhaps these witches intended to harvest the corpse's hands later to make another Hand of Glory.

The Hand of Glory had its counterpart in the notorious witches' black candles. These were sometimes used as lights at witches' sabbats, and the lore of these items had it that black candles were frequently made up of the umbilical cords of those unbaptized infants that witches found so useful. Black candles appear in the vignettes of the witches' sabbat in Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum*. They frequently are seen as lights placed in witches' brooms in various paintings by Teniers the Younger. Many of these paintings are not specifically about witchcraft but rather depict the Temptations of St. Anthony. There are literally hundreds of these paintings by Teniers. Many have black candles. In such works a demonic monk often holds a witch's broom that has a black candle placed in it. The broom does not burn away; therefore, in one sense these candles are magical and similar to the Hand of Glory that burns but does not waste away. Martin del Rio also thought the Hand of Glory could cause a potential victim to fall insensible. He derived his notions about this from the works of Binsfeld and Remy.[7]

Manikins or poppets were other items of witches' paraphernalia used to effect black magic. Again we find these items in works of art, although at times the "manikin" may indeed be a mandrake root that was believed to take a human form. Trial accounts and other demonological literary sources mention the use of manikins. C. L'Estrange Ewen noted that these manikins had been used so long as magic tools that origins were "lost in the mists of antiquity."[8] Many of the images were crafted of wax with various additional nasty ingredients. One 16th-century English witch John Walsh (1566) made his images from wax, but on occasion also made them from "ashes from a new made grave, water from a toad's bath, ashes of human bones, a black spider and the like."[9] Some of these ingredients were mixed in to make the magic more effective, but some were included to make the image long lasting. While the images existed, the persons who had been bewitched into illness could not recover. At his trial, Walsh admitted that he had obtained a black book from his former master, who had been a Roman Catholic priest. Walsh reported that the book had circles in it, and that he used it to help achieve his black magic. His master had used what the trial account termed "pictures" made in wax to represent the person to be injured. "The picture being completed, it is pricked with pin or thorn in the members desired to be injured. If pricked in the heart, the victim dies within nine days." Walsh himself stated he never did anything like this, had no familiars or fairy helpers, but merely knew about such things.[10]

Magic devices such as the Hand of Glory and the wax manikin were well known throughout both learned and popular culture in Early Modern Europe. Again one has to question whether anyone actually made such things or used them to do harm as some do when making voodoo dolls today. While the Hand of Glory is so disgusting as to be an unlikely choice for most who wanted to do black magic, wax or clay images might have easily been created and used by any number of people who were trying their hands at maleficia. Witches were thought to be the most common practitioners of black magic although, as we indicated, a magician who was not a witch could also do this. Like so much of the dark side activities of Early Modern Europe, the Devil was in the details.

The Italian baroque artist Salvator Rosa (1615–1673) painted a small number of works with the themes of witchcraft and black magic. He depicted Saul consulting the Witch of Endor in a painting now in the

Louvre. However, his most complex iconography is found in his *Witches and Their Incantations* (London, National Gallery, c. 1640). In this painting, Rosa presents a number of witches engaged in various activities, some of which are certainly black magic: a witch who appears ready to harvest a dead man's arm for making a Hand of Glory; a magic circle; dead infants; books of charms. Rosa was a Neapolitan, and he may well have been influenced by the long-standing intellectual climate of the city that had given the magical arts of Giovanni della Porta and his well-known *Magia Naturalis*. We also know that Rosa had a very thorough knowledge of demonological literature and also popular lore about deeds of black magic that a witch might use. He may have also read della Porta.

Rosa wrote a poem entitled *The Witch*, which contains a wealth of examples of black magic of the sort that an ordinary person might try. The story of *The Witch* is that of a jilted lover seeking revenge. The black magic she will work is like that which one sees in Rosa's painting so that if the protagonist were not the witch herself, she might have consulted one for the charms she wanted.

Since love does not succeed,
she said, filled full of rage,
to make faithful a traitor.
I will cry from the depths the forbidden incantations
with the force that will invoke the very god of hell.
May the god strike the evil,
the accursed one by whom I was betrayed.
To tempt I need magic means,
profane signs,
diverse herbs and knots
that can arrest the turns even of heavenly spheres;
magic circles,
icy waves,
diverse fish,
chemic waters,
black balsams,
blended powders,
mystic stones,
snakes and bats,
putrid blood,
slimy entrails,
withered mummies,

bones and worms
within this fearful cavern where sunlight never enters
I'll raise infernal tumult;
I'll make a spirit of darkness,
I'll burn cypress and myrtle while slowly, oh so slowly I crush his waxen image
and cause his living being to die by secret fire.[11]

It is uncommon for an artist, or a writer for that matter, to cross over into another field of expression. Rosa did this admirably, and his painting as well as the poem testify that he knew much about contemporary belief in witchcraft and black magic. Artists such as Rosa show us how prevalent and popular themes of black magic and witchcraft were. There would have been little reason for him to paint a work such as *Witches and Their Incantations* if someone had not wanted to buy it. We do not know why he wrote his poem, but perhaps it was meant to go to whomever had commissioned the painting as a type of explanatory document.

Rosa's contemporary Thomas Campion (1567–1620) was an English songwriter and physician. He too reprises popular and folkloric ideas about black magic in a poem entitled "Thrice Toss These Oaken Ashes," which resembles the story of the jilted lover that was Rosa's subject. Once more the lover tries black magic to win over the heart of his beloved.

Thrice toss these oaken ashes in the air/ go burn these poisonous weeds in yon blue fire,
these screech-owl's feathers and this prickling briar,
this cypress gathered at a dead man's grave/melt her hard heart.

In the case of Campion's lover, the commands were made to fairies and not the very lord of Hell, but the magical methods and paraphernalia were quite similar.

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CHAPTER 5

Ghosts, Specters, and Poltergeists

All spirits and apparitions are to be suspected.

—Ludwig Lavater, *De Spectris Lemuribus*, 1569.

The darkness of night alarming our fearful senses often makes us imagine something which has no existence at all. . . . When therefore we say that spirits return to appear to men, we do not mean that souls gad and go abroad from one spot to another, and that they are always tarrying and abiding here without returning whence they came, but our firm and reasonable belief is that when it so pleases Almighty God to permit spirits to appear or to send them to us He gives them the power to manifest themselves in such shape as seems best to Him.

—Noel Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts*, 1588.

For we know more ghosts and spirits were seen nor tongue can tell in the time of blind Papistre [sic] in these countries where now by the contrary a man shall scarcely all his time hear one of such things.

—King James I, *Daemonologie*, 1597.

Alas, poor ghost.

—William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 1603.

Next after sepulchers and churchyards the gibbets or common place of executions are greatly feared of the vulgar sort. And for that cause such fooles [*sic*] do never cease haunting those places of purpose to fear and terrify such as pass near unto the same.

> They deny therefore, that there are any angels or devils at all . . . that there are not likewise any specters nor apparitions of spirits. Such were the Sadduces as we may read in the Acts.
>
> —Pierre le Loyer, *A Treatise of Specters or Strange Sights, Visions and Apparitions Appearing Sensibly unto Men,* 1605.

> There is nothing more dreadful to the sight, nor yet more grateful to the ears of the most, than apparitions of ghosts and spirits.
>
> —John Spencer, *A Discourse Concerning Prodigies,* 1665.

> Every age, every nation, every country has its prejudices, its maladies, its customs . . . which characterize it and which pass away . . . often that which has appeared admirable at one time, becomes pitiful and ridiculous at another.
>
> —Augustin Calmet, *The Phantom World* (Dissertation sur les apparitions, des anges, demons et des esprits), 1746.

Ghosts and other spiritual entities that appeared to humans were a component of culture between 1400 and 1700. The notions, or perhaps we should say, the contexts in which such entities were studied and explained were not too different from those we would employ now in a discussion of ghosts. At times, the concept of a ghost was more closely related to that of a devil; but at other times, the Renaissance and 17th-century ghost looked and behaved much as what we think ghosts of today do. Some of the 16-th and 17th-century literature on ghosts and spirits reads strikingly like scripts for a 21st century "ghost hunter" reality program. I mention this at the outset to emphasize the importance of how the early modern beliefs differed from those which endured to the present. Part of the lore of ghosts may have come into modern times through the work of a number of 19th-century writers, such as Sir Walter Scott, who collected folkloric and popular tales of witches and ghosts and gave them a romantic spin as quaint and even silly remnants of the past that some still believed. Regardless of their permutations across time, ghosts and other spiritual entities were important in Early Modern Europe. We find them in literature and popular culture, although not very frequently in art or book illustration.

Popular and learned beliefs in the existence of ghosts were certainly not unique nor original in Early Modern Europe. Such concepts seem to stretch back into the ancient world. Certainly medieval Europeans be-

lieved in ghosts and restless specters, much as had the ancient Romans and Egyptians. The Egyptians worried greatly about malevolent wandering spirits. This was a large part of the reason for the practice of mummification. If one's body remained intact, one's soul stayed with it and did not disturb the living. The phrase, "rest in peace," popularly shortened to the Latin "pace" (peace) on early Christian grave markers may have meant that one's soul was with God. Furthermore, it was also a formula to say, "stay put in the afterlife, and leave the living alone." There do not seem to be many written records of folk or religious beliefs about ghosts in medieval Europe. Despite this, people certainly had such beliefs. A full-blown lore of ghosts and apparitions did appear out of nowhere.

The German penitential, known as the *Decretum* or Corrector of Burchard of Worms, (c. 1000), mentions one folk custom that points to beliefs in the existence of wandering ghosts. For Burchard to have discussed this custom indicates that it was relatively prevalent. Abbot Burchard taught his priests to question penitents about their practices in burials of infants asking: "Hast thou done what some women do at the instigation of the Devil? When any child has died without baptism, they take the corpse of the little one and place it in some secret place and transfix its little body with a stake, saying that if they did not do so the little child would arise and injure many."[1] This concern for the possible deleterious effects of unhappy ghosts persisted through the centuries of Early Modern Europe and indeed is part of ghost lore now. Such ghosts could be the spirits of the unbaptized or of persons who died violently or in tragic circumstances. They did not leave the earth but instead wandered about disturbing the living. This concept is still found in the writings and programs of modern psychics and ghost hunters who frequently talk about having to assist a ghost to pass over into the next life, or go "into the light."

TYPES OF GHOSTS

In Early Modern Europe the popular perceptions of ghosts took on various forms. In many cases, the terms "apparitions" or "specters" were applied to entities such as devils, angels, and human shades, resulting in some confusion. Other accounts describe what we would term "poltergeists" today. These ghosts made noises, threw things, or produced foul smells. Some ghosts appeared in bodily form. Ghosts are shown in 17th-century art standing before observers who are covering their mouths

and noses. Evidently these full-body apparitions smelled bad. Such an apparition was shown on the title page of the 1688 book by Nathaniel Crouch entitled *The Kingdom of Darkness*. A man is shown holding a cloth to his face as he confronts a female ghost who seems still wrapped in her shroud. Another man turns away in horror. The implication is that these men have by some means conjured up this ghost. The ghost in the frontispiece is most likely not a lost soul or the soul of someone who had not died happily or peacefully. This definitely seems to be a ghost summoned by the magician. What we see here is the result of a séance. A ghost in an apparent "living" form was easier for an actor to portray, especially when he had lines to speak. Crouch (c. 1632–1725) was a Protestant writer whose works might be compared to the Dutch Protestant moralist Jacob Cats (1557–1660). While Crouch was a believer, he also wrote for a more popular audience. *The Kingdom of Darkness* recounts stories of contemporary English witches, ghosts, and spirits. The frontispiece by an engraver named I. Drapentier (perhaps the Dutch printmaker Jacob Drapentier) showed various vignettes that are related to stories in Crouch's book.[2] Is the ghost of Hamlet's father, who appears first in armor and later in a dressing gown, another example of a full-body apparition? A ghost in an apparent "living" form was easier for an actor to portray, especially when he had lines to speak.

Some ghosts were specters of historical figures that were conjured up by magicians. One example is found in an early printed book, *Das Buch Belial* (The Book of Belial). This book is of special interest here as not only an example of an illustrated incunabulum but also because some of the illustrations show the "ghost" of Moses. According to the text, King Solomon, who was of course thought to have been a famous magician, was able to summon the devil, Belial, from Hell and send him into the underworld to find Moses's ghost and bring it to Solomon. Belial obeyed the powerful magus, Solomon, and brought forth Moses who appears as a full-body apparition with his characteristic horns and all.[3] The illustrations in *Das Buch Belial* are small woodcuts inserted in the text. Belial appears as a typical 15th-century zoomorphic devil made of the body parts of various animals. Moses, on the other hand, looks entirely human. In one vignette Belial appears before Solomon and Moses with a number of other zoomorphic and anthropomorphic devils.

Some apparitions were thought not to be the spirits of the dead at all but demonic entities acting the roles of ghosts. In short, perceptions of

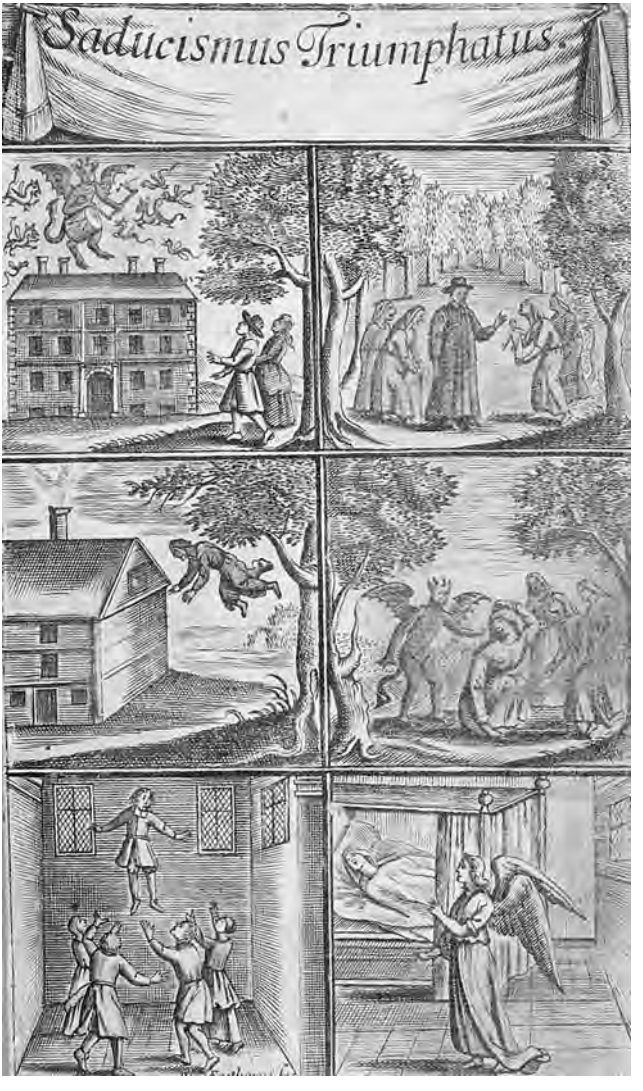
ghosts in Early Modern Europe were very similar to perceptions about ghosts now. These might be particularly malicious or behave like poltergeists. Entities, such as kobolds, caused mine cave-ins. Others were adept at throwing projectiles at the living. A quick glance at any modern "reality" program about ghosts can give one a good idea of what people thought about ghosts and apparitions centuries ago because these programs also support the ideas that some ghosts are not the spirits of the dead, but other types of entities.

King James I presented a slightly different view on the apparitions of the dead in his 1597 *Daemonologie*. Like many of his Protestant contemporaries, he wrote that ghosts were not actual but were in fact the products of "Papist" superstitions. He did comment that unusually, the Devil could enter a dead body and make it seem animate in order to appear to the living. This was a less common concept about apparitions. In Book 3, Chapter 1, James remarks that to disturb the peaceful rest of the dead body was one of the Devil's mischiefs. In this he presents the more typical idea that the Devil could fool the living into thinking that they had seen a spirit. Yet James I put his own twist on how the Devil might delude humanity in his belief that the Devil could animate a corpse, making it appear to the living that the dead had returned to communicate.[4]

JOSEPH GLANVILL AND THE DRUMMER OF TEDWORTH

A case of a possible poltergeist was described and illustrated in books by Joseph Glanvill entitled *A Blow at Modern Sadducism* and *Saducismus Triumphatus*. The term Sadducees, used in the 17th century to refer to heretics of various kinds, is derived from the Bible. Demonologists called those who did not believe in ghosts or perhaps even had doubts about devils by that name. It became a catch-all negative term for those with whom one disagreed. Glanvill applied this label to members of either branch of Christianity.[5]

Glanvill tells a number of tales about witches, devils, and also a possible ghost. The English magistrate and country squire, John Mompesson, reported that his home in the town of Tedworth, Wiltshire, along with his servants; wife; and worse still, his children, were beset by what may have been a demonic presence that caused them considerable fear and upset. Glanvill wondered whether this was a hoax. Were the events caused by



"Frontispiece Showing Various Paranormal Events Including Drummer of Tedworth." J. Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus*. London, Printed for S. L. and are to be sold by Anth. Baskerville, 1689. (Private Collection.)

a devil, or were they possibly the work of a malevolent ghost wandering about among the living? Was it the sort of ghost left behind by someone who had died violently or suddenly in life and left to roam about the earth tormenting the living in its miserable afterlife because it found no peace? The children's beds were shaking, items were being thrown about, and unpleasant noises were heard. There were bad sulfurous smells in the

house. Even the children themselves were levitated. Perhaps it was time for Mompesson to send for a paranormal investigator, in this case a clergyman who also had a considerable interest in science. The clergyman believed that devils did exist; yet he also kept a skeptical mind and wanted to prove by science that such things happened. Or, if that failed, then he was prepared to state that his investigation showed that in this case, there was nothing supernatural going on. The man whom the magistrate sent for later become the King's chaplain in ordinary.[6] Glanvill does not specify that he was summoned by Mompesson, although it is logical as he would not have merely showed up uninvited to conduct an investigation. Surely this learned man could get to the bottom of the problem. He arrived, made a scientific study of the case, talked with the principals, and tried his best to debunk the events that they reported. He hoped to have his own personal experiences as well. In the end, he published his findings for others to read and compare to events they may have witnessed. He even published an illustration of the poltergeist.

The scenario sounds very like the script for many modern television "ghost investigators" reality programs; however, this investigation took place in the middle of the 17th century. The King was Charles II of England and the clergyman-ghost hunter was Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680) who made his investigations between January 1662 and April 1663. The case became known to historians as the "Drummer of Tedworth." Glanvill's book, *Saducismus Triumphatus* (The Triumph of Saducism) became quite popular and went through five editions. Glanvill would finally conclude that these events had been produced through the agency of witchcraft practiced in spite against the magistrate by a drummer whom he had convicted of disturbing the peace. But this gets ahead of the story. Glanvill's account of what had supposedly happened and what he was able to study first hand, through personal experiences, the modern ghost hunter would say, is lively and detailed. This book was written in part as a refutation of the opinions on the supernatural posited by Glanvill's rival, John Webster. Webster was far more the skeptic. While Glanvill did at times evince beliefs in ghosts, devils and demons, he also put these beliefs to the test of empirical observation. *Saducismus Triumphatus* was illustrated with vignettes depicting various supernatural cases that Glanvill investigated and reported. One of these vignettes showed the infamous "drummer of Tedworth." The Drummer is a zoomorphic devil who appears in the sky above the home of Mr. Mompesson, playing a drum. The magistrate stands outside his home, looking on in amazement.

> Mr. John Mompesson of Tedworth . . . commanded the vagrant to put off his drum and charged the constable to carry him before the next Justice of the Peace to be further examined and punisht. [*sic*] Over the objections of the drummer, Mompesson had the drum seized and eventually conveyed to his own home. It was a very great knocking at his door and the outsides of his house. . . . He opened the door where the great knocking was and then he heard the noise at another door . . . after this civil cessation, it returned in a ruder manner after this and followed and vexed the youngest children beating their bedsteds [sic] . . . it would lift the children up in the beds, follow them from one room to another.

Mompesson moved his children out of the room for a while. This did no good. Such was his predicament and why he sent for Joseph Glanvill to come in for an investigation.[7]

Glanvill had considerable doubts about the stories and suspected the children. If they were not causing the disturbances, then perhaps adults in the household were merely making up the stories. He proceeded to rely on personal observations and methods to debunk the stories.

> At this time it used to haunt the children and that as soon as they were laid. They went to bed that night I was there . . . a maid-servant coming down from them told us it was come. . . . I heard a strange scratching as I went up the stairs and when we came into the room I perceived it was just behind the bolster of the children's bed. . . . I saw their hands [the two little girls in the bed] out of the cloths and they could not contribute to the noise that was behind their heads. Glanvill felt behind the bolster, he looked through the bed clothes to see if anything were there to make the noise. He concluded, So that I was then verily perswaded [*sic*] and am so still that the noise was made by some daemon or spirit.[8]

Glanvill provided a number of first person accounts of the appearances of spirits and ghosts. This was the standard format for books on ghosts and apparitions. Authors presented cases that might deal with human ghosts of persons recently deceased, other sorts of spiritual apparitions like devils or angels, and even historical ghosts. There was always the question of whether these were real or were just the illusions of the Devil, or perhaps the products of human mental disease. Glanvill commented on his methology by noting that he had

> no humor nor delight in telling stories, and do not publish these for the gratification of those that have; but I record them as arguments for the confirmation of a truth which hath indeed been attested by multitudes of like evidences in all places and times. But things remote or long past are either not believed or forgotten whereas these being fresh and near and attended with all the circumstances of credibility, it may be expected they should have the more success upon the obstinacy of unbelievers.[9]

Glanvill was inclined to believe in the reality of such things but did maintain an open mind in trying to prove their existence. Among the favorite subjects of the demonologists and witchcraft experts was the biblical story of Saul and the seer or "witch" of Endor (1 Samuel 2). Saul had her summon the ghost of Samuel for him. Some writers thought that this ghost was in fact just the Devil making an appearance and that the seer of Endor was a fraud. Glanvill states plainly in Section 21 of Part II of his book that these events really had taken place as described. Saul did indeed see the ghost of Samuel. "I confess it seems to me most probable that it was the true Samuel for the Scripture calls the apparition so five times."[10] In this, Glanvill disagreed with Martin Luther who believed that Samuel had not really appeared to Saul upon the command of the witch: "No, it was a spectre, an evil spirit, assuming his form. What proves this is that God by the laws of Moses had forbidden man to question the dead: consequently it must have been a demon which presented itself under the form of the man of God."[11]

Joseph Glanvill had an adversary in the person of the Protestant clergyman and physician John Webster (1610–1682). *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft. Wherein is affirmed that there are many sorts of Deceivers and Impostors* (1677) is like many other such works from this period. Webster agrees that some paranormal entities and events could happen, but he thinks that for the most part, these are the products of imagination or melancholy or worse still, the superstitions of the Roman Church. Webster defends Reginald Scot and attacks Joseph Glanvill directly:

> If Mr. Scot hath done little but told odd talks and silly legends, Mr. Glanvil [*sic*] might very well have born with him; for I am sure his story of the Drummer [of Tedworth] and his other of witchcraft are as odd and silly as any can be told or read, and are as futilous [futile], incredible, ludicrous and ridiculous as any can be. And if the

> tales that Scot tells be odd and silly, they are the most of them taken from those pitiful lying Witchmongers, such as Delrio, Bodinus, Springerous, Remigius and the like.[12]

Chapters 15 and 16 specifically concern apparitions that might be mistaken for spirits or devils. Here Webster addresses various sorts of anomalies including witches who might transmute themselves into animal forms, satyrs, and mermaids. He does believe, as did his various colleagues in demonology, that angels or good apparitions could exist and that these were sent by God for the benefit of humanity. He also holds that poltergeists that he terms "Cacodemons" (noise-making demons) were, like most apparitions, "conceits or delusions."[13] The Drummer of Tedworth, investigated and debunked as a poltergeist by Joseph Glanvill, was thought by some to be a cacodemon.

In the works of Glanvill and Webster, we see the breakdown of older beliefs in some aspects of the supernatural as regards witchcraft and demonology. While both were Protestants—Reginald Scot was also a Protestant for that matter—these men had varying opinions. They had in common the fact that all of them had varying degrees of belief in the dark side, and that each attacked the Roman Church. Webster was skeptical but inconsistent. Glanvill was more credulous than Scot or Webster, yet even he had his doubts. Glanvill was not ready to deny the existence of evil spirits per se, as to do that would logically lead to a denial of all spirits. Because of this, he employed the scientific method in his investigations.

PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS ON GHOSTS

Writers such as Crouch, Webster, and Glanvill drew inspiration from a number of earlier authors who had also addressed the subject of ghosts. Among them were the Calvinist Ludwig (also known as Lewes) Lavater (1527–1586) and his Catholic opponent, Pierre le Loyer (1550–1634). Their works are sometimes compared as examples of differences in Protestant and Catholic beliefs about ghosts,[14] which arise from the disposition of souls after death. Did the soul go to Heaven, Hell, or Purgatory or perhaps even Limbo? Or were only the elect saved by Jesus's Redemption and the rest then forever lost to Hell? Could souls indeed wander the earth as restless spirits, or were these illusions of the Devil? Should ghosts be properly consigned to the "papist" trash heap along with saints and indulgences? Were there good apparitions such as angels in which Protestants could believe?[15] Such questions prompted Lavater to write his

De Spectris Lemuribus, which was first published in German in 1569. The first Latin edition came in the following year. There were close to 20 editions published in the 16th and 17th century in various modern languages as well as Latin. Lavater held that sometimes persons saw spirits; however, he felt that these visions were the products of madness or of illusions created by the Devil. The famed witchcraft historian Henry Charles Lea (1825–1909) characterized Lavater's point of view as "illusions and delusions."[16] Lavater did concede that it might be possible for a saintly spirit or an angel to appear to the living, but that such occurrences were very unlikely and highly suspect.

Lavater (Book 1, Chapter 16) accepted the existence of poltergeists; he wrote about a special category of poltergeist-like entities known as kobolds: devils that inhabited mines and tormented miners. These acted like poltergeists but were not; they were in fact devils, according to Lavater. Some folklore also held that kobolds were neither spirits nor devils but actually something more like a fairy or gnome. Some theologians and demonologists shared this concept also. The confusion about what exactly a kobold was shows how a folk belief in a paranormal creature could come to be cloaked in religious descriptions. Martin Luther, for example, wrote about kobolds but termed them devils who lived in the mines and tormented or deceived miners. He comments in the Table Talk (Chapter 174);

> the devil vexes and harasses the workmen in the mines. He makes them think they have found fine new veins of silver which when they have labored and labored, turn out to be more illusions. Even in open day, on the surface of the earth he causes people to think they see a treasure before them, which vanishes when they would pick it up. . . . I have never had any success in the mines, but such was God's will and I am content.[17]

Johann Weyer wrote about kobolds in a section on specters and other apparitions in *De Praestigiis daemonum* (The Devil's Illusions), 1583. Weyer's mention of kobolds points to how prevalent this folk belief was in 16th-century Germany. He remarks that Gregorius (Georg) Agricola had discussed these spirits in his large work on mining *De re metallica* (Concerning Metals). Weyer does not make it clear whether he believes in such entities or not. He may have thought that the kobolds were real, concurring with Luther and Agricola. At any rate, his comments are quite interesting in that they reveal more about German folkloric ideas of

ghosts and especially poltergeists. Weyer comments that they were "ferocious and terrible to behold, . . . they dwell in certain mines . . . and are generally hostile and troublesome to miners." Again following Agricola and others, Weyer explained that they were called "kobaloi which meant rouges or goblins. Others call them the little men of the mountains indicating their usual stature that of dwarfs about twenty-seven inches tall. And they look like old men wearing the customary outfit of miners." Kobolds need not necessarily harm miners; some even helped with the work. "Although they do pelt the workmen from time to time with gravel, they very rarely injure them." Weyer states that these goblins were quite similar in activities and appearance to other demons or trolls common in German folklore.[18] While kobolds seemed to have retreated into the past as far as folklore goes, a modern German translation of kobold is elf. And the mineral cobalt is named in honor of these inhabitants of long-ago mines.

Pierre Le Loyer who was a lawyer and a counselor to the King of France refuted Lavater's *De Spectris Lemuribus* with *Trois Livres de Spectris*, 1586. An English edition of the first book of this treatise appeared in 1605 and is used in this study. The first book treats specters in general terms and discusses the various authorities both historical and contemporary who did not believe that ghosts could appear to living people. Le Loyer considers the concept that apparitions result from physical illness or drunkenness or mental impairment. In none of this is he original or unique. His stature as a prominent member of the French court made his writings more influential than they might otherwise have been. The remaining books in Loyer's treatise continue the topic of demons and ghosts while extending to witchcraft. He intends to present the Catholic view of the validity of apparitions and ghosts. The French edition was reissued several times. Zachary Jones translated the first volume, London, 1605, "By Val. S. for Mathew Lones"; Le Loyer is best remembered for his Catholic perspective on ghosts and apparitions and his desire to refute Lavater.

The Capuchin priest Noel Taillepied (1540–1589) wrote books attacking Martin Luther, 1581; and John Calvin, 1582; and is also known for his study of ghosts. Taillepied's *Traite de l'apparition des Esprits* (A Treatise of Ghosts) was a popular volume and appeared in several editions beginning in 1588, the last in 1667. Taillepied wrote about types of spirit apparitions and included in his comments the acts of poltergeists. His purpose is somewhat similar to that of Loyer in refuting Lavater, but Taillepied

follows Lavater's text much more closely. Taillepied complains, "This Protestant writer runs clean contrary to common sense. He muddies and obscures any passage of authority which speaks of the return of Spirits; he ignores all proof and it may perchance be well to deal in ampler fashion with his errors in order that his bombast fallacies may all the more clearly be evinced and the more sturdily disproved."[19] Whereas Lavater might have thought that everyday sounds or events could be mistaken for poltergeist activities, Taillepied believed these were entirely likely to have been produced by spirits:

> A spirit will sometimes suddenly draw and switch away the quilt and blankets from a bed, linen and all: or will restlessly pace up and down a room when footfalls can be plainly distinguished. . . . Very often spirits have been heard about a house at night, as though it were a man dragging his feet wearily with heavy gait; hoarse coughs and deep sighs are heard."[20]

While Lavater is more interesting to read, he and Taillepied reach a standoff in these books. The reader's reaction would have been determined by his preconceived religious position more than the writers' persuasiveness.

One of the most infamous demonologists of the 16th century was the German Catholic bishop, Peter Binsfeld (c. 1540–1598). He was the Suffragen bishop of Trier and was very actively involved in the persecution and trials of witches, as well as of writers who were moderate in their attitudes toward witchcraft. Binsfeld's major work was titled *Tractatus de Confessionibus Maleficorum et Sagarum* (Treatise on the Confessions of Witches and [Female] Sorcerers), 1589. It makes one's blood run cold in its viciousness. Binsfeld is merciless; he favors torture for pregnant women and even children accused of witchcraft. As one would expect, the treatise covers all the standard aspects of witchcraft and black magic performed by witches, but he also writes about demons as such and about haunted houses, commenting that there were certainly unusual noises produced by what might seem to be ghosts. But these ghosts were in actuality demons. Thus he ascribes such disturbances to what we would now term demonic entities acting as poltergeists.[21]

Henning Grosse (1533–1621) wrote a study of various occult themes, including spirits and ghosts, entitled *Magia de Spectris et Apparitionibus*

Spirituum (Magic of Spectres and Spirit Apparitions) Leiden, 1656. Grosse was not an expert demonologist nor theologian, but unusually, a book dealer. A tiny volume in size if not in pages, Grosse's book, 3 x 5 inches, ran to well over 600 pages. One of my students speculated that perhaps at the date of 1656 it might have been dangerous to be seen carrying a book about witches, ghosts, and devils and that the size was an attempt to conceal the book. I explained that was most definitely not the case. There were thousands of such books in the 17th century.

This book is a somewhat rambling extensive account. Grosse writes about contemporary magicians who work with devils, also about historical evidence for supernatural events, describing even the life and activities of Alexander the Great. He was all over the place. This encyclopedic treatment of the dark side demonstrates that many, including Grosse, felt that the Devil, his minions, and other spiritual entities were commonplace in human life. Moreover, this association had existed throughout human history. Grosse comments on the opinions of the Protestant reformers, including Luther and Melancthon; and Catholic writers, such as Grillandus. Following the teachings of Luther on the pope and the Roman Church, in one memorable section Grosse writes about Pope Alexander VI and various devils who served as his familiars and assistants (224–225).

Richard Chamberlain's *Lithobolia: The Stone Throwing Devil* provides a fascinating eyewitness account of poltergeist activity from the American colonies at the end of the 17th century. Chamberlain (1648–1706) was a royal secretary in New Hampshire. He recorded several instances of stones being thrown by apparent supernatural agents at the property of George Walton. Chamberlain had been lodging at Walton's home during 1682 when these events took place. Questions arose as to the nature of who or what might have been throwing the stones. Could these have been a ghost activity, or were they thrown by devils, or was the whole matter a result of witchcraft against Walton? This is an interesting and rather lively account that is easily available online from several sites. Its late publication date of 1698 shows that people were still reporting being attacked by projectiles thrown by something or someone. Then as now these events fascinated the reading public.[22]

The study of ghosts and poltergeists persisted into the 18th century. Late 17th-century writers such as the German, Peter Goldschmidt (d. 1713) continued to examine these supernatural, or perhaps paranor-

mal, phenomena. Goldschmidt wrote *Hollischer Morpheus* (Hellish Morpheus), a study on ghosts and poltergeists that was published in 1698 and reprinted in 1704. The complete title explains that this is a book about the appearances of ghosts and poltergeists. Goldschmidt was one of those commentators on the supernatural whose interest ran the gamut, discussing ghosts and poltergeists, witches, and devils. His works include a 1705 publication entitled *Verworffner Hexen und Zauberer Advocat* (Notorious Witches and Magicians Advocate), an additional entry into the very long list of books on witchcraft and demonology. This book has little to say about ghosts as such, however, Goldschmidt encourages his readers to return to his earlier book to read about them. This book has a marvelously old-fashioned frontispiece with witches cavorting on the Blocksberg; others honoring the Devil by kissing his posterior; and a witch working in a magic circle while she makes up a dreadful brew. There is nothing novel in these images; indeed they derive from earlier works by Teniers and from previous book illustrations. The fact that the printer chose this lurid frontispiece says something about both the readership Goldschmidt was trying to reach and the lingering taste for bizarre, salacious works of art. Goldschmidt's books were printed and sold in Hamburg by a book dealer who gave his name as Gottfried Libernickel. One cannot help wondering if this were a pseudonym. "Lover of the Devil" seems a peculiar surname. "Nickel" or "Nick" was a common German name for the Devil. The name for the dark rye bread, pumpernickel, has a most entertaining translation: "a devil who passes wind." One still hears that expression in modern United States English. The familiar term for the Devil persists.

Modern notions about ghosts and wandering, unhappy spirits of the dead remain in some aspects very like those of Early Modern Europe. There are evil entities masquerading as the souls of the dead. Even so, there seems to be a different attitude toward ghosts and apparitions on the part of the general public now. There are certainly the ghost stories one reads in books or watches on television programs; still, I think that for the most part, such entities are more received as entertainment—not fact by most of the public. And today's "ghosts" have far less to do with Satan than did their predecessors in Early Modern Europe.

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CHAPTER 6

WEREWOLVES

At certain times of the year throughout the whole of his life he [the werewolf] resorts with his confederates to particular localities and there inflicts harm and even death on his fellow-men and their herds. He achieves this means of changing shape [into a wolf] in direct opposition to Nature's laws if someone skilled in sorcery, repeating certain words, offers him a beaker of ale to drink.

—Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus septentrionalibus* (Description of the Northern Peoples), 1555.

And of course there is this natural reason why neither the frenzied nor the mad should be punished because of some transgression: they are tormented enough by their frenzy and punished enough by their misfortune.

—Johann Weyer, *De Praestigiis daemonum* (The Devil's Delusions), 1568.

The most difficult thing to believe, and the most wonderful, is the changing of the human figure into a beast and even more from one body to another. Nonetheless, the trials conducted of witches and the divine and human histories of all peoples, are undeniable proof.

—Jean Bodin, *De la demonomanie des sorciers* (On the Demon Mania of Witches), 1580.

We are about to confute . . . [that witches] are not really changed into cats, dogs, wolves or the like . . . we affirm that [this transformation was] never matters of fact nor ever had a being except only in the fancy as mere chimeras.

—John Webster, *A Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft,* 1677.

> The werewolf is the main object of our study; the werewolf who is metamorphosed by black magic, by occult and most hideous bedevilment. . . . As old as time and as wide as the world, the belief in the werewolf.
>
> —Montague Summers, *The Werewolf*, 1933.

Werewolves and enchanted wolves are significant parts of both folklore and learned beliefs of Early Modern Europe. Stories of werewolves were most prevalent in areas in which there were wolf populations.[1] That would seem entirely logical because people had encountered wolves; however, the tales are found in virtually every book that deals with the topic of witchcraft. Because these books often had an international circulation, stories about werewolves in Latvia, for example, could be published and read in Rome and disseminated elsewhere in Europe. Just as tales about the deeds of witches and devils could be made to serve as explanations for many anomalous events such as failed crops, illnesses, or birth defects, stories about werewolves served to explain why a person might go completely berserk and commit terrible atrocities. Cases of enchanted wolves or dogs were also part of witchcraft lore. These animals were made to do a witch's bidding. Wolves could serve as beasts of burden, and there are a number of trial accounts in which witnesses reported having seen witches riding wolves. Enchanted dogs were more likely to be thought of as demonic entities. Thus, a devil would appear in the form of a dog but not really be a dog at all. Devil-dogs were usually witches' "familiars." They were devil companions and assistants. Such was a large black dog owned by Cornelius Agrippa von Nettisheim. This creature was thought by some to be a demon familiar. Johann Weyer, who studied with Agrippa and thus knew him as well as the dog, stated that this was no demon, but an ordinary black male dog, one very much beloved by his owner.

There are a number of prominent demonological studies published in the 16th century that discuss werewolves. The topic had an international appeal, especially in the second half of the century. This interest persisted into the 17th century, although scholars became much less inclined to give any credence to the possibility of lycanthropy. People were fearful of wolves, witches, and the criminally insane; and these fears made it almost obligatory for writers to at least mention lycanthropy. This was probably not done so much to sell books by including inflammatory topics, as it was an attempt on the part of authors to be thorough in their scholarship. There were a few cases of "good" werewolves whose job was to protect

humankind from witches. The historian Carlo Ginzburg analyzed Italian 16th- and 17th-century tales of beneficial werewolves known as "benandanti," that is, those who are good walkers.[2] For the most part, however, werewolves were thought to be evil individuals who were in league with the Devil.

Despite what Montague Summers (1880–1948) wrote in his 1933 classic book, *The Werewolf,* the modern concept of a werewolf has actually changed considerably since these supernatural creatures were believed to be abroad in Early Modern Europe. For whatever else he was, Montague Summers was a good Latin scholar. His books and English language translations of important primary sources, such as the *Malleus Maleficarum* and the *Compendium Maleficarum,* are still useful to readers of English. In one sense his beliefs give some insight into how Early Modern writers thought of the supernatural. Summers wrote that there were magical means by which a human transmuted into a wolf. That was "dogma" in our period of interest. Sixteenth-century writers would have been entirely comfortable reading the opinions of Montague Summers. Where Summers differed from most Early Modern writers was that most of them had trouble believing in werewolves. Summers didn't have such scruples. He was a failed Episcopal priest who was thrown out of the seminary prior to ordination, evidently because he was sexually interested in young boys. He then told people that he was an ordained Episcopal priest or a Roman Catholic priest. He said Mass and even performed marriages. The "Reverend Mr." Summers seems to have believed quite firmly in witches, devils, and werewolves.

DEFINING THE EARLY MODERN WEREWOLF

The werewolf of Early Modern Europe had characteristics quite unlike those that one thinks of today. When we call to mind a werewolf now, we think of a human, usually a man, who can periodically change into a ravenous wolf by means of having been infected with lycanthropy through an attack by another werewolf. Today's werewolf, whose characteristics and origins are much influenced by 20th-century cinema, does have in common some characteristics of his Renaissance predecessors. Werewolves in Early Modern Europe were similar to modern ones in that it was thought that they ran amok destroying humans and domestic animals. They turned into wolves, but the means by which this happened was vastly

different than that of today's mythology. If a werewolf bit you in 1500, you did not become infected with lycanthropy. On the contrary, you likely became the werewolf's lunch and died without turning into a werewolf. As we note above, the Early Modern werewolf became such through combinations of magic acts and pacts with the Devil. Humans used potions, ointments, beverages, and magic belts or wolf pelts employed along with magic formulae that normally included a diabolic pact. Thus, a werewolf was the Devil's disciple. A werewolf could be male or female; however, it need not be a witch. At the same time, some werewolves were witches. To make matters more complicated, it was thought that witches could transmute themselves into dogs as well as wolves; and witches could enchant dogs or wolves. Werewolves were a separate and yet related category of supernatural bad guys. If a witch became a werewolf, this required that extra set of black magic and an additional diabolic pact.

The magic ointment that a werewolf used to transmute him- or herself could be identical to that used by witches to facilitate flight.[3] Werewolf magic ointments might include various poisonous or hallucinogenic herbs. These were the same as those found in witches' flying ointments. Such ointments were described in 1615 by Jean de Nynauld, a French physician who wrote a book about werewolves. *De la Lycanthropie, transformation et extase des sorciers* (On Lycanthropy, the Transformation and the Ecstasy of Witches) devoted considerable attention to werewolf ointments. While Nynauld was convinced that lycanthropy was a mental disease and not an act of evil magic, he nonetheless comments that people believe, if they use ointments, they could at least think they had become wolves as part of their mental delusions. Ointments were made of such things as poison mushrooms ("morelle furieuse" or "morelle endormante"), opium, belladonna, aconite, poplar leaves, soot, mouse blood, "hycosyame" (perhaps mandrake), and parsley ("persil," this is probably hemlock, which is sometimes called water parsley). These were the traditional compounds supposedly used by witches and werewolves. Naturally, Nynauld understood that these items could frequently cause feelings of disorientation, being "out of body," and flight. They could kill as well.[4]

Werewolves occupied places in folklore but were also in the demonological, medical, and legal literature of the times. It would seem that if people could accept the notion that a witch could turn into a dog or fly on a broomstick, they could also believe that humans could be transmuted into wolves. Yet it appears that beliefs in the existence of werewolves were weaker than those in witches. At least that is the case with the vari-

ous kinds of literature in which werewolves were frequently treated with a more reasoned approach. This may be because Saint Augustine's pronouncement meant that lycanthropy was an illusion of the Devil in which one should not believe. Augustine discusses stories from classical mythology of people who were changed into wolves and other animals. He also states that to believe that the Devil could transmute a human into any animal was to accept something so preposterous as to not be credible. While God could do anything (a comment heard frequently thereafter in demonological literature), Augustine refused to believe that God allowed devils to transmute humans into wolves.[5]

Early werewolves frequently did their bad deeds at night, but they were not usually governed by lunar phases as modern mythology has it. No full moons were necessary. Similarly, one did not need herbs or silver bullets to get rid of them. Any good weapon would suffice. Werewolves were sometimes executed after trials by civil authorities. Some werewolves are shown being put to death in a broadside printed by Georg Kress, 1591. These werewolves are both males and females, in various stages of transmutation, and human dress or wolf fur. Some appear to be wearing nun's veils. The story narrated in the broadside is of several hundred werewolves who terrorized the area around modern Julich, Germany. Julich (known as Juliers in French) is close to Duren and Aachen and slightly northwest of Cologne. This area was part of the Holy Roman Empire, as nearby Aachen was once Charlemagne's capital. Julich existed from medieval times until World War II when Julich and Duren were literally leveled by allied bombers and tank bombardments in the fall of 1944. After the war, Julich was rebuilt, as was Duren, which sustained less damage. Curiously, German Wehrmacht units that fought in and around this area were known as "werewolves."[6]

Werewolves were a means to explain behaviors that today we would likely term the acts of criminally insane persons. Werewolves slaughtered domestic animals, committed incest, killed and maimed humans, and even engaged in cannibalism. Had he lived in 1500, Jeffrey Dahmer would have been a werewolf. Stories about werewolves were a commonplace entry in virtually all demonological books of the 16th and 17th centuries. There are also 18th-century books that discuss werewolves. The myth of the werewolf was found in antiquity and had made its appearance much earlier in medieval Europe; yet its origins were centuries earlier. Werewolves are mentioned in various medieval religious tracts. An early example that points to the folk belief in werewolves can be found in a famous 11th-century penitential, *The Corrector of Burchard of Worms*.

Broadside of *Werewolves from Jülich*, Germany. Georg Kress, 1591. (From *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut 1550–1600*, Vol. 2. Courtesy of Abaris Books.)

Burchard was a German bishop (d. 1025) who wrote this handbook in about 1008 for his priests to use in preparing a person for confession. He had become a bishop in the year 1000 and retained that position in the church until his death.[7] The book is a lengthy examination of conscience that contains not only a great list of possible sins, but the penances that should be imposed on someone who commits them. What makes Burchard particularly interesting to the modern reader is that he describes a number of beliefs in paranormal and supernatural creatures and practices. These he usually denounces as sins, but sins because they involve pagan beliefs or ignorant superstitions. In short, believing in witches and werewolves was a sin because it was superstitious. At the same time, Burchard's *Corrector* provides us with a grand tour of what he considered sinful, silly folklore or both. It is a fascinating sociological document. We cannot know how many of Burchard's parishioners believed in werewolves, but some of them certainly must have: "Hast thou believed . . . [that a person] can be transformed into a wolf, that which vulgar folly calls a werewolf, or into any other shape. If thou believest what never took place or could take place, that the divine image can be changed into any form or appearance by anyone except almighty God, thou shouldst do penance for ten days on bread and water" (*Corrector,* Chapter 5, 152).[8] Burchard speaks of the belief as a "folly [about something that] never took place or could take place." This reveals the somewhat ambiguous position of theologians concerning the belief in werewolves.

Writers, clergy, and lawyers sought a different explanation for lycanthropy than merely stating that such a thing happened. Even at this early date, they are presenting lycanthropy as something that is so fantastic as not to be a reality. This is all the more amazing as the learned populace of Europe were frequently able to accept other aspects of the supernatural. They believed in angels and devils. They believed in other sorts of nonhuman spirits such as fairies, mermaids, and kobolds. They could accept that a magus could capture a spirit in a crystal. They could believe in the various supernatural deeds of witches. They just had trouble believing in werewolves. Much of this no doubt had to do with the teaching of St. Augustine, at least with respect to the clergy. And perhaps the whole notion of the werewolf was just a little too fantastic.

Some 15th-century witchcraft texts discuss werewolves in the same way that Burchard had done. Johann Vincenti's *Liber de adversus magicas artes* (Book of hostile magical arts), 1475, has an entire chapter on werewolves.

Vincenti insists that this was a delusion of the Devil who put people into a trance and made them think they had turned into wolves. To even believe that one could turn into a wolf was a sinful acceptance of this delusion.[9]

TO BELIEVE OR NOT TO BELIEVE

Despite such seemingly more reasonable approaches to the topic of lycanthropy, virtually all the books written on witchcraft during the classic period of the persecutions contain an almost obligatory discussion of werewolves. This applies to books written by Protestants as well as Catholics. Catholic beliefs about werewolves were generally not different from those of Protestants, at least not early on. Eventually one sees some modification that may have been based on religious differences. Nevertheless, what theologians thought about the werewolf was constant. By the 17th century, some distinctions are found in the writings of some Protestant demonological authors. Some did not believe in werewolves, or witches for that matter, and they blamed the "superstition" of werewolves, on the influence of the Roman Church. This approach to the subject was not uniform among Protestant writers. Some still believed in werewolves and witches, and there were Protestant writers who did not merely dismiss werewolves as papist foolishness.

In the late 1470s, Ulrich Molitor attended a trial in Basel of a peasant who was accused of witchcraft. This man was also accused of enchanting a wolf and riding on its back. Wolf riding was a relatively common folk belief in what is now southern Germany and northern Switzerland. In this area where wolves were prevalent, one encounters stories and trial accounts of wolf riders and witches who transmute into wolves going as far back as the 1420s. At this trial, the peasant's defense was that he himself was a victim of enchantment. He told the court, yes, he had ridden a wolf, but that another witch had enchanted him and the animal who were both innocent. He was convicted and burnt. There is no record of what happened to the wolf.[10] Molitor's 1489 book, *De Lamiis,* contains two illustrations by an unknown printmaker that shows supernatural canines. One image depicts the story of the enchanted man and wolf, the other shows witches flying toward a hailstorm. Three witches are astride a single pitchfork. Each has transmuted into an animal, although they still wear human clothes. One of these witches is a dog who appears to be dressed in clerical garb. Molitor discusses the possibility that such events could be true, concluding that most of these phenomena were the Devil's illusions;

whereas such things could occur, they rarely did. For a book published just a decade after the *Malleus Maleficarum*, this was an amazingly moderate stance. Like other writers of his time, Molitor protected his moderation by stating that the supposed deeds of witches could actually happen if God so permitted. By using such statements, Molitor and the few others who dared to question the validity of witchcraft could claim to be orthodox in their beliefs even when it was clear that they were not.

About 1512, the German painter and printmaker, Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) produced a woodcut representing a werewolf. This werewolf is still in his human form. He wears clothes. He goes on hands and knees as he rampages through a farmstead. Human body parts are strewn around him as he runs away with an infant in his jaws. The only anatomical components of the werewolf that seem even slightly canine in appearance are his hands. These look distorted as though they are morphing into paws. The iconography of Cranach's *Werewolf* adheres to the typical beliefs of the 16th century. This is a cannibalistic madman. In a delicious bit of irony, he is being chased by the farmer's dog, while the local hausfrau throws up her hands and screams in terror as she watches something she cannot stop.

A contemporary of Cranach and Luther, Johannes Geiler von Kaisersberg (1445–1510) was a Doctor of Theology in Freiburg; and from 1478 until his death, he served as cathedral preacher in Strassburg. His title describes his job; he preached on many occasions. A collection of his sermons for Lent, 1508, was compiled and published in 1517. Its title, *Die Emeis* (The Ants) was Geiler's way of acknowledging the 16th-century's demonologist debt to Nider. Johannes Nider (c. 1380–1438) was a German Dominican theologian whose book, *Formicarius* (The Ant Hill), was completed by about 1437. It deals in part with demonology and witchcraft.

Geiler was famous for preaching in the vernacular in a lively and entertaining style. Many of his sermons in Latin or German were published. *Die Emeis* was a posthumous compilation of Lenten sermons. These were in keeping with the tradition of Lenten preaching against various enemies of the Faith. The book contains several small woodcut illustrations, including one of a werewolf attacking a gentleman. Geiler was a close friend of the Strassburg artist, Hans Baldung Grien (c. 1485–1545). Baldung provided illustrations for some of Geiler's books but did not illustrate *Die Emeis*.

Geiler's *Die Emeis* contains a sermon he had preached on the topic of werewolves. While he believed in witches, Geiler could not accept the reality of werewolves. He pronounced them an illusion. He asked the congregation if it were true that witches could transmute into the forms

of animals. Could they become a wolf, a pig, or a bird, "in Wolf, in Schwein, in Vogel?" Geiler stated flatly, no, this was not a possibility. He called the belief an illusion or a specter. A witch's transmuting into a wolf was "ein Gespenst und ein Schein vor den Augen." Furthermore, even the Devil himself could not transmute humans into wolves.[11] Herein Geiler followed Aquinas and St. Augustine. Even though Geiler did not believe in werewolves, *Die Emeis* does contain one of the rather rare illustrations of a werewolf. A woodcut by an unidentified artist accompanied the sermon. It pictures a werewolf, entirely in wolf form, attacking a man. Another man looks on in horror. Although he is armed with a sword, he seems unable to react in his friend's defense. Like the woman in Cranach's print, he is frozen by the spectacle he sees.

Olaus Magnus (Olaf Magnussen, 1490–1557) was a Roman Catholic priest and scholar who fled his native Sweden and became an expatriate living on the continent, much of the time in Rome where he was a secretary for his brother, Johannes. Johannes Magnus was also a priest. Olaus was made Bishop of Uppsala in 1523, although he never served the church in that city. He and his brother are best remembered for their scholarship in ethnic and historical studies. Olaus attended the Council of Trent between 1545 and 1549. One of his major publications was the *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (Description of the Northern Peoples), which was published in Rome in 1555. The book was quite popular and went through editions in several languages including German, Dutch, Italian, and English. The *Historia* contains chapters on Swedish and Scandinavian history, culture, natural history, religion, and what Olaus called "superstition." The book discusses witches, ghosts, devils and werewolves, as well as folklore. Olaus's tone was rather conversational and low-keyed. As one reads, one does not feel that he is presenting an involved scholarly treatment. His commentaries sound more like excerpts from sermons. At the same time, Olaus includes a great amount of material in an almost encyclopedic presentation of the "northern peoples." His chapters are illustrated with small vignettes that in some cases are described in the text. Some of the images do not seem well related to their respective chapters, and in some cases the images were derived from other sources. It was not unusual for a printer to borrow images from other works, either as direct copies or similar-looking scenes.

Did Olaus believe in witches and devils? Probably. Olaus also evidently believed in werewolves, although he did hedge somewhat in his com-

mentary. While some might be the subjects of mere folklore or superstition, he wrote that while Pliny commented that no one should believe in werewolves, "nevertheless [werewolves are found in northern countries] indeed [there are in places like Prussia, Livonia and Lithuania] whole swarms of them." Olaus describes how these "swarms" of werewolves would try to break down doors and get into homes in the forest. They would raid ale-cellars and drink up all the spirits "after which they pile up the empty barrels in the middle of the cellar, one on top of the other, a habit in which they behave very differently from ordinary wolves."[12] If indeed they did exist, werewolves, in short, were not creatures with whom to mess. There is something fascinating about Olaus's description of what we would now call home invasions being undertaken by hordes of drunken werewolves. Again, one cannot avoid the analogy of human criminal behavior to that of the werewolf. Since Olaus observed that werewolves transmuted themselves around the winter solstice (i.e., around the birth of Christ), perhaps he has left us with an ethnological record of pagan solstice customs involving persons in costumes who run amok and must be "placated." Olaus's werewolves may be the Scandinavian kin of British Green Man dancers and actors, Morris dancers and hobby horses (men in costumes that include a horse's skull).

Reginald Scot's (c. 1538–1599) *The Discoverie of Witchcraft,* 1584, is quite famous for its highly critical treatments of many aspects of witchcraft and demonology. In keeping with his rather encyclopedic treatment of things occult, Scot also wrote at length about werewolves and other transmutations of witches into various animals. (Book 5, Chs. 1–6). Much of Scot's book was directed against his contemporary, the great French scholar and philosopher, Jean Bodin (c. 1529–1596). Although he strongly refuted Bodin's assertions about witches turning into the forms of wolves, Scot did acknowledge the common beliefs that werewolves killed and devoured humans. "So do these magical wolves devour men, women and children" (Book 5, Ch. 2).

Bodin's 1580 *Demonomanie des sorciers* devotes a chapter to the question of lycanthropy. He believed in this. Because of his considerable stature in the history of French jurisprudence and politics, his rather radical positions on witchcraft and lycanthropy are something of a gentle embarrassment to Bodin scholars today. The chapter on werewolves is "one of the most controversial sections of this work. Most authorities denied the reality of the transformation of humans into animals. . . . They roundly

condemned Bodin's views."[13] Bodin's opinions were indeed contrary to the official tenets of St. Augustine and Aquinas. He believed that God indeed could transmute humans into wolves or allow the Devil to create this transformation. Scot's contemporary, King James I of England (James VI of Scotland) commented on lycanthropy in his 1597 work, *Daemonologie*. James did not believe in the existence of werewolves. It is significant that James, like everyone else, felt compelled to say something about the werewolf.

Francesco Maria Guazzo's 1608 *Compendium Maleficarum* (Compendium of Witchcraft) is well known today because of its illustrations. Many persons have seen these images used to illustrated websites, articles, and other books without ever realizing their original source. The *Compendium* was illustrated with a number of small woodcuts that were placed on or near the pages in which topics shown in the vignettes are discussed. For its time, this was a relatively unusual format. As we noted, some of the vignettes in Olaus Magnus's *Historia* were keyed to the text, but this was not a common layout. Because the *Compendium Maleficarm* discusses werewolves, the printer provided two identical vignettes in which a witch "werewolf" is depicted. The werewolf looks more like a large dog than a wolf, but we are informed in the text that this is a witch who seems to have been transmuted. Guazzo explains how the Devil assists the witch in appearing to change into a wolf. All of Guazzo's werewolves are in fact witches. In this case, he differs from many theologians who thought that werewolves were separate evil doers. Guazzo did not think that persons other than witches transmuted themselves into wolves. Magic formulae must be pronounced and ointments used, and then the illusion is achieved by the Devil's surrounding the witch with "an aerial effigy of a beast, each part of which fits on to the correspondent part of the witch's body."[14] The Guazzo werewolf has friends. A witch-"cat" and a witch-"snail" are seen alongside it. Such illustrations of werewolves appeared very infrequently in 17th-century books. The *Compendium Maleficarum* may be the only witchcraft text with werewolf illustrations printed in this century.

EVERYONE GETS INTO THE ACT

Werewolves were topics in medical and legal works as well. The German physician Johannes Weyer (Weir) carefully examined both witches

and werewolves. He felt that werewolves were unreal, just as he thought that in most cases witches were persons suffering from mental illnesses or disabilities and not actual servants of the Devil. Weyer's large work, *De Praestigiis daemonum* (The Devil's Delusions) presents his concepts of werewolves in detail. Chapter 10 of Book 3 is entitled "Concerning the Imaginary Transformation of Men into Beasts," expressing well his view. Weyer discusses earlier writers who had provided some basis for beliefs in werewolves, but then he states flatly that lycanthropy is a disease produced by the Devil. "And from a description of the disease involved, lycanthropy, anyone can see that this task is not difficult for the Devil when he sets in motion the humors and spirits suitable for these illusions." He writes further that since they are not real, werewolves could be devils in disguise. Or that those who thought that they were werewolves were in reality dreaming, and the Devil caused the dreams to seem real. Weyer describes lycanthropes in considerable detail. Book 4, Chapter 23, "Concerning the Disease of Lycanthropy, in Which Men Believe Themselves to be Turned into Wolves." Again, he cites earlier literary sources of such tales, yet he insists that this is a disease and not a reality. People who have the lycanthropy disease "go out of their houses especially by night, imitating wolves or dogs in every action."[15]

One would expect the subject of werewolves to be examined by physicians and lawyers; however, werewolves were also notorious enough to be included in rather unusual literary venues. For instance, English folkloric beliefs concerning werewolves are mentioned in 1605 in Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquity*. Verstegan was a Roman Catholic expatriate who fled to the continent because of his outspoken criticisms of Elizabeth I. He studied and published in both the English and Dutch languages. The *Restitution* is a cultural and folkloric history of Britain, in some respects similar to Olaus Magnus's book. Both works reveal their authors' interest in observing and recording the world around them.

Verstegan considers history, religious beliefs of pagan Britains, and archeology. What makes his inclusion of werewolves interesting is that Verstegan also writes about aspects of England's natural history as well as its cultural development. He published a very early illustration of fossils in the *Restitution* and posited that these were petrified remains of once-living animals. For this he has come to the attention of modern historians

of paleontology. His comments on werewolves are found in a chapter on the "ancient English toung" [*sic*] where he compiles a dictionary of terms:

> The were-wolves are certaine sorcerers, who having annoynted their bodyes, with an oyntment, which they make by the instinct of the deuil, and putting on a certaine inchanted girdle, do not only unto the view of others seeme as wolves, but to their own thinking have both the shape and nature of wolves so long as they weare the said girdle. And do they dispose themselves as very wolves in worrying and killing and most of humaine creatures.

Verstegan cites the case of the German "werewolf," Peter Stubbe (1589) and provides a corresponding term for the English word "werewolf." "The were-wolf (so called in Germanie) is in France, called Loupgarou."[16]

Werewolves even appeared as theatrical characters as well. *The Duchess of Malfi,* written by John Webster (c. 1580–1643) in about 1612 includes the story of Ferdinand who becomes so tortured by guilt for ordering the murder of his sister that he succumbs to the disease of lycanthropy and believes himself to be a wolf. His condition is diagnosed by the doctor in act 5, scene 2.

Lewes (Lodovico) Lavater (1527–1586), a well-known Calvinist minister in Zurich, observed in his lengthy study of ghosts and specters *De Spectris Lemuribus* (Concerning Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night) that the Devil could with ease ("it is no hard thing") appear in the form of a dog.[17] He mentions lycanthropy specifically as a deception of the Devil, which makes people think they are wolves or as a form of mental illness. Obviously Lavater was familiar with the concept of diabolic transmutation.

John Webster, the physician and not the playwright, expounded on the possibility that witches could transmute, "transubstantiate" as he put it, into various animals. This he pronounced complete fantasy and impossibility. Webster's *A Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft,* 1677, devotes an entire chapter to this topic as well as to several other aspects of witchcraft that he also considered not real, but mere folklore or Catholic superstitions. Along with lycanthropy Webster includes the ideas that the Devil had sex with witches, and that devils suck on witches' marks or false teats. Throughout Chapter 5 he keeps repeating this almost like a mantra. "It is not true, it is not true, it is not real." Like his colleague and adversary, Joseph Glanvill, the Baconian Webster demanded empirical proof of such things:

> Let them produce any two witnesses that were of honesty and integrity, sound understandings and ability, that ever were present and ear and eye-witnesses of a visible, vocal and corporeal league made betwixt the Devil and the witch; or let them tell us who was by and watched and really and truly saw the Devil suck upon some part of the witches body; or who were the chamberlains, pimps or panders when the Devil and the witch committed carnal copulation; or who were ever present when a witch was changed into a cat, a dog, a hare or a wolf. If they can but bring forth any two credible witnesses to prove these things by, then we shall believe them.[18]

These transmutations could not happen, according to Webster, because God did not ordain Nature to be like this. A witch could not become an animal because neither the witch nor the Devil could "change or alter the course that God hath set in Nature." This notion Webster called "a monstrous lie."[19] Some writers thought that a proof of the possibility of a human's being changed into an animal was to be found in the Old Testament story of Nebuchadnezzar, who had become an animal and gone on all fours. Webster dismisses this by stating (p. 91) that it never happened. He does allow for the possibility of a mental illness of lycanthropy. Webster writes that such persons who suffered from what he calls melancholy were not really changed into wolves except in their own minds. He tells a story about a man who found a wolf skin and dressed up in it as in a costume (p. 96) for whatever purposes, but he was no wolf. While he may have convinced himself he was a wolf, he too was a victim of mental delusion. In taking this position, Webster was not unique among the demonologists. He merely repeats what Johann Weyer had written a century earlier. Lycanthropy was unreal. It was either a delusion brought on by mental disease or madness; or just a ridiculous superstition; or even as Webster put it, a monstrous lie.

Could it have been possible that some werewolves were actually persons suffering from rabies or some other disease that infects brain tissue, such as "mad cow disease"? There are no known cases of prion disease in canines. Evidently a wolf could not have transmitted a prion-borne, brain-wasting disease to a human. But could a human have been infected by the bite of a rabid wolf? Of course. It has been shown, too, that eating raw meat (there are instances of raw dog being eaten in the Philippines today) from a dog that was rabid can infect a human with rabies. Thus, it is at least theoretically possible that a human could have ingested wolf or

have been bitten by one and developed rabies. That unfortunate person might have been a werewolf. It can be documented that Europeans might have been eating wolf meat. Summers, 1933, notes folkloric sources for some who were said to eat wolf meat or brains and do this as a means to transform into werewolves.[20]

Conclusion

It was late spring of the year 1500. The sun rose on a cool, clear morning. Dogs barked, owls flew home to their nests from a night's hunting. Perhaps (or so some thought) witches and devilish familiars went with the owls as the cocks crowed and the sun returned. Bells rang for Lauds and Prime. These, along with the crowing roosters, were sure to run off any residual demons from the night. In Nuremberg, Ulm, Paris, Lyons, Leiden, Antwerp, and Rome, men and women looked out of their windows and got ready for the coming day. Monks and nuns on the way to sing the Office noticed that it would be a beautiful spring day. If they had any thoughts about how the pope was probably the Antichrist, they kept them between themselves and God. Farmers prepared to go to the fields, ship captains made ready to sail. They hoped for a clear day with no rain and some favorable winds. One captain was sure it would be a fine day to set sail. Some of his crew suspected he was a witch and that he knew how to make favorable winds, or even storms. Book printers got ready to turn out some of those newfangled printed editions that were becoming increasingly popular, although they were still fairly expensive. Students at the university went to class wondering how they could ever pay for such things as these new books. Perhaps, if they did not go to the tavern after lectures, they could manage. Europe began another day, and absolutely no one looked up and remarked, "Well, well, here comes the Early Modern world." These people did not live in Early Modern Europe. They lived in modern times. The modern world in which they lived had already begun to reinvent itself. European nations were moving rapidly away from being insular and toward what would eventually become a global

community. Did the citizens of Germany and France and the other emerging nations of Europe know this? Perhaps some of them did. Had they any idea that their 16th century would shape culture, science, religion, politics, and philosophy for centuries to come?

When we look back at the period between 1400 and 1700, we see many things and attitudes that make perfect sense to us. We too live in "modern times," although we are no doubt more aware of our probable influences on the future than were people in the Renaissance. Part of our familiarity with Early Modern Europe stems from the fact that this period brought the origins of modern languages still in use with not many changes today. We can look back through the filters of history and see a world somewhat similar and yet also different from ours. We can see parallels in how we think of our complex world with how Europeans thought of their equally complex and rapidly expanding world. Early Modern Europeans invented the notions of a "renaissance," a renewal of the ancient world and a dismissing of the "middle ages," that messy period of ignorance and superstition that had been placed by time and fortune between them and the world of the Greeks and the Romans. We did not invent the concepts of Renaissance or Middle Ages, but we still use them. Students speak of French 13th-century art as "gothic," not realizing, until they are told so, that this was a slur thought up by Renaissance writers and artists to imply that the culture in the centuries before them was barbaric. It is easy for us to see many parallels between these two "modern times." Europeans in the Renaissance and 17th century journeyed to Asia and the Americas. We traveled to the Moon and into space. They developed mechanical printing, and we perfected the radio, television, and computer. We all made advances in science and technology yet were still plagued by viral and bacterial epidemics (including the literal plague), syphilis, cancer, and natural disasters. We have a handle on syphilis, but those other representatives of the Horsemen of the Apocalypse are still with us. They fought wars of genocide and attrition, and so do we. Did the Early Modern European really understand how a magus could capture a demon in a crystal any better than we understand an MRI that shows us something inside our bodies, or that a proton beam can wipe out a tumor? Did they understand how a demon might appear in a basin of water or a mirror any better than most of us understand Skype? One thing that some of them would surely have in common with some of us is a love of books, especially old ones.

Perhaps modern historians are so interested in Early Modern Europe because it is our cultural forebear, our ancestor as it were. It is virtually impossible to keep up with the amount of literature that the study of this era has generated. This is a comment that I have repeated through this book, but it is true. Keeping up with the literature is a tremendous challenge. Yet, with all these advances and changes, Early Modern Europe did have its dark side as well, as we have demonstrated herein. I have endeavored to show that huge aspect of culture that was not so out of place against the backdrop of the Renaissance, Reformation, and the 17th century. I have hoped to convince readers that this side of European culture had as well a lasting impact on the ensuing centuries. The modern world at the turn of the 21st century still has a great interest in the dark side that we have in large part inherited from Early Modern Europe. Today, many people still believe in its denizens such as ghosts, devils, and witches. Even if they do not believe any longer, they still enjoy the supernatural as fantasy or a source of entertainment. Witness the large number of "reality" shows on television that deal with the occult.

I ask the reader to consider another vignette. Let us assume that it is 1550. We live in a little town that sits close to the border between what will someday be called nations of Germany and France. Down the street lives an older gentleman; some say he used to be a printer but went nearly blind and could no longer ply his trade. He is rather unpleasant and surly. Perhaps it is that he cannot hear well, and this is made more complicated by his failing eyesight. He has a big black dog. This dog, named "Dog," helps guide him about. Dog goes everywhere he does. He seems almost to converse with his human master. One hears that Dog even sleeps in the gentleman's bed. One also hears that Dog will bite anyone who comes near and is fierce in protecting his owner. The neighbor's garden is overrun with weeds. Some look strangely like poisonous plants. Could they be just that? Are they not culinary or medicinal herbs but something far more dangerous? The neighbors have learned that the old man has been able to get some of those herbs from the New World. Some of them seem to have properties rather like that plant from the Levant that some later called hashish. What is going on down there at the end of the block?

If we had just described a neighbor from our own "modern times," instead of 1550, we might feel a little sorry for the poor old disabled man and admire Dog for its loyalty. We might offer to pull some weeds. We

might leave him and Dog and the medical marijuana alone. We would probably not think that the man was a magus or a witch and that Dog was a devil. But what would we think of another nearby neighbor who was an elderly woman with a whole yard full of xeriscape and container pots of herbs? She has cats but no dogs, and she told us all point blank that she was a "witch." She meant to say she was a modern pagan, not a satanic witch. Or at least that is what we think she meant. She has a yard full of weather vanes decorated with witches on broomsticks. Everywhere one looks in her yard and inside her house are plaques of the Green Man. What is going on there? In all likelihood we would consider these people from perspectives much different than their neighbors might have done in the 16th century. The very fact that we can devise such imaginary vignettes and extrapolate them to our own times shows the lasting impact of the dark side of Early Modern European culture. I once had a neighbor who told me that she was terribly worried about me because as a historian "You write about the Devil, and I think that is dangerous." I patiently explained that I did not write about the Devil. I wrote about what people believed about the Devil and how they depicted the Devil and his followers in various cultural contexts. She went away less than content. I went away thanking the Fates that it was not 1550, and I was relieved to think that no one would come for me during a witch hunt. Although my neighbor did have something in common with many in the 16th century, and thought it was probably safe for me to be a demonologist, she was still worried. Had we lived next door to one another in 1550, she might have thought I was a magus.

In this book, I have tried to show how important the "real" world of the dark side was between 1400 and 1700 and how much lasting influence this component of culture has had ever since. Those are concepts that might not sit well with my former neighbor. I have also tried to show that because the elements of the dark side such as devils, witches, ghosts, werewolves, and the like were considered to be real in the 16th and 17th centuries, these elements were subject to the newly developing methods of scientific investigation and reportage. One of the reasons that we have literally thousands of books about these topics is that interest in investigation and data recording.

Much of this book consists of quotations and citations from the writings of various scholars and discussions of works by creative artists who made drawings, paintings, engravings, or wrote plays and poetry. I have

included these in detail because they are the some of the stars of this show, so to speak. Without their sometimes tedious recording of data and facts, we would have no idea of the profound impact the supernatural had on Early Modern Europe. Each of them was a historian in a way. Yet it is important to remember that they were actual people. They studied witches and devils; they evinced no belief in werewolves; they wondered about ghosts and poltergeists; but they also lived; laughed; cried; had friends and enemies; went to church; got drunk; had sex; caught colds; looked in awe at comets and the strange animals, humans, and plants from the New World; and lived everyday lives just as we do now. I am fond of reminding my students that the artists whom we study were real people. They lived ordinary, and sometimes extraordinary, lives, but they were just people as we are. We tend to lose sight of the humanity of our historical subjects from the distance of centuries away from when they lived. This is part of why earlier art historians did not stop to consider how essentially silly it sounded to say that artists did not consult with their patrons on iconography.

For all we know, Dürer loved to drink and chase women. He had what seems to have been an unhappy arranged marriage. David Teniers the Younger lived his life to the fullest. He had two wives by whom he fathered 11 children. He was a businessman, a courtier, perhaps an alchemist, a teacher of apprentices, and a working artist. And, yes, he was a commercial artist as well. When one considers that he painted somewhere between 3,000 and 4,000 paintings and did all those things, one wonders how in the world he had time to exist. Still, he lived to be 89 and continued working all the way to the end of his life.

Like everyone else, artists and scholars were shaped by their pasts, their families, and their cultures. They were intelligent or stupid, and those factors are part of how they approached and recorded the supernatural as well. Why, for example, did Jean Gerson write at length about sexuality for his monks? Was he tempted by those very "beautiful girls" he mentioned? Did he have erotic dreams too? Martin Luther may have called the pope the Antichrist because he held that conviction, or maybe it was just good politics for him to say that. He had powerful political supporters who did not particularly want the pope interfering in their affairs of state. Johann Weyer wrote as a physician and gave many examples of supposedly supernatural events that must have come straight from his own medical practice and those of his colleagues. Jean Bodin, a lawyer

and a philosopher, commented about witches and werewolves and even the Devil who he said was "needed by God" from the perspective of his prejudices and his own superstitious beliefs. He was only human after all. When Guazzo counseled his readers to consider the sources of supposed revelations, again he might have been writing about Bodin. Peter Binsfeld, the bishop in Trier, was most likely a madman. He was certainly a fanatic, and a bloodthirsty one at that, who was responsible for the executions of hundreds of people for witchcraft. Martin del Rio was brilliant, well educated, and a good writer; yet he was a superstitious fanatic too. Reginald Scot, his contemporary, knew such a fanatic in the person of King James I of England. His own experience in seeing the acts of stage magicians shaped his writings about putative miracles. These were real people, and because of this we cannot consign them entirely to such labeled categories as "fanatic, stupid, influenced by his training." To be that simplistic is not to write good history. We really do need to ask in the metaphorical sense if Monsieur who was Agrippa's big black dog, "familiar," ever peed on the legs of his master's desk. History as we write it now because of our ancestors in Early Modern Europe, must be careful, detailed, learned, objective (they were not always that), and honest. We must do our best to find "reality" and present it to our readers. When I was a graduate student, this philosophy of history was termed "one damned fact after another."

When one does a lot of writing or editing, one learns to notice various passages in an author's work wherein one can see that the author was, say, tired on the day she wrote that. Perhaps she let her imagination run a little too far afield. Perhaps (horrors!) she forgot an important citation and thus looks foolish unless the editor reminds her of it. If we spend enough time wandering through the dark side of the 16th and 17th centuries, we begin to notice such things in our writers as well. We can also see such factors of everyday life in works of art. If one is a specialist on a particular artist, one learns to discern style characteristics that indicate a particular period of the artist's life, or maybe an instance of a sloppy, hurried painting he did as a pot boiler and never meant to be a masterpiece. Or this could be a work in which the studio did the work, and the master came by at the end and made a few finishing touches or additions and then took all the credit (and money) for the work. Those sorts of works exist. They are the kinds of paintings that my doctoral professor would dismiss with a sniff and say, "that has nothing to do with Rubens."

Were the subjects in this study of the dark side real too? In a sense they were. The witches and their colleagues were thought of as real practitioners of evil and sin. Some of them might have been. Yet, when we think of the people who were arrested and tried and executed in many cases for dabbling in the occult, we need to remember that these too were people who lived everyday lives and had pains, sorrows, joys, aspirations, dreams, children, and even big black dogs. Think if you can, I would say to my students, how it would feel to be placidly minding one's business and suddenly have soldiers kick down your door and call you a witch and drag you and your children away to rot in some dungeon, be tortured, and killed. How would you have felt? To their minds come thoughts of the Holocaust or perhaps of Cambodia. The classic literature is full of stories about witches who committed suicide in prison. Some probably did that. Others might have died because of torture, madness, privation, and giving up. Stories come to us from various modern wars about prisoners who had horrible times and dreadful tortures and just turned to the wall of the cell and died. To say that the witches committed suicide was convenient for the jailors and the magistrates. Then, of course, one blamed the Devil. He made the witches do it.

Outside my window, as I write it is snowing like mad. I think, "Oh bleep. How will I get to work tomorrow?" I do not think, because it is not my culture, as it was for many in Early Modern Europe, that the devil has made a storm because some witch asked him to do so. Nor do I think that Frau Holda is shaking her featherbed and making snow. I think that a front is passing, through, and I wish to God it would stop and go away. In that last statement, I am still like my forebears. I wish some supernatural agency would help me.

I have also included two appendices. The first concerns art and artists who depicted the dark side in Early Modern Europe. The reader who wishes more information on particular artists or their works can consult this appendix. I have confined my commentaries on the artists to specific examples of their works that use themes from the dark side, although many of them were famous and prolific and better known for other types of subject matter. The second appendix is a collection of brief biographies of various important figures who are discussed throughout the book

At the end of this study are two annotated bibliographies. One contains rare books that were used as specific references in this book. I have

also included information on where such books may be seen. There is also a bibliography of selected secondary sources.

It is my hope that this journey through the dark side and its various aspects has been entertaining and informative. I do not find these terms contradictory. The very literature, lore, and art of the period was both entertaining and informative. It was scientific and fantastic at the same time. One hopes that this taper in the darkness will have illuminated a few corners, chased out a couple of ghosts or demons, and will encourage the reader to look further into the world of the supernatural in the Renaissance and 17th century.

APPENDIX I

Early Modern Artists Who Depicted Themes from the Dark Side

This book was not designed to be a history of art, however, one simply cannot discuss the dark side in Early Modern Europe without talking about fine artists. That should be apparent from the chapters themselves. This appendix is designed to provide the reader who might be more specifically interested in art history with additional materials concerning the artists who depicted the supernatural in Early Modern Europe. I have included some biographical data as well as general descriptions of the sorts of works and themes that were the artists' specialties. I have also discussed style characteristics typical of art in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in particular, as these two centuries take up most of the historical era we call "early modern." The fine arts of the 16th and 17th centuries match other aspects of culture for their complexity, diversity, and richness of themes and expressions. Just as the dark side is not an easy concept to quantify or even to describe broadly, so its artistic components are equally as tricky for the historian or reader to comprehend and explain.

A number of prominent fine artists and writers dealt with evil and diabolic supernatural themes in Early Modern Europe. These works of art and literature are among the interesting cultural representations of the considerable presence of evil supernatural themes between 1400 and 1700. There are very few images of witches or entities other than devils until the last half of the 15th century. This paucity probably has something to do with the increased interest in witchcraft in the second half of the century, and also with the advent of the printing press in Europe. Printed books helped to disseminate beliefs about witches, and some of the earliest printed books contained images of witches. There were certainly

beliefs and folklore about witches prior to the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* or Nider's *Formicarius*, but witchcraft imagery, werewolves, ghosts, and the like did not really enter art in any significant way until witch hunts began to take place.

In most cases the writer or artist who dealt with the themes of the dark side adhered to the liturgical canon of what was believed about supernatural entities. They did not depart from depicting reality as it was perceived by most people. Occasionally, I am asked if a given artist might have been thought a "witch" if he painted witches. How could the artist have known about these awful things if he had not seen them firsthand? Since this material was common knowledge and was preached everywhere, there was no shortage of information available on the supernatural. The artist may have read scholarly books and attended sermons, or he may have heard the stories at home or in the local tavern. Artists were merely reporting; they recorded reality. Renaissance and 17th-century art is always about reality. Thus, when an artist depicted the supernatural, there was no difference between depicting a fossil or a plant or a witch. Today we do not wonder if a news reporter is, for example, a terrorist or a bank robber when we see a news account on television or the Internet. We realize that the reporter is just telling us what is happening as accurately as possible.

Some works were created by anonymous artists and book illustrators. Their functions are self-evident. These works were inserted in books to enhance or explain the text or perhaps encourage a prospective purchaser to select the book. For the most part, book illustrations or broadsides that dealt with themes such as witchcraft and lycanthropy were not created by major masters. There are some cases in which the influence of an important master can be seen, however. Such is the case of the woodcut that shows a gathering of witches in Geiler's *Die Emeis*. The unknown artist meant to imitate Hans Baldung, who had illustrated a number of Geiler's books, but not this one in particular.

Book illustrations representing "reality" or even religious dogma, as they did frequently, looked similar from book to book, even from century to century. Printers often repeated similar or exact illustrations. In some cases, such as Dietrich Lemkus's *Die den bock ehrende Hexen*, a 1693 illustration in a late edition of Nicolas Remi's *Daemonolatreia*, the artist emulated various older book illustrations and even works by other artists such as Brueghel the Elder and Teniers the Younger. This scene shows witches honoring a devil-goat by kissing it under its tail; a witch who is

creating an evil brew and storm inside a magic circle; and a demon smoking a pipe. These motifs derive largely from Teniers. There are a group of Teniers witch paintings that feature a witch in a circle just like the one shown in this book illustration. In addition, there are a group of witches and devils, led by a devil with flames for hands and hair, who are dancing around a mountain. A number of earlier book illustrations feature this motif. It is usually taken to depict witches dancing around the Blocksberg in Germany. An almost exact motif from 1653, Johannes Praetorius's *Blockes-Berges Berrichtung* (Description of the Blocksberg) shows the same mountain, the same dancers, and even a witch who kisses a goat-devil's posterior. A similar motif is found in the frontispiece of *Magica de Spectris*, 1656. Were artists or publishers making use of easily reproduced vignettes merely for economic reasons, or were these repeated because they were "real"? Certainly Grosse would have had access to many publications in his business as a book dealer. The answer is probably both; these vignettes showed "reality," and they also sold books.[1]

Such motifs derived from the Brueghel-Teniers tradition continued into the 18th century. A 1705 copy of Petrus Goldschmidt's *Verworffener Hexen und Zauberer-Advocat* contains a frontispiece that is a reversed copy of those found in the *Blockes-Berges Berrichtung* and Remi, 1693. The printmaker must have literally copied from one of these works or a similar image in another book; the reversed 1705 engraving indicates that a copy was made from an earlier work. When a print is made using another work as a template, the image must be incised backward, or the resulting print will appear reversed.

The interest in supernatural themes evinced by major cultural figures indicates both the popularity of such themes and the commonplace nature of them in this period. Playwrights and artists did not create works that would not draw an audience or a buyer. The notion of "art for art's sake" did not apply in Early Modern Europe. In essence, everyone was a commercial artist, following the dictates and tastes of patrons and the public. Artists saw no problem in creating art that people wanted to buy. What such popularity of seemingly off-beat themes tells us is that the supernatural permeated popular and folk culture. It was not merely confined to esoteric tomes designed to be read by the clergy or members of the legal profession. The folks in the pit liked Macbeth's witches. No doubt they laughed and roared at the antics and salty remarks of Jonson's and Middleton's witches and their familiars.

A question that plagues the art historian is what did the given artist think about the reality of witches, devils, and werewolves? One can assume that most artists probably believed in the Devil, but do they necessarily believe in the entire repertoire? We can extrapolate beliefs in some cases in which we know something about the artist's associates and friends. Hans Baldung, for instance, was a close friend of Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg who was a demonologist and the Strasburg cathedral preacher. We can assume that Baldung, like Geiler, believed in witches and devils but not in werewolves. Yet we cannot be certain. We are on safer ground in noting that artists depicted such supernatural themes because they were popular or because they could be used as vehicles for other motifs, such as pornography. In some cases a given artist's approach to a theme like witchcraft may have been somewhat different than one might expect. The Flemish baroque painter David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690) depicted his wife as a witch in a number of paintings with the generic title "*Witches Sabbat*." Anna Brueghel, daughter of Jan Brueghel the Younger (Pieter Brueghel the Elder's granddaughter) was Teniers's first wife. He used her as a model, and she appeared not only as a witch but also as a prostitute in various paintings of *The Prodigal Son With the Prostitutes*. Certainly Teniers did not think of his wife as a witch nor a prostitute. She was just handy as a model; and in one respect, his use of her in his works is a testament to his love for her. Other baroque masters did this as well. One of the most famous self-portraits of Rembrandt van Rijn shows his wife Saskia sitting on his lap while he hoists a huge glass of beer. This is a self-portrait, but it is also visualized in the very commonplace Dutch baroque theme of a soldier and prostitute. What such works tell us is that style conventions overrode religious scruples.

The following biographical essays, arranged loosely in chronological order, are intended to supplement the text by providing fuller accounts of major artists drawn to depicting the dark side.

ALBRECHT DÜRER

Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) is best known for his many prints of religious themes, such as Madonna and child, landscapes, and portraits. Despite the fact that Dürer created a few very well-known prints of themes associated with witchcraft and demonology, he did not use this motif on a frequent basis. His representations of witches may be seen as mild forms of pornography. Northern Renaissance masters frequently chose to

"Witch riding backward on a goat accompanied by four putti." Ca. 1505. A. Durer, 1471–1528. (Library of Congress.)

label an attractive female nude as a "witch" or a "Venus" in order to give the nude a veneer of respectability. Their clientele was not quite ready for graphic pornography, although there were a few exceptions to this as well. Some of these we see in the work of Dürer's student, Hans Baldung Grien.

Dürer's engraving, *The Four Witches* (1497) probably does show witches instead of just female nudes in that he includes a zoomorphic devil in the scene. *The Witch* (c. 1500), wherein an elderly witch is seen riding through a hailstorm on the back of a goat-devil contains a more obvious iconography. *The Dream of the Doctor* (1498) presents the motif of a succubus, a tempting female devil, represented by a nude young woman appearing to the "doctor," a scholar, who has fallen asleep sitting next to his stove. A devil lulls him into this tempting dream by blowing a bellows filled with evil thoughts into the doctor's ear. Dürer's print, *The Knight, Death and the Devil* (1513) provides a fantastic zoomorphic Devil shown along with the knight who may possibly represent a faithful Christian. None of these prints is unusual. Nor are they outside the perimeters of typical iconography for the turn of the 16th century. Devils at the turn of the century were generally zoomorphic or unpleasantly anthropomorphic. And these conventions were precisely what Dürer used.

One of Dürer's most important works is his *Apocalypse* (1498) for which he made all the illustrative drawings that were translated into full-page woodcuts. These woodcuts are large, approximately 10 x 14 inches. These are so well executed in the actual cutting of the oak blocks that it is very easy to mistake them for engravings. In these splendid prints, Dürer depicted aspects of the dark side including several images of the beast of the Apocalypse and also an image of the Whore of Babylon, the evil woman who is somewhat similar to the Antichrist. Probably the best known of these images is that of the *Four Horseman of the Apocalypse*. While they represent war, famine, pestilence, and death, they are nonetheless unleashed at the end of time and literally come flying out of Hell.

HANS BALDUNG GRIEN

Baldung (1484/85–1545) learned his craft of printmaking from Dürer. Like Dürer, Baldung also worked as a commercial book illustrator. Hans Baldung was a friend of the Strassburg cathedral preacher, Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg (1445–1510). He illustrated a number of Geiler's works.

The influence of Baldung can be seen in Geiler's *Die Emeis* of 1517, although Baldung did not execute the illustrations for that book.

Several of Baldung's autograph works concern the theme of witchcraft. A small panel painting entitled *The Weather Witches* (Frankfurt, Staedelisches Kunstinstitut, 1523) shows two very attractive young nude women doing evil magic by preparing to toss urine into the sky in order to stir up a huge violent storm. With these witches is a goat-devil. These women were meant to be titillating as well as "realistic" representations of witches performing weather magic. The whole painting has a wonderful sulfurous color scheme. In some of his other representations of witches, Baldung made the pornographic component stronger. A *Witches' Sabbat* (Louvre) drawing from 1514 shows three nude women who are posed in various positions that clearly imply sexuality. Two are astride a pitchfork that is draped with phallic-looking sausages. Another passes wind and is setting that on fire with a taper. The women seen in these works were models for Baldung as they appear more than once in his oeuvre. Baldung and his friend Urs Graf (c. 1485–1527/28), who was a Swiss mercenary soldier as well as an artist, both used these women as models. Graf created a drawing dated 1514 (Vienna, Albertina) that is the exact same image, with the three women as Baldung's Louvre drawing. There is no way to know which artist copied the other, but it is possible that while the women posed, Baldung and Graf amused themselves by making copies after one another's work. Witches were not a particularly popular theme with Graf, who preferred more typical northern Renaissance motifs as soldiers and couples.

Baldung returned to the theme of witchcraft in a 1544 print entitled *The Bewtiched Groom*. In a stable a groom has collapsed on the floor; behind him stands a horse that may have just kicked him into unconsciousness. Baldung is well known for his engravings of horses based upon various engravings by his teacher, Dürer. An old woman looks in on the scene. Evidently a "witch," she brandishes a torch. Did the groom fall prey to the old witch, or is he also a witch who has fallen into a stupor and who is on a "trip" to a sabbat? Is the horse an actual animal or a demon? The viewer is left to decide.

LUCAS CRANACH

Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) is best known for his portraits of his close friend Martin Luther and his Protestant associates members

of the Duke of Saxony's court. The duke was a major patron of Cranach, who also painted a number of "Venus" panels, using that classical motif to celebrate the female nude. In all this, he was a typical northern Renaissance master. He loved depicting intricate details, realism, and speaking about the human condition. There are a few works in which Cranach takes on the theme of the Last Judgment, and some of these contain devils tormenting lost souls. Cranach's devils, like those of Dürer, are not unusual in their iconography. They are typical zoomorphic or anthropomorphic creatures. What makes Cranach remarkable is his print *The Werewolf* (1512), which is only one of a handful of such visualizations in European art.

HIERONYMOUS BOSCH

Not all of these artists elected to depict witchcraft. Some, like Hieronymous Bosch (c. 1450–1516), painted scenes of various devils tormenting or tempting humankind. Bosch was born in what is s'Hertogenbosch in today's Netherlands. His family took the name "bosch" meaning woods or forest in place of their actual surname, Van Aken. Most of Bosch's major works are thought to date from the early 16th century.

Rather than witches, his paintings and drawings stress the moral frailties of humanity and are, at times, also critical of the Catholic Church. One sees a number of friars, monks, and nuns in various paintings that point to the evil or stupidity of humanity. This last aspect makes his work all the more interesting in that Bosch was speaking as a reformer prior to the Reformation itself. Works such has his *Cure of Folly* (Prado, Madrid) show a foolish man undergoing an operation to remove a "stone" (i.e., he had rocks in his head) from his cranium. Watching this silly event are a friar, a nun, and a monk. They have no place at such an event but instead represent the church's encouragement of foolish or perhaps even superstitious beliefs. The friar has a funnel on his head. He performs the operation. A Dominican monk carries a tankard that is, again, out of place unless he is the anesthesiologist. The nun has a book on her head. A book on one's head is a visual pun signifying religious hypocrisy. This would be somewhat like the modern English expression "Bible thumper." While we do not know the nature of the patient's foolishness, it seems certainly to have had something to do with the teachings of the Roman Church. The painting is inscribed in Dutch, "The doctor will cut out the

stone, My name is Lubbert Das." Lubbert Das is a gelded badger, an appellation given to a fool.

A primary collector of Bosch's works was King Philip II of Spain (1527–1598). Philip amassed a large group of Bosch paintings in the decades after the artist's death. Thanks to his collecting, the Prado Museum today owns many of Bosch's most important works. The collection also included the *Temptations of St. Anthony,* which is now owned by the Lisbon National Museum. Philip II, who married his second cousin, Queen Mary of England, was well known for his religious extremism. Yet, he enjoyed the critical work of Bosch and obviously had no problems with the obviously pornographic aspects of many of his works. One can almost see him holed up in the Escorial Palace, wearing a hair shirt, scourging himself, and looking at those Bosch paintings. A painting such as *The Garden of Earthly Delights,* which Philip II owned, depicted various sexual activities, including sodomy.

This triptych relates the history of creation and downfall of humanity. Its left wing shows the story of Creation with Adam and Eve in Paradise; the center panel depicts the evil state of the world in Bosch's time. Men and women, persons white and black, are engaged in all manner of sins. All are nude. This reflects Bosch's renaissance interest in the human form but is also an iconographic allusion to the human soul. In the right panel, Bosch represents the punishments of humanity's vast number of sins in Hell. Here one finds most of Bosch's devils, combinations of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic chimeras whose forms stress not only the fantastic but the horrendous as well. He followed the dictums of the fathers in saying that the Devil might mimic human or animal forms, but he could make no perfect creations in his illusory activities. Bosch also includes diabolical creatures that were not always specifically identified as devils. *The Garden of Earthly Delights* has a number of mermaids and mermen. In the central panel they are cavorting with evil humans. Mermaids or mermen were sometimes thought of as devils, but that was a folk concept rather than a theological premise. Nonetheless, there they are in the garden with all its marvelous sinners.

Among Bosch's works with diabolical themes are the *Haywain Triptych* (also in the Prado), two *Temptations of St. Anthony* (Lisbon and the Prado), and his painted table of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (Prado). His representations of devils are so inventive and entertaining that they gave rise of generations of later artists imitating his works. In these works, Bosch

again often criticized the church. The Lisbon *Temptations* even contains a devil who is a swinish caricature of the pope. Bosch provides a whole range of demons and their activities, even flying demon fishes, frogs, and various birds. Other devils are made of horses' skeletons draped in robes like those of monks, with only the skull showing. Various reptiles are shown; there are a number of devil-birds, especially owls and woodpeckers; and in the Lisbon *Temptations,* armor-plated devil dogs. All these creatures appeared time after time in the paintings of Bosch's followers.

FOLLOWERS OF BOSCH

The second half of the 16th century saw a number of northern European artists who emulated Bosch, copying his images of devils and supernatural creatures. The best known of these is Pieter Brueghel the Elder; however, there were many others. The names of some of these artists are unknown today, but one cannot mistake the influence that they took from Bosch. Two artists whose works we know well chose to borrow Bosch's motifs and themes. The Antwerp painter, Quentin Massys (1466–1530) collaborated with a Dutch landscapist, Joachim Patinir (c. 1480–1524) to create a beautiful *Landscape with the Temptations of St. Anthony* (Prado). This work is thought to date about 1520 and known to be in the Prado by 1574, because it is recorded in an inventory of the palace from that date.[2] Patinir is thought to have come from the area of what would be today's Netherlands that is close to the current border with Belgium. He was a famous landscapist. In this particular painting, Patinir created a typical landscape with vast perspectives and a few staffage figures. For these figures, he collaborated with Quentin Massys. Massys was not a landscapist, specializing instead in figure paintings and portraits. St. Anthony is beset by several succubi, who were painted by Massys. In this work the theme itself is probably more influenced by Bosch than the actual depictions of the succubi, although they do recall such devils painted by Bosch as those in the Lisbon *Temptations*. There can be no question that the two artists were following Bosch's lead.

PIETER BRUEGHEL THE ELDER

Among the most important followers of Bosch was Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1520/25–1569). Much more is known about Brueghel's life than

about that of Bosch. Pieter Brueghel is famous for his many paintings of Flemish peasants. Nineteenth-century art historians gave him the nickname "peasant Brueghel" to distinguish him from his sons Jan I and Pieter the Younger. Despite his interest in painting peasant genres, Pieter the Elder was a wealthy and well-read member of the aristocracy of the southern Netherlands (now Belgium). Brueghel counted among his friends many important scholars and members of the Spanish Court in the southern Netherlands, including Christophe Plantin, Abraham Ortelius, and Cardinal Antoine de Granvelle. Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1516–1586) was bishop of Arras and, later, Mechlin but made his home in Brussels. Granvelle had attended the Council of Trent, was the president of the Netherlands Council of State, and the Catholic Primate of the Netherlands. Brueghel's witchcraft iconography may derive from his association with people like Granvelle and probably from his having read various books published by Christophe Plantin. Plantin published editions of works by Nicolas Remi, Martin del Rio, and Olaus Magnus.

Few of Brueghel's paintings depict devils per se, although there are some exceptions. Among them is his *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (Brussels, Musee des Beaux-arts Anciens) with many Boschian devils, and the beautiful panel painting entitled, *Dulle Griet* (Evil Margaret), Antwerp, Museum Meyer van den Bergh. Dulle Griet is a formidable woman, and her shrewish followers are so vicious that even the Devil himself is afraid of them. She is Brueghel's rendition of the evil old woman in Hans Sach's *Der Teufel mit dem Alten Weib*, "The Devil And the Old Woman." *Dulle Griet* is part of the 16th century's love for making caricatures of mean-tempered women.

Dulle Griet is not about witchcraft. She is the antithesis of St. Margaret of Antioch who in popular lore was called "good Margaret." Margaret conquered the devils sent to harm her. The Dutch saying is that St. Margaret could "tie the Devil to a pillow," that is, she could make him as weak as a baby. Netherlandish mothers would tie their toddlers to pillows or cushions so that they could not wander far. Or if they fell, the idea was that the baby would be protected by its cushion. *Dulle Griet* shows Evil Margaret storming the very mouth of Hell itself. In another part of the painting, her followers, other vicious women, are seen tying devils to cushions and fighting with them. These are women with whom not to mess. This painting is a rarity in its time for being funny. Normally artists did not show subjects of devils or witches with humorous

contents; nonetheless, here Brueghel has merely illustrated popular lore and literature.

Brueghel's prints reflect his considerable debt to Bosch. Brueghel did not make his own engravings but provided drawings (most of which still exist) to professional printmakers, such as Jerome Cock of Antwerp, who created prints after Brueghel's work. Cock and other artists often copied paintings by Brueghel as well. Brueghel's suite of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, engraved from his drawings by Cock about 1565, are swarming with devils that show the influence of Bosch. Brueghel also created fantastic structures and landscapes based on Bosch. Brueghel's sins were inspired by Bosch's painted table that contains the sins. This table (Prado) is about the size of a modern card table. The center paintings are executed in a round shape, about what appears to some to be the iris of a human eye. In this there is a figure of Christ. The painting is inscribed in Latin, "beware, God is watching." Pieter Brueghel took this much further in creating one print per sin. Each print has a female allegorical figure as well as an animal attribute of the sin. Lady Sloth rests on a sleeping donkey; Lady Pride is accompanied by a peacock. Around the allegorical figures are numerous devils and humans sinning and being tempted to sin.

Whereas Bosch did not deal specifically with witches, Pieter Brueghel did. He created two drawings, which were made into prints, displaying traditional witches and their activities. I believe that these were works commissioned by one of his major patrons, Antoine de Granvelle.[3] The two prints tell the story of the magic contest between St. James the Apostle and Hermogenes the magician. Hermogenes was held by tradition to have been Muslim. This contest became part of the legend of St. James the Killer of Moors, "Santiago Matamoros." The saint and the magician held a contest to see who could conjure and control the most devils. St. James won, and Hermogenes found himself attacked by the very devils he had conjured. The first print, *St. James and Hermogenes*, depicts this contest. In this print Brueghel presents a collection of witches, both male and female, who are working in magic circles, flying on brooms or demonic monsters, creating a terrible storm, and working with a Hand of Glory. There are also zoomorphic devils who serve as familiars. The intent was to combine the tale of Hermogenes and St. James in battle with a plethora of evil beings and witches. The iconography of witchcraft is absolutely orthodox. The devils look very derivative from Bosch. In the second print, the *Downfall of Hermogenes*, Brueghel's host of furious rioting devils

includes a broom-riding witch who seems to almost be caught up in the maelstrom of evil swirling about Hermogenes. There is no way to know whether Pieter Brueghel believed in witches, but he certainly had full command of the stories and folklore about them. Brueghel's art helped to transmit the demonic characterizations of Bosch into the 17th century. Pieter the Elder's two sons Jan Brueghel I (1568–1625) and Pieter the Younger (c. 1564–1637) made a number of paintings with themes such as *Aeneas and the Sybil in the Underworld* and *Orpheus in the Underworld*. These works contains a wealth of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic devils inspired by Bosch and their own father. Beyond his sons there were a number of other 17th-century artists who emulated Bosch and Brueghel.

FRANS FLORIS

Floris was an Antwerp master working there by 1540. He preferred to paint figures and portraits as well as history paintings. A "history" painting is one that tells a story. That story may be derived from literature, real history, the Bible, or virtually any narrative source. The operative point is that it represents some aspect of culture, usually learned culture and not folklore. Floris painted an *Archangel Michael and the Rebel Angels* (Antwerp) in 1554 that displays the influences of both Bosch and Breughel the Elder. St. Michael drives into Hell a huge writhing mass of nude rebel angels. The angels are literally knee deep in devils. While Floris's devils are primarily anthropomorphic, some have animal components as well. One has a human form but a genital area that is the head of a raptor bird and the head and face of a boar. This is a huge painting, measuring 10 x 7 feet; it was intended to serve as an altarpiece or part of one. The work is quite similar to the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* by Brueghel. A second Floris of the Last Judgment is owned by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (1565). James Synder wrote that this altarpiece was influenced greatly by Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* that Floris had actually seen, although I do not agree.[4] This painting contains another anthropomorphic devil with animal components similar to those that Floris painted in his *St. Michael and the Rebel Angels*.

FRANS FRANCKEN THE YOUNGER

Francken (1581–1624) was a turn of the 17th-century follower of the Brueghels. His work encompasses a variety of themes, including religious

paintings, landscapes, interiors, and some occult motifs. Francken painted a few examples of witches' activities that definitely reveal the influence of Pieter Brueghel the Elder. Among the best known of these is a *Witches' Sabbat* (1607) owned by the Vienna Kunsthistoriches Museum and another *Witches' Sabbat* (1606) in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In both paintings, Francken depicted female witches of various social castes and ages. We see young women who are well dressed and who look like members of the aristocracy and other women who are clearly peasants. Devils based on those of Bosch and Brueghel populate the scenes. In the Victoria and Albert painting, there are obvious influences from Brueghel's *St. James and Hermogenes*. Witches are shown flying up a chimney; there is a magic circle drawn on the floor; and there is a Hand of Glory placed on a mantle piece or shelf. All these elements appear in the Brueghel work. There can be no question that Francken emulated Brueghel's print. Similarly, these motifs appear in another *Witches' Sabbat* in Vienna and in a fourth painting in Munich. All these works show witches flying up chimneys, Hands of Glory, witches being anointed with flying ointment, and magic circles. They are dark, evidently nighttime scenes. In some, one sees witches flying through the sky. Francken's art had an impact on David Teniers the Younger. We think that Teniers purchased some unfinished works by Francken and completed them. None of those appear to have been witchcraft paintings, but Teniers was quite familiar with the work of Francken as well as that of his relatives in the Brueghel family. There is no question that Francken's works influenced Teniers as did those of the Brueghels.

DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER

Teniers (1610–1690) was an enormously prolific painter. We estimate that he created some 3,000–4,000 works during his long career. This is remarkable in itself, but all the more so in that he was busy as a courtier in the Brussels court of the Spanish ruler of the southern Netherlands, Leopold Wilhelm. In this capacity, Teniers purchased works of art and curated the archduke's collection. Teniers also fathered 11 children. He was quite popular in his lifetime and had a number of students and imitators. His works remained popular after 1700. The large number of his students and imitators, taken with his very large output, makes the task of authenticating or even tallying Teniers's works daunting. Throughout

his life Teniers painted a large number of themes that dealt with the supernatural. He created somewhere between 200–300 paintings of the *Temptations of St. Anthony*. All of these contain devils who torment the saint. There are about 400 paintings of the theme of the *Alchemist*. While these are not necessarily supernatural in nature, one can mention them here because many alchemists were thought to be magicians. Besides this vast number of works, there are also paintings such as *St. Margaret of Antioch* (c. 1645. Private collection, United States), in which the saint is shown menaced by several anthropomorphic and zoomorphic devils. There are about a dozen paintings of witchcraft. Although that is not a lot in an output of thousands, it is nonetheless considerable in the context of the 17th century. Teniers, along with his Dutch contemporary, Jaques de Gheyn II, created more witchcraft paintings than any other artists in the century.

Teniers can be characterized as a follower of the Bosch and Brueghel tradition. Not only did he repeat various themes used by Bosch and Brueghel, such as the *Temptations of St. Anthony* and the *Seven Deadly Sins*, the way in which he drew the anatomy of his devils indicates the influence of Bosch and later of Brueghel. Most of Teniers's work is in the peasant genre; here too there is a strong debt to the Brueghel family.[5] As with Francken, there are certain Teniers paintings of witchcraft that have strong affiliations with the *St. James and Hermogenes* of Brueghel. Teniers certainly knew this work. He grew up a couple of blocks from the home of Jan Brueghel in Antwerp and married into the Brueghel family. Some Teniers paintings have witches working in magic circles, witches flying out of chimneys, and the Hand of Glory. In others, witches cast spells and conjure up devils. A *Witches' Scene* in Karlsruhe shows witches digging up mandrake roots at the foot of a gallows and harvesting other poisonous herbs. They are also filled with Bosch-style devils such as monsters made of horses' skulls wrapped in cloaks, flying demonic fish and bats, and numbers of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic devils. Teniers was well versed in the iconography and lore of witchcraft. His works are mostly very serious visions of such evil activities. In a very few cases, such as the *Witch* (Munich, Schleissheim Gallery, Alte Pinakothek), he resorted to humor. The old peasant woman has a demonic fish tied to a pillow, alluding to *Dulle Griet*. She works in her magic circle and she needs it, for a number of devils are descending on her. As she looks over her shoulder in surprise and fear, it is clear she has raised more Hell than she can manage.

Another aspect of Teniers's work that may have a relationship to witchcraft are his many singerie paintings. Singerie are works of art in which animals take the roles of humans, usually dressed in human garb. These paintings were widely emulated by Teniers's followers in the 17th and 18th centuries. Such works may not have transmuted witches, but they could be seen in that light as occult paintings.

FOLLOWERS OF DAVID TENIERS

Teniers's followers, such as Cornelis Saftleven (1607–1681) and David Ryckaert III (1616–1661) selected various occult themes from Teniers's cast of evil characters. Saftleven is well known for several singeries. One contains a scene of an interior of a peasant tavern that doubles for an apothecary shop. Some of the clients are human, others are partially human, and some are animals. One is a huge toad. Cornelis Saftleven's singeries may possibly be scenes of transmuted witches or devils, but we are on safer iconographic grounds with some paintings that he executed, definitely representing witches. One such painting is in the Art Institute of Chicago. It depicts a witch entering the mouth of Hell. She rides a large white goat and carries her broom; ahead of her a group of demons flee in evident terror. There are other witches shown in the left lower portion of the painting. What they are doing is unclear, but they are undoubtedly working some sort of evil. There is also *Temptations of St. Anthony* by Saftleven. Again, this is much in the visual tradition of Teniers.

David Ryckaert's career was quite similar to that of David Teniers. Both came from families in which art was the profession. Like Teniers, Ryckaert learned his craft from his father. Ryckaert was employed by the Brussels Spanish court and was at one point dean of the Antwerp guild of artists, the Guild of St. Luke. Ryckaert painted *The Temptations of St. Anthony* and *Alchemists,* even a few works with the theme of witchcraft. These works bear the obvious influence of Teniers. In several Ryckaert paintings, witches combat with devils or enter a cave representing the mouth of Hell. In one, a young woman enters Hell and waves a large knife toward various demons, including a three-headed Cerberus. Adjacent to Cerberus there is a skeletal demon in a monk's robes, brandishing a broom surmounted with a black candle. The demons all are very similar to those of Teniers, and this work may be a copy of one or perhaps of a print after a

Teniers work. In another painting by Ryckaert, an elderly witch waves her broom, holding it almost like a golf club, at a large group of zoomorphic demons fleeing away from her and further into Hell. A Ryckaert painting (Clermont-Ferrand) contains a group of monstrous figures dancing. The painting carries the title *Ronde de Monstres* (Monsters' Dance); however, it is more likely a scene of animated human corpses or witches partially transmuted and devils dancing together.[6]

Beyond the works of these and other followers of Teniers, his images of witches and devils found their way into various book illustrations wherein the engravers were copying witch motifs taken directly from Teniers. Some of these are mentioned at various points in this text.

Matheus Van Helmont (1623–1679) was influenced by both Teniers and Ryckaert. He worked in both Antwerp and Brussels so he would have had plenty of opportunities to see the works of both artists. Two *Temptations of St. Anthony* by Van Helmont recently passed through the art trade. Both show considerable influences from Teniers. One that sold at Sotheby's in 2008 depicts the saint in a cave where he is absolutely beset by a large number of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic demons. They include creatures that have their origins in the Bosch and Brueghel tradition as well. There are a number of demons flying about and struggling with each other. A very voluptuous succubus is placed in the foreground, sitting astride a monster. The succubus carries a golden goblet that must signify the temptations of Anthony to gluttony. Another *Temptations of St. Anthony* on sale in 2005 is thought to be a fairly late work by Van Helmont. This painting has a succubus who was probably painted from the same model or perhaps in imitation of the woman in the previous painting. This work also shows the saint in his cave in prayer with the usual coterie of evil beings; it contains a witch at the left who is brandishing a large black candle. Again, the influences of the earlier tradition of Brueghel and Bosch as well as Teniers are quite evident in this painting.

The Italian late baroque master Alessandro Magnasco (c. 1646–1724) also depicted the *Temptations of St. Anthony,* although at least one of his works in this genre seems more influenced by Bosch than by his later followers. In 2005, Sotheby's London sold a *Temptations* with the saint at prayer in a landscape. Around him are several demons. The landscape was much important in this painting, and the figures are what art historians

term "staffage," that is, minor components in the overall work. The style of Magnasco's works point more toward the decorative aspects of rococo than they do the more mysterious and frightening aspects that typify baroque art.

JACOB DE GHEYN

Jacob (Jacques) de Gheyn the Younger (1565–1629) is noteworthy among 17th-century artists because he created a relatively large number of works of art that depict witches at work. De Gheyn was from Leiden; and some of his witchcraft art reflects anatomical dissections he could have seen at the university there. A drawing entitled *Witches At Work Under an Arched Vault,* 1604 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) shows a partially dissected male human cadaver lying on the floor. Various organs of the thorax and abdomen are clearly seen, including lungs, heart, and intestines. Next to this there is a toad whose legs are pinned down just as they would be for dissection. These features have nothing to do with religious iconography; they have everything to do with biology and medicine. This scene also includes a horse skeleton demon, a tribute to Bosch and Brueghel. An even more obvious reference to Brueghel is de Gheyn's *Witches' Sabbat,* also 1604 (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinet). In this, de Gheyn places many of the elements seen in *St. James and Hermogenes:* a witch leaving via the chimney, witches creating and riding in a storm, and a view into a cellar wherein a witch is working. His witchcraft scenes are serious and straightforward iconographic works, yet one cannot help wondering what he thought about the reality of witches and their diabolical friends. De Gheyn's sister married into the Basson family of printers. This print shop published two Dutch language editions of Reginald Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* in the early 17th century. Did de Gheyn share their possible disbelief? If he did, one cannot discern this from his works of art.[7]

SALVATOR ROSA

The Italian baroque artist Salvator Rosa (1615–1673) is interesting in that there were so few southern European artists who treated the theme of witchcraft at all. Rosa's poem entitled "The Witch" confirms that Rosa knew the lore well. His painting *Witches and their Incantations* (London, National Gallery, c. 1640) has a number of visual allusions like the various northern masters in the Bosch-Brueghel-Teniers tradition.

DEVILS IN WORKS DEPICTING THE *TEMPTATIONS OF ST. ANTHONY OF EGYPT*

The theme of the *Temptations of Saint Anthony of Egypt* (North Africa, flourished about 250–350) became very popular during the 16th and 17th centuries. One finds this motif in works of art executed both north and south of the Alps. Anthony of Egypt was the founder of hermit monasticism in the Western Catholic Church. Some writings are attributed to him, but his story is best known through the account of St. Athanasius who wrote a biography of Anthony. Anthony went into the desert to live as a hermit and practiced a very ascetic life, living on water, bread, and "a little salt." Bread was supposedly brought to him by ravens. Because of his extreme way of life, Anthony became subject to temptations from the Devil who tried to entice Anthony into sins of gluttony. These failed, and then the Devil tried to tempt Anthony with succubi in hopes of getting him to commit the sin of lust. That also failed. The Devil then summoned his minions, and they tried to physically destroy St. Anthony. God did not allow this to happen, and Anthony was rescued and nursed back to health by some of his monks. There was a real Saint Anthony, although we know much less of his actual life than we do of the mythological account of his temptations. St. Anthony's symbols in art are a swine, for the sin of gluttony and of course succubae, for the temptation to lust.

Works of art with the theme of St. Anthony's Temptations began appearing in the late 15th century with prints by artists such as Schongauer (an engraving about 1480) and Cranach (1472–1553) who also engraved the theme about 1506. Mathias Gruenwald painted a spectacular *Temptations* with the saint being torment by horrible demons as a part of his Isenheim Altarpiece (about 1512). Hieronymous Bosch and his many followers created a number of very significant works in which the saint is mistreated by devils of all sorts. These works gave the artists free rein to display all sorts of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic devils. This subject allowed the artists to explore more salacious temptations to lust depicting nudes or vulgarly positioned demons. Works such as these illustrate well just how complex the topic of the shapes and types of demonic presences actually was. Because the Devil was thought to mimic humans or animals but not do it quite correctly, there was virtually nothing that a visual artist had to forego when making images of devils.

In the 16th and 17th centuries there are probably as many versions of the Temptations of St. Anthony as there are renditions of Hell and the

torments of the damned. David Teniers the Younger painted somewhere between 350 to 400 *Temptations* alone. Without question, these themes were very popular with the buying public. Lesser-known followers of Bosch, Pieter Brueghel the Elder, and Teniers also attempted this theme quite often. The works created by followers would not have cost as much and would have been available to the middle and lower classes as even well-off peasants bought art in the Netherlands in the 17th century. This art was more entertaining than illuminating about religion. The motifs of devils, chimerical animals, fantastic, and lustful creatures delighted the baroque artist whose style emphasized such excursions into the strange and the unusual.

Works like these may have started out in the 1400s as "factual" representations of devils, but they later became part of the developing taste for fantasy. This may be why the theme remained popular for so long. To show St. Anthony's tempting devils in all their wondrous diversity was in itself a form of realism, even when the "real" looked fairly fantastic. In a sense, the devils in the St. Anthony paintings and prints are no different than the native people in paintings of Brazil by the Dutch baroque master, Frans Post (1612–1680). These beings, whether devils or half-clothed natives of Brazil, were something that most people had not seen. These works all fall into that category of art that reacts to the expansion of the known world.

RINALDO AND ARMIDA

The legend of the love affair between the Christian hero, Rinaldo, and Armida was quite popular in the 17th century. Rinaldo was involved with the First Crusade goes the tale but was tempted away to an isle of love by Armida who was, in fact, not exactly human, but the literal daughter of the Devil, and something similar to a succubus. Armida and her female compatriot, Clorinda, were supernatural enchantresses in the mold of the medieval character Melusine. Naturally, Armida and Clorinda were on the side of the Muslims against the Christians. Torquato Tasso's (1554–1595) lengthy epic poem, *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Jerusalem Liberated), relates the legend.

The story of Rinaldo and Armida was a theme in paintings by Anthony Van Dyck, David Teniers the Younger, and Claude Lorrain. Lorrain was a well-known mid-17th-century French landscapist who resided in

Rome. His quiet classical style landscapes include one in which he used characters from G*erusalemme Liberata*. Teniers and his father, David the Elder Teniers, painted an entire series of 18 small works on panel in which they told the story of G*erusalemme Liberata* and the tryst between Rinaldo and Armida. These are among the earliest known works by David Teniers the Younger and date from the late 1620s. They are owned by the Prado Museum, which may suggest that they were commissioned by someone in the Spanish Court at Brussels. In all these paintings Armida looks entirely human and shows no indication of her devilish ancestry, such as a tail or bird claws in lieu of feet. Tasso's epic was hugely popular toward the turn of the 17th century as can be deduced from these examples of paintings. And there was a large output of printed editions of the epic.[8]

Some of the early 17th-century editions of Tasso that were printed in Italy contain images of traditional devils and witches. These motifs help the reader associate Islam and the enchantresses with the Devil, demons, and witches. These motifs helped sell books. An edition from 1611 printed in Venice by G. Visenti and a 1617 edition printed in Genoa by G. Pavoni contain traditional witch imagery. In the 1611 book, Armida and Clorinda look human but have hair that flies away from their heads. There is also a motif here of a man riding through the air on a goat. The 1617 book contains images of witches who carry snakes in their hands and who are shown cavorting with devils. These images serve the dual purposes of being decorative and reminding the reader of the evil underside of this tale. G*erusalemme Liberata* was for its time a rollicking fantasy love story. Such images brought the reader back to earth so to speak.

ZIARNKO 1575–c. 1628

Ziarnko was a Polish printmaker who is probably best known for an illustration he created for Pierre de l'Ancre's *Tableau de L'inconstance des Mauvais Anges et Demons*, a study of the witches of the Basque regions of France. This image is much repeated today and is much better known than the book in which it appeared as an appendage. The vignettes included witches worshipping the Devil as a huge black goat; dining with devils on human remains; doing various acts of magic, including charming toads; dancing with devils; and the like. The images closely follow many of de l'Ancre's comments.

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK 1792–1878

Cruikshank was an English satirist. His prints and book illustrations are well known for their lively style and entertaining images. He created a set of illustrations that were used in Walter Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (first published, 1831). The artist also published a small volume of these illustrations as a book. Sir Walter Scott's (1771–1832) is an interesting compendium of folklore from the late 18th century and the early 19th century.

APPENDIX II

Biographical Notes on Some Notable Dark Side Experts

This is by no means an exhaustive list of Early Modern specialists in the fields of demonology and witchcraft. Nor is it meant to be a bibliographical discussion of their various works. It is intended for the quick reference of the reader who may wish to have more information on a particular individual whom they encounter throughout the chapters of this book. As such, it complements Appendix I on the artists. Readers wishing further biographical information can find it in various encyclopedias such as the *ABC-CLIO Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*. Or they may consult any number of excellent historical studies that will contain further biographical data.

CORNELIS AGRIPPA VON NETTISHEIM 1486–1535

Agrippa von Nettisheim was from Cologne. He worked as a physician and legal advisor and also wrote philosophical works and religious commentaries. He is probably best known for his interest in ceremonial magic. His *Three Books on Occult Philosophy* were produced between 1531 and 1533. These remain today as classics of Renaissance magic and are readily available in modern translations.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS c. 1225–1274

Aquinas was one of the major theologians and philosophers of the Middle Ages. He helped to codify Catholic beliefs and became one of the church's leading authorities on matters of faith. Aquinas was an extremely prolific author. Among his works is a study on demonology

known as "de Malo," concerning evil. He worked to correlate the writings of the early church fathers with Aristotle and other Greek philosophers, on the theory that if Aristotle had only been alive during the time of Jesus, he certainly would have been a Christian. Therefore, one could not toss away all the learning of the greatest of the ancient philosophers merely because he had been a pagan. For this and his massive contributions to theology, the church made Aquinas a saint.

PETER BINSFELD 1546–1598

Binsfeld, Suffragen Bishop of Trier (Treves) Germany in 1578 was responsible for massive witch hunts in the area of the city and for various books on theology and demonology. He was a Cistercian who had also studied with the Jesuits and at the Collegium Germanicam in Rome. His major work on witchcraft, *Tractat von Bekantnuss der Zauberer und Hexen* (Treatise on the Confessions of Sorcerers and Witches) was published several times after its initial edition of 1590.

JEAN BODIN 1529/30–1619

Jean Bodin was a councilor to the King of France as well as a prolific writer, a lawyer and philosopher, and what today would be termed a political scientist. He also wrote on approaches to the study of history. A native of Angers, Bodin died of the plague in Laon. He participated in trials of witches and his *Daemonomanie des Sorciers* (The Demon Mania of Witches) is one of the most famous demonological works of the 16th century.

HENRY BOGUET c. 1550–1619

A demonologist and expert on witchcraft as well as a judge in trials, Bouguet wrote a *Discours de Sorciers* (Discourse on Witches) that was published in 1602. He also wrote about werewolves, especially in chapter 7 of this book. He had little trial experience with werewolf cases but was interested in the phenomenon nonetheless.

BURCHARD OF WORMS c. 965–1025

Burchard was a priest in Mainz before becoming Bishop of Worms about 1000. His guide for priests and confessors, which has come to be

known as the *Corrector of Burchard of Worms*, offered a lengthy set of questions and considerations that a priest could use to direct a confession or assist the penitent in preparing to confess.

CAESARIUS OF HEISTERBACH 1180–c. 1240

A German Cistercian abbot, Caesarius is remembered for his book entitled *Dialogus Miraculorum* (Dialogue on Miracles) in which he provided information for the use and instruction of his monks. Caesarius's book, like the *Corrector* of Buchard of Worms, includes examples of demonological lore that he incorporated into his own system of beliefs. He discusses the sin of monastic ennui, boredom with religious life, and warns his brothers against falling asleep at their religious duties. Caesarius taught that devils were omnipresent; he worried that his brothers might yawn and inhale some of them. He comments in a most famous passage that what seem to be little specks of dust in the air in a warm sunlit room are in reality devils floating about, just waiting to possess some monk. Caesarius's Latin book is accessible online for free.

JOHN CALVIN 1509–1564

Calvin, a French priest, became one of the major theoreticians of the Protestant Reformation. He lived and preached his reforms in France and in parts of what is now Switzerland. Calvin wrote extensively on theology. His major work was the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* in which he organizes his beliefs and his objections to the Catholic Church. The *Institutes* was printed in many editions in the 16th century. Calvin discusses the Devil, although his work is less anecdotal than that of the founding Reformer, Martin Luther.

NATHANIEL CROUCH c. 1632–c. 1675

Crouch wrote two works that were popularized accounts of various topics from the dark side. Although he believed in many of the phenomena about which he wrote, he made them entertainment. His first book, *Wonderful Prodigies of Judgment and Mercy* (1682); and the second work, *The Kingdom of Darkness* (1688) are filled with rollicking tales. The historian Rossell Hope Robbins describes *The Kingdom of Darkness* as "one of the

last wild flings of the witch believers." He further comments that its frontispiece, discussed in chapter 1, was "horrendous."

LAMBERT DANEAU c. 1530–1595

Daneau taught in a number of European universities and served as a Calvinist minister in Geneva for many years. Besides his training in theology and the ministry, he was educated as a lawyer. Daneau's work on witches, *Veneficiis*, was appreciated by both Protestants and Catholics. This places him in an unusual historical position as both a demonologist and expert on witchcraft.

PIERRE DE L'ANCRE, DIED 1630

De l'Ancre presided over trials in the French Basque lands during the early 17th century in the area of Labourd. He wrote two major works on these persecutions and trials, The *Tableau de l'Inconstance des Mauvais Anges et Demons* (Tableau of the Inconstancy of the Bad Angels and Demons) *and L'Incredulite et Mescreance du* Sortilege (The Incredulity and Evil Doing of Witchcraft). The *Tableau* was first printed in 1612 and is a marvelous mélange of beliefs and superstitions concerning witchcraft. He was influenced by Martin del Rio. The second volume appeared in 1622. De l'Ancre is useful to historians for his accounts of the Basque witches.

GIAMBATTISTA DELLA PORTA c. 1535–1615

Della Porta, a Neapolitan scholar, wrote extensively about many topics, among them magic, physiognomy, astrology, alchemy, and cryptology. A work of interest here is the *Magia Naturalis* (Natural Magic), 1558, which touches many of these topics. Della Porta is not a demonologist, but he was interested in many aspects of learning, such as magic and divination, which were frequently associated with the assistance of devils.

MARTIN DEL RIO 1551–1608

Martin Del Rio was a Jesuit scholar, professor at several European universities, courtier, and expert linguist originally from Antwerp. Del Rio was considered one of Europe's finest academic minds. His *Disquisitionum*

Magicarum Libri Sex (Disquisition on Magic in Six Books) was issued in 1599. This is a very large book that was not actually finished in printed form until 1600. As the title states, he wrote about magic but also demonology and witchcraft. He was a firm opponent of witchcraft that he felt he saw all about him. This book is counted among the most important witchcraft treatises produced, and it influenced many later writers, such as de l'Ancre and Guazzo.

JOHANN GEILER VON KAISERSBERG 1455–1510

Geiler studied at Freiberg and later at Basel where he took a doctorate in theology. He became the Cathedral preacher at Strassburg (Strassbourg). His sermons were famous for their lively and engaging contents, and he frequently preached in German. Many of his works were published during his life and after his death. Geiler was a close friend of the artist Hans Baldung Grien, who illustrated many of Geiler's publications.

JOSEPH GLANVILL 1636–1680

Glanvill, a Protestant minister and early supporter of the Royal Society, was appointed in 1672 as chaplain in ordinary to Charles II. He wrote voluminously, but most relevant here is *Saducismus Triumphatus* (Saducism Triumphant) in which he examines various cases of purported supernatural activities including possession, poltergeist acts, and witchcraft. Glanvill was credulous for the most part, but he did advocate empirical observation of cases and evidence before making conclusions as to the validity of the stories he heard. He was one of the earliest "ghost investigators." His book was quite successful and went through several editions.

PETER (PETRUS) GOLDSCHMIDT, DIED 1713

Goldschmidt was a northern German writer who collected and published learned and folkloric ideas about witches, devils, ghosts, and other aspects of the dark side. These were published in *Verworffener Hexen und Zauberer Advocat* (Terrible Witches and Sorcerers Advocate), 1705.

HENNING GROSSE 1553–1621

Grosse was a book dealer who became interested in witchcraft, magic, specters, and other aspects of the supernatural. His books on these subjects

are interesting compilations of beliefs at the turn of the 17th century. His *De Spectris et Apparitionibus Spiritum* (Concerning Spectres and Apparitions) was published in 1656.

FRANCESCO MARIA GUAZZO (DATES ARE NOT KNOWN)

Guazzo was a Milanese monk and exorcist. He worked in Italy and later at the court in Cleves. His most famous work is the *Compendium Maleficarum* 1608, which was greatly influenced by the works of Nicolas Remi and Martin del Rio. This was one of the most extensively illustrated books on witchcraft.

SIR MATTHEW HALE 1609–1676

Hale was an English judge who wrote extensively on law and politics, and about various witchcraft trials at which he had presided. His works on witchcraft continued to be popular well into the 18th century. *A Trial of Witches at the Assizes Held at Bury St. Edmunds*, 1664, was reprinted as late as 1771.

THOMAS HEYWOOD 1570s–1641

Heywood was a poet, author of a number of books, playwright, and actor. In English literature he is remembered for his numerous plays including *A Woman Killed With Kindness*. Heywood also published popular books such as his G*ynaikeion*, which tells many interesting and lively tales about various women in historical and more recent times. Some of the stories touch on witchcraft and superstitious beliefs in witches.

MATTHEW HOPKINS, DIED 1647

Hopkins is famous for having given himself the title "Witchfinder General." He worked alongside Matthew Hale and other witch hunters in Britain; although he did not write extensively about his cases, he did contribute to British witchcraft literature and lore. Hopkins was very credulous, and, at the same time, quite self-assured. Hopkin's description of his witch hunts, *Discoverie of Witches* (1647), is readily available and can be accessed online.

ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA 1491–1556

Ignatius of Loyola took orders as a young man but was released from them and became a professional soldier. While recuperating from a very serious injury in which his leg was badly damaged by a cannon ball, he began to reflect on his life and return to the religious profession. Ignatius founded the Society of Jesus, which became one of the major factors in the Counter-Reformation in Catholic Europe as well as an important missionary society throughout the New World and Asia. Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, which he first devised for himself, later became the blueprint for his order's formation.

HEINRICH INSTITORIS c. 1430–1505

Henry Kramer normally used his name in its Latinized version, calling himself Institoris or Institor. He was a Dominican exorcist. Institoris is thought today to have written most of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Jakob Sprenger (1436–1495) probably played some part in the authorship of this work.

JAMES I OF ENGLAND 1566–1625

King James VI of Scotland was the son of Mary, Queen of Scots. He became king of England as James I in 1603. James was fascinated with witchcraft cases near North Berwick in Scotland in 1590. These helped inspire him to write his own book on demonology and witchcraft, *Daemonology*, 1597. James fancied himself a great expert on witchcraft and, because of his position as king, his book probably had a wide influence.

LUDWIG (LEWES) LAVATER 1527–1586

In 1569 Lavater published a study, written in German, on poltergeists, apparitions, ghosts, and various paranormal entities. *De Spectris Lemuribus* (Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night) 1570 is the Latin edition of this book. A Calvinist, Lavater presented Protestant concepts of some beliefs in ghosts. He did not allow for the presence of departed souls among the living; these were a demonic illusion or a case of mental illness on the part of the viewer. His work was opposed in print by the Catholic writer Pierre le Loyer.

HENRY CHARLES LEA 1825–1909

Lea came from a prominent Quaker family in Philadelphia. He studied languages and history. He became an expert on this history of the medieval Church, especially the Inquisition. Among his titles are *The History of the Inquisition in Spain* and *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*. His works are still considered significant sources. Lea was quite interested in the history of witchcraft and demonology in the Middle Ages and in Early Modern Europe. His research notes on these topics were printed after his death as *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft*. Since Lea donated his large collection of rare books to the University of Pennsylvania, this book is something of an extended annotated guide to his works now held at that institution. It is an indispensable tool for the researcher.

PIERRE LE LOYER 1550–1634

Loyer was a lawyer and counselor to the King of France. In 1586 he published *Trois Livres de Spectris* (Three Books on Spectres) to refute the work of Lavater. This work also discusses demonology and witchcraft. Le Loyer defends a Catholic position on all of these.

MARTIN LUTHER 1483–1546

Luther's writings in some areas address the Devil and with witchcraft. Witches are not a large component of his interests, but he does discuss them. With the Ninety-five Theses that he nailed to the church door at Wittenburg in 1517, Luther became the founder of the Reformation. He was excommunicated in 1521 by Pope Leo X whom he publically called the Antichrist. Luther's insistence that Christians should read the Gospels for themselves in their own languages, coupled with the growth of the printing press, helped to encourage the variety of books printed in the vernacular. To this end, Luther translated the Bible into German.

OLAUS MAGNUS 1490–1557

Olaus Magnus, a Swedish priest, spent most of his life working and living on the Continent. He lived many years in Rome and had been made Bishop of Upsala in absentia since Sweden was Protestant and he had fled his native country. Magnus' large work, the *Historia de Gentibus*

Septentrionalibus (Story of the Northern Peoples) 1555 is a work of ethnology, geology, folklore, history, and also demonology. He writes about the practices of witches and werewolves in his homeland, phrasing some of this in terms of lingering pagan superstitions.

INCREASE MATHER 1639–1723

Although he lived in the American colony of Massachusetts, Mather is of interest because his works on witchcraft and demonology were well known in Europe towards the end of the seventeenth century. Mather was for a time President of Harvard University. His account of the Devil of Great Island, which was a case of suspected poltergeist activity, *An Essay of the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684), helped make this story known in England.

ULRICH MOLITOR 1442–1508

A canon and civil lawyer active in the area around Basel, Switzerland Molitor's most important work is *De Lamiis et Phitonicis Mulieribus* (Concerning Demons and Witches) one of the first printed books on witchcraft and the first to be illustrated. It originally appeared in 1489 and went through many subsequent editions into the seventeenth century. The incunabula editions of *De Lamiis* are illustrated with full page scenes that correspond to the text. A German edition from 1494 is the first illustrated book on witchcraft in that language.

JOHANNES NIDER c. 1380–1438

A Dominican theologian from Swabia in southern Germany, who wrote a number of works on demonology, morals and various aspects of theology. He worked periodically for a long while with the Council of Basel and helped shape its pronouncements between 1431 and 1438. Among his better known works are *De Lepra morali* (Moral Leprosy), *De Preceptorium divine legis* (Precepts of Divine Law) and the *Formicarius* (Ant Hill). Originally hand written, these books became among the first incunabula with the invention of mechanical printing. *Formicarius* is one of the foundational books in the development of witch hunting and beliefs about witches in Early Modern Europe.

JEAN DE NYNAULD FL. EARLY 17TH CENTURY

In 1615 the French physician, Jean de Nynauld published *De la Lycanthropie, transformation et extase des sorciers* (On Lycanthropy, Transformation and Ecstasy of Witches). This is one of a small number of works that dealt specifically with the theme of lycanthropy. Parts of this work describe possible ointments used by "werewolves" that are the same as witches' magic ointments. Nynauld also considers that lycanthropes might indeed be suffering from mental illness.

NICOLAS REMI (ALSO SPELLED REMY) c. 1530–1612

Remi was one of the more influential demonologists of the late sixteenth century. He was a courtier and served as a trial judge in Lorraine for many years during which he presided over a large number of witchcraft trials. The *Daemonolatreia* (Demonology) of 1595 became an important source of stories, folklore, and trial accounts concerning witches and devils that was used by a number of later writers. Francisco Maria Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum* reprises most of Remi.

ROSSELL HOPE ROBBINS 1912–1990

Robbins was a historian of witchcraft and demonology known to the general reader for his *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*. Robbins worked in Cornell's rare books collection quite frequently and wrote the introduction to the printed version of its catalogue of holdings. His work is somewhat dated but still remains a good introduction to the field of witchcraft history.

REGINALD SCOT 1538?—1599

In 1584 Reginald Scot published *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*. This book represented a rather courageous stand for the times as it was strongly critical of many beliefs in witchcraft and other aspects of the supernatural, such as those of King James VI of Scotland. Robbins has commented that King James probably had Scot's book burnt and called it "damnable." Scot wrote at length about false magicians and diviners who were in fact practicing stage magic. *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* takes the general position that almost every aspect of the dark side was foolishness, papist or

otherwise; or that it arose from ignorance and superstition, or even mental disease. This was an amazingly brave treatise.

SIR WALTER SCOTT 1771–1832

Walter Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* is a fascinating compilation of English and Scottish folklore about devils, poltergeists, witches, fairies, and the like. One of Scott's last works, it was sometimes illustrated with etchings by George Cruikshank (see appendix I). Scott wrote this collection of letters, which he dedicated to his son-in-law, from the perspective of both an antiquarian and a romantic.

ALFONSUS DE SPINA, DIED c. 1491

De Spina's large work *Fortalitium Fidei* (The Fortress of Faith) contains some early accounts of witchcraft. One of the earliest printed books on witchcraft, it influenced later writers such as Institoris. Tradition has it that de Spina was a Jewish convert, although this has been disputed by some modern writers. He was a Franciscan. The enemies of the fortress of the faith were Jews, Muslims, and the Devil.

NOEL TAILLEPIED 1540–1589

Taillepied was a French Capuchin monk who wrote *Traite de L'apparition des* Esprites (Treatise on Ghosts), 1588. This work attempted to justify a belief in the apparitions of the souls of the dead. Taillepied is also known for having written biographical studies of Martin Luther and John Calvin.

ST. TERESA OF AVILA 1515–1582

Teresa entered the Carmelite order in 1535. She eventually became the reformer of this order and instructed both nuns and brothers in a far stricter and more enclosed religious life. Her writings, which include various books on theology and instruction for her order as well as her *Autobiography*, eventually brought her great acclaim, and the church awarded her with the title of Saint, and also the title of Doctor of the Church. This last is reserved to persons whom the church deemed great theologians. Teresa is one of only a few women to have this title.

JOHN WEBSTER 1610–1682

Webster was an English physician and Protestant clergyman who wrote *A Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft,* published in 1677. This book fiercely attacked various concepts about the activities of witches, devils, and werewolves as being Catholic superstitious nonsense.

JOHANN WEYER (ALSO SPELLED WEIR) 1515–1588

The court physician to the Duke of Cleves, Weyer studied as a young man with Cornelis Agrippa von Nettesheim. He made an extensive study of witchcraft as well as his profession of medicine. From this and his personal cases, Weyer created several books on witchcraft and demonology. Most of these were collated later into a single volume of his *Opera*. Weyer's most important work was his 1563 *De Praestigiis daemonum* (The Devil's Illusions). This is a massive book that considers most of the topics that we have covered in the present volume. He thought that while there could possibly be witches, and certainly there were devils, most cases of witchcraft or bewitchment were instances of either mental or physical disease or possibly simple ignorance. Weyer's book is crisp and informative and has a rather strident tone. He was one of the first authors to write critically about the beliefs of the time.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Christopher J. Duffin and Jane P. Davidson, "Geology and the Dark Side," *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association*, Vol. 122 (2011), pp. 12–13; Edward Topsell, *History of the Four-footed Beasts and Serpents*, London, E. Cotes, 1658.

2. For a detailed discussion of Steno's research and subsequent publication on fossil shark teeth see Jane P. Davidson, "Fish Tales: Attributing the First Illustration of a Fossil Shark's Tooth to Richard Verstegan (1606) and Nicolas Steno (1667)," *Proceedings of the Academy of natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, Vol. 150 (2000), pp. 329–344. Steno's work was printed in Florence by the print shop, "Signo Stellae," and entitled *Canis Carchariae Dissectum Caput*. The "dissection of a head of a great white shark" remains to this day as one of the most important works in the early history of paleontology.

3. I own one of these books. My students are always impressed with its physical magnitude, but they are also surprised to discover that it was printed in 1669 because of the binding. The binding is blind stamped pigskin with metal clasps. Its style is old-fashioned, looking like a 16th-century binding instead of one typical of the 17th century. Inevitably someone will ask how much it weighs and what is its total page count.

4. See Michael D. Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003, p. 28 and p. 153. See also Russell H. Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Demonology and Witchcraft*, pp. 145–147. The first printed book on witchcraft was probably Alphonsus de Spina's *Fortalitium Fidei* (The Fortress of the Faith), printed not after 1471, Strassburg, Mentelin. This book began as a handwritten manuscript.

CHAPTER 1

1. Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum,* Milan, 1608. Here I use the translation by E. A. Ashwin, Secaucus, NJ, University Books, 1974, p. 192.

2. The reader is referred to the appendix for more on Bosch and Philip II of Spain. A recent painting in the art trade offered by Sotheby's in April 2011 shows *Christ Harrowing Hell.* This work is attributed to a follower of Bosch but is considered to be very influenced by his own paintings of the theme. See Sotheby's catalogue, *Old Master & British Paintings, Sotheby's London, April 14, 2011,* item 5. The catalogue entry mentions several works with this theme that are possibly by Bosch or other followers of him. This painting is executed in oil on panel and bears a spurious inscription giving it to Bosch.

3. See First Chronicles, 23, 1, "And Satan stood up against Israel and provoked David to number Israel." See also Job, 1, 6–12; and Job 2, 1–7. "The day came when the members of the court of heaven took their places in the presence of the Lord, and Satan was there among them. . . . The Lord asked Satan, 'Have you considered my servant Job?' Satan answered the Lord, 'There is nothing the man will grudge to save himself.' Then the Lord said to Satan, 'So be it. He is in your hands.'"

4. Jean Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches,* English Tr. Randy A. Scott, Toronto, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995, pp. 48–49, pp. 53–54. Bodin was a jurist, courtier, philosopher, and theologian. For more on Bodin, please refer to Chapter 2.

5. For the comments here, see Herbert C. Hoover and L. H. Hoover, *Gregorius Agricola: De Re Metallica, Translated from the First Latin Edition, 1556,* London, *The Mining Magazine,* 1912, p. 217. See also Jane P. Davidson and Christopher J. Duffin, "Stones and Spirits," *Folklore,* forthcoming 2011, for a more general discussion of kobolds as doing poltergeist activities such as throwing rocks at the miners. The mineral cobalt is named for the kobold.

6. For more information on these artists and their works, refer to appendix I.

7. Jane P. Davidson, *The Witch in Northern European Art 1470–1750,* Freren, Germany, Luca Verlag, 1987, pp. 56–57. One of the fish that Teniers frequently used as a serra in his metaphysical paintings was a small (about four inches long) bottom-dwelling fish from the North Sea. It is a Crystal Gobi. The male of the species has prominent teeth. Teniers transformed this little fish into a large version with vicious-looking gaping teeth. See also appendix I for additional information on these artists.

8. *Wunderbare Geschichte von der eblen und schonen Melusina,* Germany, s.n., 178. This little book is in the author's collection. She keeps it in honor of her paternal great-grandmother whose name was Meluseina. Meluseina Harner Pierce was originally from Ireland and immigrated to the United States as a result of the potato famine of the mid-19th century. She was a bond servant, about

12 years old, when she came to the United States by herself. She married and settled in Missouri and raised her family until her early death at age 42 in 1897. Meluseina's name indicates the widespread and persistent nature of the legend of this mermaid. No one in her family seems to have known anything about the origin of her name; one wonders if she did so herself.

9. For a discussion of the Antichrist in the Middle Ages, see Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature,* Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1981. Emmerson, Chapter 2, passim cites various references from the letters of John and Paul in which the Antichrist is discussed in detail. Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination With Evil,* New York, Columbia University Press, 2000, is an excellent source for concepts presented by the church fathers on the Antichrist. See especially his discussion of Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Origen, and Augustine in Chapter 3, passim.

10. For a lengthy discussion of medieval literary, theological and artistic materials on the Antichrist, see Emmerson, note 8, especially see Chapters 4 and 5.

11. Ibid., McGinn, p. 173.

12. For a discussion of Luther's opinions on the Antichrist as well as those of some of his followers, see McGinn, Chapter 8, passim.

13. See Guazzo translation, above note 4, p. 192.

14. See C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonianism,* New York, Barnes and Noble, 1970, p. 290.

15. Nicolas Remi, *Daemonolatreia Libri Tres,* 1595. Used here is the English translation by E. A. Ashwin, *Demonolatry,* Secaucus, NJ, University Books, 1974, p. 27.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., pp. 69–70.

18. Christopher J. Duffin and Jane P. Davidson, "Geology and the Dark Side," *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association,* Vol. 122 (2011), pp. 8–9.

19. See Remi in translation, above note 6, p. 78. The author of this book once lived in a house that was struck by lightning. The bolt blasted a hole in the part of the roof overhanging the rafters. Electricity traveled through the house and seemed to leave from the side opposite the original strike. The rafters were literally blasted into splinters that stood out in fan like shapes, like the marks of claws. It is easy to see how this folk belief mentioned by Remi could have come about.

20. See Guazzo, above, in translation, note 4, pp. 73–74.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., pp. 136–137.

23. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* 1536. Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 14. The Kindle electronic edition of Calvin's *Institutes* is used here. Signalman Publishing, Orlando, FL 2009, locations in Kindle edition: 2905–2912 and 3173–3189.

CHAPTER 2

1. Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum,* Milan, 1608. Translation used here is E. A. Ashwin, Secaucus, NJ, 1974, pp. 13–15.

2. Pierre de l'Ancre, *Tableau de L'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons,* 1612. I use here the translation by Gerhild S. Williams et al., *On the Inconstancy of Witches,* Tempe, AZ, 2006, pp. 187–194, passim.

3. Ibid., p. 100, 231, and 309.

4. Johann Weyer, *De Praestigiis daemonum,* 1583, G. Mora et al., eds., Binghamton, NY, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991, pp. 463–464.

5. Martin del Rio, *Disquisitiones Magicarum,* 1599. I use here the 2000 translation by P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Investigations into Magic,* Manchester, England, Manchester University Press, pp. 240–243.

6. A published papal pronouncement or letter on theological matters was and still is known as a "Bull." This derived from the Latin word, *bulla,* which was an official wax seal (usually many seals) attached to the document to show its authenticity. The title of a papal bull is always taken from the first words of the text. Normally these have nothing to do with the contents of the bull itself. This procedure is still used in naming papal bulls.

7. See J. P. Davidson, *The Witch in Northern European Art,* pp. 11–12. See also Wolfgang Behringer, "Waldensians (Vaudois)," in R. M. Golden, ed., *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition,* Santa Barbara, CA, ABC-CLIO, 2006, Volume 4, p. 1161 passim. See Edward Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980 for additional information on the Waldensian heresy.

8. J. P. Davidson, "Witches, Wolves and Werewolves," *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts,* Vol. 2, No. 4 (1990), pp. 47–68. For various trial accounts of wolf riders, see especially pp. 50–51.

9. Ibid.; Davidson, p. 13.

10. Henricus Institoris (and Jacobus Sprenger), *Malleus Maleficarum,* English Tr. Christopher Mackay, Volume 2, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 251–252.

11. These titles show something of the complexity of witchcraft nomenclature. Witches are called by a number of names that are drawn from various linguistic sources. Some names are exclusive to males, others to females. Witches' deeds are also given a number of terms. In France, for example, a term for witchcraft is sortilege. That literally means "going out" and was a reference to the witches' trips to their sabbats. But the word came to mean witchcraft in any sense. This complexity is both entertaining and confusing to the historian.

12. Later works in the 16th century would show witches dancing with demons who might be caressing their faces. In general, that would have looked far

more racy to the viewer than it does now. These were demon lovers after all. But the drawing attributed to Baldung is simply pornography.

13. Walter Stephens, *Demon Lovers,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002, pp. 1–5 and passim. A number of authors have written about the case of Walpurga Haussmannin, and there is a modern English translation of the pamphlet.

14. Thomas Heywood, *Nine Books of Various History Concerning Women,* London, Adam Islip, 1624. Book 8, "Of Witches," pp. 399–419.

15. Ibid., p. 444.

16. William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, and John Ford, *The Witch of Edmonton,* 1621, act 2, scene 1.

17. Ibid., act 4, scene 1.

18. A modern English translation of Bodin is Jean Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches,* English Tr. Randy L. Scott, Toronto, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2001, p. 9 for the estimated number of editions of Bodin.

19. Ibid., 1995, p. 45.

20. Henry Charles Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft,* Volume 2, Reprint edition, New York, Yoseloff, 1957, pp. 545–546. Lea used a different volume from that of Geneva, 1574, and the pagination is about 10 pages shorter than in the edition of 1574. I use here the edition of Daneau from the combined volume. This compilation seems to date from about 1590 or thereabouts as the edition of Bodin that was used dates to 1590, and the binding for this volume appears to be 16th- or 17th-century blind stamped pigskin.

21. The first and second editions of the *Compendium* were printed in Milan but by different publishers. The Heirs of A. Traditi (along with colophon of B. Lantonum) printed the 1608 edition, the Collegii Ambrosiani printed the second edition. We have no records of how many copies of the *Compendium* were printed or sold. The first edition dates form 1608. In 1626 a second was printed. It is the same format and with the same illustrations as the first edition.

22. Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum,* Tr. E. A. Ashwin, Secaucus NJ, University Books, 1974. Book 1, Ch. 12, pp. 34–35 in the translation.

23. Ibid., p. 30.

24. Nicolas Remy, *Demonolatry,* English Tr. E. A. Ashwin, Secacus, NJ, University Books, 1974, pp. 118–119.

25. Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft,* Book 3, Ch. 6, p. 36 in B. Nicholson, Ed., London, E. Stock, 1886 edition of Scot.

26. John Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft,* London, J. M, 1677, p. 11. Webster himself had written about the characteristics of metals. His *Metallographia* was printed in 1671.

27. Ibid., p. 37.

28. Cited in C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demoniansim,* New York, Barnes and Noble, 1970, p. 301. This account is supposed to have been the actual testimony of the child himself.

29. Ibid., pp. 202–205. For Ann Bodenham, see Ewen, pp. 325–326. Ewen cited from two pamphlets printed in 1653, which recounted the stories of Bodenham. One can also find her story told in Crouch, who most likely took his accounts from the same pamphlets.

CHAPTER 3

1. Rossell H. Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demomology,* New York, Bonanza, 1959, p 123.

2. For a discussion of various editions of *Das Buch Belial* located in libraries in the United States, see J.P. Davidson, *The Witch in Northern European Art, 1470–1750,* Freren, Germany, Luca Verlag, 1987, pp. 113–114.

3. Ibid., pp. 113–114 for various editions of Gerson.

4. See H.C. Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft,* Vol. 1, New York, AMS, pp. 303–304.

5. Both Nider and de Spina discuss pagan superstitions that were the work of the Devil. At times, they describe pagans doing various acts, such as worshipping the devil in the form of a goat, which would also be attributed to witches.

6. Rune Hagen, "Jean Bodin," *ABC-CLIO Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition,* Vol. 1, Santa Barbara, CA, 2006, pp. 129–130.

7. I use here Kindle 2007 edition, New York, Cosimo, of the 1914 Elder Mullan, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola,* New York, P.J. Kennedy and Sons, locations 436–452 in the electronic edition.

8. *The Autobiography of St. Teresa of Jesus,* English Tr. David Lewis. Kindle electronic version of the 1904 edition. Locations 4897–4912 in the electronic edition. There is also a modern reprint of this edition, 1997, Tan Books and Publishers, Rockford, IL.

9. Ibid., see locations 4698–4699 and 4712–4713 in Chapter 31.

10. Martin Luther, *The Table Talk,* Kindle edition, Mobile Reference, 2006.

11. Ibid., pp. 280–282. Caciola discusses several cases of women who thought themselves divinely possessed. It is her thesis that this sort of possession gradually faded away, being replaced almost entirely by demonic possession by the 15th century.

12. Sarah Ferber, "Exorcism," *ABC-CLIO Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition,* Vol. 2, pp. 339–340. See also Ferber, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern France,* London, Routledge, 2004, for a more extensive discussion. Ferber comments that the new 15th-century manuals of exorcism were designed to dispel the association of exorcism with magic.

13. Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages,* Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2003, pp. 240–244.

14. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Garner, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance,* New York, Octagon, 1965, pp. 166 and 207. *The Penitential of Theodore,* Book 2, Chapter 10.

15. See Henry Charles Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft,* Vol. 1, pp. 100–101 ff.

16. Ben Jonson, *Volpone,* Act 5, describes a faked possession wherein unnatural items are vomited.

17. Ibid., Lea, Vol. 3, pp. 1050 and 1054. See also Rossell H. Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology,* pp. 392, 395–396.

18. Pierre le Brun, *Lettres qui decouverent l'Illusion des philosophes sur la baquette,* Paris, J. Boudot, 1696.

19. Jane P. Davidson, *The Witch in Northern European Art 1470–1750,* pp. 112–113. I have been able to locate approximately 14 such examples of *Coniuratio Malignorum Spiritum,* not all illustrated, in various rare books collections in the United States alone. Most of these were printed before 1500. The illustrated copy described herein is owned by the Witchcraft Collection (Kroch Rare Books Library) at Cornell University.

20. The Mora Ed. Translation of Weyer uses the term "urine." In general, it was thought that the poisonous mandrake grew from lost human semen.

21. Some of these blessing and purification rites seem to have found their way into ritual magic. Or, perhaps it was the other way around. Menghi and other exorcists may have been using ritual magic. One notices that there are, even today, rites used in some religions, such as Wicca, in which water and salt and incense are consecrated prior to use. The Roman Church still does this. Candles, Holy Water, the fire lit at Eastertide: all such sacramentals are given a special blessing.

22. Girolamo Menghi, *The Devil's Scourge. Exorcism During the Italian Renaissance,* English Tr. G. Paxia, Boston and New York, Weiser Books, 2002. From the Sixth Exorcism, pp. 151–152 in the translation.

23. For a modern discussion of Menghi and editions of his exorcisms, see Mary R. O'Neil, "Menghi," *ABC-CLIO Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition,* Santa Barbara, CA, 2006, Vol. 3, pp. 749–750.

CHAPTER 4

1. Rossell H. Robbins, *Encyclopedia of Demonology and Witchcraft,* New York, Bonanza, 1959, p. 472. See also Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions, Tales of Magic, Marriage and Power at the End of the Renaissance,* New York, Oxford University Press, 1993.

2. Martin del Rio, *Disquisitiones magicarum*, 1599. Here from the English translation, P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Investigations into Magic*, Manchester, England, Manchester University Press, 2000, pp. 118–119.

3. Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*, Milan, 1608. Translation used here is E. A. Ashwin, Secaucus NJ, 1974, pp. 101–102.

4. R. Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, University Park, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997, contains an entire manual of magic from the 15th century. The examples mentioned are taken from this work. See especially pages 195 and 206.

5. Accounts appear as early as 1423. See J. P. Davidson, "Wolves, Witches and Werewolves," *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1990), pp. 50–51.

6. Hands of Glory could also be used in black magic. See chapter 5 for more on the Hand of Glory.

7. See Maxwell-Stuart, 2000, p. 120. In del Rio, Book 3, Question 2.

8. C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonianism*, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1970. Originally published 1933.

9. Ibid., p. 79.

10. Ibid., pp. 146–147. Trial of John Walsh of Netherbury, Dorset, August 20, 1556.

11. Translation by Catherine Enggass and Robert Enggass. R. Enggass and J. Brown, *Italy and Spain 1600–1750, Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice-Hall, 1970, pp. 134–135.

CHAPTER 5

1. Burchard of Worms, "The Corrector of Burchard of Worms," in J. T. McNeill and H. M. Gamer, eds., *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, New York, Octagon Books, 1965, p. 339.

2. See Jane P. Davidson, *The Witch in Northern European Art, 1470–1750*, Freren, Germany, Luca Verlag, 1987, pp. 81–82.

3. Moses is shown in art with horns. Perhaps the most famous example of this iconography is Michelangelo's *Moses*. The horns come from a mistaken translation of the word for "rays of light" that St. Jerome rendered into "horns" in the Vulgate.

4. King James I, *Daemonologie*, Edinburgh, Robert Walde-Grave, 1597, Book 3, Chapter 1. I use here the electronic edition published by Oak Grove, 2008, available from Kindle.

5. Glanvill began publishing on supernatural topics in 1666 with *Some Philosophical Considerations Touching the Being of Witches and Witchcraft*. The third edition of this work, 1668, was given the title, *A Blow at Modern Sadducism*. It

contains the story of the Drummer of Tedworth. After Glanvill's death in 1680, his colleague and friend, Henry More (1614–1687) published *Saducismus Triumphatus,* 1681, in which Glanvill again discusses the Drummer of Tedworth in response to John Webster's refutation that had been published in *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft,* 1677. Webster and Glanvill were frequently at odds over supernatural phenomena. For a brief discussion of Glanvill, see Jonathan Barry, "Joseph Glanvill," *ABC-CLIO Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition,* Volume 2, pp. 445–446.

6. A Chaplain in Ordinary was a title given to a clergy who was a member of the royal household staff. Glanvill would have been on call if a need arose for a clergyman. Glanvill was given this appointment in 1672 after he investigated the case of the Drummer of Tedworth. See Joseph I. Cope, *Joseph Glanvill, Anglican Apologist,* St. Louis, MO, Washington University Studies, 1956, for more on Glanvill's appointment.

7. Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus or the Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions,* London, Printed for S.L., 1689. This is the 3rd edition. See pages 321–324 passim.

8. Ibid., pp. 328–329.

9. Ibid., pp. 63–64.

10. Ibid., pp. 307–308.

11. Martin Luther, *The Table Talk,* Chapter 572, location 11396 in Kindle electronic edition.

12. John Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft,* London, Printed by J.M. 1677, p. 11.

13. Ibid., pp. 280–281 and passim and p. 293. The Italian naturalist and geologist Ulisse Aldrovandi included an image of a "cacodemonis," a noise-making demon in his *Monstrom historia* (Story of Monsters) published in 1696 in Bologna. The cacodemon is a marvelous zoomorphic creature standing on its hind legs. For a discussion, see Christopher J. Duffin and Jane P. Davidson, "Geology and the Dark Side," *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association,* Vol. 122, No. 1 (2011), figure 1.

14. May Yardley, "The Catholic Position in the Ghost Controversy of the Sixteenth Century," in M. Yardley and J.D. Wilson, eds., *Lewes Lavater: Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night, 1572,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1929, pp. 221–251. I use here a reprint edition, Kessinger Publishing, Whitefish, MT, 2007.

15. Shakespeare uses the problem of a wandering ghost, Hamlet's father, who appears to Hamlet to tell his son of his murder. In act 1, scene 5, the ghost of Hamlet's father tells his son about his violent death, but he also tells Hamlet that he cannot have peace until he is finished paying for his own transgressions in Purgatory. This seems to straddle both Protestant and Catholic positions. Ghosts

can appear to the living and yet have "left" the earth. Protestants were much less inclined to accept the idea of the dead appearing to the living than Catholics.

16. H.C. Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft,* New York, AMS reprint of original, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939, Volume 2, p. 548.

17. Martin Luther, *The Table Talk,* 426. Electronic Kindle edition, Mobile Reference, Boston, 2009, positions 11407–11414.

18. Johann Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum,* 1583, English Tr. Ed. G. Mora, et al., Binghamton, NJ, 1991, pp. 73–75.

19. Noel Taillepied, *A Treatise on Ghosts,* English Tr. Montague Summers, London, Fortune Press. I here used the Kessinger Publishing reprint, Whitefish, MT, 2010, p. 125. The first edition is Paris, 1588.

20. Ibid., p. 78.

21. See H.C. Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft,* Volume 2, p. 580 for a brief synopsis.

22. A very good modern account of this series of events and of the 1698 pamphlet can be found in Emerson W. Baker, *The Devil of Great Island: Witchcraft and Conflict in Early New England,* New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. See also Jane P. Davidson and Christopher J. Duffin, "Stones and Spirits," *Folklore,* 2011.

CHAPTER 6

1. Stories of werewolves should not be confused with descriptions of "wild men," some of whom were probably persons with hormone abnormalities that left them perpetually hirsute. Nor should werewolves be confused with "monsters" that sometimes might appear to be conjoined twins. One of the individuals might look like a dog or a wolf.

2. Carlo Ginzburg, *I. Benandanti,* English title, *The Night Battles. Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* English Tr. J. and A. Tedeschi, Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983. Ginzburg discusses cases of people who turned into werewolves in order to combat witchcraft. He compares these stories of good werewolves to similar stories from Central Europe and Scandinavia. The good werewolves were men who transmuted in a dream state and fought witches using stalks of sorghum as weapons. The stories were most prevalent in the Friuli area of Italy between 1575–1580 and 1620, according to Ginzburg. See pp. ix, 69, and xx.

3. See, for example, Petrus Mamoris, c. 1462, Chapter 2. For a discussion, see Jane P. Davidson, "Wolves, Witches and Werewolves," *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts,* II, No. 4, 1990, pp. 48–65. Davidson provides a lengthy set of references in 16th- through 18th-century primary sources.

4. For Nynauld, see especially Chapter 2 in *De Lycanthropie.* Cf. modern translation of this.

5. Saint Augustine, *The City of God,* Book 18, Chapters 17–18. I use here the CD version, *The Early Church Fathers on CD Rom,* Gervais, OR, Harmony Media, 2000. See also E. M Sanford and W. McAllen Green, Tr., *Saint Augustine The City of God Against the Pagans,* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 5, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1988, pp. 422–425. This edition presents the Latin text alongside the English translation.

6. For an image and discussion of this famous werewolf broadside, see *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut 1550–1600,* New York, 1975. This area of Germany and its adjacent parts of the Netherlands and Belgium saw a tremendous amount of action in World War II as it was from this part of Germany that the Nazi troops instigated the tactical maneuver known as The Battle of the Bulge. Aachen and Cologne were also seriously damaged during the war because of their strategic positions on rivers and rail lines.

7. Burchard's work in Latin is known as the *Decretum*. It became well known and was frequently cited by later theologians. That Burchard spoke of lycanthropy as a relatively common folk superstition indicates that the belief had been in place in Europe for quite some time.

8. I use the translation here of John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance,* New York, Octagon Books, 1965, "The Corrector of Burchard of Worms," Chapter 5, p. 338 in the translation.

9. See folio 23, Chapter 8 in Vincenti. See note 1 above, p. 48.

10. See above, Jane P. Davidson, 1990, pp. 48–52. See also Jane P. Davidson, *The Witch in Northern European Art 1470–1750,* Freren, Germany, 1987, pp. 14–17. Molitor wrote his book at the request of the local archduke, Sigismund, in response to what seemed to be increasing instances of witchcraft in and around Basel.

11. See Davidson, 1990, above note 1, pp. 52–54. See also Davidson 1987, pp 20–22.

12. See especially Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus,* Book 18, Chapter 45, Rome, 1555. I use here the translation of Peter Fisher and Humphrey Higgens, *Olaus Magnus Description of the Northern Peoples,* London, Hakluyt Society, 1998, pp. 928–929.

13. See Randy A. Scott, *Jean Bodin On the Demon-Mania of Witches,* Toronto, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2001, p. 122. In Bodin, see Book 2, Ch. 6.

14. Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum,* Milan 1608, A. Tradati, Book 1, Chapter 13, pp. 50–51. Translation used is E. A. Ashwin, University Books, Secaucus, NJ, 1974.

15. See 193, Mora, ed. *Witches, Devils and Doctors in the Renaissance,* pp. 192–193. See also p. 343. This is an excellent modern English translation of this major work by Weyer. Corresponding additional areas in which Weyer

discussed werewolves can be seen in the 1586 *Opera*. For *De Praestigiis Demonorum*, Book 1, 6 Cap. ii and iii, Cap. x, Cap. xii and Cap. xiii. In the same *Opera* volume, see also *De Lamiis*, Cap. xiv, pp. 710–712.

16. I have retained original spelling with the exception of not using the letter u in place of the letter v. Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquity*, Antwerp, Robert Bruney, 1605, p. 237. See also Jane P. Davidson, *A History of Paleontology Illustration*, Indianapolis and Bloomington, University of Indiana Press, 2008, pp. 12–16.

17. Lavater wrote "Diabolo non est difficile, variis formis apparere et res mirandas efficere." 1580 edition, De Spectris p. 159, Part 2, Ch. 17. The Devil could appear as "specie nigri canis," a black dog. *Lodovico Lavatero, De Spectris, Lemuribus*. . . . Genevae, E. Vignon, 1580. There was a contemporary English translation, R.H. *Of Ghostes and Spirites Walking by Nyght*. . . . London, H. Benneman for Richard Watkyns, 1572. This has been reprinted in modern times by the Shakespeare Association, Oxford University Press, 1929. Eds. J.D. Wilson and M. Yardley. For the comment on lycanthropy, see Part 1, Chapter 2.

18. John Webster, *A Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, London, Printed by J. M, 1677, p. 65.

19. Ibid., p. 68.

20. See Summers, 1933, p. 112 and p. 131, note 137. Verstegan's illustrations depicted among other things various ancient pagan "gods" and also one illustration of several fossils including what are thought to be ichthyosaur bones, bivalve shells, and a fossilized shark tooth. There are no illustrations of devils, witches, or werewolves.

APPENDIX I

1. See Jane P. Davidson, *The Witch in Northern European Art, 1470–1750*, Freren, Germany, Luca Verlag, 1987, pp. 146–147 and 82–83.

2. James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art*, 2nd ed., Upper Saddle River, NJ, Prentice Hall, 2005, p. 446.

3. For a discussion of the possible inspiration for Brueghel's *St. James and Hermogenes* and the *Fall of Hermogenes*, see Jane P. Davidson, 1987, pp. 32–36.

4. See Synder above, note 3, p. 501. Aside from subject matter and the use of anthropomorphic nudes, there is nothing in Floris's painting that can be visually linked to Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. The compositions are not similar, and there is no similarity between the anatomies.

5. See Davidson, 1987, as well as Jane P. Davidson, *David Teniers the Younger*, Boulder, CO, and London, Westview Press and Thames and Hudson, 1978.

6. Davidson, 1987, pp. 66–67.

7. Ibid., pp. 58–64.

8. Ibid., pp. 83–86. The University of Pennsylvania Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection owns 11 editions of Tasso that were printed between 1600 and 1628. This collection also holds several others printed later in the century. The large number of editions of this book and their occasional illustrations show the continued interest in the dark side as a motif in literature or art. While the artists and writers may still have believed in witches and devils, these works peak to a more diversified and sophisticated use of dark side themes.

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Bibliography

The reader who may wish to look further into the subject of rare books on witchcraft, demonology, ghosts, werewolves, and the like can find a wealth of such materials in various libraries in the United States as well as in Europe. In the United States the finest and most extensive collection of rare books of this sort is owned by Cornell University and housed in their Kroch Rare Books Collection. The University of Pennsylvania also owns a collection of rare books on the occult, although theirs is by no means as extensive as that of Cornell. On the West Coast one can consult a number of interesting incunabula and other rare books at the Huntington Library. These collections are open to researchers but not accessible to a general reader.

Today, all major libraries such as those mentioned have digitized their catalogue holdings so that it becomes relatively easy to search for rare books as well as to find any number of the excellent modern translations or transcriptions. One is no longer constrained to wading through the huge printed *Catalog of the Cornell University Witchcraft Collection* with its literally thousands of copied index cards. This source is still a wonderful ready reference if one owns a copy, having itself become a rare book. The modern reader can simply sign on to any university catalogue via the Internet, or if he or she is at a university, look through the holdings of an omnibus catalogue resource such as Worldcat. Research into the dark side has become vastly easier and infinitely faster than it was 20 years ago.

I have annotated many of the items in this bibliography for the benefit of those who may be relatively new to the field. The primary sources listed here comprise a selected bibliography. In many cases there were a number

of published editions. Any reader wishing to know more about the publishing history of a specific book can find such information through the various electronic catalogues mentioned. I have also included in the secondary bibliography English translations of various primary sources that have been translated into English in modern times.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bodin, Jean. *De la daemonomanie des sorciers*. Paris: J. de Puys, 1580. A widely influential book that went through a large number of editions.

Bodin, Jean. *De magorum Daemonomania*. Frankfurt: N. Bassaei, 1590. Bound with Lambert Daneau. *Veneficiis*. Geneva: E. Vignon, 1590. This appears at first to be an odd combination of titles. Daneau's works seem to have been popular with Catholic readers as a copy of Daneau is also found bound with a copy of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, Lyons, J. Martin, 1519. The Daneau edition is Cologne, J. Gymnecum, 1575, so providing a date ante quem for the binding. Cornell University owns the edition of the combined Daneau and *Malleus*.

Bodin, Jean. *Demonomania de gli Stregoni*. Venice: Presso Aldo, 1589. This is the first edition of Bodin in Italian. Printed by the famous Venetian press. The copy consulted is bound in its original inexpensive vellum cover. This was designed with replacement in mind so that the owner could have a specialty binding made if so desired.

Crouch, Nathaniel. *The Kingdom of Darkness: Or a History of Daemons, Spectres, Witches, Apparitions, Possession, etc . . . and Other Malicious Impostures of the Devil*, London: Printed for N. Crouch, 1688. The book contains many stories of the supernatural and is illustrated.

Cruikshank, George. *Twelve Sketches Illustrative of Sir Walter Scott's Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*. London: J. Robins, 1830. This book was published for Cruikshank as a separate item in which he displayed his etchings. Copies of this small book, which is about the dimensions of a postcard, are quite rare and much harder to find than editions of Scott.

de l'Ancre, Pierre. *L'incredulite et Mescreance du Sortilege Plainement Convaincu*. Paris: N. Buon, 1622. This work is a restatement of much of the materials and theories in de l'Ancre's earlier work, the *Tableau de L'inconstance des Mauvais Anges et Demons*.

de l'Ancre, Pierre. *Tableau de L'inconstance des Mauvais Anges et Demons*. Paris: N. Buon, 1612. Major work by de l'Ancre on the phenomenon of witchcraft in the French Basque lands.

Del Rio, Martin. *Disquisitionem Magicarum*. Louvain: G. Rivii, 1559. The *Disquisitionem Magicarum* is a lengthy study of witchcraft and demonology as well as magic and other occult themes.

Glanvill, Joseph. *Saducismus Triumphatus: Or Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches*. London: Printed for S.L., 1689. Third edition of the work. All the later Glanvill editions contained illustrations including a frontispiece with several vignettes depicting the cases he narrated. The first edition was published posthumously by Henry More (1614–1687) who had been a considerable influence on Glanvill.

Goldschmidt, Peter. *Verworffener Hexen und Zauberer Advocat*. Hamburg: G. Liebernickel, 1705. First edition, 1704, has the same interesting illustration with a spurious signature of the author. The author did not design the illustration that was copied from several earlier book illustrations.

Grosse, Henning. *De Spectris et Apparitionibus Spiritum*. Leiden: F. Hackius, 1656. Illustrated with a frontispiece showing a witch at work surrounded by several devils. This book is not much concerned with witchcraft despite the contents of the illustration.

Guazzo, Francesco Maria. *Compendium Maleficarum*. Milan: A. Tradati (colophon B. Lantonum), 1608. First edition of the book with numerous illustrations. Two editions of the *Compendium* were printed, the second edition being exactly like the first, and appeared in 1626. Both editions of the *Compendium* are quite rare and fetch noteworthy prices in rare book sales as copies do not come on the market very frequently.

Hale, Matthew. *A Trial of Witches at the Assizes Held at Bury St. Edmunds, 1664*. The copy consulted is a 1771 reprint. Printed by P. Deck at Bury St. Edmunds. This small reprint shows the enduring interest in the works of Hale as well as in English witchcraft lore and history.

Harsnett, Samuel. *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*. London: J. Roberts, 1605. Harsnett was Archbishop of York. This work, as its title indicates, presents a Protestant view of witchcraft and demonic possession.

Heywood, Thomas. *Gynaikeion or Nine Books of Various History Concerninge Women*. London: A. Islip, 1624.

Institoris, Heinrich, or Kramer (and Jakob Sprenger). *Malleus Maleficarum*. First edition, Speyer: Peter Drach, 1487. There are numerous editions of the *Malleus* from the 15th and especially the 16th century. Also consulted here, *Malleus Maleficarum*, Lyons: J. Marion; and *Malleus Maleficarum*. Lyons: C. Bourgeat, 1669, the so-called Malleus Omnibus edition with a collection of several titles.

James I of England, *Daemonologie*. Edinburgh: 1597. There are several editions from the 17th century as well as modern reprints. Two different reprints are

available as electronic resources on Kindle. Others may be found online in various book anthology collections.

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Magnus, Olaus. *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*. Rome: J.M. De Viotti, 1555. Profusely illustrated with a large number of vignettes. A study of geography, climate, and folklore of Scandanavia, chiefly Sweden. It contains much on religious beliefs of pagans who inhabited the area and of supernatural entities such as witches, magicians, and werewolves.

Malleus Omnibus. A volume containing the *Malleus Maleficarum* and an additional group of books. Lyons: C. Bourgeat, 1669. These are J. Nider. *Formicarius*; U. Molitor. *De lamiis et phitonicis mulieribus;* Petro Antonio Stampa. *Fuga Satanae;* Petro Mamoris. *Flagellum maleficorum;* and G. Menghi. *Flagellum Daemonum*.

Menghi, Girlamo. *Flagellum Daemonum*. Venice: Malduram, 1576. Menghi wrote a lively and detailed manual for the use of exorcists that presented the Catholic view of possession and exorcism. This work was quite popular but was for a time placed on the *Index of Prohibited Books*. Several editions are reprinted in the Malleus Omnibus of 1669. Also available in a modern English translation.

Molitor, Ulrich. *De lamiis et phitonicis mulieribus*. Paris: A. Corrozet, 1561. Collections of many editions of Molitor, including the 1489 (1488?) first edition are held at Cornell and at the Huntington Library. This little book was a best seller in its time and was included in the Malleus Omnibus. There is a modern French translation. Early editions are famous for their full-page illustrations.

Pordage, John. *Innocencie Appearing Throught the Dark Mists of Pretended Guilt*. London: G. Calvert, 1655. Pordage was accused of black magic and refutes these charges in this short polemic account of his trial.

Porée, Charles G. *Le Pour et Contre de la Possession des Filles de la Parroisse des Landes, Diocese de Bayeux*. Caen or Rouen: Les Heritiers de la Bonne Foy, 1738. This work by Poree (1685–1770) discusses various accounts and examinations of evidence concerning a group of young women who were thought to be possessed. Although this commentary was printed in the 18th century, these were 17th-century cases.

Scott, Walter. *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*. London: William Tegg, c. 1832. Privately bound edition without date. Contains one small illustration

by Cruikshank and several others by different printmakers. Many editions and modern reprints. Scott wrote this book for his son-in-law. It is a most interesting compilation of folklore and what he considered superstitions from the British Isles. Scott is useful to the student of Early Modern Europe in that it shows the types of lore that survived past the 18th century and into modern times.

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Stampa, Pietro Antonio. *Fuga Satanae*. Venice: S. de Combis, 1605. Also included in the 1669 Malleus Omnibus. A popular and typical manual of exorcism.

Teramo, Jacobus de. *Das Buch Belial*. Augsburg: A. Sorg, 1479. First edition, Sorg, 1472. Many editions of this work were printed prior to 1500. This German language edition is the only one that contains any illustrations. The other early editions were printed in Latin. Its illustrations are easily available on the Internet and elsewhere.

Webster, John. *A Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*. London: Printed by J.M., 1677. This book was printed in two editions of different formats in the same year. This edition is the first printed in that year. Both are folios. The first printing does not contain the royal imprimatur, and its page margins are slightly longer than those of the second.

Weyer, Johann. *Opera Omnia*. Amsterdam: P. Van den Berge, 1660. First edition of the collected works of Weyer. It contains the *Praestigiis Daemonum* and other works by him on witchcraft and demonology. Available at various rare books libraries.

Verstegan, Richard. (pseudo. Richard Rowlands). *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquity*. Antwerp: 1605. First edition. A book on cultural and natural history of the British Isles.

Wunderbare Geschichte von der edlen und schonen Melusina. Germany, place unknown, about 1780. A later translation into German of the legend of Melusine. Originally a handwritten manuscript that eventually found its way into print. German editions exist as early as the middle of the 16th century.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Researchers and the reading public alike are very fortunate today to have a large number of good-to-outstanding translations of many of the most important classics in witchcraft and demonology. The new translations are a tremendous help and time saver to students and to the general

reading public as well as to scholars. The following bibliography includes translations and valuable secondary studies. In addition to translations of primary sources, many other important works are available on the Internet or on CD. For example, the 1910 *Catholic Encyclopedia* and the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas are accessible online for free. The writings of the Western church fathers are available on CD.

Anglo, Sydney, ed. *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977. An older but still useful collection of essays on the witchcraft phenomenon in Early Modern Europe.

Ankarloo, Bengt and G. Henningsen, eds. *Early Modern European Witchcraft*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990. A series of essays by several authors on aspects of witchcraft and demonology from 1400 to 1700.

Baroja, Julio C. *The World of the Witches*. Tr. by O.N.V. Glendinning. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965. A valuable introduction to the phenomenon of witchcraft in Early Modern Europe.

Bartrum, Giulia. *Albrecht Durer and his Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Behringer, Wolfgang. *Witch Persecution in Bavaria: Popular Magic, Religious Zealotry and Reason of State in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies State University of New York at Binghamton, 1991. Detailed and well-annotated translation of Weyer that captures the temperament and intent of him in a marvelously accessible way.

Blair, Ann. *The Theatre of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Bodin, Jean. *On the Demon Mania of Witches*. Tr. by R. A. Scott. Toronto: Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2001. A good, readable modern translation of Bodin's first edition, 1580.

Boguet, Henry. *An Examen of Witches*. Tr. by M. Summers. London: Rodker, 1929. Modern English translation of Boguet's *Discours des sorciers* of 1606.

Briggs, Robin. *Witches and Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*. New York: Viking, 1996.

Broedel, Hans P. *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003. Broedel discusses the inception and early history of the printing of the first edition of the *Malleus Maleficarum* as well as its influence. He considers the possibility that Sprenger made only minimal contributions to the actual writing of the text, which was completed largely by Institoris. Those interested in the history of early printing will find this book useful as well.

Caciola, Nancy. *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003. Interesting discussion of divine as well as demonic possession. This is a feminist historical view of how possessed medieval women came more to be thought of as demoniacs or witches than as saints by the end of the Middle Ages.

Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Tr. by H. Beveridge. Orlando, FL: Signalman, 2009, for Kindle electronic editions. First published in 1536, the *Institutes* went through many editions. This is a translation of the first French edition of 1560. Calvin's comment on the Devil quoted herein is at position 3223 in the electronic edition.

Clark, Stuart. *Thinking With Demons: The Idea of the Witch in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.

Cohn, Norman. *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt*. New York: Basic, 1975. One of the classic introductions to the field of witchcraft study.

Corbin, Peter and Douglas Sedge. *The Revels Plays Companion Library: Three Jacobean Witchcraft Plays. The Tragedy of Sophonisba, The Witch, The Witch of Edmonton*. Manchester, UK and New York: Manchester University Press, 1986. Its introductory materials are interesting and useful in understanding.

Cox, John D. *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama 1350–1642*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Crowe, Martha J. *Catalogue of the Witchcraft Collection in Cornell University Library*. Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1977. While there is now a digitized catalogue of these materials plus added items since 1977, this is an indispensable resource, especially for determining dates of various editions. The introduction to the work was written by Rossell Hope Robbins and is a useful discussion and outline of the contents of the Cornell Kroch Library Rare Books Collection. Anyone working in the field of history of witchcraft in Early Modern Europe needs this catalogue. Much of its contents are now digitized and available through http://www.library.cornell.edu.

Cuttler, Charles D. *Northern Painting From Pucelle to Bruegel*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968. Somewhat dated but still useful for a general introduction to Renaissance painting.

Davidson, Jane P. *David Teniers the Younger*. Boulder, CO and London: Westview Press and Thames and Hudson, 1979.

Davidson, Jane P. "The Day I Dropped the *Compendium Maleficarum:* Rare Books in 2049," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*. Vol. XL, No. 1 (Spring 2009), pp. 207–209.

Davidson, Jane P. *A History of Paleontology Illustration*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008. For information concerning Verstegan, Steno, Aldrovandi, Gesner, and others.

Davidson, Jane P. "I Am the Poison-Dripping Dragon: Iguanas and Their Symbolism in the Alchemical Paintings of David Teniers the Younger," *Ambix* (July 1987), pp. 62–80.

Davidson, Jane P. "The Myth of the Persecuted Female Healer," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, Vol. 14 (1993), pp. 115–129.

Davidson, Jane P. "Poisonous and Medicinal Plants in Seventeenth-century European Art Depicting the Witches' Sabbath and Preparations for the Sabbath," Tr. into French by C. Bernard as "Les plantes medicinales et veneneuses: le sabbat des sorciers et ses preparatifs dans la penture neerlandaise du xviie siècle." *Actes du Colloque: Le sabbat des sorciers en Europe xv–xviii siecles*. Eds. N. Jacques-Chaquin and M. Preaud. Grenoble: Editions J. Million, 1993, pp. 419–426. Discussion of paintings, drawings, and prints by Teniers the Younger and De Gheyn, in particular.

Davidson, Jane P. *The Witch in Northern European Art 1470–1750*. Freren, Germany: Luca Verlag, 1986.

Davidson, Jane P. "Wolves, Witches and Werewolves; Lycanthropy and Witchcraft from 1423 to 1700," *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts*. Vol. 2, No. 4 (1990), pp. 47–68.

Davidson, Jane P. and Christopher J. Duffin. "Geology and the Dark Side," *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association*. Vol. 122 (January 2011), pp. 7–15.

Duffin, Christopher J. and Jane P. Davidson, "Stones and Spirits, "*Folklore*. In press, 2011.

Eichberger, Dagmar and C. Zika. *Dürer and His Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Emmerson, Richard K. *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.

Enggass, Robert and J. Brown. *Italy, 1600–1750. Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1970. Useful for contemporary biographical accounts of various artists from the period. Contains Enggass's translation of the poem, *The Witch*, by Salvator Rosa.

Ewen, C. L'Estrange. *Witchcraft and Demonianism*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970. Originally published in 1933, this is still a useful guide to many witchcraft trials and popular written accounts such as broadsides and chapbooks. It stands the test of time as a great index. The many excerpts from various trial accounts form a handy reference.

Falkenburg. R. *Joachim Patinir: Landscape and Image of the Pilgrimage of Life*. Tr. M. Hoyle. Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1988.

Fisher, Peter and H. Higgens. *Olaus Magnus Description of the Northern Peoples*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1998. English translation of the work with illustrations reproduced throughout the translation. These are reduced in

scale, but the volume does give the reader a sense of what the originals are like.

Ginzburg, Carlo. *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Tr. by J. and A. Tedeschi. New York: Penguin, 1985. Ginzburg's seminal study of folklore in a small region of Italy in which there were "good werewolves" who worked to protect against witches who practiced black magic.

Golden, Richard, ed. *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006. In four volumes, this is an important reference source for witchcraft in Europe and the New World. The essays were written by a large team of experts in the field of witchcraft.

Gordon, Bruce and Peter Marshall, eds. *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Useful information on beliefs about ghosts.

Grillot de Givry, Emile. *Witchcraft, Magic and Alchemy*. New York: Dover reprint, 2009, as *Pictorial Anthology of Witchcraft Magic and Alchemy*. There are various titles and reprints of this work, which was originally published in French in 1929 as *Le Musee des Sorciers, Mages et Alchemists*. De Givry's book is very dated and has a number of inaccuracies, but it includes many interesting illustrations from primary occult sources.

Hartt, Frederick. *History of Italian Renaissance Art*. New York: Abrams, originally published, 1969. There are several recent updated editions. This is one of the basic works in the study of the Italian Renaissance. Hartt was a specialist on Michelangelo. His large study of the Renaissance in all media, including architecture, remains today as an indispensable work for university students and anyone interested in the Renaissance in Italy.

Hartung, Ursula. *Frans Francken der Jungere*. Freren, Germany: Luca Verlag, 1989. This is the standard art history text on Francken and includes a catalogue raisonné of the artist's work. Fine source for illustrations of Francken's occult paintings.

Henningsen, Gustav. *The Witches' Advocate: Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition 1609–1614*. Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 1980. A very useful work for understanding the work and writing of Pierre de l'Ancre who persecuted witches in the Basque lands.

Hutchison, Jane C. *Albrecht Durer: A Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997. A

wonderful transcription along with a detailed discussion of a manual of spells for many purposes.

Koldeway, E.M. and B. van Kooij. *Hieronymous Bosch: New Insights into His Life and Work*. Rotterdam: Boymans van Beuningen Museum, 2001.

Koldeway, E.M. and B. van Kooij. *Hieronymous Bosch: The Complete Paintings and Drawings*. Ghent: Ludion, 2001.

Kors, Alan C. and Edward Peters. *Witchcraft in Europe, 400–1700*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. Second edition. Anthology of primary materials on various topics. The first edition covers the period between 1100 and 1700. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

Les Primitifs Flamands. Various titles in the series under the general name of *Primitifs Flamands* (Flemish Primitives), dates, and authors covering artists from the Renaissance in Flanders. These books are older but are still of use and interest to anyone wishing to further explore the art of the 15th and 16th centuries in Flanders. Most university libraries have runs of these volumes. Valuable for their extensive illustrations.

Levack, Brian. *Articles on Witchcraft, Magic and Demonology*. New York: Garland, 1992. In 10 volumes, this is a very significant anthology of scholarly articles on many topics in the dark side, particularly for the period of Early Modern Europe.

Luther, Martin. *The Table Talk* from *The Works of Martin Luther,* Mobile Reference electronic version for Kindle, 2009. Editions in print of the *Table Talk* are sometimes not readily available in libraries. *Table Talk* is a serious volume; but because it seems to be the literal record of Luther's discussions with his followers and friends, it has a lively and interesting tone.

Mackay, Christopher S. ed. and trans. *Malleus Maleficarum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. This is the definitive modern English translation of the *Malleus*. It is a two-volume work with the English translation and a transcription of the Latin from the first 1487 edition. The book is destined to become a standard in witchcraft scholarship and should be the choice of for both the scholarly and casual reader who wishes to learn more about the *Malleus Maleficarum*.

Maxwell-Stuart, P.G. *Martin del Rio: Investigations into Magic*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000. New modern English translation of Del Rio's *Disquisitiones magicarum*. The first edition is 1599, and after that there were at least seven additional editions prior to 1679. Maxwell-Stuart's translation is useful, although it is abridged.

McGinn, Bernard. *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination With Evil*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

McNeill, John T. and H.M. Gamer. *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*. New York: Octagon, 1965. Original edition, 1938. There is also a paperback edition of this as well.

Mora, George et al., eds. *Witches, Devils and Doctors in the Renaissance. Johann Weyer De Praestigiis Daemonum*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Vol. 73.

Noble, Bonnie. *Lucas Cranach the Elder: Art and Devotion of the German Reformation*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2009. Noteworthy for its extensive bibliography on the Lutheran Reformation.

Normand, Lawrence and R. Briggs. *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland: James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches*. Exeter: Exeter University, 2000. A detailed study of the witch-hunting activities that influenced King James in his writing of the *Daemonologie*.

Nynauld, Jean de. *De la lycanthropie, transformation et extase des sorciers*. Ed. Nicole Jacques-Chaquin. Paris: Editions Frenesie, 1990.

Orenstein, Nadine M. et al. *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001.

Otten, Charlotte. *A Lycanthropy Reader: Werewolves in Western Culture*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986. Useful as an introductory volume to the study of the history of lycanthropy and its beliefs in Europe during the Early Modern Period.

Paxia, Gaetano. *The Devil's Scourge: Exorcism During the Italian Renaissance*. Boston: Weiser, 2002. This is an annotated English translation of Menghi, *Flabellum Daemonem*. Paxia's discussion of the material and its author, Girlamo Menghi, is most interesting; and the translation is useful.

Purkiss, Dianne. *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Cenury Representations*. London: Routledge, 1996. Contains useful discussions of the English stage at the turn of the 17th century.

Robbins, Rossell Hope. *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*. New York: Bonanza, 1981. Originally published New York: Crown, 1950. While dated, still a good general introduction to the topics of witches, devils, werewolves, and ghosts. It goes beyond the period of 1400–1700 to more recent centuries.

Russell, Jeffrey B. *The Witch in the Middle Ages*. Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1972.

Schade, Werner. *Cranach. A Family of Master Painters*. Tr. by Helen Sebba. New York: Putnam, 1980. Excellent catalogue of the works of Lucas Cranach and his two sons.

Scott, Randy A. Tr. Jean Bodin: *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995. Modern English translation of Bodin, 1580.

Shestack, Alan et al. *Hans Baldung Grien Prints and Drawings. National Gallery of Art and Yale University Art Gallery, 1981*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. Good catalogue of Baldung's works with interesting and informative articles to accompany the entries, particularly useful for its information and images of Baldung's works on the supernatural.

Stephens, Walter. *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002. This is a useful new study of the development of witchcraft and demonology from about 1430 to 1530.

Summers, Montague. *The Werewolf in Lore and Legend*. New York: Dover, 2003. Originally published London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trubner, 1933. Good for a general introduction to the subject of werewolves in Early Modern European culture and later. Best used as an index.

Swain, Claudia. *Art, Science and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn II (1565–1629)*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

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Thorndike, Lynn. *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.

Walker, D.P. *Unclean Spirits: Possession and Exorcism in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*. London: Scolar Press, 1981 and Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

Watt, Jeffrey R. *The Scourge of Demons: Possession, Lust and Witchcraft in a Seventeenth-Century Italian Convent*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2009.

Williams Gerhild S. et al., eds. and trs. *On the Inconstance of Witches: Pierre de Lancre's Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges e demons*. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissances Studies, 2006. An excellent and lively translation of de l'Ancre's famous work on Basque witches and demonology.

Wilson, J. Dover and M. Yardley Lewes Lavater: *Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Reprints, 2003. A useful, if dated, transcription of this classic work that is more readily available than the rare original book.

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About the Author

JANE P. DAVIDSON is Professor of History of Art at the University of Nevada, Reno. She earned her PhD in history of art and also holds a graduate degree in United States history. She is the author of numerous articles and books on Flemish 17th-century painting, the history of paleontology, and the history of witchcraft iconography in art. Her published works include *A History of Paleontology Illustration* (2008); *The Bone Sharp: The Life of Edward Drinker Cope* (1997); *The Witch in Northern European Art 1470–1750* (1987); and *David Teniers the Younger* (1979).