
Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>Notes on References</i>	vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	viii
<i>Editor's Preface</i>	ix
1 Witchcraft and Magic	1
i. Witchcraft and Sorcery	4
ii. Low Magic and High Magic	7
2 Witchcraft, Magic and the Law	11
i. Development of the Learned Stereotype of the Witch	11
ii. Witch Prosecution: Regional Survey	21
iii. Witch Prosecution: The Victims	29
3 The Dynamics of Witch Prosecution	37
i. The Explanatory Task	37
ii. Some Explanations of Witch Prosecution	41
iii. The Genuineness of Belief	53
iv. Women as Witches	57
4 Why Did Witch Trials Cease?	63
i. Changing Beliefs	64
ii. Conclusion	71
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	75
<i>Index</i>	00

1 Witchcraft and Magic

At the dawning of the third millennium, a belief in the reality and efficacy of witchcraft and magic is no longer an integral component of mainstream Western culture. When misfortune strikes at us, our family or a close neighbour, we do not automatically seek to locate the source of all our ills and ailments in the operation of occult forces, nor scour the local community for the elderly woman who maliciously harnessed them and so bewitched us. Nor do we believe that knowledge, love or power can be ours for the taking if only we employ the correct rites, charms or incantations to bring them within our grasp. Despite the interest in the modern pagan movement, the figures of the witch and the magician are conspicuously absent from the national stage and remain, for most people at least, simply the stuff of storybooks, firmly relegated in the popular consciousness to the realm of the late-night movie and the pages of fantastic fiction.

However, this has not always been so; and even now in parts of the non-Western world, where technology has failed to achieve total dominance over the traditional rhythms of agrarian life or to guarantee material prosperity and social justice, beliefs in witches and sorcerers are still firmly retained which bear significant and striking similarities to those held by Europeans throughout the early modern period. This said, there is still something peculiarly tragic and poignant about the history of the witch belief in Europe. In a span of roughly 200 years, beginning in the later fifteenth century, a great many people, most of them women, were prosecuted for witchcraft. Of those found guilty some 40 000 suffered a capital penalty, at the stake, gallows, or by the headsmen's sword, while an unknown number of additional victims received a more random form of justice at the hands of their neighbours, through common assaults, lynchings and social

ostracism. Among those accused were, without doubt, individuals who had attempted to harm their enemies by occult means and who were thus guilty of witchcraft, at least in intention. Yet we now recognise that the alleged crimes of the witches were mostly impossible – a witch could conceivably invoke the Devil, but she could not fly through the air to meet him, give succour to shape-changing spirits or harm her neighbours by curses or magic.

Although historians have long taken an interest in early modern beliefs in witchcraft and magic, and their terrible consequences for those accused of the crime, the past 30 years have witnessed an enormous explosion of scholarly enthusiasm for the subject. A wealth of radical new interpretations and many conflicting theories have been advanced to account for the survival of this often disastrous aspect of popular culture, and the rise and fall of the many judicial measures designed to combat it. One important feature of much of this recent writing has been the substantial use of techniques and expertise drawn from across discipline boundaries. Anthropologists, sociologists and feminist theorists have all brought their different skills, talents and insights to bear on our understanding of the historical phenomena [9, 37, 59, 95, 128]. Research into witchcraft has been conducted in every European country, in the Americas and in Africa, while international conferences have proliferated and leading scholars have undertaken painstaking analysis of court records and other archival material relating to the social and economic status of both accusers and accused [141, 142]. As a result of this broadening and deepening of the range of study, an altogether more sophisticated picture of the intellectual and social basis for witch theory and belief has begun to emerge, replacing many of the previously held assumptions about the nature of witchcraft and the rationale behind its proscription and prosecution. Few writers today would be inclined to echo the views of such rationalist historians as Hansen and Lea, who regarded the beliefs of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century people in witchcraft as wholly irrational superstitions, and thundered with moral indignation against the cruelty and credulity of witch hunters and judges. ‘There are no pages of human history more filled with horror than those which record the witch-madness of three centuries, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth’, wrote Lea in his early groundbreaking study of the trials, while Russell Hope Robbins thought that the prosecutions represented nothing less than a ‘shocking nightmare, the foulest crime

and deepest shame of modern civilization, the black-out of everything that ... reasoning man has ever upheld' [90: xxx; and 128: 3]. Today, in an age characterised by the faltering of elite intellectual self-confidence – as typified by the growth of postmodernism – and the erosion of faith in human 'progress' – symbolised by the apparent failures of science and socialism – modern historians and commentators are even less likely to accept Voltaire, that arch-apostle of the Enlightenment, as their guide to the inversions and illogicalities inherent in the acceptance of witchcraft and magical beliefs. For Voltaire, it was the intellectual weakness of those accused, when combined with judicial gullibility and clerical fanaticism, that led to a great wave of 'legal murders committed by indolence, stupidity and superstition'. The late twentieth-century rejection of rationalism, and the unhelpful distinctions between 'modern' and 'archaic' forms of thought and behaviour which often accompanied it, is particularly useful in relation to our evolving conception of witchcraft, and the dynamic social forces which shaped it and brought it to prominence relatively late in its existence. The advance of research has done nothing to mitigate the sense of horror one feels on reading the grim records of trials, tortures and executions, but it has done much to remove the impression that the only proper explanation of witch prosecution is to be found in the madness, or the badness, of the prosecutors themselves. In this light, the past may not be such an unfamiliar place as it was even 20 years ago and the modern author may be closer, and more sympathetic, to his counterparts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than at almost any time since those days [72].

There were, indeed, isolated figures even in the sixteenth century who voiced scepticism about the prosecution of witchcraft. The essayist Montaigne observed that: 'It is putting a very high price on one's conjectures to roast a man alive for them.' In England, Reginald Scot wrote in 1584 that those who regarded themselves as able to do harm by occult means were merely deluded, whilst Johann Weyer, physician to the Duke of Cleves, argued that old women who believed themselves to be witches were suffering from over-active imaginations – though he qualified his conclusions by adding that their abnormal mental states were caused by the Devil. Such views, however, were those of a minority of writers and even these sceptics – as we shall see – chose to phrase their criticisms within the framework of contem-

porary religious and demonological orthodoxy, firmly defying all later attempts to neatly categorise them as recognisably 'modern' rationalists. For the overwhelming majority of educated men around the year 1600, the problem was worryingly simple: witchcraft was not only real but was daily multiplying and increasing in its seriousness. King James VI of Scotland complained bitterly in 1597 of the 'fearefull abounding at this time [and] in this Country, of these detestable slaves of the Divil, the Witches or enchaunters', who were 'never so rife in these parts, as they are now'. Henri Boguet, the Chief Justice of Saint-Claude, declared around the year 1590 that 'there are witches by the thousand everywhere' and likened their ability to reproduce to that of garden worms, or vermin, infecting many districts with their odious presence. In 1613, Pierre de Lancre, who had burnt about 80 people for witchcraft in the French-Spanish border region, expressed the view that the progress of witchcraft in that area was now unstoppable, and that the sect of witches had infiltrated itself into the Basque population at large, while some years earlier, in 1580, Jean Bodin, one of the most formidable intellects of his day, had declared that sorcerers were driven by a veritable 'demon-mania' to run after devils and to do their bidding. Such crimes, he believed, which were both atrocious and widespread, needed to be energetically met with the most grievous of punishments [see 14, 15, 74, 138].

But just what are witchcraft, sorcery and magic? If a discussion of these central themes in their sixteenth- and seventeenth-century context is to be fruitful, it is first necessary to characterise them with some precision.

(i) Witchcraft and Sorcery

Witchcraft and sorcery are clearly closely related in that both involve occult causality – that is, they are taken to operate not through the familiar cause and effect mechanisms of everyday life, but through certain hidden, mystical means. However, many anthropologists, following on from Evans-Pritchard's seminal work among the Azande tribe of the Sudan [49], believe that a distinction should be drawn between them. Witchcraft, in their conception, is an internal power that some people possess, an

inborn property which they inherit, just as they might inherit the properties of being right-handed or snub-nosed. Witches can harm other human beings, their animals or crops, without performing any special acts; they can cause damage merely by a look or a malicious thought, and sometimes may even do so involuntarily. Sorcerers, on the other hand, have no such innate capacity for occult harm, but employ magical operations, such as the chanting of spells or the performance of certain ritual operations, to accomplish their ends. In principle, anyone can become a sorcerer by learning the appropriate techniques, whereas to be a witch it is necessary to have been born one. A sorcerer wishing to hurt someone might use a verbal formula whilst damaging something belonging to the intended victim, such as a piece of their clothing, or some hair or nail parings, relying on the mystical relationships between those objects and their owner magically to transfer the harm to them; but a witch can achieve a similar objective without so much as lifting a finger.

Historians, however, have become increasingly dubious as to whether this distinction has much application to the European scene. There was, as Thomas has pointed out, some belief in the existence of people who had the 'evil eye', the power to harm men or animals simply by looking at them [150: 553]. Moreover, Henningsen has suggested that Evans-Pritchard's contrast was captured in the Spanish distinction between *hechicería* (sorcery) and *brujería* (witchcraft) [68: 10]. Yet trial records provide little evidence that two distinct classes of offenders were singled out on these lines; the *modus operandi* of the accused witch seems normally to have been of little interest to accusers or court officials. French historians would thus seem to be justified in using the one term *sorcier* to cover all of those charged with causing harm – or *maleficium*, as it was termed – by occult means. In England, courts were more concerned to determine what brand of *maleficia* the defendant was guilty of, rather than how she had produced them, while on the Continent and in Scotland, the focus of attention tended to centre upon the defendant's relationship with the Devil. It remains possible that in some parts of Europe a greater measure of distinction was drawn between witchcraft and sorcery at the popular level than is apparent from the surviving records; but on the basis of the available evidence, it is of little assistance to the historian to hold the two terms sharply apart.

Typical *maleficia* which figure in European trials include procuring the deaths and sickness of people and animals, spoiling crops, causing sexual impotence, raising bad weather, and interfering with the manufacture of butter, cheese and beer. Such maleficia had been feared in rural areas of Europe from immemorial antiquity, and while there was nothing in principle to limit the practice of black magic to the countryside, it appears on the whole to have loomed less large in the perspective of urban dwellers. But occult forces could also be enlisted to serve non-malicious ends. ‘White witches’ and wizards – in England often called ‘cunning folk’ or ‘blessing witches’, and in France *devins-guérisseurs* – existed in many communities, and would for a fee attempt the magical curing of diseases, counter malign sorcery, identify one’s enemies, foretell the future, and locate treasure or lost property. It is likely that such practitioners of ‘white’ witchcraft often satisfied their clients by purely non-occult means, though to attract custom they may have deliberately cultivated an air of personal mystique. In an age when formal medical treatment, however rudimentary, was well beyond the reach of the vast majority of the population, many of these figures were undoubtedly familiar with folk-remedies and herbal lore, and fulfilled a genuine healing function within their localities. Reputations might also be made or further enhanced by such divinatory tasks as the identification of enemies, which would not have proved insuperable to someone with an acute ear for local gossip, or who was well provided with suitable informants. ‘White’ witches could cure sick children and animals and were adept at pinpointing the roots of village discord; ‘black’ witches inflicted death and sickness at will, and delighted in exacerbating local tensions to breaking point. Often, indeed, one man’s white witch might have been another man’s black. Muchembled has suggested that while clients might confidently approach a *guérisseuse* in a distant village, those who lived in her vicinity may have feared her powers and, if occasion arose, denounced her as a maleficent witch [115: 112–15]. It is likely, too, that some of these consultants genuinely believed they had the power to do either good or ill by occult means.

But for many educated people of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these characterisations of white and black witchcraft would unquestionably seem to have left out the most important element. Orthodox learned opinion, promoted by religious, and increasingly accepted by secular, authorities, held that witches or

sorcerers were in league with that great foe of God and mankind, the Devil, and were utilising his superhuman powers for their own operations. This concept of witchcraft as a manifestation of diabolical power seems to have had considerably less grip on the popular than on the learned mind. Examinations of court records over the last few years have amassed much support for the view that unlearned people were not especially concerned with witchcraft as a devilish thing; like many people today in non-Western cultures, they accepted that the world contained hidden forces which knowing individuals can tap, just as anyone can tap the more familiar forces of everyday life, without speculating as to their origin. The typical peasant who laid an accusation of witchcraft did so because he believed he had suffered injury from a witch, not because he looked on her as a servant of the Devil.

Following Larner [87: 7], we may describe as 'primary witchcraft' the witchcraft or sorcery of *maleficium* which frightened the European peasant and which continues to frighten people in many societies at the present day. But it was much less the notion of *maleficium* than a concept of the witch as a follower of the Devil that had the foremost place in the minds of theologians and many witch judges. Therefore, it is inevitable that the term 'witch' in the present study will often bear this extra demonological connotation. A *sorcier*, wrote Bodin, 'is one who by diabolical means knowingly attempts to accomplish some end'. This overlay of a demonological content on the idea of primary witchcraft is distinctively European, and is possible only within a Christian culture.

(ii) Low Magic and High Magic

Using spells and rituals to kill or maim a man or his beasts, to spoil a neighbour's butter-making, to cause the water from a well to be foul, to produce good or bad weather, to make Jack fall in love with Jill – all these are examples of low magic, which is closely associated with Larner's definition of 'primary witchcraft' and with what anthropologists call 'sorcery', though it was not necessarily directed to evil ends. Low magic, essentially practical in intention, was the magic of uneducated 'white' and 'black' village witches or sorcerers, and of their often only slightly more cultivated urban counterparts. Theoretically unsophisticated, it was a

magic primarily rooted in folk traditions orally transmitted from one generation to the next, with many of its spells and prescriptions having their origin in half-remembered learning and pseudo-science gleaned from the most distant antiquity.

Yet in early modern Europe, magic was by no means the exclusive preserve of ill-educated low magicians. Far removed from low magic in its theoretical and operational sophistication was the high magic of the Renaissance magus, a learned and visionary figure combining elements of the scientist and the priest, and entranced by the noble prospect of man controlling the cosmos by magical means. For such men as Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), it was through magic that humanity could realise its highest aspirations to understand and to compel the forces that govern the universe, and to make its nearest approach to divinity. Renaissance high magic rested firmly on the quasi-mystical philosophy of Neoplatonism, which had originated in third-century Alexandrian speculation on the meaning of certain strands in the thought of Plato. Influential, too, were the so-called Hermetic writings, themselves actually a product of the Neoplatonist tradition, which were believed – before they were correctly dated in the seventeenth century – to be the works of an Egyptian sage contemporary with Moses, named Hermes Trismegistus. Medieval magicians had had some knowledge of the Neoplatonist-Hermetic tradition, largely filtered through Arab sources or the pages of the Jewish mystical Cabala, but high magic received a considerable boost during the Renaissance from the rediscovery of Hermetic manuscripts, and from the new enthusiasm for reading the works of the ancients.

High magic depended on a complex theory, in which astrological and alchemical notions were mingled, of the world as a mystically interconnected system, and the magician believed that this interconnectedness (the ‘concord of the world’, as Ficino termed it) could be exploited to produce results on earth by certain ceremonies and incantations. Crucial to this conception was the Neoplatonist idea of the *spiritus mundi*, the spirit of the world, which infuses all things and which is the medium through which the influence of the stars is drawn down to earth. The purpose of magic then becomes that of attracting benign stellar influences and hindering malign ones; and the magician must study how to compel these forces by carving images on stones (talismans),

chanting and singing mystical songs, making certain gestures and producing appropriate odours, all at the astrologically propitious times. The spiritual unity of the world is the ground of the 'sympathies' among its parts which are the magician's concern. To illustrate the nature of this unity, Ficino cited the well-known phenomenon of sympathetic vibration: just as plucking one taut string of a lyre will cause a second string to vibrate in sympathy with it, so are all parts of the universe linked together in a single harmonious rhythm, which enables the magician who performs the correct actions to capture and use the powers of the heavenly bodies. For instance, to fight a fever, according to Ficino, 'one sculpts Mercury in marble, in the hour of Mercury, when Mercury is rising, in the form of a man who bears arrows' [56: 75].

There was much debate about the extent to which high magic relied on demons. Even St Thomas Aquinas, the arbiter of orthodoxy, had not forbidden the use of natural substances which, by virtue of astral correspondences, might have a certain efficacy – occult certainly, yet still strictly within the bounds of the natural – to produce some result; for example a particular plain stone, placed on the skin, might in this manner help to cure some disease. However, Renaissance high magic, with its acceptance of the Hermetic doctrine of a universe animated in all its parts, and with the tendency of some of its exponents in their more poetical flights to talk of 'planetary deities', invited the charge that it was not really a natural magic, but rather a demonically facilitated one, and as such reprehensible. Some influential theorists, such as the much emulated magus Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), were actually willing to admit that their magic in some of its aspects employed demonic power, but insisted that only good demons, or 'angels', were involved. Whatever the sincerity of this plea, high magic was understandably greatly suspect in the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities.

Through its avowed sense of optimism, intense curiosity and willingness to seek for ultimate knowledge, Renaissance Neoplatonism was able to offer attractive and highly plausible intellectual defences for magic which were accepted by many members of the educated classes throughout the early modern period, until the concept of an animistic universe, whose organic power could be harnessed and channelled, was finally eclipsed, late in the seventeenth century, by that of a mechanistic one

subject to immutable physical and mathematical laws. Meanwhile, popular low magic continued to thrive as it had always done, seemingly little indebted to the writings of the learned practitioners, even though more or less garbled echoes of the thought of Mirandola or Agrippa might occasionally surface in manuscript manuals of practical magic. Some of the men and women who plied the magic trade professionally undoubtedly had some smattering of learning, yet there can have been few ‘white’ wizards and wise women even among the urban practitioners who had much grasp of the subtleties of the Neoplatonist cosmology. In England, as Thomas has shown, wizards were generally artisans, or sometimes farmers, merchants or clerics, and practised magic only in their spare time [150: 295–6]; for the most part they can have taken little interest in the theoretical basis of magic, though presumably few were inclined to attribute its efficacy to the Devil. Some of these consultants built up considerable practices and charged high fees. Their clients were not confined exclusively to the commonalty: high-ranking members of society, too, sometimes required a magic cure to ward off the sudden onset of illness or sought to learn their future by divination. Magical remedies were, in fact, available for an enormous range of problems. In 1544, Lord Neville was promised the assistance of magic in his attempts to become proficient on the lute and virginals, while in the late seventeenth century the antiquary Elias Ashmole employed astrological talismans to rid his house of rats and mice [150: 275, 759].

Index

- Agrippa, Henry Cornelius 9–10
Alexander of Hales 13
Alexander VI, Pope 35
Ange, Soeur Jeanne des 25
Anti-Semitism 19
Apuleius 12
Aquinas, St Thomas 9, 17
Ashmole, Elias 10
Aubrey, John 73
Azande tribe 4–5
- Bacon, Sir Francis 68
Barstow, A. L. 37
Batori, Ingrid 60
Behringer, W. 21, 39, 44
Benandanti 39
Bodin, Jean 4, 7, 14, 33, 53, 57
Boguet, Henri 4, 24
Bothwell, Francis, earl of 49
Boyer, P. 52
Boyle, Robert 66
Briggs, R. 21
Buckingham, George Villiers, first
duke of 35
- Campanella, Tommaso 35
Canon Episcopi 12, 17–18
Cathars 16
Chambers, Ezekiel 67
Chapbooks 20
Circe 11
Clark, Stuart 13
Cohn, Norman 18
Communists 57
Constitutio Criminalis Carolina
35
- Council of Ancyra 12
Counter-Reformation 44, 50
Cullender, Rose 47
'cunning folk' 6, 27
- Daemonologie* 69
Davies, Owen 71
Dee, Dr John 35
Delcambre, E. 53
Delumeau, J. 50
Descartes, René 66
Demonic pact, notion of the
17–18, 22, 26–8, 32
Demonology 12–15
Demons 35, 48, 66, 68
Devil, the figure of the 2–3, 7,
10, 12–13, 15–17, 27–9, 35, 39,
41, 49, 51, 53–7, 59, 61, 63–4,
67–71
see also Satan
Diana, Goddess 12
Duncane, Geillis 49
Dürer, Albrecht 64
Dworkin, A. 58
- Edwardes, Richard 47
Edwards, Mary 46
Effutu tribe 45
Ehrenreich, B. 40
Elizabeth I, Queen of England
35
Elliott, J. H. 50
English, D. 40
Enlightenment thought 3
Errores Gazariorum 20
Evans-Pritchard, E. E. 4–5
Ewen, C. L'Estrange 27, 34

- Fabius 59
 Fairies 74
 Familiar spirits 27
 Fascism 74
 Faustus, Dr 21, 35
 Ferdinand of Bavaria, Archbishop 23
 Ferdinando, Lord Stanley 65
 Fian, John 49
 Ficino, Marsilio 8–9
Flagellum Haereticorum Fascinariorum 20
Formicarius 20
 Fraticelli 16
 Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor 19
- Galileo, Galilei 66
 Gaskin, Emma 46
 Germanicus, Caesar 11
 Ginzburg, C. 39
 Glanvil, Joseph 67
Golden Ass, the 12
 Goodfellow, Robin 74
 Gooding, Elizabeth 47
 Grierson, Robert 49
 Grimm, J. and W., the Brothers 19
 Gypsies 57
- Hammer of Witches (see Malleus Maleficarum)*
 Hansen, C. 2
 Harris, M. 52
 Hartley, Edmund 35
 Henningsen, G. 5
 Hermetic writings 8–9
 Herodias 12
 Herodotus 53
 Hitler, Adolf 57
 Hobbes, Thomas 63
 Holda 12
 Holocaust, the 58
 Holt, Sir John 34
 Homer 11
 Hopkins, Matthew 27
 Horace 11
- Hutton, Ronald 21
 Huyghens, C. 66
- Imps 48
 Innocent VIII, Pope 35
 Inquisition, Papal 17–18, 25–6, 54
 Inquisition, Spanish 25–6, 30, 54
 Inquisition, Venetian 25, 30, 54
 Institoris (*see* Kramer)
 Isiah, Prophet 13
- Jacquier, N. 20
 James VI and I, King of Scotland and England 4, 14, 29, 49, 65, 69
 Jews and Judaism 8, 12, 19, 25, 57–8
 Joan of Arc 39
 Junius, Johannes 32
- Karlsen, C. F. 47
 Kepler, J. 66
 Kieckhefer, R. 18
 Kittredge, G. L. 27
 Kluckhohn, C. 45
 Knights Templar 16
 Kramer, H. 20
- Labouvie, Eva 60
 Lancre, Pierre de 4
 Lambe, Dr John 35
 Larner, C. 7, 18, 23, 28, 50, 56, 61
 Lea, H. C. 2, 37
 Leach, Anne 47
 Lepers 19
 Louis XIV, King of France 24, 63
 Luther, Martin 59, 65
- Macalzean, Euphemia 46
 Macfarlane, A. 27–8, 46–8, 50, 52
 McCarthyism 74
 Magus, Simon 13
 Malebranche, N. 63
Maleficium 5–6, 18, 22, 26–7, 40–1, 54, 72
Malleus Maleficarum 20, 57, 59

- May, Marianne 46
 Mayer, P. 45
Mein Kampf 57
 Michelet, Jean 39–40
 Midelfort, H. C. E. 23, 33, 42, 70
 Midwives 58, 61
 Mirandola, Pico della 8, 10, 35
 Molitor, U. 20
 Montaigne 3
 Monter, E. W. 30, 42
 Moses 8
 Muchembled, R. 6, 24, 50–2
 Murray, Margaret 39–40, 58

 Napier, Barbara 49
 Neoplatonism 8–10, 66
 New Poor Law 72
 Newton, Sir Isaac 66–7
 Nider, J. 20
 Nissenbaum, S. 52

 Odysseus 11
Odyssey, the 11
 Omri, King of Israel 12
 Osborne, Ruth 71

 Parlement of Paris, the 69
 Pepys, Samuel 68
 Perchta 12
 Perkins, William 29
 Persius 11
 Philostratus 53
 Plato 8
 Plutarch 53
 Postmodernism 3
 Protestantism 14, 23, 25, 35,
 43–4, 67

 Reformation, the 43–4, 50, 68
 Reformists, the 16
see also Protestantism
 Renaissance thought 8–9, 21, 59
 Remy, Nicholas 15, 23, 57, 59
 Robbins, R. H. 2
 Roman Catholicism 14, 23, 35,
 43–4, 59, 67
 Roper, Lyndal 61
 Ross, Balthasar 38

 Royal Society, the 67
 Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor
 35, 65
 Rufus, King William II, of England
 39
 Russell, J. 18

 Sabbats 19, 26–7, 31, 33, 40, 51,
 59
 St Paul 13
 St Victor 17
 Satan 13, 15, 31, 55, 68, 71
 Saul, King of Israel 12
 Schormann, Gerhard 23
 Scot, Reginald 3
 Sharpe, James 21, 27–8
 Sherburne, Margaret 46
 Soam, John 47
 Socialism 3
 Soldan, W. G. 38
 Spee, Friedrich von 70
 Sprenger, J. 20
 Stearne, John 27
 Strix, the 11–12
Summa Contra Gentiles 17
Super Illius Specula 17

 Tacitus 11
 Talion, the 56
Teufelsbücher ('Devil's Books') 20
 Thirty Years' War, the 42
 Thomas, K. 5, 10, 46–8, 50, 52
 Thomasius, Christian 66
 Thompson, Flora 72
 Trethowan, W. H. 59
 Trevor-Roper, Sir Hugh 37,
 43–5, 52
 Trismegistus, Hermes 8

 Urban VIII, Pope 35

 Virgil 11
 Voltaire 3

 Waldensians 16, 18
 Wann, Paulus 15
 Weyer, Johann 3, 69–70
 Witch of Endor, the 12

'Wise' men or women 10
 Witchcraft
 Biblical sanction for 12–13, 29, 33
 'black' 6–7, 36, 38, 55, 60, 65, 72
 Charity and 46–7, 52–3, 60, 65
 Children and 26, 32–3, 61
 Classical 11–12, 39, 53
 Elderly and 45, 52–3, 60, 70
 Homosexuals and 31
 Legal mechanisms and 31–6, 51, 54, 56, 63–4, 68–71
 Poverty and 31, 38, 42–3, 46, 48, 52, 60–1, 70
 Primary 7, 18
 Printing and 20–1
 'rationality' of belief in 14, 37, 47, 72–3
 Sexual desire and 59
 Toture and 31–2, 69–70
 'white' 6–7, 35–6, 51, 55
 Women and 1, 29–31, 37–8, 40–1, 45, 52–3, 57–62, 70
 'Witch-craze' 22, 73
 'Witch-mark' 27
 Wunder, Heide 60
 Zechariah, Prophet 13
 Zguta, R. 26, 29