

WITCHCRAFT AND THE WITCH HUNT

A RARE BOOK CATALOGUE



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BRUCE MARSHALL RARE BOOKS

FOYERS, 20 GRETTON ROAD, GOTHERINGTON,
CHELTENHAM, GLOS. GL52 9QU

For all enquiries please contact Clare Marshall.

E-mail: clare@marshallrarebooks.com

Telephone: +44 (0)1242 672997

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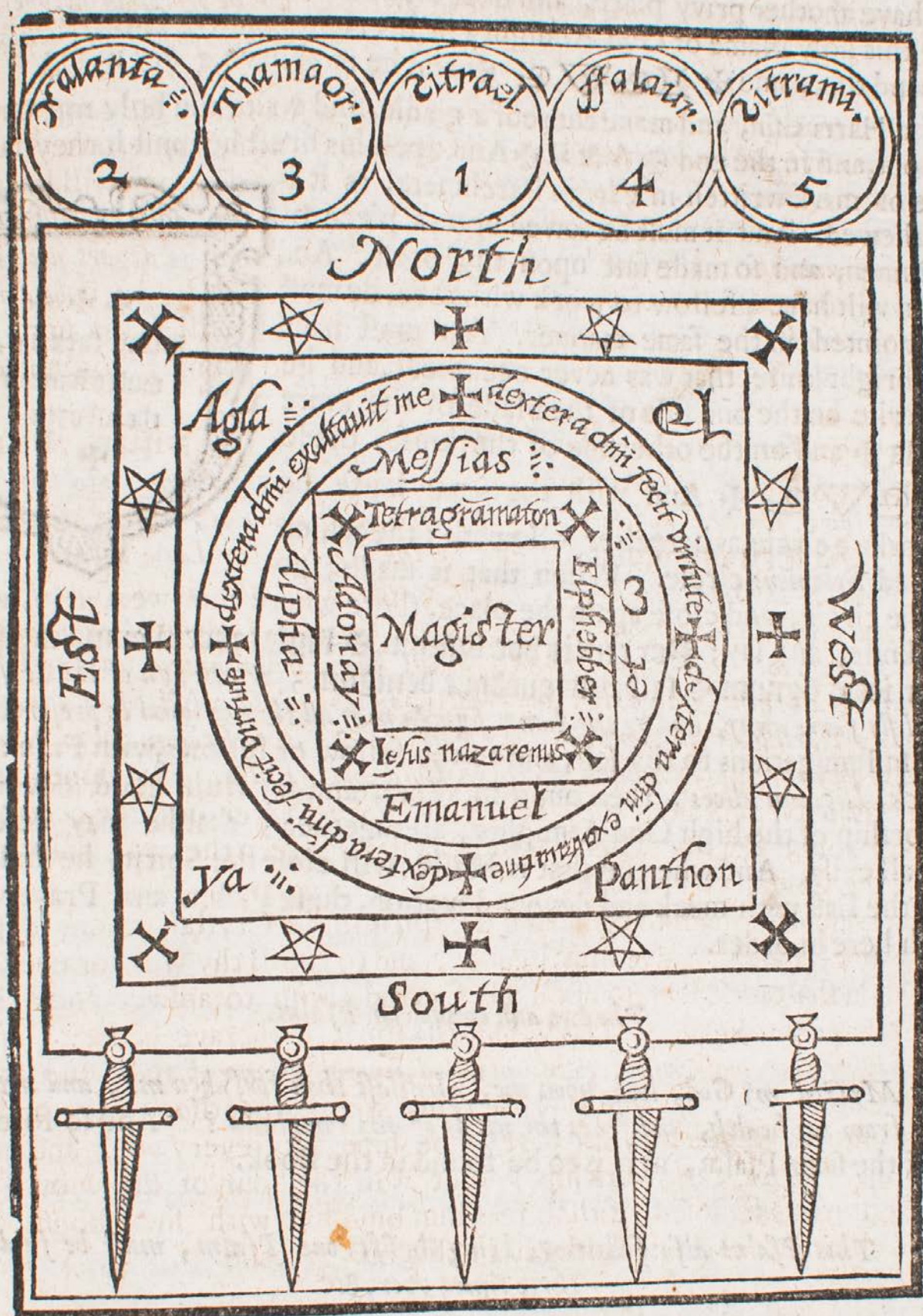
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Foreword

“It might be a question which were the worse fate, to be doomed to a belief in witchcraft, or to live in a country where it is believed.”

- Burton, Criminal Trials in Scotland.

Witchcraft and the Witch Hunts is a catalogue of primarily continental books that document the virulent debate on the connection between diabolism and magic happening amongst Christian scholars, beginning in the early modern period. An impressive and steady flow of tracts, most of them printed not long after their composition, documents the sudden urgency of the debate, whilst at the same time charting the scale of the budding witch-hunt. Both the persecutions and the publications were markedly international phenomena, explored in this catalogue with examples from Germany, Italy, Spain, France, England, Scotland, North America and the Ancient World.

Among the highlights are; a first edition of *De Praestigis Daemonum* by Johann Weyer, the first work written in defence of those persecuted in the witch hunts (item 29); Reginald Scot's *The Discovery of Witchcraft*, a popular work debunking the existence of witches and earning the fury of King James I (Item 19); and Francis Hutchinson's *An Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft* which ultimately ended the witchcraft debate in England (Item 14).

The selection also includes elite demonologists, most famously Kramer and Sprenger's *Malleus Maleficarum* (Items 15, 16); and writers who share specialised legal training and had considerable experience prosecuting witch trials, such as Matthew Hale (Item 12); Jean Bodin (Item 3); Henry Boguet (Item 4) and Pierre de Lancre (Item 17).

Due to the symbiotic nature of the debate, many of these works are published directly in response to each other. This catalogue depicts both sides of the exhaustive discourse as well as the reflections from the Enlightenment period, such as Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (Item 20).

“Nobody would believe such folly now-a-days, except low and ignorant creatures”.

- Sir Walter Scott

opposite: No.19

An Insight into the working of Classical Witchcraft

1. APULEIUS, LUCIUS; GRAVES, ROBERT (TRANSLATOR); AYRTON, MICHEAL (LITHOGRAPHER). *The Transformations of Lucius Otherwise Known as the Golden Ass*

FIRST EDITION, 9 lithograph plates, lithograph endpapers, publishers printed boards, preserved in original slipcase, folio, London, The Folio Society, 1960.

£75

Robert Graves translation is the first modern translation of this work.

The plot of *The Golden Ass* follows the protagonist, a fictional Lucius, who undergoes a transformation into an ass and has adventures on his way to an initiation into a mystery cult of the goddess Isis. The hero's encounters with witchcraft provide not only some of the most richly comical passages in the novel, but also account for the disastrous transformation of the handsome young nobleman. Apuleius introduces a witch - Pamphile - who is old, vengeful and consumed by her desires. It is through Pamphile that we gain the fullest insight into the workings of Classical witchcraft. Witchcraft works, but not for the good of either the practitioners or of wider humanity. It would seem to rebound with terrible, if often humorous, consequences for all concerned. Lucius spies on Pamphile as she undresses, takes out a little box of ointment and smearing it all over herself, mutters a long charm to her lamp and, shaking herself, transforms into an owl. Lucius, wanting this power so he could glide over rooftops, seduces Pamphile's slave and asks her to help him turn into an owl. Unfortunately she mixes up the two little boxes in the witch's cabinet and gives Lucius an ointment that transforms him, not into an owl, but into a jackass. Misfortune follows misfortune, as Lucius - as an ass- is carried off in a bandit raid. The rest of the tale is devoted to Lucius' various degradations as a beast of burden. Apuleius' novel is a devotional work, chronicling the fall and subsequent redemption of Lucius. Once transformed into the ass, he has become the lowest of the low. However, while he had played around with the 'wrong sort' of magic, Lucius had not sought to use it for evil purposes, and this enables him to win back the sympathies of the gods.

Active during the Proconsulship of Claudius Maximus between 155-80CE, Lucius Apuleius, a philosopher, poet, rhetorician and priest of Isis, was himself accused of witchcraft.

After marrying the wealthy widow Aemilla Pudentilla, Apuleius was taken to court by her two adult sons, driven by distress over their lost inheritance. The sons asserted Apuleius must have bewitched Pudentilla into loving him in order to gain her fortune. The author and philosopher stood trial for what was effectively fraud, accomplished by the means of witchcraft.

Apuleius was a skilled debater who had made the mysteries of religion and magic his life long study. While defending himself, he mocked the sons and their claims while justifying his own practices in magic. He was successful and was acquitted on all charges.

"Witchcraft charges were, Apuleius contended, used as an insidious handle with which to ensnare the accused. There was no way of stilling accusations of that nature once they had been made, or of giving a right answer to the prosecutor.

...Thus, the rules of the witch prosecution - that were to become so depressingly familiar



to thousands of victims over the next 1,500 years - were stripped bare in a North African courtroom." - John Callow

The Golden Ass, despite its recourse to jokes and sexual humour, is an avowedly religious text. The beauty and piety of the work are often overlooked in favour of the knock-about comedy. St. Augustine of Hippo hated Apuleius' religious pluralism and conception of Socratic philosophy, but he acknowledged him as a source of knowledge on demonology. St. Augustine laid the foundation for demonological witch theory in a few short passages in *The City of God* written specifically to confute Apuleius. St. Augustine's thoughts on demons informed the core theorists behind the European witch trials, such as Jean Bodin, Martin Del Rio and the authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum*.

An avid classicist, *The Golden Ass* inspired Albrecht Durer's engravings of witches, in turn influencing the image of the witch in Northern Europe.

[*Embracing the Darkness A Cultural History of Witchcraft*, Callow, 2018]

2. ARNOT, HUGO. A Collection and Abridgement of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland, from A.D. 1536 to 1784. With Historical and Critical Remarks.

FIRST EDITION, list of subscribers, with additional subscribers omitted leaf, contemporary polished calf, rebacked, original spine relaid, red morocco label, bookplate of Henry George Watson to pastedown, 4to, Edinburgh, for the Author by William Smellie, 1785.

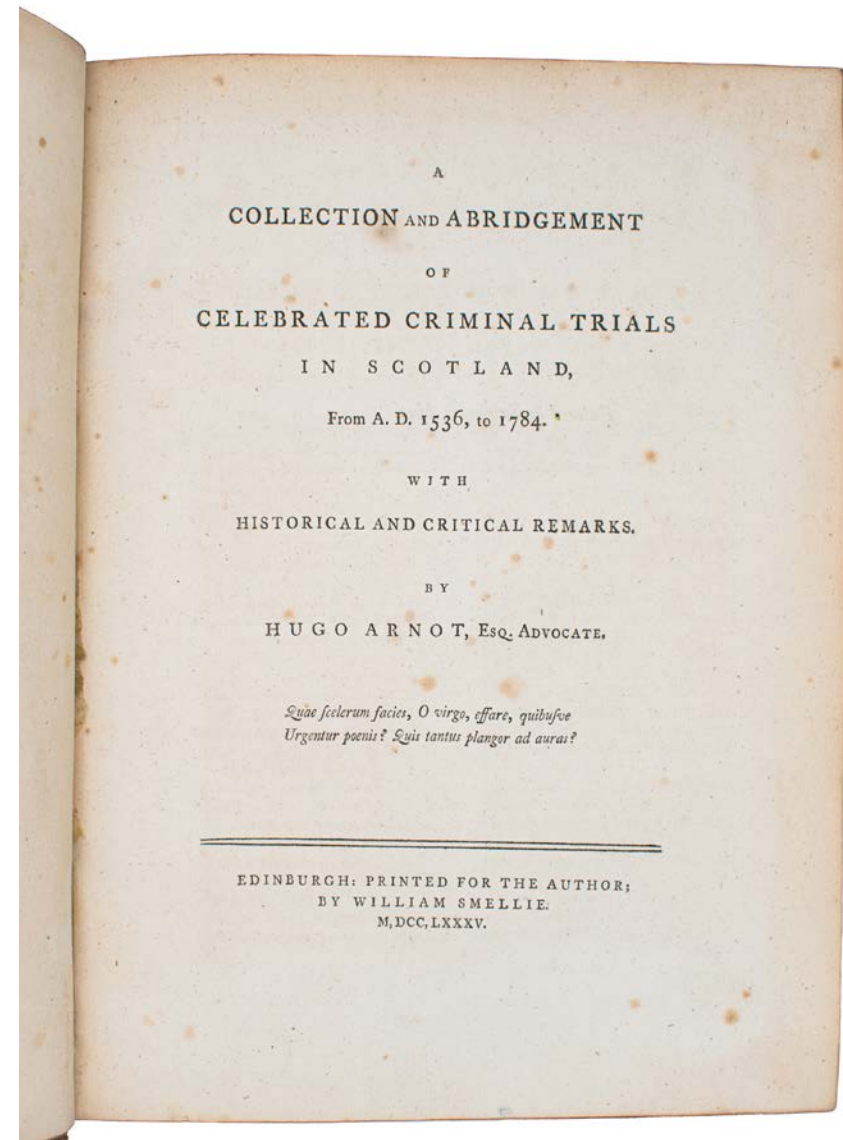
£350

A fine copy of Arnot's famous work. The book is separated by genre, including sections on treason, murder, piracy, forgery, incest, adultery, blasphemy and witchcraft.

In a foreword in the chapter on witchcraft, Arnot explains that the law passed, which made the "practising of sorcery, or consulting with witches" a capital punishment, did not come from a belief in witchcraft, but to punish those who believed in supernatural powers for impiety and blasphemy. He goes on to describe a number of witch trials, including Alison Pearson, who was convicted of practising sorcery, and of invoking the Devil.

Others include; Euphan McCalzeane, who was accused of treason for conspiring the King's death, particularly by raising storms to obstruct his return from Denmark; Margaret Wallace, accused of inflicting and curing diseases by "inchantment"; Alexander Hamilton, who confessed to meeting the Devil, became the Devil's servant and was given instructions on how to get revenge on his enemies; Isobel Elliot and nine other women, who were executed "for having had carnal copulation with the Devil."

In his texts, Arnot was sharp and outspoken, which was met with mixed feelings. This work was so popular it was reprinted several times as well as being pirated in Ireland.



One of the Most Emphatic and Ruthless Works on Demonology

3. BODIN, JEAN. De La Demonomanie Des Sorciers

Third edition, [12], 252, ā4 ~e4 ~i4 A-Z4 Aa-Zz4 AAa-SSs4, two ownership notes to title, contemporary annotations, woodcut printers device to title, occasional faint damp staining to upper corner, mottled calf, spine gilt with fleurons, boards twice ruled in gilt, floriated border and central motif, 4to, Paris, Jaques du Puys, 1582.

£6000

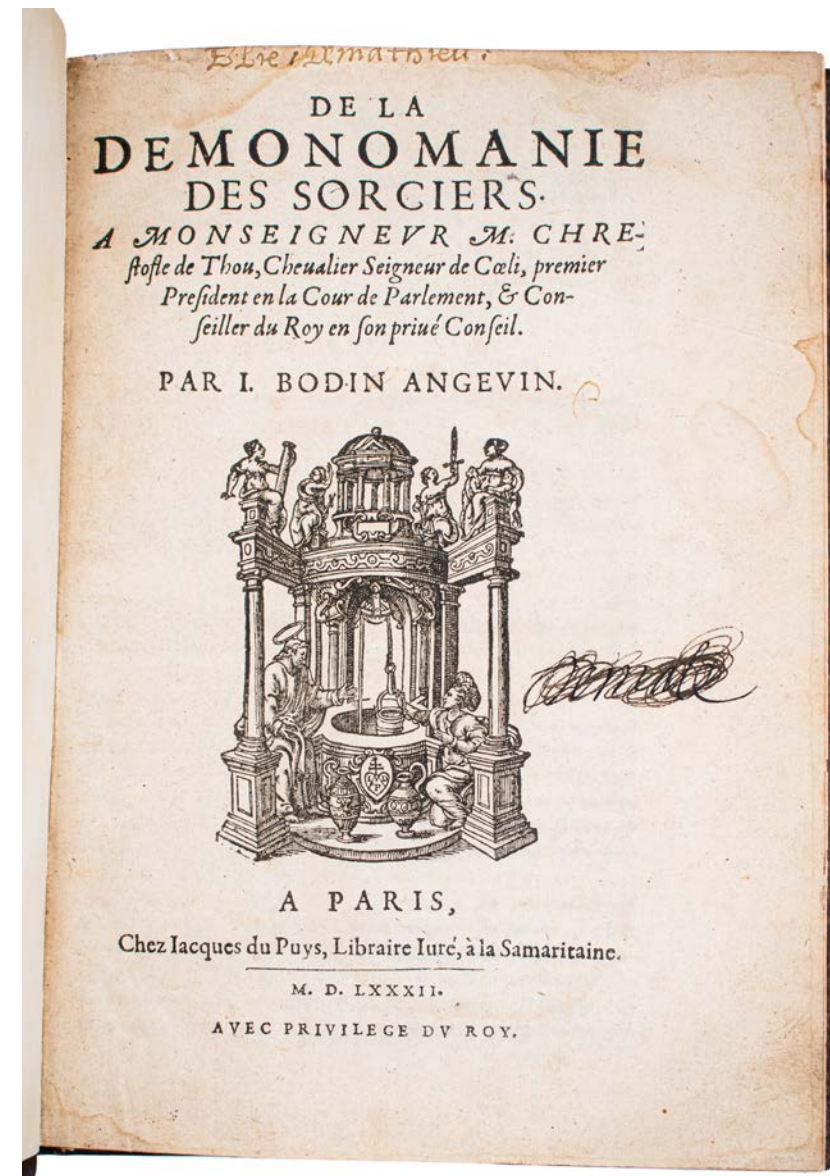
De La Demonomanie Des Sorciers is Jean Bodin's major work on sorcery and witchcraft persecutions. It was first issued in 1580, with ten editions being published by 1604. *De la Demonomanie Des Sorciers* was perhaps the most important and widely discussed treatment of witchcraft in the period when witch trials were on the increase everywhere.

Bodin published *De La Démonomanie Des Sorciers* after reading the 1577 edition of Weyer's *De Praestigis Daemonum*. He was already enraged by the leniency of French judges and the neutrality of the French court: the 'Erasmian', 'Platonic' Court of Catherine de Medici. Hastily, he added an appendix denouncing Weyer as an infamous patron of witches and a criminal accomplice of the Devil. Every champion of demonological science from Bodin onwards took care to attack the "vain ravings" of Weyer.

Writing at the very extreme end of the demonological spectrum, only Jean Bodin was prepared to believe that nothing was impossible. Although one or two followed him, most rejected the latitude of belief to which his view gave rise. It was his view that it was wrong to put limitations on what it was possible for witches and demons to do. This was because they were not governed by the laws of nature after all. Their actions belonged to the supernatural and unless mortals wished to challenge divine omniscience by giving a reason for everything, they had to be taken on trust.

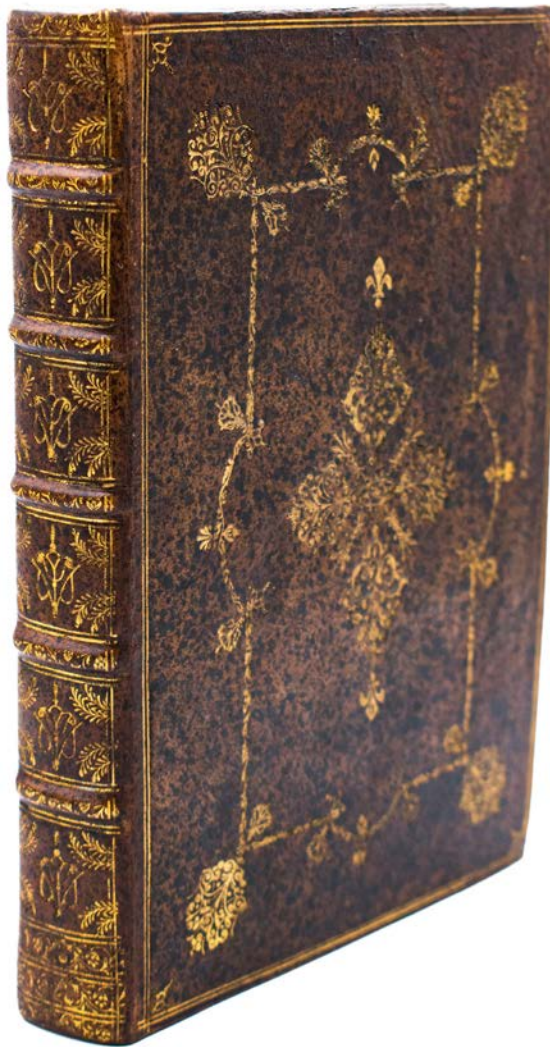
Bodin was a hardline persecutor, determined to root out the enemies of Christendom and the state and punish them with fire. In *De La Demonomanie Des Sorciers* we have a rare insight into the inner world of a witch-hunter. Bodin wrote in extreme terms about procedures in sorcery trials, opposing the normal safeguards of justice. He gave a report of a 1552 public exorcism in Paris, and of the case of Magdalena de la Cruz of Cordova, an abbess who had confessed to sexual relations with the Devil over three decades. He asserted that not even one witch could be erroneously condemned if the correct procedures were followed, because rumours concerning sorcerers were almost always true. Bodin's attitude has been called a populationist strategy typical of mercantilism.

One of the shocking features of the European witch craze is that some of the most highly trained lawyers and sophisticated intellectuals of the age were its keenest proponents. Jean Bodin was the universal genius of his age. 'Bodin the Aristotle'; the prophet of comparative history, political theory, philosophy of law, quantitative theory of money, and so much else, who yet, in 1580, wrote the book which reanimated the witch-fires throughout Europe more than any other. A question has often been asked of *De La Demonomanie Des Sorciers*: how could Jean Bodin have written it? One does not expect such writing from a man whose range of intellectual interests and stature as a thinker earned him the reputation of the Montesquieu of the sixteenth century. How could he have reconciled his humanism with his inhumanity?



Stuart Clark suggests “the theory and practice of witch prosecutions raised political issues, while certain traditions of statecraft raised demonological ones.” Bodin lived at a time of great upheaval, when France was ravaged by the wars of religion between the Catholics and the Huguenots. Like many of his contemporaries, he sensed an acute crisis in the state and in society but he also envisaged a dangerous undermining of universal harmony. The *Demonomanie* is, therefore, a punitive book because the need to punish had been seriously neglected. It is a dogmatic book, for only moral absolutism could overcome the appalling disorder of the 1570s and 1580s. In intellectual terms, the Bodin who urged the judicial destruction of witches was on common ground with the Bodin who reformulated the first principles of absolute sovereignty.

[USTC:77638; *Witch Craze*, Roper, 2004; *Thinking with Demons*, Clark, 1999]



One of the Most Famous Works On Witchcraft in a Contemporary Vellum Binding

4. **BOGUET, HENRY.** *Discours des Sorciers, avec six advis en fait de Sorcellerie. Et une instruction pour un juge en semblable matière. Par Henry Boguet Dolanois, grand Juge en la terre S. Oyan de Ioux, dicte de S. Claude au Comté de Bourgogne. N'estnt ce que l'Autheur a cy devant mis en lumière sur la mesme suiect, qu'un eschantillon de ce qui est traité en ce livre. Troisième édition.*

3 parts in one vol., [24], 550, [2]; [8], 93; [3], 32, [64]pp., woodcut printers device, woodcut initials, tear at the lower corner of p.211 with a few letters affected, slight water stains, contemporary limp vellum, flat spine with manuscript title, manuscript title on the lower edge, 8vo (172 x 117mm), Lyons, Pierre Rigaud, 1610.

£8,500

“I have founded the following treatise upon certain trials which I myself conducted, during the last two years, of several members of this sect, whom I have seen and heard and probed as carefully as I possibly could in order to draw the truth from them.” - Henry Boguet.

This is the rare, enlarged, third edition of one of the most famous works on demonology. As the most complete, this edition is the most sought after.

Henry Boguet (about 1550-1619) was an eminent lawyer, and was appointed Chief Judge at St.Claude in Franche-Comté. He is also one of the most famous demonologists who waged



DISCOVRS DES SORCIERS,

AVEC SIX ADVIS EN FAICT
DE SORCELERIE.

ET VNE INSTRVCTION POVR
vn Iuge en semblable matiere:

Par HENRY BOGVET Dolanois, grand Iuge
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au Com'é de Bourgongne.

N'estant ce que l'Authour a cy deuant mis en lumiere sur la
mesme sujet, qu'un eschantillon de ce qui est
trassé en ce liure.

TROISIESME EDITION,



A LYON,

Chez PIERRE RIGAUD, rue Merciere, au coing
de rue Ferrandiere, à l'Horloge.

M. D C X.

Aucc Approbation des Docteurs, & Priuilege du Roy.

an intensive campaign against witches. In the early 16th century Franche-Comté was under the domination of the Inquisition. Despite being a layman, Henry Boguet built himself a distinguished career trying witches by building upon the Inquisitorial procedure for prosecuting heresy; confession constituted compelling proof of guilt. The number of victims attributed to Boguet ranged greatly, from 28 to 1500 people burned at the stake. However it is unequivocal that as a result of Boguet's fury, the witch trials continued in Franche-Comté far longer than elsewhere. A legend claims that, like so many of his victims, Boguet ended his life on the stake.

Discours des Sorciers is a legal textbook that was a standard work for over a century. With twelve editions in twenty years, it rapidly became an authoritative tract on demonology. A compilation of the three treatises on demonology produced by Boguet, its wealth of carefully verified human interest stories sheds much light on the psychology of witchcraft in the early seventeenth century. The first work was first published in 1602 under the title *Discours execrable des sorciers*. The treatise is devoted to processing the confessions and testimony Boguet heard while presiding over a series of witchcraft trials between 1598 and 1600. In order to make sense of the ever-growing number of confessions generated by the trials, Boguet turned to the authoritative texts of his demonologist predecessors. These authorities appear in the text itself, but also in the form of abbreviated marginal annotations. The margins of *Discours execrable des sorciers* are peppered with references to Bodin's *Demonomanie*, following scholarly contemporary conventions in printing. *Discours execrable des sorciers* was hugely successful, and was reprinted twelve times in twenty years.

In the second work, *In Six advis* (1608), Boguet urges for all the acts of witchcraft to be unified in order to completely eradicate it. He returns several times to the uniformity of witches' confessions, for him this is evidence of the reality of witchcraft; witches tell the same story because they are all part of the same conspiracy. The success of *Discours de Sorciers* was helped by the lavish praise of many professors and church dignitaries, who seconded Boguet's wish that all witches might "be united in one single body, so that they might all be burned at once in a single fire."

Despite his strong theoretical interests, Henry Boguet was a very practical man concerned with meeting the legal criteria for proving guilt. This is illustrated in the final work, his concise manual for prosecuting witchcraft *Instruction pour un juge en fait de sorcellerie* appended at the end of the *Discours*. Intended to be used by prosecutors, it contains seventy articles which codified existing statutes and court methods, supplemented with anecdotal evidence. This work has had considerable influence, enabling *Discours* to surpass similar works by noted contemporaries like Bodin, Remy and De Lancre, and rivalling the *Malleus Maleficarum* in its repute.

It is believed by some that Boguet's family tried to suppress *Discours*; possibly his relatives were secretly sympathetic to the victims of witchcraft.

A very scarce and important work on demonology.

Provenance:

The Ballemant Library with seventeenth century ex-libris.

[The Encyclopedia Of Witchcraft And Demonology, Robbins, 1959; Thinking with Demons: the idea of witchcraft in early modern Europe, Clark, 1999; Witchcraft, Demonology, and Confession in Early Modern France, Krauss, 2015]

5. **BURTON, JOHN HILL.** *Narratives from Criminal Trials in Scotland*

FIRST EDITION, 2 vols bound in one, 310 +319 pp., contemporary half calf, marbled edges, 8vo, London, Chapman and Hall, 1852.

£250

John Hill Burton (1809-1881), a Scottish advocate, historian and economist, was one of the first historians to introduce the principles of historical research into the study and writing of the history of Scotland. His work displays much research and a spirit of candour and honesty.

In *Narratives from Criminal Trials in Scotland*, Burton writes about a range of criminal trials, including Proceedings Against the Clan Gregor; the Trial of James Stewart for the Murder of Campbell of Glenure; The Darien Expedition, and the trial of Captain Green for Piracy and Murder, and 74 pages dedicated to Trials for Witchcraft.

Burton writes on the witch trials: “The study of the witchcraft trials in Scotland leaves behind it a frightful intelligence of what human nature may become. The impression made by these tough and sometimes drearily formal records is more dark and dreadful than anything imparted by fictitious writing[...] Though these reckless fancies do sometimes touch the border of poetry, there would certainly not be found enough of imagination in them to make them worth reading or thinking of, were it not that they were the substantial accusations raised against human beings, on which they were, in this country of well-administered justice, accused, tried with or without torture, condemned to death, and burned in a large fire fed with fagots and tar.”

Burton describes some of the more famous trials, including the “witches of Auldearn”, who “after revelling with the devil in the church of North Berwick, ransacked the surrounding graves for necromantic charms, and then went to sea in sieves, with the foul fiend as signal-master to raise a storm for the destruction of the king as he came from Norway with his bride.”

Burton attempts to explain the characteristics of Scottish witchcraft by assigning a prominent influence to the distinctive features of the country. “A country of mountains, torrents and rocks[...] among a people[...] accustomed to gloomy mists and wild storms”. This opinion received mixed response from contemporaries but has since been considered defective and inaccurate.



A Rare Account of Spirit Possession Caused by Witchcraft

6. **DURBIN, HENRY.** *A Narrative of Some Extraordinary Things That Happened to Mr. Richard Giles's Children, At The Lamb, Without Lawford-Gate, Bristol Supposed to be the Effect of Witchcraft*

FIRST EDITION, 60pp., contemporary ownership inscription to title head, 8vo, later half calf over marbled boards, spine gilt, green morocco label, Bristol, R. Edwards, 1800.

£2,000

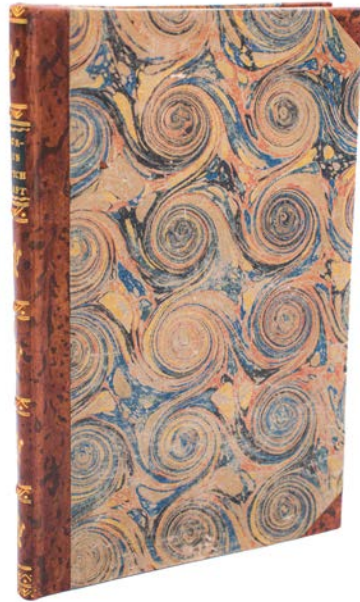
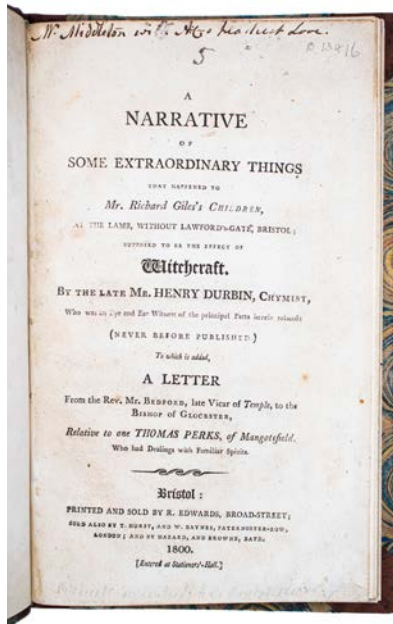
Despite the decrease in interest and involvement in popular manifestations of witchcraft during much of the eighteenth century, other forms of related supernatural belief continued to engage the minds of many educated men and women. Spirit possession and related diabolic phenomena attracted considerable curiosity, not only in the eighteenth century but also in the nineteenth century, when new intellectual interpretations of the supernatural emerged.

Durbin's account was a very controversial case of spirit possession. The daughters of Richard Giles, the innkeeper of the Lamb Inn, suffered from strange fits, had crooked pins stuck into them, saw visions, and heard voices. Giles himself later became ill and died. After this tragedy the girls' fits subsided for a while before returning again. A local cunning-woman was consulted, who confirmed that witchcraft was responsible, and said that a rival had paid a witch to torment them. The cunning-woman advised that a witch bottle be boiled. This was duly carried out, and the children recovered. The events at the Lamb Inn attracted considerable newspaper attention, and provoked a number of respectable gentlemen, including doctors and clergymen to investigate the affair. Some of them became convinced of the genuineness of the spirit manifestations. A series of questions was put to the spirit in a number of languages to remove suspicion of fraud, and they were apparently completely answered using a series of taps. From this they found that the spirit was actually tormenting six people at the same time. All the Anglican clergymen involved declined to conduct prayers for the girls except for a curate with the methodist learnings of Thomas Rouquet. This is not surprising. While some Anglican clergymen undoubtedly believed in diabolic possession, they were forbidden under Canon 72 (formulated in 1604) to conduct fastings and prayers for the possessed.

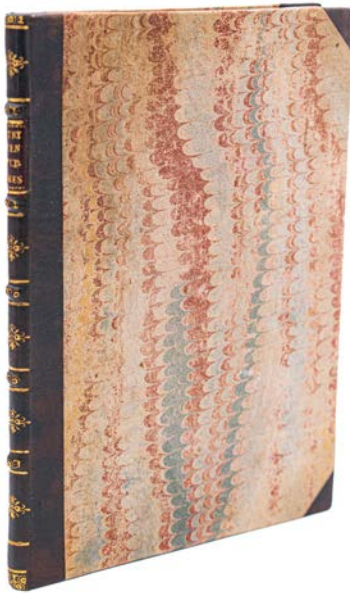
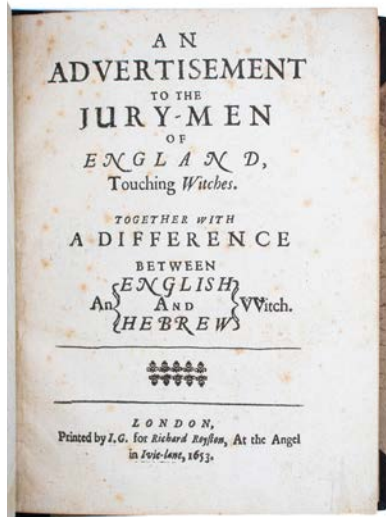
The author of the tract, Henry Durbin, was a local pharmacist who personally witnessed some of the incidents, and organised an investigation which included a number of pious local notables questioning the spirit as to its actions. His account was only published posthumously on his own instructions, because he “was abused in the public Papers”. “Should I publish the Narrative, the same abuse would be revived, and I wish to live and die in peace with all men.”

A scarce work with only three copies in UK libraries, and eight in the USA.

[ESTC T139120; *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture 1736-1951*, Davies, 1999]



Item No: 6



Item No: 7

An Unrelenting Sceptical Attack on the Covenantal Theory of Witchcraft

7. [FILMER, ROBERT]. *An Advertisement to the Jury-Men of England, Touching Witches. Together with a Difference between an English and Hebrew Witch.*

FIRST EDITION, [8], 24pp., woodcut and factotum initials, woodcut headpiece and type ornaments, light foxing, bookplates of Henry Marshall and Fox Pointe, half calf over marbled boards, 4to, London: R. Royston, 1653.

£8,000

Sir Robert Filmer (d.1653), a royalist political writer, was a supporter of divine right monarchy who advocated moderation in the trial of witches. Knighted by Charles I, Filmer was known for his affability, his learning and his views on government and the monarchy. Filmer was legally trained, and was a justice of the peace of considerable standing in his native Kent. Shortly before his death, Filmer wrote *An Advertisement to Jurymen of England Touching Witches*, partly in response to the execution of witches at Maidstone in Kent in 1652 but mainly due to his anti-Calvinism.

Remarkably, Filmer thought that both Catholic and Protestant churches had created witches in their own mirror images—that witches were nothing but the contraries of Christians. He did not wish to infer that some other, religion-neutral account of the witches' covenant might be believable. The rest of his pamphlet makes clear his rejection of the whole idea. What Filmer found so culpable was the pretence that witchcraft and magic had a real basis in the use of 'familiar spirits' or in pacts with devils; that they did have such a basis he rejected. His remark stands, therefore, as a revealing contemporary interpretation of the most central component of witchcraft as (what would now be called) a cultural construct.

This unrelentingly sceptical work has recently been re-evaluated by Ian Bostridge. In Bostridge's analysis, "Filmer's tract, which contains a lengthy critique of William Perkins's *Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft*, formed part of a general attack on Calvinism as he conceived it, both in its covenantal and original forms... in his central task of destroying Perkins' covenantal theory of witchcraft, Filmer also undermines the fundamentals of covenantal theology itself."

A scarce but popular work with two editions being published posthumously.

[ESTC:R202078; McAlpin Coll., III; Wing (2nd ed.), F909; Thomason, E.690[6]; *Witchcraft and its Transformations*, c.1650-1750, Bostridge, 1997; *Witch-Hunting and Witch Historiography: Some Anglo-Scottish Comparisons*, Sharpe, 2002; *Thinking with Demons*, Clark, 1999]

First Edition of a Scarce Work

8. FONTENELLE, LE BOVIER DE BERNARD; BEHN, APHRA
[TRANSLATOR]. *The History of Oracles and the Cheats of the Pagan Priests, in Two Parts*

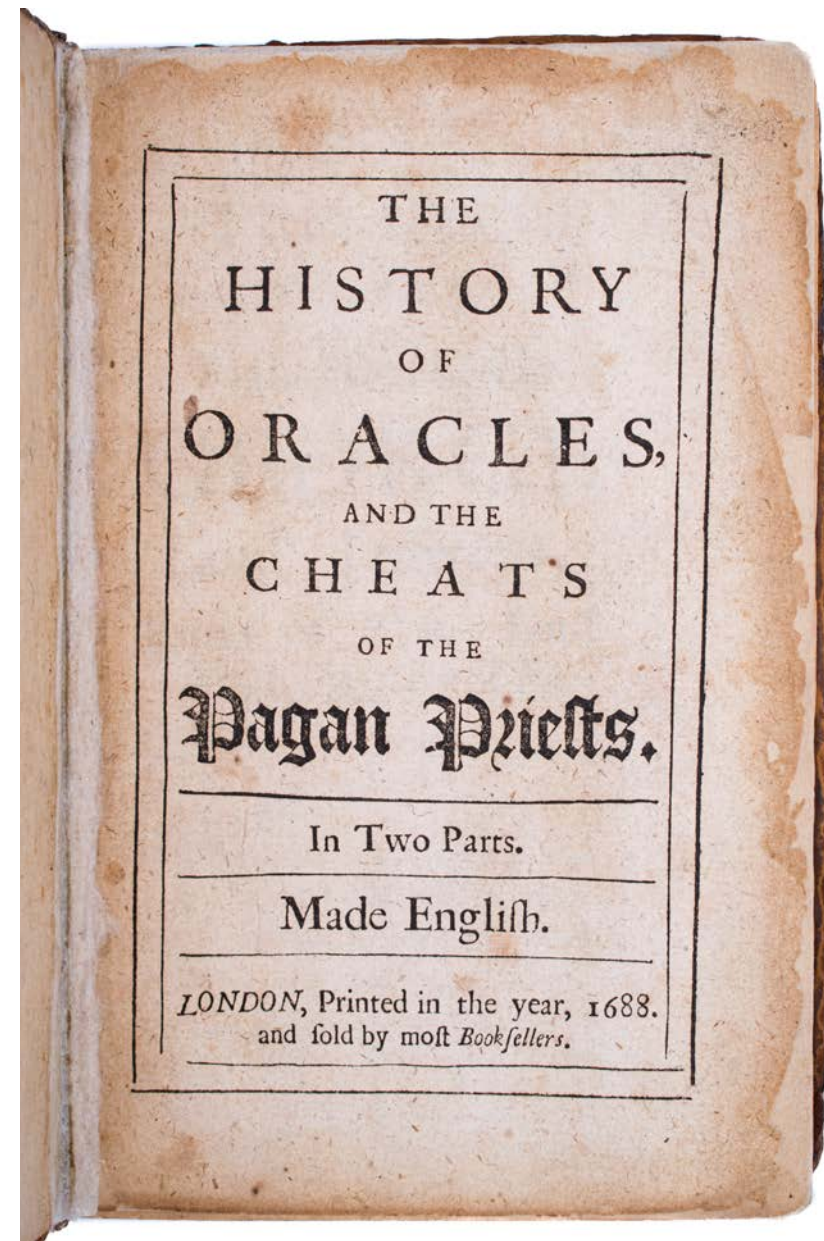
FIRST EDITION, [20], 227, [5], occasional light foxing, title stabilised with tissue, repairs to front and rear gutters, light pencil annotations and manicules, contemporary speckled calf, corners rubbed, 8vo, London, 1688.

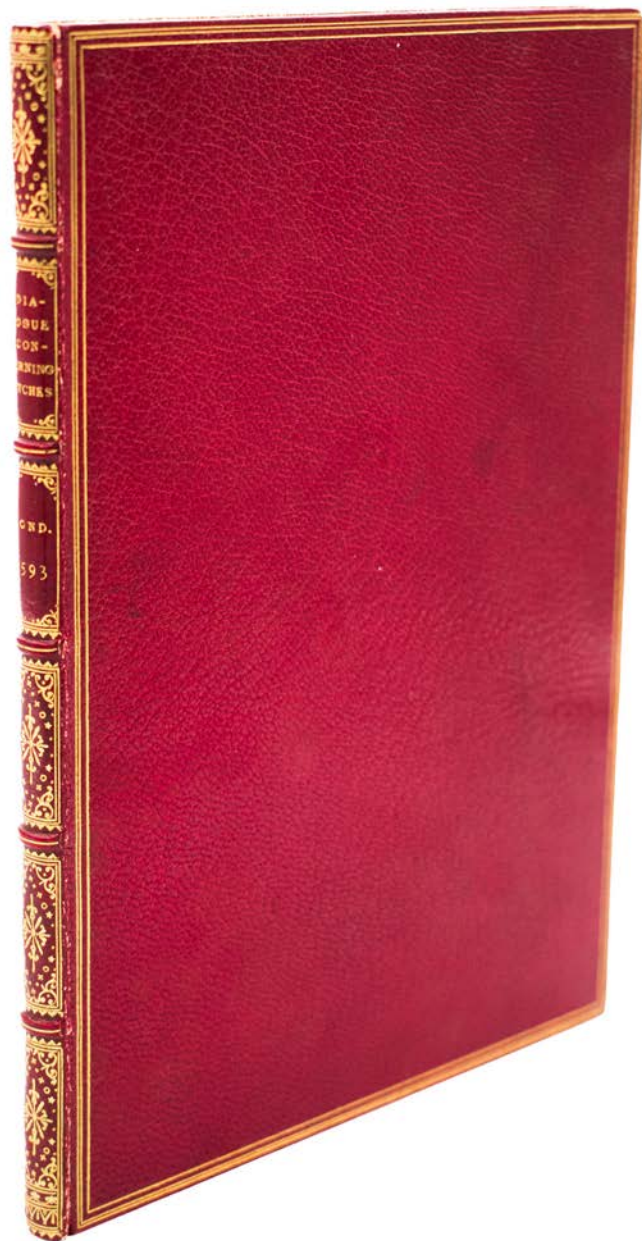
£1,100

A translation of Bernard Le Bouvier de Fontenelle's *Histoire De Oracles* (1687) by Aphra Behn. This work on debunking the Oracles of Ancient Greece and Rome as frauds of the priests was used to manipulate the masses, rather than under Demonic influence as suggested by the Church. This is an abridged version of Antonius van Dale's Latin work *De Oraculis Ethnicorum* (1683). Van Dales' argument against the supernatural and the role of the Devil in the pagan oracular tradition was highly influential, but was not popularised until Fontelle's adapted version two decades later.

Aphra Behn (1640-1689) was one of the first English women to earn her living by her writing. She broke cultural barriers and opened up public space for women writers. She was employed by Charles II to work as a spy in Antwerp. During the turbulent political times of the Exclusion Crisis, she wrote an epilogue and prologue that brought her into legal trouble; she thereafter devoted most of her writing to prose genres and translations. *The History of Oracles* was the penultimate work to be published before her death in 1689.

The dedication by Behn is to Lord Jeffreys, known as the "hanging judge". He became notable during the reign of King James II, rising to the position of Lord Chancellor. His conduct as a judge was to enforce royal policy, resulting in a historical reputation for severity and bias. Jeffreys' historical notoriety comes from his actions in 1685, after Monmouth's Rebellion, where he was responsible for a high number of executions. Estimates of the numbers executed for treason have been given as high as 700. Behn's dedication has been criticised as a "triumph of sycophancy". Her name does not appear in the work, but the dedication is signed A.B. This dedication was removed from later editions.





Frederick North's Copy of Gifford's Classic Work on Witchcraft

9. GIFFARD, GEORGE. A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraftes. In which is laide open how craftely the Divell deceiveth not onely the Witches but many other and so leadeth them awric into many great errors.

FIRST EDITION, unpaginated (96pp.), from the Library of British Prime Minister Frederick North, with his armorial bookplate on front pastedown, Lord North's armorial crest illustrated in ink on third blank, two typed letters from previous owner C.D. Irwin of Brookline, Massachusetts, to C.F. Libbie & Co., Booksellers, Boston, and to Cornell University Library, ca. 1920s, laid in, top edge of title-page repaired with top of "A" in manuscript; trimmed close along top edge, old ink pagination faintly present in several top corners; scattered marginalia, later full crimson levant, stamped in gilt, all edges gilt, gilt dentelles, marbled endpapers; by F. Bedford, 8vo, London, Printed by John Windet for Tobie Cooke and Mihil Hart, 1593.

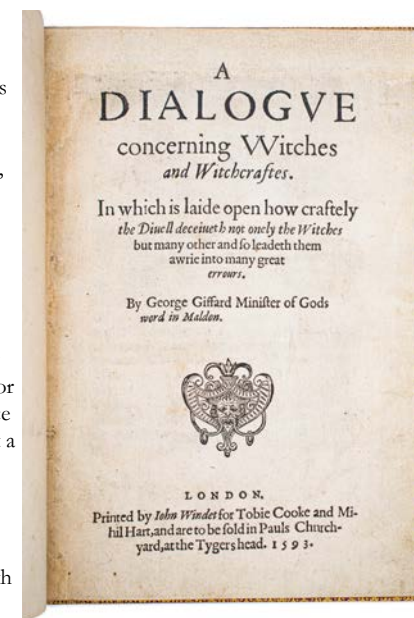
£25,000

“The Devil hath bewitched your mind with blindness and unbelief, to draw you from God, even to worship himself.”

A rare first edition of Essex Puritan preacher George Gifford's classic work on witchcraft. Gifford (ca. 1548-1600) was one of the earliest writers to deal with the nature and implications of witchcraft, and this slim text was written for the common Christian believer in a plain language intended to appeal to a wide audience.

Writing from the heart of Witch Country, the noted nonconformist preacher published two works on witchcraft, this being the second, and his major work. Cast in the form of a conversation among Samuel, a superstitious schoolmaster who accepts witchcraft, and Daniel, a cautious doubter, the *Dialogue* is a somewhat abstruse discussion of delusion. Gifford uses Samuel's voice to express common English beliefs about witchcraft, particularly that they had power over physical bodies and objects. In contrast, Gifford uses Daniel's voice to expose his own ideas regarding witches, particularly that while they may exist they have no real power themselves, but are conduits for the work of Satan. He argued that the best defence against witchcraft was not theological or legal, but a spiritual affirmation of God's power and care.

Gifford attempts to capture the sort of conversation that would have occurred when peasant villagers debated magic and witchcraft with their clerical mentors. The *Dialogue* opens such a great distance between its participants that it enables him to address the many questions which accurately express popular incomprehension of pastoral aims: how can magical practitioners be



evil when they help their clients?; how can they be evil if the means they use are derived from religious sources or inspire a kind of faith?; how can it be evil to resort to them for successful remedies when all others have failed?

There is a strong sense of authenticity about these depictions of Calvinists arguing their way through a barrage of popular objections to the new divinity and its ideals of piety. Throughout the Protestant literature on witchcraft in England, it is on these practices and their moral and cultural significance that demonologists concentrate their attention. Written at a moment of surging witch-hunts and trials in England, especially in Gifford's Essex, this work sought to guide the reader toward the truth of the Puritan gospel.

The work is also taken up very largely with the methods of what Gifford revealingly called the "other sort of Witches, whom the people call cunning men and wise women" - that is, the unofficial agencies for healing, divination, detection and counter-witchcraft. Gifford's position is that the Devil is so powerful that he does not need old women to work his evil. The danger is that deluded Christians accept the old women's claims at face value, and ascribe undue power to Satan by turning to 'White' witches for help. The Witch is only the accessory to the Devil.

Gifford asserts the Bible is correct in demanding that witches be put to death simply because they are "the blasphemous enemies of God". Gifford demanded greater severity in the laws. He concludes with cautioning the juries to use special care and wisdom. A witch's confession can not be relied on because the main source of information is the devil, nor is the common report of sorcery reliable. "Many guiltless are upon other men's oaths condemned to death, and much innocent blood is shed". It was precisely because the 1563 statute dealt mainly with the actual harms wrought by witches that it missed the heinousness of their demonic allegiance, an omission only partly remedied in the legislation of 1604.

ESTC locates only six worldwide institutions with copies: The British Library; Cambridge University Library; Oxford University, Christ Church; Oxford University, Bodleian Library; Huntington Library; Massachusetts Historical Society. Rare Book Hub yields only this copy's sale at auction, in 1871.

Frederick North, 2nd Earl of Guilford (1732-92), was a British statesman, 12th Prime Minister of England, from 1770-82, as well as Home Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Popularly known as Lord North, he led Great Britain through most of the American Revolution, but resigned after their defeat at Yorktown. He is remembered as the "man who lost America."

Provenance:

Frederick North, Lord North

Henry B. Humphrey, Esq.

Leonard and Company, Boston, The Valuable Library of Henry B. Humphrey, Esq., May 9, 1871, Lot 1261

Frank Sabin

Mr. C.D. Irwin, ca. 1920s

[ESTC S105690; *Early Modern European Witchcraft: centres and peripheries*, Ankerloo, 1993; *The Encyclopedia Of Witchcraft And Demonology*, Robbins, 1964]



Glanvill's Magnum Opus on Witchcraft

10. GLANVILLE, JOSEPH. *Saducismus Triumphatus: or, Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions.*

Second edition, in seven parts, each with separate title pages but continuous register, engraved frontispiece, engraved second title, 1 full page text engraving, errata leaf present, top margin trimmed, slightly affecting a few headlines, ownership inscription of Robert Midgley to front free endpaper, ownership inscription of Samuel Heywood on pastedown, bookplates to pastedown, rebaked contemporary calf, 8vo, Thomas Newcomb, Samuel Lownds, 1682.

£3,000

The expanded edition of *Glanvill's magnum opus on witchcraft*, first published posthumously in 1681. This second edition is the first to include topical material on witchcraft in Sweden, supplied by Anthony Horneck (from a Dutch pamphlet of 1670).

Saducismus Triumphatus was the final work published in the exchanges between Joseph Glanvill and John Webster. These works epitomised the exhaustive debate in Restoration England, between the supporters of the new 'mechanical philosophy' and their detractors concerning the existence of witchcraft.

Glanvill, with the support of his Cambridge colleague Henry More, sought to provide empirical evidence for the existence of spirits, poltergeists, apparitions and related stories about witchcraft in order to prove the existence of God. The work's title refers to the Sadducees, a Jewish sect which denied the existence of spirits and the immortality of the soul. Glanvill did not appear to be so much concerned about witchcraft being a serious threat to life and limb, especially after his careful investigations revealed rather feeble examples, but instead that a denial of the witch was a big step towards the denial of all religion. As Henry More put it: "No spirit, no God". Crucially, such sentiments were also shared by the vast majority of Glanvill's informants, mostly fellow clergy, who supplied Glanvill and More with large numbers of instances of witchcraft and related phenomena for publication.

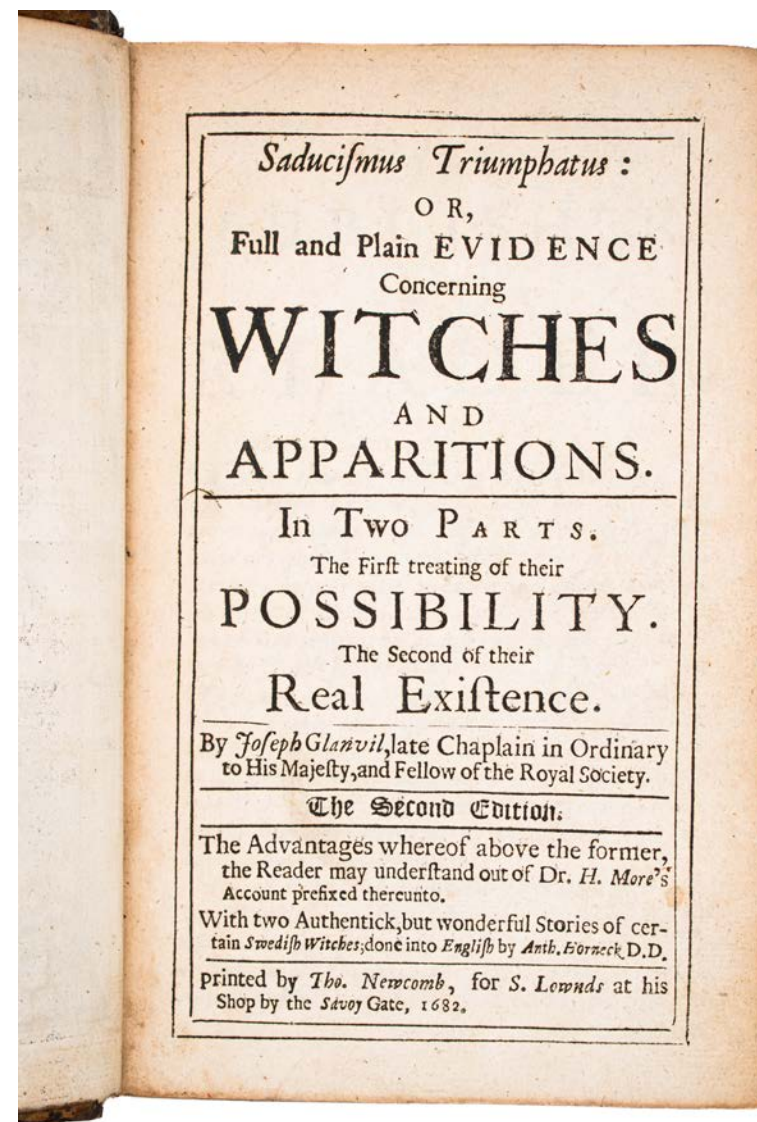
The bulk of *Saducismus Triumphatus* comes from Glanvill's earlier *A Blow at Modern Sadducism* first published in 1666. In 1677 John Webster published his response *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, which attacked Glanvill in an effort to deflect from his own participation in "natural science". Webster goes as far as suggesting that the bible has been mistranslated to support the belief in witches.

In response, Glanvill wrote a characteristically calm and reasoned refutation of Webster's scriptural interpretations entitled *A Proof of the Existence of Apparitions, Spirits and Witches, out of Holy Scripture*, which remained unfinished at his death in 1680. Undaunted, More hastily assembled Glanvill's unfinished work and added it, along with a chapter from his own *Enchiridion Ethicum* and other materials, to *A Blow at Modern Sadducism*. The new collection, *Saducismus Triumphatus*, represented Henry More's final effort to silence the 'Hag-Advocates'.

The frontispiece shows six examples of evidence for witchcraft. Clockwise from the top left: the drummer of 'Tedworth'; the Somerset witch Julian Cox; rendezvous of witches at Trister Gate; a celestial apparition in Amsterdam; the Scottish witch Margaret Jackson; and the levitation of Richard Jones at Shepton Mallet.

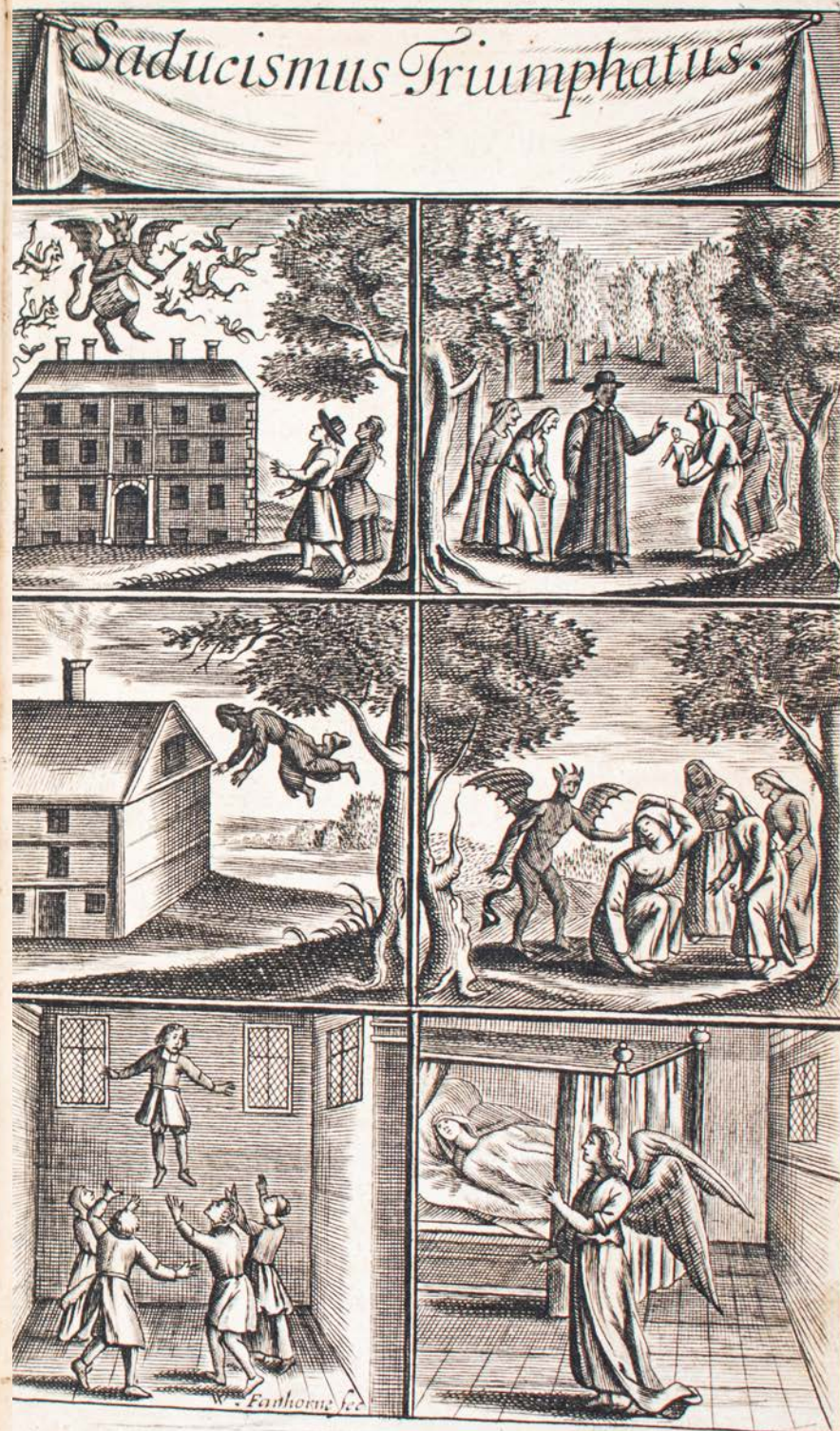
The work was well received, with a fifth edition appearing as late as 1726. The book strongly influenced Cotton Mather in his *Discourse on Witchcraft* (1689) and the Salem witch trials held in 1692–3 in Salem, Massachusetts.

[ESTC: R233939; *The Devil Within*, Levack, 2013; *The Devil in Restoration Science: The Glanvill-Webster Witchcraft Debate*, Harmon Jobe, 1981; *Witchcraft, Witch-Hunting, and Politics in Early Modern England*, Elmer, 2016]





And Saul perceiv'd that it was Samuel, and he
 stouped with his face to the ground, and
 bowed himself. 1^a. Samuel. Chap: 28: v. 14.
 W. Faithorne. fecit.



Includes Reflections On Witchcraft and Ghosts

11. [GORDON, THOMAS]. The Humourist. Being Essays upon Several Subjects: Treating of New-writers, Enthusiasm, Spleen, Country Entertainment, Love, History of Treatinamage, Ambition and Pride, Idleness, Euckleness of human Nature, Prejudice, Witchcraft, Ghosts &c., Weather, Female Disguises, Art of modern Conversation, Use of Speech, Punishment of staying at Home on Sunday &c., Criticism, Art of Begging, Anger, Avarice, Death, Grief, Keeping the Ten Commandments, Travel misapply d, Flattery, Abuse of Words, Credulity, Eating, Love of Power, Expedients to get rid of Time, Retirement, Story of W. Hackett the Enthusiast.

Fourth edition: xxx; [6], 240, [12]pp, ownership inscription in pen to title page, woodcut initials, head and tail pieces, armorial bookplate to front pastedown, sprinkled calf, ruled in gilt, contrasting red roan lettering-piece to spine, spine numbered I in gilt (complete in one vol. according to ESTC, the BL. copy of the 1741 edition is also numbered I and bound uniformly with a second vol, containing the 1735 edition of the text), joints rubbed but holding, head cap worn, 12mo (16.5 x 10.5 cm) London, Printed for T. Woodward et al, 1741.

£2,500

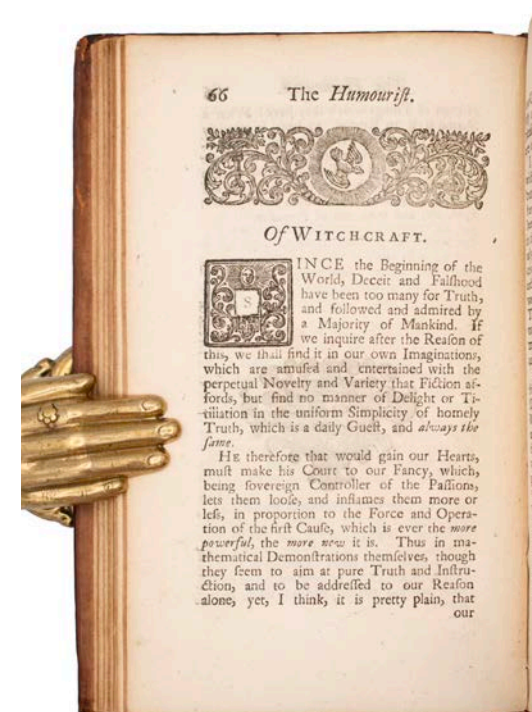
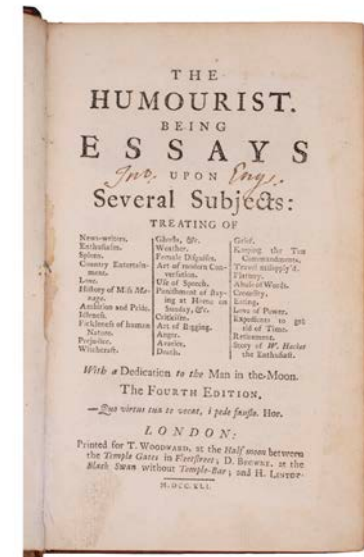
A fascinating miscellany attributed to the Whig pamphleteer and classicist Thomas Gordon (d.1750), comprising 34 essays on various themes from enthusiasm (“Of all Sorts of Madness, a religious Delirium is that which, in my Opinion, calls for the most Pity”), to grief (“It covers the Soul with Blackness and Horror”).

Gordon's reflections on witchcraft and ghosts show him to be ahead of his time. Questioning why women rather than men suffered under the accusations, he noted “first, the Men having the whole Discretion of this Affair, are wise enough to slip their own Heads out of the Collar; and, secondly, an old Woman is grown by Custom to the most avoided, and most unpitied creature under the Sun, the very Name carrying contempt and Satire in it”.

ESTC records only 4 copies in institutional collections in the British Isles.

Provenance: Francis Erys, Enys, near Penryn, Cornwall (bookplate); Jno' Erys (inscription).

[ESTC T152044.]



An Infamous Work that Directly Empowered the Salem Witch Hangings

12. [HALE, SIR MATTHEW]. A Tryal of Witches, At the Assizes Held at Bury St. Edmunds for the County of Suffolk; on the Tenth Day of March, 1664.

FIRST EDITION, 16ff., [5], 78-104, woodcut printers device to final leaf, small 8vo, later green half calf over marbled boards, slightly rubbed, 8vo, London, for D. Brown, J. Walthoe, and M. Wotton, 1716.

£3,000

“A most lamentable exhibition of credulity and inhumanity.” - Lord Campbell

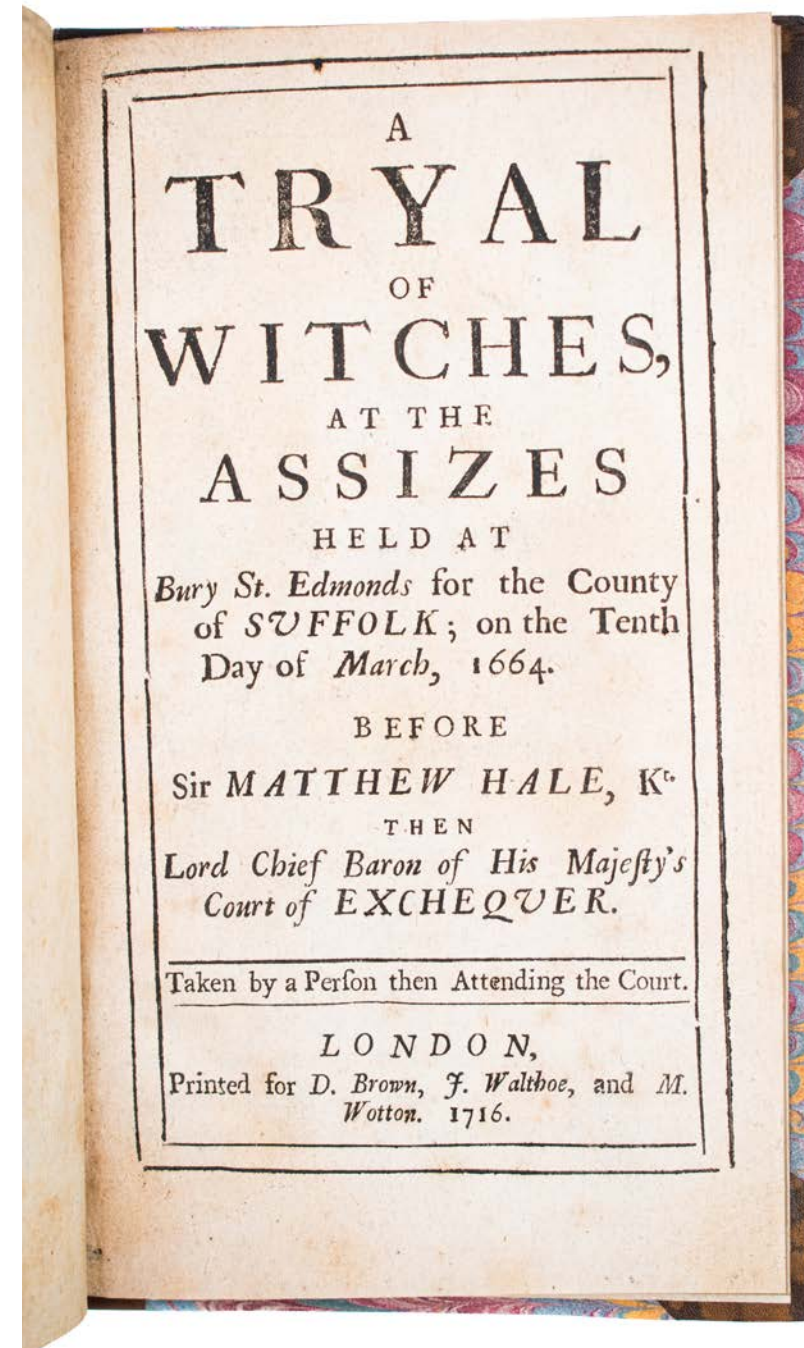
Sir Matthew Hale was one of England's most famous judges who, by his legal decisions, helped continue belief in witchcraft. Hale exercised more influence in the long run than the notorious Matthew Hopkins, the Witch Finder General, whose abhorrent influence lasted less than a year.

The witch trial at Bury St. Edmunds, heard in 1664 before Sir Matthew Hale, later Chief Justice, was one of the most thoroughly documented trials. The indictment charged that Rose Cullender and Amy Duny, two old widows from Lowescroft, Suffolk, had bewitched seven children ranging in age from a few months to eighteen years old. One of the children died, allegedly as a result of witchcraft. The old women were also charged with practising sorcery and malefica for many years. After Judge Hale's direction to the jurymen, the two defendants were found guilty within half an hour on thirteen indictments. They maintained their innocence but four days later they were hanged.

Sir Matthew Hale has become infamous as the Lord Chief Justice of England, who encouraged the persecution of witches and allowed false testimony. He believed wholeheartedly in the menace of witches, and accordingly he manipulated court procedure to secure convictions. Hale ignored the proof of fraud by a witness, accepted hearsay evidence of five to seven year olds and spectral evidence from single witnesses. By admitting 'spectral evidence', Hale made possible the Salem hangings. Cotton Mather followed this trial closely and observed "it was a trial much considered by the judges of New England." To this extent, the example of Hale fortified the judges at Salem. The importance of this trial therefore extended across the ocean from Suffolk to Massachusetts, and surpassed that of the earlier mass executions of sixty or seventy witches at Bury St Edmunds in 1645.

A scarce work with ESTC locating only one copy (New York Public Library).

[ESTC:N13688, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England*, Sharpe, 2001; *The Encyclopedia Of Witchcraft And Demonology*, Robbins, 1964]



13. HEYWOOD, THOMAS. The Generall Historie of Women of the the most holy, most profane; The most Famous and Infamous in all Ages.

FIRST EDITION, [16], 193, 192-651, [1], additional engraved title depicting Apollo and the nine muses by William Hunt, woodcut initials, head and tailpieces, a few early ink inscriptions, occasional foxing, later full polished calf, a.e.g., 8vo, London, by W.H. for W. H., 1657.

£10,000

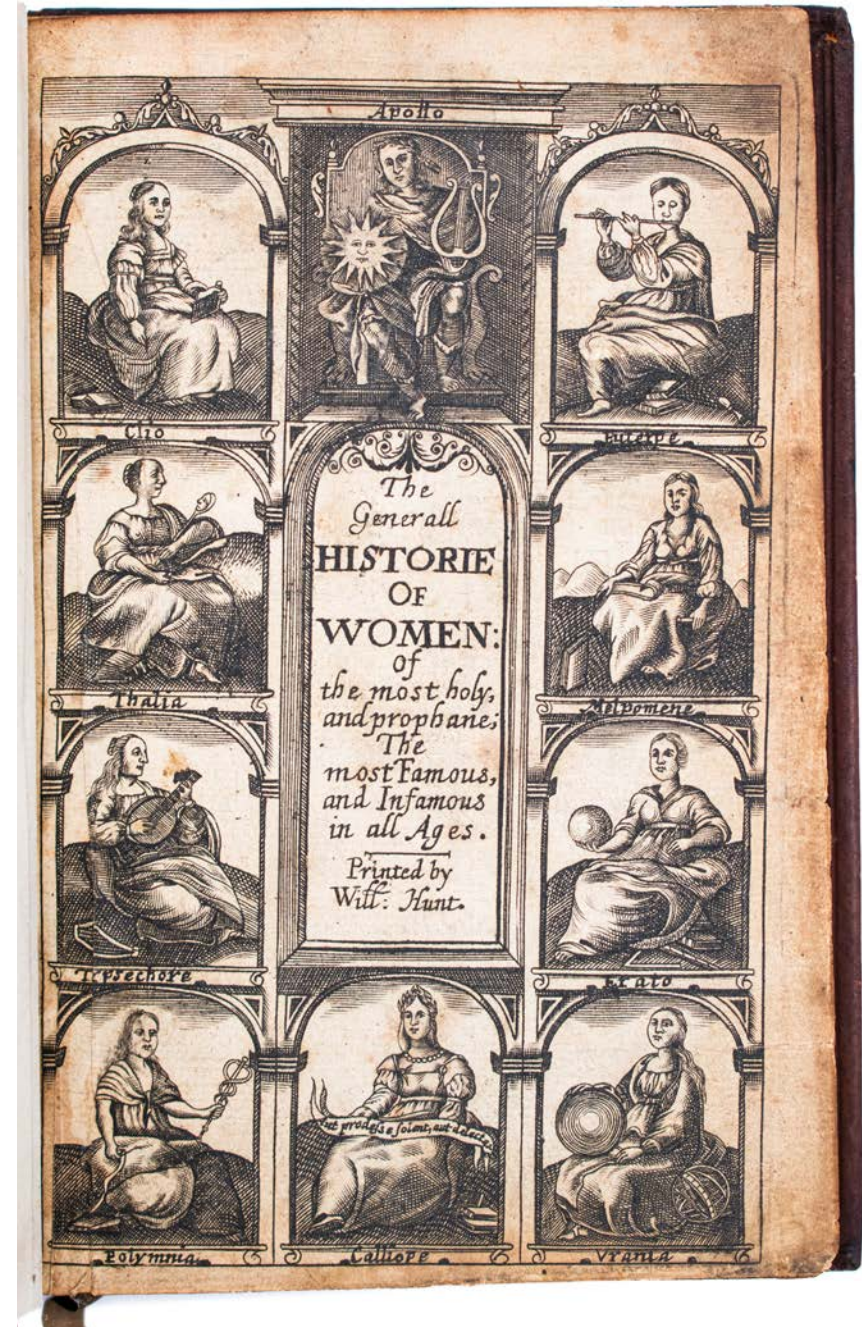
A very scarce work on influential women, both admired and maligned.

In the mid-seventeenth century there was a general enthusiasm for encyclopaedic reference works. English playwright Thomas Heywood capitalised on this demand with a work dedicated to the position of women. He offers a large number of exemplary histories of women from classical and modern periods. His treatment of witches is brief, given the size of the work as a whole.

Heywood was known to be cynical on the subject of witchcraft, as evidenced by one of his most famous plays *'The Late Lancashire Witches'* (1634), which he wrote in collaboration with Richard Brome. Yet in this work he recounts, as fact, all the contemporary myths, superstitions and common beliefs of the capacities of witches; including sections on demon-assisted transportation, shapeshifting and controlling the weather. Heywood comments on the trials and treatises written by famous demonologists like Kramer and Sprenger, Bodin, and Del Rio. He also describes classical witches like Circe and Medea, and the biblical villainy of Jezebel and Delilah.

Written during a time of relatively few witch trials in England, Heywood brought the threat of witches back into the public consciousness, once again exploiting the public interest in the scandalous subject of witchcraft.

[Wing H1784; ESTC R10166; *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing*, Salzman, 2006; *Riding the Nightmare: Women & Witchcraft*, Williams, 1978]



14. HUTCHINSON, FRANCIS. *An Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft. With Observations upon Matters of Fact; tending to clear the Texts of the Sacred Scriptures, and confute the vulgar Errors about that Point.*

FIRST EDITION, lacking half title, XV, [5], 270, [2], occasional light staining, small wormholes affecting last 3 gatherings, contemporary marbled board, rebaked with handsomely blind-tooled calf, calf label with title in gilt, 8vo, London, R. Knaplock, 1718

£2,500

Francis Hutchinson's famously sceptical witchcraft text has long enjoyed an intimate connection with the historiography of the decline of educated belief in witchcraft.

England may have escaped the worst ravages of the witch craze of the early modern period, but Hutchinson was a resident of Suffolk from 1690 to 1720 (first in Hoxne and then Bury St Edmunds), a county that, more than most, had witnessed at first hand the social and human cost of witch-hunting. Suffolk bore a large part of the brunt of England's only clear-cut example of a European style witch panic, the mass witch-hunts conducted in East Anglia between 1645 and 1647 by Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne. Of the 250 or so suspected witches brought before the authorities, 117 were from Suffolk. It is estimated that about 100 of these 250 suspects were executed. This episode in witchcraft history held a special interest for Hutchinson, who detailed it in the *Historical Essay*. Hutchinson believed that the whole episode claimed 40 Suffolk lives, including some residents of Bury St Edmunds and Hoxne. Hutchinson's knowledge of these cases came from reading relevant literature (including Hopkins' own book about the episode) and by asking Hoxne residents alive in 1645 to recount their experiences.

It is argued that by this time witchcraft had become a marginal concern for mainstream educated culture because it was no longer needed, or able, to perform its original ideological function of forging Christian unity by bolstering the ideal of a confessional state. The idea of a confessional state was increasingly considered unattainable or intellectually unattractive, especially after the trial in 1712 of an elderly woman named Jane Wenham from Walkern, Hertfordshire. Wenham's trial saw witchcraft beliefs become embroiled in the party conflict of Queen Anne's reign.

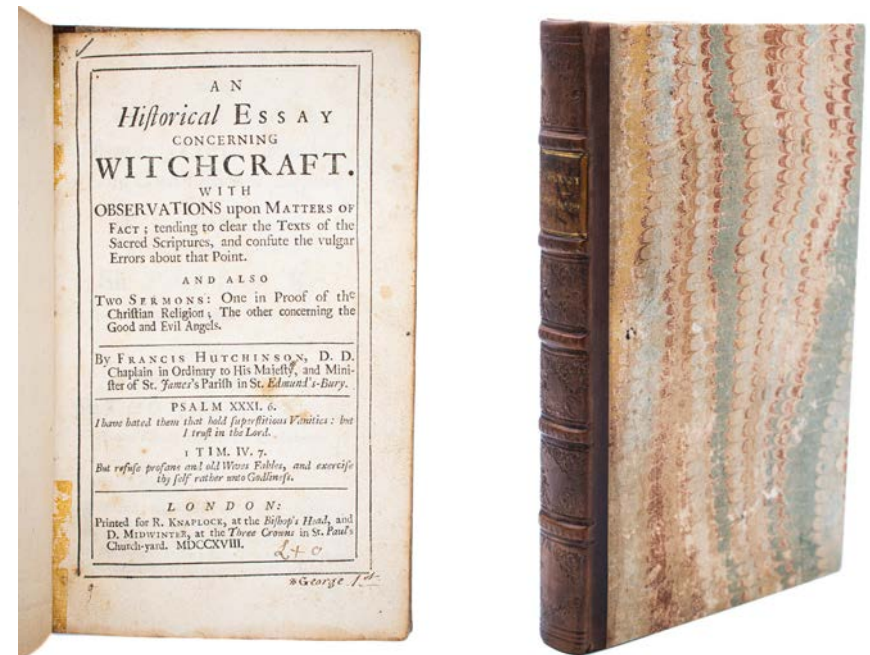
The trial of Jane Wenham also had a profound effect on Hutchinson.

In March 1712, Wenham was found guilty as charged by a jury and was sentenced to death by hanging. She was saved from the gallows by the intervention of the sceptical presiding judge, Sir John Powell, who ordered her to be reprieved before securing her a royal pardon from Queen Anne on 22 July 1712. The experience of attending her trial not only persuaded Hutchinson to re-draft the *Historical Essay* in preparation for publication, but to visit Wenham after her acquittal in a house provided for her own safety at Gilston, Hertfordshire, by landowner Colonel Plummer. After the trial, Hutchinson wrote to Sir Hans Sloane to ask him to approach Judge John Powell to see whether Powell would mind the *Historical Essay* being dedicated to him. Hutchinson believed he could not do so himself because this would have overstepped his station as "both a perfect stranger" to Powell and "an obscure country parson". Hutchinson admired the way in which the sceptical Powell had handled the Wenham trial, doing everything in his power to persuade the jury to bring in an innocent verdict. Powell even stated, after a witness had accused Wenham of flying, that "there is no law against flying".

Hutchinson took Sloane's advice and decided against publishing his book at that time. Hutchinson's work would probably have lain unpublished had it not been for the publication of Boulton's *A Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft* (1715-1716), a work which

Hutchinson felt might "very likely do some mischief" by renewing the fervour for the persecution of witches. He hoped that his denunciation of famous English cases of witchcraft would help to weaken popular belief in witchcraft. Hutchinson's well reasoned refutation was published as the *Historical Essay on Witchcraft* and, despite a counter rebuttal by Boulton in 1722, effectively brought a permanent close to the debate on witchcraft in Britain. However it took another thirty-seven years before the hunting and execution of witches in Great Britain was finally abolished with the passage of the Witchcraft Act in 1735.

[*European Americana* 720/126. Sabin 34063. Wellcome III p. 321., *Witchcraft and Whigs*, Sneddon, 2008]



[WITCHCRAFT SAMMELBAND - MALLEUS MALEFICARUM]

15. KRÄMER, HEINRICH; SPRENGER, JAKOB *Malleus maleficarum* ex variis auctoribus concinnatus, & in tres Tomos distinctus: Quorum Postremus, qui Fustis Dæmonum Inscibitur, nunc primum reliquis adiectus est. Tomus Primus - Mallei Maleficarum Ex Plurimis Auctoribus Coadunati; Quorum nomina sequens pagella exhibet, Tomus Secundus: Eadem ura, diligentia & studio, quo primus, locupletatus, auctus & castigatus: et Indice Locupletissimo Donatus. - Fustis Daemonum Adiurationes Formidabiles, et Potentissimas ad Malignos Spiritus Effugandos de oppressis corporibus humanis: Ex sacre Apocalypsis fonte, variisque sanctorum Patrum auctoritatibus haustas, complectens...

3 parts in one vol., [44], 544; [24], 9-496; [16], 208, part 2 gathering bb repeated, titles in red and black, identical woodcut printers devices, vol 1. title lower corner to title torn with loss, excellently repaired, floriated initials and head pieces, marginal annotations in an old hand, contemporary limp vellum, yapped edges, later endpapers, later leather ties, 8vo, Lyon, Petri Landry, 1604

£8,500

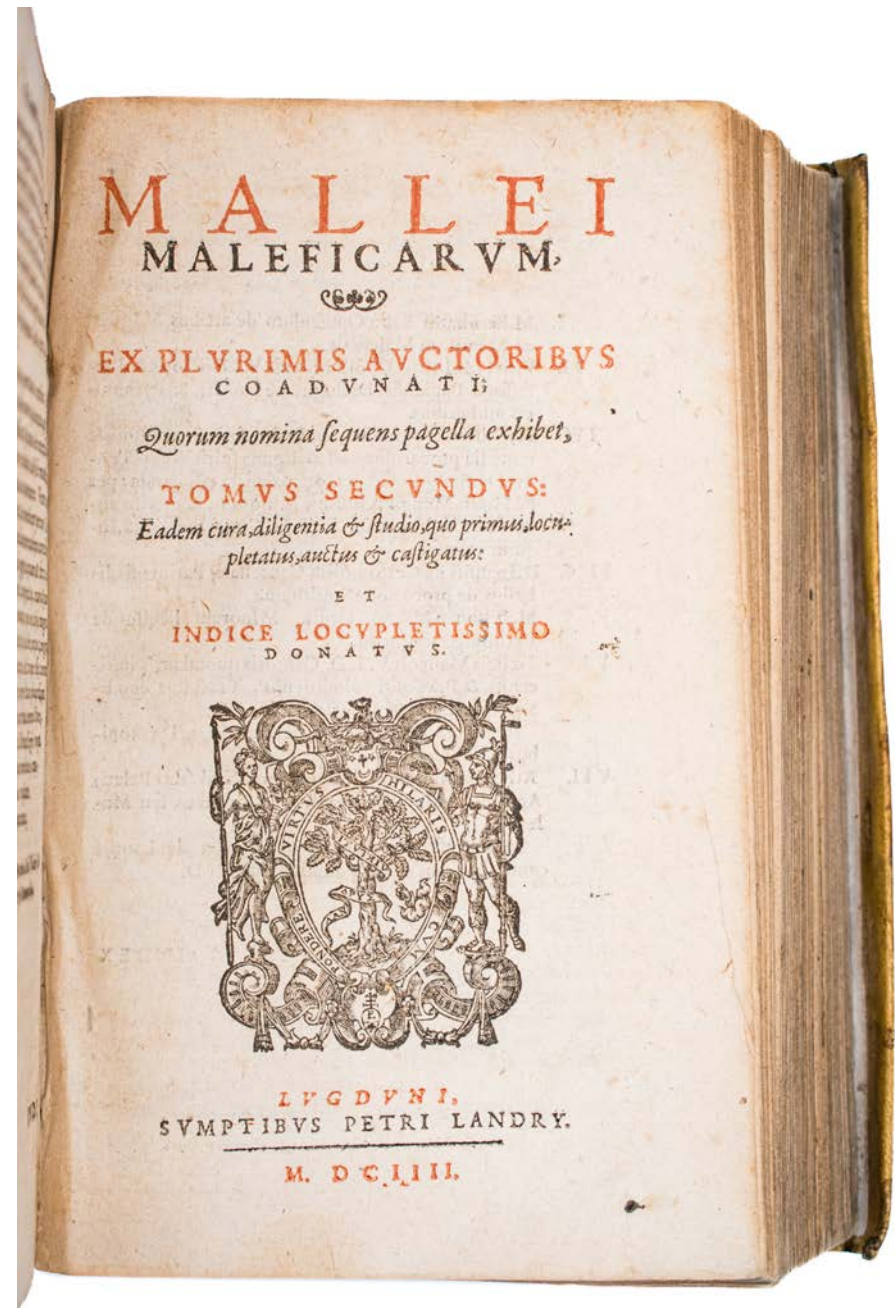
THE MOST INFAMOUS TREATISE ON WITCHCRAFT.

Malleus Maleficarum, the comprehensive disquisition called “Hammer of the Witches” is regarded as one of the most salient and authoritative works on witchcraft. “It crystallized into a fiercely stringent code previous folklore about black magic with church dogma on heresy, and if any work could have opened the floodgates of the inquisitorial hysteria” this is the most infamous. The *Malleus Maleficarum* came at a peak point in European witchcraft accusations and executions. It was a foundation for treating witchcraft not as a superstition, but as a dangerous and heretical practice of associating with the Devil — and therefore, a great danger to society and to the church.

The oldest edition is probably the one published in Lyon by Giunta in 1484. No less than 14 editions were published between 1487 and 1520 and at least 16 editions between 1574 and 1669. The text is made up of three parts; the first explaining how to identify witches and where they might dwell; the second how to identify and rectify acts of witchcraft; and the third part covers how to trial and sentence a witch. The influence of this work throughout time is indisputable and is corroborated by the countless quotes of its methods and examples in many other works. The text is often blamed for the worst aspects of the hunts.

The problem of the authorship remains an interesting issue as the current literature is not conclusive and most of the bibliographies refer to Jacob Sprenger (1435-1495) as the main author (Adams, Caillet, Machiels, Wellcome). Nevertheless, recent research indicates that Institoris or Heinrich Krämer (1430-1507) not only wrote this work alone but also used Sprenger's name to promote it. In spite of the fact both were important theologians, their relationship was characterised by animosity and acrimony and the more powerful Sprenger used every opportunity to thwart Krämer. It is more than likely that beyond lending the work the prestige, Sprenger's contribution was minimal (Broedel).

Likely written only by Krämer, it is based on his experiences at failed trials in Innsbruck. Helena Scheuberin was an Austrian woman who stood trial accused of witchcraft in 1485. She appears to have disagreed with the doctrine that was being espoused by Dominican inquisitors like Heinrich



Krämer. She avoided his sermons and spoke out against him. Despite being quashed by the local bishop, Krämer used some of his experiences to write the *Malleus Maleficarum* as an attempt to justify this significant loss of reputation.

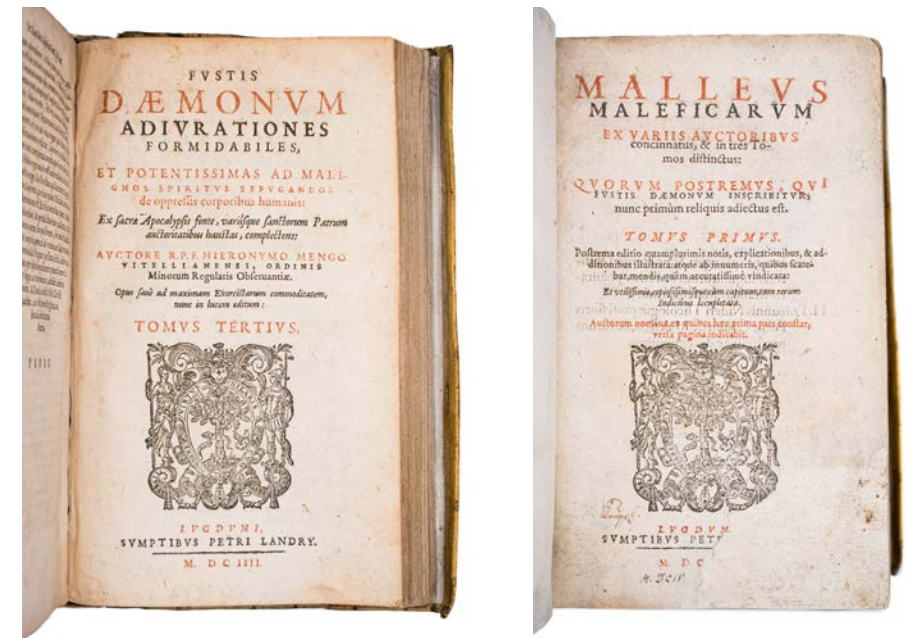
Although it was not popular where it was originally published, *Malleus Maleficarum* began to travel. As the work became more removed from the context it began to be taken more seriously. This is partly due to another work it was often bound with. The famous bull of Innocent VIII *Summis desiderantes affectibus* (1484) authorised a formal inquisition against all witches in German church provinces. The two texts are separate but they travelled together and thus eventually became linked. After time passed it became thought that the Pope commissioned the *Malleus Maleficarum*. The *Summis* gave eminence to everything Krämer had written. The veneration of time lent the *Malleus Maleficarum* a form of respectability that it never had when it was first published. The result was the witch trials were expediated.

The scarce fourth Lyon edition also features *Fustis Daemonum Adiurationes Formidabiles* added as the third part for the first time, one of the most important and influential works on exorcism by the most authoritative exorcist of Renaissance Italy; the Franciscan, Girolamo Menghi. A theologian and exorcist, he practised in Bologna, and was known as ‘the father of the exorcists’ art’. First published in 1584, *Fustis Daemonum* (The Daemon’s Bludgeon) followed the widely popular *Flagellum Daemonum* published eight years earlier.

“The texts consist of both a theoretical treatise and a hands on guide describing actual exorcisms. *Fustis Daemonum* lists exorcisms that follow a strict formula: after an initial prayer, signs of the cross are made, followed by incantations, a reading from the Gospels, and repeated orations” Joseph P. Laycock, *Spirit Possession around the World: Possession, Communion, and Demon*.

Menghi was well acquainted with demoniacal literature; the authors he quotes range from Avicenna to Michael Psellus, from Lull to Sprenger. Despite his contemporary fame, his works were placed on the index of forbidden books by the Sant’Uffizio in the eighteenth century. “Girolamo Menghi articulated a philosophy of evil that reflected the social and religious culture of his time.[...] He tried to arrange devils according to their function, spheres of action and bad habits – just as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite had arranged angels in his ‘Celestial Hierarchy’”. Gaetano Paxia.

[Soltész, S-766; Introduction to the *Malleus Maleficarum*, Summers (<http://www.sacred-texts.com/pag/mml/mmintro.htm>); *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft*, Broedel, 2003; *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, Robbins, 1964; Caillet Dorbon/*Bibliotheca Esoterica*; USTC: 6900502]



[WITCHCRAFT SAMMELBAND - MALLEUS MALEFICARUM]

Five volumes bound as one, all published by Petri Landry in Lyon.

16. KRÄMER, HEINRICH; SPRENGER, JAKOB. MALLEUS MALEFICARUM.

2 vol in one, [48], 544, [24], 317pp., titles in black and red, with printers devices with a tree and the motto "Virtus hilaris cum pondere", first title ownership inscription in old hand and previous ownership censored in dark ink, some underlining in text, floriated woodcut initials, typographical headpieces, contemporary blind-stamped pigskin over boards with worn paper spine labels and a little wear to corners, 8vo, Lyon, Petri Landry, 1615.

£8,500

Rare Edition of the most famous witch hunter manual.

Malleus Maleficarum, or the Hammer of Witches, is without question the most important and most sinister work on demonology ever written. It crystallized into a fiercely stringent code previous folklore about black magic with church dogma on heresy, and if any one work could, opened the floodgates of the inquisitorial hysteria. It sought to make effective the biblical command of Exodus xxii. 18. "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." The *Malleus Maleficarum* was the source, inspiration and quarry for all the subsequent treatise on witchcraft.

It owed its authority and pride of place over other contemporary works to several features: first, the scholastic reputation of its two authors, both Dominicans, Jakob Sprenger (1436-95), Dean of Cologne University, and Prior Heinrich Krämer (1430-95); second, the papal bull from Innocent VIII to silence opposition to the witch hunt; and third, the detailed procedure for witchcraft trials.

"The *Malleus Maleficarum* is divided into three parts. Part I discusses the need for administrators thoroughly comprehending the enormity of witchcraft. Part II treats the three types of maleficia of witches and how these evils may be counteracted. Part III gives formal rules for initiating legal action against witches and securing a conviction and passing sentence." - *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft* p.337.

The influence of this work throughout time is indisputable and is corroborated by the countless quotes of its methods and examples in many other works. The text is often blamed for the worst aspects of the hunts.

A very scarce edition, USTC shows only two known copies (Médiathèque de la Communauté Urbaine d'Alençon, Alençon; Bibliothèques municipales, Grenoble).

[*The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, Robbins, 1964; *Caillet Dorbon/Bibliotheca esoterica*; USTC: 6901969]

[BOUND WITH]

MENGHI, GIROLAMO. Fustis Daemonum Adjurationes Formidabiles.

[16], 208, title in red and black, with printers devices with a tree and the motto "Virtus hilaris cum pondere", Lyon, Petri Landry, 1615



One of the most important and influential works on exorcism by the most authoritative exorcist of Renaissance Italy, the Franciscan, Girolamo Menghi. A theologian and exorcist, he practised in Bologna, and was known as ‘the father of the exorcists’ art’. First published in 1584, *Fustis Daemonum* (The Daemon’s Bludgeon) followed the widely popular *Flagellum Daemonum* published eight years earlier.

“The texts consist of both a theoretical treatise and a hands on guide describing actual exorcisms. *Fustis daemonum* lists exorcisms that follow a strict formula: after an initial prayer, signs of the cross are made, followed by incantations, a reading from the Gospels, and repeated orations” Joseph P. Laycock, *Spirit Possession around the World: Possession, Communion, and Demon*.

Menghi was well acquainted with demoniacal literature; the authors he quotes range from Avicenna to Michael Psellus, from Lull to Sprenger. Despite his contemporary fame his works were placed on the index of forbidden books by the Sant’Uffizio in the C18th. “Girolamo Menghi articulated a philosophy of evil that reflected the social and religious culture of his time. He tried to arrange devils according to their function, spheres of action and bad habits – just as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite had arranged angels in his ‘Celestial Hierarchy’”. Gaetano Paxia.

[BOUND WITH]

MENGGI, GIROLAMO. *Flagellum Daemonum Exorcismo Terribiles...*

[14],213, [2]pp. title in red and black, with printers devices with a tree and the motto "Virtus hilaris cum pondere", Lyon, Petri Landry, 1614.

Girolamo Menghi’s best known work, the *Flagellum Daemonum* was later included in the authoritative collection on exorcisms the *Thesaurus exorcismorum*. He prefaces the *Flagellum* with a vehement defence of exorcism. Dedicating the work to Cardinal Gabriele Paleotto, Menghi advocates a much more aggressive promotion and publication of books of exorcisms. *Flagellum Daemonum* was translated into Italian and published in 1576, as *Compendio dell’arte essorcistica* so it would reach the widest audience possible. This work was intended to instruct parish exorcists in the authorised rituals, in order to combat the unorthodox practices employed by many exorcists in Italy. This practical approach was due partly to events of the recent past. A deadly infection had spread, threatening innumerable victims. Menghi argued that ‘medicina celeste’ as it was practised by ecclesiastical exorcists, was the only appropriate means to overcome diabolic power.

“Girolamo Menghi’s *Flagellum Daemonum* [...] 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....He could use his book of exorcism, holy water, fire, or images of the devil...and there are rites of blessing given in this manual as well” Jane Davidson, ‘*Early Modern Supernatural: The Dark Side of European Culture, 1400-1700.*’

Both *Flagellum Daemonum* and *Fustis Daemonum* were published in one volume from 1598 and soon became popular all over Europe.

[BOUND WITH]

STAMPA, PETRO ANTONIO. *Fuga Satanae Exorcismus*

112, [8]pp., title in red and black, with printers devices with a tree and the motto "Virtus hilaris cum pondere", Lyon, Petri Landry, 1615.

An extremely rare manual for performing exorcisms, especially aimed at treating victims of witchcraft. Pietro Antonio Stampa, a priest who lived and worked in Chiavenna in Lombardy,

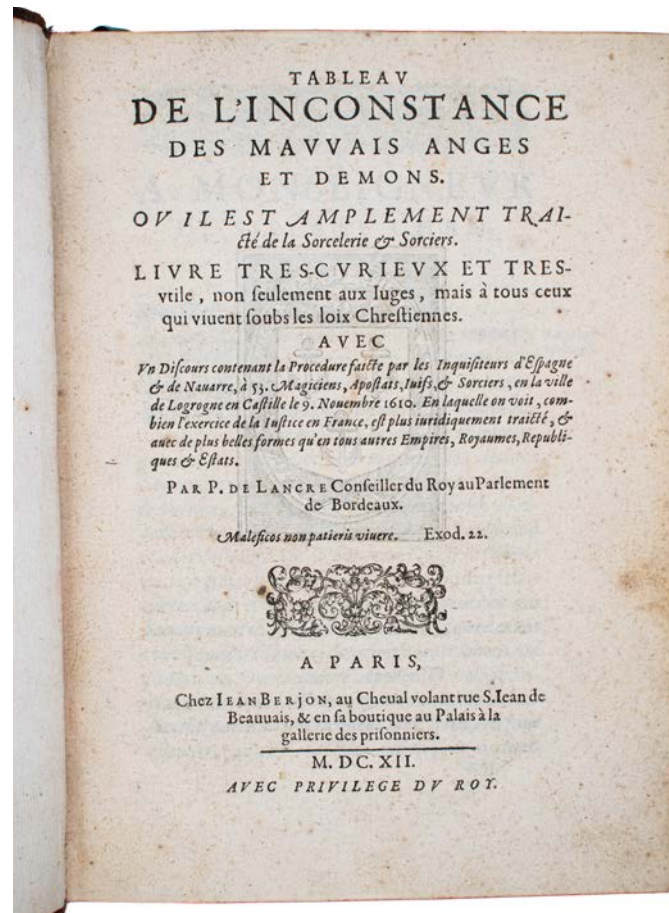


wrote his manual in language that could be understood by both laymen and clergymen in order to be understood by as wide an audience as possible.

Guides for exorcisms were very sought after during the end of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century. The popularity of this work was partially due to Stampa's reliance on prayers and sacred scripture rather than resorting to herbal concoctions and elaborate procedures as was typical of the time. Simplifying the methodology was Stampa's attempt to combat the unauthorised exorcisms carried out by both charlatans and radical priests that were flourishing at the time *Fuga Satanae* was first published, in 1597.

All editions are very scarce. First published in 1597, a second edition was published by Landry in 1605. This edition is unrecorded in USITC.

*Provenance: Sotheby's Robert Lenkiewicz sale, Nov 2003
[Adams, II, p. 229 - missing from the British Library and Brunet].*



Item No: 17

De Lancre's Infamous Account of the Labourt Witch Trials

17. LANCRE, PIERRE DE. *Tableau De L'Inconstance des Mauvais Anges et Demons. Ou Il Est Amplement Traieté de la Sorcellerie & Sorciers.*

FIRST EDITION, [28], 568, 2 engraved folding plates inserted, woodcut printers device, head and tailpieces, inhabited initials, marginal annotations in an old hand, marbled endpapers, full mottled calf, spine gilt, a.e.r., 4to, Paris, Jean Berjon, 1612.

£12,500

"The last author on this subject who possessed judicial authority and himself carried out violent repression" - Julio Caro Baroja.

First Edition of the first, and most influential, of de Lancre's work on demonology.

Born in 1553, de Lancre studied in Toulouse and Turin. In 1583 he joined the Bordeaux parliament as a magistrate. De Lancre was one of the immensely learned lawyers who, towards the last third of the sixteenth century, gave a destructive twist to the witchcraft debate. He was entirely convinced of women's inclination toward witchcraft and their universal threat to the individual, the community, and the state. He felt especially convinced that such practices threatened the political and economic stability in the French border regions, especially since the French religious wars had made it imperative to secure French territories.

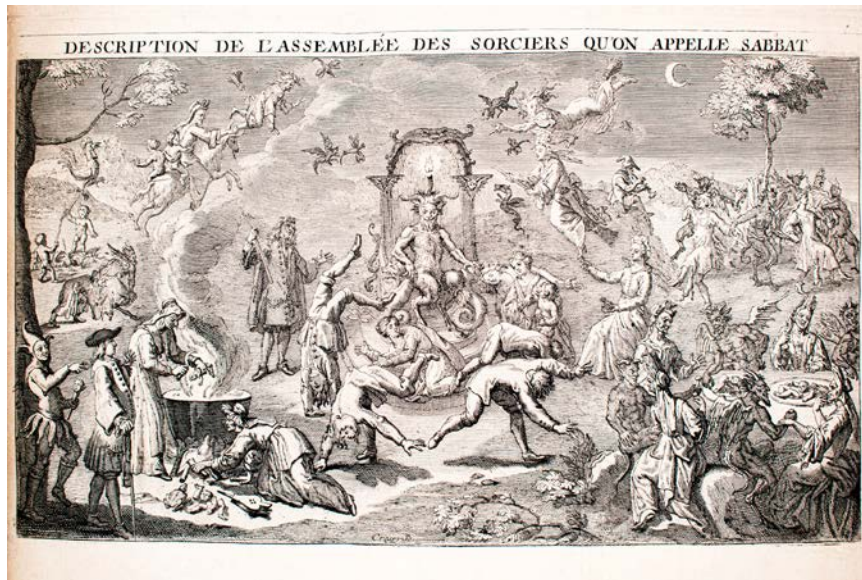
In 1609, King Henry IV of France appointed de Lancre head of a commission to investigate the activities of witches in the Labourt, the Basque region of France. According to de Lancre, most of these people engaged in active satanic associations and practices. During the course of a visit that lasted just four months, de Lancre by his own account led investigations against forty-six suspected witches, among them twelve priests and thirty-five informants. At least two dozen suspects were executed. This judicial operation had significant repercussions on both sides of the border with Spain. Accused witches fleeing south triggered the final witch-hunt undertaken by the Spanish Inquisition, ending in a major auto-da-fé in 1610. De Lancre's frequent comments on the antisocial and antinationalist behaviours of the Basque people make it clear that the witch prosecutions had not only religious but political motives as well. These prosecutions clearly formed part of the French move toward the absolutist state. The rampage was finally stopped by de Lancre's own colleagues, the judges of the Parlement of Bordeaux.

In Spain, the episode soon led the Inquisition to stop executing witches altogether. In France, similar scepticism provoked de Lancre to publish *Tableau De L'Inconstance des Mauvais Anges et Demons*. A report on his extraordinary stay in the Basque country, de Lancre based the *Tableau* on the original trial records. Since these records were destroyed in the eighteenth century, de Lancre's report is the only surviving account of the proceedings of the trials. *Tableau* is divided into six books, which deal with the more important problems which confronted him during his investigation. First he establishes the inconstant nature of demons, their number, and their special appeal to women. Books II and III enlarge the sabbath; de Lancre then returns to themes already suggested at the beginning: the ability of demons to change their shape, either in fact or through illusion. Book V enumerates the cures a man might adopt to counteract the wiles of the Devil. De Lancre concludes his work with an important discourse on priests and witchcraft, a learned rebuttal of the *Canon Episcopi* which leads him to stress the need to exact the severest punishment for crimes of witchcraft.

Pierre de Lancre is perhaps the greatest expert on the witch's sabbath, constructing one of the most vivid descriptions based on the trials and testimonies in the Basque. Few demonologists blended learned and popular beliefs as effectively as he did. He described children being presented with toads in velvet suits, to be guarded while their parents amused themselves with the unspeakable pleasures of the sabbath feast. De Lancre believed that the witches' sabbath was ongoing but only visible to the witches themselves. His *Tableau* had celebrated authority in action against witches.

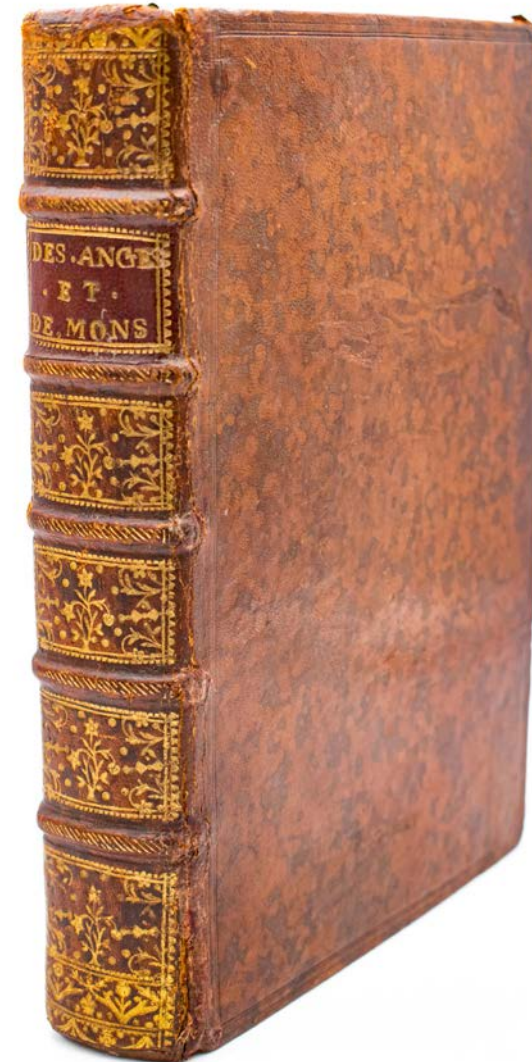
De Lancre produced a report that went beyond the established parameters on witchcraft indictments and warnings. The reasons for this departure are two fold; his account is clearly more politically motivated than comparable works of the period. De Lancre is writing for his colleagues, to convince them of the need to exercise control. He firmly believed witches to be a threat to the body politic, offering a detailed argument as to why secular magistrates and the government had to move with firmness and vigour against the menace witches posed. De Lancre dedicated his work to Chancellor Sillery, who set in motion the banishment of magicians, devils and sorcerers. Additionally, his vigorously argued legal tract can be read as an ethnological exploration of the Lambourt region and its Basque inhabitants. His descriptions of the religious, demonological, and judicial aspects of the witchcraft phenomena have much in common with contemporary reports of travel to the New World.

Two eighteenth century plates have been inserted into this work. The first work is by Jean Crespy, for Laurent Bordelon's *L'Histoire des Imaginations Extravagantes de Monsieur Oufle* (1735). This satirical work tells the story of a Mr. Oufle, who reads so much about ghosts, witches, devils that he begins to have all sorts of strange visions. Mr. Oufle is shown here bottom left observing the bizarre sabbath scene accompanied by a jester. The devil worshipers are banqueting on babies and performing somersaults before the devil who is seated at centre. The work captures all the stereotypes of a witches' sabbat including crones riding broomsticks, cauldron magic, dancing and dining with demons.



The second engraving is by Claude Gillot, from a pair of engravings titled *Les Sabbats* (1722) depicting a witches' sabbath. In the centre, a stag-horned shaman presides over the torture of two men tied to a spinning device. On the left, two masculinised crones ride on a broomstick with a small child. An elegant woman is mounted on the skeleton of a horse, accompanied by a stag-horned man on a lion-faced horse. In the background, hordes of animal-faced demons gather to watch the night's proceedings.

[USTC:6011140; *Witchcraft and Catholic Theology*, Baroja, 2013; *Defining Dominion*, Williams, 1995; *The Damned Art*, Anglo, 2012; *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, 2013]





Goussier inv. et sculp.

*Est-ce un enchantement, est-ce une illusion ?
 En croirai-je ma Peur, mes Yeux, ou ma Raison ?
 Là d'un fier Negromant, et Là de trois Sorcières
 Des fureurs du Sabat promptes avantcoursières
 L'équipage, les cris, la sacrilège ardeur,
 Dans ces iniques lieux annoncent la terreur.*

*Ici le maître art de la scène tragique,
 Donne en spectacle aux Démones furieux
 Le supplice cruel de quelques malheureux,
 Que regarde enmbtant une troupe magique.*

*Poisons, Philtres, Miroirs, sinistres instrumens,
 Serpens, Dragons, Insectes, Ossemens,
 Et tout ce que l'Enfer a produit de Mistères
 Se trouve ici par un funeste accord ;
 La Terre tremble et s'ouvre... et qu'en sort-il encor ?
 Des Monstres dis-je, Et d'autres des chimères.*

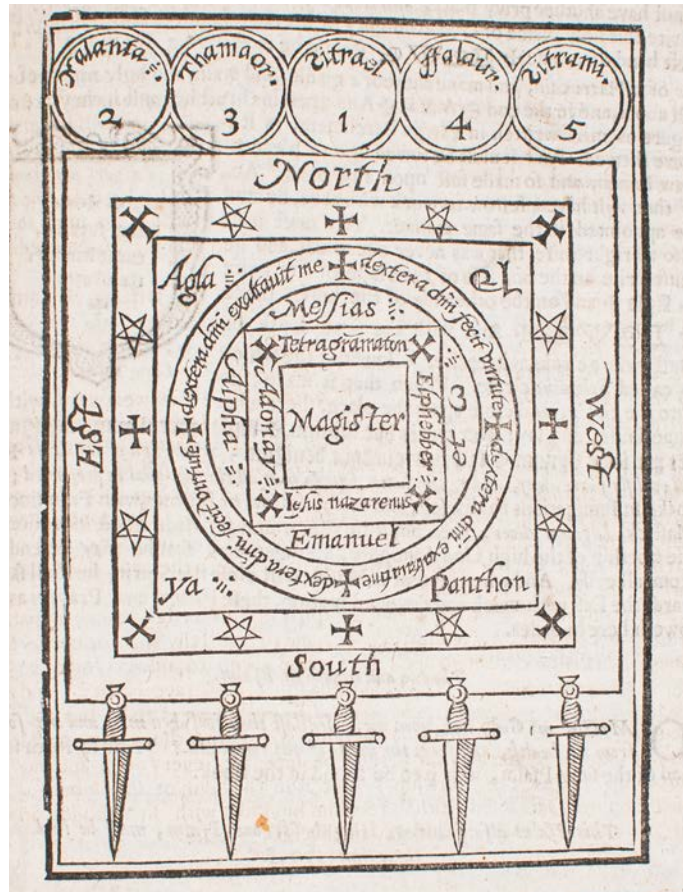
A Powerful Assault on the Belief of Witchcraft

19. SCOT, REGINALD. *The Discovery of Witchcraft: Proving that the Compacts and Contracts of Witches with Devils and all Infernal Spirits or Familiars, are but Erroneous Novelties and Imaginary Conceptions.*

Third Edition, [18], 292, [12], 72, contemporary ownership note to title “Wm Hardy Inn Neward”, ownership note to title verso “William Webster His Book 1761”, woodcut initials, numerous woodcut illustrations, pagination misprint p.96 as p.60, separate title for *A Discourse concerning the Nature and Substance of Devils and Spirits* and begins new pagination with quire 3A, occasional light spotting, elaborately gilt calf, 4to (265 x 180mm), London, for A. Clark, 1665.

£25,000

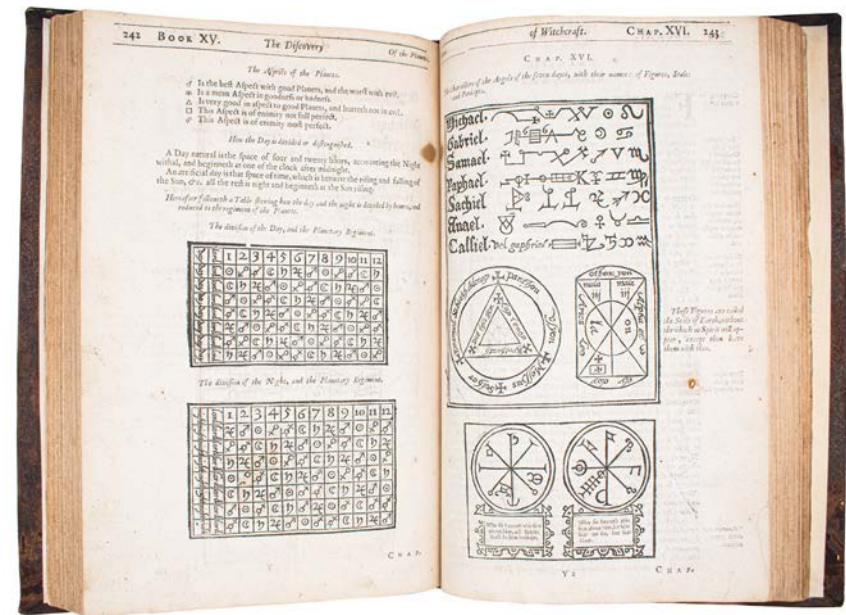
The Discovery of Witchcraft is a seminal sceptical treatise recording and debunking popular and scholarly beliefs about witchcraft, magic and other superstitions. Scot argued that belief in magic was both irrational and un-Christian. Most sceptics, no matter how zealous or well constructed



their attack on traditional witchcraft belief was, failed to argue it out of existence because they left intact the central idea which maintained its intellectual coherence as a belief system: Satan's ability to intervene in the temporal world. Scot denied the relevance of demons, if not their reality, pronouncing them devoid of physical existence and incapable of interaction with humans. He declared attributing human misfortune to demonic and human interaction affronted Divine Providence by diminishing God's power and justice.

The first edition of *The Discovery of Witchcraft* was published the year following Weyer's final edition of *De Praestigiis* (in 1583). Both Weyer and Scot are considered extremist by their contemporaries for their fervent condemnation of the witch trials. They made many of the same arguments about the melancholic delusions of pathetic, aged, and poor defendants. What differentiates Scot from Weyer, and from every other writer on magic, is that he was neither a theologian, philosopher, nor magus.

Reginald Scot was a very unlikely candidate for intellectual honours. Having studied at Hart Hall, Oxford, without completing a degree, he settled down in Kent, where he was active, though not especially prominent, in public affairs and private business till his death on 9 October 1599. Scot was roused to write the *Discovery* after attending a witch trial in Rochester. It seems likely that the increasing pace of witchcraft prosecutions in England must have weighed heavily upon him and led him to a systematic study of the evidence presented at such trials. Several factors appear to have inspired Scot's work: horror at the prejudice of the judges in witch trials; the absurdity of the charges brought against helpless and often senile women; the way in which, to his mind, the evidence presented in trials was totally inadequate and unsubstantiated; and the fact that his own religious convictions - reinforced, paradoxically, by an extremely sceptical temperament - seemed to invalidate even the possibility of magical activity. Furthermore, Scot appreciated, as few contemporaries did, the inconsistency and gross credulity of the apologists for witch-hunting, and the distance between their intellectual structures and the sordid trivialities of the persecution

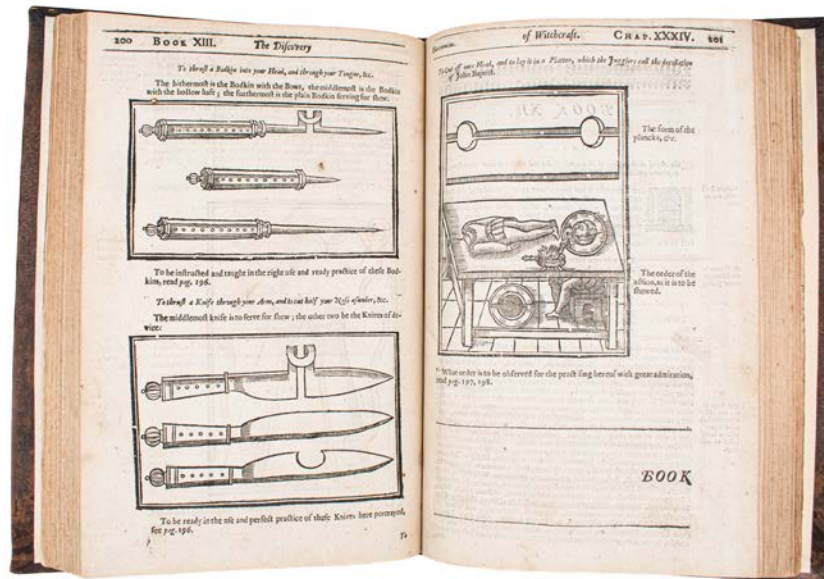


itself. Scot maintained that those who had been accused and executed for witchcraft were innocent and blamed the Catholic Church for encouraging these superstitious beliefs.

Scot systematically set out a serious and sustained argument, and was able to construct a coherent and solidly planned book which provided radical answers to a host of contemporary intellectual problems. For Scot, the study of demonology meant much more than merely haggling over the varieties of witchcraft; the whole problem of magic was involved. He concentrated on destroying belief in demons and in the devil himself, knowing full well that when that diabolical edifice was demolished witchcraft would collapse with it. He suggested non-magical reasons and causes for both magical phenomena and accusations of witchcraft. These included psychological and sociological causes. For example, Scot argued that the social tension and guilt felt by those who denied charity to poor women sometimes led the deniers to accuse these women of witchcraft. He described in detail what he held to be the erroneous prayers, spells and practices of those who dabbled in the magical arts, to convince the reader once and for all just how foolish and superstitious their actions were.

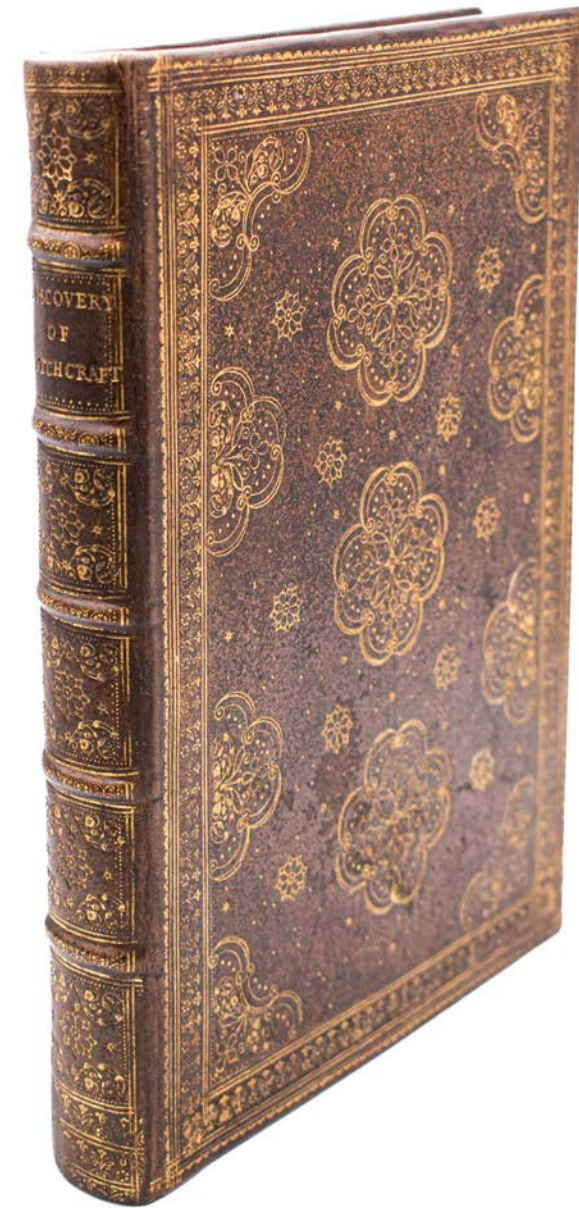
The Discovery of Witchcraft was very widely read in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and was printed in numerous editions. It was a central text in witchcraft debates, with vitriolic hostility directed at Scot by both Catholic and Protestant demonologists. James VI of Scotland, author of *Daemonologie* and a firm believer in the power and danger of the witch, strongly rebuked Scot and the views he had put forth.

Because of the comprehensiveness of *The Discovery of Witchcraft*, it was a useful source of information on supernatural beliefs and practices. By a miraculous irony of history, Scot's book accomplished the task of transmitting in print the recipes of occult magical tradition to succeeding generations. He would surely have turned in his grave to discover that his work was



the most commonly owned volume in the libraries of seventeenth and eighteenth century English conjurors.

[*Witch Craze Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany*, Rober, 2004; *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, 2013; *The Damned Art*, Anglo, 1977]



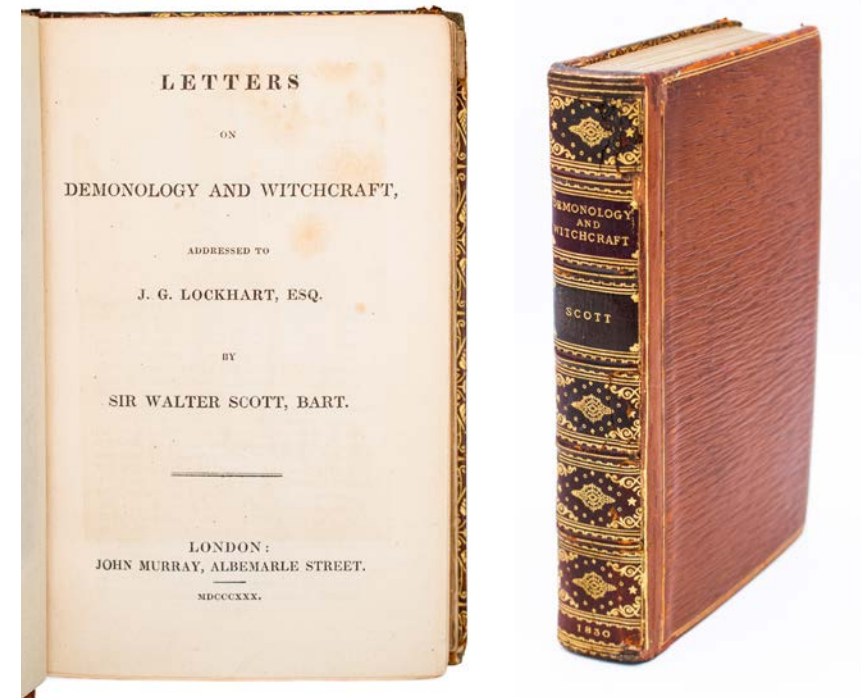
**20. SCOTT, WALTER AND CRUIKSHANK, GEORGE [ILLUSTRATOR].
Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, addressed to J. G. Lockhart, Esq.**

FIRST EDITION, [4], IX, [1], 402p., engraved uncoloured frontispiece after J. Skene, extra illustrated with 12 plates by Cruikshank, later straight grained brown morocco, boards twice ruled in gilt, original spine ruled in gilt, spine gilt with fleurons, title, author and year, raised bands, t.e.g, original endpapers, 12mo, London, John Murray, 1830.

£1,800

First Edition of Walter Scott's popular work on witchcraft and the supernatural. A lifelong student of folklore, Scott had long harboured the idea of writing about witchcraft. He was able to draw on a wide-ranging collection of primary and secondary sources, including the large occult library at his stately home at Abbotsford. Empirical archivist Robert Pitcairn had been greatly influenced and inspired by the work of Sir Walter Scott and sent copies of the more dramatic cases to the author almost as soon as he found them. Pitcairn's private generosity with his research notes, and the public interest they generated through their serialised publication in popular literary magazines, ensured that there would be a ready market for a book on witchcraft by Scotland's foremost historical novelist.

The resulting book, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, was written very quickly during the summer months of 1830 and published together with a series of illustrative plates by Cruikshank in time for Christmas. The work was a bestseller and exercised a significant influence in promoting the Victorian vogue for Gothic and ghostly fiction.



The book takes the form of ten letters addressed to J. G. Lockhart, the epistolary mode permitting Scott to be both conversational in tone and discursive in method. In these, Scott presents a wide survey of attitudes to demonology and witchcraft from the Old Testament period to his own day. Scott's account is amply illustrated with anecdotes and traditional tales, and may be read as an anthology of uncanny stories as much as a philosophical treatise. He also considers the topics of ghosts, fairies, brownies, elves, second sight and mythologies of the various Germanic peoples. Belief in these phenomena is presented as the result of ignorance and prejudice, which eventually dispersed by the rise of rational philosophy in the eighteenth century.

Examining Scottish criminal trials for witchcraft, Scott notes that the nature of evidence admissible gave free reign to accusers and left the accused no chance of escape. Prisoners were driven to confess through despair and the desire to avoid future persecution. One trial which Scott had been quick to realise the importance of is that of Isobel Gowdie. Her confessions, rediscovered by Pitcairn in the archives of the Edinburgh High Court, became a sensational new source of Scottish witchcraft, bringing the term 'coven' - to denote a group of witches - into popular usage and attesting to a wealth of fairy lore in the highlands of Scotland, that was far

removed from the traditional demonologists. Scott also observed that trials for witchcraft were increasingly connected with political crimes, just as in Catholic countries accusations of witchcraft and heresy went together. Throughout, he treats his subjects in an analytical, rationalist manner, although pockets of superstition remain.

Lockhart was Scott's friend, and later his son-in-law, and biographer. He was married to Scott's eldest daughter Sophia, and they settled on Scott's estate until he became editor of *The Quarterly Review* in London. His biography of Scott was his greatest book.

[Cohen 188 (plates) and 731; *Embracing the Darkness A Cultural History of Witchcraft*, Callow, 2018]

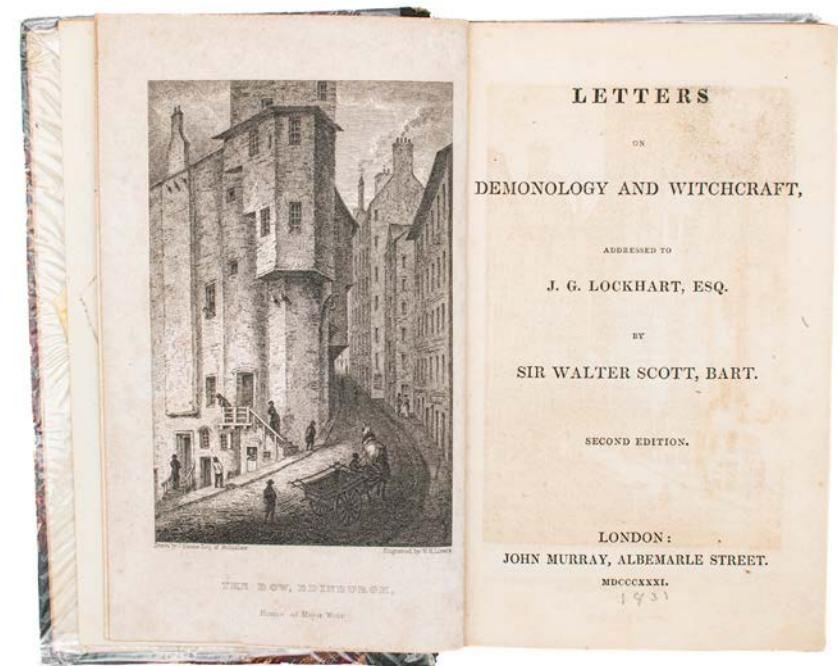


21. SCOTT, WALTER. Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, addressed to J. G. Lockhart, Esq.

Second Edition, engraved frontispiece after J. Skene, ownership annotations to front free endpaper, contemporary green half calf over marbled boards, slightly rubbed, title in gilt to spine, 12mo, London, John Murray, 1831.

£500

Second edition of Walter Scott's popular work on witchcraft and the supernatural. A lifelong student of folklore, Scott was able to draw on a wide-ranging collection of primary and secondary sources. The work was commercially successful and exercised a significant influence in promoting the Victorian vogue for Gothic and ghostly fiction.



22. SHARPE, CHARLES KIRKPATRICK. A Historical Account of the Belief in Witchcraft in Scotland.

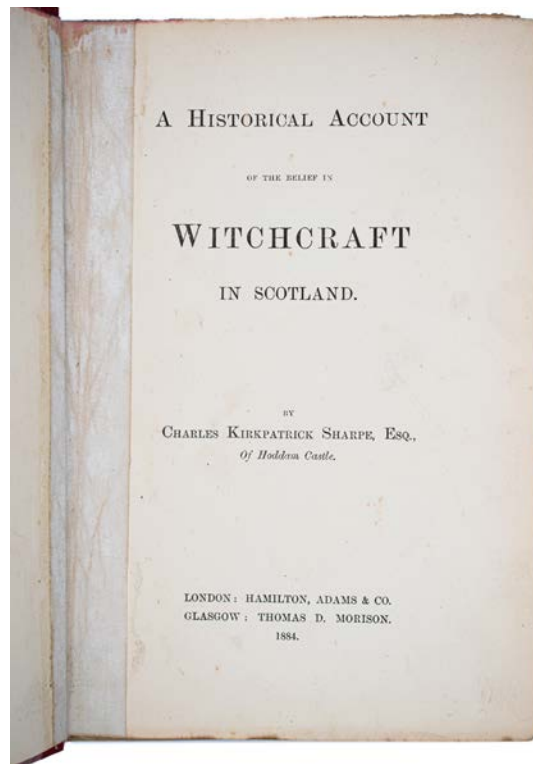
First Edition Thus. 268p., half title, title reinforced along margin, advertisements present at rear, publishers red cloth, original paper label on spine, slightly toned, 8vo, London; Hamilton, Adams and Co; Glasgow; Thomas D. Morison, 1884.

£300

Known as a Scottish antiquary and artist, this work from Sharpe was first published in 1819 as part of *Memorials* by Robert Law. Walter Scott uses the information from Sharpe in his *Letters on Demonology* 1830, specifically the last case in Scotland of an unnamed woman who was executed at Dornoch. Sharpe dated the execution to 1722, adding further embellishments that the victim “sat very composedly warming herself by the fire prepared to consume her while the other instruments of death were making ready.” Sharpe’s date of 1722 was accepted by Scott, but maintains the date and information was derived from the Countess of Sutherland. Walter Scott, convinced that the countess was the subject of a witch hunt herself over the Sutherland Clearances, emphasised her good works.

As part of the book there is an 8 page list of Scottish books on Witchcraft.

[*The Last of the Witches? The Survival of Scottish Witch Belief, Cowan and Henderson, 2002*]



23. SINISTRARI OF AMENO, REV. FATHER. Demoniality or Incubi and Succubi

First Edition, First Impression, xvi, 225, [4], 230-243, [2], 246, 247, [5], wood engraved initials, head and tail pieces, original printed parchment wrapper preserved, text block uncut, half red morocco over red cloth, t.e.g., marbled endpapers, bookplate of Harris Elliott Kirk and Hugh Hamilton Wilson, 8vo, Paris, Isidore Liseux, 1879.

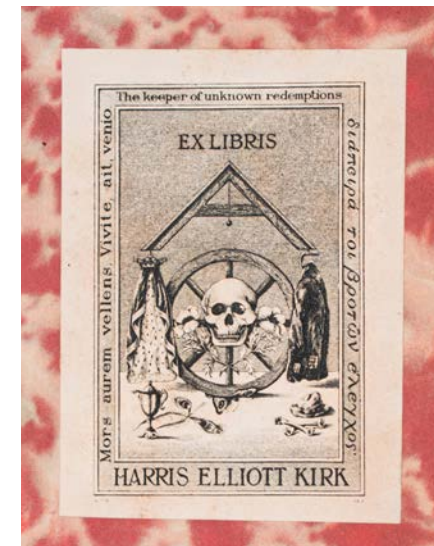
£1,100

A very important work on possession, demonic conjuration, witchcraft and the damned arts.

Rare with the original parchment wraps, this was one of several works written by Father Sinistrari of Ameno during the seventeenth century. Father Ludovico Sinistrari (1622-1701) was a Franciscan priest who taught philosophy and theology to students in Pavia, and spent some time as an advisor to the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition in Rome. He was considered an expert on exorcism, demonology, sins relating to sexuality, and all combinations thereof, including investigations of those individuals accused of sexual relations with demons. Allegations along these lines became staples of later Inquisition investigations of those accused of witchcraft.

This work focuses on demons, their composition, their mannerisms, and aims to prove the existence of sentient demons that feed on their prey through sexual intercourse. A strange but influential work, Sinistrari even remarks that, in some ways, the demons are perhaps superior to man. The original manuscript of *De Daemonalitate et Incubis et Succubis* was discovered by chance by French bibliophile and publisher Isidore Liseux in London in 1872, while searching for old books at a store. He published a French translation of the manuscript in 1875, and this English translation in 1879. The work was not widely known until the 1920's when Montague Summers published his translation through the Fortune Press.

Provenance:
Harris Elliott Kirk
Hugh Hamilton Wilson



Three Important Tracts on Deomology with the Malleus Maleficarum

24. SPINA, BARTOLOMEO DELLA. *Novus malleus maleficarum sub quaestione de strigibus seu maleficis, r. P. F. Bartholomaei spinei, ord. Praed. Theologiae profess. Sacrique palatii apostolici magistri dignissimi. Una cum tractatu de praecminentia sacrae theologiae, et quadruplici apologia de lamiis contra ponzinibium. Tractatus de praecminentia sacrae theologiae et quadruplici apologia de lamiis contra ponzinibium*

FIRST EDITION, pp. [16] 398, printers device to title, ornamental woodcut initials, contemporary calf, spine gilt, red morocco label, a.e.r., marbled endpapers, 8vo, Köln, apud Maternus Cholinus, 1581

£7,500

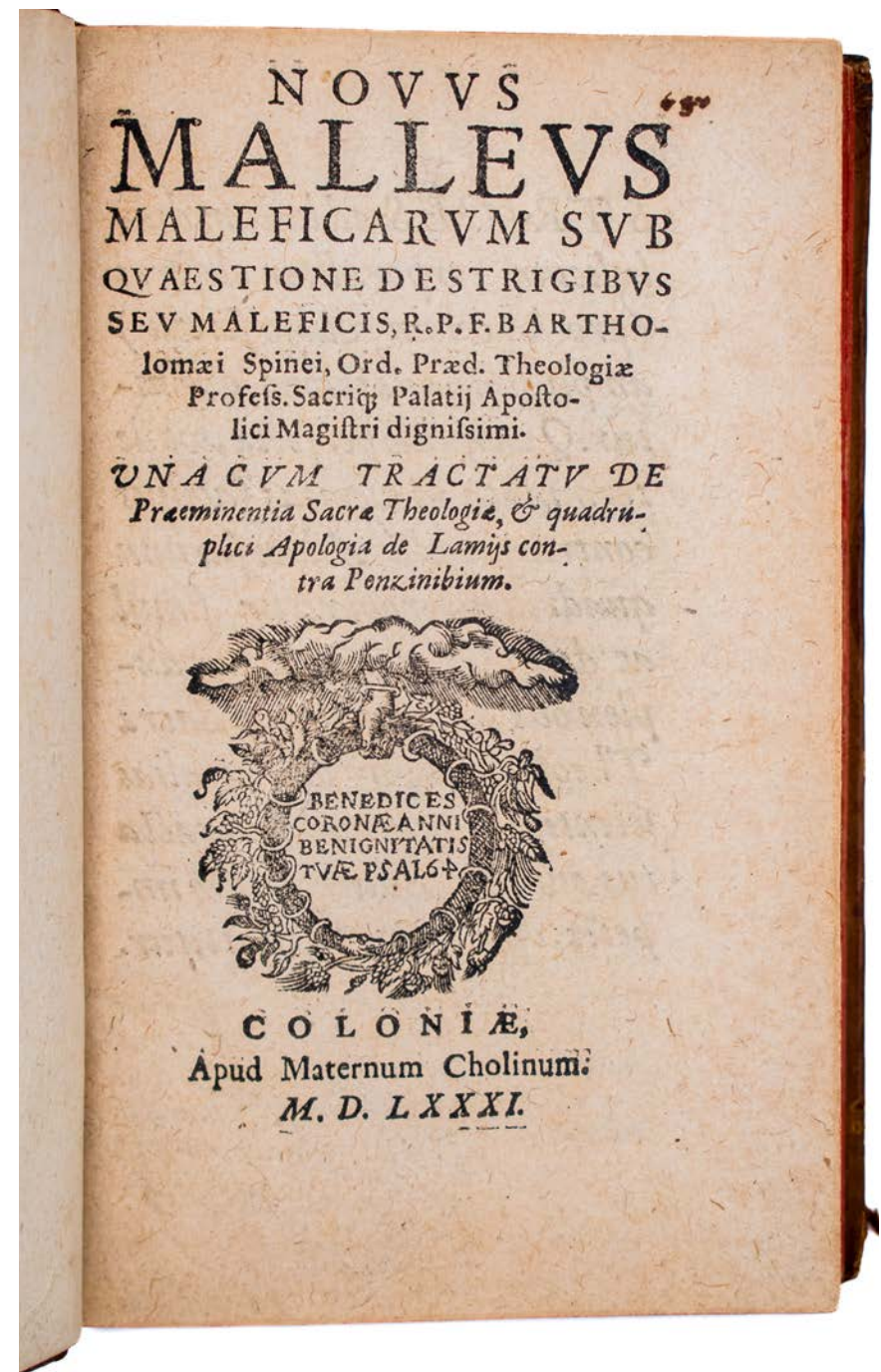
Bartolomeo della Spina (1475-1546), a papal official and theologian, was a leading defender of the reality of witchcraft in Renaissance Italy. A student of Sylvester Prierias, he studied in Bologna and Padua, eventually being appointed Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome, the chief theologian to the Pope. Under Pope Paul III, he was tasked with tackling the important theological questions raised at the Council of Trent. As a result, della Spina wrote three tracts in 1523, which are included in this work along with the *Malleus Maleficarum*.

Spina was an extreme supporter of the belief in witchcraft, and an inquisitor during the time of the witch trials at Modena. He quotes at first hand an inquisitor who said in one year at Como he and his ten assistants had burned 1,000 witches. Spina's major work in this area was his *Questio de strigibus*, a combination of his three tracts, published in 1523. Written against a background of specifically Italian magic, it upheld the belief in witches, especially their ability to fly by night, have sexual intercourse with demons, and transform into animals. It was written in part as a rebuttal to the sceptic Gianfrancesco Ponzinibio.

Gianfrancesco Ponzinibio, an Italian lawyer, condemned the methods used by the Inquisition to prove the guilt of witches. Writing in 1520, he combined a critique of common people's credulity with outrage over the injustices of inquisitorial practice, and asserted that civil law had the same authority over witchcraft trials as canon law. Ponzinibio's major offence was, as a lawyer, to reprove the theologians for improper conduct. Ponzinibio explicitly urged inquisitors to seek the assistance of lawyers throughout witchcraft trials, implying that it would help avoid serious mistakes.

Soon he was answered by Spina, who demanded the burning of Ponzinibio's treatise. Bartolomeo della Spina argued against the sceptical views by pointing out that, with very few exceptions, those accused by a witch of being at a sabbath ultimately confessed. To this end he advocated spectral evidence, observing that if the confessions of witches sufficed to burn them, their confessions must be accepted as valid evidence against those they named (under torture) as accomplices. Such accomplices all confessed; furthermore, God would not allow truly innocent people to be so defamed. Spina goes on to reason, as evidenced by Ponzinibio's scepticism and his attack on the Inquisition, Ponzinibio was in fact aiding the witches and ought himself to be prosecuted.

Spina was a very influential demonologist, known for his attempt to discredit the authority of the Canon Episcopi. The Canon Episcopi warned against the Devil's wiles but characterised them primarily as deceptions. Although it did not mention the Sabbat specifically, Episcopi



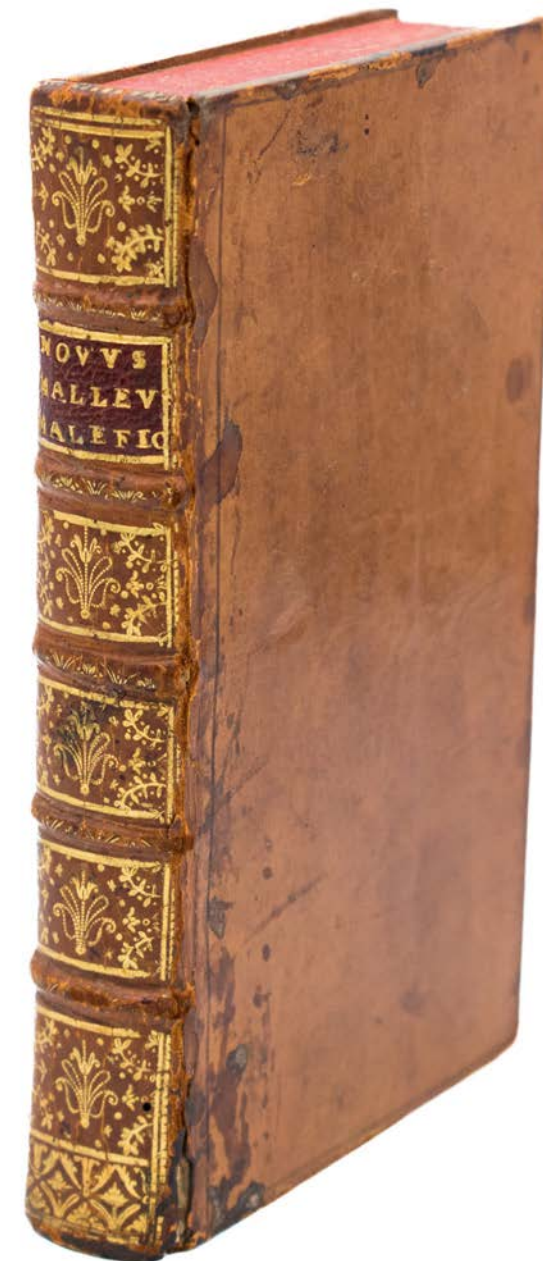
underscored that, by taking hold of the imagination, the Devil could show humans images of many different events and people, fully persuading them of their reality. This was a core problem for demonologists who wished to argue the reality of magical travel to the sabbat, especially since the Canon Episcopi was later incorporated into canon law via Gratian's Decretum. The weight of the Episcopi's stance explains why several witchcraft writers from the first generation display a marked uncertainty on these issues. Spina overcame this by insisting the witches of his time differed so much from those described in the Canon Episcopi that its description of flying women was not relevant to contemporary circumstances.

That a Dominican of such prestige answered the sceptic Ponzinibio indicates the widespread apathy and even resistance to the witch delusion in Italy and elsewhere. An inquisitor such as Spina would naturally see such theories as a serious threat to the teachings of the Church and to its cultural authority in contemporary society. Spina was disturbed by the growth of Aristotelian naturalism and materialism in the Italian intellectual world and tried to use the evidence of witches' confessions to demonstrate the existence of the soul and spirits, demonic and angelic. Spina's work placed much weight on the intellectual authority of theologians, which he saw as a principal source of witchcraft belief. The rise of increasingly radical doubts about witchcraft marks an important step in the broader process of secularisation of the debate on metaphysical questions.

In his inquisitorial work, Spina significantly relied on the *Malleus Maleficarum*. *Malleus Maleficarum* was, for a long time, the most authoritative and widespread handbook for the prosecution of witchcraft available to judges, lay and ecclesiastical. The fact that Spina's tracts are published alongside the *Malleus Maleficarum* is evidence not only of the influential role it has on Spina, but the repute it gives to Spina's argument against the claim of the Canon Episcopi. Like Bartolomeo della Spina, the *Malleus Maleficarum* reconciles with the Canon Episcopi by distinguishing between the women described in the Canon Episcopi, and real witches who committed crimes and had made a bargain with the Devil, and by claiming that the delusions of the former did not also apply to the latter.

Although Spina's work is written in the form of a scholastic treatise employing formal argument, it also contains much anecdotal and folkloristic material, some of it drawn from Spina's own experience as an inquisitor and persecutor of witches.

[USTC:678744; *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, 2013; *The Encyclopedia Of Witchcraft And Demonology*, Robbins, 1964; *The Lancashire Witches: a chronicle of sorcery and death on Pendle Hill*, Almond, 2012; *Doubting Witchcraft: Theologians, Jurists, Inquisitors during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Duni, 2016]



The Bavarian 'Witchcraft War'

25. STERZINGER, FERDINAND, *Bemühung den Aberglaube zu stürzen.*

FIRST EDITION, [12], 187pp., woodcut printers device, head and tail-pieces, slight foxing to first few leaves, marginal tear to 135/136pp not affecting text, contemporary half calf over marbled boards, spine gilt, red and green morocco labels, a.e.r., marbled endpapers, 8vo, Munich, Lentner, 1785.

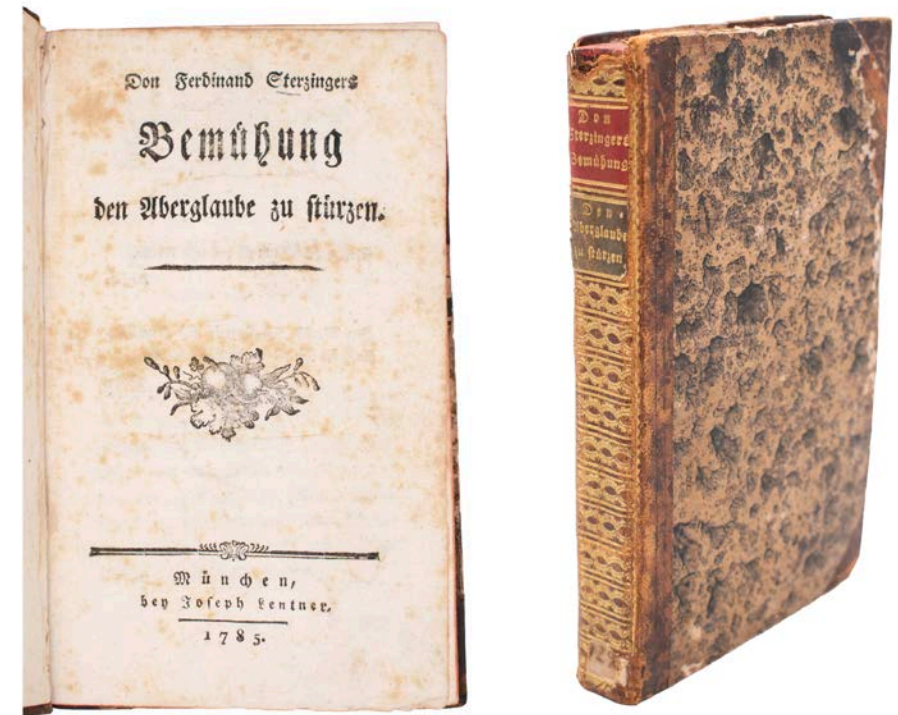
£2,000

First Edition of this important work on the witch hunt craze that was so endemic in Bavaria during the mid eighteenth century. Ferdinand Sterzinger (1721-1786), a Bavarian priest of the Theatine order and one of the leaders of the Bavarian attack on witchcraft in the 1760s, wrote this deeply sceptical work. As an Enlightened Catholic thinker, he found the notion of physically dangerous demons silly and unbiblical. As a prominent member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Sterzinger ignited a noisy discussion on witchcraft in his "Academie Address" which he delivered on 13th October 1766, a decade after the last execution of a witch in Bavaria.

In a speech that was only sanctioned on a technicality, Sterzinger launched a full-frontal assault on witchcraft beliefs. He defined witchcraft beliefs as "common prejudice", skirting around the Academy's rule forbidding the discussion of religious topics. Sterzinger treated the belief in witchcraft as a laughable superstition, relegating the theological authority of St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas into the era of fairy tales. Sterzinger was tactful enough to establish certain reservations to avoid offending church authorities. His concessions reveal some of the fundamental paradoxes of the early Catholic Enlightenment, which was considerably more tradition-bound than its Protestant counterpart. Sterzinger could not dare take the decisive step of rehabilitating all the victims of the persecutions as innocents. However this did not diminish Sterzinger's resilient insistence that "witchcraft is [...] in and of itself an empty and vain nothingness, a prejudice and imagining of unstable minds".

His speech, swiftly issued in printed form, touched on the Bavarian witchcraft war (Bayrischer Hexenkrieg), the last major public debate on the subject in early modern Europe. Sterzinger's presentation was well received in all German speaking regions, winning approval from champions of the Enlightenment.

[VD 18 13823132; *Ackermann IV*, 918; *Exorcism and Enlightenment*, Midelford, 2005; *Witchcraft Persecutions in Bavaria*, Behringer, 2002]



26. STEWART, WILLIAM GRANT. *The Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland.*

New Edition, xi, [4], 203p., illustrated frontispiece, ownership note to flyleaf head, original publisher's cloth, title gilt in centre board, spine sunned, 8vo, London, Aylott and Jones, 1851.

£300

Stewart's groundbreaking work in which he attempts to systematically classify supernatural beings. The Table of Contents impressed readers with its formal chapter divisions, slicing up supernatural beings according to their properties, powers and traits. The author discusses Highland ghosts, fairies, brownies, water-kelpies, as well as Highland festivities from Halloween, Christmas, and Beltane.

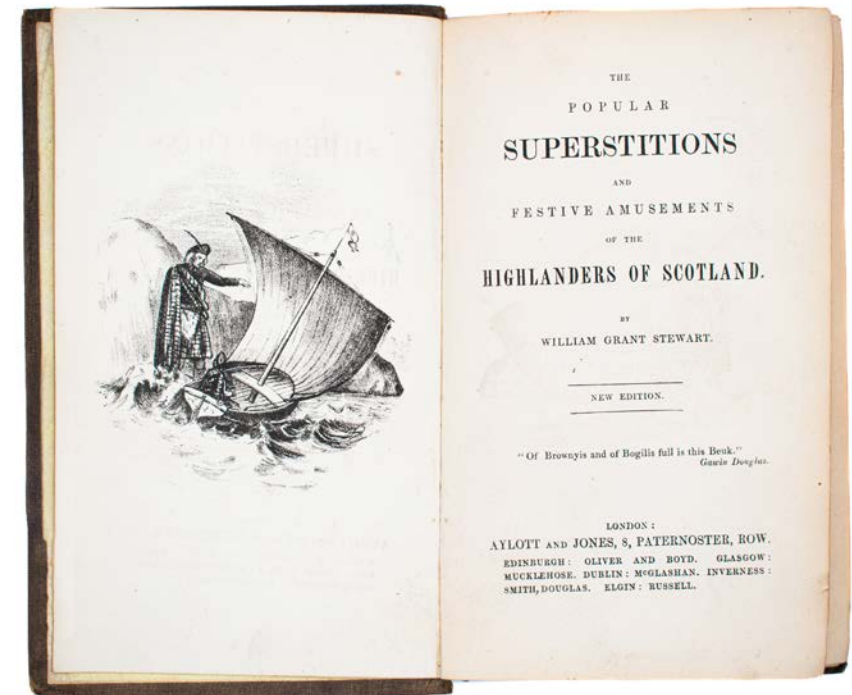
The third part is dedicated entirely to the history of witchcraft, with the following headings:

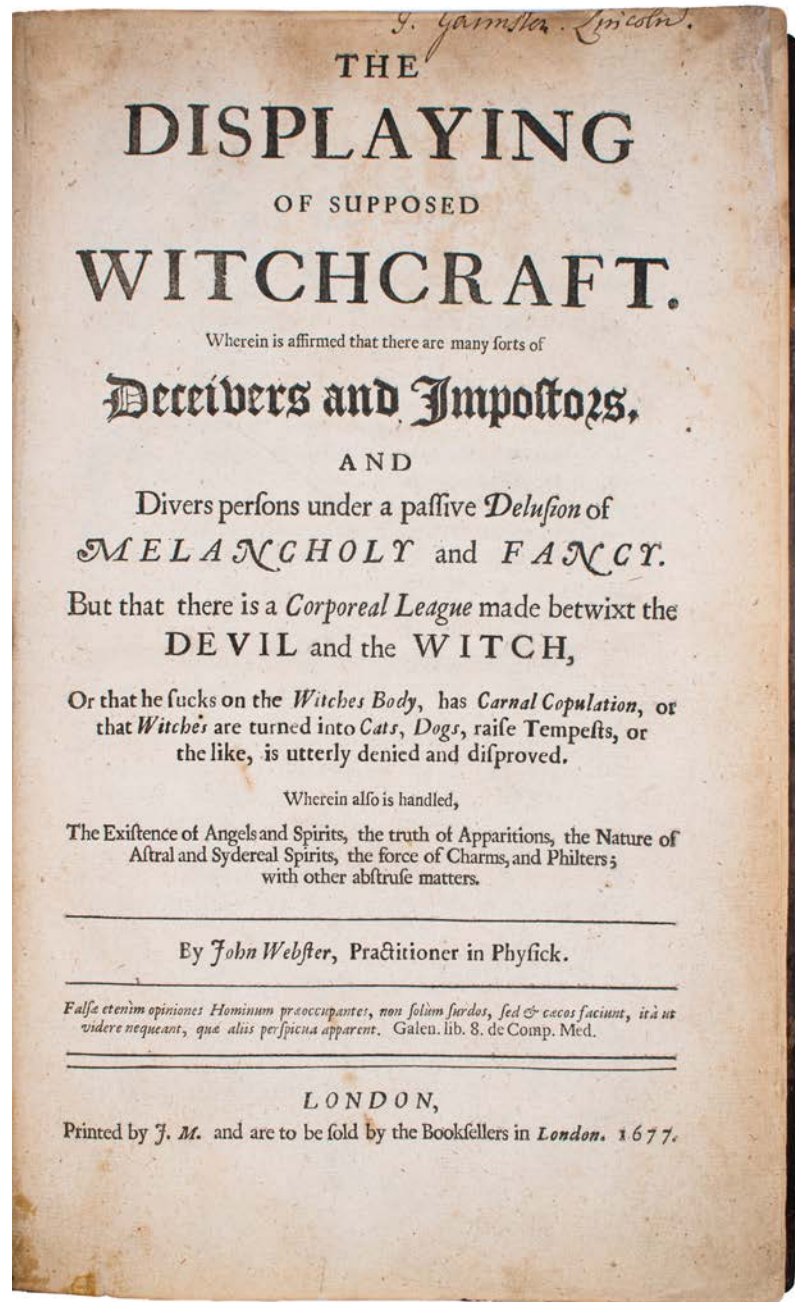
- Origins and History of Witchcraft
- Of the Agents, Qualifications, and Ceremonies of their Constitution
- Of the Personal Similitude of the Agents or Members of the Craft
- Of their Professional Powers and Practices
- Of the Witch's Powers of Transformation
- Safeguards from Witchcraft

Distinguished for its classificatory, Enlightenment spirit, Stewart's work mirrors a form of the late Romantic travel book. These are not just travel books, charting moral and psychological, as well as literal paths, but often encyclopaedias of folklore, natural history, superstitions and stories. The authorial figure in questions is a historian, an archivist, a collector. Stewart's work is defined as part of a well-exemplified fascination with the Highland landscape. His work reflects the language of eighteenth century primitivism, and also draws on the romantic cult of the picturesque and sublime.

The work had considerable impact, influencing famous authors like Sir Walter Scott and the Brothers Grimm. The Grimms relied heavily on Stewart's work in their translation of Croker's work on Irish fairy legends.

[History of British Folklore, Dorson, 1999; Scotland and the 19th-Century World, Carruthers, 2012]





A Unique Copy of an Important Work on Witchcraft

27. WEBSTER, JOHN. The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft. Wherein is affirmed that there are many sorts of Deceivers and Imposters. And Divers persons under a passive Delusion of Melancholy and Fancy. But there is a Corporeal League made betwixt the Devil and the Witch, Or that he sucks on the Witch's Body, has Carnal Copulation, or that Witches are turned into Cats, Dogs, raise Tempests, or the like, is utterly denied and disproved, Whereunto is also handled, The Existence of Angels and Spirits, the truth of Apparitions, the Nature of Astral and Sydereal Spirits, the force of Charms, and Philters; with other abstruse matters.



FIRST EDITION, [16], 346, [4], printers notes and errata leaves present, a contemporary manuscript letter bound in, contemporary ownership inscription to title head, contemporary annotations and manicules in margins, occasional light staining to lower margin, original full calf, skilfully rebaced with raised bands, spine gilt with motifs, contemporary marbled endpapers, small folio, London, J.M. [Jonas Moore], 1677.

£8,500

John Webster (1610 - 1682), a physician and cleric, was known for his controversial works. Webster claimed to be educated at the University of Cambridge, and his writing displays a learned style despite no evidence to back this claim. During the First English Civil War, Webster left his position as a teacher in Clitheroe and became a surgeon and army chaplain in the Parliamentary forces. In the late 1650s Webster returned to Clitheroe. He gave up the ministry after he was arrested in 1658 and had his papers seized. He practised as a physician in Clitheroe until he died.

His *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* was a critical and sceptical review of evidence for witchcraft. Webster takes a remarkably similar outlook to Johann Weyer, the best known sixteenth century critic of witch trials. Weyer was completely orthodox in his belief in devils and his condemnation of almost any kind of magical practice, but did not think it was the kind of thing that old ladies got up to. Webster opposed Joseph Glanville and Henry Moore, who defended the belief in witchcraft using learned science and theology. The hermetic systems that became popular during the Renaissance did allow for spirits and angels to be summoned. Learned sceptics were often advocates of a mystical or hermetic point of view and were always vulnerable to accusations of devilry. Webster was keen to deny the existence of witches because he did not want his own 'natural magic' to be confused with witchcraft. In *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* Webster goes as far as suggesting that the bible has been mistranslated to support the belief in witches. Glanville and Moore were defending the New Philosophy which insists all magic must be supernatural, and that can only mean God or the Devil. The argument was between on one side Aristotelians and their heirs, the mechanical philosophers, and on the other neo-Platonists and Hermetists. It was usually the former, with what we might call the more scientific attitude, who defended belief in witchcraft.

Moore edited Glanville's earlier works on witchcraft, attacked by Webster, together with material of his own as a reply. This appeared under Glanville's name, but after his death as the influential *Saducismus Triumphatus*.

At the front of this copy of *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* are two manuscript leaves. The text on the first manuscript leaf is the same as the inscription on Webster's monument in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, at Clitheroe. It reads as follows:

“Qui hanc figuram intelligunt Me etiam intellexisse, intelligent. Hic jacet ignotus mundo mersusque tumultu Invidiae semper mens tatem aqua fuit, Multa tulit veterum ut sciret secreta topthorum Ac tandem vires noverit ignis aquae.

Johannes Hyphantes sive Webster, In villa Spinosa supermontana, in Parochia silcae cuculatae, in agro Eboracensi, natus 1610 Feb 3, Ergastulum animae deposuit 1682, Junii 18, Annoq. Aetatis suae 72 currente. Sic peroravit moriens mundo huic vultdicens, ea pax vivis, requies aeterna Sepultis”.

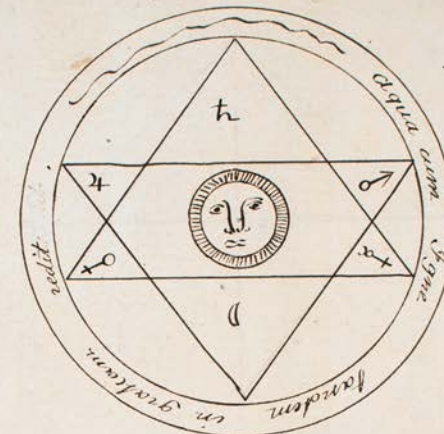
This manuscript is illustrated with a witches compass with a unicursal hexagram inside. In the centre is a sun, each section of the hexagram has a planetary symbol, starting north they represent Saturn, Mars, Mercury, the Moon, Venus and Jupiter. The surrounding text reads “aqua cum Igne tandem in grateam redit.”

The second manuscript leaf is a letter bound in, which reads “Carrhale, 17th, March 1797. I believe that the author of this book, who subscribes himself, ‘John Webster, practitioner in Physics’, was the Officiating Clergyman or Curate of Kildwick in Yorkshire in the year 1624. My reasons for this opinion are as follows: Many of the Persecuted Clergy at the times of the Usurpations, which took places anno 1648, applied themselves to the practice of Medicine for a sustenance to themselves and their families. The Author speaks of the kindness received from the then Mr Pisky of Browsholm & others, in his Dedication, during the time of great sufferings & persecutions. And lastly, in pages 277, speaking of himself in the first person, he expressly says I - was Curate of Kildwick & which, I think, is predicable of the Author only, no other person being mentioned buried in Clitheroe Church; to whose memory a Brass-plate is erected on the Southwall, opposite the Pulpit. He is there described as having been eminent for his knowledge of Chemistry; and as having lived some time in ‘Villa Spinosa’, that is, Thornton Craven.”

Signed ‘J. A.’ mailing folds, sealed twice on the bottom of the page. Annotations in a similar hand are found throughout the book. Some with references such as on pp.245 “This story told in Ye Gentlemen Magazine, June 1750 page 255”, in reference to the condemning of Rouland Jenkes, Oxford, tried for creating a suffocating mist.

[ESTC: R12517; Norman 2192; Wing W1230]

*Qui hanc Figuram intelligunt
Nec etiam intellexisse intelligent.*



*Hic jacet ignotus mundo mersusque tumultu
Invidia, semper mens tamen aqua fuit
Multa tulit veterum ut sciret secreta Topthorum,
Ac tandem vires noverit Ignis = aqua.*

*Johannes Hyphantes, sive Webster,
In villa Spinosa supermontana in
Parochia Silcae cuculatae in Agro
Eboracensi, natus 1610 Feb 3^o
Ergastulum animae deposuit 1682 Junii 18^o
Annoque aetatis suae 72 currente:
Sicq; peroravit moriens, mundo huic valedicens,
Aqua Pax vivis, requies aeterna Sepultis”.*

[WITCHCRAFT SAMMELBAND - JOHANN WEYER]

28. CHRISTIAN WURSTISEN, ABRAHAM SAUR, JOHANNES WIER

A sammelband containing two significant works on witchcraft published by Nicolaus Basse during the height of the witch-hunts.

£28,000

[SAUR, ABRAHAM]. *Theatrum De Veneficis, Das ist: Von Teuffelsgespenst Zauberern und Giffbereitem, Schwartzkuenstlern, Hexen und Unholden, vieler fuernemmen Historien und Exempel, bewahrten, glaubwirdigen, Alten und Newen Scribenten, was von solchen... disputiert und gehalten worden, mit sonderm fließ... an Tag geben.*

FIRST EDITION, [14] , 396 (406), [10], printed in gothic black, half title, title in red and black, ownership inscription to title head with coat of arms stamp, woodcut vignette and woodcut printer's device at end, contemporary rich blind embossed pigskin over chamfered wooden boards, slightly stained, slightly scraped, without the clasps, folio, (316 x 200mm), Frankfurt, Nicolaus Basse, 1586.

FIRST EDITION OF AN EXTENSIVE WORK WITH CRITICAL AND DIVERSE EXPLANATIONS ON MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT, SUPERSTITION, EXORCISM AND WITCH HUNTS.

The First Edition of the *Theatrum de Veneficis* (Theatre of the Witches?), edited by Marburg attorney Abraham Saur, is an important compendium of demonological tracts which represented a wide variety of early modern views on witchcraft.

The editor, Abraham Saur, was born in Frankenberg in Hesse on 12 February, 1545. Presumably encouraged by Professor Hermann Lersner, who he was close to, he studied law first in Witternberg in 1565, then in Marburg. Saur was a prolific and skilful writer, producing numerous legal handbooks which he compiled for his own use, to teach others and published on request. These were well received, many being printed several times after Saur's death.

Saur's *Theatrum de Veneficis* was compiled in Frankfurt in 1586 when the witch hunt craze was in full swing. Despite Saur's own belief that it is the God-given duty of the magistrates to eradicate the practise of witchcraft and to punish its practitioners, *Theatrum de Veneficis* covered the whole spectrum of reactions to the witch phenomenon. This includes Johann Weyer's sceptical preface about witchcraft, where he considers the idea of diabolic illusion, and how melancholy women were particularly prone to fall into delusions about the Devil. Later he would conclude that most of those accused of witchcraft were innocent.

Saur also included severe condemnation as championed by the Genevan pastor Lambert Daneau in *Dialogus de veneficis*, 1564, and pastor Jacob Vallick in *Von Zauberern Hexen und Unholden*. Even with the important role the Catholic church played in the evolution of demonologies, the onset of the Reformation did not significantly change the witch debate. Martin Luther's convictions and teachings about the reality of evil in the form of Satan, and his demons, formed the basis of Protestant demonology. In *Von Zauberrey Teuffelsgespenst Und Hexerey Campsionibus und Wechselkindern* he specifically and vigorously condemned the witches' apostasy as the most serious crime against God and the Christian faith.



Writers who doubted the witches ability to commit the acts with which they had been charged are also represented. This conviction was expressed by Hermann Witekind in *Bedencken von Zauberey woher und wie vielfaltig sie sey*, 1585. Witekind was sceptical about the reality of flight and was fascinated by how an individual could come to confess things which could not be taken as literally true. Despite his doubt, Witekind's tract contains a lengthy passage on flight, much of which was later pillaged by Faust. He also doubted whether intercourse with the Devil really happened, while insisting that the pact with the Devil itself could be real.

Ulrich Molitor, a jurist from Constance, wrote a tract in opposition to the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Molitor argued against the reality of demonic power attributed to women, calling them an illusion. According to Molitor in *Von Hexen und Unbolden*, it was only by permission of God that witches were able to make weather, inflict illness or impotence, fly to the Sabbath, etc., as only God could bestow whatever power Satan falsely claimed as his own.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the ordeal by water was widely discussed among demonologists, specifically jurists and physicians. Both sides of the debate about the efficacy of the trial by water for the purpose of identifying witches are represented. In 1583, Wilhelm Adolph Schreiber (Scribonius) published *De examine et purgatione sagarum per aquam frigidam epistola*, which certified the procedure as legally and theologically sound. A forceful rejection of Scribonius' thesis was advanced by Herman Neuwalt, professor of medicine at the University of Helmstedt, in his *Exegesis purgationis sine examinis sagarum super aquam frigidam* - the first tract devoted exclusively to the question of efficacy of trial by water..

Among the authors are Heinrich Bullinger, Ludwig Lavater, Konrad Lautenbach, Reinhard Lutz, Adrian Rheyman, Leonhard Thurneysser, Johannes Trithemius and many more.

The tracts collected here are often appended with trial records, as witchcraft raised questions of belief. The tales of witches' doings were never the creation of the demonologists alone, and information about what witches confessed to constantly fed back into the works of demonology, enlarged and exaggerated by their interrogators. These trials were attached to tracts for two reasons; firstly, to set up the pamphlet as a dialogue between theory and evidence. At the same time the vividness of the confession added greatly to the treatises readability. This was a tried and



true formula, long exploited by writers, who peddled their learned works with the stories of the horrors of individual witches.

[VD16S 1938. Coumont T17,1. Hayn-Gotendorf III, 242., *Witch Craze Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany*, Roper, 2004, *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, 2013]

[BOUND WITH]

WIER, JOHANNES [JOHANN WEYER]. De lamiis. Das ist: Von Teuffelgespent Zaubern und Gifftbereytern, kurtzer doch gruendlicher Bericht, was fuer Unterscheidet unter den Hexen ud Unholden, und den Gifftbereytern, im staffen zuhalten... in unsere gemeine Teutsche Sprach gebracht, Durch Henricum Petrum, Rebenstock, von Giessen.

Third edition, First Basse Edition, [12], 1-90, [8], title in red and black, printed in German Gothic type, wood cut vignette and printers device, old vellum tag pasted to title, ownership inscription to title head, ownership coat of arms stamped to title tail, woodcut initials and headpieces, Frankfurt, Nicklaus Basse, 1586.

Johann Weyer, a respected Lutheran physician at the court of William III, was one of the first



to protest against the persecution of witches. After studying at the University of Paris, Weyer apprenticed under Agrippa of Nettesheim from 1530 to 1534. The poetic, mysterious and liberal-minded Agrippa was also an outspoken critic of witch persecution.

Weyer's *De Lamiis*, first printed in 1577, reiterated the primary arguments of his most famous work, *De praestigis daemonum*, (1563). In both these works Weyer mounts an unwavering attack on witch persecution, in a time when witch trials and executions were just beginning to be common. Weyer sought to derogate the law concerning witchcraft prosecution, using two forms of thinking. He argued that those accused of practising witchcraft were mentally ill - suffering from "melancholia" - and the confessions they made were actually delusions of the mind. He bolstered this attack on realist demonology with medical authorities as well as his own clinical experience as a practising physician. Secondly, Weyer challenged demonologists on a legal terrain, attacking the prosecution's reliance on a confession, the point where demonology's theoretical and practical endeavours converged.

Weyer has become a symbol of courage and lucidity in the face of intolerance and ignorance, but he was not quite as radical as it would seem. Despite Weyer's appeal for a greater tolerance towards alleged witches, he also wants greater severity towards male magicians, who Weyer

Stettler.

DE LAMIIS.

Das ist:

Von Teuffelsge wenst Zauberern vnd Sifftbereytern / kurtzer doch gründt-

licher Bericht / was für Vnterscheidt vnter den Heren vnd
Vnholden / vnd den Sifftbereytern / im straffen zuhalten / darmit
beydes die Richter im Urtheil fällen vnd verdammen nicht zu viel thun / s/he
Gewissen beschweren / vnd das vnschuldiges Blut
zuvergessen / verhütet werde.

Sampft einem angehängten kleinen Tractätlein von dem fals-
schen vnd erdichten Fasset / alles mit vielen nütlichen vnd glaubwürdigen Historien
aufgeführt / durch den Hochgelehrten viel erfahrenen vnd weitberühmten Herrn / Johans
nem Bierum / Medicinæ D. Latinisch beschrieben: Jesuindt aber frommer Ehrfürlicher
Drigkeit vnd Weltlichen Reagenten vnd andern zumig vnd gutem /
in vnserer gemeine Teütsche Sprach
gebracht / Durch

Henricum Petrum Nebenstoc / von Bissen / Pfarre
hern zu Eschirfheim.



Mit Rom. Keyf. Raichf. Freyheit / auff zehen Jahr nicht nachzudruckten begnadet.

Gedruckt zu Francfort am Mayn / durch Nicolaum Basseum.

M. D. LXXXVI.



ter an / ward als ein bekanter allbereit eingelassen. D



Scheuzliche
Mordthat.

er sich zu ihm
nicht auffge
als ob er fr
sich mit ihm
lein auff ge
nehmen zu
schnell nich
Tochter ihr
aufgekehre
in ihr Gem
Stuben ge
wicht auff /
aller nechst
mit dem al

perceived as actual practitioners of natural or demonic magic. It has been suggested that in its very conception, this work is an ideological attack on Catholic idolatry and superstition, rather than a radical stand against the cruel persecution of witches.

Weyer's appeal for clemency for those accused of the crime of witchcraft was met with disapproving or approving books published all over Europe. *De Lamiis* was Weyer's way to double-down on his convictions after evoking the counterblast of two intellectually outstanding writers. Not only was he opposed by his fellow Lutheran Erasmus, but also Jean Bodin, a man who had just acquired a European reputation for his political masterpiece, *Republique* (1576). The simple astonishment of Erasmus and Bodin that Weyer should actually repeat in his *De Lamiis* the argument of the *De Praestigis* is indicative of a genuine shock. Until an implicitly or explicitly non-Christian stance would be taken up to combat witch burning, the only effective liberal course - apart from practical intervention - was silence.

Yet Johann Weyer shaped opposition to witch hunting for generations. Demonologists who wrote after him took care to demolish his arguments, and Bodin's famous *Demonomanie de sorciers* includes a lengthy rebuttal of *De praestigis*. Yet as they engaged with Weyer's ideas, their own thought was shaped by his.

De Lamiis was first printed in 1577 in the Officina Oporiniana in Basel and reprinted in 1582. This edition is the first printed in Frankfurt by Basse, a major publisher of works on witchcraft. In 1580 he had the *Mallens Maleficarum* republished, and his edition of *De praestigis daemonum* was the last German language edition to be published during Weyer's lifetime.

[VD16 W 2654; *The Damned Art*, Baxter, 1977; *Witchcraft, Demonology, and Confession in Early Modern France*, Krause, 2015;]

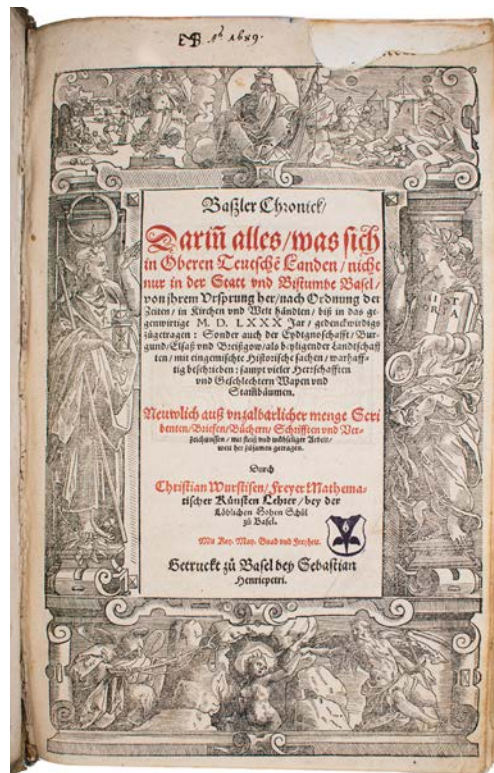
[BOUND WITH]

WURSTISEN, CHRISTIAN. Baszler Chronick, Darinn alles, was sich in Oberen Teutschen Landen, nicht in der Statt und Bistumbe Basel, von jhrem Ursprung her, nach Ordnung der Zeiten, in Kirchen und Welt händlen, biß in das gegenwitige M.D.LXXX Jar gedenckwirdigs zugetragen...

FIRST EDITION, [18], DCLXV,[1], Printed in German Gothic script, wood cut title in red and black, with wide wood cut border by Tobias Stimmer, coat of arms woodcut on back of title, woodcut printers device at the end, many text woodcuts of portraits, coats of arms, maps and vignettes, the view of Basel and 2 sheets M 4 and BB 5 are missing, title with backed edge tear at the top (minimal into the border), ms. Monogram "EB", dated "1689" and coat of arms stamp, small marginal repairs to approx 15 leaves, Basel, [Sebastian]Henricpetri, [1580]

First edition of the most famous work of mathematician and historian Christian Wurstisen (1544 - 1588). Compiled over the course of a decade, this is the first truly comprehensive chronicle of Basel. The work also contains the history of the diocese up to 1580. The text illustrations include depictions of historical events, coat of arms and portraits of the city-based nobility, coins, a siege machine and a comet course. Wurstisen named the heraldic tinctures after the initials of the given colours for the first time.

[Adams W-261; BM STC German p.928; Barth 19681; Heckelborn 160, 8; Hieronymus 78c; Lonchamp 3314; Weber 112.]



The First Attack on Witch Trials Annotated by a Bavarian Officer Who Likely Witnessed the Trials

29. WEIR, JOANNE [WEYER, JOHANN]. De praestigiis daemonum, et incantationibus ac veneficijs, libri V, recogniti, authore Ioanne Wiero medico. Totius operis argumentum in praefatione comperies.

FIRST EDITION, 479pp., early ownership note to title head, unidentified Hungarian library stamp to title, floriated woodcut initials, numerous annotations to margins in a 17th century hand, bookplate on pastedown, early full calf, spine gilt, corners worn, speckled edges, 8vo, Basiliae, Ioan Oporin, 1563.

£25,000

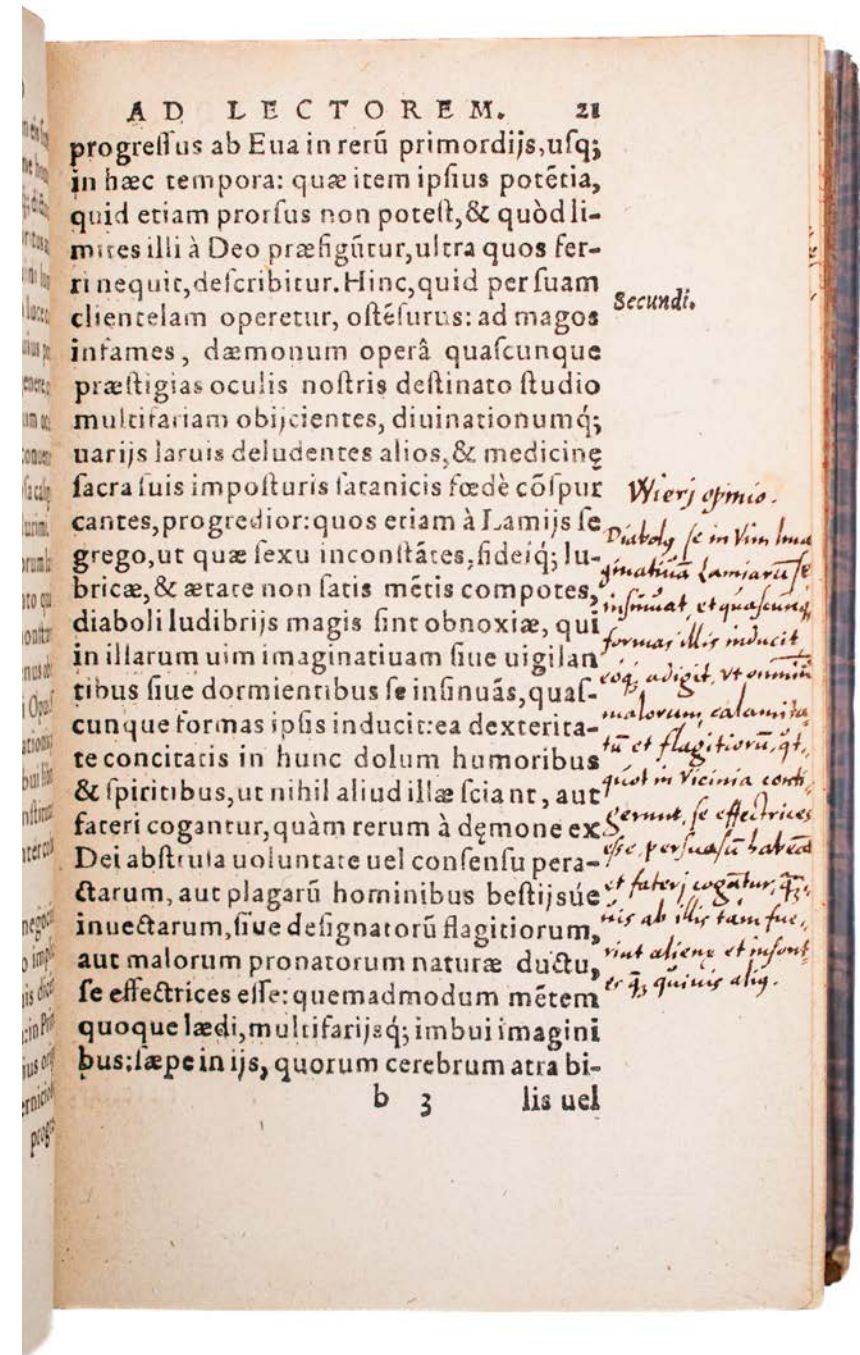
“Those who err should be brought gently home, not incarcerated with punitive ferocity.”

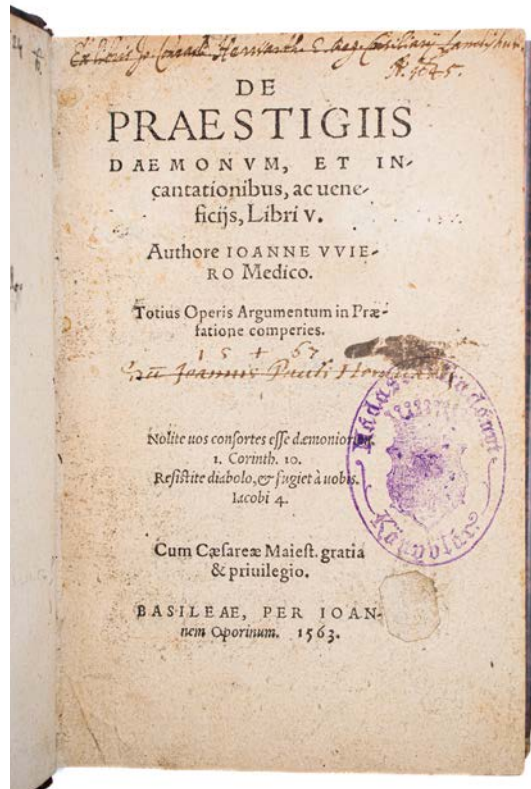
Johann Weyer, a respected Lutheran physician at the court of William III, was one of the first to protest against the persecution of witches. He is considered "the founder of medical psychiatry" (Garrison-Morton), and a human rights defender avant la lettre. He published on rare diseases and sexual abuse. Weyer influenced contemporaries such as Michel de Montaigne and later thinkers such as Victor Hugo, Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud. After studying at the University of Paris, Weyer apprenticed under Agrippa of Nettesheim from 1530 to 1534. The poetic, mysterious and liberal-minded Agrippa was also an outspoken critic of witch persecution.

Weyer sought to derogate the law concerning witchcraft prosecution, using two forms of thinking. He argued that those accused of practising witchcraft were mentally ill - suffering from "melancholia" - and the confessions they made were actually delusions of the mind. By arguing that the moral weakness in women made them easy prey to Satan's temptations, Weyer started one of the most vigorous and enduring controversies surrounding demonology and the witch in the early modern period. Weyer powerfully argues the case for leniency to the repentant and eloquently rejects the assimilation of witchcraft to heresy. He insisted that women were neither helped nor healed by torture or burning, but that they rather needed the healing power of prayer, religious instruction, medical intervention, and meditative isolation. He bolstered this attack on realist demonology with medical authorities as well as his own clinical experience as a practising physician. Whilst he is right to insist on the relevance of medical diagnosis in many cases of witchcraft, medicine was then too primitive to suggest convincing explanations. Weyer's most important contribution in the field of medical diagnosis may be the understanding that undernourishment was the cause of much witchcraft melancholia.

Medical and juridical objections often went hand in hand. Weyer challenged demonologists on a legal terrain, attacking the prosecution's reliance on a confession, the point where demonology's theoretical and practical endeavours converged. Weyer attempts to demolish various witch confessions, notably he publicly attacked the trials of the Württemberg preachers, attesting they were illegal, since the death penalties could be imposed only in cases of maleficent magic, not for mere fantasies. Weyer was careful to specify that he did not doubt the reality of witchcraft, but only its relevance to the majority of prosecutions.

Weyer has become a symbol of courage and lucidity in the face of intolerance and ignorance, but he was not quite as radical as it would seem. Despite Weyer's appeal for a greater tolerance towards alleged witches, he also wants greater severity towards male magicians, who Weyer





perceived as actual practitioners of natural or demonic magic. It has been suggested that in its very conception, this work is an ideological attack on Catholic idolatry and superstition, rather than a radical stand against the cruel persecution of witches.

The reaction to *De Praestigiiis Daemonum* was formidable. Weyer had chosen to publish his book precisely at the moment when the witch craze, after a long lull, was beginning again. That, indeed, was what had provoked him to write. But this Erasmian Platonist was no longer heard by a generation that had repudiated Erasmus. A fellow physician might hail him as a prophet of enlightenment, but his other readers thought differently. Weyer was told by his friends that his book must be destroyed or rewritten, and by his enemies that he was a lunatic.

Yet Johann Weyer shaped opposition to witch hunting for generations. Demonologists who wrote after him took care to demolish his arguments, and Bodin's famous *Demonomanie de sorciers* includes a lengthy rebuttal of *De praestigiiis*. Yet as they engaged with Weyer's ideas, their own thought was shaped by his.

The printer Johannes Oporinus is best remembered for his publication of Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica*, 1543.

Provenance:

Joannnis Pauli Herwarth(?) 1567;

Johann Conrad Herwarth "Ex Libris Jo. Conradi Herwarth. C. Reg. Consiliani Landishuti A.

1645".

Haskell F. Norman: his sale, Christie's New York, Part 2, June 15, 1998, lot 852).

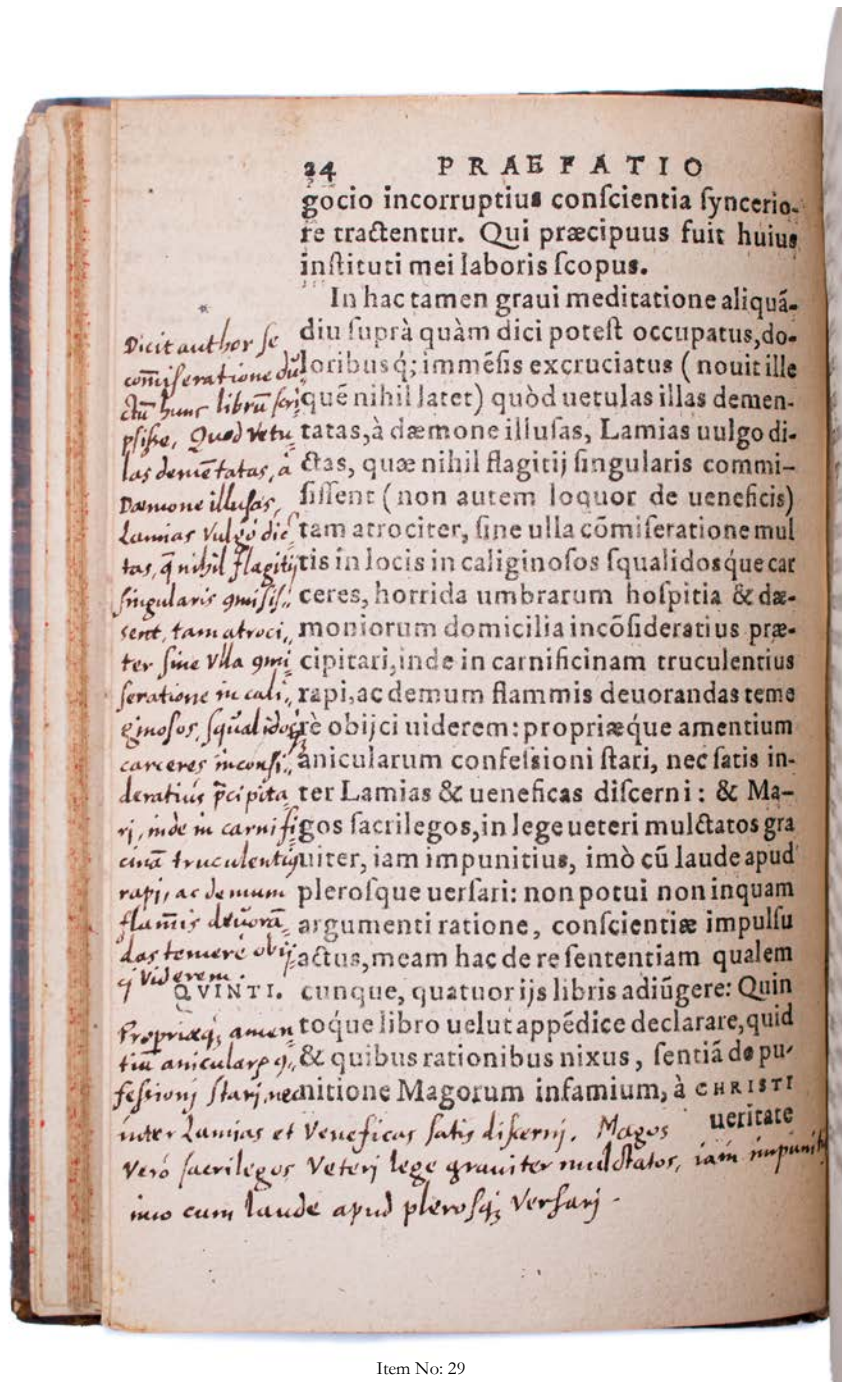
There are several annotations in the margins, written in a similar hand to Johann Conrad Herwarth (d.1669). Herwarth joined the Regimental Council in 1656 in Landshut, Bavaria, an area that witnessed first-hand the horror of the witch trials, following the reign of William V and his ecclesiastical council, the Geistlicher Rat. Non-Catholics were forced to leave Bavaria and there were numerous executions following witch hunts in the duchy.

The last witch execution in the Holy Roman Empire took place in Landshut in 1756, when 15 year-old Veronika Zeritschin was beheaded and then burned. As a member of the Regimental Council, Herwarth would have overseen trials for crimes within the military, such as thievery, insubordination and cowardice. It is understandable why Herwarth might take interest in Weyer's work, as he would have almost certainly witnessed the witch trails, or possibly been directly involved.

It is unclear if these annotations are indicative of support for Weyer or if they are simply paraphrasing: "Propriaeque amentium anicularum confessioni stari, nec inter lamias et veneficas satis discerni. Magos vero sacrilegos veteri lege grauitur multatos, iam impune imo cum laude apud plerosque versari."/ "There is a persistence in a peculiar kind of confession for mad old women, nor is there sufficient distinction between lamiae-witches and veneficae-witches. Sacrilegious wizards, however, who in ancient law were gravely slaughtered, now among many people ply their business with impunity or indeed with praise." - Translation by Nathaniel Hess.

However, the commenter clearly has an interest in the theological debate surrounding demonology, referencing Weyer's chief critic, Jean Bodin: "Ioan. Bodinus in tract. suo recenter edito, de daemonomania, acri criminatione authoris, probe Catonis vices agere videtur."/ "Jean Bodin in his recently edited tract on Demonomania seems, with a sharp recrimination of this author, to act upstandingly in the manner of Cato. [the tone of this is possibly ironic]" - Translation by Nathaniel Hess.

[ADB XLII, p. 266; Garrison-Morton 4916; *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, Robbins, 1972; *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Thorndike, 1941; *Witchcraft, Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Europe*, Roper, 2004; *Witches, Devils, and Doctors in the Renaissance: Johann Weyer, Mora*, 1991; *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, 2013; *Ideas and Cultural Margins in Early Modern Germany*, 2009; *The Damned art : essays in the literature of witchcraft*, 1977]



Item No: 29

30. WEIR, JOANNE [WEYER, JOHANN. De Praestigiis Daemonum, Et Incantationibus ac ueneficiis, libri V. recogniti, & ualde aucti. Authore Ioanne Vviero Graviano, illustrissimi ducis Cluiae, &c. medico. Praeter locupletem accessionis cumulum, ut lectoris memoriae consuleretur, in capita quoque iam sectus est quilibet liber: cuius argumentum in praefatione comperies. Accebit index amplissimus.

Second edition, 565, [lxviii] pp., late 17th century annotations to flyleaf and title, occasional underlining, last ten index pages with a single, small worm hole, 17th century limp vellum, yapped edges, two leather straps (perished), 8vo (165 x 108mm), Basiliae, Ioan Oporin, 1564.

£10,000

"Those who err should be brought gently home, not incarcerated with punitive ferocity."

Johann Weyer, a respected Lutheran physician at the court of William III, was one of the first to protest against the persecution of witches. He is considered "the founder of medical psychiatry" (Garrison-Morton), and a human rights defender avant la lettre. He published on rare diseases and sexual abuse. Weyer influenced contemporaries such as Michel de Montaigne and later thinkers such as Victor Hugo, Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud. After studying at the University of Paris, Weyer apprenticed under Agrippa of Nettesheim from 1530 to 1534. The poetic, mysterious and liberal-minded Agrippa was also an outspoken critic of witch persecution.

Weyer sought to derogate the law concerning witchcraft prosecution, using two forms of thinking. He argued that those accused of practising witchcraft were mentally ill - suffering from "melancholia" - and the confessions they made were actually delusions of the mind. By arguing that the moral weakness in women made them easy prey to Satan's temptations, Weyer started one of the most vigorous and enduring controversies surrounding demonology and the witch in the early modern period. Weyer powerfully argues the case for leniency to the repentant and eloquently rejects the assimilation of witchcraft to heresy. He insisted that women were neither helped nor healed by torture or burning, but that they rather needed the healing power of prayer, religious instruction, medical intervention, and meditative isolation. He bolstered this attack on realist demonology with medical authorities, as well as his own clinical experience as a practising physician. Whilst he is right to insist on the relevance of medical diagnosis in many cases of witchcraft, medicine was then too primitive to suggest convincing explanations. Weyer's most important contribution in the field of medical diagnosis may be the understanding that undernourishment was the cause of much witchcraft melancholia.

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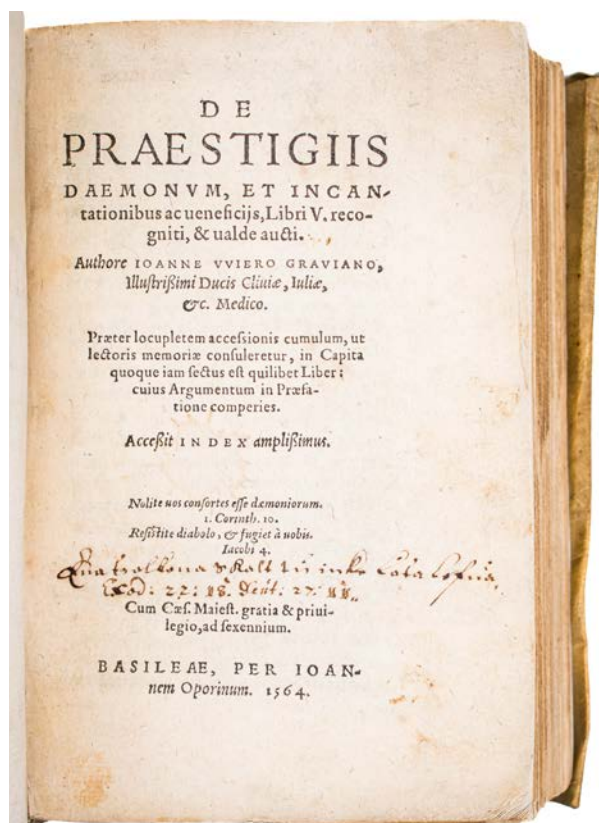
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Only three auction records in the last 50 years.

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CRIMINAL TRIALS IN SCOTLAND.

CONCERNING WITCHES AND AFFARIIONS

1682

HISTORY OF WITCHES

WITCHES

WITCHES

HISTORY OF WITCHES

DEMONIOLOGY

DEMONIOLOGY AND WITCHCRAFT

SCOTT

NOVY HALLE

