

# Newsletter of the Societas Magica / No. 5

## Issue on Pedagogy

This issue of the Newsletter is devoted mainly to courses on witchcraft and magic.

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Witchcraft and Magic in Medieval and Early Modern Europe

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I. Introduction to the course. History 4490/5490 (also WMST 4500), an advanced baccalaureate/master's level course, examines the history of beliefs about witchcraft and magic in Europe. We begin with a survey of the origins of Western credence in witchcraft, including its pagan, biblical, patristic, folkloristic, and Germanic sources. The course covers in greater detail the period from the twelfth century, when the Catholic Church began to see witchcraft and the practice of diabolical magic as growing threats, through the height of the witch-hunting mania in the late sixteenth century, to the development of skepticism about witchcraft's efficacy in the seventeenth century. We also compare European witchcraft beliefs to those of seventeenth-century America and the modern world. Lady Arian Rhod, a local coven leader, will come to class to present her views and beliefs about contemporary witchcraft in the Toledo area. Professor Alfred Cave, an expert on the subject, will give a guest lecture on the history of Native American religion and alleged witchcraft.

Students read a textbook, primary sources and two case studies of sixteenth-century witchcraft. The class will combine lectures and discussions.

II. Books. Students should purchase the following:

Joseph Klaitz, *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts* (text)

Alan Kors and Edward Peters, eds., *Witchcraft in Europe, 1100-1700: A Documentary History* (primary sources)

Michael Kunze, *High Road to the Stake* (course pack copy)

Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles*

III. Requirements. Students write a midterm examination in class on Thursday, October 15th. A paper (4-5 pp., typed and double-spaced) based on Carlo Ginzburg's *Night Battles* and/or Michael Kunze's *High Road to the Stake* is due any time during the semester, but no later than Tuesday, December 1st. A final exam is scheduled for Monday, December 14th.

The approximate weight of each exercise is as follows: midterm 30%, paper 30%, final examination 40%.

IV. Reading Assignments and Lecture/Discussion Schedule. Please complete each week's reading assignment for that week's *Tuesday* class meeting.

*Week 1:*

Reading: familiarize yourself with this syllabus and the books; begin reading for next week

Aug. 27: Introduction to the course.

*Week 2:*

Reading: Klaitz (K), Introduction; Kors and Peters (KP), Introduction and no. 15

Sept. 1: Images of the Witch: Film, Literature and the Popular Imagination; Some Historical Background to the Period

Sept. 3: Explaining the Natural by the Supernatural: Ancient and Anthropological Origins of Magic and Witchcraft, I

*Week 3:*

Reading: K, chap. 1

Sept. 8: Ancient & Anthropological Origins, II; Brief Historiography of Witchcraft

Sept. 10: The Power of the Curse, of the Devil, and of Sin

*Week 4:*

Reading: K, chap 2; KP, nos. 1-6

Sept. 15: Medieval Magic

Sept. 17: The Church's Discovery of Witchcraft: The Twelfth Century

*Week 5:*

Reading: KP, nos. 7-14, 16-17

Sept. 22: Witchcraft, Heresy, and the Theologians of the Thirteenth Century

Sept. 24: Looking for Witches: The Papacy and the Inquisition

*Week 6:*

Reading: K, chap. 4; KP, nos. 18-30, 23

Sept. 29: The "Hammer of the Witches"

Oct. 1: Legal Procedure and Torture; Witchcraft as *crimen exceptum*

*Week 7:*

Reading: K, chaps. 3, 5; begin Ginzburg and complete over the next two week

Oct. 6: Witchcraft and Sexuality

Oct. 8: Learned Magic, Renaissance Humanism and the Occult

*Week 8:*

Reading: review K and KP for exam

Oct. 13: Class Discussion; Review for Midterm Examination

Oct. 15: Midterm examination

*Week 9:*

Reading: KP, nos. 21-22; begin Kunze, *High Road to the Stake*, complete over next two weeks

Oct. 20: Witchcraft and the Reformation, I

Oct. 22: Witchcraft and the Reformation, II

*Week 10:*

Reading: K, chap. 6; KP, nos. 24-32

Oct. 27: Witchcraft in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Oct. 29: Case Study I: from good witches to bad: the case of the *Benandanti*

*Week 11:*

Reading: KP, nos. 33, 42

Nov. 3: case study II: the terrible case of the Pappenheimers

Nov. 5: American witchcraft, I: The Salem witch trials

*Week 12:*

Reading: none

Nov. 10: local witchcraft today: guest speaker: Lady Arian Rhod, Toledo-area coven leader

Nov. 12: no class; work on papers

*Week 13:*

Reading: K, chap. 7; KP, nos. 35-41, 43-44

Nov. 17: Skepticism and the decline of the witch hunt, I

Nov. 19: Skepticism and decline, II

*Week 14:*

Reading: review last week's reading, esp. KP, for discussion

Nov. 24: class discussion

Nov. 26: Thanksgiving--no class

*Week 15:*

Reading: none; complete paper

Dec. 1: vestiges of witchcraft in the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe; images of the witch in art; paper due in class

Dec. 3: American witchcraft, II: accusations of witchcraft among Native Americans: guest speaker: Professor Alfred Cave

*Week 16:*

Reading: review

Dec. 8: Never again? allegations of Satanic worship in in late 20th-century America, I: Ingram case from Washington State

Dec. 10: Never again?, II: discussion and conclusions

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Religion and Magic

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This highly selective course (developed for the quarter system) begins with a nod in the direction of anthropological conceptions of religion and magic, then for purposes of comparison turns to aspects of the subject in Asia. More sustained attention is then devoted to the relationship between religion and magic in the West: in Graeco-Roman antiquity, in early Christianity, in Judaism, and late medieval Christendom. Finally, the class focuses on modern ritual magic.

One reason for examining Asian religions before turning to Western traditions is that fewer students bring to the topic preconceived ideas about what constitutes "religion" and how it differs from "magic", and it is thus relatively easy to show the complexity of the relationship. Even in the *Atharvaveda* one finds formulas similar to those in the other Vedas, and addressed by the same brahmans to the same deities; it is useful to discuss why the *Atharvaveda* has a distinctive status among the Vedas, and to trace the complicated story of its reception, without falling back on a simplistic distinction between the "magic" of the *Atharvaveda* and the "religion" of the other Vedas.

Gananath Obeyesekere's "Sorcery, premeditated murder, and the canalization of aggression in Sri Lanka," *Ethnography*, 14 (1975), 1-23, provides further material for reflection on the complicated relationship between religion and magic: Obeyesekere shows how the religious authorities in the Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim shrines of Sri Lanka invoke the powers of deities and saints for purposes of sorcery. Apart from challenging any sharp distinction between religion and magic, Obeyesekere gives useful reflection on the moral implications of harmful magic, on the practitioners' expectations of efficacy, and on the criteria used to determine whether sorcery has been efficacious--all of which remain key questions throughout the course.

Further reflection on the connections between religion and magic can be developed from reading of the life of Milarepa, which is usefully seen against the background provided by *Ádám Molnár*, in *Weather-Magic in Inner Asia* (Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1994). (One word of caution: after I had lectured on the weather-magic of Milarepa and of other Asian magicians, one afternoon in mid-January, I returned to my office, looked out the window, and discovered that my lecture seemed to have had unexpected efficacy--about five inches worth. For the rest of the term, my students blamed me every time it snowed.)

Lee Siegel's *Net of Magic: Wonders and Deceptions in India* (University of Chicago Press, 1991) presents magic as a form of playfulness and downright charlatanry. The magician's

illusion does become an analogy for Shiva's working of *maya*, but what the students are likely to take from this book more than anything else is a sense that magicians are mountebanks. However one responds to this perception, it is in any event one that calls for discussion, and Siegel gives an appropriate stimulus. Again the relationship between religion and magic is raised: in their garb and in their patter, modern Indian street magicians adapt the traditional sacred vocabulary of both Hinduism and Islam, depending on their audience.

Among other works on religion and magic in Asia, another book particularly worth citing is Philip A. Kuhn's *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Harvard University Press, 1990). One might assign this to students or use it for lectures.

Readers of this newsletter are likely to be well familiar with the issues and the literature for study of Western magic. I should mention, however, that Michael D. Swartz's *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton University Press, 1996) is especially helpful on the development of a characteristically Jewish form of magic. For this middle part of the course my purpose is first to give further attention to the issues already raised (the complex relationship of religion and magic, the morality of magic, its efficacy), and secondly to trace the historical continuities and discontinuities from late Antiquity through the Middle Ages, and between Graeco-Roman, Jewish, Muslim, and Christian cultures.

At the end of the course we skip all the way forward to twentieth-century magic, which we examine chiefly through T.M. Luhrmann's *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft: Ritual Magic in Contemporary England* (Harvard University Press, 1989). This book gives the practice of magic a special relevance to students, because the practitioners discussed are educated Westerners of the late twentieth century. It reveals not only the beliefs and practices of the magicians but also something of their lives and cultural settings. And it brings further sophistication to the key question why it is that intelligent and educated people believe in magic and its efficacy. Furthermore, one cannot examine the belief systems, ritual practices, and moral views of Luhrmann's subjects without recognizing that for them the magical fellowship is a form of religion. In short, Luhrmann's book brings all the key questions of the course nicely into contemporary focus.

What follows is the syllabus of readings and discussions for the nine-week class, allowing two periods for introduction, conclusion, or break:

### *A. Anthropological conceptions of religion and magic*

#### 1. Classical theories of religion and magic.

2. Religion and magic in tribal cultures. Read Navajo "Prayer of the First Night Male Shooting Chant Evil", from Gladys A. Reichard, *Prayer: The Compulsive Word* (1944); and the account of a sorcerer from Arnhem Land, from W. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization* (1964).

### *B. Religion and magic in Asia*

3. Magic in early India: the Atharvaveda. Read selections from *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda, Together with Extracts from the Ritual Books and the Commentaries*, trans. Maurice Bloomfield (Clarendon, 1897; Motilal Banarsidass, 1964).

4. Weather-magic from Tibet to Central Asia.

5. Trials for magic in Asia.

6. Magic in modern India: discussion of Lee Siegel, *Net of Magic*.

### *C. Religion and magic in Graeco-Roman antiquity and in early Christianity*

7. Curse tablets and magical papyri in the ancient Mediterranean. Read selections from John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford University Press, 1992), and Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 1 (University of Chicago Press, 1986).

8. Early Christian magic. Read selections from Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds., *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (1994).

9. Miracle and magic: Christ and the saints. Read Paulinus, *Life of St. Ambrose*, vi.20, in Roy J. Deferrari, ed., *Early Christian Biographies* (Fathers of the Church, 1952), pp. 44-45; St. Jerome, *Life of St. Hilarion*, cc. 20-22 and 33, *ibid.*, pp. 258-61 and 270-71; deeds of St. Equitius and Fortunatus, from Gregory I, *Dialogues*, bk. 1, trans. Odo John Zimmerman (Fathers of the Church, 1959), pp. 16-18 and 42-43.

10. Anglo-Saxon charms and other Germanic texts. Read selections from G. Storms, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Nijhoff, 1948): sayings of Oðinn (=Woden) from the *Hávamál* (pp. 2-4); Second Merseburg charm (p. 110); charm against a dwarf (no. 7, pp. 166-67, from the 11th-cent. *Lacnunga* manuscript); field ceremonies (no. 8, pp. 172-77, from a 12th-cent.



manuscript); nine herbs charm (no. 9, pp. 186-91, from the *Lacnunga* manuscript); charm against theft (no. 13, pp. 206-07, from an 11th-cent. manuscript); remedies against the Devil and insanity (no. 28, pp. 260-61, from a 10th-cent. leechbook); remedies against witches and elvish tricks (no. 32, pp. 268-69, *ibid.*); use of the Sator-Arepe formula for aid in childbirth (no. 43, p. 281, in Latin, from an 11th-cent. manuscript).

#### *D. Religion and magic in Judaism*

11. Texts from late antiquity. Read excerpts from Michael A. Morgan, trans., *Sepher ha-Razim: The Book of Mysteries* (Scholars Press, 1983), and F.C. Conybeare, ed., "The Testament of Solomon," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 11 (1899), 1-45.

12. Texts from the medieval Judaism. Read excerpts from "The Sword of Moses," ed. Moses Gaster, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, 3-52, reprinted in Moses Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology*, 1 (1928; repr. Ktav, 1971), 288-337.

13. Mysticism and magic in Kabbalah. No reading.

#### *E. Religion and magic in late medieval Christendom*

14. Christianized Jewish magic: the *Liber iuratus* and the *Liber visionum*. Read Daniel Driscoll, trans., *The Sworn Book of Honorius the Magician* (Heptangle, 1983), and G.G. Coulton, trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1928), 162-63, from the *Grandes Chroniques de St Denis*, vol. 5, 269.

15. The "common tradition" of magic. Read excerpts from *The Book of Secrets of Albertus Magnus, of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones and Certain Beasts, also a Book of the Marvels of the World*, ed. Michael R. Best and Frank H. Brightman (Oxford University Press, 1973), and W. Braekman, "Magische experimenten en toverpraktijken uit een middelnederlands handschrift," *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1966, pp. 53-118; also published separately (Ghent: Seminarie voor Volkskunde, 1966) (trans.).

16. Arabic astral magic and its impact in Europe: *Picatrix*.

17. The Munich manual of necromancy: discussion of Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

18. Christian Hermeticism: Marsilio Ficino. Read excerpts from Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life: A Critical Edition and Translation with Introduction and Notes*, by Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989), Book Three--On Obtaining Life from the Heavens [*De vita coelitus comparanda*].

19. Christian Cabala: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Johannes Reuchlin. Read excerpts from Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Conclusiones sive theses DCCCC Romae anno 1486 publice disputandae, sed non admissae*, ed. Bohdan Kieszkowski (Droz, 1973), conclusions regarding magic (trans.).

20. The late medieval condemnation of magic. Read B.H. Putnam, *Early Treatises on the Practice of the Justices of the Peace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1924), 241; Kors and Peters, 80-96; *Cloud of Unknowing*, c. 55, trans. James Walsh (Paulist, 1981), 227f.; excerpts from Heinrich Kramer and Jakob Sprenger, *The Malleus maleficarum*, trans. Montague Summers (Pushkin, 1928); Fifth of the Lollard Twelve Conclusions, 1395, from Anne Hudson, ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge University Press, 1978), 25f. (modernized).

21. Trials for magic in late medieval Europe. Read excerpts from G.G. Coulton, trans., *Life in the Middle Ages*, 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1928), 160-62, from the *Grandes Chroniques de St Denis*, vol. 5; L.S. Davidson and J.O. Ward, eds., *The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler (1324), Together with Related Documents in English Translation, with Introduction and Notes* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1993), 26-30, 56, 62f.; Montague Summers, *The Geography of Witchcraft* (New York, 1927), 82-84; G.O. Sayles, ed., *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward III.*, 5 (Quaritch, 1958), 53-57; C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witchcraft and Demonianism* (London, 1933), 33f.; Gene A. Brucker, ed., *The Society of Renaissance Florence: A Documentary Study* (Harper & Row, 1971), 260-73; Domenico Mammoli, *The Record of the Trial and Condemnation of a Witch, Matteuccia di Francesco, at Todi, 20 March 1428* (*Res Tudertinae*, 1972), trans. pp. 28-40; Reginald Hyatte, intro. and trans., *Laughter for the Devil: The Trials of Gilles de Rais, Companion-in-Arms of Joan of Arc (1440)* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; Associated University Presses, 1984); and John Silvester Davies, ed., *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI.* (London, 1856), 57-60 (trial of Eleanor Cobham, Roger Bollingbroke, Thomas Southwell, and Margery Jourdemain).

22. From magic to witchcraft in late medieval Europe. Read excerpts from Saint Bernardino of Siena, *Sermons*, ed. Nazareno Orlandi, trans. Helen Josephine Robins (Siena: Tipografia Sociale, 1920), 166f.

23. The saint and the witch. Read testimony from the canonization proceedings for Dorothea von Montau, from Richard Stachnik, ed., *Die Akten des Kanonisationsprozesses Dorotheas von Montau von 1394 bis 1521* (Böhlau, 1978), 44, 455f.

#### *F. Modern ritual magic*

24. Ritual magic in contemporary England and America.

25. Ritual magic in contemporary England and America: discussion of T.M. Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*.

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#### **Recent work on the history of magic**

The following works have come to the attention of the editors of the *Newsletter*.

#### **Jewish magic**

Foa, Anna, "The witch and the Jew: two alike that were not the same," in Jeremy Cohen, ed., *From Witness to Witchcraft: Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 361-74.

Hsia, Ronnie Po-chia, "Witchcraft, magic, and the Jews in late medieval and early modern Germany," in Cohen, ed., *From Witness to Witchcraft*, 419-33.

Lesses, Rebecca, "Speaking with angels: Jewish and Greco-Egyptian revelatory adjurations," *Harvard Theological Review*, 89 (1996), 41-60.

Oegema, Gerbern S., "Das Davidsschild als magisches Zeichen von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter," *Aschkenas*, 4 (1994), 13-32.

#### **Magic in literature**

Berthelot, Anne, "De Niniane à la Dame du Lac: l'avènement d'une magicienne," in Michel Zink and Danielle Bohler, eds., *L'Hostellerie de Pensée: Etudes sur l'art littéraire au Moyen Age offertes à Daniel Poirion par ses anciens élèves* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1995), 51-57.

Duijvestijn, Bob, "Maugis aux Pays-Bas," in Hans van Dijk and Willem Noomen, eds., *Aspects de l'épopée romane: mentalités, idéologies, intertextualités* (Groningen: Forsten, 1995), 49-56.

Gautier de Coinci, "*Le miracle de Théophile*" ou comment Théophile vint à la pénitence, ed. and trans. Annette Garnier (Paris: Champion, 1998).

Grossel, Marie-Geneviève, "Entre féerie et magie: La *Merveille* dans *Rigomer*," in *Die Welt der Feen im Mittelalter: II. Tagung auf dem Mont Saint-Michel / Le monde des fées dans la culture médiéval: IIème congrès au Mont Saint-Michel* (Greifswald: Reineke, 1994), 81-100.

Kisacky, Julia M., "Magic and enchanted armaments: moral considerations in Boiardo and Ariosto," *Forum Italicum*, 30 (1996), 253-73.

Noble, Peter, "Maugis and the role of magic," in Hans van Dijk and Willem Noomen, eds., *Aspects de l'épopée romane: mentalités, idéologies, intertextualités* (Groningen: Forsten, 1995), 71-75.

Szkillnik, Michelle, "Aroès l'illusionniste (*Perceforest*, 3e partie)," *Romania*, 113 (1995), 441-65.

Williams, Elizabeth, "'A damsell by herselfe alone': images of magic and femininity from *Lanval* to *Sir Lambewell*," in Jennifer Fellows, et al., eds., *Romance Reading on the Book* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), 155-70.

## Miscellaneous

Alanyà Roig, Josep, "La praxi màgica d'un prevere vigatà del segle XIV: aportació a l'estudi sobre la màgia a Catalunya," *Estudis castellanencs*, 6 (1994-95), 53-73.

Biggs, Frederick M., and Thomas N. Hall, "Traditions concerning Jamnes and Mambres in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England*, 25 (1996), 69-89.

Borchardt, Frank L., "The *Magus* as Renaissance man," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21 (1990), 57-76.

Bozóky, Edina, "From matter of devotion to amulets," *Medieval Folklore*, 3 (1994), 91-107.

Denie, Giselle, "Caesarius of Arles and Gregory of Tours: two sixth-century Gallic bishops and 'Christian magic'," in Doris Edel, ed., *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the early Middle Ages* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1995), 170-96.

García Arranz, José Julio, "La sabiduría médica en los animales emblemáticos," in *Actas del I Simposio Internacional de Emblemática* (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1994), 771-804.

Gelabertó Vilagran, Martí, "Magia de la naturaleza y religión en la Edad Media," *Historia y vida*, 311 (1994), 24-31.

Horak, Ulrike, and Christian Gastgeber, "Zwei Beispiele angewandter Bildmagie: Ein griechischer Diebeszauber und ein 'verknottetes' Sator-Quadrat," *Biblos*, 44 (1995), 197-225.

Kolmer, Lothar, "Heilige als magische Heiler," *Mediaevistik*, 6 for 1993 (1995), 153-75.

Mirecki, Paul, "The Coptic wizard's hoard," *Harvard Theological Review*, 87 (1994), 435-60.

Pingree, David, "Learned magic in the time of Frederick II," *Micrologus: natura, scienze e società medievali*, 2 (1994), 39-56.

Piomelli, Daniele, and Antonino Pollio, "*In upupa o strige*: a study in Renaissance psychotropic plant ointments," *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 16 (1994), 241-73.

Schwab, Ute, "Sizilianische Schnitzel: Marcellus in Fulda und einiges zur Anwendung volkssprachiger magischer Rezepte," in *Deutsche Literatur und Sprache von 1050-1200*, 261-96.

Wurf-Bodt, Coby van der, "Demonen en 'quaatwijfs': magie rond het middeleeuwse kraambed," *Spiegel Historiae*, 31 (1996), 18-23.

## **Norse magic**

Aðalsteinsson, Jón Hnefill, "Sæmundr *Fróði*: a medieval master of magic," *Arv: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore*, 50 (1994), 117-32.

Idem, "Six Icelandic magicians after the time of Sæmundr Fróði," *Arv: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore*, 52 (1996), 49-61.

Düwel, Klaus, "Magische Runenzeichen und magische Runeninschriften," in *Runor och ABC: Elva Föreläsningar från ett symposium i Stockholm våren 1995* (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholms Medeltidsmuseum, 1997), 23-42.

Fjellhammer-Seim, Karin, "Var futharken en magisk formel i middelalderen? Testing av en hypotese mot innskrifter fra Bryggen i Bergen," in *Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Runes and Runic Inscriptions* (Uppsala: Institutionen för Nordiska Språk, 1994), 279-300.

Jochens, Jenny, "Magie et réparation entre hommes et femmes dans les mythes et la société germanico-nordiques à travers les sagas et les lois scandinaves," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe-XIIIe siècles*, 36 (1993), 375-89.

Motz, Lotte, "The magician and his craft," *Collegium Medievale*, 7 for 1994 (1995), 5-31.

Rindal, Magnus, "Liv og død i kyrkjas lover: Dei eldste norske kristenrettane," in Magnus Rindal, ed., *Fra heldendom til kristendom: Perspektiver på religionsskriftet i Norge* (Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal, 1996), 141-49.

Snædal, Thorgunn, "Björketorpsstenens runinskrift," in *Runor och ABC: Elva Föreläsningar från ett symposium i Stockholm våren 1995* (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediævalia, Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholms Medeltidsmuseum, 1997), 149-64.

Tolley, Clive, "Vrðr and gandr: helping spirits in Norse magic," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 110 (1995), 57-75.

## **Witchcraft**

Bergen, Carolien van, "Heksen, vliegende monniken en geleerden: magie en kerk in Italië in de zestiende eeuw," *Skript*, 13 (1991), 216-26.

Braun, Pierre, "L'échec d'un envoutement: l'histoire de Jehanne la Chaceresse," *Mémoires de la Société pour l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands*, 46 (1989), 67-77.

Gascón Vera, Elena, "El *Tratado de la fascinación* de Enrique de Villena: erotismo, misoginia y el paradigma holográfico," in Mercedes Vaquero, et al., eds., *Studies on Medieval Spanish Literature in Honor of Charles F. Fraker* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995), 143-57.

Matuszewski, Nina, "Magie, Zauberei und Hexenglaube: Die Entstehung des europäischen Hexenbildes," in Annette Kuhn and Marianne Pitzen, eds., *Stadt der Frauen: Szenarien aus spätmittelalterlicher Geschichte und zeitgenössischer Kunst* (Zürich: eFeF, 1994), 182-93.

Mourits, Esther, "Alsof de duivel ermee speelt? Over de rol van de duivel in betoveringen," *Aanzet*, 12 (1994), 225-35.

Opitz, Claudia, ed., *Her Hexenstreit: Frauen in der frühneuzeitlichen Hexenverfolgung* (Freiburg: Herder, 1995).

Paton, Bernadette, "'To the fire, to the fire! Let us burn a little incense to God': Bernadino, preaching friars and *maleficio* in late medieval Siena," in Charles Zika, ed., *No Gods Except Me: Orthodoxy and Religious Practice in Europe, 1200-1600* (Parkville, Vic.: History Dept., University of Melbourne, 1991), 7-36.

Rogova, Helena, "Some aspects of the history of witchcraft in western Europe in the Middle Ages," *Isha Journal*, 2 (1994), 9-11.

Schnyder, André, "*Opus nouum vero partium compilatione...*: Die Ordnung der Rede über die Hexerei, ihre Autoren und ihre Adressaten im *Malleus maleficarum* von Institoris und Sprenger," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 30 (1995), 99-121.

Schnyder, André, "Protokollieren und Erzählen: Episoden des Innsbrucker Hexereiprozesses von 1485 in den dämonologischen Fallbeispielen des *Malleus maleficarum* (1487) von Institoris und Sprenger und in den Prozeßakten," *Der Schlern*, 68 (1994), 695-713.

Segl, Peter, "Der *Hexenhammer*: Eine Quelle der Alltags- und Mentalitätsgeschichte," in Sabine Tanz, ed., *Mentalität und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1993), 127-54.