

Living in a Magical World: Inner Lives, 1300–1900

St Anne's College, Oxford

17–19 September 2018

<https://innerlives.org>

#InnerLives18

Abstracts

MICHAEL BAILEY (IOWA STATE)

Magic as a Window to the Soul: Judging the Inner Lives of Magicians in the Late Middle Ages

Magical acts are just that – exterior actions intended to produce some discernible effect. Yet as ecclesiastical authorities became increasingly concerned about magical practices in the late Middle Ages (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries), they defined their concerns more and more in terms of the interior state of the supposed practitioners. According to rulings issued under Pope John XXII (1316–34), demonic magic only became heretical when magicians believed they were entering into binding compacts with demons or intended to show them worship or veneration. Once the concept of diabolical witchcraft developed in the early 1400s, the essence of ‘witchcraft’ quickly became (in the eyes of many authorities) personal submission to Satan, not just the practice of harmful magical acts. I will examine these developments in terms of the progressive interiorization of spirituality in the late medieval period and overarching concerns about spiritual discernment among church authorities.

WILLEM DE BLÉCOURT (MEERTENS INSTITUTE)

Spitting Pins: Between Bewitchment and Possession, the Netherlands and England Compared

The demonic possession in 1595 of David Wardavoir, a Wallone worker of *trijp* (velvet) in Utrecht is well-known, but an important detail is usually overlooked: the man vomited pins (as well as toads). In contrast to England, this is one of the few cases in the Netherlands in which pins and possession occur together; pins exuding someone's body were usually seen as a sign of bewitchment. Between the mid-sixteenth and the late seventeenth century cases of vomiting bewitched adolescents were mentioned with an astonishing regularity. This may easily evoke the suspicion of a seventeenth-century urban legend, had the contemporary writers not situated the events in a very recent past and on their own doorstep, thereby making them easily verifiable for their readers. There is also little doubt that in 1549 Johann Wier (Weyer) encountered a genuine case in Arnhem. It was therefore probably more a case of ostentation, of the enacting of a legend, than of its mere narrating.

Notwithstanding that contemporaries regarded cases of vomiting pins as a rule with reservation, placing spitting in the bewitchment repertoire rather than considering it as an element of possession, allows for an analysis of the relationship between witches and pins. As a witch had put the pins in the body of the bewitched directly or indirectly, she could be counteracted by cooking of pins in the urine of the bewitched. This, in turn, reveals a connection between the inner body of the bewitched and that of the witch. The ‘supernatural’ encounter between the two was phrased in everyday objects, which made it visible and public. The question is how this explanation can be transferred to cases of possession.

JUDITH BONZOL (SYDNEY)

Demonic Possession and the Enigma of Emotion in Early Modern Bermuda

The demonic possession of Roger Sterrop, a fourteen-year-old apprentice living in the early English settlement of Bermuda, reveals much about the speculative nature of accessing people's inner lives. The only evidence of Sterrop's possession and exorcism, and indeed indication that Sterrop ever existed at all, comes from a letter written in 1630 by an anonymous English cleric in Bermuda to Sterrop's unnamed master in England. While my research has established the author of this letter and to whom it was written, the emotional experiences of the young apprentice remain elusive. Nevertheless, while the letter is clearly a formulaic work of puritan persuasion, it does give some clues about Sterrop's background, while a close study of the context of Sterrop's life on Bermuda, and the religious and political controversy surrounding him, provides some insight into his inner life.

The manifestation of Sterrop's illness, depicted in the letter in substantial detail, may well have been the result of hardship and loneliness of his life as an apprentice on Bermuda. In the 1620s the Somer Islands Company shipped several hundred impoverished children, aged between eight and sixteen, to Bermuda to supplement the workforce. The social control directed at apprentices and servants on Bermuda was much more restrictive than in England. According to one observer they lived 'practically in a state of slavery', their behaviour was closely scrutinized and restricted, and they were subjected to punitive fines and jail sentences. As Sterrop's physical condition declined his illness was gradually perceived to be demonic and the usually hidden demonic world manifested through Roger's symptoms. The intercession of the clerics on Bermuda with a healing ritual of dispossession is portrayed as an emotional catharsis, dissipating tensions and generating wonder and hope, not just for Roger, but for the entire godly community.

NILS BUBANDT (AARHUS)

Witchcraft and Historical Change Revisited; Or, Can Doubt Move?

In the first years of the twentieth century people across the Indonesian island of Halmahera enthusiastically, even desperately, converted to Christianity. A few months later, most people in the village of Buli apostatised in anger and disgust, moving away from the newly established Christian village to live in their garden hamlet. Another seventy years would pass before the last animist person in Buli converted to Christianity in spite of decades of intense pressure.

Following the way witchcraft was key to almost a century of engagement with Christianity in particular and modernity, I argue that we might see magical and occult phenomena not merely as historical events (as phenomena that are shaped by historical conditions and change) but also as historical agents (phenomena that make history) – agents that are both real and deeply unknowable and therefore essentially unbelievable. Seeking to counter the conventional paradigm that links witchcraft to belief and belief to historical change, I suggest that the inscrutability of witchcraft, its cryptic, doubtful and contested reality, may sometimes be the source of its historical power.

VICTORIA CARR (BRISTOL)

Encountering the Familiar: An Accuser's Perspective

The emotional aspects of the witch's animal familiar have recently been examined by Charlotte-Rose Millar, who has shown us an interesting way of understanding the familiar as an externalisation of the witch's emotions. It is not, however, just from the perspective of the

accused witch that we are able to encounter the animal familiar, but also from the perspective of the alleged victim. This paper shall explore what the animal familiar meant to the accuser in a witchcraft trial. Using printed pamphlets and manuscript sources related to English witchcraft accusations, it is possible to explore the details that victims brought to the proceedings. We shall see the fear, grief, and anger that informed their accounts, and how the animal familiar was not just an emotional outlet for the witch but also for her accuser. Yet it is not just the emotional states of the accusers that their accounts deal with, for we can also find alleged physical encounters with these creatures. These encounters allow us to see how the victim claimed to have interacted physically with the creature and the subsequent reactions to their appearance and harmful activities. This paper shall demonstrate how the victim brought different areas of the belief into their account than those brought by the witch, and that the victim's concerns were just as important in shaping the beliefs about the animal familiar as the witch's account. In doing so, it shall become evident that the animal familiar was created by both the accuser and the accused, emphasising different aspects as a result of the disparate interests of the two parties. Nevertheless, emotions were often central to the contributions from both sides in our understanding of this belief.

SASSON CHAHANOVICH (HARVARD)

Islamic 'Magic' in Archives and Museums: A Comparative Analysis of the History and Politics of Magical Objects and Texts in Turkey, Egypt, and the UK

I propose to explore three distinct perceptions of magic and its place – past and present – in Islamicate cultural heritage, scientific tradition, and perceived reality between Turkey, Egypt, and the UK. First, I present an anthropological case study on field work I undertook for my Ph.D. thesis from June–August 2017 in Istanbul (Süleymaniye and Topkapı Sarayı) and Cairo (Dār al-Kutub). Each archival centre presents us with a unique and drastically distinct prism through which to understand the pre-modern and modern transformation of religio-political sensibilities to magic. Specifically, Turkey's government does not censor access to objects or texts labeled variously as magic, theurgy, or occult sciences. I discuss the government's open display of magical objects in the Topkapı Palace Museum, in particular the collection of talismanic shirts, and their place in Ottoman history. In contrast, in Egypt I was barred from seeing Pseudo-Ibn al-'Arabī's *The Tree of Nu'mān* and *The Cry of the Owl*, as well as some secondary manuscripts by, for example, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Bisṭāmī (d. 1454). None of the texts are explicitly labeled as 'magic' in the catalogues, but rather under various occult topics. The reason I received from Dār al-Kutub's administrators was that the Egyptian government 1) equates occult sciences with magic and 2) they do not want Egypt's active magic covens gaining access to the contents. The first argument contravenes classical epistemological categories in Islamic intellectual history, whereas the second argument reveals a striking instance of the consequences of living in a (perceived) magical world. Curiously, however, the adjacent Museum of Islamic Art openly displays a talismanic shirt (MIA no. 4572). What does this say about the perceived power of text over costume? Second, I compare this Egyptian example of proactive magical censorship with the British Museum's public display of the *Book of the Seven Climes* by Abū al-Qāsim al-'Irāqī (d. unknown) as part of their 'Harry Potter: A History of Magic' and the history of its acquisition. Finally, I discuss the implications of Egypt's policy for the new generation of scholars working on magic and the occult in Islamic studies today, a topic that has heretofore not been discussed.

FABRIZIO CONTI (JOHN CABOT)

Magic, 'Superstition', and Christianization: Reshaping Identities and Interiorities in Fifteenth-Century Italy

Superstition is a fluid notion, deeply rooted in time and space as every historical reality and yet developing through traditional intellectual paths that are highly theoretical. As Jean-Claude Schmitt has reminded us, superstition is often defined by a ‘discourse of authority, order, and constraint’ as one of those categories that encapsulate all those beliefs that were not considered acceptable by the elites. At the same time, the world of magic and what certain elites labelled superstition may help to identify the cultural items and the mentalities that represented and orientated specific cultural layers. The process of European Christianization is relevant from this point of view, since it is precisely by the efforts of internal missionaries, preachers, and inquisitors that notions of magic and superstitious were used and applied in order to build new historical, cultural, and social realities and boundaries.

The aim of this paper is to identify and assess the role and the meaning of magic and superstitious beliefs as means to give shape to new types of self-consciousness and interiorities in Italy in the fifteenth century within the context of a precise pastoral plan developed by Mendicant Observant friars aiming at (re)Christianizing the laity: a process that as Marina Montesano has underscored still needs to be fully understood and contextualized. More specifically, by comparing Observant sermons and confessional handbooks with rare fifteenth-century magic objects, such as written scrolls, coming especially from Lombardy, this paper will try to reconstruct the nature of specific magical layers and mentalities and will assess the role of friars in reshaping the interiority and the (Christian) behaviour and identity of the laity through the consideration of magic and superstition as part of their wider pastoral plans.

MATTIA CORSO (PADUA)

The Enchantment of Bodies: An Interpretation of Love Magic in Early Modern Italy

Love magic is allegedly one of the most common allegations in the witch trials of the early modern period. The use of magical means, deeds and words to subjugate another person’s will was certainly a widespread feature of European beliefs about the witches’ powers and ability to harm. Magical rituals were thought capable of affecting people’s emotional and physiological wellness, leading to a complete upheaval of the individuals’ will and personality, also, in the worse cases, implicating the decision-making.

With this paper, I shall try to propose an alternative understanding of this phenomenon. Everyday stories set in the Republic of Venice during the sixteenth century question our ideas of love and magic. Actions with no apparent magical features engendered what are usually interpreted as magical reactions. As a matter of fact, the experience of love was magical in a rather natural and instinctive way. Gestures proper of everyday behaviour – such as a sight or a touch – triggered profound, extraordinary, physical reactions. Cultural ideas of the body determined the working principles of love magic. Deeply rooted into the body, located into the guts, sexual desire was understood as a vigorous and irrational force of fertility difficult to properly control, since a simple sight caused it to uncontrollably spread into the entire psychosomatic system. Sexual passion was a disease of the body and a demon of the soul. The Church disguised it in lust, one of the seven deadly sins, while popular songs and plays, instead, pictured it as an irresistible spirit commonly imagined as Cupid, the ancient pagan god of love. As for rage, the magical understanding of love arose from the experience of a culturally shaped extreme feeling. The embodied experiencing of love, then as now, entailed cultural ideas of the body, of interiority and senses.

PAUL COWDELL (INDEPENDENT)

Afterlives: Ghosts, Spiritualism, and What Remains

Despite its easy and oversimplified character, the following summary history of Spiritualism has gained some traction: spreading rapidly across the globe from its mid-nineteenth-century emergence, with a plebeian/radical/anti-clerical colouration, Spiritualism declined before spiking sharply around and after the First World War, then repeated the pattern on a smaller scale around the Second World War before reaching its current position as a minor and peripheral presence.

The inadequacies of this schema are clear enough, and I will touch on some of them here, but they are applicable more broadly than to Spiritualism alone. They reinforce an institutional focus on (broadly) religious observation and practice that undermines the ground we have made in recognising the place of the supernatural in historical lives. How do we see or understand the continuation and transmission of such beliefs and their attendant practices over time?

Drawing on my historically-grounded fieldwork into contemporary ghost belief this paper will consider the practices and thinking of contemporary Spiritualists and of non-Spiritualist ghost believers/paranormal investigators. I will discuss the practices of the latter group which show signs of continuity from early Spiritualism, suggesting that the relative insignificance of Spiritualism's current institutional form is misleading in terms of the impact it has continued to have in relation to the transmission of traditional belief patterns. I will draw out differences between institutional development and underlying belief systems that have some impact on how we understand them within this historical timeframe and beyond it, and will also consider some of the implications of this for considerations of historical religious institutions and practices.

ALEXANDER CUMMINS (INDEPENDENT)

Charting the Heart: Exploring Love in Early Modern English Divination

Divination was a popular practice with early modern English peoples, from village cunning-folk discovering lost property to courtly magi advising on matters of state. However, the most ubiquitous matter for divination at all levels of society was undoubtedly romance. Astrology, scrying, and geomancy were all employed to navigate the affairs of the heart: from future marriage prospects, to whether a love was 'true', to dealing with the erotic melancholies of love-sickness, and beyond.

The astrological endeavours of Elias Ashmole to understand 'rough patches' of his marriage – through detailed analysis of his and his wife's nativities along with various horary charts in his encyphered magical journals – offer insights into occult emotionology and the reflexivity of early modern magical practitioners. William Lilly's magical autobiography accounts scrying operations for offering visions of future spouses, highlighting the recourse to visionary magic by many different classes of peoples.

The patient case notes of doctors Simon Forman and Richard Napier present the usages of geomancy to deal with the repeated enquiries of their apparently love-struck clients, as well as married couples seeking domestic harmony. Attention to popular geomantic handbooks and treatises, especially the works of Robert Fludd and John Heydon, also foregrounds fascinating insights into the ritual of divination itself for receiving accurate information. Specifically, analysis of the evocation of angelic spirits and the invocatory meditation upon the movements of the *spiritus mundi* reveal significant details concerning diviners' interiority, affective states, and ways of knowing, while also complicating the typical animosity to spirit possession found in early modern European occult philosophy and magical activity.

This paper will thus explore how love was mapped and understood in terms of personal identity and the occult emotional repertoires encoded and attested in early modern forms of divination.

JOHANNES DILLINGER (OXFORD BROOKES)
Envy, Greed, and Witchcraft

Modern anthropology found out that envy and the fear of the being envied are among the emotional engines that drive witchcraft accusations. We find similar patterns in early modern sources. Among the aggressive behaviour that characterized a number of witchcraft suspects, economic behaviour played a major role. A number of persons from the upper classes who had managed to profit from the state building conflicts and the agrarian crises were rumoured to be witches. An unusually large proportion of these rich witches were male. Overtly competitive and aggressively profit-oriented economic behaviour was denounced as evident manifestation of the negative emotions of 'greed' and 'avarice'. Even though avarice did not play a major role in the learned witchcraft doctrine, in everyday life behaviour understood to be covetous and acquisitive triggered suspicions of witchcraft. Various forms of magic (like magical milk-theft, the money puppet [Geldmännchen] and the dragon magic we find in East German and East European sources) centred on the idea that witches were motivated by greed. Persons accused of economic witchcraft tried to counter these accusations by claiming that the accusers envied them. Envy was supposed to be a typical characteristic of witches. Treasure hunters tried to avoid competition and economic conflicts with their neighbours. They went out of their way in order to escape the vicious circle of negative emotions associated with seemingly aggressive economic behaviour. As a rule, treasure hunters – even though most of them really used various forms of magic – were not accused of witchcraft. This suggests that witch trials sanctioned certain emotions and styles of behaviour rather than magic. The paper is based on trial records and early anthropological texts from Germany, Scandinavia and the Baltic.

CLAIRE FANGER (RICE)

I was by the River Chobar and the skies opened': Dreams, Prophecies, and Monastic Selves in the Late Middle Ages

This paper will compare two late medieval accounts of embodied contact with God taking place in whole or in part through dreams. My case studies come from two visionary memoirs, one from the early twelfth century by the Liégeois Rupert of Deutz, comprising a self-contained chapter in his commentary on Matthew, and another from the early fourteenth century by the French monk John of Morigny, woven through his prayer text, *The Flowers of Heavenly Teaching*. Both monks understand their visions biblically and exegetically, and both cast themselves as following in the footsteps of the prophets.

One important thing that these monks have in common, both with each other and with the prophets, is that these powerful dreams of being possessed by divine forces result in copious amounts of *writing* – Rupert receives the gift of exegesis, which he represents as a divine commission bestowed on him from the Holy Spirit via a set of dreams he had at a turning point in his monastic career. For John, the gift received is the prayers and figures of *The Flowers of Heavenly Teaching* itself: his book is represented as a divine transmission passed on through him to benefit all Christendom. As their memoirs show, the fact that both serve God as writers – of exegesis and liturgy respectively – is profoundly important to their sense of purpose within the dispensation. I will be comparing how my protagonists frame their divine encounters and how these interact with their sense of self.

PETER GESCHIERE (AMSTERDAM)

Selfhood and Witchcraft among the Maka (Cameroon): Djambe, One's Double, and the Second Pair of Eyes as Extra Dimensions

Basic to the ideas among the Maka (in the forest of southeast Cameroon) about ‘witchcraft’ is that every person can develop a double that can fly off at night, leaving the body in deep sleep. The acquisition of a ‘second pair of eyes’ allowing one to see in the invisible world is an essential initiation for this. In this contribution, I will explore what the implications are of this doubling of the visible world for notions of selfhood in everyday life. I want to dwell especially on the moral ambiguity of the Maka notions: *djambe* (now always translated as *sorcellerie*) is basically evil but can allow also for enrichment; it is essential to any form of power and even basic to healing. I hope to discuss the implications of such ambiguity for selfhood in a comparative, anthropological perspective.

JULIAN GOODARE (EDINBURGH)

Away With the Fairies: The Psychopathology of Visionary Encounters in Early Modern Scotland

In early modern Scotland, there is a good deal of evidence for visionaries who experienced relationships with spirits. The evidence mostly comes from witchcraft trials, but although the interrogators assumed that they were dealing with a witch who had met the Devil, it is clear that this is not how the visionaries themselves had experienced their relationship before their arrest. The paper will focus on the visionaries’ own experience, and analyse it with the aid of modern scholarship in medicine, psychology and social science.

Most of the visionaries, though not all, were women. Most of their spirit-guides were fairies or ghosts. There could be traumas in forming the relationship, with the spirit-guide’s initial appearance sometimes coming at a crisis point in the visionary’s life. Dynamics of the relationship over time will be discussed.

There were positive and negative aspects to the relationships. Spirit-guides often helped the visionaries (not least by granting them magical abilities), but the visionaries often experienced them as powerful, capricious and demanding. The paper will discuss several identifiably psychotic conditions experienced by some of the visionaries, including psychosomatic injuries, sleepwalking, mutism and catatonia. It will also discuss a number of conditions related to visionary experience that may cause difficulties but are not (and were not) necessarily pathological. Fantasy-proneness is an important example; many people with intense fantasies nevertheless function normally in society. Then there are hallucinations, which are often experienced negatively, but not always. Even less pathologically, visionaries with spirit-guides can be connected to modern studies of children with imaginary companions (and of a few adults with such companions). Finally, studies of ‘parasocial relationships’, such as the relationships that fans construct with celebrities, can also shed light on early modern visionary experience. The paper will conclude with some reflections on normality, abnormality and coping strategies.

YUVAL HARARI (BEN-GURION)

The Inner Life of the Adjurer: Magic Recipes as Ego Documents

Jewish manuscripts of magic from the Middle Ages and the early modern period are basically compilations of magic recipes. These practical guides touch upon every aspect of daily life and offer observers a broad map of sorrows and anxieties, fears and yearnings, wishes and desires, which are at the centre of its concern. This is a vivid, unsupervised map of the human soul and human life.

I will open my paper by introducing and briefly demonstrating this claim. I will then focus on a long and complicated seventeenth-century recipe for enslaving a demon and locking him in a pot for future services. This recipe is a rare piece of evidence of an inner straggle of the

adjurer. It exposes in a most explicit way the inner clash of the practitioner between ‘religious’ humility and ‘magical’ striving for power, between the awareness of sin and the frustration of helplessness, between sheer sense of guilt and deep desire to suspend it. Unlike the collective evidence that emerges from the magic literature in general, this unique recipe seems to be an ego document – a written personal evidence of the inner tear of the composer-adjurer between clinging to God's command and carrying out demonic magic. Surprisingly and far beyond what is known in Jewish tradition as ‘magical prayers’, it addresses God with a combination of plea for mercy and powerful adjuration.

SUNNY HARRISON (LEEDS)

Lord send power into my words’: Magic and Emotion in Late Medieval Horse-Care Treatises

The increasing presence and importance of horses in the later Middle Ages contributed to the development of occupational horse-carers, referred to as marshals, and the spread of horse-care treatises such as *De medicina equorum* (c. 1256) by Jordanus Ruffus, a knight-marshal at the court of Emperor Frederick II (d. 1250). These offered advice on raising and domesticating horses, as well as remedies for many medical, cosmetic, and behavioural concerns.

Although scholars of medicine have long understood that magical, religious, and natural cures functioned as complimentary therapies, studies of medieval horse-care still treat magical remedies as superstitious modes of last resort. Late medieval horse-medicine existed in the same intellectual and cultural environment as contemporary human medicine: a world of magic and the supernatural. Veterinary medicine was grounded in astrology and faith as well as humoral theory. Horse-carers employed miraculous and magical cures alongside pharmaceutical and surgical remedies. Charms and talismans were commonly employed to treat contagious diseases that could decimate a herd, or to restrain a wild horse and make them fit for human use. The use of veterinary magic had a strong emotional component for both the human and the horse.

This paper will consider magical procedures as part of the practice of medieval horse-care and as reflective of the daily emotional experiences of both carer and horse. It will consider the intellectual and spiritual rationality of magic-use, looking particularly at the interaction of apotropaic and miraculous modes of veterinary care. It will look at the motivators of magic-use within the caring and clinical encounters; thinking about fear of loss and contagion, and of the subversion of the hierarchy of man and beast. It will investigate how horse-doctors functioned as charismatic and magical healers. Finally, it will look at what veterinary charms can tell us about sympathetic or affective medicine, particularly when the patient is not afforded the status of person.

DIANE HEATH (CANTERBURY CHRIST CHURCH)

In the Shadow of the Phoenix: Emotional Meanings of Fantastic Creatures in Stone, Book, and Spoken Word

Prolific scholar and disciple of St Anselm, Honorius Augustodunensis, wrote *Speculum Ecclesiae*, a book of sermons, for the monks of Canterbury Christ Church Cathedral Priory sometime after the death of St Anselm in 1109. The sermons (100,000 words in Latin rhyming couplets) were intended to help the monks celebrate and add to the beauty of their cathedral down the centuries. This paper examines Honorius's sermons and the place and space of the Romanesque crypt of St Anselm in Canterbury Cathedral with its fantastic creatures and hybrids carved on the crypt columns. Honorius's temporal sermons included references to creatures from the earliest medieval bestiary, such as sirens, unicorns, and the unique Phoenix, as *exempla* to illuminate the life of Christ. I add Honorius's bestiary references to Anselm's ideas on divine creation, beauty, and emotions, to suggest how the architectural design, material culture, and the dedicated

sermons worked together to connect the human to the divine and give deeper emotional understandings to all those who experienced the cathedral and its holy crypt.

Honorius wrote his sermons for the Canterbury monks specifically to appeal to laypeople and his beautiful Easter sermon on the Scarlet Phoenix grants us rare, if mediated, access to the emotions and inner lives of medieval laypeople. Honorius's Phoenix is a figure for Christ's Passion – fiery-red, visually appealing, and memorable – scarlet for blood, flame, and sacrifice. Honorius's allusion to the smell of the burning aromatic cedar wood as fire devoured the nest and body of the Phoenix in a sermon given in the brightly-painted, incense-heavy, sacred space of the cathedral helps to shed new light on how the supernatural was imagined and encountered. Flames, martyrdom, and miracles were to be an intrinsic part of the Cathedral's medieval and early modern history as it rose phoenix-like from fire and misfortune.

LIZANNE HENDERSON (GLASGOW)

(Super)natural Animals in Early Modern Scotland: The Witch, the Charmer, and the Cow

This paper will explore the highly complex and prominent role that animals played within Scottish supernatural belief traditions, across the social spectrum of early modern society. The part played by non-human animals in, for instance, the Scottish witch trial evidence, and witch-related folklore in general, has been largely over-looked or side tracked in the scholarship to date. Various species were closely connected to therianthropic, or shapeshifting, traditions. Animals could perform the task of supernatural helper in Scottish folk narratives and ballads. Many were regarded as supernatural in their own right, while others were victims of supernatural assaults. The relationship animals had with charmers and divination was also strong. Particular attention, in this paper, will be given to the relationships, interactions, emotional engagements and attachments contemporaries had with cows, quite often a central character in witchcraft and charming narratives. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, some aspects to be addressed are, what did it mean to be a supernatural animal in early modern Scotland? What did it mean to be a natural animal? Under what conditions could a 'natural' animal become 'supernatural'? Was there a tangible divide between popular and learned ideas about supernatural animals? What was the nature of the relationship between witches, charmers and cows? Ultimately, what can an investigation into supernatural animals reveal about early modern understandings of the natural world?

BRUCE HOOD (BRISTOL)

The Natural Origins of Supernatural Thinking

In this talk, I outline my *Supersense* hypothesis that children's intuitive reasoning about the physical, biological, and psychological world creates the basis for adult supernatural beliefs.

CERI HOULBROOK (HERTFORDSHIRE)

Learning from Love-Locks: An Insight into the Emotions of Ritual Deposition

The past is peppered with enigmatic ritual activities that do not appear in the written record. Careful analysis of material remains may afford us glimpses into past ritual activity, but the frequent lack of written resources explaining the practice – not to mention our chronological separation from the ritual practitioners themselves – hinder our ability to access the beliefs and emotions behind their actions. What feeling states, for example, led people in the past to hide old shoes up chimneybreasts? To brick cats up in walls? To relinquish their valuables to rivers,

irretrievable? We can speculate about the emotions motivating these past depositors, but in the absence of written resources, can only offer educated guesswork.

This paper considers what insights can be gained into the emotions behind ritual deposition by exploring a contemporary practice: the love-lock. This custom involves the inscribing of names, initials, and messages onto a padlock, its attachment to a bridge or other public structure, and the deposition of the corresponding key into the water below; a ritual often enacted by a couple as a statement of their romantic commitment. Drawing on both empirical data and interviews with participants, this paper demonstrates the value of considering contemporary customs when engaging with the emotions and notions of selfhood behind ritual deposition.

RONALD HUTTON (BRISTOL)

Christian Goddesses? The Development of New Quasi-Deities in Christian Western Europe

Historians of medieval and early modern Europe have long agreed that there was no actual ‘surviving paganism’ for long after the formal conversion of a region to Christianity. They are less consensual with regard to whether it is appropriate to speak of ‘pagan survivals’, meaning elements of ancient pagan culture preserved within Christian societies. An increasing number now prefer to subsume all aspects of European culture in the periods concerned under the label of folk Christianity.

This paper is designed to reconfigure the debate by pointing to some major figures from the periods concerned which all in different manners represent the supernatural feminine: that of Mother Earth or Nature in Western European learned literature; that of Diana, Herodias, Holle or Percht in French, Germanic and Italian popular belief; that of the fairy queen in British creative literature and popular tradition; and that of the Cailleach in Gaelic folklore. None of them have clearly demonstrable ancient pagan equivalents and an argument can be made that each of them developed during the Middle Ages or after. They cannot therefore be termed pagan survivals, and yet to refer to them in uncomplicated fashion as Christian also seems wrong, as they have no points of contact with Christian theology or cosmology. Perhaps we need a new terminology for them, which recognises the inadequacy of the traditional polarising language?

RICHARD KIECKHEFER (NORTHWESTERN)

From Enmity to Fear: The Psychology of Accusation in the Early European Witch Trials

Fear of individuals marked with a will to harm is well attested in the late medieval witch trials, particularly in two contexts: in testimony regarding *fama*, the focus tends to be not so much on specific malefic acts but rather on the status of the accused and its impact on the broader community; and in sentencing formulas, terms relating to status tend to be compounded in an effort to persuade the public that the accused deserve their punishment. Much has been written about the collective vilification of conspiratorial witches, but the reprehension of individuals based not just on acts but on character has been less studied, and in the history of the early witch trials the latter holds particular importance. Even when charges of conspiratorial witchcraft do enter into the proceedings, they sometimes function to bolster the apprehension directed at individuals as such.

LAURA KOUNINE (SUSSEX)

Emotions, Conscience, and Selfhood in a Lutheran Witch Trial

The crux of a witchcraft trial was premised on the moral question of *what* kind of person would commit such a crime. Those on trial were asked to give an account of their ‘soul’, were asked to search their conscience and lay bare their heart. In the fiercely Lutheran duchy of Württemberg, which saw 350 trials of witchcraft during the early modern period, 197 of which ended in execution, those on trial for witchcraft invoked the idioms of ‘mind’ [*Sinn*], ‘conscience’ [*Gewissen*] or ‘heart’ [*Herz*] in constructing their defence against a charge of witchcraft. In these trials, the notion of ‘conscience’ was made to matter, and it was a paradigm that both sides – the interrogators and those put on trial – appropriated and made relevant.

In an extraordinary trial that occurred in 1598-1600 in the small town of Balingen, located in Württemberg, which was documented in over 600 folios of written testimony and reports, Anna Murschel was subjected to torture, imprisoned, isolated, kept cold and hardly fed for almost two years. In two highly unusual first-person supplications, Murschel, the widow of the town mayor, set out in vivid detail the torture to which she was subjected, and firmly maintained her innocence in relation to her self and to God. This paper will examine the trial of Murschel, exploring how understandings of emotions, conscience, and selfhood came to bear on the ways in which Murschel and her interrogators battled over the identity of the witch.

TOMMY KUUSELA (INSTITUTE FOR LANGUAGE AND FOLKLORE, UPPSALA)

The Fears and Wonders of the Year Walk Tradition

Year walk (Swedish: årsgång) was a complex and perilous form of divination in Swedish folk tradition that could be used for predicting events for the coming year, not only for one person, but for the entire village. At certain times of the year, New Year, Midsummer or Christmas, the year walker was supposed to seclude himself in a dark room without speaking to anyone, nor taste any food or drink. At midnight, he walked to the parish church (or a cluster of churches), circled it three times (or more) and entered a liminal stage where supernatural beings could appear and challenge the year walker, for example: a terrible ghost pig called Gloson, hilarious visions that tried to make him laugh, or fearful visions of death and destruction. If he managed these tests, without straying from the path and without laughing or talking, glimpses of the future could appear, either in vision or by sounds. The visions and sounds could give a glimpse of what would happen in the community during the next year. The methods could vary widely regionally, but are usually described as dangerous for the year walker. In this paper, I will concentrate on the emotional side of encounters with the supernatural, the prohibition against laughing and how and why the year walkers were shunned by the rest of the community. My examples are taken directly from the Swedish folklore archives.

GÖRAN MALMSTEDT (GOTHENBURG)

Between Dreams and Reality

During the seventeenth century witch trials in the Swedish province of Bohuslän, the accused, as in other witch trials from this era, talked about dreams in their confessions. In most cases they then gave their confessions a dreamlike nature by telling the court that it had happen ‘as in a dream’. However, in a couple of cases the accused recounted what seems to have been authentic dreams, which they said had occurred while they were asleep at night. The court labelled these dreams as confessions, and it appears as though the accused also regarded them as dangerous and potentially incriminating.

By focusing on when dreams are mentioned in the minutes from the Bohuslän witch trials, and close readings of the cases in which the accused narrated seemingly authentic dreams, it is possible to study how the relationship between dreams and reality could be perceived. The

court mostly seems to have considered the dream stories to be some kind of narrative strategy that the accused used to ease their confessions. Sometimes this appears to be a plausible interpretation, but at the same time there are a few cases that indicate that certain dreams could actually have been perceived as real events and as interactions with supernatural forces. These dreams often included some experiences of voyages and were also associated with specific feelings. Since the dreams were narrated as if they were real, it seems as though the borderline between dreams and reality in certain circumstances could have been perceived as porous.

CHARLOTTE-ROSE MILLAR (QUEENSLAND)

Witchcraft, Emotions and Familiars in St Osyth, Essex

In 1582 in St Osyth, Essex, over ten women and men were accused of and indicted for witchcraft. At least two were hanged. This trial was recorded in a witchcraft pamphlet of over 100 pages – the longest thus far to emerge in England. The length and detailed nature of this pamphlet, most likely written by the presiding magistrate Brian Darcy, provides a tantalising glimpse into the social background to these witchcraft acts and accusations, and highlights the key role of emotional conflicts in these narratives. Although nearly all English witchcraft pamphlets demonstrate both a witch's emotional motivations for succumbing to Satan and performing witchcraft, as well as highlighting the emotions that drove many men and women to accuse their neighbours of this crime, this pamphlet is unusual for the sheer number of different emotions that are mentioned. It also provides one of the clearest depictions of interpersonal village relationships and of how familiar spirits, devils in animal form, were supposedly shared amongst a community of witches. These demonic creatures allowed accused witches the power to act on their emotional desires. Through an analysis of this pamphlet, and other existing documentation on the case, this paper demonstrates the key role of emotions and the demonic in witchcraft acts and accusations.

STEPHEN MITCHELL (HARVARD)

Some Medieval Nordic Dream(e)scapes, or How to Propitiate a Wraith

The early work of C. G. Seligman, Géza Róheim, J. S. Lincoln, Dorothy Eggan, and other anthropologists studying dreams in mainly non-European cultures, suggests that in contrast to most Western traditions, where dreams are understood to be generated by the self for the self, in other cultural traditions, dreams are more frequently interpreted as originating outside the dreamer and as forming a kind of communication to the dreamer. My paper builds on this important understanding, as well as on the works of E. O. G. Turville-Petre, Lars Lönnroth, and Ralph O'Connor on dreams in Old Norse, to ask how we should understand the use of different types of Old Icelandic and Old Swedish dream reports, especially where these visions centre on encounters with otherworldly creatures, mainly haugbúar (mound-dwellers) and other types of wraiths.

LOUISE NYHOLM KALLESTRUP (SOUTHERN DENMARK)

Grief, Anger, and Expectations: Witchcraft and Fertility in Late Sixteenth-Century Denmark

In witchcraft studies, the witch herself has often been the centre of the study. Who was she – or he? What did they do? How were witches comprehended in local society, in court, by demonologists and theologians? In my paper, I will direct attention to the victim of witchcraft, and the way witchcraft worked upon and through the body of the victim, and the emotional

states it caused. I will draw on a series of cases from late sixteenth-century Denmark, i.e. some twenty years prior to the Danish witch panic (1617–1622), and take into consideration ideas of the female body and the Protestant ideal of marriage and the fertile housewife. The core of these trials is the death of infants and the disruption of fertility – involving emotions of grief, anger and fear intersecting with expectations and obligation to noble women in a Lutheran society. The key persons in this series of trials were members of the nobility and as a positive consequence, we are as historians left with more information about the historical actors than in standard cases.

JUDIT KIS-HALAS (HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES)

'When he was absent, she loved him, but as soon as she saw him, she hated him': Love Sickness and the Magical Manipulation of Feelings in Early Modern Hungarian Witch Trials

The quote in the title of the paper is from an eighteenth-century witness testimony from Nagybánya/Baia Mare (Romania). It tells about a case of a spellbound bride, who turns furious at the very moment when she meets her groom on the day of the wedding, indicating that her love turned into hatred in the most crucial moment. Although love-sickness was a common metaphor in contemporary popular songs, her family and the neighbourhood was convinced that the bride's frenzy was a 'real' illness which was caused by *maleficium*. There are several similar cases in the witch-trial records of early modern Hungary, which indicate that the manipulation of feelings (love, hate or fear) by magical means was considered illicit, and as such condemned and strictly prosecuted.

However, the aim of this paper is not to prove that practicing love magic in early modern Hungary was just as common as in many other parts of contemporary Europe. Instead of providing a cadastre of early modern love charms, this paper discusses the emotional arenas created by *amor illicitus* in the context of witchcraft accusations. On the basis of several case studies taken from early modern village and town communities, it examines the role of love magic in navigating personal desires, expressing various emotions, rearranging and maintaining social bonds. It also attempts to demonstrate how emotives operate within the discourse of witchcraft and magic where 'socially unacceptable emotions' (van Gent) can also be expressed.

VALERIE KIVELSON (MICHIGAN)

Magic and Marital Relations: Witchcraft at Work in Early Modern Russia

The inner lives of early modern Russians have generally been considered inaccessible to historians, due to paucity of source materials. Surviving documentation on the uses and forms and sites of magic, however, exposes otherwise obscured currents of affect and experience. In this talk, I examine the intersections of magic and marital relations. Although my paper has been set in the panel on love magic, and indeed there are a few (though very few) examples of magic used in defence of marriage, the emotion most closely associated with marriage was dread. Though the locus of fear differed for women and men, their uses of magic within marriage suggests that conjugal relationships were shaped by mutual suspicion and fear. Wives turned to magic to address an overt and widely acknowledged danger: beatings and abuse. Magic could offer a way out. For men, their wives posed an intimate, insidious domestic peril that could infiltrate their food and drink, pollute their clothing, subvert their will, or endanger the soft, hidden tissue of their bodies. The evidence shows Muscovite marriage as a world of terror, suspicion, and violence, where 'love' was equated with the absence of blows. For husbands and wives, these emotions were at once engendered by and navigated through interactions with occult realms.

The themes of fear and anger have been among the ones which lay at the foundation of the history of emotions (Georges Lefebvre, Jean Delumeau, Barbara Rosenwein, etc). Their examination in the framework of this workshop belongs logically to the priorities. I propose to re-examine the large Hungarian source material of over 2,000 trials against over 4,000 witches between 1500 and 1768 from this point of view, paying attention to four kinds of manifestations:

- narratives about conflicts with the presumed witches, resulting in their anger, menaces, curses, inspiring fear and the strong suspicion of the accusers
- narratives about the nightly apparitions of the witches, the terror of being maltreated, aggressed, beaten, carried away by them
- the collective dimensions of fear, the emergence of witchcraft panic in moments of crisis, the climate of generalized suspicion, the fear of natural calamities (plagues, draught) caused by witches
- the violent expression of anger, disdain, verbal and physical aggression, the climate of lynching against the presumed witches

I will select a series of relevant examples, relying also on the findings of my colleagues in the research group on witchcraft that I have been running for several decades, together with Éva Pócs. I will dwell on the well-documented witch-trial series of the West-Hungarian Sopron (1529–1690), the Transylvanian Cluj/Kolozsvár (1565–1630), and the greatest witch-panic in early modern Hungary, the infamous 1728 Szeged trials leading to mass arrest, torture, and executions. Besides looking for what we learn about the inner life of the people involved, I will also try to detect stereotypical narratives, persuasive rhetoric, conscious use and display of emotions, justifying the condemnation of the accused witches.

Throughout history, different kinds of magic have provoked different kinds of wonder, from awe to idle curiosity. However, at any given time, almost identical magical events could provoke different kinds of wonder, depending on the context in which they appeared. This paper considers cases of people floating in the air in the mid-nineteenth century, in ways that looked remarkably similar but which took place in different contexts. As a result, they provoked quite different responses. In 1848, the French conjuror Robert-Houdin performed his ‘Ethereal Suspension’, in which a boy was suspended in the air, supposedly due to the mysterious powers of ether. A few years earlier, an almost identical feat was being performed in India, and was observed by European visitors. A few years later, spiritualist mediums were floating in the air of respectable London drawing rooms. This paper considers these magical events, and describes the various thoughts that went through the minds of those who watched in wonder.

Renaissance Lapidaria – manuals on the magical powers of precious and engraved gems – such as Camillo Leonardi’s sixteenth-century manual the *Speculum Lapidum*, saw plain and engraved

gems not as inert matter that could be categorized, classified and disposed of, but rather as living entities in direct relationship with man and most importantly in direct relationship with those occult energies that pervaded the universe. Important questions arise, such as what do gilt-covered and gem-studded skeletons of saints have in common with representations of gem mining, engraving and alchemical transformations as seen in the Studiolo of Francesco de Medici in Palazzo Vecchio? How were these objects thought to influence the human imagination as conceptualized in Aristotelian terms? This paper argues that an anthropological and psychoanalytic approach to sixteenth century visual culture can help us unpack how such objects functioned as talismans and fetishes that could be used to navigate social transformations and anxieties, hence they may be conceived of as *transitional objects* that mediate the relationship of the Self (unmediated experience of body and mind) to the Other (external world). How, in particular, does ritual, magical or alchemical, transform matter and the consciousness it influences? This analysis wishes to suggest that the period's concerns and fears that body and mind could be influenced by painted, engraved or bejewelled images arose from contemporaneous magical notions that matter was transformed by the divine energies it absorbed. Furthermore, it will conceptualize the use of such magic objects as engraved rings – a category often dismissed in the art historical literature as a mere curiosity – as an early modern's attempt to provide a path to psychological integrity for a Self that was understood not as an autonomous and self-contained entity but as porous and fragmented.

ANDREEA MARCULESCU (OKLAHOMA)

Vulnerable Bodies: Demonic Possession as Lived Experience in Medieval French Drama

Just like the modern hysteric, a figure that catalyzes clinical vocabularies confirming medieval theological anxieties, the demoniac has been considered an 'anomalous' and 'abnormal' manifestation of womanhood. Incapable of self-governance, both linguistic and corporeal, the medieval possessed is placed in the category of the pathological. The symptoms of possession are part of a multi-layered discourse coined by medieval theologians, authors of *exempla*, hagiographers, and natural philosophers. The subjectivity of the demoniac becomes, thus, a fetishistic construction which allows medieval male intellectuals to ponder questions about demons, the supernatural, and the human body. This paper advocates for an affective and ethical framework of reading the vocabularies of possession in which the demoniac's convulsions, contortions, shrieks of pain, and snapshots of disarticulated language are not conceptualized as 'pathological' but as a model of intercorporeality built around modalities of sensuous exchange between bodies both of the possessed and of those whom she comes in contact with. Can we think, I ask, of a corporeal agency of the 'anomalous' body of the possessed independent of reason and articulated language? What happens when such distorted body enters zones of visual, haptic, and aural contact with able-bodied individuals? Can possession be considered as a producer of a sensuous type of knowledge that alters the way sovereign subjects perceive themselves? Taking as primary sources a series of late-medieval French Passion Plays and hagiographical plays authored by poetic and religious figures such as Arnoul Gréban, André de la Vigne, Eustache Mercadé, and Jean Michel, I argue that the lyrical capaciousness of the plays as forms of narrativized poetics allows us to understand demonic possession as a series of bodily narratives of pain, of healing, of witnessing, and, ultimately, of vulnerability.

MARTHA MCGILL (WARWICK)

Porous Bodies and Supernatural Invasions in Early Modern Britain

The early modern body was understood to be porous. Natural philosophers taught that internal humours were in a constant process of exchange with their surroundings. This was not merely an abstract physiological principle; it fundamentally shaped how people envisaged themselves. Selfhood could not be securely vested in an unstable body. Early modern identities were constructed through the environment, and were correspondingly fluid.

Scholars have largely employed medical texts, casebooks and literary works to explore the body's connections with the environment. These sources offer only an incomplete picture. According to early modern belief systems, the natural world was imbued with supernatural forces. As the body was open to currents of air, it was also open to angels, to demons, to the purifying flow of the Holy Spirit. Studies of possession often focus on the sensational cases: writhing, falling into trances, speaking in tongues. However, there was a widespread understanding that human bodies were continually subject to invasion. Angels manipulated the humours, altering moods and personalities. Bodies acted as conduits for the Holy Spirit, or become infested by devils. Parishioners learned that the organs of a sinner were defiled by diabolic contagion, and that during the Eucharist 'we sucketh [Christ's] heart in us'.

This paper will explore how beliefs about the supernatural infiltration of the body influenced concepts of selfhood. It will discuss religious and philosophical writings, demonstrating the pervasiveness of the notion that supernatural forces could engineer inner transformations. It will also trace these ideas in spiritual diaries, the accounts of accused witches, and other testimonies or folk legends about encounters with spirits. The paper as a whole will show that religion and folklore were not only a matter of what one believed, but – in very literal terms – of who one was.

DEBORA MORETTI (BRISTOL)

Sorcery, Devil Worship, Blood Drinking, and Child Murder: The Inner Life of a Self-Accused Eighteenth-Century Tuscan Maliarda and Prostitute

On the 19th of July 1724, Maria Rosa Bazzechi spontaneously presented herself in front of the vicar representing the Holy Office in Porto Ferraio in Tuscany (Italy). Maria Rosa accused herself of having written a pact with the devil in her own blood, of having practiced and taught sorcery and among other despicable acts, of having murdered children by drinking their blood. In seeking help and absolution from the vicar, she presented him and the rest of the tribunal with the story of a miserable life with abundant graphic details and in so doing, the life of a real woman who suffered incredibly and who tried to make her life better by using a little magic and creating a fantasy world to justify her miserable condition was revealed.

This paper wants to discuss and analyse the reasons – psychological and social – behind Maria Rosa's *sponte comparente*, her cognitive perception of the supernatural universe of the time and it wants to analyse her need to publically express her inner emotions through a narrative based on witchcraft mythologies and folk memories belonging to a more ancient worldview stretching back nearly 300 years. In her elaborate confession, these mythologies and memories seem to have been used by Maria Rosa as metaphors to explain and justify her transgressions and her socially-unacceptable behaviour. On the other hand, could these metaphors be seen as ultimately representing a psychological coping mechanism through which she could make sense of her sad life?

LAURI OCKENSTRÖM (JYVÄSKYLÄ)

Magical Images and Shaping Selfhood in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe

In his widespread treatise on astrology, *De vita coelitus comparanda* (1489), Marsilio Ficino wrote:

Astrologers think that propitious images have a similar power, by which they somehow change the nature and behaviour of the wearer; restore him to a better state, so that he becomes now almost another person.

The idea to which Ficino refers, the importance of intention and mental disposition in magical experiments, is a well-known fact in studies of the history of magic. Mental disposition had to be appropriate in order to receive particular influences, and it was possible to move the spiritual condition into a proper state by using prayers and other rituals.

The relationship between illustrated astrological talismans and mental conditions has received little attention from contemporary scholars. It can be seen however that images do appear to have a certain role in the process of spiritual change. The conception of magical images, inherited from medieval sources such as the Latin *Picatrix*, was adapted in current theoretical axioms in the theory of humours, in pneumatology and in Neoplatonic cosmology. In this framework, an image did not just make its bearer subject to a planet, but also provided the bearer with a variety of new properties, making the bearer 'another person'.

This paper focuses on mental dimensions of magical images in medieval and early modern discussions. It explores magical images as instruments for shaping selfhood and identity, for contextualizing phenomenological experiences, and for locating oneself in a complex universe of intertwined radiations. It also explores to what extent image magic can be seen as an example of the special characteristics of visual symbols as tools for establishing identities. The questions will be approached both through theoretical discussions and historical examples of personal experiences of using images.

MARTINE OSTORERO (LAUSANNE)

Meeting the Devil, Facing the Invisible: Sensory Perception and Emotions in Fifteenth-Century Swiss-French Records

Through an examination of treatises and trials, my paper will examine how late medieval people experienced the diabolical presence through their senses: how they touched, heard, saw, and felt the devil or demons, who manifested really and physically during Sabbaths. Sensory perception thus contributed to the establishment of the proof of the reality of the Sabbath, and of the presence of the devil in the form of an assumed body. It therefore allowed judges to establish the ignominy of the crime of witchcraft and the guilt of the accused. However, through this often very stereotyped judicial material, can we really manage to detect the interiority of contact with the invisible and a form of subjectivity? The sources taken into account will be witchcraft treatises and trial records from the fifteenth century, drawn from a geographical area that covers western Switzerland, the Alpine arc, and part of the Kingdom of France.

AGATA PALUCH (FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN)

Intentionality and Selfhood in Early Modern Jewish Mysticism and Magic: Between Practical Kabbalah and Kabbalistic Practice

Among medieval kabbalistic writings, compilations of secrets [*likute sodot*], i.e. short pieces of commentaries, have long been one of the most widespread genres employed to convey esoteric knowledge about the structure of the divine as well as the dynamic relation between the practitioner of kabbalah and the godhead made up of ten *sefirot* (i.e. ten divine emanations or energies). The books of magical recipes/secrets were not unfamiliar in various Jewish milieus; some of the early medieval collections of magical formulas and prescriptions have been

preserved in fragments from the Cairo Genizah, as well as in several independent medieval codices. It is, however, in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that a particular type of *books of secrets* begins to circulate in manuscripts more widely than before, one that includes methods of practical application of speculative kabbalistic theories to exert effects in the material world. The practical kabbalistic *secrets* are usually expressed in the form of compilations of recipes (either formulas or, less frequently, prescriptions) called variously *segulot* [properties], *refu'ot* [remedies], *hashba'ot* [adjurations], *labashim* [spells], or *keme'ot* [amulets]. These practical kabbalistic-magical recipes are to be followed by a practitioner with a goal to harness heavenly (divine) and sublunary (angelic) powers to exercise influence in the material world, while the reasoning behind such influence derives from kabbalistic cosmology and theosophy.

Most of the kabbalistic recipes mark a tendency toward a growing self-awareness of the practitioner as an intentional, knowing individual who controls the performance of actions in the physical world via their mental capacities and recognises their own textual expertise and personal experience. In acting in accordance with the set instructions, it is the intention [heb. *kavanah*] that enables the extending of one's mind toward matter, and builds a new type of continuity between the practitioner and the outside world. Intentionality in kabbalistic practice thus channels the emergence of the performing, knowledgeable self, engaged in shaping the material world, a development which runs parallel to the emergence of new configurations of knowledge in the early modern period. This rise of intentional self, manifest in magical-kabbalistic practices as expressed in early modern handwritten texts, will be the focus of my presentation.

WILLIAM POOLEY (BRISTOL)

Hypnosis, Neurosis, and Witchcraft in France c.1890–1930

The existing literature on witchcraft in France after the Witch Craze generally treats witchcraft as a 'survival' (see works by Eugen Weber, Judith Devlin, Marcelle Bouteiller, and Marie-Claude Denier). There is little to distinguish the envy and fear of modern 'peasants' from that of their ancestors, as if the worldview of 'limited good' and the primacy of the household were unaffected by two hundred years of social and cultural changes. Modern witchcraft, from this point of view, was an expression of the same models of selfhood and emotion that had governed the trials of the early modern period.

On the other hand, a burgeoning literature on Occultism has recently emphasized the diversity, flexibility, and essential 'modernity' of supernatural beliefs in the fin-de-siècle (see for instance works by Alex Owen, Janet Oppenheimer, and Andreas Sommer). John Warne Monroe has proposed that the heterogeneous supernatural movements of the nineteenth century pioneered a new idea of the 'multivalent self' that was foundational for the emergence of key psy-concepts, such as the unconscious mind.

Were the predominantly urban and literate cultures of Occultism really so distant from the predominantly rural and semi-literate cultures of witchcraft? In this paper, I will explore examples from the 1890s to the start of the 1930s where criminal trials involving witchcraft explored issues of selfhood and emotion that were more akin to the 'modernity' of Occultism than the 'survival' of pre-modern witchcraft. These include an infanticide who was cleared on the grounds of diminished responsibility because a 'witch' was argued to have hypnotized her, and a murderer who escaped harsh punishment by likening his belief in witchcraft to an attack of 'neurosis'. The paper argues that the men and women who feared witches often expressed novel and inventive senses of self, using witchcraft to discuss new identities, and new models of mind, body, and feeling.

DIANE PURKISS (OXFORD)

Door into the Dark: Andrew Man and the World Below

There is a concentration of unusually complex and elaborate witchcraft confession material from accused witches over a period of time of around sixty years, but in a single geographical region, the south side of the Moray Firth. The confessions of three witches from this area offer a complex shared imaginarium of a realm of Elfame (fairy) beneath the lands of men, inhabited by the dead. Why is this particular area so fruitful in imagining a realm below, often glimpsed but rarely elaborated in the detainees of other Scottish witches? And why are the dead of that realm Scottish heroes? In this paper, building on work by archaeologists Sarah Semple, Sam Newton, and Richard Bradley on the way visible traces of the past and the dead becomes central to subsequent cultures, I suggest that the South Moray witches are reacting to the survival of Pictish stones and numerous unusual stone circles in the area, and that their mythos grew up to explain rites associated with these sites and with the fear that they generated.

THOMAS ROBISHEAUX (DUKE)

The Inner Life of a Female Prophet: Friederike Hauffe, the Seeress of Prevorst

On the day in 1818 when Friederike Hauffe, a young German peasant woman, visited the grave of her recently deceased spiritual advisor, she felt a profound change sweep through her inner life. Standing at the grave, she saw the spirit of her friend, a Lutheran pastor, materialize before her eyes. From this moment on, young Friederike Hauffe lost interest in ‘outer worldly’ things. She lived out much of the rest of her life in a trance state or ‘magnetic sleep’, more alive to the spirits, ghosts and other otherworldly entities than the people who flocked to her bedside from across Southwest Germany. Extensively documented by Justinus Kerner, Hauffe’s experiences became the subject of a sensational and widely read book of the Romantic Era: *The Seeress of Prevorst*.

This paper explores Hauffe’s world. What was her experience of enchantment like? How did Hauffe – not her physician or those who observed her – grasp her dreams, visions, prophecies, magical healings and other paranormal activities? What emotions were associated with them? Hauffe’s experiences have largely been viewed through the perspective of Kerner, not just a doctor but a Romantic poet and writer. Her case is also often mentioned in the history of animal magnetism, the development of psychiatry, Pietism, and German nature-philosophy in the Romantic Era. But how did Hauffe grasp these experiences herself? What language did she develop to describe her visions? How did gender and the culture of German Pietism shape her experiences? What can the Seeress of Prevorst tell us about the popular experience of spirits and magic in a post-Enlightenment age still struggling with powerful evidence about spirit world?

LIANA SAIF (OXFORD)

It’s Never Just Witchcraft: The Trial of Sellem the Moor in Malta (1605)

In the last two years, I have been part of a project, led by professor Dionisius Agius at the University of Exeter, that is exploring a fascinating document discovered in the Maltese Inquisition archives. It contains the minutes from the trial of Sellem the Moor (Sheikh Sālim ibn Maṣṣūr), a Muslim Cairene slave of the Holy Order. He stood accused of witchcraft in the year 1605. Crippled and incapable of working in the galleys, he tried to gain economic independence through the practice of witchcraft within the liminal sphere he occupied as a slave. He took advantage of his position as a transgressive Other who was not bound to Christian morality that limited access to tools of power, such as magic and demons. He generated fear while

simultaneously offering an option for the desperate who ultimately denounced him. This paper will introduce the trial and look at how witchcraft was constructed as the framework for the socio-political anxiety that motivated the persecution of Sellem as a Muslim slave in seventeenth-century in Malta. It will shed light on the trial as the locus for containing a ‘displaced aggression’ targeting a group identified in the public mind as the ultimate source of evil. In the case of Malta, it is the Muslims. Sellem could substitute the witch. His gender did not challenge the stereotype, for his status as a slave had already emasculated him and his womanly-state was further set by his association with women especially prostitutes, according to some depositions.

JODIE SHEVLIN (ULSTER)

Knocking the Devil Out: Exorcism in Pre-Famine Wexford

This paper provides insight into the often-hidden supernatural *mentalities* of both clergy and ordinary Irish people at a time of reform and revival within the Catholic Church. During the summer months of 1824 in Wexford, a priest named John Carroll performed an exorcism on a child resulting in her death. Although Catholic priests were often regarded by rural communities as having supernatural healing abilities, cases like this in Irish court records are rare between the last recorded witch trial at Islandmagee, Co Antrim in 1711 and the repeal of the Irish Witchcraft Statute in 1821. Details of the tragedy were heavily reported on by the press, generating a lengthy debate on the extent of the social control exerted by the Catholic Church and its clergy. This debate is revealing both of popular Catholic beliefs and customs regarding the demonic and the wider supernatural, as well as wider elite attitudes towards them. The paper also explores the extent to which an exorcism gone wrong in nineteenth century Wexford sheds light on the role of the supernatural in the everyday and inner lives of the Catholic Irish in a period of intense social, religious and political instability, particularly when witchcraft and associated beliefs were no longer a crime.

KRISTOF SMEYERS (ANTWERP)

Stigmatised: Supernatural Wounds in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century saw the dramatic rise in numbers of supernatural religious phenomena. They often inspired surges of popular and often contested religiosity, from the local level to the international. One especially controversial manifestation of religious enthusiasm was the stigmata, Christ’s holy wounds displayed on the bodies of individuals – overwhelmingly women – of particular holiness. Across Europe, hundreds of stigmatics rose to positions of living saints or local curiosities. Inevitably they drew visitors: devoted Catholics, fascinated locals, sceptical aristocrats, but also medical and ecclesiastical examiners, and even the police. They could be branded frauds, mesmerists, criminals, or lunatics and were increasingly subjected to courts, laboratories, and mental asylums.

Rather than focus on the pathology or presumed holiness of the stigmata and their bearers, this paper aims to show the ways in which they affected their communities. For the stigmatics, their holy wounds were a vital component in the construction of their mystical identity, often in combination with other supernatural skills such as bilocation and miraculous healings. But for the people whose lives crossed those of these modern mystics, the impact was less clear-cut. This paper makes the case for studying stigmata as a social and cultural phenomenon that shaped people’s inner and outer lives. It can give new insight into the grassroots devotions and everyday practices and beliefs of ‘ordinary’ people: a religion ‘as lived’. This perspective is also useful to uncover the complicated and mixed emotions that stigmatics

evoked in their communities: from religious reverence and admiration to fear and repulsion, stigmata left very few people unaffected.

ANDREW SNEDDON (ULSTER)

Witchcraft, Violence, and Emotions in Post-Famine Ireland

Our historical understanding of the moral, magical universe as a significant part of medieval and early modern, Irish popular and elite culture has increased dramatically in recent years. However, the modern period, roughly the 200 years after the last trial under the 1586 Irish Witchcraft Act held in Co. Antrim in 1711, has only begun to be charted. Taking the later nineteenth century as its focus, this paper will explore popular belief in witchcraft, witchcraft accusation, and attacks by accusers on suspected witches. In doing so, it will further challenge the traditional picture painted by historians of a disenchanted, post-Famine Ireland that dispensed with belief in witches and fairies in the face of demographic change and religious reform and renewal, exposing a rich, shared, cross-denominational and cross-community supernatural culture. Furthermore, as Ireland experienced modernity in ways different to most of the British Isles, this reading will offer an important counterpoint to recent studies of ‘reverse witch trials’ and modern magical mentalities. More importantly, it will uncover the interpersonal tensions, fears, anxieties, and emotions that underlay witchcraft accusation and subsequent acts of retaliatory violence in Ireland. These emotions and tensions were exacerbated and exaggerated in a period of intense economic, political and social change that challenged collective and self-identity, traditional gender roles and the very fabric of rural life and customs.

GAL SOFER (BEN-GURION)

‘Be strong and courageous!’: Management of Fear in The Solomonic Corpus

While standing inside the circle, the *Master of Art* (ha-Oman, in Hebrew), who summoned a demonic entity, is protected. The circle serves as ‘a fenced wall’ and the demons cannot overpower him. Still, much of the Solomonic corpus writings, including the famous *Clavicula Salomonis*, instructs the practitioner to be brave and to conceal his fear, so the demons won't be able to notice any tremble, which would result in a devastating and deathly experience. The *Master of Art* should calm his followers while operating, since their fear is a dangerous obstacle in the Solomonic practices. The demon, most likely a king or a prince from the notorious evil kingdom, will try to do his best to scare the practitioners and to make them run away, and thus leave the protective circle.

The issue of frightfulness is addressed in the Solomonic corpus in several ways. We will dive into unpublished Hebrew (and Latin/Italian) Solomonic writings, and examine different techniques that focus on keeping the *Master of Art* and his followers calm and safe, both mentally and physically. Next, we will inquire into the diary of a renaissance Kabbalist who wrote a visionary-like commentary on Solomonic practices, emphasizing the importance of bravery and courage in the demonic operation. These, I believe, might shed light on the traditions of the famous *Clavicula Salomonis*, and the history of practical demonology.

TABITHA STANMORE (BRISTOL)

Delving into the Demimonde: The Uses and Abuses of Magic at the English Royal Court, 1350–1650

Magic in the late medieval and early modern periods had a range of uses, some malevolent, but most often benign. In the context of the English royal court, scholarship has tended to focus on

magic's use to nefarious political ends, or fabricated accusations targeted at ruining a rival's reputation and career. Exploring beyond the high-profile, scandalous cases of such figures as Eleanor Cobham and Alice Perrers, however, we discover a thriving realm in which magic was used on a daily basis.

This paper explores the magicians inhabiting what Edward Peters has described as the *demimonde* of medieval courts: the liminal space between court and wider society. The first part of this paper investigates the ends to which magic was used in a court context. Luck in gambling, gaining favour with social superiors, divining the monarch's – or one's own – fate, and inspiring love were especially in demand among noble clients. In doing so I try to gauge the importance of magic to some courtly interactions, and to what extent magic was tolerated. I posit that magic was largely accepted at court unless it threatened the monarch or became politically useful as a tool for prosecuting an individual. The second part of my paper explores the magicians who offered these services. I assess whether they formed permanent members of a courtier's household or whether they were called upon on a more *ad hoc* basis, and what this can tell us about magic in courtiers' daily lives. Ultimately I wish to signpost that magic at the English royal court would benefit from further research, and can shed greater light on different social classes' relationships with the magical universe.

MARÍA TAUSIET (INDEPENDENT)

Witches in the Bed: Night Terrors and Inner Desires

Reality and dreams merge into an inseparable whole in trials for witchcraft. Many of the witnesses, in the midst of supposedly objective testimonies, included detailed oniric images, referring to them as if they were real events. For many Europeans in the past bad dreams were experienced as real battles with personified beings who were frequently identified as witches. In Aragonese trials from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, numerous testimonies describe nocturnal psychic battles, almost always waged against the accused witch in a particular place. The premonitory nature of dreams has been recognized by scientists who consider that many crises in our lives have a long unconscious history. In this sense, the judicial boundaries of witchcraft – between fantasy and reality – constitute an exceptional source for understanding the psychology of our ancestors.

RITA VOLTMER (TRIER)

The End of a Magical World? Eberhard David Hauber's 'Witchcraft Quarterly' (1738–1745) and the Enlightened Discourse

The polyhistor Eberhard David Hauber (1695-1765) held the position as superintendent of the German Calvinist county of Schaumburg-Lippe until 1746, when he moved to Copenhagen to become the parish minister of the German community. His library contained more than 20,000 books. Between 1738 and 1745, Hauber published in thirty-six fascicles more than 330 texts on 2,470 pages concerning magic, witchcraft, superstition and miracles (*Bibliotheca, sive Acta et Scripta magica*). Each of the fascicles was introduced with an illustration and a dedication to a prominent man of letters. Hauber sampled, edited and commented texts of great variety: papal bulls concerning the heresy of witchcraft are standing side by side with the repeal of the English witchcraft act (1736); extracts from Bodin, Delrio, Spee, Thomasius or Balthasar Bekker and the discussion of Joseph Glanvill's *Saducismus triumphatus* are mixed with news about exorcisms, possessions, ghost apparitions, shamanism, soothsaying, vampires, oracles, prophecies, or treasure hunting. Wolfgang Behringer has called the compendium a 'witchcraft quarterly', which mainly argued with enlightened verve against the so-called witch craze. But Hauber did not target

solely against witch trials, but against the magical world itself. The contents have to be seen in the light of the neologistic interpretation of the bible by Hugh Farmer or of Balthasar Bekker's 'the world bewitched'.

The paper will focus on three points: 1. Hauber created a network of learned men, which built up an anti-magical and anti-demonological network in northern protestant Europe, including England; they ridiculed any thinking with magic and so-called superstition; 2. with the assistance of his enlightened network, Hauber argued against the material existence of the devil, the impact of demons and against the existence or efficacy of any magic. A discernment of spirits became redundant, because spirits and demons possessed neither existence nor impact in the material world; 3. to Hauber, the miscreed in the devil's machinations, in witchcraft and magic were superstitious illusions, creating a negative belief system of fear, whose phantasies only caused mental sickness and corporeal illness. Instead, he propagated a non-magical, anti-demonological world view. In his world, ruled by a purified theology, only trusting in God, and by natural sciences and technology, possession and witch trials were impossible to maintain. Furthermore, the *Biblioteca*, its texts and comments, as part of the enlightened discourse, took a great impact on men of letters like Gotthold Emphraim Lessing.

MAYA WASSELL-SMITH (CARDIFF)

The Sailor's Caul: Transferable, Corporeal, and Familial Magic

A baby born with a caul is afforded special protection in British folklore. The caul is an amniotic sac which remains unbroken and encloses the head of a baby during birth. These membranes are preserved, secreted and treasured; they are talismanic in their reification of maternal and supernatural security. Using the collections of the National Maritime Museum, this paper will establish an object biography of the caul and its connection with sailors. Whilst many are kept by their original wearer, cauls in the long nineteenth century could be bought, bartered for or inherited and their protective power transferred to another. Their connection to familial magic and the belief that they offered protection against drowning were particularly appealing for sea-faring men, who became the cauls' principle consumer. By tracing these objects through ancestral and commercial transfers, this paper will situate the caul within the context of sailors' supernatural belief and folkloric practice. As objects which are both of the body and carried on the body, this paper will further highlight the themes of materiality and corporeality in assessing the caul's significance as the sailor's charm.

CHARLES ZIKA (MELBOURNE)

Saul and the Woman of Endor: Artists' Warnings of the Power and Danger of Human Emotions

The biblical story of King Saul and a woman from the village of Endor who conjured up the ghost of the prophet Samuel (1 Sam. 28) has served many purposes during its long history in Christian Europe. It has been important for debates over the immortality of the soul, the activities of the devil, the status of wonders, the reality of the supernatural realm, and in particular, the possibility of communication between the living and the dead. Such intellectual concerns are usually privileged in discussions of the story. This paper, however, focuses on the story's function as an exemplum – the implications to be drawn from it by contemporary viewers of pictorial versions of the story created between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Many of the pictorial images of the woman of Endor story seem to have been meant as guides to godly living, for Christians in general and especially for those exercising authority in a Christian state. They highlight the emotional dynamics that play out within and between the three principal characters involved in this secretive act of conjuration and divination: anxiety,

fear, anger, terror, suspicion, duplicity, violence, and also compassion. The paper will explore the different ways key pictorial representations of the story attempt to draw out lessons for the moral lives of viewers, thereby highlighting how uncontrolled emotions and lack of self-reflection and trust can override judgement, lead to engagement in prohibited magical rituals, reliance on demonic power, and ultimately, self-destruction.

