

‘Arch ghespuys en ander spookery’
*Dutch translations of witchcraft theory in the
early seventeenth century*

Master Thesis
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Introduction

The concept of witchcraft has continually appealed to peoples' imagination throughout the ages. Whether you read a contemporary fantasy novel, a literary classic about Medea or Circe, a modern fairy tale, or a medieval farce: all of these genres display a general preoccupation with supernatural – and possibly maleficent – powers. In Western literature, this preoccupation was often materialized in the character of the witch. Throughout the ages, there have been people who have perceived witches as not just fictional characters, but also real life persons who could be turned to or blamed in cases where supernatural powers were at play.¹ In the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period, this belief in witchcraft turned rather violent and at times even paranoid, culminating in the infamous Great Witch-hunt.

The Great Witch-hunt is probably one of the darkest pages in early modern history, not only because many innocent people were executed in horrible ways, but also because there are still a large number of unanswered questions about the event itself. For decades scholars have been puzzled by questions concerning the legal, political, cultural and mental aspects of this phenomenon, giving rise to a vast and productive interdisciplinary research area. The studies not only include the events leading up to or related to witch-hunts. Texts that exemplified or discussed the character of the witch – and thus shed light on the conceptual frameworks of witches and witchcraft – were equally important for this research.

In this thesis I want to make a new contribution to the field of witchcraft studies by studying the concept of witchcraft in the textual culture of the early modern Dutch Republic. Thus far, witchcraft in the Dutch Republic has received little attention in international studies. Maybe this is due to the fact that there were relatively few persecutions in the Republic and the trials stopped early compared to the rest of Europe,² but I would say that this is exactly what makes the Dutch situation and interesting case, especially from a comparative, international perspective. My research focusses on the question: What concepts of witchcraft existed in Dutch textual culture in the beginning of the seventeenth century? To conduct research into this question, I take a comparative approach, making optimal use of what we do know about English, and also French and German conceptual frameworks at the time. This comparative approach is advanced through the exploration of a number of Dutch translations of English text on witches and witchcraft. Therefore a secondary question is: What peculiarities of the Dutch concept of witchcraft do the translations reveal compared to the English situation?

From existing studies, we know that even though the executions ended in the first decade of the seventeenth century, the concepts of magic and witchcraft continued to exist in Dutch society.³ Since there are few accounts of actual practices after 1600, the best – or maybe even the only – way to study these conceptual frameworks is through cultural artefacts. Scholars like Dianne Purkiss have frequently argued that cultural products such as literature should have a central place in witchcraft-studies, because they reveal different aspects of a culture than the court-records, which are more commonly studied.⁴ The cultural representations of witchcraft in the Dutch Republic are largely unexplored, and this in itself is reason to shed light on the Dutch textual culture. I hope my work will inspire others to follow some of the questions that are still left unanswered, insofar that we can really put this subject on the map of both Dutch and international research and contribute to a more inclusive cultural history of witchcraft in the Low Countries.⁵

¹ Even in our modern times some people openly call themselves witches, placing themselves in a long – imagined – tradition of pagan worship of nature, inspired by the work of Margaret Murray. See: Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons* (1975), p. 103-125, and Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921).

² Levack, *The witch-hunt in early modern Europe* (1987), p. 180.

³ De Waardt, 'Witchcraft and Wealth' (2013), p. 243.

⁴ Purkiss, 'Witchcraft in Early Modern Literature' (2013), p. 122.

⁵ Gábor Klaniczay wrote an inspiring article on the premises of the cultural history of witchcraft. His work will be discussed in chapter 1.

To get a grip on the specifics of the Dutch conceptual frameworks, the goal of my thesis, I focus on the increasing amount of translations of foreign texts about witches from about 1600 onwards. They make an interesting case-study, not only because the increase in the number of translations in itself attracts attention – they are interesting objects of study simply because they are translations. According to Peter Burke, translations do not only mediate between languages, but also between cultures.⁶ By comparing the Dutch translations to their originals, we can get a closer look at the cultural differences between the Dutch and foreign – in this case specifically English – views on witchcraft. Burke has argued that ‘translations reveal what one culture finds interesting in another’: translations thus tell us more about the culture that they were produced for than the culture they originated from.⁷ As such, they offer a unique opportunity to take a look at Dutch conceptual frameworks at the time.

Using Burke’s concept of cultural translation, I will analyse a small cluster of Dutch translations from English source-texts in the beginning of the seventeenth century. I will discuss Reginald Scot’s *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1580), which was translated into Dutch as *Ondecking van tovery* (1609). My analysis will also include two Dutch translations of the *Daemonologie* (1597) by King James I, whose book was a reaction to Scot’s work. Together, these translations form the first larger scale cultural and textual representations of witches in the Dutch Republic.

The Dutch cultural history of witchcraft is a vast terrain into which very little research has been done yet. Therefore, I tried to carefully position this thesis in the international field of witchcraft studies. The first chapter of this thesis is dedicated to the theoretical assumptions underlying my research. In this chapter I will discuss the relevant theories in witchcraft studies, specifically focussing on the cultural aspects of early modern witchcraft. I will also elaborate on the increasing amount of translations in the Netherlands and the theories of cultural translation. The second chapter discusses the intellectual context of the works I am going to analyse. By examining the original works underlying the Dutch translations and the international discussion they were part of, I aim to get a better understanding of the translations themselves. The reader that bore with me throughout the first two chapters will find the actual analysis of the Dutch translations in chapter 3 and 4. To conclude I will then try to answer the questions above and reflect on the impact and functions of the translations I studied.

⁶ Burke, *Lost (and Found) in Translation* (2005).

⁷ Burke, ‘Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe’ (2007), p. 20. I will discuss Burke’s theories more extensively in chapter 1.

Chapter 1: Witchcraft Theory

Anyone who tries to present a general outline of witchcraft studies, would risk getting lost in or distracted by the diversity of the field. Over the last fifty years, many scholars have contributed to this domain: anthropologists for example were fascinated by the distinction between magic and religion, while psychologists wondered why people grew so afraid of witches and demons. Legal historians were interested in the juridical status of confessions made under torture, theologians wanted to know where the sometimes bizarre demonologies came from, and researchers from the field of gender studies were preoccupied with the overwhelming number of women who were convicted. Above all of this we find the historian asking himself how and why the witch-craze could even occur.

Witchcraft-researchers were one of the first who cut across the boundaries of established disciplines, which is not surprising when we consider the vast amount of different questions their subject gives rise to.⁸ One could even argue that it is necessary to study witchcraft from an interdisciplinary perspective if we really want to understand all the aspects of it. It is beyond all doubt that the interdisciplinary approaches to witchcraft studies have been a great benefit to the field. However, we should not forget about the inherent dangers and problems that come with interdisciplinary research. In her book *Travelling Concepts* (2002), to which I will on occasion be referring, Mieke Bal warns for some of the pitfalls of interdisciplinary research. The biggest problem she perceives is that scholars from different backgrounds use certain concepts in different ways. They tend to take them for granted. For example, it often takes a long time for a historian to realise that a word like 'subject' means something entirely different to a philosopher.⁹ Bal pleads for an interdisciplinary environment in which every researcher uses the methods of his own discipline – as he is best trained in those – but links them to an intersubjective framework of concepts all scholars should be able to understand.¹⁰ I believe the best way to achieve this intersubjectivity in this thesis is to be very clear about the concepts I am using and what they mean to me.

As I said, the interdisciplinarity of witchcraft studies has given great insights and stimulated research on various terrains, some of which will be mentioned later and some won't. I will not attempt to give an overview of the entire field here. To quote Mieke Bal: 'Within an interdisciplinary setting, coverage – [...]of all the major theories used within a field – is no longer an option.'¹¹ (One wonders if it has ever really been an option at all.) Instead I will limit myself to the contributions concerning the cultural aspects of witchcraft that are most relevant for my cases.¹² My main focus will be on the English and Dutch society, as the first larger cluster of translated texts on witchcraft in the Dutch Republic, the works I am going to analyse, originated from England.

The Cultural History of Witchcraft

A few years ago Gábor Klaniczay published an article rethinking the premises of 'the cultural history of witchcraft', which he defines as 'a thorough study of the historical transformations in the structural patterns of witchcraft beliefs'.¹³ He discerns three productive movements within the field of witchcraft studies, namely the researchers interested in 'mentalités collectives', scholars who want to take a look at popular culture, and researchers inspired by historical anthropology or microhistory.¹⁴ The last category cannot always be classified as 'cultural' according to Klaniczay, but it

⁸ Klaniczay 'A cultural History of Witchcraft' (2012), p. 189-190.

⁹ Bal, *Travelling Concepts* (2002), p. 5.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 10.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 8.

¹² For a more general overview of the issues in witchcraft studies, I refer to Brian Levack's introduction in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and America* (2013) and Richard Golden's *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft* (2006).

¹³ Klaniczay 'A cultural History of Witchcraft' (2012), p. 189.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 193-194.

did generate some interesting contributions as we will see later on. These three approaches should not be considered as three separate schools but, as Klaniczay shows, they were continuously influencing each other.¹⁵ Therefore I will use the theories of each of these approaches, when they apply to my research.

After identifying these three approaches and their most important publications, Klaniczay goes on to explore some of the more promising subjects, which are being developed in the current literature. He names amongst others the debate on the origins of the witches' sabbath, the issue of witches' gender, the status of the different demonologies and the dynamics of sainthood and witchcraft.

Klaniczay diligently surveys most of the existing literature, but he does not mention the gaps in the current research. I believe for example that witchcraft studies could be greatly advanced if we mix another flavour into its interdisciplinary cocktail: that of the digital humanities. Distant reading techniques could prove to be beneficial in mapping out a terrain as vast as witchcraft.¹⁶

Another angle that I believe could be productive is the transcultural approach I am using in this thesis. In 1990 Peter Burke already called for a turn towards a systematic and detailed comparison of specific cultures. The value of such a comparative history of witchcraft would be that 'it allows us to test explanations more rigorously, just as it allows us to 'see' the significance of what is not there – the relative lack of witch-trials in the Netherlands, for example'.¹⁷ Unfortunately this comment never received the attention I believe it deserves, probably because it was overshadowed by the fervent argument for a less Anglocentric vision in witchcraft studies, which was made in the same volume. In this thesis I want to explore the benefits of such a comparative perspective. I believe translations make a great case-study to do so. But before I elaborate on the theory of cultural translation, I will discuss some of the relevant publications within the field of witchcraft studies itself.

Magic and Religion

One of the most influential works in the field of witchcraft studies is Keith Thomas' *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971). Inspired by historical anthropologists, this book brings together an impressive amount of data on witchcraft and allied beliefs in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, such as astrology, ghosts and fairies. Abstracting from these data, Thomas argues that a mental change occurred in English society in this period. In the Middle Ages, the rituals of the Roman Catholic church were often used to invoke supernatural help with earthly problems. The consecrated host, for example, was widely believed to possess great powers, ranging from being able to cure blindness to putting out fires.¹⁸ The veneration of saints and their relics was an even greater source of supernatural aid.¹⁹

The Reformation had deprived the common people of these 'magical' defences against misfortune, leaving astrologers and cunning men, fortune-tellers and other people that claimed to be able to cure bewitchments, to fill the vacuum.²⁰ Thomas does not want to imply that people started to rely more on magical solutions; although astrology certainly underwent a small 'boom' after the Reformation, it is not clear if the same happened to other magical practices.²¹ Instead he sees the century after the Reformation as a transition period. The Reformation had in fact also introduced a notion of practical self-help into the English society, which slowly took the place of magical explanations for individual misfortune. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the general attitude had changed from a fatalistic acceptance that there was suffering in the world which could

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 200.

¹⁶ For a more comprehensive argument on the benefits of digital humanities I refer to the research-proposal in appendix 1. Unfortunately I have not been able to complete this research yet due to a lack of data.

¹⁷ Burke, 'The Comparative Approach to European Witchcraft' (1990), p. 438.

¹⁸ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1991), p. 38.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 30.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 763.

²¹ Ibidem, p. 764.

only be remedied by relying on the supernatural to a more practical and optimistic attitude. Even though it still took quite some time before people actually developed efficient techniques to combat misfortunes such as fires or diseases, according to Thomas, the belief that people could overcome these disasters by themselves was what eventually led to the decline of magic.²²

Although Thomas' work has been highly praised, I must also mention some important criticism. Hildred Geertz for example noted that his division between magic and religion is problematic. Although part of the debate between Geertz and Thomas is grounded in what Mieke Bal would call a confusion of methods – Geertz' anthropological method versus the historical approach of Thomas – Geertz does have a point. When we read Thomas we might be tempted to believe that magical practices, unlike religious ones, did not derive from a coherent worldview. Besides, he seems to imply all forms of magic were inherently ineffective. As Geertz shows these are anachronistic premises, because there is no evidence for this view in the contemporary sources.²³ We should therefore be careful to project our own notion of magic onto the period we're studying, in which that same word might mean something different.²⁴ Thomas later specified that it was exactly this shifting definition of magic that he wanted to study, although he admitted his usage of the word was sometimes a little fuzzy.²⁵ He emphasized that the division between magic and religion could only be drawn clearly at the end of the seventeenth century, while it was impossible to discern the two in the Middle Ages.²⁶

Even though Thomas' study specifically focussed on the English situation, he suggests that most of the developments he outlines are part of the general cultural history of the Western world.²⁷ English witchcraft-researchers after Thomas were very much aware that the beliefs on magic and witchcraft – and indeed the very definition of these words – were shifting throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century and I believe we should keep the possibility in mind that the same might have happened in the Dutch Republic in this period.

Magic and Folk-beliefs

The idea that certain people had the power to perform harmful or beneficial magic can be traced far back into antiquity and might be as old as culture itself. In the late Middle Ages and Early-Modern Period however, people in certain parts of Europe started to believe in an organized cult of witches, conspiring to overthrow Christianity. As Norman Cohn showed in his work *Europe's Inner Demons* (1975), it is unlikely that such a cult of witches – or as some would have it: followers of an ancient pagan belief – actually existed, as there is no historical evidence for this. But neither was it an invention of the inquisitors to justify their large persecutions.²⁸ Instead he argues that the stereotype of the sect of witches has long historical roots. He traces them back to antiquity when the Christians themselves were being accused of orgies and cannibalism. The same stereotype, supplemented with the idea of devil-worship, was used in the Middle Ages against certain groups of heretics, especially the Waldensians and the Adamites. All these conceptions eventually led to the notion of the sacrilegious and orgiastic gatherings of witches known as synagogues or sabbaths.²⁹ According to Cohn, and most of the researches who followed after him, the notion of the sabbath is a precondition for most large witch-hunts. The belief that a witch was part of a group ensured that when a witch was found, people started looking for her accomplices.

²² Ibidem, p. 788-89.

²³ Geertz, 'An Anthropology of Religion and Magic, I' (1975), p. 87.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 74.

²⁵ Thomas, 'An Anthropology of Religion and Magic, II' (1975), p. 94-96.

²⁶ Whereas the influence of religion on magical beliefs has been put on the map by Thomas, and has not left the center of attention since, the influence of magical beliefs is still not integrated into the history of Christian religion (See Bailey, *Battling demons* (2003), p. 2). This might be an interesting approach for future research.

²⁷ Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1991), p. x.

²⁸ Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons* (1975), p. xii.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 100.

However, there is more to it: witchcraft itself can be classified as a ‘cumulative concept’, which means it came to encompass a lot of different stereotypes and traditions, mostly originating in folk-beliefs.³⁰ Cohn already lists a few: the Roman myth of the striges, old women who turn into a bird at night and cause harm to people, usually babies;³¹ the early-medieval cult of Diana, or Holda in German, whose followers believed they flew in the air;³² and the fairies or ‘ladies of the night’, who would visit houses at night, so people usually left them some food.³³ The list can be supplemented with a lot of other beliefs, depending on the time and geographical area.

There are two more common beliefs I should elaborate on. First of all there is the ancient idea of harmful sorcery, or *maleficium*, which is clearly present in the notion of the witches’ sabbath. At their meetings the witches would not only perform their sacrilegious rituals, but they would also report on all the mayhem they caused and make plans for new mischief. To the common people, the suspicion of *maleficium* was usually the cause of a witchcraft accusation.³⁴ The ecclesiastical and secular authorities on the other hand, often sought to eradicate the moral and social evil the witch represented, rather than her supposedly harmful actions.³⁵ This had everything to do with the second belief I have to discuss: the idea that the witch had made a pact with the devil. Theologians and magistrates feared they faced an enemy organized by the devil himself. The witch had sold her soul to Satan and in return had acquired certain magical powers to cause harm.³⁶ Throughout the period of the witch-craze a lot of demonologies were published, theorizing about the implications of such a pact. An issue that was heavily debated was the question to which extent the devil and other demons could have physical contact with the material world. It was widely believed that witches bore a physical mark of their pact with the devil and indulged in sex with him and other demons.³⁷

Although the cumulative concept of witchcraft serves as a great explanation for the variety in beliefs and accusations we find throughout the ages, Willem de Blécourt has recently argued that it can also be restricting by blinding us to local variations.³⁸ He states that the commonly accepted image of the witches’ sabbath, with its corporeal demons, is only accurate for Catholic regions. In Protestant areas, he says, most attention was paid to dancing, excessive eating and drinking, and sexual misbehaviour rather than to the demonological aspect of the sabbath, as the religious authorities preferred to focus on maintaining Christian discipline.³⁹ I agree with Blécourt that we need to keep in mind the local variety, but I believe his distinction between Protestant and Catholic Europe is still too general. Therefore I am curious to see if my cases reveal any differences in the concept of the witches’ sabbath between two predominantly Protestant countries.

Witchcraft in Britain

Although there are, to the best of my knowledge, but a few detailed cultural comparisons, several more general studies have tried to survey the local variations in witch-beliefs and witch-persecutions.⁴⁰ What is most striking in these studies is the position of the British Isles. When compared to the more famous cases in the mainland of Europe, the witch-hunts in Great Britain are more limited in size and number. One of the dominant explanations for this is the absence of the

³⁰ De Blécourt, ‘Sabbath Stories’ (2013), p. 84.

³¹ Cohn, *Europe’s Inner Demons* (1975), p. 206-210.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 212.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 218.

³⁴ Bailey, *Battling demons* (2003), p. 29.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

³⁷ Almond, *England’s First Demonologist* (2011), p. 72.

³⁸ De Blécourt, ‘Sabbath Stories’ (2013), p. 84.

³⁹ *Idem*, p. 98-99.

⁴⁰ Most detailed comparisons can be found in Ankaloo & Henningsen, *Early Modern European Witchcraft* (1990). Unfortunately none of them concern the Netherlands. For an example of a general overview, see Levack, *The witch-hunt in early modern Europe* (1987), p. 176-187.

notion of the witches' sabbath.⁴¹ British witchcraft was more concerned with *maleficium* than with demonic theory.⁴² Ideas like the devil's pact, the witches' sabbath and demonic sex, which were part of the continental European cumulative concept of witchcraft, were generally absent from the British discussions.⁴³ On the other hand, the British Isles had their own peculiarities: British witches were said to keep familiar spirits; demons in the form of a cat, toad or other animal. The devil's mark was in this case not a sign of a demonic pact, but the place on her body where she fed the spirits with her own blood.⁴⁴

These general overviews, which are usually a little outdated, tend to uphold a strong division between the situation in Great Britain on the one hand and that of 'the continent' on the other. Some scholars – especially British ones – unfortunately still keep this division. In doing so they are blinding themselves to the local variation both within 'the continent' and within the British Isles themselves. There were a lot of differences between the English and Scottish witch-hunts for example⁴⁵ and the demonological ideas that were absent in Britain were also absent in some other European countries, including the Netherlands.⁴⁶ I hope my investigation will give us some new input on how special the English situation really was. Maybe there are more similarities with parts of 'the continent' than most studies would suggest.

Witchcraft in the Netherlands

As I stated before, the subject of witchcraft in the Netherlands is relatively understudied. More than twenty years ago scholars connected to the interdisciplinary study group 'Witchcraft and Sorcery in the Netherlands' published some interesting works, the conclusions of which still echo in the international literature.⁴⁷ Their research is mainly grounded in anthropology or the history of law and economy. When it comes to the cultural aspects of witchcraft, but a few contributions have been made. Recently the subject caught the attention of a few art historians, but the area of textual culture is still unexplored.

In what follows, I will discuss the most relevant contributions to the history of witchcraft in the Netherlands. In this discussion I will limit myself to the situation in the Dutch Republic, because there was a fundamental difference in the attitude towards witchcraft between the Republic and the southern Netherlands, which were still under Spanish rule in this period.⁴⁸ A full discussion of these contrasts would go beyond the scope of this thesis.

In 1608 the last witch in the Dutch Republic was sentenced to death, making it the first country to stop its executions.⁴⁹ Even before 1608, the persecutions had been relatively mild. Hans de Waardt suggested that the relative mildness with which the Dutch treated witches might have had something to do with the absence of a full-fledged notion of diabolical witchcraft. His sources do mention a pact with the devil, but this was usually an individual pact. There are no descriptions of the sect-like nightly gatherings we see in other countries.⁵⁰ Just like in England, the standard 'cumulative

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 182-183.

⁴² I do not mean to imply this is the only explanation for the smaller persecutions in Britain. There are other, non-cultural reasons for this, which go beyond the scope of this research.

⁴³ Almond, *England's First Demonologist* (2011), p. 71-72.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 84.

⁴⁵ Larner, *Enemies of God* (1981).

⁴⁶ Clark, 'England's First Demonologist (review)' (2013), p. 195.

⁴⁷ For more information on the study group see:

http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/archieven/index.php?action=expand&querystring_b64=b2Zmc2V0PTE2MA==&i d=294

⁴⁸ De Waardt, 'Witchcraft and Wealth' (2013), p. 245. Persecutions lasted a lot longer in the southern Netherlands. De Waardt even mentions an occasion where a town was captured by the Republic, and promptly all witch-trials in the town were paused. After the town was recaptured by the Spaniards, the trials recommenced.

⁴⁹ Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra, 'Six Centuries of Witchcraft in the Netherlands' (1991), p. 30.

⁵⁰ De Waardt, *Toverij en samenleving* (1991), p. 277.

concept of witchcraft' does not seem to comply with the specific situation in the Republic. De Waardt's research is mostly based on court records, but public texts might show a different image.

Even after the executions had stopped, people were still being accused of witchcraft. However, the Dutch juridical authorities of the seventeenth century did not seem to take these accusations seriously anymore. If there were any juridical proceedings, they were mostly concerned with slander. Interestingly enough, De Waardt suggested, the issue of witchcraft seemed to retreat into the female domain. In the seventeenth century witches no longer caused storms, cursed cattle, or performed other magic to threaten peoples income, which was the main focus of the male domain. Instead they limited their *maleficium* to making people – and especially children – fall ill. Caring for sick children belonged to the female domain, but apparently was taken less seriously by the juridical authorities.

Even though witchcraft might not have been taken seriously by judges anymore, it was still the subject of a lot of paintings and engravings. Renilde Vervoort has shown how two witchcraft-prints, made by the Dutch artist Pieter Bruegel in 1565, started a visual tradition that reached its zenith in the Netherlands of the seventeenth-century, and whose influence can even still be recognized today.⁵¹ As there were no trials near Bruegel's home-city at that time, he took his inspiration from the international Latin demonological theory, and translated it into a visual language.⁵² He was probably assisted by a clerical advisor, who recapitulated the Latin discussions for him, as there were be no vernacular demonologies available in the Netherlands.

One of the seventeenth-century artists who was influenced by Bruegel's visual tradition, is Jacques de Gheyn II. Claudia Swan examined his work and concluded that his images bear no direct connection to what we know of contemporaneous trials or practices, just like in Bruegel's case.⁵³ Instead his work stands in Bruegel's tradition, which developed separately from the actual practices.⁵⁴ De Gheyn appears to have been influenced by the demonological works of certain sceptics, who believed magic was an illusion caused by melancholia.⁵⁵ This idea apparently triggered De Gheyn's imagination and caused him to draw his witches. The main two 'sceptics' Swan mentions are Johannes Weyer and Reginald Scot, whose work I will discuss in the next chapter. I will return to this connection in the last chapter of this thesis. For now, suffice it to say there existed a representation of witchcraft in the visual culture of seventeenth century Dutch Republic, which was largely separate from the actual practice of witch-trials and which became increasingly popular in the seventeenth century.

Dutch Witchcraft-prints

In the seventeenth century, the witch was not only a popular theme in visual art: from the beginning of the seventeenth century there is an increasing amount of Dutch books, pamphlets, and other texts concerning witchcraft. As we can see in the table below, there is a striking amount of translations amongst them, especially in the seventeenth century. The numbers in this table refer to the publications concerning witchcraft that I found in the *Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands* (STCN).⁵⁶ The list was supplemented with a few publications from *The Early Modern Pamphlets Online* that could not be found in STCN, and with some resources that I found in secondary literature.⁵⁷ In case of multiple editions, each edition has been counted as a separate publication. I am aware of the fact that this list is incomplete, but I expect it to be complete enough to give a general impression.

⁵¹ Vervoort, *"Vrouwen op den besem en derghelijck ghespoock"* (2011), p. 285.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 98.

⁵³ Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland* (2005), p. 199.

⁵⁴ Vervoort, *"Vrouwen op den besem en derghelijck ghespoock"* (2011), p. 214.

⁵⁵ Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland* (2005), p. 191.

⁵⁶ The entire list of titles can be found in appendix 2.

⁵⁷ Especially De Waardt's monograph *Toverij en samenleving* (1991) proved very resourceful.

Period	Original works		Translations		Total
1575-1599	2	100%	0	0%	2
1600-1624	4	44%	5	56%	9
1625-1649	1	17%	5	83%	6
1650-1674	4	36%	7	64%	11
1675-1699	12	71%	5	29%	17
1700-1724	4	80%	1	20%	5
1725-1749	5	56%	4	44%	9
1750-1774	6	86%	1	14%	7
1775-1800	6	43%	8	57%	14
date unknown	1	100%	0	0%	1
Total:	45	56%	36	44%	81

Table 1: Impression of the ratio between translations and original works in Dutch publications concerning witchcraft in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

The first publication I found dated back to 1595. From that moment onwards, publications concerning witchcraft seem to appear at an increasing pace. Translations make up a substantial part of this textual tradition throughout the entire seventeenth century. Only in the last quarter of the century they account for a smaller proportion. This can be explained by the publication of Balthasar Bekker's *De betoverde weereld* (1691), which generated a storm of controversy and led to the publication of lots of original Dutch pamphlets refuting Bekker's work.⁵⁸ After 1700 the pattern becomes more erratic, but translations still make up an important part of the eighteenth-century texts concerning witchcraft.

It would be interesting to see if this pattern matches a more general pattern in translations that are not concerned with witchcraft.⁵⁹ Unfortunately I was not able to make such a comparison. The works in the table above were all counted by hand and to do such a thing for the entire textual production of two centuries would be too much work. The new SPARQL-tool of STCN seemed promising, but it is insufficient in its current state, as there is no available RDF-data on translations yet.⁶⁰

The translations mentioned above, however, are not only interesting from a computational point of view. It is not their number that is compelling, but the very fact that they are translations. Because translations exist between two cultures, they can illuminate the differences between Dutch and foreign views on witchcraft. In what follows I will analyse a small cluster of these translations from the beginning of the seventeenth century. I will analyse the translations of two works that reacted to each other and thereby form a more large-scale attestation of the Dutch concept of witchcraft. A closer analysis might also reveal something about the origins of this 'trend' in translating witchcraft literature. Before going to the actual translations and their context, I will elaborate on some important concepts in translation studies.

Cultural translation

One of the most important theorists in the field of translation studies is Peter Burke, although in calling him a theorist I fear I might be guilty misrepresenting his work. Burke's plea for a cultural history of translation is a rich and useful source of inspiration, but it does not present its reader with a coherent theory of how translations ought to work. It is the idea behind his work – or to speak with Mieke Bal the concept, rather than the method – which I can apply to my own research.

⁵⁸ Wiersma, *Balthasar Bekkers De betoverde wereld* (2013), p. 3.

⁵⁹ In *Lost (and Found) in Translation* (2005) Peter Burke mentions some patterns (see next chapter), but he does not underpin them with statistics.

⁶⁰ Boot, et al., *Met SPARQL zoeken in de STCN* (2015), p. 31.

Burke argues that historians should pay more attention to translations.⁶¹ Texts are not only translated between languages, but also between cultures: each text is decontextualized when it is taken out of its original culture and needs to be recontextualized in order to fit into its new culture. Therefore translation always requires some sort of negotiation.⁶² By examining these negotiations, we can learn a lot about the host culture in particular. 'Translations reveal what one culture finds interesting in another', as Burke puts it.⁶³ They fill certain gaps or support ideas that already existed and are often agents of change in their host culture. This argument works in two directions, for we should not only look at what is gained in translation, but also at what is lost. Some ideas are too specific for the source culture, making them unappealing or even impossible to translate. By looking at what is lost in translation, we can map out the differences between cultures and this is also an important contribution to cultural history.⁶⁴

In its original anthropological definition, cultural translation can be defined as 'what happens in cultural encounters when each side tries to make sense of the actions of the other'.⁶⁵ Considering that we are dealing with paper translations here, I believe the word 'actions' should in this case be substituted with 'conceptions and opinions'. The concept of cultural translation is especially relevant for the Early Modern Period, because a lot of translators were active in that period. With the decline of Latin as a universal language, Burke even goes so far as to declare that translators were the glue that kept the European culture together.⁶⁶ Unlike in the Middle Ages, when translations were usually quite literal, in the Early Modern times they were very free, although there was no consensus on how much freedom exactly should be permitted to a translator.⁶⁷ Therefore practices varied greatly. The fluidity of the translations makes them a promising research subject, as the freedom a translator permitted himself reveals a lot about the process of cultural negotiation.

After arguing for the relevance of translations, Burke makes a start with the cultural history of translations, sketching a general picture of the translation practices in early modern Europe. In the case of the Netherlands, the import was much higher than the export. Translations were mainly made from French, German, Italian, Spanish and English.⁶⁸ Dutch culture was relatively open to foreign influences, but did not seem to have much status of its own, as there were not many people outside the Netherlands that spoke the language. England mainly translated from Italian, Spanish and French, but had an extremely low export. There seems to have been a relatively strong connection with the Netherlands, considering most of their export went to the Republic.

Translations between English and Dutch were usually made by English immigrants in the Dutch Republic or Dutch fugitives who picked up the English language when they went in exile. This is also the case with the translators in the cluster I am going to examine. But before I turn to the translations themselves, I will first summarize the original works and the intellectual context they emerged from.

⁶¹ Burke, *Lost (and Found) in Translation* (2005), p. 3.

⁶² Burke, 'Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe' (2007), p. 9-10.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

⁶⁵ Burke, *Lost (and Found) in Translation* (2005), p. 4.

⁶⁶ Burke & Hsia, 'Introduction' (2007), p. 1.

⁶⁷ Burke, 'Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe' (2007), p. 26-27.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

Chapter 2: Intellectual Context

As I mentioned earlier, the subject of witchcraft was heavily debated in the international literature of the Early Modern Period. Not only theologians, but also jurists, medics, other scholars, and even laymen contributed to the discussion, which – like all academic debates of that period – started off in Latin, but later was also carried on in the vernacular languages.

In this chapter I will first give a general overview of the most common issues in the international witchcraft debate and then survey the original works underlying the Dutch translations I am going to analyse.

The Hammer of the Witches

One of the first major treatments concerning witchcraft and its satanic aspects was the iconic *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486), also known as the *Hammer of the Witches*, written by the Dominicans Jacob Sprenger and Henricus Institoris.⁶⁹ Although its impact has often been exaggerated and the precise range of its influence is still open to debate, it is definitely one of the most quoted sources in the centuries since its publication.⁷⁰ The *Malleus* cited a lot of authorities, the most important ones being Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Even though their works were not principally occupied with the issue of witchcraft, they continued to play an important role in the debate about witches, along with the *Malleus* itself, which mediated their interpretation.

One of the key notions of the *Malleus* is the devil's pact, which states that witches sell their soul to the devil in order to acquire magical powers. The foundations of this concept can be found in Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* (*On Christian Doctrine*, 397). In what is arguably his most famous book, Augustine mentions the possible exchanges between humans and demons, which almost resemble a pact, although he does not consider this pact as formal as Sprenger and Institoris represent it.⁷¹

In the *Malleus*, there is a deeply apocalyptic view underlying the idea of the devil's pact. Sprenger and Institoris believed the reason why there were so many witches in their time was because the devil knew the world was soon going to end. Since he would be rendered powerless after the return of Christ, he tried to wreak as much havoc upon mankind as he could by using an army of evil witches. In this view, the reason why witches allegedly murdered children gets an extra twist. In medieval times it was widely believed that Judgement Day would come as soon as the number of blessed souls in heaven would match the number of angels that remained after Lucifer's fall.⁷² By instigating the murder of unbaptized children – who then would not be allowed to go to heaven – the devil attempted to delay the Apocalypse.

The fear of an army of witches amassed by the devil himself caused Sprenger and Institoris to be very harsh in persecuting witches.⁷³ When their book was published, the Inquisition had already developed a procedure to deal with heretics. Sprenger and Kramer modified this method so it could be applied to witches. In doing so they changed the inquisitorial rules somewhat so it would be easier to convict a witch. They also complained that the inquisitors had to do all the work themselves and asked the secular courts for help.⁷⁴

The *Malleus Maleficarum* is deeply misogynistic, which can partly be explained by the contemporary discourses on the mental and moral inferiority of women.⁷⁵ Because of the belief in

⁶⁹ Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol I, (2006), p. 119. How much both authors contributed to the work is still disputed. Mackay argues that both authors wrote parts of it and scholars should pay more attention to the two different voices of the *Malleus* instead of treating it as a monolithic whole.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 71.

⁷¹ Hoorens, *Een ketterse arts voor de heksen* (2011), p. 172.

⁷² Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol I (2006), p. 61-62.

⁷³ Ibidem, p. 78.

⁷⁴ For more information on the legal impact of the *Malleus*, see for example ibidem, p. 63-80.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, p. 35-36.

their inherent weakness, the authors considered women to be far more susceptible to the temptation of the devil than men. The idea that the devil and other demons could have sex with women, and even impregnate them, probably drove the misogyny even further. The concept of demonic sex originated from Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae (Essentials of Theology, 1265)*. Although demons had no bodies of their own and thus no semen, they could take the form of a succubus, a female demon, to seduce men and steal their semen, and then transform themselves into the male incubus and impregnate a woman.

Learned magic

Not all medieval or early modern users of magic were female. There was also a lively tradition of learned magic in the intellectual sphere, which was obviously dominated by men. The division between science and natural magic is hard to make, if it even existed at all for contemporaries. When discussing alchemy, for example, it is hard to discern a scientific experiment from a magical ritual.⁷⁶ Furthermore, a respected humanist like John Dee, known for his mathematical capacities and as advisor of Queen Elisabeth I, would at the same time engage in crystallo-mancy in an attempt to decipher the language of God. Dee became obsessed by God's language because it was supposed to contain all knowledge in the world.⁷⁷ The issue of natural magic has always been slightly suspicious to theologians, so in the sixteenth century some theologians integrated the devil's pact into this concept, condemning the learned magician, or magus, as just as evil as the regular witch – or sometimes even worse.⁷⁸ The magus thus became a figure who wittingly sold his soul to the devil out of scientific curiosity, like the character Faust in the eponymous popular legend.

One of the scientists who fell victim to this concept was the German humanist Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim. In his work *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres (Three Books of Occult Philosophy, 1533)* he explains the mechanics of the universe. Agrippa states there are four planes of existence, the highest one being God. Because all other things in existence know they originate from God, they are all part of an occult – meaning invisible – network. Agrippa's book is an inventory of the occult properties of everything in the world around him. By knowing these properties, he expected to be able to manipulate the world around him. Agrippa's argument is heavily inspired by Neoplatonism, Hermeticism and the Cabbala, although he often did not mention his sources.⁷⁹

Although this might already seem esoteric enough to a modern reader, the Neoplatonic philosophy was quite fashionable and influential amongst the intelligentsia of the sixteenth century. Agrippa owned his reputation as a magus for the greatest part to a fourth book of *De Occulta Philosophia* which was attributed to him, but which he had not written himself. This fourth book explicitly dealt with magic.⁸⁰ Agrippa's reputation of a Faust-like figure became so iconic, that the Dr. Faustus in Marlowe's play exclaimed he desired to be 'as cunning as Agrippa was, / [w]hose shadows made all Europe honour him'.⁸¹ Partly because of Agrippa's reputation, *De Occulta Philosophia* was placed on the infamous index, the list of books forbidden by the Catholic church.

Johannes Weyer

While Agrippa was working on *De Occulta Philosophia*, the Dutchman Johannes Weyer, or Jan Wier, was living with him as his student.⁸² After his studies Weyer returned to his native city Arnhem to become the city physician. During this period he witnessed a number of witch trials.⁸³ Later he

⁷⁶ Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance* (1972), p. 161.

⁷⁷ Szónyi, 'From the Hieroglyphic Monad to Angel Magic' (2012), p. 109-136.

⁷⁸ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 286.

⁷⁹ Hoorens, *Een ketterse arts voor de heksen* (2011), p. 49-51.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, p. 64.

⁸¹ Christopher Marlowe, cited in Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 289.

⁸² Hoorens, *Een ketterse arts voor de heksen* (2011), p. 48.

⁸³ Ibidem, p. 97.

became court physician to Duke William of Jülich-Cleves-Berge. Weyer was one of the most famous – although definitely not the first – sceptics who published against the persecution of witches.⁸⁴

At the court of William he wrote his most famous work: *De Praestigiis Daemonum et Incantationibus ac Venificiis (On the Illusions of the Demons and on Spells and Poisons, 1563)*. Weyer approached witchcraft from four different angles: theological, philosophical, medical, and legal. His medical argument in particular is very practical and probably based on his personal experience as a doctor in Arnhem and other places. He states that most women who were accused of witchcraft were in fact melancholic. According to the medical views of his time melancholy, an excess of black bile, could cause hallucinations. The disease was common among old women who no longer menstruated, which also happened to be the target group of most witchcraft accusations. The supposedly deluded women imagined themselves to be in possession of magical powers or to be having sex with demons, while in fact they were being deceived by the devil. Demons liked to play tricks with peoples mind and could manipulate the humours inside a body to make the subject even more melancholic. In deluding the witches, the devil does not only bring about their doom, but also that of their judges, as they become guilty of the death of innocents. Besides, Weyer adds sarcastically, if the devil really were to recruit an army, old women would be very inapt tools.⁸⁵ In the end, Weyer argues, most witches do not need a judge, but a doctor.

Weyer is especially suspicious of demonic possessions, which often caused a lot of public display. He argues that there are usually other – natural – reasons behind a possession. With his detailed analyses of the possible psychological reasons underlying a possession he earned the laudation of Sigmund Freud, and the posthumous reputation of a psychologist *avant la lettre*.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Weyer argues that witches are in fact not even mentioned in the Bible, but that this idea results from a number of mistranslations. He argues for example that the Hebrew word ‘chasaf’ in the famous passage ‘thou shalt not suffer a witch to live’ (Ex. 22:18), means ‘poisoner’ rather than ‘witch’.⁸⁷

Weyer’s practical observations and the conclusions he draws from them are convincing. However there appears to be a discrepancy with the more theoretical part of his work. His practical evidence seems to point to the fact that there are no witches at all, but in theory he still considers witchcraft a possibility.⁸⁸ Weyer does not deny the existence of the devil’s pact, the fundament upon which the concept of witchcraft was built, but this pact seems to be reserved for the magus. Where Weyer is very lenient toward witches, he despises learned magicians. As the magi are not deluded by melancholy, they have no excuse for dealing with the devil and deserve the harshest punishment. Moreover, unlike the witch, the magus is mentioned and condemned in the Bible in the passage of Moses and the Pharaoh’s magicians (Ex. 7).⁸⁹ Because of the commotion around *De Occulta Philosophia*, Weyer goes to great lengths to exonerate his former master Agrippa from his reputation of being a magus. He even gives a detailed description of Agrippa’s dog, which according to the popular legend was a demon in disguise. According to Weyer the only problem with the animal was that it was terribly spoiled.⁹⁰

Vera Hoorens has argued that Weyer had a hidden agenda when he wrote *De Praestigiis Daemonum*. This explains some inconsistencies in his witchcraft-argument. He was not just trying to defend innocent ‘witches’, but his work also contains a powerful attack on the Roman-Catholic church.⁹¹ Weyer never officially broke with Catholicism, but like Erasmus, he did not approve of

⁸⁴ Stevens, ‘The Sceptical Tradition’ (2013), p. 102.

⁸⁵ Hoorens, *Een ketterse arts voor de heksen* (2011), p. 132.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 426-427.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 151.

⁸⁸ In later publications Weyer specified – maybe in response to critiques like that of Bodin – that he does indeed not deny the reality of witchcraft, but only its application to the majority of the persecutions. (*Ibidem*, p. 155.)

⁸⁹ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 295.

⁹⁰ Hoorens, *Een ketterse arts voor de heksen* (2011), p. 64-65.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 156.

certain of the churches practices. The mendicant orders in particular were subjected to Weyer's disapproval. This becomes evident when we see for example that Weyer discusses demonic possessions much more extensively when they take place in a monastery, so he can use these cases to criticize the nuns and monks concerned.⁹² Hoorens shows that immediate reactions to *De Praestigiis Daemonum* are more concerned with the anti-Catholicism than with the witchcraft argument. Considering Weyer wrote his book in a time where the religious reform-movements had not yet fully crystallised, his work seems to be taking a place in the ongoing debates. It was only from the beginning of the seventeenth century, that the focus in Weyer's reception shifted towards his arguments on witchcraft.⁹³

Weyer's work has had quite an impact on the international witchcraft debates. He is cited in many other publications, both by witch-hunters and sceptics. His work also went through several reprints and translations. Weyer translated it into German himself, but at the same time another German translation was made.⁹⁴ *De Praestigiis Daemonum* was also translated into English and French, but interestingly enough not into Dutch.

Jean Bodin

One of Weyer's biggest critiques is the French jurist Jean Bodin. Modern Scholars have been greatly puzzled by his *De la Démonomanie des Sorciers (Of the Demon-mania of the Sorcerers, 1580)*. They saw a paradox between Bodin's political and juridical oeuvre, in which he proved to be a great intellect, and his *Démonomanie*, the 'formless screed and dribbling mess' of an obsessed witch-hunter.⁹⁵ When we take a closer look at the *Démonomanie* its argumentation does not appear to be that messy, but the premises it is built upon are very unfamiliar to a modern reader.

Bodin is convinced that witches are real and most people do not realize how grave a danger they pose.⁹⁶ He accepts most of the folk-beliefs, even those which were commonly refuted in the intellectual literature. He states for example that lycanthropy, the transformation into a werewolf, is real, thereby going directly against the opinion of Thomas Aquinas.⁹⁷ According to Bodin the sect of witches is so vast and growing so rapidly, that there is no time to give every witch an extensive trial. Instead he pleads the normal juridical procedures should be suspended and no effort to convict witches should be spared. This includes actions like questioning children and making false promises in exchange for a confession.

Bodin devoted a large part of his *Démonomanie* to a systematic refutation of Weyer. He cites a lot of medical authorities to prove that women are generally healthier than men. Because of their menstrual cycle they could regulate the balance of their humours and were less susceptible to melancholy.⁹⁸ However he conveniently forgets to mention what happens when women stop menstruating. He also meticulously exploits the apparent inconsistency in Weyer's argument: Weyer states the devil exists and likes to torment humanity and he also admits the existence of the devil's pact, so there is no reason to doubt the existence of witchcraft.⁹⁹ Bodin quotes a lot of authorities to prove he is right and accepts no empirical evidence suggesting otherwise. He has often been characterized as a fanatic, but his work seems to be grounded in the firm conviction that the world was in an immediate crisis.

⁹² Ibidem, p. 167.

⁹³ Ibidem, p. 377. As the works by Bodin, Scot and James show, there were in fact also reactions to Weyer's work concerning his apologia of witches dating before 1700. Apparently these were relatively few in number.

⁹⁴ Ibidem, p. 211.

⁹⁵ Lynn Thorndike cited in Angelo, 'Melancholia and Witchcraft' (1976), p. 213-214.

⁹⁶ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 287.

⁹⁷ Ibidem, p. 288-289.

⁹⁸ Angelo, 'Melancholia and Witchcraft' (1976), p. 215.

⁹⁹ Ibidem, p. 217.

Reginald Scot

On the other end of the spectrum to the writings of Bodin is *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), written by the English country gentleman Reginald Scot. His direct motivation for writing this book was the increasing number of witch-trials in England. Scot must at least have been aware of the persecution of two witches in own county Kent, although it is uncertain if he actually witnessed the trials.¹⁰⁰ *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* is sceptical of the witch-trials and therefore it is often mentioned in combination with Weyer's *De Praestigiis Daemonum*. Scot's argument is indeed much indebted to Weyer, but he also did a thorough research of his own before he wrote his book: he read almost all contemporary academic literature on witchcraft, interviewed people that were involved in witch-trials, and even tried some conjurations to see if the magical formulas actually worked.¹⁰¹

The Discoverie of Witchcraft consists of sixteen books. The first five books analyse and criticise the concept of witchcraft that existed in the international literature. In book one, Scot discusses the origins of witchcraft and witch-accusations. He gives a keen analysis of the social processes underlying an accusation. The accused are usually 'old, lame, bleare-eyed'¹⁰² women, who have cursed a lot of people during their lives. 'Doubtlesse (at length) some of hir neighbors die, or fall sicke'¹⁰³ who then – encouraged by incompetent physicians – cry out they are the victim of witchcraft. The accused woman, who is superstitious, melancholic, or both, sees her curses taking effect and starts believing she is capable of performing magic, so she admits her guilt.

The second book provides an account of the juridical procedures concerning witchcraft. Scot argues amongst others against the *Malleus Maleficarum* and especially against Bodin, who he calls 'the champion of the witchmoongers'¹⁰⁴ He also mentions an anecdote of how Agrippa successfully defended someone suspected of witchcraft.

In book three, four, and five Scot attacks the notion of diabolical witchcraft. Book three deals with the devil's pact, book four with demonic sex, and book five is on the alleged transformations of humans into animals, and especially on lycanthropy. Scot's main argumentative strategy is to first summarize and explain the entire argument of his opponents and then refute them at the end of the chapter. Sometimes he simply states the witch-monger's theories are already crazy enough and do not need any refutation, but this does not prevent him from explaining them into great detail.

Most of the following books are dedicated to the verses in the Bible concerning witches. Each book treats a single Hebrew word and its translation – which Scot copied from Weyer – and subsequently argues why the passage concerned does not apply to the common witches. He discusses 'Chasaph' (poisoner, book 6), 'Ob' (ventriloquism, book 7), 'Kasam' (divination, book 9), 'Onen' (divination by dreams, book 10), 'Nahas' (augury, book 11), 'Habar' (enchantments, book 12), 'Hartumim' (magicians, book 13), and 'lidon' (conjuration, book 15).¹⁰⁵ Scot mentions a lot of anecdotes in these chapters and on occasion even gives lengthy and very detailed descriptions of spells, rituals and tricks in order to expose them as illusions.

There are two intermezzos in the enumeration of Bible passages. Book eight argues that the age of miracles is over. Therefore there are no prophets and saints anymore and anyone who claims to have supernatural powers is a 'cousener': an imposter. Book fourteen deals with 'the follie of Alcumystrie'¹⁰⁶ whose practitioners are either frauds or deluded themselves.

¹⁰⁰ Almond, *England's First Demonologist* (2011), p. 14.

¹⁰¹ Angelo, 'Melancholia and Witchcraft' (1976), p. 219.

¹⁰² The list also includes 'pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles; poore, sullen, superstitious and papists; or such as knowe no religion.' Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1973), p. 5. Throughout this paper I will be citing from the edition by Brinsley Nicholson, which is a reprint of the first edition published in 1584. The page numbers will be referring to the pages of the Nicholson-edition, not the pages of the original.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, p. 6.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, p. 15.

¹⁰⁵ I took the modern English translations of the Hebrew words from Almond, *England's First Demonologist* (2011), p. 22.

¹⁰⁶ Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1973), p. 307.

Book sixteen consist of a summary of his argument by means of conclusion. Following book sixteen, Scot added another text, called 'A Discourse upon divels and spirits'. In this text he argued that the devil and other spirits could not interact with the material world. He did not deny the existence of demons, but he denied that they had the ability to assume a body and manipulate the physical world, limiting their influence strictly to the spiritual realm.

Scot's argument is indebted to Weyer.¹⁰⁷ He adapted Weyer's idea of melancholy and his argument on the original Hebrew words in the Bible and like Weyer he supported his arguments with a lot of practical – almost anthropological – observations. But Scot takes his scepticism even further by also attacking the theoretical assumptions underlying the concept of witchcraft.¹⁰⁸ He even denies that the devil has any influence over the material world. It should be noted that Scot, like Weyer, does not deny the existence of witches. It would take another century before Balthar Bekker would become the first to make that statement. Instead Scot denied witches their powers.¹⁰⁹

Scot's book is filled with attacks on the Catholic church, which he sees as the source of the belief in witches. Being a Protestant in England, attacking the Catholic church was more or less a commonplace, giving him more freedom to criticize the 'papisty' than Weyer had. He condemns the Catholics for attributing supernatural power to profane objects, like idols, but also to witches. One could even argue that Scot believes witch-hunting should be condemned as a form of crypto-Catholicism.¹¹⁰

Even though attacking the Catholic church was a commonplace in post-Reformation England, Scot did not seem to fit completely into the intellectual climate of his country. Philip Almond has argued that he was influenced by the work of John Calvin, although calling him a Calvinist would be pushing matters too far.¹¹¹ It does explain why Scot's main enemy is not the Roman Catholic church and not even the witch-hunter, but the 'counsener', in scholarly literature also known as the cunning man. This term refers to figures like fortune-tellers and witchdoctors, who specialized in counter-magic. They deluded people into thinking they were bewitched and that the witchdoctor concerned had the magical powers to cure them. Aside from swindling, these counseners were guilty of promoting superstition, a great vice in the eyes of Scot and Calvin.

This does not mean that the judges are completely innocent. Scot also virulently attacks the witch-mongers and their theories. Ironically enough in doing so he gave them some new ammunition. Philip Almond argued that in trying to disprove them Scot actually introduced a few new 'continental' notions of demonology into the English society.¹¹² Although I do not approve of Almond's use of the word continental,¹¹³ I admit that his work introduced some foreign notions, that were common in certain parts of Europe, into the English witchcraft debate. This especially concerns the concept of demonic sex and the witches' sabbath, which were subsequently picked up by King James and other witchcraft theorists.

The Discoverie of Witchcraft was translated into Dutch in 1609.¹¹⁴ Apart from the Netherlands it seems to have had little impact on Europe as there are no other translations known. In England on the other hand, the work seems to have acquired some fame. For example, the three witches in Shakespeare's *MacBeth* are based upon Scot's descriptions.¹¹⁵ However it took until 1651 for a new edition of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* to appear. Within fifteen years, two more followed.¹¹⁶ In another strange twist of irony, the new editions seem to have been popular amongst

¹⁰⁷ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 297.

¹⁰⁸ Angelo, 'Melancholia and Witchcraft' (1976), p. 218.

¹⁰⁹ Almond, *England's First Demonologist* (2011), p. 45. On Bekker see Stronks, 'The Significance of Balthasar Bekker's *The Enchanted World*' (1991).

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 49.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, p. 72.

¹¹³ See chapter 1

¹¹⁴ See chapter 4

¹¹⁵ Almond, *England's First Demonologist* (2011), p. 3.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

fortune-tellers. Because of Scot's detailed descriptions, they used it as a source for spells and tricks.¹¹⁷

King James

One of the authors that picked up on Scot's discussion of demonology was King James VI of Scotland, who would later also become King James I of England. His *Daemonologie, In Forme of a Dialogue, Diuided into three Bookes* (1597) is one of the few sixteenth-century Scottish works on witchcraft. James became interested in the subject of witchcraft when he himself became the victim of malevolent magic.

In 1589, he had been married by proxy to princess Anna of Denmark, but when she wanted to travel to Scotland to meet her husband, a storm on the North Sea forced her fleet to return. The Danish admiral blamed the delay on a notorious Copenhagen witch, who was supposed to have caused the storm. James grew impatient and travelled to Denmark himself, but his return was impeded by even more bad weather, so he had to spend the winter in Denmark. When he came home in 1590, he found that a local outbreak of witch-trials had been linked to his misfortune. A number of women in North Berwick had confessed that they had magically conjured the storms so that the royal couple would drown at sea. It was implied that the Earl of Bothwell, second in line to the Scottish throne, had something to do with the affair.¹¹⁸

The next winter saw a sudden increase in witch persecutions, in which the king took a personal interest. When a certain Barbara Napier was acquitted, he even went as far as to accuse the judges of a wilful error and demanded a conviction. It has been argued that James started writing on his *Daemonologie* in this period, but affairs of the state kept him from publishing it until 1597.¹¹⁹

James' *Daemonologie* is a relatively short text, consisting of three books, as its full title already indicates. The main goal of the book is to prove that witches do exist and must be punished. In the preface James states that he specifically writes

'against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, wherof the one called SCOT an Englishman, is not ashamed in publike print to deny, that ther can be such a thing as Witchcraft: and so mainteines the old error of the Sadducees, in denying of spirits. The other called VVIERS, a German Phisition, sets out a publick apologie for al these craft-folkes, whereby, procuring for their impunitie, he plainly bewrayes himselfe to haue bene one of that profession.'¹²⁰

James also mentions a few other authorities. He refers amongst others to Bodin for those who are interested in the 'particular rites and secretes of these unlawfull artes', but remarks that his work is 'collected with greater diligence, then written with judgement'.¹²¹ If anyone would want to descend into the dangers of the dark arts themselves, James recommends the fourth book of Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*.¹²²

The *Daemonologie* has the form of a disputation, James's favourite genre.¹²³ This form emphasises the didactic and moralistic character of the work. The book describes a discussion between Epistemon ('learned') and Philomates ('eager for knowlegde'). Philomates continually asks short questions to which Epistemon provides an extensive answer, resulting in a surprisingly systematic discussion of magic in all its forms.

¹¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 299.

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 302.

¹²⁰ James, *Daemonologie* (1969), preface, p. 2v. Throughout this paper I will be citing from the 1969 facsimile based on the first edition of 1597.

¹²¹ Ibidem, preface, p. 4v.

¹²² Ibidem, preface, p. 5r.

¹²³ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 302.

The first book discusses the ‘Magiciens, or Necromanciers’: the learned magicians, who are being lured into dealing with the devil by their own curiosity.¹²⁴ Most of the book is concerned with the devil’s pact and the question what scholarly practices are allowed and which ones should be condemned as magical. Epistemon for example tries to make a division between astronomy and astrology, the former being a proper science, the latter being a magical – and thus despicable – kind of fortune-telling.¹²⁵

The second book deals with ‘Sorcerie or Witchcraft’, occurring when common people make a pact with the devil.¹²⁶ Epistemon divides them into two groups, depending on their motive. The first group is tempted by wealth and power and the second is driven by revenge.¹²⁷ The second book starts with ‘the reasons refuted of all such as would call it but an imagination and Melancholicque humor’.¹²⁸ Although no other sources besides the Bible and personal experience are mentioned in the actual text of the *Daemonologie*, this is clearly meant to be a refutation of Weyer and Scot.

Epistemon then elaborates on the acts of the witches. The *Daemonologie*’s view on witchcraft can be characterised as a moderately orthodox one. James accepts most of the dominant features of international demonology, but does not accept all its premises. He is hesitant for example to admit the witches’ ability to fly to the sabbath and is also sceptical about the possibility of demonic sex.¹²⁹ He plainly denies the possibility of lycanthropy, dismissing those reports as melancholic delusions, like Scot and Weyer. However this is one of the very few cases in which James agrees with them.¹³⁰ Although James is sceptical of certain folktales at times, his work is still grounded in the unshakable belief that diabolical witchcraft exists. For James denying the power of the devil, would be denying God’s power as well.

Epistemon concludes his discussion of the witches’ practices with an explanation of the power of the magistrates. He explains that once a witch has been captured by a private person, she still retains her powers, but when she is captured by a lawful magistrate, she will not be able to cause him any harm. ‘For where God beginners iustlie to strike by his lawfull Lieutenentes, it is not in the Deuilles power to defraude or bereaue him of the office, or effect of his powerfull and reuenging Scepter’.¹³¹ This chapter reveals the political agenda of the *Daemonologie*. To James the law is Gods instrument, which makes the king, being the highest legislative authority, a direct representative of God himself. He therefore depicts himself as God’s lieutenant, who is fighting witches as evidence of his divine calling. In this way the *Daemonologie* functions as a justification of James’ involvement in the Berwick witch-trials.¹³²

Like Scot, James is sceptical of the ‘blinde Papistrie’ throughout the book.¹³³ However he does not see witch-hunting as a form of Catholic superstition. In the last chapter of book two, Epistemon argues that witches are more common in his time, precisely because of the decline of the Roman-Catholic church. Before the Reformation, the devil could simply use the Catholic rituals to deceive people into sin. However, now that Scotland has adopted the true religion, the devil had to change his strategy and resort to witches more often.¹³⁴

The third and last book describes the different kinds of spirits that trouble mankind. Epistemon divides them into four categories: spirits that haunt certain places, spirits that outwardly follow sinners as a punishment from Gods, spirits that possess people from inside, and fairies. He

¹²⁴ James, *Daemonologie* (1969), p. 8.

¹²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 32.

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 27.

¹²⁹ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 308-309.

¹³⁰ Almond, *England’s First Demonologist* (2011), p. 104.

¹³¹ James, *Daemonologie* (1969), p. 51.

¹³² Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 314.

¹³³ See for example James, *Daemonologie* (1969), p. 54.

¹³⁴ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 310.

argues the first three kinds of spirits are real and can interfere with the material world, while only the last category is an illusion from the devil.

Although clearly biased, the *Daemonologia* is a fine summary of the international debate around witchcraft of its time. It does a decent job trying to structuralise the often fluid types of magic and folk-beliefs. However it soon seems to have lost the King's interest. The book was re-issued in London in 1603, when James ascended to the English throne. Two separate editions were published, but James never bothered to correct either of them, like he did with his other works. He also seems to have become increasingly sceptical about the witchcraft-trials that were presented to him, sometimes even exposing them as frauds.¹³⁵ It is unclear whether James actually changed his mind on the issue of witchcraft, or simply became more suspicious of individual cases. In the same year as the London editions, two Dutch translations of the *Daemonologie* appeared, which I will discuss in the next chapter. The book was also translated into French and Latin.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Ibidem, p. 314-315.

¹³⁶ Ibidem, p. 318.

Chapter 3: Daemonologia

Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* and James' *Daemonologie* were both translated into Dutch in the beginning of the seventeenth century. They are amongst the first in the wave of witchcraft-related translations I mentioned in chapter 1. In the next two chapters I will give a detailed analysis of these translations. I will examine the differences with their English source-texts and also take the Dutch paratexts into consideration, which together should reveal some peculiarities of the Dutch concept of witchcraft. I will discuss the translations in chronological order, which means I start with the two editions of the *Daemonologie*, as they were published first.

James's Reception in the Dutch Republic

In 1603 King James's *Daemonologie* was translated into Dutch. It is no coincidence that his work was translated in the same year that James became King of England. The English succession was watched closely in the Netherlands with a mixture of hope and fear, as it was unclear whether or not James would support the Dutch war against Spain to the same extent as Elisabeth had done.¹³⁷ A great demand for news from England arose and this also sparked an interest in the writings of the new king.

The English people themselves were also interested in James's works, as they believed his writings would reveal what kind of ruler he would be. Obviously some London publishers had been preparing for his ascension to the throne, because they republished most of his works with a remarkable speed, anglicizing his Scottish dialect in the process.¹³⁸ These London editions were then followed by translations of James's works all over Europe. Astrid Stilma has showed that because of their pressing need of support in the Eighty Years' War, the Dutch were very eager to learn as much as they could about James. Therefore, she concludes, it is not surprising that 'they started translating James's works when the ink on the London editions was hardly even dry.'¹³⁹

James's most influential book was *Basilikon Doron* (Royal Gift, 1599), a book he initially wrote for his eldest son Henry, teaching him how to be a good king.¹⁴⁰ From all James's works, this book was most openly concerned with his politics and therefore it received most of the attention. The States General even demanded the Amsterdam publisher Laurens Jacobsz., who was working on a translation of *Basilikon Doron*, to send them a few copies for consideration and forbade him to produce any more copies until they had seen the work.¹⁴¹ In the wake of the *Basilikon Doron* some other of James's writings were translated, including the *Daemonologie*, which even got two separate, and quite different, translations. One translation was published by Laurens Jacobsz. along with the *Basilikon Doron*. The other was published in Dordrecht by Jasper Troyen.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 6.

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

¹⁴² There were three editions of the *Daemonologie* available upon which the Dutch translations could have been based. In the first place there is the original print published in 1597 by Robert Waldegrave in Edinburgh. Secondly there were two different editions printed in London in 1603, one printed by Arnold Hatfield for Waldegrave and one published by William Aspley and William Cotton. The editions mainly differed in spelling and some printing-errors that are usually self-correcting in translation. Therefore the question which edition was used is not relevant to our topic. (For more information on this issue see *ibidem*, p. 322-326.)

The Amsterdam-edition

When James ascended to the English throne, the Amsterdam publishers Laurens Jacobsz. and Cornelis Claesz. started to work on a translation of his selected works. Claesz. is most likely to have been the financial backer of the project, while the orthodox Calvinist Jacobsz. seems to have been occupied with the practical realisation.¹⁴³ The entire project consisted of five translations. Beside *Basilikon Doron*, Jacobsz. had a translation made of the *Daemonologie* and of two anti-Catholic meditations, which James wrote in reaction to the failed attempt of the Spanish Armada to conquer England. The project also included a new edition of James's epic poem *The Battle of Lepanto*, celebrating the defeat of the Ottomans, which had already been translated into Dutch by Abraham van der Myl in 1593.¹⁴⁴ In her dissertation Astrid Stilma demonstrated that there were only a few manipulations in the translated works. I believe this might be a result of the high regard the translators had for James. Burke noticed that the more authoritative a text was considered to be, the less freedom its translators permitted themselves.¹⁴⁵ Although the differences between the originals and the translations might be small, Stilma argues that the small manipulations and the way the Dutch texts were framed, are still relevant. They reveal how the translators appropriated James's works in order to virtually enlist him in the Dutch war against Spain. The translators presented him as a militant Protestant monarch, who would come to the rescue of his fellow Protestants in the Low Countries.¹⁴⁶

Out of all the translations in the project, the *Daemonologie* was the least openly concerned with politics. As I argued in chapter 2, the work did have a political component, but its politics did not seem to connect with the idea underlying the other translations.¹⁴⁷ However, being a recent work by James, the publishers probably felt a need to include it into their project. Moreover, as I will argue below, there might have been another reason why the work was translated.

The *Daemonologie* was translated by the reformed minister Vincent Meusevoet, who also translated the *Basilikon Doron* and his meditation on the Chronicles. Meusevoet was born in Flanders, but only spend part of his childhood there. As a result of the persecution of protestants, his family fled to England, joining a community of Dutch refugees in Norwich.¹⁴⁸ This is where he probably picked up the English language, which was not commonly spoken outside of the British Isles in the Early Modern Period. Meusevoet returned to the Netherlands to study at the University of Leiden and eventually settled as a minister in Schagen. Next to his work as preacher, he became a productive – Burke even classified him as semi-professional – translator, who did not only translate from English, but also French and Latin.¹⁴⁹

Meusevoet's translation is titled *Daemonologia, Dat is Een Onderrichtinghe teghen de Tooverie in forme van tsamenspreekinghe ghedeelt in drie Boecken*. The phrase 'Dat is Een Onderrichtinghe teghen de Tooverie' is absent in the full English title of the work and emphasizes that this is a didactic text against witchcraft. The explicit goal of the book thus seems to be to warn people against the vices of witchcraft. Stilma suggested that it is exactly this goal that interested Meusevoet: as a minister of the Reformed church he undoubtedly had to deal with magical beliefs in his congregation.¹⁵⁰ It is likely that he took a personal interest in James's discussion of the subject, especially because he later translated another English tract on demonology by William Perkins.¹⁵¹

¹⁴³ Ibidem, p. 39.

¹⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 18.

¹⁴⁵ Burke, *Lost (and Found) in Translation* (2005), p. 14-15.

¹⁴⁶ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 344.

¹⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 340.

¹⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 39.

¹⁴⁹ Burke, 'Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe' (2007), p. 13.

¹⁵⁰ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 317-318.

¹⁵¹ Meusevoet, *Tractaet vande ongodlijcke toover-const* (1611). See also appendix 2.

Although his incursion in the title suggests otherwise, Meusevoet's translation is actually very accurate. His translation follows the original closely, both on level of words and of sentences.¹⁵² There are almost no additions or omissions, and not a single change to the text on a structural level. Unlike the other works of the project, the translation is not introduced by any poems, prologues, or other texts, apart from James's original preface, which was translated literally. However by looking at some of the minor differences in the translation, combined with some contextual information, we might still be able to formulate a hypothesis on the translator's particular concept of magic.

One of the main issues the *Daemonologie* condemns are the magical practices that common people used to ward off misfortune. When Philomates asks for some examples of the 'Deuilles rudimentes', Epistemon replies with a long recital of practices we would nowadays call superstitions:

'I meane either by such kinde of Charmes as commonlie dafte wiues vses, for healing of forspoken goodes, for preseruing them from euill eyes, by knitting roun-trees, or sundriest kinde of herbes, to the haire or tailles of the goodes: By curing the Worme, by stemming of blood, by healing of Horse-crookes, by turning of the riddle, or doing of such like innumerable things by wordes, without applying anie thing, meete to the part offended, as Mediciners doe [...]'¹⁵³

Meusevoet translated the enumeration very precisely:

'Ick meene door sodanighe belesinghen als d'Aepsche wijven ghemeenlijck ghebruycken / om betooverde dingen te ghenesen / om die te bewaren voor quade ooghen / door 't breyden van sekere boomen ofte sonderlingste cruyden aen 't hayr ofte steerten der beesten: door 't verdrijven van den worm / door stemphinghe des bloeds / door 't ghenesen van Paerdezeeren / door 't omdrayen vanden Teems / ofte door 't doen van sulcke ontallijcke dingen / door woorden / sonder yet daer op te leggen / bequaem tot het deel dat verzeert is / gelijk de Medecijn-meesters doen [...]'¹⁵⁴

Most of the examples are cases of counter-magic, magical practices believed to ward off evil enchantments and bad luck in general. James keeps insisting – and Meusevoet goes along with him – that it is wrong to trust these methods, because they work by the devil's power. People should resort to prayer instead. Even though the witch-trials were declining, the common people in the Dutch Republic often still resorted to these magical practices throughout most of the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁵ The turning of the riddle, or 'Teemsdraaien' in Dutch, for instance, turns up on several occasions. This was a practice to discover the identity of a thief by balancing a sieve on the point of a pair of scissors. When the name of the thief was called out loud, the sieve would fall down and reveal the thief's identity.¹⁵⁶

The Dutch and English types of counter-magic seem to be fairly similar, as most of the practices James lists are also mentioned and condemned in other sources, such as the minutes of the church council of Amsterdam.¹⁵⁷ One of the things that might be exclusive to the British isles is the use of 'roun-trees', rowan trees, to protect cattle. Meusevoet translates this with the vague words 'sekere bomen'. If this practice was widely spread in the republic, his translation would probably have been more specific. The Dordrecht edition even leaves the phrase out altogether, as we will see below.

¹⁵² For a more complete overview see Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 332-339.

¹⁵³ James, *Daemonologie* (1969), p. 11-12.

¹⁵⁴ Meusevoet, *Daemonologia* (1603), p. 13r.

¹⁵⁵ Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam* (1967), p. 127.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 123.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 124-125.

The fact that these instances of counter-magic are the first practical examples of magic James mentions, shows this issue carried quite some importance to him. To Meusevoet the importance might even have been higher. In the second book of the original text, Philomates asks 'Is it not lawfull then by the helpe of some other Witche to cure the disease that is casten on by that craft?'¹⁵⁸ Meusevoet's translation reads:

'Phil.

Ten is dan geensins geoorloft door de hulpe van eenige andere Tooverrersche te genesen de cranckheyt die ons door die const aengeworpen is.

Epist.

Ten is geensins geoorloft: Want ick hebbe u de reden daervan ghegeven in die uytspake der Theologie die daer waren de laetste Woorden die ick sprack van de Magia.^{159,160}

There is no question in Meusevoet's translation, as if he wanted to make absolutely clear there should be no doubt at all about the unlawfulness of asking a witch for help. The repetition of the exact same words 'ten is geensins geoorloft' – which is phrased differently in the original¹⁶¹ – also serves to emphasize this point. Meusevoet and James then both go on to explain prayer to God, along with the persecution of witches, is the only effective cure against magic in the long run.

'Phil.

Hoe mogen dan dese crancheden op geoorlofder wijze genesen worden?

Epist.

Alleenlijck door een ernstich gebedt tot God / door beteringe haers levens / ende door eene scherpe vervolginge eens yegelijcken / nae zijne beroepinghe / deser Instrumenten des Sathans / welcke is straffe tot der dootd / wesen sale ene heylsame Offerhande voor den patient. Ende dit is niet alleenlijck de gheoorlofde wech / maer insgelijcks de alersekerste: Want door middel des Duyvels en can de Duyvel nimmermeer uytgheworpen worden, ghelijck Christus seght. Ende wanneer sulck eene cure gebruyckt wordt / zy mach wel dienen voor eenen corten tijdt / maer eyndtlijck / sal zy onghetwijfelt strecken tot de uysterste verdervinge des patients / beyde in Lichame ende Ziele.'¹⁶²

The most plausible reason why the translation emphasised the perniciousness of counter-magic is because these are exactly the kind of practices Meusevoet himself was likely to have been confronted with in his parish. Throughout the seventeenth century a lot of ministers complained about the deployment of healing magic, especially by shady figures such as witchdoctors or fortune-tellers.¹⁶³ James's *Daemonologie* contained a systematic refutation of these magical practices, which might be the reason why Meusevoet was interested in translating it. Burke demonstrated that the agency of commencing a translation sometimes lied with the publisher and sometimes with the translator himself, so it might even have been Meusevoet's own idea to add this translation to the project.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ James, *Daemonologie* (1969), p. 48.

¹⁵⁹ James refers to an earlier chapter here, specifically to the words: 'nunquam faciendum est malum ut bonum inde eveniat. / Men moet nimmermeer quaedt doen op dat daer goedt uyt come.' (Meusevoet, *Daemonologia* (1603), p. 24r.)

¹⁶⁰ Ibidem, p. 40r.

¹⁶¹ It reads: 'No waies lawfull' (James, *Daemonologie* (1969), p. 48.)

¹⁶² Meusevoet, *Daemonologia* (1603), p. 40r-40v.

¹⁶³ Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam* (1967), p. 125.

¹⁶⁴ Burke, 'Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe' (2007), p. 16.

The Dordrecht-edition

In the same year another independent translation of the *Daemonologie* appeared in Dordrecht. The translator of this work is anonymous, but we do know it was published by Jasper Troyen. Troyen did not publish any other works of James, but he produced some books concerning the supernatural.¹⁶⁵ He therefore seems to have mainly been interested in the occult properties of James's book, instead of its political implications, although the all-round interest in James's writings probably also formed a commercial motivation. The title page explicitly mentions the book was written by 'den machtighen Prince Iacobum, door Godes genade, Coninc van Engelant, Schotlant, Vrancrijck ende Irlandt'.¹⁶⁶ The full title reads: *Een t'samensprekinghe, genaemt Daemonologia, handelende van de listicheyt ende wreetheyt des Satans ende zijner dienaren ende slaven, de Tooveraers, Besweerders ende Waersegghers*, with the addition below that the book serves 'Tot waerschouwinghe aller menschen, dat sy haer voor sulcke listicheyt des Duyvels wachten'.¹⁶⁷ The goal of the work is the same that is stated in the title of the Amsterdam edition. However the rendering of the Dordrecht edition is somewhat more sensational, indicating that Troyen might have intended to exploit James's popularity as far as he could.

Just like the Amsterdam edition, the Dordrecht edition follows the original quite closely and does not divert from the overall structure of the text. On the level of individual sentences, the Dordrecht edition is translated more freely however. The translator used a lower register than Meusevoet and left out some of the more complex content such as Latin phrases and classical references. Together with the title this indicates he aimed at a lower class audience.¹⁶⁸ When we compare the enumeration of superstitions quoted above as example, some of the differences become evident.

'Ick verstae sulcke soorte van Charmes ende belesinge / gelijk gemeenlick oude vrouwen ghebruycken om yemant te beschermen van quade ooghen / om den worm te genesen / het bloet te stelpen / peerde blutsen te cureren / met het spreken van een raetselken / ende diergelicke ontallicke dingen meer / met woorden yet anders daer toe te doen / gelijk t'gebruyc der medecijnen is.'¹⁶⁹

The translator omitted the use of rowan trees and herbs to protect cattle, like I explained above, possibly because he was unfamiliar with that practice. He also mistranslated the turning of the riddle, most likely because he mistakenly interpreted the word riddle as 'brainteaser'. Lastly he wrongly connected the subordinate clause about the practice of doctors to the use of vain words, while it should refer to the actual treating injuries instead.

The translator was possibly less fluent in English compared to Meusevoet, although there are also indications that the translation was produced in a rush. In the preface, the translated James states he laboured to complete the work 'met der haesten'.¹⁷⁰ This remark cannot be found in the original, thus it most likely refers to the condition of the translation itself. The haste of the work would also explain the many printing errors and other mistakes in the edition.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 320.

¹⁶⁶ Anonymous, *Een t'samensprekinghe genaemt Daemonologia* (1603), title page.

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁶⁸ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 339. Stilma also implied that the translator might have been female. As I will explain below, there is no evidence for this suggestion. Therefore I will by custom refer to the unknown translator with the male pronouns, thereby not excluding the possibility the translator might be female.

¹⁶⁹ Anonymous, *Een t'samensprekinghe genaemt Daemonologia* (1603), p. 7v.

¹⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. iv.

¹⁷¹ For some examples see Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 330-331.

Apart from the occasional mistakes and simplifications, the Dordrecht translation renders the primary meaning of the original text faithfully.¹⁷² The few places where the translator failed to do so, however, are the most revealing. In his preface James explains how a magician can use his ‘familiar spirit’ make all sorts of things appear. The Dordrecht translator rendered this literally as ‘familiaren geest’, which does not make much sense in its context. Meusevoet also opted for this translation, but both of them did not seem to have realised that the word spirit rather meant demon here than ghost. This suggests they were unfamiliar with the concept.

There is one very specific peculiarity about the Dordrecht translation: where Meusevoet most of the times translates ‘witches’ as ‘Toovererschen’¹⁷³, the Dordrecht translator renders them as ‘Tooveraers’.¹⁷⁴ The early modern English word ‘witch’ could refer to both male and female persons, however it usually implied its subjects to be women.¹⁷⁵ The early modern Dutch word ‘tooverersche’, or ‘tooveres’, however was normally used to refer to women only.¹⁷⁶ The word ‘toovenaar’ strictly spoken included both genders, but it had a male connotation.¹⁷⁷

One might suppose that the Dordrecht translator had the witches confused with the male magicians, but this is very unlikely due to James’s thorough systematization. The work makes a clear distinction between common witches and learned magicians, which the Dordrecht translation renders as ‘Necromanciers’. According to James, the main distinction is not the gender, but the way the devil’s pact functions:

‘T’gemeen onderscheyt twelc gemaect wort / is in sommige deelen waer / dat namelick de Toovenaers alleenlick dienstknechten zijn ende slaven des Duyvels / maer de Necromanciers zijn zijn meestersende bevelers.’¹⁷⁸

Stilma made the cautious suggestion that the translator might have been a woman, because of his – or her – reluctance to refer to witches as female.¹⁷⁹ There is however no evidence for this suggestion. Furthermore the translator included James explanation of why most witches were female.

‘Phil. hoe comt het datter twintich vrouwen teghen eenen man hun tot dese conste begeven. Epi. De reden is claer / want gelijc dat geslachte swacker dan t’namelic [should read: manelic] is / alsoo ist lichter om gevangen te +te+ worden in die grove stricken des Satans / gelijck sulcx al te waerachtich bevonden is / alst serpent inden beghinne Eva bedrooch / t’welck maect dat hy te ghmeensamer met dat geslachte is.’¹⁸⁰

If the translator really was that preoccupied with the negative outlook on women he – or she – would rather have left out this small passage about the inferiority of the female sex.

There is however another male magical practitioner that that might be implied by the use of the word ‘toovenaar’: the cunning man, specifying in counter-magic. Hans de Waardt has shown that in the Dutch Republic males were more common amongst this group of fortune-tellers and magical healers, especially amongst the specialized practitioners.¹⁸¹ Their practices were looked upon with suspicion, but even during the times of the persecutions, they were punished less severely. Fortune-tellers were usually banished for example instead of executed. It is possible the translator chose the word ‘toovenaar’, because he wanted to emphasize these cunning men were just as evil as the

¹⁷² Ibidem, p. 326.

¹⁷³ For example Meusevoet, *Daemonologia* (1603), p. 11r.

¹⁷⁴ For example Anonymous, *Een t’samensprekinghe genaemt Daemonologia* (1603), p. 5v.

¹⁷⁵ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 321.

¹⁷⁶ De Vries, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (2010), headword: ‘Tooveres’.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem, headword: ‘Toovenaar’.

¹⁷⁸ Anonymous, *Een t’samensprekinghe genaemt Daemonologia* (1603), p. 5v.

¹⁷⁹ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 321.

¹⁸⁰ Anonymous, *Een t’samensprekinghe genaemt Daemonologia* (1603), p. 11r.

¹⁸¹ De Waardt, *Toverij en samenleving* (1991), p. 147.

common witches. This would also explain why in the title he mentioned 'Tooveraers, Besweerders ende Waerseghers', three terms referring to cunning men,¹⁸² instead of 'Toovenaars' and 'Necromanciers', the division that is central to James's argument.

Conclusion

As I explained in chapter one, Burke argued that translations are relevant because they reveal what one culture finds interesting in another. In the case of the *Daemonologie*, the interest appears to have had two sides. On the one hand there was a general interest in everything that had to do with King James, due to the political situation of the Dutch Republic. On the other hand, there was very little vernacular demonological theory available in the Low Countries, carving out a niche in which James's summary of the international debate on witchcraft fitted perfectly.¹⁸³ The Amsterdam and Dordrecht translations differ in the importance they attach to the different sides, the Amsterdam-edition for a greater part being motivated by politics and the Dordrecht-edition by an interest in the occult, but this difference is gradual rather than absolute.

Especially James's refutation of counter-magic and its practitioners was well-received in both editions, revealing a general preoccupation with cunning folk and their practices, that might have had an impact on the Dutch Republic throughout the entire seventeenth century. In the next chapter I will demonstrate how the practices of counter-magic are evaluated in Scot's translations.

Again referring to Burke, we should also remember to look at what is lost in translation. The cases where translators were having difficulties, or even omitted things, reveal subjects that were unfamiliar to the Dutch culture. In this case the idea of familiar spirits and the use of rowan trees to protect cattle seem to have been specifically English folk-beliefs.

I realize this chapter has been a little speculative at times, but it is hard to draw firm conclusions based on two small translations with little contextual information. Some of these speculations will be addressed in the next chapter. I hope the other ideas will inspire fellow scholars to carry out more research of their own.

¹⁸² 'Tooveraer' could be translated into modern English as wizard, the male equivalent of a witch. 'Besweerder' stands for conjurer and specifically referred to a person who is able to cure people by means of an exorcism. Scholarly literature usually refers to these figures as witchdoctors. 'Waersegher' literally means fortune-teller, although besides divination magical healing powers were also often attributed to these people. (De Vries, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (2010), headwords: 'Toovenaar', 'Bezweerder' and 'Waarzegger'.)

¹⁸³ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 340.

Chapter 4: *Ondecking van tovery*

In 1609, six years after the translations of the *Daemonologie* appeared, Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* was translated by Thomas Basson. The translation, titled *Ondecking van tovery* was reprinted in 1637 and again in 1638. In this chapter I will compare the three different editions of the translation with Scot's original text.¹⁸⁴ All three editions were surrounded by a lot of paratexts. These texts do not only include a preface and a few dedicatory poems, but also four small tracts on subjects related to witchcraft. Three of these tracts are translated from French sources and the other one from Latin. As this thesis is mainly concerned with the Dutch and English culture, I am leaving the French and Latin originals out of this discussion. I will however discuss the content of their Dutch renderings in relation to the main text of the *Ondecking van tovery*.

Thomas Basson and the University of Leiden

Thomas Basson was an Englishman who had settled in Leiden and became quite a successful printer. He kept his bookshop at the Rapenburg, which was directly opposite to the University of Leiden.¹⁸⁵ Not surprisingly a great proportion of his clientele consisted of people related to that same university. In his early years he made his living by printing the theses of graduates. As his business grew, his publishers list became more diverse and eventually included most of Leiden's prominent writers. He even became an official university-member and -employee, working for the university library as a bookbinder.¹⁸⁶

By 1609, Thomas Basson was already past fifty and his son Govert, who would eventually succeed him, was gradually taking over the business.¹⁸⁷ Govert had studied at the University of Leiden, although it is unknown whether or not he actually obtained a degree. He was in his late twenties by the time the *Ondecking van tovery* was published and had been married to Anna vande Geijn, the younger sister of the engraver Jacques de Gheyn II, who I mentioned in chapter two. Govert and Jacques must have known each other, although there is no evidence in print of any collaborations between the two.¹⁸⁸

In his late years Thomas – and apparently also the young Govert – developed an interest in religious controversy. In his biography of Thomas Basson, Jan van Dorsten comments this is hardly surprising: 'From his own front-window he could see the chief battle-field of theological war, the University building in which Jacobus Arminius and Franciscus Gomarus held their *disputationes* with an ardour that was to keep the nation divided for many years.'¹⁸⁹ Basson appears to have been a sincere supporter of Arminius as he became *the* Arminian printer from 1609 until his death in 1613.

The 1609-edition

The Preface

Basson's translation of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* is closely related to the University of Leiden. The work is dedicated to a number of people that have been identified as the curators and burgomasters, who together had presided over the university since its establishment.¹⁹⁰ Upon the publication of *Ondecking van tovery*, Basson received thirty guilders from the curators of the university, which at the very least shows they appreciated his effort.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁴ In this case there is only one original the translation could have been based on. Because *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* was not reprinted until 1651, all Dutch versions must have been based on the first edition dating from 1584.

¹⁸⁵ Van Dorsten, *Thomas Basson* (1961), p. 31.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 35-36.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 47.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 48.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 51-52.

¹⁹⁰ Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland* (2005), p. 168.

¹⁹¹ Van Dorsten, *Thomas Basson* (1961), p. 51.

In his preface, Basson maintains that he was requested to translate the work long ago, but he did not have time for it and hoped someone else would do the job. When seven years later, he realized there was still no Dutch edition of Scot's work, he decided to translate it after all. He was especially encouraged by 'een seker goet Heer',¹⁹² most likely Gerard Tuning, a renowned professor of Law at the University of Leiden.¹⁹³ Tuning also wrote a dedicatory poem to the work, which I will discuss below.

One wonders why the request for the translation was made specifically seven years ago. Scot's work had already been available in print for almost two decades by then, so there must have been a special reason why it suddenly became relevant. It is possible that the demand for this translation was prompted by the publication of the Dutch *Daemonologie*, but in that case we would have to assume Basson miscalculated, as the two translations of the *Daemonologie* appeared six years before the *Ondecking van tovery* instead of seven. There might also have been another reason why witchcraft suddenly became a hot topic during the period 1602-1603, which also might have been an additional trigger for the interest in James's *Daemonologie*. It would require more research into the context of those specific years to formulate a conclusive hypothesis on this issue.

In the same preface Basson elaborates on the main message of his book, the argument that witchcraft is often a delusion:

'Niet dat wy segghen willen, datter geen Toverij en is, dat sy verre: maer datter groot bedroch en guchelerye onder schuyt: ook datter veel t'onrecht met dit misdaet beschuldigt zijnde, ter bancke gebracht werden, ende naer affghedronghen bekentenissen onnoselijc om den hals comen.'¹⁹⁴

Basson's explicit statement that he does to deny the existence of witches seems to be a direct reaction to James's preface, in which Scot is accused of maintaining the error of the Sadducees by denying the existence of the Devil.¹⁹⁵ This favours the suggestion that the *Daemonologie* and the *Ondecking van tovery* are connected more closely than present research accounts for.

Basson continues to explain that he wrote his book mainly for two reasons: he wants to open the eyes of the judges, to prevent them from persecuting innocent people and he wants to expose the deceit of fortune-tellers and the likes, so common people will not be victim to their tricks anymore.

The Main Text

Unlike the translators of James's work, Basson did make a few fundamental changes when translating his source. Where Scot's book has sixteen chapters, Basson's translation only has seven. I will first summarize the chapters and topics that appear to have been most interesting to Basson and his Dutch audience.¹⁹⁶ I will then reflect on some of the striking subjects that were lost in the translation.

It should be noted that Scot's text, unlike that of James, is not very systematic. Although Basson managed to elucidate its structure a little by crossing out some of the most unstructured chapters, the text still has a tendency to keep going off at a tangent. Where James and his translators clearly divide witches and their activities in different groups, Scot – and to a slightly lesser extent also Basson – connects all these different aspects to each other, representing witchcraft as an amorphous mass of all kinds of practices. This lack of structure however, is a result of his argument, because he aims to disprove all these practices with similar explanations.

¹⁹² Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609), p. iiii.

¹⁹³ Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland* (2005), p. 164.

¹⁹⁴ Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609), p. iiii.

¹⁹⁵ See chapter 2.

¹⁹⁶ Unfortunately I do not have the space to compare the entire structure of the translation and its original on a more detailed level. For an overview of the specific chapters that were included and omitted I refer to appendix 3.

Basson translated the first two books of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* entirely and almost literally. These two books contain a refutation of the practice of witchcraft-accusations and the juridical procedures connected to such an accusation. The third book was only translated selectively, focussing on the impossibility of a pact with the devil and attributing this feature and the other fantastical elements of the witches' confession to melancholy. The fourth book of Basson's translation is a complete rendering of Scot's fifth book, disproving the existence of lycanthropy and Circe-like witches, who transform men into animals. The fifth book of the *Ondecking van tovery* contains a selection from Scot's sixth book, discussing the Hebrew word 'chasaf' and the practice of poisoning. Basson's sixth book is a literal translation of Scot's seventh book, discussing the Hebrew word 'ob' (ventriloquism). The last Dutch book is a combination of the original books eight and sixteen, arguing the age of miracles is over and summarizing the main argument, demonstrated by a few anecdotes.

The most striking books in this enumeration are the books four and six. It is surprising that Basson devoted an entire book to the refutation of magical transformations, one of the very few topics that was considered impossible by witch-hunters and sceptics alike.¹⁹⁷ It is therefore unlikely that Basson included the chapter to undeceive a reader that was familiar with any academic literature on witchcraft. Yet he seems to have had something to prove by including the chapter, which leads me to believe that the idea of these transformations mainly circulated in the Dutch folklore. De Waardt noted a few cases at the end of the sixteenth century where witches were accused of turning themselves into animals.¹⁹⁸ He also mentions two stories about werewolves in the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁹ These might have been the kind of stories Basson aimed to disprove.

The other book that stands out is the one concerning ventriloquism. This book is mainly concerned with an explanation of the Bible-passage regarding the witch of Endor and with a discussion of Apollo and the 'pythonists' who stand in the tradition of his oracle. The book aims to prove how both of these classical characters, and also the contemporary fortune-tellers, deceived people by using ventriloquism. This book can therefore be read as an attack on the cunning men, and especially the fortune-tellers, which Meusevoet also cautioned against.

When we take a look at what is lost in translation, the first thing that catches the eye is that Basson left out most of Scot's anecdotes and accounts of actual practices, which made up most of the second half of the book. In general he seems to have been most interested in the theoretical part of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*. There are however some very specific theories, anecdotes and practices Basson structurally omitted.

First of all he omitted most of the stereotypes concerning the witches' sabbath. In the third book Basson did not include the chapters describing the 'homage' witches paid to the devil and the ways they flew to the sabbath. More importantly he left out the entire book discussing demonic sex. This confirms De Waardt's thesis that the full notion of organized diabolical witchcraft was not present in the Dutch Republic and that a Dutch witches' bargain with the devil was of an individual nature.

¹⁹⁷ When Scot published his book, he still had a reason to write about magical transformations, because Bodin had recently argued for them. By the time Basson made his translation, however, there seems to have been a general consensus on the impossibility of lycanthropy and related transformations. (Almond, *England's First Demonologist* (2011), p. 104.)

¹⁹⁸ De Waardt's witches transformed themselves instead of others. This difference may be significant, but more contextual information is needed to determine its importance.

¹⁹⁹ De Waardt, *Toverij en samenleving* (1991), p. 134. One of the stories was published as a pamphlet. See also appendix 2: *Een wonderlyc verhael en van eenen weer-wolf die ghevonden is, opt nieuwe Beyerlants hooft, int lant vanden Briele* (16xx).

There are also a few more specific practices that seems to have been systematically elided. In the third book, Basson quasi-randomly omits the story of an archer who was accused of using his two familiar spirits to strike his target without fail. When discussing the different types of poisoning, he leaves out the chapters on love potions and when translating the final anecdotes in the conclusion, he again elided a story on love potions, while maintaining the chapter on the turning of the riddle and other means of divination.²⁰⁰ It is very likely that the use of love potions, unlike the turning of the riddle, was unfamiliar to the Dutch population, as I could not find any reference to it in other Dutch sources either.²⁰¹

The chapters that Basson decided to keep are translated almost literally. Basson's style of translating comes close to that of Meusevoet, however Basson displays a stronger tendency to 'dutchify' contextual information. An example of this tendency can be found in the passage below, discussing the impossibility of certain accusations:

'no lawe will admit such a confession, as yeeldeth to impossibilities, [...] otherwise it would not serve a mans turne, to plead and prove that he was at *Berwicke* that daie, that he is accused to have done a murther in *Canturburie*; for it might be said that he was conveied to *Berwicke*, and backe againe by inchantment.'²⁰²

Basson renders this passage as:

'de rechten en nemen geen bekentenisse aen / de welcke onmogelijcke dinghen medebrengh; [...] het waer anders te vergeefs / dat yemant bewijsen soude binnen Coelen gheweest te zijn op den selven dach als hy te Parijs beschuldigt is een man vermoort te hebben; want hij mocht door toverije gins ende weder gevoert zijn.'²⁰³

Instead of literally translating the cities Berwick and Canterbury, Basson substitutes them with Cologne and Paris, which were probably more familiar to a Dutch audience and therefore illustrated the distance the source text meant to imply more accurately.

Another example of such a 'dutchification' – which is more relevant for our case – is a passage in the first book, in which Scot argues that if one case of magic is proved to be false, all the other cases of magic are false too. He supports this argument with the example that it would be foolish that if a juggler gives away one of his tricks, 'one would fondly continue to thinke, that his other petie juggling knacks of legierdemaine are done by the helpe of a familiar'.²⁰⁴ Basson translated this quote as '[iemand] wil hem even wel laten duncken dat de rest van zijn behendicheydt gheschiedt door hulpe van den Duyvel'.²⁰⁵

In this passage we can clearly see Burke's concept of cultural translation at work. The English original mentions a familiar spirit, a concept which is a the core of the English notion of witchcraft. The seventeenth-century Dutch audience appears to have been unfamiliar with that concept, therefore Basson replaced 'helpe of a familiar' with 'hulpe van den Duyvel', substituting the word with something that his audience was more acquainted to in an attempt to stay faithful to the original meaning of the passage. Throughout his entire work Scot, often casually, mentions familiars, which in itself shows how important they were to the English concept of witchcraft. In Basson's edition, the familiar is usually spirited away in translation, like in the passage quoted above and the omitted chapter of the archer shooting with the help of two familiars.

²⁰⁰ Another popular method was divination by using the Bible and a key, which is mentioned by both Basson and Evenhuis. (Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609), p. 197-198, Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam* (1967), p. 122.)

²⁰¹ Neither De Waardt, nor Evenhuis, nor Voetius mentions them.

²⁰² Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1973), p.39.

²⁰³ Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609), p. 65-66.

²⁰⁴ Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1973), p. 12.

²⁰⁵ Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609), p. 22.

The last, and most interesting observation of the main text I will discuss concerns Basson's translation of the word 'witches'. Like the Dordrecht-translator of the *Daemonologie*, Basson usually uses the word 'toveners', which seems to be intended as a gender inclusive word to refer to both male and female witches. Following Scot, Basson makes a division between two kinds of witches: 'De eene soorte vande gene / diemen acht tovenaers te wesen / zijn vrouwen / die gemeynlijck oudt / lam / met leepe ogen [...] zijn'.²⁰⁶ In the same passage, he later translated these witches as 'toveressen', but the text above had already made clear he was talking about old women in this case. These are the kind of witches Basson wants to defend from deluded judges according to his preface. The second type of witches are the 'cooseners':

'De andere sort van tovenaren dat zijn alleen bedriegers: Dese maecken die lieden wijs dat zy voor wereltsche eer oft gewin / alle dinghen doen connen / die Godt ofte de Duyvel doen can; het sy met toecomende dinghen te voorsegghen / oft eenighe secreete dinghen te openbaaren / of siecten te ghenesen / of miraculen te doen.'²⁰⁷

This type of witches corresponds with the cunning men, the ones Basson seeks to expose as frauds. They are usually only translated as 'toveners', which shows that the office of fortune teller or witchdoctor had a male connotation to Basson and his Dutch audience.

Basson usually uses the word 'toveners' when talking about witches in general, or when he specifically refers to male fortune-tellers. He only uses 'toveressen', the explicitly female form, when he discusses specific cases of melancholic women. This is not the case in the original. Scot's text is more ambiguous, because he only uses the word witch, which could technically refer to both genders. However by looking other linguistic evidence, such as pronouns, Philip Almond has shown that Scot almost without exception refers to witches as female.²⁰⁸ The male witch is clearly an exception to him and is not necessarily linked to the idea of a 'coosener'.

The Additional Translations

Thomas Basson translated three other texts, which he added to the *Ondecking van tovery*: a translation of the French history of the process against the 'vaudoisen' in Atrecht; the famous plea by the French advocate Louis Servin, which convinced the parliament in Paris to abolish the ordeal by water; and a translation of the Latin tract, arguing against the ordeal by five professors of the University of Leiden. These texts are mainly concerned with the juridical aspects of witchcraft and reveal a slightly different concept of witchcraft than the translation of Scot does.

The first translation tells the 'Historie vant gheene gheschiet is int Graefschap van Artrouys in de stadt t'Atrecht ende inde Steden daer omtrent gedurende de jaeren 1459, 1460 ende 1461.'²⁰⁹ It describes the persecution of 'those that were called vaudoisen' and argues they were innocent. Unlike *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, this text does not do so by claiming the victims are deluded by melancholy. It is the people who actually believe the accusations, that are being deluded instead. The confessions are only induced by fear and torture, and sometimes by false promises made by an insidious inquisitor. Most of the convicts are not old women either: the text mentions a nobleman, a knight, a few prostitutes, and all kinds of other people, both male and female. The upper-class victims get most of the attention, because the text accuses the inquisitors of intentionally convicting wealthy people so they can claim their money and possessions.

²⁰⁶ Ibidem, p. 9. See also chapter 2.

²⁰⁷ Ibidem, p. 12.

²⁰⁸ Almond, *England's First Demonologist* (2011), p. 58.

²⁰⁹ Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609), p. 208.

It is important to note the victims of the persecution are called 'vaudoisen' instead of 'toveressen' or 'tovenaers'. The Dutch word 'vauderie' and its agent 'vaudois' are loan words from old French and originally referred to the Waldensians, a Christian sect that was declared heretical in the thirteenth century and consequently suffered intense persecutions.²¹⁰ The word 'vauderie' originally meant (Waldensian) heresy and later – because witches and heretics were subjected to the same stereotype of worshipping the devil²¹¹ – came to be used as a word for witchcraft.²¹²

In this text however it still mainly seems to refer to heresy, which I believe might be the reason why Basson left it untranslated. The biggest crime the convicts were charged with was betrayal of the Christian faith. Although the word 'toverij' is mentioned on rare occasion, there is barely any mentioning of *maleficium* or other acts related to witchcraft. The only explicit magical activity in the text is flying to the vauderie, which the vaudoisen were supposed to do by putting a special ointment on a stick. In order to make this ointment they had to desecrate the Eucharist, which again referred to their crime against religion.²¹³ According to the text, the charges brought against the vaudoisen were 'toverije ende vauderie', showing again that these were considered separate offenses, vauderie being the capital offense in this case.²¹⁴ The history in this text dates from the fifteenth century, when the concept of diabolical witchcraft had not fully developed yet. It illustrates the entanglement of witchcraft and heresy Norman Cohn demonstrated in his influential study *Europe's inner Demons* which I discussed in chapter one.

The magical aspects are marginal in this text, however it serves an entirely different purpose. It exposes an evil plot by the dean of Atrecht and the inquisitors, who used the persecutions in order to acquire more wealth and get rid of people they disliked. The text continuously emphasizes the hidden agenda behind the processes. The dean concerned came to meet a nasty end: God drove him insane as punishment for causing the death of so many people.²¹⁵ His accomplices eventually fled the city after higher authorities had put an end to the trials.²¹⁶

The second translation is an 'Extract wt 't playdoye van M. Loys Servyn' defending a certain Jean Breton and his wife against a witchcraft accusation in 1601. Being far more recent, this text is mainly concerned with witches – which Basson again translated as 'tovenaers' – instead of heretics. Servin pleads to the parliament of Paris 'datter quaelijc gheprocedeert / quaelijc geoordeelt / ende quaelijc geexecuteert is / door de Officieren van Dinteville',²¹⁷ while they were investigating witchcraft-accusations. His clients became the victim of these faulty procedures. The main procedure he argues against the ordeal by water.²¹⁸ During this ordeal a witch would be submerged in water. Those who sank were innocent, while those who floated were considered guilty of witchcraft. Servin argues there is no legal ground for this proof, as it cannot be found in the Bible, nor in French or Roman law.²¹⁹ Besides the ordeal is inaccurate because a lot of people can swim and even dead bodies float. Another faulty procedure he mentions is the search for the devil's mark, because it can easily be forged. The answer of the parliament is also included at the end of the text. They decided in favour of Servin and his clients and decreed the ordeal by water should be abolished.²²⁰

Where Servin's plea argues against the ordeal by water on legal grounds, the last text refutes it on medical and philosophical grounds. In 1594 five professors from the departments of philosophy and medicine at the University of Leiden gave their opinion on this subject at the request of the High

²¹⁰ De Vries, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (2010), headword: 'Vauderij'.

²¹¹ Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons* (1975).

²¹² De Vries, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (2010), headword: 'Vauderij'.

²¹³ Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609), p. 252-253.

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 279.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 261.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 269.

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 305.

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 304.

²¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 298.

²²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 307. The professors do not mention the devil's mark.

Court of Holland.²²¹ Johannes Heurnius, the rector magnificus of the university, was probably the main author of the Latin text they produced.²²² Basson translated the text into Dutch and added it as final piece to his work.

The text starts with a discussion of the devil's pact, which again lacks a communal aspect. Although the professors do not claim the pact is impossible, they argue such a pact cannot be made easily and therefore is not spread as widely as some believe.²²³ They continue to explain that water cannot be used to discover such a pact. It is very improbable that the element of water would not tolerate a witch, when the other elements do.

The most important part of the tract is the professor's explanation why certain witches float on the water. They argue people should not be too gullible or superstitious as there are natural causes for this kind of phenomena, although they might be hard to recognize. They list several possible explanations, the most noteworthy one being that a lot of the alleged witches suffer from melancholy, which causes their bodies to have more air inside them which is why they float.²²⁴ This part of the professor's argument is clearly indebted to Weyer's *De Praestigiis Daemonum*.

Interestingly enough the witches are consistently referred to as 'toveressen' in this text. This might be a faithful rendering of the original Latin, whose grammar specifies gender very clearly, unlike the English and Dutch languages, which facilitate more ambiguity.²²⁵ The preference of the female form however also makes more sense in its context. As I already showed, it was usually the 'melancholic old woman' who ended up on the witch's stool, whereas the cunning man was just banished.²²⁶ The text occasionally also mentioned men as a possible victim, but the female victims are emphasized.²²⁷

The Dedicatory Poems

Basson's book includes quite a few dedicatory poems celebrating the publication of the *Ondecking van tovery*. These are the only texts in this study that are originally Dutch. They can be considered a direct reaction to the work. Therefore I researched what aspects of Scot's work resonated in the poems, in order to get a grasp of the subjects Dutch readers were specifically interested in.

As I mentioned before, most of the writers of the poems were connected to the University of Leiden, however I have not been able to identify every writer.²²⁸ The most noticeable poets were Gerard Tuning, whom I mentioned earlier, the famous humanist Perter Scriverius, who even wrote three poems, and Samuel Coster, who would later found the 'Nederduytsche Academie'.

There are a few interesting themes dominating most of the dedicatory poems. Firstly a lot of them seem to be concerned with superstition. They praise Basson's book because it opens the eyes of the blind superstitious people and combats the 'sotte clap':

'Van waerings arch ghespuys [of bewaring evil scum] / en ander spookery
Oock wonderen seer groot ghedaen door tovery.²²⁹

²²¹ De Waardt, *Toverij en samenleving* (1991), p. 124.

²²² Ibidem, p. 125.

²²³ Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609), p. 309.

²²⁴ Ibidem, p. 313

²²⁵ As I argued with Meusevoet, the higher the regard for the source text and/or its authors, the more literal translations tended to be. Considering his strong link to the university, Basson would probably translate an authoritative text like this very carefully.

²²⁶ De Waardt, *Toverij en samenleving* (1991), p. 146.

²²⁷ For example Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609), p. 312.

²²⁸ In the first edition most poems were only signed with the authors initials, making it hard to identify every writer. Only Samuel Coster, the medic Henricus Delmanhorstius and one of the poems by Scriverius is signed with their name. The second edition contained more names, but some initials still remain unidentified.

²²⁹ A.V., 'Een ander ghedicht'. In: Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609).

The common people are not the only ones that need this eye-opener. Tuning amongst others, states the judges also need to wake up and look beyond their misconceptions, because they are themselves bewitched with delusions.²³⁰ Coster even reprimands them for letting themselves be influenced too easily by the superstitions of the masses.

'Neen. 'tschorten hier aen Rechtsgheleerde wijsheyt.
Die slechts een oordeel sprack nae 'svolcks gewoonte geck.
Ik leer die Rechter dit / ghewoont te treen met voeten /
En met wat recht hy sal de tovenaers ontmoeten?'²³¹

A lot of the poems address the judges directly, because the authors see it as their responsibility to stop the trials. Occasionally melancholy is mentioned as an explanation for the confessions, showing that Weyer's ideas were gaining foot in the Republic.²³²

The most frequently mentioned example of witchcraft, surprisingly enough, is the magical transformation. In his poem dedicated to Basson Scriverius praises him because he does not believe the ancient myths.

'[Basson die] Noch Herodoot gelooft / noch selfs Homeri dichten /
Dat Neurus Scytisch volck van mensch in wolff verschiet /
Dat Circe verckens maect / kan hy gelooven niet.'²³³

The transformations might be referred to so frequently, because they were considered the most speaking example of the folly of certain witch-hunters. Yet it would not have made sense to argue against something that no-one believed in the first place. Therefore I suspect the stories about magical transformations must at least have had a little credence, most likely because the concept existed in Dutch folklore.

Of course no self-respecting humanist – especially when he names himself Scriverius – could write a dedicatory poem without referring to the classical antiquity. However in the context of witchcraft, the classical stories get a slightly negative twist. Scriverius blames classical authors, like Herod and especially Homer with his Circe, for creating the fantasies that led to the execution of many innocent people. This is a rare occasion where the classics are actually criticized instead of being venerated as the great examples.

This criticism exposes an area tension between the Classical and the Christian worldview. In the myths of the classical tradition the boundaries between species were fluid, whereas the Christian traditions upheld a strong separation – or even hierarchy – between the species.²³⁴ This was especially important because they believed God created mankind in his own image and to transform a human into something less than that would be inconceivable.

There is little structure to the other examples of witchcraft that were mentioned. In the different poems the word 'tovery' covered activities ranging from using the evil eye to lycanthropy to divination. The notion of a devil's pact and related issues like demonic sex and sabbath-rituals however are clearly absent from these texts. There is only one poem, by a certain C. Pijn, that addresses cunning men and exposes them as frauds.²³⁵ Altogether these poems suggest that 'toverij' was an 'umbrella term', covering a wide range of supernatural activities, that were all considered

²³⁰ Gerard Tuning, 'Aen den onbedachten Tover-rechter'. In: *Ibidem*.

²³¹ Samuel Coster, 'Sonet: T'Boeck tot den Leser'. In: *Ibidem*.

²³² Peter Scriverius, 'Op d'Historie van Atrecht'. In: *Ibidem*.

²³³ Peter Scriverius, 'Aen Thomas Basson'. In: *Ibidem*. For another poem concerning Circe see also Peter Scriverius, 'Op d'Historie van Atrecht' In: *Ibidem* and for an example of a poem concerning werewolves see H. Delmanhostius, 'een gedichte'. In: *Ibidem*.

²³⁴ Almond, *England's First Demonologist* (2011), p. 101.

²³⁵ C. pijn, 'Tot den Onverblinden Leser'. In: Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1609).

superstitious by the authors. They mainly blame the judges, for executing innocents in behalf of these delusions. The cunning men, who promoted these superstitions, are rarely mentioned.

The 1637-edition

The second edition of *Ondecking van tovery* was printed by Govert Basson, Thomas' son. Except for correcting a few printing errors, Govert does not seem to have made any changes to the core texts of his father's work. He slightly rewrote his the prefix, explaining that he republished the book

'Also over eenighe laren dese *Ontdeckingh van Toverij*, by mijn Vader zal. uyt-gegeven, niet meer en was te bekomen, ende ick van verscheyden Luyden worde aengesocht en geport, d'selfde op een nieu wederom te doen her-drucken als oorbaerlijck ende nuttich by veelen gheacht wordende, die oock van opinie waren dat dit Boeck op veel plaesten voordierlijk hadde geweest, hebbende d'oogen van eenighe Rechters geopent, ende in bedenckinge gebracht, om niet so lichtveerdigh die arme ende dickmael onnosele, bysonder oude versufte Vrouwen, alwaert op haer eyghen bekentenisse aen kant te helpen'²³⁶

Furthermore Govert claimed credit for the translation of the history of the Atrecht. It is likely the translation has been a collaboration between Thomas and his son from the start, as Govert was already taking over his father's business when the first edition of the *Ondecking van tovery* was being produced.

Govert did add one extra translation to the new edition, the 'Historie van de Maaght van Orleans'. This text narrates the life of Joan of Arc, claiming she was a hero instead of a witch or heretic. Throughout the entire story Joan is profiled as a visionary saint.²³⁷ In the late middle-ages people could not only be possessed by demons, but on a rare occasion could also be possessed by a divine spirit. Especially women were prone to this kind of possessions, as it was the only way for them to acquire a certain religious authority. The church was very suspicious of these possessions, because it was difficult to discern them from demonic possessions. Nancy Caciola has shown that the difference between a benign and a malign possession mostly depended on the way the church chose to frame the women's actions.²³⁸

In Basson's translation, Joan of Arc is definitely portrayed as being influenced by a divine spirit. God has given her the assignment to make sure Charles VII will rule over his rightful territory.²³⁹ She inspires the soldiers with her charisma and leads them into battle. However her biggest achievement is the military advice she gives, which the text calls 'orakelen', explicitly emphasizing her role as a visionary saint.²⁴⁰ When she eventually gets captured by her enemies, they cannot find a just cause to convict her and therefore they make one up: they find her guilty of witchcraft – and also heresy, but that verdict is less important.²⁴¹

This story corresponds with the history of the 'vaudoisen' because they both argue against the witch-trials – or even unjust trials in general – by showing the despicable motives behind certain persecutions. They both plead for sensible and moderate-minded form of judgement, not allowing certain groups to abuse the law to their own advantage. Govert Basson's choice to emphasize this aspect of persecutions in his new edition might be linked to the development of the Arminian controversy. Between the publication of the first and the second edition of the *Ondecking van tovery*, the synod of Dordrecht took place, after which a lot of Arminian pastors were forbidden to execute their office and had to go into exile. In the Arminian circles which Basson had an affinity with, people

²³⁶ Basson & Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1637), p. 3v.

²³⁷ See Caciola, *Discerning Spirits* (2003), p. 225-273.

²³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 273.

²³⁹ Basson & Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1637), p. 324.

²⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 330. Unlike other means of divination, the use of the word 'oracle' implies that the vision comes directly from God, see also: De Vries, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (2010), headword: 'Orakel'.

²⁴¹ Basson & Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1637), p. 349-350.

most likely could identify with the idea of being persecuted. A call for more sensible judgement, which was not used as a weapon to settle disputes, might have been appreciated.

The second edition also displays a few changes in the dedicatory poems. A few poems were added and the book was even supplemented with three songs on the last pages. Some of the original dedications were reworked, however the changes mainly seem to have been stylistic. The dominant themes remain the same, also in the new poems and songs.

One poem that is worth mentioning is the 'Klinck-dicht' by a certain I.V.K. in which he despises the witch-mongers for hating women:

'Wat Reinald, vroom van Aerdt, ontdeekt de loose lagen der wreede vyanden van't vrouwelijk gheslacht, dat onder Toverschijn werdt deerlijck om-gebracht'²⁴².

This should not be read as too easily as an attempt of emancipation, as he later calls them 'd'onnoosle sexe' who are endlessly grateful to Scot for defending them.²⁴³ It does however once again confirm the books preoccupation with defending innocent witches, who were almost exclusively women.

The 1638-edition

The *Ondecking van tovery* was once again reprinted in 1638, one year after the second edition. This third edition is almost identical to the second. The only difference I could find was that the title page mentions the work was printed by 'Frans Pels in Beverwijk anno 1638', which makes me believe this is a pirated version of the second edition.²⁴⁴

The fact that Pels considered it worthwhile to reprint a book that appeared just a year ago, suggests that it was quite popular. The text themselves give no indications for the reason of their popularity. However from 1637 onwards we gradually see a revival of the subject of witchcraft in the Dutch textual production.²⁴⁵ To identify the reason of this upsurge more research is required.

Conclusion

The immediate cause of the translation of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* cannot be determined with certainty. Possibly the translation was prompted by the publication of the *Daemonologie*, although there might also have been another direct reason for its publication. The number of witch-trials does not seem to have increased dramatically during the time of its conception, so it is unlikely the work arose out of a direct need to end the persecutions.²⁴⁶

It is however not surprising that some of Scot's ideas fell in fertile ground in the Republic. He mainly discussed international authorities, that were introduced into the Dutch textual culture by the translations of the *Daemonologie*. Basson's work seemed to have aimed to fill the same lack of vernacular demonological theory. It provided a new point of view by arguing against the *Daemonologie*. Scot's frequent references to Calvin must also have been appealing to the Dutch audience.

Basson's translation emphasised the juridical aspects of the witch-persecutions and mainly addressed the judges, who should stop persecuting innocent old women. In the second edition the attention shifts to a general plea for a more moderate judgement by including another translation discovering the hidden agenda of certain judges. Both editions of the book also exposed fortune-tellers and other cunning men, who delude people with their tricks. Unlike the *Daemonologie*,

²⁴² I.V.K., 'Klinck-dicht'. In: Ibidem. I.V.K.'s poem is a hymn of praise to Scot instead of Basson. Therefore he might also have been referring to the English situation. However I believe this is unlikely considering he wrote his poem in Dutch.

²⁴³ Ibidem.

²⁴⁴ Basson & Basson, *Ondecking van tovery* (1638).

²⁴⁵ See appendix 2.

²⁴⁶ De Waardt, *Toverij en samenleving* (1991), 132-155.

Basson did not blame them for their superstition, but for swindling. This last aspect however got less attention in the paratexts of Basson's editions.

Basson and also the authors of his paratexts have a tendency to use the word 'tovery', witchcraft, as an umbrella term, which enveloped all kinds of supernatural practices. The *Ondecking van tovery* is not the only text that displays this tendency. The famous Gomarist theologian Gisbertus Voetius also touches on the subject of witchcraft in the collection of his sermons called *Ta Asketika sive Exercitia pietatis*. In his work we also see all kinds of supernatural phenomena such as witchcraft, divination and even ghosts all blend together.²⁴⁷ Witchcraft in the Dutch Republic thus seems to have been a cumulative concept, which enveloped all kinds of supernatural practices, sometimes leading to a confusing or blurry discussion of the subject.

We can get a grasp of the specific Dutch components of this cumulative concept by looking at the magical practices that specifically interested Basson – and by extension I assume also the rest of his Dutch audience. These mainly concerned magical transformations, especially that of werewolves, and means of divination, such as the turning of the riddle. The comparison of Basson's translation and the English original also revealed some practices that were specifically English and which did not have a place in the Dutch cumulative concept of witchcraft. First of all the diabolical aspects of witchcraft were confined to an individually made pact. There is no mentioning of sex with demons or the orgiastic gathering at the sabbath. Furthermore the concept of the witches' familiar was structurally omitted and also the preoccupation with love potions seems to have been specific for the English concept of witchcraft.

²⁴⁷ Voetius, *De praktijk der Godzaligheid* (1996), p. 124, 183, 232, 358v, 368, 374, 376, 405v., 475v., 581, 591. Because Voetius was a Gomarist, this tendency does not seem to be exclusive to people with Arminian sympathies.

Conclusion

In this thesis I analysed the Dutch translations of two English works on witchcraft: *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* by Reginald Scot and the *Daemonologie* by King James. I will now try to answer the research-questions I formulated in the introduction, focussing on the concept of witchcraft the translations propagated and the differences between the Dutch and English situation they reveal. Before turning to these questions, however, I will first reflect on the impact and function of the translations.

As Burke states, translations often fill gaps and are agents of change in their host culture. The gaps these particular Dutch translations seemed to fill, consisted of a lack of vernacular theory about witchcraft. This still leaves the question to what extent these translations affected the Dutch discourse. To the best of my knowledge, no research into this matter has been done, so I will have to confine this overview to some preliminary observations. De Waardt argued that the Dutch *Daemonologia* had very little influence on the general Dutch conception of witchcraft.²⁴⁸ This seems plausible, as James soon lost his popularity in the Republic when he started negotiating with Spain.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, my other sources did not seem to have adopted James' systematization of the different kinds of witchcraft. The statement might certainly hold for the Dordrecht-edition, which is very rare and obscure.²⁵⁰ However, Meusevoet's translation seems to have had a little more impact. In 1604 – and again in 1607 – a Latin translation of the *Daemonologie* appeared which explicitly stated it was based on the translation 'per Vincentium Meuseuetium'.²⁵¹ This indicates at least some people held his book in high regard and considered his opinion valid.

The influence of Basson's translation seems to have been bigger. An important merit of the work was that it introduced Weyer's idea of the melancholic witch to the vernacular textual culture of the Republic. As Claudia Swan showed, it is most likely through Basson that Weyer's idea influenced the engravings of artists like De Gheyn.²⁵² If Basson's translation influenced the Dutch visual culture, it is likely that it also had an impact on the textual culture. When the *Ondecking van tovery* became unavailable, a second edition appeared and shortly after that a third pirated edition was printed, indicating the work was quite popular. However further research into this matter is required.

I will now turn to the first and most important question underlying this research: What concepts of witchcraft existed in Dutch textual culture in the beginning of the seventeenth century? In the preceding chapters we saw the translated works display different concepts of witchcraft. The two translators of the *Daemonologie* considered witchcraft a realistic and dangerous practice. Relying on magic and allied superstitions meant dealing with the devil and therefore jeopardizing the soul of the practitioner, apart from all the other harm witches supposedly brought about. The texts are mainly concerned with different forms of superstition and the way witches deal with the devil. However, they are sceptical of demonic sex and the witches' ability to fly and therefore do not display the full-fledged notion of the witches' sabbath most international studies describe.

The translation of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* on the other hand was even more sceptical. Basson did not deny the existence of witches, but argued in most cases people were deluded or deceived, instead of bewitched. He excused the convicted women by claiming they were melancholic and appealed to the judges to stop the trials. While being lenient towards the convicted women, he strongly condemned cunning men who deceived people for their own profit. The notion of the sabbath is mostly absent in Basson's translation. He elided the chapters on demonic sex, the flight of the witches, and the rituals they performed at the sabbath. The subjects of divination and magical

²⁴⁸ De Waardt, *Toverij en samenleving* (1991), p. 166. Unfortunately he gives no evidence for this statement.

²⁴⁹ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 341.

²⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 318.

²⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 318.

²⁵² Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland* (2005), p. 174.

transformation get relatively much attention, suggesting these were more important features of the Dutch concept of witchcraft than the demonical aspects of the sabbath.

The *Daemonologie* and *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* were part of a vivid debate. James argued directly against Scot, and when he became king of England he censored *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*.²⁵³ Rumour has it that he even ordered the book to be burned, although there is no historical evidence for that. Astrid Stilma suggested that in this context it was not a coincidence that Vincent Meusevoet translated the *Daemonologie*, while Thomas Basson published the more moderate *Ondecking van toverij*.²⁵⁴ Meusevoet would later become an influential representative of the Counter-Remonstrants, while both Thomas and Govert Basson clearly had a connection to Arminius, whose work was also banned by James.²⁵⁵ This indicates that witchcraft might have been a matter of dispute in the religious controversy between the Remonstrants and the Counter-Remonstrants. An interesting option for further research into this matter would be to not only analyse Meusevoet's *Daemonologia* and Basson's *Ondecking van tovery* from this perspective, but also include a second translation by Meusevoet. In 1611, a few years after the publication of the *Ondecking van tovery*, Meusevoet translated *A discourse of the damned art of witchcraft* (1608) by the English theologian William Perkins, whose mental legacy strongly corresponded to that of the Counter-Remonstrants. It would be interesting to see how Meusevoet's translation – directly or indirectly – reacts to Basson's translation.

Although the Dutch texts hold different views on the effectiveness of magical practices, they do reveal a general preoccupation with superstition. A big part of the Dutch concept of witchcraft consisted of folk-beliefs that were considered suspicious. All texts condemn these popular folk beliefs, such as the turning of the riddle, either because they are the work of the devil, or because they are charlatanism. The different kinds of superstitions however appeared to be an amorphous mass varying from conjuring ghosts, to cursing people, to turning into a werewolf. Although the *Daemonologie* tried to structuralize these different magical acts, the other texts show how entangled these different superstitions really were. Not only the *Ondecking van tovery* displays a great variety of practices all related to witchcraft, but also the minutes of the Amsterdam church council and even the work of Voetius, a counter-remonstrant who was more likely to have been influenced by James, show this accumulation of superstitions. A becoming example of this tendency can be found in the dedicatory poem to the *Ondecking van tovery* by A.V. He refers to maleficent witchcraft as 'arch ghespuys en ander spookery'. The vagueness of these words illustrates the versatility of the concept.

To conclude I will now turn to the second question I mentioned in the introduction: What peculiarities of the Dutch concept of witchcraft do the translations reveal compared to the English situation? I have showed that by looking at the passages that were omitted or appear to have been difficult to translate, we can identify features that were specific to the English concept of witchcraft. The structural omission of the witches' familiar in the Dutch translations, for example, confirms this concept was typical of the English witch. Also the practice of using rowan trees to protect cattle and the brewing love potions might have been exclusive to the English society.

The most interesting example however concerns the notion of the witches' sabbath. We saw that demonic sex and the flight to the sabbath were already problematic in the English concept of witchcraft, but the Dutch translations left them out altogether. Passages concerning dance and ceremonies were also usually omitted. This is an important refining of the general cumulative concept of witchcraft that dominates the international literature. Most research represents the notion of the sabbath as central feature of all European countries. However in England it already seems to have been toned down a little, while in the Dutch republic it was but a marginal feature.

By looking at the subjects that get more attention in the Dutch texts, we can also identify subjects that appear to have been more important to a Dutch audience. The preoccupation with superstition I mentioned above is one of these subjects. Another one appears to have been the

²⁵³ Almond, *England's First Demonologist* (2011), p. 2.

²⁵⁴ Stilma, *A King Translated* (2005), p. 316-317.

²⁵⁵ Van Dorsten, *Thomas Basson* (1961), p. 54.

concept of magical transformations. De Waardt argued that werewolves did not exist in the Dutch Republic, as he could find little evidence of them in the court-records he studies.²⁵⁶ However the importance Basson attributed to the subject of transformations suggests otherwise. The fact that transformations are rarely mentioned in court-records does not mean the concept did not exist. It might have circulated in the Dutch folklore, for some reason rarely being included in accusations.

As I explained in the introduction, the cultural aspects of witchcraft in the Netherlands are largely unexplored. Therefore this research has been a little speculative at times. However I hope these speculations will challenge other scholars to conduct their own investigations into this matter, so we can give the subject of witchcraft the attention it deserves and eventually construct a more inclusive cultural history of witchcraft in the Early Modern Period.

²⁵⁶ De Waardt, *Toverij en samenleving* (1991), p. 134.

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Appendix 1: Research-proposal exemplifying the integration of Digital Humanities into Witchcraft Studies

Witches and n-grams

The Culturomics of the Great Witch-hunt

The Great Witch-hunt is probably one of the darkest pages in early modern history. Not only because lots of innocent people were executed in horrible ways, but also because there are still quite some unanswered questions about the event itself. For example, what caused all these sudden persecutions? Did people really believe in witches who worshipped the devil and ate little children? Why did the witch-craze spread so fast through big parts of Europe and later even through the rest of the world? And why were most of the convicted witches women?¹

The last few decades lots of scholars have been puzzled by this kind of questions. Not only historians, but also anthropologists, folklorists, theologians, literary scholars and even psychologists were interested in witch-beliefs, creating a big field of interdisciplinary research. A lot of interesting work has been done – I will mention some of it later – but in this proposal I would like to focus on the issue how the fear of witches managed to spread through the early modern world, sometimes resulting in bloody persecutions, such as the ones in Valais.

When it comes to witch-trials, most studies tend to focus on rather small and specific case-studies, partly because of the rising popularity of microhistory, partly because there often is just too much material to treat it all.² Of course these microhistorical studies can be very revealing, but even the studies that do try to create a more general picture have to admit that a complete overview is still lacking. This is mainly because early modern witch-hunting is a vast and complex terrain. There is a lot of regional, but also temporal variation in the intensity of the persecutions. There have been attempts to establish some broader geographical and temporal patterns, but ‘a full study [...], broken down by individual provinces, countries and towns’ has not yet been attempted.³

The research I propose here is a humble attempt to see if the methods of digital humanities can shed a new light on the spread of the Great Witch-hunt. Hopefully techniques of distant reading can be of use in creating a more complete overview of the persecutions.

I would like to focus on the following question: How did the intensity of the witch-persecution vary in the Netherlands, Germany and England in the period between 1400 and 1750? Is it possible to map the regional and temporal differences in these countries using n-grams as an indicator of the persecution-intensity?

Scholarly Background

I would like to approach this subject from the point of view of Culturomics. This method subjects a giant corpus to quantitative investigation in order to observe big cultural trends. A fine example of the ‘culturomic approach’ can be found in the article ‘Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books’ by Jean-Baptiste Michel and his colleagues, where they show how google n-grams (using a corpus of over 5 million digitized books) can be used to discover and explain several cultural and linguistic changes of the last ages.⁴ Their article shows Culturomics can be used as an effective way to deal with phenomena that vary over a great time span. They also point out how several disciplines can benefit from this method in their own way.

¹ A comprehensive overview of the development of witchcraft-studies and its current issues can be found in Gábor Klaniczay, ‘A Cultural History of Witchcraft’, in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 5 (2010), p. 188-212.

² Klaniczay (n.1), p. 194.

³ Brian Levack, *The witch-hunt in early modern Europe*, London/New York 1987, p. 175

⁴ Jean-Baptiste Michel e.a., ‘Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books’, in *Science* 331 (2011), p. 176-182.

I believe that especially the field of witchcraft-studies would benefit from this approach, because of the fields interdisciplinarity and because it studies a vast object spread through many ages, countries and languages. Following the example of Michel, I would like to try and use n-grams to see how the witch-craze spread through Europe and America.

Most scholars nowadays agree that one of the big forces behind all the persecutions was a – mostly imagined – stereotype of the witches. This stereotype was preserved and developed in a literary tradition, which means it is possible to trace it.⁵ From the fifteenth century onwards the witches' stereotype was used to empower a scapegoat-mechanism. This way the notion of witchcraft became associated with all other kinds of evil.⁶ As Michel states 'cultural change guides the concepts we discuss'⁷ and I believe this is especially the case in the history of the Great Witch-hunt. Because of the scapegoating and the need to repeat the literary stereotype in order to preserve it, I expect that the word 'witch' – and it's associated terms – will be used more frequently during periods of heavy persecutions.

In order to test this hypothesis I conducted a small enquiry at google n-grams. The figure below displays the frequency of the word 'witch' in books published in what now is called Great-Britain (red) and the United States of America (blue). The use of the word 'witch' in British books peaks in the first half of the seventeenth century, which is when England experienced its major witch-hunts.⁸ The biggest peak in the American books lies at the end of the seventeenth century. This peak corresponds with the Salem Witch-trials (1692-93), the most notorious case of the witch-craze on that continent.⁹ At the same time British books rarely speak of witches.



Figure 1: N-gram for the word 'witch' in English (red) and American (blue) books.¹⁰

This small test-case makes it plausible that increasing mentioning of witches and the trials go hand in hand. It would be interesting to look at more specific n-grams by using smaller geographical units. The intensity of the persecutions varied greatly in different regions of the same country. In contemporary research certain regions are thought of as representative for entire Europe¹¹, but with

⁵ Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons; An Enquiry inspired by the Great Witch-hunt*, New York, 1975, p. xi.

⁶ Cohn (n.5), p. 234.

⁷ Michel e.a. (n.4), p. 167. In the case of the Witch-hunt it might even be the other way around: the concepts (stereotypes) people discuss guide the cultural change (i.e. give rise to the trials). It might be interesting to look further into this question using some more specific cases.

⁸ Levack (n.3), p. 182.

⁹ The increasing mentioning of witches seems to precede the trials by a few years. It would be interesting to do more detailed analysis to see if this 'pre-peak' is a preamble to the Salem trials or if it's a reflection of other trials in the country. Unfortunately the tools that google has made available are not detailed enough to give a decisive answer.

¹⁰ <https://books.google.com/ngrams> [Data generated at 09-10-2014]

¹¹ Marko Nenonen, *Writing Witch-Hunt Histories; Challenging the Paradigm*, Leiden 2013, p. 5-6.

the help of n-grams I hope to create a more detailed and more complete overview of the entire history of the witch trials.

Corpus

Unfortunately it would be impossible to complete such a research using google n-grams. Although the n-grams database consists of many books, the books are only specified for language – and in the case of English books for American or British English, so there is no way to research an exact location. Therefore it is necessary to use another corpus instead. Ideally one would use a dataset similar to that of google, but with the location where the books were published included. Unfortunately the techniques of digitalization have not yet developed far enough to make such a project possible. Therefore I propose to use book-titles instead of entire books to generate the n-grams.

By using a subset of the *OCLC WorldCat* database I hope to be able to generate n-grams that are both valid and specific enough.¹² The corpus I would like to research would consist of all the books published in the Netherlands, Germany, Great-Britain and the United States of America between 1400 and 1750.¹³ Prior to the 15th century the concept of diabolical witchcraft was still very much in formation,¹⁴ so if I went back any further this would probably disturb the results. The last big trials in the countries concerned are said to have taken place in the early eighteenth century, so I took 1750 as final year to make sure I'll capture all relevant data.

Although n-grams based on book titles might not be as accurate as the n-grams based on the entire book content, I believe they can still be used to create an overview of the intensity of the trials.¹⁵ First of all because WorldCat is a fairly big database, which, according to the 'Law of Large Numbers' attained in most empirical research, would allow me to make reliable conclusions.¹⁶ A major benefit of the WorldCat database is that it also includes subject-keywords, which makes the overview more accurate, because the word 'witch' will not literally have to feature in the book titles.

Next to that, I think it might also be interesting to look at the publication-history of certain specific books. The sixteenth and seventeenth century witnessed the publication of a lot of treatises about witchcraft. Some of them were even used as manuals for secular courts during the trials. The most infamous of these manuals was probably the *Malleus Maleficarum*, known in English as the *Hammer of the Witches*. In his attempt to establish some general lines in the chronology of the witch-hunts, Brian Levack already noted this book was enormously popular during intense persecutions, while it was not reprinted at all during certain periods of tranquillity.¹⁷ Unfortunately Levack did not develop this idea any further – nor did he have the computational means to do so – but using WorldCat's data it would be possible to track the publications of the *Malleus Maleficarum* and other specific treatises and link them to periods of persecutions.

Tools

In order to process all the data downloaded from WorldCat I plan to use Laurence Anthony's AntConc.¹⁸ This open access tool allows the user to search a dataset for certain words or expressions (n-grams or multi-word units) and generate word frequencies. The found occurrences can be exported to Microsoft Excel in order to create a more readable overview. Because I will be dealing with old texts, the data will probably contain a lot of variation in spelling. AntConc is a very useful

¹² See: <https://www.worldcat.org/>

¹³ This also includes books published in neo-Latin and other languages.

¹⁴ Levack (n.3), p. 170.

¹⁵ Of course this hypothesis has to be tested by validating the data against a known case of witch-trials.

¹⁶ A. Burdick, e.a. *Digital Humanities*, Cambridge 2012, p. 37.

¹⁷ Levack (n.3), p. 171-172.

¹⁸ See: <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html>

tool for dealing with these variations, because it supports the use of wildcards and other regular expressions.¹⁹

I plan to use AntConc to search the corpus for the term witchcraft and its associated expressions. In order to do so effectively I will consult several dictionaries and primary sources to find the proper terms and expressions.²⁰ By analysing the n-grams of this expressions and linking them to witch-persecutions I hope to create a more accurate map of the Great Witch-hunt.

Keywords

Digital Humanities; Cultoromics; n-grams; History of Witchcraft; Great Witch-hunt

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- Nenonen, Marko. *Writing Witch-Hunt Histories; Challenging the Paradigm*, Leiden 2013.

Electronic resources

- Google n-grams: <https://books.google.com/ngrams>
- Laurence Anthony's AntConc: <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html>
- OCLC WorldCat: <https://www.worldcat.org/>

¹⁹ Laurence Anthony, 'AntConc: A Learner and Classroom Friendly, Multi-Platform Corpus Analysis Toolkit', in *IWLeL 2004: An Interactive Workshop on Language e-Learning*. p. 8.

²⁰ I plan to consult the *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal* for Dutch (<http://gtb.inl.nl/>), the *Lexicons of Early Modern English* for English (<http://leme.library.utoronto.ca>), the *Neuhochdeutsche Wörterbücher* for German (<http://www.mediaevum.de/wb2.htm>). Because there are few decent Neo-Latin dictionaries available I plan to use some of the main Latin treatises, such as the *Malleus Maleficarum* and the *Formicarius* to find the terms referring to witchcraft.

Appendix 2: List of Dutch publications concerning witchcraft

This document lists the titles concerning witchcraft or magic found in STCN, supplemented with pamphlets from The Early Modern Pamphlets Online and works cited in scholarly literature, mainly De Waardt's Toverij en Samenleving (1991). This list includes both fictional and non-fictional work. When a text has multiple editions, each edition has been listed as a separate publication.

Title	Year	Comments
Cort ende warachtich verhael van de wonderlicke aenvechtinge [...] van David Wardavoir	1595	
Tooveren, vvat dat voor een werc is. / By Jacob Vallick	1598	
Dæmonologia, dat is, Eene onderrichtinghe teghen de tooverie. / By Jacobus koning van Engeland.	1603	Translation from English
Een t'samensprekinghe, genaemt Dæmonologia. / By James I koning van Groot Britannië.	1603	Translation from English
Ondecking van tovery. / By Reinald Scot. ; Translated from the English into Dutch by T. Basson	1609	Translation from English
Tractaet vande ongodlijcke toover-const. / By Wilhelmus Perkinsus. ; Translated from the Latin (translation of the English)	1611	Translation from Latin
Historie van de wonderlicke miraculen, die in menichte ghebeurt zijn, ende noch dagelijcx ghebeuren, binnen de vermaerde coopstadt Aemstelredam; in een plaets ghenaempt het tucht-huys	1612	
Confessie ofte belijdenisse van Louvvijs Gaufridi priester tot Marseylle [...] een overste der tovenaers [...] welcke hy ghedaen heeft voor twee capussynen [...] tot Aix [...] anno 1611. / [By Sébastien Michaëlis]. ; Translated from the French into Dutch	1612	Translation from French
Een warachtige beschrijvinge van 64. tooveressen die door haer tooveryen over de duysent menschen [...] hebben omgebracht [...]. Ende dit is wt het protocol ghetoghen der stadt van Rumunt	1613	
Waerachtighe beschrijvinge van een rechtveerdighe iustitie die gheschiet is inde vreyheyt duyts rechts teghen over Ceulen, alwaer dat ghejusticeert zijn twee weer-wolven ende thien toveressen	1617	
Een wonderlyc verhael eñ van eenen weer-wolf die ghevonden is, opt nieuwe Beyerlants hooft, int lant vanden Briele [1st quarter 17th century]	16xx	
Ondecking van tovery. / By Reinald Scot. ; Translated from the English into Dutch by T. Basson (2nd edition)	1637	Translation from English
Ondecking van tovery. / By Reinald Scot. ; Translated from the English into Dutch by T. Basson (3rd edition)	1638	Translation from English
Verhandeligh der toover-sieckten : and other works. / By D. Sennertus.	1638	Translation from Latin
Wat wonder wat nieuws! Van Vincent van Drielenburch	1640	
Van de wolf-wordinge, verscheppinghe ende vervoeringhe der tovenaers. / (By Jean de Nynauld). ; Translated from the French	1645	Translation from French

Verhandelingh der toover-sieckten : and other works. / By D. Sennertus. (2nd edition)	1646	Translation from Latin
Magia ofte De wonderlijcke [...] wercken der naturen. / By Jan Baptista Porta.	1655	Translation from Latin
De duivel verandert in een quaeker, ofte De verdoemlijke, duivelsche, en vervloekte leeringen en op-zetten, van die booze bedriegers, genaamt quaekers.	1657	Translation from English
Dæmonologia. Ofte Verhandelingh van de duyvelen ende tovenaers. / By Fr. Perreaud. ; Translated from the French by G. van Breen	1658	Translation from French
't Afgerukt mom-aansicht der tooverye, daar in het bedrogh der gewaande toverye, naakt ontdekt, en met gezonde redenen en exempelen dezer eeuwe aangewezen	1659	
Hans van Tongen, of Kluchtige toover-liefde. / By J. Noseman	1660	
Ordonnantien ghemaect by myne heeren vanden Raede van Vlaenderen op het beleet vande processen criminel int' stuck van tooverye	1660	
Van de wolf-wordinge, verscheppinghe ende vervoeringhe der tovenaers. / (By Jean de Nynauld). ; Translated from the French	1665	Translation from French
Dæmonologia. Ofte Verhandelingh van de duyvelen ende tovenaers. / By Fr. Perreaud. ; Translated from the French by G. van Breen	1665	Translation from French
Translaet uyt het Sweets, zijnde getrocken uyt het prothocol [...] over de examinatie der ontdeckte toveryen in het dorp Mohra	1670	Translation from Swedish
De toveres Circe, treurspel. / By (Pedro Calderón de la Barca. ; Translated by) A.B. de Leeuw	1670	Translation from Spanish
Een kort tractaetje tegen de toovery, als mede een verklaringe van verscheyden plaetsen der H. Schrifture, soo wel des Ouden als Nieuwen Testaments. / By I.I.D. (= Jan Jansz Deutel)	1670	
Korte inhoud, van De toveryen van Armida. Of het belegerde Jeruzalem	1683	
Engelsch verhaal van ontdeckte tovery wederleid. / [Translated and ann.] by Balthasar Bekker	1689	Translation from English
De toveres Circe, treurspel. / By (Pedro Calderón de la Barca. ; Translated by) A.B. de Leeuw	1690	Translation from Spanish
De waarschynelyke tovery, blyspél. / By P. Corneille. ; Translated from the French	1691	Translation from French
D'onttoverde werelt, handelende van de duyvelen en tovenaers	1691	
Van de wolf-wordinge, verscheppinghe ende vervoeringhe der tovenaers. / (By Jean de Nynauld). ; Translated from the French	1691	Translation from French
De Betoverde weereld (Balthasar Bekker)	1691	
De betooverde weereld, onderzoekende wie haar betooverd heeft, de duivel oft zo genaamde boek?	1691	
Eer en deugd van de duivel, verrdeedigd door de kloeke man, Haggebher Phoolaleethees tegen die on-eerbiedige schendnaam van Bandreekel, soo ongemanierd op de duivel	1691	

uitgeschooten, door de schrijver des boeks de betooverde wereld		
Verscheyde gedichten, so voor, als tegen het boek, genaamt: de Betoverde wereld	1691	
Voorloper tot de volstreckte wederlegginge van het gene de heeren Orchard, Daillon en Bekker hebben aan het licht gebracht, aengaende de werken, en macht der geesten en met name der duivelen.	1692	
Klaare en beknopte verhandeling van de natuur en werkinge der menschelijke zielen, engelen en duivelen, vervat in de gewisselde brieven tusschen de heer Henricus Brince, Predikant tot Utrecht, en Willem Deurhoff	1692	
Den swadder, die E.W. op Cartesianen en Coccejanen geworpen heeft, in sijn twee deelen van Aardige duivelarye zuiver af-gevaagt.	1692	
Vervolg van de klare en beknopte verhandeling van de natuur en werkinge der menschelijke zielen, engelen en duivelen, vervat in de gewisselde brieven tusschen de heer Henricus Brince, Predikant tot Utrecht, en Willem Deurhoff.	1693	
De toveryen van Armida, of het belegerde Jeruzalem, treurspel. / By A. Peys	1695	
De tovery zonder tovery, blyspel. / [By N. Lambert; translated from the French]	1696	Translation from French
De toveryen van Armida, of het belegerde Jeruzalem, treurspel. / By A. Peys (2nd edition)	1697	
De toveryen van Armida, of het belegerde Jeruzalem, treurspel. / By A. Peys (3rd edition)	1700	
De ondekke[!] gewaande tovery, of De ontrouwe staatjuffrouw, blyspel. / By Harman de Wijs	1705	
De toveryen van Armida, of het belegerde Jeruzalem. Treurspel [...]. Met konst- en vlieg-werken. / By A. Peys (4th edition)	1708	
De gewaande verwoesting van het ryk der toveraars en toveressen, door de verdigte kragt van een vreemde medaille. Vertoond in vier zamenspraken tusschen Prudentius en Simplicius. / By Alipius Palæopistus	1711	
Het vermaak der tover-hekzen van Lap- en Fin-land [...] als mede de generale historie van Lapland. / [By Johannes Scheffer]	1716	Translation from Latin
De waarschynelyke tovery, blyspél. / By P. Corneille. ; Translated from the French (2nd edition)	1729	Translation from French
Het leven der tover-godinnen zynde een verhaal van zonderlinge, vreemde en zeer wonderlyke gevallen. / [By Marie Cathérine Le Jumel de Barneville comtesse d'Aulnoy]. ; Translated from the French	1730	Translation from French
Arlequin, tovenaer, en barbier. klvchtspel. / [By Willem van der Hoeven]	1730	
De toveryen van Armida, of het belegerde Jeruzalem, treurspel. / By A. Peys (5th edition)	1732	
Het leven der tover-godinnen zynde een verhaal van zonderlinge, vreemde en zeer wonderlyke gevallen. / [By	1732	Translation from French

Marie Cathérine Le Jumel de Barneville comtesse d'Aulnoy]. ; Translated from the French (2nd edition)		
De tover-bruyloft, of Het huwelyk door tovery. Pantomime. / By La Chaussée. ; [Translated from the French by F. Nicolini]	1743	Translation from French
Kabinet en geluks-radt van veele geheime-kunsten, dienende om het toekomstende geluk of ongeluk [...] te voorzeggen. / By I.K.L.	1743	
Geomantia et onomatomantia magica, of Magische punctier- konst, om [...] door versettinge der letteren te ontdekken het verborgene. / By Een liefhebber der goddelyke Magie Die Noch Bloeyd [= Michael David Nicolaas Bidstrup]	1743	
Aanleydinge tot verdere gedachten over de menselyke droomen en nacht-gezichten. Zoo natuuryke en door konst veroorzaakte, als heydensche of duyvelsche.	1744	
De toveryen van Armida, of het belegerde Jeruzalem, treurspel. / By A. Peys (6th edition)	1751	
Astrologisch comptoir almanach, op't jaar [...] 1760 [...] waargenomen door den berugten astrologist of zogenaamde tover doctor Ludeman	1760	
Het groot toneel van behendigheden [...] Vervattende alles wat [...] tot een natuuryk tover-boek behoord. / By J.V.Z. [= Jan van Zuylen?]	1760	
Vliegent wonder kabinet van den vermaarde doctor Johannes Faustus, of Merkwaardige correspondentie met Robbert Mikronatura in het onzichtbaar tover paleys van Mortalidoxixsanos. : 2 parts	1762	
De bespookte waereld ontspookt. De duivel geroskamt, en het euangelie van den spinnerok weêrlegt. Zynde een satyrische droom. / [By Willem Ockers]	1766	
Aanhangzel op de Verklaring van den heer De Voltaire, over de Verhandeling van de misdaden en straffen, tot opheldering van het verhaal der verbranding eener toveresse te Wurtzburg. / [By Abraham Perrenot]	1768	
Den soldaat toveraer, opera-bouffon. / [By Louis Anseaume]. ; Translated from the French [by J.T. Neyts]	1768	Translation from French
Onderzoek, vanwaar de toveraars van pharao, doe alle de wateren der Egyptenaren door Moses en Aaron op Gods bevel in bloed veranderd waren, water hebben kunnen bekomen [...] Exod. VII:17-25. / By Rutger Ouwens. ; Translated from the Latin by R. Ouwens	1778	Translation from Latin
Proces crimineel, gehouden voor den edelen hove van Venus, tusschen [...] J.. S.. F.. te H..w...., jongman, en [...] T...t M..t... mede aldaar, jonge dochter. Gedaagdese. In cas van steeken, blaaken, toveren	1781	
De gewaande tovery, zangspel. / Translated from the French	1785	Translation from French
De vraeg: Wat volgens reden en schriftuur van den duivel te geloven zij? volledig beantwoord. / By C.A.L. Kirchhoff.	1790	Translation from German
In welke plaatsen van den bybel word gesproken van het aanzyn eenes duivels? of Mag men de leere van eenen duivel op goede gronden verwerpen?	1791	Translation from German

St. Olofs tover-historie, een mirakel deezer eeuw [...] ontdekt, naargespeurd, en de geheimen daar van medegedeeld. door een Amsteldamsch heer, in een brief, aan zyn vriend te Rotterdam	1792	
De verliefde duivel. Een Spaansch vertelsel. / By Cazotte.	1792	Translation from French
Natuurlyk toverboek, behelzende de verbaazendste geheimen van natuur en konst. : 8 parts	1791-1794	
Fleur d'epine, of de triomph van Arlequin door toverkunst, groot ballet pantomime. / By R.C. van Goens	1799	
Detoverfluit, zangspel. / By Emanuël Schikaneder.; Translated from the German by J.C. Meijer	1799	Translation from German
De toveres Sidonia, tooneelspel. / By Heinrich Zschokke. ; Translated from the German by M.G. Engelman	1799	Translation from German
De toveres van Verberien, bestaande in Fransche nieuwstydingen. / Translated from the French	1799	Translation from French
Onderzoek, wat 'er zij, nopens het geloof aan toverijen en spookten [c. 1799]	1799	
De duyvel [4th quarter 18th century]	17xx	
Bondigh bescheyt uyt Engelandt en Vrankryk van een duivel en dry duivelinnen	??	

Appendix 3: Overview of the translated chapters of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*

This list is based on a comparison of the 1584-edition of The Discoverie of Witchcraft and the 1609-edition of Ondecking van tovery, but it should also cover the other editions. For the convenience of comparison the separate chapters of the books that were entirely left out are omitted. The titles of the chapters are taken from a 1886 reprint of the discovery of witchcraft, scanned by Optical Character Recognition.¹ Errors were corrected by hand.

Book/chapter	Title	Translated?
The first Booke		Translated entirely
Chapter 1	AN impeachment of witches power in meteors and elementarie bodies, tending to the rebuke of such as attribute too much unto them.	Yes
Chapter 2	The inconvenience growing by mens credulitie herein, with a reproofe of some churchmen, which are inclined to the common conceived opinion of witches omnipotencie, and a familiar example thereof.	Yes
Chapter 3	Who they be that are called witches, with a manifest declaration of the cause that mooveth men so commonlie to thinke, & witches themselves to beleeve that they can hurt children, cattell, &c. with words and imaginations : and of coosening witches.	Yes
Chapter 4	What miraculous actions are imputed to witches by witchmongers, papists, and poets.	Yes
Chapter 5	A confutation of the common conceived opinion of witches and witchcraft, and how detestable a sinne it is to repaire to them for counsell or helpe in time of affliction.	Yes
Chapter 6	A further confutation of witches miraculous and omnipotent power, by invincible reasons and authorities, with dissuasions from such fond credulitie.	Yes
Chapter 7	By what meanes the name of witches becommeth so famous, & how diverslie people be opinioned concerning them and their actions .	Yes
Chapter 8	Causes that moove as well witches themselves as others to thinke that they can worke impossibilities, with answers to certeine objections : where also their punishment by law is touched.	Yes
Chapter 9	A conclusion of the first booke, wherein is foreshewed the tyrannicall crueltie of witchmongers and inquisitors, with a request to the reader to peruse the same.	Yes
The second Booke		Translated entirely
Chapter 1	WHat testimonies and witnesses are allowed to give evidence against reputed witches, by the report and allowance of the inquisitors themselves, & such as are	Yes

¹ Scot, Reginald, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft: Being a reprint of the first edition published in 1584*, ed. Brinsley Nicholson (London, 1886). Available at <https://archive.org/details/discoverieofwitc00scot>.

	speciall writers herein.	
Chapter 2	The order of examination of witches by the inquisitors.	Yes
Chapter 3	Matters of evidence against witches.	Yes
Chapter 4	Confessions of witches, whereby they are condemned.	Yes
Chapter 5	Presumptions, whereby witches are condemned.	Yes
Chapter 6	Particular interrogatories used by the inquisitors against witches.	Yes
Chapter 7	The inquisitors triall of weeping by conjuration.	Yes
Chapter 8	Certeine cautions against witches, and of their tortures to procure confession.	Yes
Chapter 9	The 15. crimes laid to the charge of witches, by witchmongers ; specialle by Bodin, in Demonomania.	Yes
Chapter 10	A refutation of the former surmised crimes patched together by Bodin, and the onelie waie to escape the inquisitors hands.	Yes
Chapter 11	The opinion of Cornelius Agrippa concerning witches, of his pleading/ for a poore woman accused of witchcraft, and how he convinced the inquisitors.	Yes
Chapter 12	What the feare of death and feeling of torments may force one to doo, and that it is no marvell though witches condemne themselves by their owne confessions so tyrannicallie extorted.	Yes
The third Booke		Translated partially
Chapter 1	The witches bargaine with the divell, according to M. Mal. Bodin, Nider, Daneus, Psellus, Erastus, Hemingius, Cumanus, Aquinas, Bartholomeus Spineus, &c.	Yes
Chapter 2	The order of the witches homage done (as it is written by lewd inquisitors and peevish witchmoongers) to the divell in person ; of their songs and dances, and namelie of La volta, and of other ceremonies, also of their excourses.	No
Chapter 3	How witches are summoned to appeere before the divell, of their riding in the aire, of their accompts, of their conference with the divell, of his supplies, and their conference, of their farewell and sacrifices : according to Daneus, Psellus, &c.	No
Chapter 4	That there can no real league be made with the divell the first author of the league, and the weake proofes of the adversaries for the same.	Yes
Chapter 5	Of the private league, a notable tale of Bodins concerning a French ladie, with a confutation.	Yes
Chapter 6	A disproofe of their assemblies, and of their bargaine.	Yes
Chapter 7	A confutation of the objection concerning witches confessions.	Yes
Chapter 8	What follie it were for witches to enter into such desperate perill, and to endure such intollerable tortures for no gaine or commoditie, and how it comes to passe that witches are overthrowne by their	Yes

	confessions.	
Chapter 9	How melanchtilie abusethe old women, and of the effects thereof by sundrie examples.	Yes
Chapter 10	That voluntarie confessions may be untrulie made, to the undoing of the confessors, and of the strange operation of melancholic, prooved by a familiar and late example.	Yes
Chapter 11	The strange and divers effects of melancholie, and how the same humor abounding in witches, or rather old women, filleth them full of mervellous imaginations, & that their confessions are not to be credited.	Yes
Chapter 12	A confutation of witches confessions, especiallie concerning their league.	Yes
Chapter 13	confutation of witches confessions, concerning making of tempests and raine : of the naturall cause of raine, and that witches or divels have no power to doo such things.	Yes
Chapter 14	What would ensue, if witches confessions or witchmongers opinions were true, concerning the effects of witchcraft, inchantments, &c.	Yes
Chapter 15	Examples of forren nations, who in their warres used the assistance of witches ; of eybiting witches in Ireland, of two archers that shot with familiars.	No
Chapter 16	Authorities condemning the fantastical confessions of witches, and how a popish doctor taketh upon him to disprove the same.	Yes
Chapter 17	Witch mongers reasons, to proove that witches can worke wonders, Bodins tale of a Friseland preest transported, that imaginations proceeding of melancholie doo cause illusions.	Yes
Chapter 18	That the confession of witches is insufficient in civill and common law to take awaie life. What the sounder divines, and decrees of councils determine in this case.	Yes
Chapter 19	Of foure capitall crimes objected against witches, all fullie answered & confuted as frivolous.	Yes
Chapter 20	A request to such readers as loath to heare or read filthie & bawdie matters (which of necessitie are here to be inserted) to passe over eight chapters.	No
The fourth Booke		Left out entirely
The fift Booke		Translated entirely (Book 4 in Dutch)
Chapter 1	OF transformations, ridiculous examples brought by the adversaries for the confirmation of their foolish doctrine.	Yes
Chapter 2	Absurd reasons brought by Bodin, & such others, for confirmation of transformations.	Yes
Chapter 3	Of a man turned into an asse, and returned againe into a man by one of Bodins witches : S. Augustines	Yes

	opinion thereof.	
Chapter 4	A summarie of the former fable, with a refutation thereof, after due examination of the same.	Yes
Chapter 5	That the bodie of a man cannot be turned into the bodie of a beast by a witch, is proved by strong reasons, scriptures, and authorities.	Yes
Chapter 6	The witchmongers objections concerning Nabuchadnezzar answered, & their error concerning Lycanthropia confuted.	Yes
Chapter 7	A speciall objection answered concerning transportations, with the consent of diverse writers thereupon.	Yes
Chapter 8	The witchmongers objection concerning the historie of Job answered.	Yes
Chapter 9	What severall sortes of witches are mentioned in the scriptures, & how the word witch is there applied.	Yes
The sixt Booke		Translated partially (Book 5 in Dutch)
Chapter 1	The exposition of this Hebrue word Chasaph, wherein is answered the objection contained in Exodus 22. to wit: Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live, and of Simon Magus Acts 8.	Yes
Chapter 2	The place of Deuteronomie expounded, wherein are recited all kind of witches ; also their opinions confuted, which hold that they can worke worke* such miracles as are imputed unto them.	Yes
Chapter 3	That women have used poisoning in all ages more than men, & of the inconvenience of poisoning.	Yes
Chapter 4	Of divers poisoning practises, otherwise called veneficia, committed in Italic, Genua, Millen, Wittenberge, also how they were discovered and executed.	No
Chapter 5	A great objection answered concerning this kind of witchcraft called Veneficium.	No
Chapter 6	In what kind of confections that witchcraft, which is called Veneficium, consisteth : of love cups, and the same confuted by poets.	No
Chapter 7	It is proved by more credible writers, that love cups rather ingendrr death through venome, than love by art : and with what toies they destroie cattell, and procure love.	
Chapter 8	John Bodin triumphing against J. Wier is overtaken with false grecke & false interpretation thereof.	No
The seventh Booke		Translated entirely (Book 6 in Dutch)
Chapter 1	OF the Hebrue woord Ob, what it signifieth where it is found, of Pythonisses called Ventriloque, who they be, & what their practises are, experience and examples thereof shewed.	Yes
Chapter 2	How the lewd practise of the Pythonist of Westwell came to light, and by whome she was examined ; and	Yes

	that all hir diabolicall speach was but ventriloquie and plaine cousenage, which is prooved by hir owne confession.	
Chapter 3	Bodins stuffe concerning the Pythonist of Endor, with a true storie of a counterfeit Dutchman.	Yes
Chapter 4	Of the great oracle of Apollo the Pythonist, and how men of all sorts have beene deceived, and that even the apostles have mistaken the nature of spirits, with an unanswerable argument, that spirits can take no shapes.	Yes
Chapter 5	Why Apollo was called Pytho wherof those witches were called Pythonists : Gregorie his letter to the divill.	Yes
Chapter 6	Apollo, who was called Pytho, compared to the Rood of grace : Gregories letter to the divell confuted.	Yes
Chapter 7	How diverse great clarkes and good authors have beene abused in this matter of spirits through false reports, and by means of their credulitie have published lies, which are confuted by Aristotle and the scriptures.	Yes
Chapter 8	Of the witch of Endor, and whether she accomplished the raising of Samuel trulie, or by deceit : the opinion of some divines hereupon.	Yes
Chapter 9	That Samuel was not raised indeed, and how Bodin and all papists dote herin, and that soules cannot be raised by witchcraft.	Yes
Chapter 10	That neither the divell nor Samuel was raised, but that it was a meere cousenage, according to the guise of our Pythonists.	Yes
Chapter 11	The objection of the witchmongers concerning this place fullie answered, and what circumstances are to be considered for the understanding of this storie, which is plainelie opened from the beginning of the 28 chapt. of the I. Samuel, to the 12. Verse.	Yes
Chapter 12	The 12. 13. & 14. verses of i. Sam. 28. expounded : wherein is shewed that Saule was cousened and abused by the witch, & that Samuel was not raised, is prooved by the witches/ owne talke.	Yes
Chapter 13	The residue of i. Sam. 28. expounded : wherein is declared how cunninglie this witch brought Saule resolutelie to beleeve that she raised Samuel, what words are used to colour the cousenage, & how all might also be wrought by ventriloquie.	Yes
Chapter 14	Opinions of some learned men, that Samuel was indeed raised, not by the witches art or power, but by the speciall miracle of God, that there are no such visions in these our daies, and that our witches cannot doo the like.	Yes
Chapter 15	Of vaine apparitions, how people have beene brought to feare bugs, which is partlie reformed by preaching of the gospel, the true effect of Christes miracles.	Yes

Chapter 16	Witches miracles compared to Christs, that God is the creator of al things, of Apollo, and of his names and portraiture.	Yes
The eight Booke		Translated partially (Book 7 in Dutch, combined with book 16)
Chapter 1	THat miracles are ceased.	Yes
Chapter 2	That the gift of prophesie is ceased.	Yes
Chapter 3	That Oracles are ceased.	No
Chapter 4	A tale written by manie grave authors, and beleaved by manie wise men of the divels death. Another storie written by papists, and beleaved of all catholikes, approving the divels honestie, conscience, and courtesie.	No
Chapter 5	The judgments of the ancient fathers touching oracles, and their abolishment, and that they be now transferred from Delphos to Rome.	No
Chapter 6	Where and wherein couseners, witches, and preests were woont to give oracles, and to worke their feats.	No
Book 10-15		Left out entirely
The xvi. Booke.		Translated partially (Book 7 in Dutch, combined with book 8)
Chapter 1	A Conclusion, in maner of an epilog, repeating manie of the former absurdities of witchmongers conceipts, confutations thereof, and of the authoritie of James Sprenger and Henry Institor inquisitors and compilers of M. Mal.	Yes
Chapter 2	By what means the common people have beene made beleave in the miraculous works of witches, a definition of witchcraft, and a description thereof.	Yes
Chapter 3	Reasons to proove that words and characters are but bables, and that witches cannot doo such things as the multitude supposeth they can, their greatest woonders proved trifles, of a yong gentleman cousened.	Yes
Chapter 4	Of one that was so bewitched that he could read no scriptures but canonicall, of a divell that could speake no Latine, a prooffe that witchcraft is flat cousenage.	Yes
Chapter 5	Of the divination by the sive & sheeres, and by the booke and key, Hemingius his opinion thereof confuted, a bable to know what is a clocke, of certeine jugling knacks, manifold reasons for the overthrowe of witches and conjurors, and their cousenages, of the divels transformations, of Ferrum candens.	Yes
Chapter 6	How the divell preached good doctrine in the shape of a preest, how he was discovered, and that it is a shame (after confutation of the greater witchcrafts) for anie man to give credit to the lesser points thereof.	Yes

Chapter 7	A conclusion against witchcraft, in maner and forme of an Induction.	No
Chapter 8	Of naturall witchcraft or fascination.	No
Chapter 9	Of inchanting or bewitching eies.	No
Chapter 10	Of naturall witchcraft for love, &c.	No