

THE LIGHT WAS RETREATING BEFORE DARKNESS: TALES OF THE WITCH HUNT AND CLIMATE CHANGE

TERESA KWIATKOWSKA

Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Iztapalapa

Back in time, solar eclipses and comets, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions were often interpreted “as signs of divine anger against human sins” (Kempe, “Noah’s Flood”, 152). When the Great Storm of 1170’s in England has flatten crops and flood swept away people and buildings, inundating fens, only a Crusade against God’s enemies could placate his anger. However, the belief in witchcraft goes far back into prehistoric era. Weather witching can be encountered in Greco-Roman as well as in Celtic and Teutonic cultures. Witches, Satanism, black magic—these are among many concepts recognized by numerous people back then and today in many parts of the world. The uses to which magic might have been put included much feared form of harmful power to raise storms, conjure mists, and destroy crops by hailstorms and other means (Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe*).

In the beginning, the Christian Church authorities opposed the belief in witchcraft and rejected the claim that humans had any power over climate. St. Augustine referred to magic as a lie or deception, and all the work of devil as kind of deceit. He disapproved of the practice of all magic and sacrilegious rites for being pagan and heretics (Augustine, *City of God*,

22, 330). First synod of St. Patrick declared that: “A Christian who believes that there is a vampire in the world, that it to say a witch is to be anathemized [...]” (Bieler, 56-57). Years later Charlemagne in *Capitulary for Saxony* (775-790) stated: “If any one deceived by the Devil shall have believed, after the manner of the pagans, that any man or woman is a witch [...] and on this account shall have burned a person, [...] let him be punished by a capital sentence” (“Medieval Sourcebook, Charlemagne”, 6). Almost at the same time, Saint Agobard, (c.769-840) Archbishop of Lyon denounced adscription of hailstorms, tempests and any fruit of the earth damage to magic. In his letter *Contra insulsum vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis* (“against the foolish belief of the common sort concerning hail and thunder”), he dismissed the idea that witches could affect the weather. Agobard also wrote: “The wretched world lies under the tyranny of foolishness; things [witches and witchcraft] are believed by Christians of such absurdity as no one ever could aforetime induce the heathen to believe” (White, *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, 270). He scorns those who believed that there was a land called Magonia (Magic Land) from which cloud ships

floated, bearing rain and hail. The weather sorcerers were causing storms by calling upon the Cloud sailors to release their shipment over the given place or take harvests back to their distant country and reward them with gifts of grain (Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, 83). Agobard condemned the persecution of storm-makers accused of destroying crops by calling up destructive winds and cautioned people against weather magicians. In fact, the early church authorities fought against images of demonic human witches capable of endangering lives of the others. Old magic beliefs have been considered to be devilishly inspired reality and an effect of illusion (Ladner, *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages*). In fact, setting off weather magic were one of the most feared activities of witches in largely agricultural societies. Farmers and shepherds depended every year on the unpredictable outcome of the weather and the harvest. The power of demons struggling in the middle air might be revealed at any time in the crush of thunder and in the violent hailstorms which scythed the vine and battered the crops (Brown, *The Rise*, 147).

Despite his belief that storms could only raise naturally or by divine power, the fear of the *Tempestarii* (witches who specialized in raising violent storms, hail, heavy rains and crops damage, throwing harmful magic powders into fields, forests, and streams, striking oxen by an epidemic, etc.) often led to recurrent lynching of weather “magicians” (Bailey, *Magic and Superstition*, 69). The list of superstitions (*indiculi superstitionum*) produced during the Carolingian rule (6th and 7th centuries) and approved by the Roman Church, condemned the use of weather magic and “rising of storms”. The church Council in Paris (829) expressed similar opinion by stating that “It is also said that these people (sorcerers) can disturb the air with their spells, send hail storms, take produce and milk from one person to give to another, and do a thousand similar things. [...] they should be severely punished [...]” (Baroja, *World of the Witches*, 48).

Little by little, out of the old conviction —pagan and Christian— of evil interference in atmospheric phenomena evolved the belief that some people may use malign sorcery to set off whirlwinds hail, frosts, floods and other destructive weather events. In the early 1000’s Burchard, Bishop of Worms in his *Decretum* or *Collectarium Canonum* (first collection of canon laws) expressed disapproval of “controlling weather” practices or any other form of the pagan traditions that were in league with a mythical race of cloud dwellers from Magonia. In this work he included *Canon Episcopi*, one of the most famous and controversial texts in the history of witchcraft. At the time it looked as if sustaining a skeptical attitude of early Middle Ages that neither Satan nor witches were capable of bringing into play magic of any sort to control the natural world and physical phenomena. In the 12th century John of Salisbury dismissed the ideas of witches’ Sabbath as a “fabulous dream”.

Nevertheless, the popular belief in the efficacy of magic was much too strong to be ignored. Its power to affect the weather conditions was not confined to the *Tempestarii*. Witches (*lamiae*),¹ being in pact with demon struck homes and crops alike, sunk ships, ignite the air with strange bolts of lightning, shatter with terrifying thunder, beat down upon the earth with damaging profusion of unexpected hail, rise storms, wreck fertile crops in the field or transfer them elsewhere (Levack, *The Witchcraft*, 280). In the early Middle Ages the laws on magic remain virtually unchanged. The church castigated harmful magic but with relatively mild punishment. It all began when Pope Lucius III issued “*Ad abolendam*” (1184) that lay procedures for ecclesiastical trials to deracinate heresy. Although typical weather magic, demons and witch beliefs were in the air, there were not used against anyone except in quite unusual circumstances.

¹ Lamia, a daughter of Poseidon, was originally imagined as a large, aggressive shark. In later times *Lamiae* were conceived as ghostly vampires, or women being in pact with demon.

Thomas Aquinas admitted the existence of trolls, fairies, demons and other manifestations of devilish powers, yet only as intangible beings. After the terrible devastation caused by the Black Death (1347-1349) the rumors of some malignant conspiracy for destruction focused primarily on witches-plague spreader. Later on, a generation before *Institutoris*, Swiss reformer Felix Hemmerlin upholds demon's power to cause any weather misfortune on its own, and not being overshadowed by witches. These imaginary powers of demons were further stressed by Pierre (Petrus) Mamoris of Limognes, who in his *Flagellum Maleficorum* (1462) gave impressive description of demon's power to alter weather, bring the sudden tempests or downpour, cause disease or carry witches through the air (Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 46). The popular fears were indeed real and significant. But it was only when authorities, bishops, inquisitors' magistrates and lawyers, reversed legal procedures and embraced a new idea of witchcraft that enslaved minds even of sophisticated people. In the troubled early years of his pontificate, Eugenius IV focused his attention on the conundrum of witchcraft and other demonic arts used by the prince of darkness. In 1437 he empowers all inquisitors to proceed with inquisitional processes against "heretical depravity" of those Christians who implore demons to regulate the weather, provoke tempests and other unspeakable things (Lea, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft*, 224). As it happened, the anonymous text entitled *Errores Gazariorum* (1437) let know that

[...] some convicted members of the sect [Cathars] who have already been burned, confessed that storms and bad weather have been commanded by many devils together on the top of a mountain to break up ice [...] carrying the ice during a period of stormy weather through the air with the help of the devil, using their staffs to destroy the crops of their enemies or of certain neighbors (Kors and E. Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700*, 161).

MORS OMNIA SOLVIT

Thou shalt suffer no witch to live
Exodus XII:18

It was in the late 14th century when magic and weather control became popular as a sign of heresy. As the fifteenth century progressed and the weather turned cooler, damper and more erratic across much of Europe, the most common response to climate deterioration were fires of the stakes. Witches were burned for causing severe thunderstorms, hurricanes, crop diseases, hailing, droughts, floods, snowstorms. Climate visible turn for the worse has set off religious enthusiasm and zeal with tremendous craziness and irrationality. If there was unseasonable weather cold or hot, wet or dry, frost or snow, hail or thunder or heavy winds, all these phenomena have been attributed the power of witchcraft. During the spring of 1456 and 1457 unusual frost destroyed vegetation in Metz and other places of Lorraine. This unseasonably cold weather was attributed to sorcery, and the young convicted victim was burn on the stake on May 18 (Kors and E. Peters, 161).

During the late 14th and 15th centuries the traditional conception of magic was transformed into the idea of great conspiracy of witches to explain almost all climatic phenomena. In 1470 Jordanes de Bergamo, Master of theology at Cortona, reconciling the skepticism of the Canon *Episcopi* with the reality of imaginary occult harm wrote: "[...] by the power of the devil *strigae* (*Strega*, "witch" in Italian) can be changed into cats, [...] and by the power of words and signs the *strigae* themselves can produce hail and rain and things of this kind [...]" (Bergamo de Jordanes, *Quaestio de Strigis*, 79-85). Illusion and fantasy turned to the reality accepted equally by common people and educated opinion. The burning times have begun.

Malleus Maleficarum (in Latin, *For the Hunt of Witches*) written in 1486 by Heinrich Kramer and Ja-

cob Sprenger, was one of the most famous medieval treatises on witches. However, it is not the book itself that attract our attention but the introductory Papal Bull opening it. Innocent VIII (1484-1492) the great patron of Renaissance arts and letters in his infamous *Summis desiderantes affectibus* asserted the existence of witches and gave the Inquisition the green light to persecute them. He wrote: "It has indeed come to Our ears [...] many persons of both sexes [...] have blasted the produce of the earth, the grapes of vine, the fruits of the trees, [...] vineyards, orchards, meadows, pasture-land, corn, wheat, and all other cereals [...]" (Krammer and Sprenger, *The Malleus Maleficarum*). In the year 1500 Erasmus of Rotterdam published a letter in which he spoke of devil contacts as an invention made by the witch prosecutors. He was joined by young scholar Andrea Alciati (1492-1550) who labeled those trials *nova holocausta*, and by another humanist Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1485-1535). Likewise, Ulrich Moliton (1442-1507) a lawyer of the Bishop of Constance in *De Laniis et Phitonicis Mulieribus*, bluntly denied that witches could control weather (Behringer, *Witches and Witch-hunts*, 76). Yet their voices were a 'void crying in the wilderness'. Though the Württemberg reformer Johannes Brenz (1499-1570) equally argued that God alone was capable of influencing the natural phenomena, he maintained that witches have to be burned nonetheless for their evil intentions (Behringer, "Weather, Hunger and Famine", 78).

The *Malleus* became a handbook for the witch hunters during the xv, xvi and xvii centuries, detailing the powers of witches over the "Hailstorms and Tempests, [...] lightning to Blast both Man and Beasts", or storms at sea. Witches were blamed for nearly every problem; any misfortune, bad harvest, famine, plague, "unnatural" weather were seen as their fault. They sicken animals and harm the entire natural world by whipping up the storms or calling down hail.

Marcin Biem of Olkusz (ca. 1470-1540), one of the biggest astronomers of his time, colleague of Nicolas

Copernicus and rector of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, put in writing, what could be considered the first systematic climate report; the central idea of his investigation focused on the planetary influence on the climate. Just as today, the climatic extremes were causing an enormous social interest; Biem was observing them on a daily basis. In 1505 he registered extensive rainfalls followed by a period of famine. Equally, he observed that the floods of June 14, 1528 (Julian calendar) destroyed prairies and entire crops; soon after the torrential rains brought about the food scarcity. Ten years later, during the period of droughts, several forests and grasslands burned in flames and disappeared. In this first systematic weather report he wrote: "After the solar eclipse a severe drought followed almost throughout the whole universe" (*Post eclipsim illiam subsequuta fuit magna siccitas per universum fere orbem*).² The drought of 1540 was the worst in entire Europe within the last 500 years.

Likewise, Renward Cysat (1545-1613), Chancellor in Lucerne, who has quite regularly observed a broad variety of meteorological and environmental data, mentioned snowfalls in summer on the summits surrounding his city. He also reported severe thunderstorms throughout almost entire month of May 1613. In his collection of weather notes known as *Collectanea* he noticed that the weather has taken

such a peculiar and astounding course and undergone such extraordinary alterations", that he "was able to do nothing than record the same as a warning to future generations; for unfortunately because of our sins, for already some time now, the years have shown themselves to be more rigorous and severe than in the earlier past, and deterioration amongst creatures, not only among mankind and the world of animals but also the earth's crops and produce, have

² The oldest copy of ephemeris (systematic weather records comprise the basic evidence from Central Europe, Italy and Germany) containing meteorological entries dated 9 April 1468 comes from Poland. See Pfister et al., "Daily Weather".

been noticed in addition to extraordinary alterations of the elements, stars and winds” (Pfister, “Weeping in the snow”, 78).

Martin Luther himself mentioned in his correspondence widespread forest fires due to the scorching heat and the severe floods of the Saale and Mulde rivers that follow the hot summer of 1545/1546 (Pfister *et al.*, “Daily Weather”, 115). The data from Iberian Peninsula that cover the second part of the XVI century, show the large number of events related to odd and severe drop in winter temperatures that affected forest and deteriorated various plant communities (Bullón, “Winter Temperatures”). It was during this period that witchcraft accusations reached their peak in England, France, Scotland and Germany.

When the unusually severe thunderstorm hit Central Europe on the 3rd of August 1562, most theologians of all faiths blamed the sinful people for having caused God’s fury. In the small Lutheran town of Weisenteig in Germany, 63 women were burned as witches within one year. Extended witch-hunts took place at the various peaks of the Little Ice Age because a part of society held the witches directly responsible for the high frequency of climatic anomalies and their impacts. In the second half of the XVI century Johann Linden, canon of St. Simeon church in the city of Trier (Treves), wrote in *Gesta Trevirorum*: “Inasmuch as it was popularly believed that the continued sterility of many years was caused by witches through the malice of the Devil, the whole country rose to exterminate the witches” (Linden, *Gesta Trevirorum*, 13).

In 1597 King James VI of Scotland in his book entitled *Daemonology, in forme of a Dialogue* claimed that witches “can raise storms and tempests in the air either upon sea or land...” (46).³ In fact, this monarch held his blasphemy not to believe in the ability

of these evil powers to raise storms. Few years earlier, in German city of Trier a Dutch scholar has been forced by the prosecutors to retract his protest against all the witchcraft superstition. “[...] I do revoke, condemn, reject and repudiate [...] That neither devils nor witches can raise tempests, rain, hailstorms, and the like, and the things said about these are mere dreams” (Burr, *The Witch Persecutions*, 15-16).

Throughout the sixteenth century, Germany was the image of cannibalistic, the death causing woman that fuelled the growing number of trials. They brew up storms, called down hail to destroy neighbors’ crops, killed animals, and disrupted weather. “Anna Lepp caused the storm on the Federsee lake [...] and it would be impossible to relate all the other harm she had caused to people, children, animals, livestock and horses” (Roper, *Witch craze*, 228-229). She, as many other women, was put to death.

Then again, not all learned followed the hysteria that swept sixteenth and seventeenth century in Europe. In 1529, a little known Franciscan friar Martin de Castañeda in his brief treatise on witchcraft wrote:

The conjurers and their conjurations of clouds and tempests are so public in this kingdom that there is no town that doesn’t have one on a public payroll [...]. This error is so shameless that they offer to ward off all hailstorms for that year [...]. Anyone with normal intelligence can recognize these acts are vain, evil, superstitious, and diabolical. The madness, simplicities and idiocies that they explain are to be laughed at, and even be scorned” (Castañega, “Tratado muy sutil”, 316).

Which likewise is verie easie to be discerned from anie other naturall tempestes that are meteores, in respect of the suddaine and violent raising thereof, together with the short induring of the same. And this is likewise verie possible to their master to do, he having such affinitie with the aire as being a spirite, and having such power of the forming and mooving thereof, as ye have heard me alreadie declare [...]

³ They can rayse stormes and tempestes in the aire, either upon Sea or land, though not universally, but in such a particular place and prescribed boundes, as God will permitte them so to trouble:

Nine years later, after Navarre witchcraft outbreak and the popular demand to burn them all, the inquisitor Valdeolitas was sent to explain more intelligent people that the destruction of harvests and other disasters came from either the bad weather or from God himself, rather than from demonic witches. Johann Weyer, prestigious Dutch physician and demonologist, in his book *De Praestigiis Daemonum, et Incantationibus ac Veneficiis* first published in 1563 wrote: "I have therefore chosen to present this story in order that they [those who object to my work] and all others look upon such tricks with a clearer mental vision, and not allow themselves so rashly to be deceived by this illusion, this clouding of their eyes." (511) Disciple of Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, he condemned the superstitions listed in *Malleus Maleficarum* by drawing clear line between true sorcery and the mere illusions of mentally ill women. In his book he launched convincing arguments against persecution of magicians and sorcerers, and made an effort to absolve witches from heresy charges (Weyer, *Witches*). This book was burned by orders of Inquisition, and only few copies remain. Some years later, in 1610, Spanish ecclesiastic Pedro de Valentia, following the skeptic path, held up the opinion that acts confessed by witches were imaginary tales—a result of unspeakable horrors of persecutions (Spence, 275).

Though in some regions elites became skeptical about satanic witchcraft, the "harms" caused by cooler temperatures, bad weather together with some celestial "signs" like comets, eclipse and earthquakes prompted anxiety in seventeenth century in Europe. By 1562, according to chronicles, weather became wetter with long lasting cold springs that led to widespread famine in Central Europe. Cool, wet summers prevent grain from ripening; therefore bad harvests far outnumbered good harvests on the fifteen century. Ruined crops, reduced yields and other environmental catastrophes increased interest in *maleficent* magic contributing to witch hunting. Anonymous pamphlet from Germany (1590) reports:

So many kinds of magic and demonic apparitions are gaining the upper hand in our time that nearly every city, market and village in all Germany, not to mention other peoples amid nations, is filled with vermin and servants of the Devil who destroy the fruits of the fields, [...] with unusual thunder, lightning, showers, hail, storm winds, frost, flooding, mice, worms and many other things, [...] causing them to rot in the fields, and also increase the shortage of human subsistence by spoiling livestock, cows, calves, horses, sheep, and others [...] (Behringer, "Weather, Hunger and Famine", 72).

Though interfering with the weather was only one of the many charges witches were held to be directly responsible for causing any climatic anomalies and thus provoking harvest failure, an 'evil' that contemporary people wanted to get rid of. Beliefs in the creation of bright or dreadful weather by magical means may also be found in poetry and prose from Homer to Shakespeare. Although the weather descriptions were by and large used as a metaphor, there are various allusions to the control of climatic capricious phenomena by witchcraft or sorcery. There is no doubt that the weather hardship and the natural disasters have indeed played decisive role in Medieval Europe. Nonetheless, the belief in magical powers of some children and adults to produce whirlwinds, hail, frost, floods and any other extreme climatic happenings can be regarded as one of the most dreadful tragedies in the human history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AUGUSTINE, *Concerning the City of God Against Pagans*, trans. H. Bettenson, United Kingdom: Penguin Classics, 2003.
- BAILEY, MICHAEL D., *Magic and Superstition in Europe. A Concise History from Antiquity to the present*, Lanham [Maryland], Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.

- BERGAMO DE JORDANES, *QUAESTIO DE STRIGIS* (excerpts) in Sergio Abbiati, A. Agnoletto, M.R. Lazzati, (eds.), *La stregoneria: Diavoli, Streghe, Inquisitori dal trecento al settecento*, Milan: Mondadori, 1984: 79-85.
- BEHRINGER, WOLFGANG, "Weather, Hunger and Famine: Origins of the European Witch Hunts in Climate, Society and Mentality" in Oldridge Darren (ed.), *The Witchcraft Reader*, London-New York: Rutledge, 2002: 69-87.
- , *Witches and Witch-hunts. A Global History*, Cambridge-United Kingdom-Malden [Massachusetts]: Polity Press, 2004.
- BIELER, LUDWIG, *The Irish Penitentials. Scriptores Latini Hiberniae V.*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963.
- BROEDEL, HANS PETER, *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft, Theology and Popular Belief*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- BROWN, PETER R. LAMONT, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity A.D. 200-1000*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003.
- BULLÓN, TERESA, "Winter Temperatures in the Second Half of the XVI Century in the Central Area of the Iberian Peninsula", *Climate Past Discussion*, 4, 2008, 697-718.
- BURR, GEORGE L. (ed.), *The Witch Persecutions, in Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, 6 vols., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1898-1912, vol. 3, n. 4.
- CARO BAROJA, JULIO, *The world of the Witches*, trans. Nigel Glendinning, London: Phoenix Press, 1964.
- CASTAÑEGA, MARTIN DE, "Tratado muy sutil y bien fundado de las supersticiones y hechicerias y vanos conjuros y abusiones; y otras cosas al caso tocantes y de la posibilidad e remedio dellas", in David H. Darst (ed.), "Witchcraft in Spain: The Testimony of Martin de Castañega's Treatise on Superstition and Witchcraft" (1529), *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 123:5, 1979, 298-322.
- Daemonology, by King James VI of Scotland, I of England, in the form of a dialogue, divided in three books*, Oxford: Bodleian Library [originally printed in 1567].
- KEMPE, MICHAEL, "Noah's Flood: The Genesis Story and Natural Disasters in Early Modern Times", *Environment and History*, 9:2, 2003.
- KLAITS, JOSEPH, *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.
- KRAMMER, HEINRICH and JAMES SPRENGER, *The Maleus Maleficarum*, translated with an introduction of Reverend Montague Summers, New York: Dover, 1971.
- KORS, LAN and EDWARD PETERS (eds.), *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- LADNER, GERHART B., *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages. Selected Studies in History and Art*, Rome: Edizioni Di Storia e Letteratura, 1983.
- LEA, HENRY CHARLES, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft part 1, vol. 1*, Whitefish [Montana]: Kessinger Publishing, 2004: 224.
- LEDERER, DAVID y J. C. GRAYSON, *Witchcraft Persecutions in Bavaria: Popular Magic, Religious Zealotry and Reason of State in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- LEVACK, BRIAN (ed.), *The Witchcraft Sourcebook*, Routledge: London, 2004.
- LINDEN, J., *Gesta Trevirorum*, in George L. Burr (ed.), *The Witch Persecutions*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1898-1912, t. III, Original Sources of European History, 6 vols.
- "Medieval Sourcebook, Charlemagne: Capitulary for Saxony, 6", in Paul Halsall, *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, Fordham University Center for Medieval Studies <<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html>> [accessed 30 June 2011].
- PFISTER, CHRISTIAN, R. BRAZDIL, R. GLASER, A. BOKWA, F. HOLAWA, D. LIMANOWKA, O. KOTYZA, J. MUNZAR, L. RACZ., E. STOMMERS, G. SCHWARZ-

- ZANETT (eds.), "Daily Weather Observation in XVI Century Europe", *Climatic Change*, 43: 111-150, 1999.
- PFISTER, CHRISTIAN, "Weeping in the Snow, The Second Period of Little Ice-type Impacts, 1570-1630", in Wolfgang Behringer, Hartmut Lehmann, Christian Pfister (eds.), Göttingen: *Kulturelle Konsequenzen der "Kleinen Eiszeit"*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005.
- ROPER, LYNDALE, *Witch craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany*, New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2006.
- RUSSELL, JEFFREY BURTON, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca [New York]: Cornell University Press, Cornell Paperbags, 1984.
- SPENCE, LEWIS, *An Encyclopaedia of Occultism*, Mineola [New York]: Dover Publications, 2003 [originally printed in 1920 by G. Rutledge & Sons, Ltd, London].
- WHITE, ANDREW DICKSON, *A History of Warfare of Science and Theology in Christendom*, Whitefish [Montana]: Kessinger Publishing, 2004 [originally printed in 1896].
- WEYER, JOHANN, *Witches, Devils, and Doctors in the Renaissance: Johann Weyer, De praestigiis daemonum*, introduction and notes by George Mora; trans. by John Shea; preface by John Weber, New York: Medieval Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991.