The Threat and Allure of the Magical

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Selected Papers from the 17th Annual Interdisciplinary German Studies Conference, University of California, Berkeley

Edited by

Ashwin Manthripragada, Emina Mušanović
and Dagmar Theison

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EDITORS' FOREWORD

> *Toy shop.* – Hebbel, in a surprising entry in his diary, asks what takes away "life's magic in later years." "It is because in all the brightly contoured marionettes, we see the revolving cylinder that sets them in motion, and because for this very reason the captivating variety of life is reduced to wooden monotony. A child seeing the tight-rope walkers singing, the pipers playing, the girls fetching water, the coachmen driving, thinks all this is happening for the joy of doing so; he can't imagine that these people also have to eat and drink, go to bed and get up again. We however, know what is at stake." Namely, earning a living, which commandeers all those activities as mere means, reduces them to interchangeable, abstract-labour time. The quality of things ceases to be their essence and becomes the accidental appearance of their value.[1]

Thus, these are lives—so Adorno reading Hebbel's lament—reckoned without magic, but reckoned in such disenchantment because of their subjugation to the relentless process of reification. However, the fact that this disenchantment is a process which in itself bears traces of magic is here only implicit. Magic is, in fact, doubly at work in this excerpt: once it presents life to us, and once it alienates us from it. It is at work in reification, that practice which Adorno accuses of gradually wearing away the enchantment of life's activities. Reification is an impossible trade, a quantification of something that is in actuality not quantifiable, an inscription of a quality with an abstract value. In the simplest of terms, the process of reification is organized around practices of substitution based on the equivocation of incompatibles, of things that are in no way same. At the very center of this process rests a basic component of magic: the performative ***is*** of the magical language of incantations through which one thing is trafficked or rather transfigured into a seemingly incongruent, or simply different, other, or through which things are simply commanded into being. Thus, life's magic is taken away by magic.

It is precisely at this intersection wherein magic oscillates between these two concerns—between threat and allure—that this collection of essays, borne out of the 17th Annual Interdisciplinary German Studies

[1] Theodor W. Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections on a Damaged Life* (Verso, 2005), 227.

Conference at the University of California, Berkeley, is situated. The task of the conference, and this collection, is to explore on the one hand these opposing appearances of magic separately, and on the other to address them as they elaborately intertwine and populate the sphere of critique and the critiqued.

PURSUING THE INSIDE OTHER: THINKING THE WITCH IN EARLY MODERN PRINT MEDIA (16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES)

(LEONHARD THURNEYSSER, DR. FAUSTUS, PIERRE DE LANCRE, *THEATRUM EUROPAEUM*/JOHANNES PRAETORIUS; EBERHARD WERNER HAPPEL)

GERHILD SCHOLZ WILLIAMS

In volume one of the novel *Der Bayrische Max* (1692) attributed to Eberhard Werner Happel (died 1690), several characters resting from their exploits and musing about their love affairs entertain each other with tales about love magic.[1] We hear about the efficacy of an herb called Stendel-Wurtz, about virgin parchment (the skin of a newborn not yet baptized baby) inscribed with magical letters and numbers, and of little devils, or devilish spirits, called spiritus familiaris. After relating many examples from past and present, Max, the title character, closes the conversation with a warning to his friends that they should avoid "leichtfertige Metzen" and "gailen Weibs-Bilder." Witches ("Hexen-Geschmeiss") deserve, so Max, severe punishment. He concludes that today's women are easily seduced anyway, which makes love potions utterly unnecessary. The narrator agrees and, with a rather wry "hiermit wurde der Discurs von den Lieben-Tränken beschlossen," the conversation moves on to another topic, in this case the news about a man named Haley who had invented a machine in the shape of a bell to create a vacuum.[2] This is only one example of many which signals to us that, by the end of the 17th century, news about science and magic appear side by side either as information or titillating entertainment reported in the ubiquitous newspapers and as themes in the increasingly popular novels. This was not always so.

To examine the change in the attitude toward witches, witchcraft, and magic over the roughly one hundred years that precede Happel's novels, I

[1] Eberhard Werner Happel, *Der Bayerische Max* (Ulm, 1692), 226–228.
[2] Ibid., 238.

will present several illustrations of what has been variously called the *Witch Craze*,[3] *The Enemy Within*,[4] or simply the witch phenomenon, in texts spanning roughly ninety years, 1584 to 1689.

Let me begin by noting that, over the years, I have been puzzled by one odd fact, namely that the early modern witch who disquieted and panicked learned and lay folk alike never found any memorable literary expression, never became the protagonist of a bestseller either on stage or in a book until many years after she disappeared as a theological, legal, and social challenge and after she found refuge in the fantasy-scopes of the fairytale. Instead, alongside voluminous compendia, also called demonologies, that deployed all the learning available to early modern scholars in the pursuit of the witch, *Hexenpredigten* (witch sermons), *Hexenzeitungen*, (witch newspapers), and broadsheets, we find not one female protagonist but only one dark hero, the fictional Dr. Faustus, the male witch and his disciple Christoph Wagner. These two men provide the template for real life male witches who, like the physician Agrippa von Nettesheim, the Abbot Trithemius, the physician and alchemist Leonard Thurneysser and his predecessor in the profession, Theophrastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim, were all accused of congress with Satan, with whom they were believed to have entered into a pact for many forms of personal and professional gratification and gain. When, over the course of the 17th century, the woman as witch finally makes it onto the pages of novels and newspapers, the *Avisen* and *Relationen,* her hold over the early modern imagination begins to fade, not to surface again until finding a place in the novels and films of later centuries. I am not going to attempt an explanation for this surprising, and to my mind, sad, oversight; it's impossible to account for something that is not there. However, I would like to review the construction of the witch, male or female, in a small sample of several early modern media to give us an idea of how narratives about magic, witchcraft, and the witch evolved over the course of the late 16th and early 17th century from occupying the center of terror to becoming a mere cipher in newspapers and novels. I am drawing my examples from Leonhard Thurneysser's autobiography, the chapbook of *Dr. Faustus*, Pierre de Lancre's report of his witch hunting excursion in the Basque country of France, and, for the yellow journalism of the day, several examples from the *Theatrum Europaeum,* and, very briefly and to close, Happel's novels.

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[3] Lyndal Roper, *By Lyndal Roper - Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany: 1st (first) Edition* (Yale University Press, 2007).

[4] John Demos, *The Enemy Within: 2,000 Years of Witch-hunting in the Western World* (New York: Viking, 2008).

1.a. Family Tales: Leonhard Thurneysser's Ausschreiben

Leonhard Thurneysser zum Thurn's autobiography from 1584 predated the publication of the *Faust* chapbook by three years, but it was clear, that the tales circulating about Dr. Faust's exploits, his loves and his horrific end, had reached significant popularity. Addressed to the estates of all Christendom, Thurneysser's *Ausschreiben* was the public explanation and justification of the case he brought before the Basel courts concerning the marital infidelity and sexual misconduct of his third wife, Marina Herbrotin. Here I am less interested in the details of the marital relationship; rather, I want to bring to your attention the way the thinking about magic and witchcraft affected the way the public looked at Thurneysser and his professional success as a physician at the Brandenburg court and at his dealings with the Basel legal and civic authorities.

Thurneysser seems to have been a bit of a flim-flam man, praised and envied as a talented physician in the Paracelsian tradition, as alchemist, botanist, architect, astrologer, astronomer and print shop owner. But he was also maligned as cheater, moneylender, maker of gold, blasphemer, charlatan, and a man who had entered into a pact with the devil. Growing up poor, and involved very early in questionable money dealings with "the Jews from Weil," he made a fortune as physician to Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg. Suspicions about Thurneysser surfaced early. People asked, "wo jhm die Kunst (his healing arts) herkomme/ es sey nicht/ es müsse mit des bösen Geistes beystand zugehen."[5] Suggestions circulated that a pact with the Devil had created his wealth. It was also said that, as a condition of his service, Thurneysser had asked the Elector for a day off each week, namely Friday, "an welchem ihr Churf. G. nit nach mir fragen oder schicken solten," so that, on this day, his pursuit of his devilish predilections could proceed unimpeded ("meiner Zauberey und Teuffelsbannungen").[6] In the margins, we guessed it, we find a reference to the very popular tale of *Melusine* and *Reymond*.[7]

In his *Ausschreiben,* Thurneysser quotes these rumors at length in a vain attempt at ridiculing them and thus diffusing their potential damage to his reputation and his legal case. Aside from those already mentioned,

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[5] Leonhard Thurneisser zum Thurn, *(Ein Durch Nothgedrungens Ausschreiben Mein, Leonhardt Thurneyssers zum Thurn, Der Herbrottischen Blutschands-verkeufferey, Falschs und Betrugs: Auch der Mir und meinen Kindern, zu Basel beschehenen Iniurien, Gewaldthat, Spolirung und Rechtssversagung halber: Anno MDLXXXIIII).*, 1584, I:XXIX.

[6] Ibid., I:XCII.

[7] Ibid.

there are many more: it was said that he had been imprisoned in Basel following accusations of "Unhuldenwerck und Zauberey/ auch anderer Schelmenstück;" that when he was about to be burned at the stake he escaped "durch hülffe des Teuffels ausgebrochen/ und entrunnen."[8] Another report tells us that at the point of his burning a horrible storm arose making people fear that all of Berlin would be destroyed. In the midst of the commotion, they saw Thurneysser being lifted up into the air and torn to pieces ("mit denen [den Teufeln] in den Lüfften darvon gefahren/ und zu stücken zerrissen worden").[9] Clearly an exaggerated report of his death, since he is writing his autobiography![10]

His dealings with "the Jews from Weil," which supposedly involved something like money laundering, resurfaced in Berlin where he was accused of "umbgang mit dem Jüden Leupold" who was under suspicion of having entered into a pact with the devil ("und sonsten viel böser Thaten begangen") whereupon Joachim, the Elector, had him tortured and torn limb from limb.[11] Keeping such bad company and suspected of compacting with the devil, people looked for someone familiar, whom they promptly found in a strange animal, an "Elent." This creature, either an elk or a reindeer, which Thurneysser had purchased in Lithuania at great cost for the Elector was kept at his house in Berlin. His neighbors were quick to ascertain "[d]as es kein Thier/ sondern mein Teuffel/ den ich in der gestalt des Thiers/ den Leuten die augen damit zuverzaubern," that Thurneysser planned to use the creature to perform magic and cheat his neighbors.[12] In a similar way, a Basel seamstress publicly reported that, whenever Thurneysser was in his study writing his books, two large black dogs were lying alongside him (Agrippa von Nettesheim läßt grüßen!). Moreover, like Dr. Faustus, Thurneysser was said to have had at his disposal two black horses ("Teufflische Rosse") and a coach which, when

[8] Ibid., I:XXXIII.
[9] Ibid., I:XCIIII.
[10] Recalling Theophrastus Paracelsus who, in his lifetime, also was occasionally accused of dalliance with the devil, Thurneysser scoffs at those who credit Paracelsus's accomplishments as a physician (and, by contemporary testimony they are numerous) with occultism. He calls Paracelsus his "Lehrmeister" who was, by no means, a conjurer (I:XCIX). Thurneysser's admiration for Paracelsus is not surprising since only during his lifetime did the reception of Paracelsianism got underway in earnest (publication of his collected works in 1589-1591 by Johann Huser.)
[11] Thurn, *(Ein Durch Nothgedrungens Ausschreiben Mein, Leonhardt Thurneyssers zum Thurn, Der Herbrottischen Blutschandsverkeufferey, Falschs und Betrugs*, I:XXXIII.
[12] Ibid., I:XXXIV.

called upon "in aller hundert tausent Teuffel's Namen" carried Thurneysser through the air from Basel to Halle in Sachsen in twelve hours.[13] In addition, people claimed to have observed him partying with devils clothed in the habits of black monks and demons escaping from his house.

Thurneysser provides many examples of such gossip that was meant to discredit and dishonor him. He is called a "Todtenschänder," which fits with his alchemical experimentations, and, like Faust, he is accused of "Weiberlieben," of driving women crazy with his magical powers ("toll gemacht haben"[14]).

In Thurneysser, we encounter an especially impressive example of the cultural and social impact of the Faust-myth before the *Faust*-book even appeared, the myth of the male witch, the publicly articulated fear of and envy toward a successful physician who did not hide his wealth nor his predilection for pretty women. We also find echoes of suspicions that hounded the physician, alchemist, and mystic Theophrastus Paracelsus, being chased from many a town because of his medical practices, his healing successes, and his unorthodox theories about health, illness, the nature of women and the witch. Thurneysser lost not only his legal battles over a 500 Gulden *Morgengabe* to a virgin bride who was anything but virginal; in the end he lost all of his money. He disappears from the gossip and from the books without a trace, except for his alchemical, medical writings, and astrological writings. We have to assume that he died a natural death. Dr. Faustus met a more gruesome end, as we all know.

1.b. Family Tales: Faustus and his witch family

Three years after Thurneysser's *Ausschreiben*, in 1587, and after having provided the stuff for many a fascinating and terrifying tale recited at many a guesthouse and town squares, the *Faustbook* hits the market and our imagination never to leave either until this very day. The reception of the book was enthusiastic and success immediate. The Faust legend, the story of a male witch, was to become one of the most widely disseminated narratives in the history of European literature, a tale unthinkable without the virulence of the contemporary, clearly gendered witch phenomenon. There is one important difference, though: while men contracted with the devil for success, fame, and sex, women bonded with, or better submitted

[13] Ibid., I:XCI.
[14] Ibid., I:CLI.

to, the devil in exchange for the ability to fly to the Sabbath, to do harm, procure food and shelter, and to avenge perceived injustices.[15]

The anonymous *Faustbook* was fairly soon followed by the equally anonymous sequel, the *Wagnerbuch.* Shortly thereafter both books were not only translated into English, they were rewritten and amended, first by Georg Widmann (1599) and then by Nikolas Pfitzer (1674). All three (or four if we count the *Wagnerbuch*) narratives were very much influenced by the witch phenomenon, in fact, could not have been written without it, as Frank Baron and I among others have shown.[16] It is amazing, at least to me that, in the middle of one of the worst outbreaks of the witch craze (1560-1590), the market is hit by a bestseller about witchcraft and magic, a bestseller whose protagonist is man, a male witch. In fact, the women in the *Faustbook* are, for the most part, not women at all, they are the devil in the shape of succubae, of "Schlafweiber" or they are the heathen Sultan's wives, mere objects of Faust's sexual one-upmanship.

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[15] Demos, *The Enemy Within*.

[16] *Der Wahrhafftigen Historien von den grewlichen vnd abschewlichen Sünden und Latern/ auch von vielen wunderbarlichen vnd seltzamen ebentheuern: So* D. Iohannes Faustus *Ein weitberuffener Schwarztkünstler vnd Erztzäuberer/ durch seine Schwartzkunst/ biß an seinen erschrecklichen end hat getrieben.* Durch Georg Rudolff Widman. Gedruckt zu Hamburg/ Anno 1599. *Das ärgerliche Leben und schreckliche Ende deß viel-berüchtigten Erzt-Schwartzkünstlers* D. Iohannis Fausti, *Erstlich/ vor vielen Jahren/ fleissig beschrieben/ von* Georg Rudolph Widmann; *Jetzo/ aufs neue übersehen. . . Durch* JOH. NICOLAUM PFITZERUM. MED. DOCT. Nürnberg: Moritz Endters / vnd Johann Andreas Endters Sel. Erben, 1674. Both adaptors added a considerable amount of text to the original *Faustbook.* Instead of 64 chapters, Widmann and Pfitzer offer over 80. To each chapter they add a commentary which Widmann calls *Errinnerung* and Pfitzer *Anmerckung*. The amount of text devoted to these commentaries can be as much a four of five times the chapter explicated. Therefore, with ca. 650 pages (Widmann) and 630 pages (Pfitzer), these adaptations add significantly to the 1587 *Faustbook.* While Wagner figures prominently in both texts, the amount of material taken from the *Wagnerbuch* is relatively modest. The commentaries draw on contemporary writings (Harsdörfers *Jämmerliche Mordgeschichten* are a favorite with Pfitzer's) as well as on the whole gamut of witch literature, past and present, such as Paracelsus, Albertus Magnus, Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Cardanus, Freudius, Weyer, Zeiler, Waldschmidt, Rimphoff, Gödelmann, Bodin (in the German translation by Fischart), Meder, della Porta, Lercheimer, Garzon, del Rio, Carpzov, Sprenger, Sabellicus, Danaeus. If one were to do a systematic search one might even find a few I left out. As he notes in the title, Pfitzer offers his new edition of Widman's *Faustus* "aufs neue übersehen und so wol mit neuen Erinnerungen/ als nachdencklichen Fragen der heutigen bösen Welt/ zur Warnung vermehret."

Dr Johan Faustus enters the canon of European literature as the larger-than-life citizen and scholar of spiritually and intellectually precarious aspirations. Like Thurneysser, he is a parvenu, a man of humble upbringing, endowed with quick intelligence, easily piqued pride, of an immense curiosity and hunger for life, and seemingly inexhaustible, though rather conventional, sexual appetites. Educated and urbane, Faust does enter into a satanic contract (of which Widmann and Pfitzer say they found a copy) with foolish arrogance, believing that he could outwit the Devil.

Anticipating readers who might criticize his topic as decidedly unscholarly, the anonymous *Faustbook* author and his successors insist that, while occasionally rather graphic in its magical and sexual details, the book was not written to amuse. Rather, they wished to inform, instruct, and, most importantly, warn their readers of the snares the devil laid out for unsuspecting Christians.[17] Moreover, Widmann and Pfitzer insist that their versions are "ein newe Historia vnd werck" (Widmann, Dedication) which had been "anjetzo aber fast durch und durch vermehret/ verbessert/" (Pfitzer Vorrede). [18] "Vermehret," that is, increased, is not only the narrative, but also the family of devilish fathers and sons: To Faust's disciple, Christoph Wagner, is added Wagner's companion and servant Johan de Luna. In clear reference to the familial witch tradition these three men join together as three generations of sorcerers, adoptive fathers and sons mirroring generations of witches, mothers, daughters, and granddaughters.

By significantly expanding on the 1587 original, Widmann and Pfitzer not only cater to the public's appetite for information about magic and the devil, they also make the witch phenomenon more tangible. The *Faustbook,* its sequel, the *Wagnerbook* and the later reworkings of both offered the curious reader an opportunity to make the interaction with Satan and his world tangible removing the legalese of trial records and the sensationalism of the *Hexenzeytungen* and sermons. The titillation of the alleged eyewitness reports of Sabbath celebrations captured in broadsheets

[17] They will not retell this story to titillate their audience with immoral tales—"frecher/ fürsetzlicher und böser exempel halber" (Widman, Vorrede)—but to warn especially their young readers of the dangers of immorality that leads them straight to Hell. Defending himself against accusations that he himself has given in to a sinful *curiositas* very much like Faust's, Widman reminds his patron Georg Friedrich von Hohenlohe that the wish to know is human ("jedem Menschen […] gleichsam angeboren") and that, with his Faust project, he merely follows this premise.

[18] This is especially true in view of the antiquated sources the Anonymous uses for the *Faustbook* of 1587.

and read at witch burnings was replaced with the observations of learned men guided by their satanic familiars Mephistopholes and Auerhahn.[19] As men, Faust and Wagner are granted dramatic presence and agency, while the female witch usually remains remote, mute, and obscure. Throughout the centuries, she lingers at the margins of accounts of her own sufferings. She is the object of learned inquiry, only occasionally transcending her stereotyping as she conjures graphic descriptions of Sabbath meetings in response to the promptings of her inquisitors. In the rare instance when she becomes a person in a narrative, she is a shrew, an old hag, or—in the Shrovetide plays of Hans Sachs or the novels of Grimmelshausen—a whore.[20] Faust and Wagner were seen by readers as seekers, daring trespassers, arrogant dreamers, ever-potent lovers, religious and intellectual doubters. The female witch was burned ("meistentheils lebendig," as Widman and Pfitzer both note with sober satisfaction). She was seen as an exemplary specimen of degenerate womanhood, victimized, in part, simply for being a woman.[21] Faust and Wagner are not doomed in the same way as the female witch. They actually might have been forgiven, properly chastised, of course.[22] But playing out against the background of the contemporary discourse on witches, the anathema that was the witch and her dalliance with the devil, made true repentance and survival after the pact an impossibility for Faust and Wagner.[23]

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[19] "Einmal nam er jm gewißlich für/ er were drinnen gewest/ vnd es [hell] gesehen/ das ander mal zweiffelt er darab/ der Teuffel hette jhm nur ein Geplerr vnnd Gauckelwerck […] gemacht" (F 24:22).

[20] Italo Michele Battafarano, "Der simplicianische Faust" in Richard Auernheimer and Frank Baron, eds. *Das Faustbuch von 1587: Provokation und Wirkung.* München: Profil, 1991, 75-89.

[21] This is discussed by Walter Rummel in "Vom Umgang mit Hexen und Hexerei: Das Wirken des Alltags in Hexenprozessen und die alltägliche Bedeutung des Hexenthemas," Herbert Gunther Franz and Franz Irsigler, eds. *Methoden und Konzepte der historischen Hexenforschung*. Trier: Spee, 1998, 50-79.

[22] "The biography of Faustus became a retroactive trial for witchcraft," Frank Baron, *Faustus on Trial: The Origins of Johann Spies's "Historia" in an Age of Witch Hunting* (M. Niemeyer, 1992), 145. Also see p.136 about the increasingly powerful devil.

[23] The historicity of this narrative logic is confirmed by the adaptations as well as by current research. On page 98 Lorraine Dastons identifies the 16th century as a time where the preternatural "becomes associated with demonic magic," and when theology positioned itself between the preternatural, the domain of natural philosophy (we might add law), and the supernatural which was more properly assigned to black magic. Sixteenth century demonology, according to Daston, and confirmed by our study of the Faust-texts, "reinforce(s) this phenomenological

2. The call to political order: Pierre de Lancre

In 1609, upon the urging of Bertrand d'Echaux, Bishop of Bayonne, King Henry IV of France appointed Pierre de Rostéguy, Sieur de Lancre (born in Bordeaux around 1553) to investigate witch activities in the South of France at the border with Spain. De Lancre was joined in this charge by Jean d'Espagnet, President of the Bordeaux Parliament. It appears that the nobility of the region had complained about various impieties and crimes of witchcraft among the population (clearly pointing to the recent religious wars) and they had petitioned Parliament for help against the witch menace.[24] In de Lancre's world, the world where royal power begins to articulate its absolutist ambitions, the witch emerges as a *Politicum* in the border dispute between Spain and France. Moreover, the female witch is prosecuted alongside several witch priests as part of a legal dispute that is playing out in Paris, the dispute about who was to prosecute such priests, the Church or the State.

De Lancre was a meticulous jurist of admirable writing and observational skills, a man deeply inspired by the science of demonology and poised to become a vigorous and, by all appearances, merciless, witch persecutor, a job he discharged in nine weeks.[25] Shortly after he returned to Bordeaux on December 5, 1609, de Lancre began work on his report which was published under the title *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons, où il est amplement traicté des sorcier et de la sorcelerie* in 1612.[26] Subsequently, de Lancre served as a counselor in Paris from 1612 to 1622. He died in 1631.

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homogeneity with a causal unity of sorts," Lorraine Daston, "Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe," in *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Peter G. Platt (University of Delaware Press, 1999), 100. Witchcraft and sorcery presuppose such a homogeneity, the experiential realism of the age confirms it.

[24] Sophie Houdard, *Les sciences du diable: quatre discours sur la sorcellerie, XVe-XVIIe siècle* (Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 161.; before the Religious Wars drove them out, there had been a significant Huguenot presence in the Basque country. By the time de Lancre undertook his mission, the Huguenot presence had been totally eradicated; the Labourd completely recatholized. See Philippe Veyrin, *Les Basques, de Labourd, de Soule et de Basse Navarre; leur histoire et leurs traditions.* (Grenoble: Arthaud, 1955), 138.

[25] Roland Villeneuve, *Le fléau des sorciers: la diablerie basque au XVIIe siècle* (Flammarion, 1983), 78–79.

[26] Pierre de Lancre, *Tableav de l'inconstance des mavvais anges et démons, ov il est amplement traicté des sorciers & de la sorcelerie. Livre trés-vtile et necessaire, non seulement aux iuges, mais à tous ceux qui viuent soubs les lois chrestiennes ...*

De Lancre shared with many of his learned contemporaries the conviction that a stern judicial approach to what he believed to be a veritable witch infestation of France was imperative if one were to control the practice of satanic magic.[27] The elaborate title of the *Tableau* celebrates the French monarchy as unique and French jurisprudence as destined to lead Europe: *Tableav de l'inconstance. . . . en laquelle on voit, combien l'exercice de la iustice en France, est plus iuridiquement traictë, et auec de plus belles formes qu'en tous autres empires, royaumes, republiques et estats*. The *Conseilleir du Roy au Parlement de Bordeaux* translated the charge expressed in this title into a political agenda of royal self-presentation of the highest order. In other words, witch hunting was subsumed under the myth of the supremacy of French royal power. De Lancre cast his objective in the context of defending the sacred power of the State against witchcraft which, as apostasy and heresy, constituted an aggression against all living souls and against all public order.[28]

En laquelle on voit, combien l'exercice de la iustice en France, est plus iuridiquement traicté ... qu'en tous autres empires ... (Paris: J. Berjon, 1612).; De Lancre's *Tableau* is available in an abridged edition: Pierre de Lancre and Nicole Jacques-Lefèvre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons : où il est amplement traité des sorciers et de la sorcellerie* (Paris: Aubier, 1982). In 1607, he had published his first witch tract, which went through a second edition in 1610: *Tableau de l'inconstance de toutes choses, où il est monsté qu'en Dieu seul gist la vraye Constance, à laquelle homme sage doit viser*; the work under discussion here, was designed as a sequel. In 1622, he published a third witch tract, a résumé of and extension on his previous two, Pierre de L'Ancre, Nicolas Buon, and Prytanée (Paris), *L'incredulité et mescreance du sortilege plainement convaincue. Ou il est amplement et curieusement traicté, de la verité ou illusion du sortilege, de la fascination, de l'attouchement, du scopelisme, de la divination, de la ligature ou liaison magique, des appritions: et d'une infinité d'autres rares & nouveaux subjects. Par P. de L'Ancre conseiller du Roy en son conseil d'Estat.* (A Paris, chez Nicolas Buon, ruë sainct Jacques, à l'enseigne Sainct Claude, & de l'Homme sauvage. M. DC. XXII. Avec privilege du Roy, 1622).

[27] See bibliography in Gerhild Scholz-Williams, *Defining dominion : the discourses of magic and witchcraft in early modern France and Germany* (An Arbor, Mich: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

[28] Jürgen Michael Schmidt, *Glaube und Skepsis : die Kurpfalz und die abendländische Hexenverfolgung, 1446-1685* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000), 195–205 speaks about three judges (Hieronymus Zanchi, Franciscus Junius, Georg Sohn) in the Palatinate (Kurpfalz) who, while generally quite skeptical about the ability of witches to performs *maleficia*, did insist that entering into a pact with Satan and thus turning away from God constituted such a grave trespass against all public and religious order that it merited the death sentence.

Not unlike many of his demonologist colleagues, like del Rio, Boguet, Bodin, or Institoris all of whom and more he quotes at length, although not always accurately, de Lancre, at times, appeared overwhelmed by this task, by the inescapable realization that in all corners of the world, however remote, men, women, and children had been seduced by Satan. In response, de Lancre lists four points which compelled him to act against the alleged witch:

1. He needed to convince all doubters of the reality and pervasiveness of the witch-menace.
2. There was his conviction that witchcraft, though heresy and apostasy, was even more dangerous to State and Church than either crime.
3. The depositions of enumerable witnesses about the real and bodily transport to the Sabbath must, he felt, effectively silence any doubts of even the most "stubborn, stupid, blind, and dazed" ("plus durs, stupides, aueugles, et hebetez") of his colleagues who thought that witches merely traveled to the Sabbath in their imagination.
4. Finally, de Lancre saw as an important part of his assignment that he would confirm the accuracy of the findings of demonologists like Institores, Binsfeld, Bodin, del Rio and others.

With them he shared the "realist" view about witches namely that women were naturally inclined toward witchcraft and that this proclivity posed a grave threat to the individual, the community, and to the State. He imagined witches as a secret and ever present enemy who endangered the political, moral and familial stability in France's border regions by encouraging heresies, affecting fertility, and damaging the livelihood of the people.[29] Agreeing with Jean Bodin, the famous demonologist and theorist of the absolutist state, writing about witchcraft and witches was not a deviation in the thinking of otherwise reasonable men, rather it was part and parcel of their thinking about political, juridical, and social authority.[30]

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[29] Walter Stephens, *Demon lovers : witchcraft, sex, and the crisis of belief* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 9. Stephens rejects the term demonologist: "they (the writers) are theologians first and foremost. Their interest in demons was inseparable from theological (in de Lancre's case his juridical) concerns, not an eccentric sideline."

[30] By his own account, de Lancre prosecuted forty-six witches during the course of the witch-hunting expedition that lasted four months, until December 5, 1609. His report notes that three priests and eight witches were eventually burned.

De Lancre's investigative gaze was that of a bureaucrat blessed with strong anthropological interests. Observing the Labourdins and their to him unfamiliar language and customs, he oscillated between being amazed at their strange behaviors, and making authoritative pronouncements about people who were, like he, subjects to the king of France and bound by monarchic law. De Lancre's social and economic distance from the people whose deliverance from satanic magic was entrusted to him was profound and he attended to his assignment with all the severity and thoroughness befitting a man of his religious and juridical orthodoxy.[31] He prosecuted not only female witches but, much more horrifying to him, their alleged priestly co-conspirators. These were the witch priests said to have celebrated Black Masses and to have led their parishioners in Sabbath rituals. Reflecting the serious judicial implications of these allegations, the sixth and last book of the *Tableau* is almost entirely devoted to the legal and moral issues presented by trials involving witch priests.

In his report, de Lancre combines the physical proximity of the observer to the object of his interest with the distance of the prosecutor. De Lancre took pains to communicate to his readers the difficulties implicit in adjudicating conflicts that called into question the privileged status of churchmen. Must the authority of the Church vis-à-vis the secular courts be upheld even in face of such grave moral and religious failings as apostasy and heresy among some of its members? And did the danger to the body politic supersede the dictates of ecclesiastical jurisprudence which provided that all clergy be punished in Church courts? De Lancre's answer is an unequivocal "yes" to the punishment of witch clergy by secular courts, no matter what the status of the accused. He argues with all the conviction of a seventeenth-century jurist in the service of the emerging absolutist state that the defense of the superiority of State over

[31] When he did not condemn their sensuality and their lust for life, he scrutinized them as if they were children. His reaction was not unlike the early discoverers, who had similar reactions to the Indians. Columbus's letters to the Spanish sovereigns and Las Casas's defense of the Indians made equally effective use of the image of the child—negatively interpreted as irresponsible and sexually permissive, or positively valued as innocent, easily exploited, and grievously mistreated. For more of the attitude of the Europeans to the "children" of the New World, see Stephen J Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: Wonder of the New World* (Oxford University Press, 1992); Bartolomé de las Casas, *The devastation of the Indies : a brief account*, trans. Herma Briffault (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 28, 33.

Church was a matter of national interest.[32] The humanist as witch hunter was not, it turns out, a psychological aberration, but the consequence of a cosmological and theological belief system that had been brought in line with political imperatives.[33] De Lancre allows for only one significant procedural difference when trying witch priests. He recommends that trials against them be held in secret. This was not so much to spare the priests as to protect the faithful who, witnessing such trials, might be in danger of losing their spiritual moorings and abandoning themselves to faith-killing doubt and into the clutches of Satan.

The proceedings against the female witch did not burden him with such worries. Here he felt it was important to tell the unadorned truth, to report only what he himself had heard and what credible witnesses had related.[34] To establish the reality of witches and their Sabbath, the greatest possible frankness was required in recording the witches' abominations.[35]

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[32] Pierre de Lancre, *Tableav de l'inconstance des mavvais anges et démons, ov il est amplement traicté des sorciers & de la sorcelerie. Livre trés-vtile et necessaire, non seulement aux iuges, mais à tous ceux qui viuent soubs les lois chrestiennes ... En laquelle on voit, combien l'exercice de la iustice en France, est plus iuridiquement traicté ... qu'en tous autres empires ...* (Paris: J. Berjon, 1612), 516.: "la raison en est prinse de ce que les Heretiques troublent l'estat, dans lequel est l'Eglise, et non l'Estat dans l'Eglise" (The reason lies in the fact that the heretics endanger the state within which the church is located and not he state within the church).

[33] Stuart Clark, *Thinking with demons : the idea of witchcraft in early modern Europe* (Oxford [England]; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1997). Stuart Clark explores this issue in exhaustive detail, specifically on de Lancre on pages 140, 386, 556, 561, 664.

[34] Lancre, *Tableav de l'inconstance des mavvais anges et démons, ov il est amplement traicté des sorciers & de la sorcelerie. Livre trés-vtile et necessaire, non seulement aux iuges, mais à tous ceux qui viuent soubs les lois chrestiennes ... En laquelle on voit, combien l'exercice de la iustice en France, est plus iuridiquement traicté ... qu'en tous autres empires ...*, Advertissemens: "[C]'est pourquoy ie suis resolu […] [de] me contenter du simple recit des depositions des tesmoins, et confessions des accusez: lesquelles ont tant d'estrangeté en soy, qu'elles ne lairront (sic) pas de contenter le Lecteur, bien que ie les laisse en leur naïfueté." (Therefore I have decided […] to be content with the simple account of the dispositions of the witnesses, and confessions of the accused: which themselves seem so strange that they will not fail to satisfy the Reader, although I am leaving them in their naive form).

[35] The violent clash of cultures in this remote province of France was profound and multifaceted. The French jurist and the Basque women faced each other as aliens unable to bridge the chasm of ignorance, prejudice, and non-understanding that separated learned from popular, high from low culture, Basque from French.

De Lancre structures his descriptions carefully, in an almost painterly fashion: first, he pictured the region's history, geography, and economy; then he turns to the physical characteristics of the people; and finally he comments on their social interactions. Caught up in his voyeuristic pleasures, he is unable to escape the mental seduction of this people's pagan sense of freedom, which he registers with a mixture of amazement and dread. Their insouciance toward all rules of social conventions as he knew them unnerved him,[36] and he speaks with wonder of the women's carelessly free way of life. He is struck by their beauty whose crowning

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Moreover, his eagerness to prosecute was seriously hampered by this inability to speak Basque. This vexing fact prompted him to hire a translator/interpreter, the French cleric Lorenzo de Hualde, who had grown up in the Labourd and who shared de Lancre's firm belief in the reality of witches and the Sabbath. Both men also were troubled by serious doubts about anyone's ability to uncover the truth in inquests where all information was filtered through a translator/interpreter (Ibid., 401.). Thus, translation seemed to preclude transparency and accuracy. How was anyone to know what went on in during the Sabbath if only the witch testimony was available? Furthermore, he felt that "all languages lose of their beauty and their grace in translation," Pierre de Lancre, *Tableav de l'inconstance des mavvais anges et démons, ov il est amplement traicté des sorciers & de la sorcelerie. Livre trés-vtile et necessaire, non seulement aux iuges, mais à tous ceux qui viuent soubs les lois chrestiennes ... En laquelle on voit, combien l'exercice de la iustice en France, est plus iuridiquement traicté ... qu'en tous autres empires ...* (Paris: J. Berjon, 1612), 404. Commenting on the excellence of de Hualde's work, de Lancre remained troubled, to the point of constant anxiety by the possibility that translation might alter the message of the accused, that deliberately or not, the translator could distort words for reasons of ignorance or by taking sides in the dispute. The lies and the inconstancy of Satan and his associates perpetually threatened to disturb and discredit the judicial process which relied on order and procedural predictability. De Lancre's persistent return to the question of whether language was capable of representing truth in a world fraught with uncertainty underscores the fear that discursive imprecision, the opacity always potentially present in all utterances, could and did impede justice and encourage the intellectual skepticism that could lead to judicial leniency. On the spoken and insinuated language of Satan in de Lancre's work, see Armando Maggi, *Satan's rhetoric : a study of Renaissance demonology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 6–8. Page 130 points to the theme of inconstancy in the 17th century and to Justus Lipsius whose tract *On Constancy* (1584) was widely read and exerted a significant influence on the intellectuals of the age.

[36] Lancre, *Tableav de l'inconstance des mavvais anges et démons, ov il est amplement traicté des sorciers & de la sorcelerie. Livre trés-vtile et necessaire, non seulement aux iuges, mais à tous ceux qui viuent soubs les lois chrestiennes ... En laquelle on voit, combien l'exercice de la iustice en France, est plus iuridiquement traicté ... qu'en tous autres empires ...*, 45.

glory, quite literally, was their hair. With the intensity of a lover's praise he describes the women's tresses falling over their shoulders and seductively covering their faces, making their eyes shine with extraordinary brilliance.[37] Living in their counter-paradise, the Labourdins, true children of a Basque Eve, grew only one fruit in any quantity, the apple. De Lancre notes that they "ate with abandon this fruit of transgression that caused the trespass against God's Commandment, and made mankind ignore the prohibition made to our first father."[38]

De Lancre was amazed and repulsed by the young women who betrayed not the least embarrassment when, in the presence of the young cleric translator de Hualde, they recounted their exploits: "They do not blush at all, however impudent and sordid a question or shameful inquiry one addresses to them: so much so that our interpreter . . . was more ashamed to ask them our questions than they were to answer."[39] The mood conveyed by de Lancre's description of the Basque women and their satanic escapades is one of youth, vigor, freedom, and independence. Behind the poverty and marginality of their mountain lives de Lancre suspects a counter-reality inaccessible to him but real nonetheless. Central to this counter-reality was the witches' Sabbath as a giant ongoing party celebrated not only at night but during the day, not on faraway mountain tops but in the towns and even in the homes of the witches.[40]

The Sabbath, conjured before de Lancre's mental eye in the women's coached depositions, appeared to be happy and carefree, filled with joyful love making with total disregard to the sex, age, or familial closeness of their partners. De Lancre felt only revulsion; he found the dancing, both the dancing he witnessed in the villages and the imaginary activity that he heard described, incompatible with the order that he knew to be the

[37] Ibid., 42.
[38] Ibid., 43.
[39] Ibid., 216.
[40] Pierre de Lancre, *On the Inconstancy of Witches: Pierre De Lancre's Tableau De L'inconstance Des Mauvais Anges Et Demons (1612)*, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance v. 16 (Tempe, Ariz. : Turnhout, Belgium: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies ; In collaboration with Brepols, 2006): "Such great pomp and magnificence, where at a moment one comes across so many people of all kinds and where such a variety of new things appear, and with so much brilliance that the majority of the sorcerers attending these assemblies, believe that they are going to some earthly Paradise."

foundation of society.[41] He was scandalized to the point of despair by the fact that the women were joined by their priests in whose care their souls had been entrusted. Negligent yet arrogant servants of the Church, these priests seemed to join the Sabbath celebrations of their flock as readily as if they were leading them in Sunday mass.[42] Clearly, witchcraft in the Labourd was not only a family but also a community affair; there was no haven for the innocent; no person was secure, not even the smallest child, not even in church.[43]

De Lancre's tract presents the modern reader with a compelling report of Europe's encounter with the witch as the inside other (Jean Ceard). He came to the Labourd firmly convinced of the reality of witches and of their real transport to the Sabbath. He left the area fully confirmed in this conviction. By his own account, de Lancre prosecuted forty-six witches during the course of the witch-hunting expedition that lasted four months, until December 5, 1609. His report notes that three priests and eight witches were eventually burned.

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[41] He compared the Sabbath to the dance called the spider dance, the *tarantale* or *tarantism*, a dance of possession and healing practiced in Apulia in southeastern Italy and around Naples. See Gary Tomlinson, *Music in renaissance magic : toward a historiography of others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 158.; Gilbert Rouget, *La musique et la transe: esquisse d'une théorie générale des relations de la musique et de la possession* ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1980), 230–41. See Houdard, *Les sciences du diable*, 174., on the "coquetterie scandaleuse" (scandalous teasing) of the women whose dances "tourmentent le corps" (torment the body).

[42] "The priests and curates were already installed by the Devil in almost all the most famous parishes," Lancre, *Tableav de l'inconstance des mavvais anges et démons, ov il est amplement traicté des sorciers & de la sorcelerie. Livre trés-vtile et necessaire, non seulement aux iuges, mais à tous ceux qui viuent soubs les lois chrestiennes ... En laquelle on voit, combien l'exercice de la iustice en France, est plus iuridiquement traicté ... qu'en tous autres empires ...*, 39.

[43] As was the case with women bearing witness in witchcraft cases, the judicial procedures vis-à-vis children as accused or accuser had to be clarified. For more information, see Peter Binsfeld and Bernhart Vogel, *Tractat von Bekanntnuß der Zauberer vnd Hexen : Ob vnd wie viel denselben zu glauben* (München: Berg, 1592), 205. Expert testimony of the law faculties of Ingolstadt, Padua, Cologne, Freiburg, and Bologna confirmed that the special protection granted to children in juridical procedures would be void in the case of witchcraft proceedings. A brief tract from the early 17th century reflects the learned discourse on the subject: [Wolfgang Schilling], *Newer Tractat von der verführten Kinder Zauberey* (Cölln: Peter von Brachel, 1629). Reminiscent of Lutheran pedagogy and indicative of the protestant preoccupation with teaching generally, the author insists that only the proper upbringing and education can protect a child from satanic temptation.

It is important to note that in spite of de Lancre's convictions and diligent witch writings, the French central government was one of the first to curtail the imposition of death sentences on women accused of being witches, as early as the 1630s.

3. The Witch: Sensations in the News

De Lancre's demonology, Thurneysser's autobiographical tract, and the *Faust*-chapbooks appeared at a time when the early forms of the periodical press (*Avisen* or *Relationen*) begin to reliably supply an increasingly broad reading public with information of all kinds. Recognizing a business opportunity when he saw one, the Frankfurt publisher Matthaeus Merian began publishing summary news reports in a large compendium, the *Theatrum Europaeum.* This twenty one volume compilation of news covered the whole of the long 17th century, 1618 to 1718. A publishing phenomenon, the *Theatrum* was ubiquitous and, in spite of its rather steep price, very popular. Many writers, like the polyhistor Johannes Praetorius and the novelist Eberhard Werner Happel, mined these collections for their own work, sometimes with, but just as often without attribution. Along with reports on important political events the *Theatrum* always included tales of the sensational or wondrous taken from widely circulating *Klatschrelationen* (gossip reports), local *newe Zeytungen* or *Lokalrelationen.* These include accounts of strange or violent weather phenomena, wonders, portents, monstrous births, murders, incest, destructive fires, crimes, and domestic violence and, of course, witches, witchcraft, and magic often in proximity with incest or "sodomiterey."

The seventh volume of the *Theatrum* reporting on the year 1663 closes with the following report, "alle(s) Voriges übertrifft weit, was wir diß Orths von einem Unmenschen/ und mehr als gottlosen verruchten Mörder/ Names Melchior Hedloff. . . zu schreiben vorbehehalten."[44] Melchior's

[44] Matthaeus Merian, *Theatrum Europæum, Oder, Aussführliche Und Warhafftige Beschreibung Aller Und Jeder Denckwürdiger Geschichten: So Sich Hin Und Qieder in Der Welt Fürnemblich Aber in Europa, Und Teutschlanden, so Wol Im Religions Prophan-Wesen, Vom Jahr Christi 1617. Biss Auff Das Jahr 1629. Exclus. Bey Regierung Deren Beyden ... Römischen Keysern Matthiœa Und Ferdinandi Dess Andern ... Zugetragen Haben ...: Mit Vieler Fürnehmer Herrn Und Potentaten Contrafacturen, Wie Auch Berühmter Städten, Vestungen, Pässen, Schlachten Und Belägerungen Eygentlichen Delineationem Und Abrissen Gezierer, Und Jetzo Zum Andernmal, Nach Beschehener Revision Und Verbesserung an Tag Gegeben Und Verlegt, Durch Weyland Mathœi Merian* (Gedruckt zu Franckfurt: Bey Wolffgang Hoffmann, 1637), vol. VII, 475.

notoriety prompts the report to give his name "Schütz Melcher," his age, 48 years, and his place of origin, Silesia. He is accused of incest with his pregnant daughter, of murdering and disemboweling pregnant women, removing the fetus's heart and eating it raw. Added are accusations of sodomy.[45] In this case, the association with satanic practices remains implied though not openly expressed.

This changes in volume ten of the *Theatrum* where we meet a whole family of criminals, mother, father, and son who, in 1661, were accused, again in Silesia, of "Mordtaten/ Ehebruch/ Hurerey (Vergewaltigung)/ Blutschande/Sodomiterey/Mordbrände und Diebstähle." They were subsequently "peinlich verhört," tortured, and sentenced to death.[46] The details of their crimes contain a brief note on witchcraft. After murdering his own child, one of their accomplices called "Wampe," is accused of having "Händlein zu sich genommen/ allerhand Hexerey und Zauberey damit (zu) treiben."[47] Moreover, after raping several maids and murdering them, he allegedly cut open their bodies, and after removing their hearts ground them into a powder ("gepülvert") which he put into people's beer.[48] The neutral language used in reporting these horrific crimes reduces the impact of the tale told. These reports merely list events, one as worthy of the reader's attention as the next, which reduces the impulse for passionate condemnation or moral indignation putting what today would be called prurient interest in its place.

Similar crimes, child murders are a favorite, appear pretty much in each volume of the *Theatrum.* One of the reports, signaling the increasing proximity of the vampire and witch theme, tells of the widow of a blacksmith who, for many years had secretly committed "hurerey" aborting the resulting pregnancies. She was "gesäckt, unter den Galgen begraben/ und ihr ein eychener Pfahl durchs Hertze geschlagen."[49]

This sparse reporting style is employed to similar rationalizing effect by Johannes Praetorius who makes extensive use of the *Theatrum* in his annual calendars of wonders and sensations. The three volumes of the *Zodiacus Mercurialis* and some of his *Wonder* books, include typical newsy non sequiturs which, to avoid confusion, he frequently organizes numerically. In one instance, he briefly mentions (four lines) the burning of thirty witches in the Silesian town of Glogau after which he goes on to the next item, the wine harvest along the Rhine. In another, he enters a

[45] Ibid., vol. VII, 703.
[46] Ibid., vol. IX, 23.
[47] Ibid., vol. IX, 523.
[48] Ibid., vol. IX, 528.
[49] Ibid., vol. IX, 1481.

sentence about witches who were executed because they had done some unspecified evil ["viel böses"[50]]. Silesia's witch persecutions came rather late in the 17th century, and they greatly differed in severity from region to region, town to town.[51] Yet another notice, also about Silesia, dispassionately comments: "[W]ie im vorigen Jahre darüber 30. Hexen wären verbrandt worden / und man endlich aufhören müssen / als es an die Vornehmen gerathen" [As during the previous years, thirty witches were burned; it was finally necessary to stop when the well-to-do began to be the target].[52] Implying more than it says on the page, the report alludes to what we know today, namely that witch prosecutions stopped when the accusations approached the well-to-do. Nothing more is made of it.

Where there are witches, there are, of course, pacts, and the news reports on those, of course.[53] Pacts appear in each of the three *Zodiacus* chronicles as well as in the *Theatrum*; one pact was said to cover a period of twenty-five years[54]; the copy of another was reportedly found under a gallows. No further comment is offered signaling that even satanic pacts had become somewhat of a commonplace, duly reported, but not deserving of any detailed comments.

Conclusion

We are returning to where we started, to Happel and the new media he employed in his novels. In those novels, and I have read many of them, the witch moves from one new medium to the other, from demonology to newspaper to novel, pretty much seamlessly. But on the way into Happel's, and not only his, fiction, she loses much of her power and terror. Increasingly, the witch and magic are reduced to mere narrative tools,

[50] Johannes Praetorius, *Zodiacus Mercurialis.* (Jena, 1669), vol. II, 93.

[51] Silesia's witch persecutions came rather late during the early modern period, and they greatly differed in severity by region. The seventeenth century witnessed two larger outbreaks: one in the thirties and another in the sixties. See Karen Lambrecht, *Hexenverfolgung und Zaubereiprozesse in den schlesischen Territorien* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1995).

[52] "As during the previous years, thirty witches were burned; it was finally necessary to stop when the well-to-do began to be the target," Praetorius, *Zodiacus Mercurialis.*, vol. II, 15.

[53] See chapter on the Faust adaptations in seventeenth-century Germany in Gerhild Scholz Williams and Alexander Schwarz, *Existentielle Vergeblichkeit : Verträge in der Mélusine, im Eulenspiegel und im Dr. Faustus* (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 2003), 109–45.

[54] Praetorius, *Zodiacus Mercurialis.*, vol. II, 74.

narratological markers, if you will. When employed, magic and the witch provide themes for the endless conversations and discussions that keep Happel's protagonists awake and entertained while they roam far and wide in quest of yet another battle and yet another bed where a beautiful person, hopefully of the appropriate gender and class, awaits them. There are no male witches like Faust in Happel's novels, nor any dramatic accusations of satanic compacts. The magic that appears here is tame: a magician/*Hellseher* here, an ill-meaning but not at all satanic jealous conjuring woman there. All of them serve as plot devices rather than embodiments of deeply feared political, social, or economic threats. The witches in Happel, however few there are, conform to the old, ugly hag of the later fairy tale. In the *Afrikanische Tarnolast,* his first novel, the protagonists traveling in Africa come across a guest house whose owners turn out to be a money hungry witch and her husband. When she cannot convince him to separate the travelers from their wealth she conjures a great fog which causes them to get lost providing a chance for the narration to follow along each character's ambling through the foreign countryside.[55] At the very end of the book, she is mentioned once again as "having conjured a great storm" on some unsuspecting travelers whose money she coveted.[56] Her punishment is in keeping with her marginal magic: Dovial**,** Tarnolast's brother and a flawless hero, unceremoniously splits her head with his sword when he finds her groping under his pillow for his cash.

A little more consequential is the action of another witch, this one in the *Spanische Quintana*. She is a farmer's wife and she inflicts magic to destroy the love of a young couple of the nobility. However, prayer intercedes and she has to seize and desist and even admit to her wrong doing. Indicating how far we have come from the burning of the witch, this old hag dies before she can be punished. And the question of the efficacy of masses for a dead witch is answered in the affirmative.[57]

Other novels play with mirror and water magic or regale the reader with long discourses about what and what not to believe about magical properties and people. We have left behind, at least in these genteel circles, the horrifying witch that so profoundly upset de Lancre and his fellow scholars, who fascinated and scared the people when they heard

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[55] Eberhard Werner Happel and John D Lindberg, *Der afrikanische Tarnolast: nach d. Ausg. von 1689* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann., 1689), vol. III, 681.
[56] Ibid., vol. IV, 1176.
[57] Eberhard Werner Happel, *Der Spanische Quintana, oder so genannter Europaeischer Geschicht-Roman, Auf das 1686*, vol. 4 (Ulm: Wagner, 1687), 274.

about Faust, and, which resurfaces in TV and movies to provide the current audience a cheap thrill.

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