The age of the Renaissance and Reformation was also a time in which many people throughout Europe, both Catholics and Protestants, became convinced that society was threatened by conspiracies of witches. The resulting panics led to the execution of thousands of people, mostly lower-class women. The course delves into intellectual, cultural and social history to explain how this happened, and why. A general belief in witches and magic was part of this, but only part. Such beliefs had a long history in European society yet had not previously led to widespread attacks on suspected witches. As we will see, persecutions of witchcraft reflected major changes in European society, culture, and politics—including changing assumptions about the nature of gender; new relationships between popular and learned religion; the formation of centralized states and the rise of “social discipline;” and so on. These transformations lent new meanings to traditional ideas about women, possession, and magic, thus enabling the systematic condemnation of certain groups of people. The ways in which these ideas were mobilized within individual communities and the reasons for doing so varied widely, however, and we will therefore closely examine several specific examples of witch hunts in order to better understand why they were appealing to so many, why they flourished for a time, and why they ultimately faded.

**Course Objectives**

This course has three main goals. **First**, it will serve as an introduction to the phenomenon of witch hunts in early modern Europe. After examining these from a variety of perspectives, you should
understand the contexts in which traditional ideas about witchcraft and magic developed and came to be widely used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the nature of the hunts and the trials, and the major historical debates about witch hunts.

**Second,** this course will introduce you to the practice of history. In lectures, you will encounter some of the ways in which historians think about the past. In class discussion and in writing assignments, especially the case study, you will have the opportunity to explore primary sources (i.e., original texts) from early modern Europe. By the end of the semester, you should have an understanding of how to analyze primary sources and connect them to the larger interpretive frameworks of historical scholarship.

**Finally,** this course will develop writing and critical thinking skills. In the writing component of our class, we will stress the idea that a good paper involves reading critically, developing interesting and coherent ideas, and then conveying those ideas to the reader effectively. By engaging with a variety of primary sources, you will be challenged to draw and defend meaningful comparisons between different localities and moments in time and to ultimately relate historical knowledge to contemporary issues.

**COURSE INFORMATION**

*Course Website:* Please check our course’s Blackboard site as I will post some course readings and details about upcoming assignments.

*Communication:* Please come speak with me if you have any questions or concerns about the class. I can be more understanding of your needs if you bring them to my attention before they become a serious problem. I am available during regular office hours without an appointment. If you cannot make posted hours, please contact me to schedule a better time. You may also speak to me by e-mail or phone.

*Attendance:* Attendance at all class meetings is mandatory. More than three unexcused absences will lower your grade for the course by ½ letter grade (e.g. from a B to a B-); each further absence will result in an additional ½ grade deduction. I reserve the right to withdraw students who have missed six or more meetings from the class. If you must miss class for an unavoidable reason, please let me know in advance.

*Accommodations:* I encourage you to talk with me about any concern or situation that affects your ability to complete your academic work successfully. Students requiring classroom accommodations should contact the Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning, 1-154 Dewey Hall, 275-9049. You can learn more about the process at: [www.rochester.edu/college/cetl/undergraduate/disability](http://www.rochester.edu/college/cetl/undergraduate/disability).

*Academic Honesty:* All assignments and activities associated with this course must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester's Academic Honesty Policy. More information is available at: [www.rochester.edu/college/honesty/](http://www.rochester.edu/college/honesty/). You are encouraged to discuss course readings and assignments with your fellow students. However, all written work must be done independently and not in collaboration with another.

*Writing Help:* We will discuss each writing assignment in detail during class. I am also always willing to talk about writing assignments individually: to help you plan an essay, work through the process, or go
over a past paper. Another very useful resource is the U of R Writing and Speaking Center, which is dedicated to helping writers at all skill levels to improve. You can reach them at 273-3577, by stopping by Rush Rhees G-121, or by scheduling an appointment at http://writing.rochester.edu/help/index.html.

**Readings**

The course texts (listed below) are available for purchase at the bookstore or online. We will also read several additional texts not on this list. These will be available on the Blackboard site. Our discussions in class will focus on these readings. You should approach them critically; that is, by considering the different historical contexts in which each source was written, the social identity (including gender) of both the author and the people s/he writes about, and the author’s purposes in writing.


**Assignments**

The writing component of this course consists of two short papers (5-6 double-spaced pages), each of which will consist of a formal analysis of a text (or group of texts) that we have already read and discussed, and one longer (10-12 double-spaced pages) analysis of a particular case.

**Papers:** These will each consist of an analysis of a text (or group of texts) that we have already read and discussed with an emphasis on developing an argument and demonstrating your ability to read, think, and write clearly. For each paper, I will post of list of possible topics in advance.

**Case Study:** You will also write a case study, focusing on a particular witch trial or witch hunt or primary source about witchcraft of your choice. The goal is to set your example in the context of the wider phenomenon of witch hunting. Among the questions you might ask, therefore, are: what broad social, cultural, political, and economic trends influenced events in your examples? What local concerns were addressed? Who was responsible for accusing witches? For judging and sentencing them? What sets of ideas or discourses about witches were brought to bear and by whom? What were the effects of witch trials on the community? How were the trials remembered? To address these questions, you will need to pay close attention to your sources: who’s writing them, why, for what audience? We will discuss the specifics of this project in class during the semester, but I recommend that you begin thinking about possible cases as early as possible. At the end of this syllabus are some starting points for
your research. Prior to submitting the final paper, you will develop an annotated bibliography for your topic and present your hypotheses and initial findings in a brief (1-2 page) project proposal.

**Class Participation:** All students are expected to attend all class meetings and to notify me in advance if you must miss a class. Excessive unexcused absences will affect your grade. You should come to class having read the assigned texts and prepared to discuss them. Simple attendance is not enough; there is no such thing as passive participation. I expect and encourage a diversity of perspectives, as well as honest and respectful disagreement. If you are having difficulties speaking up in class, please come see me and we will develop some strategies together. We will be splitting into two discussion sections for this course; you will be informed of your assigned group on the first day of class.

**What does effective class participation look like?** In terms of the class participation grade, the following rubric roughly outlines my expectations:

- **A:** regular class attendance, always fully prepared (= having completed *and* thought about the readings), regularly contributes positive, thoughtful comments
- **B:** regular class attendance, usually prepared, makes a sincere effort to contribute often
- **C/D:** several absences, inconsistent preparation, occasional contributions to discussion
- **F:** many absences, usually unprepared, vague or rare contributions

**Grading**

- Participation and attendance: 30%
- Short papers: 30% (15% each)
- Case Study: 40% (paper 30%, proposal/bibliography 10%)

**Schedule of Meetings and Readings**

**Aug 31 (Thurs):** Introduction – to the course, to each other

*The Medieval Background*

**Sept 5 (Tues):** Magic in the Christian Tradition


**Sept 7 (Thurs):** Witchcraft and the medieval Church

*Readings:*
• Darren Oldridge, “Medieval Origins;” Norman Cohn, “The Demonization of Medieval Heretics” (WR, pp. 19-22 and 31-36)

Sept 12 (Tues): Witchcraft and the medieval Church

Readings:
• Thomas Acquinas, Summa theologiae and Quodlibet; Gregory IX, Vox in Rama; John XXII, “Sorcery and the Inquisitors;” Nicolau Eymeric, Directorium inquisitorum; Bernardino of Siena, “Against Women Sorcerors” (KP, pp. 96-104; 114-116; 119-127; 133-137) (and look at the images on pp. 139-148)
• Stuart Clark, “Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft” (WR, pp. 120-130)

Sept 14 (Thurs): The Renaissance and the Beginnings of the Witch ‘Craze’

Readings:
• Eugenius IV, “Two letters;” Johannes Nider, Formicarius; Errores Gazariorum; Martin Le Franc, The Defender of Ladies; Innocent VIII, Summis desiderantes affectibus (KP, pp. 153-162; 166-169; 177-180)
• Desiderius Erasmus, “A Terrible Case of Sorcery in Orléans;” Johann Geiler von Kayersberg, Die Emeis; Pico della Mirandola, Strix (KP, pp. 231-245)

Sept 19 (Tues): The Hammer of Witches

Readings:
• Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, Malleus Maleficarum (KP, pp. 180-229)
• Hans Peter Broedel, “The Malleus Maleficiarum and the Construction of Witchcraft (WR, pp. 43-47)

The Witch Craze

Sept 21 (Thurs): Witchcraft and reform theology


Sept 26 (Tues): Did religious strife intensify witch hunting?


Sept 28 (Thurs): Magic, the Family, and the Village

Readings:
• “Confessions of the Chelmsford Witches;” “The Trial of Marie Cornu” (KP, pp. 302-308; 345-348)

**Sept 29 (Friday): Short paper #1 due at 8pm by email**

**Oct 3 (Tues): Folklore, the Sabbath, and the Old Religion**

*Readings:*

• Margaret Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 9-18 (on blackboard)

**Oct 5 (Thurs): Law, witchcraft, and the early modern state**

*Readings:*


**Oct 10 (Tues): Fall Break, no class**

**Oct 12 (Thurs): Was it the weather?**

*Readings:*


**Oct 17 (Tues): An Age of Anxiety?**

*Readings:*

• Lyndal Roper, “Fertility,” in *The Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (Yale, 2006), pp. 127-159 (on blackboard)
• “The Trial of Suzanne Gaudry” (KP, pp. 359-367)
Oct 19 (Thurs): Was Witch Hunting Woman Hunting?

Readings:

Oct 24 (Tues): Mothers and Midwives

Readings:

Oct 26 (Thurs): Medicine and Psychology: Ways of understanding?

Readings:

Oct 27 (Friday): short paper #2 due at 8pm by email

Case Studies: Witch Hunts in Europe and the Colonies

Oct 31 (Tues): Case Study, Italy (Halloween!)

Nov 2 (Thurs): Witches as Folk Heroes?

Readings: Carlo Ginzburg, The Night Battles, pp. 65-135

Nov 7 (Tues.): no class (use the opportunity to work on your case study proposal / schedule individual meetings with me or Andrew to discuss possibilities)

Nov 9 (Thurs): Case Study: Germany

Readings: Peter Morton, The Trial of Tempel Anneke, pp. 1-81 (and the introduction as well)

Nov 10 (Friday): case study proposal and annotated bibliography due at 8pm by email

Nov 14 (Tues): Case Study: Germany

Readings: Peter Morton, The Trial of Tempel Anneke, pp. 82-151.

Nov 16 (Thurs): Case Study: England


Nov 21 (Tues): Case Study: England

Readings: James Sharpe, The Bewitching of Anne Gunter, pp. 115-212.

Nov 23 (Thurs): Thanksgiving, no class

Nov 28 (Tues): Case Study: France (Film: The Devils (1971)

(Note – the graphic depictions of sexuality in this film and its representation of religion have been very controversial. If you anticipate that this will make you uncomfortable, please see me and we can discuss an alternate assignment)

Nov 30 (Thurs): Case Study: France (The Devils continued)

Readings:
- See also: Aldous Huxley, The Devils of Loudon (1952)

Dec 5 (Tues): Case Study: Salem (Film: The Crucible (1996)

Readings: The Salem Witchcraft Papers (at http://salem.lib.virginia.edu/texts/tei/swp). You don’t need to read through all of these, but do consider enough of them to get a sense of the progress of the trials. You might also search out the names of those mentioned in The Crucible)
Dec 7 (Thurs): Case Study: Salem (The Crucible continued)

Readings:
- See also: Arthur Miller, The Crucible (1953)

Dec 12 (Tues): The End of the Craze

Readings:
- Friedrich Spee, Cautio criminalis; Balthasar Bekker, The Enchanted World (KP, pp. 425-435)

Case study due Monday, Dec 18 at 8pm by email.

APPENDIX: RESOURCES FOR YOUR CASE STUDY

For the case study, you will first need to identify a specific witch trial or witch hunt or and then need to find sufficient documentation. For the former, I advise you to choose an example that is obscure enough that we haven’t read about it repeatedly in class but which also engages your interest. In other words, dig deep and don’t choose the first potential case that you find.

In terms of finding your evidence, it turns out that, through a quirk of local history, the University of Rochester and western New York more generally is an excellent place in which to research witchcraft. Rossell Hope Robbins (after whom the Robbins Library on the 4th floor of Rush Rhees is named) was an early scholar of witchcraft who, in 1959, published The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology, an enormously successful book which has been often reprinted. Because of this legacy, the U of R and Cornell University (where he also conducted research) have extensive collections on witchcraft. I’ve outlined some of these below.

At the University of Rochester

Robbins Library (4th floor, Rush Rhees):

The Robbins Library has a wide array of printed books related to witchcraft but, perhaps more interesting, also has Rossell Robbins’ own notes, photocopies, etc. from when he was writing his Encyclopedia. These materials are not catalogued are in some files cabinets in a back room of the Robbins Library. You’ll need to ask at the desk for access (and don’t get locked in that back room!). The
file cabinets are a treasure trove (I found half a dozen interesting cases in just a few minutes) and perhaps will give you a bit of the experience of a historian in the archives.

Other materials in the Robbins include:

**Primary Sources**


**Secondary Sources**


Reference


**Rush Rhees, general stacks:**

There are quite literally hundreds of books related to witchcraft in the general stacks. There’s a particular hot zone on Level G100, around call number BF1500, but many others scattered about.

**Rare Books and Special Collections (2nd floor, Rush Rhees):**

There are not quite so many items here, but there are some potentially interesting treatises concerning witchcraft that were published in England in the 17th and early 18th century. This is an excellent opportunity to get hands-on experience with unusual historical materials. A small sampling of what’s available includes:

Boulton, Richard, *The possibility and reality of magick, sorcery, and witchcraft, demostrated, or, A vindication of a compleat history of magick, sorcery, and witcraft : in answer to Dr. Hutchinson's Historical essay, now Bishop of Down and Connor, in the Kingdom of Ireland, in two parts* (London, 1722)

Glanvill, Joseph, *Saducismus triumphatus: or, Full and plain evidence concerning witches and apparitions; in two parts. The first treating of their possibility. The second of their real existence* (London, 1681) (also a 1689 copy, perhaps worthy of comparison)

Hutchinson, Francis, *An historical essay concerning witchcraft. With observations upon matters of fact; tending to clear the texts of the sacred Scriptures, and confute the vulgar errors about that point. And
also two sermons: one in proof of the Christian religion; the other concerning the good and evil Angels (London, 1718)

Perkins, William, *A discourse of the damned art of witchcraft* (Cambridge, 1610)

**Nearby (relatively speaking)**

**Cornell University Library Rare and Manuscript Collections:**

Cornell has an impressive collection on witchcraft-related subjects, including originals of some of the works we’ll be reading in this class as well as a number of trial transcripts. They also have many digitized works in English at: [http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/w/witch/digital.html](http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/w/witch/digital.html).

If you are considering a trip to Cornell to look at the manuscript materials, I recommend you start with this finding aid: [http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/RMM04620.html](http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/RMM04620.html).

**Online**

In addition to the works available online at Cornell’s site, there are a number of other collections of digitized witchcraft sources. (This is only a small sampling of what’s out there.)

Contains digital copies of virtually every work printed in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and British North America and works in English printed elsewhere from 1473-1700.

Full text of works published in the UK during the 18th century plus thousands from elsewhere.

**Hanover Historical Texts Collection** - [http://history.hanover.edu/custom-search-engines.html](http://history.hanover.edu/custom-search-engines.html)
Searchable database with links to various trials, treatises, and secondary works. See also their older version ([http://history.hanover.edu/link-lists/wh.html](http://history.hanover.edu/link-lists/wh.html))

**Lorraine witchcraft trials** - [http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/staff/robinbriggs/](http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/staff/robinbriggs/)
A collection of documents from witch trials in Lorraine.

**UPenn Witchcraft research guide** - [http://gethelp.library.upenn.edu/guides/hist/witchcraft.html](http://gethelp.library.upenn.edu/guides/hist/witchcraft.html)
A useful bibliography of online and print materials.

**Witches and Witchtrials in England, the Channel Islands, Ireland and Scotland** - [http://www.personal.utulsa.edu/~marc-carlson/witchtrial/eis.html](http://www.personal.utulsa.edu/~marc-carlson/witchtrial/eis.html)
Compilation of British witch trials. A good starting point for inquiries.