Witchcraft Persecutions in Bavaria

Popular magic, religious zealotry and reason of state in early modern Europe

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## Contents

*List of illustrations*  
*List of tables*  
*Preface and acknowledgements*  
*List of abbreviations*  

### 1 Introduction
- Witch trials in historiographic context  
- Investigating witch trials and learned discourse in southeastern Germany  
- Methodology  

### 2 Moving toward a social history of witchcraft
- Quantification in synchronic and diachronic juxtaposition  
- Witch trials and popular magic  
- A ‘crisis of the late sixteenth century’?  

### 3 The wave of persecutions around 1590
- Contemporary interpretations  
- The course of the persecutions  
- Triggering factors  
- Mechanisms of persecution  
- The breakdown of consensus  
- Regulatory efforts at the end of the persecutions  

### 4 The struggle for restraint, 1600–30
- The witch craze at its peak  
- The Protestant solution  
- The Catholic stance hardens  
- Formation of an opposition party in Bavaria  
- Learned debate, 1601–4  

Page ix  
Page xi  
Page xiii  
Page xvii  
Page 1  
Page 17  
Page 29  
Page 34  
Page 35  
Page 65  
Page 89  
Page 115  
Page 121  
Page 158  
Page 183  
Page 194  
Page 206  
Page 212  
Page 212  
Page 213  
Page 216  
Page 230  
Page 247
Contents

Conflict over the mandate against superstition and witchcraft of 1612 269
Predominance of the moderates in Bavaria 291
Triumph of the moderates in southern Germany 310

5 Perpetuation through domestication 1630–1775 322
   Convergence of trial procedure 322
   Novel polarities and structural changes of trials 331
   The last executions for witchcraft 1749–75 344

6 The final Catholic debate 355
   From Tanner to Spee 355
   The onset of Catholic debate 357
   Public debate and the victory of the Enlightenment, 1766–70 359
   Combating superstition after the ‘witchcraft war’ 381

7 Conclusions 388
   Witchcraft trials and learned discourse in southeastern Germany: a summary 388
   Structures and regions in comparison 400
   Witch trials and social crises 405

8 Sources and literature 416
   Sources 416
   Literature 425

Index 457
Illustrations

PLATES

1  Valentin, *End-Urthel [...]*, Augsburg 1760  
page  40
2  Stealing milk by sorcery, from Hans Vintler, *Tugendspiegel*, Augsburg 1486  
69
3  Deeds of the witches, from Ulrich Tengler, *Der neu Layenspiegel*, Augsburg 1511  
75
4  White and black magic, from Cicero, *De Officiis*, Augsburg 1531  
93
5  The *Erwürgterte Unholden Zeyttung*, 1590  
120
6  The witch in the Dance of Death at Füssen, Füssen 1602  
127
7  Peter Binsfeld, *Tractat vom Bekanntnuss der Zauberer und Hexen*, Munich 1592  
141
8  *Kurtze Erzählung und Fürbildung der übelthatten [...]*, Augsburg 1600  
231
9  Martin Delrio, *Disquisitionum Magicarum libri sex*, Cologne  
1657  264
10  *Landtgebott wider die Aberglauben, Zauberey, Hexerey und andere sträffliche Teufelskünst*, Munich 1611  
284
11  The *Druten Zeitung Schmalkalden*, Nuremberg 1627  
302
12  *Warhaffte Historische Abbild: und kurzte Beschreibung*, Augsburg 1654  
329
13  *Warhaffte Beschreibung des Urthels [...]*, Augsburg 1666  
332
14  *Relation oder Beschreibung [...]*, Augsburg 1669  
335
15  Peasant magic: charms against bewitchment of the cattle  
383
16  Gassner's *Weise wider den Teufel zu streiten*, Kempten 1774  
383
17  Adam Tanner, *Theologia Scholastica*, Tomus 3, Ingolstadt 1627  
396

FIGURES

1  Court proceedings against sorcery and/or witchcraft in Augsburg,  
in five-yearly periods, 1581–1653  
45
2  Witch trials and executions of witches in the Duchy of Bavaria
Illustrations

every full decade, 1590–1750  51
3  Number of county courts in the provincial administration of Munich with trials for sorcery and witchcraft  52

MAPS

Map 1  Executions of witches around 1590: geographical distribution in southeastern Germany  xviii
Map 2  Executions of witches in southeast Germany  xx
Map 3  Comparison of witch hunts in three south German regions (southwestern Germany, Franconia, southeastern Germany)  xxii
### Tables

| 1 | Geographical distribution of witch trials, based on the material of the *H-Sonderkommando* | page 37 |
| 2 | Court proceedings against sorcery and/or witchcraft in Augsburg, in five-yearly periods, 1581–1653 | page 44 |
| 3 | Court proceedings against sorcery and/or witchcraft in the Bishopric of Augsburg in five-yearly periods, 1573–1632 | page 47 |
| 4 | Decline in the importance of witchcraft after 1630 as reflected in the minutes of the Court Council at Munich | page 53 |
| 5 | Statistical analysis of 103 witch trials held in Bavaria between 1608 and 1616 | page 54 |
| 6 | Witch hunts with more than twenty victims | page 61 |
| 7 | Witch hunts with ten to nineteen victims | page 61 |
| 8 | Witch hunts with four to nine victims | page 62 |
| 9 | Chronological and quantitative distribution of minor and major witch hunts | page 63 |
| 10 | Relationship between type of trial and number of victims | page 63 |
| 11 | Trials and executions of witches in Bavarian county courts (1608–16), based on analysis of the minutes of the Court Council at Munich | page 291 |
| 12 | Trials and executions of witches in Bavarian county courts (1629–31) based on analysis of the minutes of the Court Council at Munich | page 308 |
| 13 | Intensity of witch hunting in four neighbouring regions of southeastern Germany and Austria | page 401 |
1 Introduction

WITCH TRIALS IN HISTORIOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

Since the 1970s, the researching of witch trials and their background has developed into an autonomous historical field – witchcraft studies.\(^1\) However, historical interest in witchcraft has an even longer tradition: demonologists of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries often substantiated their own opinions through references to historical accounts and preced-

ents, in addition to revelation, classical authors or scholastic authorities. Opponents of trials also found it in their best interests to cite historical precedents or to stigmatise the outbreak of persecutions as a wrong turn on the path of history. To that extent, some historical awareness of 'witches' always existed in Western Europe. Even Enlightenment thinkers were rooted in this tradition, although their examples had a different aim. Whereas precedent previously underscored the necessity of persecution, history served an apologetic function in the Enlightenment, unveiling the 'darkness' of a bygone era. Later, historical precedent provided them with a political weapon in the fight for enlightened reforms, only to regain an apologetic function shortly thereafter. Hardly any other theme lent itself so well to exalting the present at the expense of the past.

Historians initially treated the ostensibly exotic topic of witchcraft with negligence and, with few exceptions, the field was tilled by outsiders. Theologians, jurists, archivists and journalists all took an early interest, followed by psychologists, physicians, sociologists, ethnologists and folklorists. While a journalistic approach often led, indeed still leads, to

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3 More radical opponents branded the executions of witches as an overt injustice, above all J. Weyer (Wierus), *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, Frankfurt am Main, 1586 (1st edn 1563). In our context the view of a Jesuit leader of opinion from Bavaria is interesting; he believed that the new witches had been known since 1475! A. Tanner, *Theologia scholastica*, 4 vols., Ingolstadt 1626-7, I, col. 1503f.


5 One of the few exceptions was S. Riezler, *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse in Bayern. Im Lichte der allgemeinen Entwicklung dargestellt*, Stuttgart 1896. Riezler (1843-1927) had qualified as a lecturer in 1869, and the first volume of his monumental *Geschichte Baierns* (8 vols., Gotha 1878-1914) appeared in 1878. Riezler was appointed to the first chair of Bavarian history and became a co-editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*. 
eccentric interpretations,\textsuperscript{6} most researchers (excluding special interest groups) accepted the explanations proposed in nineteenth-century German literature,\textsuperscript{7} which could claim the detailed reconstruction of an elaborated concept of witchcraft pervasive in Western Europe from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries as its major accomplishment. Regional and chronological concentrations of trials and persecutions, though noted, never came to the foreground. One leading researcher, Joseph Hansen, identified the accumulated beliefs of sorcery and heresy subsumed in the fifteenth-century concept of witchcraft, and his findings are still valid today, but Hansen was over-generous when he conceded that early modern persecutions were

only the natural echo of ideas fully developed around the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era, influenced little by the Reformation, persisting far into the nineteenth century, and not effectively opposed until they came under the influence of a modern world-view based on science, and not theology.\textsuperscript{8}

In Hansen’s day, most researchers assumed that witch trials flowed into the continuous stream of persecutions from the end of the Middle Ages to


\textsuperscript{8} Hansen, \textit{Quellen und Untersuchungen}, Foreword.
the beginning of the Enlightenment. While occasional antiquarians might describe a single trial, they otherwise contented themselves with the prevailing paradigm. Individual cases served them only as examples and a systematic investigation was ignored, because this 'could accomplish little more than confirm the well-known pattern with grisly uniformity'.

A few nineteenth-century researchers voiced concerns about the accuracy of this portrayal, but only recently has the challenge culminated in a true paradigm shift. New studies demonstrate major spatial and temporal fluctuations between trials conducted in a manner lacking any essential uniformity. They reveal how an event once scorned by 'enlightened' historians as a 'witch craze' actually displayed significant regional and individual anomalies, rightly pointing out pronounced variations in persecutions. In the 1960s, historical interest in early modern witch trials shifted from the ruling elites traditionally targeted for research – nobles, jurists and theologians – onto the 'lower' social strata of the population and their attendant actions and reactions; firm believers in witchcraft, they were more immediately affected than the highest echelons of society. Witchcraft studies broke new ground after several historians unearthed a mass of surprising information.

In terms of chronology, international researchers now largely agree that witchcraft persecutions peaked between 1560 and 1630, albeit with distinct conjunctures during this seventy-year period. If consensus seems unimportant, one should appreciate that the new chronology renders many former hypotheses obsolete and demolishes older explanatory models. Contrary to popular opinion, there was never any broad stream of witch trials running from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century.

Following witch trials conducted by papal inquisitors around 1500, we now know that executions for witchcraft actually declined for decades, compelling contemporaries to remark that witches were hardly ever executed.\textsuperscript{12} This decline coincided with the reign of Charles V, the age of the Reformation and its popular mass movements, and an epoch of benign capitalism (Braudel). One leading physician, Johann Weyer, launched a frontal assault on the dominant concept of witchcraft elaborated by later scholasticists in his epoch-making \textit{De praestigiis Daemonum} of 1563. However, although he condemned persecutions as a 'slaughter of the innocents', Weyer's voluminous polemic was not intended as an attack on witch trials per se, but rather on the unexpected occasion of their resumption; by that time, he had hoped, they were long 'abolished and done away with'.\textsuperscript{13} Obviously, we need no longer search the Middle Ages (perhaps not as 'dark' as they once seemed) for causes behind a rise in witch hunting after 1560, but instead in the 'iron century' (Henry Kamen) which now commands ever more attention from historians. Furthermore, the 'new' endpoint of the European witch craze has similarly unsettling implications. While Cartesianism and the early Enlightenment certainly played a decisive role in the marginalisation of witchcraft as a crime, they hardly explain the marked decline in persecutions as early as the first decade of the seventeenth century, even more pronounced after 1630.\textsuperscript{14}

Recently, interest in the apex of witchcraft persecutions between 1560 and 1630 has mounted. Heightened public interest provided an external stimulus, but the scholarly bankruptcy of traditional explanations acted as a catalyst more endogenous to the historical community: repeated assertions of a connection with the Counter-Reformation or the tumultuous wars of religion are simply unfounded.\textsuperscript{15} In Germany, the epicentre of witch hunting,\textsuperscript{16} the first waves of persecution occurred during an extended period of peace between the Schmalkaldic War and the Thirty Years War.

\textsuperscript{12} This view was defended by J. Trithemius, \textit{Antipalus Maleficiorum}, Ingolstadt 1555 (MS of 1508), on which see Lea, \textit{Materials}, 369f. and Baschwitz, \textit{Hexen}, 15–18. The complaint of lack of persecuting zeal is found in many authors on witchcraft before 1580.

\textsuperscript{13} Weyer, \textit{De Praestigiis}, Foreword, i verso (cf. note 3); 'benign capitalism' is a phrase found in Braudel, 'Europäische Expansion und Kapitalismus 1450–1650', in E. Schulin, \textit{Univaglieschichte}, Cologne 1974, 255–94, 280.


\textsuperscript{16} Monter, \textit{Witchcraft in France}, 191, assumes that 'probably more witches were killed within the confines of present-day Germany than in the rest of Europe put together'.
Interdisciplinary methods clearly provided new impulses for witchcraft studies. Apart from psychological and sociological theorems,\textsuperscript{17} ethnographic methods long employed to study witchcraft in ‘primitive societies’ proved particularly fruitful.\textsuperscript{18} Initially, research on witchcraft profited greatly from the general rapprochement between social history and social anthropology\textsuperscript{19}, most pronounced in an exchange between English and American anthropology and English witchcraft studies that resulted in several decisive encounters. Social anthropologists approached their subjects outfitted with different questions than historians, seeking the function of witchcraft in existing societies, rather than its origins or essence. Field research allowed them to test theories through direct interaction, never confined to the leading members of society – chieftains or shamans – as was customary in historical research. Instead, the ‘popular magic’ of a given society was considered within a cultural totality, neither as an isolated phenomenon, nor as some abstruse intellectual error. Unlike most historians, who viewed witchcraft beliefs as a virus infecting the intellectual body of European culture\textsuperscript{20}, ethnologists accepted the


\textsuperscript{18}E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande, Oxford 1937 (German translation, Hexerei, Orakeln und Magie bei den Zande, Frankfurt am Main 1978) had the most lasting influence. Explicit application of social-anthropological theories in Macfarlane, Witchcraft, 211–54, with discussion of ethnological theories and approaches.

\textsuperscript{19}As such one should appreciate the special numbers of two journals: The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 12 (1981–2), with a thematic block of articles on ‘Anthropology and History in the 1980s’; \textit{ibid.}, 227–78; and Geschichte und Gesellschaft, 10 (1984), Heft 3, ‘Sozialgeschichte und Kulturanthropologie’. The theme of the 35th Historians’ Conference in West Berlin of 1984 was ‘Ways of life, mentalities, forms of action. Anthropological dimensions in history’.

\textsuperscript{20}When Riezler, Geschichte, 197 places the members of the Bavarian princely house, because of their fear of witchcraft, ‘auf jene Stufe, auf der wir viele heidnische Negerstämmme treffen’, this \textit{bon mot} may have thrown light on an unknown side of Counter-Reformation piety, but it can no longer be appreciated as showing an understanding of the magical culture of the time in a social-anthropological sense. It is striking how little space is given to this central aspect of pre-industrial mentalities in historical standard works and textbooks. Only higher magic in its relationship to the emerging natural sciences is mentioned in the contributions to T. Schieder (ed.), Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte, III, Stuttgart 1971; T. Schieder (ed.), Handbuch der Europäischen Geschichte, IV, Stuttgart 1968, 126–36 \textit{passim}, merely refers to ‘superstition’ which was repressed.

If functionalists sometimes regarded witchcraft as a stabilising factor in ‘primitive’ societies,\footnote{E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Theorien über primitive Religionen, Frankfurt am Main 1981, 159ff., refers to Mauss (note 17).} Malinowski was quick to notice that an exacerbated fear of bewitchment related to historical processes in a given society. The historisation of social anthropology by Evans-Pritchard\footnote{So for example M. Douglas, ‘Das Problem des Bösen’, in her, Ritual, Tabu und Körpersymbolik. Sozialanthropologische Studien in Industriegesellschaft und Stammeskultur, Frankfurt 1981, 152–71; E. Gillies, ‘Introduction’ to the German translation of Evans-Pritchard (1978), 7–36, 26f.} strengthened the perception that fear of bewitchment rises in times of social turmoil. The view of ‘popular magic’ as a self-regulating mechanism preserving social and moral equilibrium was thereby altered as accusations of bewitchment began to be regarded as symptoms of heightened internal tensions. Suspicions of witchcraft indicated a society that, as a whole, could no longer resolve problems by traditional means – a society in a state of crisis, so to speak.\footnote{E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Anthropology and History, Manchester 1961; B. Malinowski, ‘Gedanken zum Problem des Zauberwesens’, in his, Die Dynamik des Kulturwandels, Vienna 1951, 185–96.} English witchcraft studies incorporated this paradigm, thereby achieving a novel interpretive quality for European history. Keith Thomas expressed this most clearly, stating:

Witch-beliefs are therefore of interest to the social historian for the light they throw upon the weak points in the social structure of the time.\footnote{Malinowski, ‘Gedanken’, 190ff.; Gillies, ‘Introduction’, 28–30; Macfarlane, Witchcraft, 249ff.} As initial forays

From inauspicious beginnings as a trivial preoccupation with an apparently irrelevant cultural aberration, witchcraft studies forced their way into the heart of historical debate to stake a claim as a leading field of early modern research.\footnote{Thomas, Religion, 669.}

The emancipation of witchcraft studies became clear when leading historians in England and France suddenly began to concern themselves with the topic, and continued to do so for many years.\footnote{This was heralded in Mfolff, ‘Renaissance’, 294.} To name only a few: L. Febvre, ‘Sorcellerie, sotise ou révolution mentale’, Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations, 3 (1948), 9–15; P. Chaunu, ‘Sur le fin des sorciers au XVIIe siècle’, Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations, 24 (1969), 895–911; Mandrou, Magistrats; Muchembled, Kultur; Stone, ‘Disenchantment’; Kamen, Iron Century; Thomas, Religion.
passed into an experimental phase, attempts were made to link witchcraft with all sorts of social changes in the later Middle Ages and early modern period. Initially, historians rather naively sought to explain witchcraft persecutions by citing unique causes, such as the alleged self-enrichment of the judges, the sexual perversions of monks, the intended destruction of religious enemies, the eradication of ancient cults or secret medical lore, misogyny, or the fault of the Church, jurists or other social groups. None of these explanations was entirely satisfying and more ambitious interpretations gradually made their appearance. They included the 'collapse' of the medieval 'cosmos' through 'rapid political, social and religious change in the fifteenth century', a transformation of mentalities during the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the potential for conflict in pre-industrial European village communities, the birth of the absolutist state, the disappearance of Catholic protective magic after the Reformation, social disciplining and suppression of popular culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the 'price revolution' of the sixteenth century, and changes in family structure, especially in the role of women in society. A complete list of the factors linked to witchcraft persecutions in recent years would be redundant. Not all connections made equal sense, but it is no exaggeration to suggest that the socio-anthropological paradigm of 'fear caused by social change' has proven most fruitful indeed. It won general recognition among historians for the central role of witchcraft in the life and thought of early modern Europeans, at all social levels, albeit relative to a broad scale of social interpretations.

A glimpse at the complex and burgeoning secondary literature indicates that little consensus remains about the connection of witchcraft to specific historical phenomena, leaving the impression that we lack fundamental information or an ability to differentiate adequately. The consequences are obvious, when some researchers suspect witch trials only in remote mountain regions, while others find them in highly developed centres of early capitalism. An interpretation of 'backwardness' dominates in the first

28 Schormann, Hexenprozesse (1981), 80–9, 100–23.
30 Macfarlane, Witchcraft, 205f. Also Thomas, Religion (1980 edn), 669ff., 675f.
31 Macfarlane, Witchcraft, 205f. 32 Lehmann, 'Hexenverfolgung', 31f.
33 Macfarlane, Witchcraft, 250f.; on this see Stone, 'Disenchantment', 19f., 24.
35 Kamen, Iron Century, 249f.
36 Midelfort, Witch Hunting, 184ff., makes this suggestion but does not draw the full conclusions from it.
example, ‘fear caused by social change’ in the second.\(^{38}\) There are also a variety of opinions as to whether the witch craze was a rural or an urban phenomenon, or whether a greater proclivity to persecute witches existed among particular religious confessions, forms of government or economic structures. Marked regional and temporal variations make it difficult or even impossible to generalise at the present time and, as with other specialised historical fields such as the history of the family, the topic remains a minefield for non-specialists. For example, when the English historian H.R. Trevor-Roper published his brilliantly formulated essay ‘The European Witch Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, he provoked reactions among historians of witchcraft ranging from ridicule, indignation, vigorous rejection or, at best, ambivalence.\(^{39}\) In a lofty tour d’horizon, Trevor-Roper combined shrewd insights with absurd generalisations taken from the secondary literature unchecked or incapable of being checked against any sources.\(^{40}\) The revival of Delrio’s old ‘mountain’ theory was employed to suggest a belief in witches indigenous to Europe’s mountainous regions: the Alps, the Pyrenees and elsewhere. Trevor-Roper’s social psychology, limited to conjecture about ‘thin mountain air’ causing ‘hallucinations’ in the ‘imaginations of the mountain peasants’, served as the basis of proof for the witchcraft concept edified by the Church. Nor was that all: Trevor-Roper reduced the witch craze to a ‘crusade against the Alpine peoples’.\(^{41}\) Although this last quote is a crass example of disturbingly learned nonsense, one could, in principle, just as easily present other unfounded statements, confidently put forward as axioms, to assert the contrary.\(^{42}\)

We can only arrive at more viable hypotheses through regional studies conducted on compact geographic areas, which explain where and when witch trials and witchcraft persecutions actually occurred, what triggered

\(^{38}\) Here the interpretation of Russell, *Witchcraft*, 268, is opposed to that of Trevor-Roper, ‘European Witch Craze’, 107 (backwardness).

\(^{39}\) Trevor-Roper, ‘European Witch Craze’ (cf. note 7).

\(^{40}\) The verdict of the advanced witchcraft researchers was annihilating: Macfarlane (*Witchcraft*) wrote: ‘the essay has nothing to say which is helpful ... The real defect of the essay is that its tone implies that we know a great deal about “witchcraft” and all that is needed is synthesis. In fact we know far too little.’ Stone, ‘Disenchantment’, 22, even considered the essay an ‘egregious error’: ‘almost all of Professor Trevor-Roper’s over-confident assertions are either false or unproven’. Also critical is Thomas, *Religion*, 595, 684. Harsh criticism was also levelled at Russell: Midelfort, *Renaissance*, 294; and at Mandrou, who had to suffer the verdict of Soman: ‘Mandrou’s thesis simply bristles with fallacies’: A. Soman, ‘The Parlement of Paris and the Great Witch Hunt (1565–1640)’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9 (1978), 31–44, quotation from 33.


\(^{42}\) Macfarlane, *Witchcraft*, 9; Stone, ‘Disenchantment’, 22; see also note 40.
them, how they developed, what reactions they provoked, what expectations were coupled with them, which chronological, local and sociological differences accompanied them and why trials eventually came to an end. Only then can we establish a sensible international comparison and correlate the events with other historical processes on a broad basis.

Earlier regional studies in German-speaking countries (Bader for Switzerland and Byloff for Austria,43 Riezler's research on the Duchy of Bavaria, the studies of Liebelt and Spielmann for Hesse44 and the monographs of Merzbacher and Wittmann for Franconia,45 to name only a few for southern Germany) have enhanced our knowledge of witch trials and have already presented a partial challenge to the earlier paradigm of German witchcraft studies. Nevertheless, their authors were caged by this paradigm insofar as their conclusions remained naive (blaming the Church, for example), the interpretation of trials unearthed as grisly examples of the age prior to the Enlightenment was retained (albeit with certain local and chronological concentrations), no new or illuminating queries were entered, and results were presented as curios of cultural history. As far as quantification is concerned, we remain in the dark as to their methods or the representative character of their sources. The authors usually examined trial records only, informing the reader, at best, that they were fragmentary. The heterogeneity and lack of intellectual rigour exhibited by many of these early regional studies make them inappropriate for any comparative survey on the 'national' level.46

Only with the 1960s did the onset of methodologically reflective witchcraft studies47 lead to systematic, comparative, regional studies posing innovative questions.48 Early in the 1970s, two extensive regional studies

46 Schormann, Hexenprozesse (1981), 65–71, gives the first approximate quantitative geographical survey of the distribution of witch hunts in Germany, for which he was able to make use above all of the materials of the H-Sonderkommando (see chapter 2, pp. 35–64).
47 Cf. notes 1 and 10.
48 Midelfort, Witch Hunting, 232, note 28 was still able to cite only Macfarlane, Witchcraft. Soman, 'Parlement', could also refer to Midelfort, Witch Hunting, E.W. Monter, Witchcraft in France and Switzerland; the Borderlands during the Reformation, Ithaca/London 1976, and the work of Larner, then in progress. Larner, Enemies, for her part, cf. note 160, also knew G. Schormann (Hexenprozesse, 1977). The essays in Degn et al., Hexenprozesse, should also have been added.