

**ISSU9WS- Witchcraft and Belief in Early-Modern Scotland, 1563-1736**

**1. INTRODUCTION**

This handout gives you information about:  
the module aims and objectives  
teaching methods and assessment  
tutorials  
essay questions and submission date  
bibliography  
library guide

**2. MODULE AIMS AND LEARNING OUTCOMES**

**(i) Aims**

The module aims to provide students with a thorough understanding of the phenomena of witchcraft belief and prosecution in Scotland between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The focus of the module will be mostly on social and cultural themes but an understanding of the political, economic and religious context will be important.

**(ii) Learning Outcomes**

This module offers the following learning outcomes:

*Knowledge and understanding*

An understanding of the dynamic between popular and elite culture, the significance of witchcraft belief to early-modern society and the social, cultural, political, economic and religious tensions that contributed to witch hunting.

Develop a capacity to evaluate conflicting historical interpretations

Understand and interpret a selection of contemporary sources

*Historical skills*

Understand the problems of the past

Appreciate the complexity and diversity of the past

Appreciate the limitations of historical knowledge

Develop a capacity to assess and evaluate evidence critically

Develop and support independent argument with appropriate evidence

Develop an awareness of the importance of historical debate

*Transferable skills*

Develop oral and written communication skills

Develop ability to work both independently and in groups, and to use effective time management

Develop skills in researching literature

Ability to analyse and collate information and to organise and present material in a clearly structured way.

Development of interpersonal skills and sensitivity to the needs of other people in the group/work situation

### **3. MODULE STRUCTURE AND ASSESSMENT**

There will be a weekly one-hour lecture and two-hour seminar/tutorial. There is also a field trip. Students will be expected to contribute to all discussions as well as give a small presentation. Topics for sessions include: the meaning of witchcraft belief, witches in the community, witchcraft and demonology, witchcraft and popular culture, witchcraft and gender.

Attendance is compulsory and preparation essential. All seminars are prescribed classes since students are assessed for their oral performance at them. Students who are absent from more than a third of prescribed classes will receive no grade. If a student is unable to attend a particular seminar, the tutor should be notified of the circumstances without delay.

Students will submit one essay of 1000 words which is weighted at 60% and a 500-word field-trip report (worth 30%). A further 10% will be based on attendance and contribution to tutorials.

The criteria for the oral assessment component will be participation in discussion, and the depth of knowledge, coherence of argument and clarity of communication demonstrated in the contributions made. Students should note that the most important issue is to attend and to participate - the skills involved in oral communication will be developed through practice.

### **4. LECTURES/TUTORIALS**

**Student preparation is essential. The core texts for the module are:**

J. Goodare (ed.), *The Scottish Witch-hunt in Context*, (MUP, Manchester, 2002) - all articles are relevant.

J. Goodare, L. Martin & J. Miller (eds.) *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*, (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2008) ER

C. Lerner, *Enemies of God: The Witch Hunt in Scotland*, (Chatto & Windus, London, 1981;

reprint John Donald, Edinburgh, 2000).

B. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, (3rd edition, London, 2006).

L. Normand & G. Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early-Modern Scotland: James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches*, (University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 2000).

**It is recommended that students should also familiarise themselves with the following:**

The Athlone *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe* series of multi-authored volumes.

R. Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*, (Fontana, Harper Collins, London, 1996).

S. Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, (OUP, Oxford, 1997).

A. Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study*, (2nd edition, ed. J. Sharpe, London, 1999).

K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, (Penguin, London, 1971)

**Note: there are copies of these titles in the library but students should be aware that these will all be in high demand.**

**Reading items marked ER are available through dedicated Library terminals as electronic resources. Those marked 'photocopy' are available on request.**

## 1. Introduction

Introductory session: outline of module, topics to be covered, format of lectures/tutorials.

Essay writing. Reading. Tutorial work. Reading documents.

Lecture 1a - 'The meaning of witchcraft'.

Lecture 1b - 'Witchcraft In Scotland'

Tutorial 1 - discussion topic: In what ways do you think you might use magic and witchcraft?

**Reading - note: it is assumed that students will refer to core texts for relevant reading each week so Goodare, Larner and Levack will not be repeated in the reading lists.**

J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700*, (Oxford, 1985).

S. Clark, 'Inversion, misrule and the meaning of witchcraft' *Past and Present*, 87, (May, 1980)  
ER

S. Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*, (OUP, Oxford, 1997).

N. Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, (Chatto and Heinemann, 1975, Revised edition, Pimlico, London, 1993).

R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, (CUP, Cambridge, 1989).

B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays*, (New York, 1954).

K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, (Penguin, London, 1971) - see review article in J. Barry *et al*, (eds.), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* and review by Larner in *SHR*, 50 (1971).

S. Wilson, *The Magical Universe: Everyday Ritual and Magic in Pre-Modern Europe*, (Hambledon and London, London, 2000)

## 2.

### Lecture 2 - 'Witches in the community'

**Tutorial 2 questions:**

Who were the witches and what function did they have?

How did communities/society use witches and witchcraft?

What was the relationship between good and bad witchcraft?

Tutorial presentation: either an article/chapter or document report

Articles/chapters:

- \*S. Clark, 'Inversion, misrule and the meaning of witchcraft' *Past and Present*, 87, (May, 1980). ER
- \*D. Harley. 'Historians as demonologists: the myth of the midwife-witch' *Social History of Medicine*, 3 (1990). ER
- \*R. Horsley, 'Who were the witches? The social roles of the accused in the European witch trials' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9 (1979). ER
- \* W. de Blecourt, 'Witches, doctors, soothsayers and priests' *Social History*, 19:3 (1994). ER

Documents:

\*St Andrews Kirk Session - Agnes Melville

\* Perth Kirk Session ; Janet Berry, Janet Jackson, Bessie Wright

**Reading:**

- W. de Blecourt, 'Witches, doctors, soothsayers and priests' *Social History*, 19:3 (1994). ER
- R. Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*, (Fontana, Harper Collins, London, 1996).
- S. Clark, 'Inversion, misrule and the meaning of witchcraft' *Past and Present*, 87, (May, 1980). ER
- O. Davies, 'Charmers and Charming in England and Wales from the eighteenth to the twentieth century' *Folklore*, 109 (1998) ER
- C. Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Trans. J. & A. Tedesi, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1983).
- D. Hamilton, *The Healers*, (Edinburgh, 1981).
- D. Harley. 'Historians as demonologists: the myth of the midwife-witch' *Social History of Medicine*, 3 (1990). ER
- R. Horsley, 'Who were the witches? The social roles of the accused in the European witch trials' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 19, no 1 (1979). ER
- J. Miller 'Devices and Directions: folk healing aspects of witchcraft practice in seventeenth-century Scotland' in J. Goodare (ed.) *The Scottish Witch-Hunt in Context* (Manchester, 2002).
- E. Pócs, *Between the Living and the Dead*, (CEUPRESS, Budapest, 1999)
- D. Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth Century Representations*, (Routledge, London & New York, 1996).
- K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, (Penguin, London, 1971).
- R. C. Sawyer, "'Strangely handled in all her lyms": witchcraft and healing in Jacobean England' *Journal of Social History*, 22 (1988-9). ER
- S. Wilson, *The Magical Universe: Everyday Ritual and Magic in Pre-Modern Europe*, (Hambledon and London, London, 2000).

**Note: Essay to be submitted by 12 noon**

**Note: Field trip Time and meeting arrangements will be confirmed in**

**class. Students will be expected to write a report on their field trip.**

**3.**

**Lecture 3 - 'Witchcraft and popular culture'**

**Tutorial 3 questions:**

What were the main differences between intellectual and popular ideas about witchcraft?

What form could demonic spirits take?

What was the function of fairy belief?

Does the fairy of the past have anything in common with the fairy of the present?

Tutorial presentation: either an article/chapter or document report.

Articles/chapters:

\*L. Henderson & E. J. Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief*, (Tuckwell, East Linton, 2001), chapter 7

\*D. Purkiss 'Sounds of Silence; Fairies and Incest in Scottish Witchcraft Stories' in S. Clark (ed.), *Languages of Witchcraft: Narrative, Ideology and Meaning in Early Modern Culture*, (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2001).

\*E. Wilby. 'The Witch's Familiar and the Fairy in Early Modern England and Scotland' *Folklore*, 111 (2000). ER

Documents:

\* Dittay of Andro Man, Spalding Club

\* Extract from Robert Kirk *The Secret Commonwealth*

**Reading:**

J. Barry, M. Hester & G. Roberts, (eds.), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief*, (CUP, Cambridge, 1996) - several chapters

R. Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*, (Fontana, Harper Collins, London, 1996).

S. Clark, 'Inversion, misrule and the meaning of witchcraft' *Past and Present*, 87, (May, 1980). ER

L. Henderson & E. J. Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief*, (Tuckwell, East Linton, 2001).

C. Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Trans. J. & A. Tedesi, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1983).

L. Henderson & E. J. Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief*, (Tuckwell, East Linton, 2001).

R. Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976).

J. Miller 'Men in Black: Appearances of the Devil in Early-Modern Scottish Witchcraft Narrative; in J. Goodare, L. Martin and J. Miller (eds) *Witchcraft and Belief in Early-Modern Scotland*, (Basingstoke, 2008) ER

C. Lerner, *Witchcraft and Religion: The Politics of Popular Belief*, (Basil Blackwell, London, 1984).

E. Pócs, *Between the Living and the Dead*, (CEUPRESS, Budapest, 1999)

Purkiss chapter in S. Clark (ed.), *Languages of Witchcraft: Narrative, Ideology and Meaning in Early Modern Culture*, (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2001).

K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, (Penguin, London, 1971)

E. Wilby. 'The Witch's Familiar and the Fairy in Early Modern England and Scotland' *Folklore*, 111 (2000). ER

E. Wilby, *Cunning Folk and familiar spirits: shamanistic visionary traditions in early modern British witchcraft and magic*, (Brighton, 2005).

**Note: Field trip report to be submitted by 12 noon**

**4.**

**Lecture 4 - 'Witchcraft and gender: the female stereotype and the experiences of women and men accused of witchcraft'**

**Tutorial 4 questions:**

Why were women more likely to be accused?

Was early modern society misogynist?

Tutorial presentations: either an article/chapter or document report

Articles/chapters:

\* L. Apps & A. Gow, *Male Witches in early modern Europe*, (MUP, Manchester, 2003), chapter 1.

\* A. Barstow, *Witchcraze: a new history of the European witch hunts*, (Pandora, Harper Collins, San Francisco and London, 1994).

\* C. Garrett, 'Women and Witches: Patterns of Analysis' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 2 (1977). ER

\* J. Goodare, 'Women and the witch-hunt in Scotland' *Social History*, 23 (1998). ER

Documents:

Extract from *Malleus Maleficarum* pt 1, q 6, pp 41-47

*Selected Justiciary Cases*- Janet Barker/Margaret Lauder

*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (RPS) - John Philip

General class debate: Witches did not exist.

**Reading:**

J. Achterberg, *Woman as Healer*, (London, 1991).

A. Anderson, 'Witchcraft and the status of women' *British Journal of Sociology*, 29:2 (1978).ER

L. Apps & A. Gow, *Male Witches in early modern Europe*, (MUP, Manchester, 2003).

A. Barstow, *Witchcraze: a new history of the European witch hunts*, (Pandora, Harper Collins, San Francisco and London, 1994).

Y. Galloway & R. Ferguson, *Twisted Sisters: Women, Crime and Deviance in Scotland since 1400*, (East Linton, 2002).

C. Garrett, 'Women and Witches: Patterns of Analysis' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 2 (1977). ER

J. Goodare, 'Women and the witch-hunt in Scotland' *Social History*, 23 issue 3 (1998). ER

D. Harley. 'Historians as demonologists: the myth of the midwife-witch' *Social History of Medicine*, 3 (1990). ER

J. G. Harrison, 'Women and the branks in Stirling c. 1600-1730' *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 18:2 (1998). ER

C. Holmes, 'Women: witnesses and witches', *Past and Present*, 140 (August 1993). ER

C. F. Karlsen, *The Devil in Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England*, (W. W.

- Norton, New York & London, 1987).
- L. Leneman & R. Mitchison, *Sin in the City: Sexuality and Social Control in Urban Scotland, 1660-1780*, (Edinburgh, 1998).
- R. Mitchison, & L. Leneman, *Girls in Trouble: Sexuality and Social Control in Rural Scotland 1660-1780*, (Edinburgh, 1998).
- D. Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth Century Representations*, (Routledge, London & New York, 1996).
- L. Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, (Routledge, London & New York, 1994).
- J. Sharpe, 'Witchcraft and women in seventeenth-century England: some northern evidence' *Continuity and Change*, 6 (1991). ER
- M. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, (CUP, Cambridge, 1995).
- D. Willis, *Malevolent Nurture: Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London, 1995).

## 5. ESSAY

- Students are required to choose one essay question from the list below. It should be 1000 words long and students are asked to record the number of words in their essay. No student will be penalised for exceeding the recommended length by up to 100 words. If, however, the essay goes beyond that figure it will be penalised by one university grade (e.g. 2C to 2D). The intention here is to encourage students to be concise and exclude material that is not relevant to the argument.
- When there are good grounds such as illness or bereavement for seeking an extension, an application should be submitted on a form obtainable from the Departmental Office as early as possible but no later than the essay deadline.
- Coursework submitted after the due date will be penalised by one university grade for every day it is late (Saturday and Sunday to count as one day in total provided the essay is submitted before 9 am Monday morning. Any essay submitted after 9 am will be penalised by two days). **Late essays should be handed in to the Department Office, in order that it receives a date stamp. If the office is closed, please use the letterbox provided.** Coursework handed in 5 days after the due date (or expiry of any agreed extension), will receive a fail grade of X (0 in the CNS) for that piece of work.
- Anonymous marking of history essays is standard departmental practice. Therefore, your name should NOT appear on the essay. Instead you should give your university registration number. Please use departmental cover sheet.
- To protect the integrity of its degrees the university encourages departments to make use of the plagiarism software Turnitin which is available through WebCT. Accordingly the Department **REQUIRES students to upload an electronic version of their essays by the relevant deadline. Please note that the penalties for late and non submission of essays also applies to the electronic versions of essays.** Essays will not be marked unless the electronic version is uploaded and delay in



**uploading will result in minimal comments on the hard copy.** A guide to uploading is available on your WebCT homepage. Note that all regulations about submissions of the paper copy of your essays and assignments still apply. The electronic copy is an additional requirement not a substitute: that is to say, an essay or assignment submitted electronically on time but not submitted in hard copy by the due date will still be counted as late. Needless to say, the electronic version and the paper version must be identical, and checks will be carried out to ensure that this is so.

- **Plagiarism will normally result in an essay being given a fail grade.** See Student Handbook for further information.
- **Students should make and retain a copy of the essay submitted, as they may be required to produce a copy.**
- Students should read the Academic Skills Booklet guidelines and the Student Handbook for details of style and of the grading scheme currently in use. Students are required to follow the style guidelines for their written work.

Reading for essays should be as wide as possible and should include a minimum of FOUR items. The items can include book chapters and articles, as well as monographs.

## 6. ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. What purpose did belief in beneficial magic serve in the everyday lives of ordinary people in Scotland and Europe before the scientific age?
2. Did Scottish society perceive charmers as being different from witches, and, if so, how and why?
3. 'Fairies came to be presented as agents of the Devil' Discuss this statement, in reference to popular and elite beliefs about witchcraft in Scotland between 1563 and 1736.
4. 'The witch-hunts were a part of, and one example of, the on-going mechanisms for social control of women within a general context of social change' Do you agree?

## 7. FIELD TRIP REPORT. A 500-word report on field trip due 12 noon

Topic: How far do sites like Maggie Walls' monument and the Fairy Hill at Aberfoyle indicate a continuity and acknowledgement of past beliefs and practices?

**Students should follow the same submission guidelines regarding anonymous marking, cover sheets etc. outlined above. Reading requirements for field trip report are less extensive; while some printed research material might be helpful, students are really expected to discuss their own ideas rather than rely on other opinions.**



## 8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

**SECONDARY SOURCES: This is an extensive bibliography. It is not expected that students will consult more than a few of the works listed, but it is included for guidance and to provide information about more detailed material for those students who wish to do further reading.**

### Scotland

- I. Adam, *Witch Hunt: The Great Scottish Witchcraft Trials of 1697*, (London, 1987).
- G. Black, 'Scottish charms and amulets' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XXVII (1892-3). ER
- J. Goodare, 'Women and the witch-hunt in Scotland' *Social History*, 23, issue 3 (1998). ER
- J. Goodare, 'The Aberdeenshire witchcraft panic of 1597' *Northern Scotland*, 21 (2001). ER
- J. Goodare, 'The Framework for Scottish Witch-Hunting in the 1590s' *SHR*, 212 (Oct. 2002). ER
- J. Goodare (ed.), *The Scottish Witch-hunt in Context*, (MUP, Manchester, 2002) - all chapters are relevant.
- J. Goodare, 'The Scottish Witchcraft Act' *Church History*, 74 (2005). ER
- J. Goodare, L. Martin & J. Miller (eds.) *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*, (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2008) - all chapters relevant. ER
- L. Henderson & E. J. Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief*, (Tuckwell, East Linton, 2001).
- L. Henderson, 'The Survival of Witchcraft Prosecutions and Witch Belief in South-West Scotland' in *SHR*, 85:1 (April, 2006), ER
- C. Lerner, 'James VI and witchcraft' in A. Smith (ed.), *The Reign of James VI and I*, (London, 1973).
- C. Lerner, 'Crimen Exceptum? The crime of witchcraft in Europe' in V. A. C. Gatrell, B. Lenman & G. Parker (eds.), *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe Since 1500*, (London, 1980)
- C. Lerner, *Witchcraft and Religion: The Politics of Popular Belief*, (Basil Blackwell, London, 1984).
- C. Lerner, *Enemies of God: The Witch Hunt in Scotland*, (Chatto & Windus, London, 1981; reprint John Donald, Edinburgh, 2000).
- B. Levack, 'The great Scottish witch-hunt of 1661-1662' *Journal of British Studies*, 20 (1980) ER
- C. Lerner, C. H. Lee & H. McLachlan, *A Source Book of Scottish Witchcraft* (Glasgow, 1977)
- S. Macdonald, *The Witches of Fife: Witch-hunting in a Scottish Shire, 1560-1710*, (Tuckwell, East Linton, 2002).
- P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, 'The fear of the king is death: James VI and the witches of East Lothian' in W. Naphy & P. Roberts (eds.), *Fear in Early-Modern Society*, (Manchester, 1997).
- P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Satan's Conspiracy: Magic and Witchcraft in sixteenth-century Scotland*, (Tuckwell, East Linton, 2001)
- J. Miller "'Towing the loon": Diagnosis and use of shock treatment for mental illness in early-modern Scotland' in H. de Waardt, J. M. Schmidt, H. C. E. Midelfort, S. Lorenz & D. R. Bauer (eds.), *Damonische Besessenheit*, (Bielefeld, 2005). Photocopy
- W. N. Neill, 'The Professional Pricker and his test for witchcraft' *SHR*, 19 (1922).
- L. Normand & G. Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early-Modern Scotland: James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches*, (University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 2000).

M. Wasser. 'The Privy Council and the Witches: The Curtailment of Witchcraft Prosecutions in Scotland, 1597-1628' *SHR*, 213 (April 2003). ER

**England and Europe - general themes and approaches**

- A. Anderson, 'Witchcraft and the status of women' *British Journal of Sociology*, 29:2 (1978). ER
- B. Ankarloo & G. Henningsen (eds.), *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, (Clarendon, Oxford, 1990) - several articles.
- B. Ankarloo & S. Clark (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (Athlone Press, London, 1999).
- B. Ankarloo & S. Clark (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Middle Ages*, (Athlone Press, London, 2001).
- B. Ankarloo, S. Clark & W. Monter, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Period of the Witch Trials*, (Athlone Press, London, 2002).
- L. Apps & A. Gow, *Male Witches in early modern Europe*, (MUP, Manchester, 2003).
- J. Barry, M. Hester & G. Roberts, (eds.), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief*, (CUP, Cambridge, 1996).
- A. Barstow, *Witchcraze: a new history of the European witch hunts*, (Pandora, Harper Collins, San Francisco and London, 1994).
- W. Behringer, 'Weather, hunger and fear: the origins of the European witch persecution in climate, society and mentality', *German History*, 13, (1995). ER
- W. de Blecourt, 'Witches, doctors, soothsayers and priests' *Social History*, 19:3 (1994). ER
- W. de Blecourt. 'On the continuation of witchcraft' in J. Barry, M. Hester & G. Roberts, (eds.), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief*, (CUP, Cambridge, 1996).
- R. Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*, (Fontana, Harper Collins, London, 1996).
- J. Butler, 'Witchcraft, healing and historians' crazes' *Journal of Social History*, 18:1 (1981). ER
- O. Davies, 'Healing charms in use in England and Wales, 1700-1950' *Folklore*, 107 (1996). ER
- O. Davies, 'Charmers and Charming in England and Wales from the eighteenth to the twentieth century' *Folklore*, 109 (1998). ER
- O. Davies, *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture, 1736-1951*, (MUP, Manchester, 1999).
- L. Estes. 'The medical origins of the European witch craze: a hypothesis' *Journal of Social History*, 17:2 (1983). ER
- C. Garrett, 'Women and Witches: Patterns of Analysis' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol 3, no. 2 (1977). ER
- C. Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Trans. J. & A. Tedesi, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1983).
- A. Gregory, 'Witchcraft, politics and "good neighbourhood" in early seventeenth-century Rye' *Past and Present*, 133 (Nov. 1991). ER
- D. Harley. 'Historians as demonologists: the myth of the midwife-witch' *Social History of Medicine*, 3 (1990). ER
- C. Holmes, 'Women: witnesses and witches', *Past and Present*, 140 (August 1993). ER
- R. Horsley, 'Further reflections on witchcraft and European folk religion' *History of Religion*, 19 (1970). ER
- R. Horsley, 'Who were the witches? The social roles of the accused in the European witch trials' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 19, no 1 (1979). ER

- R. Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976).
- G. Knutsen, 'Norwegian witchcraft trials: a reassessment' *Continuity and Change*, 18 (2003). ER
- B. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, (3rd edition, Longman, London, 2006).
- M. MacDonald, *Witchcraft and Hysteria in Elizabethan London: Edward Jorden and the Mary Glover case*, (Tavistock/Routledge, London, 1991).
- A. Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study*, (2nd edition, ed. J. Sharpe, London, 1999).
- E. Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in South-Western Germany, 1562-1684: The Social and Intellectual Foundations*, (Stanford, California, 1972).
- D. Nichols, 'The Devil in Renaissance France' *History Today*, 30, no. 11 (Nov. 1980). ER
- D. Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth Century Representations*, (Routledge, London & New York, 1996).
- L. Roper. 'Witchcraft and fantasy in early modern Germany' *History Workshop Journal*, 32 (1991). Oxfordjournals.org
- L. Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, (Routledge, London & New York, 1994).
- L. Roper, "'Evil imaginings and fantasies": child witches and the end of the witch craze', *Past and Present*, 167 (May 2000). JSTOR
- B. Rosen, (ed.) *Witchcraft*, (Edward Arnold, London, 1969).
- R. C. Sawyer, "'Strangely handled in all her lym's": witchcraft and healing in Jacobean England' *Journal of Social History*, 22 (1988-9). ER
- G. Scarre, *Witchcraft and Magic in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Europe*, (London, 1987).
- B. Scribner, 'Witchcraft and judgement in Reformation Germany' *History Today*, 40(4) (April 1990). ER
- J. Sharpe, 'Witchcraft and women in seventeenth-century England: some northern evidence' *Continuity and Change*, 6 (1991) ER
- J. Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness*, (Penguin, London, 1996).
- J. Simpson, 'Witches and witchbusters' *Folklore*, 107 (1996). ER
- H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Reprinted, Penguin, London, 1990; orig. published in *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change*, Macmillan, 1967).
- E. Wilby. 'The Witch's Familiar and the Fairy in Early Modern England and Scotland' *Folklore*, 111 (2000). ER
- E. Wilby, *Cunning Folk and familiar spirits: shamanistic visionary traditions in early modern British witchcraft and magic*, (Brighton, 2005).
- D. Willis, *Malevolent Nurture: Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London, 1995).

#### North America

- P. Boyer & S. Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft*, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA & London, 1974).
- J. Demos, 'Underlying themes in the witchcraft of seventeenth century New England' *American Historical Review*, 75 (1970). ER
- D. Harley, 'Explaining Salem: Calvinist psychology and the diagnosis of possession' *American*

- Historical Review*, 101 (1996). ER  
C. F. Karlsen, *The Devil in Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England*, (W. W. Norton, New York & London, 1987).

#### **Intellectual/theoretical**

- J. Achterberg, *Woman as Healer*, (London, 1991).  
J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700*, (Oxford, 1985).  
\*\* S. Clark, 'King James's *Daemonologie*: Witchcraft and Kingship' in S. Anglo, *The Damned Art*, (London, 1977). ER  
S. Clark, 'Inversion, misrule and the meaning of witchcraft' *Past and Present*, 87, (May, 1980) ER  
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