

American University Studies

H. Sidky

Series XI
Anthropology and Sociology
Vol. 70

**Witchcraft, Lycanthropy,
Drugs, and Disease**
An Anthropological Study
of the European Witch-Hunts



PETER LANG
New York • Washington, D.C./Baltimore
Bern • Frankfurt am Main • Berlin • Vienna • Paris



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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Sidky, H.

Witchcraft, lycanthropy, drugs, and disease:
an anthropological study of the European witch-hunts/ H. Sidky.

p. cm. — (American university studies. Series XI,

Anthropology and sociology; vol. 70)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Witchcraft—Europe—History.
2. Trials (Witchcraft)—Europe—History.
3. Demoniac possession—Europe—History.
4. Hallucinogenic drugs and religious experience—Europe—History.
5. Werewolves—Europe—History.

I. Title. II. Series.

GR530.S53 133.4'3'09409031—dc20 96-18078

ISBN 0-8204-3354-3

ISSN 0740-0489

Die Deutsche Bibliothek-CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Sidky, H.:

Witchcraft, lycanthropy, drugs, and disease: an anthropological study
of the European witch hunts/ H. Sidky. —New York: Washington,
D.C./Baltimore; Bern; Frankfurt am Main; Berlin; Vienna; Paris: Lang,
(American university studies: Ser. 11, Anthropology and sociology; Vol. 70)
ISBN 0-8204-3354-3

NE: American university studies/ 11

Cover design by Wendy Lee.

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability
of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity
of the Council of Library Resources.



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Printed in the United States of America.

Acknowledgments

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the following for
permission to reprint previously published materials:

"De Laguna's commentaries on Hallucinogenic Drugs and
Witchcraft in Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*" by Theodore Rothman,
in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 46. Copyright © 1972 by Johns
Hopkins University Press.

This work owes a great deal, in all stages of production, to the
constant and proficient efforts of Jennifer Dowling. She has my
sincere thanks.

I would also like to thank the expert staff of the High End
Learning Lab of the College of Arts and Sciences, Miami
University, for their kind and patient assistance during the
preparation of the manuscript.

I wish to acknowledge my debt to my teachers, Dr. Anthony
Walker, Dr. Erika Bourguignon, and Dr. Richard Moore,
anthropologists who have had a profound influence on my
thinking, theoretical perspectives, and scholarly interests
(although they may not agree with the views expressed in the
present study).

Finally, I am indebted to Dr. John Messenger, my friend and
mentor, who over the last decade has been a unwavering source
of support, advice, encouragement, and inspiration. This book is
dedicated to him with great affection and gratitude.

- 77. Hansen (1978:36); Lewin (1931:134-135).
- 78. Barber (1967:162).
- 79. *Report on Torture* (1975:56).
- 80. Lewin (1931:129-131).

Chapter Eight

Werewolves and Witches

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, while the witch-hunts gained terrible momentum across Europe, numerous people were tried and executed as werewolves. In France werewolves, or lycanthropes (from the Greek *lukos*, "wolf," and *anthropos*, "man"), were known as *loup-garou*, in Germany, *wölur-wölffe*, and in Italy, *lupo manaro*.¹ The increasing preoccupation with, and apprehension concerning, lycanthropy is reflected both in the numbers of people brought to trial and in the fact that between 1591 and 1686 no less than fourteen major treatises were written on the subject.²

Demonologists maintained that werewolves were actually witches who, through magical procedures and diabolical pacts, changed themselves into wolves and, while in the form of these ravenous and ferocious beasts—possessing supernatural cunning, strength, and speed—committed unspeakable atrocities, killing men, women, children, and livestock. Witches transformed themselves, or shifted shape, into wolves, demonographers argued, because of their innate greed, cruelty, lust for human flesh, thirst for human blood, and a desire to execute their heinous works without being identified.³

One skilled in this witchcraft, according to Bishop Olaus Magnus' *A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, & Vandals, and Other Northern Nations* (1658): "when he pleases ... may change his human form, into the form of a wolf entirely, going into some



Figure 8.1 A werewolf devouring a woman. Werewolves were witches who changed their shape by magical procedures and diabolical pacts. From a 19th century engraving. By permission of the Mansell Collection, London.

private cellar or secret wood. Again, he can after some time put off the shape he took upon himself, and resume the form he had before at his pleasure."⁴ Such a metamorphosis was achieved by the witch donning a wolf's skin, uttering incantations, and anointing his or her body with magical unguents. As the historian Richard Verstegan observed in his *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605): "werewolves are certain sorcerers, who having anointed their bodies, with an ointment which they make by the instinct of the devil; and putting on a certain enchanted girdle, do not only unto the view of others seem as wolves, but to their own thinking have both the shape and nature of wolves, so long as they wear the said girdle. And they do dispose themselves as very wolves, in worrying and killing, the most human creatures."⁵

Werewolves appear to have been particularly troublesome in northern Europe. According to Olaus Magnus: "In Prussia, Kurland [Latvia], and Lithuania, although the inhabitants suffer considerably from the rapacity of wolves throughout the year, in that these animals rend their cattle, which are scattered in great numbers through the woods, whenever they stray in the very least, yet this is not regarded by them as such a serious matter as what they endure from men turned into wolves.... On the feast of the Nativity of Christ, at night, such a multitude of wolves transformed from men gather together in a certain spot, arranged among themselves, and then spread to rage with wondrous ferocity against human beings, and those animals which are not wild, that the natives of these regions suffer more detriment from these, than they do from true wolves; for when a human habitation has been detected by them isolated in the woods, they besiege it with atrocity, striving to break in the doors, and in the event of their doing so, they devour all the human beings, and every animal which is found within. They burst into the beer cellars, and there they empty the tuns of beer or mead, and pile up the casks one above another in the middle of the cellar, thus showing their difference from natural and genuine wolves...."⁶ France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy also suffered the predations of these human-wolves.⁷

The idea of werewolves and were-animals (zooanthropes) dates back to antiquity and, like the concept of *maleficium*, is found cross-culturally.⁸ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

in Europe, however, beliefs concerning werewolves and the metamorphosis of people into animals were assimilated into the demonological theory of witchcraft. It is this particular conception of lycanthropy which is the focus of the present chapter.

Experts on witchcraft agreed that shape-shifting was achieved through demonic agencies and pacts with the Devil, but they disagreed among themselves over the precise mechanisms by which such a metamorphosis was accomplished. A major difficulty was posed by the *Canon Episcopi*, which stated that,

Whoever ... believes that anything can be made, or that any creature can be changed to better or to worse or to be transformed into another species or similitude, except by the Creator himself who made everything and through whom all things were made, is beyond doubt an infidel.¹⁰

In an attempt to reconcile the demonological position with the edicts of the *Canon Episcopi*, the *Malleus Maleficarum* forwarded the idea of prestidigitary transmutations and glamour, "by which things seem to be transmuted into other likenesses."¹⁰ After a tortuous and convoluted argument, the *Malleus* asserted that the Canon referred to "real" transformations, whereas the transubstantiation of witches was simply an exterior illusion. According to Guazzo, one advocate of this theory: "the demon surrounds a witch with an aerial effigy of a beast, each part of which fits on to the correspondent part of the witch's body," head to head, mouth to mouth, belly to belly, foot to foot, and arm to arm.... In this ... case it is no matter for wonder if they are afterwards found with an actual wound in those parts of their human body where they were wounded when in the appearance of a beast; for the enveloping air easily yields, and the true body receives the wound."¹¹

Boguet forwarded a somewhat different explanation, thereby avoiding the dilemma posed by Canon Law: "My own opinion is that Satan sometimes leaves the witch asleep behind a bush, and himself goes and performs that which the witch has in mind to do, giving himself the appearance of a wolf, but that he so confuses the witch's imagination that [the witch] believes he has really been a wolf and has run about and killed men and beasts.... And when it happens that they find themselves wounded, it is Satan who

immediately transfers to them the blow ... which he has received in his assumed body."¹²

Alternatively, the theologian Geiler von Kaysersberg maintained that the Devil compelled natural wolves to kill humans and livestock, and then impressed upon the witch the idea that it was he or she who had committed the savage acts. Diabolically energized the Devil, or wolves possessed by the Devil, were especially feared, because such creatures were thought to be impossible to capture, injure, or kill.¹³



Figure 8.2 In the view of some demonologists, the metamorphosis of men into beasts was achieved by the Devil, who surrounded the witch with an aerial effigy, giving him the appearance of a wolf. From Francesco Maria Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum* (1626 edition). Courtesy of the Special Collections Library, Duke University.

Other demonologists argued that the belief in the physical transformation of humans into animals was so widely and obstinately held that it could not be entirely without foundations. As Remy observed: "It is not only the external physical shape that appears to be changed; the witch is also endowed with all the natural qualities and power of the animal into which she is seemingly changed. For she acquires fleetness of foot; bodily strength; ravenous ferocity; the lust of howling; the faculty of breaking into places, and of silent movement; and other such animal characteristics, which are far beyond human strength or ability. For it is a matter of daily experience that Satan does actually so empower them. Thus they easily kill even the biggest cattle in the fields, and even devour their raw flesh.... Now this cannot be explained away as mere glamour or prestige by which our senses are deceived ... for they leave behind them concrete traces of their activities."¹⁴ Bodin also believed that shape-shifting involved an actual physical transformation.¹⁵ Proponents of this perspective attempted to accommodate the interdictions of the *Canon Episcopi* by arguing that although the human form was altered during metamorphosis, the soul—God's perfect creation—remained unchanged.

Wolves and Werewolves

The common European wolf (*Canis lupus*) became particularly troublesome after the massive casualties of the Black Death led to the abandonment of formerly cultivated lands and inhabited villages (a phenomenon known as *Wüstungen*), reversing the deforestation of the previous centuries and facilitating the resurgence of dwindling wolf populations.¹⁶ Indeed, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European chroniclers frequently reported the presence of roaming wolves in both urban and rural areas.¹⁷ Wolves preyed heavily on livestock and other domestic animals (due to the extermination of many of their natural prey by hunters), and on occasion they also attacked humans. Sometimes such depredations were imputed to werewolves, i.e., cruel, treacherous, and ferocious wolves possessing the reasoning power and intelligence of a human.¹⁸ The heightened fear of werewolves

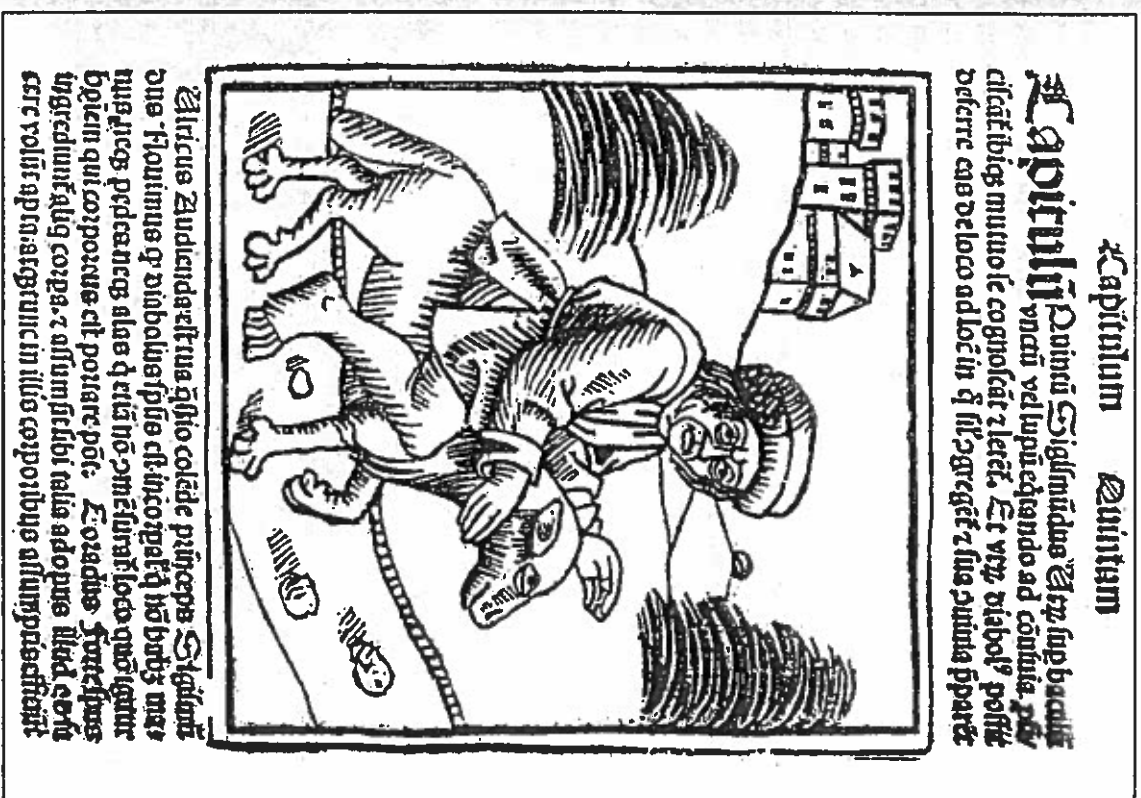


Figure 8.3 A witch traveling to the Sabbat astride a wolf. Demonological propaganda caste the already dreaded wolf as a diabolical creature associated with evil. After a page from Ulrich Molitor's *De Laniis et Pittonicis Mulieribus* (1489).

appears to have been partially connected to the increasing fear and terror inculcated by demonological propaganda.¹⁹

In France, a country which historically experienced severe onslaughts by wolves,²⁰ a large number of people were executed for shape-shifting. Similarly, in the wolf-infested Franche-Comté, numerous men and women were burned as werewolves.²¹ In the wolf-ridden Pyrenees, at least two hundred individuals were put to death for lycanthropy.²² In countries such as England, on the other hand, where a combination of large-scale, organized hunting and massive deforestation resulted in the extermination of wolves by the sixteenth century,²³ werewolves, and even tales about werewolves, were nearly absent.²⁴



Figure 8.4 A contemporary engraving depicting the pursuit and capture of the monstrous Werewolf of Anspach. By permission of the Mansell Collection, London.

The ascription of anthropomorphic attributes to wolves suggests the horror and trepidation generated by these animals—reactions evident on numerous occasions. In 1685, for example,

the inhabitants of Anspach [now Ansbach], Germany were terrorized by a wolf reported to have killed a number of women, children, and domestic animals. This creature was thought to be a werewolf, the reincarnation of the town's detested Burgomaster who had recently died. After a long and difficult search by local hunters, the presumed werewolf was found, chased into a well, and killed. The townsmen then retrieved the wolf's carcass, dressed it in a flesh-colored suit, and adorned its head with a mask, wig, and beard, giving the dead beast the appearance of the Burgomaster. They hung the creature from a gibbet, where it could be viewed publicly, and later put it on permanent display at a museum to prove that werewolves did indeed exist.²⁵

A more dramatic incident took place in Gévaudan, south-central France, between the July, 1764 and June, 1767, when a pair of extremely large and peculiarly colored man-eating wolves, responsible for the death of sixty to one hundred people, caused great terror in the community.²⁶ Many who believed the killings to be the work of a single creature—an infernal werewolf—named it the "Beast of Gévaudan."²⁷ Professional wolf-hunters and teams of dogs were brought in, along with several detachments of dragoons, to stalk the fiendish animal, while the authorities posted huge bounties. At one point nearly 20,000 men from seventy-three parishes joined the hunt; and as a consequence more than a thousand wolves were slaughtered, although the "Beast" was not among them.²⁸ The elusive creatures remained at large and continued their destructive habits, until the male of the pair was finally killed on September 21, 1766, and the female some nine months later.

In both of these instances, actual wolves were killed. But far more often than not, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was presumed shape-shifters who, on the basis of highly circumstantial evidence, were blamed for general misfortunes, or damage caused by wolves, and were sought out and executed as werewolves.

Indeed, in some of the most sensational cases of werewolfism,²⁹ the coincidence of two separate and often totally unrelated events—the sighting of a wolf, on the one hand, and the subsequent presence of a human in the vicinity, on the other—was sufficient ground for legal action. Sometimes the concrete

evidence in these cases was the discovery of "sympathetic wounds" (i.e., injuries found on the body of a suspect corresponding to wounds inflicted on a wolf). A typical trial of this nature occurred in 1521, when Jean Boin, the Inquisitor of Besançon, tried Pierre Bourgot, Michel Verdun, and Philibert Montot, "the werewolves of Poligny," for lycanthropy and for having made a compact with the Demon.

These men came under suspicion when a traveler passing through the area was attacked by a wolf. While defending himself, he was able to wound the animal, forcing it to retreat. Following the trail of the injured creature, the man came upon a hut where he found a local resident, Michel Verdun, under the care of his wife, who was washing a wound on his body. Believing Verdun's injury to be a sympathetic wound, the man notified the authorities. Arrested and tortured, Verdun admitted that he was a shape-shifter; he also revealed the names of his two werewolf accomplices, as well as confessing to hideous crimes: diabolism, murder, and eating human flesh.³⁰ The three men were promptly executed.

The widely publicized and often cited trial of Gilles Garnier, the Hermit of Dôle (St. Bonnot), is another instance when wolf depredations comprised part of the tangible evidence against an alleged human shape-shifter. Details of the incident are to be found in Baring-Gould's *The Book of Werewolves* (1865): "[On the 8th of November, 1573] some peasants of Chastenoy were returning home from their work, through the forest, [when] the screams of a child and the deep baying of a wolf, attracted their notice, and on running in the direction whence the cries sounded, they found a little girl defending herself against a monstrous creature, which was attacking her tooth and nail, and had already wounded her severely in five places. As the peasants came up, the creature fled on all fours into the gloom of the thicket; it was so dark that it could not be identified with certainty, and whilst some affirmed that it was a wolf, others thought they had recognized the features of the hermit."³¹

This incident was followed by the disappearance of a boy, on November 15, and shortly after, by the murder of two girls and the slaying of a young boy. The children were presumed to have fallen victim to the *loup-garou*.

In the following weeks, the frequency of werewolf's attacks seems to have increased, and the creature began seeking adult victims. Meanwhile, suspicions about the hermit were heightened. The authorities, alarmed at the number of werewolf attacks, gave permission for the residents of Franche-Comté to hunt the monster that scourged the countryside. The decree issued on December 3, 1573, reads as follows:

According to the advertisement made to the sovereign Court of the Parliament at Dôle, that, in the territories of Espagny, Salvange, Courchapon, and the neighbouring villages, has often been seen and met, for some time past, a were-wolf, who, it is said, has already seized and carried off several little children, so that they have not been seen since, and since he has attacked and done injury in the country to some horsemen, who kept him off only with great difficulty and danger to their persons: the said Court, desiring to prevent any greater danger, has permitted, and does permit, those who are abiding or dwelling in the said places and others, notwithstanding all edicts concerning the chase [i.e., a ban on hunting] to assemble with pikes, halberts, arquebuses, and sticks, to chase and to pursue the said were-wolf in every place where they may find or seize him; to tie and to kill, without incurring any pains or penalties....³²

The ensuing werewolf-hunt ended with the apprehension of Garnier, who was discovered dragging the body of a young boy into the forest. The suspect was described as follows: "The man, Gilles Garnier, was a somber, ill-looking fellow, who walked in a stooping attitude, and whose pale face, livid complexion, and deep-set eyes under a pair of coarse and bushy eyebrows, which met across the forehead [one of the signs of werewolfism], were sufficient to repel any one from seeking his acquaintance. Gilles seldom spoke, and when he did it was in the broadest patois [vernacular] of his country. His long gray beard and retiring habits procured him the name the Hermit of St. Bonnot, though no one for a moment attributed to him any extraordinary amount of sanctity."³³

Because of his marginal position, reclusive life style, and atypical behavior (common characteristics of the majority of accused werewolves), Garnier was an ideal candidate for accusations of witchcraft, or in this case, werewolfism. In the lurid accounts made public following his capture, he was said to have savagely slain several children while in the shape of a wolf, eating part of their flesh immediately and taking the rest home to share



Figure 8.5 A werewolf who has slain several people, carries off an infant in his mouth. On occasion, werewolves killed and ate their victims without shifting shape. From a sixteenth-century engraving by Lucas Cranach. By permission of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

with his wife. On one occasion, according to Boguet, the monstrous Garnier had even attempted to kill and eat a young boy without shifting shape.³⁴

The motives behind Garnier's offenses were as shocking as his crimes. According to a contemporary account written by one Daniel d'Ange to the Dean of the Church of Sens, "Gilles Garnier, lycophile, as I may call him, lived the life of a hermit, but has since taken a wife, and having no means of support for his family fell into the way, as is natural to defiant and desperate people of rude habits, of wandering into the woods and wild places. In this state he was met by a phantom in the shape of a man, who told him that he could perform miracles, among other things declaring that he would teach him how to change at will into a wolf, lion, or leopard, and because the wolf is more familiar in this country than the other kinds of wild beasts he chose to disguise himself in that shape, which he did, using a salve with which he rubbed himself for this purpose, as he has since confessed before dying, after recognising the evil of his ways."³⁵ Garnier's confession was extorted on the rack; he was burned at the stake on January 18, 1574.³⁶ What possessions he had were sold to cover the costs of his trial and execution.³⁷

Garnier was probably guilty of murder, or perhaps, as Barry Lopez suggests in his splendid book, *Of Wolves and Men* (1978), guilty of scavenging a dead body in the forest and of being a recluse and a beggar.³⁸ In any case, it is possible that at least some of the damage attributed to Garnier, the presumed human-wolf, was simply the work of ordinary wolves.

The trial of Jacques Roulet, the werewolf of Angers, another widely sensationalized case, followed the same pattern. Details of the incident, which took place in 1598, are provided by Baring-Gould: "In a wild and unfrequented spot near Caude [in the vicinity of Angers, France], some countrymen came one day upon the corpse of a boy of fifteen, horribly mutilated and bespattered with blood. As the men approached, two wolves, which had been rending the body, bounded away into the thicket. The men gave chase immediately, following their bloody tracks till they lost them; when suddenly crouching among the bushes, his teeth chattering with fear, they found a man half naked, with long hair and beard, and with his hands dyed in blood. His nails were long

as claws, and were clotted with fresh gore, and shreds of human flesh."³⁹ Although the miscreant was immediately arrested on the basis of the physical evidence, exactly how the authorities determined that the "gore" under Roulet's fingernails was human flesh (an impossible task without a modern forensic laboratory) is never mentioned.

The suspect, a beggar and vagabond, admitted under severe duress that he was able to transform himself into a wolf by means of a salve given to him by his parents. He also revealed that in the company of his brother Jean and cousin Julien—shape-shifters as well—he had killed numerous women and children and devoured their flesh. The *lieutenant criminel* of Angers condemned Roulet to death for werewolfism, murder, and cannibalism; however, on appeal to the Parliament of Paris, Roulet was committed to an insane asylum for two years because the authorities in Paris deemed his confession to be unreliable on account of his feeble-mindedness.

In the case of the Gandillon family, another infamous werewolf trial, the activity of a wolf once again constituted the solid evidence. The incident took place in 1598, in the Jura Mountains, when a young boy and girl were attacked by a huge wolf: the girl was instantly killed, while the boy, who defended himself with a knife and injured the creature, was mortally wounded and died later. A party of men pursued the beast, but a short time later encountered Perrenette Gandillon, a simpleminded woman from St.-Claude. Suspected of being the wolf in question based on the evidence of a sympathetic wound,⁴⁰ she was seized and killed by an enraged peasant mob. The authorities went on to apprehend her sister, Antoinette, who was accused of witchcraft, her brother, Pierre, and his son, Georges Gandillon.

While in captivity, the Gandillon men behaved like animals, howling, barking like dogs, and crawling on all fours, presenting a frightening spectacle to all who saw them. Pierre Gandillon, Boguet wrote, "was so much disfigured ... that he bore hardly any resemblance to a man, and struck with horror those who looked at him."⁴¹ Pierre and his son both confessed to having attended Sabbats and worshipping the Devil while they assumed the shape of wolves; and Antoinette admitted to being a witch. The community of St.-Claude was much relieved when these three

remaining members of the disdained and cantankerous Gandillon family, long suspected of wrongdoings, were burned alive at the stake.

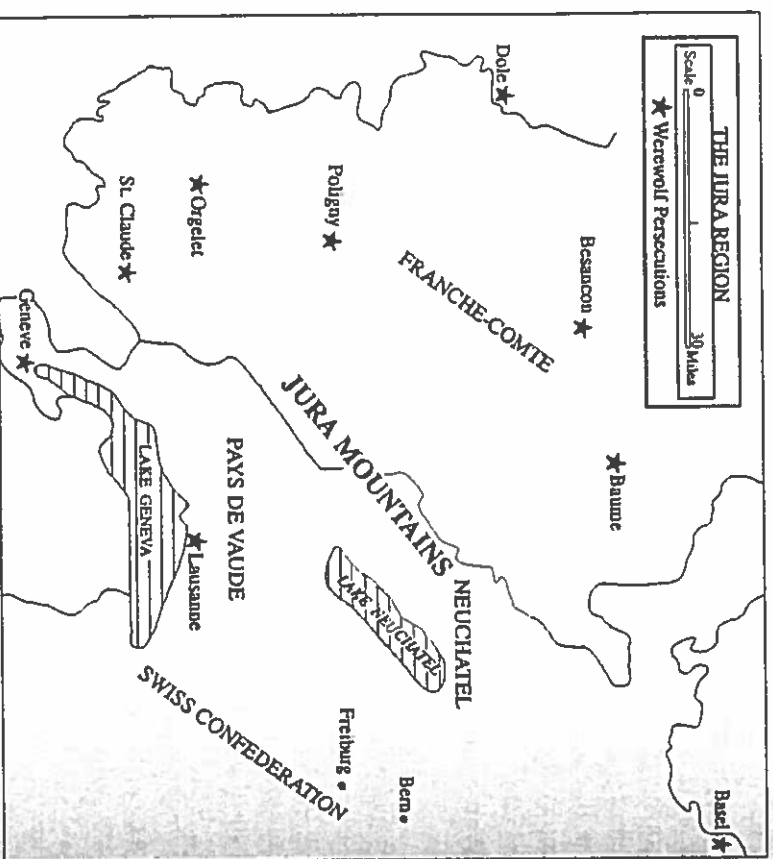
Finally, in 1603, in the St.-Sever district of Gascony, France, a community which had experienced a series of wolf attacks and disappearances of children, found a human malefactor, a thirteen-year-old boy named Jean Grenier, a beggar and part-time cowherd who had boasted to some girls that he could transform himself into a wolf.⁴² On the basis of this evidence, the Parliament of Bordeaux convicted Grenier to life imprisonment in a monastery.

Werewolf-Hunts and Lycanthropy Trials

Trials and executions for lycanthropy occurred in France, Franche-Comté, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany. One of the earlier legal proceedings against a suspected werewolf took place in Basel, Switzerland, in 1407 (Map 8.1); and a woman in Andermatt, Switzerland, was beheaded, in 1459, for turning herself into a wolf and causing an avalanche while in the company of the Devil.⁴³ Another werewolf was executed in 1448, in Switzerland's Pays de Vaude. The majority of werewolf-hunts and persecutions in Switzerland, however, occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Neuchâtel's Val de Travers, two lycanthropes were apprehended around 1580.⁴⁴ In Pays de Vaud werewolves were caught in 1602, 1624, and 1670.⁴⁵ In his *De la lycanthropie, transformation, et extase des sorciers* (1615), the physician Jean de Nynauld discussed the five werewolves of Cressi (Lausanne) who were put to death in 1604 for the crimes of lycanthropy, murder, cannibalism, and attending the Sabbat.⁴⁶

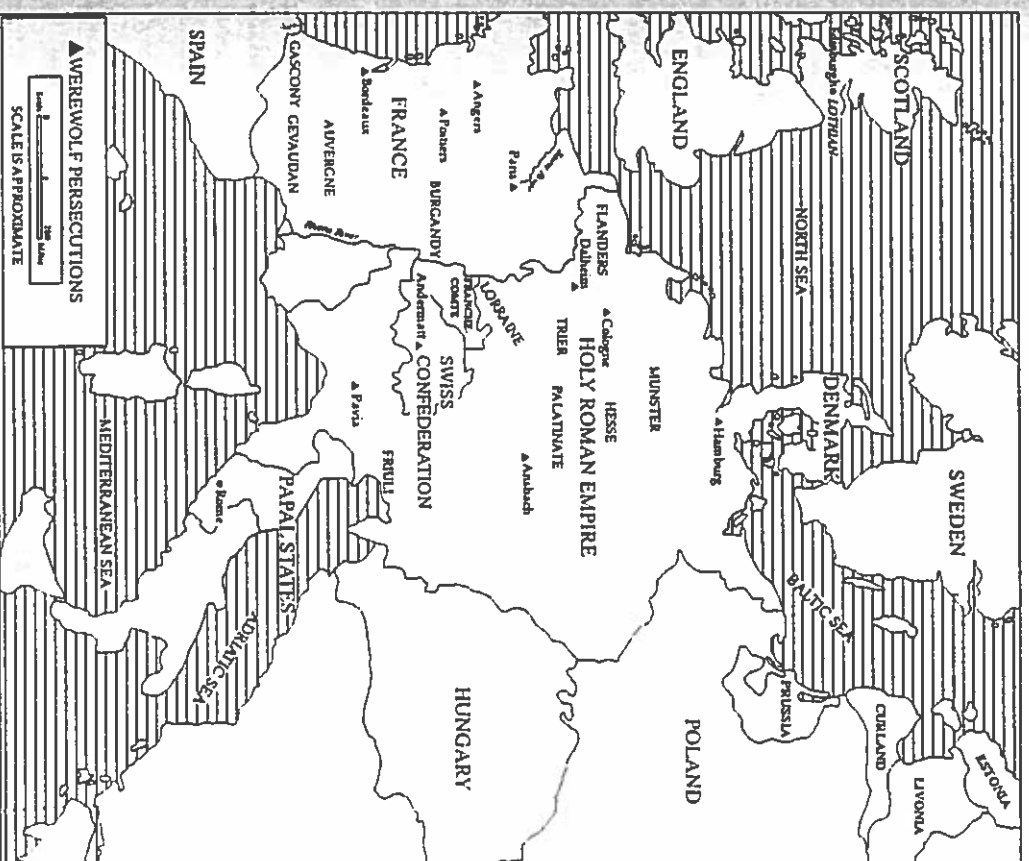
A number of sensational werewolf trials were held in Franche-Comté. The first of these was the prosecution of the werewolves of Poligny in 1521, followed by the conviction of Gilles Garnier in Dôle, mentioned earlier. Another werewolf case was reported in Dôle in 1605. In St.-Claude the Gandillons were tried and executed in 1598. Also apprehended and burned alive for lycanthropy at about the same time were Clauda Jamprost, Thievenne Paget, Clauda Jamguillaume, Jacques Bocquet, Clauda Gaillard, la

Micholette, and Françoise Secretain. Finally, one *loup-garou* was apprehended in Baume in 1599 and one in Orgelet in 1610.



Map 8.1 Werewolf Trials in Switzerland and Franche-Comté

Lorraine (Map 8.2) had a total of five werewolf trials.¹⁷ In 1530, a woman in Poitiers, France, was put to death for werewolfism on the basis of a sympathetic wound.¹⁸ Another woman was executed in Auvergne, in 1558, because of similar circumstances. Boguet related the case: "One evening a gentleman, standing at the window of his chateau, saw a huntsman whom he knew passing by, and asked him to bring him some of his bag on his return. As the huntsman went his way along a valley, he was attacked by a large wolf and discharged his arquebus at it without



Map 8.2 Werewolf Trials in France, Northern Europe, and Germany.

hurting it. He was therefore compelled to grapple with the wolf, and caught it by the ears; but at length, growing weary, he let go of the wolf, drew back and took his big hunting knife, and with it cut off one of the wolf's paws, which he put in his pouch after the wolf had run away. He then returned to the gentleman's chateau, in sight of which he had fought the wolf. The gentleman asked him to give him part of his bag; and the huntsman, wishing to do so and intending to take the paw from his pouch, drew from it a hand wearing a gold ring on one of the fingers, which the gentleman recognized as belonging to his wife. This caused him to entertain an evil suspicion of her; and going into the kitchen, he found his wife nursing her arm in her apron, which he took away, and found that her hand had been cut off. Thereupon the gentleman seized hold of her; but immediately, and as soon as she had been confronted with her hand, she confessed that it was no other than she who, in the form of a wolf, had attacked the hunter... This was told me by one who may be believed, who went that way fifteen days after this thing had happened."⁵⁰ The woman was handed over to the authorities who had her burned alive at the stake in Ryon, before a crowd of several thousand spectators.⁵⁰ Of course, the man's real motives for having his wife put to death, rendered inconsequential in light of demonological speculations and the general level of attendant hysteria over werewolves, were never investigated.

In 1598 three werewolves were apprehended in Anjou, including Jacques Roulet (convicted in Angers). In the same year the Parliament of Paris sentenced a man from Châlons to death for werewolfism. Reverend Summers described this particularly horrifying case: "On the 14th of December ... at Paris, a tailor of Châlons was sentenced to be burned quick for his horrible crimes. This wretch was wont to decoy children of both sexes into his shop, and having abused them he would slice their throats and then powder and dress their bodies, jointing them as a butcher cuts up meat. In the twilight, under the shape of a wolf, he roamed the woods to leap out on stray passers-by and tear their throats to shreds. Barrels of bleached bones were found concealed in his cellars as well as other foul and hideous things. He died (it was said) unrepentant and blaspheming. So scabrous were the

details of the case that the Court ordered the documents to be burned."⁵¹

In Germany, the infamous Peeter Stubbe was captured in the Bishopric of Cologne in 1589 (see below). One case of lycanthropy was reported in the Bishopric of Münster in 1615, and another in the city of Hanburg in 1631. Werewolves were also apprehended in the electorate of Trier in 1615 and 1652, a werewolf was reported in Palatinate in 1663, and in Hesse werewolves were caught in 1656 and again in 1683.⁵²

Many of the charges of lycanthropy were undoubtedly false: such indictments were used to incriminate irksome neighbors or enemies for misfortunes, such as the loss of livestock or the disappearance of children. These accusations resemble charges of *maleficium*; werewolves, after all, were witches in animal form. A case related by Bogueet illustrates the close parallel between witchcraft and lycanthropy: "three wolves ... were seen ... in the district of Douvres and Jeurre about half an hour after a hailstorm had very strangely ruined the fruit of that country. These wolves had no tails; and, moreover, as they ran through herds of cows and goats they touched none of them except one little kid, which one of them carried a little distance away without doing it any harm at all. It is apparent from this that these were not natural wolves, but were rather witches who had helped to cause the hailstorm, and had come to witness the damage they had caused."⁵³

Werewolf-hunts instigated by the authorities seem to have had the same sociological functions as witch-hunts: both were public demonstrations against diabolism and deviance, and both served to explain certain kinds of misfortunes. Werewolf alarms were also another means of reifying the threat of the Devil, who was now said to be prowling amidst hamlets, villages, and towns, fiendishly slaying "the Christian flock" while assuming the form of the already sinister and dreaded wolf.⁵⁴

As with witchcraft accusations, it was often beggars, non-conformists, and the socially marginal and expendable who were accused of lycanthropy. Occasionally, suspected mass-killers, such as the tailor from Châlons, were tried as werewolves. Baring-Gould was keenly aware of this fact and devoted several chapters

of his *The Book of Werewolves* to the affiliation between mass-murder and lycanthropy.⁵⁵

The most sensational werewolf trial involving multiple murders was that of Peeter Stubbe. Reports of this case, which, like the printed accounts describing cases of witchcraft and demonic possession, were widely circulated both on the Continent and in England, may well have served as both model and catalyst for the subsequent series of werewolf trials which occurred in France, Franche-Comté, Switzerland, and Germany toward the end of the sixteenth century.

The tale of Peeter Stubbe encompasses all the horrors associated with werewolfism: sorcery, diabolism, the use of magical means of transmutation, murder, cannibalism, and more. The English narrative of the proceedings is to be found in the pamphlet *A True Discourse Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of one Stubbe Peeter* (1590): "In the towns ... near Cologne in high Germany, there was continually brought up and nourished one Stubbe Peeter, who from his youth was greatly inclined to evil and practicing of wicked arts ... forgetting the God that made him, and that Savior that shed his blood for man's redemption: In the end, careless of salvation gave both soul and body to the Devil forever, for small carnal pleasure in this life, that he might be famous and spoken of on earth, though he lost heaven thereby. The Devil, who has a ready ear to listen to the lewd motions of cursed men, promised to give him whatsoever his heart desired during his mortal life: whereupon this wild wretch, neither desired riches nor promotions, nor was his fancy satisfied with any external or outward pleasure, but having a tyrannous heart, and a most cruel bloody mind, requested that at his pleasure he might work his malice on men, women, and children, in the shape of some beast, whereby he might live without dread or danger of life, and unknown to be the executor of any bloody enterprise, which he meant to commit: The Devil who saw him a fit instrument to perform mischief as a wicked fiend pleased with the desire of wrong and destruction, gave him a girdle which being put about him, he was straight transformed into the likeness of a greedy devouring wolf, strong and mighty, with eyes great and large, which in the night sparkled like brands of fire, a mouth great and wide, with most sharp and cruel teeth, a huge body, and

mighty paws: And no sooner should he put off the same girdle, but presently he should appear in his former shape, according to the proportion of a man, as if he had never been changed...."

Stubbe was accused of numerous rapes and murders. He was also said to have lured his own son into the forest, where he savagely attacked and killed him, broke open his skull and devoured his brain. Stubbe's other crimes included incestuous sexual relations with his own daughter and sister, as well as consorting with a demon who, it was said, appeared to him in the guise of a woman.

The whole region was terrorized by the atrocities of this monster, according to contemporary accounts, and the inhabitants of the area continually found human limbs and other body parts strewn about the countryside. These, it became clear after the werewolf's capture, were the remains of Stubbe's wolfish feasts: "so much he had practiced this wickedness, that the whole province was terrified by the cruelty of this bloody and devouring wolf. Thus continuing his devilish and damnable deeds, within the compass of a few years, he had murdered thirteen young children, and two goodly young women big with child, tearing the children out of their wombs, in most bloody and savage sort, and after eat their hearts panting hot and raw, which he accounted dainty morsels and best agreeing to his appetite...."⁵⁶

Like an ordinary *lupus*, however, this ravenous *wülf-woiffe* also slaughtered livestock: "for when he could not through the wariness of people draw men, women, or children in his danger, then, like a cruel and tyrannous beast he would work his cruelty on ... beasts in most savage sort, and did act more mischief and cruelty than would be credible, although high Germany hath been forced to taste the truth thereof."⁵⁷

Stubbe's capture and the evidence presented for his being a shape-shifter reveal the general pattern of the previously discussed cases, and the search for this monster was not unlike the hunt for the Beast of Gévaudan. The hunters who apprehended Stubbe were, in fact, pursuing an actual wolf at the time: "And although they had practiced all the means that men could devise to take this ravenous beast ... they could not in any wise prevail; notwithstanding they daily continued their purpose, and daily sought to entrap him, and for that intent continually maintained

great dogs of much strength to hunt and chase the beast wheresoever they could find him. In the end it pleased God ... that they should spy him in his wolfish likeness, at what time they beset him round about, and most circumspectly set their dogs upon him, in such sort that there was no means to escape ... being hardly pursued at the heels presently he slipped his girdle from about him, whereby the shape of a wolf clean avoided, and he appeared presently in his true shape and likeness, having in his hand a staff as one walking toward the city, but the hunters whose eyes was steadfastly bent upon the beast, [saw] him in the same place metamorphosed contrary to their expectation... Thus being apprehended, he was shortly after put to the rack in the town of Bedbur, but tearing the torture, he voluntarily confessed [sic] his whole life, and made known the villainies which he had committed for the space of 25 years..."⁵⁸

Stubbe revealed how he had acquired his magic girdle from the Devil and said that he had cast this instrument of metamorphosis in a particular valley shortly before he was captured.⁵⁹ But, as is so often the case with such episodes, the crucial bit of tangible evidence somehow vanished. Thus, when men were sent to the spot where the magic girdle lay, "they found nothing at all, for it may be supposed that it was gone to the devil from whence it came, so that it could not be found."⁶⁰

Stubbe was very likely guilty of multiple murders and also of being a sex offender, although his crimes were probably compounded by wolf attacks on livestock and children. The penalties for Stubbe's atrocities included his being torn with red-hot pincers, his limbs broken on the wheel, and finally, after experiencing sufficient anguish, being beheaded. The authorities also condemned Stubbe's daughter and mistress, as accomplices and for their obscene and amoral lifestyles, to be burned alongside Stubbe's decapitated cadaver, a sentence which was duly carried out on October 31, 1589, before a large crowd of spectators.

The sociological parallels between this episode and cases involving witchcraft are obvious: Stubbe's shocking crimes and misdeeds served as a convenient explanation for a series of misfortunes (wolf attacks on children and livestock, and actual murders); it enabled the community to purge from its midst a man

**Warhafftige vnd wunderbarliche Newe zeitung/von einem Bawren/
der sich durch Zauberey/drey Tage sieben stund zu einem Wolff veruandelt hat/vnd wie er darnach
gerichtet ist worden durch den Eelmschen Vlachrichtre/den letzten October im 1589. Jar.**



Figure 8.6 The execution of Peeter Stubbe. From a contemporary poster printed in Augsburg, Germany (1589). Courtesy of Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg.

and two women who were perceived to be moral deviants; and it amplified the fear of the Devil and his emissaries.

Wolf Madness: Lycanthropy and Disease

The French physician Jean Nynauld, author of *De la lycanthropie, transformation, et extase des sorciers* (1615), maintained that shape-shifting was neither metamorphosis nor enchantment, but merely a delusion or hallucination brought on by drugs or sickness. Similarly, the Oxford cleric Robert Burton said in his *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) that "lycanthropia," or *Lupina insania* (wolf madness), was a kind of mental illness.⁶¹ Weyer and Scot had forwarded such an opinion earlier, asserting that lycanthropy—the fixation during which a patient believed himself to be a wolf—was a psychiatric pathology.

Although some demonographers also deemed lycanthropy to be altogether different from werewolfism, i.e., the ability of sorcerers and witches to transform themselves into wolves,⁶² sixteenth- and seventeenth-century magistrates seldom recognized such a disparity while meting out justice, and often people believing themselves to be wolves were as readily executed as those who were denounced as werewolves by others. (The two exceptions among the cases discussed here were the trials of Roulet and Grenier.)

The following incident, which took place in Pavia, Italy, in 1541, illustrates: "a farmer ... as a wolf, fell upon many men in the open country and tore them to pieces. After much trouble the maniac was caught, and he then assured his captors that the only difference which existed between himself and a natural wolf, was that in a true wolf the hair grew outward, whilst in him it struck inward. In order to put this assertion to the proof, the magistrates, themselves most certainly cruel and bloodthirsty wolves, cut off his arms and legs; the poor wretch died of the mutilation."⁶³

Approaching the problem from the perspective of those accused, one could assume that, in some cases, mentally disturbed individuals, exhibiting bizarre behavior, may have been suspected of lycanthropy and sent to the stake (although the same reservations concerning psychiatric explanations for witchcraft discussed in Chapter Four apply here as well). Rosenstock and

Vincent, medical researchers who have examined both the modern literature and medieval accounts of lycanthropy list the following possibilities: schizophrenia, organic brain syndrome and psychosis, psychotic depressive reaction, hysterical neurosis of the dissociative type, and manic-depressive psychosis.⁶⁴

The eminent clinical neurologist Dr. Lee Ellis suggests porphyria as another disease which may have conceivably led to accusations of lycanthropy.⁶⁵ A rare congenital disorder, porphyria is characterized by extreme sensitivity to light (exposure to sunlight causes vesicular erythema), reddish-brown urine, reddish-brown teeth, and ulcers which destroy cartilage and bone, causing the deformation of the nose, ears, and fingers. Mental aberrations, such as hysteria, manic-depressive psychosis, and delirium, characterize this condition as well. Ellis argues that the physical deformities, in conjunction with psychopathology and nocturnal wandering due to photosensitivity, could have been mistaken as evidence of werewolfism.

Baxter, referring to the work of Bruno Bettelheim, has remarked that some cases of lycanthropy may have involved abandoned autistic children.⁶⁶ Bettelheim, a researcher at the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School, a laboratory school of the University of Chicago, made a case that the so-called "feral children," human infants allegedly raised by wolves,⁶⁷ exhibit the same characteristics as autistic children who come not from the wild, but ordinary, middle-class American homes.

Yet the actions of those suffering from this heartrending condition so closely resemble those of animals that many observers could only explain their behavior by inferring a life in the wild. Such speculations, Bettelheim observes, perhaps originate in the narcissistic unwillingness of humans to admit that these animal-like creatures could have had pasts at all similar to their own.

Severely autistic children are extremely shy and withdrawn from their surroundings; some react with panic to the slightest visible external motion.⁶⁸ They prefer to crawl on all fours for some time, urinating and defecating as they walk or run about, and many do not tolerate clothing and run around naked. Often ferocious, these patients may howl and scream, eat only raw food, bare their canines when annoyed or angered, and attack with their



Figure 8.7 A porphyria patient. Victims of this disease might have been accused of werewolfism. From A. Goldberg and C. Riminton, *Diseases of Porphyria in Metabolism* (1962). Courtesy of Charles C. Thomas Publisher, Springfield, Illinois.

claws and teeth. Bettelheim adds, "There are ... more specific reasons to suggest comparing these children with animals. During one year a single staff member had to have medical help more than a dozen times for bites she suffered from [one of the children].... Different, and again reminiscent of animals, is their prowling around at night, in marked contrast to their quiet withdrawal into a corner during the day.... Some will go to almost any length to get raw onions and lettuce and similar food, and go into violent temper tantrums if they do not get them immediately. Others lick salt for hours, but only from their own hands. Others, again, build themselves dens in the dark corners or closets, sleep nowhere else, and prefer spending all day and all night there. Some build caves out of blankets, mattresses, or other suitable objects. They do not permit us to touch either them or their abodes, and at least two of them would eat only if they could carry their food into their self-created caves or dens, where they would then eat without utensils."⁶⁹

Bettelheim argues that one need not suppose that such children were raised by wolves or other creatures in order to account for their pathological behavior. Yet such presumptions are often made, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this condition could easily have been misconstrued as lycanthropy. While embellishments by demonologists preclude diagnosis in most recorded incidents, the case of Jean Grenier, the young boy sentenced to life imprisonment in a monastery, is an example that comes to mind.⁷⁰

According to Baring-Gould's account, "No sooner was [Grenier] admitted into the precincts of the religious house, than he ran frantically about the cloister and gardens upon all fours, and finding a heap of bloody raw offal, fell upon it and devoured it in an incredibly short space of time.... Delancey visited him some seven years after, and found him diminutive in stature, very sly, and unwilling to look anyone in the face. His eyes were deep set and restless; his teeth long and protruding; his nails black, and in places worn away; his mind was completely barren; he seemed unable to comprehend the smallest things."⁷¹

Mad Wolves and Wolf Madness

Another possible, and perhaps more probable, explanation for werewolfism is suggested when one examines the circumstances surrounding wolf attacks on people. The stereotype of wolves as human-eaters is not well-founded, as numerous ethnologists have argued. An overwhelming number of reports about anthropophagic wolves⁷² contain details, such as wolves howling while hunting humans (wolves hunt silently), or running in packs of hundreds (packs rarely exceed more than twenty-five animals), which cannot be reconciled with data generated by modern field studies of wolf behavior.⁷³

Vilhjalmer Stefansson, a naturalist who investigated every case involving a human purportedly killed by wolves during the period between 1923 to 1936, covering the Caucasus region, the Near East, Canada, and Alaska, found them all to be spurious or exaggerated. Indeed, many incidents involving "man-eating" wolves have turned out to be sensationalized hoaxes, motivated by the economic interests of agricultural communities whose domestic animals were being preyed upon. Such prevariations have often been used to justify the ruthless and indiscriminate slaughter of entire wolf populations. There are also indications that in a number of cases, attacks by dogs, or feral dogs, have been blamed on wolves.⁷⁴

Zimen, a modern authority on wolves, explains the origins of the stereotype of wolves as man-eater: "In wars and epidemics men died outside inhabited areas, and the wolves no doubt, exploited this source of food.... Many assumed killings of human beings by wolves can probably be attributed to their eating corpses."⁷⁵ This does not mean, however, that wolves have never attacked people. As Zimen adds, "it would not be surprising if some wolves, having grown accustomed to men, both living and dead, and having learned to distinguish between dangerous and nondangerous ones, should have learned to kill them. Children above all must have been easy prey."⁷⁶

Nevertheless, authenticated wolf attacks on humans are very rare. The naturalist C. H. D. Clarke maintains that ordinary wolves do not bite humans; but, he adds, rabid wolves do. In the

majority of cases involving wolves which have killed and eaten human beings, Clarke observes, the animals were rabid.⁷⁷

The notable exceptions were the beasts of Gévaudan. These, however, were not ordinary wolves, as contemporary accounts indicate. They had color markings which were abnormal, and they were exceptionally large for European wolves. Clarke argues convincingly that the beasts of Gévaudan were a dog-wolf cross, exhibiting hybrid vigor (and thus larger than their parents).⁷⁸ Such breeds are often more destructive than their wild parents and display less fear of people,⁷⁹ traits that would certainly account for the predatory behavior of the creatures of Gévaudan toward humans.



Figure 8.8 A werewolf attacking two men. Rabid wolves behave more like the stereotype of wolves—especially werewolves—than do their healthy counterparts. From Geiler von Kaysersberg's *Die Enns* (1517). Courtesy of Special Collections and Rare Books, University of Minnesota.

This leaves for consideration rabid wolves, their attacks on *Homo sapiens*, and the consequences of such attacks. A rabid canine, according to clinical observations, becomes "increasingly irritable, restless, and nervous.... It shows exaggerated response to sudden stimuli of sight and sound. Excitability, photophobia, and hyperesthesia may become apparent... the animal may begin to move and roam, and wander aimlessly, all the time becoming more irritable and vicious; at this stage the animal is now very dangerous because of its tendency to bite anything that it encounters, be it man, animal, or inanimate objects. If the animal is confined it will bite at chains or bars of the cage or kennel, breaking its teeth, and inflicting severe trauma on its oral tissues."⁸⁰

There are numerous reliable reports of rabid wolves traveling long distances, invading villages, and attacking all humans they encountered. These animals show no fear and charge relentlessly, often inflicting massive injuries and deaths. The horror of a crazed beast, frantically assailing people, is often amplified by the hair-raising sounds which rabid animals emit due to the paralysis of their laryngeal musculature.

One such incident took place in 1851, near Hue-Au-Gal, France, where a rabid wolf bit forty-six people and killed eighty-two head of livestock in one day. A similar episode occurred in the Turkish town of Adalia, where another rabid wolf wounded 128 people and killed eighty-five sheep during a single rampage.⁸¹ Many of the victims died of rabies.⁸²

This raises an intriguing possibility: could rabid wolves have contributed to the belief in diabolically possessed werewolves who fiendishly and relentless attacked, killed, and sometimes devoured humans? Rabid wolves certainly behave more like the folk-stereotype of wolves—and especially werewolves—than do their healthy and normal counterparts.

But an attack by a rabid wolf had a repercussion which extended far beyond the immediate deaths or the lacerations received by those who survived the mauling: rabies-infected humans. Also known as "hydrophobia"—after the spasmodic laryngopharyngeal contractions experienced by patients upon seeing liquids, and their inability to drink water—rabies is a zoonotic malaise transmitted to humans through the bite of an

animal carrying the virus in its saliva. The epidemiology of human rabies, therefore, closely parallels the epizootiology of animal rabies.

The incubation period of the rabies virus in humans averages from two to eight weeks, but may vary from ten days to ten months, or more, depending on the location of the bite, the severity of the wound, and its proximity to the central nervous system.⁸³ The symptoms of the disease in humans are relevant to our discussion. These, according to modern clinical observations, include: hyperactivity, disorientation, hallucinations, seizures, bizarre behavior, stiffness or paralysis of the neck. In most cases a period of marked hyperactivity (furious rabies) develops lasting hours to days. The hyperactivity consists of periods of agitation, thrashing, running, biting, or other bizarre behavior. These episodes may occur spontaneously or may be precipitated by tactile, auditory, visual, or olfactory stimuli.⁸⁴

Many victims of rabies are reported to rage in delirium, howl like wolves in their agony, go into violent frenzies, and attack and bite those around them, producing horror among both medical personnel and casual onlookers.⁸⁵ Again, the absence of detailed and unbiased observations precludes a retrospective diagnosis with any degree of certainty in most of the recorded incidents of lycanthropy; however, these symptoms do bring to mind behavior such as that of the Candillon men while in captivity. One wonders whether the often misunderstood but truly horrifying symptoms of rabies might not, under certain circumstances (e.g., long incubation periods disassociating the animal bite from the disease in the human), have been interpreted as evidence of werewolfism.

Finally, there is the close historical correlation between the werewolf trials in Europe and rabies epizootics (outbreaks of rabies among humans, as already mentioned, coincide with epidemics among animals). According to one authority on the subject, "until the middle ages epizootics were rare. Most cases were singular bites of rabid dogs, and occasionally wolves.... In 1500, Spain was said to be ravaged by canine rabies. By 1586 there were epizootics of rabies among dogs in Flanders, Austria, Hungary and Turkey. In 1604, canine rabies was widespread in Paris and caused great alarm."⁸⁶

Russell and Russell have pointed to the possible connection between rabies and the belief in werewolves: "The occurrence of a terrible disease transmitted from wolf to man, providing a sinister linkage between the two species, may well have contributed to the werewolf belief. It is even possible that some of the convicted werewolves may have been suffering from rabies."⁸⁷

Although rabies was known to the ancient Greeks, the Romans, early Christian writers, and medieval Arab physicians, and a sound naturalistic treatise on the subject was written in 1593 by Salius of Bologna,⁸⁸ such specialist knowledge rarely filtered down to local communities. Moreover, demonological speculation, interjecting demonic forces into nearly every kind of pathology, could very well have obfuscated the epidemiological basis of rabies in humans in favor of supernatural causes.

Hallucinogenic Drugs and Lycanthropy

Another explanation for lycanthropy, advanced both by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century demonographers and some modern writers, implicates hallucinogenic drugs. In an overwhelming number of lycanthropy cases, suspects were thought to effect their metamorphosis by means of magical salves. The objective of individuals who thus transformed themselves into animals, as I noted earlier, was to be able to inflict injuries on others without being identified.⁸⁹ Nathaniel Crouch, the vehement English demonographer, related a typical account involving the use of such magical ointments in his *The Kingdom of Darkness* (1688): "That a certain woman being in prison on suspicion of witchcraft, pretending to be able to turn herself into a wolf, the magistrate before whom she was brought promised her that she should not be put to death in case she would then in his presence thus transform herself, which she readily consented to, accordingly she anointed her head, neck, and arm-pits, immediately upon which she fell into a most profound sleep for three hours, after which she suddenly rose up, declaring that she had been turned into a wolf, and had been at a place some miles distant, and there killed first a sheep and then a cow..."⁹⁰

Pierre Bourgot and Michel Verdun, the werewolves of Poligny, testified that they used a magical ointment to effect their



Figure 8.9 Witches shifting their shapes by anointing with the werewolf ointment. Francisco Goya's "La Cocina de las Brujas" [The Witches' Kitchen] (1794-5). By permission of Ampliaciones Reproducciones MAS, Barcelona.

metamorphosis. Weyer, who cited this case in order to dismiss lycanthropy as a hallucination, described the ointment's effects: "On rubbing themselves with a salve they would be changed into wolves, and on rubbing with certain herbs would resume [their] human shape. As wolves they had marvelous swiftness.... They told various stories of killing and devouring children and animals. Michel would be transformed in his clothes, but Pierre took his off, and resumed them when retransformed."⁹¹

Testimony about magical ointments was likewise recorded during the trials of Gilles Garnier, Jacques Roulet, and Jean Grenier. Boguet also stressed the role of magical unguents in lycanthropy: "The confessions of Jacques Bocquet, Françoise Secretain, Clauda Janguillaume, Clauda Jamprost, Thievenne Paget, Pierre Gandillon and George Gandillon are very relevant to our argument; for they said that, in order to turn themselves into wolves, they first rubbed themselves with an ointment, and then Satan clothed them in a wolf's skin which completely covered them, and then they went on all-fours and ran about the country chasing now a person now an animal according to the guidance of their appetite..."⁹²

The drugs employed in shape-shifting were similar to those used in the witches' flying-ointments, discussed in the previous chapter.⁹³ The most complete list of ingredients for the werewolf ointment was provided by Nynaud in his *De la lycanthropie, transformation, et extase des sorciers* (1615): "Belladonna root, nightshade, the blood of bats and hoopoes, aconite, celery, sopoforic nightshade, soot, cinquefoil, calamus, parsley, poplar leaves, opium, henbane, hemlock, varieties of poppy, and crustaceans..."⁹⁴ Giovanni Della Porta described the relevant effects of some of these drugs in his *Natural Magic* (1658): "By drinking a certain potion, the man would seem sometimes to be changed into a fish; and flinging out his arms, would swim on the ground: sometimes he would seem to skip up, and then dive down again. Another would believe himself turned into a goose, and would eat grass, and beat the ground with his teeth, like a goose: now and then sing, and endeavour to clap his wings. And this he did with [mandrake, deadly nightshade, and henbane]."⁹⁵

The question raised by such claims is this: can lycanthropy be explained in terms of the actions of psychotropic drugs? Some

modern researchers, again those belonging to the 1960s "drug culture" generation, have noted that henbane and datura can produce the subjective impression of transformation into animals, and hence drugs can account for the phenomenon of lycanthropy in Europe.⁹⁶

One authority cited in support of this argument is the noted German toxicologist, Erich Hesse, who has stated that, "A characteristic feature of the solanaceae psychosis is ... that the intoxicated person imagines himself to have been changed into some animal, and the hallucinosis is completed by a sensation of the growing of feathers and of hair, due probably to the main paraesthesia. In all these states the intoxicated person is loud, loquacious, restive; he laughs, and carries on animated discussions with people who are not there."⁹⁷

The sensation of changing into a wolf and the urge to chase and eat animals have also occurred during LSD psychosis,⁹⁸ suggesting that such feelings are possible during drug-induced hallucinatory episodes. But whether lycanthropy (which, like witchcraft, was a socially defined crime) can be explained in terms of the subjective, mental states of the accused is a question to which we will turn next.

Sociological Considerations

The range of possible physiological and psychological variables discussed are obviously not mutually exclusive, although most of these conditions, with perhaps the exception of rabies, were generally rare. Drug-induced psychosis, possibly the aberrant side-effect of the recreational use of hallucinogens (see Chapter Seven, above), may account for manifestations of lycanthropism, although there is no objective evidence that such drugs were used by secret societies of shape-shifting sorcerers. Thus, apart from isolated instances, one needs to seek other determinants or variables with which to account for the many accusations of lycanthropy during the years of the witch-hunts.

In any legitimate explanation, the sociological correlates of accusations of witchcraft and lycanthropy cannot be outweighed by the suspects' states of mind. Indeed, we have seen that, in some of the most famous werewolf trials, the defendants fit the

sociological criteria making them ideal for accusations of *maleficium*, or, in those particular instances, of werewolfism. False accusations and confessions originating on the rack unquestionably account for most, if not all, cases of lycanthropy.

Trumped up charges, psychosis, or the delirium of rabies notwithstanding, demonographers were convinced that lycanthropes were in league with the Devil and hence deserved death. Thus, Boguet aptly concluded his chapter "Of the Metamorphosis of Men into Beasts, and Especially of Lycanthropes or Loup-garoux," stating: "So much have I thought good to set down concerning Lycanthropes or were-wolves. Yet I should be sorry to leave this subject without reprimanding those who would excuse them and cast the blame for all that they do upon Satan, as if they were entirely innocent. For it is apparent from what I have said that it is the witches themselves who run about and kill people.... And even if they were guilty in nothing but their damnable intention, they should still be thought worthy of death, seeing that the law takes cognisance of the intention even in matters which are not very serious, although nothing has actually resulted from such intentions. I may add that such people should never have this intention, except those who have first renounced God and Heaven."⁹⁹

Notes

1. Eisler (1951:148-149); MacCulloch (1915:200).
2. Summers (1933:x-xi); Eisler (1951:146-147).
3. Hamel (1915:2, 7); Lea (1939:940).
4. Magnus (1658 [1555]:193).
5. Verstegan (1605:237).
6. Magnus (1658 [1555]:193).
7. Peucker (1951:118-121).
8. Shape-shifting is mentioned by Greek and Roman writers, such as Plato, Pliny, Virgil, Petronius, and Apuleius, and demonologists made free use of these authorities. As Scriptural evidence, demonographers usually made reference to the story of Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 4:33), King of Babylon, who, it is said, God transformed into an ox for seven years. Also frequently cited were Homer's tale of Circe, the sorceress who transmuted Ulysses' companions into swine, and Ovid's recounting of the myth of Lycaon, King of Arcadia, who, having incurred the wrath of Jupiter (Zeus), was metamorphosed into a wolf. See Stewart's (1909) and Noll's (1992:83-99) survey of the literature.
9. In Kors and Sprenger (1971 [1486]:61-65, 122-124).
10. Kramer and Sprenger (1971 [1486]:51).
11. Guazzo (1929 [1608]:146).
12. Boguet (1929 [1602]:146).
13. Kramer and Sprenger (1971 [1486]:65); Baring-Gould (1865:61).
14. Remy (1930 [1595]:112).
15. MacCulloch (1915:212); Summers (1933:73).
16. Gottfried (1983:135-136).
17. Gottfried (1983:135-136); Pollard (1964:23-26); Russell and Russell (1978:158-159).
18. Zimen (1981:298).
19. MacCulloch (1915:217).
20. Pollard (1964:23-32).
21. Monter (1976:147).
22. Russell and Russell (1978:161).
23. Verstegan (1605:111); Zimen (1981:45, 310).
24. Baring-Gould (1865:100); Monter (1976:149). For a discussion of metamorphosis in the English context see Kittredge (1956:174-184).
25. Hamel (1915:65).
26. Pollard (1964:48-55); Summers (1933:235-236).
27. C. H. D. Clarke (1971:67-68).
28. C. H. D. Clarke (1971:50).
29. In other words, cases involving witches and sorcerers who were presumed to have the ability to transform themselves into wolves.
30. Summers (1933:223-225).
31. Baring-Gould (1865:75-76).
32. Baring-Gould (1865:74).
33. Baring-Gould (1865:74-75).
34. Boguet (1929 [1602]:140-141).
35. Hamel (1915:57-58).
36. Robbins (1981:212).
37. Mackay (1932 [1841]:485).
38. Lopez (1978:241).
39. Baring-Gould (1865:81-82).
40. Summers (1933:122).
41. Boguet (1929 [1602]:154).
42. Baring-Gould (1865:85-99).
43. Kieckhefer (1976:24).
44. Monter (1976:111).
45. Monter (1976:144-151).
46. Summers (1933:234-235).
47. Monter (1976:148).
48. Summers (1933:225).
49. Boguet (1929 [1602]:139).
50. Garnet (1818:150).
51. Summers (1933:230).
52. Cases of werewolfism continued to be reported in Germany and the Austrian Alps until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Monter

- 1976:144-150; Baring-Gould 1865:1-5; O'Donnell 1912), while such incidents persisted in France well into the twentieth century (Pollard 1964:145-146; Summers 1933:236-238). See also Woodward (1979:23-29).
53. Boguet (1929 [1602]:139).
54. Otten (1986:5-8).
55. See also Eisler (1951).
56. *A True Discourse Declaring the Damnable Life and Death of one Stubbe Peter* (1590).
57. *A True Discourse*.
58. *A True Discourse*.
59. Elich (1607:155).
60. *A True Discourse*.
61. Burton (1621:13-14).
62. Crouch (1688:69); Summers (1933:2-3).
63. Baring-Gould (1865:64-65).
64. Rosenstock and Vincent (1977:1142-1149).
65. Illis (1986:195-199).
66. Baxler (1977b:69).
67. The most celebrated feral child in modern times was Victor, discussed in J. M. Harad's *The Wild Boy of Aveyron* (1932); Amala and Kamala, the feral girls from India, subject of Singh and Zingg's *Wolf Children and Feral Man* (1940)—which Bettelheim refutes—represent the only documented modern cases of children allegedly raised by wolves.
68. Bettelheim (1959:456, 459, 460).
69. Bettelheim (1959:458).
70. Lopez (1978:244).
71. Baring-Gould's (1865:97).
72. For example Pollard (1964:17-22, 108-121).
73. Zimen (1981:328-329); Caras (1975:32-41).
74. Zimen (1981:328).
75. Zimen (1981:298, 300).
76. Zimen (1981:298).
77. C. H. D. Clarke (1971:69).
78. C. H. D. Clarke (1971:71-72).
79. Lopez (1978:71).
80. Tierkel (1975:125).
81. Steele (1975:13). See also Caras (1975:40-41).
82. See Pollard (1964:56-68) for additional incidents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
83. Acha and Szyfres (1980:295-296).
84. Hathwick and Gregg (1975:290).
85. Steele (1975:2, 5); Pollard (1964:57); Eisler (1951:34, 160, 166).
86. Steele (1975:6).
87. Russell and Russell (1978:164).
88. Steele (1975:1-6); Russell and Russell (1978:164).
89. Lea (1939:940).
90. Crouch (1688:69-70).
91. Lea (1939:938).
92. Boguet (1929 [1602]:154).
93. Baring-Gould (1865:149-150).

94. Nynauld (1615, Chapter Two); Duerr (1985:141).
95. Porta (1658:219-220).
96. For example, Barnett (1965a, 1965b); Harner (1973); Emboden (1979:129).
97. Hesse (1946:103-104).
98. Surawicz and Banta (1975:537-542).
99. Boguet (1929 [1602]:155).