

Ludovico Maria Sinistrari's *De Daemonialitate* and its Transmission in Manuscript and Print



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Introduction

C'est le péché lettré, patricien et décadent par excellence; il faut plus que de l'imagination, beaucoup de lecture et un peu d'archéologie pour le commettre.

Josephin Péladan¹

In 1872 Isidore Liseux, a French bibliophile and budding publisher, discovered a handwritten treatise on demonology in a small London bookshop near the gate of Regent's Park. The paper, the script and the parchment binding denoted an Italian origin. The treatise itself was highly unusual, detailing a novel theory of incubi and succubi as rational beings capable of salvation or damnation. After making numerous inquiries with Italian antiquarian bookdealers and coming upon a reference in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, Liseux was able to identify the author of the treatise as Ludovico Maria Sinistrari de Ameno (1622-1701), a Capuchin friar and consultant to the Supreme Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition. Sinistrari was an eminent theologian and exorcist who taught at the University of Pavia but was scarcely known to the bibliographers of nineteenth-century Paris. The only reference to Sinistrari which Liseux was able to find was a brief entry in Jacques-Charles Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire* where 'Ludovico-Maria d'Ameno' is confused with his nephew, Lazaro Agostino Cotta de Ameno.²

Three years later in 1875, Liseux published the Latin text and French translation *en regard* under the title:

¹ J. Péladan, *Le Vice Suprême* (Paris: Librairie des auteurs modernes, 1884), p.95.

² Brunet erroneously attributes the authorship of Cotta's *Museo Novarese* (1701) to Sinistrari. 'L'auteur, dont, à ce qu'il paraît, les véritables prénoms seraient *Ludovico-Maria*, a écrit

² Brunet erroneously attributes the authorship of Cotta's *Museo Novarese* (1701) to Sinistrari. 'L'auteur, dont, à ce qu'il paraît, les véritables prénoms seraient *Ludovico-Maria*, a écrit plusieurs ouvrages sérieux, et entre autres *Museo novarese*, Milano, 1701, in-fol., où les hommes célèbres du Novarais sont distribués en quatre classes.' Brunet, Jacques-Charles. *Manuel du Libraire et De l'Amateur De Livres*. Vol. II. (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Freres., 1861). p.332.

*De la Démonialité et des animaux incubes et succubes où l'on prouve qu'il existe sur terre des créatures raisonnables autres que l'homme, ayant comme lui un corps et une âme, naissant et mourant comme lui, rachetées par N.S. Jésus-Christ et capables de salut ou de damnation, par le R. P. Louis-Marie Sinistrari d'Ameno.*³

The first edition, printed in a limited run of 598 hand-numbered copies from the letterpress of Claude Motteroz was exhausted within a few months.⁴ However, almost immediately serious doubts were raised by many early readers over the authenticity of this newly discovered manuscript. Accusations of a bibliographical joke (*facétie bibliographique*) or forgery were soon leveled against the publisher. Liseux swiftly responded with denunciations of these mistrustful readers who characterised his work as a hoax in the foreword to his second edition in 1876.

In recent scholarship the authenticity of the *Daemonialitate* manuscript has frequently been denied under the influence of Alain Mercier and Massimo Introvigne.⁵ Introvigne claimed that the manuscript was a forgery by Paul Lacroix and knowingly published by Liseux. 'Today it seems certain that it was a fake, intended to seduce various writers with its morbid sensual allusions, orchestrated by the Bibliophile Jacob, that is Paul Lacroix, the author of several works on medieval witchcraft, and arranged by the learned Isidore Liseux.'⁶ Following Introvigne, literary critics such as James Logenbach and Peter Liebrechts have also treated the work as a hoax perpetuated by Liseux. Logenbach when examining the influence of Liseux's edition on the writings of Ezra Pound and W.B Yeats described *Daemonialitate* as 'a

³ L. M. Sinistrari, *De la Démonialité et des animaux incubes et succubes* (Paris: Liseux, 1875).

⁴ The prospectus for the second edition of 1876 notes 'the first edition of *Démonialité*, published in luxury octavo format, was sold out in a few months.' ('La première édition de la *Démonialité*, publiée avec luxe dans le format in-8°, a été épuisée en quelques mois.')

⁵ Mercier asserts 'c'est un faux de Paul Lacroix d'après le père L. M. Sinistrari.' See: A. Mercier, *Les Sources ésotériques et occultes de la poésie symboliste* (Paris: Nizet, 1969), pp. 240-241.

⁶ 'Sembra oggi certo che si trattasse di un falso – destinato a sedurre vari letterati con le sue morbide allusioni sessuali – orchestrato dal "Bibliofilo Jacob", cioè da Paul Lacroix, autore di diverse opere sulla stregoneria medioevale e preparato dall'erudito Isidore Liseux', M. Introvigne, *Indagine sul satanismo. Satanisti e anti-satanisti dal Seicento ai nostri giorni* (Mondadorio, Milan, 1994), p.139.

nineteenth-century occult tract which was presented as the work of a seventeenth-century Franciscan theologian' and elsewhere as a 'forgery posing as an older book.'⁷

Inevitably such accusations of a manuscript forgery have led to *Daemonialitate* being regarded as a highly controversial text when cited within early modern scholarship. For instance, Annie Rijper critiques the 'unfortunate use' of Sinistrari's *Daemonialitate* as a primary source in Étienne Delcambre's study of late Renaissance witchcraft adding that it is 'an acknowledged joke by the scholar and bookseller Liseux: a deception that still has many victims as we can see.'⁸ Likewise when Bernard Faure cites Sinistrari he hastens to add, 'the possibility that the work attributed to Sinistrari d'Ameno may be a hoax does not diminish its value; on the contrary: its parodic intent merely accentuates a tendency that might otherwise remain less visible.'⁹ More recently Introvigne appears to have partially revised his views on the apocryphal nature of Liseux's edition in light of Carlo Carena's examination of two *Daemonialitate* manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan and the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome. However he concludes, 'the version by Liseux presents many discrepancies, and Carena believes that he worked on a third manuscript, now lost, although it is also possible that the French publisher simply embellished the text himself.'¹⁰

Despite much speculation on the authenticity of *Daemonialitate* no study examining the original manuscript material has been conducted since Carena's work in 1986.¹¹ The first academic study of *Daemonialitate* was a little known article by Silvio Pellini on a *Daemonialitate* manuscript held at the Ambrosiana library in the Italian periodical *Classici e neo-latini* (1907).¹² Following Pellini's article, Carlo Carena

⁷ J. Longenbach, *Stone Cottage: Pound, Yeats, and Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.48 and 86. Liebrechts similarly describes *Daemonialitate* as 'an occult tract supposedly "discovered" in 1872 and attributed to the seventeenth-century Franciscan theologian Ludovico Maria Sinistrari.' See: P. Liebrechts, *Ezra Pound and Neoplatonism* (Madison NJ: Fairleigh Dickenson University Press: 2004), p.392.

⁸ 'L'utilisation fâcheuse comme source de la *Démonialité* de Sinistrari, facétie reconnue de l'érudit libraire Liseux: une supercherie qui fait encore des victimes comme on le voit.' See: A. Rijper: *Condamnation des sciences occultes: édition critique du *Dyalogus in magicarum artium destructionem** (Paris: Anagrom, 1974), p.99.

⁹ B. Faure, *The Red Thread: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 82.

¹⁰ M. Introvigne, *Satanism: A Social History* (Brill: Leiden, 2016), p.147.

¹¹ C. Carena, *Demonialità* (Palermo: Sellerio editore, 1986).

¹² S. Pellini, 'Daemonialitas', *Classici e neo-latini*, N° 4 (Aosta, 1907), pp.570-586.

made a more extensive study comparing the Ambrosiana manuscript with a second manuscript from the Casanatense library and Liseux's Latin transcription.¹³ Carena's analysis established that the Ambrosiana manuscript was of an earlier dating and less corrupt than both the Liseux manuscript transcription and the Casanatense manuscript. Therefore he identifies the Ambrosiana manuscript as the *codex optimus* which is used as the basis for his Italian translation in 1986. The only original examination of *Daemonialitate* after Carena is a literary analysis by Armando Maggi in his study of Italian Renaissance demonology, however Maggi's analysis is based on the Liseux transcription of 1875 and he cites neither Carena nor Pellini's previous work.¹⁴

During my research period in Italy I discovered an additional four manuscripts and evidence of a holograph MS version predating the Ambrosiana MS. I have also consulted the literary remains of Sinistrari and other relevant materials from the Carlo Antonio Molli archive in Borgomanero. In this thesis I analyse Sinistrari's *Daemonialitate* in the light of these previously unexamined manuscripts and other archival materials that bear upon issues of authenticity, manuscript circulation and reception. This study builds upon the previous scholarship of Carena although my concerns differ insofar as the purpose of this thesis is not to create a new critical or urtext edition of *Daemonialitate* but rather a comprehensive study of the textual transmission of Sinistrari's treatise through all extant manuscript forms. A hypothetical textual transmission of *De Daemonialitate* based on an examination of all extant MSS and the *Daemonialitas* text from the Albrizzi and Gianni editions of *De Delictis* is represented in the *stemma codicum* below (see fig. 1). The *stemma codicum* also includes the lost holograph MS Ω, a hypothetical lost apograph designated as MS α and a lost manuscript previously in the possession of the British theosophist Maria de Mariategui. This stemmatic diagram should serve as both a guide to the reader and as a hypothesis of the most plausible textual transmission history which will be argued and substantiated throughout this thesis. A detailed description of all extant MSS and

¹³ C. Carena, *Demonialità* (Palermo: Sellerio editore, 1986), pp.107-109.

¹⁴ A. Maggi, 'What Does Human Mean? Beings Against Nature In Ludovico Maria Sinistrari's Demoniality', *In the Company of Demons: Unnatural Beings, Love, and Identity in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp.139-160.

manuscript filiation is provided in the third chapter. For the approach I have taken to transcribing from the original manuscripts see the note below.

The first chapter of this thesis addresses at length the discrepancies of the Liseux edition alluded to by Introvigne. I examine Liseux's discovery of the *Daemonialitate* manuscript in London, the reception of the first two French editions and the publisher's response to accusations of a forgery. The account given by Liseux is compared to archival material including the annotated auctioneer's record held at the British library. The second chapter examines *Daemonialitate* as an unexpurgated draft text for the Franciscan code, *De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Absolutissimus* and considers the manuscript version in the context of the publication and eventual prohibition of *De Delictis*. The historical context for *De Delictis* and in particular the *Daemonialitatis* chapter is examined with reference to archival material. Issues relating to the publishing history, ecclesiastical censorship and prohibition by the Sacred Congregation of the Index are also considered at length. The third chapter examines all currently known *Daemonialitate* manuscripts including four previously unidentified manuscripts. I address issues relating to dating, provenance and manuscript filiation. A transcription of additional accounts of demoniality added to Sinistrari's treatise by the Somascan theologian, Ignatius Tadis in his manuscript '*Creaturum Rationalium Corporearum quamdam Speciem, mediam Inter Angelos et Homines*' is provided as an appendix.

Finally, the fourth chapter considers the later legacy of *Daemonialitate* through an examination of the print editions from 1879-1927, including Liseux's editions of Sinistrari for the British market.

Stemma Codicum

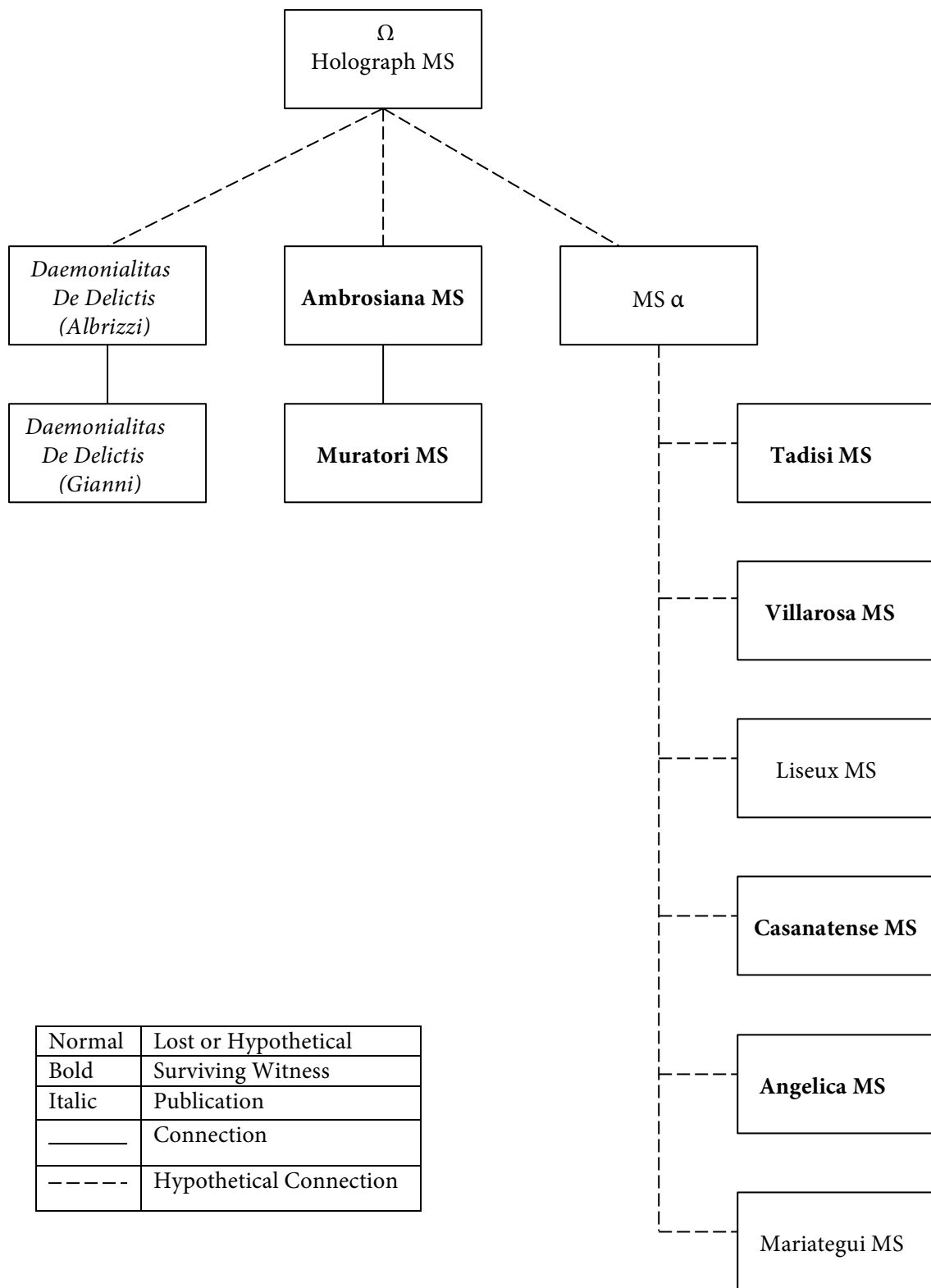


Figure 1. Stemma Codicum for Ludovico Maria Sinistrari's *De Daemonialitate* (Author's diagram).

A Note on Transcriptions

All transcriptions have been reproduced from the original manuscripts. Generally, the original orthography of the late Renaissance Latin has been preserved for example, *chachinnorum* rather than *cachinnorum* and *authographis* rather than *autographis*, although *i-j* and *u-v* are distinguished according to modern spelling practices. All underlining, bracketing and capitalizations follow the scribal practices in the manuscript original. Abbreviations and contracted terms have been expanded, e.g. *B.M Virginus* to *B[eata] M[aria] Virginis*. Unless noted otherwise, all of the Italian letters cited in this study have also been transcribed from original archival materials and I have followed the same principles of transcription, in this case preserving the original spelling of the Milanese dialect.

Chapter One

Isidore Liseux's *Daemonialitate* Manuscript: Discovery, Reception and Authenticity

1.1 Liseux's Discovery of the *Daemonialitate* Manuscript

In the foreword to the first French edition, Liseux provides a detailed bibliographical account of his discovery of the demonology treatise and its attribution to the Italian Franciscan theologian, Ludovico Maria Sinistrari.¹⁵ He claims to have come upon the manuscript in an antiquarian bookstore on Euston Road run by a certain Mr. Allen, 'a venerable old gentleman.'¹⁶ Mr. Allen's bookstore was small, containing fewer than five hundred volumes at a time and specializing in theology and classical literature with a few French and Italian works. According to Liseux, Mr. Allen methodically attended all the major auctions in London and renewed his stocks with the manuscripts and books overlooked by the celebrated antiquarian dealers of the day; this allowed him to acquire rare works at minimum bidding price. One day after a considerable auction, when Mr. Allen was exhibiting more books than usual, Liseux noticed several handwritten Latin manuscripts bound in Italian parchment. After some hesitation he purchased one for six pence observing it was a 'favourable price for a quarto' and subsequently became the owner of the *Daemonialitate* manuscript. Liseux provides the following description of the manuscript:

This manuscript, on strong paper of the 17th century, bound in Italian parchment, and beautifully preserved, has 86 pages of text. The title and first page are in the author's hand, that of an old man's writing; the rest is very distinctly written by another hand, but under his direction, as is shown by the annotations and

¹⁵ Refer to the 'Avant-Propos', L. M. Sinistrari, *De la Démonialité et des animaux incubes et succubes* (Paris: Liseux, 1875), pp. v-xvi.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p.v.

handwritten rectifications throughout the body of the work. It is therefore the original manuscript, to all appearances unique and unpublished.¹⁷

Mr. Allen claimed to have purchased the manuscript several days earlier during the sale of the books of Baron Seymour Kirkup, an English collector based in Florence. The auction took place from the 6th to the 15th of December 1871 at Sotheby's House on 13 Wellington Street, the Strand. Liseux notes that the manuscript was sold as lot 145 and appears in the catalogue as follows:

Ameno (*R. P. Ludovicus Maria* [Cotta] de.) de Daemonialitate et Incubis et Succubis, Manuscript *folio*. Saec. xvii-xviii.¹⁸

The book was already sent to the press of Motteroz under the name Ludovico Maria de Ameno when Liseux found reference to the author's full identity in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. The entry in the *Index* reads:

Sinistrari (Ludovicus Maria) de Ameno, De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus absolutissimus. *Donec corrigatur. Decret. 4 Martii 1709. Correctus autem juxta editionem Romanam anni 1753 permittitur.*¹⁹

This prompted an intensive search for the prohibited book. Liseux ransacked antiquarian catalogues, wrote letters to all the principal booksellers in London, Milan, Florence, Rome, Naples, and visited the monastic libraries of St. Sulpice Seminary and the Capuchin Fathers at rue de la Santé. Finally he received both the Albrizzi edition of *De Delictis et Poenis* of 1700 and the later Gianni edition of 1754 from a bookseller in Milan.

¹⁷ 'Ce manuscrit, en papier fort du XVIIe siècle, relié en parchemin d'Italie, et d'une conservation parfaite, a 86 pages de texte. Le titre et la première page sont de la main de l'auteur, une écriture de vieillard; le reste est fort nettement écrit par une autre main, mais sous sa direction, comme en témoignent des additions et rectifications autographes répandues dans tout le corps de l'ouvrage. C'est donc bien le Manuscrit original, selon toute apparence unique et inédit.' Ibidem, pp. viii-ix.

¹⁸ Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, *Catalogue of the Celebrated Library of Baron Seymour Kirkup of Florence* (London: Dryden Press, J. Davy and Sons, 1871), p.8.

¹⁹ *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Rome: Camera Apostolica, 1711), p.318.

The identity of Sinistrari is clarified by Liseux in a postscript written three months after the original preface and a biographical notice is excerpted from Gianni's 1754 *Opera Omnia* edition.²⁰ As Liseux notes demoniality is one of the crimes examined by Sinistrari in the *De Delictis et Poenis* however the *Daemonialitas* section is scarcely five pages long as opposed to the 86 pages of text in Liseux's manuscript. The version in *De Delictis* contains only the initial propositions (paragraphs §1- 27) and the concluding paragraphs (§112 -115) without any substantial textual variants between the 1700 and 1754 editions.²¹ The original aspect of the manuscript, a novel theory of incubi and succubi as rational beings endowed with a body and soul, was entirely absent from the published version. Liseux concluded that the printed fragments of *Daemonialitate* must be unrelated to the prohibition by the Congregation of the Index since they are not submitted to any correction and that save for a few pages his manuscript has never appeared in print before.

1.2 The Fin de Siècle Reception of Liseux's *De la Démonialité*

The first edition of *Démonialité* was enthusiastically reviewed by the critic Paul de Saint-Victor, publisher Étienne Charavay, symbolist poet Remy de Gourmont and the bibliophile Octave Uzanne.²² The publication of *Démonialité* occurred during a period when bibliophiles were reacting against a crisis in the overproduction of books known as *la krach* and what the literary critic Saint-Beuve termed 'industrial literature' and its philistine readers.²³ Bibliophiles tended to be bohemian gentlemen who rose to power during the Third republic and shared a taste for obscure authors and eccentric books. Pierre Bourdieu observes that in Paris during this era 'literary society isolated itself in

²⁰ The biographical excerpt is translated from L. M. Sinistrari. *Opera Omnia, vol. I*, (Rome: Gianni, 1754), p. xii.

²¹ Liseux's assertion that there is no differences between the 1700 and 1754 text should be regarded as incorrect. See p.41 for a discussion of the *varia lectio* in the *Daemonialitis* text of the Albrizzi and Gianni editions.

²² P. Saint-Victor, *Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel*, (27 November 1876), É Charavay, 'La Démonialité au XVIII^e Siècle, *L'Amateur D'Autographes: Revue Rétrospective et Contemporaine*, N^o 263 (Paris: J. Charavay, August 1875), pp.122-135, R. Gourmont, 'Amours d'Animaux', *Le Journal* (Paris: 25 May 1893), p.1 and O. Uzanne, *Le Livre: Revue Mensuelle* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1881), p.636.

²³ W. Silverman, *The New Bibliopolis: French Book Collectors and the Culture of Print, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p.7.

an aura of indifference and rejection to the buying public, i.e. towards the bourgeois.²⁴ This led to the development of ‘mutual admiration societies’ that were ‘closed in upon their own esotericism.’²⁵ Legitimacy or what Bourdieu terms ‘symbolic capital’ was provided by select bibliophilic periodicals, literary reviews and endorsements by other elite publishers and writers. Liseux was a publisher who adeptly operated within the rarified world of fin de siècle bibliophilia, selecting recherché texts which were printed in Elezevirian format. In his foreword to *Démonialité* he alludes to his ambitions by evoking ‘the quiet intimacy of Aldus, Dolet or Estienne’ and dismissing the ‘petty passions’ of his own age.²⁶

Saint-Victor noted in his review of *Démonialité*, ‘the fashion is for reprinting rare books, piquant booklets and literary bric-a-brac carefully selected from the hodgepodge of the past. A publisher who practices connoisseurship in his craft, Monsieur Isidore Liseux, had been publishing for the last two years, in this manner, a series of small volumes, which were printed with luxury, in small numbers and are ranked on the ivory tablet of bibliophiles. One can feel the taste of the scholar, the tact and discernment of the researcher’. Saint-Victor concludes that ‘the newly discovered manuscript of Father Sinistrari, a capuchin casuist of the seventeenth century, will tempt all the libertines of witchcraft, all the gourmets of the Sabbath cauldron.’²⁷ Liseux reproduced Saint-Victor’s entire review in the prospectus for his forthcoming second edition of 1876. The reviews of the *Conseiller du bibliophile, Analectes du*

²⁴ P. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), p.115.

²⁵ Ibidem, p.116.

²⁶ L. M. Sinistrari, ‘Avant-Propos’, *De la Démonialité et des animaux incubes et succubes* (Paris: Liseux, 1875), p.v.

²⁷ ‘La mode est aux réimpressions des opuscules rares, des livrets piquants, du bric-à-brac littéraire, soigneusement trié dans le fatras du passé. Un éditeur qui met du dilettantisme dans sa profession, M. Isidore Liseux, publie depuis deux ans, en ce genre, une série de jois volumes, imprimés avec luxe, tires à petit nombre, qui vont d’eux-mêmes se ranger sur la tablette d’ivoire des bibliophiles. Le choix en est aussi varié qu’attrayant: on y sent le gout de l’érudit, le tact et le discernement du chercheur. *De la Démonialité et des animaux incubes et succubes*, - traduit, texte en regard, du manuscrit retrouvé du Pere Sinistrari un capucin casuiste du dixseptième siècle, - affriandera tous les libertins de la sorcellerie, tous les gourmets de la marmite du Sabbat.’ See: P. Saint-Victor, *Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel*, (27 November 1876).

bibliophile and *Le Rappel* likewise noted the refinement of Liseux's edition particularly the *archaïsme typographique*, Elzevirian format and Holland paper.²⁸

Liseux's edition had an immediate resonance among writers and artists of the decadent movement with their tastes for Catholic diabolism, the *recherché* and bizarre. Remy de Gourmont remarked that this 'small book that bears the strange title, *Démonialité*, was well known' and that one of the esteemed occultists of the age drew upon Sinistrari's knowledge of 'esoteric lust'.²⁹ *Démonialité* was discussed in Joséphin Péladan's *Le Vice suprême* (1884), J.K. Huysmans' satanic novella *Là-bas* (1891) and was cited by the esotericist Stanislas de Guaita in his *La Clef de la Magie Noire* (1897).³⁰

Perhaps the most revealing example of the reception of *Démonialité* was the collaboration between Octave Uzanne, the 'high-priest of fin de siècle bibliophilia' and the Belgian artist and print-maker, Félicien Rops. The watercolour by Rops, entitled *L'Incantation* (1878), follows Uzanne's bibliophilic tale closely and reproduces his description of a laboratory of witchcraft. A clergyman stares transfixed at a naked woman emerging through a shattered mirror with an expression between ecstatic resignation and disquiet. Before him is a tome with a frontispiece depicting a witch's flight with the titles: '*Compendium Maleficarum, De Demonialitate, De Viperis, De Venenis*', referencing Francesco Maria Guazzo, Sinistrari, Baldus Angelus Abbatius and Petri d'Abano. The latter three titles allude to Liseux's foreword where he notes of the Latin manuscripts he discovered in Mr. Allen's shop, 'the title of one was, I believe *De Venenis*; the other *De Viperis* and the third *De Daemonialitate*'.³¹ The room of the

²⁸ L. Villotte, 'Un Nouvel Éditeur: M. Isidore Liseux', *Le Conseiller du Bibliophile: publication destine aux amateurs de livres rares et curieux et de belles editions*, (Paris: M.C. Grellet, 1876) pp.236-238, J. Gay, 'A Titres Singuliers et Bizarres', *Analectes du Bibliophile* (Brussels: J. Gay and P. Daffis: 1876), p.3, V. Meunier, 'De la Démonialité', *Le Rappel* (Paris: S.N, 4 October 1875), p.3.

²⁹ 'Sinistrari est peut-être le plus curieux, Son petit livre, qui est assez connu, porte ce titre étrange: *De la Démonialité* [...] C'est en cet opuscule que plus d'un mage, parmi le plus estimés, puisa sa science de la luxure ésotérique.' R. Gourmont, 'Amours d'Animaux', *Le Journal* (Paris: 25 May 1893), p.1.

³⁰ J. Péladan, *Le Vice Suprême* (Paris: Librairie des auteurs modernes, 1884), p.95, J.K. Huysmans, *Là-Bas* (Paris: Tresse & Stock, 1891), pp.201-202, and S. Guaita, *La Clef de la Magie Noire* (Paris: Henri Durvill, 1920), p.240.

³¹ L. M. Sinistrari, 'Avant-Propos', *De la Démonialité et des animaux incubes et succubes*. (Paris: Liseux, 1875), p.viii. Guazzo's *Compendium Maleficarum* also fits in this group of texts as the most the heavily cited source in Sinistrari's manuscript.

clergyman is crowded with alchemical beakers, a stuffed marabou stork, an owl, a black cat, frogs, a jar containing hearts and parchment with a pact signed in Greek, Σατανάς (*Satanas*). The painting was reproduced as a photogravure in Uzanne's *Son Altesse la Femme* (Her Highness the Woman) to accompany his tale, *Le Vray Mirouer de Sorcellerie* (The True Mirror of Witchcraft).³² Uzanne's accompanying text tells the story of doctor Jehan Manigarole, a libertine who devotes himself entirely to the pleasures of the flesh but eventually falls into a state of feverish melancholy as he contemplates the 'snowy climates' of old age. One day he studies Crespert's '*Deux Livres de la hayne de Sathan et malins esprit contre l'homme*' and shortly after reads all of Sinistrari's tract *De Daemonialitate*.³³ This was a grave misfortune for Dr. Manigarole as he soon began to dream about witchcraft and diabolism. Eventually his room becomes a 'laboratory for witchcraft and thus dedicated to Satan.'³⁴ Manigarole intensifies his studies of esoteric books and grimoires striving to revive his former pleasures by conjuring Beelzebub through a mirror. The mirror shatters when a woman appears 'as naked as Eve in paradise' and convinces Manigarole to sign a pact with the devil. Rops revisited the theme and alluded to Sinistrari's *Daemonialitate* again in a drypoint etching entitled *La Lecture du Grimoire* depicting a bibliophile absorbed in studying old tomes.³⁵ In this later depiction the pursuit of esoteric knowledge represented by an open volume inscribed '*Des Demons Succubes*' is exalted, while the vanity of artistic pursuits and worldliness, symbolised by an abandoned palette, easel and discarded hats and gloves, is cast aside. Octave Uzanne's *Le Livre Moderne* (June 1892) reproduces Rops' study for *La Lecture du Grimoire* where the

³² O. Uzanne, 'Le Vray Mirouer de sorcellerie', *Son Altesse la Femme* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1885), pp.1-31.

³³ 'Certain jour il se print à lire et estudier les deux livres *De la hayne de Sathan et malings esprits contre l'homme*, du resvérend Crespert, et ce fut là grave mescheance pour le paouvreteux. Il s'estomira fort de n'avoir point songié plus tost aux sortylèges et dyabolicitez de cettuy monde et dès lors se mugnit de toutes oeuvres traictant *De Demonialitate*.' Ibidem, p.13.

³⁴ 'La grant chambre de son logiz fust eschangée en laboraitoyre de sorcellerie et vouée ainsy à Sathan.' Ibidem, p.18.

³⁵ See, H. Védérine, *De l'encre dans l'acide. L'oeuvre gravée de Félicien Rops et la littérature de la Décadence* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), pp.171-172.

frontispiece of the open volume reads ‘*Sinistrari Des Demons Incubes et Succubes Masles et Femelles*’ and demonic figures are depicted in the background.³⁶

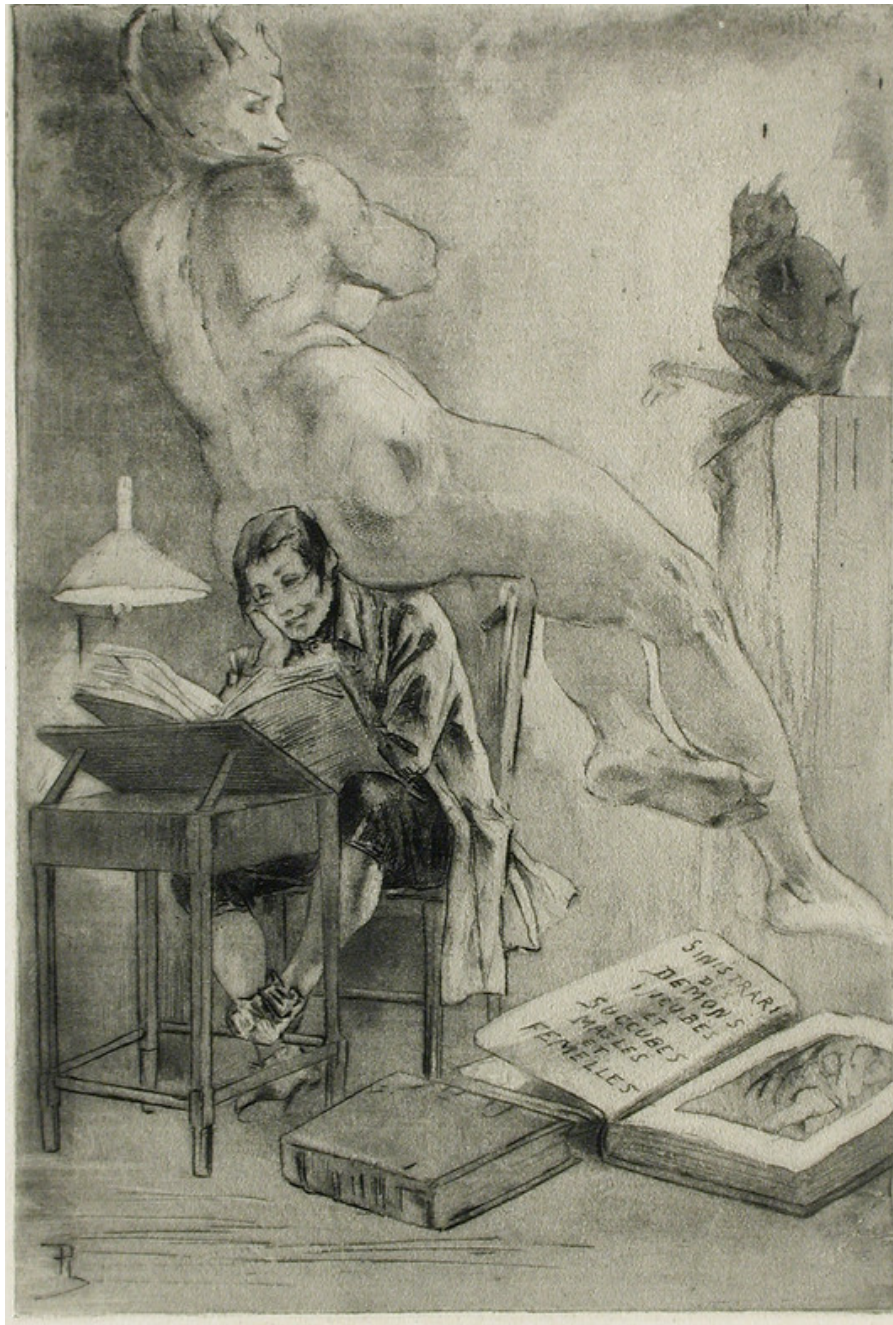


Figure 2. *La Lecture du Grimoire*, (1891) etching with aquatint by Eugène Alexandre Fornet after an unpublished drawing by Félicien Rops. O. Uzanne, *Le Livre Moderne: Revue Du Monde Littéraire et des Bibliophiles Contemporains*. (Paris: M. Quantin, 1891), pp.360-1.

³⁶ Félicien Rops' study for *La Lecture du Grimoire* was reproduced in a drypoint etching by Eugène Fornet in a print run of 1000 copies with an additional 20 copies printed on *papier Japon*, 15 copies on *papier de Chine* and 15 copies on Whatman paper. The 50 copies on luxury paper were accompanied with a second rare etching of an earlier proof for *La Lecture du Grimoire* on Whatman paper. O. Uzanne, *Le Livre Moderne: Revue Du Monde Littéraire et des Bibliophiles Contemporains*. (Paris: M. Quantin, 1891), pp.360-1.



Figure 3. Félicien Rops, *L'Incantation* (1878) from the Musée Félicien Rops, Namur, (MAR-ROPS-APC2655).

1.3 ‘*Facétie Bibliographique*’: Accusations of Forgery

Despite the favourable reception of *Démonialité* many of its early readers held serious doubts about the authenticity of the manuscript that was purportedly the basis of Liseux’s edition and the account he gave of its discovery. In an 1875 sale catalogue Liseux appended the following notice to the entry for *Démonialité*, written in response to an inquiry by a provincial bookseller: ‘several of my clients ask me if this is the reproduction of an authentic manuscript, or only a bibliographic joke. Whatever honour may be due to such doubt, the publisher hastens to reply: the manuscript is still in his possession and he will communicate very willingly to anyone who wishes to honour him with a visit.’³⁷ In the second edition Liseux attempted to quell the doubts surrounding the authenticity of his text by reproducing a letter from a certain ‘Reverend Father A’ of the order of the Capuchins. This letter was a ‘spontaneous testimony’ addressed to him by one of the superiors of the very order to which Sinistrari had belonged. Liseux reasoned that it was likely to enlighten those mistrustful readers who ‘not believing the sincerity of this publication have dared to formulate their suspicions with the ugly phrase, ‘bibliographic joke’ (*facétie bibliographique*)’.³⁸ The letter is worth reproducing in full:

Rev. Father Provincial of the Capuchins

For the Province of P...

P..., Friday (8 October 1875)

³⁷ ‘Plusieurs de mes clients écrits à l’Éditeur un libraire de province, son correspondant, “me demandent si ce volume est la reproduction d’un manuscrit authentique, ou seulement une facétie bibliographique. Quelque honneur qu’un pareil doute puisse lui faire, l’Éditeur s’empresse de répondre: le Manuscrit est encore en sa possession, et li le communiquera très-volontiers à toute personne qui voudra bien l’honorer d’une visite.’ Undated Catalogue 4 (1875). The sales catalogue is cited from P. Adamy, *Isidore Liseux 1835-1894: Un grand ‘petit éditeur’* (Bassac: Plein Chant, 2009), p.270.

³⁸ ‘Mais ce qui a le plus touché l’Éditeur, il l’avoue ingénument, c’est le témoignage tout spontané de satisfaction qui lui a été adressé par l’un des supérieurs de l’Ordre même auquel appartenait son auteur, par le R. P. Provincial des Capucins pour la province de P.... On trouvera à la fin du volume la lettre du Révérend Père A.....: elle est de nature à éclairer les personnes déifiantes qui, ne voulant croire à la sincérité de cette publication, avaient osé formuler leurs soupçons par le vilain mot de “facétie bibliographique.’ L. M. Sinistrari, *De la Démonialité et des animaux incubes et succubes* (Paris: Liseux, 1876), pp.v-vi.

† Pax

Monsieur Isidore Liseux,

Paris.

I have gone through the work you sent me yesterday, and have, indeed, been satisfied with the edition; the time has not yet arrived for me to give my opinion on the value of the work itself. Here you would have met with no works of the Rev. Father Sinistrari of Ameno other than his book: *Practica Criminalis Minorum*. The *De Delictis et Poenis* is to be found, I believe, in another of our convents; but you would have been given a most welcome reception. I believe that Des Grieux can hardly have resided in the present St-Sulpice, which dates but from the year 1816.

I have noticed, on page 132-133, a rather serious translation error: you render Carthusia Ticinensis as Chartreuse du Tessin, when it's the famous charterhouse of Pavia, well known to all travelers in Italy. So far as a superficial glance has enabled me to ascertain, there are some other mistakes; but, altogether, the work is a good one, and you may accept the congratulations of

Your very little servant,

Fr. A....

o. m. c.

m. p.

Convent of Capuchins, rue ...³⁹

The translation error pointed out by the Capuchin father was silently corrected in the French edition of 1882. Liseux seemed to believe that this testimony from the Capuchin father would demonstrate an authentic monastic provenance for Sinistrari's work but it did not have the intended effect and did little to end inquiries about the authenticity of the *Daemonialitate* manuscript. Shortly after Liseux's death, a reader wrote to the periodical, *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux* (1905) inquiring:

³⁹ Ibidem, p.268.

Is this work authentic? Liseux was an excellent Latinist and capable of creating such a treatise from scratch [...] What has become of the manuscript attributed to Sinistrari? Liseux died in poverty in an attic in the rue Bonaparte with nine sous found in his pocket. What has happened to his library? In the preface of his edition, he claims that the original manuscript appears in the catalogue of the Seymour sale (London, 1871) under n° 145. Is that correct?⁴⁰

These apt questions raised by this anonymous reader will be considered in the following section.

1.4 On the Authenticity and Provenance of the Liseux Manuscript

According to the London census, in 1871 Liseux resided at 439 Oxford Street with his wife Thérèse Fleury, born in 1840.⁴¹ Francis Richard, a French glovemaker shared the same address during this period. The entry in the London 1871 census does not specify any professions for Liseux or his wife. In the preface of *Démonialité*, Liseux writes he was still living in London in 1872 and devoted his time to hunting for rare books. It was during this period that Liseux apparently frequented the shop of Mr. Allen.

The reason that *Démonialité* was initially considered a hoax appears to be in part due to the idiosyncratic nature of Sinistrari's text. As Maggi notes, Sinistrari's text is 'theologically incorrect' and the 'most puzzling and controversial statements present in *Daemonialitate* are absent from *De Delictis*.'⁴² But perhaps equally readers were

⁴⁰ 'Isidore Liseux a publié, comme inédit en 1875, un manuscrit intitulé *De Daemonialitate et incubis et succubis*, par le R. P. Ludovicus Maria Sinistrarius de Ameno (XVIIe siècle). Cet ouvrage est-il authentique? Liseux était excellent latiniste et capable d'inventer de toutes pièces un pareil traité. [...] Qu'est devenu le manuscrit attribué au P. Sinistrari? Liseux est mort de misère, dans une mansarde de la rue Bonaparte et on a retrouvé neuf sous dans sa poche. Qu'avait-on fait de sa bibliothèque? Dans la préface de son édition, il prétend que le manuscrit original figure au catalogue de la vente Seymour (Londres, 1871) sous le n° 145. Est-ce exact?' See: *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux*, N° 1073, (Paris: B. Duprat, 20 April 1905), p.560.

⁴¹ O. Bessard-Banquy, 'Isidore Liseux, ancien séminariste, éditeur de curiosa', *Curieux Curiosa* (Tusson: Du Lérot, 2009), p.102.

⁴² A. Maggi, 'What Does Human Mean? Beings Against Nature In Ludovico Maria Sinistrari's *Demoniality*', *In the Company of Demons: Unnatural Beings, Love, and Identity in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 141.

suspicious of Liseux's preface which is not a scholarly commentary but by his own admission an 'esbattement' (divertissement, distraction, *plaisanterie*) written for the sake bibliophiles alone.⁴³ There were also several inconsistencies in Liseux's preface that led skeptics such as Introvigne and Mercier to cast doubt over the veracity of his account. Liseux claimed to have purchased the manuscript in 1872 from Mr. Allen who had acquired the manuscript a 'few days earlier at Sotheby's House', but the auction took place the previous year. He also claimed that the Baron Seymour Kirkup collection was auctioned shortly after his death in Florence but in fact Kirkup died nine years later, at 4 Via Scali del Ponte Nouve, Livorno on the 3rd of January 1891.⁴⁴ Kirkup, an avid occultist, had fallen under the influence of Daniel Dunglas Home, a notorious spiritualist charlatan who had persuaded him to part with his library and other treasures.⁴⁵ According to the correspondence of the poet Robert Browning, a friend of Kirkup, the library was sold under the instruction of '*gli spiriti*' (the spirits).⁴⁶ Browning sardonically noted in a later letter to Isabella Blagden: 'Kirkup's books have sold well it seems, - but I dislike thinking of the bare empty walls of Casa Caruana: still the "spirits" are baulked of the prize.'⁴⁷ Kirkup lived to regret the auction and desperately attempted to buy back most of his prized manuscripts and books.⁴⁸

I was able to identify the antiquarian bookseller as Thomas Allen who operated at 432 Euston Road during the 1870s and 1880s. He regularly advertised in the *Athenaeum* and is referenced in the correspondence of George Gissing.⁴⁹ The

⁴³ Liseux's use of this middle French term 'esbattement' ("pour l'esbattement" des Bibliophiles "et non aultres") is a variation on Balzac's prologue to *Les Cent Contes drolatiques* (1832) where he describes his work as 'pour l'esbattement des panatagruelistes et non aultres.' *Les Cent Contes drolatiques* was a Rabelaisian pastiche, where the author adopts the conceit that work was transcribed from a manuscript discovered in the abbeys of Tourraine.

⁴⁴ L. H. Cust, 'Kirkup, Seymour Stocker', *Dictionary of National Biography, vol. 31* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1900), pp.224-225.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p.225.

⁴⁶ E. C. McAleer, 'Robert Browning to Isabella Blagden, 21 April 1871', *Dearest Isa: Robert Brownings's Letters to Isabella Blagden* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951), p.358.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, 'Robert Browning to Isabella Blagden, 29 December 1871', p.371. Note, 'Casa Caruana' refers to Kirkup's house near the Ponte Vecchio, Florence.

⁴⁸ F. Ellis wrote to C. E. Norton: 'Old Mr. Kirkup has actually sent quite a long list of commissions to buy books back for him! Is it not an illustration of the farce of a ruling passion, many of his commissions are really beyond the real value of the books but I shall not buy them for him at too great prices.' Ibidem, p.358.

⁴⁹ See Gissing's letter to his brother Algernon on 7 May 1882, where he enthuses about Thomas Allen's bookstore in P. F. Mattheisen, A. C. Young and P. Constillas, *The Collected Letters of George Gissing Volume 2*, (Ohio: Ohio University Press,) p.81. Thomas Allen's

catalogues of Thomas Allen do not appear to have survived but the Sotheby's auctioneer's archive records housed at the British library preserves the details of the buyers handwritten in the margins. The auctioneer's notes for the sale indicate that T. Allen bought lot 145 'Daemonialitate MS' together with lot 144, a 'slightly wormed copy' of Francesco Cattani de Diacceto's *Gli uffici di S. Ambrugio vescouo di Milano*, for 6 pence on Wednesday the 6th of December, 1871.⁵⁰ On the same day of the sale, Thomas Allen had also purchased Kirkup's copies of Petri de Abano's *Tractatus De Venenis* and Baldus Angelus Abbatius' *De Viperis* referenced by Liseux in his preface. The auctioneer's annotations provide credibility to Liseux's account but still leave us with a second question raised by the anonymous reader in the previous section, namely what became of the manuscript attributed to Sinistrari?

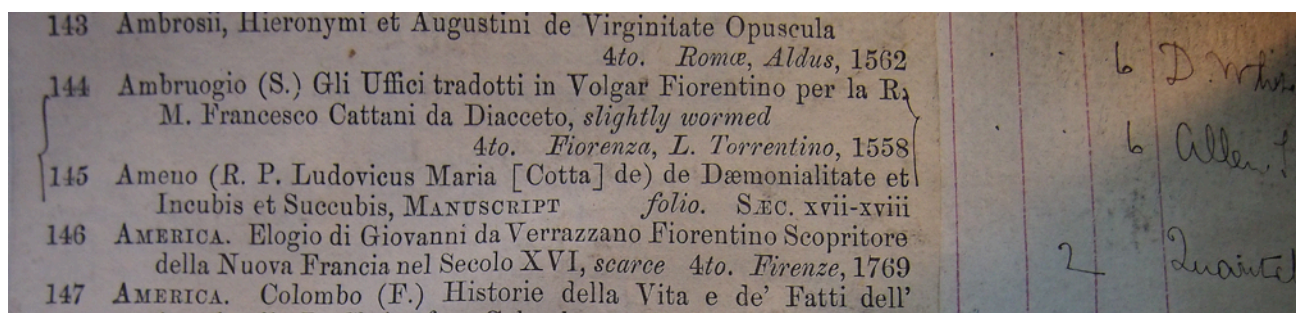


Figure 4. British Library, 'Sales Catalogues, auctioneers' copies, mounted with MS. notes', S.C. *Sotheby(1) 1871*, Catalogue for 6-15 December, 1871. (Author's photo).

Liseux died on the 11th of January 1894 at his home on 25 rue Bonaparte, Paris.⁵¹ Bessard-Banquy, who examined Liseux's papers at the Archives départementales in Paris, notes that a sale of his books and literary remains took place on the 3rd of April 1894 under the direction of the auctioneer M. de Cagny.⁵² According to Guillaume Apollinaire, Liseux's papers eventually passed into the hands

bookstore is also referenced in John Power's directory of British antiquarian booksellers and typographers, see: J. Power 'A Handy-Book about Books, for Book-Lovers, Book-Buyers, and Book-Sellers (London: J. Wilson, 1870), p.67.

⁵⁰ British Library, 'Sales Catalogues, auctioneers' copies, mounted with MS. notes', S.C. *Sotheby(1) 1871*, Catalogue for 6-15 December, 1871.

⁵¹ O. Uzanne, *Quelques-uns des livres contemporains en exemplaires choisis, curieux ou uniques revêtus de reliures d'art et de fantaisie tirés de la bibliothèque d'un écrivain et bibliophile parisien dont le nom n'est pas un mystère*, (Paris: A. Durel, 1894), pp.2-3.

⁵² O. Bessard-Banquy, 'Isidore Liseux, ancien séminariste, éditeur de curiosa', *Curieux Curiosa*, (Tusson: Du Lérot, 2009) p.110.

of the Belgian bookseller, François van Crombrughe.⁵³ However it appears that Liseux had already sold the *Daemonialitate* manuscript many years earlier. He advertised the original manuscript on the back wrapper of the English 1879 edition of *Demoniality* where it is listed as follows:

‘For sale: The original manuscript of Demoniality, by the Rev. Father Sinistrari of Ameno (see the description in the Preface to the work)... £40.0.0’⁵⁴

There are no known extant catalogues by Liseux verifying if any collector purchased the *Daemonialitate* manuscript. The next historical trace of Liseux’s *Daemonialitate* manuscript appears in a 1933 article, ‘Isidore Liseux, Éditeur et Érudit’ ‘in *Le Bibliophile* by Robert Delle Donne. Donne claimed to have seen the original manuscript in the personal library of Gustave Lehec, a friend and disciple of Liseux.⁵⁵ He adds: ‘the manuscript of Sinistrari was here, respectfully kept in a library, among other extremely rare collections; let us hope that it fell into the hands of a connoisseur who appreciates its value.’⁵⁶ We unfortunately do not know precisely when this encounter took place, as Donne does not specify any dates when he visited Lehec. However we may infer that it must have been near the end of the bookseller’s life when he was becoming blind since Donne relates Lehec’s new interest in braille and notes that after their first conversation he read aloud to Lehec a letter from Paul-Louis Clewaski. In 1914 Alphonse Margraff took over Lehec’s bookstore at Rue Saint-André-des-Arts, including the stock of over 150,000 books.⁵⁷ Some 61 sales catalogues of Lehec survive ranging from the earliest extant catalogue of January 1871 to the last

⁵³ G. Apollinaire, *Le Flâneur des deux rives* (Paris: Éditions de la Sirène, 1918), p.28.

⁵⁴ The back wrapper is conserved in a copy held by the British Library, shelfmark 8632.bb.9.

⁵⁵ R. Donne, ‘Isidore Liseux, Éditeur et Érudit’, *Le Bibliophile: Revue Artistique et Documentaire Du Livre Ancien et Moderne* (Paris: Publications Papyrus, 1933), p.253.

⁵⁶ ‘Le manuscrit de Sinistrari était là, respectueusement rangé dans une bibliothèque, au milieu d’autres recueils rarissimes: souhaitons qu’il soit tombé entre les mains d’un connaisseur qui en apprécie toute la valeur.’ Ibidem, p.253.

⁵⁷ Gilbert Chinard a scholar who knew the Parisian bookseller notes that ‘Margraff learned his trade as a boy from old man Lehec, whose emblem “Le Curieux” he had preserved as a trade mark. Margraff did not collect rare books in the ordinary sense of the term, but books which scholars and particularly historians do not find in many libraries’. G. Chinard, ‘Libraires and Librairies: A Record of Indebtedness’, *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Spring 1965), pp. 139-140.

known catalogue of May 1893.⁵⁸ Unfortunately most of these catalogues are only held by private collectors.⁵⁹ It is plausible that the Liseux MS passed hands from Lehec to Margraff or alternatively that it was sold to a private buyer but until new evidence comes to light inquiries along these lines can only remain speculative.

⁵⁸ J. Duprilot and G. Nordmann, *Les Curiosa de Monsieur Lehec et la Genèse du Catalogue du Cabinet Secret de Prince G**** (Genève: Dumat & Golay, 1989), p.22.

⁵⁹ Several publically held Lehec catalogues list Liseux's *Démonialité* editions but not the original manuscript. For example see: *Catalogue du Cabinet secret du Prince G*** Collection de livres, objets curieux et rares concernant l'amour, les femmes et le mariage* (Brussels, 1887), pp.96-97.

Chapter Two

De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Absolutissimus: From Publication to Prohibition

2.1 A Brief Life of Ludovico Maria Sinistrari

The major sources we have for the life of Sinistrari are his nephew Larazo Agostino Cotta's biographical account in *Museo Novarese*, Fabricus Agostino's '*Brevis de Authore Narratio*' and the literary remains of Sinistrari held at the Archivio Molli in Borgomanero.⁶⁰ Ludovico Maria Sinistrari was born on the 26th of February 1632 in Ameno, a small town on the eastern shore of Lake Orta and in the diocese of Novara.⁶¹ Ameno was a town rooted in ecclesiastical tradition and known for its Franciscan convent on Mount Mesa that overlooks the lake and the neighbouring village of Orta San Giulio. In the preface of *De Delictis*, Sinistrari leaves the reader with the following description of his native convent:

This place, remote from worldly dwellings, is also free from those same troubles. It enjoys a healthy climate and temperate air that is wonderful. There is a gently sloping hill and at the summit, crowned with the surrounding walls, lies a convent, which enjoys a glorious view from all directions. To the east is the Agogna River, which is teeming with fish and runs down the hill to the coast. In the south lies the neighbouring Lombard plains, and it offers a view of Milan, Novara, Vercelli, and almost innumerable towns and villages that occupy this most fertile soil. To the west is the lake of San Giulio (with its island, the capital of the whole Riviera d'Orta, adorned with many villages and castles), which makes a most charming backdrop to this scene. To the north along the bend of the coastline, one can see small hills where vines and orchards are cultivated, and lying beyond the hillside are meadows, fields,

⁶⁰ L. A. Cotta, 'Lodovico Maria d'Ameno', *Museo Novarese* (Milan: 1701), pp.219-224, and L. M. Sinistrari, 'Brevis de Authore Narratio', *De Incorrighilium expulsion ad ordinibus regularibus tractatus* (Milan: Ambrosii Ramellati, 1704), p.ii.

⁶¹ See Sinistrari's birth certificate, Fondazione Marazza, AMB 97, fol 5. Thanks to Barbara Gattone from the Fondazione Marazza for digitising archival materials and assisting with various inquiries on Sinistrari and Lazaro Agostino Cotta.

and groves; nestled in the midst of these surroundings is a town which is named after the charm of the place: Ameno.⁶²

Sinistrari studied in Pavia and became a minor friar for the *Osservanza* in 1647. In Rome he held the office of the Consulter to the Supreme Tribunal to the Holy Inquisition. For a period of time he was the *Vicarius in spiritualibus* for the Archbishop of Avignon, Alessandro Montecatini and later taught theology in the city of Milan, during the years of Archbishop Federico Caccia. Cotta's handwritten notes in the Archivio Molli in Borgomanero report that Sinistrari 'defended almost divinely, a canon Regular accused of practicing necromancy.'⁶³ Elsewhere Cotta reports that Sinistrari held many exorcisms and at the Casale Monferrato by the order of the Bishop and the Inquisitor, he tried a new method against a particularly obdurate demon in every exorcism.⁶⁴ This was a '*caso stravagantissimo*' (most strange case) and Sinistrari claimed that the demon wrote a letter to him in unknown characters (*caratteri ignoti*) which he kept carefully guarded. A depiction of Sinistrari is given in a biographical note by Agostino Fabricus de Ameno, who describes him as burly and tall with a noble countenance, broad forehead and gleaming eyes; he was also known as being witty and gracious in conversation.⁶⁵

⁶² 'Semotus a saecularium habitatione situs, ad eorundem molestiis liber est. Coeli salubritate, aerisque temperie ad miraculum gaudet. Collis molliter acclivis est, cujus jugo, quod muralis clausurae corona cingit, incubat Conventus, qui mirabili undique gaudet prospectu. Ab Oriente Aconia piscosus fluvius collis oram alluit. A Meridie protensa Longobardiae planities eidem limitropha intuentibus objectat Mediolanum, Novariam, Vercellas, ac Oppida, Villasque paene innumeras, quibus occupatur feracissimum illum solum. Ab Occasu lacus S. Juli (cuius Insula, totius Ripariae caput, quam plurimum Pagorum, Castellorum que situation circumcirca decorator) iucundissimum prospectantibus exhibet proscenium. A Septentrione curvati in arcum visuntur colliculi, vitibus, frutetis que consiti, quibus subjecta planities pratis, campis, sylvisque distincta in gremio excipit Oppidum, cui ex situs amaenitate Ameni vocabulum inditum est.' L. M. Sinistrari, 'Ad Lectorem Benevolum', *De Delicis et Poenis Tractatus Absolutissimus* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1700), pp.viii-ix.

⁶³ 'Diffese quasi divinamente un Regolare imputato di Negromantia, ab al piede della Apologia ventilata nella sorbona, fu' da quella universita espresso il sapere, e stima di questo soggetto in tai parole.' Fondazione Marazza, AMB95, fol 56.

⁶⁴ 'Essercitò più volte gl' essorcismo, et in Casal Monferrato d'ordine dal vescouo, et Inquisitore formò processo contra d' un demonio contumace ad ogni essorcismo, e fù caso straugautissimo: Il demonio gli scrisse ma lettera, clé gli conserua anno presso di se, di caratteri, e materia ignoti.' Fondazione Marazza, AMB95, fol 56.

⁶⁵ 'Quadrato corpore, statura procera, facie liberali, fronte spatiosa, oculis rutilantibus, colore vivido, jucundae conversationis, ac lepidorum salium.' L. M. Sinistrari, *Opera Omnia, vol. I* (Rome: Gianni, 1754), p. xii.

Cotta, the principal biographer of Sinistrari, compiled a bibliography of nineteen published works and twelve manuscripts.⁶⁶ Sinistrari's first published work was a short epithalamic poem '*Cenvito dei fiumi*' written under the pseudonym Clodoveo Farvamondi, an anagram for 'Fra. Lodovico di Maria Ameno.' Other notable works include an astrological manuscript (*Praxis Astrologica*) and several pieces for the theatre. Perhaps the most curious of his early publications is *La Pirlonea*, a satirical comedy with characters speaking in a range of regional dialects such as Neapolitan and Bergamasque, which was printed under the allonym of his nephew, Lazaro Agostino Cotta.⁶⁷ However Sinistrari's reputation largely rested on the three major texts which he wrote in response to the demands of his order, a general commentary on criminal law: *Practica Criminalis Illustrata*, *Formularium Criminale* and *De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Absolutissimus*.

Sinistrari died at the age of sixty-nine in the Convento del Giardino in Milan on the 6th of March 1701 and was buried in the church of the observant minors of Santa Maria del Giardino della Scala.⁶⁸ Cotta received Sinistrari's literary remains and shortly after his death he wrote in a letter to Giuseppe Ferrari that he 'recovered from the spoils (*spoglia*) of Ludovico Ameno, my uncle who is now in heaven, an opusculum, *De Incorrigibilium Expulsione ad Ordinibus Regularibus*.'⁶⁹ This posthumous work was edited by Frater Fabricus de Ameno and published in Milan in 1704.

2.2 The Publishing History of *De Delictis et Poenis*

In 1688, Sinistrari was commissioned by the General Council of Franciscans to compile the statutes for his order under the title '*Practica Criminalis*' which was

⁶⁶ L. A. Cotta, 'Lodovico Maria d'Ameno', *Museo Novarese* (Milan: 1701), pp.221-224.

⁶⁷ For a modern edition of *La Pirlonea* with translations in Italian, English, French, and German refer to, P. De Gennaro, *La Pirlonea. Commedia, 1666* (Turin: Trauben, 2011). Thanks to Carlo Carena for bringing this book to my attention.

⁶⁸ V. Lavenia, 'Sinistrari, Ludovico Maria', *Dizionario Storico dell' Inquisizione, vol.III* (Pisa: Edizioni Della Normale, 2010), p.1434.

⁶⁹ 'Ho recuperato dello spoglia del P. Lod. Mio zio, che cu in Cielo, un opuscolo De expulsio incorrigibilium expulsione ab Ordinis Regularib[us]', AMB97, fol. 371.

designed to replace an earlier version of the Franciscan code published in 1639.⁷⁰ The first two volumes of *Practica Criminalis* were printed in Rome, 1693 by the Czech publisher, Jan Jakub Komárek, under the titles *Practica Criminalis Illustrata* and *Formularium Criminale, Praxis Illustratae Pars Secunda*. Sinistrari promised the imminent publication of the final volume, *De Delictis et Poenis* and commenced work on the draft in October 1694, however it was only finally printed some six years later in 1700.⁷¹ In the reader's preface to *De Delictis*, Sinistrari elaborates on the reasons for the lengthy delays and interruptions to the composition of his work. While living in Rome, he was occupied with various prosecution cases for the inquisition and was unable to complete the necessary preparatory work for the final volume of the *Practica Criminalis*. Therefore he sought refuge in his native Franciscan monastery near Ameno in order to devote himself entirely to working on *De Delictis et Poenis*.

So that I may be finished with the troubles of my occupation, which oppressed me while staying in Rome, and weary of being disturbed by the work of prosecution, I spoke to the Fathers of my Convent, so that I might enjoy the peace of other occupations and could entirely devote myself to devising the tract. There could scarcely be a place more suitable for this purpose.⁷²

However after returning to his convent Sinistrari was soon summoned to Milan by his patron the Archbishop Federico Caccia. Shortly after his return to Milan he fell sick and was bedbound for almost a year before being able to partially restore his health and complete the final volume before his death.

While researching for the *Practica Criminalis* the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome issued several reading licenses to Sinistrari allowing him to

⁷⁰ L. M. Sinistrari, 'Brevis de Authore Narratio', *De Incorrigibilium expulsion ad ordinibus regularibus tractatus* (Milan: Ambrosii Ramellati, 1704). For Sinistrari comments on the earlier *Practica Criminalis* of 1639 see: L. M. Sinistrari, *Practica Criminalis Illustratae* (Rome: Joannes Jacobi Komarek Bohëmi, 1693), pp.1-5.

⁷¹ 'Tertia, de Delictis, et Poenis Deo vitam, viresque dante, post has publici iuris faciam.' L. M. Sinistrari, 'Ad Lectorem', *Practica Criminalis Illustratae*, (Rome: Joannes Jacobi Komarek Bohëmi, 1693), p.xii.

⁷² 'Ut me expedirem a negotiorum molestiis, quibus Romae manens opprimebar, et incoepti Operis prosecutione turbabar, me contuli ad Patriae mea Conventum, ut otio aliarum occupationum fruerer, et totus meditato Tractui incumberem. Opportunior huic intentioni locus aegre dari potest.' L. M. Sinistrari, 'Ad Lectorem Benevolum', *De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Abolutissimus* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1700) pp.viii-ix.

consult *libros prohibitos* (prohibited books) and *damnatus auctores* (condemned authors) including all of the texts on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* with the specific exception of works by Machiavelli, Charles Du Moulin and books concerning *astrologica iudiciaria*.⁷³ Since the papacy of Urban VIII, a convention had become institutionalized where cardinals, theologians and consultors of the Index were granted such written permission to read banned works generally with the previously mentioned exceptions.⁷⁴ Reading licenses were typically issued for a triennium and due to delays with the completion of the *Practica Criminalis*, the Sacred Office of the Congregation restored Sinistrari's reading licence on the 19th of August 1694.⁷⁵ The Archbishop Federico Caccia died in January 1699 and Sinistrari consequently sought the patronage of Giuseppe Archinto, the newly appointed archbishop of Milan and Apostolic Nuncio to Spain. The latter responded to his request in a letter from Madrid on the 11 April 1700 affirming that he was willing to be the patron for *De Delictis* and that it was a subject most suitable to him (*un sogetto più degno di me*).⁷⁶

De Delictis was published by Girolamo Albrizzi, a prominent Venetian gazetteer, who ran a printing shop 'Nome di Dio' on Campo della Guerra behind the Church of San Zulian.⁷⁷ Albrizzi was granted a papal privilege by the Sacred Office, displayed on the frontispiece, which gave him a monopoly over the distribution of *De Delictis* for the Italian market. Aside from the economic advantages, the papal privilege also provided the most authoritative recognition possible of the orthodoxy of a text. This acknowledgement was particularly significant for a comprehensive legal treatise such as *De Delictis*. Albrizzi typically announced his forthcoming publications in his own literary and antiquarian gazette, *La Galleria di Minerva*. The initial print run of one thousand five hundred copies was already sold in advance before the publisher had arranged for their distribution and an announcement placed in *La Galleria di Minerva* promised a second print run.⁷⁸

⁷³ Fondazione Marazza, AMB 97, fol.177.

⁷⁴ R. Savelli, 'The Censoring of Law Books', *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.225.

⁷⁵ Fondazione Marazza, AMB 97, fol.178.

⁷⁶ Fondazione Marazza, AMB 97, fol.235.

⁷⁷ For a brief synopsis of Albrizzi's publishing activities see: A. M. Magno, *Bound in Venice: The Serene Republic and the Dawn of the Book* (Rome: Europa Editions, 2013), p.371.

⁷⁸ G. Albrizzi, *La Galleria di Minerva, Overo Notizie Universali* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1700), pp.10-13.

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Feria 4. Die 6. Julii 1677

Ingnali Cong. Romana, et Vniversis Inquis. habita
 in Conuentu S. Mariz super Mineruam coram
 S. P. N. S. P. Cardinalibus in tota
 Republica Christiana contra hereticam prauita-
 tem Vnialibus Inquisitoribus à S. Sede Apostolica
 specialiter deputatis

Licentia mem. S. P. N. S. P. Ludouici de Ameno D. Minor de Ober.
 Reformatoris in S. Studio Capicor. Professori S. P. N. S. P.
 et S. P. N. S. P. Vnialibus Inquisitoribus p. S. con-
 cesserunt ei licentiam tenendi et legendi omnes
 et quoscumq. damnatos Authores, seu alios quo-
 modolibet prohibitos libros, etiam in Indices Ro-
 manus librorum prohibitorum damnatos, exceptis tamen
 Caroli Molinai, et Nicolai Machiaveli Operibus
 ac libris de Astrologia iudiciaria tractantibus
 quos libros secrete, et sub clauo tenent, ne ad
 alios manus deueniant. Ad triennium proxi-
 mam, eum cond. in quos completa opera, quod
 ut exposuit contra Hæreticos an. d. composuit
 antequam typis mandet, illud Romam ad Cong.
 S. P. N. S. P. transmittat.

Franciscus Guadalupe Sandoza Romanus
 et Vnialis Inquisitionis Notarius

fol. 50.




Figure 5. Reading license for Ludovico Maria Sinistrari issued by the Congregation of the Index, Fondazione Marazza, Archivio Molli, AMB 97, fol. 177.

Copies of the published tract were sent to various cardinals and high-ranking Franciscan clerics such as Giuseppe Ferrari and Petrus Marinus Sormannus who both wrote congratulatory letters to Sinistrari. In a letter from Rome, Ferrari remarked, ‘the tract *de Poenis* by Your Paternity occupies the former place of your *Practica*, I consider it among the best in my library. I had heard of the great importance of having this study for the order, which in fact could not be more evident [...] the class of the crime is appended to the subordinate clause, prior to the proof and it concludes with the penalty, where without much difficulty, one can be aware of all that is necessary for instruction. The dedication to the reader is most learned. It is indispensable to the reader and you finish it with this most elegant description, which has let me see the beautiful Ameno though I have never visited.’⁷⁹

Cardinal Marinus Sormannus similarly wrote a letter addressed to Sinistrari from Gualdo on the 31st July 1700. ‘I find myself in Gualdo Luogo attending to my affairs in the diocese of Novara for some air and rest: hence the cause of my absence from the Court of Pavia, to whom Your Paternity is committed; so that the third volume of your *Practica Criminale* reaches me, I have ensured that its delivery is delayed until my return to Rome.’⁸⁰

A second edition of *De Delictis* to be published Lyon was proposed several times in the correspondence of Sinistrari and in the correspondence of Cotta. The preparations for a second edition is first mentioned in a letter from Ferrari to Sinistrari where he praises the benefits of his treatise for the Republic of Letters and raises the prospect of a new edition to be published in Lyon.⁸¹ Shortly after the death of Sinistrari, Cotta sent a more detailed letter about the plans for a Lyon republication to the Franciscan Order of Marseille (*P.P. Recollectorum Provinciae Massiliensis*).

⁷⁹ ‘Il Trattato de Poenis di V. P. occupa il suo Loco prisco La Pratica, fiaè migliori della mia librezia. Io l’ho trasento quanto importa d’ haver osservato L’ord[in]^e che per verità non può esseri più chiaro[...] del delitto appresso i subalter su; pri la prova, et in fini La pena; si che senza molta fatica, si esseri all’ occhio tutto cio’ che occorri per istruzione. La Lect[ur]^a dedicat[o]^{ria} è eruditiss[im]^a quella al Lect[o]^{re} necess[a]^{rio} et in quella ultima con una gentiliss[im]^a discrizzioni mi ha fatto vederi il bel’ esse de Ameno anchorché non L’ habbia veduto’. Fondazione Marazza, AMB 97, fols, 245-247.

⁸⁰ ‘Mi ritrouo in Gualdo Luogo d’una mia Abb^r. nella Diocesi di Nocera per frendes aria, e riposo: Onde per causa di questa mia assenza dalla’ Corte il Pavia, a cui V.P ha’ commesso, che mi faccia giungere il terzo tomo della sua prattica Criminale havera’ veduto di dovemo diferire il recapito al mio ritorno in Roma’. Fondazione Marazza, AMB97, fol. 239.

⁸¹ Fondazione Marazza, AMB 97, fols 246-247.

I confess that the passing away of so great a man is not without tears as much as I may rejoice to know of the reprinting of this work, as already previously planned. The codices of the author are purged from errors, and a reprinting will be sold at my disposal, which can be arranged to be sent to Lyon, or to whichever place I commission, although I am uncertain whether the *Preside Provinus Gallicanes* will sanction this new printing? I speak of what might please you, which is more certain than what the *P. Provinciale Lugdunum* may do, if perhaps the republication itself is considered, I could arrange to send to you, as soon as possible, fifty volumes of the book following the announcement of its publication, which could be distributed by you alone'.⁸²

While the proposed reprinting of the first two volumes of *Practica Criminalis* was approved and printed by Joseph de Clericis in Milan under the patronage of the Bishop of Novara, Giberto Bartolomeo Borromeo, Cotta's plans for a second edition of *De Delictis* never came to fruition due to opposition to certain passages in the original published text by members of the Congregation of the Index.⁸³ In 1703 the Celestine father, Diego Grignani recommended to the Congregation of the Index that *De Delictis* would have to be amended before any such republication in Lyon could be authorised.⁸⁴ Of particular significance is Cotta's mention of the expurgation of the author's original codices which indicate that the initially appointed readers of *De Delictis*: Frater Fabricus of Milan, Frater Carlous of Milan and Matthaues à S.

⁸² 'Tanti viri obitus non sine lacrimis tibi renuncio, quamvis gaudendum mihi scit in recusione illius operum, quam iam dudum designasti. Codices a mendis^{ex} autore^s expurgatis, et reimprimendi prostat penes me, quos Lugdunum, aut quo mandaveris, paratis sum transmittere, cum incertis sim, quonam cum Preside Provinus Gallicanes sanxerit novam impressionem? De hisce placeat tibi certiore facere P. Provinciale Lugdunum, ut si forte ipse reimpressionem meditatus est, eamus curat. Quamprimum ad te quinquaginta fore volumina postremi tomi remittam iste evulganda, sola distribuenda'. Fondazione Marazza AMB 97, fol.367.

⁸³ In a letter addressed to Muratori on 23 February 1702, Cotta discusses the republication of the first volume *Practica Criminalis*, noting 'Si ristampano in Milano le due prime parti della *Practica Criminale* del Padre d' Ameno.' See, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, AM.62.10, fol. 21r. Also see: L. M. Sinistrari, *Practica Criminalis Illustrata*, 2nd Ed., (Milan: J. Clericis, 1702) and *Formularium Criminale, Praxis Illustratae Pars Secunda*, 2nd Ed., (Milan: J. Clericis, 1703).

⁸⁴ V. Lavenia, 'Sinistrari, Ludovico Maria', *Dizionario Storico dell' Inquisizione, vol.III*, (Pisa: Edizioni Della Normale, 2010), p.1435.

Stephano, had already found issues in Sinistrari's holograph manuscript text prior to its later prohibition in 1709. The question of censorship will be dealt with at length in the ensuing sections.

2.3 The Historical Context of *De Daemonialitate*

The *Practica Criminalis* was intended primarily to be used as a legal handbook by religious superiors, lawyers and visitators when adjudicating in criminal cases. A decree in Cantabria in 1694 declared the integrity and utility of the new *Practica Criminalis* for fathers of the Ultramontane doctrine, prelates and officials of the Curia which was reproduced in the preface for *De Delictis et Poenis* and the second edition of the *Practica Criminalis Illustrata* printed in Milan.⁸⁵ The problems of a legal definition of *daemonialitate* were outlined by Sinistrari in the first volume of his *Practica Criminalis* (1693) within the context of transgressions that resulted in a monk being expelled from the Franciscan order. Sinistrari notes that such a crime is not explicitly addressed in any law (*nulla expressa est lex*), a fact which he considered as being 'not without horror' (*non sine horrore audivi factum*) nor 'without disgust' (*non sine stomaco*).⁸⁶ As an act of profanation, demoniality should be covered under civil law but Sinistrari reserves his more comprehensive treatment of this transgression for the chapter in *De Delictis et Poenis* devoted to sins against nature, only noting in his preliminary discussion that it constitutes grounds for apostasy. The Belgian Franciscan theologian, Gaudentius van den Kerckhove cited Sinistrari's legal definition from the *Practica* and added *daemonialitate* as a legal statute in his *Commentarii in Generalia Statuta Ordinis S. Francisci Fratrum Minorum* published in

⁸⁵ 'Relata per gravissimos Patres Ultramontanae familiae doctrina, qualitate, atque utilitate novae *Practica Criminalis* typis datae a R. P. Fr. Ludovico de Ameno reformatae provinciae S. Didaci lectore emerito, decernit Diffinitorium generale, ut Praelati Ordinis, et Provinciarum illa in utraque Familia utantur: ideoque officiales curiae sufficientia illius exemplaria ad singuls Provincias ad interesse habentibus in impressione exmitti curabunt.' See: J. Venetiis, *Chronologie Historico-Legalis Seraphici Ordinis Continens Omnia Capitula, et Congregationes Generales, Constitutiones, et Statuta emanate ab Anno 1633 usque ad Annum 1718* (Venice: A. Bortoli, 1718), p.264.

⁸⁶ L. M. Sinistrari, *Practica Criminalis Illustratae*, (Rome: Joannes Jacobi Komarek Bohëmi, 1693), p.294.

Bruges, 1700.⁸⁷ Kerckhove's definition reproduces Sinistrari's peculiarly corporeal interpretation of demoniality as '*coitus cum daemone succubo, vel incubo, coitus cum cadavere*' and judges that those who commit this crime should be condemned to imprisonment or the galleys.⁸⁸

De Delictis et Poenis is divided into nine encyclopedic chapters each devoted to a particular category of crime. '*Daemonialitatis*' occupies the thirteenth section of the fourth chapter dedicated to crimes against chastity ('*de delictis contra castitatem*') including offenses such as *stuprum*, *fornicatio*, *mollities* and *sodomia*. The term *daemonialitatis* was first defined by the Catholic scholastic Joannis Caramuel y Lobkowitz in his *Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis* (1653), where he coins this word in order to draw a distinction between the crimes of *bestialitatis* and *daemonialitatis*.⁸⁹ Caramuel was reluctant to elaborate on this category of crime in any detail noting that there are many testimonies which do not appear to be trustworthy and other accounts that are clearly false. For Caramuel *daemonialitatis* is not merely a crime against nature but a twofold sin (*duplex peccatum*) that involves both lust (*luxuria*) and sacrilege (*sacrilegium*). Caramuel asserts that such a crime is never committed without a pact or an alliance of man with the demonic and whoever invokes a demon or enters into a compact with a demon commits the gravest of sins (*peccatum gravissimum*).⁹⁰ Sinistrari however does not appear to share any of Caramuel's scruples about testimonial evidence and relates several lurid and strange accounts from Northern Italian monasteries. Significantly, Sinistrari argues contrary to Caramuel that demoniality may be committed without a pact or alliance and in this particular case

⁸⁷ G. Kerckhove, *Commentarii in Generalia Statuta Ordinis S. Francisci Fratrum Minorum* (Ghent: Maximiliani Graet, 1700), pp.333-334.

⁸⁸ 'Idem iudicium erit (scilicet damnandi ad perpetuos carceres, vel Triremes)'. Ibidem, p.334.

⁸⁹ 'Varia sunt, sed praecipua reduce poterunt ad quatuor capita; videlicet, Mollitiem, Sodomiam, Bestialitatem, et Daemonialitatem. Anne distinguuntur specie?' J. Caramuel y Lobkowitz, *Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis*, (Frankfurt: Schonvvetteri, 1652), p.568.

⁹⁰ 'Luxuria Daemoniaca, quà luxuria, non videtur differre specie a pollutione; at qua Daemoniaca, complectitur novum peccatum; et ideo non tam est diversa species peccatai contra naturam, quam duplex peccatum. Est enim luxuria et sacrilegium: nunquam enim hoc scelus committitur sine pacto contractu et amicitia hominis Daemonisque: et quaecunque daemonis invocatio, advocatio, confoederatio, et amicitia, peccatum gravissimum est.' J. Caramuel y Lobkowitz, *Theologia Moralis Fundamentalis* (Frankfurt: Schonvvetteri, 1652), p.580.

there is 'no element, not even the least, of an offence against religion.'⁹¹ Sinistrari further claims that due to his rational and immortal spirit an incubus is equal to man but by reason of his body he is more noble and dignified. Consequently when a man commits the act of demoniality, rather than degrading his nature he dignifies it. He concludes the crime committed is merely a sin through intention, since men and women who interact with incubi and succubi act as if they were complicit in a pact, they sin *ex conscientia erronea*.

There is at least one extant documented case involving a trial of demoniality, circa 1709 in the Diocese of Oria, where the lawyer reads from the *Daemonialitatis* chapter during the proceedings. The trial manuscript held at the Oria diocesan archives was transcribed by Martino Semeraro and is particularly germane to any consideration of the early modern reading history of *Daemonialitatis*.⁹² Semeraro speculates that the unnamed lawyer studied at the University of Naples and the trial proceedings demonstrate that he was conversant with the Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and the major figures of penal literature in the preceding two centuries.⁹³

Catarina Patrimina of Francavilla Fontana, an agricultural centre in the diocese of Ortia, confessed informally and by her own volition to the Court of the Capitano di giustizia of Francavilla that she had carnal relations with a demon. She had befriended her fellow townswoman Antonia Donativa, who was considered as a witch by the people of her village and she hoped that with the aid of magical arts she might heal the illness of her daughter. Catrina later joined the Sabbath (*sabba*) where naked women and men danced together with rams to the sound of tambourines (*tamburello*). Following this everyone assembled under a great walnut tree (*albero grandioso di noce*) where they sang to a 'great personage' who had asked Catrina to give him her soul and body in exchange for the health of her daughter. She signed a pact using her blood as ink 'but for only ten years and no more.'⁹⁴ After concluding

⁹¹ 'In coitu autem cum Incubo, in quo nulla habetur qualitas, vel minima, criminis contra Religionem'. L. M. Sinistrari, *Demoniality or Incubi and Succubi: A Treatise Wherein is Shown that there are in Existence Rational Creature Beside Man* (Paris: Liseux, 1879), p.222-223.

⁹² M. Semeraro, *Il Tribunale del Santo Ufficio di Oria: inediti processi di stregoneria per la storia dell'Inquisizione in età moderna* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 2003), pp.104-111.

⁹³ Ibidem, p.77.

⁹⁴ Ibidem, p.81.

the pact they had a dinner of pasta con carne, salad and oat wine and then danced and she ‘met him carnally’.⁹⁵

The anonymous lawyer defending Catarina Patrimina casts doubt on her claims initially by citing Guazzo’s *Compendium Maleficarium* which stipulates that a pact consists of eleven ceremonies.⁹⁶ For instance the initiate must abjure the Catholic faith and cast away any holy or consecrated objects about their person and trample them under their foot. In this case, the lawyer notes, the converse was true since the defendant continued to attend church and images of Christ and the saints were discovered in her house at the time of her imprisonment. He then cites *titulus* 4. 13 § 37 of *De Delictis* as proof that there is not any civil or canon law that established a punishment against this act of madness (*demenzialità*). The passage the lawyer cites is from the concluding paragraph of the *Daemonialitas* chapter:

As regards the penalties applicable to Demoniality, there is no law that I know of, either civil or canonical, which inflicts a punishment for a crime of that kind. Since, however, such a crime implies a compact and fellowship with the Demon, and apostasy of the faith, not to speak of the malefices and other almost numberless outrages perpetrated by sorcerers, as a rule it is punished, out of Italy, by the gallows and the stake. But, in Italy, it is but very seldom that offenders of that kind are delivered up by the Inquisitors to the secular power.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p.70.

⁹⁶ Guazzo’s eleven ceremonies are also quoted verbatim by Sinistrari in the *Daemonialitas* chapter, §13-23, see L. M. Sinistrari, *De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Abolutissimus* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1700), p.275.

⁹⁷ ‘Quantum ad poenas Daemonialitatis, nulla lex civilis, aut canonica, quam legerim, reperitur, quae poenam sanciat contra crimen hujusmodi. Tamen, quia crimen hoc supponit pactum, ac societatem cum Daemone, ac apostasiam a fide, ultra veneficia, atque alia infinita propemodum damna, quae a Maleficis inferuntur, regulariter, extra Italiam, suspendio et incendio punitur. In Italia autem, rarissime traduntur hujusmodi Malefici ab Inquisitoribus Curiae saeculari. Quantum ad poenas Daemonialitatis, nulla lex civilis, aut canonica, quam legerim, reperitur, quae poenam sanciat contra crimen hujusmodi. Tamen, quia crimen hoc supponit pactum, ac societatem cum Daemone, ac apostasiam a fide, ultra veneficia, atque alia infinita propemodum damna, quae a Maleficis inferuntur, regulariter, extra Italiam, suspendio et incendio punitur. In Italia autem, rarissime traduntur hujusmodi Malefici ab Inquisitoribus Curiae saeculari.’ Sinistrari, L. M., ‘Daemonialitas’, *De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Absolutissimus* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1700). p.277.

The passage from *Daemonialitatis* is followed by a note referring the reader to the chapter on *sortilegium* where Sinistrari details the respective penalties for the pact implied by demoniality in ecclesiastical law (*divine jure*) and in civil law (*jure Caesareo*).⁹⁸ Sinistrari defines *sortilegium* as heretical when it involves pacts that require a denial of the faith (*abnegatio fidei*), worship of a demon (*adoratio daemonis*) and abuse of sacraments (*abusus sacramentorum*).⁹⁹ Significantly, the chapter on *sortilegium* argues against what had been the customary interpretation since Pope Sixtus, namely that the secular courts could pursue a crime which the Roman Inquisition claimed as being exclusively within its own jurisdiction. The anonymous lawyer appears to cite *Daemonialitas* § 37 of *Delictis et Poenis* to exploit both the ambiguity of the boundaries between the ecclesiastical and civil courts and the lack of any explicit penalty in canonical or civil law.

2.4 The Censoring and Prohibition of *De Delictis et Poenis*

At the beginning of the seventeenth century an expurgatory model had become established where publishers, even in Lyon and Geneva, were obliged to declare that a book has been published in accordance with the index of the Holy Inquisition.¹⁰⁰ The expurgation of legal texts such as *De Delictis* required considerable expertise and readers were appointed by the council from the state apparatus, the ecclesiastics or from trustworthy patricians.¹⁰¹ As a rule the reviewers were chosen to reflect the nature of the text under examination. *De Delictis* was published with three certificates of approval, by Frater Fabricus de Ameno, Frater Carlous of Milan, *lector emeritus* of sacred theology and Matthaues à S. Stephano, *lector jubilatus* and general minister.¹⁰² The three certificates of approval (*fedi*) together attested to the fact that the reviewers had discovered nothing against the Catholic faith, morality, the Republic of Venice or

⁹⁸ L. M. Sinistrari, 'Sortilegium', *De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Abolutissimus* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1700), pp.523-535.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p.525.

¹⁰⁰ R. Savelli, 'The Censoring of Law Books', *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.253.

¹⁰¹ A. Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p.240.

¹⁰² L. M. Sinistrari, *De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Abolutissimus* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1700), p.x.

the political and diplomatic interests of the state.¹⁰³ Approval was then granted by R.P.F Raimonde Asperto of the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova who licensed the book to the Venetian publisher, Girolamo Albrizzi on the 21st of April 1700.¹⁰⁴ The examination of texts by the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova was extremely painstaking and typically a copy would be retained in order to compare the approved text with the printed text.

After the death of Sinistrari, *De Delictis* was prohibited under the clause *donec corrigatur* by a decree of the Sacred Congregation on the 4th of March 1709. Details of the post-publication censorship process may be found at the *Archivio Congregatio pro Doctrina Fidei* at the Vatican, which was consulted by Vincenzo Lavenia.¹⁰⁵ To examine the censorship process I have supplemented Lavenia's account with a letter from Fabrizio Agostino to Cotta that details the fifteen condemned propositions and is held at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana and the decree of Pope Clement XI of 1709, which may be found at the Biblioteca Casanatense.¹⁰⁶

The censorship procedure began on the 10th of July 1702 when the secretary, Giulio Maria Bianchi informed the other cardinals of the Congregation that however useful the work may be it exhibited laxist tendencies which should not be tolerated, particularly when the author is a religious man of the Franciscan order.¹⁰⁷ The first reader of the work was the *zoccolante* monk Nicola da Rossiglione. He noted that there were many propositions that deviated from ordinary canon law and some scandalous ideas such as Sinistrari's assertion that it was possible to invoke a demon

¹⁰³ A. Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p.240-1.

¹⁰⁴ See licence from 'Noi Refformatori dello Studio di Padoa', L. M. Sinistrari, *De Delictis, et Poenis Tractatus Abolsutissimus* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1700), p.xiv.

¹⁰⁵ V. Lavenia, 'Sinistrari, Ludovico Maria', *Dizionario Storico dell' Inquisizione, vol.III*, (Pisa: Edizioni Della Normale, 2010), pp.1434-1437.

¹⁰⁶ Pope Clement XI, *Decretum sacrae Congregationis eminentissimorum, et reverendissimorum dominorum S.R.E. cardinalium a sanctissimo domino nostro Clemente papa 11. Sanctaque Sede apostolica ad Indicem Librorum, eorumque prohibitionem, expurgationem, et permissionem in vniuersa republica christiana specialiter deputato um, ubique publicandum* (Roma : Stamperia Camerale, 1709) p.11, See, Biblioteca Casanatense shelfmark, Per.est.18_22.249 and Biblioteca Ambrosiana, *MS Miscellenea Novariensis*, SQ II, 3, fols. 152-155, 'Censura Sacrae Congregationis Indicis in opus De delictis et poenis P. Ludovici Sinistrari de Ameno.'

¹⁰⁷ 'multa conscientiarum laxativa, quae toleranda minime videntur, praesertim vero cum auctor sit vir religiosus strictioris observantiae Sancti Francisci.' V. Lavenia, 'Sinistrari, Ludovico Maria', *Dizionario Storico dell' Inquisizione, vol.III*, (Pisa: Edizioni Della Normale, 2010), p.1435.

without committing an offense. Elsewhere Sinistrari asserted that in some circumstances a duel was lawful and he was negligent about the precept of fasting. Rossiglione concluded that Sinistrari was lax in the observance of faith and argued that the text must therefore be amended. The second reader was the Celestine father, Diego Grignani who reported to the Congregation on the 29th of January 1703 that overall the book was good but certain aspects needed to be expurgated.¹⁰⁸ In particular, Grignani stressed Sinistrari's treatment of the reform of religious orders where he had written scornfully on the diminishing power of bishops. Elsewhere Sinistrari casts doubt on papal authority arguing that the pontifical laws are not binding unless they were accepted by subjects (*'leges Pontificiae non obligant nisi acceptentur a subditis'*). Sinistrari was also liberal on the subject of conversations between friars and nuns. Grignani concluded that work would need to be carefully amended before there could be a republication in Lyon.

On the 27th of February 1703, the Congregation decided to proceed with a third reading entrusted to the Capuchin friar, Pietro Benedetto Giovannini. The censorship of Giovanni however was delayed due to illness and it was not until the meeting on the 21st of April 1704 that the Congregation approved the prohibition of *De Delictis* having ascertained that the latest censorship did not substantially differ from either that of Rossiglione or Grignani.¹⁰⁹ The Congregation decided to prohibit *De Delictis* until corrected (*donec corrigatur*) since the work was deemed to contain some good. *De Delictis* was consequently added to the list of prohibited texts in Pope Clement XI's decree on the 4th of March 1709.¹¹⁰ Several works by other Franciscan theologians were also condemned by the same decree such as Girolami Menghi's *Flagellum Daemonium* and Alexandro Albertino's *Malleus Daemonum*. After the

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem p.1435 also see: H. Wolf, 'Didaco Grignani OSB', *Römische Inquisition Unde Indexkongregation III: Prosopographie Von Römischer Inquisition Und Indexkongregation 1701-1813* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2005), p.642.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem p.1436 and see: 'Index 21 April 1704, Refert P. Fr. Benedictus del Urbino pro 2.a vice librum editum sub titulo, Ludovico Maria Sinistrari de Ameno de delictis, poenis', Wolf, H., *Systematisches Repertorium zur Buchzensur 1701-1813*, Vol. I, (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2009), p.668.

¹¹⁰ Pope Clement XI, *Decretum sacrae Congregationis eminentissimorum, et reverendissimorum dominorum S.R.E. cardinalium a sanctissimo domino nostro Clemente papa 11. Sanctaque Sede apostolica ad Indicem Librorum, eorumque prohibitionem, expurgationem, et permissionem in vniuersa republica christiana specialiter deputato um, ubique publicandum* (Roma : Stamperia Camerale, 1709) p.11

publication of Pope Clement XI's decree, Fabrizio Agostino de Ameno sent Cotta a letter listing the fifteen propositions condemned by the Congregation of the Index.¹¹¹

On the 17th of July 1719, Francesco da San Severino petitioned the Congregation of the Index, intending to amend *De Delictis* and print a new revised edition. The Congregation gave a favourable reception and presented a series of proposed amendments but the publishing venture quickly ran into financial difficulties and San Severino was forced to abandon his plans. Finally, in 1754 an amended edition of *De Delictis* was published by Carlo Giannini as part of the *Opera Omnia* edition of Sinistrari.¹¹² The republication of Sinistrari's works occurred during a period of greater leniency when the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* was undergoing extensive revision and reform.

Tomaso Agostino Ricchini, the Index's new secretary, had presented a draft for a revised *methodus expurgatorius* and called for greater clemency towards Catholic authors in particular.¹¹³ By the time of Gianni's republication, the original editions of Sinistrari had become highly scarce and were still being consulted by Franciscan monks. Francesco Antonio Zaccaria in his review of Gianni's *Opera Omnia* edition noted the rarity of Sinistrari's original published texts and added that such texts were still essential for judges, lawyers and monastic superiors.¹¹⁴



Figure 6. Pope Clement XI, Decretum sacrae Congregationis eminentissimorum, et reverendissimorum dominorum S.R.E. cardinalium a sanctissimo domino nostro Clemente papa 11. (Roma : Stamperia Camerale, 1709) Biblioteca Casanatense shelfmark, Per.est.18_22.249.

¹¹¹ Biblioteca Ambrosiana, *MS Miscellanea Novariensis*, SQ II, 3, fols. 152-155, 'Censura Sacrae Congregationis Indicis in opus De delictis et poenis P. Ludovici Sinistrari de Ameno.'

¹¹² Sinistrari, L.M., *Opera Omnia*, 3 vols. (Rome: Gianni, 1754).

¹¹³ M. P. Donato, 'Reorder and Restore: Benedict XIV, the Index, and the Holy Office', *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment: Art, Science and Spirituality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), p.233.

¹¹⁴ 'Non meno degli studiosi della Canonica Giurisprudenza benemerito dee reputarsi il Sig. Carlo Giannini per la ristampa da lui procurata delle opera del P. Sinistrari, opera quanto rare omai divenute, tanto per la practica criminale a' Giudici, agli Avvocati, ed a' Superiori Regolari neccessaire, affinchè nella puzion de' delitti le regole serbino.' F. A. Zaccaria, *Storia Letteraria d'Italia*, (Modena: Remondi, 1757), p.490-491.

Several minor textual variants in the *Daemonialitas* text of the Albrizzi and Gianni editions suggest that the latter is not based on a manuscript version but derives from the earlier published text. The *Daemonialitas* text in Albrizzi's edition of *De Delictis et Poenis* (1700) omits the paragraph numbering and the first eight words of section § 25, 'Alio modo jungitur Daemon tum Incubus, tum Succubus'. Several copies from the same print run appear to have been corrected at Albrizzi's print shop with an erratum slip pasted over the signature mark 'Mm 2' and catchword 'homi[nibus]' on page 275.¹¹⁵ The *Daemonialitas* text in Gianni's edition however is evidently based on an uncorrected copy of the 1700 edition. Rather than restoring the reading of the manuscript version, the Gianni edition provides a new interpolated passage: 'Ex his colligitur Daemonem conjungi cum hominibus'¹¹⁶ The amended *De Delictis* was edited by Raffaele da Lugagnano and published with the imprimatur of F.M de Rubeis, Vicegerent of Constantinople and Joseph Maria Bucciolo, the qualificator of the Roman Inquisition.¹¹⁷ Bucciolo testified that the work had been expurgated and corrected in accordance to the previous amendments advised by the Congregation of the Index on the 17th of July 1719.

2.5 *De Daemonialitate* as an Unexpurgated Manuscript Draft

In the following section the textual differences between the *Daemonialitate* MSS and the *Daemonialitas* text published in *De Delictis* are considered in detail in order to establish the stemmatic relationship between the manuscript and printed versions. One of the questions highly germane to the concerns of this study, is whether the differences between the manuscript and the print form of Sinistrari's text are indicative of an ecclesiastical censorship or alternatively if the manuscript text is a later expanded revision which ultimately derived from the published version. The case for an ecclesiastical censorship will be considered in the context of the papal policies

¹¹⁵ For example of a copy of *De Delictis et Poenis* with the inserted erratum slip, see the copy held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome shelfmark: 13.26.E.33.

¹¹⁶ Sinistrari, L.M., *Opera Omnia*, Vol. 3. *De Delictis, et Poenis Tractatis Absolutissimus*. (Rome: Gianni, 1754), p.252.

¹¹⁷ Sinistrari, L.M., 'De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Absolutissimus', *Opera Omnia*, Vol. III, (Rome: Gianni, 1754), p.xiii.

of the period, particularly the controversies regarding laxism and the Vatican denunciation of Franciscan quasi-magical practices.

The previously discussed seven-year censorship process by the Congregation of the Index indicates that the cardinals in particular objected to Sinistrari's laxist tendencies and his undermining of papal authority. The lack of any reference to passages in Sinistrari's *Daemonialitatis* chapter suggests that if there was any expurgation of this text it would have occurred during the initial reading procedure by the three ecclesiastical reviewers: Frater Fabricus de Ameno, Frater Carlous of Milan and Matthaeus à S. Stephano. As previously noted, the most controversial statements present in the *Daemonialitate* manuscript are absent from the version in *De Delictis*. The *De Delictis* version of the text is largely confined to a methodical discussion of Caramuel's definition of *daemonialitate*, Guazzo's conditions for determining a demonic pact and the requisite conclusion with the appended proof (*probatio*) and penalty (*poenis*). All but one of the testimonial accounts are absent from the *De Delictis* version as is Sinistrari's novel theory of incubi and succubi as rational beings capable of salvation and damnation.

Henry Charles Lea was one of the earliest scholars to assert that the *Daemonialitate* manuscript was 'almost certainly a body of paragraphs cut by an inquisitorial censor from an unfinished draft of Sinistrari's treatise'.¹¹⁸ Several years later Montague Summers critiqued Lea's hypothesis of a censorship arguing that there is 'not the least grounds for the very empty suggestion that Sinistrari's treatise *Demoniality*, was disapproved by an ecclesiastical censor.'¹¹⁹ Summers' critique is largely based on a misguided notion of the orthodoxy of Sinistrari's original treatise and an oversimplification of the censorship process.¹²⁰ On the basis of the imprimatur of the three aforementioned ecclesiastical readers, Summers asserts that Sinistrari's original MS text can only have contained some 'superficial corrigenda' but ultimately nothing of significance. In the preface to his own edition, Summers argued that '*De Daemonialitate* is a significant expansion, ample and trebly copious no doubt, but

¹¹⁸ H. C. Lea. *Materials Towards a History of Witchcraft, vol. II* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), p.919.

¹¹⁹ M. Summers, *Witchcraft and Black Magic*. (New York: Dover Publications, 2000), p.10.

¹²⁰ Summers asserts 'there is nothing in his treatise that is not perfectly consonant with the soundest orthodoxy.' See, M. Summers, *Demoniality*, (London: Fortune Press, 1927, p.xliii.

none the less an expansion, of the article, *Daemonialitatis* from the encyclopedic *De Delictis et Poenis*.¹²¹ More recently, Carena and Lavenia have tended to consider the *Daemonialitate* manuscript as an unexpurgated draft rather than an expanded version post-dating the *Daemonialitatis* text from Albrizzi's edition of *De Delictis*. The Ambrosiana manuscript of 1699 pre-dates the publication of Albrizzi's edition but the initial expurgatory procedure by the three appointed ecclesiastical reviewers was already completed a year earlier in November 1698. This would suggest an earlier dating than 1699 for the holograph MS Ω. It should also be noted that Cotta discusses in a letter to the Franciscans of Marseille, the purging of errors (*mendis*) from the codices of Sinistrari before the post-publication censorship process began and prior to receiving a letter from Fabrizio Agostino detailing the condemned propositions.¹²²

The most flagrant examples of Sinistrari's laxism in *Daemonialitate* only appear in the manuscript version. In his argument for considering the proof for the existence of incubi and succubi, Sinistrari argues in a probabilist manner against the limits imposed by ecclesiastical and scriptural authority. Section § 42 of *Daemonialitate* asserts that sacred scripture and the ecclesiastical tradition do not teach us anything beyond what is necessary for the salvation of the soul and consequently nothing can be inferred from an assertion not being stated in scripture or by the Church.¹²³ Sinistrari also cites the Scotistic axiom '*quod locus ab auctoritate negativa non tenet*' (the topic from authority does not hold in the negative),¹²⁴ effectively arguing that the question of the existence of incubi and succubi lies outside of the magisterium of the Roman Church. Finally, on the basis of 'modern experimental philosophy', Sinistrari argues that as the invention of the microscope has brought to light phenomena unknown to ancient philosophy, so too the Church could

¹²¹ M. Summers, *Demoniality*, (London: Fortune Press, 1927), p.vi.

¹²² Fondazione Marazza, AMB 97, fol.367.

¹²³ 'Sacra Scriptura, et Ecclesiasticis traditionibus non traditur nisi id, quod ad animæ salutem necessarium est, quoad credendum, sperandum et amandum; unde inferre non licet ex eo, quod nec ex Scriptura, nec ex traditione aliquod habetur, proinde negandum sit, quod illud tale existat: aut nos quidem Fides docet.' See, L. M. Sinistrari, '§ 71', *Demoniality or Incubi and Succubi: A Treatise Wherein is Shown that there are in Existence Rational Creature Beside Man* (Paris: Liseux, 1879) pp.82-85.

¹²⁴ Scotus' axiom appears in I. *Orinatio, Distictiones* 28. qq.1-2, n.34. For a translation and discussion of this axiom see, R. L. Friedman, *Intellectual Traditions at the Medieval University: The Use of Philosophical Psychology In Trinitarian Theology Among the Franciscans and Dominicans, 1250-1350* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p.345.

be ignorant of the existence of another order of rational creatures such as incubi and succubi. Elsewhere he asserts there ‘may be another world than the one in which we live, and it could be peopled by men not born of Adam [...] as is implied by those who believe the lunar globe to be inhabited.’¹²⁵ Sinistrari concludes that all such questions have nothing to do with faith or salvation and therefore it would be absurd to deny the reality of incubi and succubi on the basis of scripture, the ecclesiastical tradition or by the authority of the holy fathers.¹²⁶ This manner of argument and the serious doubt it casts over the authority of the Catholic Church was the very kind of ‘new and ill-found knowledge’ that Gaspare Carpegna, the cardinal vicar of Rome, was attempting to stamp out.

In addition to laxist propositions, Sinistrari’s manuscript text contains arguments for the efficacy of suffumigation rituals, a practice which the Roman Curia had prohibited as superstitious. This would explain the omission of Sinistrari’s analysis of the book of Tobit, an apocryphal scripture that was included in the Deutrocanon and hence considered a legitimate text by the Roman Curia. In *De Delictis* only a brief quotation of *Tobit* appears in the twenty-fifth paragraph, when Sinistrari discusses the carnal relations of humans with incubi and succubi outside of the context of demonic vassalage as stipulated by Guazzo.¹²⁷ Sinistrari recounts two such stories of succubi assaulting young men from Caelis Rhodignius’ *Antiquarum Lectionum* (1516) and Hector Boece’s *Historia Gentis Scotorum* (1527). However the definitive example comes from the authority of the Book of Tobit, chapter 6, verses 14 and 15. Tobias is afflicted by the demon Asmodeus who abducts and kills every man Sarah marries on their wedding night before the marriage can be consummated. Following the advice of the angel Raphael, Tobias burns the liver of a fish from the river Tigris to drive away the demon.

¹²⁵ ‘Num autem alius Mundus a nostro, quem incolimus, sit, et in eo alii homines non ab Adam prognati, sed alio modo a Deo creati existant (sicut ponunt illi qui lunarem globum habitatum opinantur)’, Ibidem, pp.84-85.

¹²⁶ ‘Unicum porro argumentum, et quidem satis debile post longam meditationem mihi subit contra talium creaturarum possibilitatem: et est quod si tales creaturæ in Mundo existerent, de ipsis notitia aliqua tradita fuisset a Philosophis, Sacra Scriptura, Traditione Ecclesiastica, aut Sanctis Patribus; quod cum non fuerit, tales creaturas minime possibiles esse concludendum est.’ Ibidem, § 63, pp.120-121.

¹²⁷ L. M. Sinistrari, ‘Daemonialitas’, *De Delictis et Poenis Tractatus Abolutissimus* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1700), p.276.

The story of Asmodeus from the book of Tobit was discussed extensively in the demonological literature of the period under the influence of Aquinas who drew upon the story in his discussion of the reality of incubi and succubi. As Walter Stephens notes, while Aquinas never explicitly describes the demon Asmodeus as an incubus the order of his arguments allowed later commentators to assume that *Tobit* gave scriptural credence to the reality of incubi.¹²⁸

The *De Delictis* version omits Sinistrari's more detailed interpretation where he argues that the Book of Tobit provides scriptural justification for the practice of ritual suffumigation. During the seventeenth century the story of Tobit burning the liver of a fish to drive out a demon was cited regularly as part of the contentious discussion on the use of suffumigation in exorcistic rituals. The Franciscan Girolamo Menghi cited the authority of the Book of Tobit to justify the practice of using herbs and incense for relieving the possessed (*energumenos*) and for binding demons (*constringendi daemones*).¹²⁹ Likewise other works by Franciscan exorcists such as Candido Brognoli's *Alexicacon Hoc Est Opus De Maleficiis* and Valerio Polidoro's *Practica Exorcistarum* drew upon the Book of Tobit during their discussions on the efficacy of herbs and incense to banish demons.¹³⁰

The arguments by Franciscan theologians and exorcists for the efficacy of suffumigation, either by the authority of the book of Tobit or by reported testimonies, had become increasingly controversial as the Congregation of the Index gained more influence within the Roman Curia. As Brambilla notes, by the end of the seventeenth century the influence of the Spanish Neo-Scholastic party within the Roman Curia was waning and had become overshadowed by the growth of the Congregation of the Index's influence under cardinals such as Colloredo, Brancati di Lauria, Casanate and

¹²⁸ W. Stephens, *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2002), p.63.

¹²⁹ G. Menghi, *Flagellum Daemonum, exorcismos terribiles, potentissimos et efficacies, remediaque probatissima, ac doctrinam singularem in malignos spiritus expellendos, facturasque et maleficia fuganda de obsessis corporibus complectens, cum suis benedictionibus, et omnibus requisitis ad eorum expulsionem*, (Venice: I. V. Sauionum, 1644), pp.17-21.

¹³⁰ C. Brognoli *Alexicacon de maleficiis ac morbis maleficis curandis, vol II*, (Venice: I. B. Cataneum, 1668), pp.113-114, and V. Polidoro, *Practica Exorcistarum ad daemones et maleficia de Christi fidelibus expellendum* (Padua: P.Meietum, 1585), pp.45-46.

Slusio.¹³¹ During this period the Roman Curia was becoming increasingly troubled by notorious cases of pious fraud and superstitious practices that were ridiculed by both Gallican theologians and Enlightened French *philosophes*. Notably, the rigorist French theologian Jean Baptiste Thiers in his *Traité des Supersitions* (1679) condemned the practice of rituals that were not officially approved by the church as a false and dangerous practice that involved tacit complicity with demons.¹³² In response to these growing criticisms Gaspare Carpegna advocated a return to the policy of rigorism and a strengthening of episcopal power over the Franciscans and the Jesuits. In particular the practices of Franciscan exorcists were denounced as deviating from the rubric of the approved *Romanum Rituale* and straying into profane magical practices. It was under these changes in papal policy that the Congregation of the Index censored both of Menghi's exorcistic texts *Flagellum Daemonen* and *Fustis Daemonem*, and prohibited Visconti's *Complementum artis exorcistae*. The prohibition of such works was justified in a letter by Nicolò Antonio Cuggiò, the secretary of Carpegna, who complained that 'the devil, by a clever machination, and deceitful arts, has seduced many exorcists who have made use of the drugs of doctors, or rather the nonsense of sorcery, which deserve to be called magical rather than exorcistic [...] These things being brought to my most Eminent Master, by whose edicts and by whose penalties, at all times watches over his Vicariate of the City, he has made every effort so as to rise from the right source, and has discovered the miserable exorcists to be immersed to the depths in superstitions.'¹³³ Franciscan exorcist manuals such as those by Menghi and Visconti were subsequently branded as heretical due to their advocacy of 'abstruse pharmacopoeia' and their failure to follow the *Romanum Rituale*. Cuggiò would later assert that the remedy for such superstitious practices was to condemn

¹³¹ E. Brambilla, *Corpi invasi e viaggi dell'anima: santità, possessione, esorcismo dalla teologia barocca alla medicina illuminista* (Rome: Viella, 2010), pp.170-175.

¹³² J. B. Thiers, *Traité de Supersitions selon l'écriture sainte, les décrets des concils et les sentimens des saints pères et des théologiens, vol. I, 2nd Ed.*, (Paris: A. Dezallier, 1679), pp.407-413.

¹³³ 'Diabolus callida machinatione, artibusque dolosis nonnullos exorcistas seduxit qui Medicorum Pharmaca, seu potius Pharmaceutica Deliramenta, [...] quae potius magica, quam exorcistica nuncupari merentur [...] ad quos tollendos Eminentissimus Dominus Meus, qua edictis qua poenis, toto sui Vicariatus Urbis tempore vigilanter incubuit, elaboravitque tamquam ex proprio fonte oriri, miserosque exorcistas sub praedictorum Authorum fide [...].' Translation from F. Young, *A History of Exorcism in Catholic Christianity* (Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p.163.

every book that did not obey the prescribed exorcistic rituals and blessings of the Church.¹³⁴

Sinistrari's interpretation of the book of Tobit in the manuscript text should be understood within the context of the Franciscan tradition of *medicorum pharmaca* and 'Menghian' exorcism through the use of suffumigation. The discussion in *Daemonialitate* proceeds in a similar vein to Menghi, Visconti and Albertino's interpretations and uses the authority of *Tobit* and the canon Guazzo to explicitly argue against the Vatican proscription of suffumigation and precious stones as superstitious:

For such as are assaulted by the Demon it is lawful to employ stones or herbs, but without recourse to incantations. It follows that, by their own native virtue, stones or herbs can bridle the Demon: else the above mentioned Canon would not permit their use, but would on the contrary forbid it as superstitious. We have a striking instance thereof in Holy Scripture, where the Angel Raphael says to Tobit, chapter 6, verse 8, speaking of the fish which he had drawn from the Tigris: "If thou put on coals a part of its liver, the smoke thereof will drive away all kinds of Demons."¹³⁵

Sinistrari dismisses more orthodox readings of *Tobit* by theologians such as Vallesius who asserted that the fumes were endowed with the power of God and Lyranus' interpretation that the act of suffumigation was only brought to completion by angelical and heavenly virtue. In fact, Sinistrari appears to stray further into heresy than Menghi in his defense of these practices. While Menghi provides various testimonies of the efficacy of suffumigation to drive out demons he is careful to qualify his claims, adding that any assertion that these rituals can be effective without

¹³⁴ V. Lavenia, 'Esorcismo', *Dizionario Storico dell' Inquisizione, vol.II* (Pisa: Edizioni Della Normale, 2010), p553.

¹³⁵ 'Daemonium sustinenti liceat petras, vel herbas habere sine incantatione. Ex quo habetur, petras aut herbas posse sua vi naturali Daemonis vires compescere, aliter Canon hoc non permetteret, sed ut superstitiosum vetaret. Et de hoc luculentum exemplum habemus in Sacra Scriptura, ubi Angelus Raphael dixit Tobiae, c. 6, v.8: Cordis ejus (nempe piscis, quem a Tigri attraxerat) particulam, si super carbones ponas, fumus ejus extricat omne genus Daemoniorum.' L. M. Sinistrari, *Demoniality or Incubi and Succubi: A Treatise Wherein is Shown that there are in Existence Rational Creature Beside Man* (Paris: Liseux, 1879), pp.132-33.

the exorcism of the holy church is in error.¹³⁶ Sinistrari argues to the contrary that natural things by their own virtue drive out incubi and succubi without the need for the customary exorcism and blessings.

Besides, the natural things which put the Incubi to flight exert their virtue and bring about a result without the intervention of any exorcism or blessing; it cannot therefore be said that the ejection of the Incubus is initiated by natural, and completed by divine virtue, since there is in this case no particular invocation of the divine name, but the mere effect of a natural object.¹³⁷

Elsewhere in the manuscript text Sinistrari claims that incubi and succubi ‘do not obey the exorcists’ and ‘have no dread of exorcisms nor reverence for holy things.’¹³⁸

De Delictis retains only one testimony which is related by Sinistrari in order to illustrate the difficulty of legally proving the act of demoniality. The two other accounts of incubi missing from the published version demonstrate the efficacy of incense and herbs over the customary exorcisms of the Church. The first story was told to Sinistrari by a confessor of nuns. It concerns a young nun of noble birth who was tempted by an incubus that incessantly incited her to sin. Numerous exorcisms, blessings and injunctions from the presiding exorcist proved to be futile. The incubus was only finally driven away when an erudite theologian surmised that the demon was aqueous and prescribed an uninterrupted fumigation in the nun’s cell. A vessel was brought into the nun’s cell and filled with ‘sweet cane, cubeb seed, roots of aristolochies, great and small cardamom, ginger, long-pepper, caryophyllaceae,

¹³⁶ ‘Et alii quam plures excellentissimi Doctores hanc conclusionem tutati sunt, quorum testimonium nullus facile absque nota proteruitate spernere potest. Sed hic adverte, quod et si isti Doctores multa dicant, quae favent nostro proposito, tamen si intelligerent, haec posse fieri absque, exorcismis Sanctae Ecclesiae, omnino errarent.’ See, G. Menghi, *Flagellum Daemonum, exorcismos terribiles, potentissimos et efficacies, remediaque probatissima, ac doctrinam singularem in malignos spiritus expellendos, facturasque et maleficia fuganda de obsessis corporibus complectens, cum suis benedictionibus, et omnibus requisitis ad eorum expulsionem*, (Venice: I. V. Sauionum, 1644), p.18.

¹³⁷ ‘Praeterea res naturales fugantes Incubos suam virtutem exercent, ac effectum sortiuntur absque interventu alicuius exorcismi aut sacrae benedictionis; ut proinde dici non possit, quod fuga Incubi inchoative sit a virtute naturali, completive autem a vi divina, quia ibi nulla particularis intervenit divini nominis invocatio, sed est purus effectus rei naturalis, ad quem non concurrat Deus, nisi concursu universalis, tanquam auctor naturae, et causa universalis, et prima in ordine efficientium [...]’ Ibidem, p.139.

¹³⁸ ‘nec Exorcistis obediunt, nec exorcismos pavent, nec res sacras reventur’, Ibidem, p.34.

cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmeg, calamite storax, benzoin, aloes-wood and roots, one ounce of triasandalis, and three quarts of brandy and water'.¹³⁹ The second story involved Sinistrari as an exorcist who was consulted by the Vicar of the Pavian convent of St. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. A deacon at the convent named Augustinus was subject to demonic oppression despite many attempted spiritual remedies. Sinistrari noted the inefficacy of the customary exorcistic procedure and instead he prescribed a fumigation of *herbas natura frigidas* such as water lily, liverwort, spurge, mandrake, house-leek, plantain and henbane.¹⁴⁰

Sinistrari's heterodox speculations, laxism and advocacy of suffumigation over the approved *Roman Rituale* provides strong grounds for considering the *Daemonialitate* manuscript as an unexpurgated draft. This is also consistent with the previously mentioned letter by Cotta discussing a purging of errors in Sinistrari's original codices. Many monastic orders, particularly the Franciscans, dissented from the prohibitions of the Congregation of the Index and used every means possible to obstruct the turn towards rigorism.¹⁴¹ While the Congregation could control the official channels of information through the licensing and prohibition of books, unpublished manuscripts were able to evade scrutiny. As Barbierato asserts, in early modern Italy manuscripts provided a form of communication that could evade ecclesiastical censorship and satisfy the needs of readers who showed curiosity towards a specific part of an extensive work.¹⁴² The circulation of *Daemonialitate* appears to satisfy both of these criteria. While the approved version of *Daemonialitate* was disseminated in print form and was part of a larger work that would eventually come under the scrutiny of the Congregation of the Index, monastic scribes were still able to clandestinely circulate the unexpurgated manuscript text. The manuscript circulation of *Daemonialitate* is considered at length in the following chapter.

¹³⁹ 'calami aromatici, cubebarum seminis, aristolochiae utriusque radicum, cardamomi majoris et minoris, gingiberis, piperis longi, caryophyllorum, cinnamomi, canellae caryophyllatae, macis, nucum myristicarum, styracis calamitae, benzoini, ligni ac radice rodiae, ligni aloes, triasantalorum una uncia, semiaquae vitae librae tres'. L. M. Sinistrari, *Demoniality or Incubi and Succubi: A Treatise Wherein is Shown that there are in Existence Rational Creature Beside Man* (Paris: Liseux, 1879) pp.142-143.

¹⁴⁰ Ibidem, pp.148-149.

¹⁴¹ V. Lavenia, 'Esorcismo', *Dizionario Storico dell' Inquisizione, vol.II* (Pisa: Edizioni Della Normale, 2010), p553.

¹⁴² F. Barbierato, *The Inquisitor in the Hat Shop: Inquisition, Forbidden Books and Unbelief in Early Modern Venice* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p.279.

Chapter Three:

The Manuscript Circulation of *De Daemonialitate* 1699-1753

3.1 The Manuscript Filiation of *De Daemonialitate*

This chapter surveys all the currently known manuscript versions of *Daemonialitate*, including four previously unidentified manuscripts, and provides codicological descriptions and information on provenance. The grouping of MSS in the stemma codicum (fig. 1) is based on an examination of the *variae lectiones* in all extant MSS and the published transcription of the lost Liseux MS. The manuscripts can be stemmatically divided into two distinct groups. The first group is comprised of the Ambrosiana MS and the Muratori MS; the second larger group consists of the Tadisi MS, Villarosa MS, Liseux MS, Casanatense MS, Angelica MS and the hypothetical Mariategui MS which all reproduce the same omissions in paragraphs § 25 and § 78, suggesting a common exemplar. The Tadisi MS of 1721 is the earliest datable manuscript of the second group, although it omits the paragraph numbering, contains several orthographic variants not reproduced in the other later MSS and reproduces the same omissions in § 25 and § 78.¹⁴³ This would suggest that the Tadisi MS is an early copy of a lost apograph rather than a common exemplar for the second group of manuscripts. On the basis of the analysis below the second earliest MS in the second stemmatic group is most likely the MS Villarosa 40 which follows the Ambrosiana MS closely but produces several errors in the paragraph numbering and several orthographic variants. Liseux's lost MS is certainly not the original holograph MS, as he asserts in his preface to the first edition of *Démonialite*, but may be placed firmly within this second grouping and reproduces the same omissions in paragraphs § 25 and § 78. The Liseux MS contains numerous other textual corruptions and notably lacks both the *Probatio* and *Poena* which remain intact in all other MSS.¹⁴⁴ The

¹⁴³ For a discussion of variants in the Tadisi MS see p.57.

¹⁴⁴ In his *De la Démonialite* edition (1875) Liseux notes that his MS concludes with paragraph § 115 and therefore he reproduces the *Probatio* and the *Poenis* text from Gianni's edition of *De Delictis* (1754), pp.253-254. See L. M. Sinistrari, *De la Démonialité et des animaux incubes et succubes* (Paris: Liseux, 1875), pp.205-219.

Casanatense MS and the Angelica MS contain the most textual corruptions of the second grouping which in the case of the latter corresponds with the later dating of 1753.

On the basis of the filiation of the extant manuscripts it would appear that the most defensible hypothesis is to postulate a lost apograph as the common exemplar for the second stemmatic group, which is designated as MS α in the *stemma codicum*. In addition to the holograph MS Ω , proposed lost apograph MS α and Liseux MS, another fourth lost manuscript version was possibly in the possession of Maria de Mariategui, a theosophist and member of the British aristocracy. In her book, *Old Truths in a New Light* (1876) she claims to possess a manuscript dating circa 1750 by an Italian monk and reproduces sections §77, 79-89, 37, and 41-48 of *Daemonialitate*.¹⁴⁵ Mariategui's text reproduces the Latin with English translation *en regard* and predates Liseux's English edition by three years. However Mariategui is unable to identify Sinistrari nor the name of his treatise, only referring to an anonymous Italian manuscript by a Catholic monk. She adds 'our author had an advantage over the philosophers of the present, and that was his more simple, because more natural and inborn, faith in the invisible creation of God, and that he wrote before the age of reason had deprived us of every possibility, which we could not see with our poor limited material sight; his manuscript, therefore, comes to us with all the freshness of feeling, and all the innocence of childhood.'¹⁴⁶ Mariategui's transcription has unnumbered paragraphs and ostensibly dates from 1750 suggesting that her transcription is based on another possibly lost MS rather than deriving from Liseux's Latin transcription produced in the 1875 edition of *Démonialité*.¹⁴⁷ Mariategui's dating of 1750 and the omissions in paragraphs § 25 and § 78 most closely correspond to the Angelica MS (1753) previously owned by Giacomo Manzoni and therefore should be considered as part of the second stemmatic group.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ M. Mariategui, *Old Truths in a New Light* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1876), pp.253-266. Mariategui comments, 'it will not do to quote much more from this old manuscript, for it would be easy to fill a volume with it.'

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p.267.

¹⁴⁷ Maria de Mariategui provides a dating of circa 1750 on p.268.

¹⁴⁸ As Mariategui only reproduces excerpts in her transcription it is impossible to make any comprehensive comparison of the variants between the Liseux MS and her transcription, however there are six variants in the final sentence of § 79 alone. L. Antonius Crucis M.

3.2 Ambrosiana MS

This manuscript is entitled *Daemonialitas expensa hoc est de carnalis commixtionis Hominis cum Daemone possibilitate, Modo ac Varietate Dissertatio quam sub S.R.E. ac Theologorum censura, eruditorum orbi velitando exhibet Fr[ater] Ludovicus Maria Sinistrarius de Ameno Novarien[sis] 1699* and occupies folios 131-151 of Museo Novarae SQ II. Cotta donated the manuscript to Lodovico Antonio Muratori at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan as part of the sixteen volumes entitled ‘*Miscellanea Novariensis*’ between 1688 and 1718.¹⁴⁹ An early print reference to the MS appears in Cotta’s *Museo Novarese* (1700) where it is not listed among the bibliography of Sinistrari’s published works and literary remains but instead is cited in a footnote to the Indices as: ‘*De Daemonialitate MS in Bibl. Ambros.*’¹⁵⁰ ‘*Fr[ater] Ludovici de Ameno Fragmentum De Daemonilitate*’ is written in Cotta’s hand on folio 131r and bears his signature. The Ambrosiana MS is the earliest textual witness to the holograph MS Ω and is the only extant manuscript that begins with the *Summarium* which is reproduced in *De Delictis* but is lacking in all other MSS. However there are several notable errata in the Ambrosiana MS; footnote 69 from paragraph § 48 is omitted, *tenuia* appears to be a haplography for *tenuiora*, and an erroneous comma is inserted between Mercurio and Trismegisto in paragraph § 98. The Ambrosiana MS contains the unabridged version of paragraphs § 25 and § 78 which are truncated in all other MSS with the exception of the Muratori MS.¹⁵¹

Antonius crucis L. nec pavit, nec fugit M. nec pavit nec fugit L. illi offerens, signum M. illi offerens signum L. est, illum M. est illum L. nullo modo M. millo modo L. Diabolum M. Diavolum.

¹⁴⁹ Salvaneschi Mena, G., ‘Le lettere di Lazaro Agostino Cotta a Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1700-1719)’, *Novarien Associazione di storia della chiesa novarese, Vol. 31* (Novara: Interlinea, 2002), pp.160-202.

¹⁵⁰ See Indices, L. A. Cotta, ‘Ludovico Maria d’Ameno’ *Museo Novarese* (Milan: 1701).

¹⁵¹ The omitted text for paragraph § 25 in the Ambrosiana MS is as follows: ‘Et quod supremum addit calculum, circa hoc est autoritas Sacrae scripturae Tob. 6. V. 14 et 15. ubi Tobias junior Angelo Raphaeli, qui ipsi suaserat nuptias cum Sara Filia Raguelis, respondit. Audio, quia tradita est septem viris, et mortui sunt: sed et hoc audivi, quia Daemonium occidit illos; Timeo ergo, ne forte, et mihi haec eveniant. Hucusque editio vulgata; sed Graeca translatio ita addit. Quoniam Daemonium amat ipsam, quod iniuria non afficit quenquam, praeter accedentes ad eam. Ex quo textu apparet amor Incubi erga Saram, qui etiam ex Zelotypia, ac rivalitate, accedentes ad eam, ut ipsius amplexu potirentur, enecabat.’

The text omitted from paragraph § 78 provides further substantiation of Jerome's account of Saint Anthony encountering a homunculus with a horned forehead and extremities like a goat's feet. The Ambrosiana MS manuscript version also includes reference to Jerome's account being sanctioned by the Roman Council under Pope Gelasius.¹⁵²

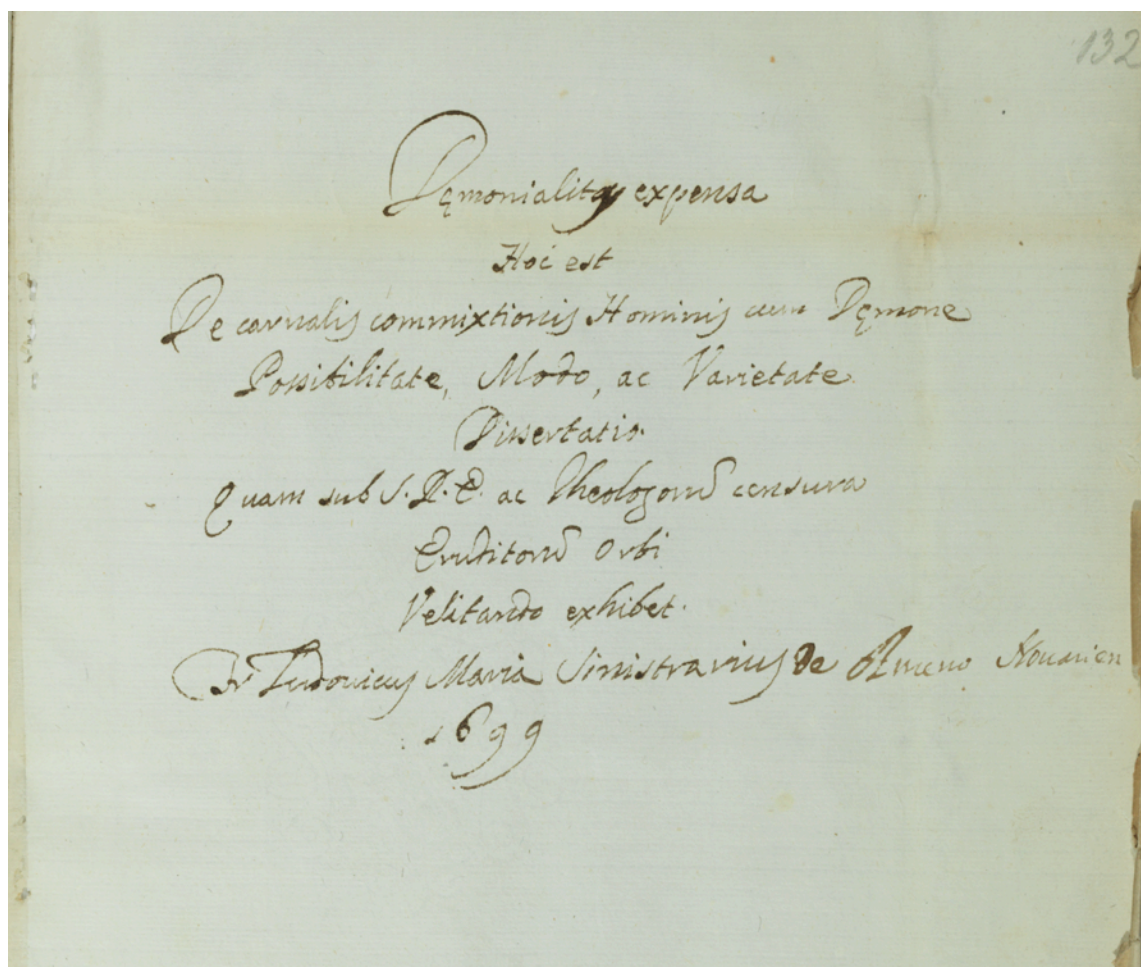


Figure 7. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS Miscellanea Novariensis, SQ II, 3, fol 132r.

¹⁵² The omitted text from paragraph § 78 in the Ambrosiana MS is as follows: 'Accedit quod de vita, Sanctitate et morte D. Pauli primi Eremitae nullus praeter D. Antonium, qui eum vidit, notitiam habuit; et ad ipsius solius relationem Ecclesia Catholica festum D. Pauli primi Eremitae celebrat; quod mirabile est, et maxime faciens ad gloriam D. Antonii, utpote ipsius unius testimonium tanti faciat Ecclesia, ut ad ipsius solius relationem hominem tanquam sanctum colat. Ille igitur idem Antonium, qui sanctam vitam et mortem D. Pauli retulit, retulit etiam recitatam historiam homunculi sylvestris, quam descripsit D. Hieronymus: sequitur igitur, quod tantam, fidem mereatur historia ista, quantam tribuit Ecclesia relationi de santitate D. Pauli; ut proinde absque temeritate de haec historia non possit dubitari; et maxime quod vita Divi Pauli scripta a D. Hieronymo approbato est in Concilio Romano sub Gelasio, ut habetur cap. Sancta Romana, §. Item vitas Patrum.15. Dist.'

3.3 Muratori MS

The L'Archivio Muratoriano at the Biblioteca Estense in Modena holds a manuscript entitled '*Compendium sent[enti]ae quam de daemonib[us] corporeis exhibet P. Lud[ovico] de Ameno ex Minor[um] Strict[oris] Observ[antiae]*' under the shelfmark: 02.10.b. The manuscript is written in Muratori's cursive hand in a highly contracted Latin with occasional omissions and extensive underlining. The MS appears to be transcribed from the Ambrosiana MS of 1699 since it preserves the unabridged versions of § 25 and 78 which are truncated in all other extant manuscripts. Unlike other extant MS versions, the Muratori MS has the appearance of a compendium of working notes for personal study rather than a complete transcription. The Muratori MS omits the first twenty-four paragraphs and begins from the second sentence of the twenty-fifth paragraph. The concluding paragraphs § 112-115, the *Probatio* (§ 116-120) and *Poena* (§ 121) are also omitted but paragraphs § 30-32 are transcribed twice. It is possible that the manuscript was Muratori's personal compendium of notes on the Ambrosiana MS to accompany Albrizzi's published version of *Daemonialitas* since Muratori's omissions (§ 1-24 and § 116-121) are precisely the paragraphs where *De Delictis* follows the Ambrosiana MS.

Ludovico Antonio Muratori was one of the leading scholars of the period and devoted to literary, judicial and religious subjects. Cotta maintained a correspondence with Muratori dating from the 15th of September 1700 until the year of his death in 1709.¹⁵³ In several letters to Muratori, Cotta discusses the publication of Sinistrari's posthumous *De Incurribilium Expulsione ab Ordinibus Regularibus* and a second edition of *Practica Criminalis*.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately only two letters survive from Muratori to Cotta and there is no mention in the extant correspondence of the *Daemonialitate* treatise. On the 17th of March 1701, shortly after the death of Sinistrari, Muratori sent a consolatory letter to Cotta from Modena:

¹⁵³ G. Salvaneschi Mena, 'Le lettere di Lazaro Agostino Cotta a Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1700-1719)', *Novarien Associazione di storia della chiesa novarese*, Vol. 31 (Novara: Interlinea, 2002), pp.160-202.

¹⁵⁴ Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Archivio Muratori 62.10, Lazaro Agostino Cotta to Ludovico Antonio Muratori: 14 February 1702, 23 February 1702, 6 April 1704 and 11 June 1704, (fols 14, 21, 30, 31).

Poor Milan. In a brief time she has lost a Maggi, a Bosca, a Father Eustachio, a Bianchino and now she has lost our Father Lodovico, whose soul now rests in peace.¹⁵⁵

The notebook containing *Compendiu[m] sent[enti]ae qua[m] de daemonib[us]* is arranged in the same fasciculus as Muratori's draft notes on 'Credenze ed usi superstiziosi per ignoranza o per malizia' (Superstitious beliefs and practices arising from ignorance or wickedness.)¹⁵⁶ This suggests that Muratori's interest in *Daemonialitate* was prompted by his skeptical critique of demonology and possibly informed his later studies. Despite Muratori's polite praise of Sinistrari in his correspondence to Cotta, he can hardly have been favourable to the views expressed in *Daemonialitate* or much of the *De Delictis et Poenis*. In his *Trattato della Forza Fantasia Umana* (1745), Muratori warned against the pernicious consequences of learned men writing tracts against magic and witches.¹⁵⁷ He notes with dismay that there is a 'vast forest' (*gran bosco*) of wretched books that deal with magic and an equal number of treatises written against magic and witchcraft. The latter abound in details about incubi and succubi, believed to be capable not only of having brutal commerce with men, and especially women, but also of engendering men.¹⁵⁸ Muratori concludes that these extravagant beliefs have now become so discredited, that they are only entertained by the most crude and ignorant of men.

3.4 Tadisi MS

The Biblioteca Statale of Cremona preserves a manuscript entitled *Creaturarum Rationalium Corporearum quamdam Speciem, mediam, Inter Angelos et Homines, astruit in Hoc opere P. Ludovicus M[aria] Sinistrari De Ameno ex ordine*

¹⁵⁵ 'Povero Milano. In poco tempo egli ha perduto un Maggia, un Boasca, un P. Euscacchio, un Bianchino; ed ora ha perduto eziandio il nostro P. Lodovico, che sia in gloria.' AMB97, fol. 265.

¹⁵⁶ Archivio Muratori 02.10.c, 'Credenze e usi superstiziosi'.

¹⁵⁷ L. A. Muratori, *Trattato della Forza Fantasia Umana* (Venice: G. Pasquali, 1745), pp.126-139.

¹⁵⁸ 'Il campo è vasto; ma a me basta, per cagion di esempio, il dir qualche cosa de gli spiriti incubi e succubi, creduti capaci non solamente di aver un brutale commercio con uomini, e specialmente con donne, ma anche di generar de gli uomini.' Ibidem, p.127.

*Reformatorum S[ancti] Francisci.*¹⁵⁹ The manuscript is unique among the later copies of *Daemonialitatis* by virtue of being dated and signed by a scribe, the Somascan theologian, Ignatius Tadisi. The manuscript also contains marginal annotations and an appendix by Tadisi under the title:

*Appendicem Mirabilium Historiarum addidit P.D. Ignatius Tadisi Cremonem
C[lericorum] R[egularium] S[omaschensium]
Exscripsit Cremonae Idem P.D. Ign[atius] Tad[isi] An[no]. 1721.*

A brief biographical portrait of Ignatius Tadisi appears in Francisco Arisio's *Cremona Literata* (1741) which notes that Tadisi was a Somascan father, rhetorician and man of letters who specialized in the teachings of the Carmelites.¹⁶⁰ He was renowned for amassing a library of rare books by 'strange authors' (*prodigiosi auctores*) from cities all over Italy.¹⁶¹ Ariso adds that, 'perhaps nowhere else could such a precious collection be found' (*cum forte nullibi inveniatur tam pretiosa collectio*).¹⁶² Tadisi also published several books and was also a skilled bibliopegist who bound many of his own codices for distribution.

The Biblioteca Statale di Cremona holds a number of Tadisi's autograph manuscripts: MSS 59, 70, 72, 90, 144, 155, 161 and 165. In 1798 the codices of the Collegio dei PP. Somaschi, the convent of St. Lucia, became the property of the state library. However Dainotti notes in his study of the Biblioteca Statale di Cremona that the collection of the Tadisi manuscripts most likely came from Tadisi's native convent.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Thanks to Marina Gentilini of the Biblioteca Statale di Cremona for digitising the MS and answering inquiries on provenance.

¹⁶⁰ F. Arisio. 'Ignatius Tadisi', *Cremona Literata Seu In Cremonenses Doctrinis, ac Literariis Dignitatibus Illustres, vol. III* (Cremona: P. Ricchini, 1741), p.118-119.

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p.118.

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, p.118.

¹⁶³ 'Sorge però il dubbio che provenga dalla Biblioteca dei Somaschi il gruppo dei manoscritti composti o copiati da Ignazio Tadisi [...] E' probabile che morendo egli lasciasse al suo convento le sue opera. I mss. 59, 70, 72, 90, 144, 155, 161, 165 sono tutti autografi, scritti con piacevole e ordinate calligrafia e non sono che una parte delle numerosissime opera dui questo secondo letterato.' See, V. C. Dainotti, *La Biblioteca Governativa Nella Storia Della Cultura Cremonese* (Cremona: Presso La R. Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1946), pp.100-101.

Sinistrari's *Daemonialitas* text occupies folios 1-64 with unnumbered paragraphs and occasional underlining. Additional notes and several marginal annotations in the same hand are added in folios 65-87 under the title '*Casus Varii*'. There are occasional orthographic variants, for example paragraph § 40 of the Tadisi MS reads 'ANTEAOE graece' rather than 'Angelus Graece'.

Tadisi's manuscript supplements Sinistrari's testimonies of incubi and succubi encounters with further accounts drawing upon his experience as a consultor for the Inquisition. Several other stories and commentaries are transcribed from texts by Joannes Herbinus, Michael Maier and Ludovici Maracci, possibly directly copied from Tadisi's own collection of rare books. The accounts recorded in Tadisi's manuscript span from 1701 to 1721. It is possible that he added these stories over a period of several years, since the account of Aloysius Aquila from 1715 is introduced as the most 'recent and true story' (*novissimam, verissimamque historiam*) although it is followed by several later accounts dating 1721.¹⁶⁴ The story of Aloysius Aquila, a student of theology at the monastery of San Petro in Ciel d'Oro, perhaps bears most resemblance to Sinistrari's account of Hieronyma. In Sinistrari's account an incubus performs pranks such as surrounding the conjugal bed of Hieronyma with a wall made from Genoese rocks such that the couple could not leave their bed without using a ladder.¹⁶⁵ On another occasion the incubus makes a lavish banquet of exotic food and foreign wines from Crete, Campania, the Canary Islands and the Rhine, materialise from thin air.¹⁶⁶ In Tadisi's story the monk Aloysius Aquila delights in playing the clavichord (*polycordii*) and one night he begins to hear strange music emanating from the monastic cell where his instrument is stored. On another occasion his bed is raised to the rafters by an assemblage of planks and tables, a gibbet for execution is constructed, musical instruments vanish and a breviary is found mysteriously opened to the Office of the Dead.

Tadisi's stories reveal that the Northern Italian Franciscan monks were still involved in illicit practices that had been condemned by the Sacred Congregation and

¹⁶⁴ Biblioteca Statale of Cremona MS. 165, *Creaturum Rationalium Corporearum quamdam Speciem, mediam Inter Angelos et Homines, astruit in hoc Opere P. Ludovicus M[aria] Sinistrari De Ameno*, fol. 68.

¹⁶⁵ L. M. Sinistrari, *Demoniality or Incubi and Succubi: A Treatise Wherein is Shown that there are in Existence Rational Creature Beside Man* (Paris: Liseux, 1879), pp.44-45.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, pp.48-49.

censored in licensed books. Father Malchiodus promises to drive out a troublesome spirit through conjurations and rather than follow the *Romanum Rituale* the monks make use of an urn with intoxicating herbs. Tadisi also relates two testimonies from Joannes Bapitsa Ferrabouius, a royal enforcer, who accuses two different women of practicing witchcraft, Magdalena Placenta and the unnamed wife of a fisherman in Como. The first case Tadisi confirms with a Father of the Inquisition, Eustacius Josephus Puteus, but he remains skeptical about the second story concluding that the account may only be true if the woman was deceived by the illusions of a demon.¹⁶⁷

Tadisi occasionally glosses specific Latin terms such as *polycordii* with the common Italian name added in brackets (for example, *vulgo la spinetta, o clavicembalo*). He tends to prefer the Italian term ‘*folletus* or *folleti*’ for incubus, as discussed by Sinistrari in paragraph § 27 of *Daemonialitate* and occasionally uses the term *lemure* (shade or ghost of the departed).

A section of ‘remarkable stories’ (*historiae memorabiles*) transcribed from Joannes Herbinus *Dissertationes De Admirandis Mundis Cataractis Supra et Subterraneis* recount tales of subterranean crypts and cave-dwellers.¹⁶⁸ In

¹⁶⁷ Tadisi asserts, ‘In hoc caus aliud non possimus suspicari, nisi quod a Diabolo consopita fuisset, et in somnis decepto a Daemone phantasmatis, ut sibi ad nocturne conventum, vulgo il Barilotto interesse videretur, et tandem Daemonem in forma illius Auicula ad eam faciae expergendam venisse. De quare legi possunt Martin. Delirus Disquisit. Magic. Lib 2. quaest. 16. Ulricus molitor, Bartolemtus de Spina, et Alii Auctores in malleo maleficorum tom. 2. Qui de hisce rebus uberrime agunt.’ The citation from Martin Delrio’s *Disquisitionum Magicarum*, a Jesuitical work on witchcraft and magic, refers to *Quaestio XVI ‘De nocturnis sagarum coventibus, et an vera sit earum translation de loco ad locum?’* (Question 16: The nocturnal meeting of witches. Are witches really transported from one place to another?). In this passage Delrio discusses the protestant authors Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon and Catholic authors such as Martin of Arles and Jean-François Ponzinibus, who consider the transportation of witches and the nocturnal assembly of witches as a delusion produced by demons. See M. Delrio, *Disquisitionum Magicarum libri sex: Quibus Continentur Accruata Curiosarum Artrium, et Vanarum Supersitionum confutation, utilis Theologis, Iurisconsultis, Medicis, Philogis* (Cologne: Hermann Demen, 1679) pp.183-202. Tadisi also cites the authority of Ulrich Molitor’s *De Lamiis et Pythonicis Mulieribus* (1489), Bartolomeo Spina’s *Tractatus de Strigibus et Lamiis* (1523), and Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger’s *Malleus Maleficarium* (1486).

¹⁶⁸ Tadisi transcribes the Herbrinius excerpts under the title, ‘Historiae memorabiles exscriptae ex M. Johanne Herbinio, De admirandis mundi Cataractis Supra et Subterraneis. Amstelodami 1678. Lib[er] 5. Dissertat[atio]. 12. cap[ut] 2. De Cryptis subterraneis, earumque rebus.’ Biblioteca Statale of Cremona MS. 165, *Creaturum Rationalium Corporearum quamdam Speciem, mediam Inter Angelos et Homines, [...]*, fols, 71-81. See: J. Herbinus, *Dissertationes De Admirandis Mundis Cataractis Supra et Subterraneis, earumque*

Daemonialitate, Sinistrari discusses the presence of homunculi in mines, citing Gregorius Agricola's *De animantibus subterraneis*, as proof of the existence and corporeality of incubi.¹⁶⁹ The skeptical arguments against the existence of such creatures put forth by the Jesuit Peter Thyraeus in his *Libellus de Terrificationibus Nocturnisque Tumultibus* are summarily dismissed by Sinistrari as truly puerile (*sane puerilibus*), worthless and contrary to the writings of many grave and credible authors. Taidisi's citations from *De Admirandis* appear to serve the purposes of giving further substantiation from other learned authorities. The Herbinus excerpts recounts the explorations of subterranean vaults and passages by the French astrologer Jacques Gaffarel and the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher.¹⁷⁰ Jacques Gaffarel travelled to Malta in 1637 and surveyed the network of caves known in Arabic as Ghar Kebir, where he encountered a community of hermetic cave-dwellers who followed an austere vegetarian diet and used dried cow dung for fuel. Excerpts from Kircher narrate his encounter with the same cave dwellers of Ghar-Kebir and his exploration of caverns on the neighbouring island of Gozo where he came upon a small colony of recluses. Other passages from Kircher's *Mundus subterraneus* deal with his beliefs in the existence of subterranean demons (*daemonibus subterraneis*) and spirits that occupied the mines. A further example is provided in an excerpt of the tale of the green children of Woolpit from William of Newburgh's *Historia rerum Anglicarum*.¹⁷¹ In the reign of King Stephen, near the village of Wulfputes (Woolpit) in East Anglia, two children, a boy and girl, were discovered emerging from a cave. The children were completely green and wore garments of a strange colour and unknown materials, they wandered around in bewilderment through the countryside until they were seized by reapers. The children would only eat raw broad beans and spoke an unknown

principio, elementorum circulatione, ubi eadem occasione aestus maris reflui (Amsterdam: Janssonio-Waesbergiana, 1678), pp.259-266.

¹⁶⁹ L. M. Sinistrari, *Demoniality or Incubi and Succubi: A Treatise Wherein is Shown that there are in Existence Rational Creature Beside Man* (Paris: Liseux, 1879), pp.172-173.

¹⁷⁰ The Herbinus version derives from A. Kircher, *Mundus Subterraneus in XII libros digestus quo divinum subterrestris mundi Opificium mira ergasteriorum naturae in eo distributio*, vol. II, (Amsterdam: Janssonio-Waesbergiana, 1678), pp.119-122.

¹⁷¹ Taidisi transcribes the excerpts under the title 'Mira Historia de Hominibus Subterraneis, ex Guilielmo Neubrissensi Anglico Scriptori decrepta.' Ibidem, fol. 74. The Herbinus version ultimately derives from William Newburgh see: T.S. Baronetti, 'De viridibus pueris', *Guilielmi Nebrigenensis Historia Sive Chronica Rerum Anglicarum Libris Quinque*, (Oxford, E. T. Sheldoniano, 1719), pp.90-93.

language. After the girl acquired English, she claimed that they had both come from the land of St. Martin, a place where the sun does not rise.

Several other passages are excerpted from the German alchemist Michael Maier's *Tractatus de volucris arborea, absque patre et matre*.¹⁷² One brief passage quotes Maier's commentary on the same above-mentioned story of the children of Woolpit. The other more extensive passage deals with an aetiological narrative of incubi and succubi derived from cabbalistic and apocryphal sources:

These noxious spirits, called Lilith by the Cabbalists, are said to have been begotten at the beginning of the world from the discharge of Adam's semen in Paradise, before he meet with his wife Eve. In fact they have a tangible body and are subject to the senses but they are aerial, subtle and evanescent, because sometimes they appear in the form of a peculiar and transparent vapour, which allows them to easily pass through all objects, and they vanish when they encounter walls or else they rise up into the air. They have been living for thousands of years and they begin growing, mature and age in the same manner as men.¹⁷³

In a marginal annotation beneath the excerpted passage from Maier, Tadisi comments:

This assertion of their generation in Paradise is impious and alien to the Catholic religion. In fact their accidental propagation is absurd to Catholics ears. The rest, their corporeality and their sensuality, is not impossible.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² M. Maier, *Tractatus de Volucris Arborea, absque patre et matre, in insulis Orcadum, forma anserculorum proveniente, seu de ortu miraculoso potius quam naturali vegetabilium, animalium, hominum et supranaturalium quorundam* (Frankfurt: Lucas Jenning, 1619).

¹⁷³ 'Genios hos noxios, Lilith appellatos caballistae dicunt a principio mundi in paradiso fuisse genitos ex profluvio seminis Adami, antequam cum Eva uxore congrederetur: Habere eos quidem corpus palpabile, et sensibus subiectum, sed aerium, subtile, et evanidum, quod aliquando videtur in speciem nubeculae rarae et perspicua, quae facile cedit omnibus obiectis, et evanescit in parietes impactum, vel in aerem sublaturum. Horum vita est annorum mille: augmentum sumunt et vegetantur, senescuntque more reliquorum hominum.' Biblioteca Statale of Cremona MS. 165, *Creaturum Rationalium Corporearum quamdam Speciem, mediam Inter Angelos et Homines, astruit in hoc Opere P. Ludovicus M[aria] Sinistrari De Ameno*, fol. 82.

¹⁷⁴ 'Quod de eorum dicitur generatione in Paradiso, impium est, et a Religione catholica alienum. Quod vero de eorum propagatione temerarium, et auribus catholicis absurdum. Caetera vero de eorum corporeitate, et libidine, non sunt impossibilia.' Ibidem, fol 82.

DÆMONIALITAS



scabellū Dæmonialitatis primò inuentū reperio a Jo: Savamuele in sua Theologia (*) Fundamentali, nec antè illud inueni Pucto: vel, qui de hoc crimine, tanquàm distincto a Bestialitate locutus sit. Omnes enī Theologi morales, secuti diuid Thomā (1) sub specie Bestialitatis recensent omne Concubitū ad vel non eiusde speciei, ut ibi loquitur D: Thomas, et proinde Caietanus in Comment. illius Quest. et Art. (2) Coitū ad Demone ponit in specie Bestialitatis, et Caietanū sequitur Syluester, Bonacina, (3) et Alij.

Sed reuera D: Th. in illo loco considerationē non habuit ad Coitū ad Demone: Ut enī infra probabimus, hic coitus non potest in specie specialissima Bestialitatis comprehendī, et ut ueritati cohercat sententia S: Doctoris, dicendū est, quòd in citato loco, quando ait, quòd peccatū contra naturā, Alio modo si fiat per concubitū ad vel non eiusde speciei, uscatū Bestialitas, sub nomine Rei non eiusdem speciei intellexerit Animal uiuens non eiusde speciei ad homine; non enī usurpare potuit ibi nomen Rei pro Re, puta Ente conueni ad Animatū et Inanimatū; si enī quis coiret ad cadauere humano, concubitū haberet ad vel non eiusde speciei ad homine, (maximè apud Thomistas, qui formā corporeitatis humanę negant in cadauere) quòd etiā esset, si cadaueri bestiali coquēretur; et tamen talis Coitus non esset Bestialitas, sed Mollities, ut dicitur supra (4)

Uoz

(*) Fundam. 57. n. 2648. (1) D: Th. 2. 2. q. 154. a. 11. c. (2) Caiet. ad 2. 2. q. 154. a. 11. 5. ad 3. dub. (3) Syluester. Verbo. Luxuria. Bonac. de Matrim. q. 4. punct. 12. n. 2. et ibi Philicarc. de Off. sacerdot. to. 1. par. 2. l. 3. c. 8. Sa. V. Luxuria. n. 6. Capauil. c. 15. V. Ad hanc genit. Philic. to. 2. fr. 30. c. 8. n. ibi. (4) 5. Mollitēs. num.

Figure 8. Biblioteca Statale di Cremona MS. 165. *Creaturum Rationalium Corporearum quamdam Speciem, mediam Inter Angelos et Homines, astruit in hoc Opere P. Ludovicus M[aria] Sinistrari De Ameno ex Ordine Reformatum S[ancti] Francisci. Appendicem Mirabilium Historiarum addidit P.D. Ignatius Tadisi Cremonem. C[lericorum] R[egularium] S[omaschensium], fol. 1.*

The manuscript concludes with several excerpts from Ludovico Maracci's polemical commentary: *Prodomus ad Refutationem Alcorani* (Introduction to the Refutation of the Qu'ran).¹⁷⁵ The Maracci excerpts deal with the generation of demons in the Bereishit Rabba and the Qu'ranic commentaries of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (*Gelaleddinus*). Tadisi quotes Maracci's observation that on the basis of Hebrew scripture, both Jewish and Arabic scholars believed in the existence of a species of intelligent creatures in between the angels and men.¹⁷⁶ The Maracci excerpts also consider aetiological narratives for incubi and succubi from the Talmud and Qu'ran. Maracci asserts that the various terms from scriptures: *Satanae*, *Daemonis*, *Diaboli*, *Spiritus immundi*, *Spiritus nequam*, *Angeli mali* and *Genios* all indiscriminately refer to this same species of creature.

3.5 MS Villarosa 40

The manuscript entitled *Tractatus De Daemonialitate, et De Incubis, et Succubis* occupies folios 310-418 and is part of a collection of miscellaneous ecclesiastical documents written in various hands and dating from 1701-1776 which provides an approximate *terminus ad quem* for this transcription.¹⁷⁷ The parchment binding dates from the early to mid nineteenth century and is labelled 'Miscellan, Tom XIX'. On the first endpaper the volume is denoted as '*Myscellaneorum Tomus XIX*' which was subsequently corrected to 'XIV' by a later hand. The manuscript was part of the

¹⁷⁵ L. Maracci, *Prodomus ad Refutationem Alcorani* (Rome: Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1691), pp.84-90.

¹⁷⁶ 'Sciendum est autem tam Hebraeos, quam Arabes ex Hebraeorum disciplina, certo credere, esse quoddam genus Creaturam Intellectualium, medium inter Angelos et Homines, quibus nonnulla cum Hominibus, nonnulla vero cum Angelis communia sunt.' Biblioteca Statale of Cremona MS. 165, *Creaturum Rationalium Corporearum quamdam Speciem, mediam Inter Angelos et Homines, astruit in hoc Opere P. Ludovicus M[aria] Sinistrari De Ameno [...]*, fol. 85.

¹⁷⁷ The other manuscript texts include the abbot Francesco Antonio Chionio's '*De Regime Ecclesiae*', letters and acts of the Court of the Holy Office and briefs by Pope Clement XIII to the Bishop Michelangelo Giacomelli. Sinistrari's *De Daemonialitate* is preceded by various documents on the war of the Spanish succession between France and the states of the Holy Roman Empire and followed by a transcription of the trial of the Court of Rome against Giovanni Fiori ('*Romana Falsificationis, et Alterationis Litterarum Apostolicarum in forma Brevium*'). See Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Raccolta Villarosa, MS. Villarosa 40.

collection previously owned by the Villarosa family and later acquired by the bookseller Aldo Lubrano in June 1940.¹⁷⁸ The title of the tract is marked with an asterisk and a marginal annotation in a later hand adds:

Ex aliquibus Adnotationibus, quae inveni in corpore huius Tractatus, mihi videtar, esse illum excerptum ex operibus ^{autographis mmss. de Practica Criminali} ~~Theologicis~~ supramemorati P[a]tris de Ameno, quae opera tamen debent esse Typis datae absque tali Tractata, cuius Originale asservatur à Rev[erendissi]mo P[at]ri Magistro S[acri] Palatii Apostolici Ricchinio ordinis Praedicatorum, ut mihi compertum est.¹⁷⁹

The anonymous author of the marginalia, possibly a previous owner of the MS, relates that the transcription is written ‘from somebody’s notations, who discovered the body of this tract’ and that the tract seems to be ‘an excerpt from the works of the aforementioned Father of Ameno.’ ‘Theological’ is crossed out and the scribe adds in superscript that the work is an excerpt from the autograph manuscripts (*autographis mmss*) of *Practica Criminali*. The annotator adds that he discovered that the opera of Father de Ameno is published without such a tract and that the original manuscript is kept (*originale asservatur*) by Tommaso Agostino Ricchini, a Dominican Father and the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace. Ricchini was appointed *Magistro Sacri Palatii Apostolici* by Pope Clement XIII in 1759 until 1779 suggesting the marginal annotation dates only slightly later than the original transcription.¹⁸⁰

The scribe of the MS Villarosa 40 introduces a numbering error in paragraph § 33. Paragraphs § 1-32 of the Villarosa MS follow the Ambrosiana numbering but § 33-119 corresponds to § 32-120 of the Ambrosiana MS and the scribe combines the final two paragraphs of the *Probatio Daemoniitatis* section together in a single paragraph (§ 120). The subsequent numbered paragraphs of the Villarosa manuscript corresponds to the Ambrosiana MS at the beginning of the *Poena* section in paragraph § 121.

¹⁷⁸ See, provenance notes by Maria Rima on Manus Database: <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it//opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=183080> (Accessed 12 December 2018).

¹⁷⁹ Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Raccolta Villarosa, MS. Villarosa 40, fol. 310.

¹⁸⁰ M. Palumbo. ‘D’alcuni libri che potrebbero permettersi corretti, ed espurgati. La censura romana e l’espurgazione dei lessici.’ *Lessici filosofici dell’età moderna: Linee di ricerca*. (Florence: Olschki, 2012), pp.1-3.

TRACTATUS (*)
 DE DŒMONIALITATE,
 ET
 DE INCUBIS, ET SUCCUBIS

AUCTORE
 A. R. P. LUDOVICO MARIA DE
 AMENO Ripariae Sancti Julii
 Dioecesis Novariensis, Ordinis
 Minorum strictioris Ob-
 servantiae Sancti
 Francisci Re-
 formatorem

 **
 *

(*) Ex aliquibus Annotationibus, quae inveni in cor-
 pore huius Tractatus, mihi videtur, esse illum
 excerptum ex Operibus ^{authographis mss. de Practica Criminali} ~~Thalagici~~ ^{supramemorati}
 P. de Ameno, quae Opera tamen debent esse Typi
 datae, absque tali Tractatu, cuius Originale conser-
 vatur à Revere P. Magistro S. Palatii Apostolici
 Ricchino Ordinis Praedicatorum, ut mihi comperum est.

Figure 9. Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Raccolta Villarosa, MS. Villarosa 40, fol. 310.

3.6 Casanatense MS 4953

The Casanatense MS 4953 entitled *De Daemonialitate et Incubus, et Succubis Auctore A.R.P. Ludovico Mar[ia] de Ameno Ripariae S. Julii Dioecesis Novariensis Ordinis Minorum Strictioris Observantiae S[ancti] Francisci Reformatorum* is registered as n° 202537 in the inventory of acquisitions and arrived at the Casanatense library in July 1916.¹⁸¹ There is no note about the provenance of the manuscript in the inventory or on the original binding, which is conserved separately in the restoration archive (Arch. Rec. III. 143).¹⁸² However there is an annotation indicating a monastic provenance at the bottom of the manuscript frontispiece, ‘*Conv. S.F.C. Gand’ (Conventus Sancti Francisci Capuccini, Gandavum)*. The Ghent provenance of the Casanatense MS further demonstrates the spread of Sinistrari’s text on demoniality among the Flemish Franciscans, as previously noted in Gaudentius van den Kerckhove’s discussion of demoniality in his *Commentarii in Generalia Statuta Ordinis S. Francisci Fratrum Minorum*.¹⁸³

3.7 Angelica MS 2240

The Angelica MS 2240 is entitled *De Daemonialitate, et Incubis, et Succubis, Auctore A.R.P Ludovico Maria de Ameno Ripariae S. Julii Dioecesi Novariensis Ordinis Minorum Strictioris Observ[antiae] S[ancti] Francisci Reformatum 1753*. The manuscript is bound in mottled card and contains fifty-one numbered pages in a clear and elegant hand with unnumbered paragraphs.¹⁸⁴ On the frontispiece is a provenance note from the previous owner Giacomo Manzoni. The manuscript was sold as part of Manzoni’s collection in April 1894 and appears in the fourth volume of his catalogue

¹⁸¹ Note the shelfmark MS 4853 cited in Carena’s *Demonialità* edition is incorrect. Thanks to Carlo Carena for providing me with the correct shelfmark and an image of the manuscript frontispiece.

¹⁸² Thanks to Andrea Cappa of the Manuscripts Office at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma for providing information on the date of the manuscript acquisition and the conservation of the original binding.

¹⁸³ See G. Kerckhove, *Commentarii in Generalia Statuta Ordinis S. Francisci Fratrum Minorum* (Ghent: Maximiliani Graet, 1700), pp.333-334.

¹⁸⁴ Thanks to Mario Setter for manuscript photographs.

Bibliotheca Manzoniana as n° 173.¹⁸⁵ The catalogue entry notes that through extensive research the owner deduced that this manuscript was a curious unpublished tract on demonology.¹⁸⁶ However there is no suggestion that Manzoni was aware of Liseux's discovery and publication of Kirkup's Sinistrari manuscript several years earlier. The Angelica MS exhibits several textual corruptions, notably paragraph § 78 omits reference to folio 25 of St. Jerome's *Vita Sancti Pauli Primae Eremitae*.

¹⁸⁵ A. Tenneroni, *Bibliotheca Manzoniana: Catalogo ragionato dei manoscritti appartenuti al fu conte G. Manazoni, Vol. 4.* (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1894), p.156.

¹⁸⁶ 'Varie ricerche eseguite ne indussero a credere inedito codesto curioso trattato sulla *Demonialità* intorno a cui disputaron molto I teologi e particolarmente sui demoni I quali, secondo afferma S. Tomamaso, facendosi succubi e poi transformandosi in incubi fecondano la donna con cui hanno commercio.' Ibidem, p.156.

Chapter Four

The Later Print Editions of *De Daemonialitate* 1879-1927

4.1 The Later Editions of Liseux

This chapter surveys the later editions of *Daemonialitate* published after Liseux's first two French editions in 1875 and 1876. Also considered is Liseux's publication of a new Sinistrari text, *De Sodomia Tractatus*, originating from the same chapter of *De Delictis* as *Daemonialitate* and intended as an accompanying work for collectors. Many readers of *Daemonialitate* first encountered Sinistrari's work in the editions of Robert Henry Fryar, Reuben Swinburne Clymer and Montague Summers which all ultimately derive from the Liseux edition of 1879. As Summers notes, the limited print run of Liseux's English translation meant that it quickly became exceedingly scarce.¹⁸⁷

Liseux published a further two *Daemonialitate* editions after his initial publications of 1875 and 1876. One was the first English edition of 1879 printed in grand octavo by Damase Jouaust from his workshop at 338 rue Saint-Honoré and entitled: '*Demoniality or Incubi and Succubi, A Treatise wherein is shown that there are in existence on Earth rational creatures besides man, endowed like him with a body and soul, that are born and die*'.¹⁸⁸ Liseux's edition was the first complete English translation of *Daemonialitate*, although as noted previously, several excerpts were already translated into English three years earlier by Maria de Mariategui. The English edition was translated anonymously; Summers posits that it was the work of a London friend of Liseux although according to Henry Spencer Ashbee the translator was a certain Mr. Turney of Paris.¹⁸⁹

Liseux's edition received a highly reactionary reception by British critics who were opposed to the very notion of an English version of *Daemonialitate*. The anonymous reviewer for the *Academy* declared that it was customary in former times

¹⁸⁷ M. Summers, *Demoniality* (London: Fortune Press, 1927), p.v.

¹⁸⁸ L. M. Sinistrari, *Demoniality or Incubi and Succubi: A Treatise Wherein is Shown that there are in Existence Rational Creature Beside Man* (Paris: Liseux, 1879).

¹⁸⁹ H. S. Ashbee, *Catena Librorum Tacendorum: Being Notes Bio-Biblio-Icono-graphical and Critical, on Curious and Uncommon Books*. (London: Privately Printed 1885), p.22.

for such books to remain in the Latin tongue and that a translation into the vernacular English was a breach of taste and morals. ‘There are some subjects better discussed, as it seems to us, in a dead language. However that may be, there can, we hold, be no question whatever that the book before us ought to have been permitted to remain in its Latin garb. It is an important contribution to folk-lore, and as such it was needful that it should be in the hands of students, but the disgusting details with which it abounds could have been studied, by all who have any need to study them, quite as well in Sinistrari’s original.’¹⁹⁰ The *Athenaeum* review similarly asserted, ‘an edition of the Latin text alone would have answered every reasonable purpose in publishing such a book at all at the present time. To give an English version is utterly unnecessary.’¹⁹¹ The *Athenaeum* reviewer also strongly objected to Liseux’s lengthy editorial gloss on Sinistrari’s use of the word ‘*poppysmatum*’ where the term is elucidated by ‘quoting at full length one of the most filthy epigrams of Martial.’¹⁹²

In 1882 Liseux published a third French edition of *De la Démonialité* as part of the *Petite Collection Elzévirienne* imprint. This last French edition was printed by Charles Unsinger and lacks the elegance of the earlier printings by Motteroz and Jouaust. The Latin text is omitted and the French translations follow the previous two editions but the translation error of rendering *Carthusia Ticinensis* as *Chartreuse du Tessin* is silently corrected.

In 1879 Liseux published a new Sinistrari text entitled *De Sodomia Tractatus, in quo exponitur doctrina nova de Sodomia foeminarum a Tribadismo distincta*, which was excerpted from the chapter in *De Delictis* on the crimes against chastity (*de delictis contrà castitatem*).¹⁹³ Liseux’s text excerpts 92 paragraphs from the fourth part of *De Delictis* devoted to Sinistrari’s commentary on the crime of sodomy including the *Probatio*, *Poena* and *Summarium*. The first edition appeared in a print run of 400 copies with the Latin text only, likely to avoid the troubles that might have been

¹⁹⁰ Anonymous, *The Academy*, vol. XVI. July-December (London: 26 July 1879), p.65.

¹⁹¹ J. Francis, *Athenaeum*, No 2697, (London: E. J. Francis, 5 July 1879), p.15.

¹⁹² Liseux editorial notes reproduce the definition of *poppysmatum* from P. Pierrugues, *Glossarium eroticum linguae latinae* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1826), and the epigram ‘In Gallam’ from Martial (book VII, 18).

¹⁹³ L. M. Sinistrari, *De Sodomia Tractatus, in quo exponitur doctrina nova de Sodomia foeminarum a Tribadismo distincta* (Paris: Liseux, 1879).

occasioned by a translation into the vernacular.¹⁹⁴ This publication appears to capitalise on the success of Liseux's earlier editions and he asserts in the preface that Father Sinistrari has now become so well known to the reader since his publication of *Démonialité* that any biographical introduction would be superfluous. Liseux classifies this treatise as part of the genre of '*moechialogique* or *pornothéologique* literature'¹⁹⁵ which is 'fertile in surprises for whoever will penetrate into its arcana' and characterized by works such as the Spanish Jesuit Thomas Sanchez's *Tractatus de Matrimonio*.¹⁹⁶ Once again Liseux's preface is knowingly addressed to a certain type of idiosyncratic bibliophile who has a taste for arcane and eccentric Catholic works.

'Let us leave the vulgar herd with their silly notions. But you, highly gifted bibliophiles "who have an interest in everything that concerns humanity," you who dwell within Lucretius in "the peaceful mansions of the Wise," know that the *pornothéologique* science, so far from being neglected or disdained in the Catholic Church, was never in greater vogue, or brought to such a degree of perfection as in its late years.'¹⁹⁷

Liseux concludes his preface with a wry apology for the lack of an illustrated frontispiece despite the current fashion for etchings:

We have decided to not illustrate this volume, because we are outraged that a congruent drawing on the subject would hardly pass censorship; besides we would

¹⁹⁴ A reviewer for *Le XIX siècle* notes: 'this little book is in Latin. I amused myself for a moment in going through these horrors to recognize the subjects which occupied, and which still occupy, the imaginations of the confessors. It makes one's hairs stand on end. But Latin covers everything, saves everything. Liseux, therefore, believed himself to be beyond reproach by following, in his reprinting of these books, a constant tradition and one which has been accepted by all in European letters for three centuries.' 'Ce petit livre est en latin. Je me suis amuse un instant a parcourir ces horreurs pour me rendre compte des sujets qui occupaient, qui occupent encore l'imaginatio des confesseurs. C'est a faire deresser ls cheveux sur la tete. Mais le latin couvre tout, sauve tout. Liseux se croyait donc a l'abre de tout reproche en suivant, dans la reimpression qu'il faisait de ces livres, une tradition constante et acceptee de tous les lettres de l'Europe depuis trois siècle.' See, F. Sarcey, 'Les Pudeurs de nos Magistrats', *Le XIXe siècle* (Paris: 10 February 1880).

¹⁹⁵ *Moechialogie* refers to the Trappist theologian, Pierre Jean Corneille Debreyne's work, *Moechialogie, traité des péchés contre le sixième et le neuvième commandement du décalogue, et de toutes les questions matrimoniales qui s'y rattachent directement et indirectement, suivi d'un abrégé pratique d'embryologie sacrée*, Paris: Poussilegue-Rusand, 1846.

¹⁹⁶ L. M. Sinistrari, *De Sodomia Tractatus, in quo exponitur doctrina nova de Sodomia foeminarum a Tribadismo distincta* (Paris: Liseux), 1879, p.vi.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidim*, p.viii.

not know where to put it. As a frontispiece, it would be misinterpreted; as a postface? Such is not our habit. Please believe us reader.¹⁹⁸

A reviewer for *Gil Blas* quoted these prefatory remarks and responded: ‘We believe you Monsieur Liseux, but you know, that the magistrates are not tongue in cheek, and they caught up with you two months ago.’¹⁹⁹

A following two editions were printed in 1883 and 1893 with the latter intended for the English market. The second French edition of 1883 entitled *De La Sodomie et Particulièrement de la Sodomie des Femmes Distinguee su Tribadisme* was published in a run of one hundred and fifty hand numbered copies under the *Petite Collection Elzévirienne* imprint.²⁰⁰ Liseux notes in his preface to the work: ‘the Latin text of the treatise of which we here give the translation, appeared in 1879 in our *Petite Collection Elzévirienne* under the following title: *De Sodomia tractatus* [...]. We believe it pointless to reproduce the *avertissement* of this text, the Latin volume having been printed in a larger run of copies than this one, the *amateurs* can easily obtain it if they do not own it already. This translation is the work of a young scholar to whom was also owed that of *Trente et un de la Zaffetta*.²⁰¹ The English edition of 1893, one of the final works Liseux published, was entitled, *Peccatum Mutum (The Mute Sin, alias Sodomy)* and likewise lacks the Latin text but reproduced an English translation

¹⁹⁸ ‘Nous avons renoncé à illustrer ce volume parce que, outré qu’ un dessin congruent au sujet passerait difficilement à la censure, nous ne saurions où le mettre. En frontispiece? ce serait un contre-sens; en post-face? c’est pas notre habitude. Veuillez bien le croire, ami lecteur.’ L. M. Sinistrari, *De Sodomia Tractatus, in quo exponitur doctrina nova de Sodomia foeminarum a Tribadismo distincta*, (Paris: Liseux, 1879) p.xii.

¹⁹⁹ ‘L’éditeur y a joint une preface française, qui se termine ainsi: [...] Nous vous croyons, monsieur Liseux; mais, vous savez, les magistrats sont des *pince-sans-rire*, et ils vous ont rattrapé au demi-cercle il y a deux mois.’ See: ‘Nouvelles et Échos’, *Gil Blas* (Paris: 6 May 1880), p.1.

²⁰⁰ L. M. Sinistrari, *De La Sodomie et Particulièrement de la Sodomie des Femmes Distinguee su Tribadisme* Paris: Liseux, 1883).

²⁰¹ Ibidem, p.i. Note that in Liseux’s preface to *Trente et un de la Zaffetta* he only refers to the translator as ‘***’ adding ‘these three stars cover the anonymous young scholar, whose doctoral cap is a dragoon helmet.’ (‘Ce trois étoiles couvrent l’anonyme d’un jeune erudit, dont le bonnet doctoral est un casque de dragon’).

of the preface from the 1879 edition.²⁰² Ashbee includes a summary of the 1879 edition in his *Catena Librorum Tacendorum* where he describes it as ‘curious and scabrous’.²⁰³

4.2 The Editions of Fryar, Clymer and Summers

*Sub-Mundanes; Or, The Elementaries of the Cabala: Being the History of Spirits, Reprinted from the Text of the Abbe de Villars, Physio-Astro-Mystic, Wherein is asserted that there are in existence on earth rational creatures besides man. With an illustrative Appendix from the Work “Demoniality,” or “Incubi and Succubi,” by the Rev. Father Sinistrari of Ameno.*²⁰⁴

The *Sub-Mundanes* edition was printed in 1896 as part of the Bath Occult Reprint series by Robert Henry Fryar, a Victorian occultist, bookseller and private press publisher of esoteric works based at his house in 8 Northumberland Place. The book was published in quarto with parchment wrappers in a print run of 250 copies and sold through subscription basis only. A second title is inserted which reads, ‘the Count of Gabalis, or, the Extravagant Mysteries of the Cabalist Exposed, In Five Pleasant Discourses on the Secret Sciences.’ Fryar appended an editorial note to the excerpts of *Daemonialitate* stating: ‘the foregoing has been so arranged that the body of the work can be bound in a separate but complete form if desired.’²⁰⁵ The text reproduces paragraphs § 25, 71, 77 in English and § 4, 29, 30 in Latin verbatim from Liseux’s edition of 1879 but only provides an erroneous reference to a nonexistent Paris edition of 1870. Fryar advertised his edition through periodicals such as the *Antiquary* and *Book-Lore* describing his publication as a ‘great tabooed work which, on account of the peculiar subject and its free treatment, is virtually “boycotted,”

²⁰² L. M. Sinistrari, *Peccatum Mutum (The Mute Sin, alias Sodomy): A Theological Treatise*, (Paris: Liseux, 1893).

²⁰³ H. S. Ashbee, *Catena Librorum Tacendorum: Being Notes Bio-Biblio-Icono-graphical and Critical, on Curious and Uncommon Books* (London: Privately Printed 1885), pp.20-21.

²⁰⁴ Note the same work is also advertised under the alternative title of “*Sub-Mundanes*,” or “*The Count of Gabalis*.” *From the 1680 Edition, (Illustrated.) A Rosicrucian Book. Being The History of Spirits, from the Text of the Abbe Villars, with an Appendix from the Suppressed Occult Physiological Work of the Very Rev. Father Sinistrari, of Ameno, on Demoniality, or “Incubi and Succubi, Bath: 1886.*

²⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, p.139.

except when supplied direct from this house'.²⁰⁶ Montague Summers is highly dismissive of Fryar's edition, writing in the introduction to his own edition of *Daemonialitate*, 'it is difficult to see why the book should have been printed at all. It has no notes, no introduction, and is a silly, feckless, impotent sort of thing.'²⁰⁷ Fryar's edition was cited by Helena Blavatsky in her theosophical periodical, *Lucifer* (1890) and features as part of the esoteric library of Geoffrey Firmin in Malcom Lowry's *Under the Volcano* (1947).²⁰⁸

*The Divine Mystery: The Gods, Known in Early Ages as the Incubi and Succubi, Now Known as the Elementals. Solving the Mystery of the Immaculate Conception and How it Was, and Is, Possible. Giving Full Instructions for Development, and How to Come Into Touch With the Elementals.*²⁰⁹

Reuben Swinburne Clymer, an occultist, associate of Paschal Beverly Randolph and member of the Fraternitas Rosae Crucis published the first American printing of *Daemonialitate* in 1910 through his imprint 'Philosophical Publishing Co'. Clymer's edition is not an original translation but taken verbatim from Liseux's English edition with certain words subsequently modified, occasional omissions and other sections enlarged with idiosyncratic commentary to reflect his particular occult leanings. Clymer uses Sinistrari's text to advocate for occult communication with elemental spirits and replaces Sinistrari's original terms incubi or succubi with the theosophical term 'elemental' or the Paracelsian terms for such mythological beings: 'gnomes, undines, sylphs and salamanders'. In his preface to the reader, Clymer notes 'the church Fathers believe that these Elementals, called demons by them, were all wicked

²⁰⁶ Fryar's notice adds 'one of the most celebrated works on the Occult Sciences, dealing especially with the sexual questions elucidated by Mr. Hargrave Jennings in the "Rosicrucians," and "Phallicism," (showing the real nature of the Adamic Apple, &c.) Post Free, 10/6. Only a few left.' See, 'The Remainder List of the Bath Occult Reprints' in W. Wynn Westcott, *Tabula Bembina: Sive Mensa Isiaca, The Isiac Tablet of Cardinal Bembo: It's History and Occult Significance* (Bath: R.H. Fryar, 1887), p.20.

²⁰⁷ M. Summers, *Demoniality* (London: Fortune Press, 1927), p.xxxix.

²⁰⁸ H. Blavatsky, *Lucifer: A Theosophical Magazine*, vol. vi, (London: Theosophical Publishing, 1890), p.181 and M. Lowry, *Under the Volcano* (London: Penguin, 2000), p.189.

²⁰⁹ R. S. Clymer, *The Divine Mystery: The Gods, Known in Early Ages as the Incubi and Succubi, Now Known as the Elementals. Solving the Mystery of the Immaculate Conception and How it Was, and Is, Possible. Giving Full Instructions for Development, and How to Come Into Touch With the Elementals* (Allentown: Philosophical Publishing Co., 1910).

[...]. This will be enlarged upon throughout the book, which is really a translation of the work by the Rev. Father Sinistrari, and which is now in such form as is agreeable to our present century. In other words, instead of being called Demons we call them Elementals.²¹⁰ The demoniality text is followed by a series of esoteric instructions describing how to invoke the elementals, written by the publisher Clymer and an analysis of a Gnostic text, *Pistis Sophia* by the French Coptologist, M. E. Amélineau.

Montague Summers' Demoniality

Montague Summers' edition was published by Fortune Press in July 1927. The edition was printed by the Whitefriars Press in a run of 1290 copies with 90 copies on Arnold unbleached hand-made paper (numbered 1-90) bound in full vellum with spine lettered across in gold and 1200 copies on Batchelor's hand-made paper (numbered 91-1290).²¹¹ Fortune Press was founded in 1924 by Reginald Ashley Caton initially as a small press focusing on works that dealt with 'amatory unorthodoxy'.²¹² Montague Summers' collaboration with Caton spanned a period of twenty years. It was Summers who had initially drawn the attention of his publisher to Liseux's English edition of *Demoniality*. Noting the excessive rarity, lack of critical apparatus and translation errors of Liseux's English edition, he persuaded Caton of the necessity for a newly revised version. Despite Summers' condemnation of Liseux's English edition as 'worse than indifferent' he seldom fails to avail himself of phrasings from the earlier translation.²¹³ In April 1927 Summers sent the manuscript of his introduction to Caton and received printed copies of *Demoniality* on the 6th of June, observing that the Fortune Press edition was 'an admirable production.'²¹⁴

Reviews of Summers' edition tended to be hostile and dismissive, recalling to some extent the negative reception of Liseux's original English translation. Reviewers critiqued Summers as a throwback to the middle ages and particularly criticised his professed belief in the orthodoxy of Sinistrari's treatise. Summers was also berated by

²¹⁰ Ibidem, p.15.

²¹¹ M. Summers, *Demoniality*, (London: Fortune Press, 1927)

²¹² T. d'Arch Smith, *R. A. Caton and the Fortune Press*, (London: Betram, 1983), p.11.

²¹³ M. Summers, *Demoniality*, (London: Fortune Press, 1927) p.v.

²¹⁴ Ibidem, T. d'Arch Smith, p.12.

reviewers for his assertion that until Sinistrari's treatise had been 'theologically disproved' he was 'willing to accept, with certain minor reservations, the thesis that the octogenarian Sinistrari, rich in wisdom and experience, laid down in his *Daemonialitate*.²¹⁵ In a typical review, Samuel Foster Damon classed the work as *facetiae*, concluding that 'we can see no good come of the reissue of this indecent book, except the vast laughter of the pure-minded among heretic and faithful together.'²¹⁶ In 1934 police raided the premises of Fortune Press in London and seized eighteen titles including Summers' translations of *Demoniality* and *The Confessions of Madeleine Bavent*, which were all condemned under the Obscene Publications Act and ordered to be destroyed.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ M. Summers, *Demoniality*, (London: Fortune Press, 1927, p.xliii.

²¹⁶ S. F. Damon, 'Civilization à Rebours', *The Saturday Review of Literature*, vol. 4, (13 August 1927), p.36.

²¹⁷ The magistrate who made the ruling declared: 'the majority of the books which came before me are of a kind which no publisher of reputation would dream of associating with their names. I regard the action of the police in this case as a public duty, and I think they would be doing a public service if they keep an eye on similar publications.' See, A. Craig, *The Banned Books of England and Other Countries: A Study of the Conception of Literary Obscenity*, (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1962), pp.92-3.

Conclusion

In 1769 an anonymous anti-monastic book, *Criminalprocess der Franciscaner (The Criminal Trial in the Franciscan Order)* was published in Strasbourg reproducing original source material from Sinistrari, Gaudentius van Kerkhove and Anaclet Reiffenstuel.²¹⁸ The book quickly became a bestseller due to the notorious scandals about abuse in Franciscan monasteries.²¹⁹ Its author drew attention to particularly scandalous passages in Sinistrari's original Latin text from the Gianni *Opera Omnia* edition of 1754. This anthology written against the Franciscan order was the last time any of Sinistrari's original texts would be printed in any form during the early modern period. As the ideas of the French Enlightenment finally penetrated Novara, Sinistrari faded into obscurity until Liseux's discovery of a *Daemonialitate* manuscript in 1872. Liseux's newly discovered manuscript perfectly aligned to the morbid aesthetic of the burgeoning decadent movement, to such an extent that scholars have frequently assumed that the text must have been an elaborate forgery intended to seduce various writers and bibliophiles. This study has argued to the contrary that the bibliophiles and decadent writers were correct to treat *Daemonialitate* as an authentic treatise of demonology. I would like to end this study by emphasizing four general conclusions that can be deduced from the preceding chapters.

Firstly, the Liseux manuscript is authentic and was bought at the auction of Baron Seymour Kirkup by the bookseller Thomas Allen as lot 145 on the 6th of December 1871. An analysis of the Liseux transcription in relation to six other extant manuscripts indicates that it is not Sinistrari's holograph MS Ω but a later witness with a dating that likely corresponds to that of the Villarosa, Angelica and Casanatense MSS. The manuscript later passed hands from Liseux to Gustave Lehec after 1879 and its current location is still unknown.

Secondly, the original holograph manuscripts of Sinistrari were expurgated prior to Albrizzi's publication of *De Delictis et Poenis* in 1700 and were allegedly kept by Tommaso Agostino Ricchinio while he held the office of the Master of the Sacred

²¹⁸ Anonymous, *Criminalprocess der P.P. Franciscaner* (Strasbourg: 1769).

²¹⁹ See the discussion of *Criminalprocess* in U. L. Lehner, *Monastic Prisons and Torture Chambers: Crime and Punishment in Central European Monasteries, 1600-1800*, (Eugene, Oregon: Cascades Books, 2013), pp.39-42.

Apostolic Palace. The Ambrosiana MS written in the hand of Cotta is the earliest extant textual witness to the holograph manuscript of *Daemonialitate* although it contains several minor corruptions.

Thirdly, *De Delictis et Poenis* was prohibited after a seven year censorship procedure largely due to the laxist tendencies of Sinistrari which were becoming increasingly controversial under a papacy influenced by rigorism and the strengthening of the power of the Roman Curia over the Franciscan monks. On the basis of the evidence reviewed in this study the most plausible explanation for an expurgation of *Daemonialitate* is Sinistrari's advocacy of the efficacy of suffumigation over the approved exorcisms of the *Roman Rituale* and his arguments against the limits of ecclesiastical authority and scripture when it comes to the question of the existence of incubi and succubi.

Fourthly, the prohibition of Sinistrari works in 1709 by the Sacred Congregation of the Index did not prevent *Daemonialitate* being read and disseminated by Franciscan monks who opposed or ignored the policies pursued by Cardinal Gaspare Carpegna. Throughout the forty-five year prohibition of Sinistrari's *De Delictis et Poenis*, the *Daemonialitate* manuscript was still clandestinely circulated amongst monks of the Franciscan order and spread as far as Ghent. The Tadisi manuscript indicates that the practices of suffumigation and the conjuration of spirits explicitly prohibited by the Congregation of the Index were still being practiced in the Franciscan monasteries of Pavia. Finally, the trial manuscript from the diocese of Oria demonstrates that Sinistrari's *Daemonialitate* was cited as an authoritative legal text among more widely known works of demonology by Francesco Maria Guazzo, Martin Delrio and Francesco Torreblanca.

It is hoped that this study will provide some clarity about the manuscript circulation of *Daemonialitate* and its dissemination in print. This should help dispel the widely spread notions of a bibliographical hoax perpetuated by Paul Lacroix or an embellished pastiche by Liseux. Ideally this examination of *Daemonialitate* has established that this work is an authentic monastic manuscript circulated by Franciscan monks and as such merits further consideration in studies of late Renaissance demonology, witchcraft trials and the Franciscan exorcistic tradition.

Appendix

Creaturarum Rationalium Corporearum: Tadisi's Accounts of Demoniality

Folios 65-66

Dum ego D. Ignatius Tadisi praesbiter Congregationis Somaschae, adhuc clericus anno 1701 iter feci Papia Placentiam in navigio super Padum, minores ordines suspecturus, habui socium in navigio R[everendus] prae[sbiter] Marianum, Carmelitam excalceatum, virum doctum, et suis operibus Typo emissis satis notum, qui mihi retulit, se fuisse ad multos annos Cremonae Consultorem S[anc]ti officii, et praeter multos casus in illo Tribunali a se visos, se quidem confessus est abstuisse abjuratori cuiusdam monialis in monasterio N.N. (nolo illud nominare) quae vigintiquatuor annis cum daemone (ut ipse dixit) carnale commercium habuerat. De aliis circumstantiis ipsum ego non interrogavi, tunc enim rerum exactiore notitia indigebam.

D[omi]nus Jo[annes] Bap[is]ta Ferrabouius, qui fuit signifier in militia, et modo emeritus regii exactoris officium exercet, anno 1702 domi suae locaverat quoddam cubiculum auidam Magdalene Placentina, qua Placentia exulabat, Cremonaeque pro famula inservierat. Haec singulis dierum Jovis noctibus domo aberat, quod maxime Ferrabouio displicebat, qui ideo ipsam domo dimisit. Vix transacto post hanc dimissionem mense, ambulans ipse nocturno tempore per civitatem, transiensque se domum suam recepturus per illum viam, qui iacet a tergo Palatii D[omi]ni marchionis Freganeschi, audivit sibi obviam venientem quasi equum velocem, ferratis unguibus saxa terentem, sed nihil adhuc videns. Aliquantulum progressus sensit, viditque circum se saltitantem quandam bestiam maiorem cato, et per crura sua transeuntem. Timuit aliquantulum, sed animosior redditus evaginavit gladius, et ictus in bestiam torsit, sicque se a molestia libertavit, et tremebundus domum suam petivit, uxori suae omnia enarravit. Die sequenti summo mane adfuit domui suae quaedam foemina, quae ipsum nomine supradictae Magdalene, habitantis in vicinia S[anc]ti victoris in quodam indicato lupanari, rogavit, ut illec se conferret, ipsa enim Magdalena secum colloqui summopera cupiebat. Ipse, quia de illa non amplius cogitauerat, et loci causa, in quo

degebat, ire recusant. Nihilominus enixis precibus sollicitatus perrexit. Introivit magalene cubiculum in lecto iacentis, et quid peteret interrogavit. Ipsa, educens e culcitiris brachium vulneratum, doluit se ab ipso tam crudeliter fuisse percussam. Illo autem facinus negante commemoravit exterre diei ictum tali loco et tempore inflictum. Ad haec ille animadvertens obstupuit, eamque tanquam strygem acriter increpavit, et quid tandem a se peteret interrogavit. Ipsa dixit, non posse ab illo vulnere convalesce, nisi ab eodem ense novo ictu percuteretur, ideoque ipsum precatus est, ut educto gladio in alio membro plagam aliquam aperiret. Nolebat Ferrabouius assentiri, sed multis supplicationibus commotum se simulans, excusationem praetexuit, se illam vulneratuorum, dismissis tamen domo omnibus domesticis, ne in facinore detegeretur: se discessurum ab breve tempus, et postea rediturum ad opus: Ipsa interea curaret aliquo apparente motivo Domesticos e domo ad aliquod servitium mittere, ut ipse reidens posset sine testibus actum efficere. Annuit mulier, et Ferrabouius discessit, et interea ad Patrem Inquisitorem, videl[icet]. Eustachium Josephum Puteum (qui postea me in S[anc]ti officis Consultorem assumpsit) se contulit, et omnia enarravit, confirmavitque iuramento. Pater Inquisitor statum Magdalene capturam decrevit, ipsaque in carceribus S[anc]ti officis custodita, in iisdem vitam suam obivit. Haec olim ipsemet Ferrabouius mihi enarravit erat, qua de re post aliquot annos dubitans, iterum interrogavi, ut veritatem sincerissime aperiret, et denuo multis attestationibus, iuramentisque confirmavit, meque ad P[at]ris Inquisitoris adhuc viventis fidem maioris gratia confirmationis remisit.

Folio 67-68

Casum alium in persona sua Idem Ferrabouius mihi enarravit. Dum esset miles, et novocomi hiberno tempore moraretur, quadam nocte extra quarterium remansit, ambulansque per civitatem ab intempesta pluvia aggressus fuit, a qua ut se defenderet confugit ad aedes cuiusdam foeminae amicae suae, uxoris cuiusdam Piscatoris tunc domo absentis, et pulsate ostio decies, viciesque, tandem a Puero eiusdem foeminae filio, reseratis postibus, domi exceptus fuit, qui de matre interrogatus, eam in somno sepultam respondit. Ascendit ad cubiculum, viditque summopere sopitam Foeminam, quam neque vocibus, neque concussionibus unquam potuit suscitare. Interea ipse ad ignem

sedit. Quando post horam descendit e camino scarabeus, maior mole iis, qui in nostra regione videntur, incipiensque circum eius aures et faciem volitare, edensque solitum talium Insectorum susurrum, ipsum non leviser molestabat. Ipse vero et manibus, et explicato lineteolo curabat a se bestiolam illam avertere, quae nonnisi post aliquod temporis spatium discessit, volitansque ante faciem mulieris sopite, et postquam circum illam aliquot gyros torsit, tandem in buccam ipsius Foemina ingressu est, et non amplius exivit, et illico Foemina expergefata est, quae videns sibi praesentem Ferrabouius, tanquam obsessa, et a Daemone agitate, prosilivit furibunda e lecto in ipsum irruens, quasi vindictam pro eius ingressu pertentans, evomit eodem tempore in ipsum acerrimis improperiis. Ipse vero aliis contumeliis, et praecipue ut strygem incusando respondens, gladium se defensurus, et minitabundus evaginavit, indicens insuper se ipsam apud Patrem Inquistorem accusaturum. Ad haec timore percussa quievit Foemina, humiliterque rogavit, ut omnia silentio sepeliret.

In hoc caus aliud non possimus suspicari, nisi quod a Diabolo consopita fuisset, et in somnis decepto a Daemone phantasmatis, ut sibi ad nocturne conventum, vulgo il Barilotto interesse videretur, et tandem Daemonem in forma illius Auicula ad eam faciae expergendem venisse. De quare legi possunt Martin. Delirus Disquisit. Magic. Lib 2. quaest. 16. Ulricus molitor, Bartolemtus de Spina, et Alii Auctores in malleo maleficorum tom. 2. Qui de hisce rebus uberrime agunt.

Folios 68-71

Novissimam, verissimamque Historiam, quam habeo a Teste de visu, maiori qua potero brevitate narrabo. Papiensis in monasterio S[anc]ti Petri in Celaureo Canonicorum Regularium, vivebat anno 1715 P.D. Aloysius Aquila Papiensis, Sacerdos Theologiae alumnus, iuvenis simplex et pius. Hic summopere delectabatur musicali pulsatione Polycordii (vulgo La Spinetta, o clavicembalo) et summopere nobilissime huic arti studebat. Incepit quadam nocte audire suavissimum in sua cella concentum ex Polycordio erumpentem, ac si ad excellentissimo chori magistro pulsaretur. Summo mane quaesivit ab aliis Religiosis in huiusmodi pulsatione peritis, tum cellam suam ingressi fuerint ad colludendum digitis super suam instrumentum. Negarunt omnes, et sequentibus aliquot noctibus ipsimet harmoniam, nunquam sane alias tam dulcem

auditam, propriis auribus hauserunt, qui ideo caperunt de aliquo Lemure, (vulgo Folletto) suspicari. Post haec capit nova rerum series, nam dormiens, sopitusque Aloysius, ex improviseo experrectus fuit, sentiens violenti motu trahi stragula, Lectumque concuti, unde aliquo timore percussus fuit, attamen fuit aliquantulum recreatus ab hilari consueti Instrumenti concentu. Narrat mane quae sensit, Auditoresque omnes culparunt Folletum, Iuvenemque multis ratiociniis animarunt, et ne se metu corripere permitteret suaserunt, qui de factu spiritum tum collegit, et Folleti iocos parvi facere incepit. Transacta vero secunda nocte, cum diluculo oculos aperit Aloysius, ut e lecto surgat, inuenit se, in suo met cubili iacens, in summa altitudine, itaut toto corpore fere Lacunar tangat, possitque cella trabes ore propri exosculari. Clamat (non enim poterat ex tam alia strue descendere, quin periculum praecipitandi subiret) Audito clamore intrant cellam Religiosi, videntque totum Lectum collocatum supra mensas in unam collectus, aliasque cella tabulis suppositas, ita ut Lectus usque ad summitatem cubiculi elevaretur. Deponunt Iuvenem, et omnes Religiosi ad videndum spectaculum convocantur, indeque omnia suis locis restituuntur, et uno ore accusatur de insolentia Folletus.

Timuit hic summopere Aloysius, quapropter tertiam nocte vocavit ad secum condormiendum Patro cognomina Malchiodem, viorum, qui prae caeteris sese cordatum animosumque iactabat, et sese conjurationes in spiritum effurum pollicebatur. Lectum potunt, et ambo Paulo post in concipiendo somno sentiunt sibi ab acutis unguibus pedes scalpi, et atteri crura, stragula susdeque verti, aliisque molestiis affici, ita ut multo correptus timore Malchiodus non ausus fuerit spiritum coniuurare, resque oblito concentu illa nocte finivit. Ne vero Aloysius amplius vexaretur, possetque tandem quiete dormire, in hanc opinionem Patres deuenere, ut se nocte sequenti in aliam cellam reciperet, ibique quiesceret, sic actum est. Sed Follettus tota nocte per illud dormitorium saxa rotavit, eaque in ostium cella Aloysius vibravit, tali strepitu et frequentia, ut nullus ex Religiosis potuerit somnum concipere. Mane vero nulla inventa sunt saxa. Ideo mutata sequentia satius duxerunt, ut Aloysius ad suam cellam redirect, et interea de aliquo remedio spirituali provideretur. In horum Canonicorum templo maxima colebatur veneratione statua quadam devotissima B[eata] M[aria] Virginis: Hanc e templo ad cellam vocati honorifice detulerunt Religiosi, ordine ecclesiastico procedendo, precesque fundendo, et laudes eiusdem B[eata] M[aria] Virginis in illa

cella cecinereunt, indictis aliis orationibus, precibusque, a singulis Religiosus privatum fundentis, et statuam in ipsomet Dormitorio loco decenti, et ad id parato, collocaverunt, quam secunda, tertiaque die ad eandem cellam, eadem celebritate reportaverunt, fuis secundum morem precibus, eaque iterum restituta loco suo in fine Dormitorii, et in omnium prospectu, ubi etiam hodie conspicitur. Sed mirum sane. Ingressi die sequenti cellam diurno tempore, in eius medio erectum mortorium, seu Catastam funebrum, inuenerunt, hoc modo; Paelearium Lecti iacebat in terra: desuper culcitrae: super has eiusdem lecti scamniola, quae denuo sustentabant illud ligneum instrumentum, quo hyemali utimur tempestate ad calefaciendum cubile. Haec omnia secta errant nigro eiusdem Patris Aquile pallio laneo desuper extento, collocatis in machinae angulis quibusdam cereis candelis in eadem cella a Religiosis asservatis, sed extinctis, et in medio machinae aperum iacebat Breviarium in illo loco, ubi Legitur officium defunctorum. Non fuit amota a Religiosis haec machina, ad quam conspiciendam acervatim etiam saeculares viri confluebant. Eadem de, postquam per aliquod temporis spatium clausa fuerat cella, redeuntes Religiosi non amplius Mortorium, sed eius vice aedificatam iisdem cella tabulis, et scamnilois inveniunt Pergulam musicalem (vulgo una Cantoria) tectam culcibris, sparsis hinc inde musicalibus chartis, ibique Cymbolo collocato, aliosque ambigua cithara: Picturatas Tabellas a locis suis amotas, alioque ordine, et invertito, dispositas, Cueullarrique Aloysius e clauo in alto loco pendentem; et hoc etiam spectaculum fuit a viris saecularibus contemplatum: vespere vero omnia locis suis visa fuere restituta. Alios iocos, quos omnes recensere longum esset, ostendebat Folletus. Prae caeteris, tali arte supra ostium cellam hydriam collocavit, ut in illius aperitione versaretur, et Ingredientes madefierent. Saculum habebat Iuvenis plenum seminibus Heliotropii, quae semina inventa fuerunt per cellam dispersa, et variis figuris, ad formam nempe rosarum, florum, stellarum et eleganter disposita.

Multis aliss molestiis afficiebatur Aloysius, quibus terminatis audiebantur indiscreta sonantium chachinnorum effusiones. Sed iis iam satur, denuo ad dormiendum in alia cella se contulit, et tota ea nocte tantus fuit saxorum volantium et crepitantium strepitus in dormitorio, ut Religiosi omnes somnum desperaverint. Die vero sequenti derelictam cellam ingressi invenerunt in eius medio turpissimum foetidissimi stercoris truncem. Et postea Folletus non amplius comparuit, et ab omni

ulteriore vexatione cessavit. Mensem integrum res tota perseueravit. Aloysius autem post tres menses infirmatis est, ultimamque diem obiit.

Folios 83-84

R.P. Angelus Maria Pauia Genuensis, qui fuit Praepositus Provincialis nostrae Congregationis Somaschae, Vir sane tum pietate tum Litertis venerabilis, a me olim cognitus, dum Genus esset Monialium Confessarius, a quadam pia et devota Monialia audivit, se esse ab Incubo oppressam et violatam, quam, cum docuisset preces recitare, sacras Reliquias tradidisset gestandas, et similia, sed sine fouctu, tandem ipsam hortavus fuit, ut supra pectus suam sacrum Coporale collocaret: quo facto, adveniens Incubus, eam non aubus tangere audibus fremere, et ululare, aufugit.

Alia Historiola

Ad. P. D. Jo: Bapt[ist]a Beltramus, sacerdos et Confessarius Congregationis S[anc]ti Philippi nerii Cremona, die 29 Septembris an[no] 1721, mihi enarravit, quamdam Puellam nubilem, cuius ipse auditi Confessiones, et conscientiam divigit, iam a sex mensibus ab Incubo esse vexatum. Hic ipsam quobidie modo nocturno, modo diurno tempore, adit, et aggreditur, continigit, palpat, eamque fugientem, seseque removentem violenter detinet, supinam vertit, fortissime brachia extensa sistit, os eius claudit, itaut moveri amplius, et recedere, vel clamare nequeat. Inde eius vestes, et subuculam elevat, eius aperit crura, super ipam incubat, ac sensibilter suis crura ipsius stringit et amplectitur. Consequenter (ut ipsa asserit) in eius vas foeminile quemdam truncum satis oblungum, crassum, et durum immittit, quod totam vaginam implet, et multum interius penetrat, exinde spargit infunditque quemdam Liquorem, et tantum movet et agitat, donec etiam ipsam in effusionem inducat, hisque peractis evanescit. Sensibilem quoque eius faciei ad modum pungentis barbae se reddit. Saepissime etiam in templis eius pudenda confricat, et palpat, et semel eius vestimenta elevasset, eamque denudasset, nisi ipsa id praesentiens citissime in terram procubisset, et vestes genibus, manibus, et pedibus detinisset. Audivit eum semel humana voce sibi dicentem; una tantium vice mihi indulge, et postmodum te relinquam. Alia vice in Parentes, qui filiam

arguebant, impropria et contumelias effutiuit. Juxta prudentis Confessaris consilium Puella nomen Jesu et Maria, aliorumque Sanctorum, admixitis sacris precibus et orationibus, elictisque actibus Fidei, spei, et charitatis, quando se aggressam sentit, pronunciat, sed frustra. Sanctorum praemunita reliquiis, cera benedicta, aliisque rebus sacris, nihil proficit. Advocati sunt exorcistae, videl. Ad. R. D. Michael Angelus Cerrus Canonicus Poenitentiarius, et R, D[omin]nus Parochus Loci Gerra Adbua, ambo in arte exorcistica celeberrimi. Hi post multas benedictiones, et exorcismos nihil proficientes ab opere destitere, fatentes, se nihil amplius scire quid agant.

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- AMB94, fols. 319-321. Lazzaro Agostino Cotta's draft notes for Ludovico Maria Sinistrari in *Museo Novarese*, Stanza II.
- AMB 95, fols. 52, 56. Lazzaro Agostino Cotta's miscellaneous draft notes.
- AMB 97, fol. 5. Birth certificate of Ludovico Maria Sinistrari.
- AMB 97, fols. 177-180. Reading licenses for Ludovico Maria Sinistrari issued by the Congregation of the Index.
- AMB 97, fol. 235. Letter from Archbishop Guissepe Archinto to Ludovico Maria Sinistrari, 11 April 1700.
- AMB 97, fol. 239. Letter from Cardinal Marinus Sormannus to Ludovico Maria Sinistrari, 31 July 1700.
- AMB 97, fols. 245-257. Letter from Giusseppe Ferrari to Ludovico Maria Sinistrari, 14 August 1700.
- AMB 97, fol. 265. Letter from Ludovico Antonio Muratori to Lazzaro Agostino Cotta, 17 March 1701.
- AMB 97, fol. 367. Letter from Lazzaro Agostino Cotta to the Franciscan Order of Marseille, 20 April 1701.
- AMB 97, fol. 371. Letter from Lazzaro Agostino Cotta to Giusseppe Ferrari, 5 June 1701.

Cremona

Biblioteca Statale di Cremona MS. 165.

Creaturum Rationalium Corporearum quamdam Speciem, mediam Inter Angelos et Homines, astruit in hoc Opere P. Ludovicus M[aria] Sinistrari De Ameno ex Ordine Reformatum S[ancti] Francisi. Appendicem Mirabilium Historiarum addidit P.D. Ignatius Tadisi Cremonem. C[lericorum] R[egularium] S[omaschensium].

London

British Library

'Sales Catalogues, auctioneers' copies, mounted with MS. notes', S.C. Sotheby(1) 1871, Catalogue for 6-15 December, 1871.

Milan

Biblioteca Ambrosiana

MS Miscellenea Novariensis, SQ II, 3.
fols. 131-151.

Daemonialitas expensa hoc est de carnalis commixtionis Hominis cum Daemone possibilitate, Modo ac Varietate Dissertatio quam sub S[anctae] R[omanae] E[cclesiae] ac Theologorum censura, eruditorum orbi velitando exhibet Fr[ater] Ludovicus Maria Sinistrarius de Ameno Novariensis] 1699.

fols. 152-155.

Censura Sacrae Congregationis Indicis in opus De delictis et poenis P. Ludovici Sinistrari de Ameno.

Modena

Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Archivio Muratori

AM.02.10.b

Compendium sententiae quam de daemonibus corporeis exhibet P. Lud[ovico] de Ameno ex Minorum Strictoris Observantiae.

AM.021.10.c

Credenze e usi superstiziosi

AM.62.10,

Correspondence of Lazzaro Agostino Cotta and Lodovico Antonio Muratori.

Naples

Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Raccolta Villarosa, MS. Villarosa 40, fols. 310-418.

Tractatus De Daemonialitate, et De Incubis, et Succubis, Auctore A.R.P. Ludovico Maria Ameno Ripariae Sancti Julii Dioecesis Novariensis, Ordinis Minorum strictoris Observantiae Sancti Francisci Reformatorum

Rome

Biblioteca Angelica MS. 2240

De Daemonialitate, et Incubis, et Succubis, Auctore A.R.P. Ludovico Maria de Ameno Ripariae S. Julii Diaecesi Novariensis Ordinis Minorum Strictoris Observ[antiae] S[ancti] Francisci Reformatorum 1753.

Biblioteca Casanatense MS. 4953

De Daemonialitate et Incubis, et Succubis Auctore A.R.P. Ludovico Mar[ia] de Ameno Ripariae S. Julii Dioecesis Novariensis Ordinis Minorum Strictoris Observantiae S[ancti] Francisci Reformatorum.

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