

**STAYING OUT OF TROUBLE
IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY:
A GERMAN CHARM TO WARD OFF EVIL**

Gerald Strauss

Magic was all-pervasive in popular life at the beginning of the modern era. It had been so for centuries, but around the middle of the sixteenth century serious attention was given to this condition by Protestant state churches whose exclusive claim to their members' spiritual loyalty allowed no deviations from declared beliefs and established devotions. In Germany, secular and ecclesiastical officials, inspecting parishes in all territories and domains, gathered evidence about, among other things, the incidence of magic mongering and magic practices among their people. For the first time it became clear just how widespread and deeply rooted was the common dedication to a system of occult observances which, as seen by the chancellery and the consistory, was intolerably subversive of the true faith and the orderly society.¹

Two characteristics of this popular counterreligion were especially upsetting to the authorities. One was the general defection in the countryside from the ministers of the gospel to the shadowy crew of sooth-sayers, spell casters, and conjurors waiting to assist common folk with their daily cares. When in trouble, people went to the wise woman at the edge of the village, not the preacher in his parsonage. The evidence for this trend was too solid to be ignored. Even

more worrisome was the indiscriminate mixing of occult and Christian ingredients in private religious observances. No amount of instruction, pleading, or threats dissuaded people from their accustomed way of compounding evangelical prayers and ancient spells into a weird and--from the official point of view--sacrilegious concoction. Protestant authorities were far less permissive than the old Church in condoning this survival of popular superstitions. But their attempt to do away with these beliefs came to little or nothing.

Most complaints concerned the universal custom of **Segensprechen**: attempting to influence events by means of spells and blessings. A brief look at this practice will not only help explain the curious document translated below, but also illustrate the blending of licit and illicit sacred elements to which authorities objected so vigorously. The German word **Segen**, from Latin **signum**, a sign, denotes the old practice of making the sign of the cross as a means of consecrating or protecting something, or warding off danger or evil.² It corresponds to English "bless," which signifies not only "to make sacred," but also "to protect, guard, keep from evil," usually by means of a sign.³ **Segen**, or blessings, were employed by the Church for these purposes, probably in the hope of replacing ancient Germanic magic charms (**Zaubersprüche**) in use in the populace; this, however, did not happen. Instead the old occult formulas survived, enriched with scriptural nomenclature. In daily use, they formed the common man's stock of folk wisdom and were applied to nearly every action in almost every walk of life. Church authorities censured and admonished; but they could do nothing to bring the practice under control.⁴

Folklorists define a **Segen**, or blessing (in this sense), as "a rigidly formulated saying or text, spoken or written, to which is attributed a supernatural force."⁵ It is distinguished from prayer by the imputation of a special efficacy believed to reside in the words: they do not **constrain** the higher powers--that would be conjuring (**Beschwörung, adjuratio** or **conjuratio**)--but the user knows that by saying or writing the sacred words he brings some pressure to bear on the powers addressed. When praying, he begs, and hopes for fulfillment. When pronouncing a **Segen** he expresses a wish whose accomplishment, while not guaranteed, is promised by the formula's inherent force.⁶ In practice, of course, these subtle distinctions are always blurred: attitudes of praying, conjuring, or "blessing" shifted and merged in a given **Segen** as users moved from one posture to another. A **Segen** was a magic prayer, a **Segensprecher**, a speaker of "blessings," was a practitioner of verbal magic. Someone "blessing" a cow to be fruitful or an axe to make short work, or asking to be "blessed" in order to stay clear of trouble, was exerting a magic and--he believed--effective influence on the superior powers who granted such boons.

In prayer, too, the efficacy of words and names mattered. This was affirmed by theologians; but the unintended effect of this imputation was that in common devotional practice, praying reduced itself to speaking in formulas. No one knew this better than Protestant churchmen who heard parishioners mumble lines learned by rote without thought of meaning. For most people prayer was word magic. Its inherent power could be enhanced by the addition of occult elements: alliterations, numbers, signs and figures, rhymes. A seventeenth century inves-

tigator observed people using "strange characters, that is secret and mysterious signs and symbols, three crosses, four letters, matching rhymes. . . .They speak softly or raise their voices, or they mumble about the five wounds of Christ, about his blood and his death, or they bless this or that 'in the name of the Trinity,' or 'as true as a Virgin gave birth to a child.'"⁷ Such spells were on everybody's lips.⁸ Catholic authorities had deplored their use but condoned them. Protestants tried to root them out as a pernicious vice. In this they failed utterly, as their own records show.⁹ "Blessing" was too vital an ingredient of folk culture and daily life to permit arbitrary excision.

The lengthy "blessing" translated below exemplifies the type's homogenized amalgamation of Christian prayer and occult charms. Many of its phrases are *verba concepta*, phrases whose effect has been heightened by rhyme, meter, homophony, and repetition.¹⁰ Far from being matters of style, these formal patterns are thought to parallel the inner correspondence linking all things in the universe. Their use in prayer or charm is meant to produce results as predictably certain as rhyme following upon rhyme and repetition succeeding repetition.¹¹ Analogies ("As truly as God is hidden in the bread and wine shall I be hidden in God's peace") serve the same purpose: they appeal to, and utilize, the network of sympathies which constitute the stable laws of God's cosmos.¹² A kind of compulsive repetitiveness is therefore an indispensable feature of all spells. Recitation was thought to bring an irresistible force to bear upon the determining powers. Catalogues abound: lists of saints, of the names of God, of the instruments of Christ's martyrdom. No possible variation must be omitted: "Christ's cross be with me, beside

me, above me, below me, upon me, around me." Although holy names appear in nearly every line, their efficacy is no greater than that of occult words of unknown reference; in any case, the use to which **Segen** were put is scarcely religious in any sense considered legitimate at the time. This point--magic in practice--is proven by the recommended means of enhancing our spell's effect through recourse to magic objects. "These sayings seem wholly Christian in their contents," a modern student of the phenomenon comments, "which consist of Bible passages, hymns, etc., thus indicating their origin in legitimate prayer. It is the way they are employed that reveals their true nature as superstitious magic."¹³ Clearly, the form of a text, and its freight of allusions, counted much more than its meaning. For this reason also, written formulas were held to be more potent than spoken ones, like the magic scraps of paper people tied round the necks of cattle or gave to be taken internally by the sick.¹⁴

In the case of the spell given below, the circumstances of its discovery made it more than usually suspect. It turned up in a thirty-page booklet found among the belongings of two Jewish travellers in Saxony in March 1567 as they were being searched by a local official. The pair had appeared a month earlier in Pirna, a town on the Elbe east of Dresden, where their activities aroused the suspicions of the municipal council.¹⁵ Having found lodging in the town, so the councillors reported later to the court in Dresden, the Jews approached a local blacksmith "who had only a few days earlier taken on a journeyman said to be versed in the arts [**kunstreich**]" and bade him make from their own designs a catapult for hurling explosives, two air guns capable of propel-

ling shot by means of compressed air, and various other implements. When questioned, the Jews denied everything, but several inconsistencies in their story, as well as "certain suspicions," persuaded the council to have the Jews arrested. The Elector's chancellery shared these misgivings and ordered the Jews brought to the capital for more questioning. The late 1560's were a disturbed time in Saxony, and the Elector August had decreed extraordinary vigilance against the spread of heretical ideas and the movements of political troublemakers. The Pirna council had acted on special instructions to keep an eye on every traveller ferried across the Elbe. All relevant facts were now carefully established. The blacksmith and his assistant were questioned and the Jews searched on suspicion of preparing to "practice" against the Elector and other rulers. In the course of this search, the pamphlet containing the "conjury" was found in a saddle bag belonging to one of them, Solomon of Posen. He testified that the documents came from a baptized Jewess of Prague and that he, Solomon, with his companion Aaron of Prague, had recently presented a copy of it to the Archduke Ferdinand (the son of the late Emperor Ferdinand I, governor of Bohemia at the time, and a keen collector of firearms) "to whom they had taught other arts as well." When asked whether he believed in the force of the conjury, Solomon answered that "he doesn't know what powers the name of Jesus has, for on this point the Christian and Jewish religions disagree."

The examining official now applied for legal instructions to the High Court at Wittenberg "seeing that if such a piece of sorcery were found in the hands of a Christian he would be punished according to the law." The Court advised further interroga-

tion, but not "under pain," for the charges so far made against the pair were too insubstantial to permit the use of torture. Kept in prison under a technicality (they had failed to pay the required "Jews' escort toll") they were interrogated intensively. Both said they were schoolmasters and eager to return to Prague where their teaching term was about to begin. Both also traded in various articles bought at the Frankfurt fair. In Prague, Solomon said, the news of their "arts" had reached the Archduke who had summoned them to his court. Twice Solomon had been alone with him and received a present of 100 Gulden in return for instruction "in several arts." They had gone to Saxony intending to teach "the art" to the Elector. When pressed on the nature of their skills, they stated only that they had learned them "partly from books, partly from reflecting deeply on things, and partly they had got it for money." Some of it has been tested, they said, some of it not. They provided a list of the things they could do, but this document is unfortunately missing from the record.

As for "the German booklet with the many crosses and conjuries [**Beschwörungen**]," they said that they had obtained it from the husband of a baptized Jewess in Prague but denied having tried to work the charm. Did they believe in it? On this they were evasive: "They say that they don't know for sure. When you have such a thing in your possession you try it out. If it helps it helps, if it doesn't it doesn't." The few other books they carried were medical recipes and the Hebrew law. Strange-looking items like "straps with little pieces of wood with letters on them" and "an iron tube put outside their chamber door" were explained satisfactorily as phylacteries and a Mezuzah.

One or two matters remained unaccounted for: a walk early one morning in the fields beyond Pirna, and a suspicious "blessing" gesture made by scooping up water in the hand and casting it backwards over the head.

Our record ends there. The case of the "Two suspicious-looking Jews arrested in Pirna and the Conjuring Book found on them" was submitted to the Elector for disposition, but we do not know what he ordered done. He studied the protocol and probably pondered the Jews' catalogue of "arts." He instructed the blacksmith's assistant in Pirna to complete the catapult and air guns according to the Jews' designs. We know that he read the "conjuring booklet," for a secretary's marginal note informs us that "Our most gracious lord, the Elector, has kept the little book in his own possession." It would be interesting to know what the Elector did with it.

In the translation that follows¹⁰ I have attempted to give English equivalents for the **Segen's** rhymes and metric devices. In a few places the text is corrupt; this is probably due to hasty copying.

In the name of God the Father ☩ and of the Son ☩ and of the Holy Ghost ☩ I, Christoph, give myself to the Virgin Mary and her dear child Jesus and to the joy she felt in her heart as the holy Angel Gabriel came down and hailed her as the Mother of God. I give my soul and body to the five holy wounds of our lord, Jesus Christ. May he keep me and let me abide with him forever. I offer my soul and body to the blood of Jesus Christ ☩ Let me, the sinner, be blessed with the Holy Cross on which Christ languished wretchedly, suffering pains and tortures. May I be blessed with his holy ascent to heaven ☩ May I be blessed with his five holy wounds. They shall be my medicine, my cure, and my shield ☩ Alpha ☩ et Omega ☩ Beginning and end ☩ May I be blessed by him who will judge the living and the dead ☩ Adonai ☩ Zebaot ☩ Emmanuel ☩ May the holy names be my

protection and my guard, especially against wicked temptations of men and of the devil ☩ The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with me ☩ Bless me, most merciful God, with the blessing that Abraham gave his son as he prepared him for the sacrifice. Bless me, almighty God, with the blessings that Saint Jacob gave his twelve sons ☩ Bless me, most holy God, with the blessing you gave to Joseph as he went to his tribulations in the land of Egypt ☩ Bless me, most merciful God, with the blessing you gave to Daniel when he was thrown into the den of lions ☩ Bless me, almighty God, with the blessing you gave to the three companions of Daniel when they were in the fiery burning furnace ☩ Bless me, gentle God, with the blessing given by the holy angel to the brave Virgin when he announced to her that she had her dear child of the holy ghost ☩ Bless me, eternal holy God, with the blessing brought to earth by the holy angels when Jesus Christ was born ☩ Bless me, most merciful God, with the blessing Christ gave his disciples when he ascended to heaven ☩ The cross of Christ be my shield Where I go/ To and fro on land or on water ☩ Bless me, eternal God, with the love that is always and forever between you and your mother Mary, and let this be the very same love as the love that is between me and all men.

I, Christoph, bearing the name of God, shall pass unharmed among all my enemies, be they visible or invisible. Jesus ☩ Nazarenus ☩ Rex ☩ Judeorum ☩ In the name of the Father ☩ and of the Son ☩ and of the Holy Ghost ☩ Amen. I, Christoph, conjure [*beschwöre*] you, steel and iron and all 22 weapons, with the ☩ true God ☩ with the living God ☩ with the holy God ☩ with the power of God. Whatever you may be called, all you that are deadly weapons, I conjure you by means of ☩ Jesus Christ and his holy blood ☩ and by means of the five holy wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ and by means of the holy feast days of all the ☩ holy saints ☩ I, Christoph, command all 22 weapons whatever you are called or may be called, to cause me not a hair's worth of harm either by stabbing or by thrusting or by shooting or by cutting or by piercing or by crushing or by battering. I command you to be as soft and gentle as our lady's heart when she first gazed upon her dear child, received from the Holy Ghost, Jesus ☩ Nazarenus ☩ Rex ☩ Judeorum ☩ and to do me neither harm nor injury: by the power of God, by the ☩ all-highest ☩ Trinity ☩ by the three names of the eternal

God within which is a single God ☩ by God's incarnation ☩ by his holy birth ☩ and by his holy baptism ☩ and by his holy wounds ☩ which are holy signs pressed upon him by the eternal God ☩ and by his holy agonies ☩ and by his holy death ☩ and by his holy crown of thorns and by his holy scourge and by his holy rods and by his holy pincers with which God's holy body was lacerated and by the ☩ three holy nails that pierced God's hands and feet and by the holy Cross on which he suffered his last pains ☩ The cross of Christ be with me and beside me and above me and below me and upon me and around me, may it guard me and be a safe cloak to keep me from my enemies, be they visible or invisible. May they do me no injury, may they harm not even a hair on my head. And whoever shall attempt to hurt me, let him come to grief in his soul and in his body for the sake of your holy martyrdom, Amen.

May the Holy Trinity be my armor against all enemies and against all weapons so that they will not do me harm. My head be hard as bone/ My limbs hard as stone/ No blade shall cut/ No barb draw blood/ and Christoph's body shall not be violated by stabbing or by piercing or by shooting or by cutting or by bruising. I, Christoph, constrain All you weapons that slash and cut/ By our Lord's most holy blood that you may lose all power and be drained of all strength as were the seven sleepers of Ephesus, and that you become soft and yielding as wax, except for my own sword. It alone shall cut flesh and bone, but If it from hand does fall/ Let it be like the charmed weapons all and turn soft as wax. ☩ The peace of God bless me ☩ The power of God bless me today ☩ The company of all the Saints bless me ☩ The love of the entire Heavenly Host bless me ☩ Let me, Christoph, be blessed today by the holy Twelve Apostles, the holy Four Evangelists, and by all the Martyrs and Virgins, and by the Confessors [beichtiger], Prophets, and Patriarchs ☩ ☩ ☩ Let me be blessed by the Holy Cross of God ☩ ☩ ☩ Let me blessed today by the Fourteen Holy Helpers, by the holy kings St. Coloman, St. Oswald, St. Charles, by the patience of St. Job and by the love of St. John.

These are the seven words. And the first of these ☩ that God spoke: Father forgive them, for they know not what they do. The second word ☩ that God spoke to the bandit: Today you shall be with me in Paradise. The third word

that God spoke to his mother: Mother, there is your son, John, there is your mother. The fourth word that God spoke: My God, why hast thou forsaken me. The fifth word that God spoke: I thirst. The sixth word that God spoke: It is accomplished. The seventh word that God spoke: Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Amen. Jesus Nazareus Rex Judeorum C W: in I, Christoph, conceal [verberg] myself today and always in the secret [verborgen] virtue kept hidden by the exalted God, in the secret words said by the priest as he changes God's dead body into bread and wine [sic]. I, Christoph, conceal myself with [by means of] the blessing of Tobias [i.e. Tobit] that he gave to his son. I, Christoph, conceal myself today in the blessing in which the sainted King Charles [Charlemagne] took refuge as he made ready to do battle for the Christian faith. I, Christoph, conceal myself in the words spoken by the priest when he holds in his hands the dead body of the Lord, changing it into flesh and blood, truly hidden in the forms of bread and wine. As truly as your divine divinity is hidden in your divine humanity, in your divine body of flesh and blood, as truly as you live as a true God in the forms of bread and wine do I, Christoph, hide myself today and always in your godly peace and blessing and in the keeping of the Holy Cross and in the prayers of Mary the Virgin and of all God's saints and in the joy of all the angels.

May I be blessed and protected by those of my beloved Holy Helpers whose names are written in this letter, namely St. Christopher, St. Sebastian, St. James, St. Barbara, St. Catherine, St. Mary Magdalene [sic], also the three holy kings Caspar Balthasar Maurice Agatheus Melchior Luke John Gregory Jerome Ambrose Augustine Pancras Stephen Lawrence Vincent John Martin William Gertrude Martha Brigid Sigmund Ludwig. Let me be as safe as the chalice and the wine and bread when they were entrusted by God to his twelve holy disciples at the last supper, safe especially from destruction by storms, from false judges, and from all weapons, sins, and dishonor. So help me the five holy wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ, And let your holy blood/ Protect me from all weapons that slash and cut. So help me your painful death. Let no weapons harm me or damage me and mine. May the Queen of Heaven, Mary the Virgin, accomplish that

nothing will be able to hurt me in my soul and my body. Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, have pity on me, Christoph, and keep me from all heartache. Help me, God the Father ☩ God the Son ☩ God the Holy Ghost ☩ Amen.

Now bless me God and protect me with the blessings said by the priest. Over the sacred blood red as a rose/ Against all my enemies and foes whether they shoot me or hit me or stab me. Let me be safe with Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary and all the saints whose names are written in this letter. In the name of the Father ☩ and of the Son ☩ and of the Holy Ghost ☩ ☩ ☩ ☩ ☩ ☩ ☩ I, Christoph, a poor sinner, stand today in the peace of Almighty God Jesus Christ and of our Lady Mary, Mother of God. Let today be a new beginning for me when weapons shall no more hurt me than a man buried thirty years ago. Help me in the name of Jesus Christ ☩ who accepted death on the Holy Cross ☩

Almighty God, I exhort [erman] you today and always to keep me from all mishaps in life, and above all other things from my enemies, be they visible or invisible. I conjure [beschwer] you today and always to protect me from all weapons and all false hearts, with your name Jesus Christ ☩ Almighty Lord, I, Christoph, charge you today and always with [durch] the five words spoken by the priest, through which in his own hands he changes you into flesh and blood: in the same way you will bestow and enforce your blessings on me, Christoph, a poor sinner. Help me, God the Father ☩ and God the Son ☩ and God the Holy Ghost ☩ and the Holy Cross ☩ Jesus ☩ Nazarenus ☩ Rex ☩ Judeorum ☩ Christ was born ☩/ Christ was forlorn ☩/ Christ was found ☩/ To the cross Christ was bound ☩ and in the same way shall be bound and captured all my enemies who would harm me, Christoph, in my soul or in my body, in my reputation or in my honor. Help me God the Father ☩ God the Son ☩ God the Holy Ghost ☩ Amen ☩ The Cross of Christ vanquishes all enemies ☩ Christ's Cross is true salvation ☩ the Cross of Christ be with me always wherever I go ☩ Christ be with me ☩ Christ's cross be with me ☩ Christ's Cross be beside me, the Cross you have sanctified and blessed with your holy blood ☩ Christ's Cross be my guard against all evil, against all my enemies, visible or invisible. Keep me today and on all other days from disgrace in the eyes of the world and from common sins and from undeserved poverty ☩ My God,

my Savior, my Judge to be: I exhort you in the name of the blood that flowed from your heart, Amen ☩ Most heavenly Lord, keep me today and always ☩ In the name of the Father ☩ and of the Son ☩ and of the Holy Ghost ☩ The head of Christ, the heart of Elijah, the eyes of Isaiah, the mouth of David, the liver and tongue of Solomon, the speech of Absalom, the blood of Abel, the body of Moses, the art of David, the patience of St. Job, the grace of John, the humility of Our Lady.

The peace of the holy cross of God be between me and all my enemies, visible or invisible, Lord, protect me with [durch] the Holy Lance that pierced your holy side and broke your holy heart. Lord, keep me with the holy blood that flowed from your holy wounds. That all my foes must take flight/ And all their weapons vanish from sight/ In terrible fear of me/ And keep clear of me/ even as the Virgin Mary kept her maidenhead when she was penetrated by God and remained the maid she was on the day she was born. Lord keep me from all my wicked enemies who wish to do me ill. Keep me with the bread/ And the wine, which God said/ To his disciples, eat/ And keep me from all need. In the name of the Father ☩ and of the Son ☩ and of the Holy Ghost Amen.

Pusa ☩ palastra ☩ Semerphia ☩ I command you, steel and iron, not to keep the sharpness of your blades as truly as our lady kept the purity of her virginity. Amen.

Evangelion

Matthew ☩ Mark ☩ Luke ☩ John ☩

In the beginning was the word ☩ and the word was with God ☩ and God was the word [sic] ☩ and the same was in the beginning with God ☩ all things are made by the word [sic] and without the same nothing was made ☩ that was made ☩ In it was life ☩ and the life was the light of men ☩ and the light shines in the darkness ☩ and the darkness does not comprehend it ☩ There was a man sent from God whose name was John ☩ The same came as a witness ☩ to bear witness of the light that all men through him might believe ☩ He himself was not that light ☩ but was sent to bear witness of that light ☩ That was the true light ☩ which shines in all men ☩ that come into the world ☩ It [sic]

was in the world ☩ and the world was made by it ☩ and the world knew it not ☩

Whoever wishes to use this must copy it down, and wherever is written the name of Christoph let him write his own name instead.

In the year 1566

Use with this [nempt dartzu] the left eye of a wolf and the right paw of a rabbit, the first joint from below.

NOTES

1. For an account of this, see my **Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation** (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), chapters 12-13. On the rivalry of magic and the Church, mentioned in the next paragraph, see Keith Thomas, **Religion and the Decline of Magic** (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), pp. 263-67.
2. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, **Deutsches Wörterbuch** VI, col. 100.
3. **The Oxford English Dictionary**, "bless," senses 3 and 3b.
4. On German Segen in general, see Adolf Wuttke, **Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart**, 3rd ed. by Elard Hugo Meyer (Berlin: Wiegandt & Grieben, 1900), pp. 166-83; Irmgard Hampp, **Beschwörung, Segen, Gebet...** (Stuttgart: Silberburg Verlag, 1961); "Segen" in **Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens** VII, pp. 1582-1619.
5. **Handwörterbuch** VII, p. 1583.
6. Hampp, **Beschwörung, Segen, Gebet...**, p. 137; Friedrich Hälsig, **Der Zauberspruch bei den Germanen bis um die Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts** (Leipzig: Seele & Co., 1910), p.3.
7. Quoted by S. Singer, "Segen und Gebräuche des XVII. Jahrhunderts aus der Schweiz," **Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde** 4 (1894): 447-48.

8. For examples of German **Segen**, see Ferdinand Ohrt, "Beiträge zur Segenforschung," **Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde** 37/38 (1927-28): 1-9; Jacob Grimm, **Deutsche Mythologie**, 4th ed. III (Berlin: F. Dümmlers, 1875-78), pp. 363-73 and 492-508; Eugen Fehrle, **Zauber und Segen** (Jena: E. Diederich, 1926); Adolf Wuttke, **Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart**, pp. 169-77; Jozef van Haver, ed., **Nederlandse Incantatieliteratuur** (Gent, 1964); Irmgard Hampp, **Beschwörung, Segen, Gebet...**; Adolf Spamer, **Romanusbüchlein: Historisch-philologischer Kommentar zu einem deutschen Zauberbuch**, ed. by Johanna Nickel (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958).
9. Strauss, **Luther's House**, chapter 13.
10. Grimm, **Deutsche Mythologie** II (1876), p. 1023.
11. Wuttke, **Der deutsche Volksaberglaube**, pp. 168-69.
12. Adolf Bach, **Deutsche Volkskunde** 3rd ed. (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1960), pp. 299-301.
13. Wuttke, **Der Deutsche Volksaberglaube**, p. 167.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 178; Strauss, **Luther's House**, p. 304.
15. All documents are in Staatsarchiv Dresden Loc. 8794: "Zwei in Pirna gefangene verdächtige Juden und das bei denselben gefundene Zauberbüchlein, 1567."
16. *Ibid.*, for text of the **Segen**, pp. 19 recto-33 verso. This is the pamphlet itself; the numbers were added by a modern archivist.