

James VI: The Demonologist King
Demonic Descriptions and Their Context in James VI's *Daemonologie*

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1. Introduction

1.1 Scotland and Its Religious Situation at the End of the 16th Century

During the 16th century the kingdom of Scotland went through various major changes concerning both its religion and politics. These changes were not separate from each other, but rather two aspects of the same administrative framework¹. This century saw Scotland go through a religious Reformation, which at the same time meant changes in the kingdom's external and internal politics. Before the 16th century Scotland had long been an ally of France, and opposed to England. By the beginning of the 17th century it had become a close ally of England, with both states ruled by the same king.²

In the beginning of the 16th century Scotland was still officially Catholic. At this time its southern neighbor England had already begun its journey towards Reformation during the rule of King Henry VIII³. In Scotland the spread of the Reformation was slowed down by King James V, who was more interested in asserting his personal rule and did not see religious Reformation as something that would further his aims. However, his death in 1542 changed things considerably. James was succeeded by his daughter Mary Stuart, now usually known as Mary Queen of Scots. The political importance of this was quite significant. The English king Henry wanted to marry his son Edward to Mary in order to secure England's northern border, while England's enemies, particularly France, wanted to prevent this from happening.⁴ So in this regard Scotland was still time the same it had been for centuries: A small part of the power struggle between European superpowers.

At first it seemed that England would prevail. The Scottish regent Arran was openly sympathetic towards the Reformation and an alliance with England. This did not last for long, and soon pressure from the church and the nobles forced him to revise his view. This was not well received by King Henry VIII who launched a series of military offensives against

¹ Lee 1990, 2.

² Mason 2005, 107.

³ Schama 2003, 253-254.

⁴ Mason 2005, 119-120.

Scotland. A change came when Henry died before managing to subjugate Scotland. The rule of England was taken over by Edward Seymour, who ruled instead of his nephew, the nine year old King Edward VI.⁵

The religious situation in Scotland at the end of the 16th century was turbulent. The religious Reformation had begun in the 1560's and was still not completely over⁶. The country had also suffered from a religious civil war between 1567 and 1573. The war was fought between the Catholic supporters of Mary Queen of Scots and the Protestant nobles of Scotland, and the disorder following it still had not completely calmed down in 1578 when Mary's son James ascended the throne and became King James VI of Scotland⁷.

As the Reformation went on the Catholic Church continued to lose its power in Scotland. The Reformed Church that arose to replace it was strongly influenced by the teachings of John Calvin, and by a Scottish clergyman named John Knox. This new Presbyterian Church became known as the Kirk.⁸ The shift in religious power naturally influenced everything connected to religion. The Reformation in Scotland during the 16th century was not only about the rearrangement of the church, but also about the relations between the church and the state. The Presbyterian Church declared that it only answered to God, not any secular ruler. This of course was not well received by the worldly rulers of Scotland. The declaration was included in *The Second Book of Discipline*, published in 1578 by the Kirk, which outlined its new policy. The answer from the state came in 1584 when King James enacted the "Black Acts", a collection of statutes that declared that the king's power over all men was absolute. The Acts also condemned the presbyteries and perhaps surprisingly increased the power of Catholicism.⁹

In the beginning of the 1590's the Kirk and the crown were still at odds. However, their relations had improved a bit from the previous decade, and in 1587 they had agreed on a temporary truce. During the 1590's a common enemy for the Kirk and the king arose: Witchcraft. The truce continued through the great witch hunts until 1596, when King James managed to assert his control over the Kirk and effectually become the absolute ruler of

⁵ Mason 2005, 122-123.

⁶ Normand & Roberts 2000, 72.

⁷ Normand & Roberts 2000, 17-18.

⁸ Normand & Roberts 2000, 72-74.

⁹ Normand & Roberts 2000, 74.

Scotland.¹⁰ During these tumultuous years James fought against both the Kirk and the Scottish nobles, and finally emerged victorious. He used many means to achieve this, one of which was demonology, which is the subject I will concentrate on in this thesis. Uniquely among renaissance monarchs, King James was somewhat of a demonologist himself. During Scotland's great witch trials of the 1590's, he wrote a demonological treatise in which he details his view of demonology and how it connects to religious and royal power.

1.2 Demonology and King James' Background as a Demonologist

What was demonology? Classically, it has been defined as study of evil spirits, demons, or the theology of evil¹¹. In my opinion the most descriptive definition is the one presented by Ankarloo, Clark and Monter: Demonology was the literature of witchcraft¹². Studying demons and the Devil, describing their appearance, behavior and how to repel them were all a large part of it, but in the end demonology of the early modern Europe should not be removed from its context: The witch trials and hunts which it served to justify. A need for this kind of justification arose from the fact that witches were attributed many powers, some of which were quite powerful and very unnatural. Witches were thought to have no magical powers of their own, but to have received their powers from demons¹³. Therefore demonology was needed as way to justify the existence of such magic, and the witch trials that ensued¹⁴.

Christian demonology is usually said to have formally begun with the infamous *Malleus Maleficarum* in 1486¹⁵. By the time King James VI began his career as a demonologist he already had more than one hundred years of literary tradition to support him. Demonology itself was a complex subject. It was not something people across social classes were interested in, but it was rather limited to the upper classes and the elite. While the common people held on to hundreds, or even thousands of years old folk beliefs of evil spirits viewed through the

¹⁰ Normand & Roberts 2000, 76.

¹¹ Pearl 1999, 25.

¹² Ankarloo, Clark & Monter 2002, 122.

¹³ Goodare 2008, 27.

¹⁴ Ankarloo, Clark & Monter 2002, 123.

¹⁵ Boureau 2006, 8.

lens of Christianity, the social elite began to construct their own system of beliefs concerning the Devil and his agents.¹⁶

Christian demonology in the 16th century was not a uniform field of study. Most of all, it was divided by the Reformation, which abandoned many of the old Catholic teachings regarding demonology. In Scotland for example, Catholicism and demonic magic were even seen as equal evils¹⁷. Religion was not alone in dividing opinions. Political agendas were a part of demonology as much as the religious ones, and could easily influence demonologists to color their views¹⁸.

Some reformists, such as the English scholar Reginald Scot, even believed that things like demonology belonged to Catholicism and had no place whatsoever in the reformed religion¹⁹. However, this was not the general opinion of the time, and demonology would come to play a major part in the internal politics of Scotland during the end of the century. One, and perhaps the most important one, of the key players in these events was King James VI himself.

King James VI became interested in demonology quite early in his life. He was only in his twenties when he wrote his demonological treatise, *Daemonologie, In Forme of a Dialogue, Divided into three Bookes*. I shall from now on refer to the book simply as *Daemonologie*. According to the traditional view James' main influence in becoming a demonologist was his journey to Denmark to meet his bride in 1589-1590. The records of this journey tell us that he met the famous Danish demonologist Niels Hemmingsen during his stay in Denmark²⁰. Several scholars have suggested that this meeting was what prompted James to take a deeper interest in demonology, and introduced him to the continental demonological idea of a demonic pact. Probably the most prominent historian to advocate this view was Stuart Clark in his famous essay "King James' Daemonologie: Witchcraft and Kingship" in 1977. Clark argues that the idea of a demonic pact was unknown in Scotland before James introduced it, and that it was of key importance to the witch trials that followed in the 1590s²¹. Even more recent studies have supported this view²².

¹⁶ Pearl 1999, 1.

¹⁷ Goodare 2005, 48.

¹⁸ Ankarloo, Clark & Monter 2002, 138.

¹⁹ Clark 2005, 526.

²⁰ Normand & Roberts 2000, 330.

²¹ Clark 1977, 157.

²² Henderson & Cowan 2001, 122; Croft 2002, 26.

This traditional view has been challenged in the recent years by the foremost experts of the history of Scottish witch trials and King James. Julian Goodare believes that although the idea of a demonic pact was not explicitly stated in the Scottish witchcraft act, it was most likely known in Scotland before James' journey to Denmark²³. Jenny Wormald supports this view, and also states that James was not responsible for introducing the idea of a demonic pact to Scotland²⁴. Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts point out that it is not even certain whether James and Hemmingsen even discussed demonology during their meeting²⁵.

In the Christian religion demonology is a part of theology, and most of King James VI's demonical descriptions indeed have their roots in religion. On the other hand, in 16th century Scotland the church and the state were not separate entities, but overlapped each other in various cases. Religion was involved in nearly all governmental issues, and during James' reign the state took more and more interest in interfering with religious questions and issues.²⁶ Therefore it is not surprising that *Daemonologie* was not merely a standard demonological treatise in the full sense of the word. Of course at first glance it would seem very much so, and has been described as thus by various scholars²⁷. If it had been written by anyone else, this might well be the case. James' unique position as the only renaissance monarch to study and write about demonology is what makes the book more than meets the eye. It was not only influenced by the Reformation, but also by the political situation James had to deal with during the 1590s. In this respect some scholars have even claimed that *Daemonologie* could be seen as James' most important literary work²⁸.

My interest here is whether James' descriptions of demons were affected by the political climate of the 1590s in which he lived and wrote his book. *Daemonologie* as a whole may have been somewhat politically motivated, but one should bear in mind that two thirds of it is mainly concerned with witchcraft, and the final third that deals in the descriptions of demons and their abilities is somewhat different. And as previously stated, the politics of this time should not be discussed as separate from religion, at least not when their context is that of

²³ Goodare 2005, 58-59.

²⁴ Wormald 2000, 174.

²⁵ Normand & Roberts 2000, 330.

²⁶ Goodare 1999, 173.

²⁷ Clark 1977, 156; Normand & Roberts 2000, 331; Ankarloo, Clark & Monter 2002, 127.

²⁸ Wormald 2000, 169.

demonology. This is the reason why I examined the effects of religion, meaning mainly the Reformation and the differences between Catholic and Reformed demonology, before going into the politics. To understand the political context of *Daemonologie* one must first understand the religious situation overlapping it.

1.3 The Research Subject, Source and Methods

This thesis is the second part of my master's thesis. The first part consists of a script for a television documentary "James VI of Scotland: The Demonologist King". The documentary tells about King James as a demonologist, and how he used demonology to achieve his political goals. This thesis is a more thoroughly scientific addition to the documentary, and deals with James' demonology on a closer level. I will specifically concentrate on James' notion of demons and the way he describes them in his book *Daemonologie*.

Because of his unique position as both a king and a demonologist most everything in *Daemonologie* can be seen as having some form of political and religious meaning. The book is divided into three parts. The first one deals with magic, the second with witches and the third with demons and other spirits. I will analyze the third part and try to uncover the reasons behind James thinking.

While the third book of *Daemonologie* mainly consists of James' descriptions of demons, it also includes a short chapter on the punishment of witches, which I will also analyze. It would not be prudent to leave this chapter out, because it more or less summarizes the whole book and what James was trying to achieve by writing it. The specific question I will try to answer here is why did James write the third book of *Daemonologie* the way he did? On a more specific level I will look at what his motives were and what kind of religious, political and other reasons can be found behind his reasoning.

The reason I chose this particular subject for my thesis is twofold. Firstly, it ties well with my documentary script, providing a narrower but at the same time deeper look into James VI's demonology. Secondly, the third part of James' book is the one that has drawn least interest in previous studies. The focus on studying James' demonology has usually been on its witchcraft

aspect. I do not deny that it is an important aspect, but at the same time I feel that concentrating on James' descriptions of demons will provide a fresh point of view.

My source for this thesis is naturally King James' book *Daemonologie, In Forme of a Dialogue, Divided into three Bookes..* There are several editions of the book, printed usually in either Scotland or England. I will use the edition printed in Edinburgh in 1597 by Robert Waldegrave, printer to King James. My copy of the book is a scanned version of a physical copy located in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

The details concerning the writing and publication of the book are a bit unclear. Most likely James wrote the book during the great witch hunts of 1590's²⁹. The reasons why he wrote it are also a matter of speculation, in which I will concentrate more thoroughly later in this thesis. One of the most popular and straightforward theories is that James wrote *Daemonologie* because he believed that there was a conspiracy of witches aimed at killing him, and that he wanted to counter the ideas of skeptics such as Reginald Scot³⁰. James himself states in the introduction to *Daemonologie* that his motive for writing it is the will to convince people that witches are real, and that they must be fought and punished³¹.

My research method for this thesis is mainly a form of discourse analysis. I will concentrate on the relation between the text in the third book of *Daemonologie* and the religious and political contexts linked to it. I chose this method because it is the best way to try and understand the context present in James' writings. He did not of course explain why he wrote what he wrote, and therefore to understand the meaning behind his demonology, one must read the text analytically and try to interpret the meaning underlying the words.

1.4 Previous Studies

James VI's *Daemonologie* has been a popular choice of study amongst historians. The main reason for this is probably the fact that it is the only demonological book written by a

²⁹ Normand & Roberts 2000, 327.

³⁰ Robbins 1965, 277.

³¹ James Stuart 1597, 3.

renaissance monarch, and thus provides a unique perspective³². Most of the studies concentrate specifically on James' opinions on witchcraft, and focus on the first and the second part of the book. Especially the king's connection to the Scottish witch trials has been a popular choice of study.

When looking for the most comprehensive analysis of King James VI's demonology *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland. James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (2000), written by Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts is a strong choice. It analyzes James' demonology thoroughly, in connection with witchcraft, politics and religion. The book also contains a copy of *Daemonologie*, complete with explanations for terms used in it.

Studies concerning *Daemonologie* and King James' involvement in the witch-hunts diverge a lot when it comes to their findings. To provide an example, the question about the importance of the formation of the Scottish state to the witch-hunts has prompted various opposing views. Some, such as Brian P. Levack, claim that the state formation and the witch-hunts occurred mainly on different socio-economic levels: the latter amongst the people and the former amongst the elite³³. Others, including Christina Larner, have on the other hand argued that the process of state formation was crucial to the witch-hunts and trials³⁴.

The dating of *Daemonologie* has been an important and interesting question in this field of study. Traditionally it has been argued that *Daemonologie* was written between 1591 and 1597. For example, Normand and Roberts have pointed out that some passages in the second book of *Daemonologie* correspond very closely to the records we have from the witch trials of 1591, which could indicate that they were still fresh in James' mind when he was writing the book³⁵. This view has been challenged by Jenny Wormald, who argues that the style of the book indicates that it was written in a hurry, as James himself says in the preface, and could not have been begun in 1591 but years later³⁶. Julian Goodare has presented an idea that

³² Normand & Roberts 2000, 331.

³³ Sharpe 2002, 188.

³⁴ Sharpe 2002, 191.

³⁵ Normand & Roberts 2000, 327-328.

³⁶ Wormald 2000, 179.

somewhat merges the two viewpoints. He argues that *Daemonologie* was written in response to the witch trials of 1591, but published as a response to the trials of 1597.³⁷

James' involvement in the witch trials which *Daemonologie* was seen as a response to has also been questioned in the recent years. In the earlier studies his involvement was credited as much more important as it is today, mainly thanks to Jenny Wormald's research concerning the subject³⁸. Wormald has, for example, convincingly stated that James was not behind the witch trials of 1591, even though there was claimed to be a witches' conspiracy against him³⁹. She goes so far as to claim that *Daemonologie* indicates that James had become skeptical towards witchcraft by the time the book was published, but this view lacks substantial evidence⁴⁰. Still, there are other scholars who have supported this theory. Pauline Croft argues that James' interest in demonology was mainly political, and that since by 1597 his major political enemies had been neutralized, he had no further need for it.⁴¹ The fact that James still wanted to be personally involved in the interrogations of those accused of witchcraft in 1597, speaks against this view⁴².

2. The Influence of Classical Works and Other Demonologists

2.1 The Bible as a Source for James

When it comes to describing the various types of demons in *Daemonologie*'s third book, the Bible was probably the most important source for King James VI. Other scholars have concluded that this is also true concerning the whole book⁴³. James derives the very existence of these creatures, and their ability to appear to humans, from the Bible⁴⁴. Since the Reformation abandoned most of the teachings of the Catholic Church, the Bible remained the

³⁷ Goodare 2002, 63.

³⁸ Wormald 2000, 170.

³⁹ Wormald 2000, 171-172.

⁴⁰ Goodare 2002, 64-65.

⁴¹ Croft 2003, 27.

⁴² Goodare 2002, 67.

⁴³ Normand & Roberts 2000, 329.

⁴⁴ James Stuart 1597, 58.

only truly reliable source for James. This is especially true when considering that the post-Reformation church in Scotland was very much Calvinistic at the time. The 16th century Calvinists saw the Bible as the only certain means of knowing anything about God⁴⁵.

2.2 The Bible and the Demonic Possession of Dead Bodies

In the third book of *Daemonologie* James divides demons into four groups. His first category of demons was the spirits that trouble, which means to possess or haunt certain houses or other places. In describing the demons of this type James considers the way in which they can enter into houses:

*“They will choose the passage for their entresse according to the forme that they are in at that time . For if they have assumed a deade body, whereinto they lodge themselves, they can easely inough open without dinne anie Doore or Window, and enter in thereat.”*⁴⁶

James is thinking that this reasoning might incur the question of why God permits demons to use dead bodies in this fashion. After all, the bodies used in such a way may have belonged to very righteous and pious people. The question is significant not only from the viewpoint of showing respect towards the dead, but also from a biblical view. According to Normand & Roberts “Christians believe that the bodies of the dead will be reconstituted at the Day of Judgement and then, joined once more with the soul, be assigned to their eternal location to heaven or hell.”⁴⁷ This question was raised by the Bible and was apparently a very real issue for James, for he goes to great lengths to justify his view. According to him the dead are not defiled if their bodies are used in this way, because their souls are absent at the time⁴⁸. This view is also very biblical: the body may be unclean and sinful, but the soul can be saved.

For James using dead bodies is the only way through which Satan can impersonate, or have his demons impersonate, righteous people. Later in *Daemonologie*, book III, he discusses briefly the biblical case of the witch of Endor, according to which a witch helped Saul contact the dead prophet Samuel. James asks if this does not mean that Samuel himself was wicked,

⁴⁵ Todd 2003, 24.

⁴⁶ James Stuart 1579, 58-59.

⁴⁷ Normand & Roberts 406.

⁴⁸ James Stuart 1597, 59.

because he could appear like this, but concludes that after they are dead even good people can be used by the Devil in this fashion, be it through directly possessing their dead bodies or creating an illusion that looks like them.⁴⁹

This view is important to understanding James' thoughts on the outward appearance of demons. He does not describe them as terrifying-looking monsters, but rather as insubstantial spirits, that can manipulate the world either as such, or by possessing dead or living humans. Possessing dead bodies and creating illusions that look like such are clearly a key piece of his descriptions. The reason why James includes both possessing real dead bodies and creating illusions of dead people into same context probably derives from the need to account for sightings of dead people who have been dead long enough for their bodies to start decomposing.

One of the ways demons can use the appearance of dead people in James' demonology is to appear to the friends of the deceased and to fool them into thinking that the demon is actually their friend⁵⁰. These appearances fall under the category of illusions, because demons don't directly possess the body of the dead person. These kinds of accounts show an inclination towards the mixing of the traditional ghost stories and demonic occurrences, which increased significantly after the Reformation⁵¹. I shall discuss these more thoroughly in the chapter dealing with the effects of the Reformation.

2.3 Classic Demonic Possession and the Bible

Demonic possession was and is probably the most classical example of demonic influence. James devotes an entire chapter to it in the third book of *Daemonologie*, and, like in many other cases, finds his inspiration and evidence from the Bible. Demonic possession was a common diagnose during the early modern period, and thus it is not surprising that James takes an interest in it. He had met people who were claimed to be possessed, so there was also

⁴⁹ James Stuart 1597, 79.

⁵⁰ James Stuart 1597, 60-61.

⁵¹ Goodare 2008, 32.

most likely a personal interest⁵². It is interesting that James does not even consider any non-mystical reasons for possession, like he does later in the case of werewolves⁵³.

James states that there are three clear symptoms of demonic possession: Preternatural strength, swelling and hardening of the stomach and chest of the possessed, and finally speaking in multiple languages which the possessed normally would not understand⁵⁴. At least the first of these symptoms is straight from the Bible. The possessed, or demoniacs as they were called, were known for their immense strength.⁵⁵ James also includes a special case from the Bible where the possessed cannot speak in languages, or at all. He says that sometimes the demons may be blind and dumb, and cites the Bible for an example.⁵⁶

James' generous use of the Bible in his demonic descriptions strongly indicates his Reformed tendencies. Also, a sense of Christian dualism is strongly present. In the very beginning of the third book, James mentions that

“But generally I must for-warne you of one thing before I enter in this purpose: that is, that although in my discourseing of them, I devyde them in divers kindes, yee must notwithstanding there of note my Phrase of speaking in that: For doubtleslie they are in effect, but all one kinde of spirites, who for abusing the more of mankinde, takes on these sundrie shapes, and uses diverse forms of out-ward actions, as if some were of nature better then other.”⁵⁷

The spirits, meaning demons, are according to this view effectively of just one kind. And so is their master, the Devil, who only uses multiple names and forms to further deceive witches and presumably other humans as well⁵⁸. This means that in James' demonology there are basically only two types of evil beings: Satan the Antichrist and the evil spirits serving him, called demons. Here we can clearly see the dualism: Satan is God's antithesis, and demons are angels' counterparts.

⁵² Normand & Roberts 2000, 416.

⁵³ James Stuart 1597, 61.

⁵⁴ James Stuart 1597, 70-71.

⁵⁵ Normand & Roberts 2000, 416.

⁵⁶ James Stuart 1597, 71.

⁵⁷ James Stuart 1597, 57.

⁵⁸ James Stuart 1597, 76.

2.4 Greek and Roman Influences in the Third Book of *Daemonologie*

Bible was not the only classical source James used when coming up with *Daemonologie*'s third book. He had been thoroughly acquainted with the classical teachings of ancient Rome and Greece that were known at the time, and it is also good to remember that Scotland itself had a rich history of mythical folklore, with which James would have been at least somewhat familiar.

While the Bible was clearly the most important source for him, James utilizes other classical sources to further augment his own work. In describing his first category of demons, the ones that vex some dwelling or a place, he cites the names “ancients” called them: Lemures, Spectra and umbra mortuorum⁵⁹. These names are in Latin and come from Roman mythology. Lemures were, according to Horace, restless evil spirits of the dead⁶⁰. Spectra may refer to specters, that are quite similar in description, and umbra mortuorum also mean “shadows of the dead”. In this way James provides a “double certification” for his claims. As I mentioned earlier, he claimed that the Bible proves the existence of these spirits, and now we see that he also wants us to know that the great classical authors already reported such phenomena.

In addition to Roman sources James also cites classical Greek authors a few times in the third book of *Daemonologie*. These citations do not differ greatly from the one mentioned in the previous paragraph. When discussing werewolves, James mentions how the Greeks called them lykanthropoi⁶¹. What is interesting about this, and the other similar cases, is how little he actually says about the classical authors' works. For example, in the chapter concerning werewolves James writes:

*“There hath indeed bene an old opinion of such like things; For by the Greekes they were called lykanthropoi which signifieth men-woolfes. But to tell you simplie my opinion in this, ...”*⁶²

James mentions the Greeks very briefly and is quick to point out his own opinion, which of course differs greatly from theirs. This same tendency can also be seen in other cases where he cites classical authors. When discussing the possibility of good spirits other than angels he

⁵⁹ James Stuart 1597, 57.

⁶⁰ Horace, Epistula II.2

⁶¹ James Stuart 1597, 61.

⁶² James Stuart 1597, 61.

writes about how in the ancient times there were thought to be two kinds of “guardian spirits”, good and evil:

*“The Greekes called them eudaimona & kakodaimona: wherof the former they saide, perswaded him to all the good he did: the other enticed him to all the evill. But praised be God we that are christians, & walks not amongst the Cymmerian conjectures of man, knows well inough, that it is the good spirite of God onely, who is the fountain of all goodness, that perswads us to the thinking or doing of any good: and that it is our corrupted fleshe and Sathan, that intiseth us to the contrarie.”*⁶³

James does not actually use the classical authors as help to describe the demons he is discussing, but mostly just uses them as a reference point on how people used to think, as compared to how people now think, or more importantly how people should now, in his opinion, think.

2.5 Other Demonologists as Sources for James

There were of course other demonological texts that James is believed to have read, and that might have influenced him. This is most evident in the third book in how the description of some demons requires for James to use more classical and demonological sources. This is the case with incubi and succubi. These names both mean the same demon, but are used as a definition of its gender. This idea did not come directly from the ancient authors, but rather from other demonologists. As Normand and Roberts have pointed out, many continental demonologists had presented the idea of such demons.⁶⁴

In his demonology James classifies the incubi and succubi as demons that outwardly possess and harass people⁶⁵. He goes on to explain how the demons act and what they are capable. This type of demons’ main power is to harass both men and women sexually in their sleep, and stories were told of unnatural offspring created this way between demons and humans. James dismisses such stories outright as *Aniles fibula*, “old wives tales.”⁶⁶

⁶³ James Stuart 1597, 65.

⁶⁴ Normand & Roberts 2000, 412.

⁶⁵ James Stuart 1597, 66.

⁶⁶ James Stuart 1597, 67-68.

Most of the section concerning these demons is more or less standard demonological text, but there is one particularly interesting notion that James discusses:

*“Phi. But what is the cause that this kinde of abuse if thought to be most common in such wild partes of the worlde, as Lap-land, and Fin-land, or in out North Iles of Orknay and Schet-land. Epi. Because where the Devill finds greatest ignorance and barbaritie, there assayles he grosseliest, as I gave you the reason wherefore there was moe Witches of women kinde nor men.”*⁶⁷

So, according to James, the incubi and succubi were most common in the northern parts of the world. Normand and Roberts state that during James’ reign Lapland had a reputation for being a haven for witches and other mystical beings⁶⁸. This may certainly have been the case, but I would like to present another explanation. As stated previously, James’ visit to Denmark in 1590 was long held as an important occasion regarding his demonology. He met the famous Danish demonologist Niels Hemmingsen, and it was thought that from him James learned about the idea of a demonic pact, which he then introduced to Scotland.⁶⁹ Although it still somewhat persists, this theory has since been seriously challenged by several historians, and most likely Scotland and James were both aware of the theory of a demonic pact before 1590.⁷⁰

James meeting with Hemmingsen might still have influenced James’ demonology. Hemmingsen was a continental demonologist, and if not the demonic pact, he may have given James other ideas. Take for example the incubi and succubi. These demons were quite rare in Scottish demonology, but very common in continental demonology⁷¹. And yet James devotes an entire chapter for them, three and a half pages out of his short book. This along with the mention of Finland and Lapland, both much closer to Denmark than Scotland, leads me to suggest that Hemmingsens influence on James may have been greater than has lately been thought. The chapter concerning incubi and succubi can of course be interpreted also as a sign of influence by other continental demonologists whose works James was familiar with⁷². However, Hemmingsen was the only one he met prior to writing *Daemonologie*, and may very well thus have been the greatest influence.

⁶⁷ James Stuart 1597, 69.

⁶⁸ Normand & Roberts 2000,414.

⁶⁹ Croft 2003, 26; Clark 1977, 157; Henderson & Cowan 2001, 122.

⁷⁰ Goodare 2005, 59; Wormald 2000, 174.

⁷¹ Goodare 2008, 34-35.

⁷² Normand & Roberts 2000, 329-330.

3. The Religious Reformation's Effects on James' Demonology

3.1 The Reformation

The Bible and other classical and demonological sources were of course important for James, but when examining the third book of *Daemonologie*, his descriptions of demons and his demonology in general, there are two factors that must be considered above all else: the effects of the religious Reformation and the politics concerning it. In the 16th century religion and politics were intertwined more often than not, which is why I will now analyze both in the next two chapters in close relation to one another.

Prior to the Reformation, witch trials were very rare in Scotland⁷³. After it, however, they became more frequent and were even unusually brutal when compared to the rest of Europe⁷⁴. This indicates that the Reformation was a key element in the witch trials, and therefore also in *Daemonologie*, which was written as a response to these trials.

3.2 Protection against demons

After the Reformation had begun, Scotland's mainstream religions in the 16th century were the Catholic and Reformed versions of Christianity, with the latter gaining more ground on the expense of the former as time went on⁷⁵. This duality and the social and political changes that tie into it are also visible in James' descriptions of demons. Perhaps the most prominent change brought forth by the Reformation was related to the means to banish and repel

⁷³ Croft 2003, 25; Goodare 2002, 124.

⁷⁴ Sharpe 2002, 183.

⁷⁵ Croft 2003, 10-14.

demons. The Reformed church saw many such rites as Catholic superstition and sought to distance itself from them⁷⁶.

Considering how tangled the religious situation was at the time, it is no wonder that King James did, and had to, sometimes maneuver quite delicately. After the Reformation had managed to rise above the difficulties it faced in the beginning, there still remained the inevitable power struggle between it and the secular state. The witch trials that followed during the 1590's can be seen as a part of this struggle. James wrote *Daemonologie* during these trials, and at least partly because of them. Therefore the book itself is directly linked to the power struggle, and can give us valuable insight into it from King James' perspective. It was also an attempt to find a new and updated definition for evil in the society. This was a definition in which all things heretical, whether they were Catholic or witchcraft, were bundled together.⁷⁷ Catholicism and witches were not false beliefs because they were untrue or fictitious, but rather because both were now seen as demonic⁷⁸.

James VI's attitude towards the Catholic rites meant to ward off demons is evident in the third part of *Daemonologie*. He conveys his doubt that the Catholics, or anyone not following the true faith⁷⁹, could have such powers. According to James the claims supporting such rites and acts are merely propaganda put forth by the Catholic clergy to reinforce their position in the eyes of the general populace.⁸⁰ It would seem that James' position is clear: The Catholic teachings regarding protection against demons are not true, but in fact lies meant to bolster their status. However, I think that the matter might not be so one sided.

James goes on to add:

*“As to the other part of the argument in case they can, which rather (with reverence of the learned thinking otherwaies) I am induced to believe, by reason of the faitfull report that men sound of religion, have made according to their sight thereof, I think if so be, I say these may be the respectes, whereupon the Papistes may have the that power.”*⁸¹

⁷⁶ Thomas 1973, 58–62.

⁷⁷ Normand & Roberts 2000, 71.

⁷⁸ Goodare 2005, 52.

⁷⁹ Meaning here the Reformed Presbyterian Christianity of the Scottish Kirk.

⁸⁰ James Stuart 1597, 71.

⁸¹ James Stuart 1597, 72.

So James admits that it may actually be possible for the Catholics to be able to repel demons. He clarifies the statement by adding that this is only possible by using the means that were seen as the right ones in Reformed religion: fasting and prayer⁸². This concession towards Catholicism is quite remarkable, considering that after the Reformation began the ability to dispossess and otherwise repel demons was used as one of the main arguments by the Catholic church to assert its position as the true faith⁸³. Basically it seems that James was saying that it did not matter whether you were actually following the right religion, meaning the Reformed one, as long as you acted like they did. The Catholics could exorcise demons if they did it according to the ways of the Reformed church.

This was only a small part of the renovation program associated with the Reformation. Of the seven Catholic sacraments only baptism and the Eucharist were accepted to this new version of Christianity, and even their importance was lessened⁸⁴. According to Stuart Clark this was a process of “Christianization”, in which the Reformed churches strived to weed out the elements that could be interpreted as magical or superstitious. This was not just a Scottish phenomenon but could be seen all over Europe.⁸⁵

Why were the Catholic rites incompatible with the Reformed religion? Mainly it was what the Reformation was all about: Reforming the Catholic faith, which many saw as superstitious and not following the true word of the Scripture. In its first days the Catholic Church had made many compromises when it came to the old pagan religions, and the Reformation was seen by its supporters as a way to get rid of these compromises. For example, many Reformists thought that the Catholic Holy Water was just renamed Roman *aqua lustralis*.⁸⁶

After abandoning the previous Catholic beliefs the Reformed demonologists had to look elsewhere for their sources concerning demons. As I mentioned earlier, In King James VI’s case the most important source turned out to be the Bible. He begins nearly every chapter of *Daemonologie* with a reference to the Bible, and throughout the whole dialogue it functions as a yardstick, using which he ultimately makes his decisions.⁸⁷ For an example, when

⁸² James Stuart 1597, 72.

⁸³ Thomas 1973, 479–490.

⁸⁴ Thomas 1973, 65.

⁸⁵ Clark 1994, 529–530.

⁸⁶ Thomas 1973, 74–75.

⁸⁷ Normand & Roberts 2000, 329-330.

regarding demons that possess houses or other certain places, he refers to Isaiah chapters 13 and 34 in the Bible, which mention such demons.⁸⁸

3.3 Demonic Possession After the Reformation

One of the most important questions regarding demons was demonic possession, their supposed ability to control humans, directly or indirectly. Within the Catholic Church this was accepted as a fact during the time of King James, and as we have established, many Catholic teachings that the Reformation abandoned concerned the protection and fighting against possessing demons.

Even though James mostly rejected the claimed Catholic abilities to ward off demons, he did believe in the demonic possession itself. As I mentioned earlier, in *Daemonologie* James divides demons into four different categories: Those that possess houses and certain places, those that follow people around and pester them, those that possess humans by entering them and finally those people commonly call fairies⁸⁹. Obviously he believed that not only did demons have the ability to possess people, but that it was in fact one of their main tasks.

James' thoughts on demonic possession clearly show the influence the Reformed Church of Scotland had on him. To understand this influence one must first be familiar with the conditions concerning the birth of the religious Reformation in Scotland, and also King James' thoughts concerning the demons that possess people inwardly or pester them outwardly.

Although James at first divides demons into four separate classes, later in his book he treats the demons harassing people in- or outwardly as more or less the same⁹⁰. The key issue here is the type of people James claims these demons harass. According to him there are two types of these people: Those who have committed great grievances and whom God wants to punish,

⁸⁸ James Stuart 1597, 58.

⁸⁹ James Stuart 1597, 57.

⁹⁰ James Stuart 1597, 62.

and those who are very pious and whose faith God tests in this way⁹¹. This is an important division, because it clearly shows that according to James all demons need permission from God to pester humans. They do not act because the devil sends them, but because God wants the devil to send them. In this way James thinks that the devil acts as Gods punisher or henchman. It should be noted that this only applies to the possession of living people. As discussed earlier, dead bodies may be used by the devil even if the person had lived a life that wouldn't warrant such a treatment.

James' opinion about whom demons may or may not possess is important, because it follows the teachings of Scotland's Presbyterian Church closely. The key founder of the Presbyterian Church, John Knox, was a Scottish clergyman who had studied the teachings of John Calvin. One of the Calvinistic ideas that were dominant in Scotland at the time was the idea of Predestination, which meant that God had preordained the order of everything on Earth, and no human could influence it⁹².

There are also other aspects where James' thoughts on possession differ from the Catholic view. In earlier times speaking in languages had been seen either as indicating that the person in question was possessed, or that he was a mystic of some kind⁹³. James does not even mention the second alternative, but straight on presents speaking in languages as a sure sign of possession: "*The last is, speaking of sundrie languages, which the patient is knowen by them that were acquainte with him never to have learned...*"⁹⁴

Another interesting note here is how James calls the possessed a "patient". The time when James wrote *Daemonologie* was also a time of a great power struggle between the throne and the new Reformed church. According to some scholars, demonic possession can be seen as a way for the clergy to increase their power and status at the time⁹⁵. This makes sense: If the priests were the only ones who knew the necessary rituals to exorcise demons, it gave them a monopoly on these kind of occurrences and through that power over the people. James

⁹¹ James Stuart 1597, 62–63.

⁹² Boettner 1932.

⁹³ Klaniczay & Pocs 2005, 58.

⁹⁴ James Stuart 1597, 71.

⁹⁵ Pearl 1999, 42.

however claims that these rituals were meaningless and that the only way to battle demons was praying and fasting⁹⁶. This way he takes away a large amount of power from the church.

3.4 Fairies and the Reformation

While demonic possession was one of the key aspects of demons' according to James, his book also includes other kinds of spirits that were considered demonic at the time. Fairies were one such group, and apparently an important one as James devotes a whole chapter of his book to them.

Before moving on to James' views about fairies it might be best to have a brief look at what "a fairy" actually meant at the time. Nowadays people usually tend to think of fairies as small, winged and good natured mythical beings. This was not always the case. In medieval Britain fairies were mostly considered to be harmful pests.⁹⁷ As the 17th century approached, widespread belief in fairies begun to diminish. In 1584 the demonologist Reginald Scot wrote that fear of witches had superseded the fear of fairies. However, the belief in, and the fear of, fairies had not completely vanished.⁹⁸ There were also connections between fairies and demons in Christian mythology, which is why demonologists such as King James VI sometimes saw it fit to include them in their treatises. For example Oberon, the fairy king in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, was commonly used as a name for a demon in the 15th and the 16th century before it became associated with fairies.⁹⁹

James' view of fairies was not unlike what one could expect from a Reformed Christian demonologist in the end of the 16th century. He dismisses the existence of fairies and considers them to be nothing more than stories and myths, or in some cases illusions created by the devil. This view was not unique for James, as it had been used well before his time and would still be invoked hundreds of years later. Lauren Kassell remarks that it was already used by the famous author Geoffrey Chaucer in his "Wife of Bath's Tale", in which he writes that fairies belonged in the past, to the times of King Arthur. Kassell also tells about John

⁹⁶ James Stuart 1597, 72.

⁹⁷ Thomas 1973, 724-725.

⁹⁸ Thomas 1973, 725-726.

⁹⁹ Thomas 1973, 726-728.

Aubrey, the greatest investigator of fairies in Britain at his time, who lived one hundred years after King James VI. Aubrey also connects fairies to the times past, and thinks that the modern technological advancement has banished them.¹⁰⁰

He also attacks against the Catholic Church by bundling it together with fairies as a delusion of ages past, which no self respecting Christian has any reason to believe in.¹⁰¹ Stating that fairies were a remnant of the times past was not unusual for the time when James wrote *Daemonologie*, so it could be that he was simply following the trend prevalent at the time in discussing the subject. However, I think there could be another explanation. James includes the Catholic Church in the same context as the fairies, and so more or less tacitly implicates that both were leftovers from the ancient times, best to be forgotten by now.

3.5 Concerning Werewolves

In addition to fairies, another mystical creature which James covers in *Daemonologie* is the werewolf. The main question for him is whether werewolves are demons or not. It is first best to have a closer look at what the term Werewolf generally meant in the early modern Europe. Brett Hirsch has analyzed the concept, and approaches it by distinguishing two terms, “werewolf” and “lycanthropy”. Nowadays the first term means the mythical transformation in which a human is able to transform into the shape of a wolf, while the latter is a mental illness which causes a person to believe he or she can transform into a wolf. In the early modern times no such distinction was generally made.¹⁰²

In Catholic demonology the transformation into a wolf was seen as a demonic power¹⁰³. Witches were thought to have such powers and to be able to change their shape into that of an animal, but this was mostly traditional folk lore, and several demonologists disagreed, attributing such changes into the realm of illusions¹⁰⁴. This was a view which King James also

¹⁰⁰ Kassel 2006, 118-122.

¹⁰¹ James Stuart 1597, 73-74.

¹⁰² Hirsch 2005, 2.

¹⁰³ Hirsch 2005, 5.

¹⁰⁴ Goodare 2008, 35.

shared. In his opinion werewolves are not demons, but instead “... *if anie such thing hath bene, I take it to have proceeded but of a naturall super-abundance of Melancholie...*”¹⁰⁵.

Here James is referencing humorism, the common theory at the time according to which the health of the body was governed by the four humors: blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm. The superabundance of melancholy would mean that there was too much black bile.¹⁰⁶

What James is trying to say is that in his opinion lycanthropy was not something caused by demons, but instead a medical condition. Considering Hirsch’s research, and leaving aside James’ knowledge of the functioning of the human body, this view seems actually quite modern. One interpretation of this could be that James is adopting an anti-catholic stance for the subject. Catholic demonologists believed in werewolves so James is saying that they, and therefore also their religion, are wrong.

Opposition to Catholicism and the effects of the Reformation probably had some influence on James’ view on werewolves, but I think there might also be another reason. Wolves had disappeared from Britain by the end of the 15th century due to excessive hunting, and stories of werewolf attacks or even sightings on the island were almost nonexistent¹⁰⁷. Curiously, as Normand and Roberts have also pointed out, James still writes of werewolves as “our werewolves”, even though there had been no wolves or stories of werewolves in Britain for over a hundred years¹⁰⁸.

A third theory regarding James’ mention of werewolves is the one put forth by Julian Goodare. He suggests that this may be an indication of a sort of internationalism in demonology.¹⁰⁹ When James says “our werewolves”, he might not mean “our” as in “Scottish”, but rather as in “me and my fellow demonologists in Europe”. I think this view is quite interesting. James clearly saw himself as a legitimate scholar and an expert of demonology.

¹⁰⁵ James Stuart 1597, 61.

¹⁰⁶ Schiefsky 2006, 57–58.

¹⁰⁷ Hirsch 2005, 1.

¹⁰⁸ Normand & Roberts 2000, 348.

¹⁰⁹ Goodare 2008, 13.

In my opinion James' disposition towards werewolves was most likely the result of the absence of such legends in his home country combined with perhaps a touch of the internationalism Goodare mentions. Not all Reformed demonologists discarded the existence of werewolves as readily as James, even though their strongest advocates were Catholic, such as Jean Bodin and Henri Boguet¹¹⁰. James was also not alone in claiming that the imbalance of humors could cause these kinds of delusions. One Sir George MacKenzie also put forth a similar theory, although he did believe that the imbalance was caused by the Devil¹¹¹. On the other hand, James must have known that his target audience, meaning mainly the men of the upper social classes in Scotland, would also be of this opinion. Thus grouping belief in actual werewolves together with Catholicism would have helped James promote his Reformed ideology more effectively. He had a mind for politics and could easily have seized such an opportunity.

3.6 Ghosts in James' Demonology?

Werewolves are the last group of supposedly supernatural creatures King James VI deals with in *Daemonologie*. He has thus far refuted both them and fairies as being demons according to his theory of demonology. I am however going to discuss here one more type of supernatural creatures that are connected to James' writings: Ghosts.

James did not write about ghosts per se, but as I already briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, there are clear parallels between what generally were thought to be ghosts at the time, and how James described some of his demons. First let us have a look at how ghosts were understood in pre-Reformed Britain. In medieval Britain ghosts were, according to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, souls of people who had been sent to the purgatory. Their spirits could not rest until their sins had been atoned for. Usually ghosts were seen as harmful creatures, full of resentment towards the living, but in certain cases they could also be friendly spirits. God could send ghosts to the world to resolve their sins, or to prove to the living people that the soul continued to live on after death.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Hirsch 2005, 6-7.

¹¹¹ Goodare 2008, 37.

¹¹² Thomas 1973, 701.

The Reformed view of ghosts was greatly different from the Catholic one. It abandoned the idea of the purgatory, which basically nullified the basis for the Catholic explanation of ghosts. In the reformed theology souls went straight to heaven or hell after death, and ghosts in the traditional sense had no place in it¹¹³. According to Keith Thomas, this difference was a clear way to distinguish between Catholic and Reformed Christians in early modern Britain.¹¹⁴ One can assume this was true at least when it came to the upper classes, and it certainly seems to be true with King James VI. Belief in ghosts of course did not disappear anywhere, it merely changed form. Where there had once been spirits of the purgatory, ghosts, there were now demons, evil spirits sent by the Devil.¹¹⁵

When specifically examining the demons described by King James VI we can see several similarities between them and the Catholic ghosts. For example, the demons James calls *Spectra* or *umbrae mortuorum* that belonged to his first category of demons¹¹⁶. As we know, *spectra* were disembodied spirits, sight of which frightened people, and *umbrae mortuorum*, “shadows of the dead”, were souls of deceased people¹¹⁷. These names James got from the classical authors, and he claims that they have been used since the ancient times, and that they vary according to the *modus operandi* of the demon in question. James also tells that *umbrae mortuorum* can impersonate dead people and thus fool the living.¹¹⁸

Here the effects of the Reformation are perhaps the clearest in all of *Daemonologie*. What James describes as belonging to his first class of demons sound almost exactly the same as the ghosts of the purgatory in Catholic theology. In his theory, however, they are not truly souls of the dead, but instead illusions or malevolent spirits sent by the devil to test or punish humans. Even *umbrae mortuorum*, which he describes as souls of the dead, are not really such, but are only called so because of their ability to mimic the appearance of those who have died.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Goodare 2008, 32.

¹¹⁴ Thomas 1973, 702-703.

¹¹⁵ Thomas 1973, 703.

¹¹⁶ James Stuart 1597, 57.

¹¹⁷ Normand & Roberts 2000, 403.

¹¹⁸ James Stuart 1597, 57.

¹¹⁹ James Stuart 1597, 56-60.

As I mentioned earlier, James also has a definition for demons that imitate people who have recently died, or are about to die soon. He calls them “wraiths”, and argues that during the time of the Old Testament the Devil used such spirits to confuse people. Then he smoothly proceeds to remark how even today the Devil continues to carry on such practice among the more ignorant Christians.¹²⁰ One could assume here that James is referring to the Catholic believers and their interpretation of ghosts and the purgatory.

3.7 King James VI: A Reformed Demonologist?

When analyzing the third book of *Daemonologie* it would seem quite straightforward to label King James as a purely Reformed demonologist. Still, it is important to remember that Scotland was not completely reformed by the 1590s. Many Catholic practices were still present, and the change was slowly advancing¹²¹. The change from Catholic to the Calvinist reformed church can be seen as a cultural revolution. Imagery and rituals were very much omitted from the churches and the focus was shifted to word of the scripture.¹²²

Taking into account the situation present at the time, it would not be surprising to find Catholic elements also in James’ demonology. There seem to be some actually. He discusses werewolves, which were not traditionally part of Scottish mythology or Reformed demonology. The same goes for incubi and succubi. James also admits that despite their faults the Catholics may still be able to exorcise demons, if they do it correctly. It would be hard to see him advocating such powers for representatives of other religions.

My opinion is that James was as Reformed a demonologist as he could have been at the time. But first and foremost he was a king in charge of a country that had just gone through a period of civil war and large scale unrest. He had to fight for power against the new church, and the “concessions” for Catholics that he makes in the third book of *Daemonologie* can be seen as a part of this power struggle. James was not a Catholic demonologist by any standard, but a political one he was, which I will discuss in further detail in the next chapter.

¹²⁰ James Stuart 1597, 60-61.

¹²¹ Croft 2003, 14.

¹²² Todd 2003, 1-2.

4. The Politics of Demonology

4.1 Reformation and the Political Situation

Politics were an important part of demonology. This was true not only in Scotland, but in other major European countries as well¹²³. Was King James VI a Catholic or a Reformed demonologist? As I said, he was a Reformed one. But the connection between the Reformation and his politics, and how his descriptions of demons in the third book of *Daemonologie* mirror this are more complicated. There is no question about the fact that these descriptions are almost completely compatible with Reformed Calvinistic theology. Almost, but not completely.

This is treacherous terrain. At first, and maybe even at second glance *Daemonologie's* third part seems very apolitical. The book as a whole is without a doubt very political. Even James himself has been interpreted as seeing it as one of the most, if not the most important of his treatises for the political philosophy he was formulating at the time¹²⁴. But the third part of the book appears to be written by James the demonologist, not James the demonologist king. This view is, in my opinion, incorrect.

The politics underlying demonology are cleverly hidden under the Reformation. Let us again consider the religious-political-situation in Scotland between 1590 and 1597. In 1590 James' political position was weak, to put it lightly. He was struggling for power with the church, dealing with an almost outright rebellion by the Catholic earls in the north, mixed up in the political intrigue of his own court and courtiers, and under pressure from two foreign superpowers, England and Spain. The Reformation was a part of all these problems. Catholic Spain versus Reformed England, Catholic earls versus the Reformed Kirk, and then the courtiers whose beliefs also ranged from Catholic to Reformed.

¹²³ Pearl 1999, 4.

¹²⁴ Henderson & Cowan 2001, 121.

4.2 Demonology as a Weapon against Political Enemies?

King James VI's most dangerous political opponent during the 1590's was Francis Stewart Hepburn, 5th Earl of Bothwell. He was James' cousin, a popular nobleman, and at times apparently quite a violent man. During the period in question, Bothwell attacked James himself several times, at one point imprisoning him and effectively seizing power from the government.¹²⁵ Bothwell was also a central figure in the witch trials, which most likely prompted James to begin writing *Daemonologie*.

To understand why James would have written *Daemonologie* at least partly as a way to object his political enemies, and particularly Bothwell, one must first understand Bothwell's involvement in the witch hunts of 1590's and the political struggle they were a part of. It began when a woman who was accused of witchcraft during the trials at East Lothian, Agnes Sampson, apparently claimed that Bothwell had promised the witches a reward if they could sink James' ship during its journey to or from Denmark. Bothwell of course denied everything, but was nonetheless imprisoned.¹²⁶ Barbara Napier and Euphame MacCalzean, both convicted of witchcraft, also implied Bothwell as their accessory¹²⁷. Bothwell was in the line of succession for the throne of Scotland, which could be seen as a motive for him to get rid of James¹²⁸.

Shortly after Bothwell escaped captivity and was declared a traitor. His attacks on the king took place in the following years, but it may well be that he had no real intention to hurt James. Apparently Bothwell hated James' chancellor, Lord Maitland, and it has been suggested that his whole involvement in the witch hunt was orchestrated by Maitland and his allies to discredit the earl.¹²⁹ Bothwell himself saw Maitland, and his accomplice Richie Graham, as directly responsible for his misfortune¹³⁰. The matter was more complicated for James because of Bothwell's popularity. Many factions were less than satisfied with James' rule so far, and Bothwell was seen by some as perhaps a better alternative. Especially the radical Presbyterians supported him, calling Bothwell "A sanctified scourge" and deepening

¹²⁵ Normand & Roberts 2000, 39; Croft 2003, 34.

¹²⁶ Normand & Roberts 2000, 41.

¹²⁷ Wormald 2000, 167-168.

¹²⁸ Normand & Roberts 2000, 40.

¹²⁹ Normand & Roberts 2000, 41.

¹³⁰ Wormald 2000, 168.

James' troubles with the church. But even more worryingly Bothwell was somewhat supported by the English. This was most likely because James had not dealt with the rebellious Catholic earls in a satisfactory manner.¹³¹ Ascension to the throne of England was at this point already a realistic goal for James, since Elizabeth I had no children¹³². It is therefore most likely that no matter what Bothwell's true intentions concerning James might have been, he had now irrevocably made James his enemy. He could not afford his southern neighbors pledging their full support behind Bothwell.

The Church of Scotland saw this as a chance to improve its position. When the great witch hunt of 1590-1591 began the church already had the upper hand when it came to political power compared to James. In 1592 James was forced to establish the so called "golden acts" to cede even more power to the presbyteries.¹³³ This was most likely done in an effort to regain the church's support, and to keep them from pledging full support to Bothwell.

Bothwell's successful coup happened in July 1593, when he attacked the king at his residence in Holyroodhouse¹³⁴. The earl apparently had no intention of killing James, or even harming him physically in any way, which would support the theory that he did not see the king as his true enemy, but rather thought that he had been turned against him by Maitland. Nevertheless, James was now at Bothwell's mercy, and agreed to hold a mock trial, where the earl was acquitted of all charges of witchcraft. At the trial Richie Graham, who himself had earlier on been executed on charges of witchcraft, was held guilty of tarnishing Bothwell's name.¹³⁵

During the following two years James managed to regain his position and power. After the coup Bothwell began to look dangerous in the eyes of the nobles who had previously supported him, and finally lost all sympathy from the English nobles and the Scottish church, when he in 1594 pledged allegiance to the Catholic earls of the north. This in turn finally prompted James to act against the Catholics. The earls were not very eager to engage in an actual battle against the king, and James managed to quickly subdue them without serious

¹³¹ Somerset-Fry 1982, 161; Croft 2000, 34; Goodare 1999, 51; Normand & Roberts 2000, 45.

¹³² Croft 2003, 32.

¹³³ Croft 2003, 28.

¹³⁴ Normand & Roberts 2000, 47.

¹³⁵ Normand & Roberts 2000, 47-48.

fighting. Bothwell was excommunicated by the Kirk and exiled in 1595, ending this particular period of political instability.¹³⁶

Demonology never lacked socio-political context¹³⁷. I believe that *Daemonologie*, and even its third book, is largely a political treatise. Other scholars, such as Jenny Wormald, have argued that James used the witch hunts of 1590-1591 as a way to get rid of his political enemies, meaning mainly and most of all the earl of Bothwell¹³⁸. There are instances of such use for demonology and witch hunts from other parts of Europe, such as France and Russia. In France the most famous case could be considered to be the destruction of the Knights Templar in 1307, when King Philip IV used witchcraft charges to dissolve the organization that had gained too much political and financial power. A later example, and one more similar to James' case in Scotland, is Ivan IV of Russia, who employed similar means during the late 16th century to get rid of boyars who opposed his rule.¹³⁹ *Daemonologie* was clearly influenced by James' experiences during this period, and is therefore directly linked to the political context surrounding the witch trials.

4.3 Bothwell as James' Personal Satan

So far I have mostly discussed the descriptions of demons James presented in his book. The third book of *Daemonologie* is, however, divided into six chapters; the first five of these deal with the various types of demons included in James' demonology, but the last chapter is suddenly about the trial and punishment of witches. Why does James feel the need to suddenly turn to a subject that at first glance differs greatly from the other contents of the third book?

Perhaps the reason can be found in the kind of punishment that James warrants for the witches. He writes:

¹³⁶ Normand & Roberts 2000, 48-49.

¹³⁷ Ankarloo, Clark & Monter 2002, 137.

¹³⁸ Wormald 2000, 169.

¹³⁹ Pearl 1999, 5; Nenonen 2006, 118-119, 207.

“They ought to be put to death according to the law of God, the civill and imperial law, and municipall law of all Christian nations.”

He then asks himself if any rank, age or sex should warrant an exception from this punishment and answers

“None at al (being so used by the lawful Magistrate) for it is the highest poynt of Idolatrie, wherein no exception is admitted by the law of God.”

Finally, he goes to add that all who consult witches and ask for their help should also suffer the same punishment.¹⁴⁰

The passage containing the information mentioned above is perhaps the clearest indication of how Bothwell's case and the political troubles of the early 1590s influenced James' demonology. First, he claims that no rank should be an excuse to avoid the punishment for witchcraft. This is significant, because it is evident from James' other works that he saw the nobility as somewhat better than other people¹⁴¹. Yet here he makes no exception for them. Bothwell was a nobleman, and of a significantly high rank, so high indeed that in the end James did not dare or want to have him killed but settled for his exile.

James also includes consulters of witches and magicians as meriting of the death penalty. Bothwell was claimed to have hired the East Lothian witches to sink James' ship, which made him such a consulter in James' eyes¹⁴². For further evidence linking Bothwell and other political opponents with James' theories of demonology, Pauline Croft has linked the waning of his interest in witchcraft with the end of the most serious of the political troubles in 1597. By then Bothwell was exiled and James had more or less managed to consolidate his rule, so that the church, the parliament or the nobles could not seriously challenge him.¹⁴³

One interesting question raised by the third book of *Daemonologie* is why did James not ultimately have Bothwell executed? It seems clear that he hated the earl, at least in the end, and believed that he had conspired against him. The reason I raise this question here is that the events contradict what James wrote as his guideline for such cases. I will not go into too much detail in here, but it seems there could be a few explanations. Perhaps the simplest one is that since Bothwell was crushed politically and socially, there was no need to actually kill

¹⁴⁰ James Stuart 1597, 77.

¹⁴¹ Croft 2003, 31.

¹⁴² Croft 2003, 26.

¹⁴³ Croft 2003, 27.

him. He was no longer a threat in any case, and maybe James was not bloodthirsty enough to permanently get rid of him. Second explanation that comes to my mind is James' ideas about nobility. As stated earlier, he believed those of noble blood to be better than common people, and Bothwell was also his relative by blood. He may have simply been too high ranking a person to be executed in this way, and James might have feared that doing so could give a bad precedent when it came to executing noblemen. This explanation is however most contradictive to *Daemonologie*. The third explanation is that Bothwell may have actually been more of an enemy of Chancellor Maitland than James, and the king simply used the situation to gain political advantage. There is perhaps no way to ever know for certain.

4.4 King from the Divine Right

For James' part, the strong appliance of the death penalty for witchcraft can also be seen from an even larger political viewpoint of building the nation state of Scotland. The witch hunts and demonology were a religious issue, but at the same time also a part of the formation of the new early modern state system in Scotland. King James VI was the key architect of this change during the end of the 16th century, and demonology played a large part in his efforts. As Stuart Clark astutely noted even thirty years ago “In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries political order was defended in terms of “arguments by correspondence” in which analogies were drawn between monarchy, divine power, patriarchal authority and the role of the head of the human body.”¹⁴⁴

Demonology has since then been connected to the theory of divine right rule by other scholars¹⁴⁵. James clearly saw himself as a ruler appointed by God. In the third book of *Daemonologie* he describes witchcraft as treason against both king and God¹⁴⁶. I agree with Julian Goodare when he writes about the divine right that “For James, it was deliberate response to Knox, Buchanan, and the Presbyterians. It exalted the authority of the state, and immunized it from human alteration. The crown was placed firmly above parliament, above the church, and above the

¹⁴⁴ Clark 1977, 174.

¹⁴⁵ Ankarloo, Clark & Monter 2002, 140.

¹⁴⁶ James Stuart 1597, 79.

magnates too.”¹⁴⁷ The Buchanan mentioned here is George Buchanan, a scholar and a historian, who tutored James during his early childhood. Buchanan was a harsh teacher who beat the young king regularly and interestingly advocated a political theory according to which monarch’s subjects had the ultimate power, and had the right to depose and even kill a tyrannical ruler.¹⁴⁸ As Goodare notes, this seriously contradicts James’ own later divine right theory.

A unified religious system was naturally critical to the divine right theory. It would have been hard to convince people that the ruler’s power comes from the God, if the people believed in various gods. This is also reflected in *Daemonologie’s* third book when James discusses fairies. The spirits seen as fairies in James’ demonology included much of the Scottish folklore. Fairies were also a very important part of this tradition, which made their classification into demonology important for James. He was not the only demonologist to have this idea: Demonizing fairy beliefs was common at the time, especially in the Reformed demonology, where there was even less room for such beliefs than in Catholicism.¹⁴⁹ This could also be seen in the trials concerning people’s dealings with fairies. Scholars such as Lizanne Henderson and Edward Cowan have suggested that demonization could already be seen in such trials in Scotland in the end of the 16th century.¹⁵⁰

In *Daemonologie*, after stating that fairies are merely demonic illusions, James asks himself why he does not include more examples of fairies in the book. The answer is rather complicated, but basically James thinks that since his goal in the third book was to prove that these evil spirits exist, in which he thinks he has succeeded, going further into their actions and appearance could be seen as teaching dark arts rather than fighting them.¹⁵¹ Henderson and Cowan propose that perhaps James did not want to increase people’s interest in such creatures¹⁵². In my opinion this can be seen as a link to the divine right rule advocated by James. Diverse opinions concerning such supernatural creatures as fairies, and of course demons and so forth, would have undermined its central idea. Catholicism had incorporated many pagan beliefs into itself during its spreading, and in a way had more room for fairies in

¹⁴⁷ Goodare 1999, 303.

¹⁴⁸ Croft 2003, 12-13.

¹⁴⁹ Goodare 2008, 33.

¹⁵⁰ Henderson & Cowan 2001, 128-129.

¹⁵¹ James Stuart 1597, 76-77.

¹⁵² Henderson & Cowan 2001, 126.

the world. But the new reformed regime was meant to eradicate any such heresies. I think divine right rulership can be seen as something that could only arise after the Papal influence over the kings of Europe was weakened enough so that they could raise themselves into the place where the Pope had previously been, and claim to have received their right to rule directly from God himself. This is what James is trying to convey when he claims that there is no need to discuss fairies further. He is a ruler by the grace of God and what he says is the law. There are no supernatural beings other than those dictated by him in his demonology, because anything else would weaken the very basis of his rule. The divine right turned the act of questioning the King's decisions from a matter of opinion to high treason¹⁵³.

The Christian dualism I mentioned earlier can also be seen here, in relation to the divine right. James sees himself as God's instrument on Earth, while witches are for him Devil's tools set upon ruining him. This special relation between himself and God is in my opinion clearly illustrated by the passage where James proclaims that

*“The Prince or Magistrate for further trials cause may continue the punishing of them such a certaine space as he thinks convenient: But in the end to spare the life, and not to strike when God bids strike, and sp severelie punish in so odious a fault & treason against God, it is not only unlawful, but doubtlesse no lesse sinne in that Magistrate, nor it was in Saules sparing of Agag. And so comparable to the sin of Witch-craft itself, as Samuells alleged at that time.”*¹⁵⁴

In this way James proclaims himself as God's judge. His duty is to punish witches in the most severe way, or he himself shall be punished by God for neglecting his duties. Divine right theory is clearly present. This was also a way for him to play down the church's part in political affairs. The “golden acts” and the increased power of the church in 1592 had allowed radical Presbyterians to rise into prominent positions within the church. Their view of how the state should be ruled differed vastly from James', which was seen especially in 1596 when they demanded that James should strike without mercy against the rebellious Catholic earls. James however wanted to keep the earls in the political circles and eventually basically forgave their rebellion.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Nenonen 2007, 174.

¹⁵⁴ James Stuart 1597, 78.

¹⁵⁵ Goodare 2002, 52.

At this time Bothwell had been taken care of and the church was more or less James' main competitor. Another witch hunt broke out in 1597, but this time neither James nor the church could capitalize on the situation and gain any advantage over the other¹⁵⁶. The power struggle is evident everywhere, especially when it came to dealing with Catholics. As Julian Goodare poignantly put it: "The king was in principle willing to take strong action against Catholics, but he wanted to be able to make exceptions when he chose – first for certain favored nobles and courtiers whose loyalty or at least quiescence he could rely on, and secondly for any Catholics at times when he was pursuing a sensitive foreign policy. The national Presbyterian leadership, who understood this well, periodically picked up the weapon of excommunication of leading Catholics as a means of putting pressure on the king."¹⁵⁷ This further proves the point that James was most of all a political demonologist. Certainly he was anti-catholic in his demonology, but he also reserved the right to be the ultimate deciding figure in all major religious issues, whether he would decide in favor of Catholic or Reformed. The important thing was that the decision was his and that it fit into his agenda.

5. Conclusions

When I first read King James' *Daemonologie* it was for my bachelor's thesis. In the three years after that I must have read the third book of *Daemonologie* dozens of times, and realized that during each reading I found new layers to the book, and the context underlying it. James' demonological treatise may be short and unoriginal, but it is by no means simple. There are layers upon layers of religious, political and personal context to be found within the passages.

James obviously considered himself a great author and a learned man. He draws upon the influence of the great men of letters of ancient Greece and Rome, at the same time presenting his own work as at least their equal, and actually even better. For all their skill, the great ancient authors had one fatal flaw: They were not Christian. But James was.

¹⁵⁶ Goodare 2002, 70.

¹⁵⁷ Goodare 1999, 187.

He is also not just any Christian but actually God's direct servant on Earth. The bible is his greatest weapon against the demons and witches, and he uses this weapon often when defining his unnatural enemies, mapping out their appearance and manners so that they may be fought more efficiently. If it is meant to be, of course, because the demons are actually there on God's behalf, punishing the wicked and testing the piety of the righteous.

James' Christianity was not completely unambiguous. His country was undergoing a huge social change in the name of the religious Reformation, and this can also clearly be seen in *Daemonologie*. James is obviously Reformed in his demonology, perhaps even too obviously. On one hand he condemns Catholics to the same caste with the demons and mocks the period of Catholicism in Scotland as the time of magic and superstition. On the other hand he discusses several topics which were usually rare in Reformed and Scottish demonology, such as the demons incubi and succubi, and admits that the Catholics may be able to exorcise demons possessing humans.

Opening layer after layer, James' demonology unravels. The layer that, in my opinion, ties it all together and gives the demonology meaning and context is the political one. It is not known exactly when James wrote *Daemonologie*, but for me the most obvious explanation is that he wrote it slowly between 1591 and 1597. I can't speak for the first and second book in this thesis, but when it comes to the third book the political context of the witch hunt of 1590-1591 is clearly present.

James was strongly influenced by the struggle for power that he had to go through during the early to mid 1590s. His feud with the earl of Bothwell, the power struggle with the church, the rebelling nobles and the intrigues of the court all shaped the young king into the ruler that he was in 1597 when the book was published.

When analyzed in its proper context, the third book of *Daemonologie* presents a picture of an opportunistic and even ruthless ruler who clearly believes that he is a ruler from divine right. James reserves no mercy for his enemies, whom he calls witches in his demonology, and at the same time tries to present a picture of himself as a learned and wise ruler, who wishes to guide and protect his people.

Why did King James VI write the third book of *Daemonologie* in this manner? Because he was genuinely interested in demonology, because he was Reformed and because he believed in what he wrote. But above all, because it served his political interests and helped to consolidate his power. In my opinion, James was above all else a political demonologist and his book reflects this. The web of politics and religion surrounding the issue is so large and tangled that there still remains room for more study regarding it.

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**James VI
The Demonologist King**



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A Short Introduction to this Documentary

The point of this documentary film is to give people a glimpse of demonology, a subject which today feels quite alien to us, but is at the same time something many people find interesting and would probably like to learn more about. Centuries ago belief in demons and evil spirits was not as uncommon as today, and some people dedicated their lives to studying them. One of the most famous of these people was King James VI of Scotland. He was not only a king but also a traditional demonologist, who used demonology in a way which most demonologists would probably not have thought of. By looking at his life from this perspective, I believe we can provide a clear and interesting example of this mystical phenomenon.

SCENE 1 INTRODUCTION INT/EXT/DAY

Introduction to the film. Pictures of demons are shown. Narrator begins to speak.

NARRATOR

The supernatural has always intrigued us. Demons, ghosts, fairies, dragons and other mystical creatures continue to hold our interest, even though in our modern world only a few people still believe in them.

Pictures of demons are replaced by a re-enactment. Peasants are sitting in a church, listening to the priest who preaches passionately and shows them a drawing of a demon, or points to a stained glass depicting one. The priest is dressed in robes used by the reformed clergy in Scotland during the end of the 16th century. The peasants are dressed in their finest clothes. No dirty rags but nothing too fancy either, something average people could afford at the time.

NARRATOR

The situation was quite different in Europe four hundred years ago, when demons and other mystical elements and beliefs were more or less part of everyday life. Back then, just like nowadays, people were curious and wanted to study and understand these phenomena.

A re-enactment of a witch trial and burning. The accused is a man in his 30's. The trial is held in a medium sized bare stone hall, there are no particular ornaments or decorations on the walls. About 8-10 rows of benches, with judges' seats on a pedestal in front of them. The accused stands before the judges. King James is sitting among the judges, but not acting as one. The execution is done by burning on a castle yard. There are not many people gathered at the site: the accused, the executioner, few priests, guards and King James. James' face is shown briefly when the fire is lit; his expression is harsh but not cruel or sadistic. James is not named as the king at this point, but it can be deduced from his clothing and mannerism.

NARRATOR

Many who studied them were considered witches or sorcerers, and shunned or even condemned to death by the established society. The church and the state saw people who questioned the divine as their enemies, and used whatever means necessary to destroy them.

Contemporary pictures of various demonologists from Scotland and elsewhere.

NARRATOR

But some of them were a recognized part of the said society. They tried to learn about the demons, and about ways to repel and to fight them. These men were called demonologists.

After the demonologists we see James. He sits at his desk in his workroom, writing a book. The room is quite nice looking, but not too luxurious (to show that Scotland was not very rich at the time). He soon stops writing and closes the book. Name *Daemonologie* is displayed on the cover.

NARRATOR

Demonologists were learned men, mostly from the clergy. But not all of them. Among them was one man whose profession was somewhat extraordinary, and who used demonology for something no other demonologist could.

Fade out and display the name of the documentary on a black background.

SCENE 2 HISTORY OF DEMONOLOGY INT/DAY

Pictures of various demonologists are shown again. Jean Bodin etc.

NARRATOR

But what exactly were demonology and its practitioners?

A wise looking man/woman sitting in a chair. We see many full book cases behind the chair, the room appears to be a personal library or study room. His/her name and profession is displayed on screen.

EXPERT 1

Word demonology comes from the Greek words daimōn, meaning demon, an evil spirit, and -logia, the study of something. So basically it meant the study of demons.

Quick flashes of pictures of demons.

EXPERT 1

Europe was much more religious place 400 years ago. Today we might associate demons with Satanism, or something similar, but back then demonology was a field of study legitimately part of the Christian church!

Another expert on the subject is introduced. He/she is sitting in a room.

EXPERT 2

What were demons then? First you may think of a huge, red evil creature with horns and cloven hooves. In the 16th century the concept "demon" encompassed a huge variety of creatures. How you "saw" demons depended of your religion, where you lived etc. Many demons had their roots in old pagan religions, where they were not necessarily evil, but had been later adopted as symbols of the devil by Christianity.

More pictures of demons shown, depicting the variety of them. Pictures from all over the world this time, not just from Europe.

EXPERT 2

All major, and most minor, religions had demons, so demonology was not just a Christian phenomenon. However, in the Christian church it was most widespread, and caused most conflict during this time. Demons were thought to be able to influence people, and many people convicted of witchcraft in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries were accused of making pacts with demons, or with the devil. This was actually one of the reasons so many died during the great witch hunts of the time.

Again the witch trial and burning, but James is not shown this time.

NARRATOR

The end of 16th century and the beginning of 17th century were a time of witch trials in most of Europe. Exact figures are not known to us, but at least thousands were killed during this time because they were thought to be under the influence of demons.

Now James is shown again, observing the execution. This time the focus is more obviously on him. At the end of the scene the actor depicting James is slowly faded out and a painting depicting James is faded in. The actor should be in approximately the same pose as James is in the painting, to make it clear that he is depicting James in this film.

NARRATOR

Witch trials were orchestrated by the ruling elements of Europe. The church, whether it was the Catholic or the Protestant one, and many monarchs of Europe were eager to stamp out any heresy in their lands. All of them saw these heretics they called witches as a threat to their position and power. Among these rulers there is one in particular who is interesting when it comes to demonology: King James VI of Scotland. He was a king, but also a demonologist. The only demonologist king in Europe at the time.

SCENE 3 JAMES' BACKGROUND INT/EXT/DAY

Painting of James is still shown. It fades and we see James' coronation presented in pictures or re-enactment.

NARRATOR

King James VI ascended to the throne of Scotland in 1567, only thirteen months old at the time.

Picture of James' mother, Mary Queen of Scots, shown. Re-enactment of two small armies of soldiers fighting each other. Most of them are not knights in shining armor or disciplined professional troops but common men. Armies' symbols show that the other is Catholic and the other Protestant.

NARRATOR

His mother Mary Queen of Scots had been a controversial ruler. When James became king Scotland was in a state of turmoil. Religious reformation and civil war had ravaged the country for decades.

EXPERT 1

In 1567 Scotland was officially protestant, but in reality the reformation was still going on. Reformation was not a rapid revolution like it is sometimes depicted, but a slow process of social change. In the 1560's and all the way to the end of the century religious unrest was still commonplace in Scotland.

Picture of James and his book *Daemonologie*.

NARRATOR

It was this unrest which James had to deal with when he began his rule. During his first years several regency councils ruled in his place. He began his personal rule in 1583, aged 17.

EXPERT 2

James had been tutored by George Buchanan, who was considered the number one scholar in Scotland at the time. So the quality of James' upbringing was high. He was taught everything a king needed to know, and even more. Buchanan was not a demonologist, but it is possible that James still got his first contact with demonology from his tutoring. His teacher was a very learned man, and certainly would have known the general lines of demonology.

NARRATOR

While James may have learned something about demonology from Buchanan, this still does not fully explain why he chose to become a demonologist. Why did this young king decide to take it upon himself to learn something like this?

SCENE 4 JAMES' MARRIAGE EXT/INT/DAY/NIGHT

The scene begins with James walking alone and nervously around his castle. It is midday and he is dressed in royal clothes. Occasionally he glances out the window. It seems as if he is waiting for something.

NARRATOR

As strange as it may seem, one of the most crucial events concerning James' demonology would be his marriage, or rather the trouble associated with it. At the age of 19 James was still not married. Considering the importance of marriage and having heirs for 16th century monarchy, this was far from ideal for him.

EXPERT 2

Royalty of the 16th century generally got married quite young. Most of the time their marriages would be arranged by their parents when the prince or princess in question was still very young. In James' case this did not happen, because when he was young his mother, the former queen, was being held prisoner by the English. So James had to arrange his marriage by himself.

James is still walking around his castle when a messenger arrives. He bows and hands James a letter. James waves him to leave and reads the letter. His hopeful nervousness turns to disappointment.

NARRATOR

James had began to arrange a marriage with the Danish royal family. King Frederick II of Denmark did not want to give his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, to the relatively poor king of Scotland, so a marriage was instead arranged between James and Elizabeth's younger sister Anne. However, there were troubles. Anne was supposed to sail to Scotland in 1589, but bad weather forced her to set anchor in Norway, where severe storms held her prisoner.

James meets with his advisors, explaining them how he should sail to meet Anne in Norway instead of waiting around doing nothing. Advisors are protesting this, but James keeps his head. He then turns to speak to another young man (Bothwell) who is wearing an admiral's uniform. James gives the man instructions, and the man nods to him and leaves.

NARRATOR

In autumn 1589 James got tired of waiting and decided to sail to meet Anne in Oslo. There is some debate amongst historians as to why he decided to act like this. One explanation is that he did not want to appear weak. James had familiarized himself with the teachings of the famous Italian political philosopher Niccolo Machiavelli, and reasoned that waiting in the safety of his castle while his young bride faces the dangers of the sea voyage would seem cowardly and weaken his position. Therefore, in October 1589 he set sail to Norway.

EXPERT 1

Regarding James' demonology it is interesting who he appointed to prepare his journey to Norway. The man in charge was Francis Stewart, 1st Earl of Bothwell, and James' first cousin. James had appointed him lord admiral in 1583, and in 1589 he was an influential part of the Scottish ruling elite. What makes this interesting? Well, the fact that Bothwell was almost continuously rebelling against James!

Picture of Bothwell shown, along with short clip of him fighting against someone. They are in a courtyard, it is day. Bothwell is clearly enjoying the fight, he smiles and occasionally laughs. The fight is not serious; they are not fighting to the death but rather training. Both men are wearing clothes suitable for fencing, but that still show that they are nobles. Bothwell's opponent manages to scrape him slightly, which totally changes the earl's mood. His expression turns serious and he begins to fight more fervently. Bothwell soon disarms his opponent and forces him down on his knees. He holds his sword at the other man's throat. There is anger in his eyes, but it quickly fades. He lowers his blade and smiles again, helping the other man up. They walk away and Bothwell slaps his opponent friendly on the back.

NARRATOR

The Earl of Bothwell was an interesting character. He was born in 1562, so he was just a few years older than James. They were also quite unlike each other in character: James was a person one might describe as "bookish", while Bothwell was hot tempered and even prone to resort to physical violence to solve problems. He was not interested in demonology or other such things. But both of them were intelligent, and in the 1580's and 1590's they were practically competing for political power in Scotland.

SCENE 5 JAMES AND BOTHWELL: DIFFERENCES INT
/EXT/DAWN/DAY

Re-enactment: Bothwell and James riding together with some men. They appear to be in a hurry. They arrive at Falkland Palace, where they dismount and shake hands, seeming quite pleased.

NARRATOR

James and Bothwell were not always rivals. Before 1586 they were in quite friendly terms. Bothwell accompanied James when he escaped from Edinburgh in 1583. He had been held prisoner there by rebellious nobles.

Map showing the border region between England and Scotland.

NARRATOR

Things changed in 1586-1587. First James forged a military alliance with England, called the treaty of Berwick. Bothwell was one of the lords responsible for the formalization delegation of the treaty. Bothwell did not like the English very much, and the treaty was not something he would have wanted. However, he kept quiet. Their first real falling out happened the next year, when Elizabeth I of England had James' mother Mary executed.

EXPERT 1

The execution of Mary Queen of Scots was a pivotal moment in James' life. Of course he did not like it, but he practically had to accept it. James had ambition, he knew that he could become the King of England one day, and did not want to endanger it.

Contemporary picture depicting the execution of Mary queen of Scots. Bothwell and James are walking in a hallway in Falkland Palace and discussing something. Bothwell seems agitated, almost angry, while James tries to stay calm. He does not succeed completely. Bothwell acts like he is demanding something from James, who shakes his head and turns away.

NARRATOR

Bothwell, however, was not so understanding. He and many other lords called for immediate war on England. James thought otherwise, and the alliance was not broken. This caused permanent strife between the two noblemen.

SCENE 6 JAMES' VOYAGE TO NORWAY AND DENMARK.
MEANWHILE WITCH TRIALS BEGIN IN SCOTLAND. EXT/NIGHT

James' journey to Norway and Denmark will be depicted here. The outside scene showing the ships in the sea could be an animation, and

James in his cabin a re-enactment. Depiction of the journey, showing James aboard his ship, which is a typical 16th century northern European sailing ship. In good condition, but not state of the art: Scotland was quite poor at the time. They are trying to sail across the sea despite heavy storms. Huge waves wash across the ship; sailors try to keep it on course. They have to yell to be heard. Cut to James in his cabin. He is going through some papers, reading and writing, occasionally taking a glance out the window. He seems nervous.

NARRATOR

James left to Norway in October 1589. The voyage was hard. Winter storms had begun to ravage the North Sea, making sailing almost impossible. Despite the poor conditions James and his entourage finally managed to make their way to Oslo, take Princess Anne with them and then sail to Denmark, where they spent the winter.

Bothwell is sitting at his desk, wearing a fine nobleman's outfit. He is shown reading and signing papers and meeting officials and ambassadors. Some of them are meeting him concerning witch trials.

NARRATOR

When James left Bothwell was practically left in charge of running the government in Scotland. In spring 1589 he was still almost openly rebelling against James, but in autumn he seems to have regained his trust. Around this time witch trials began to become more common in Scotland.

EXPERT 2

Demonology was used to justify the witch trials. When dealing with either of them the other cannot be completely ignored. The two are entwined closely together. The most common way demonology was used in this context is by claiming that witches made a demonic pact when they practiced their trade. This pact was a crime and sin against God, and also against the state. This was important at the time, because it gave monarchs a justification to persecute the heretics.

SCENE 7 JAMES IN DENMARK INT/EXT/DAY

James and Anne arrive to Copenhagen. They are met by the royal envoy, and taken to the palace.

NARRATOR

When James arrived to Denmark he knew he had to spend the winter there. Storms were too severe to make the journey back to Scotland. He spent the winter as a guest of King Heinrich.

Re-enactment of James meeting distinguished Danish scholars. He meets astronomer Tycho Brahe and the demonologist Niels Hemmingsen. Meeting with Hemmingsen depicted as longer: they sit down and talk in Hemmingsen's luxurious home, while having something to eat and drink.

NARRATOR

While in Denmark James had time to meet important Danish scholars. He met, for example, the famous astronomer Tycho Brahe, and also a famous Danish demonologist Niels Hemmingsen. They talked at length, like two colleagues. Some historians have suggested that this meeting was very important for James own activities as a demonologist.

EXPERT 2

James' meeting with Hemmingsen was not a coincidence. The King wanted to meet this famous demonologist and probably compare views with him. However, we do not know what exactly they talked about.

James and Hemmingsen talking. Flashes of pictures of demons, and of James writing *Daemonologie*.

NARRATOR

There are some who believe that it was this meeting with Hemmingsen that familiarized James with the continental view of demonology and demonic pact. But was the meeting really so important?

EXPERT 1

Continental view of demonology was the one with the concept of demonic pact: that witches made a pact with a demon, and thus committed a heinous crime. In England and Scotland, however, this view was not that popular. There it was thought that using evil magic was what made witches evil, not some pact with a demon.

Re-enactment: Men and women (witches) chanting in a forest at night, "summoning" demons. (Note: In reality things like this may well have been very rare at the time. The re-enactment's purpose is to demonstrate what people *thought* the demonic pact was about.)

EXPERT 2

Today most historians of this subject don't believe that Hemmingsen was James' first contact with continental demonology. True, the idea of demonic pact became important in Scottish witch trials afterwards, but most likely the ideas,

though not widespread were already known before this. Hemmingsen's demonology was in fact not that continental at all. The demonic pact was not a very important part of it.

James lounging about in a Danish palace: conversing with courtiers and Danish nobles.

NARRATOR

Rest of the spring went on quite uneventful, except for one interesting incident.

Poor looking people, peasants, being dragged to prison. They are protesting and looking miserable while the guards drag them away. A guard asks something from a bit wealthier looking man, pointing at the prisoners, who then nods his head and replies. The prisoners are taken away.

NARRATOR

Some Danish people were accused of using witchcraft to try to sink the ship that had been carrying princess Anne. In truth the ship had had such trouble in the storms because the persons responsible for outfitting it had been careless. They tried to shift the blame and accused witches.

SCENE 7.5 DEMONOLOGY: DIFFERENCES IN CATHOLIC AND REFORMED VERSIONS

A map of Europe. An animation shows the spread of reformation, with dates shown with each country expressing when the reformation spread there. Areas where Luther and Calvin began their influence are particularly highlighted. Pictures of Luther, Calvin and Knox are also shown.

NARRATOR

Demonology was not an even field of study. Scotland and Denmark had both undergone a religious reformation by the end of the 16th century, but still there were differences in their demonologies. Even greater differences were found between the Catholic and Reformed versions of demonology. As we know, the reformation began in the 15th century, mainly from the ideas of one Martin Luther. It spread steadily around Europe, particularly to the northern parts of it. Luther's Protestantism was not however the only branch of the reformation. In Switzerland a French theologian named John Calvin founded a movement called Calvinism. Both these influenced a Scotsman called John Knox, who is generally seen as the father of the Scottish reformation.

EXPERT 2

The Scottish church, called the Kirk after the reformation, was not exactly Protestant or Calvinistic but rather had influences from many different ideologies. The demonology of this new church was also a bit different from others. First of all, it was quite like that of the English Anglican church. Both these differed from the continental European views when it came to the idea of the demonic pact.

Picture of a tortured spirit. Below it two columns: Catholic and Reformed. In the reformed column two entries, illusion and demon. In the Catholic column more entries: At least cursed soul, demon, illusion, and a ghost. The entries appear one by one. The Reformed ones during narrator's first speak and the catholic ones during the second speak. There should also be pictures to emphasize the differences: couple of pictures of some nasty demons for the Reformed side, and more variation for the Catholic side: Demons, ghosts etc, to show the difference between the two.

NARRATOR

One important aspect that differed most between the two Christian views was that of supernatural beings such as demons. In both versions there were evil spirits sent by Satan, demons. In the Reformed religion this was all there was to it. All supernatural beings were spirits or illusions serving the devil, because the Age of Wonders had ended and God no longer performed miracles like that. He did however let his unwilling servant, Satan, perform things like this to test the mankind.

NARRATOR

In the Catholic religion there still were spirits and other magical creatures that were not necessarily sent by the devil. Catholics believed in the purgatory, which the reformation had abandoned as papist superstition and heresy. Souls condemned to the purgatory could return to haunt the living, meaning they were basically ghosts. Catholicism was also more open-minded than protestantism in other aspects regarding the supernatural. Not everything magical was attributed to Satan. In the Reformed demonology however those which the Catholics saw as souls, or ghosts, from the purgatory were plainly claimed to be demons. The Reformation's goal was to root out everything they viewed as heretical from Catholicism, and this was its biggest effect on demonology.

SCENE 8 RETURN TO SCOTLAND AND ACTION AGAINST
BOTHWELL INT/EXT/DAY

Ships in a storm, sailing back to Scotland from Denmark (animation).

NARRATOR

For his journey back James had ships brought from Scotland. He either did not trust the Danish vessels, which had been faulty when carrying Anne to Scotland, or he wanted to show his hosts that he had the means to arrange the journey on his own. The latter would fit in with his Machiavellian view of politics. However, the journey did not go without trouble. There were problems with the ships, and storms were again an obstacle.

EXPERT 1

James' vessel nearly sank on their journey from Denmark to Scotland. This naturally upset the king.

Bothwell and his friends walking in a hallway. A group of people further back observe them with malice. They give one man instructions, and then he leaves. After this we see James in his castle surrounded by his advisors. He seems slightly angry. The man requests audience with the king. James orders his guards to allow the man to pass. The man bows and tells James that the storm that nearly sank his vessel was raised by witches trying to kill him. James seems shocked and angry.

NARRATOR

Some people in the court saw this as a chance to make a move against the Earl of Bothwell. He was in a position of power, but he also had many enemies. The king himself was growing weary of his insubordination, and some others were openly hostile towards him. They devised a plan to accuse Bothwell of using witchcraft to sink the ship carrying James.

EXPERT 2

The accusation against Earl of Bothwell was clearly a politically motivated move, and quite a devious one at that. Nobody of influence did accuse Bothwell directly. Instead the whole plan went like this. A group of women, who came to be known as the East Lothian Witches, were accused of raising storms to sink the king's ship. Then one of them, woman called Agnes Sampson, claimed that Bothwell had hired them to do so, with promises of gold and silver if they succeeded to sink the king's ship.

SCENE 9 JAMES' REACTION TO ACCUSATIONS

Men and women being interrogated for witchcraft. One of them is Agnes Sampson. She is being tortured in a prison, with James observing. Sampson finally confesses.

NARRATOR

How did James react to these accusations? According to contemporary sources he was shocked by the idea that there was this unnatural conspiracy against him.

EXPERT 1

King James was a monarch who truly believed that a sovereign's power came from God alone, and that he did not have to answer to anyone else. This shows clearly in his demonology. In it he embraced the continental idea of the demonic pact, and decreed that such a pact was to be considered a direct assault against the throne. So the idea of someone using witchcraft to attack him would have been quite abhorrent to him. Most likely James did really believe in witchcraft and magic, and thought that his life was in danger.

SCENE 10 THE GREAT WITCH TRIALS BEGIN INT/EXT/DAY

Re-enacted scenes of people being tried and convicted of witchcraft. Burnings and other executions. Priests preaching, driving crowds into frenzy. People eying their neighbors suspiciously. There is a sense of chaos and distrust in the air.

NARRATOR

The trial of the East Lothian Witches marked the beginning of the great witch trials in Scotland. For the next few years the whole country would be consumed by holy fervor and blood lust. Demonology became part of the political and religious rhetoric, aimed to convince everyone of the accused's guilt. Bothwell was, thanks to his high rank, in the center of the trials. Right next to the demonologist king James.

EXPERT 1

Bothwell was sure that the accusations against him were part of a plot to weaken his political position. But by whom? He did not suspect the king, but the king's Lord Chancellor Maitland.

Bothwell observing James and Maitland as they walk inside the castle. The earl's eyes show pure hatred and contempt. After this fix the camera on Maitland, and fade a painting of him in.

EXPERT 2

John Maitland, 1st Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, was James' Lord Chancellor, the keeper of the privy seal and one of his most trusted advisors. He was also Bothwell's most hated enemy. It may be that most of Bothwell's rebellions against the king were actually targeted against Maitland, but the two were so close that the difference was hard to see.

SCENE 11 THE GREAT WITCH HUNT EXT/DAY

A mob is looking for someone in a peasant village. A scared looking woman is hiding in a hut. Someone notices her and yells to the mob, which then rushes towards her. She tries to escape but is caught. They drag her away to be burned.

NARRATOR

But what started the great witch hunt in Scotland? Was it just the so called conspiracy against James, and how was his demonology involved?

EXPERT 1

An important year for witchcraft in Scotland was 1563, when the witchcraft act was set. This act criminalized witchcraft and allowed civil authorities to prosecute people suspected of it. After this there were several witch trials, and even what one could call witch hunts. So the case which involved king James, Bothwell, Maitland and other nobles was certainly not the first major witch trial in Scotland. But it would become the most important one.

Map of Scotland showing the areas where witch trials and executions were going on in 1590, particularly east Lothian, North Berwick, Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

NARRATOR

In 1590 the witch hunt had already spread before the king and other powers that he became involved. There were trials and executions in Edinburgh, East Lothian, Aberdeen and Ross-shire. The worst was however yet ahead.

SCENE 12 THE NORTH BERWICK WITCH TRIALS INT/EXT/DAY

North Berwick on map.

NARRATOR

The trials that started the involvement of the crown in witch trials happened in North Berwick in 1590.

A courtroom full of people. James sits near the judges, who are questioning Bothwell.

NARRATOR

This was the trial in which Earl of Bothwell was amongst the accused.

The scene showing Agnes Sampson being interrogated using torture shown again.

NARRATOR

Bothwell's name came up when Agnes Sampson was being interrogated. King James himself was overseeing the interrogation, and selecting the methods employed in it. In his book *Daemonologie* he says "... what form of punishment think ye merit these magicians and witches? For I see that ye account them to be all alike guilty? They ought to be put to death according to the law of God, the civil and imperial law, and the municipal law of all Christian nations." Apparently James had little or no mercy for those he considered practitioners of evil magic.

EXPERT 2

In his book *Daemonologie* James also ask himself that "But ought no sex, age nor rank be exempted?" and answers "None at all, being so used by the lawful magistrate, for it is the highest point of idolatry, wherein no exception is admitted by the law of God.". This shows how in James' eyes no-one is above the law when it comes to witchcraft, and that anyone found guilty must be punished.

EXPERT 1

The witch trials basically served two purposes for James. First, it was an opportunity to bring the church and the crown closer together, because witches were seen as their common enemy. Second, it was a way to potentially get rid of rebels like Bothwell. As James was the king, and therefore practically the highest authority in the realm, and also a demonologist, he could dictate how the trials should be conducted and the "guilty" punished. Of course the church had it's say also, but James' influence was considerable, thanks to his interest in demonology.

SCENE 13 THE CASE OF BOTHWELL INT/EXT/DAY/NIGHT

Bothwell scheming with his friends in a tavern, devising plots to overthrow the king and Maitland. Picture of Maitland shown after this, and bits of some previous scene where Maitland and James are together.

NARRATOR

Bothwell had been scheming and participating in political intrigue for years before the witch trials. Most of Bothwell's rebelliousness was directed towards Chancellor Maitland, whom he viewed with seething hatred because of his lower birth and nature. But Maitland was such an integral part of king James' administration during the beginning of the 1590's that threats against him were more or less threats against the king also.

EXPERT 1

The two reasons why the Bothwell was such a persistent obstacle for James were his rank and popularity. He was James' cousin, and had lots of political influence and power. The reformed Scottish church also used Bothwell as their champion against James in the power struggle between the ecclesiastical and mundane power. He was described by some as "A sanctified scourge" against the king.

EXPERT 2

He was also included in the royal succession. Should James die childless, Bothwell could theoretically have found his way to the throne. Because of all this James could not simply have him killed or exiled, not without a very, very strong reason. And even a compelling reason would not be enough. Bothwell would have to lose his popularity. If James would have exiled him in the 1580's he might have caused another civil war!

Bothwell's trial. He is found guilty, and protests this heavily. Afterwards we see him escaping imprisonment with the help of some men in cloaks. James and Maitland are informed, and they are angry. A town crier reads aloud the royal order to capture Bothwell.

NARRATOR

The witch trials provided an excellent opportunity to disgrace Bothwell. It is not clear whether his charges were orchestrated by Chancellor Maitland or James himself, but they both took advantage of them. In June 1590 Bothwell was declared the head of a conspiracy aimed to kill King James, and his properties were seized. He decided not to stay and see what happens, but escaped June 21st. Four days later he was declared a traitor to the crown and operations to capture him were set up.

SCENE 14 WHAT DID DEMONOLOGY HAVE TO DO WITH THIS? INT/EXT/DAY/NIGHT

It is night. James is writing a book in candlelight.

NARRATOR

How does demonology exactly fit into all this? It was used to justify the witch trials, but what other effects did it have in this case? Demonology was actually a vital part of the whole process. James began to write his demonological treatise *Daemonologie In Form of a Dialogue* sometime in the beginning of the 1590's. This book provides us with a clear representation of what he wanted the Scotland's official position on demonology to be at the time. He wrote it all the way through the great witch hunt, and published it in 1597.

When the expert is talking cut in some pictures of the actual book, and of some pages to demonstrate how it actually looks like.

EXPERT 2

Daemonologie is written as a dialog. This was a common way to write something like this during the renaissance, because people wanted to emulate the great writers of the antiquity. In the book James presents us with two characters, Philomathes and Epistemon, who are basically just an obvious way for him to present questions about the subject, and then give his answer for them.

EXPERT 1

It has been said about James' *Daemonologie* that its content is nothing special when it comes to demonology. It is short, and quite typical as a demonological treatise. It does not offer any surprising insights or answers. Why is then important? Because of who wrote it and when he wrote it.

Man of the clergy preaching, comparing the Earl of Bothwell to the devil and presenting him as the source of all evil. Priest uses visual aids, such as picture of Bothwell and a demon to do this.

NARRATOR

How did James use demonology against Bothwell? He did something which actually is quite familiar even to modern day people: he vilified Bothwell publicly.

EXPERT 1

What James did could be called demonization of politics. It was not restricted only to Bothwell, James, Maitland and the church used it against many of their enemies, but Bothwell's case is probably the best example. He was basically depicted as a demon, the Antichrist, an evil incarnate, and other nasty things. James took demonology and turned it into political rhetoric meant for this particular purpose.

James writing the letter, giving it to a messenger who takes it to Elizabeth. An aide reads it to her. Narrator reads some of it to the audience.

EXPERT 2

The extent of James' use of demonology in politics is clearly presented in his letter to England's Queen Elizabeth in 1591. In the letter James ties demonology, witchcraft, Bothwell and Catholics all in a grand conspiracy against not just himself, but also the natural and divine order. Catholicism is linked to this most likely because Elizabeth's distrust against Catholics.

SCENE 15 BOTHWELL STRIKES BACK INT/EXT/DAY/NIGHT

Re-enactment of Bothwell's attack. James and Anne are sleeping in their apartments in Holyroodhouse when Bothwell attacks. James' guards rush to meet the earl and his supporters, and fierce fighting ensues. Finally the guards manage to overpower the attackers. Bothwell is seen escaping through a window with couple of his men.

NARRATOR

How well did this demonization work? Bothwell's reputation was diminished, but not completely gone. He still had supporters, some of whom were ready to do whatever it takes to help him. December 27th 1591 Bothwell attacked James, intending to kill Maitland and capture James and Anne. James' guards managed to repel him, and capture several of his henchmen.

EXPERT 1

Bothwell's attack on Holyroodhouse showed that there was little hope left to solve the conflict peacefully. This was largely because of James. In July 1591 Bothwell had offered to turn himself in, hoping to end the violence. James would not listen to this.

EXPERT 2

Why did James not accept Bothwell's submission? The king did not talk much about the witchcraft accusations anymore. He must have known how flimsy they actually were, so instead he plainly declared Bothwell a traitor and interestingly used demonological terminology while doing so. This way anyone helping Bothwell would be helping not only him but also the devil. Did James think Bothwell was really guilty? At that point it didn't matter anymore. James had driven the case against Bothwell so hard that he could not back down now without losing face, and besides, he knew the earl was guilty of other crimes he had committed before the witch trials.

SCENE 16 REPRISALS INT/EXT/DAY/NIGHT

Town crier reading Bothwell's manifest in Edinburgh. People are gathering around him, listening curiously. They seem perplexed. In his castle James looks out the window, seeming angry. He turns away from the window and sees Maitland standing at the door, looking worried.

NARRATOR

When James could not catch Bothwell the earl's situation began to improve. The king had more troubles: Catholic nobles in northern Scotland began to rebel, which forced him to divide his attention between Bothwell and them.

EXPERT 1

Interestingly Bothwell's rhetoric differed from that of James and Maitland. He did not talk about demons or magic, instead he just said how the things really were: that he was a victim of a political witch hunt! He did not use demonology like James. The whole idea would probably have been strange to him. While James was quite Machiavellian and perhaps more a man of words than actions, Bothwell was more straightforward and did not see the need to depict the king as Satan or something like that.

SCENE 17 BOTHWELL'S RULE

NARRATOR

With James' attention partially turned towards north, Bothwell had more room to move. In 1593 he finally succeeded in attacking James. He managed to sneak inside James' bedchamber at night and apprehend the king and queen. He did not manage to capture Maitland, however. After this attack Bothwell practically ruled the realm for some time.

A courtroom. Lots of people are there. Bothwell stands in front of the court, and James sits with the judges, looking very displeased. The main judge reads the verdict and claps with his hammer. Bothwell smiles and his supporters applaud.

NARRATOR

The best way to clear Bothwell's name was to drop the charges against him. This was not hard, considering that the main witness against him had been burned some time ago. In August 1593 a trial was held and Bothwell was cleared of all charges of witchcraft.

EXPERT 2

Bothwell's second trial was basically just an act to formally clear his charges. He was now free of them and had James pretty much in his control. Maitland had however managed to evade him. He was not completely satisfied when his most dangerous enemy was still on the loose, and rightfully so, because soon Maitland managed to force him out.

EXPERT 1

All in all Bothwell's fortune lasted for a couple of months. In November 1593 he was back where he started: an outlaw.

SCENE 18 THE NORTHERN REBELLION AND DEMONOLOGY CONCERNING IT INT/EXT/DAY

The rebel earls' camp. They are preparing a military campaign. There are lots of soldiers all around while the earls and their advisors are standing around a table studying a map. A Spanish looking nobleman is with them, an ambassador from Spain.

NARRATOR

At this time the northern earls of Huntly and Errol were still openly resisting king's rule. They were working together with Spain to attack James and restore the Catholic faith as the official religion of Scotland. Even though Bothwell was again at large James knew he would have to deal with them immediately.

EXPERT 2

James' demonology corresponds again with the way he acted during the rebellion of the northern earls. He did not attack them outright, but instead offered to pardon them if they would conform to the reformed church. This was largely seen as sympathy towards Catholicism, and made many powerful Protestants quite angry towards James. How did his demonology come into this? In *Daemonologie* there are several subtle clues which can be interpreted as signs of Catholic influence. Combined with his actions this means it is entirely possible that James did indeed have sympathy towards Catholicism.

EXPERT 1

James' Catholic sympathies and their effect on his demonology are a matter of some debate. It may just as well be that he only wanted to end the religious infighting in Scotland, and therefore did not persecute Catholics in particular that much. It could be argued that when it came to both demonology and religion James

had politics as a priority: They were first and foremost for him tools to use in his rule.

Bothwell meets with English ambassadors, who promise him help. They are then seen leading an army against James.

NARRATOR

One of the powerful Protestants who were angered by James actions was England's Queen Elizabeth. She paid James back by giving military support to Bothwell, who was at the time hiding in northern England. In April 1594 he launched an attack against James, this time with the help of English soldiers. Once again he was defeated.

SCENE 19 BOTHWELL'S END INT/EXT/DAY

Bothwell converting to Catholicism. A Catholic priest blesses him in a church. Bothwell's face shows that his heart is not truly in this, but that it is an act of desperation. After the ceremony he shakes hand with a well-dressed man who is an emissary of the Catholic earls.

NARRATOR

After the defeat the English withdrew their support and left Bothwell to survive on his own. This drove him into making a desperate move: he sought alliance with the northern Catholic lords and even converted to Catholicism.

EXPERT 1

Bothwell's conversion was most probably an act of desperation. He needed allies, and saw it as a way to get them from the other rebellious lords.

James is sitting on his throne. Maitland enters the throne room, bows and approaches the king. He tells James of Bothwell's conversion and alliance with the Catholic earls. James is furious. He rises up and strides out of the room. Maitland follows. After this we see the rebel earls. They hear that the king's army is approaching. The rebel lords briefly hold council with their commanders, and decide to flee instead of fighting. The commanders seem angry or disappointed, while the earls are just plainly scared.

NARRATOR

Bothwell's alliance with the northern earls caused James to forget all sympathy he might have had for them. Bothwell's conversion to Catholicism was not what made him angry: He already saw Bothwell as a spawn of Satan. Mostly he was angry at Huntly and Errol because they had agreed to the alliance with Bothwell. In September 1594 he launched an offensive against

the north. When it finally came to fighting the rebels actually fled. The rebel earls knew that if they raised arms directly against the king and lost, they would certainly die.

A short clip of Bothwell's conversion to Catholicism. The order of his excommunication is read aloud in a church. People seem angry, but now they are angry at Bothwell. He has lost his sympathy. Finally we see Bothwell boarding a ship that carries him away. He seems utterly devastated and broken.

NARRATOR

Bothwell's conversion to Catholicism caused him to lose just about all the support he had in Scotland. The rebellious Catholic earls were defeated and Presbyterianism continued to be the main religion. Bothwell was excommunicated by the Church of Scotland in February 1595, and exiled in March. He fled to mainland Europe and finally ended up in Naples. There he was rumored to be a necromancer, a conjurer of dead spirits, and was living in squalor until he died in 1612.

SCENE 20 AFTERMATH OF THE WITCH HUNT INT/EXT/DAY

A witch burning is going on. There are lots of people observing, mostly poor looking peasants. They seem very agitated, almost frenzied. Guards are having trouble controlling the crowd. The whole scene is much more overheated than the previous executions we have seen. James is not overseeing it.

NARRATOR

The witch hunt did not end with Bothwell's exile, so demonology was also still required. However, with Bothwell gone and the Catholic lords vanquished there were no serious political enemies of James' involved anymore.

EXPERT 1

An important aspect of the witch hunt had been its purpose as a way to unify the church and the crown. Witches were a common enemy for the two, and the witch hunt was used to form an alliance between them. In 1596 James no longer needed the church to support him this way. His most dangerous enemies had been defeated and his divine rule had been established: he now ruled above everyone else in Scotland.

EXPERT 2

As the witch trials went on demonology actually lost some of its purpose. It was no longer really needed to justify the trials and executions. People began to see witches everywhere, and the whole thing basically turned into hysteria.

A peasant woman is accusing some other people of witchcraft. The officials listening to her seem unconvinced. Re-enactment of the Privy Council meeting. The leader of the council is reading out a declaration to end the witch hunt and other councilors voice their support for it.

NARRATOR

What had began basically as a politically motivated event finally turned into chaos where people began accusing their neighbors and friends of witchcraft. This eventually led to the end of the great witch hunt in Scotland. When people's accusations began to seem more and more inconsistent, the government put an end to official witch hunts. August 12th 1597 the Privy Council ordered the hunts to stop. The witch trials did not end completely immediately after this, but they were not as numerous anymore. The trials had served their purpose, and if allowed to continue would now only serve to destabilize the country.

SCENE 21 JAMES AND HIS DEMONOLOGY AFTER THE WITCH HUNT INT/EXT/DAY

James sitting on his throne, attending to day to day affairs of state. He meets people, talks with them and seems all in all quite content.

NARRATOR

After the great witch hunt ended there was not so much need for demonology in Scotland. That is not to say that it became redundant, but that it had served its main purpose: to justify the witch trials. James' treatise *Daemonologie* was published in 1597, after Bothwell had been dealt with and the peak of the witch hunt had passed.

EXPERT 1

Daemonologie is an interesting book. Basically it seems like nothing special in itself. It is quite short, only 92 pages. Most demonological treatises written by famous demonologists like French Jean Bodin were hundreds of pages long. *Daemonologie* is however interesting because it was written when the witch hunt in Scotland was going on at its strongest, and Bothwell was causing trouble. The length of the book actually shows how turbulent the time was: It took James about five to six years to write this 92-page book!

SCENE 22 DEMONOLOGY ELSEWHERE

Map of Europe, showing areas with major witch hunts during the 16th and 17th century.

NARRATOR

How did demonology factor into witch trials elsewhere in Europe? Was Scotland's and James' situation unique? The answer is both yes and no.

In the end pictures of Saddam Hussein and Kim-Jong Il etc. and clips from some news or similar where politicians have used rhetoric like this in the present days.

EXPERT 2

Demonology was used for political purposes elsewhere in Europe. For example in France it was widely deployed in this fashion during the end of 1500's and the beginning of 1600's. Everywhere demonology was used to justify the witch trials, which were many times at least partially political. So Scotland was not unique in this respect. Actually something akin to demonological rhetoric in politics can even be found in modern days. Leaders of many terrorist organizations and "evil" countries such as Iraq before the US invasion or North Korea, are sometimes vilified quite like Bothwell was over four hundred years ago.

Picture of King James shown.

EXPERT 1

What made Scotland's situation regarding demonology unique was King James. While demonology was used for politics in other countries, only in Scotland did the monarch participate so closely in the witch trials, and had such an interest in demonology.

Recap of everything that has happened. Glimpses of the witch trials, voyage to Denmark, trouble with Bothwell etc.

NARRATOR

King James had begun his rise to rule from a position which was quite weak. When he became the king of Scotland, the country was undergoing a religious reformation and had just been through a civil war. James solidified his rule and at least temporarily pacified the country. For him demonology was a tool for politics. He used it to destroy his opponents and to forge an alliance with the church when he needed it. Because of this hundreds of people lost their lives, while James became one of the most powerful rulers in Europe.

Some illustrations



A witch raising a storm to sink a Scottish ship.
From a 17th century book "The Kingdom of Darkness", by R. B.



A so-called Fairy Circle where demons and witches are dancing.
From "The Kingdom of Darkness".



A drawing of a 17th century English witch trial. From “The Kingdom of Darkness”.



A French magician and demonologist. Date unknown. From “The Kingdom of Darkness”.

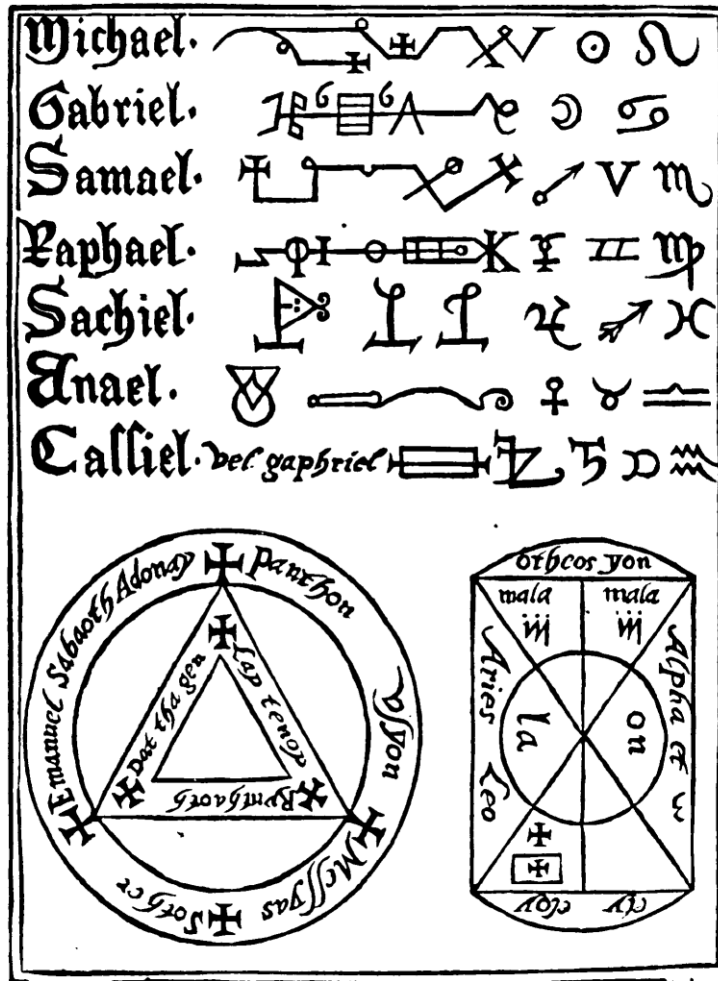


The Devil burning a city. Date unknown. From "The Kingdom of Darkness".



A witch summoning demons using a pot of coals. Date unknown. From "The Kingdom of Darkness".

The characters of the angels of the seven daies, with
 their names : of figures, seales and periapts.
 The seventh Chapter.

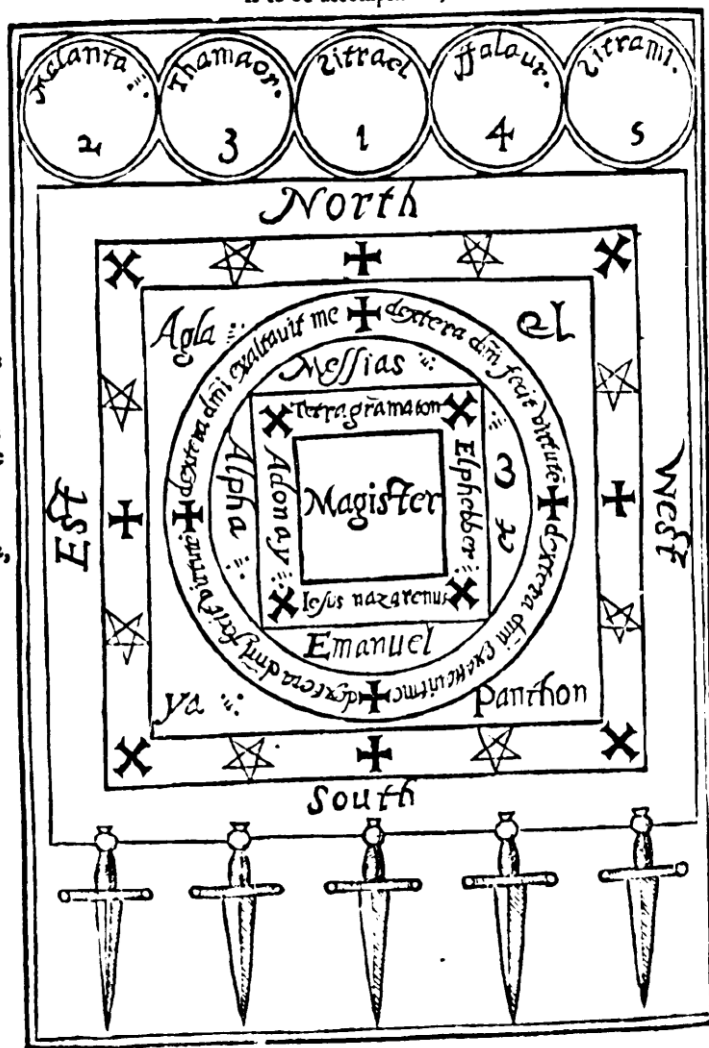


*These figures are called the seales of the earth, without the
 which no spirit will appeere, except thou haue them with thee.*

Demonological chart from Reginald Scots "The Discovery of Witchcraft", 1584. Scot was one of the first known skeptical scholars concerning demonology. His work was stoutly condemned by King James, who prohibited its publishing in England during his reign.

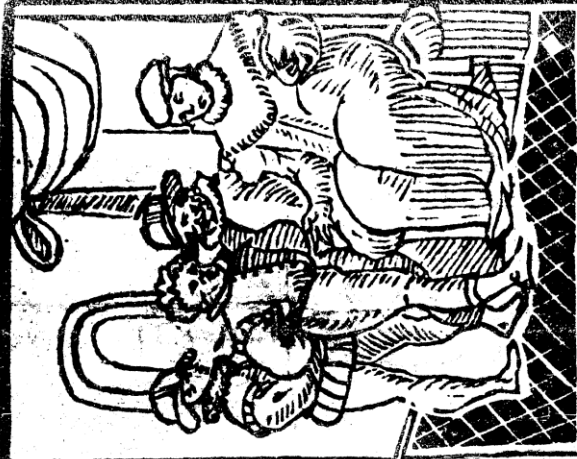
A figure or type proportionall, shewing what forme must be obserued and kept, in making the figure whereby the former secret of inclosing a spirit in christall is to be accomplished, &c.

The names written within the five circles doo signifie the five infernall kings: See pag 411, 412, 413.



Another demonological chart from Reginald Scots "The Discovery of Witchcraft", 1584.

Next page: Illustration of methods used to hunt and execute witches from 16th century Britain. Author unknown.





A demon from John Phillips' "The Examination and confession of certaine wyches at Chensforde in the countie of Essex", 1566.