

# Bodin Sources Index

An Online Index of Sources

Cited in Bodin's Major Works

Three Early Works (Release date – December 2007):  
Bodin's Commentary on Oppian, *De venatione*, 1555  
*Oratio ad senatum populumque tolosatem*, 1559  
*Response a M. de Malestroit*, 1568

*Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, 1572  
(First ed. 1566. Release date – December 2004)

*De la démonomanie des sorciers*, 1587  
(First ed. 1580. Release date – January 2011)

Compiled and Edited by  
Kenneth D. McRae, Alastair D. McCann  
Catherine Andreadis

The first of these files contains a General Introduction to the Bodin Sources Index, together with a brief note on each of the individual works released to date. This file is followed by separate data files, in tabular format, for each of these works. Two further works by Bodin are in preparation. When cited, the project should be referred to as Bodin Sources Index, with the names of the three authors. With acknowledgment, the content may be used freely for scholarly purposes.

Copyright Kenneth D. McRae, Alastair D. McCann, Catherine Andreadis 2005, 2008, 2011. All Rights Reserved.

## Bodin's Sources: An Online Index

### General Introduction

Expanded and updated – January 2011

In 1955, towards the end of textual work on my edition of *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale*, I conceived the idea of developing a general index of the abundant sources cited in Bodin's major published works. The textual work and a preceding thesis on Bodin had left me deeply impressed by the range of Bodin's mind. A first stage of such an index was begun that summer by Alastair McCann, a scholar from Cambridge who had worked with me at Nuffield College, Oxford, on the triple textual comparison of the *République* - French, Latin, and Knolles's English translation of 1606. McCann was already familiar with Bodin's thought, and he had time available to begin an index of source materials while my editing continued. The reprint of the Knolles text, published in 1962 by Harvard University Press, was apparently the first full-length reprint of this work since the Frankfurt Latin edition of 1641.

The sources index was first envisioned as an appendix to a separate monograph on Bodin's life and political thought, to be accompanied by some quantitative and qualitative analysis of types of sources (e.g. periods, countries, disciplines, themes, etc.). The work on sources began with an examination of Bodin's earliest known publication, a translation into Latin, with commentary, of the Greek poet Oppian's work on hunting, *Cynegetica*, or in Latin *De venatione*. The sequence continued to the *Universae naturae theatrum*, the *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, the *Démonomanie des sorciers*, and selected minor works, until only the *République* was missing of the works envisaged in our original plan. In the mid-1950s, the *Heptaplomeres*, after centuries of circulation in manuscripts, seemed to lack a text reliable enough for indexing, though this gap would be remedied in 1975 by Marion Leathers Daniels Kuntz's excellent edition in English.

Alastair McCann (1917-1989) studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, receiving a B.A. in Classics in 1938. His work with me on the two Bodin projects extended from 1954 to 1962, though it was interspersed with other activities. In 1958, he received a degree in Education from Leeds University, and thereafter his time available for research was limited to school vacations. In the same period he also did research in the Bodleian Library on John Locke's medical writings for Dr. Kenneth Dewhurst, and at some points this took precedence over the Bodin project. After a strong beginning, the sources project slowed down, owing to McCann's involvement in teaching, his research on the Locke project, and occasional periods of ill health. The indexing of the *République* was completed in 1962.

This first index, compiled between 1955 and 1962, was handwritten - in pencil - on approximately 14,000 slips of paper measuring ten by five centimetres. It is based on selected Bodin editions available in the Bodleian or in other libraries in Oxford. For much of this period I was absent from Oxford and teaching in Ottawa, though we remained in touch by post and by summer visits to Oxford. In present context we can refer to this first index on paper slips as the McCann index. Though I must accept primary responsibility for the guidelines and rules we developed at the time, without Alastair's infectious zest for classical scholarship a project on this scale would probably not have been attempted.

By 1962, my edition of *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale* had appeared and I was fully occupied with two other projects. The index, however, was far from being usable. McCann had sorted the Oppian slips in alphabetical order and had identified more precisely many of the classical references in Bodin's commentary. For all the other works the slips remained unsorted and unedited, mainly in the order in which they were first compiled. The project became dormant, though never completely out of mind, for four decades.

**Revival.** As time passed, I became concerned over a prospective loss of a resource that had cost much effort, and increasingly aware of possibilities of handling data differently in the age of the home computer. Could the paper index slips be converted to readable computer files, and should they be? At the end of 2003 I resolved to try. The computer route promised several advantages. It could save many hours of labor in sorting paper slips. Once entered in a file, the data set for an entire work could be sorted alphabetically and numerically by a single key stroke. It would allow flexibility for further editing, growth, and periodic updates, escaping the fixity of the printed word. We could make preliminary versions on diskettes for each Bodin work, to be followed eventually by consolidation on a compact disk or similar medium.

In 2004 the data entry process was planned, modestly funded, and a small team recruited to work on it. Catherine Andreadis, who combines data entry skills with a flair for design and a rare fluency in Greek, Latin, and early modern French, has quite literally made the new stage achievable. Stan Conley has advised us on computer questions. Through trial and error, rules and conventions for tabular online presentation have been developed, and our goals for this version have been clarified. In editing, each of the major works released so far has revealed a few special issues of its own, and these are dealt with below in the introductory notes to individual works.

Our goal in this index is to chart Bodin's intellectual world and his sources *as he saw them*. Unlike some of his modern editors, we are less interested in what he should have written than in what he actually wrote, though modern corrections and variant readings are noted when available. An incomplete or incorrect reference may be worth noting, because it may give a better understanding of his world view, or of the sources he used. Except to resolve doubts or errors, we have not made extensive efforts to identify sources. Our aim at this stage is a finding list, not a Bodin encyclopedia.

**What is a source?** From the beginning, it was agreed that "sources" should include not only printed books but also archival manuscripts and documents, oral sources, and even events or natural phenomena personally witnessed. In a letter to McCann on February 24, 1956, I suggested that "in doubtful cases - and there will be some of these - I think the best policy is to record the reference, and probably place a query beside it....Many of these doubtful instances may drop out in the final editing, but others may be clarified and retained as a result of references in other works." At the time, it seemed the best available trans-Atlantic solution. In the second phase of editing, it has proved more difficult than expected to part with doubtful cases, primarily on the argument that any of them might be helpful to someone, at some point, in ways that we cannot predict. In preparing the first diskette for the *Methodus*, we removed only about 20 to 30 of the original entries on the slips, and this rate has remained typical for later releases.

We have taken a broad view of what may be considered a source, but we have also developed special categories to separate “normal” references to print sources from other types of source material. The special categories created so far include the following:

- \*\*\* for oral sources, events or phenomena seen or witnessed, common knowledge (e.g. “as we have seen in our time,” etc.)
- \*\* manuscript sources, documents, correspondence, etc.
- \*[legal ref.] certain legal references, mainly to Roman or Canon law, that are complex, or not linked to named jurists
- collective sources in quotation marks (e.g. “Chaldeans,” “Hebrews,” “Philosophers,” “Histories of the Indies,” “Academics,” etc.)
- ??? unnamed or partly identified sources best left as queries or uncertain (e.g. “The man – I omit his name – who...” etc.)

Entries preceded by the above symbols are separated automatically in sorting, and placed ahead of regular printed sources by the software that we have used (Word 97). If a reference is vague or incomplete, the choice of category can be difficult.

For the January 2011 release, we have added a symbol that does not interfere with alphabetization: the sign [F] *after* a listed name denotes a source unnamed at that point but identifiable by other means (direct quotation, reference elsewhere, etc.)

As of December 2010, the general state of the project was as follows:

| <u>Work and Year of 1<sup>st</sup> Edition</u> |         | <u>Approximate no. of index slips</u> | <u>Current state</u>          |
|------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Oppian                                         | 1555    | 1800                                  | Data released – January 2008* |
| Methodus                                       | 1566    | 2250                                  | Data released – December 2004 |
| Démonomanie                                    | 1580    | 2700                                  | Data released – January 2011  |
| République                                     | 1576/86 | 4650                                  | Data entry complete**         |
| Theatrum                                       | 1596    | 1750                                  | Data entry complete**         |

The numbers of slips are approximate only. A small number are eliminated in editing, but some slips produce two, or three, or occasionally multiple entries.

\*Released along with two shorter files (*Oratio* and *Malestroit*) as “Three Early Works.”

\*\*For general release when final editing completed.

Contact details:

Kenneth D. McRae  
 Bodin Sources Index  
 Department of Political Science  
 Carleton University  
 1125 Colonel By Drive  
 Ottawa K1S 5B6, ON, Canada

E-mail:  
 McRae – mcraekd@sympatico.ca  
 Andreadis - c\_andreadis@bell.net

This release contains data files on three publications from Bodin’s earlier years: the Commentary that he added to his translation into Latin of the Greek poet Oppian, 1555; his appeal to the citizens and civic officials of Toulouse to support a project of public education, *Oratio*, 1559; and his essay on the economic problem of rising prices in France and Europe, the *Response à M. de Malestroit*, 1568. The three data sets, which differ in size and subject matter, are presented in separate files. Since the commentary on Oppian’s poem on hunting is by far the largest of these files, and is also one of the least known and least accessible of Bodin’s writings, some extra attention may be useful to indicate its context and content.

**The Commentary on Oppian, *De venatione libri IIII*.** In Paris, 1555 was a banner year for Oppian. It saw the appearance of three separate editions, from three different printers, all working in the same city. In addition to Bodin’s translation of the *Cynegetica* into Latin, with an extensive scholarly commentary, a version in Greek of both Oppian poems (*Haliutica* and *Cynegetica*) was published by Adrianus Turnebus, “Printer to the Kings,” and a version of the same two poems in Latin translations was brought out by Guil. Morelius, a friend and colleague of Turnebus. Though modern scholars accept that the *Cynegetica* was written by Oppian of Apamea and the *Haliutica* by Oppian of Cilicia, up to the late eighteenth century they were believed to be the work of a single author. Turnebus (1512-1565), in addition to his responsibilities for printing Greek editions, was a prominent humanist scholar, appointed in 1547 royal reader in Greek at the Collège royal, the future Collège de France.

Between rival editors, jealousies surfaced, and to understand these some background is needed. The *editio princeps* of Oppian is a Greek text of both poems published by Aldus in Venice in 1517. This edition also contains a reprinted Latin translation, of the *Haliutica* only, made by Laurentius Lippius and first printed in 1478. The same Lippius translation reappears in the Morel Paris edition of 1555, but the *Cynegetica* portion of this edition appears in a “word-for-word” translation into Latin verse with no translator named, no separate title page, and a single continuous pagination for the two poems together. A further piece in the puzzle is the appearance at Paris in 1549 of the first separate printing, in Greek, of the *Cynegetica*. This edition contains no editor’s name and no notes or commentary, but it was printed by Vascosanus, the same printer who would publish Bodin’s Latin translation and commentary in 1555. Some sources, among them the British Library catalogue, attribute this first Greek edition to Bodin, though without giving evidence for doing so.

Turnebus raises a more serious issue. At the end of his 1555 edition in Greek, the *Cynegetica* text is followed by eight unnumbered pages of textual emendations that end with an explanatory note. It explains how, “seven years previously,” he had lightly amended Oppian’s text, “partly by conjecture, partly by the help of an old book.” Someone had taken these emendations and used them, so no one should complain if he, Turnebus, has taken them back again. A seven-year interval would point to the 1549 Vascosanus edition, though one other possibility may be a volume of *annotationes* on Oppian’s *Cynegetica* by Joannes Brodaeus (Jean Brodeau of Tours) printed in Basel in 1552. The latter work is cited 15 times by Bodin in his own

Commentary. It seems more than likely that Bodin would have heard Turnebus' lectures, but the only issue raised by Turnebus concerns plagiarism of his emendations of the Greek text, not the broad humanist commentary that Bodin would add to his Latin translation of the work in 1555. That commentary is already mentioned explicitly in the royal privilege granted to Vascosanus and dated VII Ides of February, M.D.LIII: "... hos Oppiani de venatione libros quatuor, Ioanne Bodino Andegauensi interprete, una cum eius commentariis..." and it has no counterpart in the other editions.

The Commentary, densely written and almost twice as long as the poet's text, is what makes this work important for the study of Bodin's thought. For the 25-year-old Bodin, it was an encyclopedic display of wide-ranging classical humanism, coupled with an enviable mastery of Greek and Latin. Despite a few misattributions, it shows the scope of Bodin's prodigious memory. The volume is dedicated to Gabriel Bouvery, Bishop of Angers, and the clear subtext is that the bishop's years of support for Bodin's early education have been amply justified. His four-page dedication is in part an apology. While taking a break from "better studies," he fell upon Oppian "by chance," and saw the opportunity for a Latin translation of the poem on hunting to match Lippius' translation of *De piscatu*. Seized by this idea, he has been forced to put aside "more serious studies" until the project could be finished. Further, he notes, Oppian is not the sort of poet who deals in fables and old wives' tales, but with *res arduas*, not just fishing and hunting but the diverse nature of fishes and animals.

The sources listed in the Commentary go well beyond the familiar names of classical literature. Bodin includes a variety of grammarians, scholiasts, compilers, and librarian-scholars of the sort described in Reynolds' and Wilson's *Scribes and Scholars*, less prominent figures who contributed in various ways to the preservation and eventual revival of the classical tradition. He also reaches out to include many sources known only through citation in other sources. His method of evaluating sources and testing credibility rests basically on cumulating sources, with preferences for sources earlier in time, or regionally specific, or authoritative in other ways.

In content, the subject range of the material is very wide, from solid didactic works on hunting and rural life generally to animal lore drawn from fables, legends, and classical mythology. The extensive material from fantasy and the supernatural may seem to render the work worthless, but it would be a mistake to dismiss it without a closer look. Scattered through this material, the attentive student of Bodin can find references that constitute the first seeds of some important ideas of his mature years. As examples, one can note the origins of authority in hunting (Moses in Genesis, fol. 66); monarchy as a principle of nature (Aristotle, fol.69); tropical races darkened by the sun (Theodectes apud Strabo, fol. 105); human intellect linked to the divine spark (diverse sources, fol. 54); categories of good and bad demons, including good *daimones* watching over individuals (Proculus [Proclus?], fol. 47).

To trace all of the incompletely identified references to their sources would be a work of long duration, and better left to specialists. However, Bodin was living in the age that produced the first great dictionaries, among them Robert Stephanus' *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, published under the royal patronage of Francis I. He mentions this work by name at least once (cf. Table, s.v. *Thesaurus*), and his further use of this and similar volumes as a source for classical quotations clearly invites further research.

In two respects, the editing of this work has differed from that for all other works in the Bodin Sources Index. At the beginning, Alastair McCann sorted the original paper slips and continued on to identify many of the classical sources and editions more precisely. His findings (shown in square brackets) have been retained, except for a few cases that turned up no positive result. This stage was left unfinished when the sources project was expanded to include further Bodin works.

A second difference, and less beneficial, has been an absence of access to Bodin's printed text during the early stages of data entry and checking. As alternatives, we used dictionaries, concordances, and modern editions wherever we could to resolve ambiguities in the hand-written slips (e.g., for Gratius, Lucanus, Lucretius, Martial), but this method soon revealed serious textual gaps between modern editions and those available in the sixteenth century. After these roundabout expedients, about 200 slips remained with unresolved problems, or data missing entirely. Most of these were resolved through a visit to the British Library in London - which holds all three 1555 editions including Bodin's - in October 2007. In retrospect, the data entry and editing stages for this file would have been easier, faster, and more precise had Bodin's text been accessible to us from the beginning.

***Oratio de instituenda in repub. juventute ad senatum populumque tolosatem, 1559.*** Most working academics will instantly recognize this short work as a plea for money for public education. While Bodin's classical humanism is still evident, the sources he cites are indicators of his more recent studies in law, with a corresponding shift in emphasis to legal humanism, as exemplified by the work and career of Guillaume Budé. Two decades later, as a practising advocate, he would be impelled to disavow this youthful ideal and side with working lawyers and judges against the academic jurists in the celebrated "Epistola," or second Preface, added to the third and later editions of the *République*.

To all appearances, the *Oratio* was first delivered orally. It cites relatively few sources, and two of these (Solon, the Emperor Julian) were passages read aloud by Bodin but not spelled out in the printed text. Despite their small numbers, these sources are evidence of Bodin's outlook at a point close to a major transition in his career. Our pagination follows the text in Pierre Mesnard's edition of *Oeuvres philosophiques de Jean Bodin* (Paris, 1951).

***Response à M. de Malestroit, 1568.*** This short work has secured for Bodin a secure niche in the history of economic thought. It focuses on the problems of steadily increasing price levels in France and in Europe generally during the sixteenth century. Against Malestroit, a financial official who had argued in a pamphlet of 1566 that increased prices were largely matched against progressive debasement of the precious metal content of coinage in circulation, Bodin devised a counterargument based on impressive quantities of price and wage data. Among the causes, he asserted, "the principal and almost sole [cause] - which no one up to now has mentioned - is the abundance of gold and silver now in this kingdom." Abundance of precious metals has raised prices in several countries, and most of all in Spain, a direct result of the influx of gold and silver brought from the Americas.

Our version of the *Response* follows the text and pagination of Henri Hauser's edition (Paris, 1932), which gives the text of Bodin's first edition of 1568 but also adds (in Appendix II, pp. 63-74) variant readings and additions from the second edition of

1578. Some of these additions are quite substantial, and some incorporate expanded passages on monetary topics that had appeared in early editions of the *République*. Hauser's meticulous commentary focuses more on medieval and modern economic history than on Bodin's equally numerous references to money in classical antiquity.

#### **A Note on the *Methodus***

**Release date – December 2004**

In the *Methodus* Bodin elaborates for the first time his important tripartite conception of history as human, natural, and divine, a concept that would remain central to much of his later intellectual life. The work appeared in the context of a wider debate on the relations between history and law that became a major feature of the Renaissance in France. At a practical level, Bodin's purpose was to classify the types of history and present a systematic and critical approach to reading and understanding a profusion of newly available historical data in the age of print.

First published in 1566, the Latin version is the only one from Bodin's own hand. For our purposes the authoritative text is that of the revised edition of 1572 as reprinted in 1951 under the editorship of Pierre Mesnard (in *Oeuvres philosophiques de J. Bodin*, 1:106-269). The work had no translation into French until 1941 (by Mesnard, and reprinted with the Latin version in the 1951 volume), and none into English until 1945 (by Beatrice Reynolds under the title *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*). Although the Latin text is authoritative, the entries in the McCann index and in ours refer to the pagination of Reynolds' English version.

In keeping with our general policy, the criteria for inclusion as a source have been kept very broad. In addition to standard books, the list for the *Methodus* includes historians no longer extant except as cited by others, works of uncertain or multiple authorship, epitomes of histories and continuations to chronicles, documents in archives and the public records, some legal codes, court cases, talks with diplomats and diplomatic correspondence, personal acquaintances, and occasionally events or facts treated simply as general public knowledge. An extreme case is an invented speech attributed by Guicciardini to Paolantonio Soderini, whom Bodin treats as an independent authority (see the entries under Soderini).

In data entry and editing, our changes have been aimed mainly at standardizing style and working towards a more uniform presentation. Some entries have been added to, explained more clearly, or occasionally entirely replaced. A few empty cells of the table have been given basic content missing on the slips. A central aim of our revisions has been to give an accurate picture of Bodin's meaning and intentions, if need be by referring back to the original Latin text.

We are aware that more could be done to improve this 2004 version of the *Methodus* index. There could be more cross-references between names (so far sporadic only); more thorough comparison of texts and apparatus of the three versions (French, English, Latin); a basic capacity in Hebrew; and more consistency of style. While acknowledging these gaps, we are currently giving priority to completing initial data entries for each of the five major works covered by the McCann index.



**New types of sources.** The most obvious difference between the works released earlier and the *Démonomanie* is the presence of new types of source material, and material that was only marginally present previously. Our team had no initial expertise in the sorcery literature, and only fleeting acquaintance with complexities of medieval jurisprudence. These gaps, particularly on the legal side, imposed added problems and delays in editing.

The most salient type of new material stems from records of sorcery cases and related offences handled in the courts: trial transcripts, legal registers, other documents, or oral reports. Many of these have a double “source” entry, one for the event itself and another for the channel - legal colleague or other person - through which it came to Bodin.

A second type is material on sorcery from folklore and classical mythology. Specific sources for folkloric material can be elusive. What are we to say, for example, about sources for Robin Hood? Or for Eon of Brittany (fol. 93v-94)? Another - and more dubious - category of sources comes from Bodin’s life experience in France and elsewhere: popular beliefs, superstitions, haunted houses, supernatural weather incidents, droughts and diseases correlated to suspected sorcerers, spells and releases from spells, and much more. Personal experiences are not a new category, but they appear to be more frequent in the *Démonomanie* than in other works. Popular beliefs and superstitions were dangerous, because they could give rise to reputational evidence leading to accusation and investigation on suspicion of sorcery.

A very different type of source material derives from Bodin’s expertise in the texts and the work of generations of commentators on Roman and Canon law. Book IV of this work contains an extensive display – rivalled only by some sections of the *République* – of Bodin’s acquaintance with both traditions. The *Démonomanie*, for all its barbarity, is an exercise in jurisprudence, aiming at fair trial rules according to principles of law developed over centuries in the secular and ecclesiastical courts. However, the work is skewed by Bodin’s conviction of the danger threatening France from the outbreak of sorcery cases and trials in France during the mid-sixteenth century. Because of the difficulties in proving sorcery, because belief in Satan represents the ultimate blasphemy against God, and because Bodin believes without reservation in divine justice - including divine punishment of entire nations - he is willing to cut some corners on evidentiary issues to obtain convictions where he fears that leniency would threaten the entire commonweale.

One more category of sources in the *Démonomanie* calls for comment: cases of identification withheld, or partially withheld. Because much of the work deals with dark matter, Bodin is unwilling to contribute anything that would add to the supposed epidemic ravaging France. He is also careful to protect his informants (“un praticien de Lyon, que je ne nommeray point” fol. 151), and victims of demonic spells or other forms of sorcery. Sometimes the title of a book or pamphlet is withheld (“un execrable imprimé” fol. 157), sometimes an author’s name, on rare instances both, e.g., an unnamed book of magic charms whose unnamed author “merite le feu”(fol. 139v). He shows a marked reluctance to spell out the words of any reputed magic formulae, incantations, or even children’s chants from the street. When he mentions

that some popes, rulers, or medical doctors have been alleged to be sorcerers, their names are often omitted or only hinted at (“un grand Prince de nostre siècle” fol. 156).

Independently of these newer types of source materials, the usual print sources that appear in Bodin’s earlier works - historians, philosophers, poets, grammarians, translators, etc. - continue in abundance as before. Scriptural references appear prominently, but some of his examples of sorcery appear in the Vulgate Latin Bible but not in the King James version.

**The refutation of Jean Wier (Vierus, Weyer).** By Bodin’s account, Johann Weyer’s volume *De lamiis*, a more succinct, shorter version of his earlier work *De praestigiis daemonum* (1563), appeared just as the *Démonomanie* manuscript was ready for the printer. It represented a fundamental challenge to Bodin’s position, and publication was delayed until he could prepare an effective response and attach it to his own work. As his main text makes clear, however, the decision to write on sorcery stems from the trial of Jeanne Harvillier (or Hervillier) in April 1578.

The Refutation of Wier shows Bodin as a formidable controversialist. Where the *Response à Malestroict* had been polite even if slightly triumphal, the attack on Wier is passionate, seeking total demolition of his opponent, to the point of quibbling over minor issues. In a final flourish, Bodin’s peroration (fol. 276-276v) arrays the authority of all philosophers, prophets, theologians, lawgivers, jurists, rulers, the laws of the peoples of the earth and the judgements of God in Scripture who have condemned sorcery against the blasphemies of “un petit Medecin” who dares to speak for witches.

Despite some modern disciples, Wier’s position was largely traditional. He does not deny the existence of Satan, or of practitioners of satanic practices that prey on human weaknesses, but he contends that many suspected witches are simply delusional, victims of a disordered imagination that can afflict those of melancholic temperament, women, the elderly, the simple-minded.

**Technical issues.** In editing Book IV of the *Démonomanie*, we have been acutely aware of a problem posed by Ralph Giesey at the International Conference on Bodin at Munich in April 1970: the cardinal importance, for any serious understanding of certain chapters of the *République*, of the intensive marginalia of Italian medieval jurisprudence that underlie Bodin’s emerging legal and political philosophy. The same tradition, with similar marginalia, accompanies his chapters treating legal proceedings against sorcery in the *Démonomanie*. On some pages, the marginal apparatus crowds out the normal space for text. An individual note may occupy up to half a page of small marginal type, and list up to a dozen references to civil or canon law texts and commentators.

On the premise that this medieval inheritance is too important to be ignored, we have done our untrained best to introduce this formidable legal apparatus into an index based on alphabetical order. Lengthy “string” references have been separated into shorter ones, preserving contexts to the extent feasible, and listing texts or commentators in linked groups, pairs, or individual names as best fits Bodin’s argument. We feel that much of this legal apparatus can be presented usefully by this

procedure, but must concede that in some entries the complex interweaving of material requires a return to the original page for any hope of full understanding.

A second issue, minor by comparison, is that Bodin worked from editions of classical authors based on manuscripts less accurate than texts available today. This impedes identification of quotations, and can also go wrong on proper names, as for example his mentions of Memphodorus (fol. 88v) in Pliny's *Natural History* where the Teubner edition has Nymphodorus, and Copus (fol. 110) in the same work where Teubner gives Apollas.

**Note on the 1587 edition.** The *Démonomanie* was first published in 1580 by the Paris printer Jacques du Puys, followed by a Latin translation in 1581 and by ten more editions in French by the end of the century. One of these, that of 1587, was revised and expanded by Bodin himself, increasing its length by 24 folios or 48 pages. This edition, also from du Puys, was never reprinted or corrected. Unfortunately, it has an excessive number of printer's errors: misnumbered or misaligned notes, misreadings of the manuscript, and ordinary typographic errors.

In the early stages of the project (c. 1956), the enlarged 1587 version was selected for indexing, mainly on grounds of its greater completeness. Alastair McCann, working in Oxford with daily access to the 1580 French and 1581 Latin texts, noted or resolved many anomalies as he encountered them. For the online entries, ambiguities in the paper slips were checked against a copy of the 1587 edition in the Cornell University Library in 2005. For the later stages of editing, we have relied upon a copy of the 1979 Gutenberg Reprint of this edition, thanks to an interlibrary loan from the University of Saskatchewan Library. It has not been feasible to check the last queries from this reprint against earlier editions. This release will still show a few editorial rough edges (e.g. entries abbreviated or unstandardized), but a file that has exceeded its expected completion date by at least a year must yield to more pressing priorities.

**The *Démonomanie* and Bodin's intellectual system.** The *Démonomanie* is not a trivial book. It is written with the same impressive thoroughness and style as Bodin's other works. Though born from an outbreak of sorcery cases in France, it is important for an understanding of Bodin's tripartite world picture, and for his attempt to maintain a clear line of separation between the world of nature and the supernatural, the sphere that exists through the power of God. It is also important for revealing statements – among the most detailed that we have - concerning Bodin's personal religion, so firmly planted in Old Testament monotheism.

Beyond this, the work gives incidental information on many details of Bodin's life and career, some of them possibly more revealing than he intended. The personal acquaintance "encore en vie" that he describes at length as having acquired a guardian angel at age 37 to watch over and advise him on a daily basis (fol. 11v-14) has been considered by some a disguise for Bodin himself. His encounters with a sorcerer from Auvergne, "prisonnier à Paris l'an M.D.LXIX" (fol.143v), and also with "un jeune homme prisonnier l'an M.D.LXIX" (fol. 79), a man haunted by the spirit of his wife killed in anger, are perhaps extra corroboration of Bodin's own confinement as a non-Catholic in the Conciergerie of the Palais in 1569-1570.