

I.

In 1607 a dense treatise entitled *Tableau de l'inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses* (*Tableau of the Inconstancy and Instability of All Things*) was published in Paris. As its full title makes clear, it aimed to describe – and in doing so, to denounce – the general inconstancy of beings and things against which stands only the divine constancy of God, that lighthouse and refuge of the wise man.¹ There was no author named on the title page, and the prefatory epistle dedicated ‘Aux François’ (‘To the French’) was undersigned simply with a series of initials, ‘P. D. R. D. L. S. D. L’. Only readers in the know would have recognised these as the initials of Pierre de Rosteguy de Lancre, Sieur de Loubens, at that time *Conseiller du Roi* at the Bordeaux *Parlement*, whose first published work this was. Three years later when the *Tableau* was revised for a new edition, the magistrate no longer hid ‘derriere le rideau’.² The prudence and modesty of the debut author no longer held sway: he was now keen to acknowledge paternity of his work and to receive the praise that it had garnered. In the new edition his name appeared in full on the title page, with Rosteguy – the Basque patronymic – replaced by the newer name, of unknown origin: Lancre. His father seems to have adopted this name in around 1554, shortly before or after the birth of Pierre, his eldest son.³

‘Pierre de Lancre’: these words must be our starting point in this exploration of space and movement in the writings of the Bordeaux judge. One could surely not dream up a more appropriate name. Against the inconstancy and instability cited in capitals at the start of the *Tableau*, we find the stone (*pierre*) of the first name, secured by the anchor (*l’ancre*) in the surname. At once, then, the author thus announces that his very name is a pillar of constancy and firmness: he stands among that number who, finding sanctuary in God, will attempt to resist the swirling chaos of

the world. This interplay of title and signature is repeated two years later on the title page of the *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons* (*Tableau of the Inconstancy of Evil Angels and Demons*, 1612), a demonological treatise informed by the brutal witch hunt that Pierre de Lancre and his colleague Jean d'Espaignet carried out in the summer and autumn of 1609 in the Labourd region, in the south-western corner of the Basque country.⁴ As Lancre emphasises in his prefatory remarks, there is no disruption between this new *Tableau*, based in large part on his work as a judge, and the preceding one. The new *Tableau*, in fact, is nothing other than the next step of a vast critical examination of inconstancy, in which the author moves from a study of the inconstancy of nature, men, and nations, to that of the devil, and of witches: to a study, therefore, of inconstancy in its most extreme form, since Lancre writes of the devil as 'Père d'inconstance',⁵ and asserts that 'il n'y a rien de plus inconstant et volage que les démons'.⁶ The similarity of the titles is sufficient to demonstrate continuity: the author is 'constant à trecter l'inconstance', as Jean d'Espaignet cheerfully notes in his prefatory sonnet.⁷

This onomastic game in which Pierre de Lancre figures himself as the incarnation of constancy is reinforced by the inclusion of his coat of arms opposite the title page of the 1612 *Tableau*: two anchors atop a third. These canting arms forge a direct relation between the image (the anchor) and the name of its bearer (Lancre). They appear beneath a Latin motto, 'Triplici Praesidio', which turns the anchor into a symbol of defence, protection, and refuge (possible meanings of *praesidium*), as if to signal further that the fate (and faith) of the Lancre family is thrice assured, stable, and steadfast as a ship held in place by three anchors.⁸ With such heraldry, Pierre de Lancre, – or Pierre de L'Ancre, as he sometimes wrote it⁹ – could not have been unaware of the symbolic power of his name. He was in any case much taken with

such hidden meanings. The first *Tableau* of 1607 draws heavily on emblem and iconographical books, mythological manuals, and dictionaries of symbols, such as Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* (1556), Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagines deorum* (1556), and Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* (1568).¹⁰ The works of Italian iconologists and mythographers in large part provided Lancre with the means to interpret his own name, and of thus forging his self-portrait as a man of constancy. In his *Hieroglyphica*, Valeriano in fact devotes an entire chapter to stones, and another to the anchor. His 'Hieroglyph of the stone' describes the stone as a symbol of steadfastness and constancy, whether in matters of alliance, prosperity, or religion.¹¹ The anchor, meanwhile, is presented as a symbol of 'safeguarding', 'refuge', and 'stability': *tutela*, *refugium*, *stabilimentum*, but also *praesidium*, that is to say the exact same word that we see associated with the anchor in Lancre's coat of arms.¹²

In the 1607 *Tableau*, Lancre returns to this same symbolic key. He devotes two rather grandiloquent pages to the symbolism of the anchor, an emblem sacred to all, presented as a 'Hieroglyphe de constance et d'arrest, Asyle ou lieu de ressource et de seureté'.¹³ The anchor is 'une notte secrette pleine de mystere, et comme une marque et indice de constance';¹⁴ nothing less, then, than a symbol of divine constancy.¹⁵ Elsewhere he cites the famous example of the *echinus*, the 'sea hedgehog' – also known as the sea urchin – which, according to many authors, weighs itself down with stones as a storm approaches.¹⁶ Outdoing Valeriano, who refers to the same wondrous phenomenon, Lancre indicates that the stones symbolise *fermeté* (steadfastness): they represent the good advice that allows the wise to protect themselves against 'ceste mer d'inconstance'.¹⁷ The very name of Lancre, thus associated with two emblems of constancy to a near-pleonastic degree, designates him as a supreme incarnation of that virtue. His name both defines him and offers a model

for good conduct. Like the *pierre*, like the *ancre*, and like the sea urchin, Pierre de Lancre is one who would brave flux and alteration.

II.

In the closing lines of the preface that opens *L'Incredulité et mescreance du sortilege plainement convaincue* (*The Incredulity and Disbelief in Sorcery Fully Defeated*, 1622), his second demonological treatise, Lancre invites the reader to visit him at home at Loubens, in Sainte-Croix-du-Mont, a village perched on a plateau overlooking the right bank of the Garonne about forty kilometres to the south-east of Bordeaux.¹⁸ The reader, he writes, ‘trouvera certainement, au-dessus de ma Montagne, une vieille ANCRE, qui est moy-mesme, prest à le recevoir’.¹⁹ The proper name is taken, so to speak, at face value. Lancre is an anchor: he is his name; he is his emblem. Or rather, he has become so in old age. For the judge-demonologist is only now ‘une vieille ANCRE’: at the time of writing, at the age of nearly seventy, he has withdrawn to his country estate far from the town and from the world’s tumult. Anyone wishing to see him is thus obliged to present himself at Loubens. But the phrase offers, too, an image, or rather an enigma: that of an anchor lodged in stone, at the top of a mountain. Is there not something paradoxical in the fact of being an anchor that nonetheless sits astride a rocky peak, in a land of wine growers, not of sailors?

The implications of this image are only fully understood on reading the rest of the preface, and with an awareness of the singular geology of the area around Loubens. Indeed, the author recounts how, one day in October 1620, the young King Louis XIII spontaneously made a stop at Sainte-Croix-du-Mont as the court travelled through Guyenne. Unluckily for Lancre, he was at that time retained in Bordeaux.

The entire treatise, which opens with the King's portrait, is suffused with the author's regret at not having been able to welcome the sovereign to Loubens, and particularly at having missed the chance to personally give him a guided tour of a local tourist attraction that can still be admired today: the beds of fossilised oysters visible on the hillsides of Sainte-Croix-du-Mont just beneath the noble house of Loubens and the Château de Tastes (which was then the residence of Lancre's younger brother Etienne de Rosteguy, known as de Tastes), not to speak of the chapel and the cellars hollowed out of the thick oyster bed. It is this exceptional geology, this open-air cabinet of curiosities, that is the main subject of Lancre's long preface. In the first instance, then, oysters are the matter of this demonological treatise – not the devil, or witches.

The question discussed is the following: were these oysters brought to the hills of Saint-Croix-du-Mont in the Flood? Or was this simply Nature's whimsy; Nature wishing to play with stone, and fashion oysters out of it?²⁰ At the end of his long discussion of the fossil question, Lancre resolves on prudent perplexity: 'Ainsi je demeure en suspens'.²¹ But for our purposes here the significant feature of this passage, which concludes with the onomastic game discussed above ('une vieille ANCRE, qui est moy-mesme'), is the perfect equivalence that Lancre draws between his own name and the land in which he lives. If this 'montagne' had been beneath the waves in Biblical times, the presence of an anchor among the oysters seems less bizarre: perhaps it has been left by a ship brought there by the Flood. But there is not necessarily a need to make of Saint-Croix-du-Mont a new Mount Ararat in order to see in the anchor a perfect symbol of Loubens, and in so doing, of its lord. For what emerges from these reflections on oysters is that the mountain of Sainte-Croix-du-Mont at its higher stratum is nothing other than a sea of oysters, a fossilised sea, cast in stone: in other words, it is a conquered sea, fixed in place, made constant. Loubens

is a paradoxical location that, like the anchor (or like the oyster), expresses the triumph of stone over water, of immobility over flux, of constancy over inconstancy. A place, in sum, that corresponds perfectly with the name of its master.

Lancre's home in retirement has, though, other attractions besides the fossilised oysters. Still in the preface to the *Incredulité et mescreance*, Lancre describes the territory at Loubens as a perfect *locus amoenus*: a garden of domesticated delights that has been brought under control, abounding in exotic fruits, and containing naturally flowing fountains, looking out over an ordered and fertile plain nicely bordered by the Garonne.²² The celebration of this modest arcadia at Loubens, and of the wine country around it,²³ can be placed in the 'Georgic' or 'rustic' tendency developing in France in the second half of the sixteenth century, and which gained new vigour in response to the troubles brought by the Wars of Religion.²⁴ The praise of country life, that literary refuge of the time, often appeared alongside neo-Stoic praise of constancy and stability: the celebration of one's plot of land and garden, as Danièle Duport writes, thus evinces 'une pensée sous-jacente de l'ancrage'.²⁵ Lancre's self-portrait as 'gentleman farmer' is therefore integral to his self-portrait as 'old anchor'. Beyond simply withdrawing to the country, then, we see that it was through active participation in a rustic way of life that the aging judge achieved the stability and constancy to which, according to the title of the first *Tableau*, the wise man should aspire.

III.

It is important to linger on the details of Sainte-Croix-du-Mont, and more generally of the 1622 preface, because this little-known text offers an essential interpretive key to the way in which Pierre de Lancre understood and imagined space and movement.

Crucially, these details help to explain his description, and demonization, of the Labourd region in the *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, in which the very landscape seems to pose a challenge to all the virtues that the author's own name evokes, as the exact opposite of Loubens which, we recall, is figured arcadia, refuge, petrified sea, and place of anchorage, all at once. The Labourd then becomes the inverse of what he constructs and presents as a definition of his own self.

As Lancre presents it, the Labourd is caught not only between three kingdoms (France, Spain, and Navarre) but also between the Pyrenees – peaks far more wild and imposing than that of Sainte-Croix-du-Mont – and an ocean whose violence threatens even the surest of anchors. It is a 'pays pauvre, stérile et ingrat',²⁶ he writes, in which '[les] terres et [les] champs demeurent en grande partie incultes'.²⁷ The only things that could possibly grow there are the apples enjoyed by Basque women, those daughters of Eve with uncovered heads who, in the absence of their husbands gone cod-fishing and whale hunting off the shores of the New World, rule the land for most of the year.

We know that Lancre explains the presence of witchcraft in the Labourd by means of a kind of geographical determinism that explains the regional 'rudesse de meurs' ('grossness of manners') as an effect of the 'situation du lieu' (their 'local situation').²⁸ Just as the sterility of the land drives Basque men to abandon the territory to the rule of their wives, so this same land provokes their inconstancy, compelling them to become sailors. This is, at least, what Lancre suggests initially.²⁹ But this idea shifts as Lancre continues:

Or en ce pays de Labourt ils se jettent presque tous à cest inconstant exercice de la mer, et mesprisent ce constant labeur et culture de la terre. Et bien que nature ait donné à tout le

monde la terre pour nourrice, ils aiment mieux (legers et volages qu'ils sont) celle de la mer orageuse, que celle de cette douce et paisible Deesse Ceres.³⁰

What drives the Basque folk to the sea, then, is not so much economic constraint as a moral failing that makes them prefer seafaring to agriculture. The moral flaw is their fundamental inconstancy ('legers et volages qu'ils sont'), but it is also the cupidity that comes with this: 'la convoitise que l'avarice insatiable, et quelque humeur volage leur donne de trouver des trésors'.³¹ For, explains Lancre, no land is so unyielding and so abandoned by nature that it cannot be made to provide for its inhabitants. If the people of the Labourd were in God's grace, what they sowed would be sufficient to meet their needs: antiquity provides examples of this kind of thing. Besides, we learn later on that the Basques in fact are neglecting their fields, and even poisoning them with the devil's help.³² It is not then their 'nursemaid' which is unyielding, but the people themselves; and it is not the sea which causes their inconstancy, but more their natural disposition which leads them to go to sea.

This description of the Labourd country reads, as we see, as the near word-for-word opposite to the description of Lancre's home territory around Loubens: inconstancy versus constancy, a wild landscape versus a domesticated one, poverty against wealth, seafaring against agriculture... even cider against wine. The Labourd appears as the inverted reflection of Sainte-Croix-du-Mont whose qualities, as we have seen, intermingle with those of the writer. In this way, the *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons* is both fruit of and testament to personal experience, relating to Lancre's sense of what constitutes his very identity. Still, as idiosyncratic as it may be, Lancre's spatial imagination is influenced by a literary tradition. The deep opposition he draws between the sailor and the farmer reveals his faithfulness to a classical discourse found particularly in Horace's *Odes* and *Epistles*.

Horace not only shares with Lancre – and indeed with all Renaissance travellers – a profound fear of the sea, but he also denounces the *impiger mercator*, the ardent trader who lets his land run wild and sails the seas hoping to make his fortune, celebrating instead the peasant farmer who works the land of his forefathers.³³ Similarly, Hesiod in his *Works and Days* condemns those who abandon agriculture for the madness of seafaring, in their search for a better life.³⁴ Certain contemporaries of Lancre express similar views. Pierre de La Primaudaye, for instance, makes the same argument in his *Académie françoise* when he condemns the uselessness of travel. The Golden Age, he explains, was that of the farm labourer, when ‘les hommes de ce bon temps cultivoyent et mesnageoient leurs terres, sans se soucier d’aller voir ce que l’on faisoit entre les estrangers, et és pays lointains’.³⁵ Curiosity and cupidity then pushed men out to sea and drove them to a kind of disdain for the earth and for their homeland:

L’experience nous montre qu’il n’y a pays si pauvre, qui ne soit suffisant, toute superfluité retranchée, pour nourrir et entretenir les hommes nés en icelui des choses à eux nécessaires. Dont il est aisé à croire, que faute de prudence, par desirs ambitieux, inventerent premierement l’art de naviguer et voyager en pays lointains.³⁶

As in Lancre, this critique of the *impiger mercator* can be linked to the Georgic trend of praising the land and those who, as La Primaudaye writes, know how to live ‘au dedans de leurs bornes, en toute simplicité de mœurs et frugalité de vivres’.³⁷

The link that Lancre draws between the sea and inconstancy, which so deeply informs his view of the Labourer, is also, for him, a commonplace drawn from classical sources. He himself points this out: ‘Les Anciens prenoient aussi la mer, l’eau et le poisson, pour la haine, comme plusieurs les prennent pour l’inconstance’.³⁸

Here his source is once again Valeriano,³⁹ who also presents the sea, with reference to the Psalms, as a space of danger, terror, and perdition.⁴⁰ In the *Tableau de l'inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses*, though, it is to Homer that Lancre turns, noting that for Homer the ocean is 'père de l'inconstance' (we recall that in the second *Tableau*, Lancre describes the devil in similar fashion) 'nous voulant donner entendre qu'il n'y avoit rien de si inconstant que l'Océan'.⁴¹ His new knowledge of the Labourd coast allowed Lancre to extend these maritime meditations in his *Tableau* of 1612, in a long passage in which, through regressions and repetitions, the furious tossing of the ocean waves ultimately overwhelms the phrasing itself. The sea, the demonologist writes poetically, is a 'chemin sans chemin' ('a path with no path'), which offers only an illusion of liberty: though all routes seem possible, one is nonetheless constantly at the mercy of blows dealt by the winds and waves.⁴² The wanderings of the *bateau ivre* with neither helm nor grapnel do not here promise discovery and liberation, but rather catastrophe. This may not quite anticipate Rimbaud but it certainly echoes Seneca, who makes similar recourse to maritime imagery to express the inconstancy of beings and of things: for him, to be inconstant is to err like a ship lost in the waves. As Régine Chambert has commented, for the Stoic moralist 'les flots mouvants et capricieux sont le symbole parfait de la vie humaine, de l'agitation universelle',⁴³ that is, of that instability in all things he frequently refers to with the word *uolutatio*: literally, 'rolling', and specifically 'the rolling of a ship at sea'.

IV.

If Lancre is to be believed, both the natural landscape and the people of the Labourd themselves were ceaselessly in motion. Even on land, the Basques seem still to be

rocking the boat, so to speak. Men, women, and children are constantly affected by a ‘maritime’ frenzy, in both their physical movements and their actions.⁴⁴ This extreme mobility is expressed in the Basque taste for abrupt and turbulent dancing, for acrobatics, and for swimming, which are all defined by Lancre, like seafaring, as ‘exercices d’inconstance’.⁴⁵ Woman herself being ‘le plus excellent Hieroglyphe d’inconstance qui se peut voir’,⁴⁶ the spectacle of a woman swimming, in both the first and the second *Tableau*, thus becomes the superlative manifestation of inconstancy – and, incidentally, also an erotic display.⁴⁷ Besides this, the frantic energy of Basque children particularly struck their visitor. He describes them jumping around on deck, or running races that sent them hurtling into doors and windows: ‘[Je] puis dire avoir veu des filles et enfans tellement precipitez en tout ce qu’on leur commandoit, qu’ils se heurtoient à tous coups aux portes et fenestres de rencontre jusques à se blesser, tant ils alloient viste’.⁴⁸

This constant agitation, that Seneca would call *iactatio*, is the physical manifestation of a soul’s inconstancy or ‘lightness’: *levitas*. For, clearly, it’s not just the body, but the soul at work here, too: ‘Les personnes sont légères et mouvantes de corps et d’esprit’, writes Lancre.⁴⁹ If *iactatio* expresses *levitas*, the latter also maintains and reinforces the former: ‘Or cette légèreté de corps avec toutes ces occasions et circonstances, passe jusques dans l’âme’.⁵⁰ And this is indeed why the devil impels the Basques to be physically mobile. Dancing, jumping, racing, swimming, and seafaring are all the best means of corrupting their souls: ‘[le diable] les faict si légèrement courir à cette abomination du sortilege, les y amorçant par tous les exercices de la mesme légèreté, qui sont entre autres la curiosité, désir de nouveauté, les festins, la dance, et les voyages sur mer’.⁵¹ One may well notice here that this list enacts a strange link between moral vice and simple physical exercise –

but these vices (‘curiosité, désir de nouveauté’) are precisely the flaws of the mind that agitate the body and compel it to travel.

Within this discussion of the mobility of the Basque people we may recognize traces of what Jean-Claude Schmitt has called an ‘ethics of gesture’ (‘la morale des gestes’), in his *La Raison des gestes dans l’Occident médiéval*.⁵² Schmitt dates this tradition back to the Stoics and explores its later fortunes in medieval manuals of ecclesiastical discipline. He shows how it established a strong link between the movements of the body and those of the soul. Just as bodily movement reveals mental or spiritual processes, so too can the soul be healed – or corrupted – by the motion of the body. The same condemnation of excessive and frenzied gestures can be found in both classical and medieval writing, in which *gesticulatio* is a sign of moral inconstancy, of immorality, of lust – and even, in Christian literature on the subject, of cooperation with the devil. Lancre’s condemnation of Basque ‘practices of levity’ thus stems in part from the demonization of jugglers and tumblers in the writings of medieval clerics.⁵³

In demonological literature, the moralization of gestures is notably present in discussions of demonic possession, in which the frenzied movements of a possessed subject were often interpreted as evidence of their being possessed. But it can also be perceived operating more broadly, beyond the treatment of particular kinds of bodily movement, in attention to the way that bodies move in and across spaces. The demonization of *iactatio* (the fact of constantly going this way and the other, of not being able, as Pascal would later put it, to ‘sit still in a room’), and not solely of *gesticulatio*, is found in the *Malleus maleficarum* (*The Hammer of Witches*, 1486), written by the Dominican inquisitor Heinrich Kramer (alias Institoris).⁵⁴ Kramer asks the following question: how is it possible to determine whether the concupiscence of

an adulterous husband is caused by a spell? He then provides an answer, writing that the four signs of such a spell are the following: that the wife is beautiful, and the mistress ugly; that neither blows nor words can compel the husband to desist; that the same husband cannot stop himself from travelling day and night (especially at night), despite obstacles and despite great distance, in order to rejoin his mistress;⁵⁵ finally, that he has been ‘suddenly and unexpectedly carried off’.⁵⁶

The transports of love – or at least, those brought on by the influence of the devil – are not then purely metaphorical. They very much exist in a physical sense, manifested in mobility, wanderings, and the displacement of the body in space. It would be difficult not to see a parallel here between the travels of adulterous husbands and those of witches whom the devil transports at great speed through the air. This is all the more compelling given that the wandering husbands of the *Malleus maleficarum* are described using the same words as the account of the transportation of witches (or ‘transvection’) in the tenth-century *Canon episcopi*; this text was a focal point of medieval and Renaissance debates on this matter.⁵⁷ In both cases, the power of the devil compels movement at night over great distances, so fast that the bedeviled object almost seems to take flight.⁵⁸ In the second part of his treatise, Kramer refers to one such flighty husband who would himself, during the night-time, ‘get up and return quickly [to his mistress] with the swiftest running, now over the earth, now through the air as if flying [*quasi volando*]’.⁵⁹ These lovers’ ‘flights’, extreme forms of wandering, appear as the physical expression of moral deviation, just like the nocturnal travels of witches.

V.

This *iactatio* is clearly that of the devil himself, whose supreme inconstancy corresponds with supreme mobility. For Lancre as for numerous demonologists, demons are thought to be constantly on the move. These vagabonds ‘desirent d’estre toujours errants’⁶⁰, whirling around the world like birds of prey hunting their next victims.⁶¹ Witches, made airborne by demons, partake in this frenzied travel that is a sign of their deviance. Lancre’s description of the Sabbath, drawing on the confessions of young women from the Labourd, are thus inflected by this idea of movement that is constant, brutal, and rapid:

Elle nous disoit qu’on eust veu desloger du sabbat et voler l’une en l’air, l’autre monter plus haut vers le Ciel, l’autre descendre vers la terre, et l’autre parfois se precipiter dans des grands feux allumez audit lieu, comme fuzees qui sont jettées par plusieurs, ou comme esclairs: l’une arrive, l’autre part, et tout à coup plusieurs partent, plusieurs arrivent, chacune rendant compte des vents et orages qu’elle a excité, des navires et vaisseaux qu’elle a fait perdre [...].⁶²

Sophie Houdard and Nicole Jacques-Lefèvre have both commented that these descriptions of the Sabbath owe something to baroque stage design.⁶³ In fact, this scene would not have been out of place in one of the machine plays of the time, with their *voleries*, or mechanical flights, allowing actors to disappear into the upper structure of the stage or to move very quickly – or with their rapid scenery changes, and pyrotechnical displays, that seem to be referenced in the fires and flairs of the Sabbath described above.⁶⁴ Besides, the witches of the Labourd come forward like actresses on stage to take turns telling their stories of the adventures they have had off-stage, in the New World, or high above the ocean. And like sailors and Basque children, these women are always about to take off, gripped by a frantic motion

mimicked in the very phrasing of the passage, with its ebbs and flows, and its interplay of chiasmus and repetition.

The description of these airborne ballets seems to echo the dance of ships tossed on the waves, discussed above. The connection between witches in flight and sailors charting their course is even clearer in a passage added by Lancre in 1613 to the second edition of the *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, at the opening of Book II, on the Sabbath. Here, the Sabbath is presented as a kind of trade fair, a bit like Rabelais's Island of Médamothi; a meeting place for travellers and merchants from all over the world:

Le Sabbat est comme une foire de marchands meslez, furieux et transportez, qui arrivent de toutes parts. Une rencontre et meslange de cent mille subjects soudains et transitoires, nouveaux à la vérité, mais d'une nouveauté effroyable qui offence l'œil, et sousleve le cœur.⁶⁵

By describing the Sabbath as a trade fair – ‘une foire de marchands meslez’ – Lancre invites us to see trade fairs reciprocally as a kind of Sabbath. The demonologist who when in Italy did, however, enjoy visiting the cabinets of curiosities of local scholars – and who is not, then, exempt from contradiction – seems here to denounce his contemporaries' taste for singularities and for *exotica* coming from the New Worlds. It's as if, at the heart of his treatment of the Sabbath and of the witches' demonic transvection, we find the author once again criticising travel itself, as well as the figure of the *impiger mercator*. It must be reiterated that Lancre was not alone among late Renaissance writers in seeing moral corruption in the accumulation of ever-changing novelties brought home by travellers. La Primaudaye shared this opinion, asserting that diversity and superfluity of wares, as of

clothing, was a source of vice.⁶⁶ In La Bruyère's *Caractères* (in the chapter 'Des esprits forts'), we find a further articulation of moralising discourse concerning the corrupting effects of diversity. Across the seventeenth century, in fact, we see the development of a critique of what later French dictionaries would call *pérégrinomanie* (*peregrinomania*), that is, an excessive love of travel. This neo-Stoic-inspired discourse owes much to the *Moral Letters to Lucilius*, in which Seneca denounces the dangers of excessive mobility for both mind and body.

Lancre contributes to this attack on travel in the 1607 *Tableau*, in which he adds a long passage that cites or paraphrases many passages from the *Letters to Lucilius* under the heading, 'Les voyages ne rendent les hommes contents' ('Travel does not make man content').⁶⁷ 'Quel profit de tracasser ainsi par pays?', he asks, following Seneca's phrasing in Letter 104 ('Quid per se prodesse peregrinatio cuiquam potuit', 104, 13). Constant travelling – the practice of *iactatio* – is a waste. There is nothing beneficial in these wanderings that only serve to make the soul more inconstant:

Ce n'est qu'amuser l'esprit à je ne sçay quelles nouvelletez, et rendre plus legere, et remuante la pensée volage de [c]es vagabonds, qui comme oyseaux passagers ne font qu'un vol perpetuel et sans arrest. Se faire voiturer d'un lieu en l'autre, ce n'est point voyager, c'est vagabonder et se fourvoyer.⁶⁸

It is striking – and of particular significance for our purposes here – that mobility is described by means of a vocabulary of flight: 'la pensée' is 'volage', 'légère et remuante' ('flighty', 'fleety and swirling'); compulsive travellers are 'oiseaux passagers' ('birds of passage') who are perpetually and without end airborne. This bird image is Seneca's, who uses it in the Latin text quoted by Lancre on this same

page (*Letters to Lucilius*, 104, 14): ‘Hence you often see men passing from a place, at which they before most earnestly desired to arrive; and like birds of passage flock away faster than they came.’⁶⁹ And it is not a stretch to move from migratory birds to the Labourd witches, who, like migratory birds ‘volle[nt] par l’air à troupes’⁷⁰ (‘flock through the air’) when they return from the New World, and ‘jacte[nt] avec grande joye’⁷¹ (‘screech joyfully about it’) as they approach the shores of the Basque country and, as we have seen, disperse as soon as they have landed at the Sabbath. If we compare these passages from the *Tableau* of 1607 and that of 1612, a certain identification emerges between the figure of the witch and that of the traveller guilty of *iactatio*, via the image of the migratory bird. The witch appears as the supreme embodiment of the ‘peregrinomaniac’, and this extreme traveller then appears, in return, to be a kind of demon.

This critique of travel is also present in the *Incredulité et mescreance du sortilege*, in the preface in which the retired judge praises attachment to one’s estate, the casting of anchors, and the cultivation of one’s kitchen garden. Lancre writes, indeed, that as far as he can tell the French are uninterested in overseas travel, be it to the Levant or the Indies. The view he expresses here is fairly ambivalent. Perhaps we can detect a note of regret that his contemporaries don’t show greater curiosity for the natural wonders revealed by the new worlds; that would be the naturalist talking, the lover of oysters and fossils. But he also explains and excuses this indifference as a legitimate French distaste for travelling great distances, and for the ‘voyages d’esclaves’ (‘slavish voyages’) made for profit, which contravene natural French sensitivities.⁷² Far from demonstrating the inferiority of the French in comparison with their Iberian rivals, the delay – a significant one! – in the French uptake of the European colonial project is cast instead as a proof of their greatness, of the fact that

the nation has sufficient resources to meet the needs of its offspring. This passage at the opening of a work brimming with praise of the sovereign allows the author – albeit rather too conveniently – to excuse the meagre French enthusiasm for colonial pursuits. It also partakes in the critique of travel that we have seen expressed in the treatment of Basque sailors in the *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*: once again the *impiger mercator* is targeted, and this time not only through the figure of the cod fisherman, but also the traveller to the Indies, the coloniser of the New World. At the moment when the colonial project is being endorsed in Huguenot writing, and when authors like La Popelinière and then Marc Lescarbot and Pierre Bergeron call upon young Frenchmen to go exploring and conquering new territories, Lancre holds the opposite position, in which – despite his regrets as a naturalist – a Catholic and an aristocratic disdain for colonialism wins the day.⁷³

Curiosity about the new worlds and condemnation of the colonial project could, in any case, go hand in hand. Lancre, indeed, drew heavily on travel literature for his works, especially for the *Incredulité et mescreance du sortilege*, which uses many examples from José de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias (Natural and Moral History of the Indies, 1589)*, translated into French in 1598: his interest in these matters is, indeed, precisely inspired by the anxiety provoked by the discovery of the New World, of which the Basque sailors and witches are seen as covert emissaries.⁷⁴ In many respects, the Labourd is an outpost of the Indies, where – according to many demonologists – in the modern age the devil had taken refuge, and from whence he was in the process of returning as a result of religious conflict in Europe and missionary work in conquered territories. Thus Lancre is both fascinated and profoundly disturbed by the New World. Like the witch on her broom forging the passage between the old world and the demonic islands across the Atlantic, and like

the Basque sailor coming home with American tobacco in his pockets, the traveller to the Indies is considered first and foremost a vector of contamination.

The demonization of movement that occurs in Pierre de Lancre's writings on the devil and on witchcraft brings conceptions of space drawn from the demonological tradition, built on images of covert Sabbath meetings, frenzied dancing, travelling demons, and airborne abductions, together with a neo-Stoic critique of travel, of inconstancy, and of the practice of *iactatio* – a critique which is also present in the author's other, non-demonological works. The Stoic heritage is decisive in Lancre's view of the Labourd, land of levity be it physical or moral. Indeed it also permeates his writing on witchcraft, in which he emphasises the mobility of the devil and his disciples. This focus on mobility, and particularly on the motif of the witches' nocturnal transvection, expresses Lancre's general anxiety about travel, speed, and movement, and is presented as proof that these fears were well-founded. Lancre develops an 'ethics of movement' (not only of gestures) which already existed in demonological writings as well as in the works of medieval clerics but which, in his work, is tied to concerns aroused by geographical expansion and by new ways of inhabiting the Earth. Thus, witches in flight on their brooms can be seen as a superlative form, but also a related one, of that migratory bird, the 'peregrinomaniac', and their travels can be seen as analogous to the long journeys undertaken by contemporary explorers and merchants. Besides, the treatment of mobility and of travel gains even more force via the autobiographical bent of his writings, in which his treatment of ideas of anchorage and stability, through association with his name and his homeland, provide a foundation for his very identity.

Demonology and literature, it must be reaffirmed, are not distinct, hermetically sealed, categories. As we have seen, Lancre's contribution to the diverse field of demonology is especially rich in its mix of genres and literary traditions that are not necessarily themselves concerned with questions of devils and of witchcraft. Iconological treatises, dictionaries of symbols, Stoic meditations on travel, rustic literature, travel writing, and even contemporary dramaturgy all shape Lancre's conception of space, and thus part of his understanding of the phenomenon of witchcraft. A study of demonological discourse cannot in such a case be undertaken without attention to this literary context – as rich and diverse, ironically, as a 'foire de marchands meslez'. This is also why it is crucial to situate the *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, usually treated in isolation, within the context of Lancre's wider work, the better to fully appreciate the part within the whole. In the broader web there are many rich connections to be found, not least an unexpected meeting, in a single discursive stream, between anchors, oysters, witches, and migratory birds.

¹ [Pierre de Lancre], *Tableau de l'inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses, où il est montré qu'en Dieu seul gist la vraye Constance, à laquelle l'homme sage doit viser* (Paris: Abel L'Angelier, 1607).

² 'behind the curtains'. Pierre de Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses, où il est montré, qu'en Dieu seul gist la vraye Constance, à laquelle l'homme sage doit viser* (Paris: Chez la veuve Abel L'Angelier, 1610), 'Au Lecteur, sur la seconde Edition', fol. a ii r. Unless otherwise noted, it is to this 1610 edition that I refer in this article.

³ See Arnaud Communay, *Le conseiller Pierre de Lancre* (Agen: Imprimerie et lithographie V^e Lamy, 1890), 8. Lancre's year of birth is uncertain. Communay suggests 1553; Jan Machielsen sees 1556 as more likely: Jan Machielsen, 'Pierre de Lancre (1556-1631)', in Luc Foisneau (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes français du XVII^e siècle. Acteurs et réseaux du savoir* (Paris: Garnier, 2015), 984-8.

⁴ Pierre de Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons, où il est amplement traicté des Sorciers et de la Sorcellerie* (Paris: Jean Berjon, 1612). On the Basque witch-hunts and the

prosecutions led by Lancre, see: Josane Charpentier, *La sorcellerie en Pays basque* (Paris: Librairie Guénégaud, 1977); Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate: Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition, 1609-1614* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980); Roland Villeneuve, *Le fléau des sorciers: La diablerie basque au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983); François Bordes, *Sorciers et sorcières: Procès de sorcellerie en Gascogne et Pays basque* (Toulouse: Privat, 1999); Beñat Zintzo-Garmendia, *Histoire de la sorcellerie en Pays basque: Les bûchers de l'injustice* (Toulouse: Privat, 2016). See also Nicole Jacques-Chaquin's introduction to her abridged edition of Lancre's *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons* (Paris: Aubier, 1982), and Gerhild Scholz Williams's introduction to her critical English translation of the treatise: *On the Inconstancy of Witches: Pierre de Lancre's Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons (1612)*, trans. Harriet Stone and Gerhild Scholz Williams (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval Renaissance Texts and Studies), 2006, xxvii-xliv.

⁵ 'Father of inconstancy'. Pierre de Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 'Advertissemens', fol. i ii r.

⁶ 'nothing [is] more inconstant and more flighty than demons are'. *Ibid.*, 'Advertissemens', fol. i r.

⁷ 'constant in his treatment of inconstancy'. *Ibid.*, 'Sonnet dudict sieur d'Espaignet au sieur de Lancre', fol. aaa ii r.

⁸ The Musée d'Aquitaine in Bordeaux holds a heraldic stone in high relief presenting the same coat of arms, with the same motto. A photography of these anchors of stone can be found on the French Wikipedia page on Pierre de Lancre: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre_de_Rosteguy_de_Lancre.

⁹ Lancre's patronymic is spelled alternatively as 'Lancre' and 'L'Ancre' in his writings. For an example of the latter form, which invites us to read the proper noun as a common noun, see the dedicatory epistle opening the second edition of the *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons* (Paris: Nicolas Buon, 1613), and the title-page of his second demonological treatise, the *Incredulité et mescreance du sortilege plainement convaincue* (Paris: Nicolas Buon, 1622).

¹⁰ On the influence of Italian mythographers and iconologists on the 1607 *Tableau*, and more broadly on the sources of the treatise, see Isa Dardano Basso, *L'ancora e gli specchi. Lettura del Tableau de l'inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses di Pierre de Lancre* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1979).

¹¹ Giovan Pietro Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* (Basel: 1556), XLIX, 'De Lapide', fol. 361r-363r.

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- ¹² Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, XLV, ‘De Anchora’, fol. 335v-336v.
- ¹³ ‘Hieroglyph of constancy and stillness, an Asylum or place of succour and safety’. Lancre, *Tableau de l’inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses*, fol. 492r.
- ¹⁴ ‘a secret sign full of mystery, and like a mark and indication of constancy’. *Ibid.*, fol. 493r.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 492v.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 29v. On the *echinus* and its fortune in the Renaissance, see Brian P. Copenhaver, *Magic in Western Culture: From Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 127-53.
- ¹⁷ ‘this sea of inconstancy’. Lancre, *Tableau de l’inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses*, fol. 29v.
- ¹⁸ Lancre, it seems, acquired the estate of Loubens in 1592 (Communay, *Le conseiller Pierre de Lancre*, 14).
- ¹⁹ ‘[the reader] will certainly find, at the top of my Mountain, an old ANCHOR, who is myself, ready to receive him’. Lancre, *L’incredulité et mescreance*, 41. Between 1612 and 1622, Lancre published the *Livre des princes* (Paris: Nicolas Buon, 1617); after the *Incredulité et mescreance* came a new demonological treatise, *Du sortilège* ([Bergerac: Gilbert Vernoy and/or Antoine Vernoy], 1627). On this extremely rare last book, see Isa Dardano Basso, *Il diavolo e il magistrato. Il trattato Du sortilege (1627) di Pierre de Lancre* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2011).
- ²⁰ Lancre, *L’incredulité et mescreance*, 37.
- ²¹ ‘Thus I remain undecided’. Lancre, *L’incredulité et mescreance*, 41. On the Renaissance debate on fossilization, see François Ellenberger, *Histoire de la géologie. Des anciens à la première moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Technique et Documentation-Lavoisier, 1988).
- ²² Lancre, *L’incredulité et mescreance*, 18.
- ²³ In the sixteenth century, the *Bordelais* was already a wine growing region, notably thanks to a flourishing trade with England. Lancre’s grandfather and great-grandfather, on his father’s side, were already established in the area as wine dealers (Communay, *Le conseiller Pierre de Lancre*, 5-8).
- ²⁴ On this tradition, see Danièle Duport, *Le jardin et la nature: Ordre et variété dans la littérature de la Renaissance* (Genève: Droz, 2002).
- ²⁵ ‘an underlying sense of anchorage’. Duport, *Le jardin et la nature*, 209.
- ²⁶ ‘poor, sterile, and unyielding land’. Lancre, *Tableau de l’inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 33.

²⁷ ‘in which [the] earth and [the] fields are largely uncultivated’. *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

³⁰ ‘Now in the Labourd almost all the people throw themselves into that inconstant working of the sea; they scorn constant labour and the cultivation of the soil. And although nature has given the earth as nursemaid to all mankind, they prefer (fickle and volatile as they are) the cares of the thunderous seas to those of the sweet and serene goddess Ceres.’ *Ibid.*, 32.

³¹ ‘[their] greed for treasure, brought on by insatiable avarice and a certain volatile humour’. *Ibid.*, 33.

³² *Ibid.*, 36.

³³ Horace, *Epistles*, trans. H. R. Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), I, 1, ‘To Maecenas’, 45-6: ‘Ardent trader that you are, you rush to the furthest Indies, fleeing poverty through sea, through rocks, through flames: but that you may cease to care for the things which you foolishly admire and crave, will you not learn and listen and trust one wiser than yourself?’. Horace, *Odes*, trans. John Conington (London: Bell and Daldy, 1872), I, 1, p. 1: ‘The man who digs his field as did his sire,/ With honest pride, no Attalus may sway/ By proffer’d wealth to tempt Myrtoan seas,/ The timorous captain of a Cyprian bark’. On Horace and travel, see Régine Chambert, *Rome: le mouvement et l’ancrage. Morale et philosophie du voyage au début du Principat* (Bruxelles: Latomus, 2005), 65-7.

³⁴ See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 260-74. On this passage, and more broadly on seafaring as folly and transgression, see the opening pages of Hans Blumenberg, *Shipwreck with Spectator: Paradigm of a Metaphor for Existence* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).

³⁵ ‘Men in those good days cultivated and looked after their land, unconcerned with going to see what one did amongst strangers and in distant lands’. Pierre de La Primaudaye, *Academie françoise* [1577-1588] (Genève: Jacques Chouët, 1593), fol. 78r.

³⁶ ‘Experience shows us that there is no land so poor as to be insufficient, if all superfluity be cut out, to nourish and maintain the men born there with the things necessary to them. From this it is easy to believe that it was through lack of prudence, and with ambitious desire, that the art of seafaring and of travelling to distant lands was first invented’. *Ibid.*, fol. 79r.

³⁷ ‘within their limits, in moral simplicity and on frugal foods’. *Ibid.*, fol. 78v.

³⁸ ‘The Ancients also took the sea, the water, and the fish, as symbols of hatred, as many take them as symbols of inconstancy’. Lancre, *Tableau de l’inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 32.

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- ³⁹ Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, XXXI, fol. 219v.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, fol. 284r.
- ⁴¹ ‘wishing to give us to understand that there was nothing so inconstant as the ocean’. Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses*, fol. 80v.
- ⁴² Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 32-3.
- ⁴³ ‘the shifting and capricious waves are the perfect symbol of human life, and of universal chaos’. Chambert, *Rome: le mouvement et l'ancrage*, 132.
- ⁴⁴ Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 31.
- ⁴⁵ ‘exercises in inconstancy’. Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses*, fol. 52v.
- ⁴⁶ ‘the most excellent Hieroglyph of inconstancy that one could lay eyes upon’. *Ibid.*, fol. 67r.
- ⁴⁷ See *Ibid.*, fol. 52v-3v; *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 43-4.
- ⁴⁸ ‘[I] can say that I have seen girls and children rushing so much in doing all that they were asked that they threw themselves flying into doors and windows, to the extent that they injured themselves, so fast were they going’. Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 42.
- ⁴⁹ ‘The people are light and mobile in body and in spirit’. *Ibid.*, 41.
- ⁵⁰ ‘Such physical agility on all occasions and in all circumstances penetrates their very souls’. *Ibid.*, 47.
- ⁵¹ ‘[the Devil] causes them to run easily to the abomination that is witchcraft, enticing them with all the traits and practices that play on this same levity – such as, for instance: curiosity, the desire for novelties, participation in festivals, dancing, and sea voyages’. *Ibid.*, 47.
- ⁵² Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), p. 37.
- ⁵³ See Thibaut Maus de Rolley, ‘Le diable à la foire : Jongleurs, bateleurs et prestigitateurs dans le discours démonologique à la Renaissance’, in Kirsten Dickhaut (ed.), *Kunst der Täuschung – Art of Deception: über Status und Bedeutung von ästhetischer und dämonischer Illusion in der Frühen Neuzeit (1400-1700) in Italien und Frankreich* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016), 173-98.
- ⁵⁴ On the authorship of the *Malleus maleficarum*, see Christopher Mackay’s introduction to his edition of the text: Heinrich Kramer, *The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum*, ed. and trans. Christopher S. Mackay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-58.
- ⁵⁵ Kramer, *The Hammer of Witches*, Part I, Q7, 183: ‘Third, especially when he sometimes cannot restrain himself from traveling unexpectedly, either by day or by night, across a great distance despite

the roughness of the journey, as anyone can learn from the confessions of these people'. See also, in the same passage: 'these men sometimes have to run across large distances to their inamoratas in the silence of the dead of night' (*Ibid.*, Part I, Q7, 180).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Part I, Q7, 183: 'Fourth, it is discerned in the fact that they suddenly and unexpectedly get carried off, and they sometimes undergo a change so that nothing can stand in their way [*quod inopitatem et subito vehuntur*]', As Mackay notes, *vehi* can be understood literally here: 'to be carried', or 'to ride (e.g., a horse)' (*Ibid.*, 204, n. 410).

⁵⁷ Compare for instance: '[...] interdum eos oportet currere ad amasias, *intempestiva nocti silentio, per multa terrarum spatia*' (Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum in tres divisus partes* (Frankfurt am Main: apud Nicolaum Bassaeum, 1580), 107, my italics), with: '[...] innumera multitudinem mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias, *et multa terrarum spatia intempe noctis silentio pertransire, eiusque iussionibus obedire velut domine [...]*' (*Corpus juris canonici, pars I, Decretum magistri Gratiani*, ed. E. Friedberg (1879; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959), col. 1030, my italics). On the *Canon episcopi* and the demonological debate on witches' transvection, see Walter Stephens, *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 125-44; Thibaut Maus de Rolley, *Elévations: L'écriture du voyage aérien à la Renaissance* (Genève: Droz, 2011), 412-74.

⁵⁸ In the *Canon episcopi*, the nocturnal journeys of women seduced by the devil were not described as flights, but as prodigiously fast cavalcades; it was only in the fifteenth century, when the first mentions of the Sabbath and witches flying on their brooms appear in trial documents, that these expeditions were understood and explicitly presented as aerial voyages. See Martine Ostorero, *Le diable au sabbat: Littérature démonologique et sorcellerie (1440-1460)* (Florence: Sismel / Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011).

⁵⁹ Kramer, *The Hammer of Witches*, Part II, Q1, Ch. 6, 322.

⁶⁰ 'seek to wander always'. Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 20.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 13. On the devil's mobility, see Grégoire Holtz and Thibaut Maus de Rolley, 'Le diable vagabond', in G. Holtz and T. Maus de Rolley (eds.), *Voyager avec le diable: Voyages réels, voyages imaginaires et discours démonologiques (XV^e-XVII^e siècles)* (Paris: PUPS, 2008), 13-23; Thibaut Maus de Rolley, 'Putting the Devil on the Map: Demonology and Cosmography in the Renaissance', in K. Vermeer and J. Regier (eds.), *Boundaries, Extents and Circulations: Space and Spatiality in Early Modern Natural Philosophy* (Cham: Springer, 2016), 179-207.

⁶² ‘She told us that they were seen leaving the Sabbath, one flying through the air, another going still higher into the sky, another coming back down to earth, and another sometimes throwing herself into the great fires lit there, like the flares thrown by some, or like lightning. One came, another goes, and suddenly many left and many arrived, each giving an account of the winds and the storms that she had conjured, and the ships and vessels she had wrecked [...]’ Lancre, *Tableau de l’inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 131.

⁶³ Sophie Houdard, *Les sciences du diable: Quatre discours sur la sorcellerie (XV^e-XVII^e siècles)* (Paris : Editions du Cerf, 1992), 161-226; Nicole Jacques-Lefèvre, ‘Pierre de Lancre: du traité démonologique comme récit de voyage en terre sorcière’, in G. Holtz and T. Maus de Rolley (eds.), *Voyager avec le diable*, 193-206 (200).

⁶⁴ Even if the most spectacular examples of theatre machinery appeared in France in the 1640s with the arrival of Giacomo Torelli in Paris, *voleries* (‘flights’) and elaborate machinery were already present on the Italian stage at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and also in France, thanks to the work of Italian stage designers such as Tomaso Francini. See Charles Mazouer, ‘Les machines de théâtre au XVI^e siècle’, in Cl.-G. Dubois (ed.), *L’invention au XVI^e siècle* (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1987), 197-218; Margaret M. McGowan, *L’art du ballet de Cour en France 1581-1643* (Paris : CNRS, 1978).

⁶⁵ ‘The Sabbath is like a fair where you find all sorts of merchants, in transports of fury, come from everywhere and anywhere. It’s a meeting and a mix of a hundred thousand novelties, jarring and transient, terrifying in their newness which offends the eye and turns the stomach.’ Lancre, *Tableau de l’inconstance des mauvais anges et demons* (Paris: Nicolas Buon, 1613), 119.

⁶⁶ La Primaudaye, *Academie françoise*, fol. 79v.

⁶⁷ Lancre, *Tableau de l’inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses*, fol. 44r-v.

⁶⁸ ‘It [travel] only amuses the spirit with who knows what kind of novelties, making the flighty thoughts of [these] vagabonds still more fleeting and swirling; they are like birds of passage perpetually and without end airborne. To let oneself be carried from one place to the next is not to travel: it is to wander and to go astray.’ Lancre, *Tableau de l’inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses*, fol. 44r-v. These lines sound like a reply to Montaigne’s discourse on the pedagogical virtues of travel in his ‘De l’institution des enfants’ (*Essais*, I, 26) and ‘De la vanité’ (*Essais*, III, 9). On the familial and intellectual relationship between Lancre and Montaigne, see Jan Machielsen, ‘Thinking

with Montaigne: Evidence, Scepticism and Meaning in Early Modern Demonology', *French History* 25/4 (2011), 427-52.

⁶⁹ Seneca, *Epistles*, trans. Thomas Morell (London: Woodfall, 1786), 104 ('On Travelling'), 244.

⁷⁰ Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*, 129.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Lancre, *L'incredulité et mescreance*, 27.

⁷³ On this discourse of colonial propaganda among late sixteenth-century Protestant writers, see Frank Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des Guerres de Religion (1555-1589)* (Genève: Droz, 2004), in particular 129-204.

⁷⁴ On this, and more broadly on demonology and travel writing, see Maus de Rolley, 'Putting the Devil on the Map'.