

**The History of the *Malleus Maleficarum*:  
A Bibliographical Study**

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Signed *Jesse R. Erickson* Dated *3/26/10*

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Part 1 { - *pars prima* 0.1



*(Internal Operatives)*



~ *NON SOLUS* ~

“I’ve been told that they work by totally different principles...yeah, it’s just like the middle ages. In the end, this case goes along those lines.”<sup>1</sup>

Reading the selection above will lead us into an important discussion of book history. This particular snippet of a quote was extracted from the Japanese animated drama series *Witch Hunter Robin*. For our purposes, the storyline of this series can be summarized in brief. Its plot is based upon the re-instatement of full-scale witch hunts within the framework of a fictional, yet realistic, setting in contemporary Japan. In the story, witch hunts are executed by the Japanese division of a special-crimes investigative unit which is run by a covert international organization called "Solomon Toukatsu Nin'idantai" (STN). As a result of irreconcilable differences in ideology, this powerful organization is really more of an uneasy joint venture between two separate corporate bodies: The senior institution, “Solomon Headquarters”, is in charge of directing the company’s rigidly dogmatic religious agenda while the subordinate division, the “STN-J”, is chiefly responsible for the company’s research and development operations. The individual members of the STN-J’s team of criminal investigators, the ‘hunters’, are really just pardoned witches themselves. This is only possible because each ‘hunter’ is specially trained in using their paranormal abilities to aid in the apprehension of condemned fugitives that Solomon Headquarters registers as dangerous. Consequently, each member must permanently honor their individual contracts with the STN to maintain both their pardoned status and their occupational position.<sup>2</sup>

The reasons for beginning an essay of serious historical research with a synopsis of an animated series are admittedly contrivable in nature. The relevance here, and above all, the valuable historical evidence which has been attained through the collocation of these two items should not be immediately discernable to the reader at this point, especially given that the items appear to be dissimilar in many respects. Unfortunately, a satisfactory explanation as to the specific purpose behind this cryptic beginning will not be provided until the textual contents of this animated series are examined in greater detail. And so the remainder of this issue will be covered in the last two sections of the second part of this paper, immediately prior to its overall conclusion. Before proceeding with this topical standby, however, I can at least offer a parting token of consolation to the curious by momentarily redirecting the reader’s attention back to the animated series for a swift showcasing of an often overlooked, yet fascinating detail which heralds our primary research subject. The detail I am referring to takes the form of a dark and shadowy image that scrolls past with a sudden rapidity and only adds to its obscurity. It can be found lurking in between the “fade to black” effect that marks the end of each episode in the *Witch-Hunter Robin Series*. And the first image which appears in these end credits from out of the fading darkness is an exact reproduction of the title page to the Lyons (1669) edition of the *Malleus Maleficarum*.

## General Introduction I: Primary Objectives

How precisely does a seventeenth century expression of a work which was first manufactured in the fifteenth century come to appear in the end credits of an animated series produced at the beginning of the twenty-first century? In the course of dealing with this intriguing query we are confronted with two ongoing academic debates. The first issue concerns the utilitarian potential of both historical and descriptive bibliography and their possible applications in other academic disciplines.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, in confronting the second issue, one which has received a considerable amount of attention in the field of witchcraft studies, I shall attempt to realize the potential for bibliographic research by applying it in my account of a book history. This is because the second issue involves a critical assessment of the notorious fifteenth century treatise on witchcraft, the *Malleus Maleficarum*. I am compelled to question the depth of its magnitude.

One of the most well researched studies on the *Malleus Maleficarum* was undertaken by Christopher S. Mackay in his 2006 translation of the text. In his introduction he states that “the extent to which the *Malleus* influenced the conception of witchcraft that formed the basis of the great persecutions of the period 1590-1630 is open question.”<sup>4</sup> The extent of previous attempts to assess the importance of the *Malleus* has been, in general, limited to this key question. This paper presents the history of the *Malleus* from a bibliographic perspective. Basically, my intent is to better our comprehension the work’s larger societal impact. Previous interpretations as to the extent of this impact have been highly contrasted. Compare, for example, translator Montague Summers lauding assessment of the book where he states, “Certain it is that the *Malleus Maleficarum* is the most important work in the whole vast library of witchcraft,”<sup>5</sup> with the more sober evaluation of historian Brian P. Levack who declares that “The *Malleus* therefore, while not directly inspiring a frenzy of witchcraft prosecutions, nevertheless did make an important contribution to the development of the entire witch hunt.”<sup>6</sup> Methods for measuring this impact have, in the past, relied heavily upon attempts to reveal a correlative link between the book’s distribution and the fluctuation of increases in executions that occurred regionally during the Witch Craze of the early modern period. As Sydney Anglo notes, “Attention has accordingly been focused on trial rather than upon literary sources...”<sup>7</sup> The research model for this essay challenges such an approach. By examining the various relationships forged between the work itself, its producers and consumers (i.e. vehicles of textual dissemination), in addition to the larger ways in which these vehicles have impacted their individual communities, thus becoming vital instruments of social change, it should become apparent that attempting to investigate this disputed issue of societal impact by focusing almost exclusively on a comparison of the trial records with relatively diminutive amounts of readership evidence is an approach that runs the risk of resulting in rather unimpressive conclusions.<sup>8</sup>

The principal error in approaching the question of impact in this way lies in an almost inherent tendency for the historian to disregard separate items of the work’s manifestations as potential sources for data. This form of historiographic myopia, which places human to human interactions at its center, restricts one’s ability to present a more intricate account of the work’s development. It may be that drafting historical narratives

with an emphasis on human to human interaction is the more intuitive approach. It is inarguably well-suited for the writing of biographies, ecclesiastical histories, military histories, travel logs, folkloric studies, and other anthropocentric works. However, just as the art-historian is trained to examine individual artistic items in meticulous detail as part of their research on a given subject, so too must the historians of the book treat individual bibliographic items as repositories of subject data. Therefore, a research model which places the book at its center would be preferable for studies in book history. Essentially, the book centered models shift the focus from human/book/human interactions to book/human/book interactions.

## **General Introduction II: Method**

The relationship between historical bibliography and intellectual history can be viewed as analogous to that of an atlas and the study of geography. The relationship is a symbiotic one; they simply cannot function independently of each other. The intellectual historian may not realize the extent to which his/her research is dependent on the study of bibliography. Scholars of literature, for example, have been dealing with textual criticism and descriptive bibliography in their attempt to establish authoritative editions of the classics for some time now. The intellectual historian should understand that the importance of the bibliographic data which frames the texts which are subject to their investigation as well. This essay deals directly with this concept.

The understanding of ideas as they have been communicated through media (i.e. the middle), should also account for the medium in which the ideas are expressed. When dealing with early modern history, textual communication becomes the primary medium through which ideas travel. Thus, the main emphasis being on bibliography is not without justification. Yet, using bibliography as the basis for research will lead us into a discussion of media outside the domain of codices. For, although the incunabula items will be closely examined and continually referred back to in the course of this essay, this analysis is not entirely limited to their study.

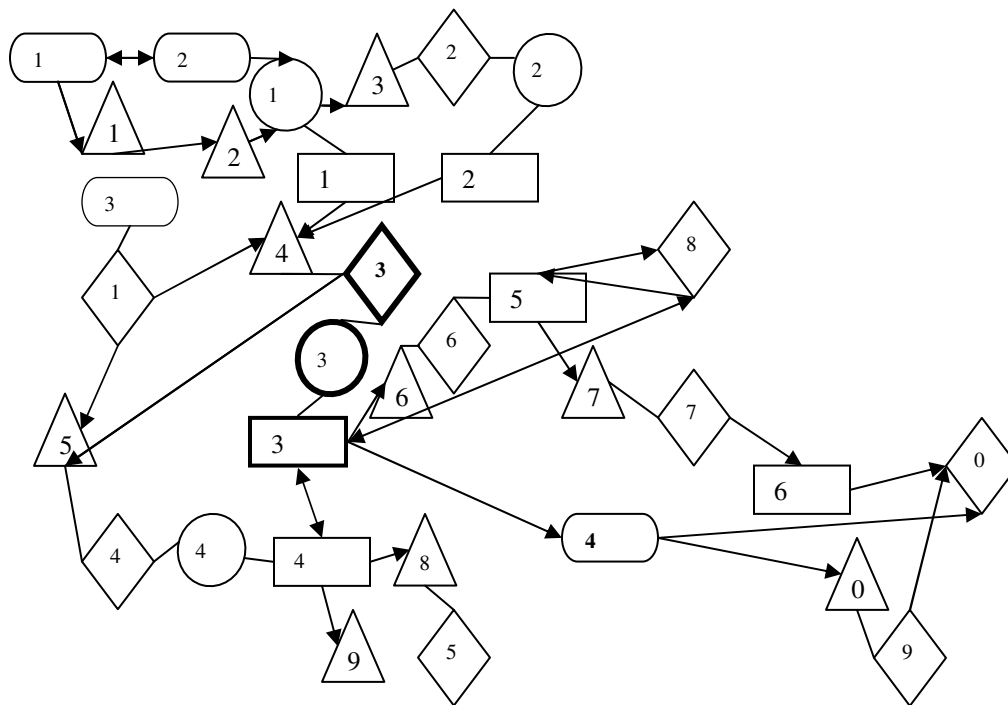
The scope of this paper will cover a large span of time, encompassing developments which, for the most part, began in the late Middle Ages and run headlong into our contemporary 'information age'. My intent is not, however, to present the reader with a 'grand narrative' which neatly relates a broad historical account using only a rigid hierarchical sequence of textual diffusion to sustain my interpretation of the evidence. Yet, I must clarify that at certain points it will be requisite for me to temporarily return to the macro-historical model, covering the sectioned topics in a less specific manner. As Gilles Deleuze explains:

Processes are becomings, and aren't to be judged by some final result but by the way they proceed and their power to continue, as with animal becomings, or nonsubjective individuations. That's why we contrasted rhizomes with trees – trees, or rather arborescent processes, being temporary limits that block rhizomes and their transformations for a while. There are no universals, only singularities. Concepts aren't universals but sets of singularities that each extend into the neighborhood of one of the other singularities.<sup>9</sup>

With that in mind, I have opted - when necessary to- forgo the classical “tree/root” organizational schema. Instead, in terms of the framework for this study, I believe that an approach that, in part, integrates the basic ideas of the “rhizomatic” model that Deleuze and Guatarri have outlined in their collaborative reassessments of modern psychological theory, and one that also partly adopts the micro-historical research methods developed by the historian Carlo Ginzburg is an approach which will prove to be more effective. Accordingly, each section will compare related evidential fragments and present a mosaic of concordances which, in the end, should trace the intricate network of associations that comprise the bibliographic ‘genealogy’ of the *Malleus*. This “rhizomatic” form of a bibliographic ‘genealogy’ is illustrated in figure 1. The layout provided is an attempt to graphically display a map of textual relationships. It is not intended to be a comprehensive display, but to provide the reader with an example of the many intricate ways in which a work is effected by and is influential to other works. Although the connections are not hierarchical, period-based relationships will roughly correspond in their emphasis in terms of their particular section. Hence, the initial sections of this essay will focus more on the earlier textual relationships and the succeeding sections will have a stronger emphasis on modern and postmodern manifestations.

### **General Introduction III: The Book Centered Model**

This essay does not introduce any new theoretical research models that I would claim as a product of my own design. Instead, as I have previously indicated, I have drawn from an array of advances in critical theory as well as academic bibliography and applied them to my argument in keeping with their supportive utility. The foremost of the theoretical models employed in this essay, the book centered model, was developed by book historians Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker and presented in 1986/7 lecture series at the *William Andrews Clark Library*. This model will be most effective in detailing the intricate networks of political, cultural, religious, and socio-economic factors which are involved in the book’s history because it is one that, in line with my stated objectives, positions the “book as object” at the nucleus of all additional investigation. The topical division of this essay has been borrowed directly from it. Hence it is necessary at this point to outline the model in more detail, especially in terms of how this study will be organized within its parameters.



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|---|--|
| ◇ | Publication- 1. <i>Canon Episcopi</i> 2. <i>Summa Theologia</i><br>3. <b><i>Malleus Maleficarum</i></b> 4. <i>De Vanitate</i> 5. <i>De Praestigiis Daemonum</i> 6.<br><i>La Démonomanie des Sorciers</i> 7. <i>Daemonolatry</i> 8. <i>Conpendium</i><br><i>Maleficarum</i> 9. <i>Malleus Maleficarum</i> (English trans.) 0. <i>Witch Hunter</i><br><i>Robin</i> |
| ○ | Manufacture- 1. <i>Confessiones</i> 2. <i>Summa Theologia</i> 3. <b><i>Malleus</i></b><br><b><i>Maleficarum</i></b> 4. <i>De Vanitate</i>  |
| □ | Distribution- 1. <i>De Civitate Dei</i> 2. <i>Summa Theologia</i> 3. <b><i>Malleus</i></b><br><b><i>Maleficarum</i></b> 4. <i>De Vanitate</i> 5. <i>La Démonomanie des Sorciers</i> 6.<br><i>Daemonolatry</i>  |
| △ | Reception- 1. Plotinus 2. Augustine 3. T. Aquinas 4. J. Sprenger/H.<br>Kramer 5. C. Agrippa 6. J. Bodin 7. N. Remy 8. J. Weyer 9. Montaigne<br>0. M. Summers   |
| ◌ | Survival- 1. Plato 2. Aristotle 3. <i>Canon Episcopi</i> 4. <b><i>Malleus</i></b><br><b><i>Maleficarum</i></b>   |

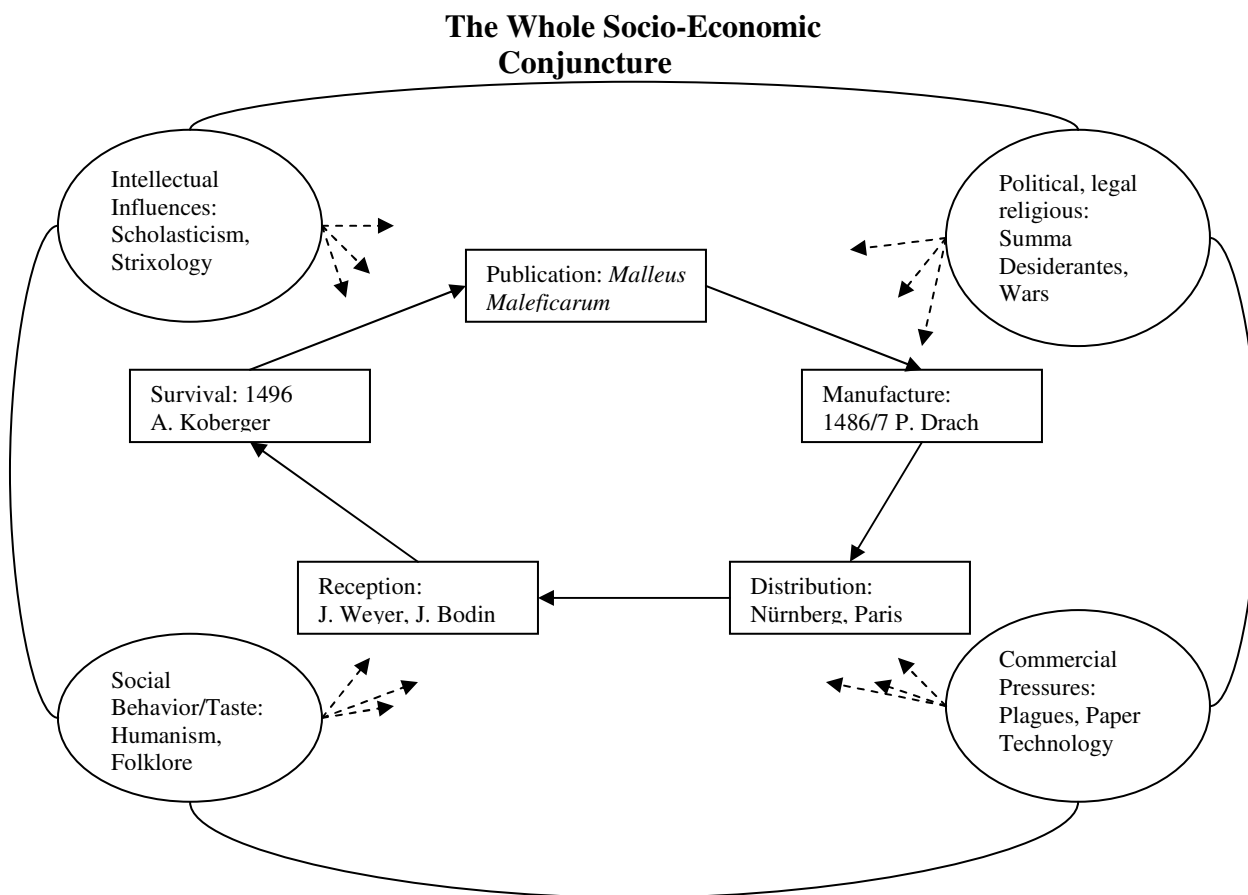
**Figure 1: Rhizomatic textual relationships according to the BCM**

The book centered model divides historical bibliographic research into five distinct phases representing the life-cycle of an intellectual work's circulation. The five phases of the cycle are publication, manufacture, distribution, reception, and survival (see fig.2). The cyclical (as opposed to linear) arrangement of the phases is conducive to thorough bibliographic study, as it allows for a continuous analysis of succeeding editions. According to this model, immediately following publication of a first edition, the next phase as an individual unit is both communicatory and reliant upon the one preceding or following it.

The publication phase is concerned with the decision to publish a particular work. Basically, publication analysis addresses the motives behind this decision. It deals directly with persons of patronage and authority – commissioners and/or financiers, stationers, censors and/or editors, as well as those identified as content creators – writers, composers, and commentators.<sup>10</sup> Consider briefly these elucidatory subject queries: Was there a political agenda to the publication, and if so was censorship a factor? To what extent were the publication decisions determined by the intellectual climate of the period? How much of the publication responsibility can be attributed to the content creators? The authorship of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, for example, has been a point of contention for historians of witchcraft that, despite having reached a basic level of agreement, has yet to be irrefutably and fully discerned. Once the researcher either accepts one of the competing suppositions, or formulates a new one of greater or lesser coherence, they can then proceed to assess the contribution of the author to his/her work's own publication. These are the types of issues that will be covered in the corresponding section of this paper.

The next phase of the cycle will serve to anchor the essay to its bibliographic emphasis. This is because the manufacturing phase deals exclusively with item related facts. It accounts for the artisans involved with production mainly in foundries – font designers and punch-cutters, and more specifically, in print shops – compositors, master-printers, typesetters, correctors.<sup>11</sup> Both papermaking and book binding, although characterized as independent (from printing) trades, are also included among the list of manufacturers. However, a discussion of the work's production history will not be restricted to highlighting exclusively the contributions of manufactures; a critical analysis of the form, the typography, justification, materials composition, the binding style, and other components will also be included. In applying the established descriptive bibliographical procedures, the results obtained from this kind of cautious and meticulous research will clarify other important factors concerning the work's overall history and societal repercussions.

Distribution concentrates on the temporal and geographical. Accordingly, it involves the roles of the book-sellers, dealers, and lenders. It examines the progression of publication cycles. This covers the locations of publication as well as readership. Provenance also becomes a factor in the study of distribution because circulation of textual material occurs even in periods when a book is not in print through exchange practices such as borrowing, trading, or copying.<sup>12</sup> Further, antiquarian bibliophiles often collect older editions of work for aesthetic or other personal reasons. The fluctuating degrees of a work's thematic popularity correlate directly with its sequential periods of publication. This also determines the range of derived works (e.g. translations) that are produced.



**Figure 2: The Book Centered Model<sup>13</sup>**

The work's reception follows its distribution. There are many facets to the reception of a particular work. More specifically, reception deals with the effect on the reader. In this sense, it deals with response, criticism, and popularity.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, it can be argued that the effect on the reader essentially begins on an intellectual level. This, in turn, can alter larger social paradigms over time by influencing the decisions, and later, actions of individuals who have internalized the contents of the work with serious consideration. The myriad of nuanced materializations of these effects are difficult to ascertain with certainty. In a historical study, much of what can be perceived as the product of such effects suffers the possibility of being purely conjectural. Therefore, in the discussion of the reception phase, it is most beneficial to focus on textual connections as a bridge to the greater world outside of the intellectual domain. In this essay, the section on reception will draw upon textual evidence from both works derived from the *Malleus Maleficarum* and new works which bear a marked influence, whether direct or indirect, from it.

The last phase covered in this essay is survival. Survival is an important aspect of book history because it draws our attention to the primary source. Without the surviving

manuscripts and early editions, there would be nothing for later scholars to study, review, translate, and eventually reproduce for future publication. The discussion of survival deals the researcher's access points to the source. Factors such as quantity, condition, and the location of surviving originals provide additional evidence for the book historian.<sup>15</sup> A low number of surviving originals, for example, can indicate either a high rate of circulation inferred by the wear from common usage or a low rate of publication characterized by a small quantity of items produced in high quality and surviving in excellent physical condition (i.e. collector's editions). This is the type of evidence which should be left to the discrimination of the researcher.

Each of these phases is inseparably tied to four additional groupings denoting different types of influence. The groupings are separated as follows: Intellectual influences; political, legal and religious influences; commercial pressures; and lastly, social behavior and tastes.<sup>16</sup> Although each grouping is integrally connected with every phase in the cycle, the listed order is noteworthy because it illustrates the dominant influential role that each grouping plays in its respective phase. Commercial pressures, for instance, are of greater consequence to the manufacture and distribution phases; similarly, a work's reception and survival are determined largely by the social behavior and tastes of the period.

### **Part 1 (Internal Operatives): Introduction**

This study will be separated into two parts dividing the internal from the external operations in its coverage of succeeding publication cycles. The division of the internal relates to the operational orientation of the various aspects of its correlative stages; meaning that, for example, the conditions which define its manufacture are primarily set within the activities of the parties involved (e.g. the choosing of a publishing firm, or the typesetting of an extant incunable edition). As such, the first part is concerned more with commerce, communication, technology, and descriptive bibliography. It covers the publication, manufacturing, and distributive stages. The chronological emphasis will be on – but not limited to – the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries, roughly corresponding with the 'incunable period' of book history. Lastly, it should be noted that metadata is also a primary source used here as evidence.<sup>17</sup>

### **Publication I: Overview**

Although it would be of considerable difficulty to identify, at least with confidence, all of the societal factors (cultural and intellectual inclusive) which had an influence on the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, looking into some of the more dominant influences should provide further insights as to nature of its publication history. It is widely accepted that at least four major societal factors were central to the work's initial publication. These factors were: Folk magic in popular superstition, natural magic/philosophy (including astrology), orthodox religious orders and their campaigns against heretical movements, and, lastly, the scholastic approach to demonology. As a result of their centrality, it is for any requisite serious study of the *Malleus* to address the above listed factors.

The development of urban capitalism – and correlatively, socio-economic conditions that contributed to the inception of the early modern nation-state as a sustainable political force – was clearly augmented by the invention of printing with moveable type in the middle of the fifteenth century. As Henri Pirenne notes, “The whole of this new movement was set on foot by a class of new men, who appeared just at the moment when the urban economy was being transformed under the influence of crafts.”<sup>18</sup> Similar to the argument that this essay is engaged in, historians of the book have much debated the questions concerning the extent of the invention’s [printing press] overall social impact. Notwithstanding, it is plainly evident that the establishment of the new trade was predominantly instrumental to the successful dissemination of the *Malleus*. Since, as outlined in the introduction, the intent of this thesis is to provide a bibliographically-centered interpretation of the history, the role of ‘incunable period’ printing and its corresponding agents of production will be subsequently covered in a detailed study of the book’s initial manufacture (to be specific, [*hic*] comparatively analyzing historically contemporaneous examples, namely books, which in this case is a term applied to particular “items” marketed as accurate copy-text reproductions of the original manuscript. Consequently, the books had to be produced exclusively in the printed codex format and, expectedly, in satisfactory agreement with authorial intent).

It is first necessary to discuss the catalytic process involved in the transformation of a conceptual “work” to an intellectual “manifestation”.<sup>19</sup> Doing so will demonstrate how the interrelated societal factors listed above were able to coalesce into the amalgamated conceptual network that I consider to be the foundation for the work’s textual impetus. To these ends, the topics of authorship and textual content will concomitantly be explored. Yet not exhaustively, as this coverage will be limited to any biographical evidence that is expressly related to the work’s publication.

## **Publication II: Folk Superstition & the Court Magus**

When dealing with the subject of folk magic and its complicated relationship with demonology and what was defined as *maleficium*, or *malefici* – or the Latin term used by those of learned class during the late medieval and early modern periods to denote demonic witchcraft (specifically in cases involving expressly malicious intention) – one must recognize that, overall, the majority of historical interpretations of the evidence for what unfolded in Europe over those several centuries have generated narratives that have consistently been argued for in terms of an exchange of cultural practices and ideologies, from the “high” and “low”.

Initial attempts at scholarly interpretations of this narrative, particularly the studies of Henry C. Lea and Joseph Hansen, have sought to emphasize the dominance of the “high”, literate culture with its forcible imposition (e.g. via torture) of intellectual memes defining *maleficium* as a conceptual phenomenon in the mentalities of those individuals of the “low”, uneducated culture, and with disastrous end-results (e.g. execution) for the latter. On the opposite end of the interpretive spectrum is Margaret Murray’s controversial, anthropologically-based argument that there were actually witch-cults representing the continuity of pagan fertility cults having origins in ancient, pre-Christian history.<sup>20</sup> The dismissive reaction from the reigning authorities on the history of Witchcraft upon the release of her study is indicative of the ensuing debate. Lea, for

instance, found her theories untenable on the account that they take “with seriousness the ‘confessions’ of the accused, regardless of torture”.<sup>21</sup> He states that her claim to the reality of the witches’ sabbat is as assumption “careless of retraction and acquittal”.<sup>22</sup> Later, and in line with previously established historical consensus, J. A. Sharpe implicitly accuses Murray of feminizing the history in his criticisms directed at Murray’s feminist supporters.<sup>23</sup> Despite the concerted academic aversion towards Murray’s argument, some of its core ideas were supported by the compelling studies of Carlo Ginzburg. The archival depth of his research on the witches’ sabbat confronts the criticisms against Murray’s argument in an analysis of inquisitorial records which suggests greater intricacy in the intellectual translation process inherent in a cultural exchange with popular beliefs. To our benefit, the most recent scholarship in the history of witchcraft undergone by Brian P. Levack, Bengt Ankarloo, Stuart Clark, Christopher S. Mackay, Diane Purkiss, and others in the field, have done well to provide us with a far more sophisticated understanding of the complexities involved.

Consequently, we find that there are credible arguments based in academic research that challenge those traditional narratives of witchcraft history which have emphasized the learned elite’s institutional imposition of culture on the ignorant masses. The idea that there is more of a reciprocal relationship involved in inquisitorial dealings with localized communities, for example, is presented by Carlo Ginzburg in his semi-biographical study of an ‘unimportant’ sixteenth century miller, *The Cheese and the Worms*.<sup>24</sup> Dealing with the social milieu of the *Malleus* as the dominant factor in its initial publication, it is necessary to briefly consider some of these objections.

For one, there is the supposition that a sizable number of accusations of witchcraft and related crimes arose domestically, meaning that they were often made by members of a given community against other members (e.g. family, acquaintances, neighbors, etc...).<sup>25</sup> Assuming its validity, this assertion questions the fundamental basis of an exclusively elite to peasant trajectory of cultural diffusion. Secondly, recent scholarship has revealed a scenario of penetration, in which urbanized clergymen were increasingly coming into contact with previously isolated rural communities where the inhabitants had maintained certain traditional practices associated with botanical medicine, childbirth, cultivation, etc..., which were found to be suspect as a result of their syncretistic blend of Christianity with paganism.<sup>26</sup> On a broader scope, in a larger assessment of social history from the late medieval on through to the early modern period, we find that the Catholic world-view which was for centuries deeply internalized by the vast majority of medieval Europeans, surviving even the psychologically damaging effects of the Great Schism (1378-1417), still had to overcome the trials of plagues, famines, and rebellions of fourteenth century; in the fifteenth century there were problems resulting from rising populations, invasions from the territorially expanding “infidels”, market transformation with the growth of capitalism, and the culture shock that came with discovery of an entirely “New World”; and finally in the turbulent sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the escalating political threat of Protestantism would culminate in the Thirty Years War (1613- 1648).<sup>27</sup> All of these social conditions would have helped to amplify collective fears and foster greater anxieties in the minds of the public. Hence the development of the Witch Craze proper can be argued in terms of being resultant from the combination of a number different issues.

As we shall see in the course of this portion of the essay, and also in subsequent sections, the narrative of cultural exchange inherent in the inquisitorial attack on witchcraft deals with the interplay of both the oral and the literary traditions. Therefore (as previously noted), in many areas it will be necessary to examine the sources on more of a micro, as opposed to macro, level in the attempt to pinpoint the less noticeable details of relevance to the literary basis for this argument. In doing such, not only can we better understand the intellectual foundation for the publication of the *Malleus*, but, ultimately, my evaluation of its greater impact will be refined. That is not to say that the macro-historical narrative has no place here, for it is certainly a valuable method for argumentation that, especially when used collaboratively, will serve to also increase its quality.

To return more specifically to the topic of popular magic as a social phenomenon of the period, what should be clarified outright is that such practices were present in an array of forms by the time of the work's publication. The idea that different forms of magic and witchcraft, some of which shared certain qualities with the magical practices of antiquity, could flourish throughout such an overwhelmingly Christianized period of Western history is not completely implausible if one considers the powerful religiosity and spirituality of the age. The fetishism of relics, the veneration of saints, the performance of medieval mystery plays, in addition to the mystifying effect that the ceremonial recital of the Roman Catholic liturgical mass must have had on the unlearned laymen were just some of the many elements which helped to create a profoundly spiritual dimension to the everyday lives of average people. Conceptually, both the existence and the effectiveness of magic were simply woven into the fabric of the medieval social reality. Charms, coins, animal bones, bird feathers, special dolls, potions, oils, anointed candles, and other miscellany were common ingredients in the magical spells, which were designated for any number of mundane purposes.<sup>28</sup> Manipulating the affections of a potential lover, curing illness, or effecting weather were among the more popular reasons a person would resort to the use of magic. In the folk magic of the unlettered, spells were often combinations of herbal lore, the recitation of major prayers (i.e. Pater Nosters, Ave Marias) mixed with (profane) incantations, and the acting out of physical exercises such as genuflection.<sup>29</sup> Aside from references in ecclesiastical writings and individual correspondences, the evidence for the existence of these practices is largely contained in the archival records of governing institutions, especially those kept by the Catholic Church. Resultantly, the accounts of folk magic although representative of the perspectives of the commoner have come to us in a form distorted by the intellectual biases of the learned elites. As to question of such practices being a significant contributive factor in the publication of the *Malleus*, their influence is shown in the contents of this and earlier demonological treatises, such as Johannes Nider's *Formicarius*, which also includes references to their procedures and effects. The following passage from the *Malleus* is illustrative of such magical superstitions:

There are those who on Palm Sunday keep and raise up among the grapevines and standing crops the Sign of the Cross or boughs or flowers that have been blessed, claiming that while the crops on all sides were harmed by hailstorms, the crops in their fields remained unharmed.<sup>30</sup>

Another of the many references of folk magical practices that can be found in the *Malleus* is in one of its several stories about magically induced impotency and sterility. In it the authors describe these kinds of spells in stating that, “Externally, they sometimes cause this through images, or as the result of eating plants, sometimes through external objects, like the testicles of roosters...”<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, in an article written on the folkloric origins of the magical impotency described in the *Malleus*, Moira Smith tells us that inquisitors acknowledged the reality of these kinds of spells as they were aware of “both its practice and the various magical countermeasures taken (especially by newly weds) to prevent it.”<sup>32</sup>

Although such practices were relatively prevalent in the merchant towns and larger cities of late medieval Europe, folk magic in sparsely populated rural communities was, in some areas, expressed with greater complexity. By the sixteenth century, as inquisitorial records have indicated, certain communities in these regions were able to retain agricultural festivals and shamanistic traditions which were noticeably pre-Christian. In such communities, certain members would be assimilated into the role of the community healers. Along with providing the local population with basic medicinal care this position also carried the responsibility of helping to usher in successful harvests each year by defending the crops against the attacks from malevolent forces controlled by those who used magic specifically for destructive purposes. In Southern Europe, for instance, there were the *benandanti* of Friuli, the *táltos* could be found in Eastern Europe, and the “cunning folk” practiced their arts in the North.<sup>33</sup> In this scenario we find, as Ginzburg points out, that the *benandanti*, “...as peasants did not promise glorious, princely enterprises; only the obscure irresistible impulse to fight periodically “in spirit” for the harvest, astride or in the guise of animals, against male and female witches.”<sup>34</sup>

In many cases midwifery, in both the urban and the rural setting, was particularly suspect in the minds of the public. As the Witch Craze intensified (specifically in relation to the period and region) during the late fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, women who were engaged in these services were frequently suspected as being witches. Statistics have shown that, collectively, a disproportionate amount of accused witches were both female and over fifty years in age.<sup>35</sup> This phenomenon has been the subject of a great deal of investigation among witchcraft historians. An array of contrasting conclusions has been drawn from the existing evidence. Along those lines, the *Malleus* itself has been credited with encouraging the development of the stereotype, and it is certainly given sufficient attention in its contents. The authors are especially unforgiving in their treatment of midwives with their barrage of accusations; as they show no reservation, for example, in the claim that “where they (midwives) do not cause a miscarriage, they eat up the baby or offer it to a demon,”<sup>36</sup> and that “some sorceress have the habit of eating up babies...”<sup>37</sup> However, such accusations were in no sense novel, for this stereotype linking elderly women with *maleficium* had been existence prior to its publication. The image of the “old hag” was used to personify necromancy and *maleficium* in Lydgate’s *The Pilgrimage of Man*.<sup>38</sup> It is simply that, up to that point, no previous demonological treatise went to such lengths to link the two.<sup>39</sup>

Out of the many practices of folk magic which persisted up through the late middle-ages, divination – outside of the highly intellectualized study of astrology prevalent in the learned circles - was among the most pervasive. The *Malleus* lists many different forms of fortune-telling:

When the preacher decides to adduce the other varieties like – divination by earth, which is carried out with an object made of earth like a fingernail, iron or a polished stone, divination by water, which is carried out with water or crystal, divination by air, which is carried out with the air, that of the soothsayers, which is carried out with entrails of animals sacrificed on the altars of demons.<sup>40</sup>

On the one hand, astrology is listed among the other forms, which implicitly links “high” and “low” cultural practices by an assertion of equated value. On the other hand, the theoretical justification for astrology is singled out in Question Five of Part One for a lengthier refutation. However, when compared to *maleficium*, both are considered to be transgressions of a lesser degree.<sup>41</sup>

What we are dealing with here is the publication of a specific demonological treatise which, as a text, had the singular purpose of exposing and combating the perceived threat of witchcraft on the religious front. Hence, as a social phenomenon the existence of folk magic within popular superstition – in conjunction with its conceptual symbiosis with the crime of malevolent witchcraft – was among the most influential contributors to the publication of the *Malleus*.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the study of natural magic, in its association with ceremonial magic and natural philosophy, was becoming increasingly popular in the intellectual circles of the learned class, despite the attacks against it that came from disapproving authorities. This was also a contributive agent to the publication of the *Malleus*, although to a lesser degree than that of folk magic and witchcraft. However, as will be addressed in the discussion of the work’s distribution and reception, the humanist adherents of natural magic, figures like Cornelius Agrippa, Johann Weyer, and Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola would eventually offer some of the more sophisticated arguments against the persecution of witchcraft, in their defense of natural philosophy.<sup>42</sup> Many of these intellectuals were well versed in demonology and employed it in their political efforts. And a defensive position was often necessary, for natural philosophy was, in many cases, tied to diabolical acts of necromancy. Even so, in the courts of nobility, really all throughout the European Continent, the presence of astrologers, alchemists, and natural magicians added even greater convolution to the all ready obscured divisions among what qualified as an illicit engagement with magic, what was merely suspect, and what was accepted as legitimate. Although, on the whole, there was a considerable amount of speculative diversity within the different teachings of natural philosophy, it operated as a force with shared metaphysical themes and symbolism. The *Malleus* scrutinizes the theoretical basis of astrology demonstrating a conscious attempt to denounce its precepts as theological errors. After a thorough exposition of the opposition, the authors conclude that in “none” of the opposing arguments “do the luminous bodies of Heaven have any dominion at all over free will, and therefore by consequence neither do they have any over the evil and the habits of humans.”<sup>43</sup>

The natural magicians themselves were proactively involved in championing their methods as among the most advanced levels of a philosophical and scientific investigative research. Writings, such as those found in the *Ars Notoria* – a manuscript which was in circulation during the fourteenth century – helped to spread the ideas and esoteric formulas of natural magic.<sup>44</sup> The majority of their subsequent literature included unique composites of Pythagorean, mathematic/numerological (or geometric), Neo-

Platonic, humanistic, and Cabbalistic ideas integrated in the rhetoric of Christian piety. Just as their theories were offered as an elite branch of philosophical inquiry, often claiming to have been in the pursuit of the “secrets of the divine”, the highly formalized ceremonies that steadily developed in these intellectual circles were commonly presented as cutting-edge experimentation. Basically, they were paralleled with and even an extension of the mainstream model of scientific investigation sustained during these periods.

### **Publication III: Clerical Orders and the Charge of Heresy as a Political Device**

Even a minimal review of the history of the Christian Church will show that, without question, the Church as a political institution was rife with internal dissent and theological fractures which often culminated with violent protest and condemnation. We can find precedents set for this pattern as far back as the Christological debates of the Ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 449, in which the violent measures employed by the Alexandrian Patriarch Dioscurus and his monophysite supporters led to the proceedings being infamously dubbed as “The Robber Council”.<sup>45</sup> The conflict between orthodoxy and heresy in Christian Church has been inextricably paired with governmental politics practically since its emergence as an imperial religious power with conversion of Constantine in 312. Yet the question of how the charge of heresy came to be issued upon the practices of *maleficium* is crucial to the bibliographic history of the *Malleus*, and so it is appropriate here to give it sufficient treatment.

One of novelist and semiotician Umberto Eco’s most successful literary works is a murder mystery set in a medieval monastery titled *The Name of the Rose*. Although the book is assuredly a fictional depiction of medieval history, it still contains themes, characters, and controversies which plainly have been based on credible historical research. In other words, even though “the chronological accuracy” of, for example, the story’s characterization may be, in certain parts, perceptibly offset when compared to legitimate historical data; the gripping portrayal of the character interactions and their corresponding political dynamics may impart to even the most casual reader genuine historical insights. Yet many of the implications contained in these fictional depictions of a theologically discordant monastic community are effectively nuanced so that more intellectual substance can be extracted from its contents when the reader begins a critical engagement with some of its more significant historical components. So, for example, when the antagonist Bernard Gui<sup>46</sup> immediately takes the offensive against his Franciscan rivals, and in the process of presiding over a witch trial exploits the opportunity to turn the institutional persecution of an impoverished, defenseless young woman into political theater aimed at the clerical opposition, many aspects of medieval and early modern social history are brought to the surface through its fictional embellishments in prose.<sup>47</sup> For even though a more hierarchical interpretation of cultural diffusion is portrayed in the fictional proceedings, the sub-narrative offers commentary on the how the competition among clerical orders for political capital had a larger effect on the enforcement of religious orthodoxy. Along with other developments, it can be argued that the changing political arena resulted in a redirection of inquisitorial scrutiny from heretical Christian groups to the accused witches.

The atrocities and offenses attached to these groups were used to justify measures against their cohabitation with the mainstream. Popular fears were articulated as tales of conspiracy. In France, circa 1328, the rumor of a conspiracy involving an alliance of lepers and Jews and their plot to poison the public water supply emerged and circulated via oral and literary networks.<sup>48</sup> Over the course several centuries, traceable standards in a repeated cultural narrative were carried on through each succeeding targeted social group. The ‘desecration of the Host’, for example, was frequently attributed to the Jewish community with growing intensity during the thirteenth century. The Jewish community was increasingly victimized, and in suffering a barrage of accusations, they became scapegoats for a range of social problems.<sup>49</sup> In Brabant, for instance, Jews were massacred in 1349 – notably during the same time as when the 1348 plague had spread throughout the continent.<sup>50</sup> In 1370, as result of accusations that the Jews had participated in the desecrating of the Host they were all together driven out.<sup>51</sup> Internalization of these ideas was accompanied by periodic waves of violent reactions from the public.<sup>52</sup>

By the late Middle Ages, the inquisitorial pursuit against the heretical movements of Hussites and the Waldensians became a suitable platform for the escalating attack on witchcraft. The Bible contained the scriptural backing necessary for such an attack. The condemnation of magical practices are present in a number of Bible verses; Leviticus 19:31, 20:6, and 27, for example, denounce mediums and sorcerers.<sup>53</sup> Although the associations among witchcraft, demons, and the devil had been well established fairly early in the medieval period, large-scale efforts to bring the accused to justice did not emerge until the fifteenth century. Before the publication of the *Malleus*, Johannes Nider’s *Formicarum* was distributed in 1435. This earlier demonological treatise is one which is referenced in the *Malleus*. The treatise offered a depiction of heretical witches united in both their evil intention and their rejection of the Christian Sacraments. This is noted in the following selection:

[The]...inquisitor told me that in the duchy of Lausanne he had seen some witches cooking and eating their own children...Their disciples had to promise to abjure Christianity, never to reverence the Eucharist and to stamp on the cross if they could do so without notice.<sup>54</sup>

Two years later, Eugenius IV authorized the inquisitorial offensive against those suspected of practicing *maleficium*.<sup>55</sup> The *Malleus* should be understood in terms of being published within these transformations in the cultural landscape, as is clearly indicated by its contents. Here we see, for instance, the transmission of specific aspects of a developing mythology surrounding witchcraft:

Here, a sorceress took the Body of the Lord, and with a quick lowering of her head, as is the loathsome practice of women, she put her veil in her mouth and pushed the Body of the Lord out into a piece of cloth, wrapping it up. She placed it (by the Devils instructions) in a jar in which there was a toad, and hid it in the ground in a barn near the granary of her house, along with very many other objects that she had added by which she was able to practice her sorcery.<sup>56</sup>

Note in this example an ideological fusion of witchcraft with the ‘desecration of the Host’. Notice also that passage is in line with a heavily misogynistic strain. The

relationship between heresy and witchcraft is a central theme in the *Malleus*. Theological currents in Canon law then also had to be taken into account. Its argumentative objective went beyond the previously established consensus by arguing that the even the denial of witchcraft constituted a heretical belief. To these ends, Question One of Part One in *Malleus* begins with an assault on a skeptical position issued around 900 from the *Canon Episcopi* that, although generally accepting *maleficium* as an ‘invention of the devil’, reproached the belief in the reality of such phenomena associated with the witches like night-flying, or the magical transformation of humans into animals. In its refutation of the skepticism found in the *Canon Episcopi*, and subsequently throughout, the *Malleus* gives careful consideration to the issue of heresy attempting at its clarification in a large variety of cases.

#### **Publication IV: Scholasticism in the Evolution of Demonology**

The study of demonology predates scholasticism, but they had become interrelated by the time the *Malleus* was first published. As a subgenre of classical philosophy, and firmly rooted in that tradition, demonology began in earnest with writings and commentaries of the Middle-Platonists; thereafter, it persisted in intellectual debates for well over a thousand years. Examples of Middle-Platonic writings in demonology have survived from such philosophers as Plutarch and Maximus of Tyre.<sup>57</sup> The process of its Christianization emerged in Late Antiquity in the philosophical debates between Neo-Platonic thinkers and the theologians of the early Church. Prophyry, St. Augustine of Hippo, and Origen were among the more notable figures who offered explanations on the nature of demons and their greater cosmological position by drawing upon earlier works.<sup>58</sup> St. Augustine, for example, was well acquainted with the sole surviving Middle-Platonic demonological monograph, *De deo Socratis* of Apuleius.<sup>59</sup> Complicated philosophical definitions of demons and their relationship with both man and the divine became a prevailing feature in the subgenre. This passage from Calcidius *Commentarius* is typical of early demonology:

The rest of the demons are neither so laudable nor so friendly, and they are not always invisible, but sometimes they can be observed, when they change into diverging shapes...They also very often hurt of their own accord, for they are touched by earthly passion as a result of the vicinity of the earth and they have an excessive partnership with matter, which the Ancients called the wicked soul. Some men call those and similar demons in a strict sense runaway angels...<sup>60</sup>

During the High Middle Ages, as the academic discipline of scholasticism achieved standing in the leading universities, demonological inquiry was well within the customary topical range of theological examination. This can be viewed as a continuing of the Christianization process of pagan survivals. As Umberto Eco explains it, “Scholastics were confronted with the view that the world manifests essentially a struggle of uncertain outcome between good and evil, and they sought in reply to demonstrate the positive character of creation, even where it seemed at its darkest.”<sup>61</sup> In its characteristic reconciliatory attempts at assimilating classical philosophy into the Biblical construct it concomitantly furthered the religious reevaluation of demonological concepts on a dogmatic level. The ideological marriage of witchcraft with the diabolical was thusly set

in a Biblical foundation in order to be properly explicated by scholastic syllogisms. The powers of the Devil, demons, incubi, and succubi were common areas of contention. Both William of Auvergne and St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, believed that an implicit pact with the Devil was essential to any act of magic.<sup>62</sup> As historian Jeffery Burton Russell informs us that some of the scholastics, meaning Aquinas through a similar line of reasoning employed by Abelard, believed that “Demons attack humans in order to impede the Kingdom of God,” and that “Though they may actually on occasion do a small good in order to achieve a greater evil, they always intend the evil.”<sup>63</sup> Here we have an example of this type of reasoning found in the *Malleus*:

The reason why demons make themselves into incubi or succubi is not for the sake of pleasure, since a spirit does not have flesh and bones, but the strongest reason is that through the fault of debauchery they may harm nature of both aspects of man (the body and the soul), so the humans in this way will become more inclined to faults.<sup>64</sup>

The theoretical concepts and terminologies of scholastic demonology were eventually implemented in inquisitorial procedure correlatively receiving more attention in their manuals of instruction.

Accordingly, the scholastic format and methodology provided the framework for the style of *Malleus*. Similar to the writings of Aquinas, the text was composed using an academic standard, the *quaestio disputata*.<sup>65</sup> In its oral form this style of debate, which evidently consisted of a supervised question/response session, was commonplace in the university curriculum. The fact that the arguments in the *Malleus* were set this style shows the extent to which scholasticism was a factor in its publication. The authors’ use of quotations is additionally indicative of the influence of the scholastic discipline; as they cite (erroneously as often was the case) Aristotle as the Philosopher, and reference the works of Peter Lombard, Aquinas, Duns Scotus, William of Auvergne, and even Avicenna throughout much of the text.<sup>66</sup>

## **Publication V: Biographical Evidence for Authorial Contribution**

In the “Apology” of the treatise, the authors of the *Malleus* make the following statement:

We do not say this arrogantly, belittling the writings of the other authors or boastfully and vainly praising our work, since from our intellect little or virtually nothing has been added, and hence this work is considered to belong not to us but to those men from whose writings have generally been woven together.<sup>67</sup>

This measure of authorial deference to the larger body of authoritative knowledge was a *modus operandi* in the mainstream of the medieval scribal culture of manuscript circulation. True this was the very style of writing that humanists like Francesco Petrarca would target for criticism, as he does in his mid-fourteenth century invectives:

There are people who dare not write anything of their own. In their desire to write, they turn to expounding the works of others. Like people who know nothing of architecture, they make it their job to whitewash walls. From this, they seek praise which they cannot

hope to win on their own or with others' help, but only by praising authors and books in their chosen field...<sup>68</sup>

Lorenzo Valla out of Naples, Leonardo Bruni out of Florence, (Gian Francesco) Poggio Bracciolini, Rhetoricians, Ciceronians, connoisseurs of the antiquarian book and its *belles-letters*, perhaps indulged in attitude of intellectual superiority in their mastery of the *ars rhetorica* and “wove” it into their correspondences, their grammars and commonplace books. It is strange that the two camps, the humanistic and the scholastic, shared influence from some of the same early theologians, I am referring primarily here to the powerful ripple effect of the Augustinian teachings. In a substantialist interpretation of the evidence, it can be argued that it was a product of the ways in which the manuscript format interacted with conceptual mechanisms for organizing ideas and information. Yet, even with its multitudes of citations, and its lack of theoretical innovation, the *Malleus* managed to achieve a certain degree of originality, at least in its ability to effectively integrate the popular with the institutional while simultaneously conveying the personal.

Two authors were responsible for the organization of the *Malleus* into bibliographic manifestation, and both were members the Dominican Order. The dominant authorial voice was that of Heinrich Institoris, originally named Heinrich Kramer, the other was Jacob Sprenger.<sup>69</sup> The creative process they shared included, but was not limited to, the actual writing out of the text into an expression of the work. There were also matters of editorial discussion, schematic design of content layout, oversight of the production of the *editio princeps*, and other activities and tasks that might have been necessitated by the process. We find storybook impressions of Institoris in the anecdotal textual evidence of the *Malleus*. This presents a problem to biographical historian. For some of his (Institoris) biographical references have substantial support in corroborating evidence, whereas others are completely lacking. Deciphering the conjectures is a difficult task subject to much speculation.

That considered, Institoris was likely to have been serious about his belief in witchcraft. Reputedly a polarizing and uncompromising figure, by his own claim he was responsible for the execution of forty-eight women in the diocese of Constance within a five year period.<sup>70</sup> The story contains another example of the cultural exchange between the commoner and the lettered. It began in 1484 with “a very savage distant hailstorm” which was “stirred up” towards Salzburg some “twenty-eight German miles” from Ravensburg. Institoris claims that rumors of witchcraft escalated in the town of Ravensburg and ensuing public demands led to the eventual assignment of Institoris to the situation. He was able to conduct an inquisition which evidently ended in the confirmed deaths by burning at the stake of at least to women, Agnes the bathkeeper and Anna of Mindelheim. His full report of the events include all the classic elements, an incubus demon, magic spells, the Devil, and, of course torture.<sup>71</sup>

Another anecdote, which actually concerns his failed inquisition at Innsbruck and falling out with local politics there – more specifically in his relationship with the Bishop of Brixen – places him right in the center of the link between the clerical and secular authorities, heretics, Jews, witches and also communal anxiety. We find in its conclusion that a “baptized Jewess persuaded other women to act,” and one of these women, having been “urged to confess her sins” pledged instead her allegiance to the Devil right before dying. Institoris declares that “these stories have been related as a

public indication of the loathing and hatred felt for a crime so great.”<sup>72</sup> The events referred to in this story are believed to have occurred in 1485, in the following year the *Malleus* was published. The story of the witches of Ravensburg corresponds with the release of the papal Bull *Summa Desiderantes* in 1484.

Examples like these suggest that Institoris was heavily involved in the politics of his world, in both the religious and secular arenas. Fully recognized by Maximilian and on good terms with Pope Innocent VIII, he petitioned for a Bull which would ensure both his jurisdiction over heretical investigations in Germany and the support of his ecclesiastical subordinates. Along those lines the publication of the *Malleus* with the *Summa* and the *Aprobation of the Theologians of the University of Cologne* as an introduction to the greater work was a shrewd political maneuver.<sup>73</sup> Although his co-author had a more mild temperament, and despite the fact that he was not personally active in witch hunts, his administrative and scholastic competence was surely beneficial to their partnership. In 1468, for example, he was given orders to lecture on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* at the University of Cologne and by 1480 he was Dean of Faculty of Theology there. Institoris was also a well-educated man for this period.<sup>74</sup> By 1479, he attained the title of *master of theology* and within a month he was confirmed by Rome as the *master general* of the Dominican Order.<sup>75</sup>

## **Manufacture I: The Decision to Print**

Given the fact that both Institoris and Spenger belonged to the clerical social stratum, and were in association with the scribal culture which was, up to that point, dominated by the monastic tradition, the decision to have the *Malleus* published in printed form was one of tremendous significance. For even though the book trade in manuscripts persisted throughout the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and bearing in mind that both commercial scribes and the monastic *scriptoria* were actively engaged in competitive as well as complimentary relationships with the early printers, the rapidly spreading craft of the pressmen was increasingly set apart from the older traditions. McLuhan, in his controversial experiment in the history of technology and communications theory, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, states, “The very natural inclination towards accessibility and portability went hand in hand with greatly increased reading speeds which were possible with uniform and repeatable type, but not at all with manuscript.”<sup>76</sup> In support of this idea, in her contentious study on printing technology and its effect on society, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein writes, “Early printers in their prefaces did all they could to reinforce the impression that theirs was an unusually elevated calling,” she continues, “They cultivated all the arts of self-advertisement and pioneered as press agents on their own behalf.”<sup>77</sup> The most evident result of the decision to print was that the work would achieve a higher level of distribution than it would have if it remained solely as a manuscript. Even the title suggests a potential best-seller. As Mackay notes, the derivation of the title *Malleus Maleficarum* (Hammer of Witches) was in a theological term used by the religious orthodoxy, *malleus haereticorum* (Hammer of Heretics), which was then changed into *Malleus Judeorum* (Hammer of Jews) when it was used for a manuscript title and set to circulation in the first part of the fifteenth century.<sup>78</sup> However, before we can begin a discussion of the distributive phase in the cycle of print, we must first go over the history of its manufacture.

## Manufacture II: Master Printers

In assessing the greater importance of the *Malleus* as a text, consideration of its ‘incunable period of publication’ (c. 1455 – 1500) is commonly given insufficient attention. This is apparent in the fact the pressmen involved are rarely even included in the contemporary historical accounts of this work. Drawing from the research of bibliographers and book historians alike: Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, Kurt F. Bühler, Phillip Gaskell, David McKitceck, and A.W. Pollard among other such scholars, this essay argues that valuable evidence of its textual impact on society can, in fact, be found in a survey of its early printing. An analysis of this evidence should begin with those responsible for its initial manufacture. Here is a list of the early editions from the “first period” of its publication history along with their printers and regional origin:

Speyer: 1486/7, 1490/1, 1492, 1494; Peter Drach/Peter Schöffler  
Basle: 1490, or 93?; Johann von Amerbach  
Cologne: 1494, 1511; Jean Koelhoff, Henri de Nussia  
Nuremberg: 1494, 1496, 1519, 1520; Anton Koberger, Kaspar Hochfelder, Fredrick Peypus  
Metz: 1508, 1511; Kaspar Hochfelder  
Paris: 1512, 1523; Jean Petit  
Lyon: 1519; Jean Marion

From the above list, several prominent printers can be singled out for special attention.

The first edition is a case in point. It was mainly printed by Peter Drach of Speyer – who would publish a second and third edition in addition to the first – with the *Summa Desideriantes* and the *Approbation* having been printed by Peter Schöffler of Gernsheim.<sup>79</sup> Drach was a moderately successful, but highly competent printer. By 1477, he managed to run a profitable printing company in Speyer, whereas others had failed in that region.<sup>80</sup> Beyond this, his company was active in Strassburg, Nuremberg, Cologne, and many other centers of the book trade. While Schöffler only provided a minimal contribution to the enterprise of publishing the *Malleus*, his involvement demonstrates the proximity to which the manufacture of the *Malleus* was tied to the invention of printing with movable type. In 1455 Johann Fust, a lawyer and investor, sued Johann Gutenberg for his first and second loans plus the interest, which totaled to 2,026 guilders. Unable to pay this relatively costly sum, Gutenberg was required to hand over his entire operation to Fust. Shortly thereafter, Schöffler, who had previously worked with Gutenberg, became Fust’s partner and leading technician, and he would eventually marry into his family.<sup>81</sup> Together Schöffler and Fust have left us with the earliest example of a printed work entirely devoted to music (most likely) the first printed herbal guide, and they were certainly the first to employ novel technical features like the colophon. In the view of many book historians and printing specialists, however, their greatest historical achievement was the printing of a fine edition of the Latin Psalter in 1457, generally considered to be a masterpiece of the ‘incunable period’. Aside from this, Schöffler himself was an influential type-cutter who is credited with being the first to design a font based on the less formal Rotunda style of script.<sup>82</sup>

The majority of the other editions were also manufactured by noteworthy figures. As a printer, the career of Johann van Amerbach was certainly one of accomplishment.

With his reputation as being an industrious, educated man of high-character, he ran a profitable press in Basel.<sup>83</sup> The printing office of Amerbach was esteemed for its publication of accurate editions of the Church Fathers.<sup>84</sup> Jean Koelhoff, the third to establish a press in Cologne, although not as important as some of the other printers listed above, can at least be credited with producing the first work to include printed signatures.<sup>85</sup> In Paris, Jean Petit was, without question, the foremost publisher of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.<sup>86</sup> His output included over a thousand significant titles. Moreover, he held the distinguished position as one of the four official printers for the University of Paris.<sup>87</sup> But out of all these printers, the most important printer-publisher in central Europe, in terms of political influence as well as financial capital, was Aton Koberger, famed (in bibliographic circles) for his publication of the *Nuremberg Chronicles*. Not only did he found one of the largest publishing firms of the ‘incunable period’, he was also one of the few printers, aside from Jean Petit, to attain individual financial prosperity through his trade.<sup>88</sup> Koberger was the first printer to publish a book in an Ugric language, which is given to the fact that his firm extended into Budapest in addition to other culturally influential European cities like Venice and Paris.<sup>89</sup> By the beginning of the sixteenth century Koberger had 100 pressmen in his employment, operating his two dozen presses.<sup>90</sup> His firm typically published theological and scholastic texts, and was capable of producing the larger types of liturgical books, and other projects that smaller presses could not afford to take on.<sup>91</sup>

Additionally, it is important to note that these printers operated in a commercial network in which there was communication among the different firms. Amerbach, who was in correspondence with many of the Master Printers of his generation, had worked for Koberger before establishing his own company.<sup>92</sup> Koberger would, in turn, purchase books manufactured by Amerbach to sell in his firm. Rudolf Hirsch tells us, “Koberger bought in 1506, 1,600 copies of Albrecht von Eyb’s *Magarita Poetica*, published by Amerbach and Petri in Basel in 1503.”<sup>93</sup> To provide another example, the printer of the 1519 Lyons edition of the *Malleus*, Jean Marion, was another printer employed by Koberger’s firm. Moreover, the two other Nuremberg printers, Kaspar Hochfelder and Fredrick Peypus, were among his competitors.<sup>94</sup>

There are many possibilities as to what this evidence may suggest in terms of the history of the *Malleus* and its impact. For one, I would argue that the work being published and manufactured by several of the highest ranking printers in multiple editions is a further indicator of its broader social appeal. Furthermore, a better understanding of its initial manufacture provides us with a more comprehensive interpretation of the work’s subsequent cycles of distribution, in a scenario where printers actually become major players. Mackay has concluded that “there is no reason to take the issuance of so many reprints of the work as indicating anything other than it was read seriously for its own sake as authoritative textbook during this early period of witch hunting.”<sup>95</sup> Yet there is arguably more evidence concealed in its early printing history than what is immediately intuitive. Consider, for instance, that, as result of the novelty of the trade, success for a certain publication was far from ensured. Many of the printers with smaller operations, and even some of the more successful publishers like William Caxton, had to weather the through downtimes of book production with the supplementary printing of indulgences, announcements, bureaucratic documents, and ephemera.<sup>96</sup> The smaller-scale

printers quite often lacked the capital to sustain a profitable operation by any available method. In the words of Kurt F. Bühler:

The early printer, of course, was an active entrepreneur in this field of activity, too, in addition to purely mechanical duties of his profession. On balance, very few of those who pioneered in this field made a success of it, they were lucky when they could make a bare living from it, the result (quite obviously) of the ruinous competition between press which arose almost immediately in every city into which the new art penetrated.<sup>97</sup>

In view of this, it is not unreasonable to highlight the impressive press run that the *Malleus* experienced upon its release. It is noteworthy also that when it comes to the records of early printing, none of the other demonological treatises of the ‘incunable period’ listed in Lea’s *Materials Towards a History of Witchcraft* are provided with the comprehensive detail which is found in the entry on the *Malleus*. The information provided in Lea’s study of the archival and literary evidence suggests that the *Malleus* was, on the whole, more popular than Bernardo Basin’s *Tractus de Magicis Artibus* (1482), Alphonso de Spina’s *Fortalicium Fidei* (c.1460), Girolamo Visconti’s *Lamiarum sive Striarum Opusculum* (1490), and Johannes Nider’s *Formicarius* (1435).<sup>98</sup>

### **Manufacture III: Item Analysis**

We turn now to a closer inspection of an individual item representing a textual expression of the work in question. The item I have selected for analysis is a 1496 edition printed in Nuremberg by Aton Koberger.<sup>99</sup> The comparative aspect involves both its distinctness from and similarity with: 1. generic academic manuscripts contemporaneous with the period and 2. another edition published not after 1490 by Peter Drach.

We begin with the binding. Although it is not possible to indentify the binder with certainty, and also in the understanding that rebinding antiquarian books was in no way uncommon – a practice which was highly fashionable in the late nineteenth century – the binding found in this edition appears to be of the ‘incunable period’. The half (calf) leather style on wood boards with metal clasps are features which are, to a degree, indicative of a period binding. Earlier bindings of larger manuscripts commonly consisted of leather on wood boards with metal embossing and clasps, many of which included chains for their securing to a study desk in the library (often in a cloister) in which they were housed. Since it has been well documented that Koberger had the full range of book making crafts available within his publishing business, being one of the few publishers of the period to type-set, correct, print, and bind his books as completed items before selling them, it is altogether possible that the book has come to us in the form it was originally released in.<sup>100</sup> However, other clues, like the lettering on the clasps, and the half (calf) style indicate that it was possibly bound, or rebound, outside of Germany. Contrastingly, the binding of the Drach edition is more in line with Northern European features, particularly with its wide margins and blind stamped cross pattern tooling in the center. The style of binding for this edition is concomitantly in relative conformity with the aesthetics of the older manuscript tradition.

The fact that paper and not vellum was used in this and the other editions is also of note. Febvre and Martin tell us that:

From the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, in response to growing demand, while shortage of a raw material cramped development of the large centers, new establishments were repeatedly founded in regions which until then had nothing to do with paper-making. In order to flow more easily, new centres were almost always situated at the cross roads of commercial routes, and if possible near large centres of consumption.<sup>101</sup>

The rise of paper consumption and its use in printed works positively correlated to the rise in demand for the printed word. The growing literacy of the middling sorts and the enlargement in readership from the learned circles were among the conditions which helped to create the need for forthcoming changes to the codex. At the onset of the invention of printing with moveable type, and throughout much of the ‘incunable period’, printing on vellum and parchment was, especially in liturgical works, not at all uncommon. Out the total of amount of “Gutenberg” Bibles, for example, an estimated sixteen percent were printed on vellum.<sup>102</sup> Manuscript and parchment enthusiasts argued that paper lacked the ability to sustain the desired textual longevity. Commercially, however, being that parchment and vellum were made from the skins of domestic livestock (e.g. cows, sheep, etc...) and paper of the period was manufactured from discarded rags, there was no question as to which was the more economical.

The paper used in this edition contains a watermark depicting the ‘bull with circle eyes and nostrils’ pattern with a double line Latin cross, or Quatrefoil. Such watermarks were the standard used in papers made, for example, in the Low Countries. However, once again, ascribing a date and place of origin for early papers is exceedingly difficult and wrought with uncertainties.

In terms of format, this edition was cataloged as being an octavo. I found this to be unusual considering that the octavo format was not in common usage until after it was popularized by the scholar-printer Aldus Manutius. On closer inspection, I have determined that the position of the watermark juxtaposed with the horizontal chain-lines indicate that the format is more likely a quarto in eights which, in fact, was more commonly employed during that period. This collation is further supported in the introduction of the 1973 French translation of the *Malleus Maleficarum, Le Marteau des Sorcières*. There it also lists the 1496 Koberger as a quarto.<sup>103</sup> The end product of the format, a page size of 20 cm by 15 cm, is a book of considerable portability, fairly uncommon for theological and liturgical works of the period.

The typography of this edition is equally of interest. It was printed in black letter (formal *rotunda*), a *bastarda* type. As Phillip Gaskell explains it, “*bastardas* were based on a variety of quickly written but not fully cursive book hands, and differ considerably in their degree of formality”; moreover, ‘out of the many fonts which were cut in the Low Countries, England, and France, German *bastardas* were among the more sophisticated, particularly in the Schwabacher and Fraktur families’.<sup>104</sup> There were from the onset of printing, particularly in places like Naples, Florence, Venice, and Rome, certain promoters of the *roman* scripts, or *belles-letters* as they were otherwise known.<sup>105</sup> Calligraphers like Niccolò de’ Niccoli popularized the classical fonts which influenced publishers like Aldus Manutius who had his *italic* font cut by Francesco Griffo.<sup>106</sup> The fact the type in the Koberger edition is in black letter and not a roman type is consistent with both its content and location of origin.

The *bastarda* used in this edition is moderately formal in quality, but not to the extent of a *textura*. The design is apparently based on a legible, streamlined expression of

the style. Calligraphic aesthetics of the manuscript trade had an influence on the fonts of the type-cutters that is immediately recognizable. Printers were known to follow the standard lay-outs found in manuscripts. Peter Schöffer himself having a hand in the (scribal) trade prior to his presswork.<sup>107</sup> In terms of design, a supervisorial involvement of calligraphers in the process was not unusual. The *bastarda* and two-column lay out from the Peter Drach are largely retained in the Koberger edition. This continuity in design was a trademark in printing techniques. The ability to produce standardized texts was a feature of the new technology that was celebrated early on by readers who were discontented with the textual variation that was fully entrenched in the manuscript tradition. There are, however, discernible differences in the descenders on p and q; additionally, although the Koberger edition has guide letters for decoration, the initials were left undecorated with open margins. In contrast, the inclusion of rubrics in the Drach edition, again, produces a stronger sense of the medieval aesthetic. Both books made use of the conventional Latin abbreviations, but notably not to an illegible degree.

As Jonathan Sawday describes, “Print pretended to fixity, and a classificatory system would underline the sense of fixity, or completeness, of the printed collection.”<sup>108</sup> The layout of the Koberger edition certainly points towards the direction of modernity in this sense. Yet, the reference features it utilizes are by themselves unable to completely set it apart from its medieval, hand-written counterpart. In the words of David McKitterick:

Questions concerning page layout and rubrication, or the ways in which long texts were to be described by lists of contents, or in the ways foliation or pagination were gradually applied to different kinds of books, did not themselves arise from printing rather than manuscript, however much they may have been given new stimulus and focus by the new technology.<sup>109</sup>

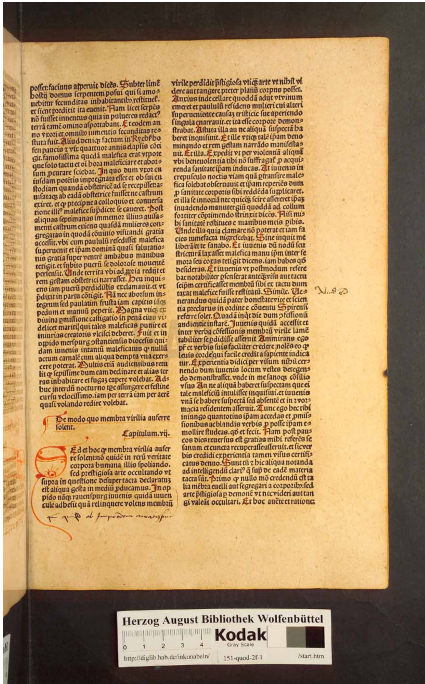
The Koberger edition does in fact contain signatures (including Arabic numerals), pagination, chapter titles, headlines, and a colophon. Together they create an impression of a book which is familiar to the modern reader. The title page, for example, is simple and unadorned. Compared with the more common *Incipit* –which was the customary device used by the copyists of the scribal tradition when producing religious works either for circulation or for personal study – and compared also with the longer, richly ornamented titles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the succinct and plain title lends a vestige of uniqueness. Once again, however, we should keep in mind that all such devices used in the layout could also be found in manuscripts during the fifteenth century.

The quality of the presswork in this edition is in line with the high standards of the Koberger firm. Still, it was virtually impossible, given the exhausting conditions that journeymen, compositors, and correctors had to endure in their labor, to produce a flawless printing. In the Koberger edition there are, for example, errors found (mostly in the running headlines) on the rectos of C6, D2, K7, L3, and T2. The question of the technology’s ability to reduce errors was a subject that was fiercely debated in the ‘incunable period’. Those who endorsed the ‘new technology’ argued against the textual deterioration at the hands of careless scribes.<sup>110</sup> Christopher De Hamel writes:

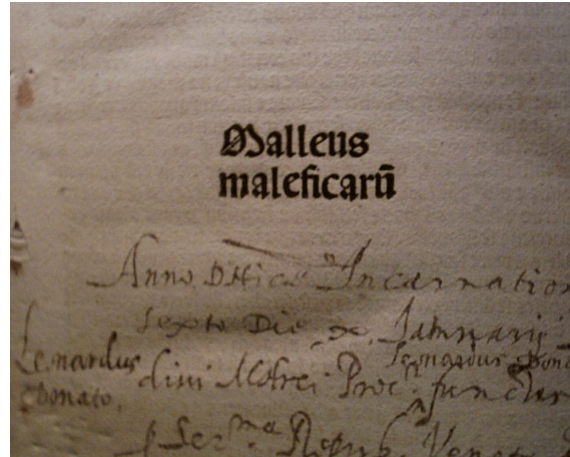
When a manuscript was finished, the text was usually checked for errors, either by the scribe himself or by a colleague. It is very difficult to copy without making some mistakes, and very many pages of medieval manuscripts show evidence of correction, either by erasing and rewriting words, or by inserting omission in margins, or by inserting omissions in margins, or by crossing out repetitions.<sup>111</sup>

On the other hand, some of the kinds of mistakes found in printed works, like poorly cut letters, or worn letters, or upside down words and pages, would never be found in a manuscript.

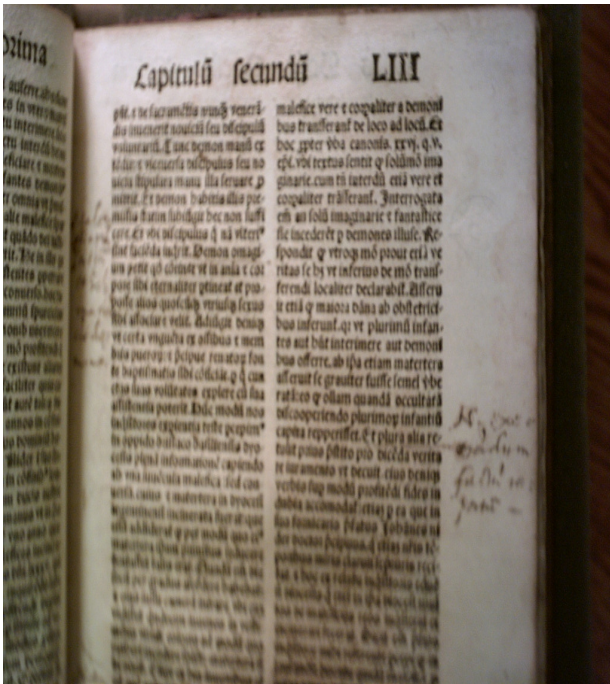
Overall, we find in the Koberger edition, I believe, an item which is a physical embodiment of its hybrid environment. In format and design we find it to be tending towards the modern book and in content and structure trends normally found in the codices of medieval scholasticism are present throughout. Some of the features, like the metal clasps – which were originally designed for preventing the distortion and molding of vellum from moisture – appear to have been made use of for primarily aesthetic purposes. Others, like the lack of decoration and the presence of running headlines, chapter titles, and pagination are indicative of the reference function and hence are serve a more utilitarian purpose. What is most important about the item, I think, in terms of the argument for this essay is that the portability, usability, and legibility of this edition combined with its skilled craftsmanship and stylistic conformity suggests a substantially high level of readership. Basically, in the hypothetical sense of its tactile engagement with the late medieval and early modern *literati*, it bears the physical characteristics of being a quality best-seller, but neither to the extent of being a cheap and dispensable textbook, nor to the extent of being a luxury item.



c. 1490 Drach edition



Title Page of 1496 Koberger edition



Running Headlines in the Koberger edition



Binding of the Koberger edition

## Distribution I: Commercial

When reading secondary source material about the history of witchcraft, the *Malleus* is almost always at least given some attention. The variations are present in how much attention is paid to this text and, as we have seen, the depth of its impact. In the course of addressing that fundamental issue, many uncertain, and/or perhaps irresolvable, assertions are made. One the more common *Malleus* factoids circulating in the popular writings on the subject is the claim that “it was second only to the Bible in sales until John Bunyan’s *Pilgrims Progress* was published in 1678.”<sup>112</sup> Credible data has not been provided with this somewhat hasty statement in order that it may be better confirmed. However, it is within the scope of this bibliographic account to cover the question of its commercial progress in greater detail.

The *Malleus* appears to have enjoyed a relatively substantial amount of viable success. The reasons as to why this has been the case are numerous and are largely dependent upon the historical period in which it was commercially distributed. If, as the evidence has suggested, the *Malleus* was work with a profitable commercial appeal, then the fact that it was selected for publication by the leading firms at a very early stage in its history is not baseless. Created to be the principal authority in the demonological subgenre, the resourceful marketing of the book would serve the publishers by increasing sales, and it simultaneously benefits the creators in their effort to acquire political capital. To these ends, that inventory lists and advertisements have come down to us from Drach, Schöffler, Amerbach, and Koberger is worthy of our attention.<sup>113</sup> It is highly likely that the *Malleus* was included in the ranks of the other top-selling theological books, listing newly printed editions of works from both ancient and modern theologians, philosophers, and commentators. In Koberger’s inventory of 236 titles printed by his firm from 1473 to 1513, Institoris, a prolific writer in his own vocation, is found in the record with another one of his theological treatises printed in the same year as the edition of *Malleus* which was selected for our analysis. It lists the title, creator, and date “1496 *Heinrich Institoris tractus varii contra quatuor Errores novissime exortos adv. Diviniss. Euracharistiae Sacram.*”<sup>114</sup> That Institoris was writing in one of the more competitive and prevailing fields of his day is demonstrative of the achievement of both the creators and the publishers in their capacity to jointly produce a controversial text of such staying power. It is of interest to note here that in a study made by Bühler of 176 books from twenty-three bookseller’ advertisements for German presses, ‘56.8% of those books listed were in Latin and the large majority (close to 40%) were written in a religious genre.’<sup>115</sup>

We proceed now to the question of monetary value. According to Mackay’s introduction to the text and translation, Drach’s records specify that ‘in 1487, the first edition could be purchased for twelve silver pennies,’ and that this “price had dropped to six silver pennies by 1496’.<sup>116</sup> Those same records inform us that in between the years of 1487 and 1490 a sizeable number of copies (on average in groups larger than ten) were sold in places like Nuremburg, Augsburg, and Leipzig; additionally, in 1491 twenty copies were ordered to be sold in the Frankfurt book fair –which was a cultural hub of for the book trade during that period.<sup>117</sup>

The basic retail cost trajectory for books follows a pattern which is so plainly observable that meticulous statistical proof is unwarranted. On the whole, first-editions are initially priced the highest; subsequently, newer editions are more expensive than the second-hand ones. If a work acquires a reputation for being important in some way, special, or deluxe editions of the text will often be published at a higher cost to the consumer. After a number of years accompanied by a reduction in circulation early editions continue to increase in price in correlation to their rarity in the market.

When taken to its logical conclusion, an original first edition of a culturally ‘significant’ work of rarity will continue to appreciate in value while its newer editions, facsimiles, and reprintings remain affordable to the general public. For example, looking closer at the market rate for incunabula and early printings we find that by the end of the first half of the twentieth century, an incunabula written by Sprenger was priced at \$650 (a large sum in those years) in a sales catalog for the H.P. Kraus firm;<sup>118</sup> by 2006, a 1502 edition of *Quatuor Libri Amorum* which includes woodcuts from Albrecht Dürer was priced at \$15,000 in the Phillip J. Pirages catalog.<sup>119</sup> Hence, the fact that there was a cost reduction in the first ten years of its release is in no way unusual; furthermore, it should not be interpreted as evidence towards its overall commercial decline. Instead, it was more likely the result of having a higher quantity of items circulating in the market, and thus a wider availability. The larger quantity which, naturally, comes with more editions being printed was a direct result of an increase in demand, further supporting the argument for its popularity.

No part of the above discussion would include the potential number of copies that may have been informally reproduced in the circulation of manuscripts. It is impossible to conclusively determine how many people actually copied the work by hand either in part or in full. The view that this practice, similar to the concept of photo-copying a textbook chapter for academic purposes, was utilized by readers as means of obtaining texts is supported by evidence. In the St. John’s Cambridge descriptive catalog, as Bühler notes, a certain ‘vellum manuscript is actually a [hand-written] copy of an [printed] edition of Johannes Nider’s *Consolartium timorate conscientiae* put out in Paris by Pierre in 1494.’ Its identical structure clearly makes it ‘a [calligraphic] facsimile of the incunable.’<sup>120</sup>

## **Distribution II: Spatial**

Below is a list providing the cities and years of *Malleus* editions in its “second period” of publication:

Venice: 1574, 1576

Frankfurt: 1580, 1582, 1588, 1600

Lyons: 1584, 1595, 1604, 1614 (twice), 1615, 1620, 1669

Heinrich Institoris was born in Schlettstadt, some twenty-six miles south of Strassburg. Jacob Sprenger was born in Basel.<sup>121</sup> Strassburg, Basel, and Nuremberg – where the Koberger edition was printed – were all active centers of the book trade during the years of early printing. Circumstance had placed the two inquisitors practically in the heart of the printing world. Out of the total amount of cataloged incunabula in existence today

close to a third are known to have been printed in Germany.<sup>122</sup> The combination of anti-heretical campaigns, periodic witch hunts, and the new technology of printing coming into fruition created an ideal environment for the publication of the *Malleus*. Given the interrelatedness of these printer's firms, the *Malleus* would have spread to each major region, whereupon meeting with a successful press run it would be further distributed to the various trade depots which were set up by these firms. When the *Malleus* eventually reached France and Italy, it had to contend with the intellectual trends and cultural tastes of those countries. France, having been largely a product of the Northern European cultural heritage was an ideal candidate for the first wave of penetration into foreign territories. The famous book by Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* reminds us that in "the fifteenth century in France and the Netherlands is still medieval at heart;" and that "scholastic thought, with symbolism and strong formalism, the thoroughly dualistic conception of life and the world still dominated."<sup>123</sup> So it understandable that the work would become an important literary influence in the intellectual circles there, being supported by notable figures like Jean Bodin and Nicolas Remy of Lorraine. The interplay of cultural dissimilarity and continuity aside, being printed in the cities of Paris, Lyons, and Venice was no small feat. Febvre and Jean-Martin tell us:

Paris and Lyons, with Venice, were the most productive cities in Europe and it would be tedious to try to enumerate even the largest firms in a period so fertile. A total of 25,000 books were printed in Paris from 1500 to 1599, 15,000 in Lyons.<sup>124</sup>

By the second half of the sixteenth century Lyons was a thriving intellectual and commercial center. Its fair became, for a time, one of the most important centers of the European book trade.<sup>125</sup> As Eisenstein notes "the mechanics who manned the sixteenth century presses of Lyons saw themselves as 'freemen working voluntarily at an excellent and noble calling'; they took the Goddess of Wisdom as their patron saint..."<sup>126</sup> This is confirmed by the printer's device found on the title page of the 1669 edition of the *Malleus* out of Lyons. Mackay's charge that because in the Frankfurt and Lyons editions "the work was simply the first in an extensive series of treatises on witchcraft that appeared in multi-volume omnibus editions...the *Malleus* had by this date lost its independent value and was merely lumped together with other worthy (and dated) treatises on the subject,"<sup>127</sup> may be the case. It also possible, however, that being the first in anthologized compilation of treatises, and providing the main title for the collection signifies a status of seniority over the rest.

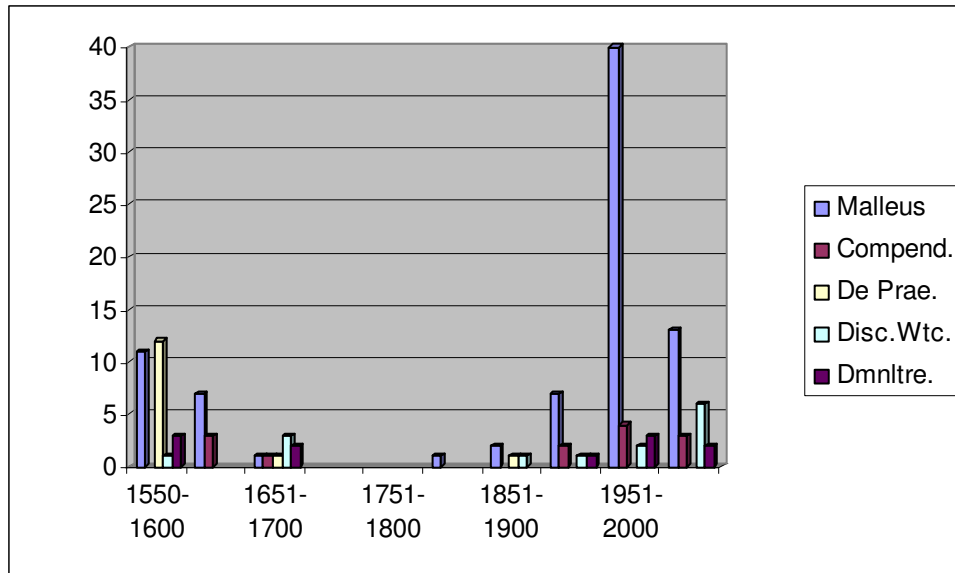
The editions which came out of Venice are more perplexing because of the alleged cultural disconnect among the two regions. It has been suggested that these editions were printed in Venice to be sold in the North.<sup>128</sup> Such an assertion is certainly not unjustifiable as the intensity of witch hunts in Italy, in general, was far below the level experienced in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>129</sup> Still, probing the issue further presents us with thought-provoking details which may have previously been overlooked by researchers in the field.

To begin with, Rainer Decker relates that "a certain Friar Antonio informed the Venetian Senate in December 1485 that, over the previous few months, witches had been detected in Val Camonica." He continues in noting that they "had been accused of desecrating the Host, causing storms, and killing babies as sacrifice to Satan."<sup>130</sup> Now this event in itself does not reveal a direct link to any sense of an ideological

transmission. However, taking into account other isolated developments of no less interest can distort a narrative which on the surface is fairly straightforward. According to the account of M. Summers, “In 1495, the Master General of the Order, Fr. Joaquin de Torres, O.P., summoned Kramer [Institoris] to Venice in order that he might give public lectures, disputations which attracted crowded audiences, and which were honored by the presence and patronage of the Patriarch of Venice.”<sup>131</sup> Again, it is difficult to discern a connection here, but the annotations on the 1496 Koberger edition provides a string which ties these isolated events together with an unconventional example of readership. The edition was inscribed and annotated by Leandro Donato, the Doge of Venice from 1606-1612. This evidence challenges the widely held assumption that those of the Southern European *literati*, being based in the cultural center of humanism, were generally uninterested in the scholastic treatises of the northern universities. Hence, in that paradigm, demonological treatises such as the *Malleus* would have been rejected or ignored by such figures. Even so, this incunable edition was annotated throughout by no less than a Venetian patriarch. How did it reach this stage in its provenance? Was it originally part of an inherited collection, given as a gift, or did he collect it as incunabula?

One can imagine that it was considered to be an authoritative text, suitable for the desk of a high level politician. This circumstantial thread, twisted and twined as it may be, reminds us that the question of readership is complex, and that broad assumptions only go so far. On the one hand it is safe to recognize that the primary readership would have at the outset been comprised of those from the clerical, judicial, and academic circles of Northern Europe. During the early modern period these readers were, for the most part, the intellectual minority, engaged in politics in the exclusionary governing bodies of the established social hierarchy. On the other hand, it would be erroneous to assume that all of its readers fit this description. A myriad of possibilities can likely be fished from the marginalia with rigorous paleographic research.

Overall, the geographic distribution of the *Malleus* is particularly far-reaching for a work of its kind. In the course of the past five hundred years, for example, the *Malleus* has been translated into more than dozen languages, including Croatian and Vietnamese. In contrast, Remy’s *Demonolatreiae* and Weyer’s *De Praestigis Daemonum* have only been translated in the academic four (Latin, German, English, and French). This is largely due to the fact that, often to the dismay of contemporary witchcraft historians, the *Malleus* emerged in the twentieth century as the source which received the most academic attention. This development has been used as supportive evidence in the case against the so-called “exaggerated” impact of this work. Yet if the historian would humor a moment of self-reflective introspection, it would become apparent that its being the most examined source in modern scholarship is actually a part of its impact, and thus becomes evidence for its greater importance.



**Figure 3: Comparative chronological distribution of surviving editions<sup>132</sup>**

### Distribution III: Temporal

When Levack explains that “the *Malleus* was only one of many influential witchcraft treatises that were published during the hunt;” and that “...a few of these works achieved greater popularity than the *Malleus*,”<sup>133</sup> he is looking at the impact of the work in specific terms, in this case the principal limiter is time. Other focal points, such as comparisons with the rate of executions, or even witch hunts are used in the attempt to dispel the myth that the publication of the *Malleus* immediately translated into the Witch Craze. Something is lost, however, in the way of understanding the impact of this work when the timeline is restricted to its respective period of origin. For example, if it were true that Plato’s *The Republic* was the most popular work in the genre during its classical circulation, and if it was subsequently superseded in terms of its readership, and other works and their authors eventually “achieved greater popularity”, from Aristotle’s *Politics* to Cicero’s *De Re Publica*, to Machiavelli’s *The Prince*, and from Locke to Rousseau, and from Burke to Foucault, onto Samuel Huntington’s *Clash of Civilizations*, would the impact of Plato’s work have been compromised, diminished, or negated in some way? The way I have decided to approach this issue is by expanding the printing chronology to include a “third period” of publication covering the years between 1819 and 2009. Close to two-hundred years of additional printing history is a large enough span to justify its inclusion in this discussion. The graph I have generated is a visual representation of the chronological distribution of the *Malleus* comparison with four other popular demonological treatises arguing either for or against the existence of witchcraft as a social phenomenon based in reality: Francesco Maria Guazzo’s *Conpendium Maleficarum* (1628), Johann Weyer’s *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (1563), Nicolas Remy’s *Daemonolatreiae* (1595), Reginald Scot’s *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) (see fig. 3). The data in this graph is in agreement with the claim that, at certain points, the *Malleus* was supplanted in its popularity by other works in the genre. Nonetheless, it plainly shows that comparatively over the total lifespan of these texts the *Malleus* has by

far been published in the largest number of editions. In its five-hundred years of publication it has gone through more than sixty editions and translations; additionally, close to thirty of these editions were printed before the nineteenth century during the “first” and “second periods”.

Robert W. Thurston’s article for *History Today* may be correct in its claim that “in 1526 the Spanish Inquisition denounced the *Malleus* as worthless,” but it is clearly misinformed in its statement that there were no “further editions during another great round of [witch] hunts between 1620 and 1665.”<sup>134</sup> There is an ample amount of physical evidence for editions being produced as late as 1669. It is generally understood that there was a correlative rise in the publication of demonological literature with the spreading of the Witch Craze. Once again, this is not to argue that the *Malleus* was directly responsible for the rise in witch hunts. As noted earlier, the subject is multi-faceted and there many factors involved. For example, Nigel Cawthorne, I think, correctly informs us that “Much of the witch persecution took place during the Thirty Years War, between 1618 and 1648, when towns could change from Protestant to Catholic virtually overnight.”<sup>135</sup> One cannot deny that larger societal forces were powerful influences on the rise of persecution. It should be recalled that the paradigm shift which occurred during the transition from what the historians have designated as the late medieval to the early modern periods was psychologically taxing on the medieval mind, and that anxieties were often expressed through the reorienting of religious identity.

Moving rearward chronologically, we find that the first major publication gap for the *Malleus* has presented us with an interesting set of historical circumstances which, combined, were likely to have led to this temporary termination of printings. The reasons for this gap provided in the accounts of contemporary studies on the history of witchcraft are sound and all together highly probable. Hence there is no need here to present a radically different explanation. I would, however, like to highlight what I believe are some distinctly relevant points.

Northern European scholars, artists, theologians, and philosophers were influenced by the humanism which emerged from the intellectual circles of the Italians. During the Italian Renaissance, there were certain Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic elements within some of the humanistic circles of Italy which led to the study and practice of natural magic, and also theurgy. The philosophical foundations for many of these practices were popularized in highly codified magical tomes. The *Corpus Hermeticum*, which had the attributed authorship of a mythical seer named “Hermes Trismegestus”, and which was translated for Cosimo de Medici by the Neo-Platonic luminary Marsilio Ficino in 1463, was printed in fifteen editions prior to beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>136</sup> The *Pronostico* of Girolamo Cardano, which challenged some of Ficino’s denunciations of astrology, set out to sustain the validity and worth of astrological formulations. He criticized the alleged ‘charlatans’ and fraudulent fortune-tellers looking to exploit the gullibility of a wealthy patron.<sup>137</sup> Considering the changing intellectual dynamics of the learned experience at the turn of the fifteenth century, a direct engagement with this type of humanistic “natural philosopher” by the creators of the *Malleus* was to be expected. It is noteworthy to mention here that on the assignment of his University position, Sprenger, although not being known to have practiced in inquisitorial cases, was in fact involved in the investigations of suspect astrologers in the year 1489, and again in 1492.<sup>138</sup>

My argument in this case is that it was this type of Neo-Platonic humanism combined with the transformation of the socio-religious landscape due to the emerging Protestant Reformation which had directly reached the printers in the larger German firms, and thus influenced their decisions on what projects to undertake with their presses. Master Printers were often, themselves, educated scholars, many of whom were lettered in classical languages.<sup>139</sup> Gabe Smedresman, for instance, in his article on Geofroy Tory's *ChampFleury* and the Roman Capital Alphabet, explains that "his [Tory's] application of fundamentally medieval conceptual toolset to a uniquely Renaissance form was an attempt to discover, in the sense of invention and of detection, a divine content in the formal construction of the geometrical alphabet."<sup>140</sup> He goes on to describe how "Tory's analogies, connections and syllogisms circle around this one essential point: that the alphabet was a harmonic whole, that every detail was connected, and that connection was summarized by a unity represented by the essential figures of geometry, the square and the circle."<sup>141</sup> Tory is just one example, but the reach of this movement extended right into the Koberger firm through the world-famous engraver, Albrecht Dürer. Albrecht Dürer had very close ties to Koberger. According to Putnam, he had 'served as godfather for him and Koberger's, and apprenticed his eldest son.'<sup>142</sup> Dürer received commissions from Emperor Maximilian for his marvelous engravings and woodcuts.<sup>143</sup> He was among the best in his craft. However, there is evidence to suggest that Dürer had certain sympathies for the natural philosophers and their methods. Frances Yates, for example, has linked the 'number square' in the top right-hand corner of Dürer's engraving *Melancholia I* with similar types of 'number squares' provided in the manuscript version of Agrippa's multi-volume work *De Occulta Philosophia*, for their use in ceremonial magic.<sup>144</sup>

In another example, the abbot of Sponheim, Johannes Trethimus, whose famous proto-bibliographic work *Liber de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* was printed by Amerbach in 1494, also wrote about numerology and ceremonial magic in his lesser known treatises *Sterganographia* and *Polygraphia*.<sup>145</sup> Such efforts would posthumously draw the acclaim of Renaissance figures like Agrippa and the bookish Elizabethan astrologer Dr. John Dee. The *Polygraphia* would be further immortalized in a woodcut "attributed to Hoblein" of Trethimus presenting his work to Maximilian.<sup>146</sup> Although maintaining a belief in the power of the Devil and the presence of evil in the world, some of these intellectuals and humanist thinkers argued variably against the *Malleus* and, at times, even in defense of the wrongfully 'accused' witches. In that sense continuing the publication of the *Malleus* and other treatises of the genre would, from a philosophical standpoint, be out of synch with their *raison d'être*s.

These ideas would have been transmitted directly to the publishers by their proponents. The same would be true for other approaches to the humanistic schools of thought and for Lutheranism as well. For instance, the personal friend and publisher of Erasmus, Johann Froben, studied under Amerbach in Basel.<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, Johann Weyer lived in well-repute in Basel and it was here that his ideas had their strongest influence. We should, however, also recognize that the individuals in these intellectual circles harbored notable differences in terms of their beliefs. Agrippa, Weyer, Dee, Paracelsus, and other such Renaissance figures disagreed on many points. Still, there was an overarching umbrella of fundamental concepts, like the belief in the macrocosmic relationship of humanity with a divine geometrically aligned order, which connected

them on a philosophical level. Of all the well-known northern European humanists of the period, it was Erasmus who went as far as to unsympathetically ridicule the occult precepts of natural philosophy as indicated by the following passage from his time-honored work, *The Praise of Folly*:

When they especially disdain the vulgar crowd is when they bring out their triangles, quadrangles, circles, and mathematical pictures of the sort, lay one upon the other, and intertwine them into a maze, then deploy some letters as if in a line of battle –and all to involve the uninitiated in darkness. Their fraternity does not lack those who predict future events by consulting the stars, and promise wonders even more magical; and these lucky scientists find people to believe them.<sup>148</sup>

In all, this sort of intellectual climate was certainly not conducive to the publication of demonological polemics.

Turning our attention briefly to the Reformation, it is certain that its emergence was a key factor in the decline in demonological treatises against witchcraft. Mackay believes that a “reasonable conjecture is that the authorities who would otherwise be involved in the persecution of witches were occupied with the convulsions that swept Europe as a result of the Reformation.”<sup>149</sup> Here too, as stated above, we find that printers were consciously involved in the dissemination of new ideas and helped to foster the redirection of belief and thusly allegiance. Febvre and Jean-Martin point out that “the same humanists, philologists, writers and printers who were putting out translations of the classics were also translating Scripture.”<sup>150</sup> As early as the 1520’s Nuremberg permitted the publication and distribution of Lutheran texts, and despite being ennobled by any altruistic desires to spread ‘new learning’ to the reading public, such toleration was likely to have mainly been caused by the demands of the literary market coupled with the need to turn a profit from the highly competitive trade.<sup>151</sup>

What is important to consider, I think, when assessing the first decline in the publication of the *Malleus* is that, despite the absence of new editions, the text was likely to have circulated during this period through lending and copying practices, in addition to its oral transmission in conversations and debates. In other words, it was still possible for its precepts to be spread by other means and the reading of extant editions would contribute to the progression of its impact.

Dealing with the second major decline of its publication history – a span of one hundred and fifty years from 1669 to 1819 – the primary contributors have already been described in great length in the majority of the literature on witchcraft history. This is mainly because the publication history of the *Malleus* shared an intangible reciprocity with many of the developments which both led to and sustained the Witch Craze; and as it was to share in its rise, so too would it share in its fall. The skeptical position, which having roots in the *Canon Episcopi* was developed further and rearticulated in psychological terms by Weyer in his *De Praestigiis*. A complete rejection of demonic power in the world was argued by Reginald Scot in his *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, released in 1584. It is true that such skepticism had been subject to renewed refutation in later demonological works like Joseph Glanvill’s 1669 edition of the *Saudcismus Triumphatus*. However, for the most part, the rejection of superstition and intolerance would become the prevailing trend in the disputations and studies of the learned in the “long” eighteenth century. Skepticism and atheism, evangelical sectarianism, mechanistic

deism, scientific rationalism, liberalism and “the people’s” various movements for political representation, all these developments together helped to reorder the social, religious, and intellectual environment. The “new method” had its philosophical beginnings with Bacon, and then moved on to Descartes; the “new science” which had started with Galileo, was excelled in by Newton.<sup>152</sup> Yet as Bacon criticized the state of natural philosophy he also argued for its potential. Newton, and other eighteenth century intellectuals like Robert Boyle, still held on to a belief in the metaphysical, in alchemy, and occult forces. These seeds of occultism were secretly nourished underneath the philosophical championing of the “divine machine”, and would later manifest in a resurgence of Cabbalistic fraternities and lodges organized around the practice of ceremonial magic. By the early nineteenth century the principles of ceremonial magic, alchemy, and the theories of demonology were revived in the writings of Frances Barret. Later, thinkers like Arthur Edward Waite and Carl Jung would be counted among the magi and mystics of the modern age.<sup>153</sup> It was under these conditions that both an academic and a religious interest in the *Malleus* was rekindled; and it was also the period in which the well-known 1928 Summers translation was published by the John Rodker Press.

In the twentieth century we find that the *Malleus* has been studied for a considerable variety of academic purposes. Psychological, historical, sociological, and literary studies, among others, have been done on its textual contents. Others, particularly those affiliated with a political or religious cause, have used the *Malleus* as a symbol of corruption. The self proclaimed “Wiccans” of the neo-pagan movement and the eco-feminists, for example, have used the book in this way. Lastly, during this period the *Malleus* was to find its way into popular culture, being used by musicians, novelists, playwrights, and artists as a thematic basis for postmodern reinterpretations.

### **Part 1 (Internal Operatives): Conclusions**

In her critique of Hugh Trevor-Roper’s important study on the early modern Witch Craze, Eisenstein brings us back to the debate of cultural exchange when she argues for the scenario of an enforced “high” to “low” type of transmission. The argument was put forward in her attempt to emphasize the role that the press had in the spreading the perceptual framework which mentally reinforced the larger-scale hunts. Eisenstein thus declares her position in stating that “the ‘propagation of continental ideas’ (as distinct from their formulation) could not have assumed new proportions until after the *Malleus* had been printed and its contents made known across the Channel – that is, until the fifteenth century was coming to an end.” Moreover, she claims that the “Witch Craze that was ‘formally launched’ with the *Malleus* could never have been remembered as ‘purely medieval’.”<sup>154</sup> In his book on the witch hunts, Erik Durschmied after declaring that the “*Malleus* represented the total sacrifice of common decency, logic, and sense” also describes it as having “launched a global witch-craze”.<sup>155</sup> Often this causal relationship between the *Malleus* and the Witch Craze is assumed (i.e. *petitio principii*).

These types of claims, exaggerated as they may be, have led to recent efforts by historians to downplay the impact of the *Malleus* through an expansion of diversity in primary source coverage. A generation of scholars sought to provide a more comprehensive view of the textual relationship of demonological works and their effect

on early modern society. In a sense, inquisitors have been presented as agents of transmission and the trials and interrogations are seen as active manifestations of ideological currents that were codified by the various treatises and manuals. The participation of the peasant majority and their folkloric culture in the development of the mythologies and practices of witchcraft has been reassessed in the process. In a similar manner, objective causal factors, such as those which were environmental or biological, have also been reexamined. A more recent scrutinizing of the literature has produced a new consensus emergent among experts that, given both the objective causal factors and the contributions of popular culture, and in comparison with other works of the genre, the impact of the *Malleus* was not of particular significance, or at least that such significance formerly attributed to it has been grossly overstated.

In the first part of this essay I have argued that previous approaches to this issue have consistently been determined by implicit, preconceived notions of what is defined by the term “impact”. Such notions set or extend the range of limitations involved with its measurement. Hence, historians will set the range of impact within the limits of, perhaps, other texts which were contemporaneous and/or of the same genre (i.e. intellectual history); or within a scaled correlative relationship with the archival statistics and trial records (i.e. social history); or in the regional study of the corresponding political environment; and the range of impact is, more often than not, also set within a well-defined span of time – mainly the early modern period. I have attempted to define this study of impact in terms of its bibliographic dimensions. Intellectual, social, communications, and cultural studies have been discussed as a part of an account of “book history”. From this standpoint, I was able to extend the range of limitations, both geographically and chronologically for instance, in my interpretive delineation of its parameters. The analysis thusly has led to a multilateral and layered interpretation of the degree to which the *Malleus*, as a work, has impacted society. This approach necessarily involved the study of its texts, and of its texts as individual items in the codex form.

My results up to this point have clearly shown that *Malleus* did actually make a significant impact both initially and throughout its subsequent cycles of publication. This is evident in its history of publishers and printers, in its readership and circulation, and in its quantity and longevity. While it is misleading to place the *Malleus* as the primary cause for the Witch Craze, that a relationship among the two existed is certainly the case. Critically examining the details of the relationship with the book as the frame of reference is among the several tasks of providing a bibliographically based historical account. Yet the discussion can not be limited to addressing only that relationship, even if it is one of particular importance. In the next part of the essay I will trace the impact of the *Malleus* through a study of its reception. In doing so I will analyze various samples of texts which have cited, refuted, were inspired by, or were recreations of this work. I will then briefly consider the state of its survival. If Part 1 has focused on tactile qualities of the book’s history, Part 2 of this essay will explore the textual potency of the work. This is summed nicely by Derrida when he states, “The book, which copies, reproduces, imitates living discourse, is worth only as much as that discourse is worth. It can be worth less, to the extent that it is bereft of the *life of logos*; it can’t be worth more.” But it must be understood that the vehicles of reproduction and communication can also become a valuable part of that “discourse”.<sup>156</sup> Together, both aspects, the tangible and the

conceptual, combined in the book centered model for research should provide a satisfactory evaluation of the greater impact of this controversial work.

## End Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Aya Yoshinaga, "The Eyes of Truth", *Witch Hunter Robin* (July 2, 2002) <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=5860473838989940108&ei=cIkFS7rUPJ6yqgKL5qH2CQ&hl=en#> (October 1, 2009).
- <sup>2</sup> *Witch Hunter Robin.com*, <http://www.witchhunterrobin.com/info.php> (October 1, 2009).
- <sup>3</sup> For a summarization of the bibliographic discipline debate see Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 4-9.
- <sup>4</sup> Christopher Mackay, "General Introduction" in Heinrich Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction. 1*, ed. C. Mackay (Cambridge [u.a.]: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006), p. 170.
- <sup>5</sup> Montague Summers, "Introduction", in *Malleus Maleficarum* (London: Hogarth Press, 1928), p. xv.
- <sup>6</sup> Brian P. Levack, *Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Longman Inc., 1987), p. 50.
- <sup>7</sup> Sydney Anglo, "Evident Authority and Authoritative evidence: The *Malleus Maleficarum*", in *The Damned Art: Essays in the History of Witchcraft* (Boston : Routledge & K. Paul, 1977), p. 1.
- <sup>8</sup> The terminology used in this essay (i.e. work, manifestation, expression, item) are in conformity with the guidelines outlined by the Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records (FRBR) standard.
- <sup>9</sup> Gilles Deleuze, *Negotiations, 1972-1990* European perspectives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 146.
- <sup>10</sup> Nicolas Barker, *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society : the Clark Lectures, 1986-1987* The British Library studies in the history of the book (London: British Library, 2001), pp. 16-18.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-26.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27-29.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- <sup>17</sup> For an explanation of the various forms of metadata, structural, technical, descriptive, etc... see chapter 4 "Metadata" in Arlene G Taylor and Daniel N. Joudrey, *The Organization of Information Library and information science text series* (Westport, Conn: Libraries Unlimited, 2009), pp. 89-111.
- <sup>18</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Pub, 1936), pp. 212-213.
- <sup>19</sup> Again, according to the FRBR terminology.
- <sup>20</sup> See Margaret Alice Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe: A Study in Anthropology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921).
- <sup>21</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *Materials Towards a History of Witchcraft Vol 1* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1957), p. xxxviii.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>23</sup> Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 63.
- <sup>24</sup> An excellent discussion on the topic of cultural transmission can be found in the introduction of Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).
- <sup>25</sup> Stuart Clark, "Witchcraft and Magic in Early Modern Europe" in *Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe Witchcraft and Magic in the Period of the Witch Trials*, ed, Bengt Ankarloo, Stuart Clark, and William E. Monter, (Continuum Intl Pub Group, 2002), pp. 114-115.
- <sup>26</sup> Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 74-75.
- <sup>27</sup> The fundamentals of this position were articulated by Donald M. Lowe as cited in Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), pp. 270-271.
- <sup>28</sup> Stuart Clark, *History of Witchcraft*, pp. 100-105.

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- <sup>29</sup> Ibid., 109.
- <sup>30</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum/ the English translation* 2. ed. and trans. by Mackay (2006), p. 417.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 273.
- <sup>32</sup> For an explanation of the folklore of “ligature”, or spells for impotency, see Moira Smith, “The Flying Phallus and the Laughing Inquisitor: Penis Theft in the “Malleus Maleficarum” in *Journal of Folklore Research*. 39, no. 1, Jan. - Apr., 2002 (H.W. Wilson Company), p. 93.
- <sup>33</sup> Clark, “Witchcraft and Magic in Early Modern Europe”, Ankarloo et al., p. 103.
- <sup>34</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991), p. 155.
- <sup>35</sup> The validity of such studies has been effectively challenged by new approaches to scholarship on the issue. The statistical study I have referred to in this part of the essay can be found in Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 128-132.
- <sup>36</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum/ the English translation*, p. 164
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 163.
- <sup>38</sup> Sophie Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).
- <sup>39</sup> Levack, *Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, p. 49.
- <sup>40</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum/ the English translation*, p. 198.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid., 97-110.
- <sup>42</sup> See Levack, *Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, pp.54-55.
- <sup>43</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum/ the English translation*, p. 98.
- <sup>44</sup> Page, *Magic in Medieval Manuscripts*.
- <sup>45</sup> Francis J. Schaefer, “Ecumenical Council held in 451” in *The Original Catholic Encyclopedia* (Catholic Answers, 2010) [http://oce.catholic.com/index.php?title=Council\\_of\\_Chalcedon](http://oce.catholic.com/index.php?title=Council_of_Chalcedon), (February 26, 2010).
- <sup>46</sup> A real historical figure, Bernard Gui was inquisitor in Toulouse from 1307-1323. He wrote, among other texts, the *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, and was active in the inquisition against the Catharist and Albigensian heresies.
- <sup>47</sup> Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose* (New York: Warner Books, 1983), pp. 393-398, 417-458.
- <sup>48</sup> Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*, p. 35.
- <sup>49</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, p. 133.
- <sup>50</sup> Henne and Wauters, *Histoire de Bruxelles*, t. I., p. 133 as cited in Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, p. 133.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>52</sup> An excellent study of the accusation of Host desecration upon medieval Jewish communities can be in ed. Constance H. Berman, *Medieval Religion: New Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 368-373.
- <sup>53</sup> Rosemary Guiley, *Encyclopedia of Angels* (New York: Facts On File, 2004), p. 226.
- <sup>54</sup> As cited in Brian P. Levack, *The Witchcraft Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 54.
- <sup>55</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *Materials Towards a History of Witchcraft*, p. 224.
- <sup>56</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum/ the English translation*, p. 271.
- <sup>57</sup> See the “introductory notes” of J. den Boeft, and Calcidius. *Calcidius on Demons (Commentarius Ch. 127-136)*. *Philosophia antiqua*, v. 33 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977).
- <sup>58</sup> Relates to the discussion found in “Origins and Characters” of Frederick C Copleston, *Medieval Philosophy: An Introduction*. (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2001), p. 22-23.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 39.
- <sup>61</sup> Eco., *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 19.
- <sup>62</sup> In “The Devil and the Scholars”, Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer, the Devil in the Middle Ages*. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984).
- <sup>63</sup> Ibid., 206.
- <sup>64</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum/ the English translation*, p. 79.
- <sup>65</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, p. 23.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 27.
- <sup>67</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum/ the English translation*, p. 30.

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- <sup>68</sup> Francesco Petrarca, and David Marsh. *Invectives*. The I Tatti Renaissance library, 11. trans. David Marsh (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 163.
- <sup>69</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, pp. 80-84.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 90.
- <sup>71</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum/ the English translation*, pp. 335-338.
- <sup>72</sup> Ibid., pp.312-319.
- <sup>73</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, pp. 88-89.
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid., pp. 81-89.
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>76</sup> Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy; The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 207
- <sup>77</sup> Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge [Eng.]: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 392.
- <sup>78</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, p. 142.
- <sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 137.
- <sup>80</sup> Alfred W. Pollard, *Fine Books* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1964), p. 63.
- <sup>81</sup> W. Turner Berry, and Herbert Edmund Poole, *Annals of Printing; A Chronological Encyclopaedia from the Earliest Times to 1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 8.
- <sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-22.
- <sup>83</sup> Lucien Paul Victor Febvre, and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*. The foundations of history library (London: N.L.B., 1976), p. 144.
- <sup>84</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>85</sup> W. Turner Berry, and Herbert Edmund Poole, *Annals of Printing*, p. 26.
- <sup>86</sup> Febvre, and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, pp.121-22.
- <sup>87</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>88</sup> Curt F. Bühler, *The Fifteenth Century Book: The Scribes, the Printers, the Decorators* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 54-55.
- <sup>89</sup> W. Turner Berry, and Herbert Edmund Poole, *Annals of Printing*, p. 57.
- <sup>90</sup> Febvre, and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, pp. 124-125.
- <sup>91</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>92</sup> Ibid., pp. 144.
- <sup>93</sup> Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading, 1450-1550*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), p. 74.
- <sup>94</sup> Febvre, and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, p. 188.
- <sup>95</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, p. 171.
- <sup>96</sup> MacKay writes that Institoris actually had a personal involvement with the sale and distribution of papal indulgences in *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, pp. 86-87. If the indulgences were those manufactured in the newly printed format, then such politicized religious dealings might have been a noteworthy contributor to his later publication practices.
- <sup>97</sup> Bühler, *The Fifteenth Century Book*, p. 54.
- <sup>98</sup> Lea, *Materials Towards a History of Witchcraft*, pp. 285-387.
- <sup>99</sup> Refer to the descriptive bibliographic entry for further details.
- <sup>100</sup> As in the example highlighting the Koberger bindery, see Febvre, and Martin. *The Coming of the Book*, p. 105.
- <sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 37.
- <sup>102</sup> Bühler, *The Fifteenth Century Book*, p. 77.
- <sup>103</sup> The collation can be found in the introduction to Heinrich Institoris, and Jakob Sprenger, *Le marteau des sorcieres*. Civilisations et mentalités (Paris: Plon, 1973), p. 17.
- <sup>104</sup> Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New Castle, Del: Oak Knoll Press, 2007), p. 18.
- <sup>105</sup> Lucien Paul Victor Febvre, and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, p. 81.
- <sup>106</sup> Again see Bühler, *The Fifteenth Century Book* as it provides an excellent alternative to the model proposed by McLuhan.
- <sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 48.
- <sup>108</sup> Jonathan Sawday "Towards the Renaissance Computer" in Neil Rhodes, and Jonathan Sawday, *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 41.

- <sup>109</sup> David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 31.
- <sup>110</sup> Eisenstein, 2002, "An Unacknowledged Revolution Revisited," *The American Historical Review*. 107: 87-105, p. 93.
- <sup>111</sup> Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (Medieval craftsmen. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 41-43.
- <sup>112</sup> Guiley, *The Encyclopedia of Demons and Demonology* (New York: Facts On File, 2009), p. 166.
- <sup>113</sup> Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, pp.63-65
- <sup>114</sup> George Haven Putnam, *Books and Their Makers During the Middle Ages; A Study of the Conditions of the Production and Distribution of Literature from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Hillary House, 1962), p. 153.
- <sup>115</sup> Bühler, *The Fifteenth Century Book*, pp.59-60.
- <sup>116</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, p. 138.
- <sup>117</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>118</sup> (H. P.) Kraus, *The Cradle of Printing* (New York: H. P. Kraus, 1954).
- <sup>119</sup> Phillip J. Pirages (Firm), *Catalogue. 53* (McMinnville, OR: Pirages, 2006).
- <sup>120</sup> Bühler, *The Fifteenth Century Book*, p. 34.
- <sup>121</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, pp. 80-83.
- <sup>122</sup> Pollard, *Fine Books*, p. 64.
- <sup>123</sup> Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages; A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co, 1954), p. 335.
- <sup>124</sup> Febvre, and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, p. 189.
- <sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 117.
- <sup>126</sup> Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change*, p. 392.
- <sup>127</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, p. 171.
- <sup>128</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>129</sup> William Monter, "Witch Trials in Continental" in *History of Witchcraft*, ed. Ankerloo et al., p. 9.
- <sup>130</sup> Rainer Decker, *Witchcraft and the Papacy: An Account Drawing on the Formerly Secret Records of the Roman Inquisition* (Charlottesville, Va: University of Virginia Press, 2008), pp. 61-62.
- <sup>131</sup> Summers, "Introduction", in *Malleus Maleficarum*, p. xiv.
- <sup>132</sup> Based on a WorldCat analysis of extant copies made by the author of this essay.
- <sup>133</sup> Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, p. 50.
- <sup>134</sup> R. W. Thurston, 2006, "The World, The Flesh and the Devil". *History Today*. 56, no. 11: 51-57, p. 54.
- <sup>135</sup> Nigel Cawthorne, *Witch Hunt: History of a Persecution*. (Edison, N.J.: Chartwell Books, 2004), p. 109.
- <sup>136</sup> Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change*, p. 77.
- <sup>137</sup> William Royall Newman, and Anthony Grafton, *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe* (Transformations. Cambridge, Mass: MIT, 2006), p. 43.
- <sup>138</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, p. 83.
- <sup>139</sup> Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, p. 31.
- <sup>140</sup> Gabe Smedresman "Geofroy Tory's *Champfleury* in the Context of Renaissance Reconstruction of the Roman Capital Alphabet" in American Printing History Association, *Printing History. The Journal of the American Printing History Association. New Series* (New York: American Printing History Association, 2007), p. 23.
- <sup>141</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>142</sup> Putnam, *Books and Their Makers During the Middle Ages*, pp. 149-150.
- <sup>143</sup> Pollard, *Fine Books*, p. 182.
- <sup>144</sup> Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Donald Tyson, and James Freake, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (Llewellyn's sourcebook series. St. Paul, MN, U.S.A.: Llewellyn, 1993), p. 738.
- <sup>145</sup> Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change*, p. 95-96.
- <sup>146</sup> Pollard, *Fine Books*, p. 183.
- <sup>147</sup> Putnam, *Books and Their Makers During the Middle Ages*, p. 178.
- <sup>148</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, and Hoyt H. Hudson *The Praise of Folly*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1951), p. 77.
- <sup>149</sup> Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum / the Latin text and introduction*, p. 171.

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- <sup>150</sup> Febvre, and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, p. 273.
- <sup>151</sup> Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change*, p. 404.
- <sup>152</sup> Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 218-220.
- <sup>153</sup> Newman, and Grafton, *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 394-396.
- <sup>154</sup> Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change*, pp. 436-437.
- <sup>155</sup> Erik Durschmied, *Whores of the Devil: Witch-Hunts and Witch-Trials* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005), p. 55.
- <sup>156</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Dissemination* (Chicago: University Press, 1981), p. 185.

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**Descriptive Bibliographic Entry for the 1496 edition of the *Malleus Maleficarum***

*Current Location:* U.C.L.A. Louis M. Darling Biomedical Library- special collections department

*Edition:* 1496.

*Location:* Nürnberg.

*Printer:* Anton Koberger.

*Title:* [Malleus Maleficaru\_] [In Gothic Letters].

*Collation:* Octavo- A8 (± A8) B-U8 {Quarto (4° in 8s): A<sup>8</sup> (±A<sup>8</sup>) B-U<sup>8</sup> [5<sup>4</sup>]}.  
[5<sup>4</sup>]

*Text & Lines:* Black Letter (Formal Rotunda) Type; undecorated (blank spaces provided for initial decoration).

2 columns, 43 lines [5 cm (each)]; x height. 4 mm; m height. 3 mm; 20 lines. 7.1 cm

*Page size:* (H) 20 cm x (w) 15 cm.

*Chain-lines:* 7 (horizontal).

*Watermark:* Bull with circle eyes and nostrils & double line Latin cross or Quatrefoil.

*Contents:*

[A1v] Apologia autoris in malleum maleficarum. [A2r] Innoce-ntius epsicopus s(l)eru' s(l)eruoru- [A3r] {i}Nnomine domini nosatri Jesu [A5r] Tabula sequ-es -p super bullas [A5v] Sec-uda pars ope [A6r] Sed quo ad reme [A6r] Trecia pars ope [A6v] Super modos ve [A7r] Pars Prima Fol. 1 [A7r] Trum ass(ff)e [A8r] Pars Prima Ques(l)tio I Fol.II (-) [B1r] Questio Prima III [B3r] Questio Sec-uda V [B3r] {a}Ncatholicus [B5r] Ques(l)tio Secunda VII [B7r] Ques(l)tio Tercia IX {a} Dprimuide(tur) [C2v] {v}trum catho-(licu\_) [C3r] Quaes(l)tio Quarta XIII [C4r] Quaes(l)tio Quinta XIII { } Nposs(ff)it quo-(quo) [C6r] \*Error\*-Ques(l)tio Quarta XVI [D2r] Ques(l)tio S(l)exta XX {p}Ro tertia et \*Error\*--Ques(l)tio S(I)etxa—[D5v] { } Ueritur an de-mones [D6r] Questio Septima XXIII [E1v] {s(r)} Ecu\_do eade(3) [E2r] Ques(l)tio octaua XXVIII [E3r] viij XXIX [E3v] {t} ertio eade\_ ve-ritas [E4r] Ques(l)tio nona XXX {q} Uarto ip\_a ve-ritas [E6r] Ques(l)tio x. XXXII [E7r] Ques(l)tio decimal XXXIII [E7v] {q} Uito S(l)exto et [E8] Questio XI XXXIII {d} Einde co\_s(l)idera\_ {c} Irca terciu\_ pri\_-cipale [F1r] Ques(i)tio duodecima XXXV [F2r] Ques(l)stio .xij. XXXVI [F2v] {s(r)} Ecunda que-stio [F3r] Ques(l)tio tredecima XXXVII [F4r]Ques(l)tio .xiiij. XXXVIII [F6r] {d} Eniq(3) qx eo-rum [F6v] {s(r)} Ed(7) hoc qo\* [F7r] Ques(l)tio .xv. XLI [F8r]

Ques(1)tio .xvi. XLII {p} Remiss(ff)a de-niq(3) [G1r] Questio decimas(1)eptima XLIII {s(r)} Ed 7 tanta e\_ [G2r] Ques(1)tio decimaoctaua XLIII {s(r)} It deniq(3) p\_-dicato2 [G4v] Pars Secunda {s(r)} Ecu\_da pars [G5r] Ques(1)tio Prima XLVII [G8v] {s(r)} Unt au\_t tres [h1r] Capitulu pr(2)imu\_ LI [h2r] Capitulu\_ Secu\_du\_ LII {m} Odus au\_t s(1)acri-lege [h5v] { } Am aute\_ ag-rendu\_ [h6r] Capitulu\_ .ij. LVI [h7r] Capitulu\_ tertiu\_ LVII [h8r] Capitulu\_ .iiij. LVIII [J3v] {t} Am au\_t qua-liter [J4r] Capitulu\_. V. LXII [J5r] Capi. vi. LXIII. {d} E modo aute-quo [J6r] Capitulum. Vij. LXIII {s(r)} et hoc qymembra[KIv] Pars s(r)cd'a Ques(I)tio prima [K1r] Capitulu\_i ix. LXVII {q} Uod s(1)I v(1)teri(9) [K3v] {q} Uia in p\_cednti [K4r] Capitulu x LXX [K7r] Ques(1)tio.xi. LXXIII {s} Ed et hoc qyno\_ \*Error\*--Caditulu\_ ix. LXXIII [L1] Capi.xij. LXXV {a} Lias deniq(3) [L2v] [n]Ec pretere\_ [L3r] \*Error\* Capi.xij. LXXVII [L4r] Capi.xiiij. LXXVIII [L5r] Capi.xiiij. LXXIX {v} Tiq(3) a forti-ori [L6v] Pars S(1)ecu\_da Ques(1)tio prima {d} Eniq(3) qd(x) de-mones [L7r] Capi.xv. LXXXI [L8v] {v}Ltimum adpn\_s [M1r] Capitulu\_ xvi LXXXIII [M3v] Pars Secu\_da { } Trum licitum [M4r] Ques(1)tio Scd(x)a LXXXVI [M8r] Capitulu\_ primu\_ XC Via vero [N1r] Capitulu\_ i XCI [N2r] Capitulu\_ .ij. XCII [N3r] Capitulum .ij. XCIII [N3v] ...malefi-cu [N4r] Capitulu\_ .iiij. XCIII [N4v] Oper eos(r) qui [\$5r] Capitulu.iiij. XCV [\$5v] Dod interu\_ [\$6r] Capitulu\_ .v XCVI [\$8r] Capi Vi XCVIII {q} Uia vt s(1)upe-rior(2)ibus [Or] Capi.vi. XCIX [\$5r] Capi.vij. CIII {q}Ualiter deni-q(3) [\$7r] Cap.viiij. CV { } Ed iam iteru\_ [\$8r] Capi.ix. CVI {r} Emdiu(3) du\_[\$8v] Pars Tercia\_{v} Tru male-fice [P1r] Quest(lig)io introductor(2)ia CVII [\$6v] Pars Tercia {missing} Ueritur ergo [\$7r] Quest(lig)io pr(2)ima CXIII [\$8r] Questio S(I)ecu\_da CXIII {q}Uia dictu(3) e\_ [\$8v] Pars Tercia {q}Uod s(r)i queri [Q1r] Ques(1)tio quarta CXV {q} Uero queri-tur. [Q1v] {t} Am nunc s(1)e-xto [Q2r] Ques(1)tio S(1)exta CXVI [Q3v] Pars Tercia {q} Uertur prio [Q4r] Questio nona CXVIII {a} Nu(v)ero S(1)uper [Q4v] Pars Tercia {d}Uo aute pos(1)t [\$5v] {r} Igiqt defen-s(1)iones [\$6r] Questio xi. CXX {q} Quod s(1)i queri-tur. [\$7r] Questio.xii. CXXI {a} Tetento q(x) ate [\$8v] Pars Tercia {q}Uid deniq(3) iu [R1r] Ques(1)tio.xiiij. CXXIII {q}Uid deniq(3) [R2r] Ques(1)tio.xv. CXXVII {q}Uid aute\_ con [R4r] Ques(1)tio.xvi, CXXVI {s(r)}Uper pr(2)mis(1) [\$5v] Pars Tercia {a}Naute male [\$6r] Ques(1)tio.xvij. CXXVIII [\$6v] Pars Tercia { } Ons(1)equeter [\$7r] Questio.xix. CXXIX {s(r)} Us(I)pecit de [S1v] Pars Tercia { } Uia ergo de-lata [S2r] Ques(1)tio xxi CXXXII { }Ecundusmo [S3r] Ques(1)tio xxij CXXXIII {t} Ertius modus [S4r] Ques(1)tio xxiiij CXXXIII {q} Quartus mo-dus [S4v] Pars Tercia { } Uint(9) modus [\$5v] Ques(1)tio.xxliij. CXXXV [\$6r] Ques(1)tio.xxv. CXXXVI { }Extus modus [\$8r] Questio.xxvi. CXXXVIII { }Eptum(9) mod(9) [T1r] Questio xxvij CXXXIX {o}Ctanus mod(9) [T2r] Questio xxvij CXL {n}Onusmodus \*Error\* [T3r] Ques(1)tio xxvij CXLI [T3v] Pars Tercia {d}Ecimus(9) mod(9) [T4r] Qes(1)tio xxx CXIII {v}ndecim(9) mo [\$5r] Ques(1)tio xxxj CXLIII {d} Uodecimus [\$6v] {t} Redecim(9) (7)v1 [\$7r] Ques(1)tio xxxij CXLV [\$7v] Pars tertia [\$8v] {q} Uartus(r)deim(9) [U1r] Questio xxxiiij CXLVII [U2r] Ques(1)tio xxxiiij. CXLVIII [U2v] Pars tertia {q}Uitus(1) decim(9) [U3r] Questio xxxiiij. CXLIX [U4v] Pars tertia {s}Tv eroadap-pelltationis [\$5r] Ques(1)tio xxxv CLI.

*Colophon:* Anno Deitatis AD MCCCCXCVI .p' lens liber quem editor Malleum malleficaru intitulauit per Atonium Koberger, Nurebergen. Ciuem est impress(ff)us et ad hunc fine (p)ductus. Xvii. Dieme(f)is Januarii.

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[January 17<sup>th</sup>, 1496]

*Provenance*- Acquired by the UCLA Biomedical library as an item in a larger witchcraft collection. The collection was acquired for the purpose of historical research in psychology.

Leonardus Donato (signed 1604) was Doge of Venice from 1606-1612.

*Notes*: Includes Latin abbreviation, punctuation, title page, chapter head titles, and signatures. Includes annotations by Leonardus Donato. Annotations present on LXVI, D3/F6, H2/H3, J4/J8, K2, L2, M1, O1/O2/O3, O4/O6/O7, R1, T1/T2, U7. Annotations include a supplementary underlining in red ink.

Binding is 22cm x 16 cm, half (calf) leather, (on) wood boards, (with) metal clasps incl. flower in triangle pattern signed PFM, blind tooling divided diamond pattern. A red inverted pentagram with a star of Venus in the center and mounted by a templar cross has been painted on the inside back cover.

*References*: Hain 9246, Introduction in the *Les Marteau des Sorcieres*, Worldcat, UCLA Library Catalog.

### **Catalog Record for the Drach edition [Electronic Resource]**

*Title*: Malleus maleficarum

*Author*: Institoris, Henry \* 1430-1505 \* ; Sprenger, Jacob \* 1438-1494 \*

*Published*: [Speyer] : [Drach], [Not after 14.VIII.1490]

*Manufacturer*: Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Library

*Printer*: Drach, Peter

*Size*: [102] Bl, 2 °

*Note*: Bibliogr. Proof: HC 9239; BMC II, 498, BSB-Ink I-226 (date); IG 1496; ISTC ii00164000

The author Heinrich and Jakob Sprenger Institoris are listed in the Print Unfirmierter Print by Peter Drach d.J. Speyer

Class / subject: \*Tractate

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