

SESSIONS AND PAPERS ON MAGIC AT KALAMAZOO

This year's International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, May 8th-11th, features four sessions on the history of magic organized by Claire Fanger for the Societas Magica, all of them in Schneider 1360): No. 307: **Ritual Magic Texts and Manuscripts** (Sa 10:00): Robert Mathiesen, "A tentative classification of the versions of the *Clavicula Salomonis* and related magical tests"; Claire Fanger, "Are you sleeping, Brother John?": CLM 276, Brother John Monk and the *Liber Visionis Marie*."

No. 353: **Magic and the Visual Arts** (Sa 1:30): Lester Ness, "The Synagogue Zodiac as a symbol of divine power"; Laurinda Dixon, "Hieronymus Bosch and alchemy: the case of the Prado Epiphany"; Jackie Turek, "Art and participation: metaphors for the pilgrim."

No. 399: **Magic and Gender** (Sa 3:30): Edmund M. Kern, "Quotidian distinctions: gender and magic in the villages of Styria"; Kristen Pederson, "It takes a brave man to be a woman: Seithr and the blurring of gender lines in medieval Iceland"; Steven Bednarski, "To wash the dog's head: women and the 14th-century malefice trials of Provence."

No. 424: **Handing on Magical Knowledge: Artifact, Image, Text** (Su 8:30): Debra L. Stoudt, "The role of amulets and talismans in German charms and incantations"; George D. Greenia, "The magical arts in the illuminations of Alfonso X"; Lea Olsan, "The performance of charms in Anglo-Saxon England."

Members will also want to note individual papers in other sessions dealing with magic and related subjects:

On Thursday: Erwin Huizenga, "Vernacularization of medicine and astrology in Middle Dutch: the genesis of Codex Vienna, ÖNB, 2818" (No. 28, 10:00, Fetzer 1040).

On Friday: Michela Pereira, "Alchemy and the use of vernacular language in the Late Middle Ages" (plenary session, 8:30, East Ballroom-Bernhard); Martha Rampton, "Up from the dead: magic and miracle" (No. 247, 3:30, Fetzer 1045).

On Saturday: J.P. Vogt, "Mystique, mystery and magic: teaching the Middle Ages" (No. 270--but marked as 279--10:00, Room 313); L.J. Andrew Villalon, "Murder, rapine, extortion, corruption, peculation, presumption, and bad counsel--and besides, he dabbles in sorcery! an aristocratic indictment of royal favorites in late medieval Castile" (No. 336, 1:30, Fetzer 1060).

On Sunday: Sarah Pessin, "Maimonides' view of astrology: inconclusive evidence, unconvincing arguments" (No. 419, 8:30, Fetzer 2020).

Leander Petzoldt of the Institute of European Ethnology and Folklore at the University of Innsbruck has organized one session on **Demonic Beings in Medieval Art, Literature and Popular Tradition** (No. 156, Fr 10:00, Fetzer 1030).

ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Societas Magica will take place at the Kalamazoo Congress, on Saturday, May 10th, at 12:00, in Fetzer Room 1060.

The following reports deal with recent research on various aspects of witchcraft, mainly in the late Middle Ages (1300-1500). They do not claim to be fully comprehensive, but call attention to major trends in scholarship on the witch trials, and indicate some of the most important findings and issues in this literature. Writings on earlier and later materials may be discussed in later issues of the *Newsletter*.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON WITCHCRAFT, I: WORK ON WESTERN SWITZERLAND AND SOUTHEASTERN FRANCE

One of the most important advances in the study of medieval witchcraft in recent years has been a series of groundbreaking studies on Southeastern France and Western Switzerland, the region where the "cumulative concept of witchcraft" (as Joseph Hansen called it) emerged around the 1430's.

Andreas Blauert's *Friihe Hexenverfolgungen: Ketzer-, Zauberei- und Hexenprozesse des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Junius, 1989) traces chronologically the earliest witch trials in this area and shows how they emerged out of prosecution for heresy: these early trials occurred mainly in places where there had been significant prosecution for heresy, and the earliest trials were often of intermediate character, sharing features of earlier heresy-trials as well as those of later witch-trials. Blauert emphasizes the importance of the 1430's for development of the concept of witchcraft, showing that even Johannes Nider's depiction of witch-hunting in the Simme Valley around 1400 seems to have been molded in accordance with later conceptions.

The trial in the Simme Valley is analyzed and placed in historical context by Arno Borst in an article available in English as "The origins of the witch-craze in the Alps," in Arno Borst, *Medieval Worlds: Barbarians, Heretics, and Artists in the Middle Ages*, trans. Eric Hansen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 101-22. Contrary to the assumption

of H.R. Trevor-Roper, witch trials developed in Alpine lands not because of their cultural or economic backwardness. Rather, the places that became the centers of prosecution were wealthy market towns and foci of territorial development, and in the case of the Simme Valley in particular one significant force for social disruption at the time was the shift from cultivation to herding, all of which Borst sees as crucial for an understanding of the early witch trials.

The political dimensions of this and other early witch trials in the region are emphasized by other writers, such as Kathrin Utz Tresp, who interprets several trials of male witches as efforts by emerging territorial authorities (e.g., the city of Bern) to repress local resistance in the countryside. For example, she sees the prosecution in the Simme Valley as a reflection of local resistance to the authority of Bern--resistance incipiently demonized by the Bernese authority Peter von Greyerz, and further mythologized by Johannes Nider.

On this and other dimensions of these cases see Susanna Burghartz, "Hexenverfolgung als Frauenverfolgung? Zur Gleichsetzung von Hexen und Frauen am Beispiel der Luzerner und Lausanner Hexenprozesse des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts," in Lisa Berrisch, et al., eds., *Schweizerische Historikerinnentagung: Beiträge* (Zürich: Chronos, 1986), 86-105; Bernard Andenmatten and Kathrin Utz Tresp, "De l'hérésie à la sorcellerie: l'inquisiteur Ulric de Torrenté OP (vers 1420-1445) et l'affermissement de l'inquisition en Suisse romande," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 86 (1992), 69-119; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Kathrin Utz-Tresp, and Martine Ostorero, "Le sabbat dans les Alpes: Les prémices médiévales de la chasse aux sorcières," *Sciences: raison et déraisons* (Lausanne: Payot, 1994), 67-89; and Kathrin Utz Tresp, "Ist Glaubenssache Fr auensache? Zu den Anfängen der Hexenverfolgung in Freiburg (um 1440)," *Freiburger Geschichtsblätter*, 72 (1995), 9-50.

The continuing tradition of French Swiss prosecution is analyzed in several important publications done by historians connected with the University of Lausanne. Martine Ostorero's «*Folâtrer avec les démons*»: *Sabbat et chasse aux sorcières à Vevey (1448)* (Lausanne: Cahiers Lausannois d'Histoire Médiévale, 1995) edits and analyzes the records of inquisitorial prosecution for three alleged witches. The three alleged witches highlighted in these documents display different mechanisms of accusation and prosecution. Jaquet Durier confessed meeting Satan at an orgiastic assembly and performing *maleficium* with materials received from him, but refused at first to confess a litany of further charges (abuse of the eucharist, anthropophagy, etc.), until torture broke his resistance. Catherine Quicquat was long defamed for witchcraft, in part because of her association with (and accusation by) another witch who had been burned; formally accused by a cleric aware of this long-standing infamy, she was made to confess attending a "synagogue" at which she paid homage to a demon "master". Most distinctive is the case of Pierre Munier, who, clearly hoping for more lenient treatment than these other two alleged witches, is said to

have come before the tribunal unsummoned, confessing that he attended witches' assemblies and paid homage to a demon. Allowed to abjure, he was sentenced to extensive penance, including pilgrimages to Compostella and LePuy.

Announced for publication in the same series is Eva Maier, *Trente ans en compagnie du Diable: Une deuxième «chasse aux sorcières» sur la Riviera lémanique (1479-1482)* (Lausanne, Cahiers Lausannois d'Histoire Médiévale, 1995).

Also contributing to work in this context are the publications Pierrette Paravy, whose research bore its first fruit in the form of articles: "A propos de la genèse médiévale des chasses aux sorcières: le traité de Claude Tholosan, juge dauphinois (vers 1436)," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome: Moyen Age--Temps modernes*, 91 (1979), 333-79, and "Streghe e stregoni nella società del Delfinato nel XV secolo," in Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and André Vauchez, eds., *Poteri carismatici e informali: chiesa e società medioevali* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1992), 78-95. Paravy gives full and systematic account of the witch trials in her book *De la chrétienté Romaine à la réforme en Dauphiné: évêques, fidèles et déviants (vers 1340-vers 1530)*, vol. 2 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1993), 771-905. In this work Paravy surveys the rich trial records and discusses the attack on witchcraft within the general context of grassroots religious reform, a project which received powerful support from the Council of Basel.

Michael Bailey, "The medieval concept of the witches' Sabbath," *Exemplaria*, 8 (1996), 419-39, analyzes four key witchcraft treatises of the 1430's, all from Southeast France and Western Switzerland, and shows how far their conceptions of witchcraft are shared and in what ways they diverge. He argues (pace Carlo Ginzburg) that night flight was not integral to early ideas of the Sabbath, but that the concept of a demonic assembly was important as a way of explaining how uneducated women could gain the sort of occult knowledge which educated males might obtain through more traditional means.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON WITCHCRAFT, II: GENDER STUDIES

The work cited above on the early trials in West Switzerland and Southeast France has clear implications for the role of gender in witch hunting. Kathrin Utz Tremp argues in her article "Ist Glaubenssache Frauensache?" (cited above) that witch-hunting was not always and never exclusively directed at women. Utz Tremp, Blauert, and others have called attention to the preponderance of *male* subjects in these early trials, in which they constituted two-thirds of the victims. (As late as 1481 a man tried for witchcraft at Val de Travers listed only male accomplices, and had to be asked if there were really no women at the witches' assembly.) Nonetheless, the general bias against women was clear well before 1500 and has been the subject of study by several recent historians.

Anne Llewellyn Barstow's *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts* (San Francisco: Harper, 1995), dealing only peripherally with medieval material, is important because of all the general surveys of witch-hunting it is the one which gives the most systematically feminist reading. Barstow's interest is not in theoretical analysis of the material, nor even in sustained reflection on whether or precisely how "witch-hunting" was "woman-hunting", and in her review of the literature she seems clearly to regret the nuance that Christina Lerner introduced into discussion of that question. Rather, she sets out to marshal empirical evidence for the various dimensions of witch-hunting as violence against women: as a way of keeping women out of the public world of work (chap. 5), as a way of reacting to women's healing (chap. 6), as a way of abusing women sexually and vilifying their sexuality (chap. 7), and as a key factor in the early modern diminution of "women's options and possibilities" discussed by Bonnie Anderson and Judith Zinsser (chap. 8). While rejecting oft-repeated inflated death-tolls, she finds Brian Levack's estimate of 110,000 accusations and 60,000 executions too low, and suggests raising the former figure to around 200,000; indeed, in recent publication Levack has been willing to allow a wider statistical range.

Peter Dinzelbacher's *Heilige oder Hexen? Schicksale auffälliger Frauen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit* (Zurich: Artemis, 1995) builds on his article, "Heilige oder Hexen?", in Dieter Simon, ed., *Religiöse Devianz: Untersuchungen zu sozialen, rechtlichen und theologischen Reaktionen auf religiöse Abweichung im westlichen und östlichen Mittelalter* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1990), 41-60. In both publications, Dinzelbacher works out systematically various connections between female sanctity and witchcraft (or heresy, or in some instances demonic possession): he examines cases of women first suspected of witchcraft but later recognized as saints, women perceived as saints but later branded as witches or heretics, and women who seemed to alternate between one and another exceptional spiritual status. He develops a phenomenology in which the mystical sanctity of late medieval and early modern women is paralleled in detail by the characteristics ascribed to witches.

For a different approach to the connection between holiness and witchcraft see the ongoing work of Gábor Klaniczay, discussed in his article "*Miraculum und maleficium: Einige Überlegungen zu den weiblichen Heiligen des Mittelalters in Mitteleuropa,*" *Wissenschaftskolleg Jahrbuch*, 1990/91, 220-48. See also the qualifications suggested in Richard Kieckhefer, "The holy and the unholy: sainthood, witchcraft, and magic in late medieval Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 24 (1994), 355-85, and in Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl, eds., *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 310-37.

Joel Agrimi and Chiara Crisciani, "Immagini e ruoli della *vetula* tra sapere medico e antropologia religiosa (secoli XIII-XV)," in Paravicini Bagliani and Vauchez, eds., *Poteri carismatici e informali* (v.s.), 224-61, examine the stereotype of the old woman (the hag) as it is used in later medieval writings, in particular the development of a negative image of the old woman.

For further perspectives on witchcraft and gender see Ellen E. Kittell, "Toward a perspective on women, sex, and witches in the later Middle Ages," in Ingrid Matschneegg, et al., eds., *Von Menschen und ihren Zeichen: Sozialhistorische Untersuchungen zum Spätmittelalter und zur Neuzeit* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1990), 13-40; and Elspeth Whitney, "International trends: the witch `she'/the historian `he': gender and the historiography of the European witch-hunts," *Journal of Women's History*, 7 (1995), 77-101. See also the articles by Edith Ennen and Isnard W. Frank, and Dagmar Unverhau, cited below.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON WITCHCRAFT, III: THE ***MALLEUS MALEFICARUM***

The year 1987 marked the 500th anniversary of the first publication of the *Malleus maleficarum*. The years following this occasion brought publication of both reprints and important studies of the infamous witch-hunters' manual.

Two presses issued reprints of the first edition: *Malleus Maleficarum, von Heinrich Institoris (alias Kramer) unter Mithilfe Jakob Sprengers aufgrund der dämonologischen Tradition zusammengestellt*, edited by André Schnyder (Litterae, No. 113) (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991); and Heinrich Kramer (Institoris), *Malleus maleficarum 1487: Nachdruck des Erstdruckes von 1487 mit Bulle und Approbatio*, edited by Günter Jerouschek (Hildesheim: Olms, 1992). In addition, Olms Verlag published a facsimile of the German translation of Part III, produced in 1491 to facilitate prosecution of witches by secular courts: Heinrich Kramer (Institoris), *Nürnberger Hexenhammer 1491: Faksimile der Handschrift von 1491 aus dem Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Nr. D 251*, edited by Günter Jerouschek (Hildesheim: Olms, 1992).

Of special interest to students of the early witchcraft literature is André Schnyder's *Kommentar zur Wiedergabe des Erstdrucks von 1487 (Hain 9238)* (Litterae, No. 116) (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1993), published as a supplement to the facsimile he edited of the *Erstdruck*. Schnyder gives full bibliographic information for all the editions of the work to 1669, edits all the sources known to him for both Institoris and Sprenger, gives detailed analysis of the arguments in each section of the work (with notes giving specific references for the sources quoted or alluded to in the text), lists the variants in early editions, provides comments on questions of authorship and literary form, surveys the historical literature

relevant to the *Malleus* (with abstracts of the authors' arguments), and gives valuable indices. This work is of fundamental importance for scholarship on the *Malleus*.

Also worthy of note is the collection of articles edited by Peter Segl, *Der Hexenhammer: Entstehung und Umfeld des Malleus maleficarum von 1487* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1988). The papers in this collection most directly concerned with the *Malleus* itself are Peter Segl, "Heinrich Institoris: Persönlichkeit und literarisches Werk" (103-26), which summarizes and extends what we know about Institoris, provides evidence that he was the sole author of the *Malleus*, and places it within the context of his other writings; André Schnyder, "Der `Malleus maleficarum': Unvorgreifliche Überlegungen und Beobachtungen zum Problem der Textformen" (127-49); and Rudolf Endres, "Heinrich Institoris, sein Hexenhammer und der Nürnberger Rat" (195-216). Two articles deal with questions of gender: Edith Ennen, "Zauberinnen und fromme Frauen: Ketzerinnen und Hexen" (7-22), and Isnard W. Frank, " ;Femina est mas occasionatus: Deutung und Folgerungen bei Thomas von Aquin" (71-102). Others address the broader cultural context: Dieter Harmening, "Hexenbilder des späteren Mittelalters: kombinatorische Topik und ethnographischer Befund" (177-94), Klaus Arnold, "Hexenglaube und Humanismus bei Johannes Trithemius (1452-1516)" (217-40), and Jürgen Petersohn, "Konziliaristen und Hexen: Ein unbekannter Brief des Inquisitors Heinrich Institoris an Papst Sixtus IV. aus dem Jahre 1484," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 44 (1988), 120-60.

Peter Segl's contributions to this discussion also include his article, "'Malefice...non sunt... heretice nuncupande': Zu Heinrich Kramers Widerlegung der Ansichten *aliorum inquisitorum in diuersis regnis hispanie*," in Hubert Mordek, ed., *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), 369-82.

Evidence for Kramer's involvement in the trial of Jews at Turin in 1475 is noted for the first time in Richard Kieckhefer, "The office of inquisition and medieval heresy: the transition from personal to institutional jurisdiction," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), 46.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON WITCHCRAFT, IV: MISCELLANEOUS

Recent work on Italy includes Ugolino Nicolini, "La stregoneria a Perugia e in Umbria nel Medioevo: con i testi di sette processi a Perugia e uno a Bologna," *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 84 for 1987 (1988), 5-87; and Giancarlo Schizzerotto, "Incantatori della grandine nella Mantova del `400," *Lares*, 51 (1985), 161-82.

On Netherlandish materials: Marco Mostert and A. Demyttenaere, eds., *De betovering van*

het middeleeuwse christendom: Studies over ritueel en magie in de

Middeleeuwen (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

On French cases: Jacques Paviot, "Note sur un cas de sorcellerie à Dijon en 1463," *Annales de Bourgogne*, 65 (1993), 43-45; Nicole Gonthier, "Sorcier, ou simple d'esprit? l'affaire Thévenot Vaultheron," *Annales de Bourgogne*, 64 (1992), 119-29. Alan Friedlander has edited the *Processus Bernardi Delitiosi: The Trial of Fr. Bernard Délicieux, 3 September - 8 December 1319* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1996).

For the case of Alice Kyteler we now have L.S. Davidson and J.O. Ward, eds., *The Sorcery Trial of Alice Kyteler (1324), Together with Related Documents in English Translation, with Introduction and Notes* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1993).

Of general interest: Dagmar Unverhau, "Volks Glaube und Aberglaube als glaubensmässig nichtsanktionierte Magie auf dem Hintergrund des dämonologischen Hexenbegriffs der Verfolgungszeit," in Peter Dinzelbacher and Dieter R. Bauer, eds., *Volksreligion im hohen und späten Mittelalter* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1990), 375-96.

Another particularly important collection of articles is Andreas Blauert's important collection of articles, *Ketzer, Zauberer, Hexen: Die Anfänge der europäischen Hexenverfolgungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990), which reprints the piece by Arno Borst mentioned above, gives translations of articles by Pierrette Paravy and Félicien Gamba, and publishes new contributions by Dieter Harmening (on the witch-concept), Walter Rummel (on Trier), Willem de Blécourt (on the Netherlands), Jens Chr. V. Johansen (on Danish wall paintings), and Dagmar Unverhau (on "women's movement and historical witch-persecution").

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