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On Female Witches and Woodcuts:

Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*

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On Female Witches and Woodcuts:

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by

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Dedication

“Most books on witchcraft will tell you that witches work naked. This is because most books on witchcraft were written by men.” – Neil Gaiman, *Good Omens* (1990).

This thesis is dedicated to my black cat and familiar, Jim.

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Abstract

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The present Master's thesis seeks to develop a better understanding of two influential series of witchcraft prints and drawings: the woodcuts of Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus* and three of Hans Baldung's works. I will begin with a discussion of the role that gender played during the witch trials and how it influenced two of the woodcuts in *De lamiis*. Following the discussion of gender, I will examine the remaining *De lamiis* woodcuts in the context of the text and other visual sources. Finally, I will end with three of Hans Baldung's witchcraft images, describing how they reflected and expanded established motifs.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	viii
Introduction.....	1
State of Research.....	10
Chapter One: Gendering Witchcraft.....	13
Chapter Two: The Woodcuts of <i>De lamiis</i> , Their Sources, and the “Fourth Voice”	23
Chapter Three: Hans Baldung and the Legacy of Molitor’s Woodcuts.....	32
Conclusion	47
Figures.....	50
Bibliography	56

List of Figures

- Figure 1: *Male Witch Riding a Wolf*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, 1495.....50
- Figure 2: *Female Witch Riding a Wolf*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, 1490.....50
- Figure 3: *Wild Hunt*, woodcut illustration from Hans Vintler's *Buch Der Tugend*, 1486.....50
- Figure 4: *Woman and Devil Embracing*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, 149550
- Figure 5: *Female Witch Lames a Man with an Arrow*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, 149551
- Figure 6: *Woman Casting a Spell on a Stranger*, woodcut illustration from Hans Vintler's *Buch Der Tugend*, 148651
- Figure 7: *Transformed Witches Ride a Forked Stick through the Sky*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, 1495.....51
- Figure 8: *Transformed Cat and Witch Stealing Wine*, woodcut illustration from Hans Vintler's *Buch Der Tugend*, 1486.....51
- Figure 9: *Weather Witches*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, 149552
- Figure 10: *Woman Using Animal Bone to Control Weather*, woodcut illustration from Hans Vintler's *Buch Der Tugend*, 148652
- Figure 11: Hans Baldung, *A Group of Witches*, woodcut print, 1510.....52

Figure 12:	<i>Witch's Witches' Sabbath</i> , woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's <i>De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus</i> , 1495	52
Figure 13:	Hans Baldung, <i>A Group of Witches</i> , woodcut print, 1510.....	53
Figure 14:	Hans Baldung, <i>A Group of Witches</i> , 1510. <i>color variant</i>	53
Figure 15:	Hans Baldung, <i>A Group of Witches</i> , 1510. <i>color variant</i>	53
Figure 16:	Albrecht Dürer, <i>Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat</i> , etching, 1500-1501	54
Figure 17:	Hans Baldung, <i>A Group of Witches</i> , drawing, 1514.....	54
Figure 18:	Hans Baldung, <i>Witches' Witches' Sabbath</i> , drawing, 1514.....	54
Figure 19:	Hans Baldung, <i>Three Ages of Man and Death</i> , oil on board, 1540 ..	55
Figure 20:	Niklaus Manuel, <i>Witch</i> , drawing, 1518	55

Introduction

The word witchcraft conjures many familiar images: cauldrons, brooms flying through the air, orgiastic rituals and child sacrifice. These visual associations have been developed over a long period of time, beginning before the period covered by this thesis. In 1489, when Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus* (On Witches and Female Soothsayers) was published, the concept of witches, witchcraft, and its visual language was not unified.¹ There were many variations and interpretations on the subject. Molitor's work was widely circulated and reprinted over the course of many years; and greatly impacted how artists represented witchcraft. This thesis will be an examination of the woodcuts in Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus* and selected works of Hans Baldung.²

A woman known and punished for her assertiveness was indirectly responsible for two crucial texts interested in the idea of witchcraft and its connection to aberrant female sexuality; Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus maleficarum* (Hammer of Witches), first published in 1486, and Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*.³ Helena Scheuberin, a native of Innsbruck and wife of Sebastian Scheuberin, a prosperous burger, was known for being aggressive, assertive, promiscuous, and of independent mind.⁴ On October 29th,

¹ Molitor, Ulrich, Franziska Köhler, Ed. *Von Unholden und Hexen*. Diedorf, Germany: U-Books. 2008.

² I have chosen to refer to Hans Baldung without the "Grien," since during the period I am discussing Baldung was no longer using that name.

³ Heinrich Kramer. *The Hammer of Witches*. Translated by Christopher S. Mackay. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 2010.

⁴ Hans Peter Broedel. *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft Theology and Popular Belief*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003. p. 1-3.

1485, she and thirteen others stood before town officials, representatives of the Dominican order, and the Inquisitor Heinrich Kramer. As soon as Kramer had arrived in Innsbruck, Helena passed him in the street, spat, and said: “Fie on you, you bad monk, may the falling evil take you.”⁵ If that was not reason enough for Kramer to suspect her, Helena never attended his sermons and encouraged others not to go, for she believed him to be an evil man. The charges brought against Helena included: keeping company with heretics, causing a woman’s illness so she could take her husband as a lover, and (either through witchcraft or poisoning) killing a knight with whom she was having an affair.

During the trial, Kramer dwelled upon the connection between sexual immorality and its connection with *maleficium*, the evil activities of witches. When the line of questioning turned toward explicit details of Helena’s sexual encounters, his fellow commissioners grew uncomfortable. Eventually, Bishop Golser’s representative ordered Kramer to cease, and called for a recess. The next day there was an addition to the courtroom, Johann Merwais, a doctor and canon lawyer who was to act as Helena’s defense. Immediately Merwais called into question the validity of the trial, citing procedural errors and questions about the nature of witchcraft. Ultimately, the accusations leveled against Helena and the thirteen other women were dismissed, and Kramer was essentially run out of town. Fueled by this perceived insult to justice, Kramer returned to Cologne to pen the *Malleus*.⁶ Meanwhile, the events of the trial in Innsbruck left the town

⁵ Broedel p. 1.

⁶ Although Joseph Sprenger is also credited in the beginning of the *Malleus*, Broedel raises questions, on page one, about the extent of his involvement, and even makes the

and the surrounding area in a debate about the definition of a witch and the extent of her powers. In order to settle the matter once and for all, Archduke Sigismund of Austria (1427-1496) commissioned canon lawyer Ulrich Molitor to investigate the witchcraft issue.

Molitor's investigation resulted in *De lamiis*, a treatise on witchcraft first published in Latin in Cologne, and almost immediately translated into vernacular German. *De lamiis* was reprinted thirty-nine times (more than the *Malleus*⁷) and widely circulated throughout Austria, Germany, and Switzerland.⁸ All later printings of *De lamiis* were combined with editions of the *Malleus* — a total of thirteen times between 1580 and 1669.⁹ Amy Ghilieri claims that this is because *De lamiis* and the *Malleus* had “largely the same thematic content” and the same overall conclusions.¹⁰

The treatise was written in dialogic form with Ulrich Molitor, Archduke Sigismund, and Conrad Schatz, the chief magistrate of Constance, as the participants in the debate. By choosing this format, Molitor was able to present multiple opinions regarding the nature of witchcraft. Schatz represents the credulous opinion, who believes in every rumor;

statement that Kramer likely only added Sprenger's name to lend the *Malleus* credibility since Kramer was so disliked by his peers.

⁷ After 1580, once the concept of the “witch” was more solidified, and during the peak of the craze, the *Malleus* and *De lamiis* were often printed together in the same volume. Even though one is fanatical and the other is conservative, it is possible the publishers wanted to capitalize on the craze and market these volumes as all-encompassing sources.

⁸ Amy Ghilieri. "Ulrich Molitor's *De Lamiis Et Pythonicis Mulieribus*: Purposes for the Publication of a New Witchcraft Handbook." Thesis. University of Nevada, Reno. Dr. Kevin Stephens, Advising. 2010. p. 2.

⁹ Natalie Kwan. "Woodcuts and Witches: Ulrich Molitor's *De Lamiis et Pythonicis Mulieribus*, 1489-1669." *German History* Vol: 30.4. 2012. p. 493-527.

¹⁰ However, Ghilieri also makes clear in a footnote that she is not familiar with German, thus accounting for why she does not make any textual references to support her claim.

Sigismund assumes the role of the skeptic; and Molitor offers a moderate viewpoint, often siding with the Archduke. In addition to the dialogic format, *De lamiis* was also the first illustrated witchcraft treatise. The treatise was likely illustrated as an attempt by the publishers to make it more marketable.¹¹ In the early editions of the text, the images appear, with the relevant text, in the following order: a woman shooting an arrow at a man, three transformed witches flying on a pitchfork, a male witch riding a wolf, the devil seducing a woman, two witches before a cauldron, and three women feasting outdoors. The six woodcuts represented the powers most commonly associated with witches.

Molitor's conclusions present the witch's power as an illusion by the Devil. He believed witches did not actually have the power to transform or fly, but instead both witches and witness were made to believe in these abilities of the Devil:

Das ist nicht so zu verstehen, als ob die Teufel eine neue Natur schaffen können, sondern dass sie einem Ding eine solche gestalt geben können, dass es scheint etwas zu sein, das es doch nicht ist.¹²

However, Molitor's woodcuts depict witches fully transformed, flying, and fornicating with demons. The disjunction between the text's emphasis on illusions and the images' representation of witches' power as reality, suggests that the woodcuts were made separate from the treatise and are to read as a "fourth voice" in the dialogue.¹³ Natalie Kwan argues that the difference between the text and the woodcuts reflects the difference between "elite" and "popular" culture, while taking into account that there is no strict division between the

¹¹ Charles Zika. *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-century Europe*. London, UK: Routledge. 2007. p.18.

¹² Molitor p. 30

¹³ Zika p. 18.

two.¹⁴ Instead, the gap between “literary” culture and “visual” culture may account for the difference. The text draws upon Classical, Biblical, and theological sources, while the woodcuts “betray a larger set of connotations,” such as images found in Hans Vintler’s *Buch der Tugend*, morality poems, and folk traditions. It likely that the workshop responsible for the original images was given general themes, instead of the manuscript or a theological breakdown of its content, and drew upon popular beliefs and the content from trials to compose the woodcuts.

Although the woodcuts reflected popular beliefs, and the dialogic format made the text more accessible than, for instance, the dense theological argument of the *Malleus*, Ghilieri’s notion that it was intended for the “masses” is problematic. M.B. Parkes creates a framework for literacy, and divides it into three categories:

The professional reader, which is the literacy of the scholar, or the professional man of letters; that of the cultivated reader, which is the literacy of recreation; and that of the pragmatic reader, which is the literacy of one who has to read or write in the course of transacting and business. ¹⁵

A fourth kind of literacy, which was not a concern for Parkes, is visual literacy. *De lamiis* had the ability to appeal to all four kinds of literacy — although the pragmatic reader may have relied on visual knowledge more heavily — and was marketed as such.¹⁶ However, this does not mean that the “masses” had direct access to *De lamiis*. Simple economic factors and the cost of purchasing a book limited the audience to only those who had the

¹⁴ Kwan p. 495.

¹⁵ M.B. Parkes. “The Literacy of the Laity.” *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation, and Dissemination of Medieval Texts*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1991. p. 275.

¹⁶ Ghilieri p.1.

means and the interest in spending their money on books. Thus, it is likely that the professional reader and the cultivated reader were the only market for the treatise. The pragmatic and visual reader could have had interactions with the content through sermons, ordinances, or secondhand accounts. Any kind of contact with the witchcraft treatises during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries influenced public opinion, and civil regulation, of appropriate female behavior.

Despite the cultural regulations of acceptable female behavior, during the fifteenth century the power dynamics between men and women began to shift. Questions began to arise regarding the new social autonomy women experienced living in female-only communities in cities and access to land.¹⁷ Accusations of heresy and witchcraft were methods used, by men and other women alike, in response to these changes and a way to re-regulate female behavior. The story of Helena Scheuberin represents the common tale of a woman living outside of acceptable social conditions, and — despite the fact that she was married — Helena was outspoken, aggressive, and involved in city affairs. In the preamble to the charges against her, Helena was further accused of adultery — a behavior was synonymous with witchcraft:

[just as it is hard to suspect an upstanding and decent person of heresy,] so on the contrary a person of bad reputation and shameful habits of faith is easily defamed as a heretic, indeed it is a general rule that all witches have been slaves from a young age to carnal lust and to various adulteries, just as experience teaches.¹⁸

¹⁷ Silvia Federici. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, The Body, and Primitive Accumulation*. New York: Autonomedia; 2004. p. 30-31.

¹⁸ Preamble to official charges. Broedel p. 2.

Witnesses in her trial were comprised of both men and women from Innsbruck. Misogyny dominated the landscape of fifteenth-century Europe and the literature of the witch trials: it was not a trait limited to men. Women were just as capable of taking misogynistic actions against one another.

Linda Hults questions whether or not witchcraft trials were a “sex-related” (crime involving sexual behavior regardless of gender) or “sex-specific” (crime not limited to sexual behavior restricted by gender).¹⁹ If witchcraft were only a “sex-specific” crime, then presumably, there would not have been any men accused. However, based upon the surviving records of the trials, we know that there were approximately fifty female witches for every male witch.²⁰ Early feminist scholars, such as Diane Purkiss, referred to the witch trials as a “holocaust of women,” in which “hundreds and thousands” of women were executed.²¹ Now it is understood that the witch trials actually only made up a small percentage of criminal proceedings in Europe. Brian Levack estimated the number of trials in Central Europe and the British Isles between 1450 and 1750 to be about 110,000, and the number of convictions and subsequent executions to be about 60,000.²²

¹⁹ In the terms “sex-related” and “sex-specific” the word “sex” refer to the gender of the offender.

²⁰ Linda Hults. *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender and Power in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. p. 10.

²¹ Diane Purkiss. *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations*. London, UK: Routledge. 1996. p. 5

²² Brian Levack. *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Longman. 1995. p. 25.

Although the trials reflect the notion that witchcraft is a “sex-related” crime, treatises were written with the understanding that the powers associated with witchcraft were “sex-specific,” and a man was involved at all, it is because a witch had seduced him.

Witchcraft persecutions as a “sex-specific” crime has been a popular way of discussing the phenomenon since the publication of Margaret Murray’s *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* in 1921. Murray proposes that women were involved in revivalist-pagan groups performing folk rituals and that Christianity saw this rival religion as a threat. Linda Hults says this about Murray’s theory:

... Murray heroized and romanticized the witch as an unfairly maligned and persecuted victim, who partook in a timeless way of life based upon the rhythms of nature and bravely resisted the artificial order imposed by the church and state.²³

Murray has since been debunked by historians, such as Norman Cohn, but not before shaping nearly all twentieth-century discussion of the witch trials.²⁴ This is not to discount the misogynistic nature of witch trials — because it is agreed that the persecution of female witches stemmed from misogynistic views — it is the nature of misogyny that historians, and art historians, question.

While some historians cite Christianity as the root of misogyny in the west, Stuart Clark proposes the misogynistic nature of the witch trials comes from a deep-seated belief in the dualistic nature of the world.²⁵ Contrariety and dualism in Western thinking can be

²³ Linda Hults. *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender and Power in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. p. 20.

²⁴ Norman Cohn. *Europe’s Inner Demons” The Demonization of Christians in Medieval Christendom*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press. 1993.

²⁵ Stuart Clark. *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon. 1997.

traced to the Greeks. The very language in which the early modern individual used to convey ideas had contrariety “built in.” Additionally, the concept of inversion reinforced the idea that witchcraft was the exact opposite of Christianity. Witches were believed to worship the Devil as Christians worshiped God. Even the concept of the witches’ sabbath was fashioned to be a perverted reflection of Mass. Clark alludes to the influence of the carnival, a day in which social-power dynamics and gender roles were inverted, and its relationship to cultural notions of witchcraft. This is a theme that was often reflected in the iconography of witchcraft, including in Molitor’s woodcuts.

My thesis will analyze the six woodcuts from *De lamiis* from a feminist, cultural, and iconographic perspective. In my first chapter I will explore the subject of sex and gender dynamics in the fifteenth-century as represented in two of Molitor’s woodcuts: *Male Witch Riding a Wolf* and *Witch and Demon Embrace*. Sex was both how women gained their powers, and how women were thought to have wielded them over men. In the trials, men are often painted as the victims of a witch’s sexual advances and are lured by her to the Devil. By speaking to larger social notions regarding gender and witchcraft, I will provide context outside of the treatise for the woodcuts.

Chapter two will focus on the visual sources that the designers of *De lamiis*’ woodcut series may have utilized. Although the text of *De lamiis* was derived from legal and theological sources, the woodcuts were likely inspired by other images from “popular” literature. Two examples of this are Hans Vintler’s *Buch der Tugend* (Book of Virtue) and Sebastian Brant’s *Das Narrenschiff* (Ship of Fools). Molitor’s text often blatantly states that witches do not have actual powers, but only believe that they do. The woodcuts, on

the other hand, more often represent the witch in her full power. This had led some scholars to refer to the woodcuts as a “fourth voice” in the work. This chapter will address the so-called “fourth voice” as well as the designers’ influences.

Lastly, I will discuss three works by Hans Baldung and the influence of his witches on the artists that followed. Shortly after striking out as an independent artist, Baldung used witchcraft imagery to define himself as an artist. Baldung took the visual elements of *De lamiis*, as well as other sources, and reinterpreted and reimagined them, creating a new visual language for witchcraft. In comparison Baldung’s images, Molitor’s woodcuts are tame and simplified. Baldung’s witches are lewd and surrounded by the objects of their craft. By 1510, the concept of witchcraft had begun to change, and emphasize even more the sexual and feminine nature of witchcraft. Baldung’s work reflects this change.

STATE OF RESEARCH

Although there has not been much research on Ulrich Molitor’s *De lamiis* specifically, two papers in particular have informed my study: Amy Ghilieri’s M.A. thesis, “Purposes for the Publication of a New Witchcraft Handbook” and Natalie Kwan’s 2012 article, “Woodcuts and Witches: Ulrich Molitor’s *De Lamiis et Pythonicis Mulieribus*, 1489-1669.” Ghilieri analyzed twenty-one of the surviving copies of *De lamiis* and attempted to understand why it was published in the first place. Although Ghilieri’s thesis is full of information regarding the history of the treatise, her interpretation of the text and images lacked significant critical depth.

Natalie Kwan provided a great deal of historical and archival data, including a valuable table tracing all the known printings of *De lamiis* and how the woodcuts evolved during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In addition to marking the changes made to the woodcuts during various printings, Kwan spent time examining each of the original woodcuts for their references to fifteenth-century popular culture. Other than Charles Zika, Kwan is also the only academic to reference the fact that the images and the text of *De lamiis* are not always aligned in intent.

Research on witchcraft imagery largely focuses on examples after 1500, dismissing early prints as ‘simple’ or ‘crude.’ There are, however, a few notable exceptions. Essential to any study of witchcraft imagery is the work done by Charles Zika. His *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (2003) and *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (2007) address the sources and evolution of the iconography of the witch. By positioning *De lamiis* as the reference point for nearly all later depictions of witchcraft, Zika takes into consideration the cultural conditions of the moment when the woodcuts were designed. Zika’s fusion of historical, iconographical, and multidisciplinary methodologies will serve as a model for my own research method.

Linda Hulst’s feminist approach to witchcraft in art in her 2005 book, *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe* provides a complement to Zika. Tracing the history of feminist witchcraft-theory, Hulst examines how early modern view on gender is related to images of witchcraft. Her main discussion focuses on the artist and his relationship to the witch as a source of inspiration. In the sixteenth-century artists used

the image of the witch as a form of imaginative competition. The female form was transformed into that of a witch, and put on display with all her impurities. Underscoring her entire discussion is the fact that the images were made by men for men.

Stuart Clark provides much of the theoretical framework for my arguments. In *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (1997), Clark breaks the concept of witchcraft down into minute pieces including etymology and language, science, kingship, and acculturation. Since its publication, *Thinking with Demons* has influenced nearly every historical publication on witchcraft. The main ideas I will draw upon are inversion and gender, while paying heed to the political nature of the trials.

Drawing upon these historical and art historical sources my goal is to assimilate the woodcuts of *De lamiis* into the larger art historical discussion. These woodcuts reflect a particular moment in the history of beliefs about witchcraft. *De lamiis* came at a time when the concept of witchcraft was not unified, as reflected in the text and images. When Hans Baldung took up the subject of witchcraft, however, witchcraft beliefs had evolved and solidified. Both *De lamiis* and Baldung reflect the period in which they were created. *De lamiis* was the first illustrated treatise and disseminated information over a large area and viewership, while Hans Baldung drew upon earlier sources and revolutionized them and created a new visual language of witchcraft. Gender and sexuality are inextricable from the discussion of witchcraft imagery and both *De lamiis* and Baldung incorporated these subjects in different ways. In the following chapters, I will discuss how *De lamiis* and Hans Baldung both reflected contemporary views and built upon them.

Chapter One: *Gendering Witchcraft*

Out of the six woodcut illustrations in *De lamiis* there is one that focuses solely on a male witch [Fig. 1]. One year later, in another edition of *De lamiis*²⁶, the male rider has been changed to a female [Fig. 2]. Charles Zika argues the change the concept of witches as primarily female became strengthened by the sixteenth-century. In just one year, the woodcut changed from a male to a female. It was difficult to imagine that the concept of witches solidified in that short time.

The language of witchcraft provides valuable insight into the topic of gender as well as witchcraft. Generally, all early modern witchcraft treatises are titled in ways that refer to female witches specifically, leading modern readers to the conclusion that these texts refer exclusively to women. However, in the texts themselves, the authors use both masculine and feminine terminology when discussing witches. The most common word for ‘witch’ in Latin is used to describe both men and women: *maleficus* (masculine) and *malefica* (feminine). In German the difference between the words for male and female witchcraft is more defined. Female witches were referred to as the feminine *Hexen*, while male witches were referred to using a variety of terms: *Unhold*, *Drudner*, and rarely, *Hexenmeister*.²⁷ In the original Latin version of *De lamiis*, Molitor uses *maleficus* and *malefica* almost exclusively, while the German version was translated to reflect a greater

²⁶ Charles Zika *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic Witchcraft and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: Brill. 2003. p. 325.

²⁷ Laura Apps, and A. C Gow. *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. 2003. p.9.

distinction between male and female witchcraft. In total, *De lamiis* makes thirty-five references to male witchcraft, and forty-four references to female witchcraft.²⁸

All of Molitor's questions are framed in the context of the female witch. However, Molitor's responses do not always reflect the gender-specificity of the question. In Dialogue Five, "Ob diese bösen Weiber auf Gabeln oder auf Wölfen reiten und zum Wohlleben fahren können," the question refers specifically to "evil women," and yet the response is an account of a man riding a wolf:

Conrad: Ich habe vor vielen Jahren gesehen, dass sich zwei auf dem Landtag zu Konstanz vor Gericht miteinander gezankt haben, da sich der Kläger schriftlich ins Recht wider einen Bauersmann eingelassen, ihn der Zauberei beschuldigt und klageweise vorgebracht hat, dass besagter Bauer ihm auf einem Wolf reitend begegnet wäre und er, der Kläger, von derselbigen Zeit krank und lahm an allen Gliedern geworden sei.²⁹

Figure 1, *Male Witch Riding a Wolf*, aligns with Conrad's story and depicts a male figure on the back of a wolf, riding through the countryside with a city/castle in the distance. The male witch is dressed in simple clothing – although it is unclear if he is wearing bottoms of any sort – reflecting his status as a peasant. The male witch's hat and facial features closely resemble the wolf he is riding, referencing the bestial nature of the witch. A comparable image can be found Han's Vintler's *Buch der Tugend*. Riding animals to witches' sabbath was not an uncommon motif. Its origins are likely found in descriptions of mythological and folk beliefs in "wild hunts." Figure 3, from the *Buch der Tugend*, is of four male witches involved in a magical hunt. One rides a wolf, while the others ride a

²⁸ Apps and Gow p. 104.

²⁹ Molitor p. 32-33.

boar, a goat, and a stool. Other than the stool, each of these animals is associated with misfortune, excess, or the Devil. All of these men are simply dressed peasants who are participating in this unnatural act of flight.

In the fifteenth century, when men of the middle to lower classes were accused of witchcraft, their crimes were not that different from those of female witches: casting charms and spells, concocting potions, controlling the weather, transformation, and sex with demons. A comparison of the trials of Chonrad Stoeckhlin and Walpurga Hausmännin, both burned at the stake in 1587, will serve to illustrate the similarities and differences between male and female witchcraft.

On January 23rd, 1587 Chonrad Stoeckhlin was executed, having been convicted of 146 crimes of witchcraft. His crimes included:

[flying] on a goat; he attended the Witches' sabbath, where he and the other witches 'danced, feasted, and copulated;' he had a demon lover; he renounced God and made a pact with the Devil; he murdered his own children; he practiced harmful magic; he had a Devil's mark; and he could transform himself into an animal.³⁰

Stoeckhlin began his life as a well-respected member of his community in Rettenberg. He was a horse-wrangler, which was an honored position as horses were prestige animals, he was married and had two surviving children. In addition, Stoeckhlin was a healer of both animals and humans – not unusual for his profession.

In February 1578, after a night of drinking, Stoeckhlin and his friend, Jacob Walch, made a pact that, whoever died first, would come back and tell the other what the afterlife was like. A few weeks later, Walch passed away. One day, Stoeckhlin was in the

³⁰ Apps and Gow p. 56.

woods when his friend appeared and told him to repent. Taking this very seriously, Stoeckhlin worked to redeem his soul. In a dream an angel appeared to Stoeckhlin and took him on a fantastic journey and taught him the means to heal all manner of illnesses, including those induced by witchcraft. Stoeckhlin continued his nightly journeys with his angel, and found a new purpose: becoming a witch-finder.

After a series of maladies struck other villagers, Stoeckhlin accused a sixty-year-old woman, Anna Enzenbergerin, of witchcraft. This accusation set off a chain-reaction resulting in sixty-eight executions. Stoeckhlin was responsible for twenty-four of the executions. However, Stoeckhlin accusation against Enzenbergerin would prove fatal. Enzenbergerin and his step-aunt, Barbara Luzin, confessed to being witches and accused Stoeckhlin and his deceased mother of instructing them in the diabolical arts. On July 27th 1586, Stoeckhlin was arrested and questioned under torture. He explained that his nightly travels were under the guidance of a guardian angel and that his healing powers were granted to him by God, but these misfortunes aligned too closely with what the prosecutors knew about witchcraft. Eventually, Stoeckhlin was accused of sacrificing his five dead children to the Devil. After six months of torture, Stoeckhlin confessed.

The trial of Walpurga Hausmännin bears many similarities to that of Stoeckhlin, but demonstrates how the prosecution chose to focus on different aspects of their crimes. Hausmännin was a midwife, over forty years old, and well known in her community of Dillingen all characteristics that have been described as “typical” of a witch.³¹ She

³¹ Walter Stephens. *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press. 2004. p. 1.

confessed to murdering forty-one infants, two mothers in labor, the town scribe, a neighbor's cloistered daughter, and a man named Michael Klingler. Additionally, Hausmännin confessed to killing nine cows, a horse, pigs, and geese, having a demon lover, and conjuring hailstorms to destroy crops. Walter Stephens refers to Hausmännin's trial as "an encyclopedia of the crimes that were attributed to witches."³² Later, it was determined that the root of Hausmännin's crimes stemmed from sexual intercourse with a demon.

In 1556, Hausmännin was widowed. While working in the fields, she propositioned a man named Bis im Pfarrhof. That night they met and, shortly after intercourse, Hausmännin realized that her lover was not a man, but the Devil himself.³³ Despite her horror, she continued her affair giving him her "soul and body" every night. Shortly after this confession, one given under an unspecified amount of torture, every question and accusation became about her rampant sexuality; and on September 20th, 1587 – a few short months after Stoeckhlin – Hausmännin was burned at the stake.

Unlike Stoeckhlin, because of her demon lover, Hausmännin's trial changed its course from *malefica* to fornication. This marks, perhaps, the most significant difference between trials of male and female witches. Although male witches were often also accused of having demon lovers, these trysts were not the motivating factor behind a man's crimes. Typically, the prosecutors were not concerned by a man fornicating with succubae and other demons. Women were believed to be weaker in nature and most susceptible to a

³² Stephens p. 3.

³³ Eventually, Walpurga revised her story and said that it was a lesser demon, not the Devil, who was her lover.

demon's lustful advances. In many of the cases, however, the women did not realize their lover was not human until after the initial act, often due to the fact that their lovers could take on different forms.

Witches (male and female) could appear to take the form of animals, but they could never cast aside their true identity as a human. The same could be said of the Devil, who despite all of his illusions, cannot fully master the human form, and always retains something of the bestial. Accompanying a dialogue about the sexual nature of witchcraft, *Witch and Devil Embracing*, portrays a woman being seduced by the Devil [Fig. 4]. He pulls her closer to his tusked face, but she is unable to see what the viewer can clearly recognize as deformations. The Devil's face is ape-like with tusks, he has clawed feet and a tail. The female figure's covered hair and wimple suggests that she is married, and thus committing an adulterous act with the Devil.³⁴ Conrad supports this interpretation with an account from Saint Bernhard:

Doch wollen wir auch andere glaubwürdige Geschichten hören. Man liest in Sankt Bernhards Geschichte, dass der Teufel viele Jahre lang mit einem Weib Buhlschaft getrieben hat, trotzdem ihr Ehemann bei ihr im Bett und an ihrer Seite gelegen, doch um diese Büberei nichts gewusst hat.³⁵

By having sex with the Devil, this woman gained the knowledge of witchcraft. Like a perverted version of divine wisdom, the woman was given the understanding and the powers of a witch. The possibility of women making sexual contact with demons/devils raised a myriad of other questions concerning the nature of demons themselves: How is it

³⁴ Zika p. 25.

³⁵ Molitor p. 36-37.

possible to have sex with a being that has no body? If sex was possible, did that mean demons had a material form? Why were women unable to recognize that their lover was a demon? Why did they then recognize their demonic partners immediately after consummation? Could a witch and a devil conceive a child? The answers to these questions are the subject of many demonological treatises, without consensus.

Witches were often accused of crimes involving not only sexuality, but procreation: the death of infants and children, preventing conception, and impotency in men. Dialogue Three, *Ob die Hexen und Unholden Mann und Weib lieblos und zu ehelichen Werken untüchtig machen können*, begins:

Conrad: Ich habe viele schöne und gerade junge Gesellen genannt, die bei Weibern gar nichts oder bei ihnen gar wenig vermocht haben, ja, die sich mit ihren eignen Weibern nicht haben begehen können und darum bekannt haben, dass ihnen solches durch Zauberei zugefügt worden sei.

Sigismund: Die Leute reden mancherlei, woran nichts ist.

Molitor: Hier stimmt wirklich auch die geistlichen Rechte und überein und bezeugen, dass ein Mensch, der sonst von Natur nicht kalt ist, dennoch durch Zauberei zu ehelichen Werken untüchtig gemacht werden könne.³⁶

Molitor then goes on to explain how a man can rid himself of this affliction through spiritual repentance. The established fact that witches caused impotency led to many fantastic tales of the witch's method, such as the account from the *Malleus* in which a witch transforms herself into a cat, steals a man's penis, places it in a bird's nest, and feeds it corn.³⁷ Hans Baldung plays upon this theme, in his works from 1510 to 1514, by using

³⁶ Molitor p. 23.

³⁷ Kramer p. 243.

sausages draped and fondled by witches to represent this castration. The illustration in *De lamiis* is much less outlandish.

The subject of gender and misogyny of witch-trials is more complex than we generally recognize. It is easy to compose a narrative of male-domination and female-persecution. That is not to say the witch trials did not operate in a patriarchal and misogynistic system, but it recognizes that women can also play a part in misogyny.

Duties of childbirth and rearing were undoubtedly “women’s work” in the late fifteenth century. In bearing a child, a woman assumed control over her body in a way that a male could not. The dynamic of childbirth was not complete without the addition of the midwife. The midwife is generally older, well-known in her community, and present at the birth of every child. If a child were to die during childbirth or shortly after, the mother, drawing upon all that she understood witches to be, would suspect the midwife. It is not difficult to imagine a small, rural community then recounting the exact number of infants who had died under the care of this particular midwife. Lyndal Roper concludes that most witchcraft accusations were made by women against women:

Early feminist works which focused on birth and midwives were making an important observation. But though trials were concerned with the question of motherhood, they were not... male attempts to destroy a female science of birth, nor were they concerned with wresting control of reproduction from women. What is striking is that they were typically accusations brought by mothers, soon after giving birth, against women intimately concerned with the care of the child, most often the lying-in maid and not the midwife.³⁸

³⁸ Lyndal Roper. *The Witch in the Western Imagination*. Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press. 2012. p. 10.

The question remains: are were women operating within the confines of the misogynistic society in which they lived? Were their accusations part of a larger social issue of male-domination? Or were these women using the trials as a way to reclaim agency and control? It is nearly impossible to determine the answer to the questions, and any attempt to do so would be speculative. Although trial records, treatises, and images can provide useful data, it is not always possible to determine the intent of the accuser. Additionally, these records are, naturally, the histories and opinions recorded by the “dominant” class, not that of the individual.

When discussing witchcraft, historians tend to adopt an approach that’s either “top-down,” and learned, or “bottom-up” and popular. By examining Molitor and *De lamiis*’ woodcuts, we are given a “top-down” understanding of how the learned class interpreted witchcraft. Molitor represents the moderate position among the elite class, taking into account theological interpretations, yet also relying on popular concepts. Molitor was a man writing for other men, as his illustrator was a man designing for other men; and these men made the deliberate choice to include discussions and illustrations of both men and women as witches.

De lamiis’ woodcut series had a lasting effect on how witchcraft was represented in visual culture. Made popular by utilizing woodcuts, the treatise was reprinted many times across central Europe. Surprisingly, both male and female witches were represented in the images and discussed in the text. Already it was believed that more women than men were witches, and this is certainly present in *De lamiis*. As early modern people approached the sixteenth century, seeing witches as only female became increasingly important. For

Molitor this shift came in the form of gender-swapping Zainer's reprint. It is likely that by the time Hans Baldung could have read *De lamiis*, the images had already changed to reflect the more accepted notion that only women were witches.

Chapter Two: *The Woodcuts of De lamiis, Their Sources, and the “Fourth Voice”*

In the early editions of Molitor’s *De lamiis*, the images, paired with relevant discussions, appear in the following order: *Female Witch Lames a Man with an Arrow*, *Transformed Witches Ride a Forked Stick through the Sky*, *Male Witch Riding a Wolf*, *Witch and Devil Embracing*,³⁹ *Weather Witches*, and *Witches’ Witches’ Sabbath*. The woodcuts in *De lamiis* had a lasting impact on how witchcraft was visually represented and were widely published and distributed. That being said, the visual cues in *De lamiis* were not wholly without precedent, and drew upon earlier and contemporaneous sources such as Han’s Vintler’s *Buch der Tugend* and Sebastian Brant’s *Das Narrenshiff*. The sources for the woodcuts were not always based upon the text itself, and lends credibility to certain practices that the treatise denies, such as the possibility of transformation. This is referred to as *De lamiis*’ “fourth voice” that speaks independently from the text. This chapter will focus on the sources of *De lamiis*’ witchcraft imagery, be they from popular or textual sources.

Although *De lamiis* was the first illustrated treatise on witchcraft, the use of woodblock prints as book illustrations had been tradition since the advent of the printing press in 1450. Including images not only appealed to a wider audience, but also harkened back to illuminated manuscripts. In fact, many printed images were still hand painted by

³⁹ *Male Witch Riding a Wolf* and *Witch and Devil Embracing* were discussed in the previous chapter and will not appear in this one.

before binding. Images were commonly included in “popular” literature, such as the two wide-circulated *Das Narrenschiff* and *Buch der Tugend*. Published one year after *De lamiis*, *Das Narrenschiff* became “the first German bestseller.” Archduke Sigismund was a patron of Hans Vintler, as well as Molitor, and honored Vintler after the success of *Buch der Tugend*.⁴⁰ It is likely that the printers of both *De lamiis* and *Buch der Tugend* were drawing upon the same sources for their depictions of witchcraft given their shared patron and proximity of the print houses to one another.

Molitor argues that all witchcraft is an illusion caused by the Devil, and that all of its effects are imaginary. The images in *De lamiis* depict acts of witchcraft that produce real and tangible effects. Charles Zika attributes to these images the status of the ‘fourth voice’ in the dialogue independent from the other three.⁴¹ While the text draws upon biblical and scholarly sources, the prints address a much wider range of popular connotations and visual knowledge. As Molitor was also influenced by “popular” beliefs, and the designers of the woodblocks were also relatively well-educated,⁴² this seeming discrepancy is not one pitting “academic” against “popular” sources. Molitor’s source material was dictated by the need to make his text appealing to authoritative sources, both scholarly and political. The designers of the images were not limited in this way, and could draw upon noncanonical and colloquial source material to inform their visual

⁴⁰ Sebastian Brant, Edwin H. Zeydel. *The Ship of Fools*. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications. 1962.

⁴¹ Charles Zika. *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-century Europe*. London, UK: Routledge. 2007.

⁴² Robert Scribner. *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. 1981.

representation of witchcraft. By examining each image, separate from the dialogue, it is possible to reconstruct the visual cues taken from popular sources utilized by the designers.

The first woodcut that appears is of a woman aiming an arrow at the bare foot of a man [Fig. 5]. The upper left corner contains a building, or perhaps city walls in the distance. The woman and man exist in a space occupied by hills, birds, and plant life. Their location is important to understanding the image, as it warns of the often dangerous and untamable wilderness. In early depictions of witches, an association between natural spaces and witchcraft is clear the countryside is “a site of unlicensed sensual gratification” far from the “supervision of legitimate authority and outside the mastery of men.” Pastoral settings like the one depicted in the first woodcut are one example of the untamed (sexual) nature associated with witches and witchcraft.⁴³ Although the female figure is fully clothed, her head is uncovered allowing her hair to fly around wildly. This a common visual cue for youth and lasciviousness termed “flame hair”⁴⁴ by Zika connotating unrestrained sexuality. The female figure’s uncontrolled sexuality is matched only by her aggressive gesture with the bow and arrow. The young witch is not using an object associated with a traditional female role. Instead of an item of the home, she wields a weapon of war and the hunt. With this act, the young witch is inverting societal norms and assuming a more masculine identity.

⁴³ In general, when a gathering took place outside of the civilized city, it was met with suspicion. The witches’ sabbath always took place away from the city and the gaze of authority.

⁴⁴ Zika p.15, calls it “flame hair.”

It appears the witch is aiming an arrow at the man with the intent to fire upon him. However, upon closer inspection the arrow is revealed to be strung in reverse. The further reversal or inversion of the object is a common visual trope in the depiction of witchcraft, and the intent to bring harm upon the victim. In *Buch der Tugend*, a witch casting a spell on a stranger is depicted by the witch holding a chicken upside-down and maintaining a direct gaze with the victim [Fig. 6]. According to Charles Zika, the arrow represents a specific type of *maleficia* commonly understood in popular culture.⁴⁵ The arrow is likely charmed or poisoned, and the impact of the charm is symbolized by the loss of the man's boot. Firing the arrow is not what is important to casting the spell, but the intent behind the inverted gesture. Now bootless, the man's foot, taken to be a phallic symbol by Zika, is exposed to the witch's will. If we follow Zika's interpretation and see the man's foot as a visual metaphor for his penis, then the intention behind the witch's arrow is likely to render the man impotent. Thus, the inversion of the arrow is symbolic of the sexual inversion of the power dynamic and a witch's power over men.

Inversion and witchcraft is a theme Stuart Clark explores in great detail in his work *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe*. Inversion was understood as a rejection of society's standards and regulations. In daily life, peasants routinely enjoyed special festival days and carnivals in which inversion was celebrated and encouraged. "It would be remarkable if no link could be established between these other forms of inverted behaviour and the descriptions of witchcraft and demonism."⁴⁶ Often the

⁴⁵ Zika p.22.

⁴⁶ Stuart Clark p.17.

performances and costumes celebrated at carnivals bore striking resemblance to accounts of witches' sabbaths. Figure 7, *Transformed Witches Ride a Forked Stick through the Sky*, from *De lamiis*, features three witches, two female and one male, with animal heads riding a fork to witches' sabbath. The witches have "transformed" into a donkey, a rooster, and a dog before beginning their journey into the turbulent, stormy sky. "The motif of disguise – specifically the wearing of masks – was likewise common to the festive and the demonic."⁴⁷ In carnival festivities the donkey was associated with foolishness, which can be seen throughout *Das Narrenschiff*, the rooster with vanity and sexual transgression, and the dog with gullibility.⁴⁸ By choosing to depict these three witches as common carnival motifs, the designers associated the witchcraft with a coded set of negative traits. These witches were literally, visually, transformed into personifications of folly and sin.

According to Molitor metamorphosis is not possible, and witches are instead under the illusion they have been transformed into beasts. Additionally, according to Molitor, a witch cannot transform another person into the shape of an animal. The afflicted person simply believes that the spell has been cast. Figure 8, *Transformed Cat and Witch Stealing Wine*, from *Buch der Tugend* is of a man whom a witch has transformed into the shape of a cat while she steals his wine. Like the witches in Figure 7, the man has not actually become a cat, and he does maintain some of his human features while under the spell.

While it may not be apparent from the image that these witches are under the illusion of metamorphosis, the attempt of the woodcut designers to associate the witches

⁴⁷ Clark p.17.

⁴⁸ Zika p.24.

with carnival masks cannot be ignored. The witches are meant to be read as wearing these masks to convey Molitor's stance on metamorphosis as an illusion. This is one of a few instances where the apparent disjunction between image and text breaks down. If the viewer reads Figure 7 with the right frame of reference and connotations, the link between text and image can be clearly drawn.⁴⁹ Transformation was one of the most common accusations raised against witches, second only to their ability to control the weather.

How much control witches had over nature, was something that Molitor and his companions discuss in detail in *De lamiis*:

Molitor: What doubt, therefore, would you like to resolve?

Sigismund: Whether demons can provoke hailstorms and lightning and thunder.

Molitor: I say that they cannot, except when it is commanded by God, who concedes such movements from the source of his majesty.⁵⁰

The woodcut accompanying this discussion [Fig. 9] depicts two sinister-looking women putting a snake and a rooster into a fiery cauldron, which is clearly causing the hail storm in the background. Although in his text Molitor denies witches the power to control weather, the idea was already firmly planted in the minds and imaginations of the people. This print was the most frequently reprinted woodcut of the series, even becoming the title page in Cornelius von Ziericksee's edition of *De lamiis in* 1500. Before Molitor's series, the standard visual representation of a witch influencing the weather was from the *Buch der Tugend's Woman Using Animal Bone to Control the Weather*, where the witch is using

⁴⁹ I recognize that not all readers bring the same set of references to *De lamiis*. Not all viewers would have immediately linked the animals to carnival. Credulous readers would have seen this image as validation of witches' ability to transform.

⁵⁰ Kwan p. 493.

an animal's jawbone to control a hailstorm [Fig. 10]. After Molitor, the cauldron became the universal symbol of witchcraft. The cauldron was where the witch manufactured her potions and poisons, divined the future, and conjures terrible storms. While Molitor and Vintler were writing, the standard image of the witch was not yet complete and allowed for variations such as the weather witches. Both of these prints contributed to later depictions of witchcraft, such as Hans Baldung's ⁵¹ *A Group of Female Witches*, normally titled the *Witches' Witches' sabbath* [Fig. 11]. The strongest features of both carried over into this later print: flowing magic, billowing smoke, cauldrons, animals, and bones.

The final woodblock print in *De lamiis* is a seemingly innocent scene with three women sharing a meal and socializing [Fig. 12]. The image accompanies an account from a witch trial from Basel:

a woman confessed to witchcraft in the following way: Three women sat under a peach tree discussing what they wanted to eat: the first wanted all the cherries that year in a compote, the second wanted all the birds that would hatch that year, and the third wanted all the wine that would be grown. They plotted how to steal this food, and then attacked a woman in childbed and killed her baby. ⁵²

Figure 12 emphasizes witchcraft as a group female activity,⁵³ linking witchcraft to greater female sociability and independence. Zika mentions a contemporary "fascination" with the social lives of women. This fascination was based upon "conceptual illusions which

⁵¹ One of the many re-printings of *De lamiis* took place in Hans Baldung's hometown of Strasbourg while he was developing his artistic craft. It is very likely that Hans Baldung had access to these images and the treatise, and that in addition to Dürer's work Baldung drew inspiration from *De lamiis*.

⁵² Translated by Kwan p. 498.

⁵³ Which become essential to sixteenth century images, as witches are rarely shown alone.

transform *malific* sorcery into diabolical heresy and witchcraft.”⁵⁴ In the late fifteenth century, women were surprisingly active in rebellions and heretical sects; heresy and witchcraft were thus connected and promoted as a social activity conducted by groups of women.

This was rationalized by contemporary officials and theologians due to the involvement of women in heretical sects such as the Waldesians. These heretical sects provided women with a position of power they did not enjoy in the Church. “In the Church women were nothing, but here they were considered equal; they had the same rights as men, and could enjoy a social life and mobility that was nowhere else available to them.”⁵⁵

It was also a generally accepted fact that women in groups tended to gossip, which was a sin. Gossip eventually became diabolically linked by associating it with the ability of a witch to cast curses using words. Thanks to this, in addition to the fear of heresy, women were now placed under new forms of surveillance. Neighbors were encouraged by church authorities to “keep tabs” on the comings and goings (and sex lives) of female residents, even reporting movements to a local official.⁵⁶ These practices were not typical to all localities, but during the height of the witch trials in central Europe, the courts were flooded with these reports. Especially in Germany, witchcraft was an accusation that required a large amount of evidence collected over a period of time. Figure 12 reminds the

⁵⁴ Zika p. 26.

⁵⁵ Silvia Federici. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, The Body, and Primitive Accumulation*. New York: Autonomedia; 2004. p. 30.

⁵⁶ Federici p. 24.

viewer that not all witchcraft was as obvious as animal sacrifice, but could instead appear as innocent as a picnic meal.

Overall the text of Molitor's *De lamiis* takes a moderate approach to the subject of witchcraft and addresses the fears of the common people, from weather magic, to curses, to the mysterious nature of female gatherings. To create the accompanying images, the designers pulled from their knowledge of previous and contemporary texts. Utilizing such broad and varied resources, occasionally the relation of the woodcuts to the text became muddled. While the text would claim that witches did not possess certain abilities, the images would indicate the opposite. This allows for an interpretation of the images completely separate from the text. The "fourth voice" had echoes into the sixteenth-century.

Chapter Three: *Hans Baldung and the New Visual Language of Witchcraft*

In the previous chapter I discussed the woodcuts in *De lamiis*. This chapter will explore the revolutionary nature of Hans Baldung's works on the subject of witchcraft.⁵⁷ After moving back to Strasbourg in 1510, Hans Baldung's goal was to set himself apart from his mentor, Albrecht Dürer, and establish himself as an independent artist. As Linda Hults describes:

Images of witchcraft helped male artists enhance their status by proving their imaginative and intellectual prowess to peers or superiors by aligning themselves with the rhetorical and political strategies of elite groups or individuals.⁵⁸

Choosing witchcraft as his subject matter served to distinguish himself from Dürer and his contemporaries, and more than any other artist, Baldung contributed to a new visual language of witchcraft.

The first image that I will discuss is the first of Baldung's series of prints on subject of witchcraft [Fig. 13], often entitled *Witches' Witches' Sabbath*, but also referred to as *A Group of Female Witches*. This print is almost an encyclopedic reinterpretation of Molitor's woodcut series, with significant differences. The visual cues similar to those found in Molitor include: forked sticks, a wilderness setting, wild hair, food and drink, sacrifice, billowing smoke, riding animals, the cauldron, and witchcraft as a group activity.

⁵⁷ For this chapter I will address a selection three of Baldung's works. The tree works I have chosen are the most representative of his interpretation of witchcraft.

⁵⁸ Hults p. 24.

Several versions of the 1510 print were produced from two blocks to create the depth, detail, and tone missing from Molitor's early woodcuts.

The clarity of the tone block [Fig. 13] contrasts with the dismal mood of the colored examples. The print made with the grey tone block [Fig. 14] gives the scene a nocturnal cast, while the ochre-colored one [Fig. 15] evokes the impression of an extraordinary specter of light, a sulphurous yellow reflection which accentuates the supernatural character....⁵⁹

Figure 13 was created using a line block on white paper. The colored section and highlights of Figures 14 and 15 were printed with the tone block, and the contours and cross hatching using the same black line block. In 1510 there were very few prints in this chiaroscuro technique. Baldung is demonstrating his virtuosity. Together with his thematic daring this distinguishes him from his contemporaries. The surviving copies of this print show Baldung's experimentation with color, each one creating an evocative atmosphere missing from Molitor's early woodcuts.

The most immediate and striking aspect of the print are the witches' prominent and naked forms. In the previous chapter I discussed the tentative nature in which the designers of Molitor's woodcuts approached the subject of gender; there is no such reservation in Hans Baldung's work. The women's naked forms are front and center displaying a complete indifference to modesty. Sitting with breasts fully exposed and legs spread open, the witches represent a seemingly multigenerational gathering with two apparently middle-aged females sitting at a cauldron while a withered hag looks down on them and a young

⁵⁹ Bodo Brickmann. *Witches' Lust and the Fall of Man: The Strange Fantasies of Hans Baldung Grien*. Frankfurt: Städel Museum; Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag GmbH & Co. KG. (2007) p. 72.

witch happily flies above them on a goat. The witches are also involved in a perverted version of traditional “women’s work:” food preparation. In this case, however, the food prepared is not for nourishment, but rather for destruction as the items added to the cauldron create billowing smoke. Although there are not necessarily hail clouds in the 1510 print, the viewer was likely to have understood the consequences of billowing clouds with their potential to create violent weather. The smoke issues forth as one of the middle-aged witches stirs the contents of the cauldron while the hag and the young, front-most witch bring more ingredients to add to the mix. This is significantly different from Molitor’s *Weather Witches* [Fig. 8] woodcut, where two fully clothed witches added a rooster and a snake to a fiery cauldron and the smoke created a hailstorm above their heads.

On the ground surrounding the seated witches are the bones of a variety of animals and a human skull, which presumably play a part in this bizarre ritual. Within the smoke itself, there are at least three full frogs riding their way from the cauldron into the sky. The crone in the center of the image holds aloft a plate on which there is some bird-like combination of parts. Lastly the witch flying through the air on the goat is using her cooking fork to hold a jar with more unknown animal parts. When Molitor’s witches gathered in *Witches’ Witches’ Sabbath* [Fig. 11] the witches were enjoying a simple meal of bread and chicken, nothing gluttonous and nothing, frankly, that would signify something malevolent was happening. This is certainly not the case for the tainted feast of Baldung’s witches, in preparation to devour a concoction of indeterminate ingredients adds to the mysterious nature of the print.

The eroticism of the 1510 print is unmistakable. The witches are all nude with their legs spread wide towards the instruments of their *maleficia*. The overt nudity and immodest posturing of the witches draws attention to their status as sexual beings and conflates witchcraft with female sexuality. The fore-most witch holds the cauldron between her legs, while the suggestive smoke soars upward into the sky, indicating that witch's sexual organs issue forth this power. The witch to the left of the composition's center is facing away from the viewer, but her head is turned towards the cauldron. In the background, situated in the space between the witch's legs, is another cooking fork with sausages draped upon it. It was a well-known "fact" that witches were often responsible for the impotency of men, going so far as to steal away their penises. The carefully draped sausages allude to this practice explicitly. Charles Zika makes the connection between the sausages and the moral disorder of carnival. He writes:

In visual and literary images of carnival in this period the sausage represented the phallus and was frequently used to allude to the raucous sexuality of carnival time. Carnival was a time of reversal when the normal order within society was temporarily upturned... Baldung seems to be claiming that witchcraft was a female grab for power, an attempt to appropriate... the sexual power of men.⁶⁰

Also draped upon the cooking fork is a goat's hoof, followed by the entire animal. The goat at this time was not only a symbol of the devil, but also a symbol of unbridled lust. During the celebration of the witches' sabbath, the devil would appear to the perverted congregation in the form of a goat, and the members would pay homage to him by raising

⁶⁰ Charles Zika. p.13.

his tail and kissing him, or through other sexual acts.⁶¹ The goat, in combination with the sausage-penises and the witch's legs, creates a triangular composition of eroticism.

In addition to the goat as a symbol of the devil, cats, specifically black ones, were considered demonic and used as tools by witches to cause harm.⁶² This belief stretches back to 1237 when Pope Gregory IX officially denounced black cats as incarnations of the devil in the *Vox in Rama*, a papal bull issued against a particular heretic sect, the Stadinghien, who were charged with worshipping the devil in the form of a black cat. In all three of Baldung's works in this chapter, there is at least one figure of a vomiting cat – though its color is indeterminate. The cat in the 1510 print sits to the right of the seated witch with the cauldron and faces away from the viewer.⁶³

In the center of the woodcut is a crone, her arms spread open above her head, giving the viewer full view of her unappealing form. In addition to the plate of miscellaneous bird-parts, the witch holds a long bolt of fabric that winds its way down from her hands to her nether regions. The fabric also appears to be connected somehow to her wind-swept hair, and it is unclear where the fabric ends and her hair begins. The wild, unkempt hair of witches would become a common motif in the visual language of witchcraft. It was another

⁶¹ *The Witch in Northern European Art (1470-1750)*. Freren, Germany: Luca-Verlag. 1987. p. 99.

⁶² Davidson p. 99.

⁶³ There is surprisingly very little information on the vomiting cats even though they are featured in three of the images in this chapter. Many have simply mentioned the presence of the cat and its connection to diabolism, but have not addressed why the cat is vomiting. It is possible that the reason for this is connected somehow to the excretions of the witches, especially in Figure 17, and is intended to add yet another layer to the aberrant nature of the witches' activities.

symbol of a witch's lustful nature, and her defiance of societal standards. In Molitor's *Female Witch Lames a Man with an Arrow* [Fig. 5], the young, female witch's head is uncovered to reveal her unkempt hair. The hair of Baldung's witches is swept by an unseen force, while the witch's hair in *Female Witch Lames a Man with an Arrow* remains stagnant. This woman, like the others, flaunts all social norms of decorum.

Flying above the witches below is a fourth witch riding upon a goat, facing backwards, and holding another cooking fork. This figure is certainly modeled after Dürer's earlier engraving of a witch riding a goat [Fig. 16]. Dürer's witch rides her goat backwards, holding onto one of its horns, controlling the movement of the beast. In the sky a hailstorm brews, indicating some form of weather magic is taking place. In the 1510 print, Baldung has situated his witch in a similar position, with important differences. Dürer's witch is in control of her mount by holding onto its horns and straddling it properly, while Baldung's witch's hands are occupied by the cooking fork, and her legs are spread wide and precariously into the air, indicating that Baldung's witch may not be fully in control of her animal or her abilities. Another major difference is the appearance of the witch herself. Dürer's witch is a haggard crone, and Baldung presents the viewer with a supple, young witch. One witch is unappealing and the other is an erotic figure of youthful abandon. Looking more closely at the goat in the 1510 print, we see special attention is paid to the goat's genitals. There is a torch aimed directly at its genitals, igniting them with an enhanced sexual heat. Not only are the witch's legs spread open, but they are open towards the goat's fiery passions, in an explicit allusion of unbridled female sexuality.

Perhaps filled with even more erotic intensity is the second in the series of images I have chosen to discuss: *A Group of Witches*, a drawing of about 1514], now located in the Albertina Museum, in Vienna [Fig. 17]. Baldung used a pen and brush to apply ink to the sheets of previously primed paper. “The result is a powerful chromatic effect and a dramatic rendering of the light, imbuing the figures with such plasticity that they virtually seem to step forward from the surface.”⁶⁴ The drawing lacks the distinguishing elements from the 1510 print that indicate the specific setting. It is likely, however, that the background in the 1514 drawing is the wilderness, since at this point in time witches practicing their craft in the forest is a relatively universal trope.

The 1514 drawing is a very similar scene to the 1510 print. There are four witches of varying ages surrounded by flames and smoke and cooking forks. These witches, however, have a different preoccupation: masturbation and trance. Another widely known practice witches employed, as indicated in historical accounts from witch trials was creating special salves and concoctions to rub into their genitals. Our contemporary understanding of the practice suggests that these salves likely had hallucinatory effects, making the users believe that they were flying through the air, attending witches’ sabbath, and communing with demons. In the 1514 drawing, Baldung focuses heavily on the masturbatory aspect.

The witch in the front of the composition is reading some sort of instructions written in an indiscernible, mystical language, while applying a salve into her genitals. Her eyes

⁶⁴ Bodo Brickmann p. 54.

are closed and focused upon her task. Her legs cross over those of the witch behind her and the two are connected by the cooking fork. The witch behind holds the fork between the arms of the front witch, connecting them in the sexual act. The second witch's face is filled with ecstasy, while she holds above her head a small cauldron of climatic flames. Both witches are in a "trace-like" state of sexual gratification, and unaware of anything beyond their own pleasure.

A common theme in the trials was the belief in a witch's ability to fly through the night and commune with demons and otherworldly beings. A witch was thought to be capable of this only after applying some sort of salve made of what we now understand to be hallucinogenic substances. After using these creams, witches would fly through the night and often to witches' sabbath. There are several literary accounts of this practice, including one by the Strasbourg preacher Johann Geiler of Kaisersberg.⁶⁵

In order to prove this [flight to witches' sabbath], when night came she sat down astride a kneading trough on a bench, smeared herself with oil, uttered the appropriate words and fell into a trance. Then, the text continues, she imagined that she flew and experienced such pleasure within herself that she thrashed around with her arms and legs so much, that she fell off the bench and injured her head.⁶⁶

Like the witches in Molitor's text, the witch in Geiler von Kaiserburg's text is not actually travelling to the witches' sabbath, but believes that she is through a hallucination. Baldung's scene, while not illustrating this particular story, shows the witches' experiences

⁶⁵ This particular incident was adapted from the Dominican Johann Nider's *Formicarius* (1436-1438) by Johann Geiler of Kaisersberg. Brickmann. p. 54.

⁶⁶ Charles Zika p. 263.

as reality. As the witches in the front apply the salve, the witches in the background are initiating flight.

While flying through the air, the crone grabs another young witch, seemingly without the support of the cooking fork she holds. She is able to lift the young witch into the air with one hand securely on the other witch's buttocks. Like the witches in the foreground, this young witch's face is filled with ecstasy and perhaps a little surprise, at being suddenly taken into the air. Below the young witch is another cat, and instead of vomiting in the corner, the young witch is straddling it in preparation for flight. The crone shows no signs of losing control like the young witch. In fact, she may be in even more control of her body and power. Although she is holding onto the cooking stick, her body floats above it, seemingly flying on its own. The crone is a more experienced and skilled witch than the young witches in the scene; she is capable of the control the others lack.

Old witches encouraging young women into giving themselves to the Devil is not an uncommon motif. It reflects the precarious position of older, often widowed, women in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. According to the data collected by historians, allowing for wide regional and local variations, women over fifty made up half to three-quarters of the accused witches.⁶⁷ The texts that referenced old women and witchcraft most frequently were medical texts. Practitioners of medicine associated old women with a particular type of melancholia that made them more susceptible to the Devil's influence. Social historians

⁶⁷ Edward Bever. "Old Age and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe." *Articles on Witchcraft, Magic and Demonology: Witchcraft Women and Society*. Ed. Brian Levack. New York: Garland Publishing Inc. (1992). p. 220-222.

have examined this vulnerable population in terms of the dependence and burden they put upon their community, and often cite this as the reason for the accusations made against old women. These old women were “helpless” and had “fallen out with the rest of the community.” The alienation of these women was a “gradual process of ostracism by the small, tight-knit communities unable to assimilate nonconformists.”⁶⁸ The most common situation that led to an accusation bringing enmity to a head was some breach of charity or neighborliness. For example, the old women came to beg or borrow food or drink and are turned away. If the neighbor suffers any kind of illness or misfortune, the old woman was responsible, and therefore, branded a witch.

Baldung’s crones present a different side of the debate about old women and witchcraft, that of sexuality and raw power. As previously stated, Baldung’s witches are unmistakably eroticized and unapologetically nude. While the viewer may look upon the young witches as desirable, the reaction to the crone’s bodies is the opposite. Old women, to the early modern person, represented the end of femininity and womanhood, as they no longer could produce children. A witch’s power was tightly linked to her sexuality and fornication with demons and devils. Although old women were more easily recruited by the Devil after suffering some grievous loss, the *Malleus* claims, the Devil preferred young women.⁶⁹ Unlike Molitor, Baldung emphasizes the sexual nature of the young witch. The only overtly sexual woodcut in *De lamiis* is *Witch and Devil Embracing* [Fig. 4], the figures

⁶⁸ Bever p.221.

⁶⁹ Bever p. 212.

are fully clothed.⁷⁰ Despite the differences between Baldung's and Molitor's respective representations of sexuality, both included the older witch in their representations of the witches' sabbath.

The final image in this paper is another of Baldung's drawings from 1514, *Witches' Sabbath* [Fig. 18], now located in the Louvre Museum in Paris. In the most basic terms, the witches' sabbath was a total inversion of the Catholic Mass. Witches would take communion, kiss the Devil's ass, and engage in orgiastic rituals. In the Paris drawing the standing witch holds a bowl towards the sky; in a parody of the priest elevating the chalice, she sacrifices skulls and bones to the Devil. Two of the witches grasp a necklace of beads symbolizing the rosary. According to Charles Zika,

“By the second decade of the sixteenth century, as contemporary broadsheets and Reformation propaganda remind us, prayer beads had become one of the most common signifiers of Catholic religious practice.”⁷¹

The peculiar rosary is made of a rabbit's foot, a skull, dice, and small bells, objects associated with carnival, taking the scene to a new level of debauchery.⁷²

The sausages of the 1510 print make a reappearance, once again dangling from cooking forks, while the crone in the background strokes them. In this drawing, however, the cooking sticks are now suggestively situated between the legs of the standing and one of the kneeling witches. Like the 1510 print, the sausages in this drawing are not simply a

⁷⁰ Johann Zainer's reprinting of *De lamiis* in 1490 modified this image to include the devil grabbing the witch's breast. This is the same reprinting discussed in chapter one that changed the print of the man riding a wolf to a woman riding a wolf.

⁷¹ Zika p. 15. While many later Protestants at this time used prayer beads, the practice was mainly associated with the Catholic Church.

⁷² Zika p.16.

fantasy of emasculation, but a representation of the control the witches wield over phallic objects and their ability to use them for their own pleasure. The sexual nature of the Paris drawing is further emphasized by the seated witch, lighting a torch with her gasses. “The gasses is the heat of her lust, a product of Venus’ “straw arse,” as Sebastian Brant puts it in *Das Narrenschiff*, a work and narrative image probably well known to Baldung...”⁷³ Instead of the billowing smoke from a cauldron, this drawing uses the gasses from the witch’s body as metaphor for the cauldron. When Molitor’s prints were designed, the cauldron was seen only as a tool for harmful magic. By 1514 the conversation had shifted and greater attention was paid to the female body in relation to witchcraft and power.

Also apparent is the drastic difference between how Molitor’s and Baldung’s representations of the witches’ witches’ sabbath. In the previous chapter, I discussed how Molitor’s *Witches’ Witches’ sabbath* [Fig. 11] was a subtle reference to the potential dangers of women socializing. The Baldung prints and drawings discussed in this chapter are the embodiment of everything that the Church cautioned against. In this case, it is not that notions about witches’ witches’ sabbath had dramatically changed from 1493 to 1514.⁷⁴ Instead, Baldung was illustrating the rather consistent description of the witches’ witches’ sabbath that had remained virtually unchanged for hundreds of years.

The children in the 1514 drawings are just as active in the witches’ witches’ sabbath proceedings as the crones and the young witches. These figures are believed to be either

⁷³ Zika p. 16.

⁷⁴ There were dramatic differences in how the witch was described, who she was, what her capabilities were, medical explanations, and simply in the way witchcraft was discussed.

children or putti, non-human entities taken to be symbols of lust. According to Jane P. Davidson:

Obviously a putto could not have been meant to signify a young female who will grow up into an adult witch. The putti were included by Baldung as further iconographic references to the lust of witches. Granted the little figure in the [Fig. 19] drawing looks rather appalled at the adult witch companion who is using her sausage laden stick as a phallus. But, this figure is mounting the stick, while the putto in the [Fig. 17] drawing is shown climbing astride a goat... Generally speaking, the putti are shown taking part in the festivities of the Witches' sabbaths.⁷⁵

In Baldung's *Three Ages of Man and Death* [Fig. 19], the lifecycle of a woman is represented by an infant, a young woman, and a crone. The figures in both of the 1514 drawings also convey the theme of age from the childlike figures to the old crones. These themes provide insight into the initial purpose of Baldung's witchcraft images: to distinguish himself from his master, Dürer, and his artistic rivals.

Davidson claims, "The remarkable quality of these images lies in their very existence. In one very important sense most witchcraft art is an excuse for pornography."⁷⁶ Although Baldung "definitely appreciated the possibilities of using witches as pornographic images,"⁷⁷ his handling of overt female sexuality is more complex. Hulst's interpretation of the pornographic nature of Baldung's witches implicates the viewer:

If Baldung's High Altar venerated the Virgin, these drawings denigrated her inverse in a pornography that reduced intellectuals, artists, and even clerics to a low level – but never so low as the female witch. For in responding to and rejecting such baseness, the male subject reconstructed himself.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Davidson. p. 24.

⁷⁶ Davidson p. 101.

⁷⁷ Davidson p. 24.

⁷⁸ Hulst p.91.

The male viewer was, in a way, challenged to look at the images and consciously find them repulsive rather than sexually appealing. The young witches were voluptuous, but they are countered by the presence of the crone, vomiting cats, skulls, and other vile accoutrements. Baldung's use of the female body to shock and horrify viewers was vastly appealing to his learned and limited audience.

The viewers of Baldung's works were likely those who would concern themselves with witchcraft literature: monks, clergymen, the learned, scholars, collectors, and secular officials.⁷⁹ According to Hults, Baldung was drawn to university culture, in Freiburg specifically, and used these intellectual connections in his self-fashioning as an independent artist. "Academic jurists – in particular – highly ambitious, successful men working during a revolutionary period for German law – would have been prime members of the audience Baldung wanted to build."⁸⁰ Baldung's drawings, such as the Vienna and Paris drawings, were one-time productions created for this limited audience. Meanwhile Baldung's 1510 woodcut, printed in multiple impressions, reached a wider viewership. Baldung's woodcuts were likely not as widely distributed as those in *De lamiis*, as Baldung's utilized the complex method of chiaroscuro, making the productions of these works more difficult and more expensive. It is possible to say, however, that Baldung had a lasting influence on his contemporaries, such as Niklaus Manuelin, and the artists who came after him.

⁷⁹ Hults p. 25

⁸⁰ Hults p. 90.

Niklaus Manuel's *Witch*, a drawing of 1518, now located at the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, emulates both the subject matter and technique employed by Baldung [Fig. 20]. Manuel's witch is rendered in chiaroscuro on tinted paper, creating a sense of depth and uneasiness. The only figure in the composition is an old crone who stares directly at the viewer, coyly inviting our gaze. Her head inclined, and her hand on her hip, the witch's pose mimics a stance that would be used for the purpose of seduction. According to Linda Hults:

Although her precise identity has been questioned, her wild hair, indecorous sexuality, and grotesque body probably define her as a witch: She descended from Dürer's engraving by way of Hans Baldung Grien's hags and became more grotesque along the way.⁸¹

Her wrinkled and bulging body is anything but ideal and appealing. She completely exposes herself to the viewer unashamed of her nudity and aging form, as do the witches in Baldung's prints and drawings.

Baldung's influence on Manuel is illustrative of rapid spread of the new visual language of witchcraft. The revolutionary character of Baldung's work should not be understood as a break from past traditions. It was his ability to adapt past images of witchcraft, from various sources, into his own form that makes his work enduring.

⁸¹ Hults p. 19.

Conclusion

“I think that all women are witches, in the sense that a witch is a magical being. And a wizard, which is a male version of a witch, is kind of revered, and people respect wizards. But a witch, my god, we have to burn them. It’s the male chauvinistic society that we’re living in for the longest time, 3,000 years or whatever. And so I just wanted to point out the fact that men and women are magical beings. We are very blessed that way, so I’m just bringing that out. Don’t be scared of witches, because we are good witches, and you should appreciate our magical power.”

— Yoko Ono ⁸²

The history of witchcraft is one fraught with myth, legend, and superstition. In one form or another, witchcraft and witches have been a part of cultural mythologies and traditions for millennia. For centuries they have been figures of popular fantasy and intellectual curiosity, creatures of nightmare who cast spells and control the weather. But the specter of witchcraft has hovered over women throughout the ages as the mere accusation of being a witch could result in serious and often fatal consequences. Although accusations of witchcraft were directed at times toward men, women were predominately the focus of witch trials and public condemnation, and over time the “image” of the witch became indelibly female. During the Middle Ages, concern over witches and their prevalence in society grew; generating greater intellectual inquiry into the practice of witchcraft. This would lead to the tracts, such as the *Malleus Maleficarum* and *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, that would attempt to explain paranormal phenomenon and offer insight into the nature and image of witches and witchcraft.

⁸² Yoko Ono. Interview by Mark Richardson. *Pitchfork*, 2007.

Published in 1489, *De lamiis* was the first illustrated treatise on witchcraft. Through its many re-printings, it provided its readers with a visual connection between the academic literature concerning witchcraft and the world of superstition and popular imagination. The woodblock prints in *De lamiis* were not always consistent with the descriptions in the text allowing the viewer to read the images in a separate “fourth voice.” The illustrations and text in *De lamiis* addressed the concerns of the common people, as opposed to the heady theological arguments of the *Malleus*, and drew upon beliefs and concepts already in popular imagination. While the purpose of the woodblock prints in *De lamiis* was to inform and educate its readers about the nature of witchcraft, the illustrations added another dimension to the text. Their almost exclusive depiction of witches as females utilizing domestic items to practice their magic further solidified the cultural connection between witchcraft and the feminine.

Baldung used the image of the witch not only to inform his viewership, but also as a tool to demonstrate his artistic prowess and imagination. Although his audience was not as far reaching as *De lamiis*, Baldung’s viewership was comprised of important intellectuals and artists, who contributed to his success. Baldung drew upon older sources, perhaps even *De lamiis*, and from his master, Albrecht Dürer, to fashion a new visual language of witchcraft that influenced artists for years to come. Unlike earlier depictions of witchcraft, his witches are powerful, and shameless, and they dominate their respective compositions. He explicitly fuses witchcraft and female sexuality depicting the nude forms of the witches as inversions of Classical ideals, and in place of beauty, the viewer finds perversion. Baldung’s depictions of witches emphasize their inherent threat to moral and

social order as their highly sexualized bodies perform their blasphemous acts. There is no ambiguity or room for question in Baldung's images of witches and witchcraft; witches are a perversion of nature and a threat to the common good.

Both the woodcuts of *De lamiis* and the work of Hans Baldung adapted and furthered the early modern concept of witches and their practices. As the beliefs about witchcraft changed even further, artists and authors continued to be influenced by these works. Between 1489 and 1510, the witch became a being who was *often* female to one that was *entirely* female. Today, the witch remains a female entity, but she has now become a powerful, romantic symbol of femininity,⁸³ while the horrifying, vulgar witch has largely been regulated to fairy tales.

⁸³ For further reading: Anne Theriault. "The Real Reason Women Love Witches: Bewitched, Bothered, Bewildered." *The Establishment*. The Establishment, July 7th, 2016. Retrieved from: <http://www.theestablishment.co/2016/07/20/the-awesome-and-problematic-power-of-being-a-witch/>.

Figures



Figure 1 (Left): *Male Witch Riding a Wolf*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, Basel: Johann Amerbach, c.1495, From Schramm, vol. 21. 1983.

Figure 2 (Right): *Female Witch Riding a Wolf*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, Ulm: Johann Zainer, 1490. From Schramm, vol. 5. 1983.



Figure 3 (Left): *Wild Hunt*, woodcut illustration from Hans Vintler's *Buch Der Tugend*, Augburg: Johann Blaubirer, 1486. From Schramm, vol 23. 1983.

Figure 4 (Right): *Woman and Devil Embracing*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, Basel: Johann Amerbach, c.1495, From Schramm, vol. 21. 1983.



Figure 5 (Left): *Female Witch Lames a Man with an Arrow*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, Basel: Johann Amerbach, c.1495, From Schramm, vol. 21. 1983.



Figure 6 (Right): *Woman Casting a Spell on a Stranger*, woodcut illustration from Han's Vintler's *Buch Der Tugend*, From Schramm, vol 23. 1983.



Figure 7 (Left): *Transformed Witches Ride a Forked Stick through the Sky*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*. Basel: Johann Amerbach, c.1495, From Schramm, vol. 21. 1983.



Figure 8 (Right): *Transformed Cat and Witch Stealing Wine*, woodcut illustration from Han's Vintler's *Buch Der Tugend*, From Schramm, vol 23. 1983.

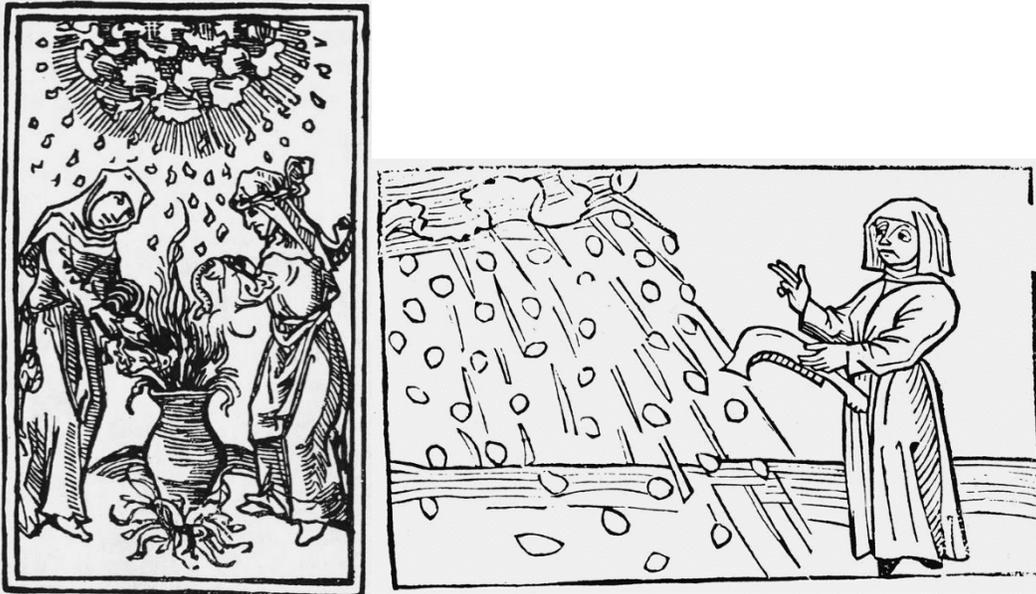


Figure 9 (Left): *Weather Witches*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*. Basel: Johann Amerbach, c.1495, From Schramm, vol. 21. 1983.

Figure 10 (Right): *Woman Using Animal Bone to Control Weather*, woodcut illustration from Hans Vintler's *Buch Der Tugend*, From Schramm, vol 23. 1983.



Figure 11 (Left): Hans Baldung, *A Group of Witches*, c. 1510, chiaroscuro woodcut. Kupferstichkaninett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. *Witches' Lust and the Fall of Man: The Strange Fantasies of Hans Baldung Grien*. Ed. Bodo Brickmann. Catalog no. 8.

Figure 12 (Right): *Witch's Sabbath*, woodcut illustration from Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*, Basel: Johann Amerbach, c.1495, From Schramm, vol. 21. 1983.

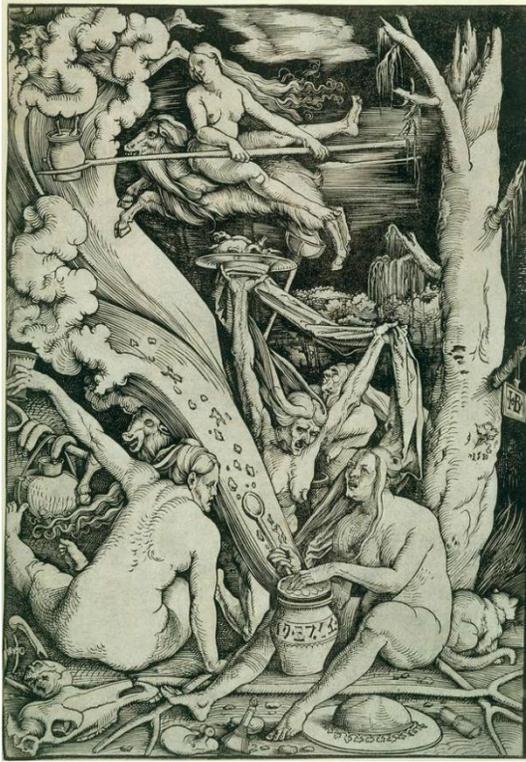


Figure 13 (Top Left): Hans Baldung, *A Group of Witches*, c. 1510, chiaroscuro woodcut. Kupferstichkaninett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. *Witches' Lust and the Fall of Man: The Strange Fantasies of Hans Baldung Grien*. Ed. Bodo Brickmann. Catalog no. 8.

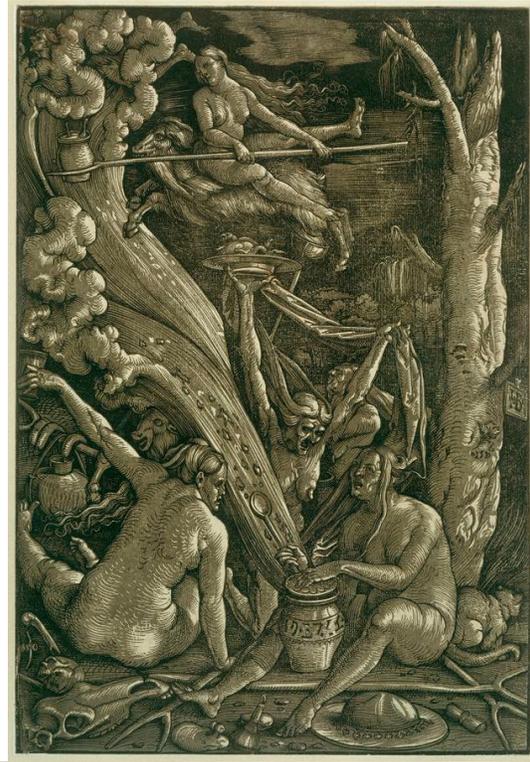


Figure 14 (Top Right): Hans Baldung, *A Group of Witches*, c. 1510, chiaroscuro woodcut on grey-tinted paper. Kupferstichkaninett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. *Witches' Lust and the Fall of Man: The Strange Fantasies of Hans Baldung Grien*. Ed. Bodo Brickmann. Catalog no. 6.



Figure 15 (Right): Hans Baldung, *A Group of Witches*, c. 1510, chiaroscuro woodcut on red-tinted paper. Kupferstichkaninett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. *Witches' Lust and the Fall of Man: The Strange Fantasies of Hans Baldung Grien*. Ed. Bodo Brickmann. Catalog no. 7.

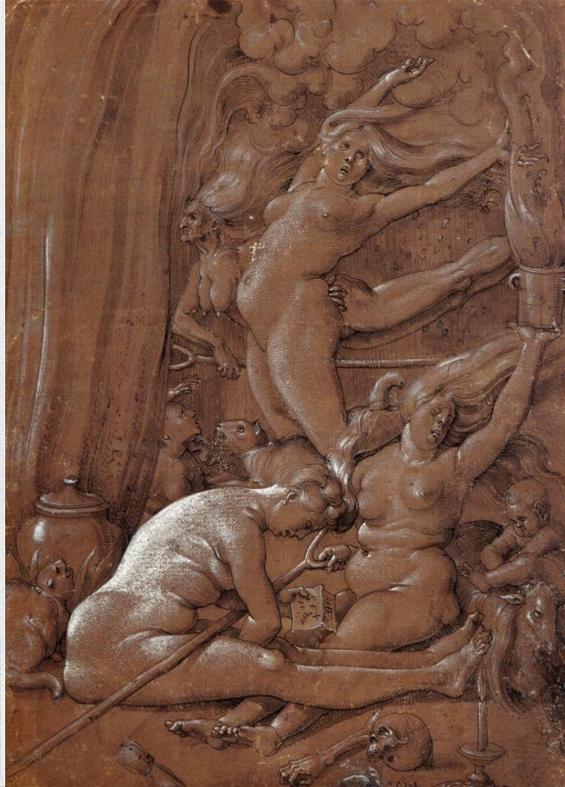


Figure 16 (Top Left): Albrecht Dürer, *Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat*, c. 1500, engraving. Städel Museum, Frankfurt. *Witches' Lust and the Fall of Man: The Strange Fantasies of Hans Baldung Grien*. Ed. Bodo Brickmann. Figure no. 7.

Figure 17 (Top Right): Hans Baldung, *A Group of Witches*, c. 1514, ink drawing on tinted paper. Alberta, Austria. *Witches' Lust and the Fall of Man: The Strange Fantasies of Hans Baldung Grien*. Ed. Bodo Brickmann. Figure no. 5.

Figure 18 (Left): Hans Baldung, *Witches' Sabbath*, c. 1514, ink drawing on grey-tinted paper. Louvre, Paris, Département des Arts graphiques. *Witches' Lust and the Fall of Man: The Strange Fantasies of Hans Baldung Grien*. Ed. Bodo Brickmann. Catalog no. 4.

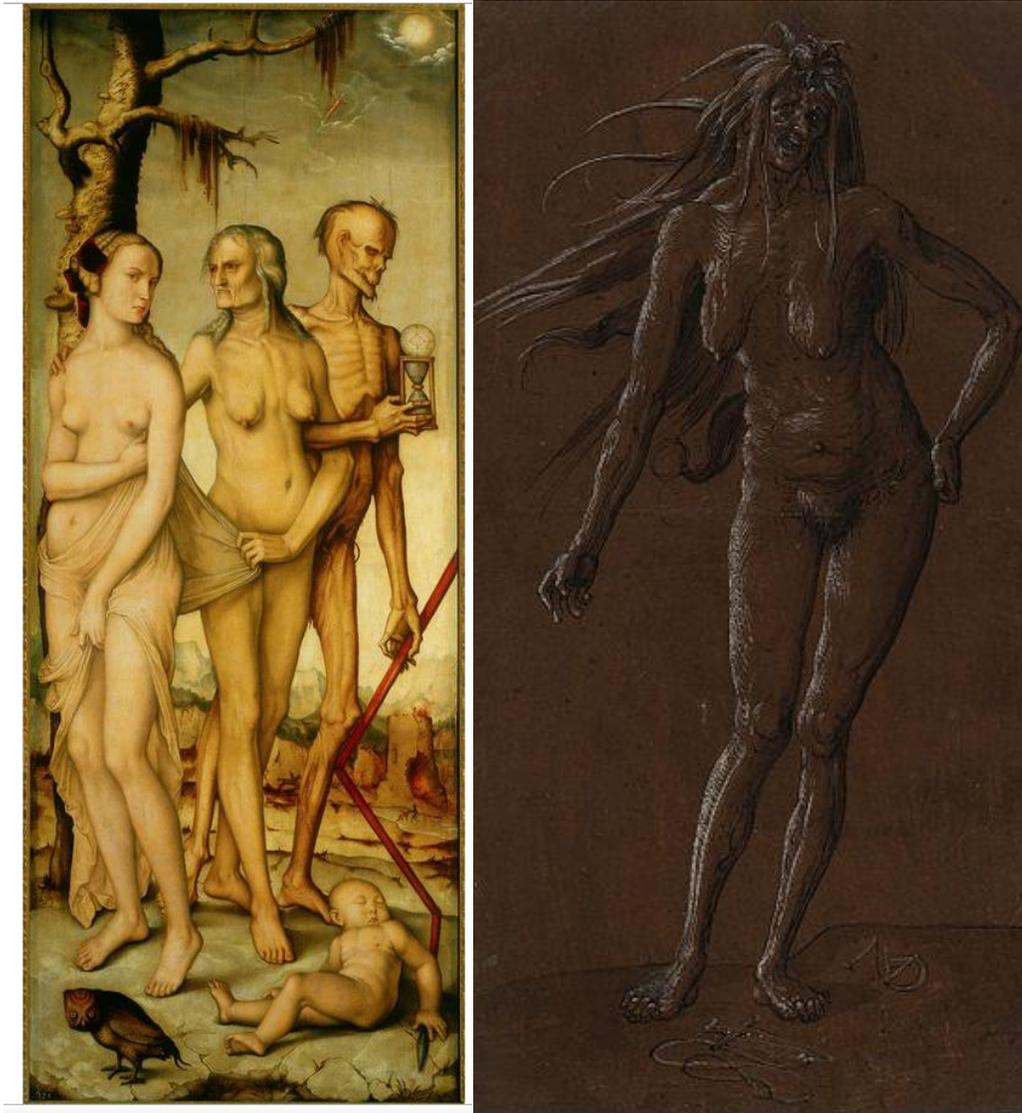


Figure 19 (Left): Hans Baldung, *Three Ages of Man and Death*, c. 1540, oil on panel. Museo del Prado.
Figure 20 (Right): Niklaus Manuel, *Witch*, c.1518, chiaroscuro pen drawing on red-tinted paper. Kupferstichkaninett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

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