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Since the use of paper became widespread throughout the late medieval period, watermarks have been used by printers and paper manufacturers in order to identify their sheets of paper. These marks were often unique to a single paper mill, though others may have had similar marks. With the great majority of these watermarks now catalogued in searchable databases, it becomes easier to search through the various images and the printers that used them. These databases served as the primary tool for identifying the following watermarks from PSU's fifteenth-century codex.

There are a total of three individual watermarks found in the pages of PSU's edition of the *Malleus maleficarum* (Drach, ca. 1490), and one watermark that is shared between this text and the one with which it was bound, the *Fasciculus temporum* (Prüss, 1490). Where they appear in the text, each mark is situated at approximately the center of the page. The simplest watermark found in this edition of the *Malleus maleficarum* is the outline of a shield with two diagonal lines through the center. Using the online *Piccard Watermark Collection,* which provides images of thousands of watermarks dating between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, the image in PSU's *Malleus* could be matched to a watermark in another second edition copy of the *Malleus* printed by Drach in Speyer, Germany. Specifically, this watermark exists in the copy today found at the August Herzog Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, which is accessible through the *Wolfenbütteler Digitale Bibliothek (WDB)*. It is difficult to find a description of a watermark in conjunction with these texts in the online databases, therefore connecting PSU's codex to another based from the same the printer depends on the information provided by the watermark

databases. Unfortunately, no image of the watermark in the Wolfenbüttel *Malleus* appears to exist.

The second watermark is also a shield nearly identical to the first, but with an additional image above it. This crest consists of the shield watermark with a crowned globe positioned directly over it so the two were connecting. There are several variations of this watermark found in the *Piccard Watermark Collection*; however, the closest match to the one found in the PSU codex is also associated with the printer Peter Drach in Speyer, again for the year 1490. This information from the *Piccard Watermark Collection* is additionally referenced in the *Wasserzeichen informationssystem* database, which connects these two versions of the shield watermark. It was not uncommon for papermakers to have variations of their watermarks, as is suggested with these particular marks.

The third watermark found in the PSU codex is a version of the letter 'P', which was a much more common watermark of late medieval printers and therefore far more ambiguous. There are countless variations of this image found in both the *Piccard Watermark Collection* as well as the *Wasserzeichen informationssystem*, but a close match to the codex image is again associated with Peter Drach in Speyer, and was additionally found in books with a print date of 1490, which corresponds with the previous findings. Variations of this watermark were commonly found in medieval texts associated with printers in cities around Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Estonia, and Sweden. While other, more simply drawn, letters make up additional watermarks, this letter 'P', which was drawn with two lines and includes one forked end and one end consisting of a line with a trefoil, is the most frequently used, specific letter watermark in late medieval texts.

What makes the watermark stand out in this codex is the position it takes on the paper. While most variations stand right side up on the page, the image is upside down in this edition of the *Malleus maleficarum*. This opened up avenues of research as to any significance with the position, including the true nature of the watermark itself. The possibility was raised that the mark may not be the letter 'P', and may perhaps be a 'd' or the image of a key. However, in searching the *Piccard Collection*, as well as conducting additional research into other similar watermarks, it is clear that it was in fact the same popular 'P' watermark widespread in late medieval books, as no other watermark even closely resembles this one that is not described as, simply, the letter 'P'. As to why the mark is upside down on the page, this could simply be due to an error in the placement of the paper when it was put into the press and the text was printed on the page, which would not have been out of the ordinary.

While the aforementioned watermarks found in the copy of the *Malleus maleficarum* have been associated with the printer Peter Drach from Speyer, a bull's head placed between the *Malleus* and the *Fasciculus temporum*, which were bound together to form the codex, is a widely used, yet elusive, watermark. This image consists of a bull's head complete with eyes and nostrils, with a snake winding around a staff, ending in what could be a trefoil or a cross, coming out of the top. There are also the letters 'M' and 'E' on the left and right sides, respectively. While the bull's head is a watermark found in many texts, there are also numerous variations of the image, with and without facial features, with and without the snake or staff, as well as variations of the end of the staff, and whether or not there are additional images on either side. This particular version of the watermark found in the PSU codex is not associated with any printer in the *Piccard Collection*. Despite the numerous variations of the bull's head included in this database, none are close enough to be considered a match.

As well as with the letter 'P' watermark, this bull's head appears upside down in the

Codex. Again, there no known significance to this, and a possible conclusion would be an error

in the placement of the paper here as well. While there was not a clear match to this mark found

in the online watermark databases, there were numerous variations. For instance, there were

marks with the letters on either side of a bull's head as appear in the PSU codex, including the

letter 'M', although it is shown in a different style or angle than is seen in this codex. The letter

'E' as well, though found in conjunction with the bull's head, is so far uniquely depicted in this

codex with its round edges. The *Wasserzeichen informationssystem* has a bull's head watermark

with various letters beside it, including 'M' and 'E', however, none was a clear match to our

codex. The seemingly countless variations of this popular watermark appear to suggest that paper

makers altered the image to their liking.

The bull's head was no doubt a common watermark on German and Dutch paper in the

fifteenth century and later (*The Antiquary*, vols. 3-4, 1873). As "one of the most widespread

watermarks of the European Middle Ages," this mark exists in great variety: with and without

certain facial features (such as eyes and nostrils); with and without an additional motif within the

head (such as a mane or circle); and with and without an additional motif above or below the

head (such as letters, a cross, or a serpent on a pole); as well as the size and shape varying

considerably (University of Michigan Library). Although not identical, the closest

approximations of the watermark found in this codex come from the German cities of Alt Ruppin

(north of Berlin), Dresden, Tettnang (west of Munich), and the Italian city of Gemona (extreme

northeastern Italy) in the 1490s. The latter shows a very similar image of the bull's head and staff

with two letter motifs beside it, however these letters are not identical to the ones found in the

PSU codex, as they are instead drawn with a single line rather than the two, and the letters are an

'M' and an 'I', instead of the 'E' in the codex. Although not identical, the similarity between the watermarks in conjunction with their later date and placement within the codex, may suggest the watermark identies the paper supplier of the binder of the two texts which make this codex.

The printer found associated with the three watermarks in the *Malleus maleficarum*, Peter Drach, was a prominent printer in Speyer in the late fifteenth century. More specifically, Peter Drach the Middle was in charge of the printing press after his father. In 1490, Drach printed a few different books in Latin and German, including the second edition of the *Malleus maleficarum* found at Wolfenbüttel and the PSU codex. Examples of other books printed by Drach from the same time include: *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (an illustrated travel book); *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum* (sermons by Caracciolo); *De proprietatibus terminorum* (Marcus Tullius Cicero); *Indulgentia 1490*, used for promoting the war against the Turks (similar if not same to one from 1489); and *Antwort auf das Ausschreiben des Schwäbischen Bundes betreffend Eitel Schelm von Bergen*, dated 6 November 1490. Texts from the year previous, as well the year after, show similar books to this printed by Drach (see the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue). Starting his print shop with his father in 1475 at the latest, Drach recorded his dealings in account books preserved to this day, giving evidence of his achievements in the last part of the fifteenth century as "one of the most successful German master printers, publishers, and jobbers." Among his printings of predominantly Latin literature was the first edition of the *Malleus Maleficarum*.

In conclusion, the three watermarks found specifically in the PSU copy of the *Malleus maleficarum*—the shield, the crest, and the letter 'P'—have been identified as being strongly associated with the successful Speyer printer, Peter Drach. The connection between Drach and the bull's head found between the texts of the *Malleus* and the *Fasciculus temporum* is

inconclusive. Despite the popularity of such versions and variations of the watermark, the bull's head watermark as it appears in this codex has yet to be conclusively linked to any particular printer or paper-maker.

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