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## The Marginalia of the *Malleus maleficarum*

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### The Marginalia of the *Malleus maleficarum*

This is a comprehensive collection of transcriptions of the marginalia found in the *Malleus maleficarum* (Drach, ca. 1490) at Portland State University, as well as brief analyses examining the passages they occur in, as well as English translations of the original Latin provided by Christopher S. Mackay (minor translations from German are provided by Christian Stecher). The marginalia consist of all occurrences of marginal annotations, underlining, or other signs of note-taking by previous owners of the codex throughout the entire book. Though it is impossible to determine with absolute certainty who the note-taker or note-takers were, it is almost certain that there was more than one person marking what interested them, on account of the different note-taking styles and handwriting.

#### **The Punishment for Befriending a Witch**

*Hic notatur pena exilium cum amissione omnium bonorum qui tales consulunt aut suscipiunt.*

At this point note is made of the penalty of exile with loss of all property for those who consult or receive such people.

- Part I 10A, page 97 (MacKay trans.)

This is the first instance of note taking in PSU's copy of the *Malleus maleficarum*. It covers the topic of punishment for those who willingly associate with practitioners of magic and divination (the words "such people" refer to witches in this case). Whoever the particular note-taker was in this instance was, they felt it was important to mark this passage not only by underlining part of the sentence, but also writing "*Nota bene*" in the margins of the page. "*Nota*

*bene*” translates as “take good note” (or “note well”) and is simply used to mark a passage as exceptional or otherwise important to the reader.

### **The Sage That Has Been Made to Rot**

[Nota] *Dicit enim Albertus de proprietatibus rerum quod salvia putrefacta certis modis ut ibidem ponit si proiecta fuerit in fontem mirabiles concitabit in aere tempestates preterea si dicatur.*

For Albert [the Great] says of sage (*[On the] Properties of Things*) that has been made to rot in certain ways that he mentions in that passage, that if it is thrown into a spring, it will stir up miraculous storms in the air.

- Part I 14A, page 106 (MacKay trans.)

Here the note-taker shows interest in a passage quoting Albert the Great, a thirteenth-century German theologian also known as Albertus Magnus. Interestingly, the text the *Malleus* is quoting here, *Properties of Things*, is unknown, so we can only speculate as to what the text was originally about and how it was lost. In this passage in particular, the author seemingly refers to an anecdote from Albert the Great’s writings about sage, the “lower virtues” of which are capable of stirring up storms; these lower virtues are contrasted with “higher virtues” earlier in the same passage in a general consideration of the question as to whether a demon must cooperate with a sorcerer to produce a desired (maleficent) effect. The author makes it clear that both higher and lower virtues are formidable forces.

### **Zoroaster and the Invocation of Demons**

*Dicit Uincentius in Spe[culum] Histo[riale] allegans plures doctores quod primus inuentor artis magice et mathematice fuit Zorastres qui dicitur fuisse Cham filius Noe. [...] Hic etiam Ninus ob inordinatum amorem patris fecit fieri imaginem patri mortuo ad quam quicumque confugiebant malefactores liberi erant ab omni punitione debita. Et ex hoc ceperunt homines imagines adorare ut deos, sed hoc post primam etatem, quia sub illo tempore non erat ydolatRIA, propter recentem memoriam creationis mundi, ut dicit sanctus [Thomas] [...] Maleficorum autem ritus reducitUR ad secundum genus superstitionis, scilicet ad diuinationem que fit per expressam demonum inuocationem, cuius etiam sunt tria genera, scilicet, nigromantia, planetarii seu potius mathematici, et diuinatione per somnia. Hec ideo posui [...] Ipse tunc Zorastres cum esset intentus*

*illis actibus et solummodo considerationi astrorum a diabolo succensus est.*

Vincent [of Beauvais] says in *Mirror of History*, citing many Doctors, that the first inventor of the arts of magic and astrology was Zoroaster, who is said to have been Ham, the son of Noah. [...] This Ninus also had an image made for his dead father on account of his irregular love for him, and all criminals who fled to this image were free from every punishment they owed. As a result, people began to worship images as gods, but this was after the first generation, because at that time there was no idolatry on account of the freshness of the memory of the creation of the world, as Saint Thomas says. [...] The rite of sorcerers is ascribed to the second kind of superstition (divination), which takes place through the explicit invocation of demons. There are three varieties of it: nigromancy, the study of planets (also called astrology), and divination through dreams. [...] In any case, when Zoroaster devoted himself to these acts (just the observation of the stars), he was impelled by the Devil.

- Part I 16b-16D, pages 111-112 (MacKay trans.)

This part of the *Malleus* is unique, because it is the only part that references Zoroaster, an ancient Persian prophet who founded a now disappearing yet once widespread and influential religion, Zoroastrianism. The author credits Zoroaster as being “the first inventor of the arts of magic and astrology,” citing the *Mirror of History* by the thirteenth-century French theologian Vincent of Beauvais. The author also refers to Ninus, the mythical founder of the city of Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, mentioning how he started a tradition of idolatry among the Assyrians by pardoning those who worshiped the image of his own father, Belus. It is this statement about Ninus in particular that seemed to have captured most of the note-taker’s attention, as the entire clause is underlined, rather than just a few words here and there.

Finally, the author refers to a specific form of divination through the invocation of demons. In particular, this kind of demonic divination comes in the forms of nigromancy (which we might recognize as “necromancy” or, more literally, “black magic”), astrology, and dream interpretation. Later in the book, the author would go into far more detail about not only these forms of divinations, but many others, but for the purposes of this passage, attributed these in particular to Zoroaster (specifically astrology).

## Referring Back to the Rotten Sage

*Et ad tercium de saluia putrefacta et in puteum proiecta dicitur, ex licet sequatur effectus noxialis absque auxilio demonis, licet non absque influentia corporis celestis.*

As for the third argument (the one about the rotten sage thrown into a well), the response is that although the harmful effect follows without the help of a demon (though not without the influence of a heavenly body).

- Part I 17A, page 112 (MacKay trans.)

This is a very specific subject the note-taker has decided to pay attention to. This section of the book specifically refers back to the story of the rotten sage from Albert the Great earlier. The book is structured in such a way where these callbacks are relatively common. The author will present a series of arguments in sequence before going back and addressing each of them, either supporting or rebuking them to the best of his ability. In this case in particular, the note-taker showed a strong interest in this argument.

## Illegible Notes

*Et loquor de mulierculis combustis ad plurima maleficia coacte si verbera demonum subterfugere volunt cooperantur, prima tunc professione qua sponte se demonibus subiecerunt manent ligate.  
[Illegible word.]*

I am speaking of womenfolk burned for very many acts of sorcery, they are compelled to work with them if they wish to escape scourging at the hand of the demons. Nonetheless, they remain bound by the initial avowal in which they willingly subordinated themselves to the demons.

- Part I 17A, pages 112-113 (MacKay trans.)

This particular item of the marginalia is less helpful, because nothing is explicitly underlined, and the writing in the margin is illegible, so it is difficult to determine what in particular the reader found so interesting or why. All we can work off of is what the passage is actually about - in this case, the passage posits how women who have supposedly sealed a pact with a demon of some kind only engage in sorcery in an attempt to escape their supernatural vow, rather than to reaffirm it.

## Women as Sorceresses

*Sunt et alii alias rationes assignantes cur in maiore multitudine repiantur femine superstitiose quod viri, et dicunt esse tres causas. Prima est quod prone sunt credendum, et quod principaliter demon querit corrumpere fidem, ideo potius eas aggreditur.*

There are others who give different reasons for why women are found to be superstitious in larger numbers than men, and they say that there are three reasons. The first is that they are prone to believing and because the demon basically seeks to corrupt the Faith, he assails them in particular.

- Part I 41D, page 164 (MacKay trans.)

This part of the book is very heavily invested in exploring why women are more prone to sorcery than men. The note-taker only underlines the first given reason: that women possess a greater aptitude for faith than men, and demon seek to co-opt that faith to their own ends, making women natural targets. But the author also provides the reasons that women are more temperamental than men, making them easier targets overall, and that they have “loose tongues,” which allow sorcerous knowledge to spread among them faster. The first reason given (about women’s faith) is by far the most charitable reason given, compared to the other two (which, interestingly, were not underlined at all by the note-taker).

## The Difference Between God and the Devil

*[Nota] Sicut etiam quilibet alius artifex, est etiam ad idem c.xxvi.q.v. epi.in fi. Qui credit aliquam creaturam posse transmutari in melius vel in deterius nisi ab ipso omnino creato re infideli et pagano deterior est. [...] Diabolus internas cogitationes non potuit videre [...] ut dicit Augustinus, illi soli est possibile qui eam creavit. [...] Dis malicia et omnis immundicia a diabolo excogitata sunt. [paragraph note]*

“...just like any other craftsman. To the same effect there is also 26, Q. 5, “*Episcopi*” at the end: ‘Whoever believes that any creature can be changed for better or worse except by the Creator of all things Himself is worse than an infidel or a pagan.’ [...] ‘The devil cannot see internal thoughts,’ [...] as Augustine says, [to slide into the soul] is possible only for Him Who created it. [...] ‘All evil and all uncleanness were thought up by the Devil.’”

- Part I 46B-46C, pages 173-174 (MacKay trans.)

This passage about the abilities of both the Creator and the Devil is quite heavily underlined. It cites Augustine of Hippo, a fourth-century Catholic theologian from what is now modern Algeria. The crux of this passage is that the principal difference between God and the Devil is that God is a Creator, and the only one who possesses the ability to change anything in the world. The Devil by contrast, has no such ability, since he has not created anything himself, and so only co-opts what already exists.

The passage also mentions how the Devil cannot read internal thoughts on account of those thoughts only being accessible to their maker. If the Devil is a creator of anything, according to Augustine, and by extension, the author, it is only evilness itself, as “all evil and all uncleanness were thought up by [him].”

### **Arguments About Adultery**

*De tercio quod amor hereos proueniat ex maleficiis demonum discussum est supra. Et de hac loquimur tentatione. Et si quis diceret quo posset discerni quod non ex diabolo sed solum ex maleficio talis amor inordinatus procedit.*

If someone asks how it could be discerned that this sort of irregular love comes from the Devil but only from sorcery, one should say that this can be discerned on several grounds.

- Part I 50C, page 183 (MacKay trans.)

The note-taker only underlined the introductory statement to a series of four arguments about why the source of love during adulterous relationships comes from the Devil. Those four arguments are: first, if both the adulterer's wife and mistress are beautiful; second, if the adulterer's cannot be convinced by “blows or words or deeds or attempts to shame him” to give up his mistress; third, if the adulterer is willing to travel great distances to see his mistress; and fourth, if the adulterer undergoes massive and sudden change so that “nothing can stand in their way.”

## The Illusions of Sorceresses

*Responsio. Si lector voluerit super modum transmutandi inspicere inueniet in secunda parte operis ca.vi. varios modos. Ad presens tum modo scholastice procedendo. Dicamus trium doctorum sententias concordantes in eo quod diabolus potuit fantasiam homines decipere.*

If the reader wishes to make an examination of the method of making a change, he will find the various methods in Chapter Six of the Second Part of the work. For the moment, let us merely proceed in the scholastic manner and mention the pronouncements of three Doctors that agree about the Devil's ability to deceive a man's fantasy so that a real person is seen as an animal.

- Part I 60B, page 203 (MacKay trans.)

Again, the note-taker is only underlining the introductory passages to a series of arguments, in this case, however, they are responses to an earlier set of arguments, about whether or not sorceresses transform people into animals via conjuration, or if those spells are otherwise illusory. The author cites St. Thomas Aquinas, the famous thirteenth-century Dominican theologian and philosopher, to determine that the Devil works on the arts of deception, which is congruent with the earlier notation about how the Devil has no capacity to actually change reality himself.

## The Illusions of Sorceresses Cont.

*Sed quod vtroque modo potuit fieri sequitur in prefata summa, et in ca. nec mirum. ea. q. Augustinus narrat quod in libris gentilium legitum de quadam maga dicta Circes que socios Ulixis mutauerat in bestias quod magicis prestigiis potius fingebat quod in rerum veritate conpleretur alterando fantasias hominum. Patet hoc etiam per plura exempla. Legitur enim in vitas patrum quod quedam iuuencula quod [Nota] assentire noluit cuidam iuueni de turpitudine eam sollicitanti ipse iuuenis turbatus ex hoc a quodam iudeo procurauit maleficium fieri contra illam, quo peracto, mulier conuersa est in equam.*

That it can happen in either way follows in the aforementioned *Summa*, and in Chapter “*Nec Mirum*” (same question) Augustine narrates that in the books of the pagans one can read about a certain female magician named Circe, who changed the companions of Ulysses into beasts. This was feigned with acts of illusion through conjuring rather than being brought to pass in reality, when she altered the fantasies of the men. This is made clear through further illustrations. One reads in *The Lives of the Fathers*, that because a certain young woman did not wish to comply

with a young man who was importuning her for a base act, the young man was agitated as a result of this and had a certain Jew cast a spell of sorcery against her, and when this was done, the woman was changed into a filly.

- Part I 60D-61A, pages 204-205 (MacKay trans.)

The note-taker seems to have taken an interest in this particular argument, against the idea the sorceresses use conjuration. The author has cited the Greek myth of how Circe used illusions to change the appearances of Ulysses' companions into that of animals. Kramer and Sprenger make it very clear that this was only done via illusions, but a more interesting perhaps is that this mythical story was understood as reflecting historical reality. Either this Greek myth is being treated like a historical event, or it is simply being treated as representative of one.

### **More Devilish Illusions and Conjurations**

*Secunda sententia ad idem modernorum doctorum declarantes primo quid sit prestigium et quot modis demon potuit huiusmodi illusiones causare.*

The second pronouncement to this effect is that of modern Doctors who explain first what conjuring is and how many ways there are in which the Devil can produce illusions like this.

- Part I 61B-61C, page 206 (MacKay trans.)

In accordance with the note-taker's heavy interest in illusions and conjurations, they have taken a quick skimming note of how contemporaneous doctors had considered conjurations can be reproduced by illusions. Marginal notation at the bottom of the page could not be deciphered but consists of three or four words.

### **The Danger of Midwives According to Johannes Nider**

*Nemo fidei catholice amplius nocet quam obstetrices vbi cum pueros non interimunt tunc quasi aliquid acturi foris extra cameram infantem deferunt et sursum in a[e]re eleuantes demonibus offerunt.*

No one harms the Catholic Faith more than do midwives." In instances where they do not kill children, they take the baby out of the room as if to do something, and raising them up in the air they offer them to the demons.

- Part I 64B, page 212 (MacKay trans.)

This statement (entirely underlined by the note taker) issues a quite damning attack on midwives, who are accused of using infants in their care as offerings to the demons. This is actually a quote from Johannes Nider (author of the *Formicarius*, another late medieval treatise about witchcraft), rather than a statement by Kramer himself.

### **The Curse of the Burial Shroud**

*[Exemplum tempore pestis] Exempum vbi inter nos inquisitores vnus repperit quoddam oppidum mortalitate hominum quasi destitutum et vbi fama volabat quod quedam mulier sepulta lintheamen in quo sepulta erat successiue deglutiret et quod pestus cessare non posset nisi ex integro lintheamen degluitendo ad ventrem consumpsisse.*

[Example from the time of plague.] Here is an illustration. One of us inquisitors found that a certain town had been almost depopulated through the dying of the inhabitants, and the rumor was widespread that a certain buried woman was swallowing bit by bit the shroud in which she had been buried and that the plague could not stop unless she ate the shroud entirely and swallowed it into her stomach.

- Part I 75D, page 237 (MacKay trans.)

This passage is an anecdote meant to give inquisitors an example of a situation they might find themselves in. In the story, a town faced widespread death due to a curse which persisted so long as the corpse of a sorceress could continue to eat her burial shroud. The curse was lifted when the corpse was dug up and decapitated, but the purpose of the story is not to tell the reader how the curse was broken, but how it began. According to the author, the curse was placed on the town as a result of authorities “turning a blind eye” to the sorceress’ sins against the innocent, as the woman in question was a known fortune teller and magician. Marginal notation indicates the example was in a time of plague.

### **The Penalty for Witchcraft**

*Secunda pena damni id est priuationis glorie. Hoc etiam nunquam infligitur sine culpa propria vt*

*in adultis vel contracta vt in paruulis in orginalia decedentibus. Tercia pena sensus.i. cruciatio ignis infernalis etiam patet.*

The second penalty is loss (that is, the deprivation of glory), and it too is never imposed in the absence of personal guilt, as in the case of grown-ups, or of contracted fault, as in the case of little ones passing away in Original Sin. The third penalty, which is that of perception (that is, torment by fire in Hell), is obvious.

- Part I 76D, pages 239-240 (MacKay trans.)

The author states that witchcraft is punishable in both spiritual and temporal ways. The note-taker only focuses on the spiritual punishments, however, and even then does not take any notes on the first penalty (the loss of grace). They do underline the second and third, however, being the deprivation of glory, and of course, eternal damnation, respectively.

## **Renouncing the Faith**

*Hec sunt propria maleficarum fidem abnegantium et pro diuinissimum sacramentum plurima maleficia vt iam in secunda parte patebit exercentium.*

Such are the personal sins of sorcerers, who renounce the Faith, and as will be explained in Part Two, practice very many acts of sorcery by means of the Most Sacred Sacrament.

- Part I 77C, page 242 (MacKay trans.)

This passage is simple enough. To engage in sorcery, sorceresses have necessarily renounced the Catholic Faith, but more intriguingly, they practice their sorceries with otherwise sacred rituals, such as the Sacrament. This is a concept that the note taker found quite interesting, given its relevance to the earlier themes of how the Devil can only co-opt what God has already created.

## **The Fourteen Types of Divination**

*Nam cum quatuordecim sunt species circa opera superstitiosa [1] ex triplici genere diuinationum. Quorum primun fit per manifestam demonum inuocationem. [2] Secundum per tacitam solam considerationem dispositionis vel motus alicuius rei, vt siderum, [3] dierum, aurarum et huiusmodi. Tercium per considerationem alicuius actus humani ad inquirendum aliquid occultum quod sortium nomen habent. Et species primi generis diuinationis que fit per expressam*

*demonum inuocationem, sint prestigium diuinatio somniorum, Nigromancia, [4] Diuinatio phitonica, Geomancia, Idromancia, [5, 6, 7] Aeromancia, Piromancia et ariolorum [8, 9, 10] cultus. Tho[mas] se.se.q.xcv.et.xxvi.q.iiii. igitur et.q.v.nec mirum. Species denique secundi [11] generis genealitici, aurspices, augures omen [12, 13] seruantibus chyromantia et spatulamantia. [14] Species etiam tercii generis variantur secundum omnia illa que sortium nomen habent ad inquirendum aliquid occultum, scilicet per considerationem punctorum, festucarum, figurarum in plumbo liquefactarum.*

There are fourteen varieties of superstitious works based on a division [1] of divination into three kinds. The first variety takes place through the open invocation of demons, [2] the second merely through the silent observation of the arrangement or motion of objects like constellations, [3] days, winds and the like, and the third through the observation of some human action for the purpose of inquiring about something hidden. All these kinds have the designation “fortunes.” The varieties of the first kind of divination, the one that takes place through the explicit invocation of demons, are conjuring, divination by dreams, divination by the dead, [4] Pythian divination, divination by the earth, divination by water, [5, 6, 7] divination by air, divination by fire, and the religious practice of [8, 9, 10] soothsayers. Next, the varieties of the second kind [11] are horoscope casters, haruspices, augurs, omen [12, 13] watchers, diviners by hand and diviners by shoulder bone. [14] The varieties of the third kind differ according to all those things that have the designation “fortunes” for the purpose of inquiring about something hidden, namely divination by the observation of dots, straws, and congealed shapes in lead.

- Part I 77D-78A, page 242-243 (MacKay trans.)

This section of the marginalia may be the densest part of them all. Here, the author outlines fourteen separate types of divination that fall under three different categories. The first category of Demon Invocation has already been mentioned, but the other two are the Observation of the Natural World, and the Observation of Human Action. In these three categories, the author meticulously lists out Conjuration, Dream Interpretation, Pythian Divination (such as the Oracle of Delphi), Geomancy, Hydromancy, Aeromancy, Pyromancy, Soothsaying (or fortune-telling), Horoscopy, Haruspicy, Augury, Omen Reading, Palmistry (Palm Reading), and Bone Throwing. Every single technique and method of sorcery falls into one of these fourteen different types of divination, at least according to the author.

### **Note On A Biblical Reference to Samuel**

*Nec ex hoc putat quis talia esse licita quod scriptura commemorat animam iusti prophete ab inferis vocatam sauli euentum futuri belli etiam per mulierem phitonissam aperuisse.*

Let no one think that such things are lawful on the grounds that Scripture records that when a soul of the righteous prophet was summoned from the dead, it revealed to Saul the outcome of a future war, through a female pythoness at that.

- Part I 78C, page 243 (MacKay trans.)

Here, a reader has noted in the margin, “Nota de Samuele,” indicating the text’s reference to the biblical Book of Kings. Judging by the contents of the passage, however, it can be inferred that they were interested in a seeming contradiction between the fear of sorcery and the presence of such magics (such as raising the dead) in the Scriptures. The author excuses the particular instance of Samuel raising from the dead before Saul as more of a divine illusion than a true act of necromancy.

### **The Interpretations of Dreams**

*In tercia denique specie quod et somniorum diuinitio dicitur duplitem obseruatur.*

Finally, the third variety, the one that is called the divination of dreams, is practiced in two ways.

- Part I 78D, page 244 (MacKay trans.)

The author goes into depth about the varieties of dream interpretation. Twofold, they are: the revelation of some secret by evil spirits and learning of a future event. The first kind is considered the work of the Devil, however, within reason, the second kind is permissible, as per prophecy.

### **The Interpretations of Dreams, Continued**

*Nam si corporaliter vt supra tactum est nolunt transferri sed tantum imaginarie cernere que a consodalibus maleficis perpetrantur reponere se habent ad sinistrum latus in nomine sui diaboli et omnium demoniorum.*

For if they do not wish to be transferred bodily in the way discussed above and instead wish to perceive only in the imagination the crimes that are being committed by their fellow sorceresses,

they can recline on their left side in the name of their devil and all of the demons.

- Part I 79B-79C, page 245 (MacKay trans.)

In the margin appears an undecipherable notation which appears to consist of two large letters. This passage re-emphasizes the earlier statement that some kinds of dream interpretations are trivial and permissible. The “way discussed above” part of the passage is simply referring to a collection of types of dreams that a person can lawfully interpret. These dreams are referred to as “tokens” rather than “causes” because they display a certain insight into the individual who dreamt them, rather than acting as sources of divination. The passage proper also notes that sorceresses can perceive the activities of their fellow sorceresses in the mind, should they not wish to join them in person in their activities.

### **Wards Against Witchcraft**

*Et primi sunt qui publicam contra eos iusticiam exercent, aut officio aliquo publico aduersus eos insistent. Secundi qui de ritibus ecclesie seruatis et veneratis vt per aque benedictae aspersionem [...] Tercii sunt qui per sanctos angelos variis et infinitis modis beneficiantur.*

The first are those who carry out public justice against sorcerers or engage in some public office against them. The second are those who protect themselves with the rites maintained and revered by the Church, like the sprinkling of holy water [...] The third are those who are benefited by holy angels in countless different ways.

- Part II 86C, page 263 (MacKay trans.)

These notes are taken on the three types of people who are blessed by God to be otherwise immune to any acts of sorcery. The first are those who antagonize sorceresses, such as inquisitors or other kinds of witch hunters; the second are those who use spiritual rites to deliberately ward themselves; and the third are those who are “benefited by holy angels in countless different ways.” This third group is more of a miscellaneous grouping if nothing else, but it is supposed that an angel’s blessings can be garnered in a multitude of ways.

## The Use of Holy Water as a Ward

*Sic enim in exorcismo dicit vt vbicum quod aspersa fuerit careat omni immundicia liberetur a noxia non illic resideat spiritus pestilens et cetera.*

This is what one says in an exorcism in order that whatever place is sprinkled with the water should lack all uncleaness and be freed from harm, that no baneful spirit should reside there, and so on.

- Part II 87D, page 266 (MacKay trans.)

These notes simply outline one of the more common methods of warding oneself from the sorceries of witches. In this case, the passage is referring to the use of holy water as a holy medium to protect the user from evil magic. The reader was interested in this particular section of the book, which suggests a genuine belief in the reality and dangers of sorcery.

## Series of “Exemplum” notations (MacKay trans. pp. 266-67)

A series of four marginal notations of “exempla” occurs along two columns of the page. The first (*Sic enim in ciuitate Spirensi anno eodem...*) refers to a supernatural event that occurred in the town of Speyer, Germany, in the year the book was begun (thus, c. 1485). The second refers to an event in Wiesenthal; the third to an event in Ravensburg; and the fourth to a lightning strike that affected three men walking down a road. These events occurred in or near Speyer.

## The Use of Holy Words as a Ward

*In principio erat verbum et cetera, audiuisset ideo preseruatus fuisset. Sed et per sacra verba corpori alligata quod miro modo sunt preseruatiua dum modo septem conditiones in ipsis seruentur.*

[John 1:1] “In the beginning was the Word and” and so on. Another method is through Holy Words attached to the body, since they have a miraculous ability to save so long as seven conditions are maintained in connection with them.

- Part II 88D, page 267 (MacKay trans.)

This passage illustrates another method of protecting oneself from sorcery, only, rather than by the use of a physical item like holy water, the ward is generated by a holy incantation that would verbally shield the faithful from the wickedness of magics that could be used against them. An indecipherable marginal note that appears to look like two letters ‘A’ and ‘B’ appears adjacent this passage.

### Series of Five ‘Exemplum’ marginal notations

A series of exempla concerning male temptation by women, taken from Johannes Nider’s Formicarius.

- Part II 90A-90D, pp. 270-271 (MacKay trans.)

**[Editor’s note: A series of marginal notations found in MM II, Q1, chaps. 3-16 have not been catalogued in this essay. - JSO]**

### Chants and Incantations

*Ad primum quoque hoc dicitur licitum in cultu [...] Tercio ne materia verborum aliquod falsitatis contineat, quod sic eius effectus non posset expectari a deo cum ipse non sit testis falsitatis, sic enim quedam vetule in suis carminibus vt [...] rigmatizando, beata virgo iordanem transiuit et tunc sanctus stephanus ei obuiauit, eam interrogauit et multas alias fatuitates.*

As for the first, what is not superstitious is said to be lawful in the practice of the Christian religion, [...] The third is that the subject matter of the words should contain no falsehood, because in that case no effect from it could be expected from God, since He is not a witness to falsehood. Such is the usage of certain old women in their chants, when they rhyme, “The Blessed Virgin the Jordan crossed and then St. Stephen her path passed and her then asked” (and many other ideocies).

- Part II, Q2, 171D-172C, pages 446-447 (MacKay trans.)

**[Editor’s note: A lengthy passage (not captured by the quotations above) is marked off here, with the words ‘Notamine originissima’. – JSO]**

These notes are taken on a part of the book that delineates which incantations are lawful, and which are sorcerous. Admittedly, the first qualifier (making a distinction between what is

and is not superstitious) is slightly unhelpful on account of how it's not immediately explained what counts as superstition, but it is later clarified that unsanctimonious chants are nonsensical in nature. The author does give an example of a common sorceress' chant, "The Blessed Virgin the Jordan crossed and then St. Stephen her path passed and her then asked," or in Latin, "*Beata virgo Jordanem transivit et tunc sanctus stephanus ei obuiauit, eam interrogavit [...]*." If pronounced, it rhymes.

**[Editor's note: Additional marginalia occurring from the above passage forward in the text are not catalogued here. -JSO]**

### **On the Possessed**

*[Nota] Fertur etiam de illis qui nocturno tempore in somnis per alta edificia sine lesione solent incedere, quod vtiq[ue] opus esse maligni spiritus tales sic deferentes plures asserunt.*

Regarding those who walk across tall buildings at night-time without being harmed, many claim that this is clearly the work of an evil spirit who carries them in this way.

- Part II 176D, page 457 (MacKay trans.)

A minor note is made in the section about exorcisms regarding people who would transport to precarious locations, only to be saved from harm by the demon who had teleported them there in the first place. These things would supposedly occur without their volition. It seems like a minor point to take note of, but it is one of the final instances of note taking in the book.

### **Some Final German Terminology**

The final occurrences of notes in the *Malleus maleficarum* consist of simple underlining of four particular words. These words stand out because they are not in Latin like the rest of the

book; rather, they are written in German. These terms are (in order of appearance): *Wechselkind* (spelled “*Vechselkind*”), literally translating to “Change Child.” These are Changelings, which are a childlike variation of Doppelgangers in European folklore. Next is *Schrettel*, which is an archaic term that doesn't occur commonly in German anymore. This can be interpreted roughly as a type of fairy, or small forest-dwelling monster (perhaps like a gnome). The third term is *Seligen*, meaning “blessed ones.” And finally, *Wahrsagerin* (spelled “*Varsagerin*”) translating as “fortuneteller,” or “soothsayer.” It is important to note that this last one appears specifically in its feminine form, and not masculine or plural. These terms appear in Part II 182D-183D, pages 470-473.

### **Works Cited**

Kramer, Heinrich (Institoris), and Jakob Sprenger. *The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus maleficarum*. Translated by Christopher S. Mackay. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.