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Review, Introduction, and Preliminary Documentation of Marginalia in Portland State University's Fasciculus Temporum/Malleus Maleficarum Sammelband

Samuel Barnack

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Samuel Barnack
2022

Review, Introduction, and Preliminary Documentation of Marginalia in Portland State
University's *Fasciculus Temporum/Malleus Maleficarum* Sammelband

Abstract:

This paper presents an overview of the contents of the new database of written marginal notations in Portland State University's fifteenth-century printed codex, and some of the research threads that can be taken up from a study of those notations. The motive for this project was an interest in readership usage of the codex and the two books contained within it. It begins by discussing terms that Andi Johnson and I elected to use to tag and name different categories of features, then I discuss some of the findings and possible future research avenues that can expand on them. Finally, in the appendix, I list written marginalia which are, at least at first glance, deviations from the norm of isolated "nota" and "nota bene." A number of diverse hands indicate that the codex may contain marks from at least ten different readers. Also of note is an abrupt cut-off of all marginal notation on fol. 72 (of 101 fols.) of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which may denote a lack of reader interest in the third section of the book.

Portland State University's fifteenth-century codex is a *Sammelband*¹ containing two incunabula: a 1490 edition of Werner Rolewinck's *Fasciculus Temporum* and a 1490 second edition copy of Heinrich Kramer and Jakob Sprenger's *Malleus Maleficarum*. There are various instances of reader intervention throughout, via marginal notations, underlining, and other markings, which may shed light on the interests of readers and their usage of the book over the centuries. Andi Johnson and I created a database to catalogue each hand-written word or symbol in the codex. Andi constructed the database and its format while I filled it out with every instance of marginal notation I could find throughout the entire codex and synthesized the preliminary work from the 2020 class. This paper is intended to be an introduction to some of the contents and preliminary findings of the marginalia database. In this manner, it serves as a complement to Andi Johnson's paper, which discusses the structure of the database and how to use it. This paper includes three sections: the first section explains the rationale behind a few of our terminological choices; the second section discusses some of the patterns in the marginalia of the *Sammelband*; the third section, the appendix, lists the writing in the *Sammelband*, with the exception of "Exempla" and isolated "nota" and "nota bene."

Choices in Terminology

The *Sammelband* contains a variety of symbols for marking textual elements of interest. In order to collectively refer to these distinct symbols, the database uses the term "nota mark," accompanied by a term for the specific type of symbol being used as a nota mark. Dr. Siân Echard of the University of British Columbia uses the term "paraf"/"paraph" to refer to a certain

¹ In terms of premodern and early modern books, a *Sammelband* is a codex in which two or more books are bound together. The fact that they are bound as one now does not necessarily mean they have always been, though they may have sometimes been sold together for marketing purposes.

symbol that marked division in medieval manuscripts.² This symbol would gain a long descender and become the pilcrow, which may also be referred to as a paraph. Due to the presence of both symbols in the text, we elected to refer to the descenderless symbol as a paraph, and the symbol commonly referred to as a pilcrow as a pilcrow.



“Pilcrow” in the *Fasciculus Temporum*,
fol. 57r



“Paraph” in the *Fasciculus Temporum*,
fol. 73

In the *Malleus Maleficarum*, lines on the margins have been used to mark large sections of text. This is referred to in the database as bracketing. Similarly, some intratext lines which may at first sight appear to be underlining actually block off a section, typically the beginning of a section. This is referred to in the database as blocking.

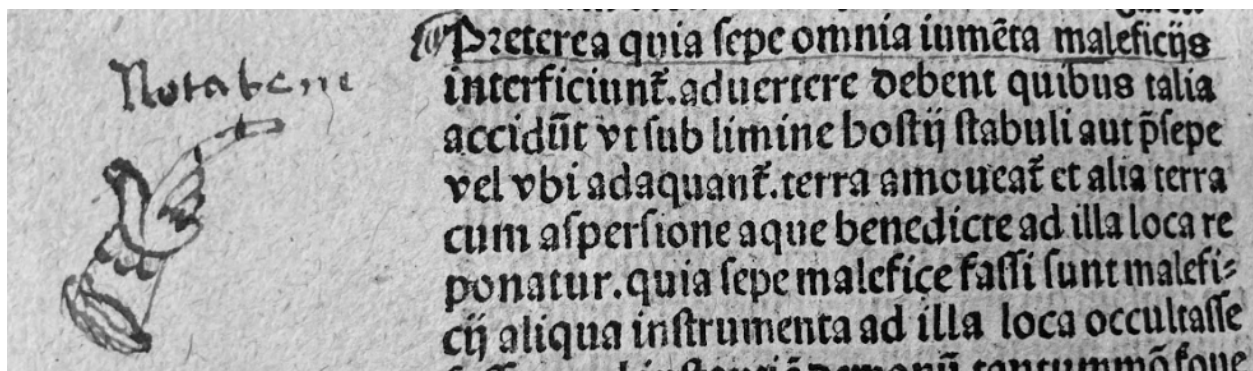
Features of the Marginalia

Marginalia are present in both books of the *Sammelband* as well as between them, in the form of two large blocks of text. One of these two intrabook blocks of text was deciphered by Amanda Swinford in 2020, and she found that it was a short hagiography of Saint Anne, paraphrased from *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus De Voragine.³ As of May 2022, the other block of

² Sian Echard, “Terms for Manuscript Studies.” Siân Echard, March 2, 2022. https://sianechard.ca/web-pages/terms-for-manuscript-studies/?fbclid=IwAR32HbIVofbDH04O7gky_rA8KOMKLLdBQINxA4ybm308o2aly-G0eETExiM.

³ Amanda Swinford, "Fasciculus temporum: Extra-textual Genealogy" (2020). <https://archives.pdx.edu/ds/psu/34704>

text remains undeciphered. From my count, marginalia in the *Malleus Maleficarum* stop at fol. 72, and do not appear again, all the way to the end of the book at fol. 101. This marks a stark contrast to their relative frequency elsewhere in the book, and may be related to the content of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which is arranged in three parts, with the third discussing legal procedure and the methods of investigation and trial for witches. As a way to measure the density of marginal notations across the *Malleus Maleficarum*, Matthew Jurkiewicz (Spring 2022) counted the density of manicules in various copies of the *MM*. What his research showed was a dwindling of notation in the third section. Jurkiewicz added that this may be skewed by general readership patterns, but nevertheless, my findings in Portland State University's codex follow this pattern to a striking degree. This may suggest that the *Malleus Maleficarum* received less usage in actual witch trials than it is often credited with. Morgan Gubser (Spring 2022), in her compiling of witch trials in the Lorraine, could only find one mention of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, when Heinrich Agrippa refuted it in Metz.



Manicule in Portland State University's *Malleus Maleficarum*, fol. 71v

There are multiple distinct nota marks within the text, including various pilcrows, some paraphs, hashes, loop shapes, figure 8 shapes, and manicules. It appears with one large pilcrow, on fol.

62v, that someone attempted to wet erase it. It should not be assumed that different marks automatically connote different readers, especially since there are several locations where multiple marks are used together. A prime example of this is fol. 23rb, where a pilcrow, a figure 8, a hash, a nota, and text are all used concurrently.

While the *Fasciculus Temporum* is almost entirely devoid of underlining, with the only exception being on fol. 38r,⁴ underlining is frequent in the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Among other things, Christian Stecher in 2020 catalogued and transcribed the underlining in the first half of the book, and matched it against the Mackay translation.⁵ I wrote some cursory transcriptions of the underlining later in the book for identification purposes, but I did not translate it. An interesting pattern on the last marked page of the codex, as mentioned by Stecher, is that the reader only underlined various German terms: *vechfelkind*,⁶ *die seligen*,⁷ *schrettel*, and *varsagerin*,⁸ perhaps connoting an interest in German or folkloric vocabulary.

At least one reader of the *Fasciculus* seems to have had an interest in the region of Lotharingia and the surrounding area. Cities such as Fulda and Metz are noted in the margins when they appear in the text,⁹ and Lotharingia—or more precisely, Duke Godfrey of Lotharinga—is mentioned explicitly in two marginal notes in different hands,¹⁰ though one may be inspired by the other. This may provide hints to the provenance of the book, suggesting that it was in and around the Lorraine. An hypothesis which requires greater study of marked passages in the codex is that of folk etymology connections between the region and the Old Testament.

⁴ Due to the pandemic, the class of 2020 had to work entirely from photos rather than the codex itself. The overhead photos of the *Fasciculus Temporum*'s wavy pages caused one of the timeline lines of the *Fasciculus* to look wavy and organic, causing Maly to list it as instances of underlining.

⁵ Christian Stecher, "The Marginalia of the *Malleus maleficarum*" (2020).

⁶ *Wechfelkind*, exchanged child, i.e., "changeling."

⁷ "The blessed."

⁸ *Wahrsagerin*, "fortuneteller."

⁹ Respectively, FT fol. 72v, FT fol. 50v.

¹⁰ FT fol. 73v, and FT fol. 74v.

One reader, via a pilcrow, marked the rondel containing the name of Melchisedech, the king of Salem, as noted by Michael Jeremy Maly in 2020.¹¹ I am curious whether this is related to a perceived connection between the biblical Salem and the Salem of Baden-Württemberg. Furthermore, that same reader marked the story of Lot,¹² perhaps another folk etymology with Lothar and Lotharingia. Two written marginal notes that I am all but certain match in handwriting, “nota de schuicere” and “nota de duce austrie et suicerud,”¹³¹⁴ mark two battles of the early Old Swiss Confederacy, Laupen (1339) and Sempach (1386).

At least one written marginalia in the codex is in Italian rather than Latin, a short phrase indicating the author on the title page of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, “Autore Jacob Sprenger.”¹⁵ Another marginal note in the *Malleus Maleficarum*¹⁶ may be written in German, but the image quality is too poor to discern.

There appear to be at least ten different hands in the codex, and most of them appear to be written in what Dr. Michelle P. Brown refers to as Later German Cursive.¹⁷ Present in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, but apparently not present in the *Fasciculus Temporum*, is handwriting that appears to be a form of Secretary Script, or a form of script derived from Secretary Script. This identification is based on the form of the t, and the large initial N. Another typographical feature of note is that an ex-libris on the first page of the Tabula uses a modern cursive round s, which dates that ex-libris to the seventeenth or eighteenth century at the earliest.

¹¹ Michael Jeremy Maly, "Marginalia and Nota bene in the Fasciculus temporum: Frontispiece and Folios 4-23" (2020). <https://archives.pdx.edu/ds/psu/34803>

¹² Spelled Loth in the *Fasciculus*.

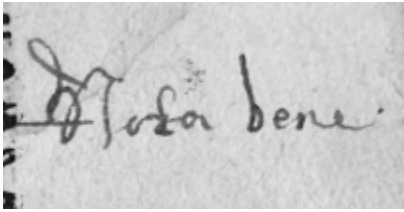
¹³ “Note on Switzerland” and “note on Austrian and Swiss dukes.”

¹⁴ Fol. 84v, fol. 87v.

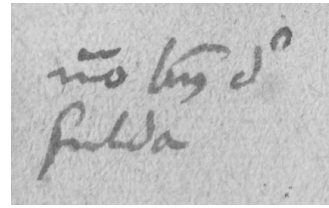
¹⁵ Also, could this show more of an interest in what Jacob Sprenger had to say compared to the other (and possibly main author), Heinrich Institoris.

¹⁶ MM, fol 25r.

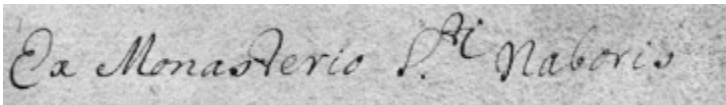
¹⁷ Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts: From Antiquity to 1600* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).



“Nota bene,” MM fol. 5r



“Nota bene de Fulda” FT fol. 72v



“Ex Monasterio Sti Naboris,” FT Tabula 1, note the modern cursive s

There is a great deal of further work to be done, and some of it will be outlined here. Firstly, it is important for someone to check my work, to make sure the *Malleus Maleficarum* folia are counted correctly, and to take better photos. Someone should investigate and try to differentiate the different pilcrows, as well as the different handwriting, taking special care to compare individual letters and the differences in the strokes they are written with. Using this information, someone should investigate what is being marked, and someone should synthesize reader interests.¹⁸ Lastly, the upper right block of text between the books remains undeciphered. [Ed. note: This has since been accomplished, though the text’s contents are fragmentary and therefore uncertain.]

¹⁸ It only takes a week at most to be able to transcribe the printed text, especially of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which uses far less abbreviation than the *Fasciculus Temporum*.

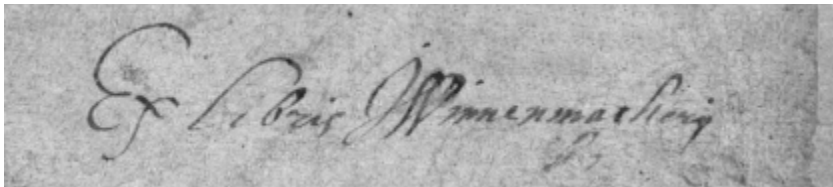
Appendix: Written Marginalia

Leaving out isolated instances of “nota” and “nota bene,” the Portland State University *Sammelband* contains relatively few written marginalia. Many of these are specified nota which begin with “nota de...”, explicitly stating which subject a given passage is of note about, and most of those that do not start with “nota de...” or “de...” still serve the same purpose. This easily allows us to see what the readers found important.

Title Pages and First Page of Tabula

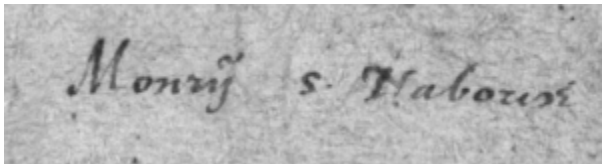
The title page and the first page of the Tabula contains several pieces of writing, mostly ex libris.

Fol. TPr B



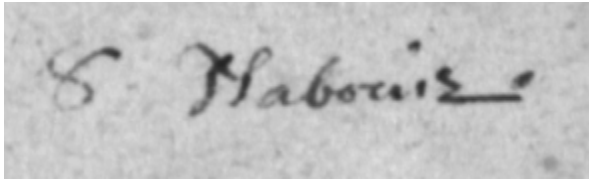
“Ex libris Winnenmacherii”

Fol. TPr C



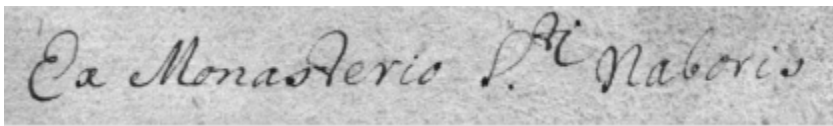
“Mon[aste]rii s. Naboris”

Fol. T1r A



“S[ancti] Naboris”

Fol. T1r B

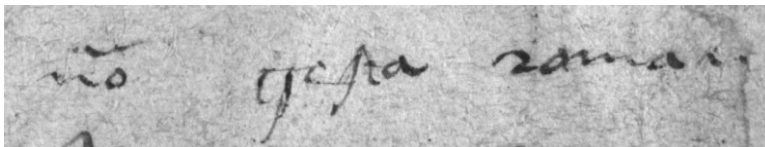


“Ex Monasterio S[ancti] Naboris”

The round intraword "s" dates this to at least the seventeenth century, perhaps more likely the eighteenth century.

There is, however, a more marked piece of writing on the title page, a “nota” mark followed by a reference to *The Deeds of the Romans*.

Fol. TPr A



“nota [perhaps ‘non’] gesta roman[orum]”

The title page of the *Malleus Maleficarum* has the author's name written in Italian.

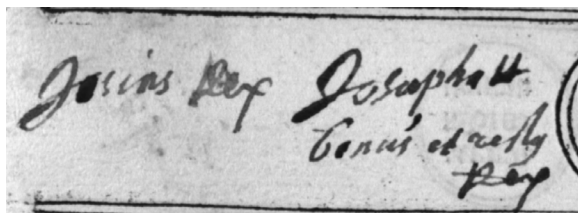
MM TPr A

No photo

“Autore jacobus sprenger”

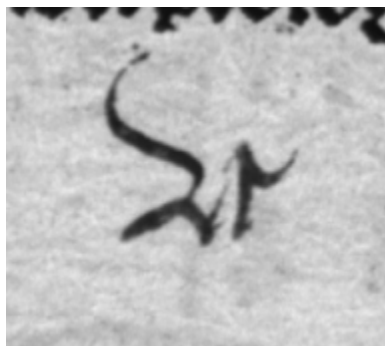
Other Written Marginalia

Fol. 19r A



“Josias rex / Josaphatt bonus et [restii] rex”

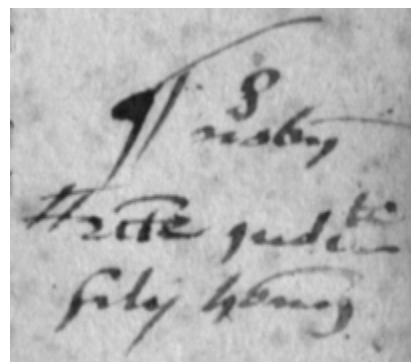
Fol. 19r B



Uncertain.

Marks a passage on Titus Livy's history, *Ab Urbe Condita*.

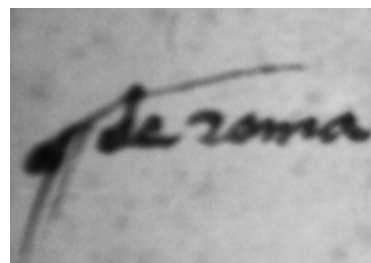
Fol. 23r B



“nota bene [?] [?] filii hominum”

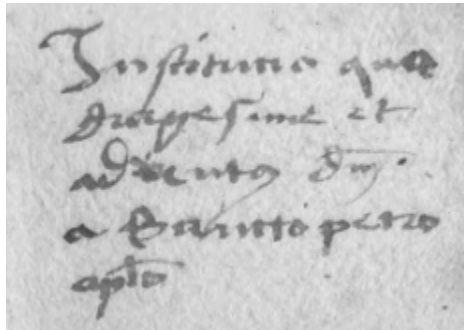
The hash mark next to it corresponds to a hash mark on the other side of the text, likely marking the passage between them.

Fol. 24v D



“de roma”

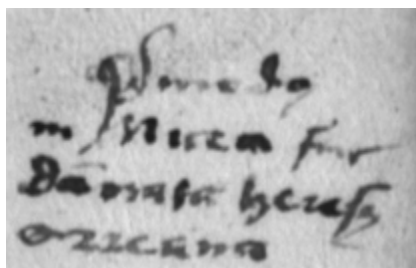
Fol. 38r A



“Institutio quadragesime et adventus
dominum a sancto petro apostolo”

“Establishment of Lent and Advent by St.
Peter the Apostle.”

Fol. 48r A

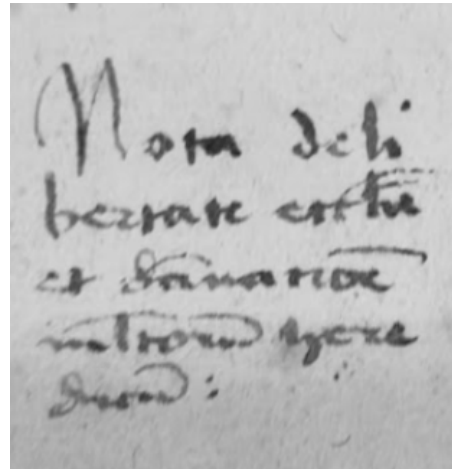


“In synodo in Nicea fuit damnata heresim
Arriana”

“In the synod in Nicaea the Arian heresy
was condemned.”

Marks a passage on the first Council of
Nicaea.

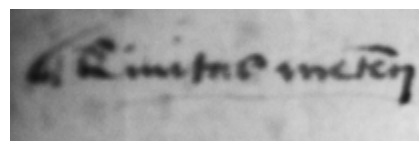
Fol. 49v A



“Nota de libertate ecclesiae et damnatione
multorum hereticorum”

“Note on the liberty of the church and the
damnation of many heretics”

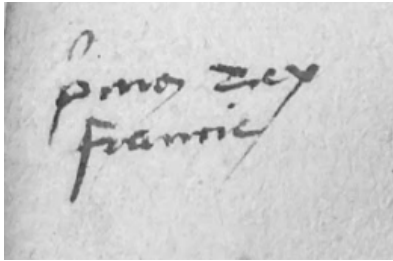
Fol. 50v A



“Civitas meten[is]”

“The city of Metz”

Fol. 53v A

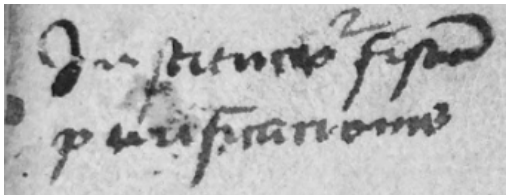


“primus rex francie”

“First french king”

Marks a passage discussing the Frankish king Clovis/Clodovechus (456-511).

Fol. 53v A

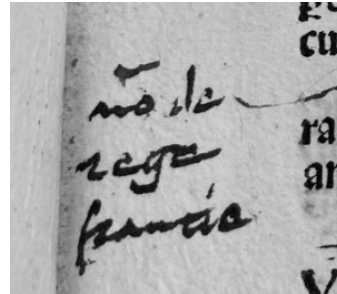


“Instituto festum purificationum”

“Establishment of the feast of the purification”

Marks a passage on the establishment of the feast of purification.

Fol. 59r B

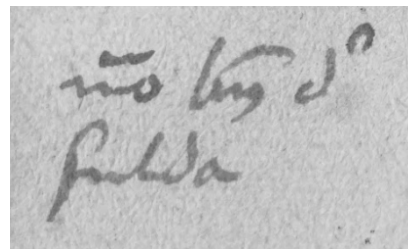


“nota de rege francie”

“Note on the French king”

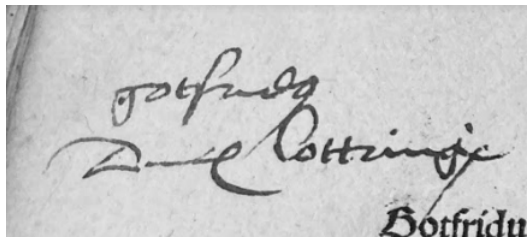
Marks a passage about the Frankish king Dagobert (603-639).

Fol. 72v A



“nota bene de Fulda”

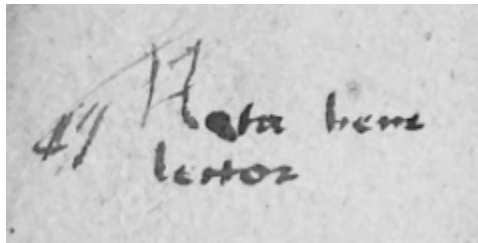
Fol. 73v A



“gotfridus dux Lottringie”

“Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia”

Fol. 73v C

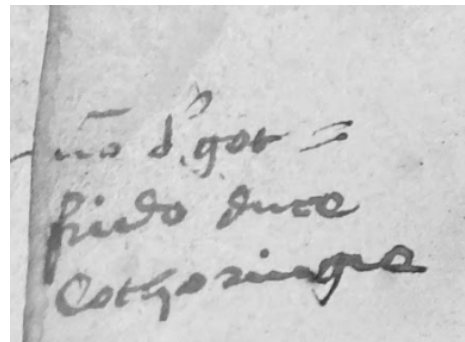


“Nota bene lector”

“Note well, reader”

Marks a passage discussing the life of Pope Alexander II (d. 1073), who cracked down on clerical simony and clerical marriage.

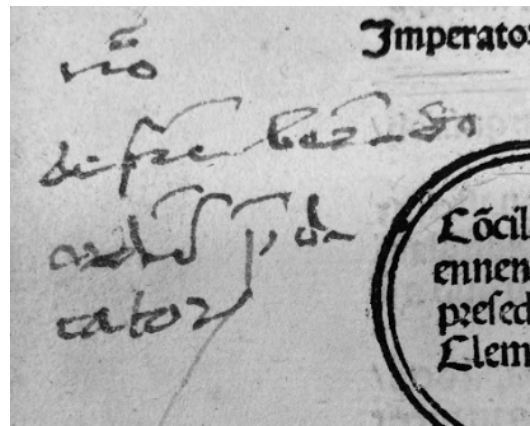
Fol. 74v A



“nota de gotfrido duce Lotharingie”

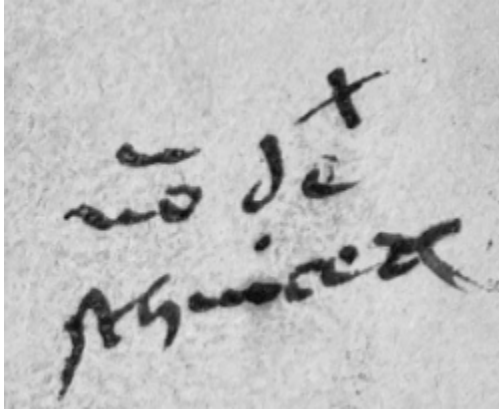
“note on Godfrey, duke Lotharingia”

Fol. 83v A



“Nota de fratre [Gerardo] ordinis
praedicatorum”

Fol. 84v A

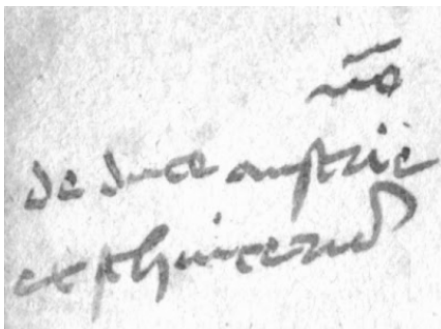


“nota de schuicere”

“note on Switzerland”

Marks a passage on the Battle of Laupen
(1339).

Fol. 87v?

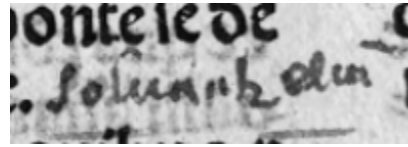


"nota de duce austrie et suicerud"

"note on duke of Austria and Switzerland"

Marks a passage on the Battle of Sempach
(1386), handwriting bears a strong
resemblance to fol. 84v A.

MM Fol. 8r B



Uncertain

Marks a passage on binding demons.

MM Fol. 25r C

Better photo needed

Uncertain, possibly German

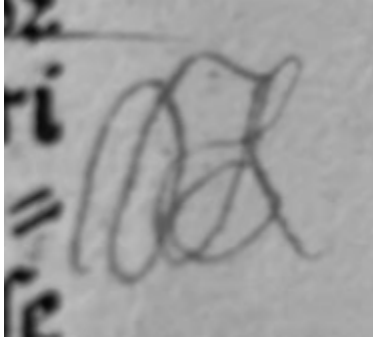
MM Fol. 31r C

No photo

“nota de Samuele” (Stecher, 2020)

I have no photo to check, but if this
really says Samuele instead of Samuel, it is
either in ablative or in an Italian dialect.

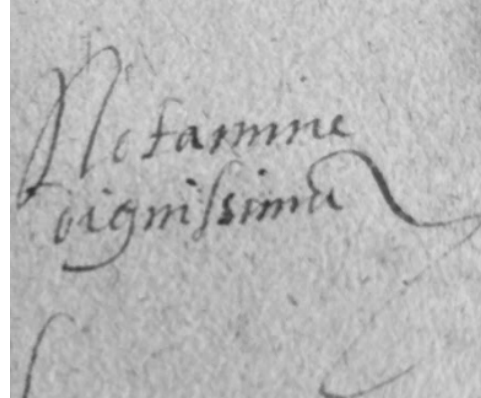
MM Fol. 31v C



“Nota”

This symbol, which is probably a large n for
“nota,” is included because it was unusual.

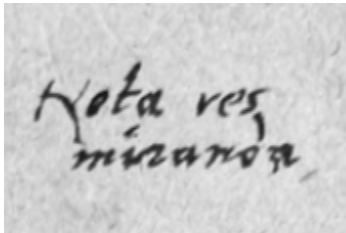
MM Fol. 68r A



"Notamine dignissima"

"of most worthy note"

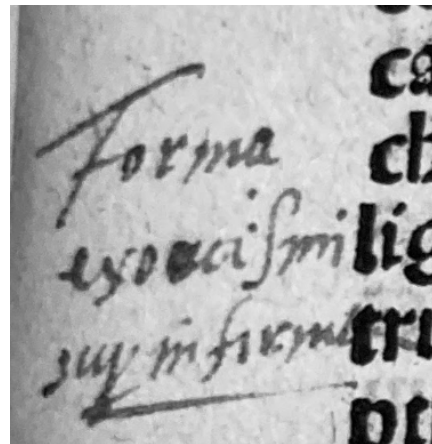
MM Fol. 51r A



“Nota res miranda”

“Note on a miraculous thing”

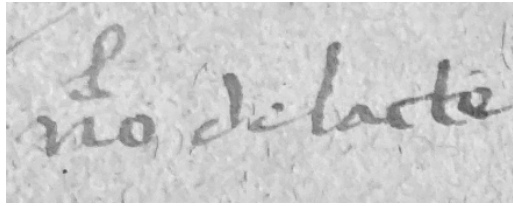
MM Fol. 69r A



"Forma exorcismi super infirmum"

“Rite of exorcism over the ill”

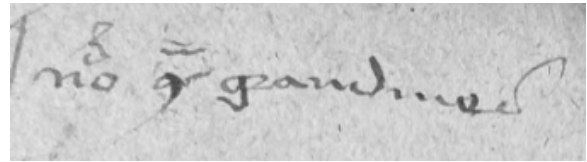
MM Fol. 71v A



“nota de lacte”

“note on milk”

MM Fol. 71v C



“nota contra grandines”

“note against hailstorms”

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