Historiography and Literature Review

Blessed is the Man Who Has a Virtuous Wife: A Historiographical Analysis of the *Malleus Maleficarum* and the Question of Gender

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Abstract

Ideas of the female witch permeated premodern society, and the printing press enabled further discussion with the relationship between women and witchcraft. The *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487) has been considered one of the most misogynistic texts concocted during the premodern era. However, the conventions implemented in the *Malleus Maleficarum* were common to early modern commentary about gender, and these conventions were not just shared in demonological and inquisitorial manual writing but across many other scholarly genres. While the *Malleus Maleficarum* can be considered misogynistic, the author Institoris was taking part in a larger discussion within the *Querelle des femmes* and consequently, the misogynistic tendencies reflected in his writing are not original, unique, or more misogynistic than other works of the period. A close examination of the *Malleus Maleficarum* and *Querelle des femmes* sources reveal a shared ideology preoccupied and troubled by inherent and virulent anxiety of women's nature, role, and place in society.

Keywords: Witch Hunts, Gender, *Malleus Maleficarum,* Historiography, Institoris, Presentism, Contextualism, Misogyny

Reseña de Historiografía y Literatura
Bienaventurado el hombre que tiene una esposa virtuosa: un análisis historiográfico del Malleus Maleficarum y la cuestión del género

Resumen

Las ideas de la bruja femenina impregnaron la sociedad premoderna, y la imprenta permitió una mayor discusión sobre la relación entre las mujeres y la brujería. El *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487) ha sido considerado uno de los textos más misóginos inventados durante la era premoderna. Sin embargo, las convenciones implementadas en el *Malleus Maleficarum* eran comunes a los primeros comentarios modernos sobre el género, y estas convenciones no solo se compartían en la escritura manual inquisitorial y demonológica, sino en muchos otros géneros académicos. Si bien el *Malleus Maleficarum* puede considerarse misógino, el autor Institoris estaba participando en una discusión más amplia dentro de *Querelle des femmes* y, en consecuencia, las tendencias misóginas reflejadas en su escritura no son originales, únicas o más misóginas que otras obras de la época. Un examen detallado de las fuentes M*alleus Maleficarum* y *Querelle des femmes* revela una ideología compartida preocupada y perturbada por la ansiedad inherente y virulenta de la naturaleza, el papel y el lugar de las mujeres en la sociedad.

Palabras clave: Caza de brujas, Género, Malleus Maleficarum, Historiografía, Institoris, Presentismo, Contextualismo, Misoginia

历史编纂学与综述
有贤妻的人是有福的：《女巫之锤》和性别问题的历史编纂学分析

摘要

女巫的概念弥漫在前现代社会，而印刷术使人们进一步讨论了妇女与巫术的关系。《女巫之锤》（1487）被认为是前现代时期杜撰的最厌恶女性的文本之一。不过，《女巫之锤》中实施的惯例在关于性别的早期现代评论文中很常见，并且这些惯例不仅出现在恶魔学和审问式的手稿中，还出现在许多其他学术流派。尽管《女巫之锤》能被认为是厌女的，但

作者Institoris当时正参与“妇女问题”（Querelle des femmes）内的更大讨论，因此，他的作品中反映的厌女倾向并非原创、独特、或者比那个时期的其他作品更厌恶女性。对《女巫之锤》和“妇女问题”资料进行仔细研究，揭示了一种共同的意识形态，这种意识形态被对女性本性、角色和社会地位的内在焦虑和恶性焦虑所占据和困扰。

关键词：猎巫，社会性别，《女巫之锤》，历史编纂学，Institoris，当下主义，情境主义，厌女症

European witch hunt studies have become an academic sub-field in early modern history—and one that generates passionate debate.[1] One controversial topic is the history and historiography of the *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487), a manual for witch hunters written by Henrich Kramer, known as Institoris (c. 1430–1505).[2] Since the 1970s, most researchers have viewed the *Malleus Maleficarum* as an authoritative text that exemplifies the collective misogyny of the early modern period. Ultimately, many scholars consider the *Malleus Maleficarum* to be responsible for initiating and fuelling the European witch hunts due to its level of misogyny. A few academics argue differently, suggesting that the *Malleus Maleficarum* was not the sole text fueling the witch hunts but rather was one among a larger body of treatises that helped create a widespread culture of misogyny that, in part, influenced the witch hunt throughout Europe. The conventions implemented in the *Malleus Maleficarum* were common to late medieval and early modern commentary about gender, and these conventions were not just shared in demonological and inquisitorial manual writing but across many other academic genres. While the *Malleus Maleficarum* can be considered misogynistic, it was not an isolated text. Views of women were expressed in a larger discussion referred to as the *Querelle des femmes* (Debate of the Sexes or The Women's Question). Consequently, the misogynistic tendencies reflected in Institoris' writing are not original, unique, or even unusually misogynistic for the period. A close examination of the *Malleus Maleficarum* alongside *Querelle des femmes* sources reveals an ideology preoccupied and troubled by inherent and virulent anxiety of women's nature, role, and status in society. This preoccupation fuelled both *Querelle des femmes* treatises and demonological and inquisitorial writings. Analyzing the *Malleus Maleficarum* in the context of *Querelle des femmes* sources shows how it belongs to the general gender discussions that were taking place in the premodern period.

This paper provides a review of contemporary secondary literature followed by a short biographical sketch of Institoris, and a detailed analysis of

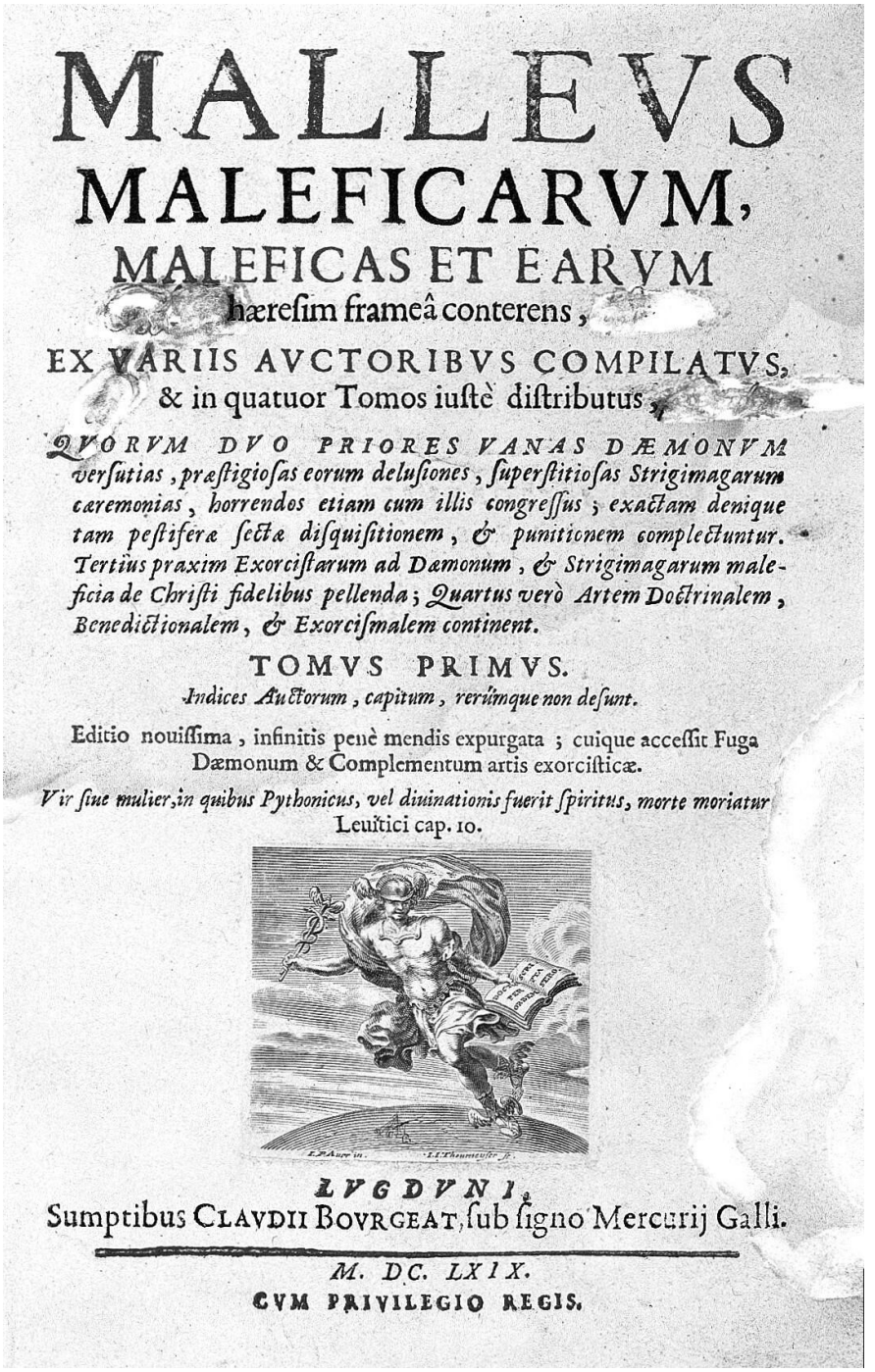
MALLEVS
MALEFICARVM,
MALEFICAS ET EARVM
hæresim frameâ conterens,
EX VARIIS AVCTORIBVS COMPILATVS,
& in quatuor Tomos iustè distributus,
QVORVM DVO PRIORES VANAS DÆMONVM versutias, præstigiosas eorum deluſiones, ſuperſtitioſas Strigimagarum cæremonias, horrendos etiam cum illis congreſſus; exactam denique tam peſtiferæ ſectæ diſquiſitionem, & punitionem complectuntur. Tertius praxim Exorciſtarum ad Dæmonum, & Strigimagarum maleficia de Chriſti fidelibus pellenda; Quartus verò Artem Doctrinalem, Benedictionalem, & Exorciſmalem continent.
TOMVS PRIMVS.
Indices Auctorum, capitum, rerúmque non deſunt.
Editio nouiſſima, infinitis penè mendis expurgata; cuique acceſſit Fuga Dæmonum & Complementum artis exorciſticæ.
Vir ſiue mulier, in quibus Pythonicus, vel diuinationis fuerit ſpiritus, morte moriatur Leuitici cap. 10.
LVGDVNI,
Sumptibus CLAVDII BOVRGEAT, ſub ſigno Mercurij Galli.
M. DC. LXIX.
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.

Image 1: Heinrich Institoris, *Mallevs maleficarvm, maleficas et earvm hæresim frameā conterens, ex variis avctoribvs compilatvs. Et in quatuor tomos iusté distributus, qvorvm dvo priores vanas dæmonvm versutias, præstigiosas eorum delusiones, superstitiosas strigimagarum cæremonias, horrendos etiam cum illis congressus; exactam denique tam pestiferæ.* Lvgdvni: Sumptivus Clavdii Bovregeat, 1669. https://wellcomecollection.org/works/sx8zyerz / CC BY 4.0. Public Domain.

Book One, Question Six of the *Malleus Maleficarum* titled, "There follows a discussion of sorceresses subordinating themselves to demons." To enable analysis of Question Six, the concepts of filthiness, debauchery, and deceitfulness have been identified as central themes. During the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, themes of filthiness, debauchery, and deceitfulness were thought to be characteristics of the female witch—therefore appropriate as the basis for analysis. These themes will then be compared to concepts found in a sample of *Querelle des femmes* sources from the seventeenth century in order to appreciate the similar misogynistic characteristics between demonological and *Querelle des femmes* writing. A comparison of these primary *Querelle des femmes* sources with the *Malleus Maleficarum* will reveal that misogynistic tendencies were not just found in the *Malleus Maleficarum* but found in many types of sources across the intellectual landscape of premodern Europe.

At any time, the female witch-archetype represents, evokes, and symbolises a myriad of emotions depending on who is interpreting it and in what time period. On the one hand, during the early modern era, the female witch represented a figure of terror and became the object of people's deepest fear.[3] The female witch was considered an obscene, diabolical, and seductive individual participating in immoral acts.[4] As powerful as the archetype was in the early modern period, the figure of the witch continues to evoke strong emotional responses in the modern era, although in very different ways. Second-wave feminists during the 1970s and 1980s viewed and interpreted the female witch, as an activist, a symbol of sexual liberation and power. [5] This image informed both academic interpretations and popular representations at that time. Since the second-wave feminist movement, Institoris and the *Malleus Maleficarum* have received a sinister reputation in popular culture. An example can be found with the documentary titled *The Burning Times*. The film *The Burning Times,* produced in 1990 by the Canadian Film Board and directed by Donna Reed, based its historical claims on feminist scholarship conducted prior to the 1990s. *The Burning Times* takes a critical perspective of the emergence of patriarchy and the misogynist perspectives within Christianity during the Renaissance. The film links these perspectives, but the evidence used to develop the documentary was carefully framed by feminist scholars to serve a political and social purpose. There are two main objections to *The Burning Times.* First, the documentary claims that the witch trials burned at the stake between two to nine million women.[6] While there were some variations in the estimates of witch hunt executions among scholars in the 1990s, the numbers were much lower than presented. It is certainly the case that the majority of the victims, around eighty percent, were women.[7] However, a typical estimate of the number of accused is around ninety thousand recorded witch hunt persecutions and around forty to sixty thousand deliberately tortured and executed by the authorities.[8] *The Burning Times* exaggerates and exploits the death toll varia-

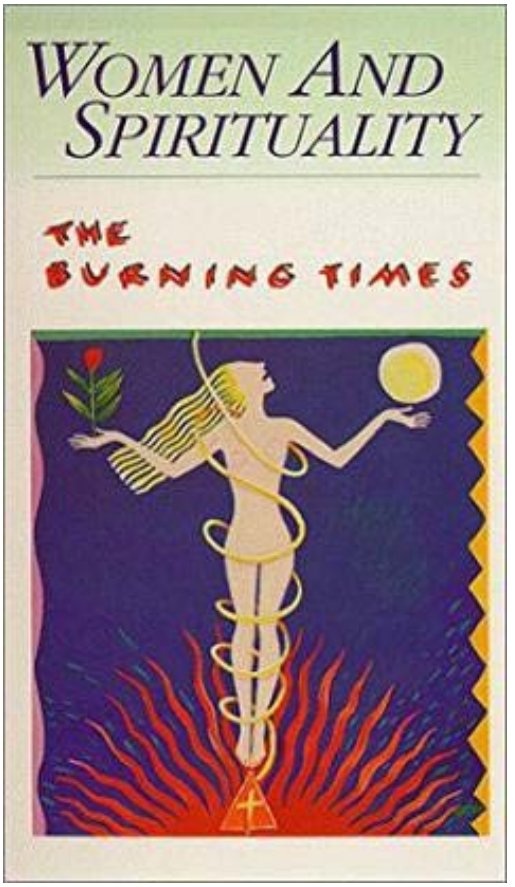

Image 2: Donna Reed, Cover Art of *The Burning Times.* Toronto, Canada: National Film Board-Studio D, 1990. https://www.nfb.ca/film/burning_times/download/. Public Domain.

tions by citing a small group of scholars who espoused the two to nine million figure and the claim that the witch hunts were a "women's holocaust."[9] Second, *The Burning Times* discusses the *Malleus Maleficarum* but does not adequately provide discussion of the text. The commentators in the documentary devote only one minute and twelve seconds to the text, and point out that the *Malleus Maleficarum* specifically focused on women and a "pure study of repression and projection…"[10] However, the commentators fail to recognize the context in which the treatise was written. Despite the success of the controversial film, the distribution of *The Burning Times* received criticism. Regardless, *The Burning Times* popularized a feminist perspective.

Feminist scholarship of the 1970s and 1980s highlighted witch hunt persecutions as a tool and instrument to create social change.[11] In *Feminism in the Study of Religion*, Darlene M. Juschka discusses the concerns of this generation of feminist scholars, arguing that they were often inspired by the political climate around them and motivated by a desire to disrupt the politics of the institutions in which they worked:

> These [feminist] women [during the 1970s and 1980s] did not merely want to add women as active cultural participants to existing fields of knowledge, they wished to challenge those cultural productions already in place. The cultural productions—the institutional and cultural narratives generated thus far that historically legitimated and defined human existence—were dominated by upper-class white men and prescribed the world according to how they perceived it.[12]

Juschka adds that one of the primary goals of feminist scholars during the latter half of the twentieth century was to be active participants, engaged citizens, and scholars with academic integrity.[13] With respect to witch hunt

studies, feminist scholars led historians to consider that the witch hunts were gendered and examine the persecutions as an attack on women.[14] In the eyes of some feminists, witch hunt research became a gender war, and this often meant that feminist writing about the witch hunts was politically and socially motivated.[15]

Moreover, feminist scholars in general exaggerated the emphasis on misogyny in the *Malleus Maleficarum* as a component the feminist interpretation of the witch hunts. One of the most well-known feminist works that argues that the witch hunts were gendered is a short pamphlet published in 1973 titled *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers* by Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English. English and Ehrenreich's interpretation is selective. They argue that the witch hunts were in fact an attack on women as healers and midwives, and that the *Malleus Maleficarum* as a text initiated a well-ordered campaign against women.[16] Ehrenreich and English state that the *Malleus Maleficarum* "was to Catholic and Protestant witch-hunters alike, the unquestioned authority on how to conduct a witch hunt [and that] … for three centuries this sadistic book lay on the bench of every judge, every witch hunter."[17] They note that the witch hunts were calculated to execute women:

> In fact, the witch-craze was neither a lynching party nor a mass suicide by hysterical women … Kramer and Sprenger gave detailed instructions about the use of tortures to force confessions and further accusations. Commonly, the accused was stripped naked and shaved of all her body hair, then subjected to thumb-screws and the rack, spikes and bone-crushing 'boots,' starvation and beatings. The point is obvious: The witch-craze did not arise spontaneously in the peasantry. It was a calculated ruling class campaign of terrorization.[18]

Ehrenreich and English's comment suggest that witch hunters were motivated to work together by using the *Malleus Maleficarum* as guide to torture and execute women. Ehrenreich and English exaggerate the importance of the *Malleus Maleficarum,* and they do this because the text provides an example of misogyny.

Other feminist scholars consider the *Malleus Maleficarum* as a text that fuelled the burning of nine million women. For example, in the 1974 monograph, *Women Hating*, Andrea Dworkin suggests that the *Malleus Maleficarum* emphasised feminine evil and that the text displayed frenzied and psychotic woman-hating, thus fuelling the burning of nine million women.[19] Dworkin comments that the *Malleus Maleficarum* demonstrated the power of the myth of feminine evil and reveals how it dominated the dynamics of a culture showing absolute anxiety that women, as carnal beings, hold for men.[20] The *Malleus Maleficarum* "had more currency then the Bible:"

> In the Dark Ages, few people read and books were hard to come by. Yet the *Malleus* was printed in numerous editions. It was found in every courtroom. It had been read by every judge, each of whom would know it chapter and verse. The *Malleus* had more currency than the Bible. It was theology, it was law. To disregard it, to challenge its authority was to commit heresy, a capital crime.[21]

Another example is seen in Mary Daly and her 1978 monograph *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*. Daly adds that because of the influence of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, female witches were clearly physically and mentally "mutilated and dismembered by their persecutors."[22] Daly points out that much of the literature on the witch hunts has been written from "a woman-executing viewpoint that discredits the victims of the persecution by portraying them as social failures, or even as perverts who enjoyed teasing their male inquisitors with their sexual fantasies."[23] Daly ultimately holds the *Malleus Maleficarum* responsible for the plight of the woman witch:

> It is well known that the witches were accused of sexual impurity. 'All witchcraft comes from carnal lust which is in women insatiable,' intoned the Dominican priests, Kramer and Sprenger, authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, which was brought out in 1485 and remined the most important catechism of demonology…[24]

Ehrenreich and English, Dworkin and Daly all consider the *Malleus Maleficarum* responsible for the witch hunts.

In the 1990s, women's and gender and family history scholarship proliferated. By this time, witch hunt research became a focal point in early modern studies. Continuing the feminist conversation, Ann Barstow explains that the witch craze phenomena had rarely been interpreted from a gender perspective by male historians.[25] In her 1994 monograph, *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts*, Barstow argues that the *Malleus Maleficarum* and its authors exploited the political climate of fifteenth-century Europe to propagate their power over society, and when their power was challenged, witchcraft accusations ensued.[26] In her analysis of the witch hunts in central Europe, Barstow provides a negative view of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Barstow suggests that the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* transformed and heightened the witch hunt persecutions within Europe and that women became targeted as a result.[27] Barstow comments:

> The transfer of attitudes and practices from heretics to witches is seen clearly in the work of Kramer … Defining witchcraft as treason against God, the authors described it primarily a female rebellion. Using stereotypes of women already familiar from the centuries of heresy hunting, they set out to demonize certain types of women … The document reeks with fear and hatred of women concluding

> with thanks to God who has so far preserved the male sex from so great a crime … The attitudes expressed in the *Malleus* explain how Germans justified wiping out a sizable portion of their female population…[28]

Barstow's comments are indicative of her overall feelings towards the *Malleus Maleficarum*. The comments made by Ehrenreich and English, Daly, Dworkin, and Barstow are constructed from a presentist perspective. They used history as a means in advancing second-wave feminist political and social agendas during a time where women were still considered second-class in many social arenas. Nevertheless, this paper does not reject the feminist research, perspectives, and reflections of these aforementioned feminist scholars. Instead, it acknowledges that the feminist writers contributed to the history of the witch hunts while simultaneously seeking out a new way to create a more accurate representation of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Laurel Zwissler notes that feminist witch hunt research was a gender struggle because often feminists reflected on the witch hunt persecutions as tragedies, and as a result, their perspectives were personally charged as compared to other scholars who were writing from a contextualist perspective.[29] This paper makes a distinction between second-wave feminist scholars of the 1970s and 1980s who used a presentist approach to that of female scholars who came later using a contextualist approach. Ultimately, feminist writers from the 1970s onward proliferated women's and gender and family history, which led to new ways of exploring issues of gender.

The work of Diane Purkiss in 1996 is a good example of how feminist scholarship continued to evolve. In the first chapter of Purkiss' book, "A Holocaust of One's Own," Purkiss states that radical feminists refuse to detach themselves from the past and in fact, "radical feminists make conventional historians uncomfortable because of their closeness to what [they are studying]."[30] Purkiss adds that male historians continually mention the fact that radical feminists use "almost no early modern texts except the *Malleus Maleficarum,* refusing to undertake any demonstration of the centrality of the *Malleus*."[31] Purkiss comments that radical feminist witch hunt histories remember the past according to myths, ideas, and political needs.[32] Purkiss notes that radical feminists had to demonstrate that the subjection of women from past to present were the same, and that feminists therefore had to erase the historicity of the past.[33]

Purkiss is essentially stating that feminist scholars of the witch hunts embraced presentism rather than contextualism. Historians and other scholars have debated the use of presentism as a theoretical approach to history. David Hackett Fischer, in his 1970 work *Historians' Fallacies: Towards a Logic of Historical Thought,* identifies presentism as a logical fallacy and describe it as a common failing in historical writing; he states that as a theoretical approach it usually arises by individuals not trained in history.[34] Presentism is anachronistic

because it introduces present-day ideas, perspectives and worldviews into depictions and interpretations of the past and presentism is often culturally and politically biased.[35] Additionally, presentism also ignites feelings of indignation. Purkiss suggests that feelings of indignation are highly valued by radical feminists; that is why feminist scholars are inflamed when commenting on the *Malleus Maleficarum*.[36] Purkiss adds that:

> There are many reasons for this, but one reason is the *Malleus's* ability to arouse strong feelings in the reader. Passages are quoted from it not for their centrality to witch-beliefs, but for their striking qualities … Radical feminist historians are not deluded into thinking that the *Malleus* is central (although they do write as if it is); their criteria are those of the storyteller, in search of the most striking illustration or anecdote.[37]

Purkiss' statement here is significant because she is essentially saying that radical feminists open themselves to academic criticism when they comment on the *Malleus Maleficarum* because they have a particular narrative that they want to expound.

Purkiss provides both a nuanced and thoughtful interpretation of witch hunt historiography.[38] Purkiss comments that male historians are not "especially misogynist," but rather gender has always been difficult to interpret in the past and that gender is always invisible "in a methodology that cannot take account of either supernatural causation or ideology."[39] Purkiss argues that there are other elements of the witch hunts that matter. Overall, Purkiss' book is unique because it offers criticisms of radical feminist interpretations of witchcraft beliefs and of how historians have responded to these feminist writers.[40] The approach Purkiss used was critical and irreplaceable for the time because up to this point most scholars in witch hunt studies had not made a comparison of these two schools of thought: radical feminism and witch hunt studies, making Purkiss' monograph essential in witch hunt history.

Another significant scholar who argues against using a presentist theoretical approach is Floyd Gray. Gray's monograph, *Gender, Rhetoric, and Print Culture in French Renaissance Writing* (2000) is particularly important. Gray's interest is in investigating the extent to which and ways that discussions of women, sexual difference, and gender identity reflected the rhetoric and prose style of sixteenth and seventeenth-century society rather than social reality.[41] Gray is careful to distinguish his method from the anachronistic practices of academics who ignore the cultural reality and the rhetorical practices in which sixteenth and seventeenth-century treatises were written.[42] Gray argues that the topic of women and literature in society has been studied extensively but usually considered in relation to contemporary feminism, and thus the interpretations of sixteenth and seventeenth-century treatises have been ideologically and emotionally charged.[43] Gray is con-

cerned with writing and reality and, in his words, "whether that reality is experiential or refracted through ideological constraints."[44] Gray's analysis is valuable because he provides a more accurate representation of gender, women and rhetoric in the premodern era than that of feminist scholars of the 1970s.

This paper draws on the insights developed by Purkiss and Floyd, with respect to how nuanced their research is compared to some feminist scholarship. What makes Purkiss and Floyd's research of interest is that while Purkiss approaches the history of the witch hunts from a contextual lens, Gray goes a step further and approaches the relationship of gender, women, and rhetoric. Both Purkiss and Floyd nuance their discussions by providing an intellectual response to feminist interpretations from a contextualist perspective. Purkiss and Floyd's research is significant because they remove anachronistic practices that are often culturally and politically biased.

It is useful to examine a contextualist approach to the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Some scholars who have written on the historiography of the *Malleus Maleficarum* and Institoris attempt to remove anachronistic practices and are good examples of the kind of analysis Purkiss and Gray advocate. Analyzing Institoris' misogynistic tendencies reveal a complicated history of motivations behind witch-hunting. For example, historians such as Walter Stephens doubt the notion that Institoris and other men were inherently misogynistic.[45] In his 2002 book entitled *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief,* Stephens challenges contemporary scholars by pointing out that the *Malleus Maleficarum* is not inherently misogynistic.[46] In a chapter titled "Why Women? *The Malleus Maleficarum*," Stephens explains that the apparently sexist and misogynistic comments throughout the *Malleus Maleficarum* were influenced by previous demonological and witchcraft treatises, which rarely provided discussions of male witches.[47] This is an important observation as it demonstrates that the *Malleus Maleficarum* was following an established convention that rarely cited male witches.

The historian Michael D. Bailey demonstrates that the views articulated in the *Malleus Maleficarum* had their own history. A premodern treatise that laid the foundation of female witchcraft is the *Formicarius* (1436) written by Johannes Nider (1380–1438), who was a Dominican theologian. The *Formicarius* as a treatise was an important development in the fifteenth century because it is the first treatise to explicitly associate women and witchcraft.[48] Bailey argues that the association of women and witchcraft was somewhat problematic because scholars could not understand how uneducated women could know enough to perform magic.[49] The solution was to emphasize the fact that the Devil exploited the weaknesses of women:

> Having already determined that the power of witches derived not from their own knowledge and skill but from their complete

> submission to the devil, authorities from Nider to Heinrich Institoris, author of the *Malleus*, then linked witchcraft to feminine spiritual weakness, and particularly to female susceptibly to the carnal temptations of the devil…[50]

Ultimately, the *Formicarius* contributed greatly as the primary inspiration for the *Malleus Maleficarum,* especially themes of women's weaknesses.

Stephens also believes that the problem around whether the *Malleus Maleficarum* is misogynistic or not, is the ambiguity of language.[51] He explains that ambiguity of language is caused because scholars do not do enough "close reading."[52] Most of the discussions within the *Malleus Maleficarum* are an amalgamation of extractions from earlier authoritative text it therefore becomes difficult to sometimes parse opinions of earlier authorities from those of Institoris himself. For this reason, reading the *Malleus Maleficarum* requires special attention and close reading.

Christopher S. Mackay is a leading scholar and most important translator of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. From his close reading of the *Malleus Maleficarum* he comments on the misogyny in the text:

> The *Malleus* has been characterized as a thoroughly misogynistic work, and (to borrow a mode of argument from scholasticism) this is true or not depending on what one means by misogyny. In the proper meaning of the term, it signifies a self-conscious literary attack on the female gender as a whole. This genre of literature is exemplified in the Greek poet Semonides' attack on women of the Sixth Satire of the Roman poet Juvenal. By this standard, the *Malleus* is not misogynistic in that even the main passage discussing what is taken to be the flawed nature of females is prefaced with an overt statement that the negative characterization of women as a group does not apply to all of them, and the work contains references to pious women who resist the allurements of sorcery or fall victim to it. Nonetheless, even if the *Malleus* is not misogynistic in a narrow sense, the work is clearly permeated with a hostile and negative view of women as a whole. Given the often negative characterization of women in both the Old and New Testament, it is not surprising that Christian thought of Antiquity and the Middle Age adopted a similar attitude.[53]

Mackay's comment on the misogyny in the *Malleus Maleficarum* is not isolated and that the treatise is "permeated with a hostile and negative view of women as a whole."[54] Mackay's comments here are not unique. However, Mackay's work is significant for two reasons. First, his translation of the *Malleus Maleficarum* is an authoritative, scholarly, thorough translation. Second, Mackay suggests that because misogyny or negative commentary on women is seen in the

works of Greek and Roman authors in Antiquity and because the *Malleus Maleficarum* was rooted in the scholastic tradition, as will be discussed later, the *Malleus Maleficarum* could be considered exempted from being uniquely misogynist. In fact, other historians make similar comments.

For example, early modern scholar Stuart Clark asked the question: "Did those who propounded and defended such [witchcraft and demonological] theories believe that they corresponded to reality?" [55] In his 1991 article entitled, "The 'Gendering' of Witchcraft in French Demonology: Misogyny or Polarity?" Clark argues that recent studies and explanations of gender issues in witchcraft have been satisfactory, but problems sometimes arise in how scholars form and structure their arguments if biased by their political, social, and gender ideologies.[56] Clark writes that the *Malleus Maleficarum* did have instances of "gratuitous misogyny," but on the whole premodern witchcraft literature lacked any persistent obsession for the subject.[57] Clark notes that the main reason that both modern-day academic and popular culture view demonologists as excessive in their anti-feminism is because individuals only read the relevant section of the *Malleus Maleficarum* and little to nothing else.[58] The most significant aspect of Clark's analysis is that he provides a discussion of *Querelle des femmes* to address the gender issue in witch-hunt and demonological studies but does not explicitly develop the discussion.[59] These misogynistic tendencies were summarized in the *Malleus Maleficarum*.[60] Ultimately, Clark comments that premodern misogyny was unoriginal and was entrenched in the premodern worldview.

While the *Malleus Maleficarum* is the most cited inquisitorial treatise from the early modern period because of its misogyny, themes of misogyny were already pervasive in premodern society. Pieter Spierenburg explains that the supposed increase of misogyny in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has not been demonstrated in secondary sources.[61] To Spierenburg, this idea of increased misogyny in the early modern era is unsupported:

> A general increase in misogyny around 1500 has not been demonstrated so far … The antifeminine cultural tradition is at least two thousand years older than witchcraft doctrine, and it is difficult to accept that this tradition would suddenly have led to witch persecutions between 1480 and 1680. Significantly, when Sprenger and Kramer discussed the inferiority of women, they were not looking for support from earlier authorities, as they had with other subjects. For them the point was simply self-evident.[62]

Spierenburg further questions the idea that witch persecutions were aimed at the female sex. He does agree with Christina Larner and others who argue that the witch hunts were sex-related but not sex-specific, but Spierenburg believes more rigorous research needs to be completed.[63] Misogyny did not

just appear in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century's misogyny was well-established in society.

Another important scholar is Tamar Herzig, who looks at the *Malleus Maleficarum* in the context of Institoris' other writings. She admits that the *Malleus Maleficarum* is the most misogynistic text published in the premodern era, but interprets Institoris' views of women in a very different manner than others. Herzig examines the fear of women's sexuality expressed by theologians and inquisitors in relation to their preoccupation with female mysticism.[64] Although it is an overlooked element of his work, Institoris himself discussed both female sexuality and mysticism.[65] Herzig argues that Institoris' preoccupation with female sexuality and female mysticism was fuelled by fascination rather than by anxiety, and that understanding the fundamental nature of women was Institoris' primary objective.[66] Herzig argues that Institoris attacked women's emotionality, but also venerated women who had authentic mystical experiences.[67] Herzig's research draws readers' attention to a different side of Institoris, which had not been examined previously in this way. Herzig adds that often scholars have dismissed the rhetorical aspect of Institoris' complaints of either good or evil women, and instead mistakenly consider his comments as statements of fact that Institoris endorsed.[68] She notes that other Dominican writers since the Late Middle Ages spent considerable time in conversation concerning women's piety and mysticism; when Institoris was writing and commenting on these religious concerns in the fifteenth century, he was responding to a long history of discussion(s). Institoris was not doing anything original or unique in this regard.

As this historiographical analysis demonstrates, witch hunt studies are challenging because they require historians to reflect on processes of gender. Not all, but some writers who attempt to analyze the *Malleus Maleficarum* conflate and confuse the prose and rhetorical strategies in the *Malleus Maleficarum* with their own "refracted ideological constraints."[69] In other words, if a historian or academic is motivated through a particular lens, that is, a feminist or a Marxist lens, then the approach to analyzing primary sources will be through that lens. While some scholars can tackle these concerns in a robust, thoughtful other academics approach the history of gender and exclusion from a more neutral perspective. Each of the scholars presented in this section challenge the ways that categories of gender are explained and discussed in intellectual culture; and the examination of gender has evolved. What sets these scholars apart from the second-wave feminists is that contemporary scholars approach the *Malleus Maleficarum* from a contextualist perspective, by looking at how Institoris wrote his text, what sources he cited, what he had in common with other writers of his time, and how the *Malleus Maleficarum* fits with his other works. The *Malleus Maleficarum* can be considered at the forefront of gender politics and gender discussions and discourse in early modern studies. Analysing the *Malleus Maleficarum*

and comparing the text to *Querelle des femmes* literature provides context and an explanation to why premodern society was so concerned with gender and social-cohesiveness.

The remainder of this paper will include a short biographical sketch of Institoris, followed by a comparison of the *Malleus Maleficarum* and *Querelle des femmes* sources specifically focusing on themes of filthiness, debauchery, and deceitfulness. Institoris had a lifelong interest in combating heresy, particularly the Hussites and Waldensians of Bohemia and Moravia.[70] There is little known of Institoris' education; what is known is that he attended the *collegium* of Schlettstadt, a significant centre for an advanced study where only a small number of students were accepted yearly. Institoris quickly gained notoriety for showing promise in theological studies and for being judicious, intelligent, and astute as he continued his studies.[71] His most significant appointment was when he was approved by Pope Sixtus IV (1414–1484) as Inquisitor of Heretical Depravity for Upper Germany.[72] Institoris had a close relationship with Pope Sixtus IV and a strong tie with the papacy, which continued with Innocent VIII (1432–1492).[73] The correspondence between Institoris and Sixtus attests to their fondness of one another. Institoris writes the following: "the generosity of Your Holiness … most kindly indulged in threefold gracious meetings … that I should write often."[74] In return, Pope Sixtus IV commended Institoris for his "zeal for religion, knowledge of letters, the integrity of life, constancy of faith, and other praiseworthy virtues and merits."[75] Institoris and Sixtus' friendship is seen in other minor appointments and financial gain.[76]

By the 1480s, Institoris was easily the most experienced inquisitor in Germany, and when he wrote the *Malleus Maleficarum,* he was in his fifties, an older man by early modern standards.[77] Institoris appears to have been widely disliked and received insults from some of his contemporaries. For example, Bishop Georg Gosler, a fellow senior inquisitor, stated that Institoris was "completely childish on account of his age."[78] Institoris evinced deep animosity in those he met, and his childlike behaviour seemed to be a permanent feature of his personality.[79] He was also considered belligerent and self-righteous, and demonstrated a refusal to compromise some of his views and opinions intersecting with religion and politics. Eventually, Institoris found himself facing imprisonment because he was unable to refrain from insulting the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, in a public forum.[80] Papal intervention was required to keep Institoris from imprisonment.[81] Institoris' overall demeanour impacted his ability to develop and sustain relationships with fellow inquisitors and theologians and his flamboyant character often meant that Institoris was alone, not only literally but also intellectually in terms of his ideas being endorsed by others.

Whilst throughout Institoris' early and mid-career he gained a strong reputation by his peers due to his closeness to the papacy, by the end of Institoris' life, however, his reputation

fragmented—so had Institoris' ideas. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries filthiness, debauchery and deceitfulness were themes in the literature and morality of premodern Europeans and not just themes seen in the *Malleus Maleficarum* and other inquisitorial manuals of the previous centuries. These themes reflected gender and moral values that encompassed deep expressions of attitudes towards women. Filthiness, debauchery, and deceitfulness are analyzed in the primary sources for a basis of comparison, beginning with analyzing the *Malleus Maleficarum* and questions six.

Institoris' reflections and commentary in the *Malleus Maleficarum* concerning women and their depravity was not new or surprising. In fact, Institoris was contributing to a long-established genre of intellectual thought. The *Malleus Maleficarum* as a text is the most quoted demonological and inquisitorial treatise from the early modern period; it is however, misunderstood. Most early modern intellectuals like Institoris were theologically trained. Additionally, like other theologians and inquisitors, Institoris was trained in the scholastic tradition which relied on citing earlier authorities to support their arguments and claims. The *Malleus Maleficarum* is structured using the scholastic method. When the *Malleus Maleficarum* was written in the 1480s higher learning was associated too both ecclesiastical and secular institutions and since the late medieval period scholasticism was the main mode of methodology.[82] Scholasticism was based on Aristotelian logic. The author using scholastic methodology provided contradictory statements to ancient and authoritative texts and then applying rules of logic to reveal their underlining agreement between those texts.[83] The *Malleus Maleficarum* is broken into three books following scholastic methodology. In his preface, Institoris writes that: "part one is about the three elements that co-operate to bring about sorcery, namely, the demon, the sorcerer and the permission of God. It contains eighteen questions, of which four are about the power of the demon, the rest about their works."[84]

The overall interest lies in section one, particularly with the infamous section, Question Six entitled, "why a larger number of sorcerers is found among the delicate female sex than among men; what sort of women are more often to be found to be superstitious and sorceresses." Institoris begins by asking whether and how sorceresses give themselves up entirely to demons.[85] Institoris argues that *maleficium* or wrongdoing is inherently a feminine crime and that females have more of a delicate constitution than men and, because of this, are more susceptible to such crimes.[86] Institoris writes that women's delicate constitution is a result of demonic interference: "In terms of the women, whether only those who are begotten as a result of such filthy acts are habitually visited by demons."[87] One of the filthy acts that Institoris comments on is that women participate in debauchery:

> AS FOR THE SECOND topic namely what sort of women are found to be more given to superstition and tainted with acts of

> sorcery than are the rest, it should be said, as has become clear from the preceding question, that because three general vices (lack of faith, ambition, and debauchery) are seen to hold sway among bad women in particular, those women who are devoted to these vices more than the rest engage in acts of sorcery more than do the rest. Again, since among these three vices the last is the predominant one, therefore, since this vice is insatiable and so on, even among ambitious women the ones that are more tainted are those who are more inflamed with the purpose of satisfying their base lustings, like a adulteresses, female fornicators and the concubines of powerful men.[88]

Institoris believes that debauchery is the predominant characteristic, motivated by women's insatiable sexual desires.[89] Institoris further notes that women kill the souls of men as well as their fleshly bodies because of their carnal debauchery:

> Again, she is 'more bitter than death' because death is natural and kills only the body, but the sin introduced by women kills the soul and the body by depraving it of Grace as a penalty for sin. Again, she is 'more bitter than death' because the death of the body is an open, fearsome enemy, but woman is a hidden, cajoling one, and for this reason she is more bitter and dangerous. She is called a snare of hunters, that is, of demons, because men are captured not merely through carnal desires as the sight and sound of them—since their face is a burning wind and their voice a serpent's hiss according to Bernard [*Poem of Exhortation to Rainald, The Manner of Living Well*]—but also through their affecting countless men and domestic animals with sorcery. Her heart is called 'bait,' that is, the imperceptible ill-will that holds sway in women's hearts. Their hands are chains for restraining. For when they set their hands to affecting a creature with sorcery, then with the co-operation of the Devil they bring about what they undertake.[90]

This statement is interesting because Institoris argues that women's hearts are ill-willed because of their debauchery, which then affects women's ability to restrain themselves from the Devil.

Institoris also believes that women's filthiness is a result from their debauchery. Institoris draws on a handful of scholars from the past to illustrate his point. A good example of how Institoris constructs his argument is demonstrated when he discusses women's filthiness and deceitfulness:

> Terence [Hecyra 312] says, 'Women are generally like children, possessing trivial views.' Lactantius says that a woman has never known philosophy except Themiste (Institutes 3[.25]). Proverbs II[:22] says as if des-

> cribing woman, 'a beautiful and foolish woman is a gold ring in a pig's nose.' There is a natural explanation, namely that she is more carnal than a man, as is clear in connection with many filthy carnal acts. These defects can also be noticed in the original shaping of women, since she was formed from a curved rib, that is, from the rib of the chest that is twisted and contrary, so to speak, to man. From this defect there also arises the fact that since she is an imperfect animal, she is always deceiving and for these reasons she is always deceptive. Cato says, 'she sets a trap with tears' [Distich 3.20], and it said, 'while a woman cries, she is striving to deceive her man.'[91]

The comment made by Institoris' that "women are an imperfect animal" is a reflection of the commonly-held belief of the time that women are defective by nature by going back to the Creation.

The defectiveness of women and themes of filthiness, debauchery and deceitfulness can be found in other premodern sources, particularly sources in the *Querelle des femmes.* In the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the question of women's nature, place, and role in society and the aforementioned themes became even more pronounced in the literature than previously. Within the *Querelle des femmes,* there was a re-popularization of these topics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[92] The *Querelle des femmes* as a genre of writing predate the *Malleus Maleficarum*. In fact, *Querelle des femmes* writing began in the late medieval period and many contemporary scholars, such as Lyndan Warner and Julie D. Campbell situate the genre in the scholastic tradition.[93] Warner comments that *Querelle des femmes* writers demonstrated the excellence of women by citing scriptures, histories of ancient Greece and Rome and examples of women from noble ranks.[94] Warner explains that *Querelle des femmes* as a genre of writing first began with Christine de Pisan (b. 1364) who argued against the negative descriptions of women within the *Roman de la Rose* (ca. 1230) authored by Guillaume de Lorris (1200–1238) and Jean de Meun (1250–1305).[95] Christine de Pisan's treatise *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) rebutted the negative discussions of women in the *Roman de la Rose* and other fifteenth century treatises authored by men.[96] Campbell comments that the *Roman de la Rose* and other premodern treatises "nourished scholastic misogyny in the [*Querelle des femmes*] debate."[97] Additionally, Campbell explains that after the publication of *The Book of the City of Ladies,* Christine de Pisan received both vocal supporters and opponents to her work, thus initiating a long established discussion of women's nature, place and role in society.

A more pertinent section of Warner and Campbell's monographs is their discussion of feminist perspectives of the *Querelle des femmes.* The terms of feminism and anti-feminism when applied to the premodern context are ultimately anachronistic but nevertheless, feminism and anti-fem-

inism are often applied to the opposing sides of the *Querelle des femmes*.[98] Warner comments that contemporary studies, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s became essential in assessing the place of women in early modern society; however, these studies fail to recognize the extent to which the *Querelle des femmes* imitated and borrowed from past scholarly authorities. Warner adds that "anti-women statements within the *Querelle des femmes* are sometimes misconstrued as strictly 'misogynist' if we fail to compare them with the numerous attacks on man's vices and the descriptions of the miserable human condition."[99] Campbell comments that current scholarship on the *Querelle des femmes* was in part shaped by feminist research during the 1970s and 1980s. Overall, such scholarship provides a better understanding of how *Querelle des femmes* writing evolved ideologically.[100] Ultimately, writers within the *Querelle des femmes* tradition were preoccupied with an impossible task; they tried to make sense of women's nature. Because society was in a state of flux, writers were bombarded with political, social, cultural, religious, and economic forces that were fundamentally out of their control.

The sources that are analysed in the remainder of the paper are treatises that are considered a part of the *Querelle des femmes* and showcase themes of filthiness, debauchery, and deceitfulness. Some of the sources are marriage advice manuals and bachelor advice manuals. One particular marriage advice manual of interest is a treatise authored by John Gough (1638–1706). Gough articulates his views of women in a subsection of his treatise titled, *The Academy of Complements* (1684). Gough in his subsection "A new School

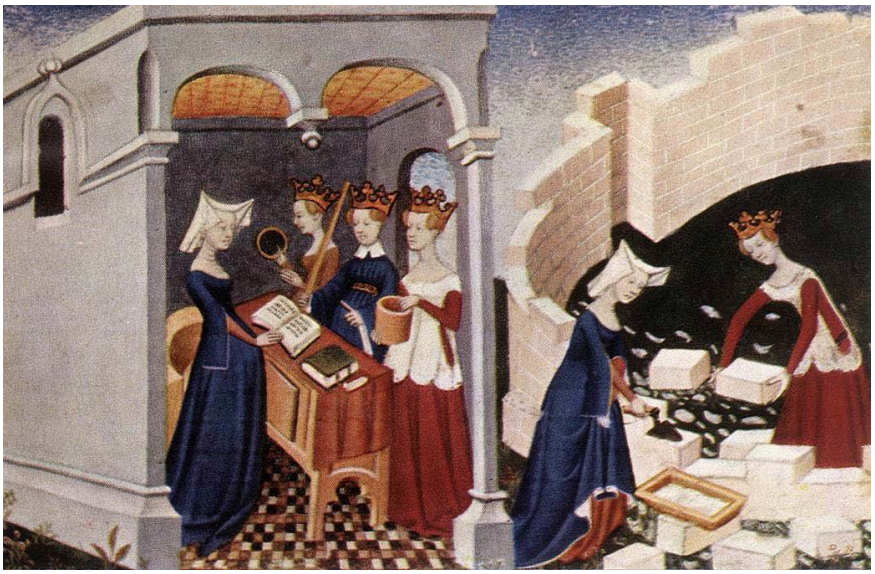

Image 3: Anonymous, *La Cité des Dames of Christine de Pisan.* Paris, France: Bibliothèque nationale de France. Public Domain

of Love, with Questions and Answers Resolving the Doubts of Lovers" makes a few comments that are of interest. Gough writes:

> Q. Where are women of best use?
>
> A. In *thalamo, in tumulo*: in the bed and in the tomb.
>
> Q. What waters of all others are most deceitful?
>
> A. A women's tears.[101]

Comparing Gough's comments to that of Institoris there is a similarity. For instance, when Gough asks the question of women's most deceitful quality, Gough answers that it is her tears. In the previous quotation from Institoris he also explains that women use crying as a form of deceitfulness. However, what makes Gough's comments more misogynist is that he states that women are only good for sexual intercourse and being dead. Joseph Swetnam (d. 1621) a notable English pamphleteer wrote a widely circulated pamphlet, titled *The Araignment of Lewde, Idle, Froward, and Vnconstant Women* (1615), and in this pamphlet makes comments that are similar to those of Gough. Swetnam writes:

> For women have a thousand ways to entice thee, and ten thousand ways to deceive thee, and all such fools as are suitors unto them, some they keep in hand with promises, and some they feed with flattery, and some they delay with dalliance, and some they please with kisses. They lay out the folds of their hair to entangle men into their love, betwixt their breasts is the vale of destruction, and in their beds is hell, sorrow and repentance … They are ungrateful, perjured, full of fraud, flouting and deceit, unconstant, waspish, toyish, light, sullen, proud, discourteous and cruel…[102]

Swetnam emphases women's filthiness, debauchery and deceitfulness. Another example is the work of Nicholas Breton (1545–1626), a prominent English writer who wrote a treatise entitled, *The Good and the Badde* (1615). In this treatise, Breton provides quite negative discussions on women as well. In the subsection titled "A Wanton Women," Breton writes:

> A wanton woman is the figure of imperfection; in nature an ape, in quality a wagtail, in countenance a witch, and in condition a kind of devil. Her beck is a net, her word a charm, her look an illusion, and her company a confusion. Her life is the play of idleness, her diet the excess of dainties, her love the change of vanities, and her exercise the invention of follies. Her pleasures are fancies, her studies fashions, her delight colours, and her wealth her clothes. Her care is to deceive, her comfort her company, her house is vanity, and her bed is ruin … In sum, she is a spice of madness, a spark of mischief, a touch of poison, and a fear of destruction.[103]

Breton seems to suggest that women deceive men by illusion and charms. Additionally, because of women's imperfection she is mischievous. This anti-woman sentiment is further articulated in Breton's following subsection, "An Unquiet Women." He writes:

> An unquiet woman is the misery of man, whose demeanour is not to be described but in extremities. Her voice is the screeching of an owl, her eye the poison of a cockatrice, her hand the claw of a crocodile, and her heart a cabinet of horror. She is the grief of Nature, the wound of wit, the trouble of reason, and the abuse of time. Her pride is unsupportable, her anger unquenchable, her will unsatiable, and her malice unmatchable. She fears no colours, she cares for no counsel, she spares no persons, nor respects any time. Her command is must, her reason will, her resolution shall, and her satisfaction so. She looks at no law and thinks of no lord, admits no command and keeps no good order. She is a cross but not of Christ, and a word but not of grace; a creature but not of wisdom, and a servant but not of God. In sum, she is the seed of trouble, the fruit of travail, the taste of bitterness, and the digestion of death.[104]

Breton's views of women's inferiority were not any different then views held by Gough and Swetnam.

This is just a small sample, but it illustrates how views of women's inferiority were exemplified in early modern writings. Negative views of women informed the female-witch archetype, which plays an active role in both popular and intellectual culture imagination. The witch acts for some as a symbol of anxiety and to others as a symbol of power, as exemplified in both premodern and contemporary academic literature. For feminist writers the witch was moulded and maneuvered in order to tell a story that fitted certain political and cultural paradigms and as such the witch was a symbol that threatened the long-established view of patriarchy. Even scholars who do not use a feminist lens acknowledge that the witch hunts were sex-related.[105] To many scholars, the female witch was a scapegoat for the ills of society and that the witch functioned and was abused as a tool, an instrument used by those in authority to control society—as social cohesiveness was paramount in premodern Europe.

The comments made by Gough, Swetnam, and Breton are not entirely different from comments made by Institoris centuries earlier. European gender and social discourse in the sixteenth and seventeenth century centered *Querelle des femmes* writing around women's vices and virtues. This paper focused on women's vices. Comments made by many of the writers in *Querelle des femmes* during this period of time reflect this concern with women's nature, role, and place in society. Institoris and other writers used rhetoric to illustrate women's inferiority to man and filthiness, debauchery, and de-

ceitfulness were themes present in premodern scholarship. When comparing the *Malleus Maleficarum* to *Querelle des femmes* writing, readers discover that the attitudes towards women displayed in the *Malleus Maleficarum* are found in other writings. Works authored specifically by Gough, Swetnam and Breton showcase negative sentiment towards women. However, the *Malleus Maleficarum* is not more derogatory or misogynistic than these aforementioned *Querelle des femmes* sources that this paper analyzed.

That is not to say that the *Malleus Maleficarum* is not misogynistic, rather, needs to be positioned within a broader body of literature that also reflected misogynistic perspectives and worldviews. Floyd Gray's monograph, *Gender, Rhetoric, and Print Culture in French Renaissance Writing* proved invaluable to this paper. Gray's analysis demonstrates the importance of using intertextuality when analyzing premodern sources. Rhetoric became the mechanism in which Institoris, and other premodern intellectuals used to articulate their views of women. What Institoris was doing in the *Malleus Maleficarum* was not unique or original for the period. Institoris comments of women were part of an already long-established discussion in premodern society.

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Notes

1 The quotation in the title, "Blessed is the man who has a virtuous wife" comes from Question Six of the *Malleus Maleficarum* when Institoris cites Ecclesiasticus 26:1. Christopher S. Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum: Volume II: The English Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 115. I want to express my sincere thanks to my professor and honours advisor, Dr. Yvonne Petry, for her constant mentorship, kindness, guidance, support, and patience during the sometimes-frustrating stretches I experienced while researching and writing this paper.

2 I use Christopher S. Mackay's complete edited translation of the *Malleus Maleficarum* as a primary text in this paper. Also, I use the latinized name of Henrich Kramer, In-

stitoris, which was what he went by when he authored texts. Additionally, it had previously been thought that Institoris and Jacob Sprenger were co-authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, but this view is no longer held by historians.

3 Stephen T. Asma, *On Monsters: An Unnatural History of Our Worst Fears* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 107-108.

4 Ibid.

5 Serap Y. Arsal and Seda Yavuz, "The Portrait of the 'Scapegoat Woman' as Witch," *Synergies Turquie*, no. 7 (2014): 167.

6 Pamela A. Rogers, "Aesthetic Learning: An Exploration of a Radical Aesthetic in Feminist Documentary Film," (Master's thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1996), 51. See also, Donna Reed (director), *The Burning Times* (Montreal: National Film Board-Studio D, 1990), 56:15 minutes. Accessed November 14, 2021. https://riseuparchive.wpengine.com/culture/films/the-burning-times/?highlight=the%20burning%20times.

7 Christina Larner, *Witchcraft and Religion: The Politics of Popular Belief* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1987), 84-85; Julian Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2016), 27; Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*. 4th edition (New York: Routledge Taylor-Francis Group, 2016), 20-21; Marko Nenonen and Raisa Maria Toivo, *Writing Witch-Hunt Histories, Challenging the Paradigm* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1.

8 Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt*, 27; Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 20-21; Nenonen and Toivo, *Writing Witch-Hunt Histories, Challenging the Paradigm*, 1.

9 Rogers, "Aesthetic Learning," 51.

10 Donna Reed (director), *The Burning Times,* 49:22 minutes.

11 Dawn Currie, and Hamida Kazi, "Academic Feminism and the Process of De-Radicalization: Re-Examining the Issues," *Feminist Review* 25 (Spring, 1987), 77; Christina Sommers, "Should the Academy Support Academic Feminism?" *Public Affairs Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (July 1988): 97-120.

12 Darlene M, Juschka, ed., *Feminism in the Study of Religion: A Reader* (New York: Continuum Publishers, 2001), 38-39.

13 Juschka, ed., *Feminism in the Study of Religion,* 38-39.

14 Claudia Opitz-Belakhal, "Witchcraft Studies from the Perspective of Women's and Gender History: A Report on Recent Research," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 4, no. 1 (Summer, 2009), 90-99; Karen Offen, "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach," *Signs* 14, no. 1 (Autumn, 1988): 119-157; Sherry Sabbarwal, "The Changing Face of Feminism: Dilemmas of the Feminist Academic," *Sociological Bulletin* 49, no. 2 (2000): 267-277.

15 Laurel Zwissler, "*Memorium Maleficarum*: Feminist and Pagan Mobilizations of the Burning Times," in *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft* edited by Laura Kounine and Michael Ostling (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 255. A common problem with feminist research undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s on the witch hunts is that it was often derivative. Feminist writers relied on secondary sources rather than investigating primary sources. By using the conclusions of other researchers about primary sources, feminist writers opened themselves to criticism from the historian community on grounds of their work not being original. Barstow noted that the current trend among some feminists was that there had been three, six, or even ten million female victims during the European witch hunts. However, she notes that this is "sheer fantasy." Ann Barstow, "On Studying Witchcraft as Women's History: A Historiography of the European Witch Persecutions," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 4, no. 2 (Fall, 1988), 7, n1.

16 Barbra Ehrenreich and Deidre English, *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1973), 1-10.

17 Ibid., 9.

18 Ibid., 10.

19 Andrea Dworkin, *Women Hating* (New York: Penguin Books, 1974), 136.

20 Ibid., 136.

21 Ibid., 128-129.

22 Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978), 136.

23 Daly, *Gyn/Ecology,* 136, 213.

24 Ibid., 136, 180.

25 Barstow, "On Studying Witchcraft as Women's History," 7.

26 Ann Barstow, like most scholars at this time, assumed that Institoris and Sprenger were co-authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum.* Ann Barstow, *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts* (New York: Pandora, 1994), 62.

27 Barstow, *Witchcraze,* 62.

28 Ibid.

29 Zwissler, "*Memorium Maleficarum*," 250.

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31 Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, 11.

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34 David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Towards a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1970), 135-137.

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36 Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, 11.

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42 Gray, *Gender, Rhetoric, and Print Culture in French Renaissance Writing,* 1-2.

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49 Bailey, "From Sorcery to Witchcraft," 987-988.

50 Ibid., 988.

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