

THE APPEARANCE OF WITCHCRAFT

Print and visual culture in
sixteenth-century Europe

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WITCHES' CAULDRONS AND WOMEN'S BODIES

In 1516 an anonymous artist, probably from Hans Baldung's Strasbourg workshop, produced a woodcut which gave expression to that close association between witchcraft and female sexuality forged by Baldung and his fellow artists in the early years of the sixteenth century (fig. 3.1). It was an image that came to represent witchcraft to a broad public more than any other and would continue to influence artists throughout the century. This rather crude woodcut of a group of three women positioned around a belching cauldron in a site strewn with bones and overseen by a male figure in a tree was first published by the Strasbourg printer, Johann Grüninger. Grüninger used it in both editions of the 1509 sermons of the Strasbourg cathedral preacher Geiler of Kaysersberg, collected by the Franciscan Johann Pauli and published under the title *Die Emeis* (*The Ants*) in 1516 and 1517.¹ Grüninger chose the woodcut again a few years later in his 1519 edition of Hieronymus Braunschweig's *Book of Distillation*, this time to illustrate the relationship between melancholy and witchcraft.² And when Johann's son, Bartholomäus Grüninger, wished to illustrate a group of stories about magic and sorcery in what was to become one of the most popular German works of the sixteenth century, a collection of moral tales written by Johann Pauli and published under the title of *Schimpf und Ernst* (*Humour and Seriousness*), Bartholomäus again made use of the woodcut. He included it in both the illustrated Strasbourg editions of 1533 and 1538, even though the woodcut had no relationship to the stories in the text.³ By the time Matthias Apianus included it in his 1542 and 1543 Bern editions of *Humour and Seriousness*,⁴ the woodcut had become one of the most widely recognized images of witchcraft among the German book-buying public.

The woodcut accompanied one of Geiler's sermons on the illusions or fantasies of witchcraft and specifically illustrated the story found immediately below the woodcut in the text. This told of a Wild Ride by the woman shown seated on the stool in the woodcut.⁵ Geiler's text was actually based on a story from an earlier fifteenth-century collection, *The Ant Colony*, by the Dominican theologian Johann Nider.⁶ According to both Geiler and Nider this woman was deluded and had attempted to prove to a priest that she really could travel out at night with her fellow witches. The story tells how she did this. When night came she sat astride a kneading trough which had been placed on a bench, smeared herself with oil, uttered the appropriate words and fell into a trance. Then, the text informs us, she imagined that she was travelling and felt so much pleasure that she 'thrashed around with her arms and legs'. Her actions were so violent that the trough fell off the bench, and she fell down and injured her head.

The artist has incorporated the stool found in a number of images of witchcraft and

Von den Ketten und vnholden



Figure 3.1 Baldung workshop (?), *Three Female Witches on a Night Ride*, woodcut, in Johann Geiler of Kaysersberg, *Die Emeis*, Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1517, fol. 37^v. HAB, Wolfenbüttel [457.2 Theol. 2° (5)].

the Wild Ride in this period (figs 2.1, 3.1, 3.2, and 4.14) as the bench on which the woman rides her kneading trough. Her frenzied movements are represented by the blurred linework between thigh and arm, while the manner in which her dress is hitched up to her thighs is strongly suggestive that this is a sexual ride. The artist seems to have picked up the suggestions of masturbation in the text, which plays on sexual innuendo to describe the delusions of a woman who thinks she is night riding, but has actually fallen into a trance. The word used to communicate her imagination or illusion, *wont* (from *wähnen*, *Wahn*), seems also to allude to her ecstasy or pleasure (from *wohnen*, *Wonne*). This is supported by the description that the inner pleasure she felt ('het semliche Freud inwendig') resulted in a frenetic thrashing of her arms and legs. In Nider's original story a similar allusion is made, by claiming that the woman's trance or dream originated with the lady Venus.⁷

There is no way of knowing the basis for the particular choice of words by Johann Pauli for the activity of witches in sermons he had heard about eight years earlier. They may have been based on his notes, but they may also have been influenced by the close relationship between witchcraft and sexuality which had been so often displayed in the visual representations produced by his fellow Strasbourg resident, Hans Baldung Grien, over those years. The woodcutter, however, seems to have taken up and expanded Baldung's particular emphasis. The ride of the central woman is one in which she is physically and symbolically linked with two other women who accompany her. These women

are naked and hold up vessels that allude both to the flaming vessels of Venus and the cauldrons of witchcraft. The composition has clearly been influenced by Baldung's work, but it is now adapted to the Geiler/Pauli narrative. Even the strange banner held by the woman on the kneading trough serves to corroborate the sexual nature of her Wild Ride. A codpiece or pair of hose tied to it merge with the wings of a bird-like demon.⁸ Similar banners with codpieces feature in one of Peter Flötner's satirical attacks on the Roman church's processions a few years later.⁹ Both probably allude to 'the struggle over the pants' and 'the stealing of the codpiece', common metaphors in early sixteenth-century Germany for gender conflict. The theme is well illustrated in an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem, for instance, which also features a bird-demon similar to that in the 1516 woodcut.¹⁰ A woman holding a distaff is shown preventing a man from picking up a codpiece from the ground by grasping his wrist and stepping on his foot. Her distaff is raised as though in victory and her hair streams out behind her, while the young man's skirt divides to reveal his genitals. And in a 1533 woodcut by Erhard Schön, *The Prize of the Devout Woman*, a woman is depicted driving her man forward as a beast of burden after she has robbed him of his sword, purse and codpiece – the accoutrements of his male power.¹¹ Just as these prints represent statements about the appropriation of sexual dominance by women, the raising of the pants provides a similar statement about the dangers of female sexuality. Witchcraft in these images represents an attempt by women to free themselves from male mastery and to appropriate the sexual power on which that mastery rests.

The main purpose of Geiler's sermon was to demonstrate that the claims of witchcraft were nothing but diabolical illusion and delusion. For this reason he added to the story of the woman's night ride the better-known story of a Wild Ride from the life of St Germain.¹² The artist incorporated the theme of diabolical illusion by creating what is almost a frame for the central composition. As I discuss in Chapter 8, the male figure up the tree with the crutch was probably an allusion to Saturn, the god-planet identified with the Saturnine or melancholic temperament and known as providing entry for diabolical fantasies into the human imagination. This Saturn figure served to present the scene as the product of diabolical fantasy. And for those who could read Geiler's text, the theme of delusion would have sounded loud and clear: after referring to diabolical delusion in the St Germain story, Geiler goes on to tell of the diabolical delusions in the transformation of the Trojan war hero Diomedes and his comrades into swans, a story taken from Augustine's *The City of God*.¹³

My interest in this chapter is not the artist's framing of the central scene, but the central scene itself. The group of three women gathered around a number of cauldrons – an image that clearly derived from Baldung but achieved widest circulation in this form – soon acquired iconic status as a visual code for witchcraft. This is clear in the adoption of key elements from the scene once the woodblock stopped being used by printers after the early 1540s. A woodcut clearly modelled on it appeared as a titlepage in three publications later in the century: in a news-sheet of 1571 written by a Catholic priest, Reinhard Lutz, from the town of Sélestat in Alsace; in a new German translation of Molitor's work by Conrad Lautenbach, published in Strasbourg in 1575; and in a short treatise by Paulus Frisius, *The Devil's Hoodwink*, published in Frankfurt in 1583 (fig. 3.2).¹⁴ The central scene of the woodcut in Frisius' work, which features a clothed woman on a stool in a site strewn with bones, demonstrates an obvious link with the Geiler woodcut of 1516, even if one of the vessels has been brought to ground and

Deß Teuffels Nebelkappen/
Das ist:
Kurzer Begriff/ den
ganzen handel von der Zauberey
belangend / zusammen gelesen.
Durch
PAVLVM FRISIVM NAGOL-
danum, der H. Schrifft Studenten.



Gedruckt zu Frankfurt am Meyn/ Anno 1583.

Figure 3.2 *Witches around a Cauldron*, titlepage woodcut, in Paulus Frisius, *Deß Teuffels Nebelkappen*, Frankfurt a.M.: Wendel Humm, 1583. HAB, Wolfenbüttel [A: 243.9 Quod.].

operates more conventionally like a cauldron. The reptile head suggests a horrible brew is being cooked up and is to include something from the mouth of the dead child. Unlike the linked hands of the women in the 1516 woodcut, the clothed woman points to the cauldron, making it the focal point of the scene. And the bird-demon overhead has been excised, creating space for the image of a naked witch riding a goat through the sky, and holding its horn in the manner of the early images of Dürer and Altdorfer (figs 1.12 and 1.13). The figure in the tree has also lost his crutch now, suggesting that the very particular iconographical meanings of the original have been lost on this later artist.

A third version of the same subject, but with important iconographical variations, served as the titlepage woodcut to part one of the second German edition of Johann Weyer's *On the Tricks of Demons* (*De Praestigiis Daemonum*), published in Frankfurt in 1566 and translated by Johann Fuglinus (fig. 4.15).¹⁵ The woodcut was then included in the German translations of 1575 and 1586. In 1582 it was again used as a titlepage, this time in a pamphlet published in Frankfurt by the Marburg lawyer Abraham Saur, which told of the execution of a woman convicted of witchcraft in Marburg in the same year (fig. 3.3).¹⁶ In this version the belching cauldron sits on a fire, stirred by an older witch with sagging breasts. The narrative links to Geiler's story have largely disappeared, creating a more generalized image of witchcraft. The clothed night-rider has become naked, now largely indistinguishable from her companion, her banner reduced to a cooking stick. She looks out at the viewer to emphasize the print's moral and didactic purpose. Only a bonnet and scarf survive, traces of her role in the earlier narrative; even the stool has been turned at an angle, so as to lose its earlier visual prominence and connection to the night ride. The witch riding the goat has now been foregrounded and is more closely integrated into the image; while the removal of the hand gesture by the male in the tree reduces him to little more than a decorative feature, used to create compositional balance.

The various pots or vessels in the different versions and copies of this frequently reproduced image constitute the central element in one of the dominant visual codes created for witchcraft in the sixteenth century: a group of women shown gathered around a cauldron. As we have already seen in Chapter 1, the cauldron first achieved prominence in the Molitor woodcut series, which Baldung so successfully adapted in his programmatic woodcut of 1510. The question I want to pursue in this chapter is how and why the cauldron achieved such popularity and longevity in witchcraft representation through the rest of the sixteenth century. My suggestion is that, while drawing on a range of meanings from different cultural practices and discourses, the cauldron primarily served to identify the witch as female. It linked witchcraft to the female roles associated with the hearth, the preparation and distribution of food, the more general nurturing of society. And since food exchange was commonly associated with sexual exchange in visual culture, the cauldron of witchcraft could also be linked to vessels that served as symbols for the seething carnality and sexual power of women's bodies – to the flaming torches of Venus, for instance, or to the chaotic power locked in Pandora's box. Artists adopted the cauldron as a key element in the visual coding of witchcraft, I argue, both to create a link between witchcraft and female labour and to emphasize the relationship between witchcraft and the carnal lust of women's bodies. This chapter aims to explore how such associations were established through a range of images and media.

The cauldron, as a sign of the physically destructive activity of witchcraft and the morally destructive seduction of sexuality, was graphically represented by two images and their accompanying verses in *The Exorcism of Fools* (*Narrenbeschwörung*), a work of the pre-Reformation pamphleteer, Thomas Murner.¹⁷ Murner was a Franciscan theologian and a prominent member of that group of lay and clerical reformers in Strasbourg who argued for the need of moral reform throughout German societies in the three decades before the Reformation of the 1520s. *The Exorcism of Fools* picked up on the themes of *The Ship of Fools*, a far more famous work first published in 1494 by Murner's colleague and Strasbourg secretary, Sebastian Brant. Brant had drawn notice to the fundamental moral and spiritual crisis in his society and used the traditional figure of the



Figure 3.3 *Witches around a Cauldron*, titlepage woodcut, in Abraham Saur, *Ein kurtze treuwe Warnung Anzeige und Underricht*, Frankfurt a.M.: Christoph Rab, 1582. Courtesy of the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

carnival fool to communicate the moral disorder he identified as its root cause. Murner argued in turn that the folly Brant identified was synonymous with sin and had to be consciously eradicated from his society. Many of the woodcuts from the first edition of Murner's work, published in Strasbourg in 1512, were simply reproductions of those in Brant's work of 1494.

In the second edition of *The Exorcism of Fools*, however, published in Strasbourg in 1518, the 1512 woodcuts for chapters 46 ('Ein hagel siedent' – 'On cooking up a hailstorm') and 47 ('Das hefelin zu setzen' – 'On putting the cauldron on the fire') – were replaced by images drawing on the new iconography of witchcraft and far more closely related to the content of Murner's text.¹⁸ Chapter 46 now included a woodcut of an old witch in a fool's cap stirring a cauldron on a fire, the purpose of which was the hailstorm shown breaking above (fig. 3.4). The text described the revenge harboured by these women who destroy wine, corn and fruit, and their blindness to the tricks of the devil, who allows them to imagine that the destruction is the result of their own power.¹⁹ The very next chapter, however, provided a quite different meaning for 'putting the cauldron on the fire'. The woodcut depicted a younger woman, but in similar dress and fool's cap, before a similar cauldron; and opposite her a young male fool, legs apart, arms raised and shoulders thrown back, as though to accentuate the artist's suggestion of an erection (fig. 3.5). The woodcut was clearly the artist's representation of Murner's text: 'when the



Figure 3.4 A Woman in a Fool's Cap Cooking up a Hailstorm, woodcut, in Thomas Murner, *Narrenbeschweurung*, Strasbourg: Johannes Knobloch, 1518, fol. M2^r. Permission The British Library, London.



Figure 3.5 A Woman in a Fool's Cap Setting a Cauldron on the Fire, woodcut, in Thomas Murner, *Narrenbeschweurung*, Strasbourg: Johannes Knobloch, 1518, fol. M3^v. Permission The British Library, London.

pot is on the fire, sleep becomes scarce; then there is no respite nor rest, and one only attends to the pot boiling on the fire.²⁰ The analogies Murner was drawing on were well known from contemporary discourse: those bound and chained by the bonds of Venus are transformed into fools who become slaves to their brutish senses.²¹ The cauldron alluded to the desires of sexuality, desires stimulated by women to bring about the subjection or subordination of men.

It was these two different, yet related, meanings of the cauldron, as physically destructive and sexually emasculating that many early sixteenth-century images of witchcraft drew on. While it has been commonplace for historians to associate cauldrons with the activity of the Sabbath, at which witches produced poisons to wreak destruction on their communities, such a reading restricts the cultural meanings of the cauldron to those provided by learned demonologists. Artists drew on a much broader range of symbolic meaning and association. Murner's image, for instance, probably alluded to contemporary use of the German word for pot or cauldron, *Hafen* or *Häffelin*, for the vagina. The association was not just limited to language, but also related to communal practices. On the feast of St. John in southern Germany, for instance, unmarried women would hang from the eaves of their houses small pots filled with rose petals, with a burning candle inside. The pot symbolized the vagina and so the hanging of these pots at mid-summer marked a



Figure 3.6 Sebald Beham, *Two Fools*, c. 1536–40, engraving. From TIB, vol. 15, p. 112, fig. 213–I (206).

woman's sexual fertility and availability.²² It is not surprising, therefore, that the pot, vase or vessel was frequently used pictorially to represent female sexuality, most graphically and obviously so in a small engraving of *Two Fools* by Sebald Beham, in which a phallic stick held by the male fool is matched by the vessel held by the female (fig. 3.6).²³

Murner's cauldron might also have been read as an allusion to Pandora's box, a vessel which, when opened, revealed the evil lusts of women – a theme revived with the publication of Erasmus' *Adages* in 1508 and then widely used by Murner's fellow moralists and playwrights in the early sixteenth century.²⁴ Until the powerful rendition of the story in a drawing of c. 1536 by Giovanni Battista di Jacopo, better known as Rosso Fiorentino, the 'box' was usually represented as a vase or jar. In Rosso Fiorentino's drawing, the evils released from the box held by the elegant and half naked figure of the goddess Pandora, represented the seven deadly sins in graphic human form.²⁵ But by the 1540s, amongst German writers such as Leonard Culman, Philipp Melanchthon and Hans Sachs, the evils released upon humanity from the box or 'vessel' were identified with the vice of lust or, even more specifically, with female lust.²⁶ 'Where the servants of Venus gather together', says Satan in one of Culman's plays, 'there the box is accepted'.²⁷ Certainly by the time that the third and fourth editions of Murner's *Exorcism of Fools* were published by Georg Wickram in Strasbourg in 1556 and 1558, with the same woodcuts accompanying chapters 46 and 47 as in 1518, the link between the belching cauldron of witchcraft and the flaming torches of Venus would have been well established. The cauldron had served to identify the witch as a figure who threatened not only human production and reproduction by unleashing destructive forces upon the world of nature; she also threatened the moral and social order by stoking the fires of lust.

Associations between the cauldron, Pandora's box, Venus' torch and the female bodies of witches were first suggested, as we have seen, by Hans Baldung Grien. In the Albertina drawing of 1514 (fig. 1.2), billows of smoke from both the cauldron and a flaming vessel work together with the movement of the witches' hair to communicate a

sense of the trance-like nature of the women's experience. In the Louvre drawing of the same year (fig. 1.3), fiery vapours of smoke escape from the lower body of one of the women; while in a copy of this drawing by Urs Graf (fig. 3.7), the vessel representing the cauldron seems to be heated by these vapours. And like the older woman in Baldung's 1510 woodcut who lights her torch from the genitals of the goat (fig. 1.1), this woman lights a taper from the gaseous fire that emanates from her own body. In this way magical powers are closely linked to the body; and widely held views concerning the power of women's wombs and genitals are given novel and graphic expression.²⁸

Another representation of witches' bodies as cauldrons is found in an anonymous drawing of 1514 clearly influenced by Baldung (fig. 3.8).²⁹ In this witches' meeting, the fiery gas or smoke that shrouds much of the scene originates from the lower bodies of two of the witches. Together with the unruly, flying hair and the trumpet blown to warn of imminent conflict, the gas belching from the women's bodies conveys a sense of terrible power and impending destruction. The cauldron has been virtually replaced by gaseous female bodies, and the focal point has become the riding witch, borne up on the turbulent movement below. The drawing underlines the view that it was the female bodies that gave these women their power and propelled them through the air on their cooking sticks or goats. And the fact that at least three other copies of this scene have survived suggests that such ideas aroused considerable contemporary interest in the early sixteenth century.³⁰

The medieval legend of Virgil, the Roman poet and also magician or necromancer who became infatuated with a Roman emperor's daughter, provides one of the most important links between depictions of witches' cauldrons and of female bodies inflamed with sexual desire.³¹ The legend was well known by the late Middle Ages and was also frequently illustrated. It told how the emperor's daughter tricked and ridiculed the poet, and then how he exacted a humiliating revenge. First the woman agreed that Virgil could visit her and at night she pulled him up to her window in a basket; but then she left him suspended half way up the wall, where he became an object of public ridicule for the people below. This scene was frequently depicted from the fourteenth century, and came to be linked with other images illustrating 'the power of women' – as seen in the left hand border of the title-page woodcut of a 1531 edition of Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods* (fig. 3.9).³² From the late fifteenth century, artists also began to focus on the woman's duplicity and the revenge Virgil exacted as punishment for her deceit. By virtue of his legendary magical powers Virgil had all the fires in the city of Rome extinguished, except the fire in the young woman's vagina. She was consequently forced to expose herself in the marketplace, so that all the inhabitants of Rome could come to her and light their individual torches, for the torches could not be lit from each other. This terrible event was usually depicted as an experience of deep shame for the woman.³³ But when Urs Graf illustrated the scene in 1519, he established a new interpretation for sixteenth-century artists: the woman now became a prostitute, her sexual lust signified by her loose flying hair and the fiery smoke belching from her lower body, as she bared her genitals to the crowds below. And the scene became immensely popular. Graf's version featured in six different printed editions over a dozen years; and a copy of it, as represented in the 1531 Boccaccio titlepage (fig. 3.9), appeared at least 10 times in the same period.³⁴ For Virgil's story represented the powers women were understood to have over men by virtue of their sexual seduction; and it offered a perfect analogue to contemporary images of witches as women driven by the flames of their lust. Graf had of course learnt to depict witches in this way when he copied

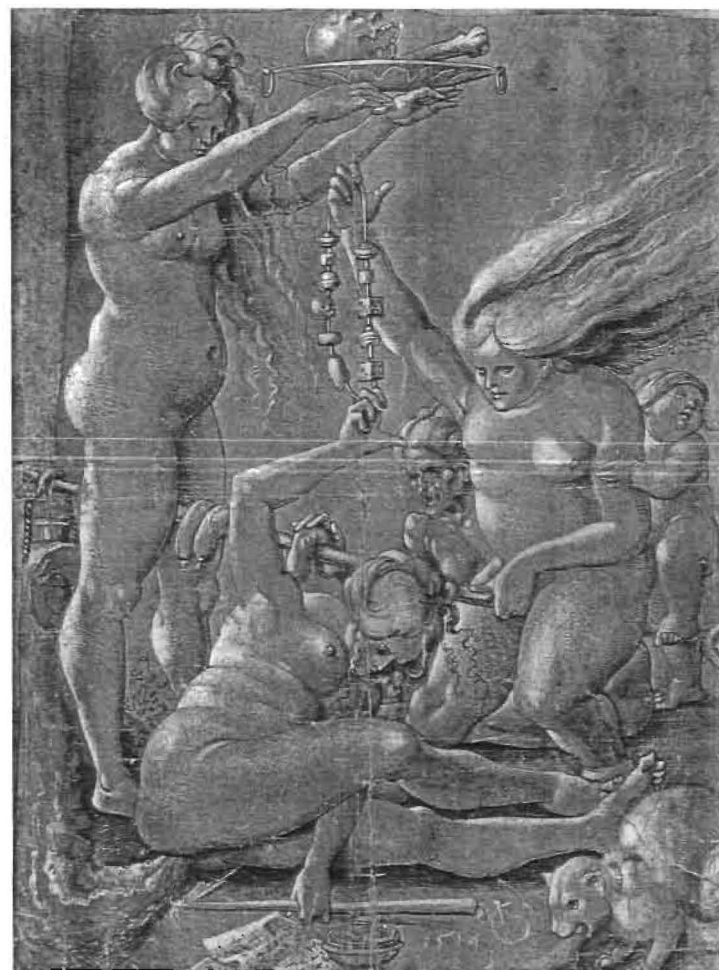


Figure 3.7 Urs Graf, copy of Hans Baldung Grien, *A Group of Witches*, c. 1514, pen and ink, heightened with white on green-tinted paper. Albertina, Vienna

Baldung's Louvre drawing in 1514 (fig. 3.7). He embraced Baldung's meaning that witchcraft was not limited to physical destruction and spiritual apostasy; at its core was the sexual seduction of women's bodies.

The sexual power latent within the body of the witch was given extraordinary expression in the most sexually explicit of Baldung's works: a chiaroscuro drawing of 1515 usually entitled *Witch and Dragon* (fig. 3.10).³⁵ Although the precise details of intercourse between witch and dragon remain unclear, there is little doubt Baldung is alluding to cunnilingus. It has been claimed that the dragon is releasing a fiery jet into



Figure 3.8 After Hans Baldung Grien, *A Group of Five Witches and their Fiery Vapour*, 1514, pen drawing on grey-tinted paper, heightened with white. Previously Comtesse Béhague, Paris; now privately owned. From Carl Koch, *Die Zeichnungen Hans Baldung Griens*, Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1941, fig. A17.

the woman's vagina. But the witch's pose and the action of the putto holding open the jaws of the lolling dragon, suggest that the woman is the protagonist, firing a jet of gas into the beast's mouth, which then billows out of its tail. She is in the dominant sexual position, her hips swivelling in tandem with her downward thrust of a vine-like rope into the ear-like orifice of the dragon's tail. Baldung is playing with the ambiguities of bodily orifices and vapours. Devils were of course known to act both as male incubi and female

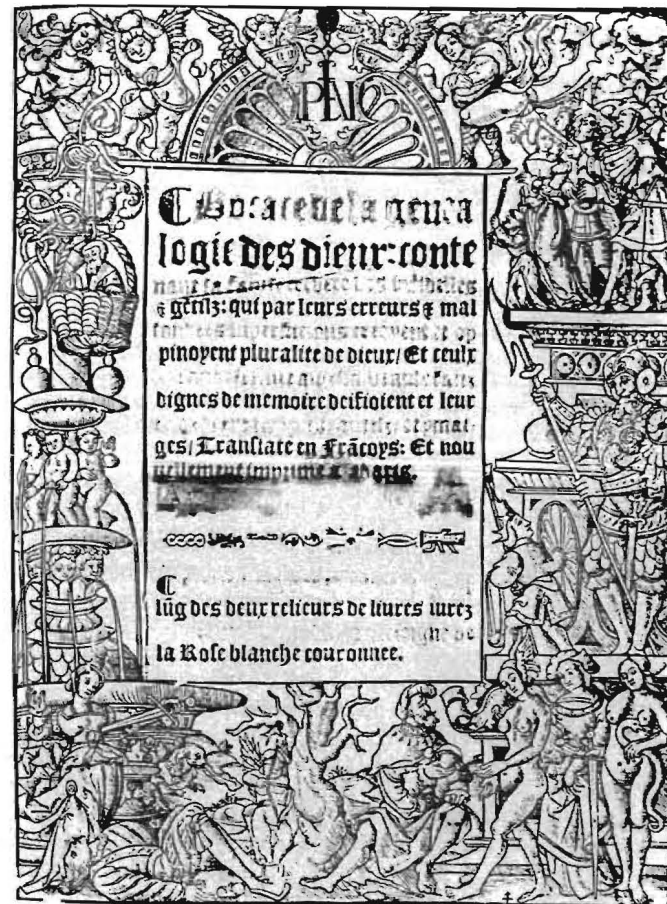


Figure 3.9 *The Power of Women*, titlepage woodcut, in Giovanni Boccaccio, *De la généalogie des dieux*, Paris: Philippe le Noir, 1531. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Douce ss.453.

succubi, and in that way gained the capacity to sexually engage both genders. By association, witches were also sexually ambivalent. While they were female, they were also masters of their own sexuality, appropriating masculine roles and agency to themselves. Baldung's drawing is a pornographic representation of the diabolical and bestial basis of witchcraft, and his depiction of sexual intercourse and exchange underlines the centrality of the body of the witch.

Such drawings clearly need to be related to the new market for erotica in the sixteenth century.³⁶ As with other genre scenes such as those of the bathhouse, for instance, scenes of witchcraft responded to male fascination with female sensuality, and in particular, a



Figure 3.10 Hans Baldung Grien, *Witch and Dragon*, 1515, pen drawing on brown-tinted paper, heightened with white. Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe.

sensuality free of male authority. Baldung created such a scene in a 1514 chiaroscuro drawing of three witches, which has survived in a workshop copy (fig. 3.11).³⁷ The inscription indicates this was a New Year's card, although the intended recipients are unknown. Traditionally it was thought they were clerics, the 'Corcapen' a reference to canons of an ecclesiastical chapter. But the grammar of the inscription has always been puzzling, and a recent reading suggests it was more likely to be a private card, addressed to a woman with the dog-Latin nickname, 'the heart capturer'.³⁸ Witchcraft has been reduced here to a representation of female bodies. The wild hair of the women clearly identifies them as witches, as does the flaming vessel, which links them to the fiery lusts of Venus. There are no signs of maleficence; and even Baldung's forest settings have been



Figure 3.11 Hans Baldung Grien (copy?), *Three Witches*, 1514, pen drawing on red-brown tinted paper, heightened with white. Albertina, Vienna.

abandoned, with only the hint of a pitched roof. There is just an entanglement of female bodies and limbs, a wild and erotic display. The unnaturally high angle of the right leg of the woman holding the fiery vessel, resting on the hip of her older companion, inevitably draws the viewer's attention to both their genitals, as does her shielding hand. She is key player in the artist's game of hide and seek. The woman below them, crouched on hands and legs, displays her genitals in more seductive fashion: she spreads her legs and locks them in her upside down gaze, drawing in the viewer's gaze with hers. If Baldung's figure was meant to allude to the German proverb that when one looks through one's legs one sees the devil, he has cleverly turned the meaning around, so as also to include the gaze of the seduced viewer.³⁹

Witchcraft as a power linked to the sexed bodies of female witches also finds expression in Baldung's only panel painting devoted to the subject, *The Weather Witches* of 1523 (fig. 3.12).⁴⁰ As in almost all of Baldung's witch images, female bodies dominate the canvas. They are identified as the source of disorder in nature by Baldung's depiction of the hair which flies out in contradictory directions, fanned by the sulphurous clouds that presumably result from the women's evil. But flying hair, as we have already seen, commonly represents the unbridled lust of women. This is reinforced by the standing woman's cross-legged stance, a common visual cue for immorality in the sixteenth century.⁴¹ The fiery torch in this image is the cauldron. It dispels its vapours into the red and sulphur yellow of the turbulent sky, held up by a putto who possibly represents a demonic offspring. Baldung uses this cupid-like figure to uncover the seated woman's genitals, at the same moment as she uncovers, ever so furtively, the presence of the goat.⁴² Again sexuality and the devil are identified as the sources of these women's power. But the devil is largely a shrouded presence, as the partially revealed goat and also as a small demon held captive in the flask held up by the seated woman.⁴³ It is the strong and assertive poses of these women, the eroticism of their bodies, directed out to the viewer, which convey the centrality of sexual desire and seduction in Baldung's perception of witchcraft. And this is echoed by the flaming torch and the wild environment of billowing sulphurous clouds.

Flaming vessels and bodies are also prominent in other drawings clearly influenced by Baldung. There is a pen and ink sketch from the early 1520s, in which an older naked witch, identifiable by her wild hair, cooking stick and flaming vessel, approaches a young and beautiful woman reclining on a couch in the manner of a Venus or one of Cranach's reclining nymphs (fig. 3.13).⁴⁴ The reclining woman may be a witch, but she may also be the potential victim. In a chiaroscuro drawing by the Monogrammist HF, another contemporary artist influenced by Baldung and who is probably Hans Frank of Basel, a more unusual cauldron appears (fig. 3.14).⁴⁵ Here it is made of straw, and, as Linda Hults has suggested, looks like the end of an inverted distaff. The flames spewing from the straw cauldron could be another allusion to Venus' torch; but here they are also linked to physical death and destruction, signified by the human skull held up for display by the witch lying on the ground. The physical destruction wrought by witchcraft is graphically embodied in the emaciated figure of the standing witch with distended breasts and a child tied to her back by her hair. This figure may have been inspired by Baldung's image of Atropos, one of the three fates in his woodcut of 1513, about to cut the thread of life (fig. 5.2). She is clearly menopausal, a representation of anti-nurture, bearing what is presumably a dead child. Below her are the others who cross the borders of the living and the dead through their rituals of necromantic witchcraft, two of them already in a trance on the ground surrounded by the paraphernalia of their craft, the mirror, brush, spindle and a pan with the markings of a magic circle, all clearly coded female. They extend the image of tangled female bodies and poses, limbs, breasts and buttocks, all ungainly and contorted, with the feet wrapped awkwardly and unnaturally around the horizontal cooking stick. But it is the witches' hair with its fantastic highlights that breaks the smooth contours of these bodies and links them not only to each other, but also to the straw, flames, frizzy goat and skull, by means of endlessly gyrating curls and whirls. These are wild bodies, uncontrolled, destructive and bestial, as are the acts of witchcraft.

Some fundamental features of this new visual language of witchcraft, developed by Baldung, Altdorfer, Dürer, Graf and Hans Frank, had taken clear shape by the third



Figure 3.12 Hans Baldung Grien, *The Weather Witches*, 1523, panel painting. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt a.M. Photo: Ursula Edelmann.



Figure 3.13 *Reclining Woman Approached by an Old Witch*, c. 1520, pen drawing. Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg.



Figure 3.14 Monogrammist HF (Hans Frank?), *Four Witches*, 1515, pen drawing on grey-tinted paper, heightened with white. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. © Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 2007.

decade of the sixteenth century. They were established first among a narrow artistic elite who had access to the drawings discussed above; and they had also begun to circulate more widely among a book-buying and book-reading public for whom woodblocks were produced and prints recycled in various editions of popular works such as Geiler's sermons or Pauli's book of popular tales. One widely accepted visual code was the cauldron, around which groups of women would gather. Closely related was the cooking stick, the instrument used by women to assist them in the preparation and distribution of food and drink. And then there was wild hair, that disruptive, disconcerting part of the witch's body which connected her to the wild and to the bestial, which linked her body to the fiery torch and belching cauldron, and which hinted at the turbulent gaseous state beneath the smooth surfaces of her skin. The argument of this chapter has been that the keen interest in witchcraft by visual artists, in the first half of the sixteenth century at least, rested on a fascination with the sexual and nurturing qualities of women's bodies. These bodies were imaged as seething cauldrons with the power both to sustain life and to wreak terrible destruction; they were bodies that could arouse desire as they could bring spiritual death. It would be quite limiting to see them simply, or even primarily, as instilling fear;⁴⁶ they were meant to stimulate fascination and wonder, as well as attraction and desire. While there is little doubt that their primary imagined viewer was figured as male, we cannot exclude consideration of the responses of female viewers to such scenes, as the new reading of Baldung's 1514 New Year's card (fig. 3.11) suggests we need to do. Witchcraft became a significant imaginative site in which different fantasies about the social power and especially the sexual power of women's bodies could be explored.

Such exploration is evident in a number of prints that are often described as scenes of witchcraft, although such a designation is quite uncertain. Dürer's 1497 engraving, entitled either *The Four Witches* or *Four Naked Women* (fig. 3.15), is primarily an image of interaction between women's bodies, a presentation of secret women's business; but precisely what kind of business remains far from clear.⁴⁷ The key may well be the mysterious letters 'O.G.H.', inscribed on a sphere that hangs from the ceiling together with the year of the print's composition. Most scholars have recognized the presence of evil in this gathering of naked women, and many, from as early as Joachim von Sandrart in 1675, have identified the scene as one of witchcraft. The skull and bone positioned at the women's feet warns of evil, sin, destruction and death, and the monstrous devil surrounded by flames and smoke in the doorway at left, underscores this reading. But the evil relates to the women's bodies. The screening effect of their backs and the unexpected positioning of their hands imply some kind of sexual intimacy; and the upturned eyes of the woman on the right suggest sexual arousal. If the scene is indeed one of witchcraft, it is witchcraft figured as sexual transgression. Dürer's print clearly struck a chord amongst contemporary artists, for it was copied four times within the next few years.⁴⁸ The brothers Sebald and Barthel Beham also reworked it in more explicitly erotic fashion in an engraving, *Death and the Three Nude Women* (fig. 3.16).⁴⁹ Here the figure of Death caresses the hair of a voluptuous woman, while the hand of her companion reaches out to her genitals. Hands and arms create an erotic fluidity and charge between the four figures, and the foot of the central woman resting on a skull conveys the sense of foreboding and evil. Another Nuremberg engraver, Ludwig Krug, also took up the theme, if not composition, in his *Two Nude Women* (fig. 3.17).⁵⁰ The curious interlocking of the women's arms in this print makes it clear that the subject is one of sexual

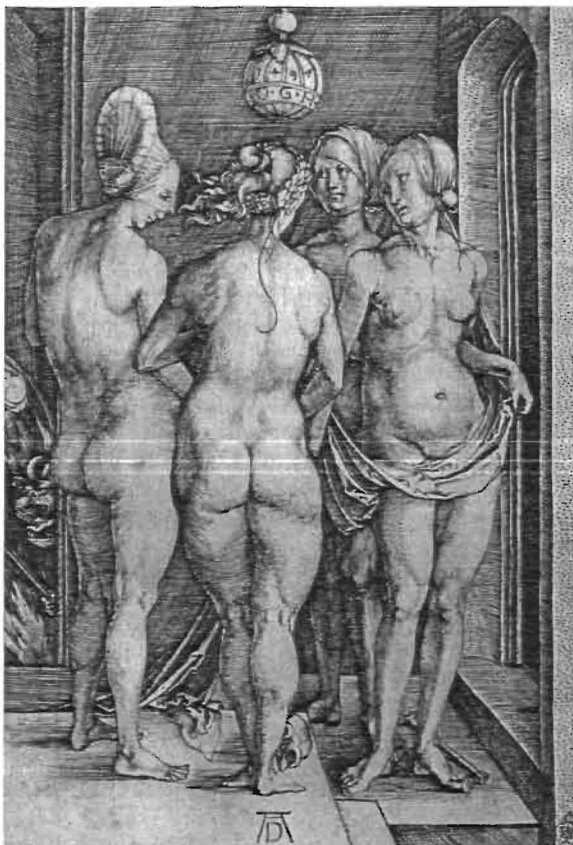


Figure 3.15 Albrecht Dürer, *The Four Witches*, 1497, engraving. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Felton Bequest, 1956.

transgression, while an hourglass has been added to the skull to emphasize the mortality and vanity of the sensible world as well as the spiritual death which it brings.

Visual evidence of a broad social acceptance of the association between witchcraft and the sexuality of women's bodies in the first half of the sixteenth century appears in a carnival image which has gone unnoticed by historians. It occurs in one of the so-called *Schembart* books, hand-written and illustrated records of the Nuremberg *Schembart* or pre-Lenten carnival, which included a procession through the streets of the city with dancers, runners, mummers and a central float called a *Hölle* (hell). In one of these picture books from the mid-sixteenth century there is an illustration of the float that featured in the procession of 1520 (fig. 3.18).⁵¹ In the float, described as 'a summer house', are four figures. A fool wearing a red, yellow and blue costume, and recognizable by the bell on his cap and his bauble seems about to strike a Turk dressed in a red



Figure 3.16 Barthel Beham, *Death and the Three Nude Women*, engraving, c. 1525-7. British Museum, London. © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum.

costume and white turban. At the other end of the float is a raging green bear-like figure, clearly a devil; and in the middle a naked woman, immediately recognizable as a witch by her wild hair and cooking stick. We simply do not know whether the image was a faithful depiction of the original costumes worn by the mummers, and any such speculation is complicated by the fact that the textual description of the contents of the summerhouse varies from manuscript to manuscript. But in a number of sixteenth-century illustrations the woman appears naked. In one case she is even depicted with longer hair and has her arms outstretched rather than holding a cooking stick; and in another she is very similar to the witch in fig. 3.18.⁵² Given that the earliest dating for these manuscripts is 1539, the year the *Schembart* was permanently banned in the city, the figures may well represent backward projections of how the witch was thought to have appeared. Even so, it remains significant that from approximately mid-century, artists who had to imagine a

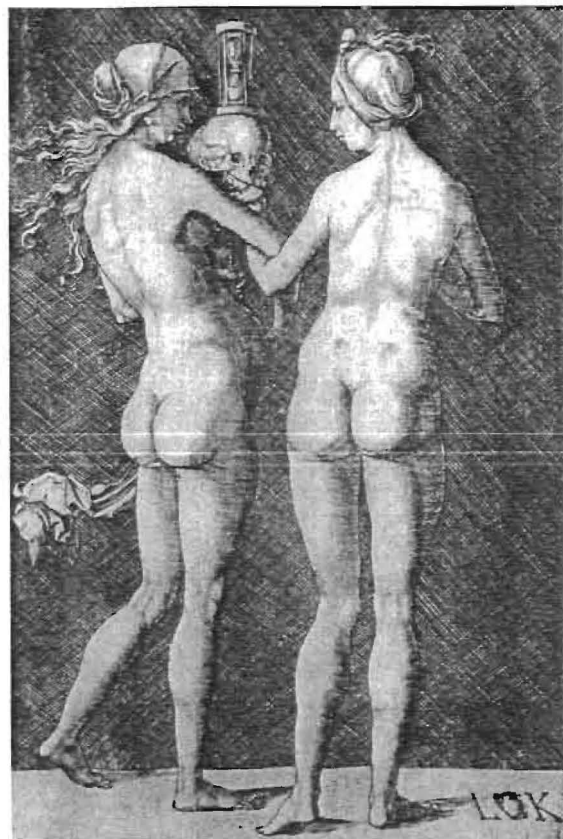


Figure 3.17 Ludwig Krug, *Two Nude Women*, engraving, c. 1510. From TIB, vol. 13, p. 309, fig. 11 (541).

witch figure participating in the public performances of the Nuremberg carnival some 20, 30 or 40 years earlier, would have produced a figure remarkably similar to the witches of Hans Baldung Grien and his fellow artists from early in the century.

While such figures with their cooking sticks and cauldrons quickly transformed the earlier iconography of sorcery in the first half of the sixteenth century, it would be quite misleading to suggest that their adoption was universal. Individual sorcerers, clothed, often old, identified only by gestures of conjuration, continued to be produced. This was especially so for woodcut illustrations in printed books, the medium that achieved the greatest circulation through European societies. These older images were often simply modified so as to register the new language of witchcraft. The figure of the devil was introduced, for instance, as we have seen in the case of Schüpflein's 1511 woodcut (fig. 2.1), in order to stress the diabolical origin of the witch's power. Or alternatively, a visual

cue such as the cauldron was inserted in order to ensure that the viewers identified the scene as one of witchcraft. I have already presented a graphic example of this technique: the insertion of a cauldron and storm in an image of milk stealing in Geiler of Kaysersberg's *The Ants* (fig. 2.10). In the last section of this chapter I want to introduce a number of other examples of this technique, in order to demonstrate the extent to which the cauldron became central to the visual language of witchcraft in the sixteenth century.

The most widely disseminated image of witchcraft in the first half of the sixteenth century, as far as I've been able to gauge, was a woodcut by the Augsburg artist Jörg Breu the Elder, which largely ignored the new iconography developed by Baldung and others early in the century (fig. 3.19).⁵³ It was published for the first time in 1534 by the Augsburg press of Heinrich Steiner, in a work of Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Memorial der Tugend* (*Memory Prompts to Virtue*). Steiner used the image over and over again. After the first use in 1534, he repeated it in the 1535 and 1540 editions of the *Memory Prompts to Virtue*.⁵⁴ In 1534 he also used it – without the accompanying verses – in the first Augsburg edition of *Humour and Seriousness*, Pauli's extremely popular collection of moral tales, and he repeated it in the 1535, 1536 and 1537 editions.⁵⁵ In 1537 and 1544 he reproduced it in a third work, the German translation of Polydore Vergil's *De rerum inventoribus* (*On the Inventors of Things*).⁵⁶ The woodcut would have represented one of the most common ways witchcraft was imagined by a German readership in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Memory Prompts to Virtue was a kind of popular guide for the moral life, which provided numerous *exempla* of virtue from classical history and the Christian scriptures, collections of advice for the different estates and professions, and warnings about particular forms of behaviour. It was directed to a broad audience and took the unique form of a picture book with short, and often closely integrated, texts. It drew on the broader discourse of virtue and vice to which Vintler's work was a contribution in the fifteenth century, and which had been reworked by moralizing humanists such as Sebastian Brant at the turn of the sixteenth century, and those associated with the Reformation movement in the 1520s and 1530s. Schwarzenberg himself is likely to have exercised considerable influence over the contents of the woodcuts, as well as having written the text. In his preface he referred to his work as a series of 'Gedenkzettel' or 'memory prompts' to virtue: an art of remembering virtue and vice analogous to the arts taught at school; a series of stories, images and verses which tell of the praise of God and the shame of evil. He even expressed the wish that these stories could be painted and written on cloth hangings and walls, so as the better to be made visible as a permanent memorial.⁵⁷ Curiously, Schwarzenberg's wish was partly realized. Many of the images from the fresco cycle painted on the walls of the Ulm town hall by the artist Martin Schaffner in about 1540, were based on woodcuts from the *Memory Prompts to Virtue*.⁵⁸

Breu's woodcut depicted healing by sorcery, and together with its accompanying verses contributed to Schwarzenberg's warnings about different vices. In the foreground two forms of healing become explicable with the help of the text above. On the left beneath a tree is a soldier, decked out in armour, helmet, sword and stirrups, bent over on the ground and charming a wound sustained by his horse. His words printed above make this clear: 'My word is embellished with holiness, so that your wound will neither hurt nor give you pain.'⁵⁹ On the right, a woman with hair flying out wildly behind her charms the pain from the head of a man with the following words: 'Truly believe, my word is a magic spell; so do I alleviate you of the pain in your head.'⁶⁰ But Breu also drew



Figure 3.18 Summerhouse with Devil, Witch, Turk and Fool (1520 Schembart carnival float), manuscript illustration, mid-16th century *Schembartbuch*. Stadtbibliothek Nuremberg, MS Nor. K. 444, fol. 63^r.

on a number of visual cues to communicate the fundamentally evil nature of these acts. The female figure's gesture of conjuration would have immediately identified her as a sorcerer;⁶¹ but her flying hair, enmeshed with the figure of a demon, would have left no doubt that this sorcery was being presented as an act of diabolical witchcraft. Furthermore, in order that viewers harboured absolutely no doubt as to the nature of Schwarzenberg's warning, Breu introduced another visual cue: on the top of the hill in the background he inserted a witch brewing up a hailstorm with her cauldron.

The insertion of a visual cue of cauldron and storm into a traditional image of sorcery testifies to the importance of clearly identifying the content of this woodcut as witchcraft. For the primary aim was to communicate to the viewer that not just evil charms, but all forms of magic, including those that make use of Christian words and are directed to good ends, are to be condemned as witchcraft. This was also the function of the verses

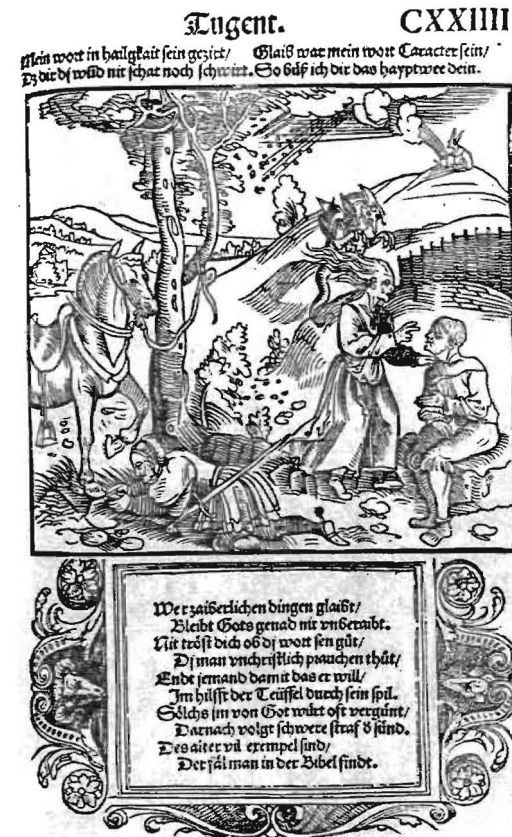


Figure 3.19 Jörg Breu the Elder, *Healing by Sorcery is an Unchristian and Diabolical Practice*, woodcut, in Johann von Schwarzenberg, *Das Büchle Memorial das ist ein angedänckung der Tugent*, Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1535, fol. 124^r. HAB, Wolfenbüttel [12 Ethica fol. (1)].

below, which were only included with the woodcut in the editions of *Memory Prompts to Virtue*. The text acts as a kind of frame for the visual scene and alludes to contemporary Reformation discourse about 'the Word'. It leaves no doubt that both forms of healing are to be condemned as ungodly, even if it continues to differentiate between practices which make use of Christian words and those which operate with magical spells: 'Whoever believes in magic and sorcery/ he will be deprived of God's grace;/ Place no trust even in good words/ which are put to unchristian use.' This second couplet no doubt refers to the charm of the male soldier, which he says is 'embellished with holiness'. His are the 'good words' put to unchristian use; while the charm of the female healer is described above as words with magical power ('Character'), evil words. If one uses either for unchristian ends, the text continues, it is to be condemned; for it provides an



Figure 3.20 Matthias Gerung, *The Three-fold Idolatry of the Roman Church*, woodcut, c. 1550. From Strauss, vol. 1, p. 311.

opportunity for the devil's mischief, from which serious sin and punishment must follow. The witch, cauldron and storm on the hill underscore this meaning.

A witch and cauldron also appear as a visual cue for witchcraft in a woodcut produced as part of Reformation polemic in about 1550, *The Three-fold Idolatry of the Roman Church*, by the south German artist Matthias Gerung (fig. 3.20). The woodcut was one of a series of allegorical images that served as counterparts to a series illustrating the text of the Book of Revelations. Both woodcut series were created between 1544 and 1558 for a German translation of a commentary on Revelations by the reformed preacher of



Figure 3.21 Matthias Gerung, *The Three-fold Idolatry of the Roman Church*, woodcut, detail, c. 1550. From Strauss, vol. 1, p. 311.

Berne, Sebastian Meyer.⁶² This complex woodcut displays three forms of contemporary idolatry in order to demonstrate how the Roman church is nothing more than godless superstition. In the left foreground a group of peasants and burghers worship a three-headed beast that represents the folly, avarice and arrogance of the church. On the right a group of nobles and monks surround a naked, hooved and winged female figure with long hair, who would seem to embody a combination of Fortune, *Frau Welt* – a late medieval symbol of the carnal world – and Heresy. A large purse hangs from her neck and she stands on what looks like an altar, while offering a crown and money to her worshippers below. In the centre a group largely made up of clergy demonstrate their allegiance with an oath to a macabre, semi-naked, scare-crow figure of an old man, whose one arm is a dried tree branch and the other a combination of dagger, arrow and flaming torch.

As Petra Roettig has argued, this gruesome central figure seems to represent a combination of the ancient planetary gods Saturn and Mars, and the Canaanite god Moloch. All three were associated with different forms of violence; and in the background Gerung depicts such violence as a contemporary consequence of the idolatry in the foreground. On the right, for instance, Turkish soldiers pursue members of the imperial and papal

armies; and a city is under siege. On the left two men lead a peasant to prison, another stabs a victim and an executioner breaks a criminal on the wheel. In the deep left background (fig. 3.21), a woman kneels before a cauldron on a flaming fire, in which one can see a skull; and beside her on the ground are human limbs she is cooking up. The cauldron in this case specifically emphasizes the physical violence of witchcraft: it suggests the dismemberment of human bodies and possibly acts of cannibalism – themes which, as we shall see in Chapter 8, only gained prominence in the second half of the sixteenth century. Although witchcraft is not a central theme in Gerung's polemic, it is significant that in presenting a catalogue of contemporary violence, the artist should include the violence of witchcraft. And the most recognizable visual code for witchcraft is a spewing cauldron.

A third example of the inclusion of a witches' cauldron into an image not dealing specifically with witchcraft occurs in the titlepage woodcut of a so-called devil book, *Der Zauber Teuffel* (*The Magic Devil*), written by the Lutheran lecturer at the Marburg Paedagogium, Ludwig Milich, and published in Frankfurt by Sigmund Feyerabend and Simon Hüter (fig. 3.22). The first edition of 1563 was printed by Hans Lechler in Frankfurt without a titlepage woodcut; but the later editions of 1564, 1565 and 1566 printed by Hans' brother and successor, Martin Lechler, did include it.⁶³ 'Devil books' were a new literary genre which became extremely popular with Protestant readers in the second half of the sixteenth century. They moralized and personalized vices such as swearing, drinking and dancing by associating them with particular devils dedicated to the promotion of these vices and in this way encouraged an increasingly demonized understanding of the early Protestant world. The first of such works appeared in 1552 and, by the end of the 1580s, 29 first edition devil books and numerous reprints meant that approximately 200,000 volumes were circulating among a German reading public. Frankfurt was the most prolific centre for the publication of this literature and Sigmund Feyerabend, the publisher of the *The Magic Devil*, was closely involved with the most significant publication of this kind, a collection of the 20 most popular devil books under the title of *Theatrum Diabolorum*, which first appeared in 1569 and then in expanded editions in 1575 and 1587/88.⁶⁴

In the titlepage woodcut to *The Magic Devil*, the artist has clearly attempted to give expression to the work's overriding concern to condemn all forms of magic as diabolical – sorcery, divination, charming, conjuration, witchcraft and so on. The central figure is a ritual magician who stands within a circle replete with all kinds of magical and astrological symbols and signs. His dress marks him out as a man of some substance and probably also of education, so that he takes on a Faust-like appearance. But he holds no book. In his left hand is a magic wand, in his right a phial containing a devil, the so-called 'glass devil' that features in Baldung's painting of 1523 (fig. 3.12). On the edge of the magic circle is a satyr-like devil the magician has conjured. But in order to represent the necromancer's activity as nothing more than diabolically produced folly, the artist has introduced an iconographical motif borrowed from a woodcut frequently attributed to Dürer. In the collection of moral *exempla* called *Der Ritter vom Turn* (*The Knight of Turn*), a German translation of a fourteenth-century work by Geoffroy Chevalier de La Tour Landry published in Basel in 1493, the publisher Johann Bergmann von Olpe included a woodcut of a vain young woman looking into a mirror while combing her hair.⁶⁵ In order to make a visual statement about the diabolical nature of vanity, the artist had depicted the mirror not with the face of the young woman looking into it, but with a



Figure 3.22 *Learned Magic and Witchcraft as Diabolical Arts*, titlepage woodcut, in Ludwig Milich, *Der Zauber Teuffel. Das ist Von Zauberei, Warsagung, Beschwehren, Segen, Aberglauben, Hexerey, und mancherley Wercken des Teuffels ... Bericht*, Frankfurt a.M.: Sigmund Feyerabend and Simon Hüter, 1564. Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt a.M.

reflected image of the arse of the devil, who stands behind her poking out his tongue and spreading his buttocks to reveal his anus.

In *The Magic Devil* woodcut the artist has used the same visual cue. However, the devil's arse in the mirror is not a reflected reality, unless it involves some kind of magical magnification of the hindquarters of the devil in the urine glass. More likely, it represents a visual commentary on the magical arts as no more than the shit and piss of the devil, the illusion and vanity of knowledge and power. And as though to ram home his point, the artist also figures learned magic as equivalent to witchcraft. Behind him on the right is a female figure hunched over a belching cauldron, stirring it, cooking up a cataclysmic storm of hail and lightning. The storm dominates the background and creates an atmosphere of turbulent movement. It contrasts with the ritual magic in the foreground, but embroils the magician in its energy. Witch and cauldron have transformed the refinement and learning of the ritual magician into a practitioner of diabolical witchcraft.

In a fundamental way this crude woodcut gives expression to the process by which the cauldron was exploited by artists in the sixteenth century to figure witchcraft as female. For while the witch figure in the woodcut is clearly a devil with horns and tail, it is also an indisputably female body and conforms to contemporary associations between female

bodies and cauldrons. The fully clothed male magician, assuming the authoritative stance of the physician, magistrate, judge or schoolmaster, with wand in one hand and phial in the other, protected by the knowledge of magical signs and talismans which he has inscribed in his circle on the ground, is represented as a figure tricked by the devil and his own delusions of power. The image of witchcraft, however, is that of a naked, female body, hunched over a seething cauldron, engaged in feverish physical activity with her cooking stick, at once elemental and also very destructive. The synergy between naked female body and cauldron is an expression of those complex associations explored by artists from the early years of the sixteenth century and accepted by this time as one of the most widely adopted visual codes for witchcraft. Another fundamental visual code developed for witchcraft in the early sixteenth century was that of the riding woman; and it is to that subject that I now turn in the following chapter.

4

WILD RIDERS, POPULAR
FOLKLORE AND MORAL
DISORDER

Lucas Cranach, the prolific court painter to the Elector of Saxony from 1505, wealthy Wittenberg apothecary and town councillor, champion of Luther's Reformation and leading German artist of the first half of the sixteenth century, created a remarkable series of four paintings on the subject of melancholy between 1528 and 1533.¹ Melancholy was a lively topic within the intellectual discourse of the sixteenth century, and not least among artistic circles. The nature and effects of melancholy had been subjects of ongoing interest in philosophical, medical and theological writings during the Middle Ages and received even greater attention from humanist and Neoplatonist scholars from the late fifteenth century. Visual artists also played a significant role in elaborating ideas concerning the relationship of temperaments such as the melancholic, to human behaviour and social organization.² Cranach's novel approach to melancholy was to link it to the delusions of witchcraft, and through that association to explore fantasies about sexuality and moral disorder in his society. He did this primarily by introducing a cavalcade of wild witch riders into his iconography. In the process he helped underpin the erotically inflected language of witchcraft that he learnt from his fellow German and Swiss artists earlier in the century, and expanded it to incorporate themes, ideas and allusions originally derived from popular folklore, from recent literary topoi and even from Reformation propaganda. Cranach's four paintings provide us with fascinating insight into the way some visual artists were able to link witchcraft to other contemporary discourses and thereby make it more credible and topical for their society. In the following chapter I want to explore Cranach's paintings and other images from the first half of the sixteenth century to help clarify one of the key questions of the new visual language of witchcraft: how did the figure of the riding witch achieve such long-lasting success as one of the key visual codes for the representation of witchcraft?³

In all four of his paintings Cranach depicted melancholy as a seated female figure shown sharpening or peeling a stick, and surrounded – in three of the four cases – by objects traditionally associated with the melancholic (figs 4.1–4.7).⁴ A key point of reference was Dürer's engraving of more than a decade earlier, his master engraving of 1514 simply entitled *Melencolia I*.⁵ Cranach's sphere, the putti, the sleeping dog, the chisel, the compass, and the winged figure of Melancholy, all allude to Dürer's work. But Cranach clearly rejected Dürer's very positive attitude towards the creative power of melancholy. By locating Dürer's elements within a rural environment of mountain crags and a thick cloud populated by a cavalcade of riders on a variety of wild beasts, he effectively linked melancholy to dark forces within the human psyche. These wild and mostly naked figures represent the imaginative phantasms and human desires created by a

- 67 Scheidig, *Die Holzschnitte des Petrarca-Meisters*, pp. 174–5. A similar gipsy features in a drawing by Burgkmair of c. 1500 (see Falk, *Hans Burgkmair*, fig. 11), and also in Polydore Vergil, *Von der Erfindung der Ding*, Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1544, fol. 157.
- 68 Hope, *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, pp. 66–8; Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, pp. 186–7.
- 69 Deguileville, *Pilgrimage*, ed. Furnivall, p. 563, lines 21103–14. The image is reproduced in Kieckhefer, *Magie*, p. 11, fig. 1.
- 70 MS Cotton Tiberius A.vii., fol. 69^r; reproduced in Zika, “Magie”–“Zauberei”–“Hexerei”, p. 340, fig. 29.
- 71 Deguileville, *Pilgrimage*, ed. Furnivall, p. 562, lines 21078.
- 72 See Wilson and Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*; Rücker, *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik*; Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, pp. 38–42.
- 73 See Kors and Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe*, pp. 70–72; Zika, “Berkeley, Witch of”, in Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, vol. 1, pp. 110–11.
- 74 The model drawing in the Latin exemplar book (fol. 211^r) already includes the basic elements of the later woodcut, which appears in both the 1493 German and Latin editions at the same folio (189^r). The woodcut in the later pirated editions (fol. 93^r in the 1497 ed.; fol. 72^r in the 1500 ed.) is a cruder version of the 1493 woodcut, with the only significant difference the lack of a shroud and very frizzy hair.
- 75 For the editions of Tintor’s work and illustrations, see Balberghe and Gilmont, ‘Les théologiens’, pp. 393–411; Balmas, ‘Il “Traité de Vauderie”’, pp. 1–26; Préaud, *Les sorcières*, pp. 59–60, nos. 88–90. For the Arras *vauderie*, see Singer, ‘*La Vauderie d’Arras*’, and a recent study for which there has not been time to integrate into this work, Mercier, *La Vauderie d’Arras*.
- 76 Paravicini Bagliani, Utz Tremp and Ostorero, ‘Le sabbat dans les Alpes’, pp. 73–6.
- 77 For the above, Singer, ‘*La Vauderie d’Arras*’, pp. 66–78; Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 18, 118–22, 149–83, 188–95, 408–15; *L’imaginaire du sabbat*, eds Ostorero, Paravicini Bagliani and Utz Tremp, pp. 7–22, 509–23; Behringer, ‘How Waldensians Became Witches’.
- 78 Balberghe and Gilmont, ‘Les théologiens’, pp. 396–404.
- 79 Singer, ‘*La Vauderie d’Arras*’, p. 96.
- 80 For claims of illusion, and for the long appeal process and settlement, Singer, ‘*La Vauderie d’Arras*’, pp. 88–9, 104, 122–44.
- 81 It was transcribed on behalf of Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de Gruuthuse. See Balberghe and Gilmont, ‘Les théologiens’, p. 403; Balmas, ‘Il “Traité de Vauderie”’, pp. 16–17; Singer, ‘*La Vauderie d’Arras*’, pp. 153–4.
- 82 The translation is by Singer, ‘*La Vauderie d’Arras*’, p. 92. Part of the text is also translated in Baroja, *The World of Witches*, pp. 90–91. Mercier, *La Vauderie d’Arras*, pp. 126–30, understands the image as an inversion of the scene depicted in *The Adoration of the Lamb* by Jan and Hubert Van Eyck (1432).
- 83 The illuminations have been widely reproduced. For Martin Le Franc and his poem, see Le Franc, *Le Champion des Dames*, ed. Deschamps; Le Franc, *Le Champion des Dames*, ed. Piaget; Piaget, *Martin Le Franc*; Fischer, ‘Edition and Study of Martin Le Franc’s *Le Champion des Dames*’; Brooks, ‘La filiation des manuscrits du *Champion des Dames*’; *L’imaginaire du sabbat*, eds Ostorero, Paravicini Bagliani and Utz Tremp, pp. 439–508.
- 84 The other illustrated manuscripts and the two printed editions of the work (1485 and 1530) include quite different images.
- 85 BN, MS fr. 12476, fols 105^r–109^r; BN, MS fr. 841, fols 123^r–128^r. For a modern edition of the full text, see Le Franc, *Le Champion des Dames*, ed. Deschamps, vol. 4, 113–44; and for this particular section, with commentary and notes, *L’imaginaire du sabbat*, eds Ostorero, Paravicini Bagliani and Utz Tremp, pp. 451–82. An English translation of part of the text is in Kors and Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe*, pp. 166–9.
- 86 Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 240, lines 29–30. For further evidence of riding sticks, see *L’imaginaire du sabbat*, eds Ostorero, Paravicini Bagliani and Utz Tremp, pp. 503–5.
- 87 The word *facturière* is based on the old Provençal *fachurar*, ‘to charm’ or ‘to bewitch’ (*L’imaginaire du sabbat*, eds Ostorero, Paravicini Bagliani and Utz Tremp, p. 452, n. 8), also used by Claude Tholosan in the Dauphiné. The word *vaudoises* does appear in two places on the previous folio (MS fr. 12476, fol. 105^r), as an inserted heading and a marginal

- note, both in red ink. Martine Ostorero and Jean-Claude Schmidt (*L’imaginaire du sabbat*, pp. 505–6) consider this use of the feminine term to be one of the drivers of the feminization of sorcery in the fifteenth century.
- 88 ‘La Vauderie de Lyonois en bref’, in Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 188, lines 26 (‘que Valdesia vulgariter seu facturerie gallice nuncupatur’) and 31–2 (‘que Valdesia vulgariter, sexus utriusque, qui vulgo ibidem facturiens et facturières nuncupantur’). It is instructive that Le Franc’s patron and employer, the antipope Felix V, was referred to in a 1440 decree by his rival, Pope Eugenius IV, as ‘seduced by the sorceries and phantasms of those followers of the devil, who in everyday speech are called *stregule* or *stregonos* or *Waudenses*’. See Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 18.
- 89 ‘La Vauderie’, in Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 189, lines 6–9 (‘ad quamdam convencionem...que apud quosdam eorum gallice dicitur “le Fait”, apud alios “le Martinet”, sed vulgariter magis et communiter “la Synagogue” nuncupatur.’)
- 90 Van Gennep, *Manuel*, pp. 2818–41, especially 2820, 2827. This reading is implied by Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 189 and Singer, ‘*La Vauderie d’Arras*’, p. 74. Also see ‘Recollectio’ in Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 164, line 39, which states that one of the largest Waldensian assemblies was held on St Martin’s eve.
- 91 For the linguistic evidence and argument, see *L’imaginaire du sabbat*, eds Ostorero, Paravicini Bagliani and Utz Tremp, pp. 506–8.
- 92 Balberghe and Gilmont, ‘Les théologiens’, pp. 403–4; Singer, ‘*La Vauderie d’Arras*’, p. 154.
- 93 Balberghe and Gilmont, ‘Les théologiens’, pp. 402–3; Singer, ‘*La Vauderie d’Arras*’, p. 154. The attribution to Loyset Liédet or his workshop is rejected by Balberghe and Gilmont: ‘Les théologiens’, p. 403, n. 51.
- 94 Balmas, ‘Il “Traité de Vauderie”’, pp. 20–22 argues that these are initiations.
- 95 Shachar, *The Judensau*.
- 96 See the fifteenth-century German wood block in Schachar, *The Judensau*, fig. 30.
- 97 Shachar, *The Judensau*, p. 41; Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, pp. 63–4. In one of his polemical tracts of 1543, Luther also used the *Judensau* to refer to Jewish magical wisdom as the shit derived from the sow of the *Talmud* (Shachar, *The Judensau*, pp. 43–5, 86–7).
- 98 See especially Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements*, pp. 277–99; Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder*, 212–17; Oberman, *Luther*, pp. 106–9, 154–7.
- 99 Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 118–22 at 119. For the *Errores*, see Bailey, ‘The Medieval Concept’, p. 423; *L’imaginaire du sabbat*, eds Ostorero, Paravicini Bagliani and Utz Tremp, pp. 267–337.
- 100 Stöber, *Zur Geschichte des Volks-Aberglaubens*, p. 39; also Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages*, p. 241.
- 101 See the sermon of Pierre le Broussart in Singer, ‘*La Vauderie d’Arras*’, p. 92; Balmas, ‘Il “Traité de Vauderie”’, p. 7.
- 102 See Kieckhefer, ‘Avenging the Blood of Children’, pp. 91–109.
- 103 Kieckhefer, ‘Avenging the Blood of Children’, p. 105.
- 104 Treitzsaurwein, *Der Weiß Kunig*, ed. Dreissiger; Biedermann, 1473–1973. *Hans Burgkmair*, no. 181, fig. 156. The circulation of these prints in the sixteenth century was limited to the distribution of folios, and the work was not published until 1775.

CHAPTER 3 WITCHES’ CAULDRONS AND WOMEN’S BODIES

- 1 See the list of works cited for the full title. This woodcut is at fol. 36^r in the 1516 edition and fol. 37^r in the 1517 edition. Lauts, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 130, no. 320 attributes the print to the Monogrammist HF, possibly Hans Frank of Basel, but the attribution has not been generally accepted.
- 2 *Das buch zu distillieren*, fol. 195^r.
- 3 *Das Büch Schimpf und Ernst*, Strasbourg: Bartholomäus Grüninger, 1533, fol. 31^r; *Schimpf und Ernst durch alle Welthändel*, Strasbourg: Bartholomäus Grüninger, 1538, fol. 30^r (for Christian Egenolph). The woodcut precedes the group of four tales headed ‘Von den Zaubernern’.

- 4 At fol. 29' in both editions.
- 5 Geiler of Kaysersberg, *Die Enneis*, fol. 37'–38'; Stöber, *Zur Geschichte des Volks-Aberglaubens*, pp. 18–19. Although the sermon is simply titled 'Von den Unholden oder von den Hexen' (1516) and 'Von den Hexen und unholden' (1517), the opening questions refer to the main subject matter of night travel as reality or illusion.
- 6 Nider, *Formicarius*, book 4, ch. 2. For further discussion of Nider's text, see Chapter 4 of this book. The passage is translated – with some omissions – in Kors and Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe*, p. 237.
- 7 Geiler of Kaysersberg, *Die Enneis*, fol. 37': 'da wont sie sie für / und het semliche freud inwendig' ('she pleased herself and felt so much joy in it'). For the use of *Wonne* and *Freude* in an erotic sense, sometimes in combination, see Kratz, 'Über den Wortschatz der Erotik', pp. 404, 413–4. This critical phrase, as well as reference to the kneading trough, is unfortunately omitted from the English translation in Kors and Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe*, p. 237.
- 8 Schade, *Schadenzauber*, p. 108. Schade does not seem to have noticed the bird-demon.
- 9 Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, pp. 96–7; Geisberg/Strauss, vol. 3, pp. 790–91 (G. 825–6).
- 10 The engraving of c.1495 is either called *The Jealous Wife*, or *The Angry Wife*. See Russell, *Eva/Ave*, p. 194; Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives*, pp. 104–6. For further discussion of this genre and the codpiece, see Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, pp. 263–5.
- 11 Geisberg/Strauss, vol. 3, p. 1123 (G.1176); Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives*, pp. 101–3.
- 12 Ginzburg, *The Night Battles*, pp. 40–44; Behringer, *Shaman of Oberstdorf*, pp. 56, 68–9. What appears to be a swan in the right background may be an allusion to the story of Diomedes.
- 13 Augustine, *The City of God*, book 18, chs 16, 18; Stöber, *Zur Geschichte des Volks-Aberglaubens*, pp. 32–3.
- 14 Lutz, *Warhaftige Zeitung*, Molitor, *Von Hexen und Unholden*, Strasbourg: Christian Müller, 1575; Frisius, *Dess Teuffels Nebelkappen*. For Frisius, see Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, pp. 481–521.
- 15 There seem to have been three German editions of the work published in 1566, one of them in Cologne and the other two translated by Fuglinus and published in Frankfurt. The Cologne edition (VD16, W2671), has no titlepage woodcut. Of the two Frankfurt editions, the one held by the BSL in Munich (VD16, W2670) includes a quite different titlepage woodcut and some minor orthographic differences from that held in the BL. The Munich woodcut features three women pointing to a devil flying in the sky and later appears as the titlepage to the second part of Weyer's work in the Frankfurt 1575 German translation (VD16, W2675) and as the titlepage to the Latin edition published in Frankfurt in 1586 (VD16, W2654). The titlepage of the 1566 edition held in London, which does not seem to be included in VD16, has been reproduced in Schade, *Schadenzauber*, p. 109. The recent argument by Claudia Swan concerning the limited and chronologically late illustration of Weyer's work as indicative of Weyer's scepticism (Swan, *Art, Science and Witchcraft*, p. 169), clearly requires some modification.
- 16 Saur, *Ein kurtze treuwe Warnung Anzeige und Unterricht*. The titlepages from Saur, the 1566 Weyer and the 1583 Frisius are all reproduced in Schade, *Schadenzauber*, pp. 109–11.
- 17 Schade, *Schadenzauber*, pp. 99–100. On Murner, see the introduction to Murner, *Narrenbeschwörung*, ed. Spanier; Köneker, *Satire im 16. Jahrhundert*; Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, pp. 274–7.
- 18 Murner, *Narrenbeschwörung*, pp. 288, 291. In the 1512 edition, the woodcut in ch. 46 shows a male fool in a boat, battered by a hailstorm; that in ch. 47 depicts a male fool stirring a cauldron on the fire while he looks at his reflection in a hand-mirror.
- 19 Murner, *Narrenbeschwörung*, p. 289.
- 20 Murner, *Narrenbeschwörung*, p. 292, lines 15–19.
- 21 Murner, *Narrenbeschwörung*, pp. 291–3, lines 1–4, 21–32, 65–6. One of the best known of such images was of Venus and her fools in Brant's *Ship of Fools*, ch. 13. See Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, pp. 512–13, fig. 89.
- 22 For linguistic usage, see Kratz, 'Über den Wortschatz der Erotik', 68 (*Hafen*), 60–63 (*Fasz*);

- Müller, *Schwert und Scheide*, pp. 42–3 (*Fass*). For St. John's day, see Roper, 'Tokens of Affection', p. 157.
- 23 Goddard, *The World in Miniature*, p. 171, no. 45.
- 24 Schade, *Schadenzauber*, pp. 98–100; Vogel, *Der Mythos von Pandora*, pp. 28–42; Panofsky and Panofsky, *Pandora's Box*.
- 25 Brugerolles and Guillet, *The Renaissance in France*, pp. 36–40; Carroll, *Rosso Fiorentino*, pp. 298–301.
- 26 Vogel, *Mythos von Pandora*, pp. 28–42; Schade, *Schadenzauber*, pp. 99–100.
- 27 *Ein schön weltlich spiß*; see Vogel, *Mythos von Pandora*, p. 34.
- 28 For the magical power of the female body, see Accati, 'The Spirit of Fornication', pp. 111–16; Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, pp. 88–129; O'Neil, 'Magical Healing, Love Magic and the Inquisition', pp. 88–114; Sanchez Ortega, 'Sorcery and Eroticism as Love Magic', pp. 58–92.
- 29 Koch, *Die Zeichnungen*, p. 197; Bernhard, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 277.
- 30 Two of these, one in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung in Basel and another auctioned in Amsterdam in 1929, are described in Koch, *Die Zeichnungen*, p. 197. The Basel copy is reproduced in Hults, 'Baldung and the witches of Freiburg', 251–5, fig. 4. The third, which has sustained extensive water damage and considerable retouching, is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (accession number 69–1065).
- 31 For the Virgil legend, see Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 136–206.
- 32 For a study of the visual images, see Müntz, 'Études iconographiques', 85–91; Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 254–67. For the power of women, see Smith, *The Power of Women*; Russell, *Eva/Ave*, pp. 147–75; Pigeaud, 'Woman as Tempress', pp. 50–52.
- 33 Müntz, 'Études iconographiques'; Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 255–9; Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, pl. 46.
- 34 Although dated 1519, the first known appearance of the Graf border was in a Paris edition of 1520 printed by Pierre Vidoue for Conrad Resch. It then appeared in five other works published by these two printers. The copy was used by Philippe le Noir in at least 10 works published between 1523 and 1532. See Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer*, pp. 263–6. For a version used in the *Dictionarium Gracum*, Paris, 1521, see Schade, *Schadenzauber*, p. 106, fig. 46; Butsch, *Handbook of Renaissance Ornament*, pl. 107.
- 35 Koch, *Die Zeichnungen*, pp. 101–2; Hults, 'Baldung and the witches of Freiburg', pp. 269–71; Koerner, *The Moment of Self-portraiture*, pp. 336–8.
- 36 Levy, 'The Erotic Engravings of Sebald and Barthel Beham', pp. 40–53; Lemarchand and Dunand, *Les compositions de Jules Romain*; Zerner, 'L'estampe érotique au temps de Titien'; Talvacchia, *Taking Positions*, pp. 71–4.
- 37 Koch, *Die Zeichnungen*, p. 100; Schade, *Schadenzauber*, pp. 112–14; Hults, 'Baldung and the witches of Freiburg', 267–9; Koerner, *The Moment of Self-portraiture*, pp. 330–3; Durian-Ress, *Hans Baldung Grien*, pp. 186–7.
- 38 'Der Corcappen' of the inscription would have been *Den Corcappen* if it referred to ecclesiastical canons (*Chorherren*). Petra Gottfroh-Tajjedine suggests 'Corcappen' is a Latin combination of *cor* (heart) and *capen* (from *capere*, to catch or capture). See Durian-Ress, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 186.
- 39 The relevance of the proverb was first suggested by Radbruch, *Elegantiae Juris Criminali*, p. 44.
- 40 Hults, 'Hans Baldung Grien's *Weather Witches*', 124–30; Hults, *The Witch as Muse*, pp. 96–9; Andersson, 'Hans Baldung Grien', pp. 13–16; Radbruch, *Elegantiae Juris Criminalis*, pp. 35–9.
- 41 Andersson, 'Hans Baldung Grien', p. 16.
- 42 Hults, 'Hans Baldung Grien's *Weather Witches*', 124, describes this as an attempt to conceal the goat.
- 43 This is possibly an allusion to contemporary discussions of the illicit involvement of aquaviv women in the manufacture of distilled waters for malefic purposes. See the comments by the fifteenth-century Vienna physician, Michael Puff von Schrick, cited by Harold J. Abrahams in the introduction to the modern reprint of the 1530 English translation of *Das buch zu destillieren* by the Strasbourg contemporary of Baldung, Hieronymus Braunschweig (Braunschweig, *Book of Distillation*, pp. xlvi–xlvii, cvi). The prologue of this work contrasts

- the medicine of natural efficacy ordained by God with the unnatural efficacy of wicked words or charms invented by the devil.
- 44 Schade, *Schadenzauber*, p. 92, entitles the drawing, *A Resting Young Witch is Fetched to be Taken to the Night-ride*, an example of the tendency in the study of witchcraft to subordinate the content of images to extraneous narratives and stereotypes.
 - 45 Hufts, 'Baldung and the witches of Freiburg', 261–3; Lauts, *Hans Baldung Grien*, pp. 129–30; Grünwald, 'Die Beziehungen des jungen Hans Weiditz zu Hans Frank', 26–36.
 - 46 An undue emphasis on fear has been incorrectly attributed to me on the basis of my early article, 'Fears of Flying' (Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, pp. 237–67.)
 - 47 For recent detailed consideration and the rich literature, see Hufts, *The Witch as Muse*, pp. 62–72 – who does consider this a group of witches; Schoch, Mende and Scherbaum, *Albrecht Dürer*, pp. 61–4.
 - 48 Goddard, *The World in Miniature*, p. 184, n. 5.
 - 49 Sebald copied Barthel's 1525–7 engraving in c. 1546–50. See Goddard, *The World in Miniature*, pp. 183–4.
 - 50 Two copies of this print survive. See Hollstein, vol. 19, p. 192; Bock, 'The Engravings of Ludwig Krug', 88, 97, 113 (in which the print is dated early in Krug's career, c. 1510–15).
 - 51 Kuster, *Spectaculum vitiatorum*; Maas, 'Schembart und Fastnacht'; Kinser, 'Presentation and Representation'; Roller, *Der Nürnberger Schembartlauf*, pp. 132–3; Sumberg, *The Nuremberg Schembart Carnival*, pp. 169–70.
 - 52 See Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg, Nor. K. 551 for the first case; Amb. 54. 2°, fol. 239° for the second. In a number of other manuscripts there is reference to several women who are called 'alte Trutten', evil female spirits or witches of folklore; and also to their weddings with devils. The latter seems to be the subject of the illustration in manuscripts Gs.2196 Hs.-5664, fol. 60° of the GNM, Nuremberg, which depicts four fools, two devils, a monk and a woman – clothed, but with a low bodice – surrounded by festive bunting; and of Cgm 2083 of the BSB, Munich, in which devils and women are shown embracing. Similar scenes are found in other manuscripts from the sixteenth century. For an extensive (yet flawed) listing of manuscripts, see Roller, *Nürnberger Schembartlauf*, pp. 193–200; Kuster, *Spectaculum*.
 - 53 *Das Büchle Memorial*, Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1534, fols 96–7, 124°. For the following, including further references, see Zika, '"Magie"–"Zauberei"–"Hexerei"', pp. 370–77; Gose, *Reformationsdrucke*, pp. 188–9, no. 426.
 - 54 At folio 124°, as in the 1534 edition. A reproduction in Schade, *Schadenzauber*, p. 37, fig. 11 is incorrectly labelled 1531 and 1535; it is actually a reproduction of the 1534 edition which displays minor orthographic differences to the later editions. I have not found a 1531 edition.
 - 55 The 1534 *Humour and Seriousness* edition is dated 17 November and therefore just post-dates *Memory Prompts to Virtue*, published on 20 January 1534. In all four editions of *Humour and Seriousness* it is located at fol. 28°. Steiner finally replaced it in the 1542 Augsburg edition of *Humour and Seriousness* (and again in 1544 and 1546) with a Petrarca-Meister woodcut (fig. 6.5).
 - 56 Vergil, *Von den erfyndern der dyngen*, Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1537, fol. 29°; 1544, fol. 27°. The employment of the woodcut in the 1537 edition represents a loose relationship between image and text. It prefaces a chapter on the origins of the 'Zauberische kunst Magica', and of the use of exorcisms and conjurations in the healing of illnesses (book 1, ch. 22). It argues that the magical arts derive from medicine, provides a genealogy beginning with Zoroaster and including Circe and Solomon, and concludes that we ought to follow the advice of priests and drive evil spirits from the body with holy words, which are much more powerful against the devil than magical arts. However in the 1544 edition, the Breu woodcut is now placed at the head of book 1, ch. 23, which is concerned with divination by necromancy, pyromancy, aeromancy, hydromancy, geomancy and chyromancy, and has nothing to say of healing.
 - 57 *Memorial der Tugend*, fol. 97°.
 - 58 Koepl, *Das Ulmer Rathaus*, pp. 18–42.
 - 59 'Mein wort in hailigkeit sein gezirt/ Dz dir di wund nit schat noch schwirt.'
 - 60 'Glaib war mein wort character sein/ So büß ich dir das hayptwee dein.'

- 61 For this gesture, see above fig. 2.2; and Zika, '"Magie"–"Zauberei"–"Hexerei"', pp. 373–4, fig. 47.
- 62 Roettig, *Reformation als Apokalypse*, pp. 9–11, 96–105; Hofmann, *Luther und die Folgen*, pp. 142–3.
- 63 Grimm, 'Die deutschen "Teufelbücher"', 523, 562, fig. 14, 563. The 1563 edition has been published in Stambaugh, *Teufelbücher in Auswahl*, vol. 1, pp. 1–184.
- 64 The *Zauber Teuffel* was republished in the three editions of the *Theatrum Diabolorum*, which were compiled and introduced with a preface by Sigmund Feyerabend. See Grimm, 'Die deutschen "Teufelbücher"', 529–32. For the devil books, also see Midelfort, *Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany*, pp. 69–70; Roos, *The Devil*.
- 65 *Der Ritter vom Turn* was composed for the education of Geoffroy de la Tour Landry's daughters. See Kautzsch, *Die Holzschnitte*. For the attribution to Dürer or Dürer's involvement, see Strieder, *Dürer*, pp. 93, 95–6; Knapp, p. xi, figs 110–3 (including the 1493 woodcut); Koerner, *The Moment of Self-portraiture*, pp. 350–52, fig. 166.

CHAPTER 4 WILD RIDERS, POPULAR FOLKLORE AND MORAL DISORDER

- 1 For Cranach and his work, see especially Schade, *Cranach*; Friedländer and Rosenberg, *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach*; Grimm, Erichsen and Brockhoff, *Lucas Cranach*.
- 2 The classic study is Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy*, which was republished in 1990 in a revised and extended German translation, *Saturn und Melancholie*.
- 3 For the following analysis and further references, see Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, pp. 333–74.
- 4 A detailed listing of the four works is given in an appendix to Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, *Saturn und Melancholie*, pp. 564–6. This complements and corrects the information found in Friedländer and Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, p. 125. Also see Heck, 'Entre humanisme et réforme'; Günter Bandmann, *Melancholie und Musik*, pp. 63–98; Koepplin and Falk, *Lukas Cranach*, vol. 1, no. 171, fig. 133.
- 5 From the large literature on Dürer's engraving, see especially the exhaustive study, Schuster, *Melencolia I*.
- 6 The painting is on loan from a private collection to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. A copy of this work in the Museum of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio, has been attributed to Cranach, but is now widely accepted as a later sixteenth-century copy by an unknown artist. See Paris, *The Frederick W. Schuhmacher Collection*, pp. 195–6.
- 7 For similar figures, see Filedt Kok, *The Master of The Amsterdam Cabinet*, pp. 222–4; Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, *Saturn und Melancholie*, figs 30, 42.
- 8 Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, pp. 108–10, 117–19.
- 9 Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives*, pp. 82–7.
- 10 For Cranach's images of the hunt and further references, see Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, pp. 339–40. For the hunt as erotic metaphor, see Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*, pp. 81–3.
- 11 Cranach's son, Hans, may have collaborated on this work. See especially Heck, 'Entre humanisme et réforme'; Koepplin and Falk, *Lukas Cranach*, vol. 1, pp. 292–3, no. 172; Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, *Saturn und Melancholie*, pp. 565–6.
- 12 The sleeping dog refers to melancholy as the source of the vice of sloth (*acedia*). See Koepplin and Falk, *Lukas Cranach*, vol. 1, p. 292; Koepplin, *Cranachs Ehebildnis*, pp. 226–8.
- 13 Partridges also feature in a number of Cranach's paintings of the *Reclining Water Nymph*, a member of Diana's hunting party. See Friedländer and Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, nos. 402–4; Koepplin and Falk, *Lukas Cranach*, vol. 2, pp. 631–41.
- 14 For the association of horses' heads and skulls with the dead and their use in various magical practices, see HDA, vol. 6, col. 1664–70.
- 15 Friedländer and Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, no. 276; Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, *Saturn und Melancholie*, p. 534.
- 16 Koepplin and Falk, *Lukas Cranach*, vol. 1, p. 293.
- 17 See Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, *Saturn und Melancholie*, p. 535, fig. 134; Heck, 'Entre