



The European Witch Craze of the 14th to 17th Centuries: A Sociologist's Perspective

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Source: *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (Jul., 1980), pp. 1-31

Published by: [University of Chicago Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2778849>

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14 世纪至 17 世纪的欧洲女巫热潮：社会学家的视角 作者：Nachman Ben-Yehuda 来源：美国社会学杂志，卷。86，第 1 期（1980 年 7 月），第 1-31 页 出版者：芝加哥大学出版社 稳定 URL：<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2778849> 访问时间：2015 年 12 月 26 日 00:23 世界标准时间

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# The European Witch Craze of the 14th to 17th Centuries: A Sociologist's Perspective<sup>1</sup>

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From the early decades of the 14th century until 1650, continental Europeans executed between 200,000 and 500,000 witches, 85% or more of whom were women. The character and timing of these executions and the persecutions which preceded them were determined in part by changed objectives of the Inquisition, as well as by a differentiation process within medieval society. The witch craze answered the need for a redefinition of moral boundaries, as a result of the profound changes in the medieval social order. The fact that these executions and the accompanying demonological theories enjoyed widespread and popular acceptance can be explained through the anomie which permeated society at that time. While these conditions provided the intellectual, cognitive background for the witch-hunts, economic and demographic changes, together with the emotional need for a target, explain why the witch-hunts were directed at women.

The continental European witch craze, in its most virulent form, lasted from the early decades of the 14th century until 1650. This paper attempts to analyze this phenomenon from a macrosociological point of view, concentrating on several questions clustered along three axes. The first axis concerns timing: Why did the witch craze start in the 14th century? Why did it become a popular and widespread craze between the 15th and 17th centuries? Why did it end in the 17th century? The second axis pertains to content: Why the suddenly increased attention to witchcraft, black magic, and the like? How can the emergence of a whole religious ideology concerning the witches, conceived as an antithesis to "true" Christianity,

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to S. N. Eisenstadt, Morris Janowitz, Edward Shils, Victor Azaria, Barbie Zelizer, and three anonymous readers whose comments on a previous draft were tremendously helpful in revising and refining the arguments presented here. In particular, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Barry Schwartz for his encouragement, patience, and penetrating criticism throughout the lengthy process of researching and writing this paper and to Joseph Ben-David for his patience and for innumerable and indispensable insightful comments and suggestions. I am also very grateful for the Blitsteins' warm support, without which this paper would never have materialized. Grants from the Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, and the Faculty of Social Sciences, Hebrew University, enabled the writing of this research report.

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*AJS* Volume 86 Number 1 1

## 14至17世纪欧洲女巫热潮：社会学家的视角

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从14世纪初到1650年，欧洲大陆处决了20万到50万女巫，其中85%或更多是女性。这些处决的性质和时间以及之前的迫害部分是由宗教裁判所目标的改变以及中世纪社会内部的分化过程决定的。巫术热潮满足了对红色的需求。道德界限的定义这些处决以及随之而来的恶魔学理论得到了广泛而普遍接受，这一事实可以通过当时渗透到社会的失范来解释。而这些条件为猎巫提供了智力、认知背景，经济和人口变化以及对目标的情感需求，解释了为什么猎巫是针对女性的。

欧洲大陆的女巫热潮最为猛烈，从14世纪初期一直持续到1650年。本文试图从宏观社会学的角度来分析这一现象，集中讨论沿着三个轴排列的几个问题。第一个轴涉及时间：为什么巫术热潮会在14世纪开始？为什么它在15世纪到17世纪之间成为流行和广泛的热潮？为什么它在17世纪结束？第二个轴涉及内容：为什么突然增加对巫术、黑魔法等的关注？关于女巫的整个宗教意识形态的出现，如何能被视为“真正的”基督教的对立面，

I am indebted to S. N. Eisenstadt, Morris Janowitz, Edward Shils, Victor Azaria, 1 我要感谢 S.N. Eisenstadt, Morris Janowitz, Edward Shils, Victor Azaria, Barbie Zelizer 和三位匿名读者，他们对先前草案的评论对于修改和完善本文提出的论点非常有帮助。我特别要向巴里·施瓦茨 (Barry Schwartz) 表示最深的谢意，感谢他在研究和撰写本文的漫长过程中给予的鼓励、耐心和尖锐的批评，并感谢约瑟夫·本·大卫 (Joseph Ben-David) 的耐心以及无数不可或缺的富有洞察力的评论和建议。我也非常感谢布利斯坦夫妇的热情没有这些支持，本文就不可能实现。本研究报告的撰写得到了芝加哥大学社会学系和希伯来大学社会科学学院的资助。

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AJS Volume 86 Number 1  
AJS 第 86 卷第 1 期

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be explained? Why did this ideology culminate in persecutions of witches? How can we explain the use of witchcraft—an age-old phenomenon—for faking of an antinomian theology, not by those who adhered to it, but by those supposedly opposed to it? The third axis involves the target of the witch-hunts: Why were women singled out as the main victims?

The answers suggested are based on the convergence of various conditions. The vested interests of such control organs of the Catholic church as the Dominicans and the Inquisition, and the collapse of the authoritative framework of religion and of the feudal social order, offer answers related to the first axis. The dissolution of the medieval cognitive map of the world, which gave rise to utopian expectations, magical beliefs, and bold scientific explorations, relates to questions along the second axis. Changes in the economy, demography, and family, especially changes in the role of women—some of which were of catastrophic proportions—explain the nature of the target of the craze. The spatial distribution of the witch-hunt and its termination resulted respectively from the presence or absence of all or some of these conditions in different parts of Europe during the period in question and from their disappearance everywhere at the end of the period.

Before I attempt to deal with these explanations, it is important to describe the particular characteristics of the European witch craze itself and to determine exactly which of its aspects require explanation.

#### WITCHCRAFT, WITCH-HUNTS, AND WITCH CRAZE: THE PHENOMENON TO BE EXPLAINED

Although the canonical books of the Old Testament nearly ignore the subject, one of the few places where witches are mentioned is in the story of the “Witch of Endor” with whom King Saul consulted before his last battle (1 Sam. 28:9). A second example is embedded in the Law itself, in the divine command “Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live” (Exod. 22:10; Williams 1959, p. 27). Throughout the Bible, however, all stories concerning witches are neutral in the sense that witches, devils, and demons are never elaborately conceptualized, and the existence of an all-encompassing supernatural, demonic world is never mentioned.

According to leading authorities on magic in classical Greece and Rome, magical processes were employed in both societies to produce rain, prevent hailstorms, drive away clouds, increase wealth and the like, but were also used for evil purposes (Baroja 1965; Hughes 1965).

O’Dea (1966) defines religion as “. . . the manipulation of non-empirical or supra-empirical means for non-empirical, or supra-empirical, ends. . . .” In contrast, he defines magic as “. . . the manipulation of non-empirical or supra-empirical means for empirical ends . . .” (O’Dea 1966,

解释一下？为什么这种意识形态最终导致了对女巫的迫害？我们如何解释利用巫术这一古老现象来伪造反律法神学的行为，不是由那些坚持巫术的人，而是由那些被认为反对它的人利用的？第三轴涉及政治迫害的对象：为什么女性被选为主要受害者？

所提出的答案是基于各种条件的综合。多明我会和宗教裁判所等天主教会控制机构的既得利益，以及宗教权威框架和封建社会秩序的崩溃，提供了与第一轴有关的答案。中世纪世界认知地图的解体引发了乌托邦式的期望、神奇的信仰和大胆的科学探索，这与第二轴上的问题有关。经济、人口和家庭的变化，特别是女性角色的变化——其中一些变化是灾难性的——解释了热潮目标的性质。政治迫害的空间分布及其结束，分别是由于该时期欧洲不同地区是否存在全部或部分这些条件以及该时期结束时这些条件在各地的消失而导致的。

在我尝试解释这些解释之前，有必要先描述一下欧洲女巫热潮本身的具体特征，并确定其哪些方面需要解释。

WITCHCRAFT, WITCH HUNTS AND WITCH CRAZE: THE PHENOMENON  
巫术、猎巫和女巫狂热：需要解释的现象

尽管《旧约全书》正典几乎忽略了这个主题，但扫罗王在最后一场战斗之前与她商谈的“恩多女巫”的故事是为数不多的提到女巫的地方之一（撒母耳记上 28:9）。第二个例子嵌入在律法本身，神圣的命令“你不可受女巫的折磨”（出埃及记 22:10；Williams 1959，第 27 页）。然而，在整个圣经中，所有有关女巫的故事都是中性的，因为从未对女巫、魔鬼和恶魔进行过精心的概念化，也从未提及过包罗万象的超自然恶魔世界的存在。

根据古典希腊和罗马魔法领域的权威人士的说法，魔法过程在两个社会中都被用来产生降雨、防止冰雹、驱走云彩、增加财富等，但也被用于邪恶目的（Baroja 1965；Hughes 1965）。

O'Dea (1966) 将宗教定义为“……对非经验或超经验手段的操纵，以达到非经验或超经验的目的”。相反，他将魔法定义为“对非经验或超经验手段的操纵，以实现经验目的。”(O'Dea 1966,

p. 7). Such an approach recalls the work of Weber (1964), for whom witchcraft is a kind of technology and the magician's main function is to cope with relatively ad hoc interests and tensions. Magical powers can be "forced" to serve human needs through the magician's correct use of formulas.

These, I believe, were the essential characteristics of European witchcraft practice before the witch-hunts of the 14th to 17th centuries: its "technological" nature, its ad hoc purposes, its extremely specific goals (love potions, specific spells, love magic, and the like). There did not yet exist a developed, systematic conceptualization of a negative supernatural world, diametrically opposed to this world and at war with it. The witch, so far, had a special position vis-à-vis the gods (or deities): with the correct "technological" use of spells, potions, and the like, she could compel them to perform specific actions.

In the European witch-hunts of the 14th to 17th centuries, however, witchcraft was transformed into a completely evil entity which created problems instead of solving them. With the publication of the *Malleus maleficarum* [The witch's hammer] in the 1480s, demonological theories reached a peak in which witchcraft constituted an independent "antireligion." The witch lost her powerful position vis-à-vis the deities: her ability to force the deities to comply with her wishes was replaced by a total subordination to the devil. In short, the witch became Satan's puppet.

These changes in the conceptualization of witchcraft are of crucial importance. Because witchcraft was regarded as a routine, day-to-day (almost personal) technology until the 14th century, witches were classified as good or bad, depending on the objective of their magic. After the 14th century, a whole systematic theory was devoted to witchcraft: books were written on the subject, and experts specialized in its theory ("demonologists") and practice ("inquisitors," "witch-hunters," and the like). This analytical shift to the "new" eclectic demonological theories was precisely what was needed to enable the inquisitors, and other individuals, to persecute legitimately hundreds of thousands of witches.

The witch-hunts did not affect all the areas of continental Europe in the same way. Also, the English witch craze was notably different from that in continental Europe (see Anderson and Gordon 1978; Currie 1968; even though both are poorly argued; see also Keith 1971; Notestein 1968; MacFarlane 1970). The witch craze in Scotland, on the other hand, highly resembled the continental pattern (Robbins 1959).<sup>2</sup> From the

<sup>2</sup> In England the witch craze started and ended later than in continental Europe and was much milder. There, a demonological ideology did not prevail and persons accused of witchcraft were considered to have committed crimes against men and not against God. It is very likely that the lack of inquisitorial machinery, the clear-cut relationships between church and kingdom, and a strong monarchy rendered less painful the English struggle with the problems Europe was faced with. Furthermore, in England

p. 7). 这样的做法让人想起韦伯 (1964) 的著作, 在他看来, 巫术是一种技术, 魔术师的主要功能是应对相对临时的利益和紧张局势。通过魔术师正确使用公式, 魔术力量可以“被迫”服务于人类的需求。

我相信, 这些是 14 至 17 世纪猎巫之前欧洲巫术实践的基本特征: 它的“技术”性质、它的特殊目的、它极其具体的目标 (爱情药水、特定咒语、爱情魔法等)。目前还不存在一个发达的、系统化的消极超自然世界的概念, 与这个世界截然相反并与之交战。到目前为止, 女巫相对于众神 (或诸神) 有着特殊的地位: 通过正确的“技术”使用咒语、魔药等, 她可以迫使它们执行特定的行动。

然而, 在 14 至 17 世纪欧洲的政治迫害中, 巫术被转变为一种完全邪恶的实体, 它制造了问题而不是解决问题。随着 1480 年代《女巫之锤》的出版, 恶魔学说达到了顶峰, 巫术构成了独立的“反宗教”。女巫失去了她面对神灵的强大地位: 她强迫神灵服从她意愿的能力被完全服从魔鬼所取代。简而言之, 女巫成了撒旦的傀儡。

巫术概念化的这些变化至关重要。因为直到 14 世纪, 巫术都被视为一种常规的、日常的 (几乎是个人) 的技术, 所以巫师根据其魔法的目的被分类为好或坏。14 世纪之后, 一整套系统的理论致力于巫术: 关于这个主题的书籍被写出来, 专门研究其理论 (“恶魔学家”) 和实践 (“审判官”、“女巫猎人”等) 的专家。这种向“新”折衷恶魔学理论的分析转变正是使审判官和其他个人能够合法地迫害数十万女巫所需要的。

政治迫害并没有以同样的方式影响欧洲大陆的所有地区。而且, 英国的巫术热潮与欧洲大陆的巫术热潮明显不同 (参见 Anderson and Gordon 1978; Currie 1968; 尽管两者都没有什么争论; 另参见 Keith 1971; Notestein 1968; MacFarlane 1970)。另一方面, 苏格兰的巫术热潮与大陆模式高度相似 (Robbins 1959)。<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In England the witch craze started and ended later than in continental Europe and  
<sup>2</sup> 在英国, 巫术热潮比欧洲大陆开始和结束的时间要晚, 而且要温和得多。那里的恶魔意识形态并未盛行, 被指控施行巫术的人被认为是对人类而不是对上帝犯下的罪行。由于缺乏调查机关、教会与王国之间明确的关系以及强大的君主制, 英国在应对欧洲面临的问题时所进行的斗争很可能不会那么痛苦。此外, 在英格兰

sources available, it appears that the worst European witch-hunts occurred in Germany, Switzerland, and France, and that those in other areas were far less extreme (Cohn 1975; Hughes 1965; Kieckhefer 1976; Lea 1957; Monter 1969, 1976; Robbins 1959; Russel 1972; Trevor-Roper 1967; Williams 1959; Midelfort 1972).

In general the European witch craze began to crystallize in the second and third decades of the 14th century. A fervent believer in the power and reality of magic, Pope John XXII himself gave it its impetus as he encouraged inquisitors to persecute relentlessly all sorcerers, magicians, and other heretics owing to his fear that witchcraft practices were rapidly spreading (Lea 1901, 3:450–54). In effect, however (Lea 1901), the actions of Pope John XXII merely reinforced already growing fears about witchcraft. In 1326 he issued his *Super illius specula* which “authorized the full use of inquisitorial procedure against witches” (Trevor-Roper 1967, p. 103). There he specifically stated that “. . . some people, Christian in name only, have forsaken the first light of truth to ally themselves with death and traffic with hell. They sacrifice to and adore devils; they make or obtain figurines, rings, vials, mirrors . . . by which they command demons . . . asking their aid . . . [and] . . . giving themselves to the most shameful subjection for the most shameful of ends . . .” (Robbins 1959, p. 288).

The pope’s efforts resulted in a small scale witch-hunt in the Alps and the Pyrenees lasting for more than a century and a half. Although individual, scattered trials of witches had already been carried out in 1245 and 1275 (Robbins 1959, pp. 207–9, 287–88), the early decades of the 14th century witnessed a tremendous intensification of attempts to stifle witchcraft practices, especially in France. The witch craze continued to gain momentum throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, and by the 1490s the hunts were being conducted in full fervor. No doubt they were accelerated by the publication of the *Malleus maleficarum* by Dominicans Sprenger and Kramer in 1487–89 (reprint 1968) (Zilboorg and Henry 1941). “. . . European witchcraft . . . between 1450 and 1750 . . . was conceived of as a virulent and dangerous blend of sorcery and heresy. Sorcery [includes] anything that aims at negative supernatural effects through formulas and rituals. The other element, heresy . . . is the pact with the Devil, the Witches’ Sabbath in the form of a black or inverted Mass . . .” (Monter 1969, p. vii).

The main feature of the European witch craze was the “Witches’ Sab-

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the judicial system was more humane than in Europe. It appears that during the 14th to 17th centuries England was in many respects outside the dispute which tore Europe apart. Scotland, however, experienced much more religious turmoil, which affected the judicial foundations of the law and—together with King James VI of Scotland’s personal encouragement—enabled the occurrence of a virulent witch craze there.

根据现有资料，欧洲最严重的猎巫事件似乎发生在德国、瑞士和法国，而其他地区的情况则远没有那么极端（Cohn 1975；Hughes 1965；Kieckhefer 1976；Lea 1957；Monter 1969、1976；Robbins 1959；Russel 1972；Trevor-Roper 1967；威廉姆斯1959；米德尔福特1972）。

总的来说，欧洲的巫术热潮在 14 世纪的第二个和第三个十年开始结晶。教皇约翰二十二世本人是魔法力量和现实的狂热信徒，他鼓励审判者无情地迫害所有巫师、魔术师和其他异教徒，因为他担心巫术习俗正在迅速蔓延（Lea 1901, 3:450-54）。然而，实际上（Lea 1901），教皇约翰二十二世的行为仅仅强化了对巫术已经日益增长的恐惧。1326年，他发布了他的《超级伊利乌斯镜》（Super illius specula），“授权对女巫充分使用审讯程序”（Trevor-Roper 1967, 第103页）。他在那儿特别指出，“.....有些人，只是名义上的基督徒，已经放弃了真理的第一道曙光，与死亡和地狱结盟。他们向魔鬼献祭并崇拜魔鬼；他们制作或获得雕像、戒指、小瓶、镜子.....通过这些他们命令恶魔.....询问他们的袭击.....[并且].....为了最可耻的目的而让自己屈服于最可耻的屈服（Robbins 1959, 第288页）。

教皇的努力导致了阿尔卑斯山和比利牛斯山的小规模政治迫害，持续了一个半世纪以上。尽管在 1245 年和 1275 年就已经对女巫进行了个别、分散的审判（Robbins 1959, 第 207-9、287-88 页），但 14 世纪初的几十年见证了压制巫术实践的极大强化，尤其是在法国。整个 14 世纪和 15 世纪，巫术热潮继续盛行，到了 1490 年代，狩猎活动如火如荼地进行。毫无疑问，多米尼加斯普伦格和克莱默于 1487-89 年出版的《Malleusmaleficarum》（1968 年重印）（Zilboorg 和 Henry 1941）加速了狩猎活动。“.....欧洲巫术.....在 1450 年至 1750 年间.....被认为是巫术和异端邪说的有毒且危险的混合物。巫术[包括]任何旨在通过公式和仪式产生负面超自然效果的东西。异端邪说.....另一个元素是与魔鬼的契约，女巫的安息日，其形式是黑色或倒置的质量。”（Monter 1969, 第 vii 页）。

feature of the European witch craze was the “Witches’ Sabbath”  
欧洲女巫热潮的主要特征是“女巫的萨布”

the judicial system was more humane than in Europe. It appears that during the 14th  
司法系统比欧洲更加人道。看起来，在 14 至 17 世纪期间，英国在许多方面都处于分裂欧洲的争端之外。然而，苏格兰经历了更多的宗教动乱，影响了法律的司法基础，并且在苏格兰国王詹姆斯六世的个人鼓励下，那里出现了一场恶毒的女巫热潮。

bath," the climax of which was a huge orgy between the devil and witches; at this time new witches were initiated. The ceremony allegedly included denying salvation, kissing the devil's posterior, spitting on the Bible, having promiscuous sexual orgies, feasting on roasted or boiled unbaptized children's flesh and exhumed corpses, mocking the holy sacrament of baptism, cursing the cross, and the like (Mackay [1841] 1932; Murray 1962; Carus 1974; Trevor-Roper 1967; Russell 1977).

Such a negative view of the witch, as well as the whole new perception of witchcraft and demonology, dramatically changed the perception of witchcraft as technology: witchcraft was losing its neutral technological character in favor of an elaborated and complicated image of an antireligion. The total ideological transformation in the perception of the witch, however, did not take place until the 15th century, when it was crystalized, authorized, and accepted.

The Dominicans' theories concerning witchcraft were widely accepted at the time. They based their beliefs on a dualistic assumption which viewed the world as a battlefield in which a struggle between the godly sons of light and the satanic sons of darkness was being played out. The stories and myth of the witches can be regarded as the exact qualitative opposite of the conception of Christ, and witchcraft as the exact opposite of what was supposed to be the true faith, Christianity (Ben-Yehuda 1976, pp. 94–99).

In opposition to the idea of the holy birth of Jesus, the Dominicans tell us of a perverse and barren sexual intercourse between the devil and the witch. We are told further that the devil, appearing as either an attractive, supersexual female form ("succubus") or a supersexual male form ("incubus"), would come before a human male or female, respectively, in order to seduce them. However, because the incubus did not possess his own sperm, the human female had to steal it from her unsuspecting husband in order to copulate with the devil. There were also many reports that the succubus was in fact a revived corpse, who became a corpse again<sup>3</sup> once her identity was discovered (see, e.g., Robbins 1959, pp. 254–59, 461–69, 490–92).

Contrary to the day when Christians meet to pray—Sunday morning—the devil and his legions prefer the night between Friday and Saturday. Christians meet in a holy church; the devil and his legions in weird places such as cemeteries. In the church, people have the holy images of Jesus

<sup>3</sup> The explicit sexual overtones of the witch-craze myth cannot—and should not—be ignored. Demonologists went to great lengths to associate witchcraft with detailed descriptions of perverted sexual practices and with the overt, irresistible seductive sexual behavior of the devil's legions. Emphasis was laid particularly on the "insatiable" sexual appetite of women: incubi, for example, outnumbered succubi by at least 10 to one (Robbins 1959, p. 490).

沐浴，其高潮是恶魔女巫之间的一场盛大狂欢；此时新的女巫被启动。仪式据称包括否认救赎、亲吻魔鬼的臀部、向圣经吐口水、淫乱的性狂欢、享用烤或煮的未受洗儿童的肉和挖出的尸体、嘲笑洗礼的圣礼、咒骂十字架等等。（麦凯 [1841] 1932 年；默里 1962 年；卡鲁斯 1974 年；特雷弗-罗珀 1967 年；拉塞尔 1977 年）。

这种对女巫的负面看法，以及对巫术和恶魔学的全新看法，极大地改变了巫术作为技术的看法：巫术正在失去其中立的技术特征，转而支持一种复杂而复杂的反宗教形象。然而，直到15世纪，对女巫的看法才发生了彻底的意识形态转变，当时它已具体化、授权、接受。

多米尼加人关于巫术的理论在当时被广泛接受。他们的信仰基于二元假设，将世界视为一个战场，光明之子与黑暗之子之间正在展开斗争。女巫的故事和神话可以被视为与基督的概念完全相反的质性，而巫术则与所谓的真正信仰基督教完全相反（Ben-Yehuda 1976，第 127 页）。

94-99).

与耶稣神圣诞生的观念相反，多米尼加人告诉我们魔鬼和女巫之间有一种反常且贫瘠的性交。我们进一步得知，魔鬼会分别以有吸引力的超性女性形态（“魅魔”）或超性男性形态（“梦魔”）出现在人类男性或女性之前，然而，由于梦魔没有自己的精子，人类女性不得不从毫无戒心的丈夫那里偷走精子，以便与魔鬼交配。还有许多报道称，魅魔实际上是一具复活的尸体，一旦她的身份被发现，她就再次成为尸体（参见，例如，Robbins 1959，第 254-59、461-69、490-92 页）。

与基督徒聚会祈祷的日子相反——周日早上，魔鬼和他的军团更喜欢周五和周六之间的晚上。基督徒在神圣的教堂里相遇；恶魔的军团在墓地等奇怪的地方。在教堂里，人们有耶稣的圣像

<sup>3</sup> The explicit sexual overtones of the witch-craze myth cannot—and should not—be  
3 巫术狂热神话中明显的性暗示不能也不应该被忽视。恶魔学家竭尽全力将巫术与变态性行为的详细描述以及魔鬼军团公开的、不可抗拒的诱惑性行为联系起来。特别强调的是女性“永不满足”的性欲：例如，梦魔与魅魔的数量至少是十比一（Robbins 1959，p.490）。

and Mary to revere; at the witches' Sabbath, the images are of toads, stinking goats, cats, dogs, and the like. In church, people kiss the cross; at the Sabbath, they kiss the he-goat's posterior. The symbols and objects used at the ceremony in the church (wine, wafers, water) are mocked at the Sabbath. In contrast to the holy baptism, the devil had his own—a mark imprinted on the witch, while filthy water was sprinkled throughout the ceremony by stinking toads. Music was also played during the satanic ceremonies; however, in contrast to the music played in church, this music was macabre, played with strange instruments like horses' skulls, oak logs, human bones, and the like. In church, people tasted the holy symbols (wafers and wine); at the Sabbath they feasted on the roasted flesh of unbaptized babies (MacKay [1841] 1932; Trevor-Roper 1967). All in all, the overwhelming evidence indicates that the witch beliefs were a negative mirror image of the so-called true faith.

In their most disastrous form, the witch-hunts lasted until shortly after the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648. Although there are records of sporadic witch trials and executions until 1750 in some places, 1650 marked the end of the worst and most remarkable aspects of the witch craze. During the whole period, between 200,000 (the most conservative estimate) and half a million people were executed (burned, drowned, beheaded, strangled, or hanged)<sup>4</sup> on accusations of witchcraft (Currie 1968, p. 10; Kittredge [1929] 1972; Robbins 1959, pp. 16–17). “. . . Germany was almost entirely occupied in building bonfires. . . . Switzerland had to wipe out whole villages in order to keep them down. Travellers in Lorraine may see thousands and thousands of stakes . . .” (Trevor-Roper 1967, p. 152).

Evidence indicates that the majority of the witch craze's victims were women (Garrett 1977). In one specific area in southwest Germany, females constituted 85% of all victims (Midelfort 1972, pp. 179–80). Monter (personal communication, 1976) claims that a comparison of his research with that of Midelfort shows that nearly 90% of the victims were women. Lea (1957, p. 1079) reports that in Switzerland “. . . almost every woman . . . was considered . . . a witch. . . .” In “. . . (Weisensteig and Rottenberg) . . . we find overwhelming proportions of women (98–100 per cent) . . .” (Midelfort 1972, p. 179).

It has also been observed that the witch-hunts were conducted in their most intense form in those regions where the Catholic church was weakest (Lea 1957; Rose 1962) (Germany, Switzerland, France). In areas with a strong church (Spain, Poland, and eastern Europe) the witch craze was

<sup>4</sup> Hsu (1960, p. 35) places the numerical limits between a minimum of 30,000 victims and a maximum of several millions.

和玛丽值得尊敬；在女巫的安息日，图像是蟾蜍、臭山羊、猫、狗等。在教堂里，人们亲吻十字架；在安息日，他们亲吻公山羊的后背。教堂仪式上使用的符号和物品（酒、薄饼、水）在安息日受到嘲笑。与神圣的洗礼不同的是，魔鬼有自己的印记——在女巫身上留下了印记，而臭蟾蜍在整个仪式上洒满了脏水。在撒旦仪式期间也会演奏音乐；然而，与教堂中演奏的音乐相比，这种音乐是令人毛骨悚然的，用马头骨、橡木原木、人骨等奇怪的乐器演奏。在教堂里，人们品尝神圣的象征（薄饼和酒）；在安息日，他们吃未受洗婴儿的烤肉（MacKay [1841] 1932； Trevor-Roper 1967）。总而言之，压倒性的证据表明女巫信仰是所谓真实信仰的负面镜像。

最具灾难性的猎巫活动一直持续到 1648 年三十年战争结束后不久。虽然一些地方直到 1750 年都有零星的女巫审判和处决记录，但 1650 年标志着女巫热潮最严重和最引人注目的阶段的结束。在整个时期，有 20 万（最保守的估计）到 50 万人因巫术罪被处决（烧死、淹死、斩首、勒死或绞死）<sup>4</sup>（Currie 1968，第 10 页； Kittredge [1929] 1972； Robbins 1959，第 16 页）<sup>17</sup>。“德国几乎全神贯注于生火。瑞士不得不摧毁整个村庄，以抑制它们。洛林的旅行者可能会看到成千上万的木桩。”（Trevor-Roper 1967，第 17 页）

152). 有证据表明，巫术热潮的大多数受害者是女性（Garrett, 1977）。在德国西南部的一个特定地区，女性占有受害者的 85%（Midelfort 1972，第 179-80 页）。蒙特

（个人通讯，1976）声称，他的研究与米德尔福特的研究比较表明，近 90% 的受害者是女性。Lea (1957, p. 1079) 报道称，在瑞士“……几乎每个女人

... was considered... a witch " In " (Weisensteigand Rotten- 伯格)。。。我们发现女性所占比例压倒性 (98-100%)

(Midelfort 1972，第 179 页)

他们还观察到，政治迫害在天主教会最薄弱的地区进行得最为激烈（Lea 1957； Rose 1962）（德国、瑞士、法国）。在拥有强大教会的地区（西班牙、波兰和东欧），巫术热潮盛行。

<sup>4</sup> Hsu (1960, p. 35) places the numerical limits between a minimum of 30,000 victims and a maximum of 100 million victims.

negligible.<sup>5</sup> Finally, we must realize that the description of the witch cult here is, necessarily, only partial and inexhaustive.

#### WITCHCRAFT: POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

Aside from the early “arm-chair anthropologists” (i.e., Frazer [1922] 1963; Lévy-Bruhl [1923] 1966), the anthropological empirical work on witchcraft—most of it carried out in so-called primitive societies—can be classified according to three major theoretical approaches. The first is a functional approach which views witchcraft as serving certain “useful” functions such as the alleviation of anxiety, integration, and the creation of cohesion (Evans-Pritchard 1937; Kluckhohn [1944] 1967; Malinowski 1955; Smelser 1962, pp. 95–100). The second is a structural approach which sees accusations of witchcraft as part of the relation network among different groups in a stratified society. A structural explanation could suggest that witchcraft accusations arise in times of rapid social change, because of social inequalities, various authority systems, or links with the social structure itself (e.g., Douglas 1966, 1967; Gluckman 1963; Marwick 1952; Nadel 1952; Turner 1957; Wilson 1951). A third approach (Lévi-Strauss 1963, chaps. 9 and 10; Turner 1969) analyzes the symbolic level in witchcraft rituals, focusing on the utilization, meaning, efficiency, and universality of various symbols used in magical practices.

Some scholars also deal with the phenomenon from a medical point of view. Forbes (1966), Harner (1973), and Harris (1974, pp. 178–92) argue that flying and other “hallucinations” experienced by witches were side effects of certain chemicals—highly hallucinogenic ingredients present in the ointment with which the witches smeared themselves. Psychological approaches focus either on the witches as presenting psychiatric symptoms (Caulfield 1943; Sarbin 1969; Schoeneman 1977; Zilboorg and Henry 1941; Zilboorg 1935) or on the emotional needs of the accusers (Anderson 1970; Rosen 1968, p. 15; Szasz 1970).

Another group of theoreticians tried to explain the witch-hunts as a variety of minority-group persecutions (Lewis 1971; Trevor-Roper 1967), in which witches were used as scapegoats for political, social, or economic purposes (Nelson 1971; Currie 1968; Schoeneman 1975). Typical is Harris’s (1974, p. 205) explanation that “. . . the . . . significance of the witch

<sup>5</sup> By this time, the “church” was no longer a single unit, as evidenced by the religious turmoil among competing churches in Switzerland, France, and Germany. Nonetheless, in using the term “the church,” I refer specifically to Catholicism as the religious social structure that, more or less, held Europe together over an extended period of time.

5最后，我们必须认识到，这里对巫术崇拜的描述必然是片面的、不详尽的。

巫术：可能的解释

除了早期的“纸上谈兵的人类学家”（即，Frazer[1922]1963；Levy-Brühl[1923]1966）之外，关于巫术的人类学实证研究——大部分是在所谓的原始社会中进行的——可以根据三种主要的理论方法进行分类。第一种是功能性方法，将开关技术视为服务于某些“有用”诸如缓解焦虑、整合和建立凝聚力等功能（Evans-Pritchard 1937；Kluckhohn [1944] 1967；Malinowski 1955；Smelser 1962，第95-100页）。第二种是结构性方法，将对巫术的指控视为分层社会中不同群体之间关系网络的一部分。结构性解释可能表明，由于社会不平等、各种权威体系或与社会结构本身的联系，巫术指控出现在社会快速变革的时期（例如，Douglas 1966、1967；Gluckman 1963；Marwick 1952；Nadel 1952）；特纳 1957年；威尔逊 1951年）。第三种方法（Levi-Strauss 1963，第9章和第10章；Turner 1969）分析巫术仪式中的象征层面，重点关注魔法实践中各种符号的利用、意义、效率和普遍性。

一些学者也从医学的角度来处理这一现象。福布斯（1966）、哈纳（1973）和哈里斯（1974，第178-92页）认为女巫经历的飞行和其他“幻觉”是某些化学物质的副作用——女巫涂在药膏中的高度致幻成分。心理学方法要么集中在女巫身上当出现精神症状时（Caulfield 1943；Sarbin 1969；Schoeneman 1977；Zilboorg and Henry 1941；Zilboorg 1935）或指控者的情感需求（Anderson 1970；Rosen 1968，第15页；Szasz 1970）。

另一群理论家试图将猎巫解释为各种少数群体迫害（Lewis 1971；Trevor-Roper 1967），其中女巫被用作政治、社会或经济目的的替罪羊（Nelson 1971；Cürrie 1968；Schoeneman 1975）。典型的是哈里斯（Harris）（1974年，第205页）的解释：“……女巫的……意义”

5 By this time, the “church” was no longer a single unit, as evidenced by the religious  
6 此时，“教会”不再是一个单一的单位，瑞士、法国和德国相互竞争的教会之间的宗教动荡就证明了这一点。尽管如此，在使用“教会”一词时，我特指天主教作为一种宗教社会结构，或多或少是这样的。更不用说，在很长一段时间内将欧洲团结在一起。||

mania . . . was that it shifted responsibility for the crisis of late medieval society from both Church and State to imaginary demons. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

Recent research, however, reveals that while old, single women were persecuted at the beginning of the craze, they were replaced by younger and married women toward its middle and end. Except for these shifts in the choice of victims, no particular group of women was spared from persecution. This finding contrasts sharply with psychiatrically oriented approaches, according to which only bizarre or socially unacceptable women were persecuted as witches, and strongly supports the ideas presented in this paper. The European witch craze of the 14th to 17th centuries was a unique historical combination of accusations against people, especially women, of whom the overwhelming majority were probably completely innocent, and the creation of a theological system in which witchcraft became a phenomenon of central importance.

Therefore, most of the explanations of witchcraft mentioned above deal with functionally different phenomena from the European witch craze of the early modern era. While the theory of scapegoating fits the phenomenon under consideration, it does not explain its religious importance and intensity, its intellectual elaboration, the questions of timing and distribution, or the selection of women<sup>7</sup> as its target. In the following pages an attempt will be made to identify the conditions which can explain these details.

#### TIMING: WHY DID THE WITCH-HUNTS BEGIN?

The witchcraft myth was created and crystallized largely by a number of Dominican friars. Until the 13th century, the Catholic church's official policy regarding witchcraft was summarized in the *Canon episcopi* (Lea 1957), which regarded belief in witchcraft as mere illusion.

The Inquisition was founded in the 13th century in order to combat the deliberate, continued, and public denial of the church's doctrine by baptized Christians, primarily by the Cathari but also, to a much lesser extent, by the Waldenses (Lea 1901, 1:3; Madaule 1967; Nelson 1971;

<sup>6</sup> One group of writers gave credence to the very existence of the witch cult, claiming that the varying frequency of trials simply reflected the varying prevalence of witches. Many modern occult books and movies hold this position; among their predecessors we find Summers (1956), Murray (1921), Michelet (1965), and nearly all of the medieval demonologists (Robbins 1959, pp. 145-47).

<sup>7</sup> Very few authors attempted to explain why women were the main victims of the witch-hunts, and only recently did a few bother to examine relevant statistics; see Garrett (1977); Matalene (1978); Midelfort (1972); Nelson (1971); and (though unsatisfactory) Ehrenreich and English (1972).

狂躁。……它把中世纪晚期社会危机的责任从教会和国家转移到了想象中的恶魔身上。“然而，最近的研究表明，虽然老年单身女性在热潮开始时受到迫害，但在热潮中后期，她们被年轻的已婚妇女所取代。除了受害者选择上的这些转变外，没有任何特定的妇女群体能幸免于迫害。这一发现与精神病学导向的应用程序形成鲜明对比。蟑螂据此，只有怪异或社会不可接受的女性才会被当作女巫来迫害，并强烈支持本文提出的观点。14至17世纪的欧洲巫术热潮是对人们，特别是对妇女的指控的独特历史组合，其中绝大多数人可能是完全无辜的，并创建了一个神学体系，其中巫术成为一种重要现象。

因此，上述对巫术的大部分解释所涉及的现象与近代早期欧洲巫术热潮在功能上有所不同。虽然替罪羊理论适合所考虑的现象，但它并没有解释其宗教重要性和强度、其智力阐述、时间安排和分配问题，或选择妇女作为其目标。在接下来的几页中，我们将尝试确定可以解释这些细节的条件。

**TIMING: WHY DID THE WITCH HUNTS BEGIN?**

时机：政治迫害为何开始？

The witchcraft myth was created and crystallized largely by a number of 巫术神话主要是由一些多米尼加修士创造和结晶的。直到13世纪，天主教会关于巫术的官方政策被总结在圣典 (Lea 1957) 中，该政策将相信巫术视为纯粹的幻觉。

宗教裁判所成立于 13 世纪，旨在打击受洗基督徒（主要是卡特里派教徒，在较小程度上，瓦尔多派）蓄意、持续和公开否认教会教义的行为 (Lea 1901, 1:3; Madaulé 1967; Nelson 1971;

6 One group of writers gave credence to the very existence of the witch cult, claiming

6 一组作家相信女巫崇拜的存在，声称不同的审判频率仅仅反映了女巫的不同流行程度。许多现代神秘书籍和电影都持有这种立场。在他们的前辈中，我们找到了萨默斯 (Summers) (1956)、默里 (Murray) (1921)、米什莱 (Michelet) (1965)，以及几乎所有的中世纪恶魔学家 (Robbins 1959, 第 145-47 页)。7 很少有作者试图解释为什么妇女是政治迫害的主要受害者，直到最近才有少数作者费心去研究相关统计数据；参见加勒特 (1977)；马塔林 (1978)；米德尔福特 (1972)；纳尔逊 (1971)；和 (尽管不令人满意) Enrenreich and English (1972)。

Wakefield and Evans 1969). Thus the Inquisition's primary objective was to single out and reconvert heretics.

In 1203 Saint Dominic first met the Albigensian heretics in Southern France; three years later he started a campaign to bring them back to the faith. In July 1216, Pope Innocent III, for whom he conducted his campaign, died, and the pope's successor, Honorius III, finally formally sanctioned Saint Dominic's new order—the Dominicans (December 22, 1216). The new order was established with the express hope that it would win back various groups of heretics to the church (i.e., the Albigensians, the Waldenses, who flourished in the early 12th century, and most important, the Cathari, who flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries in western Europe [Hinnebusch 1966; Mandonnet 1944]).

The pope's expectations of the Dominican Order were never realized, however; it failed to bring the lost sheep back to the fold, especially the Cathari. Between 1208 and 1213, Innocent III initiated a lengthy military crusade against heretics in Southern France in general and the Cathari in particular (Madaule 1967). The swift and bloody battle at Montségur in 1243 marked the end of the Cathari movement as a serious threat to the church. Most of the Cathari who remained were driven underground, and many of the French Cathari fled to Italy. Although the heresy lingered through the 14th century, most of it had faded in the 1270s; it finally disappeared in the 15th century (Puech 1974; Turberville 1964). The Waldenses received a similar treatment. By the end of the 13th century, persecution had virtually eliminated the sect, and by the end of the 15th century the survivors were segregated, for the most part, in the Italian and French valleys of the Alps (Cohn 1975).

Although the Cathari and Waldenses were probably the most visible and important heretics at the time, they were not the only ones (Lerner 1970; Loos 1974; Russell 1971; Runcimon 1955; Turberville 1964). For example, there were the Hussites who flourished from the end of the 13th century to about 1430, John Wyclif (1330–84) and his followers, and later, the Lollardy (extinguished in 1431), the Flagellants who flourished from about 1260 until the mid-15th century (their last persecutions and trials occurring in 1446–81) (Leff 1967), and the dancing manias (Rosen 1968).

However, by the 1250s practically no heretics were left to be pursued by the Inquisition (Lea 1901; Nelson 1971; Szasz 1970; Trevor-Roper 1967; Turberville 1964). The two major heretic factions—the Cathari and Waldenses—were in essence eliminated, while other groups were either too small or controlled with an iron hand. In order to justify the continuation of the Inquisition's machinery, the inquisitors began to search for new apostates. "The Inquisition . . . set about to introduce and develop the parallel heresy of witchcraft, thereby widening its scope . . ." (Robbins

韦克菲尔德和埃文斯 1969)。因此, 宗教裁判所的首要目标是挑选并重新皈依宗教。

1203年, 圣多明我第一次在法国南部遇见了阿尔比派异端分子。三年后, 他发起了一场运动, 让他们恢复信仰。1216年7月, 他为之进行运动的教皇英诺森三世去世, 教皇的继任者霍诺留三世最终正式批准了圣多明我的新秩序——多明我会 (1216年12月22日)。新秩序的建立, 明确希望它将各种异端团体赢回教会 (即阿尔比派、瓦尔多派, 他们在 12 世纪初盛行, 最重要的是卡特里派, 他们在 12 世纪和 13 世纪在西欧盛行 [Hinnebusch1966; Mandonnet1944]) 。

然而, 教皇对多米尼加骑士团的期望从未实现; 它未能将迷失的羊带回羊圈, 特别是卡特里派。1208年至1213年间, 英诺森三世发起了一场针对法国南部地区尤其是卡特里派的长期军事十字军东征 (Madaule 1967)。1243年蒙特塞古林迅速而血腥的战斗标志着对教会构成严重威胁的清真派运动的结束。大多数剩下的清真派教徒被驱赶到地下, 许多法国清真派教徒逃往意大利。尽管异端邪说一直持续到 14 世纪, 但在 1270 年代大部分已经消退。它最终在 15 世纪消失了 (Puech 1974; Turberville 1964)。瓦尔多派也受到类似的待遇。到13世纪末, 迫害实际上已经消灭了该教派, 到15世纪末, 幸存者大部分被隔离在意大利和法国的阿尔卑斯山山谷中 (Cohn 1975) 。

尽管卡萨里派和瓦尔多派可能是当时最明显、最重要的异端分子, 但他们并不是唯一的异端分子 (Lerner 1970; Loos 1974; Russell 1971; Runcimon 1955; Turberville 1964)。例如, 从13世纪末到1430年左右盛行的胡斯派, 约翰·威克利夫 (1330-84) 及其追随者, 后来的罗拉第派 (1431年灭亡); 从1260年左右到15世纪中叶盛行的鞭打派 (他们最后一次迫害和审判发生在1446-81年) (Leff1967) 和 the dancing manias (Rosen 1968) 。

然而, 到了 1250 年代, 几乎没有异端分子被宗教裁判所追捕 (Lea 1901; Nelson 1971; Szasz 1970; Trevor-Roper 1967; Turberville 1964)。两个主要的异端派别——卡萨里派和瓦尔多派——基本上被消灭了, 而其他派别要么太小, 要么受到铁腕控制。为了证明宗教裁判所机器的延续是合理的, 宗教裁判所开始寻找新的叛教者。“宗教裁判所开始引入和发展巫术的平行异端, 从而扩大其范围” (罗宾斯)。

1959, pp. 207–8); also a campaign was initiated in Rome to extend its jurisdiction to the infidel Jews<sup>8</sup> and the Moors of Spain.

While the inquisitors immediately began a campaign to extend their jurisdiction to the more “traditional” scapegoat, the Jews, they simultaneously demanded, from the 13th century on, that their authority be expanded to include witches they claimed to have found in the Pyrenees and the Alps.<sup>9</sup> Their efforts were yielding results early in the 14th century when Pope John XXII issued his *Super illius specula*. When, however, between 1487 and 1489, the atrocious *Malleus maleficarum* was printed, with the blessings of Pope Innocent’s witch bull, *Summis desiderantes*, the “art of witchcraft” had reached its peak, and the inquisitors’ desire to control witchcraft was almost totally realized.

Although important and authoritative, the *Malleus maleficarum* was by no means the first, or the only, book about witches published in the 15th century. Approximately 15 different books were published on the subject after 1435 (the date of Nider’s *Formicarius*). Of these, Jacquier’s *Flagellum haeticorum fascinatorum* (1458) proved to be somewhat of a turning point.

Jacquier defined witchcraft—for the first time—as a new, evil form of heresy (Lea 1901, 3:497; Robbins 1959), claiming that witches were qualitatively different from the rest of humanity. It should be recalled that until this time the Catholic church’s official position on witchcraft was based on the *Canon episcopi*,<sup>10</sup> which pointed out that beliefs in witchcraft were mere fantasies and that he who believed in witchcraft had lost his faith. Jacquier’s problem was how to cope with this statement in terms of his own beliefs in witchcraft. His solution was swift and clear: he stated that the existence of the “witch sect” indicated the existence of witches qualitatively different from the ones to which the *Canon episcopi* alluded. He claimed that witches were organized and used to fly to the atrocious Sabbath ceremonies, where they indulged in sexual orgies with the devil and feasted on roasted unbaptized infants. This paved the way for the new conception of the witch.

<sup>8</sup> The Inquisition in the Iberian peninsula kept persecuting Jews until the 17th century (Eliav 1971; Roth 1971; Wolff 1971), which explains in part the absence of European-style witch-hunting there.

<sup>9</sup> Already in 1257 the Inquisition pressed the papacy for inquisitorial power over witchcraft, but the papacy resisted (Trevor-Roper 1967, p. 108).

<sup>10</sup> The origin of that document is not entirely clear. Kors and Peters (1972, pp. 28–31) date it to 1140 and find mention of it in *The Concordance of Discordant* by Gratian. However, they no doubt used the English translation of H. C. Lea (1957, 1:178–80). Lea himself (1957, p. 494) attributed the *Canon episcopi* to an obscure meeting, the Council of Anquira, held perhaps in the 4th century (although there does not seem to be any record of such a council). Notwithstanding the obscurity surrounding its origins, the *Canon episcopi* was definitely adopted by later canonists as official policy concerning the matter of witchcraft.

1959年,页。207-8);罗马还发起了一场运动,将其管辖范围扩大到异教徒犹太人和西班牙的摩尔人。

当审判官立即发起一场运动,将他们的管辖范围扩大到更“传统”的替罪羊犹太人时,他们同时要求从13世纪开始,将他们的权力扩大到包括他们声称在比利牛斯山脉和阿尔卑斯山发现的女巫。9 他们的努力在14世纪初期取得了成果,当时教皇约翰二十二世发布了他的*Super illius* 窥镜。487和1489,残暴的*Malleus maleficarum*被印刷出来,在教皇英诺森'switchbull, *Summis desiderantes* 的祝福下,“巫术的艺术”达到了顶峰,审判官控制巫术的愿望几乎完全实现了。

虽然《*Malleus maleficarum*》很重要且具有权威性,但它绝不是15世纪出版的第一本或唯一一本关于女巫的书。1435年(尼德的*Formicarius*的日期)之后大约出版了15本书。其中,雅基尔的《*Flagellum haereticorum fascinariorum*》(1458年)被证明在某种程度上是一本关于女巫的书。转折点。

雅基尔首次将巫术定义为一种新的、邪恶的异端形式(Lea 1901, 3:497; Robbins 1959),声称女巫在本质上与其他人类不同。应该记住,直到此时,天主教会对于巫术的官方立场都是基于圣经,<sup>10</sup>指出对巫术的信仰只是幻想,相信巫术的人已经失去了信仰。雅基尔的问题是如何根据他自己对巫术的信仰来应对这种说法。他的解决方案迅速而明确:他指出“巫术教派”的存在表明女巫的存在与圣经中提到的巫师存在本质上的不同。声称女巫被组织起来,被用来参加残暴的安息日仪式,在那里她们与魔鬼纵情狂欢,并享用烤未受洗的婴儿。这为女巫的新概念铺平了道路。

8 *The Inquisition in the Iberian peninsula kept persecuting Jews until the 17th century*, 8 伊比利亚半岛的宗教裁判所一直迫害犹太人,直到17世纪(Eliav 1971; Roth 1971; Wolff 1971),这在一定程度上解释了那里没有欧洲式的猎巫活动。9 早在1257年,宗教裁判所就向教皇施压,要求其对于巫术拥有审判权,但教皇予以抵制(Trevor-Roper 1967, 第108页)。10 该文件的来源尚不完全清楚。Körs 和 Peters (1972年,第28-31页)将其追溯到1170年,并在 Gratian 的《不一致的和谐》中发现了它。

10 Körs and Peters (1972, pp. 28-31)

然而,他们无疑使用了H. C. Lea (1957, 1:178-80)的英文译本。Lea本人(1957年,第494页)将圣经归因于一次不起眼的会议,即可能在四世纪举行的安基拉会议(尽管似乎没有任何关于这样一次会议的记录)。尽管其起源不明,但《主教正典》无疑被后来的正典学家采纳为有关巫术问题的官方政策。

Some 30 years later, the *Malleus maleficarum* appeared; it was to become the most influential and widely used handbook on witchcraft. The book is divided into three parts. The first section attempts to prove by argumentation (rather than factual demonstration) the existence of witches and devils. It states that he who does not believe in the existence of witches is himself a victim of witchcraft practices (Szasz 1970)—a clear departure from the policy of the *Canon episcopi*. The second section tells how to identify a witch—what signs, techniques, and tests to use. This is important because previously there had been no readily available, easy definition of a witch. The third section of the book describes the legalities of investigating and sentencing a witch.

The *Malleus* explicitly connected witchcraft with womanhood, explaining that “. . . witchcraft is chiefly found in women . . .” because they were more credulous and had poor memories and because “. . . witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in women insatiable . . .” (Sprenger and Kramer [1487–89] 1968, pp. 41–48). The book’s recommended way to destroy the devil was to burn his host (the witch) “. . . using green wood for the slow burning of the grossly impenitent . . .” (Sprenger and Kramer [1487–89] 1968, p. 220). The authors specifically encouraged the use of torture to elicit confessions.

The importance of the *Malleus* cannot be overestimated. Its enormous influence was practically guaranteed, owing not only to its authoritative appearance but also to its extremely wide distribution. It was one of the first books to be printed on the recently invented printing press (Trevor-Roper 1967, p. 101) and appeared in no fewer than 20 editions (Zilboorg and Henry 1941). It became the textbook of the Inquisition, and, with the insertion of the *Summis desiderantes* as its preface, the last impediment to the inquisitorial witch-hunt was removed.<sup>11</sup> The moral backing had been provided for a horrible, endless march of suffering, torture, and human disgrace inflicted on thousands of women.

This account clearly links the beginnings of witch-hunts to the vested interest of the Dominicans and the Inquisition. They had a professional interest in the discovery of problems and of populations on which to exercise their specialized theological expertise in heresies and their investigative skills. The fact that they showed much less interest in witches in Spain and Portugal than in other countries of western Europe is consistent with this hypothesis of professional interest. In the Iberian peninsula the persecution of Jews and Moors provided them with plenty of intellectual challenge and employment.

<sup>11</sup> Lea (1957, 1:338–45) and Zilboorg and Henry (1941, p. 151) provide vivid and accurate descriptions of the various techniques of deception used by Sprenger and Kramer in order to authenticate their book.

大约30年后，木槌出现了；它后来成为最具影响力和广泛使用的巫术手册。本书分为三个部分。第一部分试图通过论证（而不是事实论证）来证明女巫和魔鬼的存在。它指出，不相信女巫存在的人自己就是巫术实践的受害者（Szasz 1970）——这明显背离了圣公会的政策。第二部分讲述了如何识别女巫和魔鬼的存在。女巫——使用什么标志、技术和测试。这很重要，因为以前对女巫没有现成的、简单的定义。本书的第三部分描述了调查和判刑女巫的合法性。

马勒乌斯明确地将巫术与女性联系起来，解释说“……巫术主要见于女性……因为她们更容易轻信，记忆力较差，而且因为”。巫术来自于女人的贪得无厌的肉欲。（Sprengerand Kramer [1487-89] 1968, 第 41-48 页）。这本书推荐的消灭魔鬼的方法是烧死他的主人（女巫），用绿木缓慢燃烧那些顽固不化的人……（Sprengerand Kramer[1487-89] 1968, 第220页）。作者特别鼓励使用酷刑来逼供。

《锤子》的重要性不可高估。它的巨大影响力实际上是有保证的，不仅因为它的权威外观，而且因为它的发行极其广泛。它是最早在最近发明的印刷机上印刷的书籍之一（Trevor Roper 1967, 第 101 页），并出现不少于 20 个版本（Zilboorg）和亨利 1941）。它成为宗教裁判所的教科书，并且，随着插入的《首脑会议》作为序言，宗教裁判所猎巫的最后一个障碍被消除了。11为数千名妇女遭受可怕的、无休止的痛苦、酷刑和人类耻辱提供了道德支持。

这一叙述清楚地将猎巫活动的开始与多米尼加人和宗教裁判所的既得利益联系起来。他们对发现问题和民众有一种职业兴趣，并在这些问题和民众中发挥他们在异端方面的专业神学知识和调查技能。他们对西班牙和葡萄牙女巫的兴趣远低于西欧其他国家，这一事实与这种职业兴趣的假设是一致的。在伊比利亚半岛，对女巫的迫害犹太人和摩尔人为他们提供了大量的智力挑战和就业机会。

11 Lea (1957, 1:338-45) and Zilboorg and Henry (1941, p. 151) provide vivid and accurate descriptions of the various techniques used by Sprenger and Kramer to verify their book.

## The End of the Medieval Order

The professional interest of the inquisitors explains why they began to take an interest in witches as early as the 13th century. But the transformation of this interest into an elaborate demonological theology took place only in the 15th century, and only then did the general public begin to share increasingly the interest of professional inquisitors in witches. To explain these developments requires a broader perspective on the social, institutional, intellectual, and emotional changes which culminated between the 15th and 17th centuries.

During the 13th to 17th centuries in general, and the 14th to 17th centuries in particular, the medieval social order underwent a series of significant changes which completely altered the dominant European outlook.

According to Pirenne (1937), the growth of cities and of an industrial form of production started in the Low Countries and in England in the 12th century, and from there reached down the Rhine in the 13th century. Among the changes that took place in the economic expansion of the 13th century was the development of numerous cities in Flanders (reaching a peak in the 14th century [Nicholas 1976]) and England, a significant increase in population size, perfection of the monetary system, and the mapping of new lands (Pirenne 1937, pp. 189–90; Thrupp 1972; Le Goff 1972; Bernard 1972). The expansion of commerce was not limited to central Europe, as ore mining began in Poland (Molenda 1976) and Mediterranean trade flourished at the same time (Ashtor 1976).<sup>12</sup>

This economic development brought with it increased trade, expanded urban industry, standardization, exports, division of labor, and specialization (Bernard 1972; Thrupp 1972; Le Goff 1972). By the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th, “. . . the development of industry and commerce completely transformed the appearance and indeed the very existence of society . . . continental Europe was covered with towns from which the activity of the new middle-class radiated in all directions . . . the circulation of money was perfected . . . new forms of credit came into use . . .” (Pirenne 1937, pp. 189–90; see also Le Goff 1972; Russell 1972). All this was only the beginning of a process the peak of which was reached in the 14th to 16th centuries. These centuries proved a turning point not only in commerce but also in geographical discoveries and their utilization (Postan and Rich 1952; Postan, Rich, and Miller 1963). “The exploration and exploitation of non-European areas by Europeans during the

<sup>12</sup> The economic development originally described by Pirenne has been corroborated by many other scholars. Cipolla (1976; 1978, p. 32) called it a “Commercial Revolution” and “a sort of Industrial Revolution.” Other sources corroborate the fact that 11th- to 13th-century Europe experienced intensive industrial, commercial, and monetary developments (Bernard 1972; Carus-Wilson 1941; Earle 1969; Lane 1933; Lopez 1976; Thrupp 1972).

中世纪秩序的终结

审判官的职业兴趣解释了为什么他们早在 13 世纪就开始对女巫产生兴趣。但这种兴趣到了 15 世纪才转变为详尽的恶魔学神学，直到那时，公众才开始越来越多地分享职业审判官对女巫的兴趣。要解释这些发展，需要对 15 世纪之间达到顶峰的社会、制度、知识和情感变化有更广阔的视角。超过 17 世纪。

整个 13 世纪到 17 世纪，特别是 14 世纪到 17 世纪，中世纪的社会秩序经历了一系列重大变化，彻底改变了欧洲的主导面貌。

根据 Pirenne (1937) 的说法，城市和工业生产形式的发展始于 12 世纪的低地国家和英格兰，并在 13 世纪从那里到达莱茵河下游。13 世纪经济扩张中发生的变化包括佛兰德斯 (14 世纪达到顶峰[Nicholas 1976]) 和英格兰众多城市的发展、人口规模的显著增加、货币体系的完善以及新土地的绘制 (Pirenne 1937, 第 189-90 页; Thrupp 1972; Le 戈夫 1972 年; 伯纳德 1972 年)。商业扩张不仅限于中欧，波兰开始了矿石开采 (Molenda 1976)，地中海贸易也同时蓬勃发展 (Ashtor 1976)。这种经济发展带来了贸易增加、城市工业扩张、标准化、出口、劳动分工和专业化 (Bernard 1972; Thrupp 1972; Le Goff 1972)。到了 13 世纪末和 14 世纪初，“……工业和商业的发展彻底改变了社会的面貌，甚至彻底改变了社会的存在……欧洲大陆布满了城镇，新中产阶级的活动从这些城镇向四面八方辐射……货币流通得到了完善……新的信贷形式开始使用” (Pirenne 1937, 第 189-90 页; 另见 Le Goff 1972; Russell 1972)。所有这一切只是一个过程的开始；这一过程在 14 至 16 世纪达到顶峰。这些世纪不仅是商业的转折点，也是地理发现及其利用的转折点 (Postan 和 Rich 1952; Postan、Rich 和 Miller 1963)。“欧洲人在欧洲以外地区的探索和开发

<sup>12</sup> The economic development originally described by Pirenne has been corroborated. 12 皮雷纳最初描述的经济的发展已得到许多其他学者的证实。Cipolla (1976; 1978, p. 32) 将其称为“商业革命”和“某种工业革命”。其他资料证实了 11 世纪至 13 世纪的欧洲经历了密集的工业、商业和货币发展这一事实 (Bernard 1972; Carus-Wilson 1941; Earle 1969; Lane 1933; Lopez 1976; Thrupp 1972)。

15th and 16th centuries form one of the greatest phenomena of the Renaissance . . ." (Penrose 1962, p. vii), no doubt forcing ". . . a re-evaluation of the idea of Europe as a model Christian society . . ." (Rattansi 1972, p. 7).

These extreme and relatively rapid changes made deep inroads in the hierarchic structure of feudal society sanctioned and legitimized by the Catholic church. In the medieval tradition, the moral boundaries of society were clearly defined. There was Christendom ruled spiritually by Rome and structured in a uniformly conceived hierarchic feudal order, firmly embedded in a finite cosmic order ruled by God. This order was threatened by the heretic Jews and Moslems, but their heresies were already related to the Christian tradition, and the relationship to them was clearly defined: they had to be converted and saved or, if recalcitrant, fought and suppressed.

This order became increasingly threatened by the rise of urban society that did not fit into the feudal hierarchy, by the growth of contact with non-Christian people that did not fit the conversion-conflict model, and by the resultant autonomy of economic and political transactions from theological guidance.

Stress and confusion created by these circumstances were further aggravated by external catastrophes, especially the devastating epidemics of plague and cholera which decimated the population of Europe and lasted throughout the 14th century. Furthermore, even the physical climate of Europe underwent severe changes in those fateful centuries, as evidenced by the onset of the Little Ice Age (Russell 1972, pp. 51–52), and the appearance of the great comet of 1528, which caused great fear and anxiety.

Stress and confusion, however, were only one aspect of these developments (Holmes 1975). There was confusion about the moral boundaries of society and the cognitive map of the world; frequently there was fear of impending doom. But there was also an opening up of new possibilities and a rise of standards of living in the wake of the great catastrophes of the 14th century. Those who survived the epidemics inherited the wealth of the deceased, and even those who had to maintain themselves by their work could obtain far better wages than before because of the shortage of manpower.

Thus the 15th century was a time of great enterprise, bold thought, innovation, as well as one of deep confusion and anomie (Durkheim 1951), a feeling that society had lost its norms and boundaries and that the uncontrollable forces of change were destroying all order and moral tradition. These developments allowed many contemporary thinkers to overstep the boundaries of reality and enter the realm of magic, fancy, and make-believe. Thus during the period between the 15th and 17th centuries there

十五世纪和十六世纪是文艺复兴时期最伟大的现象之一。。” (Penrose 1962, 第 vii 页), 毫无疑问迫使……重新评估欧洲作为基督教社会典范的观念 (Rattansi 1972, 第 7 页)。” (

这些极端且相对快速的变化深深地影响了天主教会认可和合法化的封建社会的等级结构。在中世纪传统中, 社会的道德界限是明确界定的。基督教世界在精神上受到罗马的统治, 并以统一构想的封建等级秩序构建, 牢固地嵌入由上帝统治的有限宇宙秩序中。这个秩序受到了异端犹太人和穆斯林的威胁, 但他们的异端已经与基督教传统相关, 而且与他们的关系是明确界定的: 他们必须被皈依和拯救, 或者, 如果顽抗, 则进行战斗和镇压。

这种秩序越来越受到不适应封建等级制度的城市社会的崛起、不适应皈依冲突模式的非基督徒接触的增长以及由此产生的经济和政治交易脱离神学指导的自主性的威胁。

这些情况造成的压力和混乱因外部灾难而进一步加剧, 特别是毁灭性的瘟疫和霍乱流行病, 它们使欧洲人口大量减少, 并持续了整个 14 世纪。此外, 甚至欧洲的自然气候在那些命运攸关的世纪中也经历了巨大的变化, 小冰河时代的开始就证明了这一点 (Russell 1972, 第 51-52 页), 以及 1528 年大彗星的出现, 引起了极大的恐惧和焦虑。

然而, 压力和困惑只是这些发展的一方面 (Holmes 1975)。人们对社会的道德界限和世界的认知地图感到困惑; 人们时常担心末日即将来临。但在 14 世纪的大灾难之后, 新的可能性也随之出现, 生活水平也随之提高。那些在流行病中幸存下来的人继承了死者的财富, 甚至那些不得不靠工作维持生计的人也能获得比以前更高的工资, 因为劳动力短缺。人手。

因此, 15 世纪是一个充满伟大进取心、大胆思想、创新的时代, 也是一个深度混乱和失范的时代 (涂尔干 1951), 人们感觉社会已经失去了规范和界限, 无法控制的变革力量正在摧毁所有秩序和道德传统。这些发展让许多当代思想家超越了现实的界限, 进入了魔法、幻想和虚构的领域。因此, 在 15 世纪至 17 世纪期间,

was frequently no clear demarcation between rational science and magic.

The inquisitors were forming their demonological theories in the early years of the scientific revolution (Ben-David 1971; Debus 1970; Rattansi 1972), when pseudoscience was rarely distinguished from other forms of science (Thorndike 1941; White 1913). There was great preoccupation with so-called secret (or esoteric) knowledge, namely, the Hermetic movement (Seligmann 1948), which "... focused attention on ... extraordinary and marvelous virtues. ... The aim was to grasp the hidden powers of nature and the mysterious forces ... ." (Rattansi 1972, p. 5). This explains why "... the growth of demonology and of the witch-hunt mania paralleled that of the scientific revolution ... ." (Kirsch 1978, p. 152) as well as a rise of interest in social utopias and "ideal societies" in the early decades of the 15th century (Cohn 1961; Graus 1967), which was another reaction to the dissolution of the cognitive and moral boundaries of the medieval world. The anomie resulting from the uncontrolled changes called forth positive as well as negative reactions. The expansion of horizons and the instability of social conditions, the Reformation, the beginning of the scientific revolution, Renaissance art, and humanism took advantage of the disappearance of traditional norms and boundaries for the creation of greater cultural diversity and freedom, giving rise to a new, infinitely more differentiated culture than that of the Middle Ages. The witch craze was a negative reaction in the sense that its purpose was to counteract and prevent change and to reestablish traditional religious authority.

Talcott Parsons's views on the development of modern European society are worth considering at this point. In his analysis, he contends that the traditional feudal system began to differentiate during the 11th century, starting a process which led—by the 17th century—to an increasing autonomy of the religious, governmental, and economic institutions. The new social order, based on relatively autonomous institutions, replaced a previous rigid, religiously defined, and more or less unified social system (Parsons 1966, 1971). The social change affected the very "center" or the "collective conscience" of society (Durkheim 1964; Shils 1975), or, to use Parsons's own term, the definition of the "societal community." In simpler terms this means that there was a newly felt need for the definition of the moral boundaries of society. By persecuting witches, this society, led by the church, attempted to redefine its moral boundaries. This was one of the numerous instances in which deviance served the social functions of emphasizing and creating moral boundaries and enhancing solidarity (Cohen 1966; Durkheim 1950; Erikson 1964, 1966; Lauderdale 1976). In fact, the witch craze was fictitious deviance, created for those purposes.

Until the Renaissance, the Catholic church was at its peak of power. All problems were treated as theological or theosophical, and the moral boundaries of society were well defined with no serious threat to them.

理性科学与魔法之间常常没有明确的界限。

审判者在科学革命的早期形成了他们的恶魔理论 (Ben-David 1971; Debus 1970; Rattansi 1972)，当时伪科学与其他形式的科学几乎没有区别 (Thorndike 1941; White 1913)。人们非常关注所谓的秘密 (或深奥的) 知识，即赫尔墨斯运动 (Seligmann 1948)，该运动“.....将注意力集中在.....非凡而奇妙的美德上，目的是掌握自然的隐藏力量和神秘力量.....” (拉坦西 1972 年，第 5 页)。这解释了原因。恶魔学和猎巫狂热的发展与科学革命的发展并行。。” (Kirseh 1978，第 152 页) 以及 15 世纪初期对社会乌托邦和“理想社会”兴趣的兴起 (Cohn 1961; Graus 1967)，这是对中世纪世界认知和道德界限消解的另一种反应。不受控制的变化所产生的失范带来了积极的影响视野的扩展和社会条件的不稳定、宗教改革、科学革命的开始、文艺复兴艺术和人文主义利用传统规范和界限的消失创造了更大的文化多样性和自由，产生了一种新的、比中世纪更加差异化的文化。人们认为其目的是抵制和防止变革并重建传统宗教权威。

塔尔科特·帕森斯关于现代欧洲社会发展的观点在这一点上值得考虑。在他的分析中，他认为传统的封建制度在 11 世纪开始分化，开始了一个以 17 世纪为主导的宗教、政府和经济机构日益自治的过程。以相对自治的机构为基础的新的社会秩序取代了以前僵化的、独立的社会秩序。宗教上定义的、或多或少统一的社会体系 (Parsons 1966, 1971)。社会变革影响了社会的“中心”或“集体良心” (涂尔干，1964 年; 希尔斯，1975 年)，或者用帕森斯自己的术语来说，影响了“社会共同体”的定义。用更简单的话来说，这意味着对社会道德边界的定义有了新的需要。以教会为首的社会试图重新定义其道德界限。这是偏差服务于强调和创造道德界限以及增强团结的社会功能的众多例子之一 (Cohen 1966; Durkheim 1950; Erikson 1964, 1966; Lauderdale 1976)。

事实上，女巫热潮是为了这些目的而虚构的越轨行为。

直到文艺复兴时期，天主教堂才处于权力的顶峰。所有问题都被视为神学或神智问题，社会的道德界限也被明确界定，没有受到严重威胁。

This is the reason that during the so-called dark Middle Ages we have hardly any record of witch crazes.

Once the results of the differentiation process became visible in the 15th century, and a sharp decline in the church's authority was noticeable, ". . . the church began to need an opponent whom it could divinely hate . . ." (Williams 1959, p. 37), so that a redefinition of moral boundaries could take place. This helps us understand why only the most rapidly developing countries, where the Catholic church was weakest, experienced a virulent witch craze (i.e., Germany, France, Switzerland). Where the Catholic church was strong (Spain, Italy, Portugal) hardly any witch craze occurred, even if these were rapidly developing societies, such as the Italian city-states. Although this was not the first time that the Catholic church was threatened, this development culminating in the Reformation was definitely the first time that the church had to cope with a large-scale threat to its very existence and legitimacy (Elton 1963), as ". . . the Reformation shattered the unity of Christendom, and religious conflicts . . . destroyed the illusion of the perfect Christian societies . . ." (Rattansi 1972, p. 7).

For this reason, Protestants persecuted witches with almost the same zeal as the Catholics, despite many objective differences between them. Protestantism might have been a result of the differentiation process, but this is not to say that Protestants were able either to master or to steer the process itself. Protestants and Catholics alike felt threatened both by the process and by each other.

Dominican theory portrayed witchcraft and witches as the negative mirror image of the true faith. This made it possible to attribute all the undesirable phenomena associated with the anomie of the age to the conspiracy of Satan and the witches against Christianity. By associating everything negative with witchcraft, the ideal components of the true faith were positively highlighted. In this sense, the witch craze could be called a "collective search for identity" (Klapp 1969) and the authors of the atrocious *Malleus maleficarum* can be seen as "moral entrepreneurs" (Becker 1963, pp. 147–63), taking part in a "moral crusade" (Gusfield 1967), striving to restore the integrity of the old religious-moral community. Witches were the only deviants who could be construed as attacking the very core of the social system, through antireligion.

This explains why a number of theologians and intellectuals found in the demonology of witches a cognitively satisfactory diagnosis of the moral ills of their time. It still has to be explained how this abstruse theory became so readily accepted by the masses.

As a result of the severe socioeconomic stress, the entire feudal social order crumbled and "immense sadness and a feeling of doom pervaded the land" (Anderson 1970, p. 1733), intensified and aggravated by the severe

这就是为什么在所谓的黑暗中世纪我们几乎没有任何巫术热潮的记录。

一旦分化过程的结果在15世纪显现出来，教会权威明显急剧下降，教会就开始需要一个可以神圣憎恨的对手。（Williams 1959，第37页），以便重新定义道德界限。这有助于我们理解为什么只有那些天主教会最弱的发展最快的国家（即德国、法国、瑞士）才会经历恶毒的女巫热潮。而天主教会强大的地方（西班牙、意大利、葡萄牙）几乎没有发生女巫热潮，即使这些社会发展迅速，比如意大利城邦。天主教会第一次受到威胁，这种在宗教改革中达到顶峰的发展无疑是教会第一次必须应对对其生存和合法性的大规模威胁（Elton 1963），因为“……宗教改革粉碎了基督教世界的统一，宗教冲突……摧毁了完美基督教社会的幻想……”（拉坦西 1972 年，第 7 页）。

因此，新教徒迫害女巫的热情几乎与天主教徒一样，尽管两者之间存在许多客观差异。新教可能是分化过程的结果，但这并不是说新教徒能够掌握或引导这一过程本身。新教徒和天主教徒都感到受到这一过程和彼此的威胁。

多米尼加理论将巫术和女巫描绘成真实信仰的负面镜像，这使得一切与时代失范相关的不良现象都可以归咎于撒旦和女巫反对基督教的阴谋。通过将一切负面事物与巫术联系起来，真实信仰的理想成分被积极地凸显出来。从这个意义上说，巫术热潮可以被称为“集体寻找身份”（Klapp 1969）和残暴的 *Malleus maleficarum* 的作者可以被视为“道德企业家”（Becker 1963，第 147-63 页），参加“道德十字军”（Gusfield 1967），努力恢复旧宗教道德共同体的完整性。只有离经叛道的人才能被理解为通过反宗教来攻击社会制度的核心。

这就解释了为什么许多神学家和知识分子在女巫的恶魔学中发现了对他们那个时代的道德弊病的认知上令人满意的诊断。仍然需要解释的是，这种深奥的理论如何如此容易被大众接受。

由于严重的社会经济压力，整个封建社会秩序崩溃了，“巨大的悲伤和厄运的感觉弥漫在这片土地上”（Anderson, 1970, p.1733），并因严重的社会经济压力而加剧和加剧。

climatological changes, demographical revolutions, and the disruption of family and communal life, all of which were perceived as signs of impending doom (Connor 1975). Furthermore, “. . . the individual was confronted with an enormously wider range of competing beliefs in almost every area of social and intellectual concern, while conformity-inducing pressures of a mainly ecclesiastical sort were weakened or discredited . . .” (Rattansi 1972, pp. 7–8). The existential crisis of individuals—expressed in terms of anomie, alienation, strangeness, powerlessness, and anxiety—created a fertile soil in which the Dominican solution could flourish.

What could better explain the strain felt by the individual than the idea that he was part of a cataclysmic, cosmic struggle between the “sons of light” and the “sons of darkness”? His personal acceptance of this particular explanation was further guaranteed by the fact that he could assist the “sons of light” in helping to trap the “sons of darkness”—the despised witches—and thus play a real role in ending the cosmic struggle in a way that would bring salvation nearer. Thus the differentiation process threatened not only the macroinstitutional level but also the microlevel—each person’s individual cognitive map. In such a case, a redefinition of moral boundaries and a restructuring of cognitive maps would be more than welcome: for this reason, the witch craze won extensive popular support.

#### WITCHCRAFT AS AN IDEOLOGY<sup>13</sup>

What made the demonological theory so attractive to the masses was that it had all the characteristics of what could be considered an effective ideology. The concept of ideology referred to is Geertz’s (1964). Although he limits his discussion to situations in which the need for cognitive and moral reorientation is the result of the emergence of “autonomous polity,” namely, the differentiation of the political from the religious sphere, widespread need for such reorientation is caused by every process of significant institutional differentiation. Such processes create a disturbing discrepancy between what is believed and reality. The function of ideology is to provide authoritative concepts capable of rendering the situation meaningful and “suasive images” by which the meaning can be “sensibly grasped” and which can arouse emotions and direct mass action toward objectives which promise to resolve existing strain.

The existence of widespread strain due to the inadequacy of traditional concepts, especially in the religious-moral sphere, has been documented above. However, it is possible to show that much of this strain became particularly focused on women, which explains why witches—usually female ones—could become such effective symbols in a new ideology.

<sup>13</sup> I am grateful to Joseph Ben-David for suggesting the connection between ideology and the witch-craze phenomenon.

气候变化、人口革命以及家庭和公共生活的破坏，所有这些都视为厄运即将来临的迹象 (Connor, 1975)。此外，“.....在社会和知识关注的几乎每一个领域，个人都面临着极其广泛的相互竞争的信仰，而主要是教会类型的从众压力则被削弱或失去信誉.....” (Rattansi 1972, 第 7-8 页)。个人的生存危机——表现为失范、疏远、陌生、无力和焦虑——为多米尼加解决方案的蓬勃发展创造了肥沃的土壤。

还有什么比他是“光明之子”和“黑暗之子”之间灾难性的宇宙斗争的一部分更能解释个人感受到的压力的呢？他个人对这一特殊解释的接受进一步得到了事实的保证，即他可以协助“光明之子”帮助捕获“黑暗之子”——被鄙视的女巫——从而在结束宇宙斗争中发挥真正的作用，从而使救赎更近。因此，分化过程不仅威胁到宏观制度层面，而且威胁到微观层面——每个人的个人认知图谱。在这种情况下，道德界限的重新定义和认知地图的重组将是非常受欢迎的：正因如此，巫术热潮赢得了广泛的民众支持。

#### WITCHCRAFT AS AN IDEOLOGY<sup>13</sup>

作为一种意识形态的巫术<sup>13</sup>

恶魔学说之所以对大众如此有吸引力，是因为它具有可以被视为有效意识形态的所有特征。这里提到的意识形态概念是 Geertz (1964) 的。尽管他将讨论限制在“自治政体”的出现（即政治与宗教领域的分化）导致需要认知和道德重新定位的情况下，但对这种重新定位的广泛需要是由重大制度分化的每一个过程引起的。这些过程在信念与现实之间造成了令人不安的差异。意识形态的功能是提供能够使情况变得有意义的权威概念。和“有说服力的图像”它的意义可以被“明智地理解”，它可以激起情绪并引导群众行动以实现有望解决现有压力的目标。

由于传统观念的不足，特别是在宗教道德领域，存在着广泛的压力，这一点已经在本文中得到了记录。然而，有可能表明，这种张力在很大程度上变得特别集中在女性身上，这解释了为什么女巫（通常是女性）可以成为新意识形态中如此有效的象征。

<sup>13</sup> I am grateful to Joseph Ben-David for suggesting the connection between ideology  
<sup>13</sup> 我很感谢约瑟夫·本·大卫提出意识形态与女巫狂热现象之间的联系。

How women became such a symbol can be explained through three events: structural and functional changes in the family, changes in the status and role of women, and demographic changes.

Ariès (1962) points out that the medieval family was a property-holding unit, and “. . . the home of the early Middle Ages was the heart of the industrial life of the community . . .” (Goodsell 1915, p. 207). In this home, the woman possessed a central role, both as a housekeeper and mother and as a breadwinner. For example, “. . . in the 7th century the textile industry was wholly carried on by wives and daughters of the family. . . . Such was the case prior to the 12th century when weaving . . . [increasingly became] . . . a skilled craft in the hands of the men . . .” (Goodsell 1915, p. 208). Goodsell’s book leaves the reader with a firm impression of the medieval wife’s hard life.

According to Jarrett (1962), the main functions of a married woman were (1) to provide male heirs for the family’s property and (2) to make her husband richer by the treasures she was supposed to bring as her dowry (also in Bullough 1974; Goodsell 1915) and as a producing unit. Jarrett’s main theme is the subordinate status of medieval women.

The social position of medieval women is a problematic issue, and researchers have only recently begun to explore it seriously (e.g., Herlihy 1971; Morewedge 1975; Power 1975; Stuard 1976). Power (1926, 1975) states that the social position of medieval women was far from clear in that it was the subject of an ongoing dispute between the church and the aristocracy. She claims, however, that everyone seemed to accept the subordination of women, and that the prevailing attitude toward women was one of possession. There were also those who regarded women as dangerous and seductive, or even as superior beings (as in the Virgin Mary cult) (Warner 1976); this view seems inconsistent with subordination of women. Part of Power’s conceptual confusion stems, no doubt, from her lack of attention to dates, but, nonetheless, she provides us with a clear example of the subordinate role of medieval women (the inconsistencies will be dealt with later).<sup>14</sup>

Toward the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century, a time ripe with economic upheavals and changes, many families moved from the rural areas to towns, changing their economic outlook and shifting from producing and exchanging goods to a purely cash economy. This shift had a number of consequences: (1) A family of this type could hardly afford to support ill, unemployed, or unproductive members. (2) The family

<sup>14</sup> Several recent studies (Bainton 1971, 1973; Chojnacki 1974; Coleman 1971; Gies and Gies 1978; Herlihy 1971; O’Faolain and Martines 1973; Stuard 1976) generally tend to corroborate the conception of the subjugation of medieval women but also point to specific instances, periods, and situations in which women successfully raised their status.

女性如何成为这样的象征可以通过三个事件来解释：家庭结构和功能的变化、女性地位和角色的变化以及人口变化。

Aries (1962) 指出，中世纪家庭是一个财产持有单位，并且。。中世纪早期的住宅是社区工业生活的中心。。（古德塞尔 1915 年，第 207 页）。在这个家庭中，妇女扮演着核心角色，既是管家、母亲，又是养家糊口的人。例如，“...I...在七世纪，纺织业完全由家庭的妻子和女儿承担。在十二世纪之前，当断奶时，情况就是这样.....[越来越多].....男人手中的技艺（古德塞尔 1915；第 208 页）古德塞尔的书给读者留下了中世纪妻子的艰苦生活的深刻印象。

根据贾勒特 (Jarrett, 1962) 的说法，已婚妇女的主要功能是 (1) 为家庭财产提供男性继承人，(2) 通过她应该带来的作为嫁妆（也是在布洛 1974 年；古德塞尔 1915）和作为生产单位的财富，使她的丈夫更加富有。贾勒特的主要主题是中世纪女性的从属地位。

中世纪女性的社会地位是一个有问题的问题，研究人员最近才开始认真探讨它（例如，Herlihy 1971；Morewedge 1975；Power 1975；Stuard 1976）。《权力》(1926, 1975) 指出，中世纪妇女的社会地位远不明确，因为它是教会和贵族之间持续争论的主题。然而，她声称，每个人似乎都接受妇女的从属地位，而且对妇女的普遍态度是一种占有欲。也有人认为妇女是危险的、诱人的，甚至是优越的存在。（如圣母玛利亚崇拜）(Warner 1976)；这种观点似乎与妇女的从属地位相矛盾。毫无疑问，鲍尔的概念混乱部分源于她对日期的缺乏关注，但是，尽管如此，她为我们提供了中世纪妇女从属角色的明确例子（不一致之处将在稍后讨论）。<sup>14</sup> 到了 13 世纪末和 14 世纪初，一个经济动荡和变革成熟的时期许多家庭从农村搬到城镇，改变了他们的经济面貌，从生产和交换商品转向纯粹的现金经济。这种转变产生了许多后果：（1）此类家庭几乎无力抚养生病、失业或无生产能力的成员。（2）家庭

of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century, a time

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<sup>14</sup> Several recent studies (Bainton 1971, 1973; Chojnacki 1974; Coleman 1971; Gies 1974; 最近的几项研究 (Bainton 1971, 1973; Chojnacki 1974; Coleman 1971; Gies 和 Gies 1978; Herlihy 1971; O'Faolain 和 Martines 1973; Stuard 1976) 总体上倾向于证实中世纪妇女受到征服的概念，但也指出了具体实例，妇女成功提高地位的时期和情况。

structure's main function changed from a property-holding, working unit to a consuming unit. (3) As a result of the great number of peasants coming to town in the 13th century, the worker's real wages remained very low, and any fluctuation in business caused severe survival problems. This situation understandably produced considerable insecurity among the new city dwellers (Cohn 1961; Helleiner 1967). (4) Consequently, male employees in large-scale enterprises (textiles, flour mills, mining) subsisted too close to the starvation level and could not afford marriage. Moreover, ". . . marriage of the artisan depended on admission to masterhood, and this in turn depended on conditions which favored the masters of the guild. Guild regulations prohibited admission of married apprentices . . ." (McDonnell 1954, p. 84; see also Wrigley 1969).<sup>15</sup>

These factors, when combined, created strong pressures on women to enter the job market, either to support their families if they had any, or to support themselves if they were alone. The fate of the unmarried girl was more or less sealed (Goodsell 1915, p. 210). Some were sent to convents (McDonnell 1954), others could stay with their families and help with work. In the cities, however, women without mates or families to support them and with no chance of entering a convent usually worked in spinning and weaving. Some also resorted to prostitution (McDonnell 1954). Sources on the history of prostitution (Bullough and Bullough 1964; Henriques 1963; Sanger 1937; Scott 1936) attest to the sharp increase in the number of prostitutes in growing urban industrial centers of the 14th and 15th centuries. La Croix (1926, vol. 2) points out that cities along the Rhine and in Alsace-Lorraine (where new industries were developing) had instituted numerous laws against prostitution by the end of the 14th century. (These places, incidentally, were also characterized by a high degree of witch-hunting.) It hardly seems coincidental that Sprenger—one of the authors of the *Malleus*—came from Cologne, the principal industrial and commercial city on the Rhine (Nelson 1971, p. 25).

During this period numerous rich families attempted to establish secular convents to which they could send their unwed daughters, but these convents deteriorated rapidly and were later turned into hospitals and poorhouses (McDonnell 1954, pp. 82, 84; Nelson 1971, p. 25).

The pressures on women to enter the job market were thus very strong, and women responded by entering various newly industrialized spheres. Consequently, during the 13th and 14th centuries, women's differing roles as part of the traditional family structure and as unmarried workers became very problematic.

<sup>15</sup> This rule, essentially, was an attempt by those in power to keep it. As Marx pointed out, this development also contributed to the rise of a permanent proletariat.



An initial reaction to this dilemma was to glorify the old, traditional role of the woman. Women thus became objects of worship, appreciation, adoration, and admiration (Nelson 1971, p. 24). Lea (1901, 3:597–610) and Warner (1976), for example, report on the growing support generated by the Virgin Mary cult, in which the Virgin was worshipped as the ideal woman. However, this attitude did not last very long, and the image of the woman soon changed.

### The 14th Century: New Patterns Emerge

During the 14th century, Europe experienced severe demographic changes which bear directly on the concentration on women as victims of witch-hunts. A major disaster altered the situation, as well as the image, of women: the devastating Black Death (1347–50). The mortality rate was particularly high in cities owing to greater density of population and the absence of hygienic conditions (Helleiner 1967). Lea (1901, vol. 2) reports certain places where, out of each 1,000 people, barely 100 survived.

This constituted a turning point in the demography of Europe (Russell 1972; Borrie 1970; Wrigley 1969). “Central and northern Europe . . . saw a three-fold growth in the pre-plague period with its most rapid advance from about 1150–1200 to 1300. . . . In this period, for the first time, cities larger than 20,000 appeared . . .” (Russell 1972, p. 40). Paris and London reached populations of 100,000 and 50,000, respectively (Russell 1972, pp. 34–35).<sup>16</sup> The effect of the plague on the population was devastating. It can be assumed with a fair degree of certainty that 30%–50% of Europe’s population was annihilated by this disaster (Bridbury 1973; Cipolla 1974; Langer 1964; Lea 1901, vol. 2; Russell 1972; Usher 1956; Ziegler 1971). Postan (1950), for example, reports that the decrease in population was so sharp, with no corresponding increases during following centuries, that almost 50%–60% of the land was deserted in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Germany.<sup>17</sup>

After the major plagues had passed, peasant and wage-laborer survivors found themselves in a highly advantageous position: as a result of the shortage in manpower (Spengler 1968, p. 433), their real income was tremendously increased, food improved, and job security magnified. In addition, many survivors had inherited large amounts of wealth from their

<sup>16</sup> Russell also indicates that until the 14th century, there had been more males than females in the population. (No indication is given as to exactly when a better female/male ratio was achieved.)

<sup>17</sup> In England the situation was different. Although the plague hit England quite hard, the country’s large population surplus counterbalanced some of its effects and probably affected the emerging patterns of witch-hunting there, too (see, e.g., Bridbury 1973, 1977; Postan 1950; Usher 1956).

对这种困境的最初反应是美化女性古老的传统角色。女性因此成为崇拜、欣赏、崇拜和钦佩的对象 (Nelson 1971, p.24)。例如, Lea (1901, 3:597-610) 和 Warner (1976) 报道了圣母玛利亚崇拜所产生的日益增长的支持, 其中圣母玛利亚被崇拜为理想的女人。然而, 这种态度并没有持续很长时间, 女人的形象很快就发生了变化。

#### 14世纪: 新模式的出现

14世纪, 欧洲经历了严重的人口变化, 这直接影响了女性作为政治迫害受害者的关注。一场重大灾难改变了女性的处境和形象: 毁灭性的黑死病 (1347-50)。由于人口密度较大和缺乏卫生条件, 城市的死亡率特别高 (Helleiner 1967)。Lea (1901, 第2卷) 报告称, 在某些地方, 每 1,000 人中只有 100 人幸存。

这构成了欧洲人口统计学的转折点 (Russell 1972; Borrie 1970; Wrigley 1969)。“中欧和北欧……在瘟疫爆发前的时期增长了三倍, 从大约 1150 年至 1200 年到 1300 年, 增长最快。在此期间, 首次出现了超过 20,000 个城市……”(Russell 1972, 第 40 页)。巴黎和伦敦的人口分别达到 100,000 和 50,000 (Russell 1972, 第 34-35 页)。16 瘟疫对人口的影响是毁灭性的。可以相当肯定地假设, 30%-50% 的欧洲人口被这场灾难消灭了 (Bridbury 1973; Cipollà 1974; Langer 1964; Lea 1901, vol. 2; Russell 1972; Usher 1956; Ziegler 1971)。例如, 波斯坦 (Postan, 1950) 报告说, 人口减少如此急剧, 而在接下来的几个世纪里没有相应的增加, 以至于丹麦、瑞典、挪威和德国几乎有 50%-60% 的土地被荒废。17 大瘟疫过去后, 农民和雇佣工人的幸存者发现自己处于非常有利的地位: 由于人力短缺 (Spengler, 1968, p.433), 他们的实际收入大幅增加, 食品得到改善, 工作保障也得到放大。此外, 许多幸存者从他们的祖先那里继承了大量财富。

16 罗素还指出, 直到 14 世纪, 人口中的男性多于女性。(没有任何迹象表明具体何时实现了更好的女性/男性比例。) 17 在英格兰, 情况有所不同, 尽管瘟疫对英格兰的打击相当严重, 但该国庞大的人口盈余抵消了其部分影响, 并可能也影响了那里新兴的猎巫模式 (参见, 例如, Bridbury 1973, 1977; Postan 1950; Usher 1956)。

16 Russell also indicates that until the 14th century there had been more males than

different. Although the plague hit England quite

deceased relatives (Langer 1964). Under such favorable conditions, one might expect an increase in the population, but this did not occur (Nelson 1971; Noonan 1968; Spengler 1968; Deevey 1960; Helleiner 1957) before the 16th to 17th centuries (Helleiner 1957; Langer 1964; Wrigley 1969). This phenomenon can be explained in part by the sporadic, unpredictable reappearance of disease, as well as the continuation of the Hundred Years' War. But the essential explanation lies elsewhere. The fact that the birthrate decreased and the population did not increase in the second half of the 14th century can be explained by the widespread use of contraception and by the rise in infanticide (Helleiner 1967, p. 71). Why these practices were used can be easily explained.

Because part of the population was—quite suddenly—exposed to a high standard of living due to an increase in real income (wages), these people did not want to undermine their new prosperity by raising large families. Furthermore, the economic, monetary, commercial, and urban revolutions which accompanied the Renaissance and Reformation probably also gave a powerful stimulus to the rise of basic forms of individualism and egoism. Those who married took care to limit their number of offspring, while those who did not marry made efforts to prevent pregnancy (Spengler 1968, pp. 436–37, 440). The church at that time complained bitterly of the widespread use of *coitus interruptus* by married and single persons alike as a means of preventing pregnancy (Himes 1936; Noonan 1965; Wrigley 1969, p. 124). Although historical research on infanticide is still itself in its infancy and cannot yet provide us with reliable numbers concerning the scope of the phenomenon in the 12th to 15th centuries, a growing number of scholars have suggested that the rate and scope of infanticide increased sharply and significantly during the period in question (Coleman 1976; Davis and Blake 1956; De Mause 1974, pp. 1–183; Goodsell 1915, chaps. 6 and 7; Helleiner 1967; Helmholtz 1975; Himes 1936; Langer 1974*a*, 1974*b*; Noonan 1965; Radbill 1974; Spengler 1968; Trexler 1973; Wrigley 1969, pp. 125–26).<sup>18</sup>

Coleman (1976, p. 57) notes that “. . . many children were left abandoned at a church's door; and they were accepted in order to prevent their death at the hands of their parents . . .” and that “. . . the purpose of . . . infanticide was to regulate children, not eliminate them . . .” (p. 69).

It is quite clear that the 15th and 16th centuries brought one of the most severe demographic changes Europe had ever experienced. First, the

<sup>18</sup> This problem began prior to the 14th century. Already at the end of the 12th century, for example, Innocent III established a hospital in Rome “. . . because so many women were throwing their children into the Tiber . . .” and earlier than that “. . . there were as many infanticides as there were infants born out of wedlock . . .” (Trexler 1973, p. 99).

已故亲属 (Langer 1964)。在这种有利的条件下, 人们可能会期望人口增加, 但这在16世纪至17世纪之前并没有发生 (Nelson 1971; Noonan 1968; Spengler 1968; Deevey 1960; Helleiner 1957) (Helleiner 1957; Langer 1964; Wrigley 1969)。这种现象的部分原因是疾病的零星的、不可预测的再现, 以及百年战争的持续。但重要的解释在别处。14世纪下半叶出生率下降而人口没有增加这一事实可以用避孕措施的广泛使用和杀婴事件的增加来解释 (Helleiner 1967, 第71页)。

为什么使用这些做法很容易解释。

由于实际收入 (工资) 的增加, 部分人口突然享受到了高生活水平, 因此这些人不想通过养育大家庭来破坏他们的新繁荣。此外, 伴随文艺复兴和宗教改革而来的经济、货币、商业和城市革命也可能有力地刺激了个人主义和利己主义基本形式的兴起。那些已婚的人注意限制后代的数量, 而那些未婚的人则努力防止怀孕 (Spengler 1968, pp. 436-37, 440)。当时的教会对已婚人士和单身人士普遍使用中断性交作为避孕手段进行了严厉的抱怨 (Himes 1936; Noonan 1965; Wrigley 1969, 第 124 页)。尽管对杀婴的历史研究还处于起步阶段, 尚不能为我们提供有关12至15世纪这一现象范围的可靠数据, 但越来越多的学者认为, 在这一时期杀婴的发生率和范围急剧增加 (Coleman 1976; Davis and Blake 1956; De Mause 1974, 第1-183页; Goods 1915, 小伙子. 6 和 7; Helleiner 1967; Helmholtz 1975; Himes 1936; Langer 1974a, 1974b; Noonan 1965; Radbill 1974; Spengler 1968; Trexler 1973; Wrigley 1969, pp. 125-26).<sup>18</sup> Coleman (1976, p. 57) 指出。“...许多孩子被遗弃在教堂门口; 他们被接纳是为了防止他们的死亡, 他们的父母亲.....”并且“.....杀婴的目的是为了规范儿童, 而不是消灭他们 (第 17 页)。

69). is quite clear that the 15th and 16th centuries brought one of the  
很明显, 15 世纪和 16 世纪带来了欧洲有史以来最剧烈的人口变化。

<sup>18</sup> This problem began prior to the 14th century. Already at the end of the 12th cen-  
18 这个问题早在 14 世纪就开始了。例如, 早在 12 世纪末, 英诺森三世就在罗马建立了一家医院, “.....因为很多妇女把她们孩子扔进台伯河.....”在此之前, “.....有许多杀婴事件, 因为有非婚生婴儿.....” (Trexler 1973, 第 99 页)。

unique European marriage patterns, characterized by (1) a late age of marriage and (2) a high proportion of people never marrying at all, took shape roughly from about the 15th and 16th centuries. The basis of these patterns was the insistence of single persons on achieving a certain standard of living as a prerequisite to marriage (Hajnal 1965; Noonan 1968; Russell 1972; Spengler 1968; Wrigley 1969). Second, the marriage age of single males rose to 25 and more (Litchfield 1966) and of females to 23 and even 27 (Midelfort 1972, pp. 184–86). These developments created high proportions of unmarrieds—a significant process in a society which attaches a stigma to being single. In turn, these processes motivated the development of convents (Litchfield 1966), the rise of Beguines in the 15th and 16th centuries, and the advent of the spinster in Protestant countries. Wrigley (1959, p. 90) succinctly summarized these developments by stating that “. . . between two-fifths and three-fifths of the women of childbearing age 15–44 were unmarried. . . .”<sup>19</sup>

These figures indicate a definite shift to late marriage which was the focus for the crystallization of the nuclear family, on one hand, and marriage by choice, on the other (Noonan 1968, p. 468). The large increase in the number of unmarried women produced a serious problem and may be the background to the fact that a significant number of “witches” were either widows or spinsters (at least when the persecutions started). Later on, however, married women and young girls were persecuted as well (Midelfort 1972).

It is evident from all this that, beginning in the 12th century and throughout the entire period dealt with here (to the mid-17th century), the social role of women was in constant flux. Urban industrial life compelled them to step outside the traditional role of the housewife (Nelson 1971). Whereas two centuries earlier they could not get married because men could not afford marriage, in the 15th century they were unable to marry owing to men’s reluctance to marry. The change in woman’s traditional role hinged on the fact that she entered a competitive market characterized by lack of manpower. The resulting entrance of women into this competitive job market produced a virulent misogynic ideology (Bainton 1971, pp. 9–14; Kelso 1956; Midelfort 1972, p. 183).

There were also deep changes in women’s role as mothers. There was the widespread use of contraception and infanticide, which the church strongly and fiercely denounced as most evil. Trexler (1973, p. 98) notes that “. . . child-killing has been regarded almost exclusively as a female crime, the result of woman’s inherent tendency to lechery, passion, and lack of responsibility. . . .” He adds (p. 103) that “. . . infanticide was

<sup>19</sup> These changes took place progressively over Europe. In many areas they were present as early as the 15th and 16th centuries; in others, they may have been present already in the 14th century (Wrigley 1969; Herlihy 1965).

欧洲独特的婚姻模式大致形成于 15 世纪和 16 世纪，其特点是 (1) 晚婚和 (2) 很高比例的人根本不结婚。这些模式的基础是坚持单身者达到一定的生活水平作为结婚的先决条件 (Hajnal 1965; Noonan 1968) ; Russell 1972; Spengler 1968; Wrigley 1969)。其次，单身男性的结婚年龄上升到 25 岁或以上 (Litchfield 1966)，女性的结婚年龄上升到 23 岁甚至 27 岁 (Midelfort 1972, 第 184-86 页)。这些发展创造了很高比例的未婚者——这是一个以单身为耻辱的社会中的一个重要过程。反过来，这些过程促进了修道院的发展 (Litchfield, 1966)，贝居安人在 15 世纪和 16 世纪的兴起，以及新教国家中老处女的出现。Wrigley (1959, p.90) 简洁地总结了这些发展通过声明“... 15-44 岁育龄妇女中有五分之二至五分之三未婚”<sup>19</sup>

这些数字表明晚婚的明确转变，一方面是核心家庭结晶的焦点，另一方面是选择婚姻的焦点 (Noonan 1968, p.468)。未婚女性数量的大量增加产生了严重的问题，可能是大量“女巫”要么是寡妇要么是老处女的背景 (至少在迫害开始时是这样)。然而，后来，已婚妇女和年轻女孩也受到迫害 (Midelfort, 1972)。从这一切可以明显看出，从 12 世纪开始以及在本文讨论的整个时期 (到 17 世纪中叶)，妇女的社会角色不断变化。城市工业生活迫使她们走出家庭主妇的传统角色 (Nelson 1971)。两个世纪前，她们无法结婚，因为男人买不起婚姻，而在 15 世纪，她们无法结婚，是因为男人不愿结婚。女性传统角色的变化取决于她进入了一个以缺乏人力为特征的竞争性市场。由此导致的女性进入这个竞争性就业市场，产生了恶毒的厌女症 (Bainton 1971, 第 9 页) 14; Kelso 1956; Midelfort 1972, 第 183 页)。

... all this that beginning in the 12th century and

There was  
妇女作为母亲的角色也发生了深刻的变化。避孕和杀婴的广泛使用，被教会强烈谴责为最邪恶的行为。Trexler (1973, 第 98 页) 指出“.....杀害儿童几乎被认为是一种女性犯罪，是妇女固有的好色倾向、激情和缺乏责任感的结果”，他补充道 (第 103 页) “.....杀婴是女性犯罪”

<sup>19</sup> These changes took place progressively over Europe. In many areas they were  
19 这些变化在欧洲逐步发生。在许多地区，它们早在 15 世纪和 16 世纪就已经存在；在其他地区，它们可能早在 14 世纪就已经存在了 (Wnrgley 1969; Herlihy 1965)。

far and away the most common social crime imputed to . . . witches . . . by the demonologists . . ." (see also Lea 1957, vol. 1; Murray 1918; Sprengrer and Kramer [1487–89] 1968). Infanticide was not only a result of the fact that many children were born out of wedlock. At that time, it was felt that breast-feeding was the best way of helping a healthy infant grow. Alas, many rich women either could not breast-feed their offspring or did not want to. Consequently, wet nurses were sought. There are indications that many wet nurses were poor women hired after their infants either died naturally, or, more often, were killed. Trexler (1973) suggests that it is quite possible that, in many cases, becoming a wet nurse was a planned course of action, as a safe, comfortable source of income.

No wonder, then, that midwives were among the chief suspects of witchcraft (Forbes 1966), since the Dominicans suspected—and probably rightly—that midwives were experts in birth control and no doubt helped and cooperated in infanticide. This explains why, in numerical terms, women were the principal victims of the witch-hunts. The craze reflected changes in woman's traditional role and in the structure of the family.

Among the large numbers of unmarried men and women, there was apparently much sexual license, including religiously sinful contraception, and even such capital crime as infanticide. Under such circumstances the relationship between the sexes must have been frequently one of mutual exploitation and fraught with deep feelings of guilt and resentment. Because of the powerlessness of women under secular and religious law, and their inferior status, it was convenient to project on them all the resentment and guilt. The ideology of the witch-hunt made use of these emotions—it allowed men who indulged in sex that proved unhealthy for them to accuse women of taking away their generative powers. Those who were party to contraception through *coitus interruptus* could project their guilt feelings on women for stealing their seed. The fantasies about the unlimited sexual powers and depravity of women may have been a reflection of the fear engendered by the large number of unmarried women not subject to the authority of fathers or husbands, as, according to prevailing views, they ought to have been.

These feelings, reflected in the images of witch ideology, must have been very widespread among men, since presumably a large fraction of them took advantage of the prevailing sexual license. Among married women who probably did not, or could not, indulge in illicit sex, there must have been strong feelings against "bad women" who might "bewitch" their husbands and sons or who had actually done so. Therefore, the female witch, using sex for corrupting the world on behalf of Satan, was a "suasive image" of great power, in an ideology the aim of which was to cleanse the world from all the effects of social change and anomie and to restore the moral boundaries of medieval society.

远距离最常见的社会犯罪归咎于。..女巫。.....恶魔学家所为。”(另见 Lea 1957, 第 1 卷; Murray 1918; Sprenger 和 Kramer [1487-89] 1968)。杀婴不仅是许多非婚生儿童这一事实的结果。认为母乳喂养是帮助健康婴儿成长的最佳方式。唉,许多富有的妇女不能母乳喂养她们的后代,或者不想母乳喂养她们的后代。因此,人们需要奶妈。有迹象表明,许多奶妈是在她们的婴儿自然死亡,或者更常见的是被杀后被雇用的贫穷妇女。Trexler (1973) 认为,很可能,在许多情况下,成为一名奶妈是一项有计划的行动,作为一种安全、舒适的收入来源。

那么,难怪助产士成为巫术的主要嫌疑人之一(《福布斯》1966),因为多米尼加人怀疑——而且可能是正确的——助产士是节育方面的专家,并且无疑在杀婴方面提供了帮助和配合。这从数量上解释了为什么妇女是政治迫害的主要受害者。这种热潮反映了妇女传统角色和社会结构的变化。家庭。

在大量的未婚男女中,显然存在着大量的性放荡,包括宗教上的罪恶避孕,甚至还有杀婴等死罪。在这种情况下,两性之间必定经常是相互剥削的关系,充满了深深的负罪感和怨恨感。由于妇女在世俗和宗教法律下的无能为力,地位低下,很容易将怨恨和负罪感投射到她们身上。政治迫害的意识形态利用了这些情感——它允许那些沉迷于对他们来说不健康的性行为的男人指责女人剥夺了他们的生育能力。那些通过性交中断来避孕的人可能会将他们偷窃种子的罪恶感投射到女人身上。关于女性无限的性能力和堕落的幻想可能反映了大量未婚女性所产生的恐惧,她们不服从父亲或丈夫的权威,而按照普遍观点,她们本应服从父亲或丈夫的权威。

这些反映在巫术意识形态形象中的情感一定在男性中广泛传播,因为大概他们中的很大一部分人利用了盛行的性放纵。在可能没有或不能沉溺于不正当性行为的已婚妇女中,一定对那些可能“迷惑”她们的丈夫和儿子或实际上这样做了的“坏女人”有强烈的感情。因此,代表撒旦利用性来腐蚀世界的女巫,是一个具有强大力量的“劝导性形象”,其意识形态的目的是清除世界上所有社会变革和失范的影响,并恢复中世纪社会的道德界限。

### TIMING: TERMINATION OF THE WITCH CRAZE

In their most devastating form, the witch-hunts lasted until after the Thirty Years' War (1648) ended in the so-called Peace of Westphalia. The invasion of foreign armies from the north halted the persecution of witches in many cases (Nelson 1971; Robbins 1959). By the 17th century the ideological basis behind the witch-hunts was clouded by growing doubts as to its legitimacy, and the various "technologies" and tortures used to hunt and isolate a witch were meeting with severe criticism. Eventually, power was taken away from the courts, the inquisitorial machinery was dismantled, and persecution of witches came to an end. This fact is consistent with the idea that once the differentiation process was well on its way and people began adjusting to the new situation, the persecutions ended. The coincidence of the termination of the craze with the termination of the Thirty Years' War in the Peace of Westphalia is not just a chance occurrence. This peace, no doubt, gave official recognition and legitimacy to religious pluralism and symbolically ended the European struggle to redefine the social system morally. In Parsons's (1971, p. 52) terms, ". . . religious pluralization was part of a process of differentiation between the cultural and societal systems that reduced the rigidity and diffuseness of their interpenetration. . . ." The internal stresses, insecurity, and instability experienced by persons living in the stricken areas during the Thirty Years' War, as well as the exhausting, debilitating struggle and the invasions of various military groups and armies, provided fuel to the burning furnace of the final phase of the witch craze. But once stability was achieved and religious pluralism accepted, the witch-hunts weakened, finally disappearing altogether. It is evident, thus, that by the 17th century there was a demarcation among science, magic, and religion. There were also a recognition of autonomy of government and economy in England, and a settlement of relationships elsewhere in a way which recognized supremacy of the political sphere. A new social order had visibly and triumphantly crystallized with trends and expectations stabilized, especially regarding the family, cognitive maps, initial separation of church and state, and the rise of science, all of which were now coming into their own. Furthermore, the new European pattern of marriage and spinsterhood was institutionalized in the 17th century, and the earlier turmoil surrounding the formation of these new life-styles subsided.

The ideas presented in this paper raise a question regarding the usefulness of ideology in general and the witch-hunts in particular. Were the witch persecutions successful in restoring the religious moral boundaries of medieval society? Evidently not. The medieval society was not reconstructed or restored, and probably could not have been restored. The effort of doing so was futile and the sacrifice of innumerable human lives could

时机：女巫热潮的终结

政治迫害最具破坏性的形式一直持续到三十年战争（1648年）以所谓的威斯特伐利亚和约结束后。在许多情况下，来自北方的外国军队的入侵阻止了对女巫的迫害（Nelson 1971；Robbins 1959）。到了17世纪，人们对其合法性越来越怀疑，猎巫背后的意识形态基础变得模糊起来，用于猎杀和孤立女巫的各种“技术”和酷刑也遭到了严厉的批评。最终，法院的权力被剥夺，调查机构被拆除，对女巫的迫害也结束了。这一事实与这样的观点是一致的：一旦分化过程顺利进行，人们开始适应新的形势，迫害就会结束。《威斯特伐利亚和约》中热潮的结束与三十年战争的结束同时发生，这不仅仅是一个偶然的发生。毫无疑问，这种和平，给予宗教多元主义官方承认和合法性，并象征性地结束了欧洲在道德上重新定义社会体系的斗争。用帕森斯（Parsons, 1971, p.52）的话来说，

cc.....宗教多元化是文化和社会体系分化过程的一部分，减少了文化和社会体系相互渗透的刚性和扩散性。”三十年战争期间生活在灾区的人们所经历的内部压力、不安全感和不稳定，以及令人疲惫不堪的斗争和各种军事团体和军队的入侵，为燃烧的火炉提供了燃料。巫术热潮的最后阶段。但是一旦实现了稳定并且宗教多元主义被接受，猎巫活动就减弱了，最终完全消失了。因此，很明显，到了17世纪，科学、魔法和宗教之间已经有了分界。英国也承认了政府和经济的自治，并解决了一种新的社会秩序已经明显而成功地具体化，趋势和期望也趋于稳定，特别是在家庭、认知地图、教会与国家的最初分离以及科学的兴起方面，所有这些现在都在发挥作用。此外，新的欧洲婚姻和老处女模式在17世纪被制度化，而早期围绕这种形式的动荡这些新生命的化-风格平息了。

本文提出的观点提出了一个关于意识形态的有用性和特别是猎巫活动的问题。女巫迫害成功地恢复了中世纪社会的宗教道德界限吗？显然没有。中世纪社会没有被重建或恢复，而且很可能无法恢复。这样做的努力是徒劳的，无数人的生命的牺牲可以

not be justified even in any instrumental terms. Whether participation in witch-hunts helped people psychologically to survive the period of uncertainty and transition is a different question. Even if it did, it did so at the expense of sacrificing the lives of many for the passing psychological gratification of some, and it certainly did not make the persecutors into better Christians, which was the avowed purpose of the witchcraft ideology.

Furthermore, from this discussion and from Erikson's (1966) discussion of the Salem witch-hunts, it is evident that persecutions did not prevent change and that they failed in fulfilling their primary function, the redefinition of moral boundaries. Generally speaking, it appears, then, that when a community so vehemently and desperately tries to restore its moral boundaries, sociologists can expect that the attempt is doomed to fail. It is possible that the very attempt at restoration is in itself a symptom that a major change is taking place and that it is impossible to go back, so to speak, and redefine moral boundaries. In this sense, persecutions can be interpreted as a symbol of incapacity, of a system's failure, as "death throes," if you wish, and they might be viable proof that the previous equilibrium cannot be recaptured. Both cases—Salem<sup>20</sup> and Europe—seem to be sound proof of this idea.

#### CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This paper has attempted to interpret the continental European witch craze as a result of the convergence of several conditions.

1. Timing of the witch craze and related questions: why did the witch craze start when it did, why did it end when it did, why was it accepted in such a widespread popular fashion, why was it distributed as it was?

The witch craze actually began in the 14th century when the inquisitors and the Dominicans had either to find new goals for themselves or to remain without a purposeful action and slowly disintegrate. However, that in itself was not enough. During the 15th and 16th centuries Europe experienced the painful birth pangs associated with the emergence of a new social order and the crumbling of an older one. I have referred to this as a differentiation process. The state of powerlessness and anomie experienced by contemporary individuals was further aggravated by severe climatological and demographic changes which, together with geographical discoveries, created a feeling of impending doom, thus paving the way for the widespread popularity of the craze. The dissolution of the medieval cognitive map of the world also gave rise to utopian expecta-

<sup>20</sup> In 1692 a witch-hunt craze broke out at Salem, Massachusetts, and lasted for about one year. Only a few dozen people were involved, and even fewer were executed. The history of that episode has been richly documented and analyzed; see, e.g., Erikson (1966); Robbins (1959, pp. 429-48).

参与政治迫害是否能在心理上帮助人们度过不确定和过渡时期，则是一个不同的问题。即使有，它也是以牺牲许多人的生命为代价换取一些人短暂的心理满足，而且它肯定不会使迫害者成为更好的基督徒，而这正是巫术意识形态所公开的目的。

此外，从这一讨论和埃里克森（1966）对塞勒姆政治迫害的讨论中可以明显看出，迫害并没有阻止变革，而且它们未能履行其主要功能，即道德边界的重新定义。一般来说，那么，当一个社区如此强烈和拼命地试图恢复其道德边界时，社会学家可以预期，这种尝试是注定要失败的。很有可能，这种恢复的尝试本身就是一种症状，表明正在发生重大变化，而且不可能回去，可以说，重新定义道德界限。从这个意义上说，迫害可以被解释为无能的象征，制度失败的象征，是“死亡”。痛苦，“如果你愿意的话，它们可能是无法重新获得先前均衡的可行证据。这两个案例——塞勒姆<sup>20</sup>和欧洲——似乎都证明了这个想法。

#### CONCLUDING DISCUSSION 总结讨论

*This paper has attempted to interpret the continental European witch*  
本文试图将欧洲大陆的女巫热潮解释为多种条件综合作用的结果。

1. 巫术热潮的时机及相关问题：巫术热潮为何在何时开始、为何在何时结束、为何以如此广泛的流行方式被接受、为何以原样传播？

巫术狂热实际上开始于14世纪，当时宗教裁判所和多米尼加人要么为自己找到新的目标，要么保持没有目的的行动并慢慢瓦解。然而，这本身还不够。在15世纪和16世纪，欧洲经历了与新社会秩序的出现和旧社会秩序的崩溃相关的阵痛。我将其称为分化过程。严重的气候和人口变化进一步加剧了当代人所经历的无能为力和失范状态，这些变化与地理发现一起，造成了一种末日即将来临的感觉，从而为这种热潮的广泛流行铺平了道路。中世纪世界认知地图的瓦解也引发了乌托邦式的期望

<sup>20</sup> In 1692 a witch-hunt craze broke out at Salem, Massachusetts, and lasted for about 20  
1692年，马萨诸塞州塞勒姆爆发了一场猎巫热潮，持续了大约一年。参与其中的只有几十人，被处决的人则更少。这一事件的历史已有丰富的记录和分析；参见，例如，Enrkson (1966)；罗宾斯（1959年，第429-48页）。

tions, magical beliefs, and bold scientific explorations. These conditions created the need for a redefinition of moral boundaries as an attempt to restore the previous social order.

2. Content: why a *witch* craze and not something else? How do we explain the emergence of an antireligious ideology, focusing on the witches? The answer to this question lies precisely in the antinomian character of the ideology. By emphasizing the negative a finger was pointed implicitly at what should have been. Only demonology and witches could serve this purpose since no other heretical group—imaginary or real—threatened the basis of legitimacy of Christianity. The elaboration of witchcraft theories into a complex religious ideology in the form of demonology (and the elevation of witch-hunts into a sacred activity pursued with religious fervor) was a direct result of the need for such a theoretical construct as a reaction to the late medieval anomie. I also examined briefly the efficiency and success of the witch-craze ideology, comparing it with Erikson's (1966) analysis of the 1692 witch craze in New England's Salem, noting that in both cases persecutions did not fulfill their primary function and did not prevent or alter the relevant social changes.

3. Target: why were women the major victims of the craze? The analysis above indicates that changes in the economy, demography, and the structure of the family, especially changes in the role of women, explain the nature of the target. It is evident that the growth of the proportion of unmarried women, prostitution, infanticide, and contraception were a salient complex of problems, likely to arouse strong feelings. These conditions explain the suitability of a female symbol, such as the witch, to become an effective and central element in a demonological ideology. Furthermore, while the severe, even catastrophic, changes provided the intellectual cognitive background for the craze, its emotional zeal was made possible by focusing the tension, powerlessness, and anomie on a relatively safe, weak target—women. Women had an inferior status to begin with, and their lack of power and organization (Lewis 1971) rendered them ready targets for widespread persecutions.

The witch craze ended when the conditions for its inception were no longer in existence. The spatial distribution of the witch-hunts (and their termination) were direct results of the presence or absence of all or some of the conditions described above that prevailed in different parts of Europe during the period in question. The witch craze occurred in those countries and areas where the crisis was most deeply felt and the church was weak. Where the church was strong or progress was not marked (or both), hardly any witch craze occurred. The disappearance of these conditions everywhere in the 17th century inevitably meant the end of the craze.

幻想、魔法信仰和大胆的科学探索。这些条件产生了重新定义道德界限的需要，以试图恢复以前的社会秩序。

2. 内容：为什么是巫术而不是别的？我们如何解释一种以女巫为中心的反宗教意识形态的出现？这个问题的答案恰恰在于意识形态的反律法特征。通过强调否定性，隐含地指出了应该发生的事情。只有恶魔学和女巫可以达到这个目的，因为没有其他异端团体——无论是想象的还是真实的——威胁到了这一点。巫术理论以恶魔学的形式阐述为复杂的宗教意识形态（并将猎巫提升为宗教狂热追求的神圣活动），是对这种理论建构的需要的直接结果，作为对中世纪晚期失范的反应。我还简要考察了巫术狂热意识形态的效率和成功，并将其与埃里克森（1966）对1692年新英格兰塞勒姆巫术狂热的分析进行了比较，指出在这两种情况下，迫害都没有履行其主要功能，也没有阻止或改变相关的社会变革。

3. 目标：为什么女性是这股热潮的主要受害者？上述分析表明，经济、人口、家庭结构的变化，特别是女性角色的变化，解释了目标的性质。很明显，未婚女性比例的增长、卖淫、杀婴、避孕是一个突出的问题综合体，很可能引发这些条件解释了女性象征（例如女巫）是否适合成为恶魔意识形态中的有效和核心元素。此外，虽然剧烈的、甚至是灾难性的变化为热潮提供了智力认知背景，但其情感狂热却是通过将紧张、无能为力和失范集中在相对安全、弱势的目标女性身上而得以实现的。女性的地位本来就低下，缺乏权力和组织(Lewis 1971)使他们成为广泛迫害的现成目标。

当其产生的条件不再存在时，巫术热潮就结束了。猎巫运动的空  
间分布（及其终止）是上述时期欧洲不同地区盛行的全部或部分条件的存在或不存在的直接结果。巫术热潮发生在那些危机发生的国家和地区。感受最深的是教会的软弱。在教会强大或进步不明显（或两者兼而有之）的地方，几乎没有发生巫术热潮。17世纪各地这些情况的消失不可避免地意味着热潮的结束。

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