From Witchcraze to Bitchcraze
A Comparative Dimension Between
The Malleus Maleficarum
And
Hustler Magazine

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the *Malleus Maleficarum* and *Hustler* magazine for themes they may have in common. The purpose of this comparison is to display a manner in which women have been constructed and reconstructed within different social cultural contexts, maintaining similar personifications, specifically the personification of women as the witch/bitch.

Qualitative content analysis was employed to glean the comparative dimension between the two publications. There were four categories of inquiry: 1) damage caused to male genitalia or reproductive capacity, 2) the disgusting and repugnant nature of women, 3) the insatiable sexual desire of women, and 4) the use of the words witch, bitch and synonymous terms.

Comparisons between the *Malleus* and *Hustler* were found in each category. These are discussed as well as some differences between the two publications.

The evidence supports the proposition that some of the images of the witch in the *Malleus* are reconstructed in *Hustler*. The latter usually does not refer to women as "witches" but the word "bitch" is found to be used multiple times per issue. The significance of the reconstruction of the witch to bitch is examined, as is the use of ambiguous terms.

The censorship argument is also addressed and this avenue of intervention is suggested as counter-indicated and inappropriate.
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1. INTRODUCTION

STUDYING THE WITCH-BITCHCRAZE & PORNOGRAPHY

In 1994, church vicar Rev. Kennedy of the UK suggested that women priests should be burnt like witches. He was so adamant that women not be admitted as priests in the Church of England that he declared, "I would burn the bloody bitches . . . (Vancouver Sun 1994)."

This statement not only echoes the sentiments of past Euro-American witchcrazes,\(^1\) it displays the alternate uses of the words "witch" and "bitch". Indeed, *Roget's International Thesaurus* (1992, 88) defines "bitch" as a synonymous noun to witch. Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Susan Faludi, acknowledges the witch/bitch craze phenomenon as "fundamentalist preachers damning feminists as 'whores' and 'witches' . . . [and] many hit songs [that] refer to women as bitches (1991, xxi)."

The alternate use of the words witch and bitch is of value to this research as these terms will be used to reveal comparative dimensions of the two publications selected for this study.

The purpose of this research is to compare and analyze images and stereotypes of women during the Euro-American witchcrazes with present-day personifications of women. The publications chosen to exemplify this comparative dimension are *The Malleus Maleficarum* and *Hustler* magazine, wherein the terms "witch and/or bitch," as well as other terms they share in common, are pervasive.
The Malleus Maleficarum has been selected due to its notorious identity as the "handbook" for the witchcraze. It was published at a time when patriarchal institutions were being threatened (Trevor-Roper 1967, 189-191, Harris 1974, 22 Daly 1983, 184, Levak 1992, 63, Barstow 1994, 113, Hitchcock 1995, 14). In the current backlash against feminism (Faludi 1991, xxi, Hitchcock 1995, 14) it is not surprising that many media portrayals of women would echo sentiments of the witchcraze. This may be particularly the case of heterosexual pornography given its sexual orientation and aim at male readership. However, the message of the Malleus, I posit, is so pervasive that it is contagious in any area and need not only await times of social vulnerability. In a postmodern sense, lineal time is perhaps an illusion. As we will see further in this study, social historian Barstow, in Witchcraze (1994, xi), chooses to begin her study of the past with the present. I agree with Hitchcock (1995, 14) that:

Rather than merely a shameful relic of a bygone era, the "Malleus Maleficarum" seemed to me to contain a hidden virus that has through the ages infected the views of not only the Roman Catholic Church's all-male hierarchy but perhaps society's view of women in general.

Hustler will be used because of its wide recognition as a publication of sexist content. Hustler has a very substantial circulation in North America of approximately one and one half million and is the most successful adult magazine in the world.² This places it as a mainstream publication aimed at the male heterosexual community, as was the Malleus centuries ago.³ Hustler is also chosen for heuristic purposes.⁴ It is acknowledged by Flynt (creator and

²
³
⁴
publisher of Hustler), and scholars alike, as blatantly straightforward. (Kipnis 1996, 124, Ed. H.G. Publications, 1994). Indeed Kipnis posits that Flynt:

... fashioned himself into a one-man bug up the nation's ass, single-mindedly deducing himself to his self-appointed role as loudmouthed whistle-blower on what he regarded as our national hypocrisy. His favored tactic was to systematically and extravagantly violate, in the most profoundly offensive way possible, each and every deeply held social taboo, norm, and propriety he could identify ... (123)

Hustler's fusion of nudity and vulgarity with attacks on established political power, organized religion, and class privilege... [and] its commitment to disobedience and insubordination, to truth-telling – as it sees truth, anyway – and exposing social hypocrisy, prompts the question whether it's Hustler's political project... that makes it the most reviled instance of mass-circulation porn... (124)

Ironic is the fact that Hustler attacks organized religion (The People versus Larry Flynt 1997, Kipnis 1996, 123) whereas the Malleus received much of its impetus from it. This difference is of interest and will be examined further in this study.

As with studies on pornography, much of the recent literature on the Euro-American witch craze has focused on women as victims. Historians, sociologists, and anthropologists alike agree that women represent about four-fifths of those accused of witchcraft (Monter 1976, 48, Starhawk 1984, 20, Klaits 1985, 52, Karlsen 1987, 2, Levak 1992, 356, Barstow 1994, 25). Although it is rarely suggested that womanhood itself was the sole criteria for such accusations, it was clearly the paramount one. Such statistics have many scholars discussing the misogynistic nature of the witch craze (Trevor-Roper 1967, 116, Klaits 1985, 52, Karlsen 1987, 2, Eisler 1988, 140-141, Starhawk 1989, 20, Montague 1990,
There is a plethora of magazines and other media not classified as "pornographic" or misogynistic where the fascination with the witch-bitch is exemplified. For example, GQ (1995) exhibits the feature title *Bitches and Goddesses*. Inside this issue one author is quoted as referring to women with "charisma to the nth power . . . [an] overpowering presence." The article goes on to state that so powerful is the strength of their femininity and knowledge of how to use it, they can hog tie men without using brute force (Beiser 1995, 52). Another example is the portrayal of Hillary Clinton as a witch on the cover of a U S national magazine "because she stepped outside the boundaries of the traditional First Lady . . ." (Hitchcock 1995, 14). This essence of femininity and power is a focal point in *The Malleus Maleficarum* written by Kramer and Sprenger in 1486 (Summers, M., Rev., Ed. 1971). The *Malleus* is considered "A comprehensive witch-hunter's handbook [and] by far the most important treatise on prosecuting witches to come out of . . . the Middle Ages" (Ed. Cuiley 1989, 222).

Trever-Roper explains, giving a brief history of its production, in *The European Witch-Craze:*

. . . The papal bull had been solicited by the inquisitors [Kramer and Sprenger], who wished support in their attempt to launch the witch-craze in the Rhineland. Having obtained it, they printed it in their book, as if the book had been written in response to the bull. The book was thus advertised to all Europe as both the new epidemic of witchcraft and the authority which had been given to them to suppress it. (101-102)

. . . What the Dominicans had been doing hitherto was local. They had been persecuting and burning women locally. From now on a general mandate was given, or implied. (102)
... From now on, the persecution, which had been sporadic – at least in theory – made general, and secular authorities were encouraged to use the methods and mythology of the Inquisition...

(102)

Since most of the literature that discusses any comparison of the witchcraze with "pornography" is written by anti-pornography and often pro-censorship (or select censorship) feminists, I feel it is necessary to clarify a couple of points. First, many scholars have challenged the dominant ideology approach in regard to media interpretation, i.e.; many have called into question the view that humans are very much influenced by the media in a one-dimensional, universal manner. On the other hand, supporters of an Active Audience theory, and postmodernists as well, caution against such universal assumptions (Foucault 1980, 11, 24, Fiske 1987, 64, Williams 1990, 5, Lacombe 1995, and Ross 1997, 172, 173, 204). Proponents of Active Audience theory clarify the importance of individualism to interpretive perception and resulting thought or behavior in regard to media modalities and public/private spheres of communication. They posit that there are differences in the way viewers perceive and interact with media productions. Their argument holds that this "subjectivity results from 'real' social experiences and from mediated or textual experience (Fiske 1987, 64)." In other words, what is presented in the media may support a hegemonic theme, but the viewer is not limited in how s/he constructs or deconstructs its meaning. Ethnographic studies done by Hobson, Morely, Ang, and Palmer (Fiske 1987, 64) have all supported this view. It appears that:
Textual studies of [media] now have to stop treating it as a closed text, that is, as one where the dominant ideology exerts considerable, if not total, influence over its ideological structure and therefore over its reader. Analysis has to pay less attention to the textual strategies of preference or closure and more to the gaps and spaces that open [Media] up to meanings not preferred by the textual structure. But that results from the social experience of the reader. (Fiske 1987, 64)

Aspects that might influence a viewer's reading are socio-historical, such as class, gender, life experience, etc. Hall (1996, 12) argued that whether or not one was in a dominant or less dominant class would lead to a varied negotiated reading of a text. Fiske, however, professes that in reality, "there are very few perfectly dominant or purely oppositional readings . . . [and] the value of the theory lies in its freeing the text from complete ideological closure (1987, 64) . . ."

The second point that needs clarification is where I am situated in the "pornography" debate, although this study is not so much concerned with this debate as it is with exhibiting how stereotypes survive and may impact mass society. I do not consider myself to be either an anti-pornography or pro-censorship advocate. The following passage from Feminism and The Power of Law reflects my own view:

If we direct ourselves to the problem of the extension of the pornographic genre rather than pornographic material as such, then the law as a possible remedy appears less and less useful. It is vital to remember that the meanings of representations are not immutable or unitary, although there may be dominant forms of interpretation. (Smart 1989, 136)

In Defending Pornography (1995, 142), Nadine Strossen professes a similar view to Smart's:
the feminist antipornography movement's insistence that all pornography conveys misogynistic messages to all viewers — or at least to all male viewers — ignores the complex, variegated nature of sexually explicit expression and the subjective, nuanced nature of any viewers' interpretation of such expression. To categorically condemn all sexual expression is as inane as categorically condemning all non-sexual expression or all expression in any other category, as if responses to anything were uniform . . .

Furthermore, to implement civil law as a governing force means accepting the law's definition of pornography. Yet legal interpretation and intervention have not proven to be free of discrimination in the case of pornography; for example, the recent Little Sisters case in Vancouver B.C. wherein lesbian and gay pornography were targeted while heterosexual publications remain on sale in mall newsstands.

The primary task here is to exhibit how a manufactured knowledge not only survives, but thrives; i.e., to demonstrate how thematic and characteristic stereotyping creates a personification of women that apparently stands the test of time.

It is not the intent of this study to imply a causal relationship between pornography and violence against women. As Lynn Segal (1993) states in Dirty Looks, Women, Pornography and Power, in regard to the vast research in this area:

What we might seriously conclude from all this experimental muddle . . . which provide anything but clear and consistent proof of anything at all, is not really so hard to see. It is never possible, whatever the image, to isolate it, to fix its meaning and predict some inevitable pattern of response, independently from assessing its wider representational context and the particular recreational, educational or social context in which it is being received. [author's emphasis] (15)
The sociological importance of this research is in its contribution to the sociology of knowledge in examining how language and symbols are paramount to human perception and view of "the truth."

"Modern humanism is a system of truths that function to establish norms," according to Racevskis (1983, 108). He posits that discourses often have a reverse strategy, "which is a production rather than a repressive force (108)."

Further, he states:

Foucault finds this pattern to be characteristic of the realm of sexuality as well and observes that "sexuality is far more a positive product of power than power was ever repression of sexuality" (120). Beneath the discourses on humanity, behind this official representation of our civilization, can be detected an unobtrusive yet untiring activity of forces whose effect is to shape individuals according to the pervasive agency of socioeconomic effects . . . (108)

His discussion follows from Foucault’s argument:

Under the surface of images, one invests bodies in depth; behind the great abstraction of exchange, there continues the meticulous, concrete training of useful forces; the circuits of communication are the supports of an accumulation and a centralization of knowledge; the play of signs defines the anchorages of power; it is not that the beautiful totality of the individual is amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated in it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies. (217)

This is an important concept in its application to cultural studies as the way individuals are fabricated is influenced by, and paradoxically contributes to, each culture whether it be regional, ethnic, gender, or a unique "subculture." It is useful to examine the fabrication of the witch/bitch and how important semantics is to this equation. Feminist theorists have shown particular interest in semantics
and applied it often in studies of the media. This study complements this technique of research and applies it to a subject of interest to feminists for well over a decade, pornography. Here the focus is not on the harm caused by pornography toward violence against women but rather an inquiry into the construction of women and how stereotyped themes contribute to it with or without harmful intent or consequent outcomes. Sexuality, it is argued here, is paramount to this fabrication. If the foundation has been laid centuries ago that utilizes sexuality to over-dichotomize women as “other,” then it is inevitable that pornography, in certain socio-cultural climates, has the potential to incite fear and, consequently, hatred of women.

I reiterate that there is no claim or suggestion in this study that Hustler instructs the torture of women. In fact, it suggests that interpretation and socio-cultural factors effect the way similar information might be assimilated.

Because interpretation is subjective, I have employed a method of qualitative content analysis wherein the findings are presented as objectively as possible and free from any further description or commentary on my part until the discussion and analysis of findings. This may be found useful to this thesis and perhaps contributes an innovative usage of employing the qualitative method.
II. LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a plethora of literature and research available on the subject of pornography. Social scientists have been debating this subject for years, feminists for approximately two decades (Ridington 1994, 17). Much less attention has been paid to the witchcraze phenomenon and even less to the possibility of a relationship between the witchcraze and pornography. However, there are some authors who have either associated the witchcraze with pornography directly, or in some manner associate obscenity with the witchcraze.

One such author is Ann Barstow (1994). In Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts, the relationship between the witchcraze and pornography is viewed as crucial. Barstow begins her historical account in the present sexist atmosphere when she states that the witchcraze is relevant to "... discrimination against women today (1)."

What makes Barstow's study particularly interesting are the three factors she believes have been "practically ignored" in the archival studies of the European witch hunts. According to Barstow:

First, the lack of gender analysis in most of these works stands out; all agreed that the overwhelming majority of the people accused and killed were female, but few took the pertinent statistic into account in their interpretations. Second, was the high level of physical violence ... a gratuitous use of torture that went beyond judicial limits. Finally the sexual nature of that violence stood out.
An analysis of *The Malleus Maleficarum* is central to Barstow's study. She reiterates the "classic statement" from its pages; that is, "All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in women insatiable (135)."

An important fact underscored by Barstow is that prior to the publication of the *Malleus*, men and women had been accused of witchcraft fairly equally and the overall numbers were relatively small. And, although the major witchcraze occurred nearly seventy years after the publication of the *Malleus*, the latter remained the major influence for "subsequent manuals." The misogynist nature of publications and accusations continued . . . even into the witchcraze of Colonial New England (Karsen 1987, 154).

In *Pornography and Silence: Culture's Revenge Against Nature*, Susan Griffin (1981) calls into question a relationship between the witchcraze and pornography in graphic style:

... we must imagine a conflagration, a mass terror, the constant odor of burning flesh, whole villages massacred, children whipped or thrown on the flames with their mothers. For the witches were arrested first, and then put on trial, they were bound up and tortured ... they were hung upside down, beaten with whips and mallets, their fingernails were pulled out ... they were grilled, fingers and toes were crushed, needles driven into the quick of nails ... But we know these instruments of torture: the whip, the pulley, the various screws, the leather devices necessary to carry out such a regime . . . They have all been described to us over and over in the pages of pornography. (80)

Griffin further posits that in the "Pious nightmare" of the witch-burner's imagined ritual of said witches, "We have found a clear definition of pornography and the pornographic sensibility. (80)" To clarify her point further, she examines this imagined ritual in detail. The following is exemplary of her statement:
The witch-burners imagine that at the sabbat the witches kiss the devils' face, his navel, his penis, and his anus... The water the devil used to anoint his worshipers... was urine... the altar is a woman's body. And upon the buttocks of his altar, a mass of feces, urine, and menstrual blood was kneaded by the devil... [Finally] this imagined ritual ends when the devil fornicates with all who attend the sabbat. (79)\(^{10}\)

Theologist and philosopher Mary Daly (1990) professes that *The Malleus Maleficarum* has remained the most important catechism of demonology. She states that, "The supposed sexual fantasies of these women were... (are) archtypically male fantasies. (180)" She later speaks of a specific relationship between the witchcraze and pornography:

It is thought-provoking to read the following statement by the priest Montague Summers in his glowing introduction to the 1928 edition of *The Malleus Maleficarum*: "To effect the death of a man [sic] or to injure him by making an image in his likeness, and mutilating or destroying his image is a practice found throughout the whole wide world from its earliest years." This of course, is what is done to women by men through the mass production of "pin-up girls," Playboy center-folds, et cetera, ad nauseam. These mutilate and destroy women's image, and the intent of this technological voodoo is to effect the death of the female-identified self. (192-193)

In *The Encyclopedia of Witches and Witchcraft* (1989), the influence of the *Malleus* is confirmed as well. The *Malleus* was second in sales only to The Bible for nearly two-hundred years and "had a profound impact" on witch trials during that time. The sexist nature of the text is recognized as it states:

The sexism of the *Malleus* is unmistakable; the cleric's view of women as inferior, weak and corruptible creatures is emphasized again and again. (Ed. Cuiley 1989, 22)

In his article, *The Demonopathology of Impotence*, W. H. Trethowan discusses the sexual nature of the *Malleus*. He writes:
Sprenger, its principal author, has been called a dangerous and evil-minded fanatic, who reveled in the preposterous and even more the sensual, and the *Malleus* itself one of the wickedest and most obscene books ever written. (Ed. Levak 1992, 266)

Trethowan also speaks of the ritualistic nature of said witchcraft:

According to legend, the witches' coven consisted of a group of twelve women, who consorted with the Devil or, in effect his representative and were in the habit of indulging in ritual copulation, probably employing an artificial phallus for this purpose. (Ed. Levak 1992, 266)

Interesting is the lack of acknowledgment, in most literature, of the ritualistic nature of the torture that witches endured and the continued ritualistic nature of the iconography depicting The Inquisition. Such pictorial illustrations of tortures, eroticism and sadism usually involved women (often naked or partially naked) as the victim.

Although public taste for such depiction "waned in the late seventeenth century," Michael Foucault and others have argued [that pornographic publications] ceased to be produced in their original contexts, but they were preserved in the iconography ... associated with *The Inquisition* (Peters 1983, 228).

In *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and The Origins of Modernity 1500-1800* (1993), we find a preservation of the inquisitional context. There are two figures considered by the authors to be pornographic and it is stated they "may have some affiliation to the literature about witchcraft and demonology (Hunt 1993, 196)." Both were published in 1735. One depicts a devil in the background as a voyeur while "A Jesuit Inspects [the] Buttocks of a Urinating
Woman." The other depicts two devils (one holding a magnifying glass) watching a "Jesuit sodomize a Young Woman (Hunt 1993, 197)."

I posit that some of the themes mainstreamed in the iconography of The Inquisition are present today in *Hustler* magazine as well as inherent to *The Malleus Maleficarum*; for example, women flirting with the serpent, suggestive of consorting with Satan.\(^1\)

Semantically, the message of the *Malleus* is preserved, in part, through the interchangeable use of the words "witch" and "bitch" often employed in *Hustler*. Although there appears to be no etymological tie between these terms (Oxford English Dictionary 1996),\(^1\) their relationship is not difficult to comprehend. Even in the late middle century, prominent witch hunters Boquet and Remy stated, in regard to the witch, "... this miserable and damnable vermin ... [like] a bitch (emphasis mine) [is] far more hideous to look at than all the others (Barstow 1994, 16)."

In fact, the words witch, bitch and hag can (in certain contexts) be used synonymously; for example, vixen, virago, brimstone, she-devil, termagant, bawd, fury, grimalkin, tigress and she-wolf. Most important is that "witch" and "bitch" are placed as interchangeable nouns, as are "hag" and "witch" (Chapman 1992, 88, 593, 690, 1014, Chapman, 1994, 73, 753).

Furthermore, an examination of related terms displays commonalties, for example, "evildoer" refers to the following: witch, bitch-kitty, she-devil, virago, brimstone, termagant, gremalkin, beldam, she-wolf, tigress and fury. An eyesore has such synonyms as witch, hag, ugly duckling, etc. A strumpet can be
described as a bitch, Jezebel, slut, whore, nymph, nymphet or nymphomaniac (Chapman 1992, 110, 593, 665, 1003).

*Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* offers the following partial definition of witch, bitch and hag:

witch: a *woman* (emphasis mine) who professes or is supposed to practice magic . . . sorceress, an ugly or malignant *woman* (emphasis mine), a hag; bitch; malicious, unpleasant, selfish *woman* (emphasis mine), lewd *woman* (emphasis mine), hag; ugly old *woman* (emphasis mine), esp. a vicious or malignant one, a witch. (1998, 1639)

One of the most definitive connections between the words witch and bitch is exhibited in *The Original Roget's International Thesaurus* as they write in regard to the word bitch, " . . . [to] have a devil in one (emphasis mine), be possessed of the devil (Chapman 1992, 110).

For the most part, these attributes are negative in connotation. However, some words that are associated with "such women," though not positive, leave one with a confusing mixture of comparative and contradictory definitions. This is significant because, as mentioned in chapter one, the use of contradiction in construction of the witch-bitch is an important focus in this study. I intend to show that said contradictions are utilized both by the *Malleus* and *Hustler*, thereby bringing out a comparative dimension between the two publications.

When cross-referencing the words witch and bewitch, various terms reoccur, for instance, glamour(ous), sexy, siren, charm(ing), exotic, enchant(ing), spellbinding, alluring, sensual and entrance(ing) (Chapman 1992, 377, 690, 773, Webster 1989, 143, 144, 149, 1332).
Such descriptions speak of the provocative nature of the witch, while many of the former descriptions were thematic of ugliness, viciousness, unpleasantness, etc. In fact, these contradictions are ever-present in the definition of the witch-bitch.

These contradictions lay a foundation for a particular social construction of women. As Murray Edelman (1988) points out in *Constructing the Political Spectacle*:

Language about political [spectacles] is drawn from a rather small set of self-contradictory and ambiguous propositions that are applied regardless of whether the highlighted difference turns on color, ethnicity, gender, race, class, ideology, or nationality. From a stock pool of claims that evoke suspicion and hostility, those most likely to forge a coalition in the particular case dominate discourse, constructing both the self and the other for people who become involved in the game. (74)

In the case of the witch-bitch, even singular words of definition are often ambiguous and self-contradictory, e.g., "glamorous" can be complimentary or filled with accusation of bewitchment. "Bewitchment" itself can be viewed as a positive or negative quality, depending on the literary or social context in which it is presented.

Women being charged with "insatiable carnal lust" (Ed. Summers 1971) resonates a clear sexual tone. It is important to emphasize this point, as explained well by Edelman:

Sexuality is always political because it establishes bonds, strains, hostilities, and constraints and it generates symbols of the ideal and of the repugnant. The attribution of a unique measure of eroticism is blatantly political because it defines the group in terms that ignore individual characteristics and potentialities while highlighting a provocation. (84)

For example, Barstow professes:

Menstrual blood was believed to have magical effects, bewitching a lover, serving as an aphrodisiac, assisting in conception; an extreme fear was that intercourse during menstruation would kill the man. Here we see a clear example of the no-win position of women in the [15th century] society; they were inferior and yet dangerous, disgusting and yet powerful, and it was their bodies that chiefly made them so. (136)

Likewise, Karlsen states:

The word itself [witchcraft] evokes images so contradictory, as to defy definition. It is associated with old age, frightful ugliness and female wickedness. On the other hand, it is associated with youth, beauty, and female sexual power. (xi)

Once such stereotypes are developed and embraced by society, they can be drawn upon at any time (Erickson 1966, 154, Trevor-Roper 1967, 191, Klaits 1985, 50, Karlsen 1987, 158, Edelman 1988, 71, Barstow 1994, 62). In Witchcraft, Women and Society, Anderson and Gordon explain:

... that for scapegoating to be effective, the group which is singled out, stigmatized and used as the central target for moral panic must be a credible target. That is, in the construction of a successful scapegoat, beliefs, fears and prejudices which already exist are normally drawn upon. (Ed. Levak 1992, 28)

The Malleus itself is based generally on the Biblical pronouncement-

"Thou shall not suffer a witch to live" (Exodus 22:18) and draws upon works of Aristotle, the Scriptures, St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas for support (Ed. Cuiley 1989, 222). I contend that Hustler contains similar depictions, descriptions, and contradictions that preserve Kramer and Sprenger's concept of
women via images of their ideal and repugnant nature with a unique measure of eroticism. This study will demonstrate these similarities in *Hustler* and The *Malleus* and underscore likenesses between the "witch" of the Middle Ages and the "bitch" of the 20th Century.

Finally, the intent of this thesis is to highlight how stereotypical personifications are used in constructing the political spectacle, whoever they may be at any given time or social context.
III. METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis is employed in the examination of *The Malleus Maleficarum* and *Hustler* magazine. Successive approximation and the illustrative method are applied.

Successive approximation is the initial process employed, wherein the "research questions and a framework of assumptions" lead to a succession of probes into the data. Any examination has the potential to create "new concepts by abstracting from the evidence and adjusting concepts to fit the evidence better ... At each stage evidence and theory shape each other." Each succession then is a process of refining "generalizations and linkages to reflect the evidence better" (Neuman 1991, 419-420). For example, one may initially observe material from a publication which appears sexist or stereotypical and ear-mark such material. Then as the material is reviewed, again, a refining process takes place and examples which best serve as evidence to support a thesis are collected.

The illustrative method differs from successive approximation as the researcher begins with a theory and applies it "to a concrete historical situation or organized data on the basis" (Neuman 1991, 421) of the theory. In essence, there is a search for evidence to support the theory. It is useful to this study because, although the evidence and theory shape each other (as in successive
approximation), there are two underlying explanatory notions of consequence from the onset, the notion of sexism and that of the construction of the political spectacle. In other words, the material is examined with these specific notions as a template to further organize the research.

There are four categories developed in accordance with themes and stereotypes found in these publications. The first is concerned with damage caused to male genitalia or reproductive capacity effectuated by a woman (women). The second is regarding the disgusting and repugnant nature of women, including issues of menstrual blood. A third area, the carnal lust category, is examined. This area examines material that attempts to support Kramer and Sprenger's position, in the *Malleus*, that women have insatiable sexual desire. The fourth area is concerned with the words "witch" and "bitch" and synonymous terms. Contradictions involving the personification of women in these texts are addressed in the discussion.

**Sampling**

(1) Twelve issues of *Hustler* magazine are used for this study. Publication years range from 1990 through 1998. Six were purchased in discount packets containing two or three magazines published in prior months. Six were purchased at different establishments, separately, with no prior knowledge of content. *Hustler* magazines follow a similar format and contain essentially the
same type of material; in other words, the imagery in each case is thematic and persistent. Therefore, I contend that these issues are representative.

Some of the publications are international and available in Canada; the others are U.S. editions. Both sets of editions are virtually identical with only two exceptions. First, the international publications censor the word "ass" when pertaining to sodomy. This is accomplished by leaving a blank space instead of the word. Second, black dots cover the genital areas of individuals involved in anal sex. Most S/M advertisements have dots or bars over them as well.

Samples will be taken from all parts of the magazine, including the words of the text and illustrations, be they articles, advertisements or caricatures.

(2) The Malleus Maleficarum (Ed. Summers 1971) will be used in its entirety.
Damage Caused to Male Genitalia or Reproductive Capacity

The *Malleus* states that one of the ways that a witch may "inflict" is by "obstructing [men's] generative force (47).” It is said that through the hatred "aroused by witchcraft" there is a "freezing up of the generative forces (48).” This freezing up, or impotence, leaves them incapable of begetting offspring. They refer to this as the "bewitching of the generative power (51).” Discourse on this subject is both prevalent and pervasive in the text. There are seven sections, or questions, as they are referred to in the *Malleus*, that are specific to this topic. However, it is not limited to these, as it enters into discussion in practically all of the sections in *The First Part and The Second Part. The Third Part of the Malleus* is concerned only with judicial procedure.

Authors of the text give much attention to the question of whether impotence, as well as "virile member" detachment, is an actual occurrence or an illusion. Ultimately, they conclude that impotence can be caused extrinsically or by illusion.

Extrinsically they cause it at times by means of images, or by the eating of herbs; sometimes by other external means, such as cocks' testicles. But it must not be thought that it is by the virtue of these things that a man is made impotent, but by the occult power of devils' illusions, witches by this means procure such impotence. .. (118)
The argument in regard to dismemberment is contradictory in its conclusion, stating that devils can cause dismemberment but do this without the assistance of a witch. Then they state that, through the power of God, a witch can cause penile dismemberment, but add that it was never truly removed as the witch can restore it.

... It is clear there is no doubt but that, just as with God's permission, they can kill men, so also can devils take off that member... truly and actually. But then the devils do not work through witches... But this is to be said: that God allows more power of witchcraft over the genital forces... and therefore allows that that member should be truly and actually taken off... even the witches, when they do such works, do not pretend that they have not the power to restore the member... From which it is clear that it is not actually taken off, but only by a glamour. (61)

One interesting, if not humorous, story regarding the witch's ability to restore a man's penis, is in chapter 7 of the Malleus entitled How, as it were, they Deprive Man of his Virile Member.

And what then is to be thought of those witches who in this way sometimes collect male organs in great numbers, as many as twenty or thirty members together, and put them in a bird's nest, or shut them up in a box, where they move themselves like living members, and eat oats and com, as has been seen by many and is a matter of common report? It is to be said that it is all done by devil's work and illusion, for the senses of those who see them are deluded in the way we have said. For a certain man tells that, when he had lost his member, he approached a known witch to ask her to restore it to him. She told the afflicted man to climb a certain tree, and that he might take which he liked out of a nest in which there were several members. And when he tried to take a big one, the witch said: You must not take that one; adding, because it belonged to a parish priest. (121)

The theme of damage caused to male genitalia, or reproductive capacity, effectuated by woman (women), is present in nine of the twelve Hustler
magazines examined. This theme occurs nineteen times throughout the total
discussion. Following are descriptions of examples from their texts in order of
year of publication.

**December 1990:**

1) This is a quote from a *Hustler* movie review: “Imagine a wife so maladjusted,
so bitter, so shrewish that her greatest desire is to lop off... balls and keep
them in a jar of formaldehyde (25).”

2) There is a full-page color caricature with a banner hung between two trees on
a hillside, which reads “LESBIAN PRIDE PICNIC.” In the foreground is an
obese female flying a kite adorned with two interlocking female symbols. Tied
to the tail of the kite are five dismembered pairs of testicles with blood
spurting out of them into the air (57). (see appendix, 92)

3) This caricature is of a prehistoric female dragging a male by his testicles. The
male has an extremely painful expression on his face as his testicles are
stretched out further than the length of his calves. The words
“PREHISTORIC FEMINIST CIRCA 100,000 BC” hangs above the man (86).

**January 1991:**

1) A pair of dismembered testicles, with a stream of blood behind them is being
thrown as a bouquet by a new bride in this color caricature. The caption
reads, “Remember when the bride would just throw her bouquet (37)?”
2) A black and white caricature with the caption "Reminds me of my ex-wife's pussy" is below a drawing of two men, one of whom is talking. They are scrutinizing a large Venus Fly Trap, which is devouring, and ultimately killing, its prey. Above the plant, the word "SNAP!" is displayed (67).

September 1992:
The upper-most title on this issue's cover reads, "HOOKERS WHO HATE 'WE'LL BITE YOUR PENIS OFF!'" The article title inside corresponding to this is Whore Horrors. Some excerpts from the article are as follows:

1) ... [a] vice-officer from New York City [states] ... "Once your pants are down, even a small woman is in a position to take advantage of you (84)."

2) An intern at Bellevue Hospital's emergency intake confirms the officer's observations: "You'd be surprised how often we get upstanding pillars of the community coming in with lacerated organs ... and I don't mean simple tooth marks. The penis is a tough piece of gristle, but I've seen it bitten clean through ... (84)"

3) "... Super glue is very damaging to sensitive tissues. The surgery was delicate and not totally without drawbacks ... Sid considers himself lucky not to have lost his balls totally (86)."

4) "A blender sat on the breakfast counter, directly in line with a dead pimp's view. No one needed an autopsy report to know that the bloody paste inside had once been the cock and balls that were missing from the carcass in the chair (88)."
October 1992:

This issue sports a two-page color painting. The title of the accompanying article is *Death Worshipers: Cults that Kill for God or Devil*. There are three naked, horned (or perhaps cat-earred) women. Between two of them is a man nailed to a cross. His legs are spread and his testicles hang over a boiling caldron. His penis, depicted as approximately two or three feet long, is over a chopping block. The female by the block is holding a huge axe over her head aimed at his penis. The female on the other side is hammering a nail in his head. The third female is sitting down with something indiscernible and bloody on a plate (62-63).

October 1993:

In this caricature, with the caption “All we need now is for Nurse Ratchit to get a sperm sample,” there is a terrified patient (hair straight out with his hat blown off his head) confronted by an extremely overweight nurse. The nurse has a vacuum cleaner with a large attachment. The vacuum cleaner is on and puffs of exhaust coming out of it as she approaches the patient (93).

June 1994:

This issue hosts a photographed parody in which a woman is hammering the penis of a man portrayed as mentally retarded. The caption reads, “beating the meat should never involve a hammer (41).”
January 1995:

This photograph parody titled *Lesbo-Cardio Sprint*, has a "bulldyke" coming home to find a man in bed with her "lipstick lesbian" mate. The bulldyke is holding a meat cleaver over her head as the naked man runs away holding his genitalia (26).

March 1995:

1) *Home Maimed cooking* writes of the "verbally gilded President Bill . . . ballbuster Yoko Ono and the emasculating mind . . . of Linda McCartney . . ." The photograph accompanying this parody displays three frozen entrée packages, each with a photo of Linda McCartney. The package named "Hot Dickety-Dog" has a penis as the hot dog with mustard atop accompanied by french fries. Another, "Spaghetti and Testicles" displays two pair of testicles on a bed of spaghetti. The third, "Pasta Penisera" shows a bed of pasta and vegetables with seven small penises sticking straight up out of it. The heading above the photo reads "There's something neutered in frozen foods.

   DICKLESS HUSBAND ENTREES (9)."

2) Further into this same issue, a black and white caricature shows a man sitting on a sidewalk under a sign that reads "WIFE CUT OFF MY PENIS." In front of him on the sidewalk is a hat with three penises in it. Another man is walking by and tossing another penis into the hat (112).
December 1997:

1) Two women are sitting in chairs in this black and white caricature. One is portrayed as a television talk show host and the other a guest. The guest is holding a large knife and has a big frown on her face. Between and behind them is a screen that says “I THINK MY HUSBAND IS CHEATING ON ME SO I WANT TO CUT HIS DICK OFF ON NATIONAL T.V. (46).”

2) A full-page color caricature of a couple walking by a theatre displays a feature sign with the movie title *The Andrea Dworkin Story*. The sign displays a drawing of a woman’s face, presumably Andrea Dworkin, with a disgruntled facial expression. Above the face, in large letters, it reads “THE BONER KILLER (75).”

There are four other depictions of harm to male genitalia in these issues; however, they did not specify that women were responsible and therefore are not included.

The Disgusting and Repugnant Nature of Women

The *Malleus* portrays the witch as implicitly disgusting. She may appear to be a seductive young woman when, in reality, she is old (60). Through this glamour, she causes even a man with a beautiful wife to “lust after the vilest of women” or “cleave to the most hideous of women (51).” According to the text, one such witch seduced three Abbots and proclaimed:
I did so and I do so, and they are not able to keep from loving me because they have eaten so much of my dung — measuring off a certain length of her arm. (51)

The witch is further described as: malodorous, producing a "nauseous stench (90)," she is "hideous in appearance (53)," "lewd . . . filthy (122)," and a "vile drab (141)." She is an "old hag (102)" and "a bawd (103)." In synonymous terms, she might be considered raunchy, dirty, offensive, repulsive, repugnant, foul, disgusting, and pornographic (Chapman 1994).

As discussed in the literature review, menstrual blood was found, in these proscriptions, to be both disgusting and bewitching. However, examination of the Malleus reveals an absence of discourse on this topic unless it favors Larner's suggestion that:

... in the era of the witch hunts . . . "the evil affects of menstrual fluid [were shifted] from the menstrual blood to the woman herself." From this shift it was only one step to perceiving a woman as having by nature the characteristics of a witch. (Barstow 1994)

In Larner's scenario, menstrual blood predisposes all women to witchery and the subject is implicit in the Malleus.

In any case, this area will be examined as it pertains to the disgusting nature of women in Hustler and will be of value when considering contradictions in forthcoming chapters.

The theme of disgust and repugnance is discovered in all of the twelve issues and occurs 22 times throughout. The descriptions of examples from the text are as follows by year of publication:
January 1990:

1. A photograph of an attractive model with her legs wide apart is captioned “PUSSY-EATIN' LESSONS, JUST SAY NO / Don't eat it – the bitch done pee from down there / You don't lick toilet seats, do you (10)?”

2. The Erotic Entertainment Review section speaks of obese women stating: “[They] are the ultimate perversion . . . Some . . . make a two-ton trash sack bursting with coagulated oatmeal and rancid cottage cheese look like a good, healthy fuck. The only phenomenon more frightening than these women is the men who can fuck them. Thank God they are not you . . . go puke (21).”

January 1991:

1. A black and white caricature depicts a man on a doctor’s examination table with his eyes bugged out and a mouth with gritted teeth. His lips are darkened and deformed, larger than his entire head. The doctor tells his patient, “We still don’t know all we’d like to about pussy farts (52).”

2. In this printed cartoon, a man is performing sex with the lights off. “. . . He reached down between his wife’s legs, gave her snatch a good rubbing, then rubbed his hand on his nose vigorously.” This had the effect of enlarging his penis. When the man turned on the light to exhibit his large penis, he realizes that his wife is menstruating.
Consequently, his nose is covered in blood and the wife calls him "an old fool (80)."

**September 1992:**

1. Page six of this issue has a color caricature with the caption, "Okay, Marty... my period's over." An obese woman is coming down the hall toward her living room. The house is flooded in menstrual blood. A man, presumably her husband, is floating in a life raft in a pool of blood with a scowl on his face.

2. An entire page is dedicated to hemorrhoids. There are six graphic, close-up photos of women's hemorrhoids. A coupon accompanying these photos invites readers to "...celebrate the chewy imperfection of a woman's crinkle tart..." and send a photo "...of your favorite female hemorrhoid." The winner of the contest wins "a jar of Tucks anal-wipe pads, along with a Hustler calendar to document the asshole's improvement." The title of this page is *The Grapes of Wrath*, and it is not a parody (7).

**October 1992:**

1. This color caricature exhibits a blind man with a cane. He is squatting down at the foot of a woman's bed. There is blood splashing off his face. The woman has copious amounts of blood between her legs and
the sheets on the bed are spread with blood as well. She is holding a dripping, blood-soaked tampon and is grinning from ear to ear (7).

2. A black pimp is coaxing a naive-looking white man to "live dangerously." The color caricature paints a prostitute who has mounds of nest-like hair. Her tongue is hanging out and spit is shooting out of this black woman's mouth. She has a frighteningly predatory expression. Her genitalia are hanging out of her skirt and appear stretched out of shape. A massive amount of vaginal fluid is pouring out from her and dropping on the sidewalk (97).

January 1993:

1. The winner of the September 1992 issue's hemorrhoid contest is displayed on page six. The photo is a close-up of a vulva and a large red hemorrhoid named "Pootey."

2. Next to the above-mentioned photo is a color caricature with the caption, "Oh that's not a tampon, that's my tapeworm." A man and woman are naked in bed and the man is pulling a tapeworm out of her vagina. He looks quite disgusted (7).

3. A naked man has been blown out a window in this full-page caricature. His back and buttocks are cut several times. There are shards of glass in his buttocks. Through the window, between a woman's legs, a depicted fart, in the shape of a vulva, explodes. The fart is almost as big as the man is. The wind produced by it has blown the hat off a
male passing by. The caption reads, “I feel sorry for him . . . my first
wife had a problem with vaginal farting (99).”

October 1993:
The caption accompanying this article reads “BITCHES, she was like a
psychic silent fart: Every time I smelled something fishy, she’d shift the bed
covers and blame any stray odors on the cats (60).”

June 1994:
1. In this color caricature, an elderly couple is walking down a
neighborhood sidewalk. The woman’s uterus and fallopian tubes are
hanging below her skirt, almost touching the sidewalk. Her husband
states, “Your uterus is showing (47).”
2. Atop a bed are a prostitute, with a huge nose, ratted blue hair, blue
lips, sagging breasts, and a cigarette hanging out of her mouth. There
is greenish-brown fluid surrounding her vulva which is unappealing
with stretched out labia and a bad odor. Wiggle lines rising into the air
above it suggest the odor. The man with her is yelling at his penis,
which is turning away from the vulva, despite his efforts to aim it with
both hands. This caption reads “Get back here, you son of a bitch, I
paid for it, and you’re going in (113)!“
January 1995:

1. This color caricature has a scruffy-looking man, with messy hair and whisker stubble, eating a piece of bread with white goop spread on it. On the table is a jar with a knife in it which reads “YOU WON’T BELIEVE IT’S NOT VAGINAL DISCHARGE.” The jar is full of white goop, flies swarm around it and wiggle lines rise to suggest foul odor.

2. A color caricature on page 35 shows a man and a woman just inside the doors of their respective washrooms. The man is lifting his arm and smelling his armpit. The woman is lifting her leg and sniffing between her legs.

February 1996:

1. On page eight there is a caricature wherein one man, with a perplexed expression, is standing among several women. These women are having a contest to see how far they can shoot a bloody tampon onto the sidewalk. There are two tampons on the sidewalk already and the third is flying through the air past the man. The women are laughing. The caption reads “You guys have your pissing contests . . . “

2. This feature beholds an airbrushed painting of Phyllis Schlafly’s genital area with the caption “Old and bitter, big and bad, a pothole and a pitfall . . . a sealed chasm full of poison flow, venom, acids and deadly fluids of every kind (71).”
March 1995:

A frowning man is looking between a woman's legs in this black and white drawing. The woman grins, saying, "... You're not gonna let a few dozen pussy warts slow you down, are you? (120)"

December 1997:

A full-page parody titled WOMEN WITH BALLS sports a photograph of three giant naked women in a locker room. There is a man, approximately one-quarter their size, holding three bloody tampons as long and wider than his leg (9).

July 1998:

1. This color photo parody is an advertisement for vaginal suppositories called "Vaginal Slimes." A beautiful woman sits on a couch, legs apart, with green slime on her inner thighs and genital area. A man is on the floor next to her gasping, green slime all over his face and dripping down to the coffee table (6).

2. An artist stands next to his enormous color painting in this caricature. The picture displays an obese, naked woman. She has a long surgical scar on her abdomen and a multitude of sores between her unshaven legs. She has one arm up behind her head, exhibiting a tufted armpit. She is surrounded by flies and has four large rats running out of her vagina. One rat's tail is still partially inside her. A man passing by
looks appalled as the artist says, "It's always the artist who suffers . . . I want the viewer to suffer (8)." (see appendix 93)

The Insatiable Sexual Desire of Women

The notion of carnal lust is pervasive in the Malleus. Indeed it is the premise for the female inclination toward witchcraft. Kramer and Sprenger write:

But because in these times this perfidy is more often found in women than in men, as we learn by actual experience, if anyone is curious as to the reason, we may add to what has already been said the following: that since they are feeble both in mind and body, it is not surprising that they should come more under the spell of witchcraft . . .

For as regards intellect, or the understanding of spiritual things, they seem to be of a different nature from men; a fact which is vouched for by the logic of authorities, [and] backed by various examples from the Scriptures . . . . Women are intellectually like children . . .

But the natural (emphasis mine) reason is that she is more carnal than a man, as is clear from her many carnal abominations . . .

And touching this we may say what is known by experience; that these women satisfy their filthy lusts not only in themselves, but even in the mighty ones of the age, of whatever state and condition; causing by all sorts of witchcraft the death of their souls through the excessive infatuation of carnal love, in such a way that for no shame or persuasion can they desist from such acts.

. . . . It must be said . . . that three general vices appear to have special dominion over wicked women, namely, infidelity, ambition, and lust . . . Again, since of these three vices the last chiefly predominates, women being insatiable . . . ambitious women are more deeply infected who are more hot to satisfy their filthy lusts; and such are adulteresses, fornicatresses, and . . . concubines . . . (44, 47, 48)

There are literally hundreds of depictions and suggestions that women have a predisposition toward carnal lust. The main photo layouts exhibit
beautiful women in provocative poses, engaged in sexual intercourse with any combination or volume of males and/or females. The video reviews as well support this message. For example, a review of *The New Barbarians*, in the December 1990 issue, states: “Jon Dough is trapped with the dreaded "drainer bitches," lust-filled females who can't get enough cock (25).”

In an October 1992 review of *Hocus Poke-U5*, it is said that a male character “pulls a dick from his pants for the sorceress [emphasis mine] to swallow... (19).”

In a December 1997 review titled *Sin-A-Matic* it is written that a pair of raven-haired floozies “[are] being rear-ended (38).”

The most prevalent outlet for the notion that women have insatiable sexual desire is in the advertisements within the text. These advertisements are almost entirely contracted to the phone fantasies industry.

In the twelve issues used for this study, there were approximately 3,197 such advertisements with an average of 266 per issue. Approximately 85% were accompanied with photographs. These photographs display women in various poses, alone or with different numbers of men, women, or both, basically ranging from one sexual partner to an orgy. *Ménage à trois* is quite prevalent. All sexual preferences are advertised, however, one-to-one heterosexual and portrayed lesbian sex is most prevalent. One-to-one male sex is the least advertised and is quite minimal. The models are either partially or fully nude, by and large engaging or about to engage in sexual intercourse. Following are ten examples
December 1990:

1. I LOVE TO FUCK AND SUCK! COME WITH ME FOR THE HOTTEST PHONE SEX (14).
2. I LOVE IT IN MY REAR (105).
3. Bitches In Heat, "Call us baby, we're hot (107)!"
4. Lady Lust, "Oh, I'm so hungry for cock (107)."
5. I'M HOT, AGGRESSIVE AND I WANT YOU (107)!
6. "Hi, I'm Bonnie. I want to be Fucked by your big stiff cock. I love it (111)."
7. Suck my big swollen Clit. Tongue my pink Cunt raw and Cock me hard! I'm in heat (116).
8. Loni luvs to Screw (116).
9. The Seduction Of Susy, for Sweet and Total Satisfaction Call me Susy (116).
11. Hear hot horny women . . . and speak to the one that turns you on (120)!

January 1991:

1. Rowdy – Wild – Sexy . . . Hot – Sizzling – Erotic . . . We're Waiting For You (34)!
2. "I'm a young horny girl . . . I love to have kinky phone sex with different kinds of men . . . (104)."
3. **KINKY ROOMATES** Seek Horny Guys With Hard Cocks For **TOTALLY TABOO PHONE F**uck** (104)**!

4. **SINNSATIONAL . . .! HEAVEN CAN WAIT . . ., SATISFY YOUR DEEPEST FORBIDDEN FANTASIES WITH ME NOW (107)**!

5. "I'm Naughty Niki – Suck my soapy wet nipples (110)."

6. Fill My Fantasies (118).

7. SWF, PASSIONATE/WILLING Extremely . . . lusty ladies . . . Must be eager to hear only the hottest tales of sinful exploits (118).

8. Cum on my Tits & Tongue, "I luv to taste cumm (120)."

9. We're Cocksuckers, "We make it good to the last drop (122)."

10. **I WANT TO PARTY . . .I'm LUSCIOUS, I'm HOT, I'm WET . . . (128).**

**OCTOBER 1992:**

1. Party Girls Want To Party With You (24)!

2. "I'M WAITING FOR YOUR CALL. HURRY I CAN'T WAIT ANY LONGER (32)!"

3. "WE BOTH WANT A LOAD OF YOUR JUICE DUMPED ON OUR TONGUES (32)!"

4. Suck my nipples 'till they cream & fill my pussy with that rock hard dick! I'll never get enough (32)!"

5. **DOMINATING LESBIANS LICK EACH OTHER AND SUCK YOUR HARD COCK! You MUST try these horny bitches for a private tongue session, LIVE (36)."**
6. MISTRESS CLEO the SEX GODODESS, wants you between her long lovely legs . . . (36).

7. WE’RE TWO KINKY . . . BUTT FUCKERS, WE LOVE TO GET SCREWED IN THE REAR AND EAT THE CUM WHEN YOU PULL OUT! CALL US NOW FOR LIVE INTIMATE LUST (38)!

8. WE LIKE IT FROM BEHIND, WE GET WETTER BY THE MOMENT WITH GROUP ENCOUNTERS . . . (108).

9. FACE FUCKING SLUTS NEED HARD COCK (112)!

10. CALL CUM – CRAZED CUNTS (113)!

September 1992:

1. I LOVE 69, Eat my sweet Pussy while I suck your cock (18).

2. REAR END RHONDA LOVES IT UP HER ASS (112)!

3. I’m Anal Alice! Please Stick It Up My Red Hot ASS (112)!

4. Virginia the VIRGIN, Wants You to be the First One in Her ASSHOLE (112)!

5. VIRGINS THAT ACHE FOR COCK (113).

6. “Oh baby SUCK ON THESE,” Make me beg for more (118)!

7. BLAST OUR BUTTS! “C’mon baby . . . Stick it in us! We’re hot and ready for your big, stiff prick to plug all our hungry holes . . . Anytime you want (119)!”

8. Call me quick, while I’m Hot and Juicy, so that I can slurp down your thick slippery prick and you can fill my hungry holes with gobs of your scalding spunk . . . (119).

9. FILL UP ALL MY LOVE HOLES – I’M WET AND READY (128)!
10. I'm hot, wet and waiting . . . (132).

January 1993:
1. LIVE . . . LOVELY . . . WICKED AND TOTALLY UNINHIBITED (2).
2. BORED HOUSEWIVES. Women who want to cheat on their husbands
   confess their fantasies (3).
3. The TITANIC TITTY line – They like their tits sucked, strokes [sic] and poked.
   Pick-up a pair today (25).
4. TEMPTING TONISHA – TONISHA AND HER FRIENDS CAN'T WAIT TO
   TELL WHAT THEY LIKE TO DO, AND WHAT THEY WANT TO DO TO YOU
   (25).
5. FARMGIRL FRANNIES' FANNY – Fannies fresh, she's fun and she's more
   than willing (25).
6. REAR END RHODA – LOVES IT UP HER ASS (109)!
7. I need HOT, Explicit Kinky Sex with Horny Men (117)!
8. FUCK YOU . . . We'd Love To . . . Just Name It (122).
9. "We're hungry for your huge shaft to penetrate our moist pussies and hot
   horny assholes (122)!
10. Sweet Sensations – I want to feel your cum inside me (137).

October 1993:
1. SPEAK TO A LIVE HORN¥ BITCH (30)!
2. SEX STARVED SLUTS (30).
3. HOT GIRLS NEED IT BAD – 1-800 . . .HOT-BUTT 1-800 . . .LUST (30).

4. I Want To Squeeze My HOT LUSCIOUS TITS Together So You Can FUCK Them Sore (112)!

5. Make Our CUM CRAVERS Beg For It (122).


7. Call Me! I Want You To Suck and Fuck My Clit . . .I’m Yours, Anytime – Anywhere! Just Call (138)!

8. WE’RE HOT! FOR A WILD FUCK, CUM JOIN US WE’RE THE BEST (145)!

9. GOLDIE . . .WET HOT AND WILD! “I’d love to swallow your HOT CUM . . .I know lots of kinky games we can play together (152).”

10. HORNY WOMEN WILL TURN YOU ON (156).

June 1994:

1. Horny Young Nymphos (16).

2. SEX STARVED HOUSE WIVES – Real women who don’t get enough dick at home want to suck and fuck you all night (36)!

3. Nympho Nurses – Pull back our sterile white uniforms and spread our garter-belted legs, then FUCK US HARD (36)!

4. Hop On And Ride Me! Horny biker bitches want to fuck you LIVE 1 on 1! (36)

5. I WANT YOUR BIG DICK (38)!

6. BARELY LEGAL – Tight young sluts want you to fuck them from behind (38)!
7. Asian Sluts – Horny Asian women seek American cock to fill their tight little pussies (44).

8. “I'M ALWAYS HOT FOR CUM (125).”

9. “I’m a Sex Kitten that needs her pussy fucked (131).”

10. They Call Me Muffy – I Need Big Stiff Cocks In My Throbbing Pussy . . . Day and Night (139).

January 1995:

1. I’m so Horny for You. Call Me Now. We can Talk and Fuck all Night Long (31)!!

2. I NEED COCK! Stuff your oozing tool in me and drain your aching balls (44)!

3. I’m on Fire! Let Me Fuck and Suck All of You (48)!

4. ALL WE NEED IS YOUR COCK (136)!

5. I’m so fucking horny! I’ll suck your stiff rod for FREE (138)!

6. My tight cunt is craving your rock hard cock. I want to be your little slut (138)!

7. WE NEED IT SO BAD! WE'LL SQUEEZE THE CUM OUT OF YOUR DICK (183)!

8. “I'm Creaming For You (183)!”


10. . . . small tight hole loves HOT SEX . . . (195).

March 1995:

1. I Want You UP and IN Me Now (2)!
2. FUCK ME – My juicy slit needs your hard throbbing dick . . . (19).

3. LOCAL GIRLS – Cock hungry sisters will swallow your load (18)!

4. Visiting, lonely girls in heat need your satisfaction now (19).

5. The Whores Next Door! Bang My Beaver (40)!

6. HOT, Horny British Sluts (40)!

7. ANAL FUCKING – Babes who love to bend over (56)!

8. COCK SUCKING SLUTS, Veronica loves to shove two dicks in her mouth (56)!

9. Cock Hungry Coeds – 2 wet, juicy cunts are better than 1 (138)!

10. HOT BLOND – CRAVES COCK . . . (141).

February 1996:

1. HOT MOUTHS NEED YOUR HARD COCK! - CALL NOW AND I’LL SWALLOW! 1-800 . . . LUST (2).

2. WILLING CHEERLEADERS – HOT HORNY CO-EDS WANT YOU TO TEACH THEM TO FUCK (2)!

3. SEXY NYMPHOS – MAKE ME BEG! “FUCK ME I NEED IT BAD, AND I’LL DO ANYTHING YOU WANT (2)!”

4. I WANT 2 COCKS! . . . FUCK BOTH MY HOLES (14)!

5. CUM CRAVERS – Let us suck your hard cock to a juicy cum! HOT CHICKS WHO LOVE TO SWALLOW WANT TO TALK TO YOU (30)!!

6. TWO HOT AND HORNY CHICKS ON ONE FAT HARD DICK (30)!

7. HOT SLUTS WANT IT IN THE MOUTH (113)!
8. PARTY WITH COCK HUNGRY BITCHES (135)!

9. The BEST COCKSUCKERS EVER! Our Sluts are Wet, Wild and Wide Open 24 Hours (135)!

10. We want to suck your long cock till [sic] it shoots its creamy cum into our open mouths (140)!

December 1997:

1. MARRIED WHORES will talk dirty to anyone! 100% filth (2).

2. DICK-THIRSTY DESIRES (2)!

3. 19 YR OLD BEGS: FUCK ME QUICK BEFORE MY DADDY CATCHES US (2).

4. CUM-LOVIN' SLUT (121).

5. Aspiring slut, “Please teach me how to fuck - - - - Won’t you help me be the nasty slut I know I can be for you (123)?”

6. COLLEGE GIRLS SEEK ASS-BANGING. Sorority girls, sick of school want your meat . . . (125).

7. SELECT-A-SLUT, HEAR SAMPLES FROM OVER 100 HOT, HORNY WOMEN WAITING TO TALK TO YOU (127).

8. Shy, coed virgins, “We want our cherries popped together. Two virgins are better than one. Fuck us in the ass too! We are tight all over (127)!

9. BOTTOMS UP! Shove Your Cock Up My Tight Ass (48)!

10. I'M CRAVING YOUR BIG THROBBING COCK DEEP INSIDE ME (148)!!!
July 1998:

1. I NEED A DOUBLE WHAMMY ON MY MUFF AND FANNY (35)!
2. RIPE and READY TEENS – SUGAR DADDY WANTED (35)!
3. MY HUGE TITS ARE CRAVING A HUGE LOAD OF YOUR HOT CUM (39)!!!
4. I really want to suck you dry (39)!!!
5. I CAN'T SEEM TO SATISFY MY RAGING SEXUAL HORMONES (99)!
6. BABYSITTING SERVICES AVAILABLE. "I can't wait to babysit your cock (103)!
7. COCKSTARVING COLLEGE GIRL (104).
8. NASTY NANETTE! I need it bad, everyday! Everyway! Can you give me what I need (148)?! 
9. HORNY HOLLY'S HAPPY HARLOTS (148).
10. FORBIDDEN FRUIT – Horny Girls That Crave Your Cock (169).

The Use of the Words Witch, Bitch and Synonymous Terms

Women are referred to as sluts, bitches, nymphomaniacs, vixens, strumpets, or whores in each Hustler examined in this research. This is the case in all areas of the text with the exception of Beaver Hunt, wherein, relatives or friends send in amateur photos of naked women. Hustler referred to women in the aforementioned terms approximately 31 times, on the average, per issue.

Such terms are also exemplified in the prior categories of this paper, i.e. Damage Caused to Male Genitalia or Reproductive Capacity, The Disgusting and
Repugnant Nature of Women, and The Insatiable Sexual Desire of Women. For this reason, it would be redundant to provide an extensive list of examples in this category. Therefore, five examples are provided from each issue of Hustler.

The Malleus, in its entirety, speaks to the notion of women as products of carnal lust and both intrinsically and extensively pronounces her as witch and whore. This is evidenced in the three prior categories of research.

The following examples are provided from Hustler which supports this personification present in the Malleus:

**December 1990:**
1. In an interview with porn film producer St. James, he states in regard to actresses, “Some are maybe a blow job away [from] the glory of being a Hollywood power bitch (19).”
2. A movie review of Girls of the Third Reich boasts of “...a bevy of less-than master-race sluts (26).”
3. One centerfold model states, “a lot of bitches date men they don’t dig just to drive nice cars (71).”
5. A phone fantasy ad reads, “...Wanna [sic] Watch me Suck-off this little blond bitch, baby (129)!”
January 1991:

1. A video review states, "The sex revolves around female shrink Jeannie Pepper's clients' fantasies [and] her nymphs secretary . . . (31)."

2. A feature article titled *Twat for the Future*, describes three porn stars as "smut vixens" and "fuck vixens (38-39)."

3. The caption of a phone ad reads, "Hot Bitch, Wet, Wild, and Waiting (124)."

4. "Hot, blond and bitchy" women are advertised in a phone ad (144).

5. The phone ad prints "BITCH GODDESS MISTRESS, kinky fantasies, bazaar fetishes (145)."

September 1992:

1. A parody of a movie feature starring Leona Helmsly and Zsa Zsa Gabor is titled, "Caged Bitch (14)."

2. A phone ad states, "Bitch goddess lets you lick her leather (14)."

3. The movie review of *Asian Silk* refers to an actress as, "one busy slut . . . (20)."

4. "BITCH GODDESS WANTS YOU" is advertised for phone sex (109).

5. *Hustler's* next month review titled "BITCH'N BREW" is said to be "A DEVELISH PINK POTION [WITH] A PAIR OF BEWITCHING SEA NYMPHS (154)."

October 1992:

1. A movie review is titled "New Slut (21)."
2. In the feature article "Sex Play," the author writes, "The rich bitch has an almost untameable twat (39)."

3. "...Nymphomaniacs across the sea" are advertised for phone entertainment (110).

4. A phone fantasy ad reads "BITCHES IN HEAT (116)!"

5. An ad for a ninety-minute cassette promises, "oral nymphs, anal sluts, nasty nymphs, vixens in heat (124)."

January 1993:

1. *Anal Encounters*, a movie review, states its feature actress belongs to "any list of sin sirens (18)."

2. Female characters of this film review are described as "bleach-blond sluts (18)."

3. In *Feedback*, a subscriber editorial, one subscriber refers to the models in *Hustler* as "fine bitches (27)."

4. A phone ad features a "YOUNG NYMPHO WHO IS PROUD TO BE A SLUT (134)."

5. A phone fantasy ad reads "DOUBLE BITCH 69'ERS (135)."

October 1993:

1. In the *Hot Letters* feature, a writer states, "I despise the rich bitches who frequent my friend's Beverly Hills Salon... (27)."
2. *The Mail Bag* advertises phone numbers for "Nympho coeds, crazy nymphos and sex-starved sluts (30)."

3. *The Alley*, a phone fantasy section, advertises "whores, nymphos and sluts (120)."

4. A phone ad reads, "COCK SUCKING RAW BITCHES (128)."

5. A video advertisement is titled *Hot Bitches* (70).

**June 1994:**

1. A phone ad reads, "EUROPEAN BITCHES" and "Hot and Horny Sluts (24)."

2. "NEXTDOOR WHORE" is advertised in this phone fantasy ad (42).

3. In an article, porn film director Biff Malibu states, "One of these beautiful girls, by the time she's 50, she'll be . . . a wrinkled up old bitch (72)."

4. A joke in *The Hustler Humor* reads, "Question: What's the difference between a slut and a bitch? Answer: A slut'll fuck anybody, a bitch will fuck anybody but you (96)."

5. The title of an advertised video film is "*Hot Bitches* (170)."

**January 1995:**


2. A phone advertisement states, "THIS BITCH MEANS BUSINESS (148)."

3. A phone ad reads, "Party With Cock Hungry Bitches (166)."

4. A phone ad is titled "SLUTTY BITCHES (172)."
5. The words “SUPER BITCH” appear in this phone advertisement (189).

March 1995:
1. A parody asks, “...how many men have the strength to walk away from the no-risk opportunity to shoot an undomesticated bitch (10)?”
2. A feature titled Inside Hillary Clinton’s Butt, refers to her “bitchy” life (14).
3. The title of an X-rated film in this review is Nasty Nymphos (34).
4. In the feature article Sex Play, the author refers to a woman as an “unteachable bitch” (60) and “a vixen (96).”
5. A phone sex ad offers conversation with “International cum swallowing sluts (161).”

February 1996:
1. A Hustler video review describes all the actresses as “nymphs (20).”
2. A video film advertisement displays titles referring to women as “Nymphos,” “bitches,” and sluts (23).”
3. A phone fantasy ad reads, “Love starved vixens (26).”
4. In the feature article Sex Play, the author writes of a “...loose-assed jailhouse bitch (39).”
5. A phone fantasy ad reads “Select a Slut (109).”

December 1997:
1. A cybersex advertisement suggests the caller “interact[s] with a Hot Slut (2).”
2. In the editorial feature *Feedback*, a writer refers to feminists as "wrinkly bitches (33)."

3. A *Hustler* X-rated video review describes females on MTV’s teen life show as "peppy bitches (36)."

4. A phone sex ad reads "ASK BITCH (42)."

5. A phone fantasy ad invites one to call a "Kinky Bitch (133)."

**July 1998:**

1. An X-rated movie review refers to women characters as "bitches (20)."

2. Two separate writers in the *Hot Letters* feature call a woman a "bitch." One refers to his mail person as "an uptight bitch" and the other calls his wife "the horny bitch (39)."

3. A feature article labels "Eastern European refugees who work in New York peep-shows . . . [as] . . . lusty Nymphs (87)."

4. An X-rated videotape is titled *Old Bitches* (143).

5. The advertisement is for an adult video titled *Sleazy Video Sluts* (146).
V. DISCUSSION

Analysis of Findings

Results of this research uphold the supposition that thematic characterizations of women in the *Malleus* and *Hustler* display similarities in each of the four categories examined.

The weakest area, in terms of results, was the lack of attention to menstrual blood in the *Malleus*. Although it has been documented in various publications that menstrual blood was a major issue during the witchcraze, believed to be used in spells and capable of killing men during intercourse, I found no claims of this sort in the *Malleus*. However, the rest of the category on the disgusting and repugnant nature of women was well substantiated.

A major factor to consider, even though the publications share common personifications of women, is the difference in the way they are presented. The *Malleus* professes them in a literal sense whereas *Hustler* often implies these suggestions are parody or fantasy. This does not rule out that what is professed to be true may be fantasy and vice-versa.

There are other differences in how stereotypes and personifications are approached in the texts. This is to be expected, as personifications are reconstructed, and reflect socio-cultural fluctuation and change. However, the underlying themes and/or words remain significantly consistent.
For example, the theme of harm to male genitalia is evidenced in the 
*Malleus* by Kramer and Sprenger's persistent discussion of the removal, or
illusion of removal of the penis via witchcraft. *Hustler* does not imply the use of
illusion in the excision of male reproductive organs, although synonymous words
for witch often accompany the example. The *Malleus* described the virile
member as "disappearing" rather than physically being removed or harmed by
the women as suggested in *Hustler*.

In fact, the concept of removing male sexual organs could be interpreted
as female agency in an era where women are sometimes acquitted for such
actions in the courts due to prior abuse at the hands of the male. This is
something that would never be tolerated in the courts of the Middle Ages.
However, given that the male readership of *Hustler* is claimed to be 94 percent, it
casts some doubt as to whether this is the dominant interpretation. It seems
more likely that it would arouse age-old castration anxiety fears\(^\text{17}\) in men which
may itself instill fear of women and misogyny.

This notion is supported by scholars of many social sciences and the
humanities. It is focal to Trenthowan's discussion in *The Demonopathology of
Impotence* (Ed. Levak 1992, 165-270). Garrett as well takes note of this and
brings to mind the projection of hostilities, as he states:

Anne Parsons has shown in her psychoanalytic study, witch
beliefs and paranoia are both forms of projection, but the former are
expressed in "culturally formulated terms" and are therefore "fully
comprehensible to other believers in the society." This is what
Parsons calls a "reversible relationship between symbol and
situation." (Ed. Levak 1992, 469)
This supports the Foucaultian proposition that the difference between "normal" and "pathological" is ambivalent. The fear of deviant behavior in oneself can, and is often, projected into the other. For instance, a marriage partner who is obsessed with the "other's" possible infidelity, without apparent evidence, often is the one who has the thoughts of being unfaithful. In such situations, the "paranoid" partner may confabulate evidence in an attempt to justify the obsession.

So in the event that Hustler and the Malleus obsess on castration and its symbolic form, impotence, this theme becomes suspect. Given the use of titles such as Bitches Beware: We Hate Women Who Hate Men on the cover of Hustler, the question arises, "Is this projection?" Particularly when the title is followed by an article about female harm to male genitalia.

The theme then of harm to male sex organs appears to have the potential to arouse fear and hatred and, although the climate may need to be conducive for overt harm to eventuate from it, its continual presence in Hustler reinforces the myth.

I find it of interest, and possibly significant, that the caricature of the Lesbian Pride Picnic may instill the thought that women who choose an alternative to heterosexuality indeed hate men, or at least would like to remove their testicles and display them in an atmosphere of joy and camaraderie.

This theme may be the most insidious to the creation of misogyny and the foundation that lends impetus to the other themes.
Another difference is how women's carnal lust is suggested in the two publications. The *Malleus* is limited to the verbal indictments of the authors and their rationalizations for this predisposition. *Hustler*, on the other hand, conveys this message with pictorials, advertisements, parodies and written text. Besides employing women as models and phone mates, it is likely that a percentage of the phone fantasy ads are produced by women.

This is interesting as women had no agency in regard to the production of the *Malleus* as they do in *Hustler*. Whether their involvement signifies that women are indeed filled with insatiable sexual desire or are merely concerned with financial security is difficult to determine. Indeed it may not be an either/or question because this would be on a case-by-case basis. However, there are women who claim to enjoy and take pride in their careers in the sex industry/erotic employment field. Receiving a wage for this occupation is a far cry from being burned at the stake for its alleged event. This is not to say that there is no persecution or consequences in a more subtle form such as societal stigmatization on grounds of immorality, criminality, or mental illness.

The carnal lust theme is still, however, present in both the *Malleus* and *Hustler* and again preserves the stereotype. Again we find a paradox and a no win situation for both sexes if the theme is contaminated by the aforementioned theme of harm to male genitalia. For males it is a dilemma or at least an ambiguous proposition. Should one take off his clothing and provide vulnerability to this seductive force and risk virile dismemberment? This is probably not an
overt thought or likely consequence; however, the former theme contraindicates the latter.

It appears to be quite symbolic of the Eden situation. Take a bite of the beautiful sweet apple and you become spiritually impotent. This takes us back to Parson’s (Ed. Levak 1992, 469), insight of the “reversible relation between symbol and situation.”

In the case of the carnal lust theme, there are some strikingly different socio-cultural factors between the eras of the publications. However, personifications may pendulate, fluctuate, or otherwise take on new flavor, but their historical content might be minimally contemplated in the present. One may realize similarities in personifications and repersonifications without relating the latter to events or outcomes the prior personification had. Therefore, the possible correlation between the witchcraze and the personification of women at the time may not even come to mind when exposed to similar characterizations today. Edelman maintains that:

...aspirations, and anxieties of the present [grow] without attention to the changes over long time periods that explain contemporary conflicts and discontents. If mentioned at all, history becomes a set of myths to justify current resentments and aggressions rather than a basis for understanding and explanation (88).

In essence, this stock pool of claims or descriptions is not reflective of a “real” world but a “reconstruction of the past” with its “evocation of unobservables in the present . . . (Edelman, 89).”
The construction of the witch of the past, in this manner, becomes the bitch of the present. The “witch” in the *Malleus* is seductive, lustful, repugnant, beautiful, pleasure-giving, and painfully dangerous, as is the “bitch” in *Hustler*.

All of the above attributions are endorsed by the four categories examined. These attributions are self-contradictory. Edelman exemplifies the use of contradiction in regard to the construction of a political spectacle as he states:

... [They] are aloof and clannish and they insist on entering social circles where they are not welcome. They are less intelligent, lower on the scale of evolution, or farther from God's grace than others, and are shrewd, dangerously resourceful, and uncanny in their talent for besting others unless kept in their place by force. They are ill-favored physically, behave like one or another animal, and smell bad, and they display superior sexual attractions and physical talents that make them seductive. They are weak, self-effacing and cowardly and they are domineering with a gift for attack or a talent for ruthless tactics (74).

Edelman mentions ill-favored physicality and bad smell in the above quote. These traits are found in the category of *The Disgusting and Repugnant Nature of Women*. For example, women are characterized with disgusting fluids flowing from vaginas, fishy, stray cat odor raising from them, rats coming out their vaginas, and the like, as described earlier from examining *Hustler*. As is the case in the *Malleus*, the female is falsely dichotomized as beautiful or ugly, seductive or repulsive. And this is a no win situation for women as sooner or later they will menstruate, get old and wrinkled, and, as all humans, at sometime experience flatulence.
However, in the Malleus these repugnant women were often put to death. This speaks again to the very different application of such accusations in different social contexts. It also represents, once more, an unfailing continuation of a mythology and the stereotypical fabrication of women in the witch/bitch tradition. What makes this so poignant is how Hustler has sexualized this component. Often it is in nakedness that the repugnant nature of women is revealed and often as a surprise to the unsuspecting male. For instance, a blind man having oral sex with a menstruating woman or a man finding a tapeworm in a vagina. This resonates with the idea of glamour in the Malleus wherein the male is not, at least initially, aware of a woman's actual identity or potential for repugnance. In Hustler, disgust and repugnance can also be located in the psyche of the female, i.e., she is "... a silent psychic fart," and the psyche is where sorcery incubates which is one reason the witches of the past were so viciously persecuted. Edelman (1988) explains:

Punishments are all the more severe when grounds for believing people do evil are invisible: attributed to the psyche or inherent character rather than to behavior and its observable consequences. Witness the witch burnings of the seventeenth century . . . (75)

Again I speak not of Hustler causing harm to women or intending to; however, this does not remove the presence of the disgusting, repugnant nature of woman as thematic from its pages amidst the pages of beautiful seductive ones.

These self-contradictory claims provide a double-edged sword. Simon de Beauvoir wrote in The Ethics of Ambiguity, "... to say that [something] is
ambiguous is to assert that its meaning is never fixed, that it must be constantly won (129)."

So as ambiguity provides an avenue for multiple interpretations, it also provides the avenue for manipulation toward a dominant interpretation. More important to this thesis is that ambiguous claims can exist in a benign state. However, when utilized at opportune times they may be a catalyst toward malignancy.

In 15th century Europe, patriarchal institutions were, at least, perceived as being challenged. The *Malleus* states:

... for this age is dominated by women, and as was foretold by S. Hildegard, as Vincent of Beauvais records in the *Mirror of History*, although he said it would not endure for as long as it already has. (171).

Women may pose a perceived threat to patriarchal institutions today as well, but their cooperation in society is necessary because their "services" and "sacrifices" are imperative to societal maintenance (Edelman 72). Therefore, it would not be advantageous to annihilate them, past or present, but a popular front is likely to be established as a defensive posture to maintain the status quo. Edelman explains how social stabilization is pursued with the assistance of "language and gestures that have lasted for a long time..." stating:

[They] become signs of acquiescence in the continuation of the relationship while in their banal forms. To stop exaggerating the [opponent's] dangerous potentialities or to employ physical force to eliminate them would signal change; but to continue verbal assaults... that have long taken place is to signal that all will remain as it has been... This phenomenon helps us understand the perpetuation for long periods of time, often for centuries, of exploitative relationships between social groups... a moralistic...
discourse typically is central to the transaction [and] reaction formation compliments rationalization. In consequence unequal relationships become stabilized . . . and each episode of hostilities rationalizes later ones and long-standing differences in material resources and privilege (83).

The verbal assault, via the word "bitch" and other synonymous terms descriptive of "witch" in Hustler, allows for the exaggeration of the dangerous potentialities of women to continue without employing physical force [emphasis mine].

One of the difficulties with this is that the witch/bitch, by definition, can apply to any woman in a given situation. An example of this is seen in Dahl's (1983) children's book, The Witches, that resonates with tones of the Malleus:

In fairy-tales, witches always wear silly black hats and black cloaks, and they ride on broomsticks.
But this is not a fairy-tale. This is about REAL WITCHES.
The most important thing you should know about REAL WITCHES is this. Listen very carefully. Never forget what is coming next.
REAL WITCHES dress in ordinary clothes and look very much like ordinary women. They live in ordinary houses and they work in ORDINARY JOBS.
That is why they are so hard to catch.
A REAL WITCH hates children with a red-hot sizzling hatred that is more sizzling and red-hot than any hatred you could possibly imagine.
A REAL WITCH spends all her time plotting to get rid of the children in her particular territory. Her passion is to do away with them, one by one. It is all she thinks about the whole day long. Even if she is working as a cashier in a supermarket or typing letters for a businessman or driving around in a fancy car [and she could be doing any of these things), her mind will always be plotting and scheming and churning and burning and whizzing and phizzing with murderous bloodthirsty thoughts. [emphasis author] (7)

This is not to necessarily imply calculation on the part of Hustler to produce images of women via verbal assaults that may aid in their oppression.

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However, intent is not required to shade public opinion or demarcate by 
insensitivity. Fans of the Atlanta Braves probably had no intention of displaying 
disrespect to First Nations’ People when they gestured tomahawk chops from the 
bleachers. They were rallying support for their team. Still, this ethnocentric 
insensitivity outraged many First Nations’ People.

Likewise, there need be no intent or strategy to render women invisible by 
centuries of the English language that uses “he” or “mankind” when referring to 
either sex.

But Hustler, by reconstructing century-old personifications of women, is 
“paradoxically” cooperating with the Malleus “even though the cooperation may 
be unintentional.” (Edelman, 69)

It is to some degree paradoxical because Hustler is published by a “sultan 
of smut” while the Malleus was written by Roman Orthodox priests professing 
that lust is sinful. Furthermore, Larry Flynt is a self-pronounced atheist who 
lampoons religious figures and doctrine.

Yet there is a common ground between these texts, which allows this 
paradoxical relationship to exist. They have sexist content. Sexism is prejudice 
and a possible precursor to discrimination.

How an individual interprets and responds to sexist language and images 
is varied, but if it is valid that there are dominant interpretations, this is reason for 
concern.

Foucault believed language was so influential, that it is the means by 
which we construct our version of reality. He further posited that once this reality
is shaped it is difficult for us to interpret it in any other way. In addition, he maintained that these "realities" shape our actions and behaviors. For example:

... if we equate capitalism with democracy or sexuality with male-dominated heterosexuality, we cannot help but shape economic and sexual life in ways that make it difficult to consider the possibility of alternatives to capitalism or sexual lives that are egalitarian, gay, or lesbian. (Johnson 82-83)

He further expressed that language is a powerful tool used for control of the human body. For example, in his perspective:

... there is no such thing as an objective human sexuality apart from how we use language to think, write, and talk about it. This in turn shapes how we experience the body, which in turn serves the interests of social control. (Johnson 336)

It is, for example, a matter of interpretation whether or not the pornographic genre is sexually constructed in a negative didactic fashion. However, in this thesis, it can be applied to the construction of the witch/bitch. In the case of Hustler, the concern is not with nudity or sexual intercourse. Rather the concern is how the themes of dangerousness, repugnance, and whoredom infiltrate its pages amongst images of beautiful and seductive women. It is the portrayal of women as seductresses or radical feminists who will dismember male genitals and women being referred to as bitches, sluts, and nymphomaniacs because they are sexual, that is in question. These ambiguous claims that women are pleasure giving, pain inducing, beautiful and disgusting are common to both the Malleus and Hustler as documented in this research.

The political essence of sexuality cannot be overlooked here. Whether in a benign state or actively and intentionally employed, such claims exist in many
forms and textual sites throughout the media. *Hustler* may be more blatant than some productions and less than others. In either case, it is an example of how images of women can be reconstructed and resurrected after long spans of time depending on the social situation. In *The Construction of the Political Spectacle*, it is explained that:

The effectiveness of ambiguous and contradictory statements in shaping political encounters and value allocation . . . calls into question the view that the ego can usefully be conceived as continuing or consistent, just as it calls into question the utility of conceiving the social world as a constant entity. [People] become whatever claim works for the situation and the moment, subjects and objects become whatever the acceptance of a particular claim makes of them, and neither form of becoming has much bearing upon earlier, concurrent, or subsequent forms, except in the sense that material inequalities influences all of them and so perpetuate some for long periods of time. (Edelman 75)

In the case of the *Malleus* and *Hustler*, we see reconstructed claims from the former to the latter. *Hustler* is not likely to have the intent of the *Malleus* and in this time period is unlikely to produce any of its suggested overt results. The seed of the construction of the witch/bitch, however, remains.

Limitations and Areas for Future Research

This thesis focuses on two publications that appear to have quite different genres. The *Malleus* is a handbook that provided the means to identify and punish heretics centuries ago. *Hustler*, on the other hand, is a contemporary adult entertainment magazine and a commodity.
The representatives of these samples for this research may be somewhat compromised by these factors. However, further analysis suggests these publications are able to provide more than adequate support to this thesis and should encourage further inquiry and research in this area.

Furthermore, the time lapse between these publications supports the notion that a small stockpile of claims about women has remained significantly consistent after centuries of social and cultural change. The difference in genres also supports the suggestion that there need not be a common agenda for one group, or individual, to cooperate with another in constructing or reconstructing women as witches/bitches.

It would, however, be interesting and useful to research other publications and communication media to examine how they construct women through thematic patterns of personification.

Research on possible recrudescence in witch/bitch condensations during specific social climates, such as waves of feminism and mounting neo-conservative ideology, would provide a contribution to knowledge as well as a base for continued examination in future social atmospheres.

An examination of pornography in the 15th Century and Roman Orthodox religious doctrine could add depth to a comparison of the *Malleus* and *Hustler* and might open up new channels of inquiry.

Another area to study might examine the shift of both pornography and the witchcraze to women as subjects. When did these shifts occur and why?
The *Malleus* itself could be a topic of research in its own right. I agree with Hitchcock (1995) that it is an extremely important piece of women’s history. It is a text with great research potential to social scientists, and I am surprised it has received so little attention by them.

Very little research has been done on *Hustler* either, although Larry Flynt has made himself and his publication topics of socio-political interest in many areas other than the obvious sexual one. Kipnis, for instance, (mentioned in Chapter II) deconstructs *Hustler* with focus on an anti-establishment and bourgeois stance. A comparison of *Hustler*’s socio-political and religious stance with other leading adult publications could be developed to broaden this area of analysis.

It was evident during research for this thesis, that people of various race, mental and physical disability, as well as gay and lesbians were targeted in *Hustler*, particularly blacks and lesbians. Inquiry in this area is suggested as well, as it is of equal analytic treatment, although not a focus of this paper.
Concluding Statements

Ambiguity is tenacious because it cannot be "reduced to certainty." That is the case in this research as well when applying a relativist position. To assume this posture is to realize one's proposition cannot be verified or falsified. However:

[a] relativist posture in no way denies the need for a clear moral code; it recognizes, rather that interpretations of actions do vary with social situations. Acceptance of that variation encourages careful examination of moral claims and tentativeness in applying them in ways that others might find objectionable or harmful; but it neither establishes nor undermines the moral code of an individual or a group.

It is moral certainty not tentativeness [emphasis mine], that historically has encouraged people to harm or kill others.
(Edelman 5)

It can not be concluded that Hustler, or any source that stereotypes or re-personifies women with ambiguous claims will cause the harm the Malleus is accused of by some scholars. It can be said, however, that at least four pervasive themes regarding women's character are shared between the Malleus and Hustler.

This deserves attention and consideration of possible insidious or overt sexist messages in Hustler, and serves as an heuristic example of the reconstruction of personifications and continuation of claims over centuries.

Hustler does not, however, deserve to be censored any more than the Malleus. It is a lesson in arbitrariness that no one is trying to censor the Malleus,
but many right-winged feminists and moral majority leaders would be ecstatic if *Hustler* were so censored.

This is interesting also, since the *Malleus* is focused entirely on women as witches and their need to be eradicated. *Hustler*, on the other hand, is multifaceted with many political and entertainment features, while the former is blatantly focused on a central misogynistic theme.

I suspect one reason the *Malleus* has not attracted as much attention as *Hustler* is not so much due to society’s unfamiliarity with it but with the fact that it does not contain photographs or illustrations at all; no nudity, no opportunity to gaze at people engaged in sexual activity. This is in concert with Larry Flynt’s own view presented in his film, *The People vs Larry Flynt*, that obscenity is in the eyes of the beholder. Furthermore, I agree with Larry Flynt that censorship is arbitrary.

Censorship exists in subtle and overt forms (Schiller 1983, Herman and Chomsky 1988, Jensen 1993, Califia 1994). This is the case whether in the U.S. or Canada, so the U.S. First Amendment protecting free speech is relative. Books seized at the Canadian border based on the Butler Decision are selected on the assessment of customs officials who have displayed discrimination toward lesbian and gay literature. In the U.S. mainstream, heterosexual pornography can be purchased at the corner convenience store; however lesbian, gay, or arbitrarily decided “off color” pornography must be purchased in adult bookstores that are clearly marked as such. This gives the effect that consumers of such literature are different from those who purchase the mainstream heterosexual
pornography, and it is also made inconvenient to obtain. Often these adult bookstores are in “less desirable locations” which may be intimidating to some consumers, or would-be consumers.

To censor texts on the basis of sexist content would be ludicrous. *New Woman* could be considered sexist and gynocentric. Most detective magazines can be viewed as sexist as well as many fashion magazines and comic books.

To explore and continue discourse about construction of the witch/bitch, however, has epistemic value. Hopefully, this thesis will encourage others to research further into this topic as a contribution to the sociology of knowledge, for it is extremely probable that this particular construction permeates many sites.

I would like to conclude with a statement that struck an ambivalent chord in my own psyche, at once humorous and disheartening. It appeared after the hit song *Bitch* (Brooks, 1997) at the conclusion of a movie preview titled *Practical Magic* (McLaglen, Berman, 1998). These words stood out in large white letters across the black cinematic screen accompanied by a male voice:

“There’s a little witch in every woman.”

I took my ambiguity to the theater when the movie opened, and left with it as well. I also left haunted with the chant of the children in the film as they chastised the “normal” looking witches:

“Witch, witch, you’re a bitch.”
“Witch, witch, you’re a bitch.”
“Witch, witch, you’re a bitch.”
Endnotes

1 The use of the word "American" in this case refers to colonial America of the United States of America.

2 In 1994, the US circulation was 1,269,960. The Canadian circulation was 100,000. LFP Inc., Appendix page 68.

3 Male readership is 94%. LFP Inc., Appendix page 72.

4 Heuristic in its adjective form (according to Webster's, 1989) is defined as "serving to indicate or point out; stimulating interest as a means of furthering investigation."

5 According to Webster (1989), misogyny is defined as "hatred of women." Misogynistic (adj.) reflects, in this case, the women-hating nature of the Malleus.

6 The word pornographic is placed in quotations because there is not an agreed upon operational definition of pornography within our legal, educational, medical or social science disciplines. The word pornographic here refers to literature that can only be legally purchased by adults.

7 Active Audience theory is discussed by Fiske and Hall in the realm of television and cinema media, however, I believe it can be applicable to any form of media production.

8 A hegemonic theme is one which upholds the dominant ideas of a culture or society, i.e., those representing authority and power.

9 As discussed earlier in this paper, one must caution against proclaiming a definition of pornography.

10 Webster's Dictionary (1989) defines Sabbat as a midnight assembly of diabolists (as witches and sorcerers) held especially in medieval and renaissance times to renew allegiance to the devil through mystic rites and orgies.

11 According to Webster's, iconography is "1. symbolic representation, esp. the conventional meanings attached to an image or images 2. subject matter in the visual arts, esp. with reference to the conventions regarding the treatment of a subject in artistic representation (1989)." It can be argued that pornography is iconographic. See examples in thesis appendix pages 85-86.

12 Pages 196 and 197; figures 4-9 and 4-10 in The Invention of Pornography, and thesis appendix pages 87-88.
In *Servants of Satan* (Klaits 1985, 75), Klaits comments that the artists "... interprets Adam and Eve's sinning as a surrender to lust, and in her body language, Eve makes it clear that she is a lewd and sensual creature." See appendix page 89. In *Hustler* (1993, 10:84-85), there are several layouts of a woman in sensual repose with a serpent. Two of these are presented in appendix 90-91.

14 Etymology is the study of the origin of words. Etymological is its adjective form (Webster’s 1989).

15 The Political Spectacle is a group or individual whose image is in part constructed by various ambiguous claims produced by the media.

16 According to Neuman (1991), qualitative analysis is a "search for patterns in data-recurrent behaviors, objects, or a body of knowledge." Upon identification of such a pattern, the researcher interprets it through the lens of social theory "or setting in which it occurred [occurs]." After such a pattern is identified, the "researcher moves . . . to a more general interpretation of its meaning."

17 Anxiety due to fantasized danger or injuries to the genitals and/or body. May be precipitated by everyday events which have symbolic significance and appear to be threatening, such as loss of a job, loss of a tooth or an experience of ridicule or humiliation. (APA Psychiatric Glossary 1980, 17)

18 This is stated in LFP Inc. information packet 1995. See Appendix page 79.
Bibliography


Total North American Circulation: 1,369,950

Regional Development Indices:

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<td>5.27%</td>
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Total North American Circulation/4-color page rate = $10.22
(estimated pass-along brings CPM to approximately $4.85)
HUSTLER is dedicated to the real American male. Our readers are not glamorous or trendy, and they are not the effete or elite. They have a strong working class ethic, and they're very down to earth. Guys who want to be entertained in a straight-forward, no-nonsense manner. They've come to expect HUSTLER to give them information on topical issues. And to provide them with some of the most provocative, high-quality photo layouts in the industry.

HUSTLER's editorial philosophy is Larry Flynt. He comes from the same humble background as many of our readers, and has not lost touch with their values and attitudes. He is often outraged and frequently hilarious. He's a born risk-taker and headline maker. Sometimes he does crazy things, and other times he's an active, vocal advocate of charitable concerns. But our readers see him and his views as their own. A real, live representative of themselves, living out their wildest dreams come true.

And above all, HUSTLER is dedicated to quality. From the superior journalism and photography to the paper we print on. Because great entertainment is wasted if the presentation is shoddy. And because the best measure of a magazine is a staff that never lets itself think that good enough is good enough.

HUSTLER is truly dedicated to providing our readers with what they want. Humor, advice, letters to the editor, interesting fiction and headline-making non-fiction. But we also cater to the needs of our advertisers. We wrap everything in a first class package that allows advertisers to get their messages across clearly. And this commitment to quality makes HUSTLER an excellent environment for their products.

How effective is our environment at capturing the attention of our readers? One only needs to turn to "Beaver Hunt," an extremely popular section of the magazine. Tens of thousands of men send us nude photos of their wives and girlfriends in hope they'll be chosen for the pages of HUSTLER. And we couldn't ask for any better proof of their loyalty than that.
Sweat rolling off his back in a Pittsburgh steel mill. Or cool and concentrated, writing a program for a new mainframe high up in a Dallas corporate tower. The HUSTLER reader is from America's heartland. Wherever that happens to be.

He's a lot of different men leading a lot of different lives. But with a few things in common: a strong work ethic and a steadfast adherence to traditional values. And a magazine that happens to think those traditional values are the best ones around.

He's blue collar. A no-nonsense, regular guy, who feels that the best things in life are free: his family, his friends and his country. He lives a basic American lifestyle, although he's the type of guy who probably wouldn't call it a lifestyle.

He prefers the tried and true to the trendy. And if you want to know what his world looks like, just take a look at an average beer commercial. Madison Avenue knows he's one of the important markets in the country. And when they want to talk to him they put him on T.V., doing what he does best: working hard and playing hard.

What does a HUSTLER reader do for a good time? Anything he wants to.

He drives desert trucks and jacked-up jeeps. He rides motorcycles in the dirt and snowmobiles in the hills. And uses every kind of contraption from ATV's to Jet Skis. He trolls for trout and boats for bass. He kayaks, canoes and river rafts, too. He takes vacations in an RV and camps out. He plays in softball leagues and goes to baseball games. He loves hockey and football. And he loves to travel.

The HUSTLER reader does just about everything you'd ever want to do, just about anywhere you'd ever want to do it. Indoors and outdoors, around the country and in his own backyard. But the one thing he doesn't do is pursue the good life. Because he's already living it.
LARRY FLYNT: THE MAN BEHIND THE MAGAZINE

The Working Man's Champion. The Sultan of Smut. The Rags to Riches Story. The Presidential Candidate. Larry Flynt has been called a lot of things over the years. But these nicknames only hint at the magnitude of his accomplishments.

Magoffin County, Kentucky, 1942. As unlikely a starting point towards the American Dream as one could imagine. Yet Larry Flynt managed to create a multi-million dollar publishing empire.

By means of ambition and a burning desire, of course. But what really created his fortune was that he never lost touch with the everyday people. And he used his wealth and genius for self-promotion to become their voice. To question the status quo and the powers that be. And to do all the things the average guy would do if only he had the courage and the resources. Larry Flynt devoted his life to making his views heard. And in doing so, almost surrendered his life to an assassin’s bullet, leaving him confined to a wheelchair.

But Larry Flynt doesn’t just use his magazine to confront his opponents. He has also helped bring important issues before the public eye. For instance, he has always been a staunch and vocal opponent to child pornography. He supported Vietnam veterans long before it was chic, and helped rally the cause to recognize their needs. And he provided editorial coverage to the AIDS crisis before the problem was ever dealt with in the conventional media.

Larry Flynt’s success story will continue for as long as his empire continues to grow. And it’s flourishing, branching out into different types of magazines and media, in a continuing quest for respect that somehow didn’t come with his phenomenal success. But as long as Larry Flynt’s around, you can be sure you’ll hear his voice, loud and clear. Because it’s the voice of the common man.
formed by and dedicated to the hardworking middle-class American male, Larry Flynt's HUSTLER remains the definitive name in adult entertainment. Celebrating 22 years of publishing the world's most successful adult magazine, Larry Flynt's HUSTLER continues to be every man's newsstand choice for an erotic peek into unbridled sensuality. Issue after issue, readers are treated to no-holds-barred humor, intriguing exposés of today's most controversial issues and, of course, stunning pictorials of captivatingly beautiful women.

**READER PROFILE**

- **Median Age:** 34
- **Median Income:** $38,500
- **Male:** 94%

**OUR READERS**

- Make substantial purchases through mail-order services
- Spend their leisure time (not working time) reading our magazines
- Have a central interest in adult entertainment

See reverse side for Rates & Mechanicals
The New Canadian Hustler Means Business for Your Products and Services

Here is your opportunity to advertise in the brand-new Canadian edition of the best-selling men's magazine, Hustler!

Vancouver-based Northland Media Inc. is your exclusive advertising agent representing all of Canada for the new Canadian edition of Hustler.

This is your chance to advertise your products and services to a premium, and very receptive, Canadian audience — in a magazine that already boasts a readership of more than 500,000!

And those 500,000 readers are frankly starved for relevant advertising content; for products and services they can directly access. You will find the readers of Canadian Hustler will sit up and take notice when they see your ad in their favourite magazine. Hustler's readers make buying decisions based on what they see advertised in Canadian Hustler, a premium-quality men's magazine.

In the past, companies wanting to reach the affluent adult Canadian male through Hustler had to advertise in the International edition.

Now, Northland Media is giving you the opportunity to advertise your products and services directly to a Canadian male audience of over 500,000 in the pages of the new Canadian edition of Hustler Magazine, at just a fraction of the cost of advertising in the International edition.

For readers, the new Canadian edition of Hustler means that they will finally have complete access to the products and services they see in the pages of their favourite magazine.

The new Canadian edition of Hustler also features a one-of-a-kind business classified section, which will allow you to further target your advertising to one of four Canadian regions.

As Hustler's exclusive Canadian advertising representatives, Northland Media knows the Canadian market. We know what you want for your advertising dollar. And we know that you'll get your money's worth with the new Canadian edition of Hustler!

Call our sales staff today at 1-888-291-9129 to find out how you can take advantage of Northland Media's exclusive offer!
Hustler's Dedication to Quality Pays Off
For Readers & Advertisers

Hustler's editorial philosophy is Larry Flynt.
He comes from the same humble background as many of his readers and has not lost touch with their values and attitudes. He is often outrageous and frequently hilarious. He's a born risk taker and headline maker. Sometimes he does crazy things and other times he's an active vocal advocate of charitable concerns. His readers see him and his views as their own; a real live representative of themselves, living out their wildest dreams come true.

The all-new Canadian edition of Hustler is dedicated to the best of the Canadian man. Hustler's readers are not necessarily glamorous or trendy. They work for a living and they're down to earth. These are men who want to be entertained in a straightforward, no-nonsense manner. They've been reading the American edition of Hustler for years and they know that Hustler delivers what they want, from information on interesting issues to the most provocative, high-quality sexy photo layouts in the entire industry.

But, above all, Hustler is dedicated to quality — from the writing to the super-hot models and even the paper the magazine is printed on, Hustler is a great magazine for real men.

The Canadian edition of Hustler is dedicated to giving readers what they want: great humour and advice, spicy letters to the editor, interesting stories and news, and all those fantastic Hustler women. And they wrap all that up in the best men's magazine that money can buy.

But the brand-new Canadian Hustler is also dedicated to its advertisers, to you. This commitment by Hustler — to quality at every level of the magazine — means that your advertising dollar will return the most of any publication you could try. Hustler is the best (their 500,000 Canadian readers have told them that).

What does a Hustler reader do for a good time? Anything he wants to. And that often means: what he sees advertised in our magazine.

You now have the opportunity to take full advantage of this great advertising opportunity as the new Canadian edition of Hustler hits the news stands and magazine racks in every city and town in Canada.

Northland Media Inc., the sole Canadian representative for Hustler magazine, knows this market. We can assure you that there is no better way to get your company's message across to hundreds of thousands of, eager, prosperous men, than by advertising in the Canadian edition of Hustler!

Previously, companies wanting to reach the Canadian market through the pages of Hustler, had no option but the International edition. They had to spend relatively large amounts of money just to be seen by their own local readership. The Canadian edition of Hustler gives you the opportunity to reach that same eager audience of men for just a fraction of the cost!

Call our sales staff today at 1-888-291-9129 to find out how you can take advantage of Northland Media's exclusive offer!
## Canadian Hustler Display Rates

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All rates quoted in Canadian Funds.

- Cover and Prime Spots are available, please call our advertising department today for rates and positioning.

- Note: All Advertising is Pre-Paid. Payment must be check, bank check, or money order and must accompany all ad orders.

Payments to be made to: Northland Media Inc.
328 New Look Building
1275 West 6th Ave.,
Vancouver, B.C.
Canada V6H 1A6

Display ad sizes and mechanical requirements are listed on page 4.

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**Canadian Hustler 1997-98**

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Plate 23. Josef Hlavac, Tajnosti Spanelske Inkvisice (Prague, 1925). This picture is on the cover of a 1925 Czech translation of Féraul's Mystères de l’Inquisition. It suggests the continuing pan-European pictorial appeal of tormented naked women in iconography of the late Inquisition.
Plate 19. *Storia dell’Inquisizione ossia Le Crudeltà Gesuitiche*, Vol. I (Florence, 1849). This work is actually an Italian translation of Féréal. Unlike most translations, however, this one dispensed with the conventional pictures (see above, Plates 17 and 18) and included only this one and another (as frontispiece to Vol. II). This half-nude woman awaiting torture, however, echoes the sentiments of the other illustrations of Féréal.