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HIST196: The European Witch Hunt

Bruxaria Without the Sabbath in Portugal

Amongst the scrupulously kept records of the Portuguese Inquisition resides the 1585 confession of a woman by the name of Margarida Lourenco. Margarida, an orphan living in Sarzedas in Eastern Portugal, confessed under torture to anointing herself five different times with an ointment given to her by the Devil. Upon applying this ointment, Margarida would be transformed into a huge black bird and fly above the trees to a gathering of 600 women, all congregated to pay homage to the Devil and feast together. Before eating and dancing, the Devil would take blood from her with a lancet and write her name in a book, and then after eating he would have sexual intercourse with her. These gatherings occurred between midnight and one in the morning on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday, and failing to attend was punished by beatings. After the hour of debauchery, the Devil would provide another ointment to anoint, once again transforming the women into giant birds to fly home.[1]

Though the fit is not perfect, this confession in many ways matches the composite stereotype of the witch found in mainland Europe: a Sabbath-attending society of incestuous, orgiastic, cannibalistic, night-flying, and Devil-worshiping women. Yet, although confessions of this nature exist in Portugal, they are exceedingly rare; in fact, of 818 trials from the years 1600-1744, the Sabbath appears in only 36.[2] This lack of the Sabbath is not a coincidence. To prove the point, this paper will examine the only three

[1] Benthecourt, Francisco. "Portugal: A Scrupulous Inquistion" (Oxford University Press, 1990), 416-417.
[2] Knutsen, Gunar. "Topics of Persecution Witchcraft Historiography in the Iberian World" (Boston: Brill, 2014), 179.

mainland European treatises cited by Portuguese inquisitors in witchcraft trials: Nicholas Eymeric's *Directorium inquisitorum*, Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus maleficarum*, and Martin Del Rio's *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*. An investigation of these sources as well as an analysis of secondary literature will reveal how, despite having knowledge of the Sabbath and access to treatises that focused on it, Portuguese inquisitors demonstrated a deliberate, conscious focus on the heretical aspect of witchcraft rather than the Sabbath. This intentional lack of interest was likely due to the Portuguese Inquisitions mandated preoccupation with heresy (rather than witchcraft specifically).

In order to properly understand Portuguese witchcraft in the context of the Inquisition, it is first important to consider the historiography of the theme. Prior to the 21st century, the traditional view of most European witchcraft scholars was that witch trials barely existed in Portugal. For example, in her 1994 work, *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts*, Anne Llewellyn Barstow argues that Portugal was "scarcely touched" by the furor of witchcraft.[3] However, as shall be shown throughout this investigation, this is not the case. While it is true that no expansive 'hunts' occurred in Portugal, and the overall number of witchcraft trials was low, witchcraft and the persecution of witches were very much a reality for the people of Portugal. Two scholars in particular have dedicated themselves to this under-researched topic: Francisco Benthecourt and José Pedro Paiva. Prior to the 21st century, they were the only two scholars to have produced a full-length monograph on Portuguese witchcraft, with Benthecourt examining trials at Évora between 1540 and 1710[4], and Paiva examining the

[3] Sexton, Elizabeth Ann. "The persecution of Catarina Fernandes as a case study of the witch trials in Late Baroque Portugal." (Ph.D. 2005), 1.
[4] See Benthecourt's *O Imiaginario da magia: feiticerias, saludadores e nigromantes no séc*. XVI (Lisbon 1987).

trials at Coimbra between 1660 and 1774.[5] However, neither of these two works have been translated into English, making them inaccessible to a non-Portuguese audience. Fortunately, both scholars have written some invaluable translated contributions in compilation volumes.[6] In recent years, two dissertations on the study of Portuguese witchcraft have been published in English, Timothy Walker's investigation of the repression of folk magic and popular healing, and Elizabeth Ann Sexton's case study of the trial of Catarina Fernandes. However, both of these are niche works, and most scholars continue to look primarily at the writings of Benthecourt and Paiva when considering Portuguese witchcraft. Thus, the overall historiographical picture is one of scarcity.

Despite this dearth of English secondary literature, it is still possible to piece together a relatively coherent picture of what witch trials looked like in early modern Portugal due to pristinely preserved Inquisitorial records. During the 16th-18th centuries, three bodies had the authority to try witches: secular or royal courts, ecclesiastical courts, and the Inquisition. All three had more or less equal authority to try and punish heretics, although the secular courts were the only ones that could put someone to death. That meant that if an ecclesiastic judge or the Inquisition decided to execute someone, that person had to be "released to the secular arm".[7] Since all three had similar powers, they all can serve as potential sources for witchcraft research. And yet, the overwhelming majority of witchcraft research focuses exclusively on the Inquisition. This is for two

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[5] See Paiva's *Bruxaria e superstição num país sem 'caça às bruxas'* (1600–1774) (Lisbon, 1997)
[6] For example, Paiva contributed to *The Ecyclopedia of Witchcraft*: *The Western Tradition* (2006), and Benthecourt contributed to *Early Modern European Witchcraft : Centres and Peripheries* (1990)
[7] "Portugal". Paiva, José Pedro. In *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition* (Denver: ABC-Clio, 2006), 920.

reasons. The first is that very few records remain from secular and ecclesiastical archives. In comparison, the Inquisition was a well-oiled bureaucratic machine that kept meticulous records of every case it tried and stored them in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.[8] The second reason scholars focus on the Inquisition is because it was the governing body that prosecuted the vast majority of witches. Whereas the Inquisition brought almost 1000 suspected witches to trial, there are hints of a paltry few witch trials conducted by bishops, and sources indicate that the secular courts rarely involved themselves in witchcraft prosecution unless the possibility of execution was involved. This is a rather lucky combination, as even without preserved archives for two of the three authorities on witchcraft, a clear picture of witchcraft trials in Portugal emerges.

Consequently, an analysis of the lack of the Sabbath in Portugal must begin with the Inquisition. The history of the Portuguese Inquisition is eminently complex, with political and religious intrigue at every turn. And, at least at first, it had absolutely nothing to do with witchcraft. The story of the Portuguese Inquisition begins in 1492, when Ferdinand and Isabella signed an edict giving all the Jews in Spain four months to liquidate their possessions before being forcefully expelled from the country. As a result, almost 30,000 Spanish Jews moved to Portugal.[9] These Jews integrated into the already existing Jewish community, and quickly took their places as prominent wealthy members of society.[10] Then, just five years later, King Emmanuel I ordered the elimination of

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[8] Monter, William. "Witchcraft in Iberia". In *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*.
[9] Saraiva, António José. *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquistion and Its New Christians 1536-1765* (Boston: Brill, 2001), xxxiii
[10] Herculano, Alexandre. *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal*. (Stanford, 1926), 279

Judaism in Portugal. However, unlike in Spain, Emmanuel I actually made it very difficult for Jews to leave, as he instead wanted to convert the entire Jewish population to Christianity. This included both incentives to stay (for example by promising 20 years of immunity from religious-based persecution to those Jews who converted rather than left), and consequences for leaving.[11] That being said, just because most Jews converted to Christianity did not change how the populace felt about them. Large segments of the royal family, the clergy, and the common people still hated the so-called 'New Christians.' All three of these groups believed (either vocally or more privately) that "the act of baptism imposed by force carried with it no obligation, and the conversos had remained as thoroughly Jews as they had been."[12]

Many scholars believe Emmanuel I's choice to convert the Jews rather than expel them was an exceedingly clever and calculated way to create a scapegoat, enforce social control, and found an Inquisition.[13] Technically speaking, an Inquisition could not be put in place to persecute Jews. After all, being Jewish, as wrong as it may have been in the eyes of the Church, was not heretical. However, if New Christians were still practicing Judaism despite their baptism, that would be a prosecutable heresy.[14] So, King Emmanuel I solicited the creation of a Portuguese Inquisition from the Pope in 1515. However, Pope Paul III was reticent to agree, and the Inquisition would only be formally founded more than two decades later in 1536. Emmanuel I's son, King João III, who took the throne in 1521, is known to have ferociously hated Jews, and was instrumental

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[11] Saraiva, António José. *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquistion and Its New Christians,* 12
[12] Herculano, Alexandre. *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal*, 299
[13] Herculano, Alexandre. *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition,* 291. Trevor-Roper, H. R. *The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, and Other Essays,* 110. Saraiva, António José. *The Marrano Factory,* ix.
[14] Saraiva, António José. *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquistion and Its New Christians,* xxx

in convincing the Pope to initiate an Inquisition.[15] Note how up to this point, neither a fear of witches nor the desire to prosecute witchcraft played a role in the formation of the Inquisition. In fact, neither of the two major scholarly works that examine the causes and foundation of the Portuguese Inquisition even mention witchcraft[16]. Instead, Portugal was overwhelmingly concerned with the problem of Judaism and the New Christians.

The founding Papal Bull, *Cum ad nihil magis*, was read on November 8th in the city of Ever, proclaiming a long list of heretical actions which the Inquisition was to oppose with all its might (unfortunately this document has not been translated, necessitating a reliance on secondary literature).[17] Here finally, in the *Cum ad nihil magis*, witchcraft finally makes its appearance. Despite the Portuguese Inquisition's overwhelming focus on Judaism (as would be the case throughout its entire existence), the list of heresies proclaimed in 1536 was expansive and included the heresy of performance of magic as a form of Devil-worship.[18] It appears that the inclusion of magic as a form of heresy was a recent addition to the Iberian Inquisitorial Canon. In 1526, Spain started considering heretical crimes outside of the New Christians as a result of the shrinking New Christian population and subsequent decrease in trials. The Spanish Inquisition convened a gathering of theologians to answer new questions about what constituted heresy.[19] The fourth question asked of the experts was, "Whether knowledge of those evil deeds of maleficia and their punishment should concern inquisitors of heretical depravity or whether it is even appropriate for the inquisitors to know about

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[15] Herculano, Alexandre. *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal*, 278

[16] Saraiva, António José. *The Marrano Factory* and, Herculano, Alexandre. *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition*

[17] Saraiva, António José. *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquistion and Its New Christians,* 32

[18] "Portuguese Inquisition". Paiva, José Pedro. In *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*, *556*

[19] "Document 13: Deliberations on the Reality and Heresy of Witchcraft, 1526". From the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de la Inquisición, Libro 1231, 154

these deeds". This question was provoked by the recent execution of more than a dozen 'witches' in Navarre. In response, the theologians replied, "Inquisitors should know about these maleficia, since the crime is one of infidelity [to god]"[20]. The Portuguese Inquisition, heavily modeled after the Spanish version, was likely influenced by this theological document in its inclusion of magical crimes.

In Portuguese inquisitors' manuals, witchcraft and sorcery were explained as sins against the First Commandment.[21] The theological reasoning for this was structured upon a number of dichotomies: "worship of God v. worship of the devil; appeal to divine protection v. appeal to the devil's protection; resort to God's agents on earth (clergymen) v. resort to the devil's agents on earth (witches and sorcerers)".[22] The 1640 Regimento da Inquisição, the document that set the codes and procedural rules for the Inquisition after Portugal, which had in 1580 been absorbed into Spain, became independent again, explicitly enumerates this violation of the First Commandment, postulating that practicing magic necessitated contact with the demonic.[23] However, although witchcraft made an appearance in Portuguese inquisitors' manuals, it is important to recognize its overall lack of significance in the larger scale of the Inquisition. With a large New Christian population and overwhelming public animosity towards that population, the Inquisition paid "relatively little attention" to witchcraft.[24] And, unlike in Spain, where the Inquisition's focus on New Christians diminished over time, the Portuguese Inquisition remained preoccupied with the problem of "Judaizing" throughout its long

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[20] "Document 13: Deliberations on the Reality and Heresy of Witchcraft, 1526", 158
[21] Benthecourt, Francisco. "Portugal: A Scrupulous Inquistion", 404
[22] Ibid
[23] Walker, Timothy Dale. "Doctors, folk medicine and the Inquisition: The repression of popular healing in Portugal during the Enlightenment era" (Ph.D., 2001), 249
[24] "Portuguese Inquition". Paiva, José Pedro. In *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition, 556*

existence.[25] To put this into perspective, the Inquisition conducted nearly 44,000 trials over the course of its existence. Of those 44,000, 83.4% were related to New Christians, 4.5% were for inhibiting the functions of the Inquisition, and only 3.1% were accusations of witchcraft or sorcery.[26]

A final note about the Portuguese Inquisition as an institution. More so than any other European Inquisition, the Portuguese Inquisition was able to separate itself from both the Crown and the Church to function as a highly powerful, independent entity. By its very nature, the Inquisition was a dual secular and ecclesiastic body. It was established by the Pope, had jurisdiction over crimes against the Christian faith, and had the power to excommunicate. At the same time, it had royal authority because the King appointed the Grand Inquisitor, who then held significant power to appoint General Council members and set Inquisitorial policy.[27] Whereas most other Inquisitions remained somewhat beholden to these two entities, the Portuguese Inquisition played the two off one another (the Pope disapproved of the Portuguese royal line and did not want to start an Inquisition in the first place) in order to carve out even more independence. Much of this centralization is credited to the second Grand Inquisitor, Dom Henrique.[28] A great example of this autonomy came in 1641, when Grand Inquisitor Francisco de Castro was arrested for conspiring to murder King João IV. Although King João IV managed to imprison Castro for over a year, he did not have the power to remove Castro from his position, and Castro resumed his duties immediately upon being released.[29] Thus, the Portuguese Inquisition was a powerful, independent entity that in many ways

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[25] Ibid
[26] Ibid, 557
[27] Saraiva, António José. *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquistion and Its New Christians,* 173
[28] "Portuguese Inquisition". Paiva, José Pedro. In *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition, 556*
[29] Saraiva, António José. *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquistion and Its New Christians,* 173

acted like a state within the larger state of Portugal. And, although it was aware of witchcraft and considered it heretical, that was never a primary preoccupation. Instead, New Christians and their suspected practice of Judaism perpetually dominated the heretical landscape.

Throughout the history of the Portuguese Inquisition (1536-1774), 912 witches were tried across three tribunals: 370 at Coimbra, 288 at Lisbon, and 254 at Évora.[30] In spite of the relatively low number of actual trials, the number of witchcraft accusations was quite high. The Inquisition received almost 20,000 accusations against witches (the vast majority coming from peasants and the urban poor), revealing the extent to which the fear of magic and witchcraft pervaded the collective conscience.[31] However, taking only 1 in 20 of the accused to trial suggests a certain skepticism on the part of inquisitors about the reality of witchcraft and whether witches could actually cause physical harm. Paul Walker, by analyzing trial records and correspondences between inquisitors, argues that "holy office tribunals remained skeptical about the true efficacy" of witchcraft.[32] In comparison to Christian converts who were still practicing their original faith, witchcraft seemed a far more abstract and distant threat.

Further evidence of this skepticism emerges when considering the breakdown of punishments against witches. Of the 912 people sentenced for witchcraft, only nine were executed. Witchcraft trials in Portugal had two waves of more intense persecution, but otherwise saw rather constant infrequency. One peak was during the 1550's, as the

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[30] "Portugal". Paiva, José Pedro. In *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition,* 920
[31] Sexton, Elizabeth Ann. "The persecution of Catarina Fernandes as a case study of the witch trials in Late Baroque Portugal", 52
[32] Walker, Timothy Dale. "Doctors, folk medicine and the Inquisition", 246

Inquisition was just beginning to assert its power and independence. Scholars argue that this initial peak at the beginning of an Inquisition was typical, coming when the new institution was trying to flex its judicial muscles and prove the extent of its social control.[33] In this context, five of the nine executions took place in Lisbon in 1559, the closest thing that Portugal ever had to a witch 'craze'.[34] This short spurt was followed by a long period of infrequent witchcraft persecution, and then a second more intense wave from 1715 and 1755 (long past the peak in mainland Europe).[35] Interestingly, executions did not increase along with this second intensification of witchcraft persecution. The other four executions were scattered over time and location: a man at Évora in 1626, a woman at Coimbra in 1694, a man at Lisbon in 1735, and a woman at Évora in 1744.[36]

In lieu of execution, the Inquisition had a number of other possible punishments. The two most common were long periods of imprisonment (which actually led to the death of 27 witches, three times the number that died by execution) or banishment.[37] Banishment became increasingly common over time, and by the end of the 18th century, 80% of witches were banished either domestically or abroad.[38] One of the only Inquisitorial witchcraft trials that has been translated into English describes one such banishment. In 1728, Catarina Fernandes was exiled to Angola for five years (essentially a death sentence) because "she believed in and adored the Devil, offered him reverence

[33] Benthecourt, Francisco. "Portugal: A Scrupulous Inquistion, 405
[34] Sexton, Elizabeth Ann. "The persecution of Catarina Fernandes as a case study of the witch trials in Late Baroque Portugal", 50
[35] Monter, William. "Witchcraft in Iberia".
[36] "Portugal". Paiva, José Pedro. In *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition,* 920
[37] Benthecourt, Francisco. "Portugal: A Scrupulous Inquistion", 405
[38] Sexton, Elizabeth Ann. "The persecution of Catarina Fernandes as a case study of the witch trials in Late Baroque Portugal", 68

as if He was God, and offered up to him fasting and prayers".[39] Other common punishments were whippings, public humiliation, confiscation of property, and the wearing of penitential habits.[40]

Thus far, this paper has not explicitly defined what was 'witchcraft' in early modern Portugal. There has been mention of ritual magic, sorcery, maleficia, and devil-worship, but no clear-cut definition. This is because there *was* no coherent definition, no cumulative witch stereotype. Instead, all these acts were classified under one broader term: 'superstitions'.[41] According to Gunar Knutsen, "Crimes labeled as superstitions by the Holy Office included everything from telling the future and finding love […] to sorcery and diabolical witchcraft perpetrated by night flying cannibalistic [women] who worshipped the devil and caused physical harm to crops, animals, and humans". An accusation of witchcraft could be any or all of these things.[42] The one commonality in all things that could be considered witchcraft was the heretical use of the Devil's power. In fact, heresy is the only constant factor in every single trial conducted by the Inquisition.

Of course, there is still the idea of the Sabbath. As mentioned earlier, the Sabbath rarely appears in Portuguese trial records. However, *rarely* is the operative word. The fact that the Sabbath appears in 36 trials is significant, as it means that Portuguese inquisitors were exposed to the mainland European composite stereotype. It is not as if they remained cut off from the idea of the Sabbath because of geographic isolation. Instead, the reason the Sabbath appears so infrequently in trials is that the inquisitors chose not to believe in it. William Monter provides further evidence of this idea,

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[39] "Trial Summary of Catarina Fernandes". English translation by Elizabeth Ann Sexton of the Inquisigao de Coimra, processo no. 7235, 233
[40] Benthecourt, Francisco. "Portugal: A Scrupulous Inquistion", 406.
[41] Knutsen, Gunar. "Topics of Persecution Witchcraft Historiography in the Iberian World", 167.
[42] Ibid, 170

showing that a large number of inquisitors had knowledge of treatises that placed emphasis on the collective nocturnal assemblies.[43] There is no doubt then, as Benthecourt so eloquently puts it, that the influence of mainland Europe's witchcraft stereotype was discarded "in a clear attitude of cultural rejection on the part of the […] elite".[44] To add to this, when José Pedro Paiva analyzed witchcraft trials from 1600-1744 and found mention of the Sabbath in only 36 of them, he also discovered that torture had been used in more than 50% of the 818 cases.[45] Throughout the history of the Witch-hunts, torture allowed inquisitors to ask leading questions and obtain a confession that fit their definition of witchcraft. And yet, even when torture was used extensively in Portugal, the Sabbath seldom appears. This suggests that inquisitors made a conscious decision not to focus on and ask leading questions about the Sabbath during torture. Instead, they cared almost exclusively about heresy.

If we bring all these points together, we can get a general understanding of witchcraft within the context of the Portuguese Inquisition. The Inquisition was an organization somewhat skeptical of witchcraft, taking few cases to trial, and rarely executing those who were found guilty. Witchcraft had an expansive definition in Portugal, but rarely did the Sabbath work its way into this definition. And, although witchcraft was definitely seen as an issue to be addressed, it was just one of many heretical problems that needed correcting, rather than a conspiratorial menace that met in the night and threatened the very existence of society.[46] Finally, the overwhelming focus

[43] Monter, William. "Witchcraft in Iberia".
[44] Benthecourt, Francisco. "Portugal: A Scrupulous Inquistion", 405.
[45] Knutsen, Gunar. "Topics of Persecution Witchcraft Historiography in the Iberian World", 179
[46] Levack, Brian P. *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2006), 238

on magic that was considered heretical rather than on the Sabbath was likely a result of the Inquisition's mandate to eliminate heresy, in whatever forms it may take.

Up to this point, the only evidence used to show the Inquisition's lack of interest in the Sabbath has come from secondary literature, more specifically secondary literature that rests on the work of Benthecourt and Paiva as its foundation. The question becomes then: Where can this information be found in primary sources? The unfortunate answer is that it cannot be found, or at least not directly. As mentioned in the section on historiography, the best secondary literature on Portuguese witchcraft remains untranslated. Still, there are *some* secondary works that have been translated into or were written in English. That is not the case with primary sources. Essentially every single primary document about witches and the Inquisition is enshrined, unreachable and unreadable, in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon. Consequently, to show through primary sources that the Inquisition's lack of interest in the Sabbath was intentional, the methodology must be slightly less traditional and more inferential.

Two prominent witchcraft historians, Brian Levack and José Pedro Paiva, claim that throughout the history of the Portuguese Inquisition, only three mainland European treatises are cited in the trials and sentences of witches: Nicholas Eymeric's *Directorium inquisitorum* (1376), Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus maleficarum* (1486), and Martin Del Rio's *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (1599).[47] These are the only three cited despite the fact, as has already been discussed, that other mainland European treaties were known by ecclesiastical and Inquisitorial authorities, including many that expressed the idea of

[47] Levack. *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 239. Paiva, *Bruxaria e superstição*.

the Sabbath. If a careful analysis of these three works reveals a lack of focus on the Sabbath, and instead a much greater emphasis on magic being heretical, it would suggest the calculated use of these treatises to justify the broader persecution of magical heresies. The mandated purpose of the Inquisition was the discovery and prosecution of heresy, and because all supernatural magic was considered heretical, including the Sabbath in the definition of witchcraft would have considerably narrowed what magics were prosecutable. Although somewhat indirect, an analysis of this sort would result in a similar conclusion to those postulated by historians who have been able to dig into the National Archives in Lisbon.

Eymeric's *Directorium inquisitorum* was the first of the three treatises to be published. Eymeric became Inquisitor General in the Kingdom of Aragon in 1356. A relentless worker, he dedicated his life to systematizing the procedures and policies that should guide an inquisitor's actions. He completed his treatise in 1359, but then reworked it and expanded it for the full *Directorium*, published in 1376. The text was influential and widely read, and would be reprinted in the late 16th century with commentary by Francisco Peña, the greatest authority of the Roman Inquisition.[48] The *Directorium* is an inquisitor's manual, and thus covers a wide range of topics, from the question of jurisdiction to proper trial procedure. However, the 800-page work also dedicates substantial energy to answering the question, 'What constitutes heresy?' as well as whether conducting magic is heretical.

At its heart, the form of 'witchcraft' considered in the *Directorium* was actually ritual magic. The 42nd question of the book asks, "Whether magicians and diviners are to

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[48] Eymeric, Nicholas, *Directorium Inquisitorium*. In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History* (Philedelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 121

be considered heretics or as those suspected of heresy and whether they are to be subjected to the judgment of the Inquisitor of heretics".[49] Eymeric begins his response to this question by breaking down magic and divination into two categories. The first category is magic or divination conducted purely through the techniques of chiromancy, or the interpretation of natural signs. The second category is magic conducted by those who show the honor of latria (the form of adoration that must be shown only to God) or dulia (the form of adoration that is shown to the saints) to the Devil or demons. Whereas the first category is not heretical, the second category absolutely is, and "do[es] not evade the judgment of the Inquisitor, but [is] punished according to the laws pertaining to heretics"[50]. Eymeric's justification for this is quite simple. Latria is a sacrifice that ought to be offered to God and God alone. By offering it to something other than God, "then by that deed one shows oneself to believe that that person is higher than God"[51]. Obviously, this is heretical. Similarly, "showing the honor of dulia to a demon […] is to reveal oneself in heart and mind as believing inwardly that the demon is above the saint […] and is to be venerated as if saintly". Once again, this perversion of the faith is heretical.[52] However, Eymeric takes this one step further, and argues that *any* magic done with the aid of the Devil is heretical. It does not matter if latria or dulia are shown, because "invok[ing] and consult[ing] demons even without making sacrifice to them, is apostasy from the faith and as a consequence, heresy"[53]. Although he believes the sin to be even greater when latria or dulia are performed, any magic that involves the demonic falls under his categorization of heresy.

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[49] Ibid, 122
[50] Ibid, 123
[51] Ibid, 124
[52] Ibid, 127
[53] Ibid, 125

Significantly, Eymeric says nothing about the Sabbath, or even about maleficia in the *Directorium*. Of the three treatises, this is the only one where the ideas of the Sabbath are entirely absent. That should not come as a surprise, as he wrote the manual before that element had been added to the cumulative concept of the witch[54], but it is still noteworthy. Of the three treatises, it is very possible that the *Directorium* was the most influential in Portugal. This is because starting in 1640, all three Portuguese Inquisitorial tribunals had a copy of the work. The 1640 Regimento da Inquisição mandated that Évora, Lisbon, and Coimbra have at all times a copy of the bible, the compendium of Canon and Civil law, and the *Directorium inquisitorum*.[55] By commanding this, the Inquisition *chose* to place special significance on a treatise that was published long before the concept of the Sabbath was even developed.

Following chronological order, the second treatise cited in Portuguese witchcraft trials is Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus maleficarum*. Kramer had three central objectives when he published this work in 1486. First, he wanted to refute those who claimed witchcraft was not real and therefore hindered witchcraft persecution. Second, he wanted to provide arguments and advice to those who had to deal with witchcraft on the local, pastoral level. And finally, he wished to provide detailed information to judges in order to combat witchcraft through the legal system. Each of these objectives is given a dedicated section, while the questions of who was a witch and what constituted witchcraft were woven in throughout the work.[56] The *Malleus* combines theological investigation

[54] Levack, Brian P. *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe,* 239
[55] Saraiva, António José. *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquistion and Its New Christians,* 45
[56] Broedel, Hans Peter. *The "Malleus Maleficarum" and the Construction of Witchcraft: Theology and Popular Belief* (Manchester University Press, 2003), 20

and scholarship with Kramer's personal experiences with witchcraft, gathered during his time as an inquisitor.

In the *Malleus*, Kramer puts forward a conception of the witch that is very straightforward. Witches are not imaginary, but are instead people who can "with the help of demons, on account of the pact they have with them, and with the permission of God, bring about real harmful magical effects."[57] Whereas Eymeric was preoccupied with ritual magic and wrote his manual before the idea of the witch had coalesced, Kramer directly equates maleficium with witchcraft. And, because all maleficium involved a pact with the Devil, transitively witchcraft was "the most heinous" heresy.[58]

By equating witchcraft with maleficium, Kramer creates a categorization for witchcraft that is incredibly expansive. Among the kinds of things that witches could do, they could raise hailstorms and tempests, cause sterility in men, transport themselves through the air (either in body or imagination), make animals go mad, shield themselves from pain while under questioning, foretell the future, cause uncontrollable trembling in those who accost them, kill infants in the mothers womb, and cause death with a mere look.[59] And this list barely scrapes the surface. However, nowhere in Kramer's conception of the witch does the Sabbath appear. Some tantalizing hints exist here or there, but never in a fully fleshed out form. For example, at one point Kramer states that it is "common" for witches to copulate with the Devil.[60] Then, pages later he describes the two-part process of pledging oneself to the Devil. The first part is a private profession of allegiance. The second part is a gathering of witches at a conclave where

[57] Kramer, Heinrich. "Malleus Maleficarum". Part 1, Question 1
[58] Ibid, Part 1, Question 14
[59] Ibid, Part 2, Question 1, Chapter 2
[60] Ibid

they all accept the Devil's power together and recommend potential recruits.[61] In the next Chapter, Kramer discusses how witches are transported in the air. They take a concoction made from the limbs of un-baptized children, and place it upon a chair or stick, at which point they are carried into the air. Or, at other times they are carried by monstrous, winged beasts.[62]

If these different parts were presented as one uniform whole, it would come relatively close to the cumulative stereotype of the Sabbath: women who fly to a collective gathering where they worship the Devil and have intercourse with him. However, that is not the case, and they are instead presented as independent acts amongst the innumerable evils performed by witches. Hans Peter Broedel believes that this was an intentional separation from the Sabbath. He argues that it "seems unreasonable" to believe that Kramer had been ignorant of the Sabbath. After all, he was an experienced member of the Dominican order, and had almost assuredly been exposed to the idea. He likely would have either heard oral reports of the diabolical Sabbath described by his colleagues, or he would have read the contemporary works that tied the Sabbath in tightly to their definition of witchcraft, such as the *Flagellum haereticorum* or the *Errores gazariorum*.[63] However, Kramer's primary purpose in writing the *Malleus* was to eliminate obstacles to witchcraft prosecution, and he attempted to do this by proving that maleficium (a heretical act) was for all intents and purposes the equivalent of witchcraft. The *Flagellum* and the *Errores* were more "theoretically defined" by the Sabbath, and thus their conception of witchcraft was much narrower.[64] In contrast, Kramer's definition

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[61] Ibid
[62] Ibid, Part 2, Question 1, Chapter 3
[63] Broedel, Hans Peter. *The "Malleus Maleficarum" and the Construction of Witchcraft,* 131
[64] Ibid

of witchcraft encompassed nearly every accusation of magical malfeasance that could be thought of. In the end, regardless of whether it was an intentional decision as Broedel believes, or if it came from a lack of knowledge, the complete idea of the Sabbath does not appear in the *Malleus*.

Of the three treatises cited in Portuguese witchcraft trials, the last chronologically, Martin Del Rio's *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, has the clearest definition of the Sabbath. This suggests an understandable trend where the idea of the Sabbath becomes more and more salient in the ecclesiastical mindset as time passes. When Eymeric wrote the *Directorium*, the concept of the Sabbath did not really exist, thus it does not appear in his work. Kramer's *Malleus*, written right as the idea of the Sabbath was emerging, touches on certain aspects of the gathering, but never ties them together into a uniform model. While Kramer likely had heard inklings of this new idea, the Sabbath was in no way cemented in the collective consciousness and belief systems of inquisitors at the time. Therefore, the exclusion of the cumulative concept of the Sabbath, while probably intentional, was not out of the ordinary. However, by the time Del Rio finished his treatise in 1599, the Sabbath was an ever-present force in the world of witchcraft. Expansive mainland European witch-hunts predicated on the idea of witchcraft as a conspiratorial society of women that attended the Sabbath had been occurring for decades. Del Rio would have had extensive knowledge of the Sabbath by the end of the 16th century, and frankly it would have been shocking had the *Disquisitionum* not discussed the Sabbath. Therefore, an analysis of Del Rio's work in the context of this paper must focus not on whether the idea of the Sabbath appears, but rather how it appears and in what context.

Born and raised in the Spanish Netherlands, Del Rio was the son of a wealthy, influential family. He received an expansive education, learning multiple languages, astronomy, mathematics, and law before beginning his studies in theology and then eventually becoming a Jesuit.[65] His magnum opus, the *Disquisitionum Magicarum Libri Sex*, first appeared in Mainz at the very end of the 16th century. It would be reprinted at least 24 more times, with the final version appearing in Venice in 1747.[66] In it, Del Rio seamlessly mixes philosophy, theology, and the law to link all kinds of magic and witchcraft to heresy, as well as provide practical advice for how to combat demonic forces. The work is split up into six books. In the first two books, Del Rio begins with a general survey of magic, what it is, and when it is natural versus heretical. In books three and four, he comprehensively considers the uses of magic, and finally in books five and six he gives practical advice on how to deal with magic practitioners from a legal standpoint.

Del Rio begins his investigation into magic by considering what is artificial magic versus other types of magic. There are two types of artificial magic, mathematical and deceitful. Mathematical magic rests upon the principles of "geometry, arithmetic, or astronomy", and deceitful magic through the "agility of [ones] feet and hands". In its simplest form, artificial magic is something that an uneducated or unobservant person would see as supernatural, but is not actually outside the constraints of the laws of nature.[67] This is contrasted with forbidden magic, which really allows one to perform supernatural marvels.[68] In Del Rio's eyes, there is no such thing as ritual or white magic,

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[65] Ibid, 4-5
[66] Del Rio, Martin. *Investigations into Magic* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 8
[67] Ibid, 52
[68] Ibid, 32

and instead all magic that breaks natural laws, whether divination, alchemy, or astrology, is heretical. To prove this point, he considers the work of Mychael Gylcas, a 12th-century Byzantine historian who distinguishes magic from goetia. Gylcas argues that while white magic originates through beneficent spirits and does good, goetia is the production of evil through maleficent spirits.[69] Del Rio then dismantles this argument, by showing that "all magical operation rest as on a foundation, upon a pact made between the magician and an evil spirit. Thus, as often as the magician wishes to effect anything, he is constrained explicitly or implicitly by this prop to his art to demand that the evil spirit meet the terms of the agreement".[70] This entire section is strikingly similar to Eymeric's, both in methodology and in conclusion. Like Eymeric, Del Rio dedicates a section to magic within the laws of nature before considering other types of magic, and concludes that all supernatural magic, regardless of purpose, is heretical.

Within the context of the pact, Del Rio also discusses how on pre-arranged days, witches fly to a pre-arranged meeting place to affirm the pact. There, they accept orders from the Devil, the Devil promises to grant them power and bless them after death, and they plan and endeavor to bring new witches under the power of the Devil.[71] Just as the previous section was analogous to Eymeric's work, so is this section analogous to Kramer's fragmented conception of the Sabbath in the *Malleus*.

However, here the *Disquisitionum* begins to diverge from Eymeric and Kramer, discussing the complete concept of the Sabbath. Question 16 asks, "The nocturnal meetings of witches. Are witches really transported from one place to another?"[72] The

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[69] Ibid, 71
[70] Ibid, 73
[71] Ibid, 76
[72] Ibid, 91

section describes how women anoint themselves, and then are carried off on a staff or animal to a bonfire, where the Devil sits on a throne. The Devil nearly always has the appearance of a goat or a dog, and the witches worship him in various ways, from offering children's umbilical cords to kissing his anus. Then they usually imitate the sacrifice of the Mass before eating, dancing, and having intercourse.[73] Yet, despite this very clear-cut definition of the Sabbath, the Sabbath is a secondary focus in this section. Instead, Del Rio is more interested in answering if witches actually fly in the night or if they imagine it. Whereas he spends a mere two paragraphs explaining the Sabbath, he dedicates nearly ten pages to answering this question.[74] Del Rio reaches the conclusion that witches can in fact be transported physically because it is within the Devil's power to do so and God permits such things to happen.[75] Those two paragraphs are the only place where Del Rio mentions the Sabbath in the entire *Disquisitionum*. Two paragraphs in a manual of over 800 pages, and he only brings up the Sabbath in order to answer a separate theological question. Within this context, it makes sense for Levack to claim that the *Disquisitionum* was barely concerned with the Sabbath, and instead focused primarily on providing instructions to inquisitors.[76]

Taken together, there is a definite lack of, or lack of focus on, the Sabbath in Eymeric's, Kramer's, and Del Rio's treatises. Given that Portuguese inquisitors had knowledge of and access to treatises that emphasized the cumulative witch stereotype and the Sabbath, the preeminence of these three works suggests intentionality. As discussed in the section on historiography, the Portuguese Inquisition was the driving force in

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[73] Ibid, 93
[74] Ibid, 90-98
[75] Ibid, 95
[76] Levack, Brian P. *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*. 239

witchcraft prosecutions. While some witchcraft trials took place both in ecclesiastical and royal courts, the Inquisition conducted the overwhelming majority of trials in its pursuit of heresy. Although the Inquisition was founded mostly to prosecute the New Christian population, magic and witchcraft were therefore included in its expansive list of prosecutable heresies. This is not particularly surprising, as in 16th-century Europe it was widely believed that the practice of magic necessitated contact with demonic forces and was therefore heretical. For an organization dedicated to the elimination of all heresies, a broader definition of witchcraft makes sense, a definition that was predicated solely on the practice of magic rather than the attendance at an orgiastic nocturnal gathering. The Inquisition and individual inquisitors therefore likely gravitated towards these three treatises in particular *because* they were overwhelmingly concerned with the heretical nature of magic. Put succinctly, this primary source analysis, in conjunction with the secondary literature, reveals that it was the Inquisition's influence that resulted in bruxaria without the Sabbath in Portugal.

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